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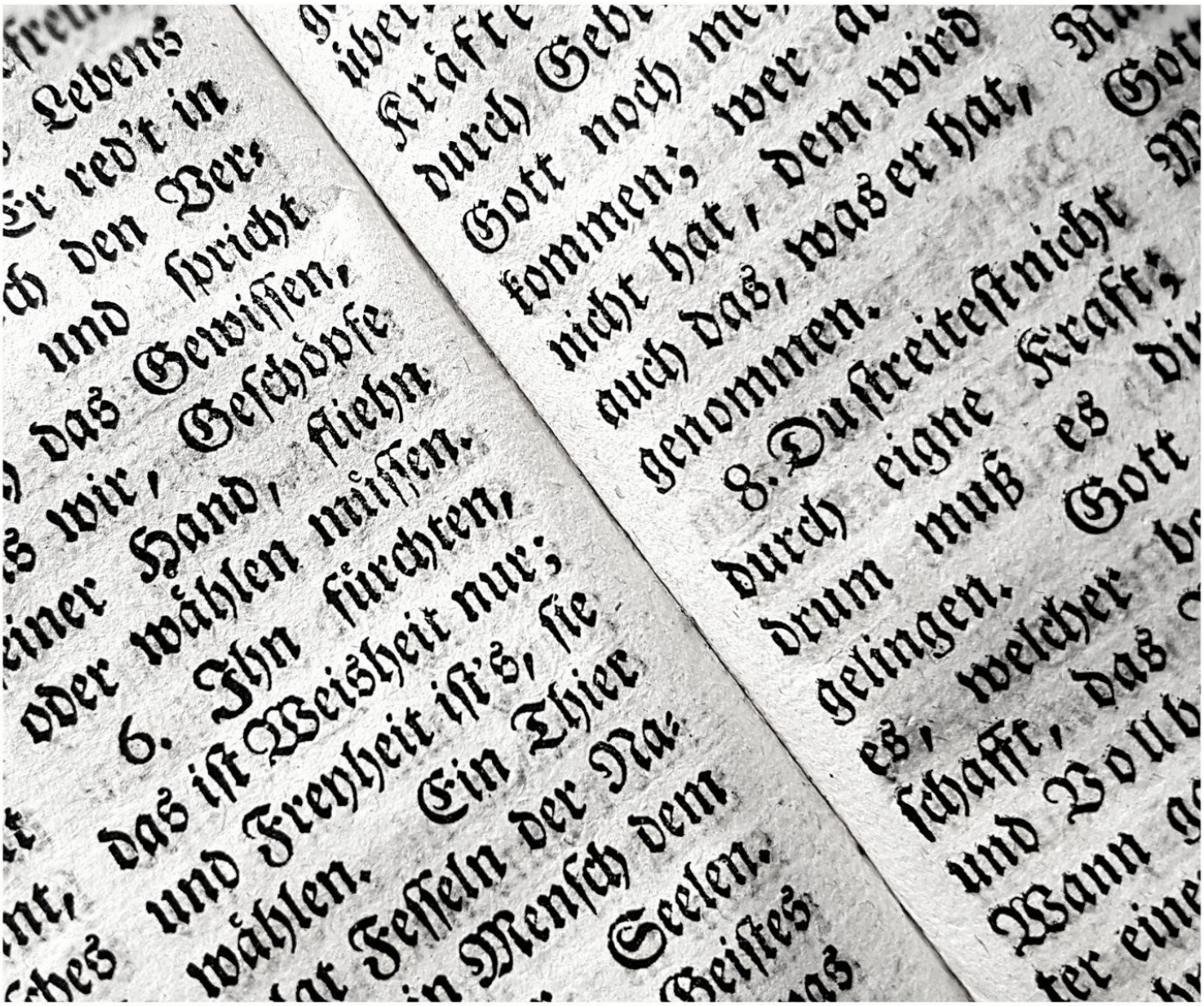

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Eugène Delacroix, *La Liberté guidant le peuple*, 1830

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

The French Revolution (*Révolution Française*) began with the Estates General of 1789 and ended with the formation of the French Consulate in November 1799. In part due to its main maxim – *liberté, égalité, fraternité* – many of its ideas are considered fundamental principles of modern liberal democracy.

Its causes are generally agreed to be a combination of social, political and economic factors, which the existing regime proved unable to manage. In May 1789, widespread social distress led to the convocation of the Estates General, which was converted into a National Assembly in June. Continuing unrest culminated in the Storming of the Bastille on 14 July, which led to a series of radical measures by the Assembly, including the abolition of feudalism, the imposition of state control over the Catholic Church in France, and extension of the right to vote. The Storming of the Bastille is still commemorated in France today, and 14 July, or 'Bastille Day', is one of the most important French national holidays.

Economic depression, civil disorder and terror governed the next decade. The French Directory was established to eradicate enemies – or 'counter-revolutionaries' – internal and foreign. The end of the revolutionary period is generally marked by its replacement by the French Consulate in 1799. Historians dispute this, however, with some believing the end of the Napoleonic Wars in 1815 a more suitable date.

Editor's Introduction

EVERY ESSAY IN THIS JOURNAL has come out of Durham University, for better or for worse. They were not supposed to: a call for papers was issued to over four hundred of the top universities in the world. The only reply: a single reviewer from New York University. Otherwise – silence. This is not a regional studies journal, so it is difficult to explain, and still speak nicely of undergraduate historians and their departments worldwide, why no interest was aroused when the possibility of publishing their work in (what was supposed to be) an international journal that was presented before them.

What *Critical Historical Studies* – which is abbreviated *Crit. Hist. Stud*. if it were not clear – does do is give a very precise impression of the state of the study of history at Durham University. When establishing this journal – or reviving the wreckage of the previously unnamed local journal of Durham University History Society – the Editor asked the History Department of Durham University whether they would like to associate themselves with the research produced by their undergraduate students. They were at first interrogative, then there was impenetrable silence for a couple of months, followed by an abrupt refusal without explanation. The Philosophy Department of Durham University publishes the journal *Critique*: also saved from the ashes, it is now a properly international journal publishing articles, book reviews and discussion pieces of other undergraduate articles. Considering the success of this journal of philosophy, which might well be considered the sister journal of *Critical Historical Studies*, if it proceeds down the same path as this first issue, it was surprising to discover that the History Department wanted nothing to do with the journal filled with their undergraduate work. The journal continues to be published by Durham University History Society, therefore, and has not made the transition to a publication of Durham University.

This is quite ironic because, at least this first issue of the journal, which has failed internationally, but has overwhelmingly succeeded in local terms, *Critical Historical Studies* is a direct representation of Durham University History Department. All the essays in these pages are not only from students studying history at Durham University, but were written as part of the fulfilment of the undergraduate degree in history at the university. Some are dissertations at more than fifteen thousand words in length, others are barely more than fifteen hundred words long. What a range we have as a sample! It is best to let the reader decide whether the History Department is well represented in these pages.

Whether or not it is, the essays herein are certainly of a proper quality. Although it is an undergraduate journal, it is this journal's aim to publish work that is properly academic, and the authors of each ought to be credited for their contributions to the study of relative fields of history. Indeed, in the call for papers for this issue, it was specifically stated that essays ought to (at least attempt towards) an original insight into the study of history. Not every essay submitted achieved this, which is why many were rejected. The main reason for this, it seems, has been the result of badly focussed titles – or questions, as they were originally – which is of

limited fault of undergraduate authors, when their titles are entirely dictated by the requirements of some module or another, the questions for which may not be conducive towards original contribution. Well-worn topics are by their nature the most difficult to say anything original about. So are topics requiring specialist training. Essays that aimed to utilize archaeological methods, for instance, systematically fell short of the journal's requirements. This is of course a lack of specialist training rather than a lack of creativity: any creative insight must be couched within a sensible and justified theoretical and methodological framework. In fact, some of the most creative essays could not, with regret, be published in this issue, lacking the academic rigour to meet the expectations of peer-reviewers.

It is hoped that this journal will promote increasingly academic writing amongst undergraduates. With a new system of peer-review, as well as a standardized professional formatting, *Critical Historical Studies* should serve as an incubator for the germs of truly critical studies of history.

B.V.E. HYDE

"CRISIS" IN CRISIS: AN ANALYSIS OF THE VALIDITY OF "CRISIS" AS A CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK WITHIN WEIMAR HISTORIOGRAPHY

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ABSTRACT: Historiography of the Weimar Republic (1918–1933) is saturated with mention of the term 'crisis', so much that within academia the two have commonly been regarded as synonymous. Too often, however, the term is used as a throwaway, for the purpose of dramatizing historical narratives rather than offering any real analytical value. Accordingly, this article seeks to assess how historians have applied this notion of 'crisis' within their work, and to what effect. Over time, given new social context and innovative reinterpretation of evidence, the approaches undertaken by various historians have seemingly evolved. Therefore, this article seeks to establish whether or not we can speak of a gradual shift in the general consensus over time. Finally, the diversity of the historiography clearly indicates the ambiguity embodied by the term 'crisis' in application to the Weimar Republic. As such, this paper conducts a comprehensive historiographical review, comparing different arguments and interpretations in order to deduce which is the most compelling, or if historians must discern a new angle of studying Weimar history all together.

Critical Historical Studies, vol. 1, pp. 2–18.

THE WEIMAR REPUBLIC has in many respects become a byword for failed democracy, chronic instability and lost opportunity. Between 1918–1933, the word 'crisis' appeared in the title of over 370 books published discussing German economics, politics and society; its evident pervasiveness within the minds of contemporaries in turn has generated significant historiographical debate surrounding the precise meaning of 'crisis' as applied to the Weimar Republic.[1] Historiography of the Weimar period is replete with mentions of "crisis"—usually in reference to post-war disorder, socioeconomic catastrophe and perceived national degeneracy—so much so that Rüdiger Graf has asserted that "anyone who does not want to talk about "crisis" should remain silent about Weimar Germany."[2] Despite its popularity, however, much of Weimar historiography has discussed "crisis" in an ambiguous and imprecise manner, where the term assumes the role of sensationalising rhetoric rather than functioning as an effective interpretive frame. This investigation is concerned with the following issues: first, explorations of "crisis" within conceptual history; second, how historians have discussed "crisis" within their studies of the Weimar Republic; and finally, the validity of "crisis" as an analytical concept within Weimar historiography. While more orthodox interpretations associate Weimar's "crisis" with disunity, suffering, and difficulty, recent scholarship has diverged from this interpretation to emphasise more positive features of the Weimar Republic. The resulting enigma—the difficulty of reconciling this doom-ridden image of Weimar in "crisis" with the emerging historiographical consensus that Weimar Germany was composed of both stabilizing and hostile factors—is the centrepiece of this article.

This paper will take a thematic approach in evaluating how far the concept of "crisis" is useful for historiographical analysis of the Weimar Republic. The first portion will focus on deconstructing "crisis", scrutinising its etymological, philosophical and sociopolitical origins to reveal how its meaning has evolved over time. Turning to Weimar historiography more broadly, the second section will evaluate various historians' perspectives—including Detlev Peukert, Eric Weitz, Jochen Hung and Colin Storer—to chart how historical thought has developed from the late twentieth-century, occasionally referencing other works to substantiate critical analysis. Finally, using the works of Rüdiger Graf and Moritz Föllmer, the concluding segment will tackle how historians have attempted to resolve the methodological, semantic and conceptual issues inherent within "crisis", and their implications for historical evaluations of the Weimar Republic. Given that "crisis" was a pervasive concept in the minds of contemporaries, it cannot be discounted *completely* as a means of interpreting Weimar history. What must be negated instead are the pessimistic overtones associated with the word itself. "Crisis" therefore can serve as a useful conceptual framework for analysing Weimar history, but only when it is applied neutrally to avoid presuming an adverse outcome. Moreover, "crises" must be understood not simply as empirical phenomena which exist in the world that are then verified by historical observers, but as concepts with a

[1] Rüdiger Graf and Moritz Föllmer, 'The Culture of 'Crisis' in the Weimar Republic', *Thesis Eleven 111*, no. 1 (2012), p. 37.
[2] Rüdiger Graf, 'Either-Or: The Narrative of "Crisis" in Weimar Germany and in Historiography', *CEH 43* (2010), p. 592.

subjective, narrative dimension, constructed by historical agents themselves to imagine various future scenarios still possible at that juncture in time. Thus, through historicizing its contemporary meanings, applications and experiences, incorporating "crisis" into historiographical analysis can offer valuable insight into the legion of mentalities present in the Weimar Republic, and help to explain the paradoxes prevalent throughout—and arguably archetypal of—Germany's first democracy.

I. ANATOMIZING "CRISIS"

Before a comprehensive evaluation of historians' employment of "crisis" can commence, it is first necessary to dissect its etymological, philosophical and political dimensions. Historian Reinhart Koselleck—widely considered the forefather of *Begriffsgeschichte* (conceptual history)—pioneered this line of investigation with his thesis *Critique and Crisis*, offering an encyclopedic investigation into the transformative changes within the relationship between "critique" and "crisis" in the seventeenth- and eighteenth-centuries. Koselleck's thesis is that at the dawn of the modern era, "crisis" underwent a semantic shift, acquiring a "diagnostic and predictive meaning" which enabled it to function as an "indicator of a new awareness".[3] During this period, the absolutist state was premised on a clear-cut division between sovereign and subject, private and public, politics and morality.[4] Over time, however, this gulf between state and society grew into a point of contention. Enlightenment intellectuals—enabled by the stability afforded by the absolutist state—undermined this political cohesion with their criticism.[5] Critique, having encroached upon the public sphere and claimed authority over the state, ultimately gave way to "crisis"—that is, the dissolution of the absolutist state and the French Revolution.[6] In other words, moral considerations and critique gradually expanded beyond the private realm into the public domain, subsequently burgeoning into a politically transformative tool.[7] Although not explicitly centred around the Weimar period, *Critique and Crisis* is an essential point of reference when discussing the historical vicissitudes and analytical formulations of "crisis", particularly when one considers the light it sheds on the nature of sociopolitical notions more generally. Significantly for this study, Koselleck foregrounded the conceptualization of "crisis" as "a condition of uncertainty"—the nature of which was determined by its outcome—rather than the preface of imminent disaster.[8] Through emphasizing how notions of "crisis" and "utopia" have heavily influenced Western projects of modern society-building, Koselleck illustrates how the narrative of being caught between the decisive alternatives of total collapse and constant improvement is one that continues to shape how observers perceive their experiences today.

Developing this further in his article 'Crisis', Koselleck charts the origins of "crisis" from antiquity right through to its usage within the modern political lexicon to establish its historical significance. Whilst investigating the Greek roots of the term

[3] Reinhart Koselleck, *Critique and Crisis: Enlightenment and the Pathogenesis of Modern Society* (Massachusetts, 1988), pp. 6–8.
[4] Koselleck, *Critique and Crisis*, pp. 41–42.
[5] Ibid, pp. 127–137.
[6] Ibid, pp. 8–11.
[7] Ibid, pp. 88–89.
[8] Ibid., p. 173.

(*krisis*), Koselleck identified how "crisis" was used to denote transition towards circumstances "better or worse", often entailing "reaching a verdict or judgement." [9] Such usage therefore evidently did not distinguish "crisis" from "criticism" as the modern English language does. [10] Instead, the original meaning of "crisis" contained elements of both diagnosis—naming the problem at hand—and prognosis—predicting the result of treatment.[11] The Greek medical meaning of "crisis" was therefore used to describe "a turning point" between two potential alternatives—fatally succumbing to illness or full restoration of health—clearly delineating the transformative potentials of "crises". [12] As such, rather than being understood as a period of difficulty necessarily preceding catastrophe and used to describe "unrest," "conflict," or "vaguely disturbing moods or situations", Koselleck argues that "crisis" should be used to indicate circumstances in which decision is pending, and both advantageous or disadvantageous outcomes are possible. [13] The article aptly concludes with Koselleck advising scholars to "weigh the concept carefully" before adopting "crisis" into their vernacular, warning against employing the term without thorough consideration of its meaning.[14]

Koselleck's own handling of "crisis", however, is problematic in certain aspects. The bold statement penned in the foreword of *Critique and Crisis*—that the twentieth-century drifted into a "state of permanent crisis"—seems guilty of the exact secular eschatology condemned by the monograph itself. [15] Sociologist Andrew Simon Gilbert's chapter 'Reinhart Koselleck: Demoralizing Crisis' has also taken issue with how Koselleck's account of "crisis" seemingly cannot be separated from his theory on the emergence of "the modern condition". [16] Indeed, Koselleck deems "crisis" as "the supreme concept of modernity", closely conjoining the two concepts—a trend that, as we will discover, has persisted within later literature.[17] While Koselleck undoubtedly remains an exemplary benchmark for conceptually evaluating "crisis", his efforts to unveil its semantic complexities and accordingly subvert its theological and utopian connotations are ultimately self-defeating, falling victim to precisely the same issues he identifies in other usages of the term.[18] The initial problems identifiable within *Critique and Crisis* are indicative of much broader issues with the use of the concept "crisis", many of which are recurrent within relevant scholarship. Nonetheless, *Critique and Crisis* remains an influential *tour de force* within conceptual and philosophical history, and has secured Koselleck's position as a key architect of how "crisis" is utilized within historiographical analysis.

Beyond his chapter on Koselleck, Gilbert has sought to explain not only the ubiquitous presence of "crisis" within contemporary discourse, but its origins,

[9] Reinhart Koselleck and Michaela W. Richter, 'Crisis', *Journal of the History of Ideas 67,* no. 2 (2006) pp. 358–359.
[10] Koselleck and Richter, 'Crisis', pp. 358–359.
[11] Ibid., p. 370.
[12] Ibid., pp. 370–371.
[13] Ibid., p. 399.
[14] Koselleck and Richter, 'Crisis', pp. 374, 376.
[15] Koselleck, *Critique and Crisis*, p. 5; Andrew Simon Gilbert, *The Crisis Paradigm: Description and Prescription in Social and Political Theory* (Basingstoke, 2019), p. 87.
[16] Gilbert, *The Crisis Paradigm,* pp. 65–66.
[17] Koselleck and Richter, 'Crisis', p. 376.
[18] Gilbert, *The Crisis Paradigm,* p. 65.

plural functions as a linguistic device, and role in formulating political worldviews. *The Crisis Paradigm* is less concerned with establishing a method for understanding "crisis" than expounding "how crisis operates as a conceptual mode for describing our world."[19] Gilbert points out that the most common criticisms of the term "crisis" are that it is overused, vague, hyperbolic, and oftentimes less revealing about the situation being described than the eyewitness themselves. [20] Through analysing four twentieth-century thinkers' conceptions of "crisis"—including Reinhart Koselleck, George Lukács, Hannah Arendt and Jürgen Habermas—Gilbert proposes that to mitigate these problems, "crisis" should be examined as a conceptual paradigm. [21] By definition, a conceptual paradigm "indicates a mutually recognizable language which allows problems and solutions to be framed in meaningful ways", operating as a mechanism through which humans can process their experiences.[22] In other words, "crisis" assumes the role of a "symbolic generalization" that converges an array of convoluted and multiplex issues under a singular, broad umbrella.[23] Consequently, a myriad of contradictory deployments and interpretations can synchronously be sustained, while observers believe they are addressing the same topic, affording it the function of a "semantic anchor."[24] "Crisis" thus exists as a vague concept which a plurality of political ideologies can embezzle, transforming the term into a rhetorical weapon to garner support for their respective causes. [25] This acknowledgement of "crisis" as something both identifiable and partially invented reinforces how the concept "resonates with something that cannot be reduced to text alone."[26] Gilbert's reformulation of "crisis" illustrates how its variegated usages can actually enrich historical understanding, particularly as applying "crisis" to a society uniquely presented with opportunity can help to illuminate the diversity of contemporary mentalities, along with the political and sociocultural backdrop these sentiments were operating against. "Crisis" therefore should be understood not merely as pertaining to specific moments in history, but as an essential aspect of historicity.[27]

II. VAGUENESS AND VAGARIES: "CRISIS" IN WEIMAR HISTORIOGRAPHY

There is no shortage of literature on the Weimar Republic that interprets "crisis" as synonymous with disagreement, confusion, and even danger. This overwhelmingly pessimistic treatment of the Weimar period often operates *in tandem* with a tendency to analyse German society between 1918-1933 from the vantage point of the succeeding Nazi Regime. Indeed, notions of modernization theory and *Sonderweg*—the 'special path' Germany took from aristocracy to democracy deviant from the rest of Europe—have been prominent within Weimar historiography. Both approaches focus predominantly—if not

[19] Gilbert, *The Crisis Paradigm*, pp. ix–x.
[20] Ibid., p. 5.
[21] Ibid., p. 6.
[22] Ibid.
[23] Ibid., p. 7.
[24] Ibid., pp. 22–23.
[25] Ibid., p. 8.
[26] Ibid., p. 209.
[27] Ibid., p. 71.

explicitly—on negative interpretations of "crisis", in which Weimar democracy was still-born and the advent of the 'German catastrophe' inevitable. Such sentiments are exemplified in the work of various German émigré historians, such as Fritz Stern, who wrote, "Born in defeat, humiliated by Versailles, mocked and violated by its irreconcilable enemies at home, the Weimar Republic never gained the popular acceptance which alone could have given its parliamentary system permanence, even in crisis."[28] With greater temporal distance, however, perspectives on Weimar have significantly evolved, enabling a more even-handed evaluation that does not solely view it through the lens of failure. Rather than a mere stepping stone towards the takeover of Nazism, Weimar has been recognized as a period with its own respective qualities and unique developments, where "crisis" represented widespread opportunity instead of impending doom.

Detlev Peukert's seminal monograph *The Weimar Republic: The Crisis of Classical Modernity* makes a pivotal contribution to historiographical discourse on "crisis" in Weimar Germany. Unlike prior interpretations within Weimar scholarship, Peukert's Weimar is not a society predestined for failure, but a promising site of radical experimentation. Setting the tone of his argument in his introduction, Peukert underlines the multifaceted nature of the Weimar Republic, particularly how it was "on the one hand, prone to crises and, on the other, able to withstand them."[29] By stressing that Weimar, despite all its problems, was able to endure as long as it did, Peukert subverts the monotonous and heretofore dominant interpretation of Weimar as a total failure. The difficult conditions of the Republic's birth—marked by "painful compromise," "defeats" and "mutual concessions"—translated into an equally complicated lifetime. [30] Various paradoxes and contradictions arose from the "crisis of classical modernity" that reached its apex in the Weimar period, where almost as soon as modern ideas were introduced to German society, they were criticised, assailed and reversed. [31] The "Janus-faced nature of modernization" produced a situation where modern movements achieved remarkable breakthroughs in Weimar's social policy, technology, sciences, humanities and arts, yet simultaneously evoked resistance and encouraged "social fragmentation". [32] "Crisis" was therefore not a definitive prelude to doom, but a reflection of the contradictory forces confronting Weimar on its path to modernity.

While undisputedly both innovative and incredibly influential, Peukert's work is not without its shortcomings. His usage of "crisis" is very much ill-defined, and the term 'classical modernity' often functions more as a captivating metaphor than a clearly defined analytical category. [33] Peukert discusses "crisis" as an amorphous phenomenon that permeated various realms, which is not only vague but fails to consider the idiosyncrasies of each respective "crisis". Peukert's take is also overwhelmingly melancholic; his formulation of the Third Reich as the

[28] Fritz Stern, 'Adenauer and a Crisis in Weimar Democracy', *Political Science Quarterly 73,* no. 1 (1958), p. 1.
[29] Detlev Peukert, *The Weimar Republic: The Crisis of Classical Modernity,* trans. Richard Deveson (New York, 1989), p. 4.
[30] Peukert, *The Crisis of Classical Modernity,* p. 6.
[31] Ibid., pp. 275–276.
[32] Ibid.
[33] David F. Crew, 'The Pathologies of Modernity: Detlev Peukert on Germany's Twentieth Century', *Social History 17,* no. 2 (1992), p. 321.

product of the realization of modernity's dangerous potentials is reflective of the same overt pessimism common among the left-wing circles in Germany he was part of during the 1980s. Furthermore, Peukert—like Koselleck before him—appears to equate "modernity" with "crisis", raising questions about the actual nature of modernity itself. Although more fatalistic sentiments do dominate his analysis, a valuable deduction from Peukert's work is that "crisis" can have unprecedented consequences both propitious and inimical. Peukert's work has inspired a wealth of other innovative interpretations of "crisis" in the Weimar period, and historians have treated his multifaceted analysis as a springboard for further revision of the narrative of the Republic as an ill-conceived gamble destined for failure. Ultimately, *The Crisis of Classical Modernity* prompted a widespread review of the hegemonic depiction of Weimar as a period solely characterized by chaos and hardship, instead emphasizing how during "crises" progression and disorder could coincide and even have a mutually interdependent relationship.

Two decades after Peukert, Eric Weitz's *Weimar Germany: Promise and Tragedy* continued the task of trying to untangle the confused legacy of the Weimar Republic. As its title implies, *Promise and Tragedy*'s depiction of the Weimar Republic is more optimistic, recognizing both the auspicious potential of Weimar alongside the anxiety and disarray of the period. For Weitz, the Weimar Republic cannot be disregarded as a fruitless misstep within German history, for "amid the conflicts and disasters, Weimar was also a moment of great political as well as cultural achievement" in which the First World War's "destruction of the old imperial order [...] unleashed the political and social imagination."[34] Although the freedoms and gains made in Weimar Germany were deeply contested, its turbulence produced vibrant creativity, highlighting how "crisis" was not always strictly detrimental, but could stimulate inventiveness and progression.[35] However, Weitz's overarching line of argument is surprisingly orthodox when dissected; his central premise is that the Weimar Republic was characterized by a dichotomy between a politically democratic, culturally progressive left, and an authoritarian, culturally conservative right that eventually culminated in National Socialism.[36] Not only does this overlook actors aligned more closely with the political centre, but reducing National Socialism to simply the result of enduring right-wing sentiment fails to consider how the NSDAP as a political movement drew on present grievances and ongoing "crises" to underscore a need for radical change.[37] Weitz's undue emphasis on the metropolis also narrows the scope of his evaluation; Benjamin Ziemann notes that by zeroing in on Berlin, Weitz fails to realistically represent Weimar's political dynamic, especially given that the Nazis attracted disproportionately large support in rural areas that experienced the "crisis of modernity" rather differently.[38] In the same way, modernist cultural experiments nor

[34] Eric D. Weitz, *Weimar Germany: Promise and Tragedy* (Princeton, 2007), p. 2.
[35] Weitz, *Promise and Tragedy*, p. 27.
[36] Peter Jelavich, 'Weimar Germany: Promise and Tragedy by Eric D. Weitz', *Central European History 42*, no. 1 (2009), p. 165.
[37] Ibid.
[38] Benjamin Ziemann, 'Weimar was Weimar: Politics, Culture and the Emplotment of the German Republic', *German History 28*, no. 4 (2010), pp. 545–546; Timothy A. Tilton, 'The Social Origins of Nazism: The Rural

the development of highbrow culture should be taken as indicative of a wider trend across the country.[39] It is therefore important to avoid conflating "Weimar" with "Berlin", for developments in the capital did not necessarily parallel developments on a national scale. Nonetheless, his work provides a remarkable overview of Weimar Germany in "crisis" without neglecting to address its respective achievements. Weitz's recognition that the consequences of "crisis" could be fruitful as well as bleak is a powerful testament to the heterogeneity of the period, in which "no one dominated Berlin, and no consensus reigned."[40]

Despite the invaluable contributions made by Weitz and Peukert, Jochen Hung has criticized their handling of "crisis" for adhering to what he describes as the "bad" politics–"good" culture dichotomy.[41] Hung pointedly notes that Peukert contradicts himself by denouncing demarcating "good" politics and "bad" culture, while simultaneously deeming it "an integral feature of the era."[42] Similarly, Hung criticizes Weitz's juxtaposition of the "sparkling brilliance" of cultural pursuits with "the plain hatred of democracy" within Weimar politics.[43] These shrewd criticisms highlight how historians' attempts to incorporate the concept of "crisis" into an easily digestible narrative tend to distort the more nuanced reality, where "good" or "bad" developments cannot be isolated within any singular aspect of Weimar life. By criticising the Westerncentrism of this approach—where "good" equals "liberal" or "Western" and "bad" denotes "extremism"—Hung emphasises how measuring developments and determining "crises" against the standard of Western parliamentary democracy and liberal culture fails to account for the divergence of opinion on what is considered beneficial or detrimental.[44] This dichotomy similarly obscures how some of the most modernist elements of Weimar culture were almost hostile towards parliamentary democracy, such as the growth of eugenics necessitating the forceful—even dictatorial—removal of unfit influences from the *Volkskörper* in order to ensure its vitality.[45] Evidently, "crisis" in Weimar Germany was a far more complicated affair than political turmoil encouraging artistic and intellectual vibrancy; Weimar politics and culture each contained inauspicious and propitious components. "Crisis" in the Weimar Republic must therefore be comprehended as the result of a range of contradictory forces across all spheres of life that, in turn, made possible a variety of different alternative futures.

Furthermore, Hung rejects the fatalistic narrative that "crisis" can only be understood in a negative manner. The transnational comparison of Weimar with the United States' reinvigorated democratic culture as a result of Franklin Delano Roosevelt's New Deal conveys how economic "crises" did not necessitate the establishment of authoritarianism, but could present opportunities for political

Dimensions', in Michael N. Dobkowski and Isidor Wallimann (eds.) *Towards the Holocaust: the social and economical collapse of the Weimar Republic* (London, 2013).

[39] Ziemann, 'Weimar was Weimar', pp. 545–546.

[40] Weitz, *Promise and Tragedy*, p. 79.

[41] Jochen Hung, '"Bad" Politics and "Good" Culture: New Approaches to the History of the Weimar Republic', *Central European History 49*, no. 3/4 (2016), pp. 441–453.

[42] Hung, '"Bad" Politics and "Good" Culture', p. 442; Peukert, *The Crisis of Classical Modernity*, p. xiii.

[43] Weitz, *Promise and Tragedy*, pp. 362–364.

[44] Hung, "Bad" Politics and "Good" Culture', p. 443.

[45] Crew, 'The Pathologies of Modernity', pp. 322–323.

revival. [46] Likewise, various political developments in Weimar—such as the enabling acts and states of emergency—often dismissed as mere stepping stones to dictatorship can also be interpreted as legitimate attempts to salvage democracy; such action ultimately provided the Republic a lifeline during the years of hyperinflation by enabling a certain degree of political stabilization.[47] By neglecting to recognize the fluidity of developments within the cultural and political realms, the "bad" politics–"good" culture dichotomy fails to adequately account for both the stabilizing and destabilizing factors present within both areas of life. The sharp distinction between political unrest and cultural vitality not only fails to do justice to the way contemporaries conceptualized their experiences of "crisis", but also overlooks how closely intertwined these areas were. Ultimately, subverting this binary understanding and stressing that there was no real consensus on even the most basic elements of Weimar's political, cultural, and social life is the greatest contribution Hung makes; the vast multitude of futures that could have arisen from the resolution of "crisis" is a point that historians of the Weimar Republic would do well to bear in mind.[48]

Colin Storer's *A Short History of the Weimar Republic* offers a comparatively glowing review of Weimar within recent historiography. From the outset, Storer establishes his desire to overturn the narrative of the Weimar Republic as "an embattled democracy unloved by its citizens" that was "little more than a prelude to the Third Reich."[49] The crux of his argument is that Weimar Germany's legacy is more positive than is often realized, not only in its widely celebrated cultural achievements, but in the sociopolitical realm as well. [50] In fact, Storer makes the claim that, "many of the great turning points of German history have come as the result of conflict," recognizing that conflict often signifies a point of critical decision—that is, a period of "crisis"—rather than indicating inevitable decline. [51] Storer contests that the progressive elements of Weimar politics—such as its constitution, successful reintegration into the international community, high election participation at local, regional and national levels, vibrant associational life, benefits of the welfare state, and its advanced social and racial integration compared to other European societies—belies the preconception of Weimar as a 'republic without republicans'.[52] In this respect, Storer very impressively overcomes the "bad" politics–"good" culture dichotomy, not only by recognizing respective gains and problems within these realms, but by stressing that neither politics nor culture existed in isolation from one another. In his aim of providing a more well-rounded portrait of the first German democracy that transcends its reputation as "a mere litany of failure and bad luck", Storer is undoubtedly successful.[53] By highlighting how Weimar can instead be viewed as a positive paradigm for constitutional development, Storer rightly demonstrates how gains made during the Weimar period should not and

[46] Hung, "Bad" Politics and "Good" Culture', p. 445.
[47] Ibid., p. 446.
[48] Ibid., pp. 449–450.
[49] Colin Storer, *A Short History of the Weimar Republic* (London and New York, 2009), pp. 1–3.
[50] Ibid., pp. 2–3.
[51] Ibid**.**, p. 16.
[52] Ibid., p. 80.
[53] Ibid., p. 201.

cannot be invalidated simply because of the relapses under the Third Reich. Clearly, periods of "crisis" could have both constructive and destructive ramifications across all areas of Weimar life; this open-ended understanding of "crisis" can thus help explicate the multiplex character of the Republic.

That is not to say that Storer's analysis is unflawed. Although *A Short History of the Weimar Republic* is valuable in pointing out the largely overlooked accomplishments of the Weimar state, Storer sometimes exaggerates these gains. For instance, Storer recognizes that women's rights improved during this period, particularly their transcending of "the confines of the home" and infiltration of the "spectacle-world of consumption."[54] While this retains some element of truth, the general historiographical consensus is that the androcentric structure of Weimar Germany remained intact, conveying how Storer's argument at times emphasizes progress at the expense of demonstrating Weimar's more complex reality.[55] Storer's discussion of Weimar culture is also less rich than that of society and politics, and although this does not fatally damage his line of argument, a balanced investigation of different aspects of Weimar may have provided a more comprehensive analysis. This minor drawback, however, should not detract from what is otherwise a thoughtful and engaging body of historiography, which considers not only historical continuities across the German-speaking lands, but the wider international context as well. While his discussion of Weimar may have been better rounded, it is understandable that Storer may see himself as supporting a necessary focus on a hitherto underrepresented interpretation of Weimar in "crisis"—one that imagines the Republic as a site of potential that left an impression of which it can be proud.

As established above, it is evident that historians' employment of "crisis" within their analysis has tended to be vague, used to supplement historical understanding where other explanations fall short. Even works that seemingly fall under the "revisionist" camp are at times tainted with melancholic sentiments about Weimar. Just as it would be misrepresentative to underplay the gains made during the Weimar period, it is equally important not to overemphasize its achievements; historians must remember that Weimar ultimately did fall, and that it fell for a reason. What scholarship should concern itself with, then, is recognizing "crisis" as a "turning point" and "critical point of decision", rather than understanding it as part of the despondent narrative that conflates "crisis" with eventual failure.

III. CONTEMPORARIES AND "CRISIS": BRIDGING THE CONCEPTUAL GAP

The preceding sections have been concerned with the conceptual breakdown of "crisis" and its incorporation into scholarship on the Weimar Republic. Moving on from generalized deployments of "crisis" within Weimar historiography, recent works have attempted to bridge the gap between the conceptual and historical evaluations of "crisis" to determine whether or not it is an appropriate interpretive frame for historians of the Weimar era. In particular, Moritz Föllmer and Rüdiger Graf—rather than using "crisis" as a means

[54] Ibid., p. 152.

[55] For investigations of Weimar's "crisis of masculinity" that address attempts to reinstate Germany's pre-war gender hierarchy, see Katharina von Ankum, *Women in the Metropolis: Gender and Modernity in Weimar Culture* (Berkeley, 1997); Jason Crouthamel, 'Male Sexuality and Psychological Trauma: Soldiers and Sexual Disorder in World War I and Weimar Germany', *Journal of the History of Sexuality 17*, no. 1 (2008), pp. 60–84.

of embellishing their prose—have sought to discern the discursive space "crisis" occupies within Weimar historiography by unravelling how exactly the term was used and understood by Weimar's historical actors themselves.

"Crisis" as a "central term of interpretation" for Weimar contemporaries forms the focus of Rüdiger Graf's 'Either-Or: The Narrative of "Crisis" in Weimar Germany and in Historiography.' [56] Recognizing how historiographical works have tended to utilize the "crisis narrative" to frame Weimar as a transitional precursor to Nazism, Graf seeks to explain the prominence of "crisis" within both popular and historical discourse. While at first glance this trope of failure is seemingly confirmed by the wealth of contemporary accounts that mention "crisis", it is important to acknowledge that the way historical actors conceptualized "crisis" differed from modern understandings. The central argument Graf makes is that in opposition to the use of "crisis" as a preliminary to certain catastrophe, historical actors in Weimar who used "crisis" were effectively situating themselves at a crossroads between two disjunctive alternatives at that point in time.[57] Given its situation within a specific context, "crisis" cannot merely be considered a one-size-fits-all, *passepartout* solution for explaining historical occurrences.[58] Compelling explanations of historical events therefore require a close scrutiny of contemporaries' perceptions and attitudes in order to firmly deduce how "crises" were envisioned.[59]

Notably, Graf contends that the wide range of "crises" that confronted Weimar should be understood as "the products of the people who diagnosed them and not as factors that can be used in explanations of Weimar's collapse."[60] This is perhaps poor phrasing on Graf's part, as this statement implies that the two are mutually exclusive. For one, certain "crises", such as the Great Depression, can indeed be understood as having contributed to Weimar's collapse. Alternatively, even if "crises" are constructed in the minds of observers, diagnosing a "crisis" implies a need for decisive action that can serve to undermine the established order and demand revolutionary change; Graf himself recognizes that the constructions of "crises" had tangible implications for the Weimar Republic's longevity.[61] Ultimately, Graf's framing of "crises" as points in time where infinite possible futures still exist presents Weimar's potentiality in a manner that does not take away from historical individuals' agency or fall prey to the deterministic narrative that "crisis" necessarily precedes downfall. The conclusion he draws—that historians must be concerned with not just the "crises" themselves, but what they reveal about Weimar society—is incredibly insightful. By raising questions of who tried to gain leverage by presenting their current circumstances as confronted by an exclusive "either-or", which diagnoses were more successful than others, and why contemporaries were impelled to classify certain occurrences as "crises", historians of Weimar Germany can better comprehend the diverse social, political and intellectual milieu that existed across the Republic.[62]

[56] Graf, 'Either-Or: The Narrative of "Crisis"', p. 593.
[57] Ibid., p. 614.
[58] Ibid., p. 593.
[59] Ibid.
[60] Ibid., p. 614.
[61] Ibid.
[62] Ibid., pp. 614–615.

Elaborating further on the plethora of different outlooks held by Weimar's historical actors, Moritz Föllmer's chapter 'Which Crisis? Which Modernity?' explores the manifold manifestations of modernity in the Republic. Föllmer first embarks on an in-depth analysis of the myriad usages and connotations of "crisis" in Weimar Germany. Extending beyond the purview of generic sociopolitical developments to include more niche applications of crisis—such as the "crisis" of German Associational Football—Föllmer's analysis further underlines just how variegated understandings of "crisis" were in the Weimar context.[63] Föllmer, too, negates the idea that "crisis" in Weimar was regarded as inherently pessimistic, noting how contemporary prognostications of the future more often than not "displayed considerable optimism". [64] Instead of framing the concept as intrinsically negative, Föllmer highlights how "crisis" often operated as a "self-fulfilling prophecy", appropriated by various camps to further their own agendas by diagnosing chronic problems within the Weimar state.[65] For instance, the identification of "crisis" in the legal system initially attacked conservative judges, however this campaign backfired after right-wing commentators appropriated the very same rhetoric to shift the spectre of legal "crisis" onto the liberal judiciary, once again highlighting how "crises" were created and transformed by contemporary onlookers.[66] Föllmer's core argument is that so long as historians are cognisant of the existence of multiple alternative modernities that were formulated in Weimar's climate, it is possible to "do justice to the bewildering diversity of the period while still drawing connections between its different features and dimensions." [67] In other words, by acknowledging the multitudinous forms of "crisis" that existed, historians can cultivate a richer comprehension of Weimar Germany that accounts for its multidimensional nature. Instead of roping all "crises" in Weimar together, understanding the divergence in thought between historical actors is essential to not only understanding the ultimate collapse of the Weimar Republic, but recognizing how instances of disunity served to exacerbate desires for *Entscheidung*, which the National Socialists seemed to offer a solution to with their advocacy for a unified *Volksgemeinschaft*. [68] Diversity therefore was itself perceived as symptomatic of "crisis", accentuating how "crisis" must be understood as a critical point of decision amidst a sea of alternative options.[69] As identifying "crisis" reflects both desire and opportunity to change current conditions, it is implied that there must be a better alternative, reaffirming how historical actors in Weimar situated themselves at a juncture in time where both recovery and further deterioration were possible. Evidently, historicizing notions such as "crisis" and "modernity" can help illustrate the sheer multifacetedness of Weimar's existence, as well as how this variety in turn undermined the Republic's stability.

[63] Moritz Föllmer, 'Which crisis? Which modernity? New perspectives on Weimar Germany', in Jochen Hung, Godela Weiss-Sussex and Geoff Wilkes (eds.) *Beyond Glitter and Doom: the Contingency of the Weimar Republic* (Munich, 2012), p. 23.
[64] Ibid., p. 22.
[65] Ibid., p. 22.
[66] Ibid.
[67] Ibid., p. 25.
[68] Ibid., p. 23.
[69] Ibid., p. 19.

Correspondingly, in 'The Culture of 'Crisis' in the Weimar Republic', Graf and Föllmer collaboratively investigate the omnipresence of "crisis" in Weimar Germany, drawing attention to the proliferation of its usage in analysing "virtually all dimensions of life, from state and law to the natural and human sciences, to culture and religion."[70] Reviewing its use in prior historiography, Graf and Föllmer note that the more constructive interpretation of "crisis" as a space of opportunity tends to be overlooked in favour of the view that stresses Weimar as a foreword to National Socialism.[71] Graf and Föllmer reject this understanding of "crisis" on two counts: first, that it neglects the agency of historical actors who acted without the benefit of hindsight; and second, to dismiss "crisis" as a prologue to disaster implies that identifying "crisis" is a purely empirical matter, instead of recognizing that it is construed both in the minds of contemporaries and historians after them.[72] This emphasis that "crisis" is inherently entwined with human perception and therefore a concept with a significant abstract element is essential to understanding the miscellaneous conceptualizations of "crisis" that existed in Weimar Germany. Moreover, their description of "crisis" as "a knife edge before victory or defeat" depicts the period as one of options and decisions, where multiple possible futures—both positive and negative—existed.[73]

Closely examining "crisis" concepts in Weimar scholarship, Graf and Föllmer have identified how "crisis" can assume both the function of an *explanandum*—a phenomenon to be explained—and *explanans*—an explanation for other historical transpirations.[74] The former typically applies to economic "crises", in which the lines are more clear-cut due to their inherently numeric quality. This entails a more linear approach, whereby historians can firmly identify points at which the economy enters into a "crisis" using indicators like GDP, unemployment and balance of trade.[75] Such methods, however, prove significantly more difficult when faced with less empirically identifiable issues. Realms like politics can be analysed through the lens of election statistics and voter turnout, certainly, but these phenomena were also influenced by cultural and intellectual developments that helped contemporaries construe "crises." Ultimately, historians should strive to elaborate precise and operationalizable indicators of "crises" where possible, but must also cultivate an understanding of "crisis-consciousness"—that is, "crisis" perceptions and the way contemporaries constructed "crisis" narratives.[76] To simply refer to a "crisis" does not explain anything, and both Graf and Föllmer criticise previous historians' enactment of the term as a "quasi-magical concept" adopted without proper definition in an attempt to overcome the shortcomings of other explanations.[77] "Crisis" can thus best enrich historical analysis when it is broken down into components that probe at more revealing issues: 1) why something is classified as a "crisis", 2) how and when "crises" arise, and 3) the empirically

[70] Graf and Föllmer, 'The Culture of 'Crisis'', p. 37.
[71] Ibid., p. 40.
[72] Ibid., p. 37.
[73] Ibid., p. 39.
[74] Ibid., p. 40.
[75] Ibid.
[76] Ibid., p. 42.
[77] Ibid., p. 44.

observable effects that can be attributed to said "crisis".[78] Furthermore, "crisis" should not be regarded as a harbinger of doom, but a call to action that could deliver either positive or negative results.[79] Thus, it is only as an open, neutral concept that "crisis" can really bring any value to historical analysis. Rather than dismissing Weimar as "crisis"-ridden and foredoomed, historians should view Weimar as a contingency paradigm, evaluating discursive elements and semantics to thoroughly grasp contemporaries' conceptualized possibilities without the interference of hindsight. Insofar as historians strive to assess "crisis" against the various sentiments driving its diagnoses, scholars can better foster a holistic understanding of the unique thought processes and social problems that typified the Weimar Republic.

IV. CONCLUSION

To conclude, the conceptual malleability of "crisis" poses a unique set of challenges for historians of the Weimar era. From birth, the Weimar Republic has been married to the notion of "crisis", often deployed as a conceptual filler to explain its various challenges, drawbacks and ultimate collapse. This investigation has sought to address three main issues: "crisis" as an analytical concept, how "crisis" has been utilized within Weimar historiography, and how historians have attempted to reconcile its usage with the Weimar context. Heralded as one of the most influential German postwar historians, Reinhart Koselleck laid the foundation for conceptual evaluations of "crisis" in the twentieth-century, opening the floodgates for greater consideration of the term's application to historical affairs. Andrew Simon Gilbert built upon this precedent, introducing the "crisis paradigm" as an interpretive frame for overcoming the ambiguity associated with the concept. Marking a great turn in Weimar historiography, Detlev Peukert's canonical *The Crisis of Classical Modernity* has proven itself an essential foundation for any historian of the Weimar period, developing Koselleck's initial linkage of "crisis" and "modernity" by framing Weimar's turbulent career as a reaction to modernist developments. Moving into the twenty-first-century, Eric Weitz similarly disputed this purely negative understanding of "crisis" with *Promise and Tragedy*'s more upbeat portrayal of Weimar life. Jochen Hung's criticisms of the "bad" politics–"good" culture dichotomy prevalent within Weimar scholarship offers a powerful reexamination of traditional, well-worn narratives that oversimplify the multiplicities of Weimar Germany, and fails to account for the interconnectivity between its different spheres of life. Colin Storer's remarkable revisal of the Weimar Republic—albeit at times guilty of magnifying Weimar's accomplishments—further overturned this understanding of "crisis" as equivalent to failure. Over the past decade, conceptual historians like Mortiz Föllmer and Rüdiger Graf have demonstrated how "crises" cannot be analysed in isolation from the attitudes that drive their diagnoses, nor incorporated into deterministic narratives that neglect its innate existential quality. While no interpretation thus far has completely resolved the methodological problems associated with "crisis" as a conceptual framework, these publications all contribute to the invaluable understanding that "crisis" is neither a synonym for nor

[78] Ibid., p. 43.
[79] Ibid., p. 39.

signifier of decline, but a liminal space brimming with alternatives.

