History Studies

University of Limerick

History Studies is a refereed publication of the University of Limerick History Society and is published annually. It is registered with the Irish International Standard Serial Number (ISSN) Centre at the National Library of Ireland.

Cover design by Jennifer McCaffrey and Nora McGillicuddy, Limerick School of Art and Design, Limerick Institute of Technology. The cover incorporates the concept of past, present and future, which is depicted, firstly by the use of the Buddhist symbol *Aum*. The idea is secondly represented by three illustrative heads looking in different directions. They symbolise the search for history by past, present and future historians.

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Preface

In 1999, *History Studies*, challenged readers with the variety and quality of the essays. Such is the interest within and dedication of the University of Limerick postgraduate community that it is annually produced and continues to adhere to these high standards. The 2009 issue is edited by Freyne Corbett, a PhD student, whose work and commitment is much appreciated.

This current volume fulfils the same task. It includes contributions from historians based in educational institutions located in Ireland, the United Kingdom, Canada and the United States. The scholarship of undergraduate and postgraduate students and faculty is represented herein. Essays are included on a range of periods from the Roman, early medieval, early modern to modern, on a range of themes such as conquest, religion, ideology, religion, emigration, totalitarianism and nationalism and finally, the essays are situated within an Irish, British, European, American and Asian contexts.

Each of these essays offers new insights and interpretations and makes a valuable contribution to the cannon of history. I commend the collection and congratulate the University of Limerick History Society and the journal editor for maintaining such high production and scholarship values.

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Foreword

The History Society was founded by an enthusiastic group of undergraduate students in 1997. It aimed to rescue history from the confines of the classroom and bring together students with an interest in history from across the spectrum of university life. The History Society quickly became one of the most successful and enduring societies on campus, offering an exciting programme of events every year. A mixture of re-enactment, pageantry, field trips and lectures helped to attract students each year and ensure that the society continued to grow and develop.

In November 2009 we were delighted to receive an invitation to take a guided tour of the National Library in Kildare Street. This informative trip was coupled with a visit to the National Museum and the G.P.O. with about Ififteen members taking part. The society has an exciting programme of events planned for next semester with a new committee due to take over in January. I would like to take this opportunity to wish the new committee every success and enjoyment in their new positions.

The History Society is proud to be involved in the publication of *History Studies*. The journal, now in its tenth year, offers a valuable forum for postgraduate students to publish on a wide variety of historical topics. The society offers its thanks to this year's editor Freyne Corbett for all his hard work throughout the last year. The quality of the journal is a testament to the skill and professionalism he has brought to his role.

Robert O' Keeffe
(Auditor).

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank Dr Bernadette Whelan, Head (Pro tem) of the Department of History for her support, both morally and financially in this venture. I would like to acknowledge the support given by Professor Don Barry, President of the University of Limerick, Professor Pat O'Connor, Dean of the Faculty of Arts, Humanities and Social Sciences and Professor Brian Fitzgerald, Vice-President Research, for their support in lean times. I am indebted to Dr David Fleming particularly for his continued advice and help in preparing the journal and I received valuable insights from J. P. O'Connor and Gavin Wilk, the previous editors of the journal. Dr Conor Reidy was extremely helpful at a critical time and I owe him a debt of gratitude. My thanks also go to my contributing authors whose patience in the venture is exemplary.

Editorial

I am pleased to present a diverse series of essays from Ireland, the United Kingdom, the United States and Canada in volume ten of the *History Studies*. It has been difficult to restrict the number of essays to nine as the essays omitted were of a very high standard. Although the essays are arranged in a loose chronological order; commencing with a discussion on the gravestone of a lonely Roman soldier in Spain, continued through the Middle Ages' expansion of Christianity, passing through early modern European philosophy and nineteenth-century emigration and gender issues and finally ending in Ireland and Shanghai in the post-war period. This collection provides a glimpse into the bewildering range of themes possible under the ever expanding umbrella of history. It is important that postgraduate studies have a forum and I believe that volume ten will spur many more students into offering their work for the editorial gaze of volume eleven.