Ultimately, "crisis" can function as a useful conceptual framework for historiographical analysis of the Weimar Republic, but not when deployed as an inconsequential buzzword. Employing the term with no clear objective other than to dramatize prose or bulwark incomplete analysis voids "crisis" from offering any real value to historical considerations. The omnipresence of "crisis" within primary sources makes it impossible to overlook in historical evaluations—not when it was clearly an integral part of how Weimar contemporaries conceptualized their experiences. As such, rather than understanding "crisis" merely as a descriptor, historians should concern themselves with what the term can reveal about the period in question. "Crises"—whether current or historic—are rarely objective, and must be recognized as constructions closely interlinked with human interpretation. Arguably, the very subjectivity inherent in "crisis" is what affords its interpretive value, making the concept helpful for fathoming Weimar's psychological landscape through revealing the various ambitions, hopes and anxieties extant across German society. Furthermore, a unilaterally pessimistic understanding of "crisis" hinders its usefulness on multiple counts. First, it groups numerous "crises" across divergent areas of Weimar life into one singular entity, failing to reflect the nuances of the period. Secondly, it treats "crisis" as a preamble for eventual collapse, rather than recognizing it as an existential crossroads, where multiple alternative causatums—both positive and negative—are possible. Finally, it distorts the reality of the Weimar experience, obscuring its various stabilizing influences and achievements, such as its progressive constitution, extensive cultural and intellectual flourishing, and modernist experimentation. That is not to say that "crisis" cannot refer to detriment in any way whatsoever—for this would be equally misrepresentative of the very real difficulties that Weimar *did* face—but that within historical analysis "crisis" should be applied neutrally to avoid reinforcing the narrative of predestined collapse. When utilized in a manner that stresses abundant opportunity and diverse mentalities over looming decline and predestined fatality, "crisis" encapsulates the very heart of Weimar's paradoxical existence—that "nothing was certain and everything possible."[80]

[80] Peter Fritzche, 'Did Weimar Fail?', *The Journal of Modern History 68,* no. 3 (1996), p. 633.

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"THE SOCIAL EVILS" OF URBANISATION: COLONIAL CONCERNS & CONTROL OF URBAN SPACES IN BRITISH AFRICA

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ABSTRACT: The process of urbanisation occupies both an important and convoluted place within the history of development in Africa. Simultaneously, for external pioneers of development - both colonial and post-colonial - it has symbolised both development, progression and modernisation alongside moral decline, impoverishment, and social disorder. However, although those less well-versed in the intricacies of the history of African development may presume that urbanisation was a top-down process imposed by colonial overlords, the reality is more complex. There was evidence of indigenous, pre-colonial urban development on the continent, and even during colonial rule indigenous Africans wielded significant influence over such processes. This article argues that, contrary to common presumptions, colonial governments - despite their best efforts - never fully wielded control over urbanisation in British Africa. Ultimately, urbanisation was not a mere colonial imposition, but heavily influenced by the aspirations and convictions of the colonial African populace, who actively crafted their own urban experiences.

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TO A LAYPERSON unfamiliar with the complexities inherent in the history of African development, it is easy to presume that urbanisation was a colonial imposition. Attributing the emergence of towns, cities and bustling trade centres to colonialism, however, neglects the active role of the indigenous African population in shaping their urban landscape, and incorrectly presupposes that urban tradition was non-existent across the continent prior to the advent of colonial rule. Primarily focusing on British East Africa and with some reference to the Southern and Central African territories in the pre-colonial and colonial periods, this article intends to argue that colonial attitudes towards urbanisation were inconsistent, and that the reasons for and degree to which colonial governments regulated urbanisation shifted according to the agenda of the colonial state. Colonial urban policy was fraught with contradiction: on the one hand, it embraced urbanisation as a yardstick of development; on the other, African towns and cities represented moral degradation, posed a political threat to the colonial regime, and jeopardised 'traditional' African custom. Given that colonial attitudes towards urbanisation were themselves confused, efforts to control it were equally so, and therefore predominantly unsuccessful. Ultimately, due to their inconsistent views of towns and cities, the changing demands of the state, and indigenous Africans' own influence on developing urban spaces, colonial governments were only able to exercise limited control over urbanisation.

To demonstrate that urbanisation did not always fall within the sphere of colonial governments' control, it is useful to turn to evidence of pre-colonial urban tradition in Africa. Egypt and the Mediterranean coast housed some of the world's first urban centres, and certain pre-colonial African royal capitals date as far back as to the tenth- and eleventh-centuries. [1] In the eighteenth-century, urbanist traditions, though sparse, were most prominent in Ethiopia, Sudan and along the Swahili coast, likely due to their littoral location, which provided opportunity for commercial exchange. [2] Swahili society was especially urban in character compared to elsewhere on the continent. [3] Although commonly assumed that Africans lacked understanding of urban design and architecture in the pre-colonial period, contemporary Swahili society was distinguished by "urban settlement that incorporated whitewashed stone houses, comprising substantial dwellings connected by narrow streets, and more simple dwellings constructed from wood, mud, and thatch." [4] Earlier historiography, such as Reginald Coupland's and B. W. Hollingsworth's works, emphasises external influences in the development of "medieval" coastal cities, specifically the Middle Eastern Shirazi immigrants. [5] However, the current broad

[1] R. A. Obudho and S. O. Owuor, 'Pre-colonial and Early Colonial Urbanization in the East Coast of Africa: The African-Asian Connection', in Manas Chatterji and Kaizong Yang (ed) *Regional science in developing countries* (London, 1997), p. 285.
[2] Andrew Burton, 'Urbanisation in Eastern Africa: An historical overview, c.1750-2000', *AZANIA: Journal of the British Institute in Eastern Africa 36, no. 1* (2001), p. 5.
[3] Burton, 'Urbanisation in Eastern Africa', p. 8.
[4] Richard W. Hull, 'Urban design and architecture in precolonial Africa.' *Journal of Urban History 2, no. 4* (1976), p. 387; Andrew Burton, 'Urbanization in East Africa, circa 900–2010 CE', *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of African History* (2017), p. 3.
[5] For colonial histories that neglect immanent urban development, see Reginald Coupland, *East Africa and Its Invaders: From the Earliest Times to the Death of Seyyid Said in 1856* (Oxford, 1938) and L. B. W. Hollingsworth,

historiographical consensus stresses the local genesis of Swahili urban culture predating colonial rule. [6] Additionally, many European travellers in the 1800s were impressed by sites resembling cities and towns. Visiting Khartoum in 1874, French Officer Colonel Charles Chaillé-Long described, "A city numbering perhaps 30,000 [...] a place of great commercial activity", illustrating evidence of pre-colonial urbanist tradition. [7] The urban character of Khartoum—Sudan's military and administrative capital—also demonstrates the role of local conflict in facilitating urbanisation.[8] Richard Reid has noted both the constructive and destructive impact of warfare on urban development in pre-colonial Africa; military activity could transform extant political, religious and economic centres, as well as create conditions that prompted Africans to establish new settlements. [9] Defensive settlements in Africa proliferated from the mid-1800s, in part due to the destabilising effect of the rising demand for slaves on societies in the interior—such as the slave raids that plagued present-day Tanzania—but also due to the encroachment of indigenous aggressors such as the Ngoni, the Mirambo and Nyungu ya Mawe upon the East African region. [10] While these settlements typically retained an agricultural disposition and usually disbanded once the immediate threat had subsided, they nonetheless possessed population concentrations that technically could be categorised as 'urban'. [11] The existence of locales with a long urban history thus demonstrates how "the colonial urban experience was not an entirely novel one," and how local factors and actors were central to promoting pre-colonial urban development.[12]

At the dawn of the colonial period, administrative and political necessity, alongside those of an increasingly 'modernised' economy, facilitated urban growth in the East African region. [13] However, from the outset, colonial policy towards urbanisation was rife with contradictions. On the one hand, urbanisation positively connoted modernisation, progression and industrialisation. [14] To consolidate newly colonised territories, colonial officials scampered to establish strategically located urban centres, which functioned as "spatial inscriptions of colonial power." [15] The expansion of transportation networks, especially colonial railway construction projects, did much to promote urban development. [16] Just five years after the introduction of the railway in late 1905, the population of Livingstone in Southern Rhodesia rose to over 3,000.[17] Similarly, in 1907, only eight years after being founded as a railway construction camp, Nairobi's

A Short History of the Coast of East Africa (London, 1929). The general historiographical consensus now disagrees with this approach.

[6] Burton, 'Urbanization in East Africa, circa 900–2010 CE', p. 20.

[7] Charles Chaillé-Long, *Central Africa: Naked Truths of Naked People* (London, 1876), p. 15.

[8] Burton, 'Urbanisation in Eastern Africa', p. 9.

[9] Richard Reid, 'Warfare and Urbanisation: the Relationship Between Town and Conflict in Pre-Colonial Eastern Africa', *AZANIA: Journal of the British Institute in Eastern Africa 36, no. 1* (2001), pp. 46-47.

[10] Burton, 'Urbanisation in Eastern Africa', p. 16.

[11] Burton, 'Urbanization in East Africa circa 900–2010 CE', p. 11.

[12] Reid, 'Warfare and Urbanisation', p. 47.

[13] Burton, 'Urbanization in East Africa, circa 900–2010 CE', p. 2.

[14] Obudho and Owuor, 'Pre-colonial and Early Colonial Urbanization in the East Coast of Africa', p. 284.

[15] Burton, 'Urbanisation in Eastern Africa', p. 16.

[16] Ibid., p. 17.

[17] Ibid., p. 18.

population had risen to over 14,000.[18] Successful urban development thus justified colonial rule on the grounds of propelling the advancement of African society. The 1897 Report on the Trade and Industry of Uganda—which from 1894 had been a British Protectorate—also celebrated urban development in the region, commemorating the "improvement in trade at Kampala itself" and the city's "very large settlement of native traders."[19] Moreover, the report commended the "satisfactory" increase in "the bulk of trade", noting that a "more varied demand has arisen for goods of a better class than mere cloth and wire," indicating quite a positive reaction to increasing urban complexity in towns and cities.[20] In this initial stage, it was imperative for colonial officials to convince the Home Office that their colonies were developing economies that would prove profitable despite still being very small scale, as well as to demonstrate the benefits of colonial occupation for its subjects. Thus, early colonially-driven urban development initiatives in Africa were implemented for the purpose of legitimising, consolidating and expanding imperial power.

Equally, however, in many respects, urbanisation was fundamentally at odds with Western racial conceptions. The notion of colonial trusteeship held that Africans—incapable of governing their own affairs and hence the 'white man's burden'—were 'wards' of European imperialists, who possessed both the responsibility and right to order them.[21] The image of 'The Rural African' was central to the imperial mentalité; life in urban centres for indigenous Africans was meant to be temporary, before their eventual return to their rural origins for permanent settlement.[22] Entwined with this racial ideology was also the perception of towns as immoral, with the vices of the city sharply juxtaposing the innocence and purity represented by rural pastoralism.[23] Britain's own experience with industrialisation had given rise to the idea that the urban lifestyle had a deleterious impact on its population—a conception that was applied to its African territories.[24] The 1953-55 East Africa Royal Commission deemed "the social evils of overcrowding, malnutrition, prostitution, venereal disease and juvenile delinquency" as "a by-product of the employment of migrant labour in towns," recapitulating the colonial narrative of cities as hubs of depravity that did little to elevate the moral standing of the subject population.[25] These fears intersected to fuel anxieties surrounding 'detribalisation', which to colonials represented both the erosion of African tradition and the disruptive influence of modernisation.[26] A

[18] Ibid.
[19] Foreign Office. 1897. Annual Series. No. 1844. Diplomatic and Consular Reports on Trade and Finance. Africa. Report on the Trade and Industry of Uganda. 1897. *Command Papers. C. 8277-62. Vol. 89. 19th Century House of Commons Sessional Papers.* pp. 3-4.
[20] C. 8277-62 Report on the Trade and Industry of Uganda, p. 2.
[21] Kenneth Little, *Urbanization as a Social Process: An Essay on Movement and Change in Contemporary Africa* (London, 1974), p. 56.
[22] Richard Harris, 'From Trusteeship to Development: How Class and Gender Complicated Kenya's Housing Policy, 1939–1963', *Journal of Historical Geography 34, no. 2* (2008), p. 312.
[23] Bodil Folke Frederiksen, 'African Women and Their Colonisation of Nairobi: Representations and Realities', *AZANIA: Journal of the British Institute in Eastern Africa 36, no. 1* (2001), p. 228.
[24] R. Soloway, 'Counting the Degenerates: the Statistics of Race Deterioration in Edwardian England', *Journal of Contemporary History 17, no. 1* (1982), p. 137.
[25] East Africa Royal Commission 1953-1955 Report. 1955-56. *Command Papers. Cmd. 9475. Vol. 13. 20th Century House of Commons Sessional Papers*, p. 154.
[26] Joanna Lewis, *Empire State-Building: War & Welfare in Kenya 1925-52* (Oxford, 2000), pp. 125-126

1930 report by the Joint Committee on Closer Union in East Africa articulated: "Nothing leads to detribalisation as rapidly as the splitting up of a tribe [...] it is the British Government's duty to take every precaution to prevent this evil."[27] While colonial understanding of African social and political structure was clearly saturated with racialised thinking, this document is nonetheless illuminating about official colonial views and anxieties regarding urbanisation. There was also a political facet to such concerns; the tribe was the main power structure through which colonials were able to comprehend local politics, and the apparent breakdown of this structure would have implications for the perpetuation of indirect rule and the maintenance of colonial control. Moreover, the urban lifestyle was at odds with not only their conception of the African people as pastoral, but the production of cash-crops. The taxation of exports and imports of agricultural goods in high demand—such as cotton, coffee, ground nuts and palm oil—meant that the cash-crop agricultural system was incredibly lucrative for the empire. With the expansion of urban centres, there was the risk of labour escaping from rural areas to the cities, especially with the growing aspirations of an increasingly educated African youth, who, unsatisfied with the agricultural lifestyle, sought "opportunities for economic independence offered by the towns."[28] Reporting on coffee production in Nairobi, the 1924-25 East Africa Commission delineated how "a material portion of this most valuable crop has been allowed to become over-ripe and fall to the ground for want of labour to pick it," emphasising the severity of the labour problem and alluding to its economic implications.[29] Thus, colonial governments sought to limit African movement to urban centres due to their economic and ideological concerns.

Governments' begrudging tolerance of African presence in urban spaces translated into efforts to secure African towns as "non-native" spaces.[30] Nowhere was this more evident than with housing policy. In Kenya, from the late nineteenth-century, colonial governments began to erect urban spaces and reserve them exclusively for white habitation, directly excluding indigenous Africans through coercion and legislation.[31] Not only did segregation along racial lines function as a physical marker of imperial power dynamics, it sought to dissuade Africans from firmly rooting themselves in towns and cities and encourage return to their villages. Furthermore, as the colonial government denied Africans a permanent place in urban areas on the assumption that urban workers would eventually return to their village of origin, provision of bachelor housing equipped with minimal facilities suited for temporary employment seemed adequate.[32] These policies effectively established a system of "temporary urbanisation", where African occupancy in

[27] Joint Committee on Closer Union in East Africa. Vol. I.--Report together with the proceedings of the committee, 1930-31, *House of Commons Papers, 156, VII.1, Vol. 7, 20th Century House of Commons Sessional Papers, 139.52.*, p. 250.
[28] Burton, 'Urbanization in East Africa, circa 900–2010 CE', P. 16.
[29] East Africa. Report of the East Africa Commission. 1924-25, *Command Papers, Cmd. 2387, Vol. 9, 20th Century House of Commons Sessional Papers*, p. 45.
[30] Burton, 'Urbanization in East Africa, circa 900–2010 CE', p. 14.
[31] Kefa M. Otiso, 'Colonial Urbanization and Urban Management in Kenya', in Steven J. Salm and Toyin Falola (eds), *African urban spaces in historical perspective* (Rochester, 2005), p. 73.
[32] Harris, 'From Trusteeship', p. 312.

towns was permitted, but not celebrated or encouraged, when labour was required.[33]

Yet, colonial attempts to inhibit Africans from firmly anchoring themselves in towns were largely unsuccessful. Bodil Folke Frederiksen has demonstrated how colonial action ultimately failed to prevent African women from carving out permanent spaces for themselves in urban areas. In fact, in Nairobi, Kenyan women actually played quite a prominent role in determining informal urban structures and institutions.[34] Indeed, the emergence of the informal economy, which by definition was economic activity outside the formal labour market and therefore not taxed or monitored by any form of government, further illustrates how Africans themselves actively shaped their urban landscape. Although it is often presumed that women in the cities predominantly earned money through prostitution, there were alternative means of sourcing income; many African women were able to root themselves in colonial Nairobi through the acquisition of property and subsequent letting of it.[35] Analysing urban history through the lens of gender, colonial governments' failure to control urbanisation is apparent on two fronts. The first was the attempt to enforce the idea that women should not perform labour. European middle- and upper-class convictions of women's natural domesticity meant that they viewed female labour as improper.[36] The 1924-25 East Africa Commission deemed it "inconsistent with the economic progress of the whole country and with the advance in civilisation of the native of Africa that [African men] should be allowed to stagnate in a native reserve leaving all the work to the women."[37] Colonial officials were similarly perturbed by their presence in urban spaces; in towns and cities women were regarded "either as wives who properly belonged upcountry, or as prostitutes who had escaped male control and should be returned."[38] Secondly, the colonial government evidently failed to prevent Africans from permanently settling in towns and cities. In Nairobi, the African women who rented out property often passed their holdings onto their biological or adopted daughters via "a de facto matrilineal succession of matriarchal families in the city," demonstrating their enduring presence within urban spaces.[39] Ostensibly, a class of women emerged who owned urban property, engaged in petty trade and created homes for themselves in Nairobi, showing how African women effectively established a foothold in urban spaces despite resistance from colonial officials and African men.[40] These realities evidence how colonial control was "never absolute in cities", due to colonial governments' conflicting ideals about the nature of urban spaces and the indigenous population's proactive sculpting of their urban experience.[41]

The 1940s marked the high point of urbanisation in colonial East Africa, particularly in the aftermath of World War II, which saw the rapid acceleration of

[33] Ibid.
[34] Frederiksen, 'African Women', p. 233.
[35] Ibid., p. 223.
[36] Claire C. Robertson, *Trouble Showed the Way: Women, Men, and Trade in the Nairobi Area*, 1890–1990 (Bloomington, 1997), p. 5.
[37] Report of the East Africa Commission. 1924-25, p. 36.
[38] Frederiksen, 'African Women', p. 224.
[39] Ibid., p. 223.
[40] Ibid.
[41] Harris, 'From Trusteeship', p. 312.

urban growth rates. [42] The permanent residence of Africans in urban spaces was accepted by colonial governments as both inevitable and necessary, prompting an accordant shift in housing policy. [43] Following the development of the Copperbelt in Rhodesia—which during the 1950s was the largest copper producing area in the world—the The Advisory Commission on the Review of the Constitution of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, or The Monckton Commission, recognised a need for changes in policy. With the growing number of industrially-skilled Africans, the report conceded that the former arrangement of providing "migrant Africans or those arriving for the first time from rural areas" with "accommodation which, though inadequate by European standards, was acceptable to them because of its familiarity" was no longer suitable. [44] Similarly, The 1953-55 East Africa Royal Commission recognised "a need, therefore, to create the conditions in which all races can settle in the towns [...] with equal opportunities for taking part in the life of the urban community." [45] Given the motivations, purposes and origins of these sources, these accounts cannot be taken at face value. The composition of the Monckton Commission was heavily skewed towards British interests; no British critics of the Federation were appointed while several publicists for European interests in the region were, and of the Africans that were chosen none were acceptable to the African majority, who were calling for the dissolution of the Federation. [46] Equally, the East Africa Royal Commission reveals British efforts to continue justifying colonial rule vis-à-vis the overt military challenge posed by the Mau Mau Uprising. Nonetheless, both colonial documents reflect the crossroads faced by governments at the time, and how the issue of urbanisation was continuously used as a means of rationalising imperialism in the face of harsh opposition.

Despite this apparent turnaround within colonial thought, the tensions inherent in urban policy were just as evident—if not even more pronounced—in the late colonial era. While the mid-twentieth-century ushered in a new era of social welfare, towns continued to pose a political and moral threat to the colonial regime, especially as they became hubs for nationalist activity. In Pumwani, the establishment of community halls paved the way for greater political engagement. Kaloleni Social Hall became a regular site for nationalist meetings, to the extent that it earned the colloquial nickname the "House of Parliament".[47] Andrew Burton has gone as far as to argue that Africans' urban experiences actually primed conditions for the emergence of nationalism. [48] Urban working conditions, resistance to colonial employers' demands, and competition within urban spaces all laid the grounds for the genesis of an African political consciousness which then prompted further reform, underscoring the mutually

[42] Burton, 'Urbanization in East Africa circa 900–2010 CE', p. 1; Obudho and Owuor, 'Pre-colonial and Early Colonial Urbanization in the East Coast of Africa', p. 285.
[43] Harris, 'From Trusteeship', p. 313.
[44] Advisory Commission on the Review of the Constitution of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. Report: appendix VI survey of developments since 1953 (report by committee of officials). 1959-60. *Command Papers. Cmnd. 1149. Vol. 11. 20th Century House of Commons Sessional Papers*, p. 249.
[45] East Africa Royal Commission 1953-1955 Report, p. 201.
[46] R. Cranford Pratt, 'Partnership and Consent: The Monckton Report Examined', *International Journal 16, no. 1* (1961), p. 41.
[47] Frederiksen, 'African Women', p. 229.
[48] Burton, 'Urbanisation in Eastern Africa', p. 15.

constitutive processes involved in urbanisation.[49] While it may initially seem surprising that the *apogee* of urbanisation coincided with budding nationalism, colonial officials actually sought to use housing policy in order to ease the transition to independence. Colonialists strove to use housing to create "a responsible African middle-class," a social group which would provide a relatively conservative basis for self-government without bringing about a revolution.[50] Housing was recognised as a key point of contention; the 1953-55 East Africa Royal Commission acknowledged that the 1939 Mombasa riots were "mainly caused by bad housing" and accordingly stressed that "houses must meet the social needs of Africans."[51] From the later 1930s, housing would accommodate families, as colonial administrators came to the conclusion that African women's presence in cities was conducive to helping their male counterparts feel more at ease and for combating juvenile delinquency by properly educating children.[52] This was part of a broader strategy to entrench class distinctions and stabilise the middle-class, to whom the government could pass the reins of power.[53] Moreover, growing emphasis on "the modernization of Africans" and "the politics of inclusion" in the 1950s can itself be seen as a response to the Kenya Emergency.[54] As a result of the disproportionate land allocated to White settlers, many Kikuyu were forced to migrate into the city where they suffered from poverty, unemployment and overcrowding. Government failure to address these issues and effectively restrict movement and economic activity in the capital ultimately culminated in rebellion, illustrating their loose grip over urban spaces.[55] Equally, the government had to adapt urban policy in response to the outbreak of violence; this is evident with Operation Anvil in 1954, which expelled suspected Mau Mau—including thousands of Embu, Meru and Kikuyu—from Pumwani, as well as further attempts to restrict African mobility and political engagement by fencing off parts of Nairobi.[56] Evidently, urbanisation was a bilateral process involving colonial subjects and rulers alike, and hence one that the latter only controlled to a minor extent.

To conclude, colonial officials were very much correct in acknowledging that "It cannot be said that a clear policy of urban development has been pursued in any of the territories."[57] In order to establish a holistic understanding of Africa's urban development, historians must decouple 'urbanisation' from 'colonialism' and avoid the trap of dismissing it as imported from the West. Colonialism expedited and expanded—but did not generate—urbanisation across the continent, evident through the pre-existing urbanist traditions in Africa prior to colonial rule. Moreover, the unprecedented rates of urban growth across the continent in the post-colonial period further demonstrate how urbanisation has continued to unfold independent of colonial governance. The urban policy of colonial governments was,

[49] Ibid.
[50] East Africa Royal Commission 1953-1955 Report, p. 214.
[51] Ibid.
[52] Harris, 'From Trusteeship', p. 336.
[53] Ibid.
[54] Lewis, *Empire State-Building*, p. 372.
[55] David W. Throup, *Economic & Social Origins Of Mau Mau* (London, 1988), p. 10.
[56] Frederiksen, 'African Women', p. 230.
[57] East African Royal Commission Report, p. 212.

oxymoronically, consistently inconsistent, with their outlook on urbanisation and means of regulating it shifting with the ever-changing impulse of the colonial state. Colonial governments sought to control urbanisation in Africa to ensure the vitality and viability of the imperial regime, however the irregularities inherent in their rationale, coupled with the impact of African social, economic and political activity, hindered their efforts. That is not to say that colonial attempts to manage urbanisation were negligible. Colonial rule drastically altered the African urban landscape, with its effects felt to this day; slum clearance and the perception of the 'immoral' town has endured into post-independence government policy. However, rather than a top-down, colonially-directed process, urbanisation was the result of reciprocal and sustained interaction between colonial and indigenous actors. Altogether, colonial urban policy exemplifies the tensions underpinning colonial thought towards urbanisation—between urbanism and rurality, modernity and tradition, economy and ideology, and betterment and deterioration. Marked simultaneously by its ambition and incapacity, colonial management of urbanisation offers valuable insight into how the assumptions upon which colonial development initiatives were premised often ultimately undermined them.

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WHAT WAS THE GALILEO CONTROVERSY AND WHY HAS IT PERSISTED TODAY?

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ABSTRACT: The Galileo affair is a sensitive topic in the history of science and religion. Multiple attempts have been made by historians to explain Galileo Galilei's controversy with the Catholic Church. However, this has inevitably led to the rise of several myths in the historiography. For a long time, historians have portrayed the Galileo affair as part of a wider conflict between religion and science. This 'conflictual' thesis ultimately distorts the truth behind the Galileo affair and the debate on Copernicanism. The following article attempts to provide a more rational and coherent interpretation on the subject. Through detailed analysis of primary and secondary literature, this essay suggests alternative approaches to the Galileo affair that are more relevant today. Importantly, this study differs from others by offering insight on the cultural legacy of Galileo and the Copernican dispute. The popular reception to the Galileo affair is one area where this essay has sought to build upon previous work on the subject.

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Galileo's head was on the block. The crime was lookin' up the truth.

THESE ARE THE OPENING LYRICS to the Indigo Girls' 1992 hit-single *Galileo*. [1] They highlight an important myth in the historiographical and cultural understanding of the Galileo affair. Contrary to popular belief, Galileo's head was never *on the block*.[2] Throughout his confrontation with the Church, he was only ever threatened with torture.[3] That being said, this episode has come to represent a period when science was mercilessly subjected to the will of Christianity.[4] However, this is a fundamental misunderstanding of the Galileo affair and is one of the reasons why it continues to persist today.

The prevalence of various myths in the historiography of the Galileo affair has distorted the true nature of the controversy between the Church and one of the most important philosophical and mathematical thinkers of the seventeenth century.[5] What caused the collision between Galileo and the Catholic Church? What was at stake during the Galileo's trial in 1633? Who, if anybody, was responsible for provoking the controversy? These are just a few of the questions that I intend to address over the course this essay. My intentions here are twofold. First, I aim to analyse a range of historiographical interpretations on the Galileo controversy in order to contribute my own understanding to the subject. Second, to address present historiographical misconceptions, I plan to understand why the Galileo affair has persisted today.

Currently, there exists a huge assembly of secondary literature on the Galileo affair. As a result, there are many ways one could approach the subject. For the purposes of this essay, the Galileo affair can be separated into two distinct controversies: the first occured between Galileo's publication of the *Siderius Nuncius* in 1609 and his inquisitorial trial of 1633; the subsequent controversy took place after the original and continues to this day.[6] Why have I chosen to approach the subject in this way? Separating the Galileo affair into two controversies is advantageous in that it avoids superimposing modern perceptions onto the original episode.[7] Historians who have made this mistake in the past, whether intentional or not, have contributed to the myths that survive today. Treating the whole Galileo affair as one single controversy, therefore, would serve only to reinforce current historical misconceptions.[8]

In order to appreciate why the Galileo affair was so controversial and why it has endured today, this essay will centre around several historiographical debates. One of these is the extent to which the Galileo affair was a 'conflict' between

[1] Indigo Girls, *Galileo* (1992), accessed from https://genius.com/Indigo-girls-galileo-lyrics on 23/03/2022.
[2] Arthur Koestler, 'The Greatest Scandal in Christendom', *Observer*, February 2 (1964), p. 21.
[3] Maurice A. Finocchiaro, *On Trial for Reason: Science, Religion and Culture in the Galileo Affair* (Oxford, 2019), p. 164.
[4] Derrick Peterson, 'Galileo Again: Re-evaluating Galileo's Conflict with the Church and its Significance for Today', *Journal for the Theology of Culture*, 13:1 (2017), p. 25; Karsten Harries, 'Truth and Value Today: Galileo Contra Bellarmine', *Filozofski vestnik*, 25:2 (2004), p. 85.
[5] Maurice A. Finocchiaro, 'Science, Religion, and the Historiography of the Galileo Affair: On the Undesirability of Oversimplication', *Osiris*, 16 (2001), p. 114.
[6] Ibid, p. 128.
[7] Peterson, 'Galileo Again', p. 44.
[8] George Coyne, 'The Church's Most Recent Attempt to Dispel the Galileo Myth', *Vatican Observatory*, January 28 (2017), p. 1.

science and religion.[9] Here, I will judge whether John William Draper and Dickson White's 'warfare thesis', in the context of the Galileo affair, still holds up today.[10] Additionally, I will also examine the two trials associated with the Galileo affair to illustrate how the controversy shifted and developed over time. It is important to stress here that I will not be providing a chronological overview of the Galileo affair. Instead, I intend to examine how different academics have approached the subject. Historians are often subject to labelling the Galilean controversy as either an epistemological debate on Copernicanism or a personal clash between Galileo and the Church.[11] Although both interpretations are equally well founded, it is the latter which has persisted in the popular mind.[12] Consequently, making sense of this will be crucial for explaining why the Galileo affair endures today.

Frequently, historians ask who was responsible for the outcome of the Galileo controversy in 1633. In this part of the essay, I want to discourage the idea that the Church abused its authority to silence Galileo.[13] Instead, it was the geopolitical and temporal context of the Galileo affair that ultimately led to Galileo's condemnation.[14] Despite this, the modern-day Catholic Church has been increasingly criticised for its involvement in the Galileo affair. How it has managed this criticism, in particular, will be useful for illustrating some of the myths that have persisted in the cultural image of the controversy.[15] However, before I delve into the historiographical debate itself, I first need to define and situate the term 'controversy'.

What is a controversy? According to Ernan McMullin, it is a "a publicly and persistently maintained dispute".[16] Historians have widely accepted this as a suitable definition. Applied to the history of science, however, McMullin's understanding of 'controversy' is limited. His approach, in particular, conceals the overall complexity of controversies and their importance towards scientific progress.[17] For academics, they offer useful insight on those who do science and how science is performed.[18] Since they often lead to the emergence of new sciences, controversies can be associated with Thomas Kuhn's concept of scientific revolutions.[19] Here, controversies play an essential role towards our understanding of the changes that take place within and around science.[20]

The Galileo affair was unique in that it displayed one of the more complex

[9] Gregory Dawes, *Galileo and the Conflict between Religion and Science* (New York, 2016), p. 3.
[10] John W. Draper, *History of the Conflict between Religion and Science* (New York, 1875), pp. 47-8.
[11] Richard Blackwell, 'Could there be another Galileo case?', in Peter Machamer (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Galileo* (Cambridge, 1998), p. 351; Paul Feyerabend, *Against Method: Outline of an Anarchistic Theory of Knowledge* (London, 1978), pp. 125-6.
[12] Steven Goldman, *Science Wars: The Battle over Knowledge and Reality* (New York, 2021), p. 36.
[13] Harries, 'Truth and Value Today', p. 85.
[14] David M. Miller, 'The Thirty Years' War and the Galileo Affair', *History of Science*, 46:1 (2008), p. 49.
[15] Alan Cowell, 'After 350 Years, Vatican Says Galileo Was Right: It Moves', *New York Times*, October 31 (1992).
[16] Ernan McMullin, 'Scientific controversy and its termination', in H. Tristram Engelhardt and Arthur Caplan (eds.), *Scientific Controversies: Case Studies in the Resolution and Closure of Disputes in Science and Technology* (Cambridge, 1987), p. 51.
[17] H. Tristram Engelhardt and Arthur Caplan, 'Introduction', in H. Tristram Engelhardt and Arthur Caplan (eds.), *Scientific Controversies: Case Studies in the Resolution and Closure of Disputes in Science and Technology* (Cambridge, 1987), p. 13.
[18] Ibid., p. 1.
[19] Lyndsay Farrall, 'Controversy and Conflict in Science: A Case Study — The English Biometric School and Mendel's Laws', Social Studies of Science, 5 (1975), p. 271.
[20] Engelhardt and Caplan, 'Introduction', p. 1.

instances of controversy in the history of science. In addition to science itself, Galileo's dispute with the Church was also characterised by religion and theology.[21] As a result, historians have argued over whether the Galileo affair was a controversy of fact, a controversy of theory or a controversy of principle.[22] My concern in this essay is not with the type of controversy that distinguished the Galileo affair. That in itself is too broad and would prevent a worthwhile interpretation on the subject. To fully appreciate its importance, it is necessary to consider the Galilean controversy's inherent features. This is where many historians fall down.

The most basic interpretations of the Galileo affair argue that the main controversy centred around Galileo's telescopic discoveries.[23] According to Massimo Bucciantini, Galileo actively used the telescope to build Copernicanism into a "daring public project".[24] Although Copernicus's heliocentric model of the universe was at the heart of the debate between Galileo and the Church, Bucciantini's reading of the affair is an oversimplification of the main controversy.[25] Similarly, Christopher Graney's claim that the Copernican discourse concerned the seventeenth century philosophical community alone conceals some of the more important players engaged in the Galilean controversy.[26] Both Bucciantini's and Graney's perceptions of the Galileo affair are constrained by their ignorance to the true nature of the controversy between Galileo and the Church. To improve on their work, a re-examination into the structure of the Galilean controversy is in order.

Expanding on McMullin's interpretation, the Galileo affair was a controversy between two contrasting philosophical viewpoints.[27] Specifically, it was a dispute between faith and reason, governed by epistemological (knowledge-based) and non-epistemological factors.[28] At the centre of it, Galileo was arguing against the Church's belief that the Earth's motion contradicted biblical Scripture.[29] Alongside this, he was also promoting a new 'scientific' method for attaining truth.[30] Here, the telescope played a crucial role. Observing the Moon's surface and Jupiter's satellites convinced Galileo that the appeal to empirical facts was essential for demonstrating physical truths.[31] First advocated by George Coyne, this interpretation of Galileo is critical to our understanding of why his dispute with the Church was so controversial. Specifically, Galileo's method of reasoning was clearly

[21] McMullin, 'Scientific controversy and its termination', p. 74.
[22] Engelhardt and Caplan, 'Introduction', p. 13.
[23] Oliver Lodge, *Pioneers of Science* (Cambridge, 2012), pp. 84-9; Daniel Špelda, 'The role of the telescope and microscope in the constitution of the Idea of scientific progress', *The Seventeenth Century*, 34:1 (2019), pp. 109-110.
[24] Massimo Bucciantini, Michele Camerota and Franco Giudice, *Galileo's Telescope: A European Story* (Cambridge, 2015), p. 11.
[25] Finocchiaro, 'Science, Religion, and the Historiography of the Galileo Affair', p. 114.
[26] Pietro D. Omodeo, 'Post-Copernican Science in Galileo's Italy', *Perspectives on Science*, 25:4 (2017), p. 400.
[27] Engelhardt and Caplan, 'Introduction', p. 7; M. G. Narasimhan, 'Controversy in Science', *Journal of Biosciences*, 26:3 (2001), p. 299.
[28] Goldman, *Science Wars*, p. 36.
[29] Finocchiaro, *On Trial for Reason*, p. 1.
[30] Goldman, *Science Wars*, p. 36.
[31] George Coyne, 'Science meets the Biblical Exegesis in the Galileo Affair', *Zygon*, 48:1 (2013), p. 221; Jürgen Hamel, 'Kepler, Galileo, the telescope and its consequences', *Astronomische Nachrichten*, 330:6 (2009), pp. 572-3; Thomas Kuhn, *The Copernican Revolution* (London, 1957), p. 219.

Figure 1: Galileo's abjuration as shown in Liliana Cavani's Galileo (1968).

at odds with the Catholic Church's exegetical tradition of appealing to Scripture.[32] In this regard, the Galilean controversy was two-sided as it involved both scientific questions about physical facts and epistemological questions about the nature of truth.[33]

Like other controversies in the history of science, the Galileo affair was influenced by non-epistemological factors.[34] These are usually defined as being more psychological rather than intellectual.[35] They are particularly useful for understanding both the Church's and Galileo's positions in the Copernican debate.[36] Nevertheless, several historians have exaggerated their relative importance. Arthur Koestler, for example, claims that the affair was more of a personal rivalry rather than an intellectual debate between Galileo and the Church.[37] This points towards the myth that the Galileo affair was an episode of conflict between science and religion.[38] Despite distorting the nature of the original controversy, however, this notion of 'conflict' is extremely helpful for understanding why the Galileo affair continues to attract so much attention today. As a result, this is where I will now turn to.

Ever since Galileo's inquisitorial trial in 1633, the popular media has tended to portray the Galileo affair as a point of

[32] Blackwell, 'Could there be another Galileo case?', p. 351.
[33] Finocchiaro, *On Trial for Reason*, p. 13.
[34] McMullin, 'Scientific controversy and its termination', p. 58.
[35] Finocchiaro, *On Trial for Reason*, p. 18.
[36] Ibid., p. 19.
[37] Craig A. Boyd, 'Science, Humility and the Galileo Affair', in Gregory R. Peterson, James A. Van Slyke, Michael L. Spezio and Kevin S. Reimer (eds.), *Habits in Mind: Integrating Theology, Philosophy, and the Cognitive Science of Virtue, Emotion, and Character Formation* (Leiden, 2017), p. 244; Arthur Koestler, *The Sleepwalkers: A History of Man's Changing Vision of the Universe* (New York, 1959), p. 352.
[38] Finocchiaro, 'Science, Religion, and the Historiography of the Galileo Affair', p. 114.

conflict between religion and science.[39] In Liliana Cavani's *Galileo*, the protagonist is portrayed as a defender of modern science against a backwards Christian religion (Figure 1).[40] It is important to note here that cultural displays of conflict between science and religion originally had roots in the historiography of the Galileo affair. John William Draper and Dickson White are often regarded as the first proponents of the conflictual thesis.[41] Both claimed that the Catholic Church's authority in Scriptural matters was the main cause of friction between science and religion during the Galileo affair.[42] White, in particular, believed that the Church's application of a 'dogmatic theology' placed serious limitations on early modern scientific progress.[43] However, this line of thought has become largely outdated. As David Lindberg and Ronald Numbers have shown, the interaction between religion and science throughout history has been far too rich and varied for the Galileo affair to be explained by the 'warfare' thesis alone. Additionally, Draper and White were both writing at a time when the Catholic Church was reasserting its authority over scientific matters. This comes across very clearly in their writing, highlighting the implications that contemporary experiences can have on understanding the Galileo affair.[44] In light of how the original controversy has been interpreted, therefore, it is easy to appreciate why the conflict between religion and science has become a dominant feature of the current Galilean controversy.[45]

Although historians are well aware of Draper and White's errors, the image of 'conflict' remains deeply embedded in the popular mind.[46] Contrary to popular culture, the Galileo controversy was not a battle between religion and science, but rather an intellectual dispute concerning opposing definitions of 'truth'.[47] Thus, the suitability of the terms 'religion' and 'science' are called into question here. They both distort how the Church and Galileo understood themselves as historical actors and the controversy they were involved in.[48] Throughout his discourse with the Church, Galileo was not the leading authority on science.[49] 'Science', during the seventeenth century, was not an official institution like the Church. If we are to take the work of Stillman Drake seriously, it must be stressed that Galileo styled himself as a philosopher and a mathematician rather than a scientist.[50] He was not, as Jerome Langford has argued, a representative of the early modern scientific community.[51] This is what proponents of the conflictual thesis

[39] Cristina Olivotto and Antonella Testa, 'Galileo and the Movies', *Physics in Perspective*, 12 (2010), p. 375.
[40] Ibid., p. 387.
[41] Dawes, *Galileo and the Conflict between Religion and Science*, pp. 3-4.
[42] Ibid., p. 8.
[43] David C. Lindberg and Ronald L. Numbers, 'Beyond War and Peace: A Reappraisal of the Encounter between Christianity and Science', *Perspectives on Science and Christian Faith*, 39:3 (1987), p. 140.
[44] Dawes, *Galileo and the Conflict between Religion and Science*, p. 6; Peterson, 'Galileo Again', p. 44.
[45] Maurice A. Finocchiaro, 'A Galilean Approach to the Galileo Affair, 1609–2009', *Science and Education*, 20 (2011), p. 60.
[46] Elaine Howard Ecklund and Jerry Z. Park, 'Conflict between Religion and Science among Academic Scientists?', *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, 48:2 (2009), pp. 276-7.
[47] Goldman, *Science Wars*, p. 36.
[48] Peterson, 'Galileo Again', p. 26.
[49] Owen Gingerich, 'The Galileo Affair', *Scientific American*, 247:2 (1982), p. 133.
[50] Stillman Drake, *Galileo: Pioneer Scientist* (Toronto, 1994), p. 174; Coyne, 'The Church's Most Recent Attempt to Dispel the Galileo Myth', p. 3.
[51] Jerome Langford, *Galileo, Science and the Church* (Ann Arbor, 1966), p. 180.

fail to understand. The discourse between Galileo and the Catholic Church was never a clash between science and religion. Rather, it was a disagreement between two different epistemological points of view.[52] Galileo never really questioned the Church's Scriptural authority on determining physical truths.[53] His major qualm with the Church concerned the principles by which the clergy interpreted Scripture.[54]

Labelling the Church as a representative of 'religion' during the Galileo affair also creates issues. At the height of the controversy, Richard Blackwell argues that the early modern Catholic Church exercised a "logic of centralised authority".[55] Part of the problem with this interpretation is that it creates a false image of the Church as a monolithic institution.[56] This assumes that everyone within the Church was equally opposed to Galileo and his arguments for Copernican theory.[57] However, Rivka Feldhay has revealed that this was not the case. Within the Catholic Church there existed both conservative and progressive wings.[58] The Dominicans, representing the former, embodied the Church's authoritarian stance on Copernicanism.[59] They were the main source of opposition to Galileo throughout his dealings with the Church. In contrast to the Dominican's totalitarian stance, the Jesuits argued instead for freedom in the pursuit of natural knowledge.[60] Within this group there were many astronomers and mathematicians who supported Galileo and his telescopic observations.[61] Consequently, that Galileo was forced to submit himself to the entirety of the Catholic Church is misleading.[62] The Galileo affair was not a showdown between separate scientific and religious authorities as Blackwell has postulated.[63] Instead, opposing methodological principles for interpreting natural knowledge brought Galileo and representatives of the Church into disagreement with one another.

Part of the reason why the conflictual thesis has persisted today is to do with its simplicity.[64] However, this is a major drawback. Crucially, the argument assumes Galileo and the Church themselves perceived science and religion to be in conflict. There is plenty of evidence to suggest that they did not. In his *Letter to the Grand Duchess Christina*, Galileo argues against the notion that science and religion are incompatible.[65] In particular, he claims that because God is the author of both the Book of Scripture and the Book of Nature,

[52] Finocchiaro, *On Trial for Reason*, p. 206.
[53] Dawes, *Galileo and the Conflict between Religion and Science*, p. 11; Blackwell, 'Could there be another Galileo case?', p. 360.
[54] Dawes, *Galileo and the Conflict between Religion and Science*, p. 11.
[55] Blackwell, 'Could there be another Galileo case?', p. 351.
[56] Finocchiaro, 'Science, Religion, and the Historiography of the Galileo Affair', p. 118.
[57] Ibid.
[58] Rivka Feldhay, 'Recent Narratives on Galileo and the Church: or The Three Dogmas of the Counter-Reformation', *Science in Context*, 14 (2001), p. 226.
[59] Ibid., p. 227.
[60] Ibid.
[61] Finocchiaro, 'Science, Religion, and the Historiography of the Galileo Affair', p. 116; Bucciantini, Camerota and Giudice, *Galileo's Telescope*, p. 215.
[62] Harries, 'Truth and Value Today', p. 85.
[63] Blackwell, 'Could there be another Galileo case?', p. 360.
[64] Lindberg and Numbers, 'Beyond War and Peace', p. 147.
[65] Finocchiaro, *On Trial for Reason*, p. 206; Ernan McMullin, 'Galileo on science and Scripture', in Peter Machamer (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Galileo* (Cambridge, 1998), p. 302.

science and religion should be consistent.[66] Historians have interpreted this in a variety of ways. Importantly, Galileo's *Letter* is demonstrative of why his intellectual discourse with the Church was so controversial. Galileo's main source of discord concerned the way in which Scripture was being interpreted by members of the clergy.[67] Galileo never intended for this to create antagonism.[68] As a devout Catholic himself, it is difficult to believe that he anticipated conflict with the Church.[69]

Altogether, Draper and White's 'warfare' thesis is no longer applicable to the Galileo affair. Although the disparity between Copernican heliocentricity and biblical Scripture provided the potential for conflict, it never materialised between religion and science.[70] The perceived 'conflict' was rather an epistemological discourse between alternative methods of acquiring natural knowledge.[71] Accordingly, a new way of looking at the historical relationship between science and religion is required. Instead of a 'conflictual' thesis for science and religion, I argue that a 'complexity' thesis is more appropriate.[72] Throughout history, religion and science have interacted in a multitude of ways.[73] While many of these interactions appear to have been harmonious, some were evidently more hostile. Superficially, the Galileo affair appears as a period of conflict between religion and science.[74] Deep down, however, it was a constructive episode in the history of science.[75] In particular, Galileo's methodological principles for establishing physical truths were crucial towards the genesis of the modern-day experimental method.[76] In spite of this, the imagined 'conflict' between science and religion has come to form an integral part of the current Galilean controversy. It is a significant myth that continues to persist in the popular mind.

That being said, if the conflict between religion and science during the Galileo affair was only imagined, why was Galileo ultimately condemned for heresy in 1633? This is an important question which, provided with an answer, reveals the true extent of the controversy between Galileo and the Church.

The historiographical discussion surrounding Galileo's charge for heresy is another reason why the present-day controversy persists.[77] Historians are constantly at a disagreement over whether Galileo's condemnation was the result of

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[66] Richard Blackwell, *Galileo, Bellarmine and the Bible* (Notre Dame, 1991), p. 166; Galileo Galilea, *Letter to the Grand Duchess Christina of Tuscany* (1615), from Paul Halsall (trans.), https://web.stanford.edu/~jsabol/certainty/readings/Galileo-LetterDuchessChristina.pdf accessed on 31/03/2022, p. 1.

[67] Gregory Dawes, 'Could There Be Another Galileo Case? Galileo, Augustine and Vatican II', *Journal of Religion and Society*, 4 (2002), pp. 3-4; Bjarke Mørkøre Stigel Hansen, 'Biblical hermeneutics in Galileo's "Letter to the Grand Duchess Christina": On the issue of negative theology', *Nordic Journal of Theology*, 74:1 (2020), p. 71.

[68] Drake, *Galileo: Pioneer Scientist*, p. 193.

[69] Stephen Hawking, 'Galileo and the Birth of Modern Science', *Invention and Technology*, 24:1 (2009), p. 3.

[70] Finocchiaro, *On Trial for Reason*, p. 216.

[71] Blackwell, 'Could there be another Galileo case?', p. 350.

[72] David B. Wilson, 'Galileo's Religion Versus the Church's Science? Rethinking the History of Science and Religion', *Physics in Perspective*, 1 (1999), p. 65.

[73] Ibid.

[74] Lindberg and Numbers, 'Beyond War and Peace', p. 146.

[75] Farrall, 'Controversy and Conflict in Science', p. 271.

[76] Drake, *Galileo: Pioneer Scientist*, p. 220.

[77] Finocchiaro, *On Trial for Reason*, p. 166; Thomas F. Mayer, 'The Status of the Inquisition's Precept to Galileo (1616) in Historical Perspective', *Nuncius*, 24:1 (2009), p. 63.

Figure 2: Galileo Before the Holy Office (1847) by Joseph-Nicolas Robert-Fleury.

the epistemological debate on Copernicanism or not. [78] Rather than accommodating a particular side of the debate, however, I argue that there was a pivotal shift in dynamics during the original controversy. The discussion on Scriptural authority in cosmological matters laid the essential groundwork for Galileo's dispute with the Church in 1616. [79] By 1633, however, this was overshadowed by Galileo's apparent violation of an injunction which forbade him to teach Copernicanism literally. [80] Between 1616 and 1633, therefore, the controversy became more about Galileo's personal obedience to the Church rather than the extent to which Copernican theory was in line with Christian doctrine. [81] Had the discourse between Galileo and the Church been confined to the boundaries of theology, the original controversy would have remained an epistemological matter.[82] However, this did not occur. Instead, what was originally an intellectual discussion on heliocentricity transformed into a legal inquiry against Galileo himself. This is what was really at stake during the Galileo affair.

Joseph-Nicolas Robert-Fleury's artistic representation of Galileo's inquisitorial trial is the image people most often associate with the Galileo affair (Figure 2). At the centre of the image, Galileo appears helpless and outnumbered. He is entirely at the mercy of the great Catholic Church. [83] As the most controversial point during the Galileo affair, historians have sought to understand why Galileo's condemnation occurred in the first place. Robert Shcherbakov argues that the trial was merely a natural extension of the Copernican debate.[84] However, this

[78] Alexander Pavuk, 'History of Science and Religion Today', *History: Reviews of New Books*, 39:2 (2011), p. 37.
[79] Finocchiaro, *On Trial for Reason*, p. 95.
[80] Richard Blackwell, *Science, Religion and Authority: Lessons from the Galileo Affair* (Milwuakee, 1998), p. 24.
[81] Harries, 'Truth and Value Today', p. 88; Gingerich, 'The Galileo Affair', p. 142.
[82] McMullin, 'Scientific controversy and its termination', p. 61.
[83] Gingerich, 'The Galileo Affair', p. 133.
[84] Robert Shcherbakov, 'From the History of Physics: "Galileo was amazingly endowed with a gift of... inculcating scientific truth"', *Physics-Uspekhi*, 57:2 (2014), p. 148.

does not explain why the trial revolved entirely around Galileo. In 1616, the Church had conducted a trial against Copernicanism in which Galileo had only played a preliminary role.[85] Here, it was declared that Copernican theory was heretical and could only be taught hypothetically.[86] By 1633, therefore, the issue of heliocentricity had been rectified as far as the Church was concerned. Contrary to Shcherbakov, the trial of 1633 was not a deepening of the discussion on Copernicanism and theology.

In other areas, historians claim that the 1633 trial was the result of Galileo's failure to heed Cardinal Bellarmine's injunction of 1616 .[87] Following the condemnation of Copernicanism, Galileo was issued with an injunction that forbade him from teaching heliocentricity as a physical phenomenon.[88] According to Drake, however, Galileo's *Dialogue Concerning the Two Chief World Systems* (1632) violated this injunction.[89] In this book, Galileo oversteps the boundaries of the hypothetical argument dictated by the Church in 1616.[90] Nevertheless, historians continually debate whether the *Dialogue* actually contradicted Bellarmine's injunction. Rivka Feldhay, in particular, asserts that Galileo's *Dialogue* did not exceed the limits of 1616 because Bellarmine's views on Scriptural interpretation were similar to Galileo's.[91] In a letter to Paolo Foscarini, Bellarmine did concede that "if there were a true demonstration that the sun is at the centre of the world… then one would have to proceed with great care in explaining the Scriptures that appear contrary".[92] Rather than viewing this as an inclination towards Galileo's cause, however, I argue that Bellarmine's words demonstrate his own innate courtesy.[93] Although he acknowledged Augustinian's principle that a proven physical claim should be given priority over a contradictory biblical assertion, Bellarmine ultimately embodied the Church's official position on Copernicanism.[94] His injunction, despite certain misgivings, condoned the literal teaching of Copernicanism. In this respect, Galileo's *Dialogue* was clearly a direct violation the Church's ruling.

Pro-Galilean supporters often argue that Galileo could not have transgressed Bellarmine's injunction since Copernicanism was never formally declared heretical in 1616.[95] Such reasoning is flawed by several misconceptions. While it is true that Copernican theory was never fully condemned, Copernicus's writings were heavily censored by the Church.[96] Specifically, his work *On the Revolutions of the Heavenly Spheres* was edited so that all the arguments for heliocentricity appeared to be theoretical.[97] Whether Copernicanism

[85] Blackwell, 'Could there be another Galileo case?', p. 352.
[86] Finocchiaro, 'Science, Religion, and the Historiography of the Galileo Affair', p. 125; Drake, *Galileo: Pioneer Scientist*, p. 186.
[87] Finocchiaro, *On Trial for Reason*, p. 155.
[88] Finocchiaro, 'A Galilean Approach to the Galileo Affair', p. 58.
[89] Drake, *Galileo: Pioneer Scientist*, p. 191.
[90] Ibid., p. 203.
[91] Feldhay, 'Recent Narratives on Galileo and the Church', p. 232.
[92] Maurice A. Finocchiaro, *The Galileo Affair: A Documentary History* (Oakland, 1989), pp. 67-9.
[93] Mayer, 'The Status of the Inquisition's Precept to Galileo', p. 62; McMullin, 'Galileo on science and Scripture', p. 283; Blackwell, *Galileo, Bellarmine and the Bible*, p. 168.
[94] Harries, 'Truth and Value Today', p. 88; Dawes, 'Could There Be Another Galileo Case?', p. 1.
[95] Gingerich, 'The Galileo Affair', p. 142.
[96] Finocchiaro, *On Trial for Reason*, p. 116.
[97] Goldman, *Science Wars*, p. 46; Drake, *Galileo: Pioneer Scientist*, p. 186.

after 1616 was declared formally heretical or not is beside the point. Galileo was strictly ordered by the Church not to exceed the hypothetical margins of the Copernican debate.[98] Despite this, at no point did the Church force Galileo to recant his views.[99] As a result, Galileo made a grievous error when he published the *Dialogue*. Whether intentional or not, the book in question demonstrated a direct unwillingness on Galileo's part to accept the Church's verdict.[100]

There is a good case to be made that the contents of Galileo's *Dialogue* did not violate the injunction of 1616. According to Paul Mueller, the *Dialogue* presents a fair evaluation of the pro-Copernican and pro-Aristotelian arguments.[101] However, this assumes that Galileo was impartial on all methodological and theological issues.[102] Obviously, he was not. At the end of the *Dialogue*, Galileo proclaims that the arguments for heliocentricity are better than those against it.[103] Using the character of Salviati, he indicates how an understanding of the universe is more precise from a heliocentric perspective rather than a geocentric one.[104] Despite Mueller's sympathies, this clearly implies that Galileo endorsed a more literal interpretation of Copernican heliocentricity.[105] In light of this, he certainly violated the injunction of 1616.

The publication of the *Dialogue* marked a shift in dynamics during the Galileo affair. Rather than concentrating on Copernican heliocentricity, the trial of 1633 concerned Galileo's disobedience.[106] Thus, the controversy surrounding the Galileo affair developed out of Galileo's own failure to stay within the epistemological limits set by the Church. That it became a matter of personal disobedience is the main reason why the controversy still persists today. Popular culture does not remember the intellectual underpinnings of original controversy. Otherwise, it would have not been called the *Galileo affair*. When people think of Galileo, they envisage a selfless pioneer who suffered a great injustice at the hands of the Catholic Church.[107] However, the idea that Galileo endured hardship is another myth which persists in the historiography. It assumes that the Church was to blame for the escalation in tensions between 1616 and 1633. Therefore, to understand why the Galileo affair continues to attract a great deal of controversy today, this historical mix-up needs to be addressed.

The question of who was to blame for the Galileo affair is a controversial one. It is no surprise that numerous historians point towards the Church as the main culprit.[108] Blackwell, for example, claims that the Church used its temporal authority to submit Galileo to its will.[109] On the other hand, there are those who assert that Galileo's own personal arrogance led to his

[98] Finocchiaro, 'A Galilean Approach to the Galileo Affair', p. 60.
[99] Harries, 'Truth and Value Today',
[100] Blackwell, *Science, Religion and Authority*, p. 31.
[101] Paul R. Mueller, 'An Unblemished Success: Galileo's Sunspot Argument in the *Dialogue*', *Journal for the History of Astronomy*, 31:4 (2000), p. 296.
[102] Maurice A. Finocchiaro, 'Methodological Judgement and Critical Reasoning in Galileo's *Dialogue*', *Proceedings of the Biennial Meeting of the Philosophy of Science Association*, 2 (1994), p. 249.
[103] Finocchiaro, *On Trial for Reason*, p. 162.
[104] Mueller, 'An Unblemished Success', p. 298.
[105] Goldman, *Science Wars*, p. 46.
[106] McMullin, 'Galileo on science and Scripture', p. 282.
[107] Finocchiaro, *On Trial for Reason*, p. 77.
[108] Cowell, 'After 350 Years, Vatican Says Galileo Was Right'.
[109] Blackwell, 'Could there be another Galileo case?', p. 351.

downfall.[110] Where responsibility lies is an ongoing debate in the historiography of the Galileo affair. To offer some resolution, I argue here that no-one was to blame for Galileo's condemnation in 1633. Rather, his inquisitorial trial was the result of a unique set of geopolitical circumstances that forced the Catholic Church into an impossible position. [111] Before I can examine this in detail, however, further insight on the debate is needed.

The most notable critics of Galileo claim that he was boastful and thought too highly of himself. [112] Craig Boyd, for instance, argues that Galileo was especially lacking in humility and prudence over the course of his dispute with the Church.[113] He uses Galileo's *Dialogue* as an example. Specifically, Boyd believes that by placing the pro-Aristotelean arguments into the mouth of Simplicio Galileo was deliberately attempting to provoke the Church.[114] Although Pope Urban VIII was deeply offended by the *Dialogue*, this was a genuine miscalculation on Galileo's part.[115] He had never intended to mock the Head of the Church in that way.[116] As a result, the idea that Galileo deliberately tried to instigate friction with the Church is misplaced. It suggests that he was somehow prepared to go on trial in 1633.[117] By that time, however, Galileo had become increasingly infirm. [118] Despite being summoned to Rome, the Tuscan ambassador sent several appeals asserting that Galileo was in no fit state to travel.[119] Thus, this does not create the image of a man who was determined to take on the Church.

The topic of Galileo's personality is an important debate in the historiography of his condemnation. His egotism is well documented by several contemporaries. Giovanni Antonio Magini, for example, often wrote of his attempts to "conceal a spiteful hope for [Galileo's] failure". [120] Alongside other accounts of Galileo, this is particularly useful for understanding where contemporary criticism originated from.[121] Like Galileo, Magini was both an astronomer and a philosopher. [122] Interestingly, only those competing in the same field as Galileo expressed the most distaste towards him. Taking this into consideration, therefore, it is clear that early modern depictions of Galileo's character cannot be taken too seriously. Nonetheless, this is exactly what some historians have done. Using contemporary accounts, Mario Biagioli claims that Galileo's inherent arrogance allowed him to conjure political support from the Tuscan court. [123] Acquiring greater patronage overtime, according to Biagioli, convinced Galileo

[110] McMullin, 'Galileo on science and Scripture', p. 276; Boyd, 'Science, Humility and the Galileo Affair', p. 244.
[111] Miller, 'The Thirty Years' War and the Galileo Affair', p. 51.
[112] Michele Camerota, 'Commissar-Science: Arthur Koestler and Galileo', in Massimo Bucciantini (ed.), *The Science and Myth of Galileo between the Seventeenth and Nineteenth Centuries in Europe* (Firenze, 2021), pp. 442-4.
[113] Boyd, 'Science, Humility and the Galileo Affair', pp. 243-4.
[114] Ibid., p. 245; Mayer, 'The Status of the Inquisition's Precept to Galileo', p. 83.
[115] Finocchiaro, *On Trial for Reason*, p. 157.
[116] Finocchiaro, 'Science, Religion, and the Historiography of the Galileo Affair', p. 130.
[117] Shcherbakov, 'From the History of Physics', p. 148.
[118] Finocchiaro, 'A Galilean Approach to the Galileo Affair', p. 60.
[119] Stefano Gattei, 'Galileo's legacy: a critical edition and translation of the manuscript of Vincenzo Viviani's Grati Animi Monumenta', *The British Journal for the History of Science*, 50:2 (2017), p. 183.
[120] Bucciantini, Camerota and Giudice, *Galileo's Telescope*, p. 89.
[121] Gingerich, 'The Galileo Affair', p. 134.
[122] Bucciantini, Camerota and Giudice, *Galileo's Telescope*, p. 90.
[123] Mario Biagioli, 'Galileo's System of Patronage', *History of Science*, 28:1 (1990), pp. 13-15.

that he could seriously challenge the Catholic Church's authority on Scriptural matters.[124] However, as I have already discussed, Galileo was in no physical nor mental state to take on the Church in 1633. Moreover, in the years leading up to 1633, the King of Tuscany had made it clear to Galileo that he would not support him if a confrontation with the Church did materialise.[125] The reasons behind this are complex and not worthy of discussion here. Crucially, the Tuscan King's actions offer insight on Galileo's situation prior to 1633. Knowing that he had limited political support, it is unlikely that Galileo would have been confident in succeeding against the Church.[126] For this reason, it is unfair to suggest that Galileo's insolence led to his condemnation in 1633. Ultimately, Galileo was smart enough not to let his pride get the better of him.[127]

More recent interpretations claim that Galileo's failure to appreciate the Church's standing on Copernicanism was the main reason for his condemnation.[128] Although Galileo was a devout Copernican by 1633, his apparent dedication to the theory was not the main cause of his collision with the Church.[129] As I have demonstrated, Galileo's *Dialogue* did violate the injunction of 1616.[130] However, this was not his fault entirely.[131] Galileo's friendship with Pope Urban VIII also played a part.[132] Before he became the Pope in 1621, Cardinal Barberini had been a vocal supporter of Galileo. Following the condemnation of Copernicanism, Baberini assured Galileo that if the 1616 edict had been up to him then heliocentric theory would have never been declared heretical.[133] After 1621, therefore, the perceived friendship between Pope Urban VIII and Galileo must have mistakenly convinced Galileo that he had more freedom to discuss Copernican theory, despite it being censored.[134] As Drake has shown, Pope Urban even made specific alterations to the *Dialogue* to make sure that Galileo did not transgress the edict of 1616.[135] In light of this, therefore, it is wrong to assume that Galileo's arrogance alone was responsible for the events that led to his trial in 1633.[136] Many historians have failed to realise that Galileo did acknowledge the pro-Aristotelian arguments in his work. At the end of the day, Galileo was a Catholic himself. To an extent then, he must have respected the Church's alignment with Aristotelianism. That Galileo believed he could single-handedly take on the Church is a historiographical myth which has acquired a strong following.[137] Clearly, there was something bigger at play that determined the outcome of the original controversy in 1633.

Aside from Galileo, Pope Urban VIII also receives the blame for provoking antagonism between the Church and

[124] Mario Biagioli, *Galileo's Instruments of Credit: Telescopes, Images, Secrecy* (Chicago, 2006), p. 163.
[125] Harries, 'Truth and Value Today', p. 92.
[126] Drake, *Galileo: Pioneer Scientist*, p. 190.
[127] Boyd, 'Science, Humility and the Galileo Affair', p. 242.
[128] Ibid., p. 234.
[129] Peterson, 'Galileo Again', p. 26.
[130] Finocchiaro, *On Trial for Reason*, p. 206.
[131] McMullin, 'Galileo on science and Scripture', p. 276.
[132] Finocchiaro, 'A Galilean Approach to the Galileo Affair', p. 58.
[133] Drake, *Galileo: Pioneer Scientist*, p. 183.
[134] Finocchiaro, 'A Galilean Approach to the Galileo Affair', p. 58.
[135] Drake, *Galileo: Pioneer Scientist*, p. 190.
[136] McMullin, 'Galileo on science and Scripture', p. 276; Koestler, 'The Greatest Scandal in Christendom', p. 28.
[137] Gingerich, 'The Galileo Affair', p. 140.

Galileo after 1616.[138] Although Urban reacted harshly to the *Dialogue*, his actions in the years leading up to 1633 should be viewed within the wider geopolitical context of the Galileo affair.[139] Previously, I demonstrated that the Pope's major qualm with Galileo concerned the character of Simplicio from the *Dialogue*.[140] Urban, in particular, believed that the name Simplicio was a personal quip implying that he was 'simpleton'.[141] In light of this, Maurice Finocchiaro has argued that Urban was inclined to condemn Galileo for personally betraying his trust.[142] Nonetheless, although Galileo was technically responsible for Urban's frustration, it is interesting to note that the Pope only took offence following the *Dialogue*'s publication. I mentioned briefly that Urban was well informed and even involved in the design of the *Dialogue*.[143] Therefore, the fact he condemned Galileo after its publication is puzzling. Some historians claim that Urban's actions were intentional and designed to avoid conflict within the Church itself.[144] However, this interpretation is too simplistic. I believe that Urban's stern reaction here was the result of wider events linked to the Thirty Years' War.[145] Crucially, the publication of the *Dialogue* in 1632 coincided with the Catholic Church's political isolation during the War.[146] The loss of French and Spanish allies, in particular, meant that by 1633 many Catholic gains had been reversed.[147] In the context of the Thirty Years' War, therefore, the publication of the *Dialogue* was a serious matter for the Pope.[148] Given the sensitivity of the situation, Urban was in no position to let any personal jibing, whether intentional or not, go unpunished.[149] Herein lies the key to understanding the events leading up to Galileo's trial. Neither Galileo nor the Church was responsible for his condemnation in 1633. Instead, the particularity of the situation created by the Thirty Years' War left the Church with no other option but to make an example of Galileo.

Today, the persistence of the Galileo affair is largely the result of people's ignorance to the broader geopolitical context of the original controversy. That history and the media both continue to locate the blame for Galileo's treatment in 1633 is the reason why the present-day affair attracts so much attention. Popular culture frequently labels Galileo's condemnation as a serious wrongdoing on the Church's part. The modern-day Church, in particular, has been increasingly associated with the errors made during the original affair. Understanding this and the Church's response to recent criticism is extremely useful for explaining why the Galileo affair endures today.

In 1992, an article from the New York times described the Galileo affair as "one of the Church's most infamous

[138] Lindberg and Numbers, 'Beyond War and Peace', p. 144.
[139] Miller, 'The Thirty Years' War and the Galileo Affair', p. 51; Mueller, 'An Unblemished Success', p. 296.
[140] Finocchiaro, 'Science, Religion, and the Historiography of the Galileo Affair', p. 130.
[141] Ibid.
[142] Peterson, 'Galileo Again', p. 38.
[143] Drake, *Galileo: Pioneer Scientist*, p. 190.
[144] Finocchiaro, *On Trial for Reason*, p. 158.
[145] Miller, 'The Thirty Years' War and the Galileo Affair', p. 51.
[146] Ibid., p. 61.
[147] Ibid.
[148] Ibid., p. 62.
[149] Ibid.

wrongs".[150] Coincidentally, this was the same year that *Galileo* by the Indigo Girls was released. Despite their differences, both pieces were produced in response to an important event that has come to epitomise the current Galileo controversy: Pope John Paul II's 'rehabilitation' of Galileo.[151] Starting in 1979, a Vatican commission was organised to resolve longstanding popular misconceptions on the Galileo affair.[152] Despite its good intentions, the commission was a deliberate attempt by the Church to dispel longstanding criticism about its role in the original affair.[153] In an announcement to the public, John Paul II claimed that the Church had learnt "a lesson that remains valid in relation to similar situations that occur today and that may occur in the future".[154] Historians have disagreed over what this statement reveals. On the one hand, Finocchiaro argues that it represents an admission of error on the Church's part.[155] By contrast, Blackwell claims it demonstrates an effort to ease the friction between religion and science.[156] Although these are interesting lines of thought, they both fundamentally misconceive the true meaning behind John Paul's 'rehabilitation'. This is largely because society continues to regard the Galileo affair as a point of 'conflict' between religion and science.[157] That the present-day Church is continually blamed for exacerbating this 'conflict' is another reason why the Galileo affair has persisted. The rhetoric surrounding the Galileo affair continues to attract more controversy than the original affair itself.[158]

It is easy to understand why people are inclined to blame the Church for some serious wrongdoing during the seventeenth century. The Vatican has not always handled the memory of the Galileo affair so well. On the 300th anniversary of Galileo's death, for instance, the Church deemed one celebratory book too pro-Galilean for publication.[159] Consequently, these past failings are part of the reason why society does not look kindly upon John Paul's 'rehabilitation'. For many, his testimony has come to represent another episode of religious interference in scientific affairs.[160] Such reasoning, however, is harmful to the reality of the Galileo affair. It must be remembered that during the seventeenth century Galileo was the one trying to overturn deep-rooted knowledge.[161] To his contemporaries, Galileo did not represent the "proper scientific method" that we know today.[162] Therefore, the Church's response to Galileo and Copernicanism at the time was in many ways a rational one.[163] Despite this, critical reception to John Paul's 'rehabilitation' has served only to exaggerate the idea of conflict between science and religion.[164]

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[150] Cowell, 'After 350 Years, Vatican Says Galileo Was Right'.
[151] Finocchiaro, 'Science, Religion, and the Historiography of the Galileo Affair', p. 119.
[152] Coyne, 'The Church's Most Recent Attempt to Dispel the Galileo Myth', p. 3.
[153] Blackwell, 'Could there be another Galileo case?', p. 349.
[154] Pope John Paul II, 'Faith Can Never Conflict with Reason', *L'Osservatore Romano*, November 4 (1992), pp. 1-2.
[155] Finocchiaro, 'Science, Religion, and the Historiography of the Galileo Affair', p. 119.
[156] Blackwell, 'Could there be another Galileo case?', p. 360.
[157] Finocchiaro, *On Trial for Reason*, p. 203.
[158] Miller, 'The Thirty Years' War and the Galileo Affair', p. 64.
[159] Blackwell, 'Could there be another Galileo case?', p. 363; Finocchiaro, *On Trial for Reason*, p. 177.
[160] Coyne, 'Science meets the Biblical Exegesis in the Galileo Affair', p. 223.
[161] Peterson, 'Galileo Again', p. 43.
[162] Harries, 'Truth and Value Today', p. 88.
[163] Paul Feyerabend, 'Galileo and the Tyranny of Truth', *Vatican Observatory*, (1985), p. 156.
[164] Peterson, 'Galileo Again', p. 44.

Although the 'rehabilitation' was not initially well received, looking back on it now reveals some important points. Rather than labelling the Galileo affair as a 'conflict' between religion and science, I agree with Pope John Paul in that it was a mutual incomprehension between two opposing definitions of truth. [165] The misunderstanding on Galileo's part was that he did not recognise the hypothetical boundaries of the Copernican argument.[166] Contrary to popular belief, Galileo was not a theologian. Technically, therefore, he had no authority in Scriptural matters. [167] Having said that, he did raise some interesting points on Scriptural interpretation. This is where the Church mishandled the situation. Specifically, the incapacity of Christian theologians to re-assess their own criteria for Scriptural interpretation was an incomprehension on the Vatican's part.[168] It was not, as many historians have argued, a combined effort at pursuing conflict with Galileo. In this respect, John Paul's 'rehabilitation' of Galileo is a convincing evaluation of the fundamental controversy behind the Galileo affair. More importantly, his notion of 'incomprehension' can be applied to our current outlook on the subject. In particular, that society has failed to comprehend the ins-and-outs of the Galileo affair is why certain myths, most notably the conflict between religion and science, have persisted today. Until there is an extensive re-evaluation of the Galileo affair, therefore, the present-day controversy shows little sign of abating any time soon.[169]

The title to one of Richard Blackwell's articles poses the question 'could there be another Galileo case?'.[170] Throughout this essay, I have deliberately tried to avoid this question for one simple reason: more focus is needed on the original controversy. Contrary to Blackwell's claims, the debate surrounding the Galileo affair has not been resolved. As I have demonstrated, popular culture and the academic world both continue to ask similar questions: why was Galileo eventually condemned? Who was responsible for the outcome of the controversy? Was the Galileo affair a point of conflict between religion and science? Although these are essential questions, they have unnecessarily broadened the scope of the debate on Galileo. Why has this been the case? I believe it comes down to the fact that the Galileo affair is perceived as a unique juncture in the history of science. Specifically, Galileo's imagined 'conflict' with the Church has come to represent a break in the pattern of scientific progress. Much like Darwin's theory of natural selection, historians have regarded the Church's opposition to Galileo and Copernicanism as period when a non-scientific authority tried to impose its will on science.[171] Unfortunately, this has given rise to various myths in the historiography. Evidently, therefore, a new approach to the Galileo affair is needed.

Rather than characterising it as a 'controversy', one could look at the Galileo affair as a period of 'normal science'.[172] Although this is an unusual approach, it does have several advantages. In the

[165] Coyne, 'The Church's Most Recent Attempt to Dispel the Galileo Myth', p. 2.
[166] Ibid.
[167] Harries, 'Truth and Value Today', p. 94.
[168] Coyne, 'The Church's Most Recent Attempt to Dispel the Galileo Myth', p. 4.
[169] Finocchiaro, 'Science, Religion, and the Historiography of the Galileo Affair', p. 132.
[170] Blackwell, 'Could there be another Galileo case?', p. 448.
[171] Harries, 'Truth and Value Today', p. 84.
[172] Farrall, 'Controversy and Conflict in Science', p. 271.

Structure of Scientific Revolutions, Thomas Kuhn claims that scientific controversies lead to the emergence of new sciences.[173] Using his telescope, Galileo was pioneering a new method for scientific research. Contrary to Kuhn, however, Galileo was not attempting to replace the Church's outdated methods for establishing physical truths with his own. Instead, he was trying to accommodate his methodology within the Church's exegetical principles for interpreting biblical Scripture. In this respect, therefore, Galileo's discourse with the Church was not a controversy between religion and science. Rather, it was a new, albeit uneven, chapter in the 'normal' science process. This was most likely the way Galileo perceived it. Nevertheless, the legend that the Galileo affair was a 'dark' point in the history of science persists.

Future studies would benefit more from an approach similar to the one outlined above. Saying that, observing the Galileo affair as a point of controversy in the history of religion and science does have its merits. Most importantly, it allows a distinction to be made between historical fact and fiction. Locating the origins of various historiographical myths, in particular, offers useful insight on why the Galileo affair continues to attract so much attention today. In this essay, it was essential to provide a convincing interpretation on the events of the Galileo affair without distorting the roles of different historical actors. This was only made possible by analysing the historiography of the Galileo affair alongside the original episode itself. Thus, a number of important conclusions can be drawn from this study of the Galileo affair. Firstly, the original controversy was a period of mutual 'incomprehension' rather than 'conflict' between science and religion. Secondly, the controversy was not, as many historians have proclaimed, an anomaly in the history of science. Finally, the popularity of various historiographical myths has fundamentally contributed to the persistence of the Galileo affair today.

Taking these lessons into account reveals the links between the original Galileo affair and the current controversy. Popular culture's impact on our reading of the Galileo affair has largely been the result of shortcomings in the historiography. Going forward, therefore, academic literature should remain impartial to popular perceptions on the subject. [174] Those who approach Galileo with this in mind offer the most convincing work on the subject. It is a lesson that anyone studying the Galileo affair would benefit from.

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[173] Thomas Kuhn, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* (Chicago, 1962), p. 11.
[174] Finocchiaro, 'Science, Religion, and the Historiography of the Galileo Affair', p. 128.

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SEDUCTRESSES AND SKIRTED SINNERS: THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN URBAN LIFE AND FEMALE CRIMINALITY IN EARLY MODERN EUROPE

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ABSTRACT: This essay will discuss the intimate relationship between urban life and female criminality in early modern Europe, a subject that has garnered significantly more interest in the field since the late twentieth century. The primary methodology features the comparison of female criminality in urban settlements within England, France, and the Netherlands respectively using individual case studies from the Old Bailey Archives, extracts from the Bastille Archives, and scholars' own research. Furthermore, through the exploration of contentions beginning from that of legal historian J.M. Beattie to more recent historians namely Manon van der Heijden, and Lotte van de Pol, we can consider how scholarship has addressed the nature of this relationship. Ultimately, the relationship between urban life and female criminality was determined by the creation of urban settlements which provided early modern women and girls engaging in delinquency with greater opportunities for female independence and anonymity within constantly expanding populations.

Critical Historical Studies, vol. 1, pp. 52–61.

THE RISE IN URBANIZATION across Europe during the early modern era has been commonly associated with the increase in crime and prosecutions. Yet, until the late twentieth century, studies of early modern European crime by both historians and criminologists often side-lined in depth analyses of female criminality. Beforehand, earlier researchers tended to frame their arguments in a more gendered manner whilst replicating the contemporary beliefs of early modern women status as victims who were both passive and innocent. [1] Nonetheless, some early researchers like J.M. Beattie still recognised that female criminality was wholly present within early modern European societies and determined that urban life was intrinsic to female criminality. [2] Since Beattie's work, new contentions have been put forward by historians who have taken feminist and sociological approaches towards early modern criminality. Likewise, this essay will assess the relationship between urban life and female criminality by looking at instances of prostitution, theft, and violent incidents in early modern England, France, and the Netherlands. The crimes chosen for this assessment are different from one another enough to demonstrate the breadth of female criminality, whilst the usage of a small selection of countries enables this essay to engage in depth with country-specific case studies. By investigating these crimes in a comparative approach via the countries listed, the following discussion hopes to establish the nature of the relationship between urban life and female criminality in early modern Europe.

Firstly, let us turn to investigating prostitution as a means of aiding an assessment into the relationship between urban life and female criminality in early modern Europe since women are more thoroughly represented in this offence during this era than men across Europe. According to Lotte van de Pol, policy choice for prostitution in European cities was a mixture of both regulation and prohibition until a syphilis epidemic in the sixteenth century brought about a new fear of sexual encounters and a shift in favouring prohibitive policies. [3] Regarding the early modern Netherlands, van de Pol notes that the shift was particularly drastic due to the Reformation where prostitution according to contemporary Protestant, specifically Calvinist belief, was to be supressed in all forms and punished, not forgiven, by God. [4] In port cities with large surpluses of women since so many men were at sea, authorities allocated significant attention to female criminality, including attempts to enforce measures against what they deemed "morally subversive" crimes like prostitution. [5] According to crime type figures obtained by Ariadne Schmidt, moral offences accounted for almost forty percent of crimes women were prosecuted for in early modern Amsterdam and Rotterdam. [6] Moreover, Schmidt recognises that the figures correspond with Dutch authorities' evolving changes to the legal definition of

[1] cf. Manon van der Heijden and, Sanne Muurling (eds), *Women's Criminality in Europe, 1600-1934* (Cambridge, 2020), page 1
[2] cf. J.M. Beattie, 'The Criminality of Women in Eighteenth Century England', *Journal of Social History*, 8. (1975), pp.108-109
[3] Lotte van de Pol, 'The Whore, the Bawd, and the Artist: The Reality and Imagery of Seventeenth-Century Dutch Prostitution', *Journal of Historians of Netherlandish Art* 2:1-2, (2010), pp.2-3
[4] Ibid., page 3
[5] Ibid., page 4
[6] Ariadne Schmidt, *Prosecuting Women: A Comparative Perspective on Crime and Gender Before the Dutch Criminal Courts, c.1600-1810* (Leiden, 2020), pp.119-121

prostitution in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. [7]

Regardless, until the eighteenth century's end, prostitution was actively prosecuted as exemplified in Amsterdam's *Confessieboeken der Gevangen* (*Books of the Confessions of the Prisoners*). With reference to this source, van de Pol documents 8099 separate trials involving prostitution charges being held in court between 1650-1750. [8] However, Manon van der Heijden and Sanne Muurling have attributed the high prostitution rate in Dutch cities to their maritime context – leading to an 'over-representation' of female criminality. [9] Furthermore, both van der Heijden and Muurling state that single women in Europe overall were 'carefully watched' for signs of lewdness especially if they were young and unemployed. [10] Arguably, the apparent 'over-representation' that van der Heijden and Muurling discuss was exaggerated by the popular motif of sexual entertainment with prostitutes, brothels, and rowdy inns present in contemporary Dutch paintings. [11] Of course, van de Pol states that the Dutch paintings illustrating the power dynamics and fantasies of prostitution in early modern Dutch cities provide only a partial glimpse into the reality of prostitution. [12] Nonetheless, in conjunction with the statistics presented above, it is sensible to suggest that female criminality was not only present, but a notable cultural feature of Dutch urban life in port cities.

Unlike Dutch Reformation attitudes, prostitution as a form of female criminality was regarded as something to be rectified via community intervention, and institutional "rehabilitation" within French urban life. Georg'ann Cattelona writes how in early modern Marseille, other women frequently took on the role of regulating female sexual behaviour within social units such as amongst families and urban neighbourhoods. [13] When this method failed, they turned to reporting suspects to the king and the Refuge of Marseille which was founded to exclusively house prostitutes and other women who had violated sexual norms. [14] Indeed, these practices existed within Paris but as expected, prostitution constituted a larger proportion of female criminality in the capital than in Marseille. Furthermore, the evidence of clearly defined categories of prostitution in the capital, particularly in elite circles, reinforces this notion. According to Nina Kushner, the mid-eighteenth century *les dame entretenues au Paris* (the kept women of Paris) were known as mistresses who held a degree of agency and a potential for financial success, engaging in sexual relationships with only a few elite men at a time.[15] Elite Parisian prostitution operated with the frame of an institution itself known as the *demimonde* which reflected the sexual market, its customs, and the individuals who

[7] Ibid., pp.124-126
[8] Lotte van de Pol, op. cit., page 5
[9] Manon van der Heijden and Sanne Muurling, *Women's Criminality in Europe, 1600-1934* (Cambridge, 2020), page 5
[10] Manon van der Heijden and Sanne Muurling, op. cit., page 180
[11] Lotte van de Pol, op. cit., pp.9-13
[12] Ibid., page 13
[13] Georg'ann Cattelona, Control and Collaboration: The Role of Women in Regulating Female Sexual Behavior in Early Modern Marseille', *French Historical Studies*, 18 (1993), pp.18-21
[14] Ibid., page.15
[15] Nina Kushner, *Erotic Exchanges: The World of Elite Prostitution in Eighteenth-Century Paris* (Ithaca, 2013), page 3

participated in it. [16] However, the *demimonde* at its foundational level shows how potential female criminality was ignored by the Parisian police when middle-class parents who had fallen on hard times sold their daughters into the *demimonde* seemingly without police intervention. [17]

Outside of the *demimonde* which afforded some protections to those in its circles due to encounters with elite and influential men, prostitutes from lower social classes were tolerated much less by French city authorities. This is particularly exemplified in letters concerning disorderly families from the Bastille archives which frequently mention accusations of "libertinage" and "debauchery" in discussions of wayward wives and scandalous daughters. For instance, in a 1758 letter between Michel Pierre Corneille and the Lieutenant General of the Police, Corneille writes how his wife Anne Doisteau failed to be rehabilitated in the Salpêtrière from 1756-1757 having previously engaged in prostitution, theft, and other disturbances. [18] Similar to the Refuge of Marseille, the Salpêtrière was founded in 1656 as an almshouse and prison for women with various needs, elderly couples, and those imprisoned for vagrancy, prostitution, or other "libertine behaviour". [19] Corneille alleges that his wife has returned to her 'libertine' behaviour and with the declarations of Doisteau's wrongdoings by numerous other witnesses, pleas to the police general that she is locked up once again as she lives 'a life of continual debauchery'. [20] The letter is vague about the origins of Doisteau's behaviour, yet the mention of being taken 'by inclination' to prostitution being close to the start could be interpreted as where her female criminality truly began. [21] So, it would be reasonable to suggest that the idea of prostitution in French urban life was tied to moralistic failures and deviations from social norms regarding female sexual and financial independence.

Tony Henderson's attempt to understand the experiences of London's female prostitutes in the eighteenth century implies that prostitution was also a well-known occurrence in the English city. He argues that most women who engaged in prostitution were the daughters of poor households and held menial employment. [22] Of course, the population size and sense of anonymity that was possible amongst urban settlements provided the chance for women who entered prostitution to earn a new or additional stream of income. By 1760, London's population amounted to approximately 740,000 people which both assisted in evading detection and stretched out the capabilities of London's policing. [23] Still, Henderson's analysis of a late eighteenth century "charge book" of St James's parish reveals that the women arrested for prostitution had usually refused to co-operate with the constable of the night watch and were held in custody overnight before appearing before a magistrate in

[16] Ibid., pp.4-5
[17] Nina Kushner, op. cit., pp.83-90
[18] Arlette Farge, and Michel Foucault, *Disorderly Families: Infamous Letters from the Bastille Archives*, trans. Thomas Scott-Railton (Minnesota, 2017), page 68
[19] Ibid., page 318
[20] Ibid, page 68
[21] Ibid.
[22] cf. Tony Henderson, *Disorderly Women in Eighteenth-Century London: Prostitution and Control in the Metropolis, 1730-1830* (London, 1999), page 44
[23] Clive Emsley, Tim Hitchcock, and Robert Shoemaker, 'London History - A Population History of London', *Old Bailey Proceedings Online* (www.oldbaileyonline.org, version 7.0, 15 December 2021)

most cases. [24] Regardless, this did not reflect the prosecution cycles of all female prostitutes. One infamous example of such evasion from the full force of the law was by Charlotte Walker, a prostitute and pickpocket who became a "resident" at the French Horn public house from the late 1770s to 1800, racking up almost 30 appearances in court but miraculously evading guilty charges. [25] However, the offence that eventually cemented Walker's fate on a transport ship to Australia and the prior guilty judgement by the Old Bailey in January 1800 was for pickpocketing an expensive watch. [26] Subsequently, this begs the question as to whether moral offences constituting female criminality such as prostitution, though illegal by definition, were more tolerated than theft in early modern European urban life?

The frequency of theft by both men and women in early modern Europe meant that female thieves accused of said crime were primarily scrutinised in this matter even if they had prior reputations for offences relating to deviancy like prostitution. Even so, since prostitution was often far more difficult to convict as shown earlier, then it was less of a matter of tolerating the offence, but instead the prioritisation of theft by European authorities which was a more openly rampant problem that could not be hidden or ignored as easily. As seen in the case of Charlotte Walker, it was her charge for pickpocketing a silver watch in conjunction with her reputation for theft and grand larceny that caught up to her in court instead of her prostitute status. [27] Arguably, her occupation as a prostitute enabled her to steal more efficiently due to the sexualised situations in which she encountered her victims. [28] Of course, the case of Charlotte Walker is somewhat unique due to the sheer number of times she was apprehended and questioned by London authorities since the start of her adult life. Even so, the urban landscape provided women with more opportunities to steal more expensive items due to closer proximities to wealthier citizens and the potential for collaborating with other women. Additionally, the connection between prostitution and theft as an indicator of female criminality in urban life is perhaps unsurprising since in many districts, prostitutes formed an important element of the local economy. [29] As demonstrated by Garthine Walker, female criminality regarding theft was to some extent dependent on gendered knowledge of some desirable items such as household goods. [30] Using Cheshire and the city of Chester as a case study, Walker examines women's experiences of theft and the nature of the goods they stole, revealing that women were disproportionately prosecuted for thefts of cloths and linen in the 1590s and 1660s compared to arguably more valuable items like money. [31] Unfortunately, the figures Walker employs in her discussion conflate the crime statistics of both urban and rural settlements in Cheshire. Nonetheless, her findings

[24] Tony Henderson, op. cit., pp.128-130
[25] Mary Clayton, 'The Life and Crimes of Charlotte Walker, Prostitute and Pickpocket', *The London Journal*, 33 (2008), pp.3-6
[26]cf. *Old Bailey Proceedings Online* (www.oldbaileyonline.org, version 8.0, 15 December 2021), January 1800, trial of Charlotte Walker (t18000115-80).
[27] Ibid.
[28] Clayton, op. cit., p.15
[29] Henderson, op. cit., p.194
[30] cf. Garthine Walker, 'Women, Theft and the World of Stolen Goods', *Women and the Courts in Early Modern England*, (eds.) Jenny Kermode and Garthine Walker. (Chapel Hill, 1994), page 97
[31]Garthine Walker, op. cit., pp.83-87

reflect a wider trend in what female thieves preferred to steal in early modern England.

Evidently, the monitoring of female criminality proved difficult for contemporary authorities as shown by van der Heijden and Muurling who note that female criminality tended not to be detected by formal control agencies. [32] Instead, they argue that young female criminals specifically were more likely to be either informally disciplined or reported to authorities as disobedient individuals by family members or family friends – with theft being the most common crime to be investigated for. [33] This idea is exemplified in a letter written in 1728 by Duhamel concerning Anne Hubert who on behalf of her father, petitions to the Lieutenant General of the Police in Paris to save her from scandal and further debauchery. [34] The letter is short yet concisely illustrates how Anne Hubert and her husband recently attempted to rob her own father and another victim by picking the locks of their doors, emulating her father's trade as a locksmith. [35] Since knowledge of family trades was often maintained within family units in early modern Europe, it is unsurprising that Hubert utilises it to aid in her criminality. According to Beattie, urban life also enabled female criminals to associate themselves more easily with their male counterparts when conducting property crime which can certainly be seen in the letter concerning Anne Hubert. [36] Moreover, a parallel can be drawn with Charlotte Walker's usage of distraction which was crafted by her occupation to commit pickpocketing and theft. Thus, allowing the argument to be made that urban life provided women in particular a canvas to subtly incorporate skills of their trades into their own criminality. The reinforcement of this idea is employed by Manon van der Heijden who notes how this was also very much present in cities throughout Holland since most female thieves used job-related networks to commit thefts and handle stolen goods.[37] Still, like the seriousness of Charlotte Walker's case in court, Dutch authorities prosecuted female thieves to the greatest possible extent with punishments ranging from banishment to corporal punishment and imprisonment. [38] Briefly reflecting on Beattie's statement on the increased likeliness of collaboration amongst male and female thieves in urban settings, this was not guaranteed. For example, van der Heijden writes how in the industrial city of Leiden between 1678-1794, women committed more crimes alone than men did which calls Beattie's contention into question along with his additional remark on women rarely operating alone at all. [39] Earlier, this essay already established that urban life helped mobilise female criminality due to greater opportunities for forms of independence. Yet, by observing female thievery within early modern European cities, utilising gendered lifestyle expectations and anonymity should also be viewed as important enablers in female criminality in the context of theft.