Freyne Corbett

L. Vitellius Tancinus: an epigraphic commentary

Canden Schwantez

In the final days of August 1736, the *Whitehall Evening Post*[1] reported that a large stone inscription, the epitaph of a Roman soldier L. Vitellius Tancinus, had been found under the current Guildhall in a vault of the old market place (Fig. 1). In October of that year, John Ward presented the new discovery to his fellow members of the Society of Antiquaries in London.[2] That same month, *The Gentleman's Magazine* published the inscription. The article speculates an age of 1,800 years and includes a modest transcription.[3] In March 1738, in response to the Society of Antiquaries presentation, William Bowyer corresponded with friend Robert Gale.[4] William Stukeley in *Philosophical Transactions* of 1748 also commented on the discovery.[5] In the years since, many works on antiquities of Bath and the Somerset region, Roman Britain, and its military history, include this piece.[6] Epigraphic studies feature the epitaph, which can be found in *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* volume vii, 1873, Dessau's late nineteenth-century selective collection *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, and the 1965 *Roman Inscriptions of Britain*, edited by Collingwood and Wright.[7]

Fig. 1. Gravestone of L. Vitellius Tancinus (Canden Schwantes).

Fig. 2. Detail, gravestone of L. Vitellius Tancinus (Canden Schwantes).

[1] *Whitehall Evening Post*, 28-31 August 1736.
[2] John Ward, *Society of Antiquaries Minutes* (Oct. and 23 Dec 1736).
[3] *Gentleman's Magazine*, Vol 6, (Oct. 1736), p. 622.
[4] William Bowyer, *Miscellaneous tracts* (London, 1785), p. 133.
[5] William Stukeley, 'A Roman inscription found at Bath ...', *Philosophical Transactions* xlv 1748, p. 409.
[6] Most notably, Richard Warner's 1797 'An illustration of Roman antiquities at Bath' and 'history of Bath'; H.M. Scarth's 'Aquae Solis'; Samuel Lysons 'Relique Britannico-Romanae' and 'The history and antiquities of the County of Somerset, collected from authentick records by the Reverend John Collinson 1791'.
[7] *CIL* VII 52 + Addit. p 302; *ILS* 2517; 159; R. G.Collingwood and R. P. Wright (eds), *The Roman inscriptions of Britain, Vol. I: inscriptions on stone*, Hereafter R.I.B (Oxford, 1965).

As a gravestone, its provenance would have been outside the main Roman city, because burials were not permitted within city limits. Whether it was part of a graveyard or along a route into the city is unknown. After excavation, the stone was kept at Bath Abbey, affixed to a wall with another Roman epitaph. This inscription, now displayed as a permanent piece of the Roman Bath Museum's collection in Bath, Somerset, is carved on a large piece of oolite (bath) stone. What is preserved is a text base and lower half of a relief of a cavalryman on horseback galloping over a man. The torso and head of the man as well as the head of the horse and any capital decorations are missing.[8] In its present state, the stone stands at approximately 155 cm high and ninety-four centimetres wide with a depth of seventeen and half centimetres. This piece comprises three visually distinct elements: the remaining portion of the relief, a rectangular inscribed field surrounded by a double moulding, and the uninscribed lower base. What is left of the relief is fifty-three centimetres high and eighty-one centimetres wide, whereas the inscribed portion is only forty and a half centimetres high and seventy centimetres wide (Fig. 2). The rectangle formed by the moulding is not as wide as the relief, beneath which it is centred. There are two boxes inscribed around the text creating separate space. There is a small distance of four centimetres between the outer and the inner moulding and a distance of two and a half centimetres between the latter moulding and the inscribed portion. The lowest portion of the stone has no texts or sculptures and measures thirty-eight centimetres from the bottom of the stone to the bottom of the moulding.

Based on the serifs on the letters, especially the long tail on the letter Q, the script may be described as Inscriptional Capitals. The text is perhaps meant to be viewed as aligned around a central axis, but close inspection does not show a central justification. The first line fills the entire text box with larger letters seven and half centimetres high and six and one-third centimetres wide at a total length of sixty-five and half centimetres. The second through fifth lines are more justified to the left, with a length of sixty-four centimetres on average. The letters of the lower lines are five centimetres in height. The lines are not obviously uneven, but there does not seem to

be a high level of care taken when cutting the letters. While only varying slightly, letters vary in depth and do not sit within a single horizontal row.