Finally, violent crimes committed by women are also useful for assessing the relationship between urban life and female criminality in early modern Europe.

[32] Manon van der Heijden and Sanne Muurling, op. cit., page 180
[33] Ibid., pp.178-182
[34] Arlette Farge and Michel Foucault, op. cit., page 169
[35] Ibid.
[36] J.M. Beattie, op. cit., pp.89-90
[37] Manon van der Heijden, *Women and Crime in Early Modern Holland* (Leiden, 2016), pp.66-67
[38] Ibid., p.62
[39] Ibid., pp.65-66; Beattie op. cit., page 89

However, infanticide will be omitted from this section since it was frequently prosecuted in a drastically different way to typical assault and murder charges throughout Europe or rarely formally acknowledged at all. [40] Pieter Spierenburg's contention on women's criminal violence in early modern Amsterdam also opted to omit infanticide from his discussion by deeming it separate from the sphere of aggression. [41] Essentially, he argues that women who engaged in violent crime 'imitated male aggression' since they had a higher amount of social contact with men yet tended to attack other women significantly more due to differences in bodily strength and socio-cultural factors. [42] Manon van der Heijden actively challenges Spirienberg's perception of violent crime as an exclusively male crime by suggesting that the re-examinations of contemporary evidence and publication of newer historiography has moved on from his position. [43] In doing so, she examines the *vechtboeken* ("fight books") of Rotterdam between 1643-1795 which detail the arrests and summary proceedings for the unacceptable or aggressive behaviour of thousands of women. [44] However, as van der Heijden acknowledges, the "fight books" were not the same as the official records of regular criminal cases (*criminele boeken*), suggesting that women's criminal violence was comparatively less serious to that of men in Rotterdam and how female violence was treated with a sense of exceptionality. [45] Even so, eighteenth century female criminal violence incidents in Rotterdam were particularly volatile with women more frequently using knives and pans along with fists against other women. [46]

Therefore, the concept that women who partook in criminal violence inherently imitated male aggression is highly debatable when observing instances of female criminal violence beyond the context of vengeance towards domestic abuse at the hands of men. In fact, the case of a Cornelia in 1749 Rotterdam subverts Spierenburg's contention since she received six months in a correction house after being reported for seemingly continual drunken violence towards her husband and children. In this instance, we can infer that this violence was likely not in response to domestic abuse due to the husband's request for removal and confinement and the neighbours' own support. [47]Regardless, even in the context of retaliations against domestic abuse, it is still inaccurate to determine female violence as simply an imitation of male aggression in early modern Europe.

So far, this section has focussed on discussing non-fatal instances of female criminal violence. As the following case study will demonstrate, the motivations for and the reluctancy to recognise female criminal violence, specifically homicide, were often shaped by aspects more closely aligned with their gender and complex socio-cultural factors. The 1747 case of Anne Williams from the Old Bailey reveals the large extent to which these factors were

[40] Clive Emsley, Tim Hitchcock and Robert Shoemaker, 'Crime and Justice – Crimes Tried at the Old Bailey', *Old Bailey Proceedings Online* (www.oldbaileyonline.org, version 7.0, 12 December 2021)
[41] Pieter Spierenburg, 'How Violent Were Women? Court Cases in Amsterdam, 1650-1810', *Crime, Histoire & Sociétés / Crime, History & Societies*, 1 (1997), page 10
[42] Pieter Spierenburg, op. cit., pp.26-27
[43] Manon van der Heijden, op. cit., pp.79-81
[44] Ibid., page 78
[45] Ibid., pp.78-85
[46] Ibid., page 87
[47] Manon van der Heijden, op. cit., page 89

employed in her trial over the murder of her husband Thomas Williams. According to the proceedings, Anne Williams stabbed her husband to death with a knife having been 'moved by the Instigation of the Devil'. [48] Curiously, the witnesses who were neighbours stated that Anne Williams had confessed to them that she had killed her 'poor Tom' whilst showing remorse, but to others including the constable, she insisted that her husband had 'fallen' upon the knife during a domestic fight. [49] With the presence of religious, social, and domestic factors in the case of Anne Williams, we can see how the judicial institutions in urban areas ensured the more thorough examination of women's homicide trials. Likewise, this aspect of the essay shows that urban life had the capacity to both enable and dismantle violent female criminality.

Overall, by analysing sources and historiography about prostitution, theft, and prosecutable instances of violence, this reveals that the relationship between urban life and female criminality in early modern Europe can be deemed an intimate one. As mentioned earlier, prostitution was widely viewed as an exclusively female crime whereas theft and criminal violence lacked less of a gendered distinction. Likewise, the discussion on prostitution in early modern Europe has formed most of the essay. Nonetheless, the primary sources concerning the latter two crime types demonstrate that the general contemporary perception of women as the "lesser sex" in socio-cultural and theological contexts was also prevalent in attempts to maintain law and order in early modern Europe. Furthermore, by analysing theft and criminal violence which were more frequently dealt with by informal and formal means, it provides us with a more rounded assessment of the relationship compared to only looking at more exclusively "female crimes" like infanticide. Still, this discussion is not without limitations. England, France, and the Netherlands were the only countries chosen for this essay, and thus do not reflect links between urban life and female criminality throughout the entirety of Europe. Even so, the similarities and most importantly the differences between these countries' urban legal institutions, definitions, and processes along with the cultures of their urban settlements have been immensely useful to determining the intimate nature of the relationship between urban life and female criminality. Essentially, urban life and the increased global interactions and populations within urban settlements presented early modern girls and women with opportunities to engage in new forms of female independence, including actively partaking in forms of delinquency and serious crime.

[48] cf. *Old Bailey Proceedings Online* (www.oldbaileyonline.org, version 8.0, 12 December 2021), September 1747, trial of Anne Williams (t17470909-21).
[49] Ibid.

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HARRY ANSLINGER, RED CHINA, AND THE UNLIKELY START OF THE WAR ON DRUGS

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ABSTRACT: This article focuses on the integral role that Harry J. Anslinger, Commissioner of the Federal Bureau of Narcotics from 1930 to 1962, played in the origins of the United States' War on Drugs. This article explores Anslinger's false allegation in the 1950s that Chinese state actors used heroin as a form of warfare, funnelling heroin and other narcotics into the US in order to spread addiction in the population. Using Congressional and United Nations hearings in the 1950s as my primary material, I posit that this triggered the beginning of the War on Drugs in the form of the punitive Narcotic Control Act of 1956. The prominent role severe drug laws and attitudes have played in the American political and cultural consciousness ever since can thus be traced to Harry Anslinger.

THE WAR ON DRUGS has, since its inception, been a cornerstone of American domestic policy and instrumental in the rise of the carceral state. Successive 20th- and 21st-century waves of excessive drug laws have disproportionately affected African Americans and other minorities, and have deepened inequality in the US. However, while the War on Drugs in the form we recognise today would appear to be a purely domestic issue, beginning under the Nixon administration, a closer inspection reveals that it has its source further back in time in a more unlikely era, with its influences as much international and geopolitical as internal. In the mid-1950s Harry J. Anslinger, Commissioner of the Federal Bureau of Narcotics, testified before the Senate that China was exporting heroin and other narcotics to 'poison' the free world.[1] Anslinger, a fervent anti-Communist, exploited Cold War hysteria to lobby the government for harsher drug laws and penalties, which would in turn protect his nascent Bureau. This essay will posit that the origins of the War on Drugs can be traced to Harry Anslinger, and that the federal clampdown on drugs began partially as an outgrowth of American paranoia and insecurity at the height of the Cold War. While this does not detract from the role of domestic racialised thinking and anxiety about crime in the growth of the carceral state, a look at international influences on policy also offers another perspective. The Senate hearings, and other speeches by Anslinger at the UN, offer a telling insight into the mentality of the government and the sometimes surprising motivations behind the emerging War on Drugs, which a purely domestic focus would overlook.

While Anslinger was indisputably at the helm of the Bureau of Narcotics for thirty years, the unit constantly had its critics, and throughout its lifetime Anslinger had to fight for its reputation, creating and solving problems of drug addiction at will to keep its funding and its name. [2] Described as a 'consummate bureaucrat' by his biographer, this essay and other scholarship show that Anslinger was not above fabricating conspiracies behind America's drug addiction problem in order to expand his remit and demonstrate the Bureau's indispensability to the government.[3] Anslinger and his unit could only benefit from a federal clampdown on drugs, as this would translate to more arrests, more convictions, and greater security for the Bureau. Anslinger and the Bureau thus stood to gain from exploiting cultural anxieties and national security concerns - in fact, *needed* to tap into this societal consciousness to guarantee its survival.[4] The association of crime and Communism was particularly potent at the peak of the McCarthy era, and Anslinger would have been aware that there was likely to be little outright Senate opposition, given how easily such opposition could be accused of being 'un-American' and subversive. Anti-Communist rhetoric was therefore the way to win over those reluctant to support his domestic drug policy ideas.[5] Douglas Clark

[1] *Hearing before the Internal Security Subcommittee on the Judiciary, on Communist China and Illicit Narcotic Traffic*, 84th Cong., 1st sess., March 8, 18, 19, May 13, 1955: 3.
[2] See John C McWilliams, "Unsung Partner against Crime: Harry J. Anslinger and the Federal Bureau of Narcotics, 1930-1962," *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 113, no. 2 (1989): 231.
[3] Quote from John C. McWilliams, *The Protectors: Harry J. Anslinger and the Federal Bureau of Narcotics, 1930-1962* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1990), cited in Michael Weinreb, "The Complicated Legacy of Harry Anslinger," *Penn Stater Magazine*, January-February 2018, 35.
[4] Douglas Clark Kinder, "Bureaucratic Cold Warrior: Harry J. Anslinger and Illicit Narcotics Traffic," *Pacific Historical Review* 50, no. 2 (1981): 191.
[5] Ibid., 176.

Kinder and William O. Walker summarise how 'manipulation of the public's inchoate fear of drugs allowed Anslinger to portray himself and his bureau as the nation's first line of defense against the perceived foreign drug menace,' capitalising on anxieties about these two separate things to make himself and his Bureau essential.[6]

This is most evident in the Congressional hearings discussed in this essay, which span July 1954 to June 1955. In them, Anslinger and other witnesses ranging from Treasury Department staff and other Bureau agents to journalists testified on the scale of America's drug addiction problem and what could be done about it, and this testimony reveals a number of important things. Firstly, it shows a fixation on 'Communist' China, using Cold War rhetoric and sensationalisation to stoke fear of Communist influence on the American drug issue, going so far as to argue that China was deliberately exporting heroin to the US to sabotage it. Anslinger's testimony almost exclusively referred to China as 'Red' or 'Communist,' very rarely without either adjective. This shows us that his xenophobia and fear - and consequently, that of the committees he influenced - was based on ideological and political lines. Clark Kinder and Walker note that as he was not a politician per se, 'Anslinger did not have to operate under… diplomatic constraints,' allowing him to freely voice openly racist concerns.[7] His depictions of biological warfare therefore allowed him to tap into contemporary American anxiety about the 'red menace,' fear-mongering in order to advance his own - and the Bureau's - agenda. The language is certainly extreme: before the committee of the International Opium Protocol 1954 hearings he warned that China's aim was 'the demoralization of people who use this deadly drug… that is certainly one of the objectives - you cannot get away from that - a poison being spread from Red China.'[8] Elsewhere in the hearings he was more careful to allow politicians to form their own conclusions, wary of overstepping his professional boundaries, describing heroin as one of the 'weapons of warfare' which have been used 'in the past,' but not specifically at this time.[9] However, the majority of his language was inflammatory and sensational, depicting narcotic trafficking as 'an insidious, calculated scheme of the Chinese Communist regime… to demoralize the people of the free world.'[10] The language was consistently linked back to *Communist* China, indicating that narcotic policy was intertwined with foreign policy and national security concerns. This depiction of a foreign Communist evil seeking to infiltrate and destroy the US found a ready audience in the Senate Committees, as the rest of this essay will show.

Significantly, Anslinger turned this international focus inward, exploiting American anxieties about both their place in the wider world but also their safety at home. He described Communist agitators moving into South Korea 'for the purpose of spreading addiction… And to show you

[6] Douglas Clark Kinder and William O. Walker, "Stable Force in a Storm: Harry J. Anslinger and United States Narcotic Foreign Policy, 1930-1962," *The Journal of American History* 72, no. 4 (1986): 909.
[7] Clark Kinder and Walker, "Stable Force," 913.
[8] *Hearing before a Subcommittee of the Committee of Foreign Relations, on the International Opium Protocol,* 83rd Cong., 2nd sess., July 17, 1954: 8.
[9] Ibid., 10.
[10] *Hearing before a Subcommittee of the Committee of Foreign Relations, on the International Opium Protocol,* 83rd Cong., 2nd sess., July 17, 1954. Appendix C, *Remarks of Hon. Harry J. Anslinger, United States Representative on the United Nations Commission on Narcotic Drugs: The Illicit Narcotic Traffic in the Far East*: 64.

cause and effect, we have sent to our hospitals here young men who were addicted under the program.'[11] He noted 'considerable trafficking' around US military bases abroad, without substantiating these claims, and described this concentration of heroin as 'a very disturbing problem,' using his lauded expertise to spread concern among the Committee members of the risk to American soldiers.[12] Senator William E. Jenner, a Committee member of the March-May 1955 hearings, later asserted the impact of heroin on 'our soldiers and American citizens in the way of demoralization of people of the West,' indicating that Anslinger's testimony was effective in increasing worry over American lives and the threat posed to them by foreign interference.[13] Having seen that this worked, Anslinger argued more authoritatively in the Illicit Narcotics Traffic hearings in June 1955 that 'we are now sending young men to Lexington to die of that [heroin] problem,' using emotive appeals about the danger at home to spread alarm.[14] The way Jenner and other Committee members adopted this view indicates contemporary fears of the corruption of American citizens and ways of life, which significantly fell under Anslinger's remit as head of the Bureau of Narcotics. Susan L. Speaker argues that drugs in this period became 'what David Brion Davis has called the "Great American Enemy,"' with the background of the Cold War making this an especially powerful image - that of a 'large sinister conspiracy' aiming to annihilate American value systems.[15] Speaker notes that newspaper articles on marijuana addiction in the 1920s through to the 1940s 'seem to have used him [Anslinger] as their primary (and perhaps only) source.'[16] Anslinger's influence remained this potent through the 1950s, as these Senate hearings did likewise.

A significant element of all of Anslinger's testimony is the vagueness and lack of concrete evidence given for any of his claims about 'Communist' China. In the Communist China and Illegal Narcotic Traffic hearings which ran from March to May 1955, he told the Committee that recent seizures of opium in Southeast Asia 'unquestionably have their origin' in China, but did not substantiate this claim, and no one challenged him.[17] When the Chairman eventually asked how he could be certain that the supply in Hawaii came from China, Anslinger offered no actual response, saying that 'the only possible source from which you can get heroin in Hawaii is Communist China.'[18] This appeared to be enough for the Chairman but did not actually validate his argument. Exchanges like this recurred consistently throughout every hearing at which Anslinger testified; there was also no credence to the claim that heroin trafficking was a genuine *policy* of the Communist Chinese regime. While Anslinger named certain Chinese

[11] *Hearing before the Internal Security Subcommittee on the Judiciary, on Communist China and Illicit Narcotic Traffic*, 84th Cong., 1st sess., March 8, 18, 19, May 13, 1955: 6.
[12] Ibid.: 6, 9.
[13] Ibid.: 13.
[14] *Hearings before the Subcommittee on Improvements in the Federal Criminal Code of the Committee on the Judiciary, on Illicit Narcotics Traffics*, 84th Cong., 1st sess., June 2, 3 and 8, 1955: 33.
[15] Susan L Speaker, "'The Struggle of Mankind against Its Deadliest Foe': Themes of Counter-Subversion in Anti-Narcotic Campaigns, 1920-1940." *Journal of Social History* 34, no. 3 (2001): 591-2.
[16] Speaker, "The Struggle of Mankind," 593.
[17] *Hearing before the Internal Security Subcommittee on the Judiciary, on Communist China and Illicit Narcotic Traffic*, 84th Cong., 1st sess., March 8, 18, 19, May 13, 1955: 3.
[18] Ibid.: 3.

traffickers arrested in the US, and alleged that two Chinese finance ministers secretly operated drug trafficking organisations, there was no real evidence - given by him or found anywhere else - that this was a plot that went to the highest echelons of the Chinese leadership.[19] Many of them may have been Communist in principle, but how many were actually part of the Chinese state apparatus? Not every man of Chinese descent, especially in the US, was a Communist official, a distinction which appeared to be superfluous to Anslinger. He also could not substantiate what he claimed to be the intention behind the policy - whether such a trafficking ring existed or not, there is no evidence that it had an ideological, subversive purpose and not a purely financial one. Many of the hearings featured vague warnings about heroin's use for 'political purposes,' 'foreign exchange' and to 'spread the debauchery' of addiction, but there was no evidence, serious or otherwise, actually given to support this.[20]

Elsewhere in the hearings it is clear that Anslinger was dependent on confidential sources for much of his information.[21] The witness who followed him in the March 1955 session was an anonymous agent of the Bureau of Narcotics, which makes us ask how much we can actually rely on information from agents on Anslinger's payroll, and whose identity cannot be verified. Along similar lines, Anslinger mentioned a concentration of heroin in California which 'we have identified… in a certain way, which I can't disclose to you,' relying on the secrecy of the trade and the absolute power he had in the field to excuse him from providing actual proof.[22] When asked again to state a figure of seizures from China, he initially offered fifteen, then backtracked to 'about fourteen that we can trace;' this difference was again not challenged and no actual evidence was asked for or provided, but the lack of clarity indicates the fundamentally unstable foundations of Anslinger's arguments.[23] He was forced to admit that there were 'no really organised syndicates' processing Chinese drugs in the US, and then immediately moved on to discussing the numbers of gang members that his Bureau had arrested, deflecting the subject of conversation onto something he could offer real figures for and which reinforced to the Senate the Bureau's usefulness.[24] His grandstanding and evasive speech reveal the flaws in his logic, and is in sharp contrast to the fluency of the statistics given when he was questioned on something more concrete, such as the scale of drug addiction in the US. This indicates the shaky grounds of his argument, and also how predisposed his listeners were to accept his claims. The naturally secretive, clandestine nature of the Bureau of Narcotics' business also helped this, as Congress did not expect to be given access to confidential sources, allowing Anslinger

[19] *Hearing before a Subcommittee of the Committee of Foreign Relations, on the International Opium Protocol,* 83rd Cong., 2nd sess., July 17, 1954: 64-5.
[20] Respectively United Nations Commission on Narcotic Drugs, *Remarks of Commissioner Harry J. Anslinger, United States Representative,* 10th sess., April 18 to May 13, 1955: 277; *Hearing before a Subcommittee of the Committee of Foreign Relations, on the International Opium Protocol,* 83rd Cong., 2nd sess., July 17, 1954: 8; and Appendix C, *Remarks of Hon. Harry J. Anslinger, United States Representative on the United Nations Commission on Narcotic Drugs: The Illicit Narcotic Traffic in the Far East*: 64.
[21] *Hearing before the Internal Security Subcommittee on the Judiciary, on Communist China and Illicit Narcotic Traffic,* 84th Cong., 1st sess., March 8, 18, 19, May 13, 1955: 2.
[22] *Hearing before the Internal Security Subcommittee on the Judiciary, on Communist China and Illicit Narcotic Traffic,* 84th Cong., 1st sess., March 8, 18, 19, May 13, 1955: 3.
[23] Ibid.: 7.
[24] Ibid., 7.

to take this freedom and essentially run with it.

What is most significant about Anslinger's lack of specificity and inability to substantiate his allegations is the fact that the Senate hearings did not call this into question or ever ask for proof, even in the face of wild speculation, unsatisfactory responses and deflections onto other subjects. Anslinger's presentation and speech differed hugely at the UN, where he offered dates, amounts of drugs seized, locations and names, in order to back up his claims, although this evidence still did not support the idea that Chinese heroin trafficking was intentionally subversive or a state-sanctioned plot.[25] From this it can be inferred that Anslinger was at least aware than an international audience would be more sceptical and require more convincing than a domestic one; his reluctance to offer proof before the Senate implies a confidence that his listeners would not need to hear it, but would be much more likely to take his allegations at face value. This confidence was well warranted: the members of each Congressional Committee appeared to immediately agree with his warnings. What then needs to be established is *why* they were more likely to and what could account for their failure as interrogators, and the answer lies in American attitudes to Communism and the context of the Cold War. Senator Price Daniel, the Chairman of the June 1955 hearings, stated midway through - before the testimony was even complete - that China's intention was to 'cause destruction and deterioration among people in the free countries' by trafficking heroin to them.[26] Throughout this hearing Daniel was primed to agree with Anslinger; at one point the Commissioner said that 'there is a considerable amount of heroin coming out of China,' to which the Chairman immediately responded, 'You mean Red China?' [27] His adoption of Anslinger's rhetoric around China's ideology and politics indicates that the fear-mongering message was hugely successful: Daniel, and the other Committee members, were blindsided by their own fear of Communist expansion, rendering them incapable of adequately interrogating Anslinger. In other countries illegally exporting heroin at the time, such as Lebanon, Anslinger blamed individual actors rather than agents of the state, and he significantly downplayed the role of countries like Lebanon in the global drugs market, suggesting that only in Communist countries was the ideological factor significant - because it was politically expedient for him.[28]

Fear of Communism was not the only factor in the Senate's willingness to adopt Anslinger's allegations, but also the cult of personality around the man himself. He used his personal position to his advantage: because there was no other subdivision of any department with the specific purpose of combating drug traffic and addiction in the US, Anslinger acquired a reputation as the expert in the field. His use of lawsuits and intimidation to stamp out critics further entrenched this reputation because there were few people there to challenge him. This prestige, as the Senate hearings indicate, resulted in often

[25] See United Nations Commission on Narcotic Drugs, *Remarks of Commissioner Harry J. Anslinger, United States Representative,* 10th sess., April 18 to May 13, 1955: 275-8.
[26] *Hearings before the Subcommittee on Improvements in the Federal Criminal Code of the Committee on the Judiciary, on Illicit Narcotics Traffics,* 84th Cong., 1st sess., June 2, 3 and 8, 1955: 33.
[27] *Hearings before the Subcommittee on Improvements in the Federal Criminal Code of the Committee on the Judiciary, on Illicit Narcotics Traffics,* 84th Cong., 1st sess., June 2, 3 and 8, 1955: 31.
[28] *Hearings before the Subcommittee on Improvements in the Federal Criminal Code of the Committee on the Judiciary, on Illicit Narcotics Traffics,* 84th Cong., 1st sess., June 2, 3 and 8, 1955: 99-101.

obsequious treatment from his listeners, and ensured that little due diligence was done on his often outlandish claims. In the Illicit Narcotics Traffic hearings in June 1955, H. Chapman Rose, the Assistant Secretary to the Treasury, called him 'uniquely qualified' to discuss the American narcotics problem; Robert Curran, a legal advisor to the Canadian Department of National Health and Welfare, called him 'an outstanding expert in the field,' and in the July 1954 hearings, the Chairman described him as 'our friend' and 'America's No. 1 expert on this problem.' [29] These platitudes were not based on anything particularly credible, and were not convincing on a global scale. The UN, despite Anslinger's claims, did not appear particularly concerned about Chinese heroin smuggling compared to Lebanese or Iranian, factors which did not appear to concern Anslinger's Congressional listeners. [30] Additionally, although Anslinger told the March-May 1955 Committee that American information tallied with British, in fact British intelligence at the time refuted all of his ideas. [31] Clark Kinder notes that, 'the narcotics smugglers named by Anslinger as Hong Kong operators were unknown in the colony… In general British officials responsible for Hong Kong believed that Anslinger's accusations were "ridiculous and completely unfounded."' [32] This evidence indicates the Senate's willingness to overlook the need for concrete proof, instead defaulting to the 'experience' of a supposed American expert - significantly, seen as one of their own. The subcommittee led by Daniel, in his final report, publicly supported Anslinger's views and advocated for what became the Narcotic Control Act of 1956, which in some cases called for the death penalty for abusing heroin. This conveys the huge reach that Anslinger's personal authority had, despite the total lack of evidence for his claims.

This all indicates that Anslinger, in his fear-mongering about the supposed pervasive reach of the Chinese state, capitalised on Cold War attitudes and his own image to further his agenda about narcotics trafficking and crime in the US and on the world stage. [33] The idea of shadowy international forces infiltrating the US in the form of biological warfare was an especially potent one at the height of Cold War and anti-Maoist hysteria, especially as Mao had fairly recently come to power. Anslinger's approach was certainly effective. The Daniel's subcommittee report recommended increasing federal funding for the Bureau and allowing it to arrest without warrants, and while not every recommendation was adopted, the Narcotic Control Act was passed the year after Anslinger's last testimony. This drastically increased sentences for drug possession and trafficking and banned probation and parole for those convicted of drug crimes. The tightening of federal drug laws in turn indicated the perceived necessity of

[29] Respectively *Hearings before the Subcommittee on Improvements in the Federal Criminal Code of the Committee on the Judiciary, on Illicit Narcotics Traffics,* 84th Cong., 1st sess., June 2, 3 and 8, 1955: 4 and 63; *Hearing before a Subcommittee of the Committee of Foreign Relations, on the International Opium Protocol,* 83rd Cong., 2nd sess., July 17, 1954: 5.

[30] See *Hearing before a Subcommittee of the Committee of Foreign Relations, on the International Opium Protocol,* 83rd Cong., 2nd sess., July 17, 1954. Appendix F, *Excerpts from Report of UN Commission on Narcotic Drugs,* 9th. sess.: 75

[31] *Hearing before the Internal Security Subcommittee on the Judiciary, on Communist China and Illicit Narcotic Traffic,* 84th Cong., 1st sess., March 8, 18, 19, May 13, 1955: 5.

[32] Clark Kinder, "Bureaucratic Cold Warrior," 186.

[33] See Donald T. Dickson, "Bureaucracy and Morality: An Organizational Perspective on a Moral Crusade," *Social Problems* 16, no. 2 (1968): 148

Anslinger's Bureau, allowing him to expand its remit and advocate for greater funding to combat the supposedly Chinese-influenced wave of heroin addiction in the US. The Senate's willingness to adopt his views and its impotence in challenging his claims further reveals the scale of anti-Communist fear at the heart of the US government, to the extent that it adopted Communist enemies as scapegoats for domestic problems, and did not look at all closely into these allegations. Thus, while other crucial factors such as domestic racialised attitudes to African-Americans and crime cannot be overlooked, an inspection of the Cold War context indicates that there were other influences behind the development of the War on Drugs. Cold War politics, 'Red China' hysteria, and most particularly, the figure of Harry Anslinger himself, were central to the federal turn towards harsher drug laws and thus, the start of the War on Drugs.

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REGENDERING THE NINETEENTH-CENTURY EUROPEAN METROPOLIS

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ABSTRACT: Since women's history emerged as an academic discipline in the 1970s, urban historians have taken an acute interest in women's contributions to the important historical developments which took place in European cities during the nineteenth century. Until recently, however, women's history has been treated as a separate entity to urban history, such that the potential of the former to alter established narratives of urban development has been largely overlooked. Taking a gendered approach to urban history, this essay uses the urban experiences of women and other marginalised groups to challenge prevailing perceptions of the nineteenth-century European metropolis as a site of industrial growth, economic prosperity, and social and spatial segregation.

Critical Historical Studies, vol. 1, pp. 72–80.

HISTORICAL ANALYSES of the nineteenth-century European metropolis have traditionally privileged the topographies of middle-class men, taking the male urban experience as standard.[1] As such, recovering the history of women and other marginalised groups in relation to the metropolis represents an important first step in addressing this imbalance in the historiography. This being said, gendering the metropolis goes far beyond simply inserting women into established (male) narratives of urban development, according to which industrial growth, economic prosperity and clear social and spatial divisions characterised the European metropolis in this period. Gender constitutes a valuable interpretive framework for our analyses of the metropolis; by incorporating the category of gender into urban history, the diverse urban experiences of both men and women can be better understood and established narratives of urban development can be brought into question. Therefore, a gendered approach to studying the metropolis has the capacity to alter our existing perceptions of urban processes in nineteenth-century Europe.

Male, middle-class topographies present the nineteenth-century European metropolis as a place characterised by social and spatial divisions, organised along gendered lines. From this perspective, only the male *flâneur* (male urban spectator) reserves the right to transgress these social and spatial boundaries, using male privilege to wander the city freely and experience urban life in its entirety.[2] In their seminal work *Gendering the City: Women, Boundaries and Visions of Urban Life*, Kristine B. Miranne and Alma H. Young utilise the concept of boundaries as a means of better understanding female urban experiences, arguing that women's responses to imagined social and spatial boundaries in the city were central to how they lived their lives.[3] Consequentially, the ways in which urban women challenged the imagined spatial boundary between the public and private spheres, typified as 'masculine' and 'feminine' respectively, have come to occupy a central position in gendered analyses of the nineteenth-century metropolis.

Gendering the metropolis entails looking at the ways in which women and other marginalised groups evaded the social categories and spaces to which they were assigned, continuously crossing the threshold between public and private. By making their own claims to public space, women undermined the efforts of their male counterparts to inscribe gender difference into the fabric of the metropolis; as such, existing perceptions of the metropolis as socially and spatially divided are brought into question. Female philanthropists, for instance, regularly transgressed the gendered boundary between public and private space in the city under the guise of charity. In London, female philanthropists travelled to the East End of the city to observe the working-class way of life, with the aim of improving the social environment of the East End and the 'moral character' of its inhabitants. Upper and middle class women had been involved in the voluntary sector since the late eighteenth-century, but women such as

[1] Maureen A. Flanagan, 'Women in the City, Women of the City: Where Do Women Fit in Urban History?', *Journal of Urban History*, Vol. 23, No. 3 (1997), p. 252.
[2] Judith R. Walkowitz, *City of Dreadful Delight: Narratives of Sexual Danger in Late-Victorian London* (London, 1992), pp. 16-17.
[3] Kristine B. Miranne and Alma H. Young, *Gendering the City: Women, Boundaries, and Visions of Urban Life* (Lanham, 2000), p. 7.

Octavia Hill helped to expand and professionalise their philanthropist activities from the 1860s onwards. In 1869, Hill helped to found the Charity Organisation Society (COS), which aimed to systemise the process whereby charitable support was provided.[4] Hill also expanded the scope of philanthropic projects, establishing new public policing roles for women as rent collectors, sanitary inspectors and domestic visitors.[5] By the end of the nineteenth-century, there were an estimated twenty thousand salaried and half a million voluntary women working as philanthropists in London alone.[6]

Upper- and middle-class women were also heavily involved in philanthropic work in Manchester and regularly contributed to public discourses concerning the social and moral welfare of the working classes, especially working-class women. Following the publication in 1885 of C. T. Stead's collection of articles entitled 'The Maiden Tribute of Babylon', which publicised the issue of 'white slave traffic' between British cities and continental European brothels, concern regarding the morality of working-class girls proliferated both within philanthropist circles and society generally.[7] Viewing immorality as embedded into the very environment in which these girls lived, female philanthropists established the Manchester Ladies' Association for the Care of Friendless Girls in 1882, which sought to combat the problem of 'disorderly homes' and their 'corrupting' influence on working-class girls.[8] Using their traditional role as dispensers of charity to expand their influence within the public sphere, the Manchester Ladies' Association pressured the local School Board into taking action; hence, in April 1883, the Board demanded that parents of all children under the age of ten deemed to be the children of prostitutes or living in brothels appear before the magistrate.[9] Female philanthropists upheld prevailing narratives of sexual danger in order to present themselves as the saviours of working-class girls, thus establishing a position for themselves within public space; conversely, narratives of sexual danger served only to exclude working-class women from urban public life. Through involvement in philanthropic projects, upper- and middle-class women transgressed the gendered boundaries between public and private space imagined by the male *flaneur*, thus challenging existing perceptions of public space as an exclusively middle-class, masculine domain.

Whilst middle-class women engaged publicly in charitable pursuits and contributed to public discourses pertaining to the health, education and housing of the urban poor, working class women transgressed the public/private boundary in different ways, namely through work, shopping at the local market, or attending public venues such as dances and music halls. Music hall performances were an especially popular form of entertainment in nineteenth-century London and Paris. The music hall constituted an important site of heterosociability, attended by both men and women alike; not only as spectators, but

[4] Walkowitz, *City of Dreadful Delight*, p. 54.
[5] Ibid., p. 55.
[6] Ibid., p. 53-54.
[7] Joyce Goodman, 'Sex and the City: Educational Initiatives for "Dangerous" and "Endangered" Girls in Late Victorian and Early Edwardian Manchester', *Paedagogica Historica*, Vol. 39, No. 1 (2003), pp. 76-77.
[8] Ibid., p. 76.
[9] Elizabeth Darling, ''The star in the profession she invented for herself': a brief biography of Elizabeth Denby, housing consultant', *Planning Perspectives*, Vol. 20, No. 3 (2005), p. 275; Ibid., p. 75.

also as performers.[10] In fin-de-siècle Paris, women occupied a central role in leading music-hall ballets, including at the Folies-Bergère, the Olympia and the Casino de Paris.[11] Similarly in London, the music hall stage represented a site in which class and gender norms could be subverted by female performers, evidenced by the popularity of the theatrical genre of 'male impersonation'. By dressing up in male attire and making jokes at the upper class gentleman's expense for the entertainment of working class audiences, male impersonators such as Vesta Tilley challenged not only the gendered dichotomy between public and private space, but also the masculine/feminine binary more generally.[12] A small minority of women took their masquerade a step further by dressing as men outside of the music hall context, appropriating masculinity in ways which enabled them to move freely around the streets of London without being subjected to the stares of the male *flâneur*.[13] For instance, in November 1886, London newspapers reported the case of Lois Schwich, a twenty-one year-old woman who was found to have been passing as a man for several years, working alongside men and even going out drinking with them.[14] Male impersonation provides a fascinating, albeit unusual, example of the ways in which women utilised public space in the nineteenth-century metropolis, thus challenging the presumed existence of a clear, gendered distinction between public and private space. This being said, the fact that women went to such lengths to either hide or justify their public presence suggests some limits to urban female autonomy.

Historical analyses of the uses of public space in the metropolis commonly frame women's transgression of the public/private boundary in terms of female liberation, supported by images of female suffragists escaping the confines of the home to campaign for universal suffrage on the streets of London. This perception of public space as a site of liberation for women is problematic for several reasons. Firstly, gendered analyses of the metropolis that privilege public space over private space help to perpetuate gender inequalities, as they suggest that women always adapted to masculine spaces in the city and never vice versa. In doing so, they overlook the importance of private space to both men and women in the metropolis. For instance, the top floors, or the *sixièmes*, of apartment buildings in fin-de-siècle Paris represented important (private) sites of working-class sociability for male and female workers alike, who rented small rooms in these buildings.[15] Movement across public and private boundaries was not a one-way process and, as such, men's presence in private spaces should be incorporated into gendered analyses of the metropolis. In addition, gendered analyses of the metropolis which privilege public space over private space overstate the

[10] Walkowitz, *City of Dreadful Delight*, pp. 45-46.

[11] Sarah Gutsche-Miller, 'Liberated Women and Travesty Fetishes: Conflicting Representations of Gender in Parisian Fin-de-Siècle Music-Hall Ballet', *Dance Research: The Journal of the Society for Dance Research*, Vol. 35, No. 2 (2017), p. 188.

[12] Alison Oram, 'Cross-dressing and transgender', in H. G. Cocks and Matt Houlbrook (eds.), *Palgrave Advances in the Modern History of Sexuality* (Basingstoke, 2006), pp. 267-69.

[13] Katie Hindmarch-Watson, 'Lois Schwich, The Female Errand Boy: Narratives of Female Cross-Dressing in Late-Victorian London', *GLQ A Journal of Gay and Lesbian Studies*, Vol. 14, No. 1 (2008), pp. 69-94.

[14] Ibid., pp. 69-70.

[15] Leslie Page Much and Rachel G. Fuchs, 'Poor Women's Networks in Nineteenth-Century Paris', *French Historical Studies*, Vol. 18, No. 1 (1993), p. 43.

rigidity of the conceptual boundary between public and private, thus overlooking the various private meanings ascribed to public spaces by different urban groups. In fin-de-siècle Vienna, the Eisvogel restaurant and the Esterházy baths appeared indistinguishable from the rest of the city's public spaces in the eyes of the 'respectable' public, who subscribed to middle-class spatial topographies; however, to non-heteronormative men and women, these spaces represented important sites of queer sociability, part of a broader queer social network within the metropolis.

The notion that crossing the gendered boundary between public and private space constitutes freedom is also problematic due to the way in which it overlooks women's precarious position in the public sphere. Public space had always been accessible to women in a literal sense; however, being recognised as legitimate social actors within urban public life represented a different struggle entirely. As such, urban women employed various techniques to either hide or justify their public presence in the metropolis, of which Lois Schwich's masquerade represents only one example. In December 1888, for instance, the Lady Guides' Association (LGA) was established in fin-de-siècle London, with the purpose of constructing a legitimate public role in the city for middle-class women.[16] The LGA hired and trained well-educated women as travel agents, tour guides and chaperones, who took responsibility for guiding visitors through the metropolis on sight-seeing tours and shopping trips.[17] By presenting themselves as maternal figures capable of protecting naïve female visitors to London using their gendered knowledge of the metropolis, the 'lady guides' essentially exploited male narratives of the city as a place of sexual danger to justify their free movement within public spaces. Female philanthropists in 1880s Manchester similarly appropriated maternalist rhetoric to justify their use of public space for activism, claiming that they had been "called to be the mothers of the race, and to do the social work… so necessary to our complex civilisation". [18] Maternalist rhetoric also featured in explanations of women's work in Paris's private asylums, notably those owned by the Brierre de Boismont family; Marie Rivet (private asylum director and daughter of the doctor Alexandre Brierre de Boismont) was said to "[love] her patients … [and] treat them as much with the concern of a mother as with the devotion of a sister", thus embedding Rivet's public, professional identity within domestic ideology. [19] The position of middle-class women in urban public life was carefully negotiated, demonstrating the limits of women's freedom within the nineteenth-century metropolis. Gendering the metropolis is as much about acknowledging the limits to women's influence over urban processes as it is about evaluating the extent of said influence.

As established above, the authority of middle-class women was consistently challenged in the public spaces of the metropolis, evidenced by their constant need to justify their public presence. For many women and non-heteronormative groups, however, having limited public influence within the metropolis was of far

[16] Erika D. Rappaport, 'Travelling in the Lady Guides' London: Consumption, Modernity, and the Fin-de-Siècle Metropolis', in Martin Daunton and Bernhard Rieger (eds.), *Meanings of Modernity: Britain from the Late-Victorian Era to World War II* (Oxford, 2001), p. 25.
[17] Ibid., p. 25.
[18] Goodman, 'Sex and the City', p. 85.
[19] Jessie Hewitt, 'Women Working "Amidst the Mad": Domesticity as Psychiatric Treatment in Nineteenth-Century Paris', *French Historical Studies*, Vol. 38, No. 1 (2015), p. 132.

lesser concern than the danger and exploitation to which they were subjected as part of their everyday urban experience. According to traditional narratives of urban development, the nineteenth-century constituted a 'glorious' age of progress, facilitated by urbanisation and industrial expansion. Consequently, the negative aspects of urbanisation have been overshadowed by images of unprecedented economic growth and social change. Although class-based analyses of the nineteenth-century metropolis have begun to challenge the progress narrative by exposing the centrality of working-class exploitation to urban development, their focus on male factory labour limits their ability to overhaul prevailing perceptions of nineteenth-century European urbanisation. A gendered approach to studying the metropolis is therefore needed for us to fully understand the suffering endured by *all* marginalised groups, not limited to working-class men.

Sweatshops represented a prominent feature of the urban landscape in nineteenth-century Europe; correspondingly, female sweated labour constituted an important element of the urban labour force. Sweatshops were not subject to any kind of regulation, meaning that laws surrounding pay and overtime were not observed and sweated workers were regularly underpaid and overworked, placing the women and children who worked in them in a particularly vulnerable position in unregulated labour markets.[20] "Clad in old, worn-out jaded jackets… [and] ragged shawls and bedraggled jackets", the match-girls of the Byrant and May factory in London typified the typical sweated female labourer, who endured notoriously poor living and working conditions and earned a pitiful wage.[21] This is not to say that working-class women lacked all agency; in 1888, the match-girls went on strike against Byrant and May for better pay and conditions and even appeared in the House of Commons to share their experiences as sweated labourers, a successful urban protest which helped to expand the scope of trade unionism to include unskilled female and child labourers.[22] However, when the wages of the forty-five sweated labourers who attended the Sweated Industries Exhibition in 1906 were averaged out, they were found not to exceed one penny per hour, suggesting the continued economic exploitation of working-class women and children in the metropolis into the twentieth-century.[23]

A gendered analysis of economic exploitation is a useful starting point for exposing the exploitative underbelly of nineteenth-century European urbanisation, but nonetheless represents only one aspect of women's suffering in the nineteenth-century metropolis. Fear of sexual danger, both real and imagined, formed another central component of the female urban experience for women of all classes.[24] With the expansion of the mass market and the retail revolution came the development of shopping areas in the nineteenth-century European metropolis, followed by the establishment of department stores such as Bon Marché in Paris, Herzmanksy in Vienna and Whiteley's in London.[25] Shopping districts and department stores

[20] Walkowitz, *City of Dreadful Delight*, pp. 76-79.
[21] Ibid., p. 78.
[22] Ibid., pp. 76-79.
[23] Sheila C. Blackburn, "Princesses and Sweated-Wage Slaves Go Well Together: Images of British Sweated Workers, 1843-1914', *International Labour and Working-Class History*, Vol. 61 (2002), p. 38.
[24] Walkowitz, *City of Dreadful Delight*, pp. 50-52.
[25] Ibid., p. 47.

provided a gendered space in the public sphere in which women could purchase goods and enjoy refreshments in female company.[26] In practice, however, shopping districts and departments stores did not constitute havens from sexual harassment, subjected as they were to the watchful eye of the male *flâneur*. Whilst women browsed the goods on offer in stores, men browsed the women 'on offer', treating female shoppers themselves as a spectacle for male appreciation. Describing her experiences as a female shopper in the West End, a place notorious for sexual harassment, Jeanette Marshall recalled how 'more than the usual number of 'creatures' glared me out of the countenance at crossing and corners… though I am pretty used to it'.[27] Aware of the sexual dangers that London posed, Marshall 'knew … exactly which route should be avoided'; women constructed their own imagined maps of the metropolis which accounted for gendered concerns about safety, thus enabling them to better navigate the dangers of urban life.[28]

Gendered concerns regarding safety in the metropolis were not exclusive to women, either. In the context of rising indictments for homosexuality in nineteenth-century Europe, non-heteronormative groups constructed their own imagined maps of the metropolis which accounted for concerns regarding police repression. Taking London as an example, sodomy trials such as the Park and Boulton case of 1871 raised awareness of locations commonly frequented by police whilst also publicising important sites of queer sociability, including parks, urinals and public baths.[29] Literary publications similarly informed queer perceptions of the metropolis, such as *The Yokel Preceptor* - this official guide of London, published in the 1840s, purported to highlight the dangers of the West End to unsuspecting country boys, but in doing so inadvertently advertised the city's queer spaces.[30] This knowledge formed the basis of queer topographies of the city, therefore enabling queer individuals to navigate both the dangers and the opportunities of urban life. A gendered study of the policing of female and non-heteronormative sexualities thus reveals a multiplicity of urban topographies in this period.

It is important to note that the risk of sexual danger in the metropolis was especially acute for migrants, who were more likely to find themselves in a precarious economic position without friends or family to call upon for assistance. As such, migrants in Paris appeared in disproportionate numbers in the Parisian welfare rolls, constituting around three-quarters of those receiving aid from welfare bureaus in the 1880s and 90s.[31] Migrants were also less likely to recognise the sexual dangers posed by city life, hence the efforts of the *Preceptor* and the London Lady Guides to impart their 'specialist knowledge' of the metropolis onto naive (male and female) visitors to the city.[32] A

[26] Erika D. Rappaport, "The Halls of Temptation": Gender, Politics and the Construction of the Department Store in Late Victorian London', *Journal of British Studies*, Vol. 35 (1996), p. 66-72.
[27] Walkowitz, *City of Dreadful Delight,* p. 51.
[28] Ibid., p. 51.
[29] H. G. Cocks, 'Secrets, Crimes and Diseases, 1800-1914', in Matt Cook, Robert Mills, Randoph Trumbach and H. G. Cocks (eds.), *A Gay History of Britain: Love and Sex Between Men Since the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 2007), p. 115-6.
[30] Ibid., p. 116.
[31] Rachel G. Fuchs and Leslie Page Moch, 'Pregnant, Single, and Far From Home: Migrant Women in Nineteenth-Century Paris', *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 95, No. 4 (1990), p. 1017.
[32] Rappaport, 'Travelling in the Lady Guides' London', pp. 25-37.

1874 report from the Working-Men's Church in Lombard Street, Manchester, attests to the sexual vulnerability of migrant women, albeit in sensationalised terms, stating that '[girls] come to this great city, searching for employment; they are trapped, drawn into these vile houses, stupefying drinks are given to them, and they awake to find themselves lost, degraded and objects of scorn'. [33] This apparent naivety could further explain why migrant women were so heavily overrepresented in the records of *La Maternité*, a state-run maternity hospital for the destitute in Paris. Despite constituting only 63% of women of childbearing age in Paris, migrant women represented 82% of the single mothers who were admitted to *La Maternité* in 1900, suggesting that migrant women were particularly vulnerable to seduction or, at worst, sexual abuse. [34] Pregnancy could also serve as a motive for urban migration in some instances; the anonymity of the metropolis appealed immensely to women who wished to hide their pregnancy from family and friends.[35] Studies of urbanisation typically focus on the experiences of the male economic migrant, resulting in the particularities of the female and/or non-heteronormative migrant experience being overlooked. As such, by recognising sexual danger and pregnancy as important elements of their migrant experience, the pre-eminence of economic explanations for migration (and thus urbanisation) can be challenged.

In conclusion, gender constitutes a valuable interpretive framework for our analyses of the nineteenth-century European metropolis. A gendered approach can firstly be used to explore the ways in which women and other marginalised groups transgressed the gendered boundary between public and private space, thus challenging prevailing perceptions of the metropolis as a site of social and spatial segregation. Secondly, gendering the metropolis enables us to appreciate not only the extent of women's influence within the metropolis, especially in relation to the policing of the working classes, but also the limits to women's influence in the metropolis as well, bringing into question the notion that entering the public sphere constituted a liberating experience for women. Finally, by focusing on the negative, exploitative aspects of urbanisation that characterised the female/non-heteronormative urban experience, a gendered approach enables us to challenge positive perceptions of the nineteenth-century as a period of industrial growth and economic prosperity.

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[33] Goodman, 'Sex and the City', pp. 78-79.
[34] Fuchs and Moch, 'Pregnant, Single and Far from Home', p. 1012.
[35] Ibid., p. 1012.

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HOW WAS THE MEMORY OF PETERLOO CONSTRUCTED, USED AND MISUSED 1900–1945?

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ABSTRACT: The memory of Peterloo has long been divisive, with contrasting accounts of its happenings, causes, and responsibility, often along political lines. Such polarisation has been regurgitated in recent studies which have assumed the willingness of the left to utilise its memory and underplayed the ability of conservatives to participate in its utilisation. This article aims to act as a corrective, stressing the importance of appreciating internal party dynamics, including their shifting priorities and diversity of viewpoints, which affected the willingness of left-wing parties to evoke the memory of Peterloo. Nevertheless, political ownership of Peterloo's memory did remain the preserve of the left, shifting from the Liberals to Labour and the Communists. Yet rather than being entirely polarising, the Liberals, Labour, Communists and Conservatives all had their own interpretations of Peterloo, utilised its memory and sometimes sought to avoid its contemporary inferences. To this end, this essay introduces new evidence from the Communist Party of Great Britain Archives and a new level of contemporary newspaper analysis, including explaining the changing frequency of mentions of Peterloo in them, as it seeks to answer why the memory of Peterloo wasn't used just as much as why it was.

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POLITICAL APPLICATIONS of historical events and narratives have long been a staple of modern politics, with the early 20th century no exception. Peterloo, which killed 18 and seriously injured nearly 700 [1] was a 'political earthquake'[2] whose morally and politically charged nature has inspired many radical and left-wing movements, most recently Jeremy Corbyn's Labour.[3] For some, the seemingly exclusive political divide over Peterloo has been so great as to represent two separate conceptions of history itself.[4] This exclusivism over Peterloo's history, in which the political left construct, use, and misuse it while the political right contest and deny it, has seeped into the scholarly sphere in the few articles regarding the use of Peterloo's memory by Terry Whyte, Joseph Cozens, and Katrina Navickas. These have reflected more common expectation than historical accuracy. Instead, in this period the changing positions and priorities of the political parties meant that the use of Peterloo's memory was chequered – elements on both right and left utilised Peterloo in their own ways and sought to avoid its contemporary inferences, though for differing reasons and not to an equal extent. Nevertheless, only parties on the left sought *ownership* of its history, to establish a sense of continuity and thus legitimacy, give further justification and impetus for their political agendas and undercut those of opposing parties. The resulting multiplicity of Peterloo's use and interpretation gave its political ownership a non-exclusive form. Whilst the most prominent user of Peterloo's memory can be identified as shifting leftward from the Liberals to Labour and the Communists, no party realised their claims to absolute stewardship.

The Liberal Party entered the century with almost exclusive political ownership of Peterloo's memory. Its claim rested on the co-option of working-class radicals from the Chartist movement in the mid-19th century,[5] poignantly displayed in the photographing of 11 Peterloo veterans outside the Failsworth Liberal Club in 1884 which combined Chartist pikes and contemporary Liberal banners.[6] Nevertheless, though they co-opted these radicals into their ranks, they did not do the same with the contemporary ideological conceptions of and claims about Peterloo and Chartism, specifically their working-class nature and consciousness they represented. This selective memory was clear in the 20th century too at the 1908 unveiling of a memorial to Henry Hunt in the Manchester Club. Hunt, a known influence on the working-class Chartists, was proclaimed by the editor of the *Manchester Guardian,* C.P. Scott, as 'not, perhaps, a very great man. He certainly was not a man of the fine character as Samuel Bamford'[7] – or perhaps, the fine, *liberal*

[1] Robert Poole, *Peterloo: The English Uprising* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), p. 1.
[2] Ibid., p. 2.
[3] Jeremy Corbyn, Commemorating the Bicentenary of Peterloo via Facebook (16th August 2019), https://www.facebook.com/JeremyCorbynMP/photos/a.468063663871/10157571361318872/ (last accessed 16th April 2022)
[4] Jeremy Cliffe, 'Peterloo v Waterloo: the historical divide in British politics', *The Economist,* Vol. 429, Issue 9117 (8th November 2018) p. 32.
[5] Joseph Cozens, 'The Making of the Peterloo Martyrs 1819 to the Present' in Q. Outram and K. Laybourn (eds.), *Secular Martyrdom in Britain and Ireland* (London: Palgrave MacMillian Press, 2018), p. 39.
[6] Sim Schofield, *Short Stories about Failsworth Folk: Reprinted with Additions from the Oldham Chronicle and Manchester City News* (Blackpool, 1905) cited in Cozens, 'Peterloo Martyrs', p. 40.
[7] 'Peterloo Recalled: A Memorial To "Orator" Hunt', *The Manchester Guardian* (Manchester, 30th June 1908), p. 7.

character of a man who had virulently rejected Chartism in the 1840s. Thus, the Liberals constructed a memory that suited their constitutionalist and mixed-class party, allowing them to claim a lineage from the 'forefathers [who] had their Peterloo' to 'Cobden, Bright, and Gladstone'.[8] To them, Peterloo was an entirely political event whose importance lay in the resultant Reform Act of 1832,[9] part and parcel of liberal reformism and laissez-faire.[10] They almost exclusively ignored class, one exception being an article in *The Nation* that reflected the post-WWI middle-class' class hysteria by likening 1919 to the 'class war … class hatred and suspicion' of Peterloo.[11] Generally, Liberals saw Peterloo as a conflict between 'the citizens of Manchester'[12] and the 'little Tory clique' of magistrates[13] allowing them to utilise a memory of Peterloo's Tory repression across a broad range of issues. Peterloo's spirit was evoked to defend critics of the Boer War against Conservatives who 'were to-day the same men in spirit and intention who suppressed free speech at Peterloo'[14] whilst Harry Nuttall MP addressed a meeting in Reddish, Stretford in 1910 stating that the Liberals were still fighting 'the fight which the Peers and the Tories had been waging for years past, from the days of Peterloo and before that, to curtail the liberties of the people'.[15] Liberals also selected certain politically expedient aspects of the demonstration, particularly promoting Peterloo's alleged focus on free trade, in light of Chamberlain's tariff reform campaign from 1902/03. Lord Rosebury, in 1904 in Glasgow, referenced 'one of the principal banners' at Peterloo which called for 'no Corn Laws'[16] while in 1902 at the Free Trade Hall in Manchester, a letter from the daughter of Richard Cobden, was read out calling to the memory of 'the field of Peterloo, where your forefathers lost their lives in defence of their rights' to promote their fight against protectionism.[17] *The Manchester Guardian* similarly celebrated a Liberal by-election victory at Bury in 1902 by castigating an attempt from the Tories to 'reimpose the Corn Laws' from which 'a voice should rise from the scene of Peterloo'.[18]

However, the Liberals' use of Peterloo, both in frequency and manner, shifted over time. Having applied the memory of Peterloo to pertinent issues such as the Boer War and free trade, the Liberals let it fade from active political use, clear

[8] 'Mr. L.V. Harcourt on Liberal Doctrines', *Derby Daily Telegraph* Derby, Vol. 46, Issue 6964, (13th March 1902), p. 2.
[9] 'Mr. Lloyd George on Manchester: City with Roots in the Remote Past: "Welsh Before It Was Roman": Its Contribution to Britain's History', *The Manchester Guardian* (Manchester, 26th April 1938), p.14.
[10] J.L. Hammond, 'A Century of Liberalism', *The Manchester Guardian* (Manchester, 5th May 1921), p. 54 and G.M. Trevelyan, 'The Great Days of Reform', *The Times,* Issue 46153 (London, 7th June 1932), pp. 15-16.
[11] 'Back to Peterloo', *The Nation,* Vol. 25, Issue 20 (16th August 1919), p. 580.
[12] 'Display ad 10: The House of J. & N. Philips & Company Limited Manufacturers & Exporters. Its History & Progress', *The Manchester Guardian* (Manchester, 14th July 1919), p. 8.
[13] Hammond, 'Century of Liberalism', *The Manchester Guardian* (Manchester, 5th May 1921), p. 54.
[14] 'National Liberal Federation at Nottingham: Dr. Spence-Watson on the War', *Daily Gazette For Middlesbrough* (Middlesbrough, 28th March 1900), p. 3.
[15] 'Mr. Nuttall: An Interesting Incident', *The Manchester Guardian* (Manchester, 9th December 1910), p. 11.
[16] 'Lord Rosebery At Glasgow', *The Times,* Issue 37570 (London, 6th December 1904), p. 10.
[17] 'The Bread Tax: Free-Trade Hall Demonstration the Return to Protection Condemned. Early Spencer on the Dangers of the Tax. A Reversal of Sound Principles. Speech by Mr. Asquith: Conservatives and the Classes. How the Burden Falls On Working Men.', *The Manchester Guardian* (Manchester, 16th May 1902), p. 5.
[18] 'Liberal Gain at Bury: A Heavy Poll and a Large Majority', *The Manchester Guardian* (Manchester, 12th May 1902), p. 5.

from the absence of Liberal politicians at the centenary celebrations.[19] Noticeably, when Baldwin relaunched a protectionist campaign in 1923, the Liberals no longer utilised Peterloo to fight it. Instead, most mentions in liberal newspapers post-1921 are political obituaries, references to Communist or Socialist uses of Peterloo's memory or half-hearted applications to foreign matters, reflecting both the Liberal party's growing political irrelevancy and the seizure of Peterloo's memory by more radical left-wing groups. This is epitomised by G.M. Trevelyan's 1932 article which nostalgically included Peterloo in 'The Great Days of Reform'.[20] The growing distance of the Liberals from Peterloo was also symbolically represented by the president of the Royton Women's Liberal Association referencing it as a social nicety, noting that 'seven Royton men were injured at Peterloo' at a 1928 meeting called as a 'plea for positive policy' after the 1924 election.[21] Such was the Liberal abandonment of Peterloo's political capital that by 1929 *The Manchester Guardian* could degrade it as 'a small affair' in comparison to an attack of the Berlin police on Communist rioters in May 1929[22] which left over 30 dead, a strange political choice to make if the party had been truly attached to Peterloo.

The Liberals' relinquishing of Peterloo's political capital, in turn, saw its exploitation by the Labour Party which from as early as 1906 claimed Peterloo in its heritage,[23] eventually applying a class-based interpretation. In the early 1900s, however, socialists saw Peterloo simply as a poignant example of the repressive nature of the state. C.A. Glyde's pamphlet *Liberal and Tory Hypocrisy* opened with Peterloo which he claimed was 'pre-arranged' and evidence of Tory repression.[24] He proclaimed that the only remedy would be to form 'a Great People's Party … an Independent Socialist and Trade Unionist Party'.[25] Keir Hardie echoed this narrative at an Independent Labour Party (ILP) conference in 1900, cautioning against potential repressive government after the Boer War, just like after the Napoleonic Wars[26] – a trope continued by some in regards to WWI.[27] Unemployment also brought warnings of government repression; in 1905 at a Manchester protest against perceived inaction on unemployment a telegram from Keir Hardie was read aloud that proclaimed that 'the spirit of the Peterloo massacre is again upon the authorities'[28] while in 1909, Victor Grayson MP stated that Peterloo-like repression, was coming.[29] Labour's first wider application of the memory of Peterloo to political matters concerned

[19] 'Peterloo: Celebrations in Manchester', *The Manchester Guardian* (Manchester, 2nd August 1919), p. 6.
[20] G.M. Trevelyan, 'The Great Days of Reform', *The Times,* Issue 46153 (London, 7th June 1932), pp. 15-16.
[21] 'Liberalism wants No Alliance: The Lessons of 1924 Plea for Positive Policy What By-Elections Show', *The Manchester Guardian* (Manchester, 8th May 1928), p. 12.
[22] 'The Berlin Police', *The Manchester Guardian* (Manchester, 11th July 1929), p. 10.
[23] 'The Movement', *Labour Leader,* Vol. 2, No. 46 (London, 16th February 1906), p. 7.
[24] The Communist Party of Great Britain Archive (henceforth CPGBA), Manchester, CP/CENT/PL/01/07, C.A. Glyde, *Liberal and Tory Hypocrisy*. (?c. 1904), pp. 2-3.
[25] Ibid., pp. 29-30.
[26] 'Reformers and War', *Labour Leader and Socialist Herald* (London, 21st April 1900), p. 4.
[27] See, for example: W.N. Ewer, 'On Reading "The Dynasts."', *Daily Herald,* No. 783 (London, 20th March 1915), p. 2, 'Some Books on The War', *Daily Herald,* No. 785 (London, 3rd April 1915), p. 12 and Jack Cade, 'The Piping Times of Peace', *Labour Leader,* Vol. 13, No. 12 (London, 23rd March 1916), p. 3.
[28] 'Manchester Disturbances', *Hull Daily Mail,* Issue 6171 (Hull, 2nd August 1905), p. 3
[29] 'Unemployment: Mr. Victor Grayson, M.P., On Resolutions', *The Manchester Guardian* (Manchester, 15th February 1909), p. 9.

policing protest[30] – a central issue during the Great Unrest of 1910-14 with the memory of the Featherstone massacre of 1893 still fresh. Ben Tillet attacked the alleged practice of horse police striking people with their hooves stating that 'such brutality is without example unless one compare it to Peterloo', [31] while *The Clarion* cautioned against 'panic legislation and Peterlooism'. [32] Labour also evoked Peterloo in support of the suffragettes, defending their methods of agitation[33] and claiming that Peterloo had 'failed as yet' as it had yet to 'win real freedom for the workers', [34] a line taken up by the suffragettes who claimed to be experiencing '*their* Peterloo'.[35] Yet, there was little of the quasi-Marxist interpretation that took hold in 1919 – in parliament, George Wardle MP even echoed the Liberals, reducing Peterloo to an exclusively political event, compared to the industrial nature of Featherstone and the Bristol riots.[36]

The centenary of Peterloo saw an eruption in attention paid to the event and a concerted effort by Socialists to better exploit its political capital. Peterloo joined Featherstone, Tonypandy and others as an example of 'class war'– evidence that 'Capitalism is prepared to shout and kill without mercy, their own unarmed fellow-countrymen'. [37] The yeomanry were not only murderers, they were 'publicans, millowners and shopkeepers … maddened with class hatred' [38] who 'despised the factory workers and were disliked by them.'[39] Those at Peterloo were no longer just 'citizens of Manchester' [40] but 'the wage slaves of the new industrial system' who were valiantly fighting against 'catastrophic' industrialisation which had destroyed their 'independent and comfortable' lives. [41] They were 'revolutionaries' who had a 'plan with a strangely modern ring … to "make a Moscow of Manchester"',[42] trying 'to bind their masters' oppression back'.[43] This new interpretation was, to Socialists, poignant at the time, as they drew similarities between Peterloo and their contemporary period. The *Labour Leader* likened the 'mismanagement and tyranny of Castlereagh's' administration to that of Lloyd George's and noted, in its description of Peterloo, that 'one might be writing of the Glasgow strikes this year'[44] while the *Daily Herald* saw parallels between

[30] Cozens, 'Peterloo Martyrs', p. 33.
[31] Ben Tillett, 'Grave Scandal', *Daily Herald* (2nd August 1912), p. 10.
[32] 'The Coal Strike', *The Clarion,* No. 1056 (London, 1st March 1912), p. 7.
[33] 'Votes for Women: A Manchester Open-Air Meeting Ends In Disorder Signs of Opposition Scene of Confusion', *The Manchester Guardian* (Manchester, 16th July 1906), p. 7; Mr. Keir Hardie Mobbed', *Lichfield Mercury,* Issue 1420 (Lichfield, 20th July 1906), p. 6.
[34] Iona, 'Our Women's Outlook', *Labour Leader,* Vol. 5, No. 23 (London, 5th June 1908), p. 13.
[35] *The Freewoman,* Vol. 2, Issue 36 (25th July 1912), p. 184.
[36] *Hansard,* House of Commons (5th March 1908), Vol. 185, Col. 914-5
[37] C.A. Glyde, 'The centenary of the massacre of British workers, Peterloo, Manchester, Monday, August 16th, 1819', *Pamphlets for the People,* No. 7 (Bradford, August 1919), p. 19.
[38] J.H. Hudson, 'Peterloo. The Baptismal Hour of the Labour Movement. What We Owe to the Manchester Martyrs.', *Labour Leader,* Vol. 16, No. 33 (London, 14th August 1919), p. 1.
[39] 'Peterloo', *Hull Daily Mail,* Issue 10607 (Hull, 23rd September 1919), p. 6.
[40] 'Display ad 10: The House of J. & N. Philips & Company Limited Manufacturers & Exporters. Its History & Progress', *The Manchester Guardian* (Manchester, 14th July 1919), p. 8.
[41] J.L. Hammond, 'Peterloo', *Daily Herald,* No. 1112 (London, 16th August 1919), p. 4.
[42] 'Peterloo', *Hull Daily Mail,* Issue 10607 (Hull, 23rd September 1919), p. 6.
[43] 'Our London Letter', *Labour Leader,* Vol. 16, No, 33 (London, 14th August 1919), p. 2.
[44] Eve Casey, 'A Hundred Years Ago: Peterloo!', *Labour Leader*, Vol. 16, No. 32 (London, 7th August 1919), p. 3.

repression and unrest after the Napoleonic wars and that after WWI.[45] The centenary not only provided a new interpretation and new parallels, but also new lessons. J.H. Hudson believed that the Peterloo banner 'Labour is the source of all wealth', meant that Labour must achieve 'the common ownership of the land and capital'[46] while the 'sacrifice' of the Peterloo 'martyrs' had endowed workers with the vote, and bound them to return Labour candidates 'to make their hope a living reality.'[47] These links between past and present continued with the centenary celebration combining remembrance and political ideology with banners reading 'Labour is the Scrounge of All Wealth' and 'Peterloo 1819. Labourloo 1919'.[48] The Sunday meeting that followed saw Philip Snowden call on the working class, on the back of Peterloo's memory, to use their political and industrial power to return a Labour government. [49] The centenary thus ostensibly re-invigorated the memory of Peterloo as a powerful political tool with an emotive and fitting narrative for Labour.

However, as the Labour Party became the leading progressive voice in the 1920s, its application of Peterloo's memory was neither consistent nor extensive. While the centenary may have entailed a reordering of the narrative of Peterloo along quasi-Marxist, class-based lines, this does not mean that, retrospectively, Labour was comfortable with this. The same J.L. Hammond who had written a fiery class-based account in 1919 about the 'wage slaves of the new industrial system' and made inferences to the continued inequalities in the legal and parliamentary systems which sought to vilify the poor and protect the rich,[50] wrote in the *New Leader* in 1924 of Peterloo as purely 'a political struggle'. [51] The magistrates no longer simply sanctioned a massacre and the 'authorities' were no longer a uniform mass renowned for their 'brutality'.[52] Rather, the magistrates had faced a complex situation, 'engaged in the attempt to keep order' in the 'most difficult' circumstances, 'without any proper police force' and were condemned by 'men of all classes'.[53] As the title 'From Peterloo to Downing Street' implied, England had come a long way since then. Snowden, then the Chancellor of the Exchequer, claimed in 1924 that even in the days of Peterloo, 'the wisest leaders … preached the methods of constitutional agitation' and felt the need to note that he had 'a constitutional hatred of violence',[54] while Charles Trevelyan MP stressed that anything like Peterloo 'is impossible now'. [55] Labour MPs in parliament generally avoided class connotations of Peterloo,[56] and parallels to the current day,

[45] 'Peterloo', *Daily Herald,* No. 1109 (London, 13th August 1919), p. 4.
[46] Hudson, 'Peterloo', *Labour Leader,* Vol. 16, No. 33 (London, 14th August 1919), p. 1.
[47] Hudson, 'Peterloo.', *Labour Leader,* Vol. 16, No. 33 (London, 14th August 1919), p. 1 cited in Cozens, 'Peterloo Martyrs', p. 41.
[48] Terry Wyke, 'Remembering the Manchester Massacre', in Robert Poole (ed.), *Return to Peterloo* (Manchester: Carnegie Publishing, 2014), p. 120.
[49] Idem.
[50] Hammond, 'Peterloo', *Daily Herald,* No. 1112 (London, 16th August 1919), p. 4.
[51] J.L. Hammond, 'From Peterloo to Downing Street', *New Leader,* Vol. 6, No. 5 (1st February 1924), p. 7.
[52] Hammond, 'Peterloo', *Daily Herald,* No. 1112 (London, 16th August 1919), p. 4.
[53] Hammond, 'From Peterloo to Downing Street', *New Leader,* Vol. 6, No. 5 (1st February 1924), p. 7.
[54] 'Labour and the New World', *The Manchester Guardian* (Manchester, 1st May 1924), p. 8.
[55] *Hansard,* House of Commons (18th June 1925), Vol. 185, Col. 911.
[56] See, for example: *Hansard,* House of Commons (7th May 1923), Vol. 163, Col. 1995, *Hansard,* House of Commons (6th May 1926), Vol. 195, Col. 521, *Hansard, Hansard,* House of Commons (17th April 1928), Vol. 216, Col. 84, and *Hansard,* House of Commons (26th May 1943), Vol. 389, Col. 1644.

unless they were to foreign occurrences.[57] Those who did not, were almost exclusively members of the more radical ILP (which in 1932 disaffiliated from Labour)[58] such as Frank Broad for whom there was still a 'class war in operation' [59] and Colonel Wedgewood who claimed that 'the tradition of Peterloo still lingers in … [the] establishment'. [60] For most Labourites, while they could rile against the corrupt authorities whose reactionary nature was epitomised by Peterloo when they were excluded from its workings, the applicability of this narrative changed as Labour's position did. As a Labour government became a real possibility and the party aimed to portray itself as a responsible, national, rather than sectional, government-in-waiting[61] this quasi-Marxist history was one many wanted to avoid. This was an even more immediate priority considering the Conservative Party's anti-socialist stance (and conservative propaganda, epitomised by the Zinoviev letter in 1924)[62] which united its inter-war voter base. [63] Instead, Labour, and the Trade Unions Council (TUC) particularly, preferred to appeal to the memory of the Tolpuddle martyrs which could easily be linked to trade union rights[64] without the insurrectionary connotations of Peterloo's new interpretation. Thus, while Tolpuddle was commemorated in 1934 with the erection of six memorial cottages,[65] Labour made no such attempts to memorialise Peterloo. It is these political contingencies that Joseph Cozens underplays when he contends that Peterloo was 'most forcefully recalled at moments of class conflict'.[66] His argument contravenes evidence that in periods of unrest, such as in 1921 and 1926 (85,872,000 and 162,233,000 working days lost respectively)[67] when one might expect there to be extensive application of Peterloo's memory and quasi-Marxist narrative, there is, in fact, no major increase in mentions (Fig.1).

Only an appreciation of the particular, moderate, stance of the Labour Party to, say, the general strike can explain this pattern. In 1926, the TUC was pushed into calling a general strike by radicals like A.J. Cook, despite the unease of many in the TUC leadership and Labour Party [68] who believed it would undermine the strategy of building Labour into a respectable party of government and provide an opportunity for the Communists to discredit Labour leading to a rejection of parliamentary methods by the workers. [69] Labour's unease is clear from the limited support Labour MPs gave the strike, [70]

[57] See, for example: *Hansard*, House of Commons (22nd September 1943), Vol. 392, Col. 284 and *Hansard*, House of Commons (8th December 1944), Vol. 406, Col. 914.
[58] Martin Pugh, *Speak for Britain!, A New History of The Labour Party* (London: Vintage Books, 2010), p. 218.
[59] *Hansard*, House of Commons (29th March 1927), Vol. 204, Col. 1135.
[60] *Hansard*, House of Commons (22nd May 1940), Vol. 361, Col. 262.
[61] Pugh, *Speak for Britain!*, p. 217.
[62] Ibid., p. 182.
[63] Ross McKibbin, *Parties and People: England 1914-1951* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), p. 100.
[64] Clare Griffths, 'From 'Dorchester Labourers' to 'Tolpuddle Martyrs': Celebrating Radicalism in the English Countryside' in Q. Outram and K. Laybourn (eds.), *Secular Martyrdom in Britain and Ireland* (London: Palgrave MacMillian Press, 2018), p. 66.
[65] Ibid., p. 64.
[66] Cozens, 'Peterloo Martyrs', p. 33.
[67] 'The history of strikes in the UK', *Office for National Statistics* (2015) https://www.ons.gov.uk/employmentandlabourmarket/peopleinwork/employmentandemployeetypes/articles/thehistoryofstrikesintheuk/2015-09-21 (last accessed 15th April 2022)
[68] Pugh, *Speak for Britain!*, p. 190.
[69] Ibid., pp. 192-3.
[70] Ibid., p. 193.

which made any application of the Peterloo, class-warfare narrative highly irregular. The embarrassment, as many Labourites saw it, of the strike made the party even more conscious of the need for a moderate stance.[71] Moreover, these were not just the platitudes of the Labour elite; some in the working class were also conscious of this, such as those involved in the Jarrow march of 1936 who despite being called to action by communists, presented themselves as non-political [72] and emphasised their respectability, banning alcohol, for example. [73] Thus the moderation of the inter-war Labour party and clearly some (although it is hard to gauge how many) of its natural voters made the deployment of the newly radicalised Peterloo narrative highly unlikely. In fact, the only clear trend post-1918 in mentions of Peterloo coincides with celebrations of Peterloo's centenary in 1919 and Manchester's centenary as an incorporated borough in 1938 (Fig.1) when Peterloo was represented in an exhibition,[74] play [75] and civic ceremony. [76] Labour, though they fought to have Peterloo included in the civic ceremony, [77] were satisfied enough with its inconsequential part towards the end of 'A Cavalcade of Progress', [78] unlike the Communists who held their own pageant at which Peterloo was much more prominent.[79]

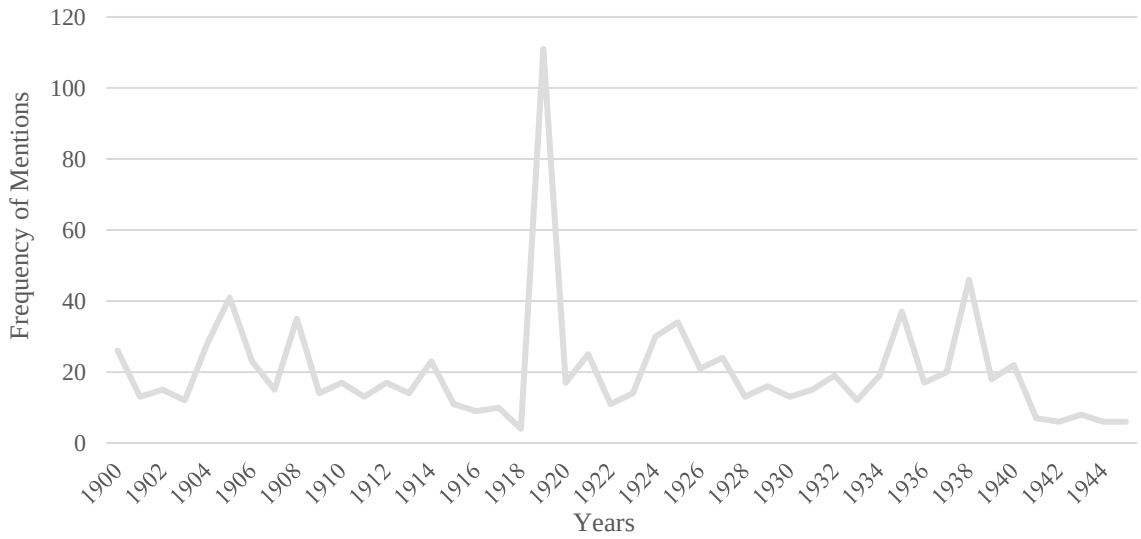

Figure 1: Mentions of Peterloo in Newspapers, Periodicals, Monographs and Manuscripts 1900-1945.[*]

[71] Peter Clarke, *Hope And Glory: Britain 1900-2000* (London: Penguin Books, 2004), p. 141.
[72] Harry Harmer, 'The Failure of the Communists: The National Unemployed Workers' Movement, 1921-1939: A Disappointing Success' in Andrew Thorpe (ed.), *The Failure of Political Extremism in Inter-war Britain* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1989), p. 34.
[73] Pugh, *Speak for Britain!*, p. 219.
[74] 'Manchester in Picture: A Centenary Show', *The Manchester Guardian* (Manchester, 2nd May 1938), p. 13.
[75] 'Manchester Stage and Screen: "They Build a City" at the Repertory Theatre', *The Manchester Guardian* (Manchester, 14th June 1938), p. 13.
[76] 'Manchester's Civic Centenary: Progress with Construction of Episodes for the Pageant A City's Long Story', *The Manchester Guardian* (Manchester, 16th March 1938), p. 13.
[77] 'Royal Visit to Manchester', *The Times*, Issue 47972 (London, 19th April 1938), p. 7.
[78] *Manchester City News* (18th June 1938), p. 8 cited in Wyke, 'Remembering the Manchester Massacre', p. 122.
[79] Manchester and Salford District Communist Party, *100 Years of Struggle: Manchester's Centenary, the Real Story* (1938) cited in Angela Bartie, Linda Fleming, Mark Freeman, Tom Hulme, Alexander Hutton & Paul Readman, ''History taught in the pageant way': education and historical performance in twentieth-century Britain', *Journal of the History of Education Society*, Vol. 48, No. 2 (2019), p. 166.

At a broader level, the failure to apply Peterloo's memory extensively to political events in this period was because, as Terry Whyte has noted, for many it 'was merely one of the many disconnected events that had occurred in the past.'[80] Labour's reluctance to utilise their interpretation certainly contributed to this. However, it was also a result of the political skew of the established press. Conservative-minded newspapers generally avoided mentioning Peterloo, which meant for a country where the two largest newspapers, the *Daily Express* and *Daily Mail* were both conservatively minded and sold over three times more than the largest left-wing newspaper, the TUC's *Daily Herald*, in the mid-1930s,[81] most were unlikely to hear of Peterloo. Furthermore, the BBC, established in 1922, largely adopted a conservative stance as a result of its position as part of the establishment. It was therefore unlikely to promote a historical event that carried anti-establishment connotations, as one writer to the *Daily Herald* complained: 'The BBC … [is] Jingoism and Tory dope … our children are being chloroformed by a Tory professor of history. No mention of Peterloo, you may be sure!'[82] Surprisingly perhaps, on 16th August 1935, a one-hour documentary feature on Peterloo did air, but it was restricted to the Northern circuit,[83] though being available to some through rediffusion, at least in Nottingham.[84]

The Communists, unlike Labour, had no reservations about establishment respectability and were a relatively consistent force in promoting the class-based narrative of Peterloo, though their reach was small with only 18,000 members in 1938.[85] Their interpretation of Peterloo was similar to the Labour Party's in 1919. It was, as an official 1928 pamphlet characterised it, 'one of the most bloody in the annals of class rule in Britain', part of a 'hundred years of class struggle'.[86] It bore evidence of the 'unmerciful plundering of the working people'[87] by the 'mounted hooligans of Tory gentry'[88] or 'capitalist swine',[89] an event that 'opened the eyes of many British workers to the real nature of class rule.'[90] Despite the similarity with Labour's account, the Communist Party of Great Britain (CPGB) claimed exclusive ownership of Peterloo's memory –

* Gale Primary Sources, ProQuest Newspapers, ProQuest Periodicals, Daily Worker Archive, and selected newspapers from the British Newspaper Archive: *Daily Herald, Labour Leader, The Clarion*. Mentions of a racing dog, racing horse and cycling club named Peterloo have been removed, as have all mentions of the reprint in the *Daily Herald* in 1923 of Theodora Wilson Wilson's novel Jack O'Peterloo except for those that mentioned Peterloo itself. This was done to avoid an inflation of its political relevancy.

[80] Wyke, 'Remembering the Manchester Massacre', p. 123.

[81] Clarke, *Hope And Glory*, p. 116.

[82] Angus McKinnon, 'Wireless Bias', *Daily Herald*, No. 3369 (London, 24th November 1926), p. 4.

[83] 'Wireless Notes: To-Day's Broadcasting – Northern's Page from Lancashire History', *The Manchester Guardian* (Manchester, 16th August 1935), p. 10.

[84] 'Take Your Choice For –', *Nottingham Evening Post*, Issue 17818 (Nottingham, 16th August 1935), p. 8.

[85] Andrew Thorpe, 'The Membership of the Communist Party of Great Britain 1920-1945', *Historical Journal*, No. 43 (2000), p. 781 cited in Pugh, *Speak for Britain*, p. 218.

[86] The Communist Party of Great Britain (henceforth CPGB), *Peterloo: The story of the terrible massacre of the Lancashire Workers at St. Peter's Fields, Manchester on August 16th, 1819, and the Lessons of Peterloo* (London, August 1928), p. 3.

[87] R. McIlhone, 'For Soviet Power: The Issue Is Facing The Workers Of Great Britain', *Daily Worker*, No. 1262 (London, 26th January 1934), p. 4.

[88] CPGBA, Manchester, CP/IND/MISC/13/4 Frank Jackson, *The Struggle for the Vote.* (?1930-60)

[89] Islwyn Nicholas 'Revolutionary Education', *Worker's Dreadnought,* Vol. 7, No. 39 (18th December 1920), p. 5.

[90] 'Peterloo Recalled', *Daily Worker*, No. 2511 (London, 5th February 1938), p. 4.

Labour's 'claims [to] fellowship with "the dead of Peterloo"' were 'shamefully hypocritical'.[91] The CPGB disapproved of Labour's distancing from Peterloo's potentially revolutionary connotations. In 1932 the *Daily Worker* complained that Labour 'have been trying to dope the young boys and girls by telling them that Labour and Capital have come together since' Peterloo,[92] echoing the party's stance in 1928 that Labourite historians were the 'intellectual prostitutes of capitalism who have carefully fostered the idea that revolutionary violence is "foreign to the British race"' by not giving 'adequate treatment to these early struggles'.[93] Instead, for the Communists, Peterloo demonstrated the need for revolution, led by the working class.[94] Beyond calling for revolution, the Communists utilised a more political conception of Peterloo to call for the defence of the Spanish government from General Franco, likely done to better garner support from outside the party, a move consistent with their attempt to create a united front of socialists and trade unions against fascism.[95] They likened the Spanish fight 'for democracy and liberty'[96] to Peterloo and held a pageant at which they emphasised that the 'spirit and sacrifice' of those at Peterloo was required to fight against fascism.[97] Peterloo was also displayed in other pageants to celebrate working-class[98] and women's[99] history. Despite this prominence, Peterloo was only a semi-regular feature in Communist educational material, rather than a 'recurring' one as Cozens has suggested,[100] which stems from his lack of analysis of material published between 1928 and 1969. Peterloo did appear in some reading lists and library catalogues, with F.A. Bruton's *The Story of Peterloo,* being part of the *Worker's Dreadnought* book club and library in 1923,[101] as well as being included in various Marxist courses.[102] However, many courses simply didn't mention it[103] such as *Marxist Study Courses: Working Class History,* a four-book course that only bares vague references to protests and titled Peterloo's period 'The Bourgeoisie Exploit

[91] 'Cripps and Co. As Usual: The Old Story In A New Book', *Daily Worker,* No. 1451 (London, 5th September 1934), p. 4.
[92] 'Pageant and "Prosperity": Belle Vue Bank for the Cotton Trade', *Daily Worker,* No. 776 (London, 4th July 1932), p. 2.
[93] CPGB, *Peterloo* (London, August 1928), p. 4.
[94] Ibid., pp. 14-15.
[95] Harmer, 'The Failure of the Communists', p. 41.
[96] 'If the Spanish Fascists Win: Threat to Democratic Rights in Britain and France A Manchester Demonstration', *The Manchester Guardian* (Manchester, 17th August 1936), p. 11.
[97] 'Fight for Liberty: Communist Pageant in Manchester', *The Manchester Guardian* (Manchester, 12th July 1937), p. 11
[98] 'Pageant Of Colour And Drama: London To See Communists March: Story of the English', *Daily Worker,* No. 2083 (London, 18th September 1936), p. 5; 'Stirring Scenes at London's Pageant', *Daily Worker,* No. 2085 (London, 21st September 1936), p. 5.
[99] '"March of Women"', *Daily Worker,* No. 2839 (London,25th February 1939), p. 5.
[100] Cozens, 'Peterloo Martyrs', p. 42.
[101] 'Dreadnought Book Clubs and Reading Circles.', *Worker's Dreadnought,* Vol. 9, No. 45 (20th January 1923), p. 8.
[102] See, for example: The National Archives, London, Communist Party of Great Britain (CPGB): general, The Security Service: KV 3: Subject (SF series) Files KV 3/389, 'A four lesson course on the history of the working-class in Britain and the rise of the Communist Party' (13th June 1932-30th November 1934)
[103] See for example: CPGBA, CP/CENT/ED/1/6, *Marx Memorial Library & Workers' School Correspondence Course in Working Class History: Lesson III The Early Struggles of the Working Class* (?1938-44), CPGBA, CP/CENT/ED/1/3, *Britain's Labour Movement: A four lesson study syllabus* (?1945) and CPGBA, CP/CENT/ED/1/3, Daphne May, *Study Guide to A People's History of England* (London, ?1945).

the Labour Movement'.[104] Furthermore, in those that did, it often warranted only a short mention – one such course by the Marx Memorial Library delved into more detail than most when it mentioned that eleven were killed and that it was part of 'the second phase of the early democratic movement.' [105] One might argue that courses were not prescriptive, but nonetheless, the recommended reading rarely promoted a piece about Peterloo while other histories such as Luddism and Chartism were covered in depth. This chequered past indicates that though Peterloo resonated with the CPGB, maintaining a prominence in their press, it was not necessarily central to it, likely due to the better applicability of Chartism and Luddism which could more easily be presented as working-class and anti-capitalist.

The Conservatives, in contrast to the Communists, had a semi-ambivalent approach to Peterloo. Cozens' argument that the Conservatives' 19th century approach of arguing for the illegality of the demonstration, playing down the numbers killed and contesting the notion of it being a massacre 'was forcefully maintained well into the twentieth century' [106] cannot be entirely substantiated in this period. Evidence from the first half of the 20th century suggests a more complex relationship with Peterloo. By in large, the Tories did not argue the illegality of the demonstration; the closest a Tory would get to this comes from the chairman of Lloyds Bank who only went as far as to call it an 'insurrectionary meeting'. [107] Most accepted that it was a terrible moment in England's history. *The Daily Telegraph* called Peterloo a 'tragic episode'[108] while *The Times* labelled it a 'catastrophe' that provoked 'the horror of the nation'. [109] Sometimes Tories contested the numbers killed and the label of a massacre such as in *The Times* in 1919 which claimed 'The Peterloo affair was not a massacre, for only one man was killed; but it was a violent attack by a troop of Yeomanry upon a perfectly legal and peaceful meeting.' [110] However, this was rare. Other conservative newspapers, such as the *Aberdeen Journal*, accepted the official death toll of the time – eleven. [111] Most often, the Tories didn't openly challenge the left's interpretation of Peterloo as doing so would bring it unwanted attention. Nor did they need to as it was not a major weapon in the left's arsenal. Only the nationalist National Democratic and Labour Party overtly contested Peterloo, claiming centenary celebrations were a 'camouflage to preach extremism and Marxian doctrines mixed with Bolshevism.'[112] Subtle challenges and selective ignorance were most common, the latter evident in the little attention paid by the conservative press to the centenary, mentions being short snippets with little

[104] CPGBA, CP/CENT/ED/1/2, *Marxist Study Courses: Working Class History: The English Industrial Revolution and Chartism* (London, 1932).
[105] CPGBA, CP/CENT/ED/1/6, *Marx Memorial Library & Workers' School Postal Course History of the British Working Class* (London, ?1938-44), p. 22.
[106] Cozens, 'Peterloo Martyrs', p. 46.
[107] 'Lloyd Bank Limited', *The Daily Telegraph*, Issue 22083 (London, 6th February 1926), p. 3.
[108] 'Peterloo Centenary', *The Daily Telegraph*, Issue 20075 (London, 18th August 1919), p. 7.
[109] 'The Century.', *The Times*, Issue 36339 (London, 31st December 1900), p. 11.
[110] '1819-1919', *The Times*, Issue 42108 (London, 24th May 1919), p. 10.
[111] 'Peterloo Massacre Recalled', *Aberdeen Journal*, Issue 680 (Aberdeen, 4th February 1925), p. 6.
[112] A. Food, 'Letters to the Editor: Peterloo Camouflage', *The British Citizen and Empire Worker*, Vol. 7, Issue 157 (London, 23rd August 1919), p. 36 and 'The National Democratic and Labour Party', *British Citizen and Empire Worker*, Vol. 7, Issue 157 (23rd August 1919), p. 36.

political inference.[113] In parliament, Tories, when they addressed Peterloo, chose their words carefully. It is not a surprise that references to Peterloo as a 'massacre', 'slaughter' or 'battle' were reserved for Labour and Liberal members while Conservatives avoided emotive language, one even calling it 'riots' [114] which, by definition, places the agency with the crowd rather than the yeomanry, hussars, and magistrates. Importantly however, Conservatives were not universally excluded from utilising the memory of Peterloo for political gain. They did so, though not on a broad front, much along early Labour lines as Peterloo bearing evidence of an overbearing state. Early in the century, two conservative newspapers condemned an attack by General Arsenieff on strikers in Odessa[115] and the clearing of streets by cavalry in Madrid[116] by likening them to Peterloo. Some Conservatives even applied it to domestic issues. Commander Bower MP, castigated Labour for supporting defence Regulation 18B, which allowed the internment without trial of people suspected of being actively opposed to the war with Germany, pacificist or suspected of Nazi sympathies, as it went against the values of a party that claimed its roots in 'Tolpuddle and Peterloo.' [117] Similarly, Sir Edward Grigg MP argued against compulsory military service, instead pushing for a campaign to dismantle the army's unpopularity, which stemmed from a knowledge that it might be used for reactionary purposes, instilled, in part, by Peterloo. [118] One case that might satisfy Cozen's argument was that of a columnist in *The Daily Telegraph* who defended the deployment of a regiment to Belfast to put down strikes in 1907 by appealing to the precedence of 'Peterloo and Featherstone' as legitimate deployments of military force in aid of the police. [119] Nevertheless, Peterloo was most often used against the Conservatives rather than by them – directly in Ayr, Scotland where a local reminded the caucus of the Conservative candidate's father, who had carried out a 'local Peterloo' [120] – the reference supposedly enough to sway the crowd against him.

In conclusion, all major political parties and groups interpreted and utilised the memory of Peterloo in their own way, for a variety of reasons. However, most interestingly the non-exclusive ownership of Peterloo's history shifted leftward over time, as did its interpretation, just as the leading progressive voice, the Labour Party, strove to become more 'respectable' in the eyes of the electorate. This highlights the crucial political contingencies one must appreciate when analysing the application of historical memory and the equal importance of attending to attempts to avoid evoking the past even when, ostensibly, it might be in a political party's interest to promote it.

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[113] See, for example: 'Peterloo Centenary', *The Daily Telegraph,* Issue 20075 (London, 18th August 1919), p. 7 and 'Peterloo Centenary', *Aberdeen Journal,* Issue 20165 (Aberdeen, 18th August 1919), p. 6.
[114] *Hansard,* House of Lords (27th April 1926), Vol. 63, Col. 954.
[115] 'Strike Mania in Russia', *Daily Mail,* Issue 2279 (London, 7th August 1903), p. 5.
[116] 'A Spanish "Peterloo.", *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser,* Vol. 77, Issue 13813 (Manchester, 15th February 1901), p. 10.
[117] *Hansard,* House of Commons (21st July 1942), Vol. 381, Col. 1432.
[118] *Hansard,* House of Commons (22nd March 1938), Vol. 333, Col. 1057.
[119] 'Beneath Big Ben', *The Daily Telegraph,* Issue 16316 (London, 14th August 1907), p. 6.
[120] 'Gossip of the Day', *Sunderland Daily Echo and Shipping Gazette,* Issue 9369 (Sunderland, 18th January 1904), p. 3.

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RACE, RENAISSANCE AND REMOVALS: REDISCOVERING THE ORDINARY IN 1950s SOPHIATOWN

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ABSTRACT: The name 'Sophiatown' evokes a sensational array of responses in the South African imaginary. Once destroyed, erased, rebuilt and renamed by an apartheid state unwilling to tolerate the presence of a multiracial community at the heart of the 'white' city, Sophiatown has become a centrepiece of triumphalist post-apartheid narratives, attesting both to the inhumanity of urban segregation and the resilience of black South African urbanites. This paper argues that the palimpsestic rewriting of Sophiatown by former residents and historians has obscured the ordinary life of the suburb, transforming it into a romanticised *lieu de mémoire* in order to buttress the foundations of modern black urbanity in South Africa. By moving away from the oral testimony employed by previous historians and undertaking a new reading of short stories published in *Drum* magazine between 1951 and 1959, it can be shown that the writers of the so-called 'Sophiatown Renaissance' used the modality of short fiction to make the labyrinthine industrial city legible for their readers, whilst also providing invaluable insight into the aspirations, anxieties and challenges which characterised everyday life in mid-20th century Johannesburg.