There is damage to the stone aside from the missing top portion. A large and complete crack runs across the text. The crack begins at a height of sixty-three and half centimetres from the base on the left and rises to end at ninety-six and half centimetres at the right. It runs completely through the depth of the stone. The crack significantly impairs the reading of Lucius' father's name. This explains the differing views of spelling.[9] There is significant damage to the upper line of the text obscuring the last letter in Vitellius and the M of Mantai. Scarth notes in 1864 damage to the second and third lines; this damage seems to be noted at an even earlier date. In 1748, Stukeley's misreading of Mantai as Maximiniani leads one to believe that the significant damage to that area of the stone was original to the excavation. More damage has occurred to the beginning of the word STIP. The middle of the word CIVES is also damaged. These are most likely weather or accidental damage to the stone.

There has been other damage of a modern nature to the stone. There is evidence of red paint on the letters. This is presumably an eighteenth-century addition from the scholars after excavation. The standard of excavators was to "renovate" newly discovered stones by adding what was (probably correctly) assumed the Roman habit of red letters.[10]

In addition to the paint, there are darkened areas that have been attributed to weather and soot damage from the time when the inscription was at the abbey.[11] Without the scientific means and technical knowledge to date three drill-like holes in the stone, the exclusion of any mention of such damage in earlier descriptions alludes to a modern date.[12] There are two holes seen from the front of the stone, located at the bottom of the text between S(ic) and E(st). The larger hole to the right runs completely through the depth of the stone, while the second is approximately 3.8 cm deep. When viewing the stone from the back, a second attempted hole is seen, about 6.4 cm deep

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[8] Early commentaries include a separate piece as the missing top portion. Warner remarks that though previously being considered as one piece, the size and location of the two finds make it obvious that the two pieces are different. The top portion revealing an *eques* with weapons in hand was found in Grosvenor Gardens.

[9] Maniai (Ward, Soc. Ant. Minutes, 1736, *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1736) Maniali (Bowyer, Tracts, 1738), Maximiniani (Stukeley, Phil Trans, 1748), Mantai (Warner, An Illustration... of Bath, 1797 and Lysons Reliquae Britannico-Romanae, 1801).
[10] Lawrence Keppie, *Understanding Roman inscriptions*, (Baltimore, 1991), p. 22.
[11] William Phelps, *History and antiquities of Somersetshire* (London, 1836), p. 161.
[12] Dr. Benet Salway proposes that mention of these holes in earlier commentaries may not have been noted as they do not hinder the reading of the inscription.

that would have penetrated the top portion of the beginning of STIP. Due to the position of these holes and the unequal nature of their size, there is no obvious explanation behind the attempted or intended purpose.

A few of the letters take on a different size than the rest. The T in Vitellius is taller than the rest of the letters in that line. Additionally, the T in Mantai and Vettonum are also taller than the rest of the letters. Another letter that takes an unusual form is the A in Tancinus. The first strokes of this letter lean to the left unlike other carvings of the same letter. When compared to the rest of the inscription, it appears to have begun as the letter N, but was corrected by the stonecutter before a complete N was carved. The H at the bottom of the text is significantly wider than the other letters in the phrase it begins and the remaining portions of the text. As can be seen in the photographs of the stone, Collingwood underestimates the size of the H. In his drawing (Fig. 3), the H does not begin until the end of the A on the line above. However, the start of the letter clearly begins on the same vertical line as that A, increasing the size of the H to nearly double it is in Collingwood's drawing. The irregularity of the letter forms could be a sign of the time it was produced or insight into the skill of the carver.
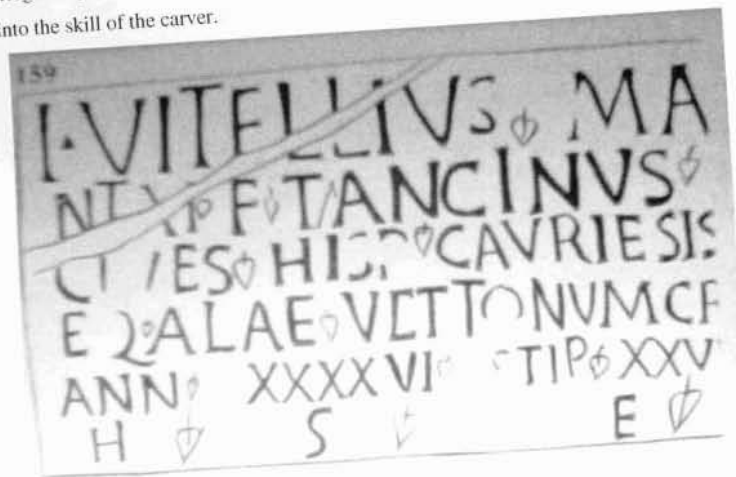

Fig. 3. Drawing made in 1921 by R.G. Collingwood as shown in the RIB.