Critical Historical Studies, vol. 1, pp. 102–138.

IN HIS KEYNOTE ADDRESS for a conference on *New Writing in Africa: Continuity and Change*, held at the Commonwealth Institute in 1984, literary critic Njabulo Ndebele commented that everyday life in apartheid South Africa was an all-consuming 'spectacle of social absurdity':[i]

> … the most outstanding feature of South African oppression is its brazen, exhibitionist openness. It is no wonder then, that the Black writer, sometimes a victim, sometimes a spectator, should have his imagination almost totally engaged by the spectacle before him.[1]

Three decades after the collapse of white minority rule in South Africa, the term *apartheid* continues to invoke a sensational array of dramatic symbols in the global imaginary. The experience of living in twentieth-century South Africa is acted out for popular audiences in a polarised repertoire of cruel violence and intense suffering. Whether in the form of films such as *Mandela: Long Walk to Freedom* (2013), where Idris Elba's 'towering' Nelson Mandela stoically endures the ordeals of poverty, mass protest, police brutality and dehumanising imprisonment, or in the form of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, where global broadcasts showed bereaved mothers mourning the murder of husbands, sons and daughters, life under apartheid is consistently portrayed through the essentialised symbolic interaction of agonising racial oppression and heroic defiance.[2]

Until recent years, literary representations of apartheid have been propelled by a national desire to record the societal 'naturalization of the unnatural' by which racial exclusion became habitual.[3] Dominant in apartheid-era fiction, this theme similarly pervades nationalist historiography which has sought to record the struggles and abuses of the past as a necessary foundation for the building of a multiracial and reconciled post-apartheid 'Rainbow Nation'.[4] This framework of historical inquiry has produced an eminent cast of venerated heroes and execrable villains. While the architects of apartheid and the lionised leaders of the liberation struggle occupy the spotlight, though, the 'ordinary' subject is consigned to anonymity. Fearing that this 'becomes grounded in the very negation it seeks to transcend', Ndebele openly lamented that 'their anonymity becomes the dialectical equivalent of the anonymity to which the oppressive system consigns millions of oppressed Africans'.[5] In recent years, a series of memoirs by black South Africans have called this imbalance into question: the most notable of these, Jacob Dlamini's *Native Nostalgia* (2009), sought to recall how, by creating networks of mutual support, apartheid-era township dwellers produced communities which enabled the survival of the 'ordinary', even under the

[1] Njabulo Ndebele. 'The Rediscovery of the Ordinary: Some New Writings in South Africa.' *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Vol. 12, No. 2 (1986), pp. 143-144

[2] Justin Chadwick (Director). *Mandela: Long Walk to Freedom* (Pathé: 2013); Njabulo Ndebele. *Rediscovery of the Ordinary: Essays on South African Literature and Culture* (Scottsville: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, 2006), pp. 14-15

[3] David Medalie. 'Remembering Life under Apartheid with Fondness: The Memoirs of Jacob Dlamini and Chris van Wyk.' *English in Africa. Special Issue: Nostalgia*, Vol. 43, No. 3 (2016), p. 45; Nadine Gordimer. 'Living in the Interregnum' in *The Essential Gesture: Writing, Politics and Places*, ed. Stephen Clingman (London: Penguin, 1989: Gordimer's article was first presented at Rhodes University in 1983 as the D.C.S. Oosthuizen Memorial Lecture), p. 266

[4] This trend in post-apartheid nationalist historiography is reviewed in Chapter One.

[5] Ndebele. *Rediscovery of the Ordinary*. pp. 14-15

watchful eyes of a violently oppressive state.[6] This dissertation seeks to reevaluate the history of one such community, in Sophiatown, to illuminate the methods by which ordinary residents of this multiracial suburb navigated and withstood the pressures of everyday life within the 'white' industrial city.

Situated several kilometres west of Johannesburg's city centre, the land upon which Sophiatown was built was first purchased in 1899 by Hermann Tobiansky, a prospector who intended to build a whites-only suburb. The presence of a nearby municipal waste depot at Waterval (see Fig. 1) depreciated the value of stands, prompting an influx of black and Coloured residents, and by 1912 Sophiatown had been rezoned as a 'Coloured Township'.[7] During the prewar period, the suburb grew alongside the multiracial freehold areas of Newclare and Martindale (together with the municipally-owned Western Native Township, these became known as the 'Western Areas') to become renowned as one of the only places that 'non-whites' could buy and sell property in an increasingly segregated city. This trend accelerated until the end of the Second World War: between 1937 and 1950, the population of the Western Areas swelled by 44% as thousands of Africans arrived to search for work in the city's burgeoning manufacturing industry.[8] A number of historical inquiries, reviewed in Chapter One, have argued that residents were attracted by the economic opportunities afforded by the availability of freehold rights so close to the city.[9] While some did prosper, many others suffered as the influx of newcomers placed severe strain on a limited housing stock. When surveyed in the late 1940s, only 829 of Sophiatown's African residents owned properties.[10] Roughly 54,000 others lived in slum-like conditions, on plots subdivided between several rent-paying families.[11] Despite the existence of grinding poverty, the suburb became home to a famous array of cultural establishments including shebeens, *marabi* dance halls, jazz concerts and cinemas showing the latest American films. Populated by an assorted cast of partygoers, *tsotsis*, dilettante writers, migrant labourers and tradesmen of all races, Sophiatown has largely been remembered as a bohemian community where urban Africans could subvert the cultural proscriptions of blackness and escape from the grim reality of racial oppression. The era of the so-called 'Sophiatown Renaissance' came to an abrupt end after D.F. Malan's National Party was elected to govern South Africa in 1948.[12] Unrelenting in its efforts to introduce apartheid in urban areas, the new state could not tolerate the existence of a multiracial freehold suburb within the boundaries of the 'white' city, and scheduled the Western Areas for forcible mass removals under the remit of the 1951 Group Areas Act. In 1955, following a failed programme of peaceful resistance led by the ANC, police moved into Sophiatown to evict 'non-white' residents. Africans

[6] Jacob Dlamini. *Native Nostalgia* (Johannesburg: Jacana, 2009)

[7] Paul Knevel. 'Sophiatown as *lieu de mémoire*.' *African Studies*, Vol. 74, No. 1 (2015), p. 58

[8] Deon Van Tonder. 'Boycotts, Unrest and the Western Areas Removal Scheme, 1949-1952.' *Journal of Urban History*, Vol. 20, No. 1 (1993), pp. 34-35

[9] David Goodhew. *Respectability and Resistance: A History of Sophiatown* (Cape Town: Praeger, 2004)

[10] Anne Mager & Maanda Mulaudzi. 'Popular Responses to Apartheid: 1948-c.1975' in *The Cambridge History of South Africa*, eds. Ross, Mager, Nasson (Cambridge: CUP, 2011), p. 387

[11] Ibid. p. 386

[12] Paul Gready. 'The Sophiatown Writers of the Fifties: The Unreal Reality of Their World.' *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Vol. 16, No. 1 (1990), pp. 139-164

were relocated to the distant township of Meadowlands, in Soweto, while Indians were moved to Lenasia and Coloureds to Eldorado Park.[13] Following the completion of the removals in 1963, the state bulldozed Sophiatown and built a new suburb for working class Afrikaners, 'Triomf' (Afrikaans for 'victory'), on its ruins. The suburb remained whites-only until 1994, when it rapidly desegregated. In 2006, the Johannesburg City Council finally returned the suburb to its original name, which it retains to this day.

It is testament to the complexity of this subject that, in attempting to rediscover the 'ordinary' in the life of 1950s Sophiatown, I initially embark from the point at which it was destroyed. Chapter One makes the case that until recent years, historians neglected to consider the Triomf period as they evaluated popular memories of the suburb. Analysing the first wave of scholarship on this subject, written in the late 1970s and 1980s, I seek to problematise the commonly-held notion that memory is synonymous with remembrance. Public memory is never ossified and took on a particular fluidity in the context of the ongoing contemporary struggle against apartheid. In order to access the 'ordinary' in memories of Sophiatown, it is vital that we read former residents' recollections as part of a layered topography of retrospective interpretations which distort the processes of remembrance, cataloguing and reordering that produce their life stories. I draw upon three main sources of evidence to illustrate this. The first is the aforementioned historical works, which are reviewed in depth. These are analysed in conjunction with autobiographies, written by evicted former residents, to demonstrate the influence of the literary construction of a *lieu de mémoire* upon the spatial and temporal scope of historical research methods. Finally, I consult archival evidence, including municipal surveys and SAIRR reports on the removals, which attests to the intensity of competition over resources and identities in the Western Areas prior to the removals. The aim, then, of this first section is to decipher the layers of distortion which have made the 'ordinary' so inaccessible in the study of Sophiatown and, in so doing, enable an exploration of alternative forms of evidence which might complement existing oral testimony.

I suggest in my second chapter that short fiction, read discerningly, can provide vivid insight into the processes by which Africans living in Sophiatown in the 1950s constructed their own urban imaginary, replete with the stresses, aspirations and conflicted identities of a shared experience of black urbanity. For this inquiry, I draw upon the short stories published monthly in *Drum* magazine from 1951-1959. These have already received extensive treatment by literary scholars, but it is necessary to provide a brief history of the magazine to explain why it has become synonymous with Sophiatown.[14] First published in Cape Town in 1951 as *The African Drum*, the magazine was owned by Jim Bailey, son of mining magnate Sir Abe Bailey, and aimed to seize upon the commercial opportunities provided by a growing urban black

[13] 'Urban Removals - the Destruction of Sophiatown.' *South African History Online*. https://www.sahistory.org.za/article/urban-removals-destruction-sophiatown (accessed October 31, 2021)

[14] Existing scholarship on *Drum* magazine is reviewed in Chapter Two. Notable works include: David Rabkin. *Drum Magazine (1951-1961): and the works of black South African writers associated with it* (The University of Leeds: Unpublished PhD thesis, 1975); Michael Chapman. *The Drum Decade: Stories from the 1950s* (Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 2001: 1st ed. 1989); Paul Gready, 'The Sophiatown Writers of the Fifties.'

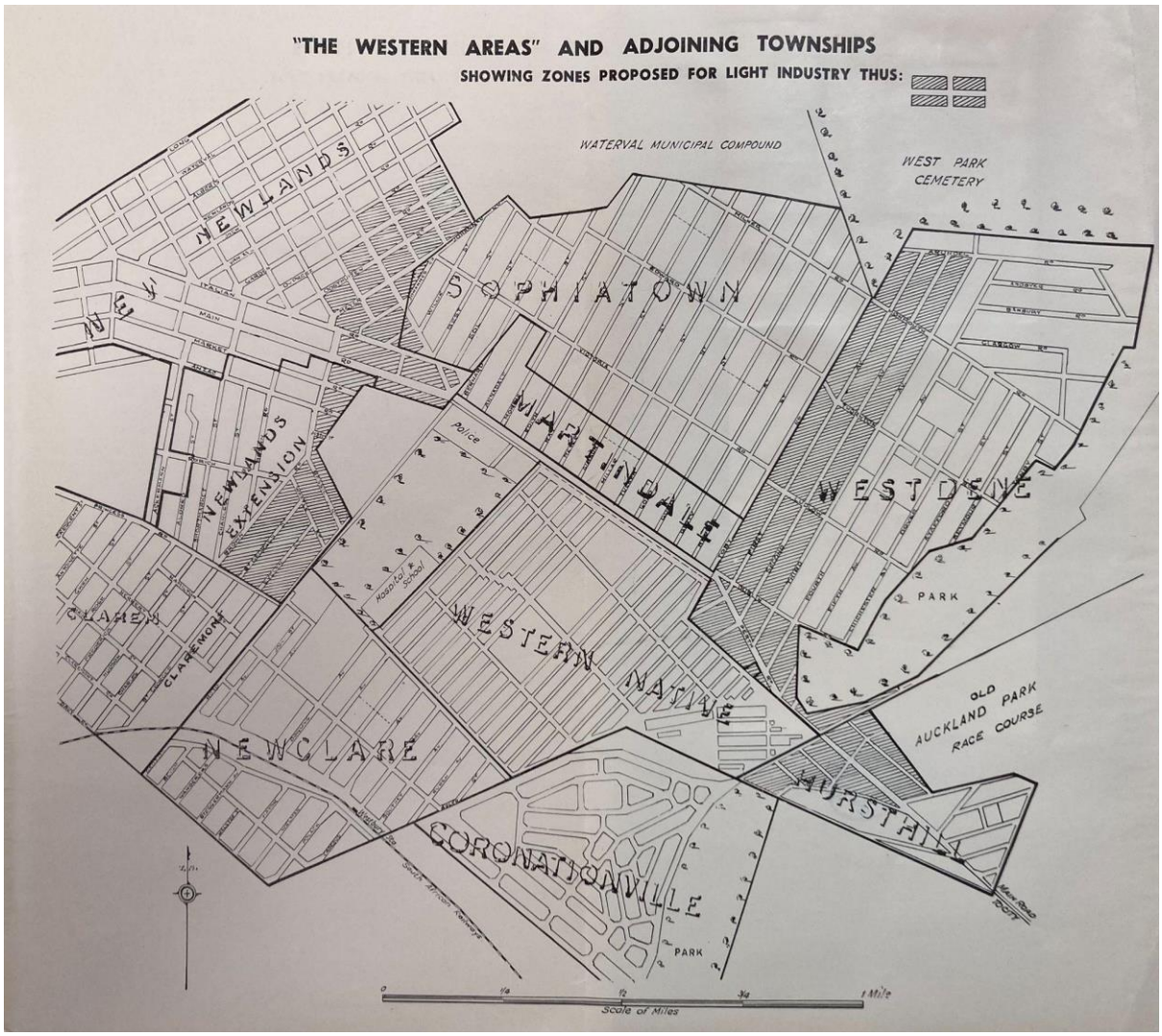
readership. [15] Early editions failed to capitalise fully on this impulse: features which promoted an essentialised image of tribal African culture had little appeal to an urban audience more familiar with the mobsters, tricksters and cowboys of Hollywood, and their *tsotsi* imitators, than with tribal chiefs and folklore. Having published just four issues in its initial format, the magazine was reaching a circulation of just twenty thousand and losing £200 every month.[16] This prompted significant changes: a new editor, Anthony Sampson, was joined by an African Advisory Board as the rebranded *Drum* magazine, now based in Johannesburg, began to publish content which directly tapped the perceived currents of urban African opinion. [17] The magazine hired a cast of Sophiatown-based journalist-writers who were tasked with capturing the vitality of life in the urban world which they shared with their readers. Amongst these literati, I will give particular consideration to the fictional content written by William 'Bloke' Modisane, Can Themba, Henry Nxumalo (famed for investigative journalism in his 'Mr Drum' column), Arthur Maimane, Es'kia Mphahlele and Lewis Nkosi. All were based in and around Sophiatown, and contributed both newspieces and short stories which dramatised the violence, thrills and bohemian culture of the suburb. Many went into exile after the Sophiatown removals destroyed their creative home, writing autobiographies which shielded their memory of the suburb as a bulwark against the cultural proscriptions of apartheid.

In my pursuit of the 'ordinary' in 1950s Sophiatown, I propose a new analytical approach to the *Drum* writers' short fiction, which recognises their unique potential as cultural artefacts. In Chapter Two, I suggest that by studying the stories within the framework of politico-cultural resistance, apartheid-era scholars produced a narrow instrumentalist reading of their role as social documents. This overlooked a longer, ongoing tradition of city-writing in Johannesburg, where consecutive generations of writers before, during and after apartheid have developed narrative techniques which make the industrial city legible to urban African readers. I argue that by locating the *Drum* stories firmly within this literary tradition, it becomes possible to distinguish between the characteristic traits of city-writing and those aberrations which mark out the distinct aspects of life in 1950s Sophiatown. When combined, these trace out the common repertoires of speech, sites of social interaction and public behavioural practices which the *Drum* writers shared with their black urban audience. A close reading of these texts, then, provides a unique opportunity to reconstruct the popular understandings and experiences which collectively defined the 'ordinary' of life in Sophiatown.

[15] Andrew van der Vlies. *South African textual cultures: White, black, read all over* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007), pp. 85-88
[16] Ibid.
[17] Rabkin. *Drum Magazine*. p. 52

SECTION ONE: THE MAKING OF MEMORY AND MYTH IN SOPHIATOWN

> The signifier 'Sophiatown' has condensed meaning so efficiently that it becomes difficult to parse out the different fragments which have helped to constitute it in a global imaginary in the early 21st century.[18]



Map of the Western Areas of Johannesburg on the eve of the removals, showing Sophiatown, neighbouring residential areas and proposed zones for light industry. (South African Institute of Race Relations. 'The Western Areas Removal Scheme: Facts and Viewpoints.' (Johannesburg: 1953))

At first glance, the modern suburb of Sophiatown offers few clues to its storied past. Located eight kilometres from the bustling Central Business District of Johannesburg, its paved roads and detached bungalows have the appearance of a typical lower middle-class suburb, not unlike many others built in the post-war era across South Africa and the global West. Tangible relics of the 'old' Sophiatown, razed to the ground by the apartheid state as part of the Western Areas Removal Scheme in the late 1950s, are sparse. The Church of Christ the King and the house of Dr A.B. Xuma (ANC President-General, 1940-49), now home to the Trevor Huddleston Memorial Centre, are amongst the only surviving structures from the suburb's former life as a vibrant centre of African cultural production. The

[18] Natasha Erlank & Karie L. Morgan. 'Sophiatown.' *African Studies*, Vol. 74, No. 1 (2015), p. 1

space that has been called Sophiatown since its symbolic renaming in 2006 retains the hallmarks not of the 'old' Sophiatown of Huddleston and Xuma, to which it is linked only tendentiously by community heritage projects, but rather of Triomf, the peremptorily named, all-white suburb which was built over its ruins. It is, of course, no accident that Triomf, now once again Sophiatown, bears little resemblance to the teeming and intoxicating urban underworld of the 1950s. The architects of apartheid keenly understood the symbolic significance of Sophiatown as a direct affront to the National Party's policy of urban apartheid and endeavoured not only to remove its multiracial community, but further to erase it from public memory.[19] If, in the words of Hendrik Verwoerd, there was "no place for the Bantu in the European community above the level of certain forms of labour", how could a multiracial freehold suburb be allowed to exist at the heart of the City of Gold?[20]

The racial binarism of Verwoerd's statement conceals the complexity attached to the question of black urban sojourn during the first decade of National Party rule. As Deborah Posel has shown in her study of post-war electoral politics, apartheid was built upon a precarious alliance of white interests which was divided on the question of Africans in urban spaces. [21] The electoral success of the National Party in 1948 was predicated on the mass support of Afrikaners (an estimated 85% share of Afrikaner votes was required to sustain its fragile parliamentary majority), many of whom had been excluded from the prosperous wartime industrial boom and felt deeply threatened by the growing stake that urban black workers held in South African political economy. [22] The consolidation and escalation of the apartheid project therefore depended crucially on the ability of the National Party to expand its support base beyond Afrikaners to whites more generally. [23] This would necessitate a reconciliation of Afrikaner antagonisms with the capitalist interests of South Africa's white Anglophone minority, which required a readily available pool of urban black labour to work in mines, factories and domestic service. In Johannesburg, this problem was exacerbated by the prewar growth of the manufacturing industry: unlike migrant workers employed in the mines of the Reef, factory workers could not be contained in compounds, and many lived with families in suburbs like Sophiatown, which provided housing and quick access to the city but also encroached upon designated areas of white residence.[24] Such a situation threatened to provoke a serious rupture within the white electorate, thus explaining the determination of proponents of high apartheid to find a conclusive solution to the issue of permanent black sojourn in Sophiatown and elsewhere.

The Western Areas provided a valuable proving ground for the National Party and the Department of Native Affairs

[19] 'Urban Removals - the Destruction of Sophiatown.' *South African History Online*.

[20] Sidney Luckett. 'South African Social Photography: The Moment of *Drum*.' *Borderlines.* https://www.borderlines-cssaame.org/posts/2021/6/23/south-african-social-photography-the-moment-of-drum (accessed January 9, 2022)

[21] Deborah Posel. 'The Apartheid Project, 1948-1970', in *The Cambridge History of South Africa*, eds. Ross, Mager & Nasson (Cambridge: CUP, 2011), pp. 319-368

[22] Newell Stultz. 'The politics of security: South Africa under Verwoerd, 1961–6.' *Journal of Modern African Studies*, Vol. 7, No. 1 (1969), p. 8

[23] Posel. 'The Apartheid Project, 1948-1970.' p. 327

[24] Knevel. 'Sophiatown as *lieu de mémoire*.' p. 61

(NAD) to trial the policy of urban apartheid. Older histories of the Western Areas Removals Scheme, written during the later Struggle years, have tended to explain the removals as a recognition of the dangerous mobilising power possessed by Sophiatown's multiracial community. In the work of Belinda Bozzoli, Sophiatown is analysed alongside the freehold townships of Lady Selbourne (Pretoria) and Brakpan, as a microcosm of a national urban phenomenon by which 'removal and segregationism serve to cut inhabitants off from older traditions, and cause them to seek defensive ghetto-based self-definitions.' [25] This evaluation is useful insofar as it explains the ultimate purpose of the removals, to circumscribe state-regulated living spaces for Africans and dissolve the independent urbanity which proliferated from black freeholding. Bozzoli, though, fails to consider the disparity between the conduct of the Sophiatown removals, initiated in 1955 with an ostentatious flourish of coercive power, and the removals from Lady Selbourne and Brakpan, which residents were able to forestall until 1960-73 and 1970 respectively. [26] The most suitable explanation for this is given by Deon Van Tonder, who has suggested that the Western Areas were earmarked for distinct treatment because of long-running frictions with neighbouring white communities and more recent instances of violent rioting in 1949-50.[27] By adjusting the scope of his study to include events before, but not after, 1951 Van Tonder is able to evade the nostalgic distortion which infiltrates Bozzoli and Tom Lodge's work centred on the removals. [28] His approach is a revealing one, demonstrating that 'NP [sic] policy was often formulated in response to events at the grassroots level' and making it possible to see that Sophiatown received particular attention not because it was home to an exceptional community, but because the foundations for removals were already in place.[29] As early as 1907, white residents of Sophiatown had petitioned the Transvaal attorney general for the removal ('*wegruiming*') of 'Natives' to the 'Kaffir Location' at Klipspruit, citing fears that the daily mixing of races would lead to a replication of the degrading conditions which had arisen in the pejoratively-named '*Wit Lokasie*' (White Location) of Vrededorp. [30] While initial petitions were unsuccessful, the Johannesburg City Council had started preparing for the removal of black residents from the Western Areas in 1944, and by 1950 municipal plans had been finalised.[31] The Western Areas, and Sophiatown in particular, therefore provided a suitable, pragmatic testbed for the forced removals of high apartheid, allowing the state to intervene in a local conflict where the lines of confrontation had long been drawn.

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[25] Belinda Bozzoli. 'Class, Community and Ideology in the Evolution of South African Society', in *Class, Community and Conflict*, ed. Bozzoli (Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1987), p. 35

[26] 'Pretoria the Segregated city.' *South African History Online*. https://www.sahistory.org.za/article/pretoria-segregated-city (accessed January 12, 2021); Lawrence Mkhonza. 'Brakpan 100: History of old Brakpan Location.' *Brakpan Herald* (September 6, 2019). https://brakpanherald.co.za/198045/history-of-old-brakpan-location/ (accessed January 12, 2021)

[27] Van Tonder. 'Boycotts, Unrest and the Western Areas Removal Scheme, 1949-1952.' pp. 19-53

[28] Bozzoli. 'Class, Community and Ideology in the Evolution of South African Society'; Tom Lodge. 'The Destruction of Sophiatown.' *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, Vol. 19, No. 1 (1981), pp. 107-132

[29] Van Tonder. 'Boycotts, Unrest and the Western Areas Removal Scheme, 1949-1952.' p. 48

[30] Knevel. 'Sophiatown as *lieu de mémoire*.' pp. 55-56

[31] Van Tonder. 'Boycotts, Unrest and the Western Areas Removal Scheme, 1949-1952.' p. 48

This dissertation moves to support Van Tonder's approach by demonstrating how prior historiographical analysis, which largely treats Sophiatown as an exceptional multiracial community, has neglected to historicise the development of nostalgia and has overlooked important complexities in the construction of the suburb's profound public heritage. While it was certainly a site of significant cultural influence during the 1950s, the political exigency of apartheid-era scholarship engendered overly instrumentalist readings of the 'Sophiatown Renaissance' which have obscured identity-driven conflicts within a fragmented community. [32] The nostalgic memory of Sophiatown should not be read as a clear reflection of its social unity. Amongst the litany of urban removals which followed the Group Areas (1950) and Natives Resettlement (1954) Acts, Sophiatown stands out, not because its social fabric fundamentally differed from other 'black spots' like Cape Town's District Six, but rather because of its distinct treatment by the state. Nowhere else did the state engage in such intense efforts to destroy any evidence or memory of African tenure. Following the removals, homes, shebeens and entertainment venues were razed, and even the swimming baths on Meyer Street - the only such facility available to Africans in Johannesburg - did not escape demolition. [33] The apartheid state's efforts to bury the physical ruins of Sophiatown under the new suburb of Triomf were explicitly mirrored in attempts to psychologically bury its history. Centred around the suppression of former residents' autobiographical testimonies, this palimpsestic overwriting has elicited a paradoxical response. By destroying the physical space of Sophiatown and ambiguously declaring 'Triomf' over whatever it represented, the state ironically created an emotive fulcrum, around which opponents of apartheid have constructed allegorical imaginings of the lost community and its significance. This chapter takes up Natasha Erlank's claim that it is precisely the 'over-determination of Sophiatown', manifested in settlement, resettlement, renaming and un-naming, which 'makes it easier to perform this exercise [of nostalgic reconstruction] than in other spaces.'[34]

Sophiatown and the Struggle

In determining how Sophiatown has acquired its exceptional, even mythical, status, it is crucial to consider the processes which inscribe collective memory in South Africa. Fuelled by the complexities of post-apartheid nationbuilding, this issue has been well-attended by scholars since the late 1990s. In 1998, ambiguities concerning the role of the TRC prompted Sarah Nuttall and Carli Coetzee to launch an investigation of the mechanisms by which fragmented memories of the apartheid years have been assembled into a coherent narrative of repression and resistance. [35] Further inquiry was provoked by the founding of the South African Democracy Education Trust (SADET) in 2001. Directly influenced by President Thabo Mbeki, SADET hoped to fill gaps in the historical

[32] Gready. 'The Sophiatown Writers of the Fifties.' pp. 139-164

[33] Lucille Davie. 'Sophiatown land claim payments top R21.' *The Heritage Portal*. https://www.theheritageportal.co.za/article/sophiatown-land-claim-payments-top-r21m (accessed January 17, 2022)

[34] Natasha Erlank. 'Routes to Sophiatown.' *African Studies*, Vol. 74, No. 1 (2015), p. 47

[35] Sarah Nuttall & Carli Coetzee eds. *Negotiating the past: The making of memory in South Africa* (Oxford: OUP, 1998)

record by '*revealing the "hidden" aspects of this history; enabling key individuals, as well as ordinary citizens, to tell the story of their role in the liberation struggle*'. [36] While it has focused on the decades following the 1960 Sharpeville massacre, concerns arising from the 'political genesis and direction to the project' have implications for the study of Sophiatown in the 1950s. [37] Taken together with the collection of testimony by the TRC, SADET's approach demonstrates the stark binarism which governs the treatment of the apartheid era in modern South Africa. 'Heritage', found in SADET, the TRC and publicly funded museums and memorials, is one side of the binary. It provides the avowedly 'real' history of South Africa: a sanitised public narrative of a nation forged in common experiences of oppression and struggle.[38] On the other side of the binary, private memories which cast doubt upon this 'master narrative of homogenous black suffering' have found little room for expression outside of the academy.[39] This phenomenon was ostensibly visible in the response of popular actor Eric Miyeni to the publication of Jacob Dlamini's *Native Nostalgia*, which he castigated in *The Sowetan* as a 'sickening' act of white apologism. [40] The binarism of heritage practices in modern South Africa renders it extremely difficult for scholars like Dlamini to openly discuss the survival of 'ordinariness' in the apartheid-era township, and the veiled nostalgia with which he and his contemporaries recall its networks of familial and communal solidarity.[41]

The task of excavating 'ordinariness' from the narrative of oppression and resistance in Sophiatown is complicated by the particular etiological significance that the Western Areas removals have assumed in the heritage of the Struggle. In nationalist historiography, which has provided the foundations for a hegemonic narrative of ANC-led Struggle, Sophiatown has invariably been embedded as a proud and tragic site of resistance.[42] This attitude was not preordained by the circumstances of its destruction: many other 'black spots' were destroyed by the apartheid state in the 1950s and beyond, and the failure to prevent the Sophiatown removals was an embarrassing indictment of the peaceful mass mobilisation strategy employed by the new, youthful ANC leadership. The nostalgic incantation of Sophiatown as a crucial site of defiance can therefore be seen as a retrospective construction, which serves to buttress a hegemonic narrative of oppression and ANC-led Struggle.

Sophiatown's importance to the narrative of Struggle is twofold. Firstly, the failure of the campaign to oppose the removals has served as justification for the ANC's conversion from peaceful defiance to armed insurrection. Indeed, in his autobiography *Long Walk to Freedom*, Mandela devoted several pages to

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[36] 'The South African Democracy Education Trust (SADET): The services SADET provides and benefits to the community.' http://www.sadet.co.za/ (accessed November 1, 2021)

[37] Jeremy Seekings. 'Whose Voices? Politics and Methodology in the Study of Political Organisation and Protest in the Final Phase of the 'Struggle' in South Africa.' *South African Historical Journal*, Vol. 62, No. 1 (2010), pp. 18, 23

[38] Erlank. 'Routes to Sophiatown.' p. 44

[39] Dlamini. *Native Nostalgia*. pp. 145-146

[40] Eric Miyeni. 'Defining blacks by past misery is unfair.' *The Sowetan: The Bullet Bite* (June 27, 2011)

[41] Medalie. 'Remembering Life under Apartheid with Fondness.' p. 45

[42] Nigel Worden, *The Making of Modern South Africa: Conquest, Segregation and Apartheid* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1994), p. 100

Sophiatown with this purpose in mind. 'The lesson I took away from the campaign', stated Mandela, 'was that, in the end, we had no alternative to armed and violent resistance.'[43] Recounted with wistfulness and remorse, the human tragedy of the removals exposes the fatal irony of slogans such as 'We Won't Move' and 'Over Our Dead Bodies', which, with no plan for militant resistance, served only to mislead residents as their remonstrations were ignored and their homes destroyed.[44] Writing in the 1970s, both Joe Slovo and Bernard Magubane emphasised the significance of this impotence, not as a mark of failure but as an essential lesson which could communicate 'the need for conquering state power and thus for revolution'.[45] This leads to the second role played by Sophiatown in the narrative of Struggle: to demonstrate that the plight of Africans in urban areas was not a lost cause. From an early stage in the anti-removals campaign, liberation organisations understood that the existence of a multiracial, multiethnic, freehold suburb so close to central Johannesburg was an important symbolic bulwark against the National Party's 'sinister' doctrine of urban apartheid.[46] The presentation of Sophiatown in contemporary polemic typified the imagined nation advocated by the Congress Alliance, with Africans rejecting labour migrancy and laying down multigenerational roots in an urban community which crosscut ethnic boundaries. When Sophiatown was bulldozed, erasing the material evidence of its existence, it became even more crucial for black cultural and political leaders to safeguard its memory as a community.[47] This demands a reappraisal of their memoirs which considers how their entrenchment of a romantic epistemology of sympathy and community has impeded efforts to produce a balanced evaluation of everyday life in the suburb.[48]

Autobiography and the *lieu de mémoire*

The emergence of Sophiatown as a South African and global icon in the twentieth century was closely predicated on its absorption into the grand narrative of apartheid. Within this process, it is possible to identify two significant phases. The first of these, which materialised in the two decades following the removals, consisted of the autobiographical writings of Modisane, Themba and other former residents. The extent to which these quasi-fictional constructions of life in Sophiatown can be used as historical evidence will be analysed in a later section. It is necessary, though, to briefly consider the major impact that these texts had on the methodology of the second 'phase', which arose in the 1980s. This is best explained by echoing Paul Knevel's reference to Pierre Nora's theorised *lieu de mémoire*.[49] The physical destruction of Sophiatown is a common theme in autobiographical accounts: the nostalgic narration of both Themba's 'Requiem for Sophiatown' (1959) and

[43] Nelson Mandela. *Long Walk to Freedom* (London: Abacus, 1994), pp. 192-194
[44] Ibid.
[45] Joe Slovo. 'South Africa' in *Southern Africa: The New Politics of Revolution*, eds. Davidson, Wilkinson & Slovo (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1976), p. 167; Bernard Magubane. 'African Opposition in South Africa.' *The African Review*, Vol. 2, No. 3 (1972), p. 441
[46] Moses Kotane. 'Western Areas.' *Liberation*, No. 8 (June 1954), p. 10
[47] See following commentary on autobiography, social history and the *lieu de mémoire*.
[48] Erlank & Morgan. 'Sophiatown.' p. 8
[49] Knevel. 'Sophiatown as *lieu de mémoire*.' pp. 51-75

Modisane's *Blame Me on History* (1963) are framed by walks through its rapidly disappearing ruins. [50] This, Knevel suggests, marks a mutual recognition that 'from then on Sophiatown could only exist in words, memories and images.' [51] The erasure of Sophiatown from the map required Modisane, Themba and other former residents to translate it from its physical form to a *lieu de mémoire* which could continue to exist, as they perceived it, as a fixed place in the South African mind. The spatial and temporal boundaries which they erected to sequester this *lieu* from the National Party's narrative of slum clearance engendered a problematic analytical framework which was largely reproduced in the indigenous scholarship of the later apartheid years.

The construction of the *lieu de mémoire* in autobiographical narratives had a clear influence on the second 'phase' of writing on Sophiatown. The late 1970s saw a significant boom in South Africa's indigenous historiography, as the work of British social historians inspired attempts to uncover the authentic experiences of 'ordinary people' during and prior to apartheid. [52] Lodge (1981) and Bozzoli (1987) soon applied the methodologies of social history to the study of Sophiatown as they examined the structural conditions which facilitated the emergence of urban black political organisation. [53] Their approach drew heavily upon emergent collections of archival evidence. The mammoth compilation of documents made accessible through Karis and Carter's *From Protest to Challenge* (1972-1977) provided a crucial starting point for contemporary studies of organised black resistance before the Rivonia Trial, while the increasing availability of municipal records and trial transcripts allowed scholars to explore the fundamental structures upholding black urban communities, including their social composition (ethnic groupings, family structures, occupations, property ownership and tenancy) and patterns of resistance (delinquency, criminality and political mobilisation).[54] As far as Sophiatown and the Western Areas removals are concerned, a series of SAIRR pamphlets published between 1953 and 1967 have provided invaluable data to historians. [55] However, Lodge and Bozzoli recognised that this archival evidence alone could only illuminate a fragment of the black urban experience, with its coverage confined to sites of direct confrontation between the state and its subjects. Like other social historians before them, they therefore turned to the orally recounted memories of 'ordinary people' to fill in the gaps.

It is readily apparent that the social historians of the 1970s and 1980s were heavily influenced by the autobiographical recollections of an earlier generation,

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[50] William 'Bloke' Modisane. *Blame Me on History* (Johannesburg: Ad. Donker, 1986: 1st ed. 1963), pp. 1-30; Can Themba. *Requiem for Sophiatown* (Johannesburg: Penguin Books, 2006), pp. 49-54

[51] Knevel. 'Sophiatown as *lieu de mémoire*.' p. 68

[52] Gary Minkley & Ciraj Rassool. 'Orality, memory, and social history in South Africa' in *Negotiating the past: The making of memory in South Africa*, eds. Nuttall & Coetzee (Oxford: OUP, 1998), p. 93

[53] Lodge. 'The Destruction of Sophiatown.' pp. 107-132; Bozzoli. 'Class, Community and Ideology in the Evolution of South African Society.' pp. 1-44

[54] Ciraj Rassool. 'Rethinking Documentary History and South African Political Biography.' *South African Review of Sociology*, Vol. 41, No. 1 (2010), p. 30; Seekings, 'Whose Voices?' pp. 9-10

[55] SAIRR. 'The Western Areas Removal Scheme: Facts and Viewpoints.' (Johannesburg: 1953); Lawrence Reyburn. 'The Urban African in Local Government: A Study of the Advisory Board System and its Operation.' SAIRR, No. 9 (Johannesburg: 1960); Peter Randall & Yunus Desai. 'From 'Coolie Location' to Group Area: A brief account of Johannesburg's Indian community.' SAIRR (Johannesburg: 1967)

despite the negligible availability of such works in South Africa. The destruction of Sophiatown drove many of its literary talents, including Modisane, Themba and Mphahlele, into exile, while the sweeping state censor banned much of their work under the Suppression of Communism Act. [56] However, Lodge (University of York: B.A. 1974) and Bozzoli (University of Sussex: M.A., Ph.D. 1975) both studied in the UK, where these works were available. Their interpretation of life in Sophiatown, which emphasises community formation and cultural resistance, reflects a familiarity with the nostalgic recollections of the *Drum* writers. Were they to have drawn their knowledge of Sophiatown from the other available strand of first-generation literature, their approach would have been quite different. Afrikaner-oriented and sympathetic to the National Party's doctrine of urban apartheid, this alternative scholarship buttressed attempts to remember Sophiatown not for its *joie de vivre*, but for its 'Squalor and crime' which had supposedly forced the state to 'clean up the mess' in the interests of slum clearance. [57] From this, it is possible to identify the main foundations for the approach taken by Lodge and Bozzoli. At its heart, in Bozzoli's own words, was a desire to challenge the dominant narrative being taught in South African schools and free history from 'interpretive straitjackets demanded by specific political movements'. [58] This venture was underwritten by the autobiographies which cultivated the memory of Sophiatown as a site of defiance, locating it firmly within the counter narrative of resistance to apartheid.

Orality and memory in the construction of Sophiatown

The influence of autobiographical nostalgia on social histories of Sophiatown can most clearly be seen in Lodge's deployment of oral sources in his seminal article, 'The Destruction of Sophiatown' (1981). Lodge himself offers little introspection on this subject, only briefly commenting in a footnote that his conclusions are drawn from 'informal discussions with Sophiatown residents' in 1979.[59] The notion that historical narratives can be produced from 'informal discussions' with informants is a problematic one. White, Miescher and Cohen have demonstrated that while oral sources have long been deployed by Africanists in their exploration of subaltern experiences, these sources do not speak for themselves. [60] The collection of oral testimony is a bilateral and uneven process: both the questions posed by interviewers and the ensuing release of information by their informants are influenced by a matrix of interlocking factors.

In my analysis of Lodge and Bozzoli's studies of Sophiatown, I have drawn extensively on Minkley and Rassool's critique of the relationship between South African social historians and their oral sources, presented in a chapter for

[56] Daniel Kunene. 'Ideas Under Arrest: Censorship in South Africa.' *Ufahamu: A Journal of African Studies*, Vol. 38, No. 1 (2014), p. 229; United Nations Unit on Apartheid. 'Books Banned in South Africa', *Notes and Documents*, No. 13/71 (1971)

[57] D.W. Krüger. *The Making of a Nation: A History of the Union of South Africa, 1910-1961* (Johannesburg: Macmillan, 1969), pp. 284-285

[58] Bozzoli. *Class, Community and Conflict*, p. xvii

[59] Lodge. 'The Destruction of Sophiatown.' p. 116

[60] Louise White, Stephan Miescher, David William Cohen, 'Introduction: voices, words and African history' in *African Words, African Voices: Critical Practices in Oral History*, eds. White, Miescher & Cohen (Bloomington, IN: 2001), pp. 1-27

Nuttall and Coetzee's *Negotiating the Past*. [61] The utilisation of 'informal discussions' as evidence is emblematic of a broader problem within social history, which Minkley and Rassool have labelled the 'dominant sense of memory as remembrance'. [62] By employing private testimonies to support a public narrative of community and resistance, social historians of Sophiatown have overlooked, and even tacitly manipulated, complexities in the process by which lived experiences are retained, conceptualised and distorted. This is readily apparent in the work of Lodge and Bozzoli. Both attempt to construct the story of resistance in Sophiatown as a usable past and, in the process, inscribe their own interpretation of contemporary urban resistance to apartheid onto their interviewees' memories of Sophiatown. As they search for a common historical heritage of resistance, around which contemporary black urban communities might mobilise, the voices of those who suffered the depredations of poverty and crime are effectively silenced, while testimonies which speak to 'the alliance between various strata and classes-in-the-making' are amplified.[63]

One such testimony is that of Modikwe Dikobe, a former Sophiatown resident, who was interviewed by Eddie Koch in 1980 as part of his research for a Wits History Workshop led by Bozzoli. His 'memory' of Sophiatown forms an integral piece of Koch's argument that Sophiatown's freehold rights offered unique economic opportunities to urban Africans. [64] In Dikobe's recollection, the suburb resembles an oasis in a sea of urban squalor; "Outside of Sophiatown", by contrast, "was known as the area of starvation". [65] Koch nominates Dikobe to speak on behalf of all former residents, situating his memory firmly within the public domain. As is typical of contemporary social histories, Koch fails to consider that Dikobe's testimony is not a fragment of a broader public narrative, but rather a fragment of his own life story, viewed comparatively through the lens of private, internalised experiences before and after his stay in Sophiatown. When Dikobe spoke of the "area of starvation", Koch interpreted this literally, as a geographical space. A brief glance at the rest of Dikobe's personal story, from his poverty as a rent-racked tenant in Alexandra to his life as a squatter on the Highveld in the 1940s, reveals that "Outside of Sophiatown" is as much a metaphor for times of hardship in his own life as it is a geographical space.[66] This distortion of memory is not confined to the case of Dikobe: many of the former Sophiatown residents who told their stories to historians did so after enduring years of hardship, which diffracted their experiences through a deeply nostalgic lens. By drawing out a public memory of Sophiatown from the personal recollections of its former residents, social historians have manipulated the process of remembrance to uphold unifying narratives at the cost of ventriloquising their informants and

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[61] Minkley & Rassool. 'Orality, memory, and social history in South Africa.' pp. 89-99

[62] Ibid. p. 97

[63] Bozzoli, B. 'Introduction: History, Experience and Culture' in *Town and Countryside in the Transvaal: Capitalist Penetration and Popular Response*, ed. Bozzoli (Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1983), p. 42

[64] Eddie Koch. "Without Visible Means of Subsistence': Slumyard Culture in Johannesburg 1918-1940', in *Town and Countryside in the Transvaal: Capitalist Penetration and Popular Response*, ed. Bozzoli (Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1983), p. 170

[65] Ibid.

[66] Mark Gevisser. 'The bard of township culture.' *The Mail & Guardian: Staff Reporter Archive* (June 30, 1995). https://mg.co.za/article/1995-06-30-tne-bard-of-township-culture/ (accessed November 10, 2021)

thereby obscuring the totality of their experiences.

When Lodge spoke to former residents of Sophiatown, he reproduced significant assumptions from earlier autobiographical works, obscuring the complexity of his informants' lived experiences in order to fit their testimonies into his analytical framework. Oral testimonies were deployed to construct a narrative in which Sophiatown is spatially isolated from surrounding neighbourhoods. This presentation has served a dual purpose. By fencing the suburb and its residents off from the rest of the Western Areas, its autobiographers constructed a conceptual boundary which has helped their former home to survive as an imagined community and *lieu de mémoire*. Inserted between their home, a place of optimism and integrity, and the other urban life, of hardship, squalor and repression, this boundary could only be crossed by residents of Sophiatown who could lay claim to an esoteric knowledge of its streets and characters. This shielding of memory was skilfully achieved in *Blame Me on History*: Lucky Mathebe has shown how Modisane's confinement of Sophiatown to the physical space and permanent residents that he knew so well allowed him to develop its memory as a *Gemeinschaft* community, defined by 'common ways of life, with common values and norms, with concentrated ties and frequent social interaction, with distance from centres of power, with familiarity, with historical continuity, and with emotional bonds of association'.[67]

Lodge's work performs the same spatial isolation of Sophiatown, but with different intentions. His central argument, that the post-war ANC was able to reconstitute itself as a mass movement due to the growing cohesion of the black urban proletariat, relies upon the narrative construction of a united community bound by common socioeconomic and cultural concerns. Lodge crucially overlooks the fact that Sophiatown was populated not just by those who lived within its geographical confines, but also by those who visited, regularly or irregularly, from neighbouring areas. These visitors' perceptions of Sophiatown were not necessarily governed by their inclusion in its community. By incorporating Sophiatown into a broader study of the Western Areas, Thomas Patrick Chapman argues that historians must consider how the memory of Sophiatown has been shaped by outsiders, as the significance of the suburb differed depending on what function it served for visitors from WNT and Newclare.[68] This is illuminated by the recollections of two such visitors, who had markedly different memories of Sophiatown. For one former resident of WNT, Sophiatown's shebeens, cinemas and dancehalls served as an escape from the travails of urban life: "WNT was the place to go home to, Sophiatown was the place to have a ball".[69] Another visitor, who moved to Newclare in 1951 and fought with *Ma-Rashea* ('The Russians', an infamous gang of Basotho migrant labourers) against Sophiatown's *tsotsis*, was less sentimental about the allegedly crime-ridden streets "where Africans lived

[67] Lucky Mathebe. 'The Idea of a Good and Bad *Gemeinschaft* in William Bloke Modisane's Autobiography, *Blame Me on History*.' *African Historical Review*, Vol. 49, No. 1 (2017), p. 52

[68] Thomas Patrick Chapman. 'Spatial Justice and the Western Areas of Johannesburg.' *African Studies*, Vol. 74, No. 1 (2015), pp. 76-97

[69] Quoted in Julian Beinart. 'Patterns of Change in an African Environment', in P. Oliver ed. *Shelter, Sign and Symbol* (London: Barrie & Jenkins, 1975), p. 163

like Europeans".[70] It is apparent from these recollections that by approaching his oral sources from the *locus standi* of community and cohesion, Lodge artificially amplifies the voices of those who lived in, and had a particular perception of, Sophiatown, while silencing those whose memories might produce a different, less nostalgic view.

A less nostalgic view: competition and conflict in the Western Areas

This chapter has endeavoured to demonstrate that the topography of public memory in Sophiatown has been tightly interwoven with the demands of the liberation struggle and, after 1994, post-apartheid nation building. Having recognised the phenomenon of nostalgia, and constructed a framework through which the scholarly manipulation of private informants' voices can be redressed, it becomes possible to evaluate key claims which uphold social histories of Sophiatown and its supposed 'community'.[71] Amongst these, it is most useful to consider those strands of analysis where an emphasis on community runs directly against the grain of available evidence. Amidst growing scrutiny of the notion of community in Sophiatown, there remains a paucity of scholarship which addresses its history from an epistemological perspective which privileges competition over unity.[72] By reevaluating a crucial cornerstone of Lodge's work on Sophiatown - the crosscutting of racial and class identities - it is possible to bring competition into stark relief as a dominant feature of life in Sophiatown and, in so doing, rectify a significant historiographical lacuna.[73]

Multiracial coexistence is commonly cited as one of the defining characteristics of life in Sophiatown. This should cause no surprise, as the forced removals occupy an integral space in narratives of resistance which emphasise the leading role of the multiracial Congress movement. In a history of Sophiatown which defers to the ANC and its sanitised commemoration of non-violent resistance prior to Sharpeville, David Goodhew goes so far as to link the availability of freehold tenure to a desire for 'respectability' which bound together African, Coloured, Indian and Chinese residents in a common pursuit for recognition as rightful inhabitants of supposedly 'white' urban spaces.[74] This approach rests upon a Marxist assertion that residents primarily constructed their notion of belonging according to vertical class identities: Goodhew composes his subjects' quest for 'respectability' as a mirror image to the upward social aspirations of the British working class.[75] It is disappointing that despite writing two decades after Lodge, Goodhew essentially imitates his predecessor, making it necessary to reevaluate the historiographical fallacy of a united class consciousness which was, in truth, deeply riven by conflict between different 'non-white' groups in the Western Areas.

Lodge's seminal article briefly glosses over the issue of racial conflict, subsuming the occurrence of competition between various 'non-white' communities

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[70] Jeff Guy and Motlatsi Thabane, 'The Ma-Rashea: A Participant's Perspective', in *Class, Community and Conflict*, ed. Bozzoli (Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1987), p. 448

[71] Erlank & Morgan. 'Sophiatown.' p. 8

[72] Ibid.

[73] Ibid.

[74] Goodhew. *Respectability and Resistance*. pp. xxviii-xix

[75] Ibid. p. xix

within a framework of class identities. Having nonchalantly suggested that 'class alignments were also complicated and cross-cut by other perceived distinctions', Lodge neglects to cultivate this in any meaningful way. [76] Reflecting upon the frequent looting of Indian and Chinese traders' properties in the years after 1948, he posits this as a reaction to their material prosperity, wantonly declaring that 'African traders might have fared equally badly had they been as prominently prosperous'.[77] This statement reinforces the nostalgic binary between an oppressive state and a united multiracial resistance, and overlooks the extent of internecine conflict between different racial groups in the Western Areas. Moreover, Lodge's panacea of multiracialism exposes a notable asymmetry in his research. His disproportionate reliance upon evidence contributed by leaders of the anti-removals campaign produces a narrow understanding of the means by which the National Party manipulated divisions between racial groups. Balancing Lodge's liberationist source material with a consultation of the official archive, Van Tonder has shown that the order of the removals - Africans first in 1955 and Coloureds last in 1960 - did not simply follow 'the line of least resistance'.[78] Resistance, in fact, was not a common denominator amongst the 'non-white' population of the Western Areas, and Van Tonder's discovery of a 1950 petition from the Newclare Ratepayers' Association to the NAD brings the entire notion of multiracial unity into question.[79]

It is difficult to overstate the importance of the Newclare petition, which has provided the springboard for a complete reevaluation of group identities in the Western Areas. Newclare has conventionally been considered as homologous to neighbouring freehold areas. To echo a 1946 report by the NAD, it has been 'convenient to take these three townships [Newclare, Martindale and Sophiatown] together': all were founded in 1905, with similar title deeds that exempted 'non-whites' from restrictions on property ownership. [80] The 1950 petition, though, unmasks a history of desperate conflict between the Coloured ratepayers of Newclare and their black neighbours. Drafted at a time of heightened public awareness about plans for removals, the ratepayers' petition implored the NAD to resettle 'native' residents of the Western Areas as a matter of urgency.[81] Coming in the aftermath of riots which had rocked Newclare in January and February 1950, this appeal demonstrates that 'the colored population was locked into its own struggle for meager resources in the urban environment, such as housing, and thus, for pragmatic reasons, allied itself with the whites.' [82] A 1950 government census identified that the population of Sophiatown, Martindale and Newclare had swelled dramatically in the previous decade, rising by 44% between 1937 and 1950: evidence of overcrowding directly supported the protocol of slum clearance, and made removals in some form an

[76] Lodge. 'The Destruction of Sophiatown.' p. 115
[77] Ibid.
[78] Ibid. p. 130; Van Tonder. 'Boycotts, Unrest and the Western Areas Removal Scheme, 1949-1952.' pp. 19-49
[79] Van Tonder. 'Boycotts, Unrest and the Western Areas Removal Scheme, 1949-1952.' p. 24
[80] 'Early History of Sophiatown, Martindale and Newclare Townships.' University of Witwatersrand Historical Papers Research Archive. *South African Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR), 1892-1974* (AD1715: 5.28.1). p. 3
[81] Van Tonder. 'Boycotts, Unrest and the Western Areas Removal Scheme, 1949-1952.' p. 24
[82] Ibid.

inevitability.[83] For Coloured ratepayers, the combination of the census and the Newclare riots presented an opportunity to organise themselves in isolation from the African working class and, in so doing, protect their claim to permanent sojourn within the 'white' city.[84]

The necessity for a fresh perspective on the history of Sophiatown is clear. By tracing its retrospective emergence as an effective national symbol of cultural and political resistance to apartheid, it can be seen that former residents and social historians have effectively consolidated the suburb as a *lieu de mémoire*, fortifying their politically expedient narrative of community and multiracialism against less nostalgic historiographical challenges. Recent scholarship has yielded mixed results. Nationalist, Marxist and ANC-dominated histories continue to reproduce the mythical icon of Sophiatown, but the work of Van Tonder, Erlank, Morgan and contributors to their special issue of *African Studies* (2015) has made important strides in complicating the notion of community and the topography of its public memory. The artificial boundaries of the *lieu de mémoire* have been made permeable by historians who, moving past the compartmentalisation of temporality embodied in the TRC, have situated the phenomenon of post-apartheid nostalgia within the nexus of challenges facing South African urban spaces in the present. [85] Amidst this shifting paradigm, the study of Sophiatown's fictional literature has remained surprisingly inert. In the three decades since the publication of Paul Gready's seminal article, 'The Sophiatown Writers of the Fifties: the Unreal Reality of Their World' (1990), there has been no significant attempt to reevaluate his approach within the context of changing ideas about community and the social role of popular fictional literature. The following chapter explores these themes in an attempt to locate 'ordinariness' within the condensed flash frames of life, passion, anguish and death which the Sophiatown writers presented in their short stories.[86]

SECTION TWO: WRITING SOPHIATOWN: *DRUM* MAGAZINE AND THE LITERARY CITY

This chapter explores the role played by *Drum*'s short fiction in cultivating an identity of black urbanity in Johannesburg and, in particular, in Sophiatown in the 1950s. Expanding upon Gready's suggestion that *Drum* provided avenues for writers to make 'the maelstrom' of the industrial city 'their own', it is pertinent to consider their stories as a staged narration of the behavioural repertoires by which Africans came to comprehend, navigate and ultimately possess the built environment of the apartheid-era industrial city. [87] To the Sophiatown writers, the city was 'soft'; to echo Jonathan Raban, 'it awaits the imprint of an identity… It invites you to remake it and consolidate it into a shape you can live

[83] 'Summary of the Report on the Survey of Western Areas, City of Johannesburg, Non-European Affairs Department, 1950.' University of Witwatersrand Historical Papers Research Archive. *South African Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR), 1892-1974* (AD1715: 5.28.2). p. 5

[84] Van Tonder. 'Boycotts, Unrest and the Western Areas Removal Scheme, 1949-1952.' p. 41

[85] Gary Baines. 'The Politics of Public History Post-Apartheid South Africa.' *Workshop: 'Ten Years of Democracy in Southern Africa: Historical Achievement, Present State, Future Prospects.'* (Queen's University, Kingston: 2004) p. 13

[86] Nadine Gordimer. *Telling Times: Writing and Living 1950–2008* (London: Bloomsbury, 2011), p. 170

[87] Gready. 'The Sophiatown Writers of the Fifties.' p. 163

in'.[88] For men who had grown up in a fractured, detribalised and individualistic urban world, the yearning of Paton's protagonist, Reverend Stephen Kumalo, for the simplicity and morality of rural life had no relevance.[89] The febrility and brutality of black city life were not 'symptoms of alienation', but rather characteristics of a home in which survival required mastery and success was reserved for 'the superior cheat'.[90] Giving written expression to the everyday methods by which Africans navigated public spaces from the street, with its *tsotsis* and tricksters, to the courthouse and the jail, the short stories published in *Drum* were much more than 'journalistic fact parading outrageously as imaginative literature'.[91] By embracing the short story form, beginning their narratives *in media res* and offsetting any final resolution, the Sophiatown writers effectively anonymised and homogenised their characters, writing into being a 'submerged population group' which could disengage from inherited identities and locate community within a commonality of black urban experience.[92] This chapter hopes to build upon previous scholarship of this subject by integrating the *Drum* short stories into a longer-running 'dynamic' tradition of making, unmaking and remaking Johannesburg through popular fiction.[93] In so doing, further progress can be made towards deconstructing the nostalgic exceptionalism with which Sophiatown has been viewed and enabling its short fiction to be read as a process of 'active consciousness' rather than as simple escapism or protest literature.[94]

Politics and Paton in the historiography of *Drum*

During the apartheid years, scholars evaluating the '*Drum* decade' were primarily concerned with reconciling its 'tawdry, irresponsible air' with the widely-held perception that 'it appeared to function as a political instrument'.[95] Much of the magazine's content was of an ostensibly apolitical nature: muckraking newspieces largely omitted any ideological polemic and shared columns with some of 'the most ephemeral trash imaginable', including a 'Thug of the Year' competition and adverts for hair straighteners.[96] Placed, however, in the context of the dialectic contest between black urbanites and the state-endorsed system of labour migrancy, the production of a black lifestyle magazine, explicitly aimed at heavily urbanised and aspirational African citydwellers, could be construed as a political statement.[97] In the scholarship of the later apartheid years, this politico-

[88] Jonathan Raban. *Soft City* (London: Harvill, 1988), p. 9

[89] Van der Vlies. *South African textual cultures*. pp. 85-88

[90] Michael Chapman. 'More Than Telling a Story: *Drum* and its significance in Black South African Writing' in Chapman, *The Drum Decade*, p. 201

[91] Lewis Nkosi. 'Fiction by Black South Africans: Richard Rive, Bloke Modisane, Ezekiel Mphahlele, Alex La Guma' in *Introduction to African literature: An anthology of critical writing*, ed. Ulli Beier (London: Longman, 1979), p. 222

[92] Chapman. 'More Than Telling a Story.' p. 196

[93] Sarah Nuttall. 'Literary City' in *Johannesburg: The Elusive Metropolis*, eds. Nuttall & Mbembe (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2008), p. 198

[94] Ndebele. *Rediscovery of the Ordinary*. pp. 96-97

[95] Graeme Addison. 'Drum Beat: An Examination of *Drum*.' *Speak*, Vol. 1, No. 4 (1978), pp. 5-6

[96] Gready. 'The Sophiatown Writers of the Fifties.' p. 144; Mac Fenwick. ''Tough Guy, eh?' The gangster-figure in Drum.' *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Vol. 22, No. 4 (1996), p. 629

[97] Deborah Hart & Gordon Pirie. 'The Sight and Soul of Sophiatown.' *Geographical Review*, Vol. 74, No. 1 (1984), pp. 38-47

instrumentalist approach served to reinforce the cause of black urban communities in their ongoing resistance to the National Party's programme of residential segregation. When consulting those works which have provided the foundation for modern inquiries into the social role of *Drum* and its short stories, among them Michael Chapman's *Drum Decade* (1989) anthology and Ndebele's meditations on the development of 'Protest Literature' (1986), the reader must therefore be aware how this scholarship was influenced by the stresses of disintegrating social control in the South African cities and townships of the 1980s.[98] Given impetus by the unbanning of literature written by the Sophiatown writers, and by emerging ANC-led deliberations concerning the notion of 'culture as a weapon of struggle', it is hardly surprising that historians studying *Drum* were intent on locating its fiction within the dialogue between literature and political resistance.[99]

Amongst various politicised readings of *Drum* and its fictional output, two interpretations have come to dominate. Both originate in the autobiographical recollections of the Sophiatown writers, and can be read as responses to the particular political demands of cultural expression in the decades following the Sharpeville massacre. The first, expounded purposefully by Mphahlele and Nkosi in exile, expressed disappointment with the unfulfilled potential of *Drum* as a platform for the Sophiatown writers to criticise the oppression, degradation and poverty foisted upon their communities during the early years of apartheid.[100] Writing in the aftermath of the criminalisation of public political resistance to apartheid, and drawing comparisons with the more direct, Black Consciousness-inspired protest literature of the *Staffrider* (1978-1993) generation, *Drum*'s seemingly ephemeral content came to represent a missed opportunity for a fusion of cultural and political resistance. Furthermore, Sharpeville sounded the death knell for the liberal political tradition which had informed the style of protest encouraged by *Drum*'s white owner and editors. In his contemporary memoirs of his tenure as editor of *Drum*, Anthony Sampson encapsulated the liberal view. As 'white editor of a black paper', he distanced himself from 'detailed analysis of South Africa's immensely complicated problems', and tried 'to show the human situations, the anguish, laughter and day-to-day affairs, which lie behind the South African predicament'.[101] With the coercive nature of the apartheid state on full show after the Sophiatown removals, the Sharpeville massacre and the suppression of political resistance, the liberal belief in conversion-through-education was broadly discredited. Polarised racial identities made it difficult to defend compromises made under the 'white hand' of *Drum*'s

[98] Shula Marks & Stanley Trapido. 'South Africa since 1976: An Historical Perspective' in *South Africa: No Turning Back*, ed. Shaun Johnson (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1989), pp. 1-51

[99] Lesley Cowling. 'Echoes of an African Drum: The lost literary journalism of 1950s South Africa.' *Literary Journalism Studies*, Vol. 8, No. 1 (2016), p. 17; 'Memorandum on the Symposium/Festival of South African Arts - Gaborone, 5-9 July 1982', p. 2. https://www.academia.edu/20079502/Memorandum_on_the_Culture_and_Resistance_Symposium_Festival_of_South_African_Arts_Gaberone_Botswana_July_1982_with_a_Postscript_2016_ (accessed January 24, 2022); Albie Sachs. 'Preparing Ourselves for Freedom: Culture and the ANC Constitutional Guidelines.' *TDR*, Vol. 35, No. 1 (1991), p. 187

[100] Lewis Nkosi. 'An Obituary on Can Themba', in Can Themba, *The Will to Die* (Johannesburg: Heinemann, 1972), p. x; Cowling. 'Echoes of an African Drum.' p. 18

[101] Anthony Sampson. *Drum: A Venture into the New Africa* (London: Collins, 1956), pp. 11-12

proprietors.[102] While daring exposés such as those in Nxumalo's 'Mr Drum' column had raised public awareness of the degrading conditions facing black labourers at Bethal potato farm (March 1952) and prisoners in Johannesburg Central Prison (March 1954), *Drum* consistently avoided discussing abuses perpetrated against black workers in the vast mines of the Reef.[103] Proprietor Jim Bailey had close ties to the mining industry, and the avoidance of an issue critical to black Johannesburgers on these grounds gave Mphahlele and fellow critics cause to question the magazine's balance between its commercial and moral obligations.[104]

As the initial shock of cultural repression subsided and the tide began to turn in the struggle against apartheid, a second strand of responses to *Drum* emerged. More sympathetic to the innovative practices of its writers, scholars in the late 1980s and 1990s began to focus their efforts on the fictional output of *Drum*, striving to locate a developing sociopolitical conscience in the mimetically 'escapist' form of the short story.[105] While the earlier generation of critics had decried the short story form, with its *tsotsitaal* drawl and 'ready-made plots' (Mphahlele), as 'journalistic fact parading outrageously as imaginative literature' (Nkosi), Ndebele (1986) revived this debate by encouraging literary peers to consider the innately political qualities of writing about the 'Ordinary' in apartheid South Africa.[106] Inspiring further inquiries by Gready (1990), Rob Nixon (1994), Dorothy Driver (1996), Mac Fenwick (1996) and Andrew van der Vlies (2007), and complemented recently by Xiaoran Hu (2020), Ndebele initiated the production of a growing field of postcolonial studies in which the *Drum* short stories occupy a commanding position as evidence of a developing black consciousness, inextricably linked to Johannesburg and Sophiatown.[107] It has been shown that, using the short story, the Sophiatown writers subtly inverted literary forms established by several generations of white writers in order to turn 'the gaze of the discriminated back upon the eye of power.'[108]

Released to international acclaim in 1948, Alan Paton's *Cry, the Beloved Country* has regularly been cited as a crucial countertext from which the *Drum* writers developed an implicitly oppositional style of black literary expression.[109] In his review of black literature during 'the fabulous decade', Nkosi commented that 'when we entered the decade of the fifties we had no literary heroes'.[110] In his view, previous black

[102] Ibid. pp. 20-21

[103] Cowling. 'Echoes of an African Drum.' p. 18

[104] Ibid.

[105] Chapman. 'More Than Telling a Story.' p. 206

[106] Es'kia Mphahlele. *Down Second Avenue* (London: Faber & Faber, 1959), p. 188; Nkosi. 'Fiction by Black South Africans.' p. 222; Ndebele. 'The Rediscovery of the Ordinary.' pp. 143-157

[107] Gready. 'The Sophiatown Writers of the Fifties.'; Rob Nixon. 'Harlem, Hollywood, and the Sophiatown Renaissance' in Rob Nixon, *Homelands, Harlem, and Hollywood: South African culture and the world beyond* (New York, NY: Routledge, 1994); Dorothy Driver. '*Drum* Magazine (1951-9) and the Spatial Configurations of Gender' in *Text, Theory, Space: Land, literature and history in South Africa and Australia*, eds. Darian-Smith, Gunner & Nuttall (London: Routledge, 1996); Fenwick. ''Tough Guy, eh?' The gangster-figure in Drum.'; Van der Vlies. *South African textual cultures*. Xiaoran Hu. 'Writing against innocence: Entangled temporality, black subjectivity, and *Drum* writers revisited.' *The Journal of Commonwealth Literature*, Vol. 55, No. 2 (2020)

[108] Van der Vlies. *South African textual cultures*. p. 86

[109] Hu. 'Writing against innocence.' pp. 278-282

[110] Lewis Nkosi. *Home and Exile* (London: Longman, 1965), p. 7

South African writing had been tainted by the 'unacceptably romantic' hand of the Christian mission, which had produced Sol Plaatje, A.C. Jordan and the Dhlomo brothers, amongst others.[111] On the other hand, the 'liberal novel' of Paton and his predecessors offered no protagonists who could navigate the stresses of urban life and provided no role models for Africans seeking to capitalise upon the resources of the industrial city.[112] Seen through the eyes of Paton's protagonist, the melancholy Reverend Stephen Kumalo, the black urban environment of Johannesburg and Sophiatown is presented as an alienating labyrinth of temptation and sin. This was simply the latest rendition of the trope of black naïveté in South African literature which, taking its epithet from the feature-length film 'Jim Comes to Joburg' (1949), was commonly felt to undermine the aspirations of black urbanites by positioning them as temporary sojourners in the vicarious, 'Kafkaesque' world of the 'white' city.[113] Stephen Watson posits that the true 'tragedy of pure immanence' within *Cry, the Beloved Country* is concealed by Paton's imposition of a mystifying Christian concern with suffering and joy.[114] Avoiding any serious contemplation of the immanent human causes of the social conditions which lead Kumalo's son down a path of crime and ultimately sentence him to death, Paton's 'emphasis on blind, grief-stricken reactions' causes the suffering imposed upon Johannesburg's 'non-whites' to masquerade as a transcendental force of historical determinism.[115] For the *Drum* writers, familiar with the novel from its serialisation in early editions of the magazine, the apartheid city was not some secret and arbitrary god beyond explanation. The injustices that they had faced living in Sophiatown could not be alleviated by an act of cathartic expiation and, having inhabited urban spaces since childhood, they could not simply follow Paton's Kumalo in his return to a rural, tribal 'paradise lost'.[116]

Writing against tragedy: survival and aspiration in *Drum*'s short fiction

Reaching adulthood in a country where the legislative crystallisation of racial otherness had severely denuded faith in the efficacy of appeals to the moral conscience of white society, the young *Drum* writers were embittered by the failure of previous generations to resist the process of black social degradation.[117] The impact of this failure upon the style of creative writing produced in *Drum* can be usefully explained with reference to Karla Poewe's formulation of 'dissonance'.[118] Tracing the progression of African writing from Sol Plaatje's prophetic *Native Life in South Africa* (1916) and *Mhudi* (1930) through to the works of Modisane, Poewe posits that

[111] Ibid. p. 4

[112] Hu. 'Writing against innocence.' p. 281

[113] Stephen Gray. 'Third World meets First World: The theme of 'Jim Comes to Joburg' in South African English Fiction.' *Kunapipi*, Vol. 7, No. 1 (1985), pp. 61-80; Stephen Watson. '*Cry, the Beloved Country* and the Failure of Liberal Vision.' *English in Africa*, Vol 9, No. 1 (1982), p. 33

[114] Watson. '*Cry, the Beloved Country* and the Failure of Liberal Vision.' pp. 30-31; John M. Coetzee. 'Man's Fate in the Novels of Alex La Guma.' *Studies in Black Literature*, Vol. 5, No. 1 (1974), p. 17

[115] Watson. '*Cry, the Beloved Country* and the Failure of Liberal Vision.' pp. 29-44

[116] Gready. 'The Sophiatown Writers of the Fifties.' p. 147

[117] Hu. 'Writing against innocence.' p. 282

[118] Karla Poewe. 'From Dissonance and Prophecy to Nihilism and Blame: A Look at the Work of Modisane in the Context of Black South African Writing.' *Literature and Theology*, Vol. 7, No. 4 (1993), pp. 381-396

the bitterness and hate which permeate his autobiography and *Drum* stories were not new in black South African literature.[119] What was new was the atomisation of identities, wrought by the black experience of urbanisation, which disconnected the Sophiatown writers from established literary traditions. Unlike in Plaatje's writing, where hostility is conversant, through the 'equation of dissonance', with traditions of Christian forgiveness and a resolute assertion of pride in his Barolong tribal identity, the *Drum* writers were forced to find new ways of producing narrative balance against the dehumanising effects of racial oppression.

By embracing the short story, the faith of earlier literary figures in tradition could be replaced with a range of responses which did not necessarily grant the interior resolution demanded of the novelist's characters, but provided readers with a purgative release from embittered cynicism. The variety of narrative devices employed by the *Drum* writers as they reconstructed the equation of dissonance highlights the unique potential of the short story to act as an historical document of popular identity formation. The ultimate fate of the short story's protagonist is of little consequence, and the focus lies upon the methods of survival which they use to navigate the common black experience of life in the apartheid city. These variously included Modisane's sardonic mockery of white charity in 'The Dignity of Begging' (1951), romance and retributive violence in Themba's 'Mob Passion' (1953), Mphahlele's studied apathy in 'Down the Quiet Street' (1956) and the ironic triumph of suicide in Nakasa's 'The Life and Death of King Kong' (1959).[120] It is notable that none of these authors made any concerted attempt to develop the interiority of their characters; in this respect, the short story stands apart from longer fiction in the study of apartheid-era literature.[121]

Writing from different sides of the racial divide, Nadine Gordimer and Alex La Guma have identified that the compartmentalisation of racial, ethnic and linguistic identities in South Africa made it impossible for the novelist to produce anything more than a 'stiff and unreal' caricature of intrapersonal relationships in their work.[122] Conversely, the *Drum* writers did not share these novelists' reliance on the interior development of characters and relationships in their efforts to stimulate the moral imagination of the reader. Instead, the reader could be emotionally engaged by submerging the narrative in the 'peaks [and troughs] of common experience'.[123] Themba skillfully used the setting of the train into Johannesburg to achieve this, engaging readers with a blend of sensory immersion ('drab chocolate-box houses', 'sour-smelling humanity') and indifferent observance (a *tsotsi* physically harasses a woman and stabs a stranger: 'it was just another incident in the morning Dube

[119] Ibid. p. 382

[120] All of the stories mentioned here are included in Chapman's *Drum Decade* anthology. For a review of the 'Lesane' stories, and Mphahlele's growing concern with the capacity of ordinary people to survive township life, see Rob Gaylard. '"A Man Is a Man Because of Other Men": The "Lesane" Stories of Es'kia Mphahlele.' *English in Africa*, Vol. 22, No. 1 (1995), pp. 72-90

[121] Rita Barnard. *Apartheid and Beyond: South African Writers and the Politics of Place* (Oxford: OUP, 2007), pp. 102-127

[122] Nadine Gordimer, 'English-Language Literature and Politics in South Africa.' *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Vol. 2, No. 2 (1976), pp. 148-149; Alex La Guma. 'South African Writing under Apartheid.' *Lotus: Afro-Asian Writings*, No. 23 (1975), pp. 11-21

[123] Chapman. 'More Than Telling a Story.' p. 196

train').[124] Literary theorist Frank O'Connor has usefully observed that this form of engagement relies on the existence of a 'submerged population group' which, through the commonality of its constituents' lived experience, allows short story readers to map their own identity, aspirations and anxieties onto subjects which would otherwise be shallow in their exteriority.[125] The setting of Sophiatown and its shared public spaces (the street, shebeen, cinema, pass office and courthouse) was therefore central to the legibility of the *Drum* stories. By inserting anonymised characters like Maimane's* streetwise amateur pickpockets, or 'peanut boys', into these spaces, short story writers could take full advantage of their literary form and use it to construct the shared rituals of habitual behaviour which produce community in the metropolis.[126]

Writing the city into being

For the *Drum* writers and their black Johannesburg readership, the experience of life in the apartheid city was dictated by interlocking pressures which confronted both their blackness and their urbanity. The impact of authors' blackness upon their textual (re)construction of the self has already received extensive treatment by literary scholars. Some have suggested that the writing of the so-called 'Sophiatown Renaissance' foreshadowed the Black Consciousness movement, performing 'a kind of Fanonism *avant la lettre*'.[127] With close readings of Modisane's autobiography, *Blame Me on History* (1963), Patrick Lenta (2010) and Thengani Ngwenya (2017) have illustrated that apartheid and its hollow assertion of justice ingrained in its black victims a 'destabilizing double consciousness' which simultaneously felt the agony of exclusion from white society and yearned for its approval.[128] This approach to the Sophiatown writers is useful, insofar as it demonstrates the impact of their abnormalisation as masculinised colonial subjects upon their retreat into alienation, vice, violence and exile. The use, though, of intellectual self-portrayals as staple evidence for these inquiries inhibits their utility as explorations of popular urban black sentiment. In Modisane's case, the pains of rejection from white society were felt especially keenly because of his precarious 'situation' as a disaffected intellectual who asserted his distance from blackness as keenly as his longing for whiteness.[129]

The trope of the 'Situation' has long pervaded literary analysis of the *Drum* generation. Themba, self-styled 'u-Clever of Sophiatown', claimed to speak no

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[124] R. Neville Choonoo. 'The Sophiatown Generation: Black Literary Journalism during the 1950s' in *South Africa's Alternative Press: Voices of Protest and Resistance, 1880-1960*, ed. Les Switzer (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), p. 261

[125] Frank O'Connor. *The Lonely Voice: A Study of the Short Story* (Cleveland, OH: World Publishing Company, 1963); extract reprinted in *Short Story Theories*, ed. Charles May (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 1976), pp. 81-93

* Maimane wrote the 'Crime for Sale' stories under the pseudonym Arthur Mogale.

[126] Arthur Mogale. 'Crime for Sale [An Escapade]' (January 1953). Reprinted in Chapman, *Drum Decade*, p. 26

[127] Patrick Lenta. 'Law, Subject De/formation and Resistance in Bloke Modisane's *Blame Me On History*.' *Current Writing: Text and Reception in South Africa*, Vol. 22, No. 2 (2010), p. 103

[128] Thomas Ngwenya. 'Symbolic self-translation in Bloke Modisane's *Blame Me on History*.' *Tydskrif Vir Letterkunde*, Vol. 54, No. 1 (2017), p. 34; Lenta. 'Law, Subject De/formation and Resistance in Bloke Modisane's *Blame Me On History*.' pp. 101-118

[129] Mark Sanders. *Complicities: The Intellectual and Apartheid* (Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 2002), p. 107

African language, while Modisane lamented his status as an 'eternal alien between two worlds' on several occasions. [130] This proclaimed distance from blackness problematises the treatment of both autobiographies and short stories written by the Sophiatown writers as documents of popular identity formation. However, while the complex social situation of African writer-intellectuals may have produced discord with their urban black readership, the circumstances of their short stories' publication renders them more useful than autobiographies for the purposes of this inquiry. The regularity with which *Drum* was published, coupled with a style of prose which was predicated upon its accessibility to urbanised Africans, provides an inimitable opportunity to approach its short stories as a script of 'active consciousness'. [131] Ndebele coined this term to encapsulate the analogical relationship, posited by these stories, between real life and their narratives; read widely across Sophiatown, the experiential character of short stories necessarily forced readers to engage in interpretation through discussion with others in the public spaces of the street or the shebeen.[132] Short stories, then, created a unique space for dialogue between writer and audience, in which common experiences could be synthesised to produce established patterns of urban life.

To read the development of the *Drum* short stories as a process of 'active consciousness' is, crucially, to emphasise the plasticity of identities in the urban imaginary of Johannesburg. Some advances have already been made in this direction, namely by Gready and Ulf Hannerz, who have made reference to Raban's conception of the 'soft city' to assert that the cultural vanguards of Sophiatown - writers, jazz musicians and even Hollywood-stylised *tsotsis* - inverted the potentially alienating forces of urban rootlessness to invent independent, creolised forms of African identity.[133] Their work, though, is impeded by the assumption that this cultural innovation was a protective reflex, intended to guard the collective independence of a unified black community. This approach, which Nuttall has similarly identified in Nkosi and Nixon's studies of the *Drum* writers, signifies a prevailing preoccupation with the historical contest between racialised labour and capital; furthermore, it obfuscates efforts to read the 'literary city' of Johannesburg as a 'site of fantasy, desire, and imagination'. [134] To read the *Drum* short stories as acts of cultural resistance, then, is to unwittingly confine their authors' imagination to the archaic parameters of the 'Jim Comes to Joburg' trope. If scholars are to draw upon these texts as historical documents which wrote into being the new 'ordinary' of African life in the apartheid city, such one-dimensional analyses must make way for a new approach - one which considers how past memories, present anxieties and future aspirations interacted

[130] Michael Chapman. 'Can Themba, Storyteller and Journalist of the 1950s: The Text in Context.' *English in Africa*, Vol. 16, No. 2 (1989), p. 21; Modisane. *Blame Me on History*. p. 218; 'William "Bloke" Modisane.' *South African History Online*. https://www.sahistory.org.za/people/william-bloke-modisane (accessed March 3, 2022)

[131] Ndebele. *Rediscovery of the Ordinary*. pp. 96-97

[132] Ibid.

[133] Gready. 'The Sophiatown Writers of the Fifties.' p. 139; Ulf Hannerz. 'Sophiatown: The View from Afar.' *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Vol. 20, No. 2 (1994), p. 190

[134] Sarah Nuttall. 'City Forms and Writing the 'Now' in South Africa.' *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Vol. 30, No. 4: Special Issue: Writing in Transition in South Africa: Fiction, History, Biography (2004), p. 740; Mbembe & Nuttall. 'Introduction: Afropolis' in *Johannesburg: The Elusive Metropolis*, eds. Sarah Nuttall & Achille Mbembe (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2008), p. 12

to produce the epistemological 'now' from which their authors wrote.[135]

The implications of reading the *Drum* short stories not as cultural countertexts to apartheid, but rather as an effort to stage the navigation of urban space and make the 'white' city legible to its black inhabitants, are far-reaching. Situating this literature within a long tradition of Johannesburg-produced 'literary city-texts' means reappraising the manner in which such work has traditionally been historicised. [136] In a seminal article published in 1984, Hart and Pirie claimed that the Sophiatown writers' literary output could be validated as the authentic voice of their community, substantiating this by explicitly (and artificially) imbricating politico-cultural defiance and popular opinion. [137] Drawing heavily upon autobiographical recollections, with no consideration of either their audiences or the relationship between these texts and the authors' earlier short stories, Hart and Pirie's approach has become somewhat obsolete. Rather than confining the *Drum* short stories to the narrative of apartheid and resistance, they should instead be read alongside black urban fiction written both before and after apartheid. This reveals the continuity of significant literary tropes across several generations of 'literary city-texts', and helps to situate the 'Sophiatown Renaissance' within an uninterrupted literary heritage, characterised by the efforts of Johannesburg's black writers to 'selectively compose, deform and thereby defamiliarize the known in order to stage the process of making sense of the city'.[138]

Throughout the history of Johannesburg, the trope of movement has occupied a central place in fictional writing. Undertaking a new reading of R.R.R. Dhlomo's 'Roamer' columns (*Bantu World*, 1933-43), Corinne Sandwith has demonstrated that this was not new in the fiction of the 1950s.[139] Even prior to the formalisation of urban apartheid, Dhlomo's mapping of spaces such as the street, train station and courtroom as sites of regularised engagement and encounter revealed an aspiration to the 'associated metropolitan ideal of possessing the city through wandering and looking'. [140] Within this notion of urban mobility, Naomi Roux has distinguished between 'literal' movement - the act of crossing physical spaces - and figurative movement within the liminal spaces created by the heterogenetic density of porous identities in the city.[141] These ideas are coexistent in Modisane's 'The Dignity of Begging': professional beggar Nathan Mokmare effortlessly moves between 'golden pavements' where he 'can earn twice a normal wage begging', the oppressive spaces of the courtroom and pass office, and his room in Sophiatown, where he subverts the stifling cultural prescriptions of his blackness by 'playing the piano like Rubinstein'. [142] There is, surely, a temptation to consider the act of moving freely through the city purely as a

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[135] Ndebele. *Rediscovery of the Ordinary*. pp. 14-15

[136] Corinne Sandwith. 'Reading and Roaming the Racial City: R.R.R. Dhlomo and "The Bantu World".' *English in Africa*, Vol. 45, No. 3, Special Issue: Urban Popular Imaginaries: Exploring the Politics of 'the everyday' (2018), p. 22

[137] Hart & Pirie. 'The Sight and Soul of Sophiatown.' p. 38

[138] Sandwith. 'Reading and Roaming the Racial City.' p. 22

[139] Ibid. pp. 17-35

[140] Ibid. pp. 17-22, 34-35

[141] Naomi Roux. 'Writing Johannesburg.' *Thesis Eleven*, Vol. 141, No. 1 (2017), p. 117

[142] William 'Bloke' Modisane. 'The Dignity of Begging' (September 1951). Reprinted in Chapman, *Drum Decade*, pp. 10-13

transgression against the confines of racialised urban segregation. Despite this, a survey of post-apartheid literature reveals that the trope of movement remains central to modern representations of Johannesburg. In *Welcome to Our Hillbrow* (2001), Phaswane Mpe uses 'a modality of pedestrian enunciation' to map out his narrator's inner city world. [143] While apartheid has ended and there are no statural limitations on the 'wandering' of the black protagonist, the literary city remains a daunting spectre of alienation and violence. Much like the protagonists of the *Drum* stories, Mpe's narrator derives his agency from a robust knowledge of the city's built features and the specific practices that they symbolise. It can thus be seen that by situating *Drum*'s short fiction within an ongoing practice of city writing, its social role in mapping the urban environment becomes increasingly clear.

Another trope of urbanity which has sustained its relevance in Johannesburg-set post-apartheid fiction is the danger of fusing anonymity with physical proximity. Speaking of the *Drum* writers, Mphahlele identified at an early stage that 'blacks are so close to physical pain, hunger, overcrowded transport, in which bodies chafe and push and pull' that their writing 'quivered with a nervous energy'.[144] While these conditions were the product of an oppressive historical moment, their description could just as easily apply to Mpe's *Welcome to Our Hillbrow* as to Themba's 'Mob Passion'. Throughout, Mpe is preoccupied with the rituals of 'civility' which govern engagement with the anonymised urban other.[145] Nuttall has argued that these rituals amount less to a restrained 'mask of the self' than a mutual recognition of the common precariousness of urban life. [146] Despite its dismissal, though, Zygmunt Bauman's concept of the mask acting as the 'essence of civility', shielding its wearers from the fears of anonymity and thus permitting open sociability, bridges the gap between post-apartheid writing and the *Drum* short stories. [147] In 'Mob Passion', Themba's tragic protagonist, Linga, possesses a heightened awareness of the importance of self-presentation. Riding a crowded train through the Western Areas, he keeps his discomfort and anxiety about pickpockets' 'deft fingers' to himself. [148] He considers what might lie behind fellow passengers' masks of civility, remarking with ironic levity that 'These jovial faces… could change into masks of bloodlust and destruction without warning, with the slightest provocation!'. [149] The mask of civility, then, is a trope which persists throughout the literary history of Johannesburg, transcending the paradigm of apartheid. The treatment of those who elude fixed patterns of behaviour has remained similarly consistent. Viewed through a framework of 'civility' which derives security from the known, the unpredictable 'underground' of apartheid-era migrant labourers has now been overlaid by the new spectre of immigrants

[143] Nuttall. 'Literary City.' p. 200; Phaswane Mpe. *Welcome to Our Hillbrow* (Scottsville: University of Natal Press, 2001)
[144] Es'kia Mphahlele. 'Landmarks' in *Umhlaba Wethu: A Historical Indictment*, ed. Mothobi Mutloatse (Johannesburg: Skotaville, 1987), p. 12
[145] Nuttall. 'Literary City.' p. 204
[146] Ibid.
[147] Zygmunt Bauman. *Liquid Modernity* (Cambridge: Polity, 2000), pp. 95-96
[148] Can Themba. 'Mob Passion' (April 1953). Reprinted in Chapman, *Drum Decade*, p. 32
[149] Ibid. p. 33

from across Africa.[150] Even as writers assert their claim to inclusion in city life, subsections of their communities are liable to be scapegoated as manifestations of the ruthless, uncontrollable ubiquity of urbanity. Whether this takes the form of the blanketed Basotho mob who 'tear [Linga]... to pieces' in Themba's story, or of AIDS-infected Nigerian immigrants in Mpe's work, the implications of the unknown are consistently rendered in terms of an exaggerated threat of social disruption.[151]

CONCLUSION

In setting out to rediscover the ordinary in the life of apartheid-era Sophiatown, this dissertation has embarked upon an arduous and divisive undertaking. It is past doubt that 'ordinariness', in some form, was kept alive, even in a society where hollow public manifestations of racial otherness made deep inroads into the private lives and sense of selfhood of 'non-white' South Africans. It is also true that the act of consciously self-defining place and belonging in the urban environment can be read alongside more overt forms of political resistance to illuminate the diversity of responses to the onset of apartheid in the 1950s. The primary aim here, though, has been to suggest a framework for further research, which recognises that the processes by which memories of life under apartheid have been publicly recalled and reordered have largely obfuscated any traces of the ordinary in everyday life. This understanding is important not just for the study of Sophiatown in the 1950s, but for all of those communities where patterns of common experience and belonging were developed under the constant threat of disruption by violence, arrest or dispossession.

Writing about the 1950s presents a unique set of challenges to this endeavour. The oral archive collated by Lodge, Bozzoli and other social historians in the later apartheid years is abundant, and it cannot be denied that their research gave former residents an invaluable opportunity to voice a narrative of loss which had been brutally silenced by the physical and psychological burying of their former home. In consulting this expansive archive, though, it must be considered that the political exigency of social history limited the authenticity of oral testimonies by confining the value of conversations with informants to an oppositional understanding of voice and silence. By creating a counter archive which challenged the official state narrative of slum clearance in Sophiatown, social historians did empower former residents to resist their unilateral inscription as victims of urbanisation. However, they also premised their undertaking on a narrow conception of the social role of the academy; that is, that the role of historians was to carve out a space for independent speech in which the silences enforced by a state-regulated system of knowledge production could be redressed. During the apartheid years, this served a functional purpose, providing balance against the distortions of a narrative which univocally presented Sophiatown as a crime-ridden slum. The emphasis, consistent throughout the social history project, upon both racial and class unity directly buttressed the claims of contemporary 'non-white' communities to a history of permanent sojourn in the 'white' industrial city. As shown in Chapter One, the research undertaken by Lodge and his contemporaries built upon the ontological foundations of nostalgic autobiographies, written by former residents, and sought to

[150] Mbembe & Nuttall. 'Introduction: Afropolis.' pp. 21-22
[151] Themba. 'Mob Passion.' p. 38

reinforce their *lieu de mémoire* by recording oral evidence of social cohesion. Approached from the epistemological *locus standi* of community, informants were denied any space to openly meditate on the often violent competition over identities and scarce resources. This compromises the utility of the oral archive as a source for understanding the structural complexities of everyday life in Sophiatown. Furthermore, more than six decades have passed since the first bulldozers moved into the suburb, and so this oral archive cannot be meaningfully complemented. Scholars must therefore seek to develop new readings of available textual evidence in order to deconstruct the nostalgic structures of public memory, and to locate the 'ordinary' within the life of an extraordinary community.

The *Drum* short stories have particular potential as a vehicle for the 'rediscovery of the ordinary' in the study of Sophiatown. As a literary form which does not grant writers the space to develop obscure spatial settings, characters and ideas, short fiction binds its authors to chronotopes which are readily accessible to readers. This demands a reflexive dialogue between writers and audiences, who inhabit the same spaces, and stimulates the creative imagination to produce scenarios which demarcate the possibilities of agency in the urban environment. Short stories therefore blend social commentary with an actualisation of the aspirations and anxieties which writers share with their readership. This process of 'active consciousness' makes the *Drum* stories a uniquely useful historical source as scholars try to identify the common symbols, patterns of social engagement and linguistic repertoires which moulded Sophiatown into a recognisable community within the imaginary of the 'soft city'.

By studying the *Drum* stories not as encoded formulations of political resistance, but rather as part of a longer tradition of city-writing in Johannesburg, it becomes possible to gain a fuller appreciation of the means by which they synthesised and produced new social meanings. With comparison to literature written before and after apartheid, this dissertation has endeavoured to situate short fiction from 1950s' Sophiatown within a dynamic tradition of 'literary city-texts'. Identifying consistencies, such as the tropes of movement and masks, and aberrations, namely the *Drum* writers' tragic escape into vice, enables a reading which shows exactly which aspects of the 'Sophiatown Renaissance' were unusual or innovative. Having shown that methods for mapping, surviving and capitalising upon the malleability of the urban imaginary have been in constant flux throughout the history of Johannesburg, the *Drum* short stories can finally be uncoupled from the rigid narrative of apartheid and resistance. This ultimately presents an opportunity to parse out the closely intertwined fragments of lived experience - racial otherness/pride/degradation, horizontal class formation, violence, crime, escapism through vice - which together constitute the 'ordinary' of life in this exceptional historical moment.

[i] **A NOTE ON TERMINOLOGY**

Writing about South Africa in the twentieth century poses a distinct challenge to historians, who must remain sensitive to the troubled past of many terms which appear in contemporary documents. Some of these terms are plainly pejorative and archaic; they do not appear in this dissertation, apart from in instances where it is strictly necessary to quote historical sources. In these cases, their use is clearly denoted by inverted commas, and appropriate citations are provided. Other terms pose more complex problems. Amongst these are the labels given to racial groupings by the apartheid state, which were codified in the 1950 Population Registration Act and formed the basis for all

following racialised legislation. I have freely used the terms 'black', 'African' and 'Coloured' (referring specifically to the mixed-race Cape Coloureds, whose ancestry dates back to the 17th century) as these have been reclaimed by the groups in question. On the other hand, the designations 'white' and 'non-white' have a particularly controversial history. The notion of whiteness, and exclusion from it, has served as justification for countless traumatic transgressions against the humanity of 'non-white' South Africans throughout the history of the nation. Despite this, these are both unavoidable terms as I describe the impact of apartheid policies on 'non-white' communities collectively. Therefore where appropriate, I have placed both in inverted commas to reflect this. Finally, it is worth briefly commenting on my decision to refer to Sophiatown as a 'suburb', rather than a 'township'. In modern South African lexicon, the term 'township' may now seem fitting to describe the patterns of informal settlement which arose in Sophiatown during the late 1940s and 1950s. However, the Sophiatown of the 1950s did not conform to contemporary definitions of the township, which emphasised the racial specificity and strict state regulation of spaces such as Western Native Township (WNT; see Fig. 1). The subdivision of Johannesburg into 'suburbs' with fixed municipal boundaries makes this an altogether more neutral description for Sophiatown, and recognises the nominal equality which freeholding property owners of all races could claim until the removals began in 1955.