The image above the inscription has been described as a cavalryman riding over an enemy.[13] The upper portion of the relief is missing, revealing only the horse's body, the legs of the rider, and a man lying on his back below the galloping horse. In the text, Tancinus is described as an *eques* so this depiction is fitting for his gravestone. In studying many gravestones of Roman *equites*, most from the first century AD include a similar relief. In closer viewing of the man below the horse, it seems that he may be holding a weapon. Although erosion of the stone combined with the minimal skill of the carver make it difficult to determine, there looks to be a pointed object protruding from his right hand up towards the belly of the horse. This would indicate that this man was the enemy.

With the viewing of the actual stone and its characteristics, a study of the meaning behind the inscription is important to understanding the stone. The text of the inscription is reconstructed as follows:

> L(ucius) Vitellius Ma/ntai f(ilius) Tancinus / cives Hisp(anus) Caurie(n)sis / eq(ues) alae Vettonum c(ivium) R(omanorum) / ann(orum) XXXXVI stip(endiorum) XXVI / h(ic) s(itus) e(st)

> Lucius Vitellius Tancinus, son of Mantaus,[14] a Spanish citizen of Caurium, cavalryman of the unit of Vettones, Roman citizens, forty-six years, of twenty-six years' service, lies here

The relief and the text reveal to us much of what we can know about Lucius Vitellius Tancinus. Lucius hailed from a Spanish area referred to as Cauriesis in the text. We know of a Caurium, located in northern region of Lusitania on the river Tagus, which is modern-day Coria in northern Spain. This area was a territory of the Vettones tribe, from which the Ala Vettonum was recruited. What is odd about this mention is the adjectival form of his hometown. From other epigraphical evidence, we know that the common spelling is Cauriensis, where this particular inscription omits the 'n'.[15] It cannot be certain whether this was an error on the part of the stonecutter.

[13] Collingwood and Wright (eds), *Roman inscriptions of Britain*, p. 159.

[14] Also translated as Mantiaus in some studies.

[15] Collingwood and Wright (eds), Index to *Roman Inscriptions of Britain*, vol 1, p. 96.

Warner suggests that the spelling was based on pronunciation, where an 'n' immediately preceding an 's' would be omitted, a nasalization common in modern Italian and French.[16]

We also know from other inscriptions that Tancinus is a Spanish name that is relatively common this region of Roman Spain.[17] Similarly popular are names ending in the –aius format, such as the father's name, Mantaius. However, Mantaus may be a better conclusion for correct spelling of the filiation.[18] While frequent in inscriptions of Roman Hispania, this is the only instance of the cognomen Tancinus found to date in Britain. His nomen, Vitellius, has however been discovered three other times in Britain.[19] None of these inscriptions share provenance or any relation to our epitaph. The distribution of the nomen in Spain is also scarce, suggesting that the citizenship and thus acquisition of the Roman name Lucius Vitellius may have occurred while serving outside of Spain.[20]

The inscription reveals that L. Vitellius Tancinus died at the age of forty-six after twenty-six years in military service. For Roman soldiers who died in Britain, a service span of twenty-six years was more than most, with the majority having served less than nineteen years, Tancinus falls in the XX-XXIX range along with approximately eighteen other Roman soldiers. Only two Roman soldiers whose epitaph were found in Britain detail a service longer that Tancinus, and two who served just as many years.[21] In general, for British inscriptions stating an age at the time of death, Tancinus was in the mid-high range at the age of forty-six. Of those inscriptions that relate to military service, only four were significantly older, though served fewer years in the military.[22] Of the men who served a similar number of years in the military, there is one who died younger at the age of forty, two older at the ages of fifty and fifty-five, and one whose age is unknown. The Roman soldier who served

many more years also survived to an older age and of the two whose inscriptions are damaged but served at least twenty years, one lived to be fifty-seven and the other only forty.[23] This analysis shows that Tancinus both lived and served longer than his comrades in the Roman army based in Britain.