GLOSSARY AND ABBREVIATIONS

ANC	African National Congress. Former liberation movement (founded 1912). Has been South Africa's party of government since the country's first democratic elections in 1994.
Apartheid	Afrikaans word meaning 'separateness'. Political ideology of the ruling National Party from 1948-1991.
Marabi	Hybrid musical style which emerged in South African townships in the late 1920s. Blended Western jazz music with traditional Xhosa, Zulu and Sotho influences.
NAD	Department of Native Affairs. Government department led by the Minister of Native Affairs (1910-1958). Responsible for implementing national policies specifically affecting 'Native' South Africans.
National Party	Ruling party of the Union of South Africa (1948-1961) and the Republic of South Africa (1961-1994). Represented Afrikaner interests in South Africa with an ethnic nationalist platform which included the implementation of apartheid.
SAIRR	South African Institute of Race Relations. Liberal research and policy organisation (founded 1929) which studies a broad range of socioeconomic conditions in South Africa.
Shebeen	Illicit unlicensed bars, often found in African townships, which sold home-brewed beverages such as umqombothi and skokiaan alongside other alcoholic drinks.
TRC	Truth and Reconciliation Commission (1996-2003). Quasi-judicial body established to collect testimony on apartheid-era human rights abuses.
Tsotsi	First used to describe a participant in organised criminal activity, this word is believed to have originated with the 'zoot-suits' worn by gangsters on the Reef. Tsotsis (also known as Skollies in the Cape) were identified by their sartorial flamboyance, violence and use of tsotsitaal, a hybrid language combining Afrikaans with a variety of tribal languages.
Western Areas	Historically refers to the neighbouring freehold suburbs of Sophiatown, Martindale and Newclare, located several kilometres west of central Johannesburg. 'Non-whites' were forcibly removed from the Western Areas by the apartheid state in the late 1950s.
WNT	Western Native Township. Situated in the midst of the Western Areas, WNT was owned by the Johannesburg City Council, and housed African residents until it was proclaimed a Coloured township in 1963.

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HIPPOCRATIC AND GALENIC MEDICAL PRAXIS IN ANTIQUITY AND THE MIDDLE AGES

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ABSTRACT: Hippocratism and Galenism dominated antiquity and the Middle Ages. This is because they were so good, and because Greek and Roman medicine was not very good at all. In fact, the Hippocratic and Galenic schools of medicine enjoyed such great success that the authority attributed to them throughout the Middle Ages became utterly dogmatic. It survived the Dark Ages in the Mohammedan world, returning to Europe uncontested several centuries later. It was not until 1242 that the faults of Galenism even began to be unearthed with Ibn al-Nafis' *Sharh tashrih al-qanun li' Ibn Sina*, and it was only in 1543 that any real progress was restored to the European medical canon with the publication of Andreas Vesalius' *De humani corporis fabrica*. Until that time, European medicine belonged to 'the first among doctors and unique among philosophers' and his predecessor, the 'Father of Medicine'. Even thereafter, much medicine in contemporaneity remains distinctly Hippocratic and Galenic.

Critical Historical Studies, vol. 1, pp. 140–149.

THE DOMINANCE of Hippocratic and Galenic medicine (HGM) can be explained, broadly speaking, in two ways, the first endogenous to the medical praxis, the second exogenous:

(1) They were too good and
(2) The medical milieu was not.

Of the former, Hippocrates and Galen were brilliant because they were

(1) Precedented,
(2) Unprecedented,
(3) Accurate,
(4) Voluminous,
(5) Authoritative and
(6) Polemical.

Of the latter, it reduces into the former. The contemporaneous Greek and Roman medicine (GRM) did not have an especially primitive medical praxis, so there was no great void which HGM passively filled. The dominance of HGM was largely *active*. Only two characteristics of the medical milieu are worth mentioning, that it was

(1) Inferior and
(2) Dogmatic.

GRM was not, however, intrinsically inferior – inferiority is necessarily relative because it is a relation – but inferior to the brilliance of HGM. Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages were marred by ecclesial dogmatism,[1] but this does not explain the Hippocratic and Galenic dominance either side of the Dark Ages. It was because they were so good that they became steeped in dogmatism. It is because they were that good that they were so dominant.

* * *

This is a Whig history.[2] 'A Whig interpretation requires human heroes and villains in the story'.[3] In the history of medicine, it is clear that Hippocrates and Galen were the heroes. As for the villains; opposing physicians were wrong and the Dark Ages were the fault of the Church.

It is also an idealist history.[4] Contemporary medicine is better than that of Antiquity. What explains why HGM was better than GRM was its relation to medicine as we now know it *ought to be*. Contemporary medicine is an ideal, and what gives meaning to the relation 'better' between HGM and GRM is their particular proximities to this ideal. Thence, HGM is good because it is like contemporary medicine, GRM is bad because it is not, and the former is better than the latter because it is closer to this contemporary ideal.

But it is also a Rankean history.[5] HGM was only good *contemporaneously*[i] by virtue of its empirical results. Had it been *almost* exactly like the contemporary ideal, but killed every patient it had, it would never have come to dominance. It was not just ideally good, but empirically so.

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[1] cf. Russell, B. (1945). *A History of Western Philosophy*. New York: Simon & Schuster, page 322 ff.
[2] cf. Macauley, T. B. (1848). *The History of England from the Accession of James II*. Philadelphia: Porter & Coates; (1881). *Lays of Ancient Rome: With Ivry, and The Armada*. London: Longmans, Green, and Co. cp. Butterfield, H. (1931). *The Whig Interpretation of History*. London: G. Bell and Sons Ltd.
[3] Hart, J. (1965). 'Nineteenth-Century Social Reform: A Tory Interpretation of History'. *Past & Present* 31 (1): 39–61.
[4] cf. Collingwood, R. G. (1956). *The Idea of History*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. cp. Carr, E. H. (1961). *What Is History?*. London: Penguin.
[5] cf. Ranke, L. von. (2010). *The Theory and Practice of History* (Iggers, G. G., Ed.). London: Routledge.

Then this history is somewhat Carresque, [6] being both idealist and Rankean. The contemporary medical ideal is not static but is perpetually enformed by medical advancement. In this way medical history is 'an unending dialogue between the past and present'.[7] The dominance of HGM represents more than a millennium of progression towards contemporary medical praxis, but depending on the future direction of medicine, it could instead be perceived as a series of heresies against the Asclepiadae and Erasistrateans.

* * *

That HGM was indeed preeminent does not need to be assumed: it is a historical fact that Galenism dominated European medical studies for fifteen hundred years, [8] and it had a distinctly Hippocratic fundament. Although these praxes were limited to the West, it would make little sense to brand them ultimately insignificant on the grounds that Song Chinese or Kamakura Japanese medical praxes, or that of the Delhi Sultanate for that matter, exhibited few of the hallmarks of HGM, and those few similarities by coincidence. This is, however, perhaps tautologous, since 'Antiquity' and 'the Middle Ages' are historiographical terms that refer to European and Mediterranean historical periods.

Neither Hippocratic nor Galenic medical praxis came out of nothing. Humouralism was a prevailing theory in Early Antiquity, but the Hippocratic School systematised it, [9] in the process marrying together the specialised medical knowledges of the earlier schools. For Galen, Hippocrates was his precedent: Hippocrates was the foundation and Galen the apex; [10] Hippocrates sowed, Galen reaped.[11] He promoted Hippocratic praxes such as venesection and bloodletting and contributed substantially to Hippocratic humouralism. Galen's engagement with ancient texts was exceptional: he compiled and synthesised all significant Greek and Roman medical thought. [12] HGM, then, represents the synthesis of the medical teachings GRM. Is it really surprising that the medical praxis of half a millennium should be found in the praxis of the next millennium?

What is perhaps surprising, however, is that little was added to this praxis, that it *dominated* that next millennium. This dogmatism cannot be entirely explained by the European dark ages and the primitive praxis of the autochthonous Mohammedan physicians: indeed, the sophistication of Galenism, and by extension Hippocratic praxis, in no small degree facilitated a gross intellectual

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[6] cf. Carr, E. H. (1961). *What Is History?*. London: Penguin. cp. Elton, G. (1967). *The Practice of History*. London: Methuen; Trevor-Roper, H. (1979). 'Introduction'. In *Lord Macaulay's History of England*. London: Penguin.
[7] Carr, E. H. (1961). *What Is History?*. London: Penguin, page 30.
[8] Hajar, Rachel. (2012). 'The Air of History: Early Medicine to Galen (part I).' *Heart Views* 13 (3): 120-28, page 128.
[9] Porter, R. (1998). *The greatest benefit to mankind: a medical history of humanity 1946–2002* (1st American ed.). New York: W.W. Norton.
[10] Brock, A. J. (1916). 'Introduction'. In Brock, A. J. (Trans.), *Galen on the Natural Faculties*. London: Heinemann.
[11] Palladius Iatrosophista. (1745). *De febribus concisa synopsis Graece et Latine cum notis Jo. Steph. Bernard. Accedunt glossae chemicae et excerpta ex poetis chemicis ex codice MS. biblioth. D. Marci*. Utrecht: N. Muntendam.
[12] Hajar, Rachel. (2012). 'The Air of History: Early Medicine to Galen (part I).' *Heart Views* 13 (3): 120-28, page 128.

stagnation with regards to medicalisation;[13] there was no need to invent – the existing praxis was simply too good.

The Hippocratic School revolutionized Ancient Greek medicine, establishing it as a profession discrete from theurgy and philosophy.[14] Hippocrates was the first to demystify disease.[15] He was also the first to describe many diseases,[16] e.g. Hippocratic Face and Hippocratic Fingers,[17] and to categorise illnesses as acute, chronic, endemic and epidemic,[18] which remain in use in Contemporaneity. Galen was equally unprecedented. He was methodologically primary as one of the first to use experiments, and theoretically unprecedented in his discoveries, e.g. the difference between venous and arterial blood and his studies of the transection of the spinal cord.[19]

What is more, both Hippocrates and Galen were remarkably accurate, establishing medical praxes beyond their times – praxes in many ways very close to the contemporary ideal. Hippocrates' clinical techniques were directly adopted in Modernity by Thomas Sydenham, William Heberden, Jean-Martin Charcot and William Osler. His teaching on thoracic empyema remains relevant in Contemporaneity,[20] as does his treatment of haemorrhoids,[21] his proctoscopy,[22] and his Hippocratic Oath – which is still used as a basis for oaths taken by medical practitioners.[23] Contemporary Integrative and Environmental Medicine also remains highly Hippocratic. As for Galen, he kept to Hippocrates' tradition of demystification, distinguishing prognosis from the inaccuracy and fortuity of divination and technically improving diagnosis to increasingly professionalise the

[13] cf. Garrison, F. H. (1966). *History of Medicine*. Philadelphia: W.B. Saunders Company, page 100; Martí-Ibáñez, F. (1961). *A Prelude to Medical History*. New York: MD Publications, Inc., page 86 f.; Margotta, R. (1968). *The Story of Medicine*. New York: Golden Press, page 73; Brock, A. J. (1916). 'Introduction'. In Brock, A. J. (Trans.), *Galen on the Natural Faculties*. London: Heinemann.

[14] Garrison, F. H. (1966). *History of Medicine*. Philadelphia: W.B. Saunders Company, page 92 f.; Nuland, S. B. (1988). *Doctors*. New York: Knopf, page 5; Hippocrates. (1839). 'De officina medici'. In Littré, E. (Trans.), *Oeuvres complètes d'Hippocrate: traduction nouvelle avec le texte grec en regard, collationné sur les manuscrits et toutes les éditions: accompagnée d'une introduction de commentaires médicaux, de variantes et de notes philologiques: suivie d'une table générale des matières*. Paris: J. B. Baillière.

[15] Adams, F. (1891). *The Genuine Works of Hippocrates*. New York: William Wood and Company, page 4; Jones, W.H.S. (1868). *Hippocrates Collected Works I*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, page 11; Nuland, S. B. (1988). *Doctors*. New York: Knopf, page 8 f.; Garrison, F. H. (1966). *History of Medicine*. Philadelphia: W.B. Saunders Company, page 93 f.; Hippocrates. (1868). 'De morbo sacro'. In Adams, C. D. (Trans.), *The Genuine Works of Hippocrates*. New York: Dover.

[16] Starr, M. (2017). 'Ancient Poo Is The First-Ever Confirmation Hippocrates Was Right About Parasites'. *Science Alert*.

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[18] Garrison, F. H. (1966). *History of Medicine*. Philadelphia: W.B. Saunders Company, page 97; Martí-Ibáñez, F. (1961). *A Prelude to Medical History*. New York: MD Publications, Inc., page 90.

[19] Marketos, S. G. MD; Skiadas, P. K. MD. (1999). 'Galen: A Pioneer of Spine Research'. *Spine* 24 (22): 2358.

[20] Major, R. H. (1965). *Classic Descriptions of Disease*. Springfield: Charles C. Thomas Reprinted.

[21] Jóhannsson, H. Ö. (2005). *Haemorrhoids: Aspects of Symptoms and Results after Surgery*. Dissertation from Uppsala University, page 11; Jani, P. G. (2005). 'Management of Haemorrhoids: A Personal Experience'. *East and Central African Journal of Surgery* 10 (2): 24–28, page 24 f. cf. Hippocrates. (1839). 'De haemorrhoidibus'. In Littré, E. (Trans.), *Oeuvres complètes d'Hippocrate: traduction nouvelle avec le texte grec en regard, collationné sur les manuscrits et toutes les éditions: accompagnée d'une introduction de commentaires médicaux, de variantes et de notes philologiques: suivie d'une table générale des matières*. Paris: J. B. Baillière.

[22] Ibid.

[23] Martí-Ibáñez, F. (1961). *A Prelude to Medical History*. New York: MD Publications, Inc., page 86 f.; Jones, W.H.S. (1868). *Hippocrates Collected Works I*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, page 217; Rahman, H.S.Z. (1966). 'Buqrat Aur Uski Tasaneef'. *Tibbia College Magazine* 1966: 56-62.

physician. [24] His understanding of the respiratory system, blood, circulatory system, spine, and central nervous system was unlike anything of his contemporaries. He understood that the crystalline lens is located in the anterior aspect of the human eye, rather than in the centre,[25] and operated to correct cataracts in a way hardly distinguishable from contemporary procedures. [26] He was also the first to demonstrate that the larynx generates the voice, [27] which he did through public experiment on a squealing pig.

Not only were they accurate, but the synthetic Hippocratic and Galenic revolutions were sufficiently voluminous to establish themselves as medical canons. The Hippocratic Corpus, established by Hippocrates and continued by the Hippocratic School, was a prodigious set of texts, the importance[ii] of which facilitated their longevity. Galen perpetuated and developed Hippocratic praxis.[28] He wrote hundreds of treatises and was one of the most prolific intellectuals of Antiquity.[29] Most of his medical writings survive.[30] This is largely due to the 'medical refrigerators of Antiquity': Oribasius, Aetius, Alexander and Paul.[31] Amongst the Mohammedans, Hunayn ibn Ishaq translated one hundred and twenty nine works into Arabic and al-Rāzi, Ali ibn Abbas al-Majusi, Abu al-Qasim al-Zahrawi, Ibn Sina, Ibn Zuhr and Ibn al-Nafis are worth special mention as synthesisers and preservers of Galenism. Upon its reintroduction to Europe, Galenism became the fundament for university curricula e.g. at Naples and Montpellier. The volume of the HGM canon was insufficient to ensure its dominance, but it was a necessary condition that is easily overlooked. Antiquity was unlike contemporaneity: small works were easily lost to the abyss.

That it was canonical and accurate, predicated upon established medical praxes and revolutionary gave HGM an authority difficult to surpass, in its own times and for posterity. Physician to five emperors, Galen rapidly rose in status when he moved to Rome in 162.[32] He lectured and performed anatomical demonstrations in public. [33] Marcus Aurelius described Galen as 'first among doctors and unique among philosophers'. [34] Historically, Hippocrates would be considered the 'Father of Medicine' and Christ became a second and

[24] Garcia-Ballester, L. (2002). *Galen and Galenism*. Burlington: Ashgate-Variorum, page 1640.
[25] Leffler, C. T.; Hadi, T. M.; Udupa, A.; Schwartz, S. G.; Schwartz, D. (2016). 'A medieval fallacy: the crystalline lens in the center of the eye'. *Clinical Ophthalmology* 2016 (10): 649–662.
[26] Keele, K. D. (1963). 'Galen: On Anatomical Procedures: The Later Books'. *Med Hist* 7 (1): 85–87.
[27] Galen. (1956). *Galen on anatomical procedures: De anatomicis administrationibus* (Singer, C. J., Trans. & Ed.). London: Geoffrey Cumberlege, pages 195-207; (1956). 'Galen on Anatomical Procedures'. *Proceedings of the Royal Society of Medicine* 49 (10): 833.
[28] Jones, W.H.S. (1868). *Hippocrates Collected Works I*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, page 35; West, J. B. (2014). 'Galen and the beginnings of Western physiology'. *Am J Physiol Lung Cell Mol Physiol*. 307 (2): L121–L128.
[29] Hajar, Rachel. (2012). 'The Air of History: Early Medicine to Galen (part I).' *Heart Views* 13 (3): 120-28, page 128; Singer, P. N. (2016). 'Galen'. In Zalta, E. N. (Ed.), *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*.
[30] Nutton, V. (1990). 'The Patient's Choice: A New Treatise by Galen'. *The Classical Quarterly*. 40 (1): 236–257.
[31] Nutton, V. (1984). 'From Galen to Alexander, Aspects of Medicine and Medical Practice in Late Antiquity'. *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 38: 1-14, page 2.
[32] Singer, P. N. (2014). 'Galen and the Philosophers: Philosophical Engagement, Shadowy Contemporaries, Aristotelian Engagement'. In Adamson, P.; Hansberger, R.; Wilberding, J. (Eds.), *Philosophical Themes in Galen* (pp. 7-38). London: Institute of Classical Studies.
[33] Nutton, V. (1984). 'From Galen to Alexander, Aspects of Medicine and Medical Practice in Late Antiquity'. *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 38: 1-14, page 2.
[34] *Primum sane medicorum esse, philosophorum autem solum* (Praen 14: 660).

neglected Galen.[35] But despite their considerable contemporaneous authority, it did not follow that they would *necessarily* enjoy such enormous influence throughout the mediaeval period.

What made their authority impossible to overcome was their popularity and polemics. Several other great names can be cited throughout medical history – e.g. Herophilus, Erasistratus, Dioscorides, Rufus, Soranus, Antyllus, Aretaeus – but one could well explain the development of Western medicine without reference to any of them. The Hippocratic School survived where its opponents did not out of its remarkable popularity. Their treatment was effective and gentle:[36] it was based upon the healing power of nature[37] and a principle of nonmaleficence[38] that remains in use in contemporary bioethics;[39] they believed that rest and immobilisation was critical to recovery, which is true.[40] The Knidian School, on the other hand, found it problematic when a disease caused myriad symptoms.[41] They consequently fell into obscurity. Galen, in contrast, was extremely adversarial. 'He used his learning and verbal skills to bash opponents into submission', ridiculing opinions contrary to his own, whether contemporaneous or ancient.[42] When the Erasistrateans objected to Galenic venesection on the grounds that pneuma rather than blood flowed in the veins, Galen defended himself virulently in three books and with public demonstrations.[43] But the marginalisation and disappearance of other medical sects e.g. Asclepiadism was not entirely due to the Galenic polemics. Galenism's direct observation, dissection and vivisection represented a *via media* between the two traditions of rationalism and empiricism and,[44] more pertinently, it was simply too good. The revolutionary Hippocratic and Galenic medical praxis subsequently stifled further medical progress.

Both were promulgated with a dogmatic bent throughout Antiquity and the Middle Ages. Galen was referred to as the 'Medical Pope of the Middle Ages'[45] and, though his work contained significant errors,[46] it was not for several centuries until they were slowly uncovered. His circulatory physiology went unchallenged until Ibn al-Nafis discovered pulmonary circulation in 1242,[47] and his anatomical reports were accepted unquestioningly until

[35] Pisida, G. (1584). *Hexaëmeron*. Paris, 1.1588 f.
[36] Margotta, R. (1968). *The Story of Medicine*. New York: Golden Press, page 73; Leff, S.; Leff, V. (1956). *From Witchcraft to World Health*. London and Southampton: Camelot Press Ltd., page 51.
[37] Latin: *vis medicatrix naturae*. Greek: Νόσων φύσεις ἰητροί.
[38] *Primum non nocere.*
[39] cf. Beauchamp, T. L.; Childress, J. F. (1979). *Principles of Biomedical Ethics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
[40] Margotta, R. (1968). *The Story of Medicine*. New York: Golden Press, page 73.
[41] Adams, F. (1891). *The Genuine Works of Hippocrates*. New York: William Wood and Company, page 15.
[42] Hajar, Rachel. (2012). 'The Air of History: Early Medicine to Galen (part I).' *Heart Views* 13 (3): 120-28, page 128.
[43] Galen. (1986). *Galen on Bloodletting: A study of the origins, development, and validity of his opinions, with a translation of the three works* (Brain, P., Trans.). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
[44] De Lacy, P. (1972). 'Galen's Platonism'. *American Journal of Philosophy* 1972 (1): 27–39; Cosans, C. (1997). 'Galen's Critique of Rationalist and Empiricist Anatomy'. *Journal of the History of Biology* 30 (1): 35–54; (1998). 'The Experimental Foundations of Galen's Teleology'. *Studies in History and Philosophy of Science* 29: 63–80.
[45] Brock, A. J. (1916). 'Introduction'. In Brock, A. J. (Trans.), *Galen on the Natural Faculties*. London: Heinemann.
[46] cf. e.g. Rocca, J. (2003). *Galen on the Brain: Anatomical Knowledge and Physiological Speculation in the Second Century AD*. *Studies in Ancient Medicine*. London: Brill.
[47] West, J. B. (1985). 'Ibn al-Nafis, the pulmonary circulation, and the Islamic Golden Age'. *Journal of Applied Physiology* 105 (6): 1877–1880.

Andreas Vesalius printed illustrations of human dissections in 1543. [48] This dogmatism was so significant that, when the human dissections revealed errancy within Galenism, these contradictions were cited as evidence that human anatomy had changed since Antiquity. [49] During the Renaissance, medical debates had only two traditions: a conservative Arabian and a liberal Greek. Both were Galenic. Only a small radical fringe was excepted, to which Paracelsus' symbolically burning the works of Ibn Sina and Galen at Basle belonged. Galenism only really began to suffer defeat with the negativism of Paracelsus and the constructivism of the Italian Renaissance anatomists, but even Vesalius (1543) of the latter group was highly influenced by Galen's writing and approach of descriptive direct observation. Galenism was never really defeated, though its dominance began to wane in the 16th Century: bloodletting remained popular in the West until the 19th Century, and contemporary Unani Medicine accepts Galenism.

HGM was so accurate, so voluminous, so unprecedented – that it is unsurprising that it would dominate medical praxis for so long. It survived the Dark Ages in the Mohammedan world after reneging its opponents in its own times, returning to Europe uncontested several centuries later. It was not until 1242 that the faults of Galenism even began to be unearthed with Ibn al-Nafis' *Sharh tashrih al-qanun li' Ibn Sina*, and it was only in 1543 that any real progress was restored to the European medical canon with the publication of Andreas Vesalius' *De humani corporis fabrica*. Until that time, European medicine belonged to 'the first among doctors and unique among philosophers' and his predecessor, the 'Father of Medicine'. Even thereafter, much medicine in contemporaneity remains distinctly Hippocratic and Galenic.

[i] It is extremely important to note the difference between 'contemporary' and 'contemporaneous'. The former refers to our times i.e. Contemporaneity, the latter refers to the times of Hippocrates and Galen i.e. Antiquity.

[ii] 'Almost everything in the Corpus counts as an achievement' (Nutton 1984, 2).

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REVIEWS

SAMURAI: A CONCISE HISTORY
MICHAEL WERT
New York, Oxford University Press, 2019, 118 pp., index

THE TERM SAMURAI (侍) is used today to refer to a warrior, much the same as a knight is a man in shining armour. Originally, however – again, just like knights – it denoted anyone who served a noble. It later too on explicitly military connotations, becoming a title for military servants of warrior families. Michael Wert simply calls all those before the seventeenth century with some military function 'warriors', but complains that even this is imprecise because 'it incorrectly suggests that warfare was this group's sole occupation', when really they governed, traded, farmed, painted, wrote, tutored, and 'engaged in shady activities'. [1] Furthermore, the Japanese despised warriors: they pillaged, looted, and murdered. Peasants feared warriors the most because they suffered the most from their looting, pillaging, and as collateral damage. It was only during an age of relative peace, in the Edo Period (*Edo jidai* 江戸時代; 1600-1868), that common people began to admire and imitate samurai.

Warriors used their military skills to advance their careers. They were political outsiders and mere tools for wealthy nobles. Most of Japan belonged to the emperor (*tennō* 天皇), and warriors protected the interests of the imperial regime based in Heijō-kyō (平城京), Nara, in the Nara Period (*Nara jidai* 奈良時代; 710-794) and Heian-kyō (平安京), Kyoto, from the Heian Period (*Heian jidai* 平安時代; 794-1185) onwards.

According to Mr. Wert, the debate about the origins of samurai can be easily resolved by reference to how one defines samurai. 'For the sake of argument, it is safe to say that private military specialists emerged as a permanent feature in Japanese history around the ninth century when some of them began wielding authority over

尾形月耕「日本花図絵」より『紫宸殿の橘』。明治時代・1896年。From "Illustrations of Japanese Flowers" by Ogata Gekkō, "Shishinden Hall Tachibana". Meiji Period, 1896.

狩野元信『源平合戦図屏風』安徳天皇が船で屋島へ向かう場面。赤間神宮所蔵。室町時代～戦国時代。Kanō Mitsunobu, "Genpei War Figure Folding Screen". The scene where Emperor Antoku heads for Yashima by boat. Collection of Akama Shrine. Muromachi Period – Sengoku Period.

others rather than serving as mere soldiers'.[2]

Most warriors did not own land but received a portion of an estate's produce. Some did own land. Others were members of noble families (though lower ranked ones). 'Dependency did not mean that warriors took authority away from the state nor was it the beginning of the end for the royalty, as was once taught; the court and nobility were still in charge'.[3] The most powerful warriors were themselves nobles, and therefore dedicated to the status quo.

However, warriors by no means always maintained the status quo, especially when it did not suit them. Taira no Masakado (平将門; O. 940) was the first would-be rebel against the court. Mr. Wert says that the conflict was over land among the Taira families. He does not enter the debate about the true cause, which may have been revenge for his failure to secure a government post, a dispute between Taira no Yoshikane (平良兼;875-939) and Masakado over Yoshikane's daughter, or a daughter of Minamoto no Mamoru (源護; N./O. unk.), former senior secretary (*daijō* 大掾) of Hitachi Province. Another rebel was Taira no Kiyomori (平清盛; 1118-1181), who led the forces of the victor in the Hōgen Rebellion (*Hōgen no ran* 保元の乱) in 1156. Kiyomori began accumulating power thereafter and, by the late 1170s, had become a threat to imperial power. He installed his grandson Antoku (*Antoku-tennō* 安徳天皇; 1178-1185) on the throne, but the prince who had failed to succeed the throne instead of Antoku asked warriors to overthrow Kiyomori, which started the Genpei War (*Genpei Kassen* 源平合戦) from 1180 to 1185 – the longest and geographically broadest battle to that date in Japanese history.

'No broadly conceived warrior identity existed before the Gempei War. At the top of warrior society, the most powerful families were themselves part of the aristocracy; the terms *warrior* and *nobility* were not mutually exclusive'.[4] This changed with the victory of Minamoto no Yoritomo (源頼朝; 1147-1199): he was declared military dictator (*shōgun* 将軍) – or Commander-in-Chief of the Expeditionary Force Against the Barbarians (*Sei-i Taishōgun* 征夷大将軍) – by the emperor and established the Kamakura Shōgunate (*bakufu* 幕府) to mark the beginning of the Kamakura Period (*Kamakura jidai* 鎌倉時代; 1185-1333).

> Textbooks portray him as the originator of Japan's warrior identity, but that shared identity extended only to the warriors who gathered around him in Kamakura. This beginning of so-called warrior order was

> not orderly nor did it involve only warriors. But it represented a first step toward a broader notion of warrior culture and identity that would develop over the subsequent centuries.[5]

In the Kamakura Period, 'warriors did not control Japan; even Yoritomo coveted noble court rank and recognition from Kyoto'.[6] However, Mr. Wert grants that warriors had begun to encroach on the imperial and aristocratic prerogatives of rule, rather than merely serving as they had done in the past. Warriors were concerned about their own local issues, and only secondarily the shogunate. 'Loyalty to the shogunate was sometimes loose and did not extend to the many warriors across Japan who were not Yoritomo's vassals'.[7]

The founding of the shogunate was a 'watershed moment' because 'it forever changed how one group of warriors related to another'.[8] For the first time in Japanese history there were opportunities for warriors to meet on a daily basis. Especially at Yoritomo's palace, warriors developed an exclusive social group. However, 'Yoritomo's victory did not lead to an era of warrior dominance. He and the shogunate reined in warrior aspirations; they did not take over or destroy the Kyoto government'.[9] What Mr. Wert neglects to mention, and does not engage with, is that the actual power of government was with the shōgunate.[10]

The duties of warriors tended to be mundane in the Kamakura Period because Japan was generally not at war. Many worked in agriculture alongside commoners. Most struggled economically, and this struggle was exacerbated considerably with the Mongol Invasion.

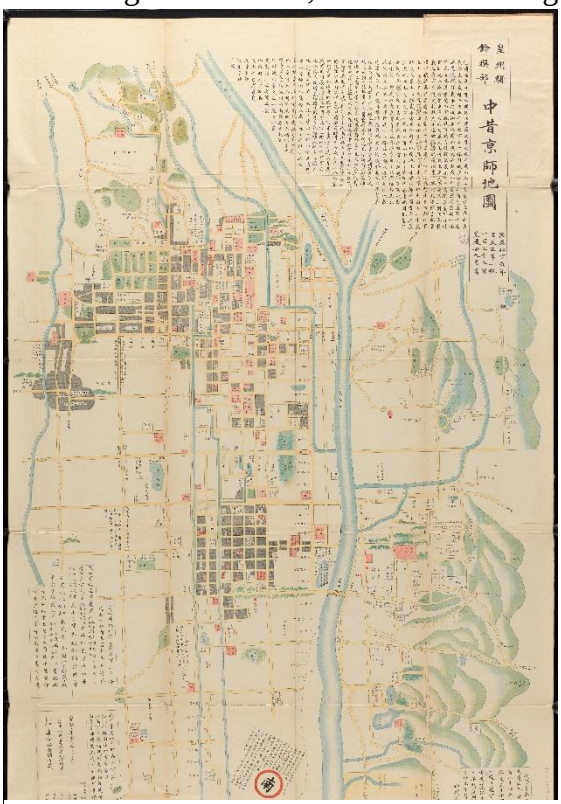
The Mongols attacked the southern islands of Kyūshū (九州) in 1274 and 1281. The traditional account is that the Japanese were overwhelmed but saved both times by typhoons which wiped out the fleet, which accordingly became known as the divine wind (*kamikaze* 神風). The revisionist account maintains that religious institutions invented the myth of the storms to make it seem like they were involved in the victory: the Mongols did not intend to invade but to test the Japanese, as they were still fighting in China and had not the means to invade Japan. Mr. Wert agrees with the latter interpretation, but does not give many reasons why. However, academic opinion seems to indicate that the storms did in fact occur.

菊池容斎『蒙古襲来図』。東京国立博物所蔵。江戸時代・1847年（弘化4年）。Kikuchi Yōsai, "Mongol Invasion". Collection of the Tokyo National Museum. Edo Period, 1847 (4th year of Kōka).[11]

Old problems associated with warrior-rule were exacerbated by the Mongol Invasion. There was no national tax or shogunal economic support, so warriors seeking reward for defending Japan simply collected more tax from lands around them. In order to combat economic decline, primogeniture was established: Kyūshū families were ordered by the shogunate to limit inheritance to male offspring. Disputes internal to the Kamakura Shogunate toward the end of the 13th century, however, could not be

resolved. Likewise, there were a growing number of marauders – 'evil bands' (*akutō* 悪党) – at the bottom of society.

The Kamakura Shogunate established a model for subsequent warrior regimes, culturally as well as politically. Samurai prized literacy and regularly exchanged poetry amongst themselves. The letter that Imagawa Ryōshun (今川了俊; 1326-1420) wrote to his son emphasizes nonmilitary learning. Hōjō Sōun (北條早雲; 1432/1456-1519) emphasized respect and obedience. There was a general understanding that civil arts were as important for a warrior as martial ones, echoed in the *Codes for Warrior Households* (*Buke Shohatto* 武家諸法度; 1615). What is also reflected in the *Buke Shohatto* is that, during the Muromachi Period (*Muromachi jidai* 室町時代; 1336-1573) and thereafter, there was an intensified adoption of aristocratic culture as samurai took up permanent residence in Kyoto. Hence, 'nascent warrior culture and identity had its roots in noble culture'.[12] According to Mr. Wert, there was nothing like an ethic of *bushidō* (武士道) in this culture. For example, warriors collected heads in battle to prove kills, which led to sly tactics such as the killing of wounded men or the switching of nameplates. 'No notions of honor, rooted in maintaining a reputation, trumped the desire to emerge victorious'.[13] Battles were no longer conducted under the logic of chasing down enemies in the name of punishing rebels, such as the Genpei War (*Genpei Kassen* 源平合戦; 1180-1185), or uppity emperors, such as the Jōkyū War (*Jōkyū no Ran* 承久の乱; 1221). Instead, warriors fought to expand and defend territory, such as in the Ōnin War (*Ōnin no Ran* 応仁の乱; 1467-1477).[14]



Teisuke Imaizumi, Chūseki keishi chizu (Kyoto after the devastation of the Ōnin era). Meiji Period, 1901.

歌川国芳。織田信長の浮世絵。武者絵。江戸時代・1830 年 。 Utagawa Kuniyoshi, Ukiyo-e of Oda Nobunaga. Musha-e warrior print. Edo Period, 1830.

The Ōnin War was a period of intense violence which lent the Muromachi Period more broadly the characterization of "The Bottom Overthrowing the Top." The rise to power of Oda Nobunaga (織田信長;1534-1582) illustrates how a warlord took advantage of upheaval. He ended the

Muromachi Period, reunified Japan in the Azuchi-Momoyama Period (*Azuchi-Momoyama jidai* 安土桃山時代; 1568-1600). Mr. Wert makes no mention, however, of any real reunification of Japan under Nobunaga. He makes him seem like just another warlord, albeit a more successful one.

Toyotomi Hideyoshi (豊臣秀吉; 1537-1598) was similar to Nobunaga in the sense that he rose from little. He built on Nobunaga's gains and secured alliance, obedience, and dominance from warlords across Japan. He accomplished this by fielding the largest army in the world at the time, as many as 200,000 men, much larger than any contemporaneous European army. He personally owned twelve percent of Japan. Traditionally, he is considered the second 'great unifier', but again Mr. Wert portrays him as a successful warlord and makes no mention of real unification.

狩野元信。豊臣秀吉像 南化玄興賛 高台寺蔵。安土桃山時代・1601 年。Kanō Mitsunobu, Portrait of Toyotomi Hideyoshi at Kodaiji temple warehouse. Azuchi-Momoyama Period, 1601.

孟齋芳虎画「三河英勇傳」より『従一位右大臣 征夷大将軍源家康公』 江戸幕府の最初の将軍、徳川家康の浮世絵。明治時代・1873年(明治6年)。From "Mikawa Hideyuki" by Utagawa Yoshitora, "Junior First Rank Shogun Shogun Ieyasu Tokugawa", Ukiyo-e of Ieyasu Tokugawa, the first general of the Edo Shogunate. Meiji Period, 1873 (6th year of Meiji).

Tokugawa Ieyasu (徳川家康; 1543-1616), the ultimate successor of Hideyoshi, was given as a child hostage to the Imagawa clan (*Imagawa-uji* 今川氏) by the Matsudaira clan (Matsudaira-shi 松平氏), Ieyasu's birth family, in exchange for help fighting against the Oda (*Oda-shi* 織田氏), but he was kidnapped en route and delivered to the Oda instead, who exchanged him several years later for one of their own sons from the Imagawa, who he lived with until their defeat by the Oda. He then returned to his homeland where he took control of the Matsudaira. He became Nobunaga's ally and vassal, to whom he was fiercely loyal: when commanded to decide between breaking allegiance to Nobunaga or killing his own wife and son (who were suspected of colluding with Nobunaga's enemies), he chose the latter. When Hideyoshi took over Nobunaga's armies, Ieyasu joined him. he initially

swore allegiance to Hideyoshi's son, Hideyori, but ended up fighting against him at the Battle of Sekigahara (*Sekigahara no Tatakai* 関ヶ原の戦い; 1600). He took the title of shogun in 1603 and defeated Hideyori at Osaka Castle (*Ōsaka-jō* 大坂城) from 1614 to 1615.

'No emperor even considered challenging the warrior regime during the Tokugawa period' (*Tokugawa jidai* 徳川時代; 1603-1867).[15] The shogunate had the last word on foreign policy but depended on the lords (*daimyō* 大名) to conduct international relations on its behalf. Authority was centred in Edo but Japan was not centralized: there was neither a national army nor a national tax; there were separate currencies, legal codes and courts in each domain. The shogunate also controlled the borders between Japan and Europe. They were largely suspicious of foreigners, and enacted a policy of isolationism (*sakoku* 鎖国) from 1603 that lasted until 1867. Christianity (*kirisutokyō* キリスト教) was prohibited in 1612, though Mr. Wert neglects to mention the Okamoto Daihachi incident (*Okamoto Daihachi jiken* 岡本大八事件) in 1612, which was the immediate cause of the ban.

The Tokugawa clan (*Tokugawa-shi* 徳川氏) existed as a first among equals and maintained a tenuous dominance throughout the Tokugawa period. They could not reach into another lord's domain and withdraw men or resources. Although the shogunate could force a lord to supply samurai labour for infrastructure projects, such as building dams or bridges, the shogunate could not bypass the lord: it was the lord's responsibility to fulfil the order. 'The oldest and largest outer clans had once been the Tokugawa clan's peers, not subordinates; their claim to power was independent of the Tokugawa'.[16] In order to keep a close leash on the lords and their families, a policy of alternate attendance (*sankin kōtai* 参覲交代) was instituted. This had the consequence of draining the lords and their domains economically.[17] Alternate attendance cost around fifty to seventy-five percent of a domain's annual budget.

Despite growing economic difficulties, the Tokugawa Period was one of peace. Consequently, Tokugawa samurai had little interest in martial training. They became increasingly demilitarized and, in the end, became merely 'sword-wearing bureaucrats'.[18] Indeed, they became discontent as a result of this: they lost their purpose and lost their ability to move up ranks; they idealized the legacy passed down from warring states era (*Sengoku jidai* 戦国時代) predecessors and honoured fictitious ties to famous clans.

Samurai, therefore, increasingly sought to distinguish their class from the

狩野貞信『関ヶ原合戦屏風』。関ヶ原町歴史民俗資料館所蔵。Sadanobu Kanō, "Battle of Sekigahara". Collection of The Town of Sekigahara Archive of History and Cultural Anthropology. 1854 replica of the original from the 1620s.

commoners as the distinctions between wealthy commoner and samurai drew thinner and thinner. Before the 17th century, anyone could be a lord or a samurai if he was powerful enough. In the 17th century a man had to be classified as one. 'The image of the samurai as a relatively strictly defined group distinct from other types of people in Japanese society can be attributed to the Tokugawa Period'. [19] In the Tokugawa Period, only lords or the shogunate could confer the status of warrior or samurai. Other than this, the only entrance into the samurai class was by birth. There were some 'rural samurai' who claimed falsely to be samurai, carrying a sword in public and using their surnames in an official capacity. Furthermore, samurai sometimes adopted adult commoners, which allowed them the class honour of samurai without the menial work. Samurai writers, nevertheless, maintained that no commoner could become a true samurai.[20]

'Unlike their pre-Tokugawa counterparts, commoners helped create warrior culture'.[21] They purchased warrior rosters, studied swordsmanship, hired warrior tutors, and bought military-related books. They celebrated samurai ideals in popular culture, both in rural areas and in the cities. *The Chronicle of Great Peace* (*Taiheiki* 太平記), a 14th century war text, was very well circulated in the Tokugawa Period. Books like *A Woman's Imagawa* and *A Commoner's Imagawa* copied themes found in the fifteenth century Imagawa Letter *(Imagawa-jō* 今川状). Wandering samurai (*rōnin* 浪人) ignored shogunal decrees prohibiting them from making samurai culture, in the form of martial arts, available to commoners. Peasant militias became more common in the mid-nineteenth century as foreign and domestic threats became too much for the shogunate to contain with samurai alone.

With the end of shogunate (*bakumatsu* 幕末), 'Japan did not experience a revolutionary movement among commoners. Peasants complained about tax hardships and the bad behavior of local officials, but they never attacked the basic structure of the daimyo-shogunate warrior regime'.[22] The causes of the Meiji Restoration (*Meiji Ishin* 明治維新), according to Mr. Wert, were the threat from Western countries, strife within the shogunate itself, and the changing relationship between samurai and nonsamurai.[23] He maintains that it was a violent revolution,[24] contrary to many who emphasize its relative peacefulness.

Felice Beato, "Warrior in Armour", 1960s.[25]

Following the Meiji Restoration, the feudal system was abolished and samurai with it. Lords' domains were returned to the government and the lords received considerable payoffs; there was little discontent. Samurai physical vestiges were lost: they could not carry swords or maintain their distinctive hairstyle. With this came the loss of commoner idealism of samurai: 'Far from celebrating the samurai, many Japanese in the late nineteenth century considered the samurai an anachronistic embarrassment'. [26] The salaryman (*sararīman* サラリーマン)

became the new samurai: he was to have, and still has today, absolute loyalty to the company (*kaisha* 会社), the new lords. Westernization ran rampant in the Meiji Period (*Meiji jidai* 明治時代). Mr. Wert does not make quite as much mention of modernization, which is the main lasting feature of the Meiji Restoration: it continued throughout the nineteenth century and continues today, making Japan the most modern nation in the world with technologies in all sectors responsible for driving the future, and makes a small island nation one of the largest economies in the world.

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[1] Michael Wert, (2019), Samurai: A Concise History, New York: Oxford University Press, page 4.
[2] Ibid. page 7.
[3] Ibid. page 8.
[4] Ibid. page 10.
[5] Ibid. page 11.
[6] Ibid. page 17.
[7] Ibid. page 21.
[8] Ibid. page 20.
[9] Ibid. page 21. See Kenneth G. Henshall, (2004), *A History of Japan: From Stone Age to Superpower* (2nd ed.), Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, page 34:

> Recent research has suggested that the court retained a greater vitality than previously believed… rather than simple warrior rule such as characterised the succeeding Muromachi period, it was perhaps more a case of cooperative rule during the Kamakura period.

See also M. Adolphson, (2000), *The Gates of Power: Monks, Courtiers, and Warriors in Premodern Japan*, Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press; J. Mass (Ed.), (1997), *The Origins of Japan's Medieval World: Courtiers, Clerics, Warriors, and Peasants in the Fourteenth Century*, Stanford: Stanford University Press.
[10] See Kenneth G. Henshall, loc. cit.
[11] Claudius C. Müller and Henriette Pleiger (Eds.), (2005), *Dschingis Khan und Seine Erben: Das Weltreich der Mongolen*, München: Hirmer Verlag, page 331.
[12] Michael Wert, op. cit., page 59.
[13] Ibid. page 44.
[14] Ibid. page 48.
[15] Ibid. page 64.
[16] Ibid. page 74.
[17] See Kozo Yamamura, (1971), "The Increasing Poverty of the Samurai in Tokugawa Japan, 1600-1868," *The Journal of Economic History*, vol. 31, no. 2, pp. 378-406; Masamoto Kitajima, (1964), *Edo Bakufu no kenryoku kōzō [The power structure of the Edo Bakufu]*, Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, page 436.
[18] Michael Wert, op. cit., page 78. See also Lawrence E. Marceau, (2007), "Cultural Developments in Tokugawa Japan," in William M. Tsutsui (Ed.), *A Companion to Japanese History*, Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, page 119; Kozo Yamamura, loc. cit.; Masamoto Kitajima, loc. cit.; J. W. Hall, (1964), "The Nature of traditional Society: Japan," in R. E. Wood and D. A. Rustow (Eds.), *Political Modernization in Japan and Turkey*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, page 37; Ray A. Moore, (1969), "Samurai Discontent and Social Mobility in the Late Tokugawa Period," *Monumenta Nipponica*, vol. 24, nos. 1-2, pp. 79-91. *Contra*. Watanabe Hiroshi, (1985), *Kinsei Nihon shakai to sōgaku*, Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku shuppankai, page 61; Douglas R. Howland, (2001), "Samurai Status, Class, and Bureaucracy: A Historiographical Essay," *The Journal of Asian Studies*, vol. 60, no. 2, pp. 353-380.
[19] Michael Wert, op. cit., page 67.
[20] See for example *The Military Mirror of Kai* (*Kōyō Gunkan* 甲陽軍鑑). See Michael Wert, (2014), "'The Military Mirror of Kai': Swordsmanship and a Medieval Text in Early Modern Japan," *Das Mittelalter*, vol. 19, no. 2, pp. 407-419.
[21] Michael Wert, op. cit., page 94.
[22] Ibid. page 101.
[23] Ibid. page 96 ff.
[24] Ibid. page 105 f.
[25] Terry Bennett (Ed.), (1995), *Early Japanese Images*, Singapore: Charles E. Tuttle, page 75, image 35.
[26] Michael Wert, op. cit., page 107.