There are too many variables to ascertain an average age of entrance to the military that would undoubtedly apply to Tancinus. Looking at similar inscriptions of Roman soldiers whose epitaphs mark age and years of service, the average age is early twenties, but this does not take into account any variation in origin or year. An analysis of gravestones that listed the life and service span gives an average age of enlistment of twenty years.[24] Assuming this was the case for Tancinus, he would have died either in service or shortly after leaving.

While there may have been other reasons, that Tancinus's gravestone was found in Bath suggests that is where he died. It is most likely that as a soldier of older age, Tancinus retired to Bath due to an ailment. There are many reasons for this supposition. As we have seen, Tancinus served longer than the average number of service years. From this, we can assume that he was not obliged to serve any number of remaining years. If his cohort was recruited from Roman citizens or gained Roman citizenship due to a valiant service, shown to us by the c(ives) R(omanum) title in its name, he was not required to serve the twenty-five years normally needed to obtain such an honour. If Tancinus joined the army at the age of nineteen/twenty and after serving twenty-six years became ill or injured he would be able to separate from the military without reneging on any remaining promised years of service. However, the filiation Mantai suggests that he was not born a Roman citizen and that the cives Romanum title may have been issued after his recruitment.

Birley suggests two dating possibilities based on the name. The first is that Tancinus was granted citizenship for his many years of service under Emperor Claudius in AD 47 and chose to take the Roman name of the censor, L. Vitellius.[25] The association with the censor is due to the rarity of Vitellius as a nomen, especially in combination with Lucius.[26] This fits with the supposition that L. Vitellius granted

[16] Richard Warner, *An illustration of roman antiquities at Bath* (1797), p. 9.
[17] CII, 2 96; J.M. Abascal Palazón, *Los nombres personales en las inscripciones latinas de Hispania* (Murcia,1994), p. 522.
[18] Abascal Palazón, *Los nombres personales*, p. 412 cites ten examples of Mantaus as a nomen in Roman Spain.
[19] C. Vitellius Atticanius RIB 1199; M. Vitellius Crescens AE 2446.7; Vitellia Procula RIB 696.
[20] Abascal Palazón, *Nombres*, p. 249
[21] RIB 523 and RIB 1713 served 26 years, RIB 2213 served twenty-seven years, and RIB 293 served thirty-one years; there are a few instances where damage to the stone has inhibited complete reading of service years, but we know of two inscriptions (RIB 291, 547) that are at least twenty years, perhaps more, and two inscriptions with numerals that may be referring to life span or service span; if referring to service span, they were soldiers for at least twenty years. (RIB 484, 756).
[22] RIB 1713, RIB 479, RIB 293, RIB 291 all died between L.-LIX. RIB 470 served at least XV but due to damage could have served more.

[23] RIB 523, RIB 547 = 40 years, RIB 479 = 50 years, RIB 293= 52 years; RIB 1713=55 years; RIB 291 = 57years.
[24] W. Scheidel. 'Measuring sex, age and death in the roman empire: explorations in ancient demography' *Journal of Roman archaeology* (1996), pp 97-116.
[25] Anthony Birley, *The people of Roman Britain* (Los Angeles, 1979), p. 91-2.
[26] Ibid., p. 10.

the citizenship after he left Spain. It has also been suggested that it is a block grant of citizenship to the unit for a significant military accomplishment. In AD 47-48, Aulus Plautius had a welcome return from Britain to Rome; Birley postulates that this is perhaps when Ala Vettonum received their block grant. This would support a mid-first century dating of the letterforms and formula. Dr. Conrad Leemens suggests a mid- to late first century date based on similar inscriptions found near Cirencester.[27]

Apart from Tancinus's age and years of service, the critical reasoning for this theory is the location of his gravestone. The area of Bath (Roman town of Aquae Sulis) was renowned even during the imperial period for the healing properties of its spa. Archaeological excavations as well as research into literary and epigraphical records both unearthed in and referring to the area have not revealed any evidence of a stationed military presence. Despite this lack of a military base, there is evidence of the presence of individual soldiers. Many of the stones found in the area are votive inscriptions from soldiers, presumably having "fulfilled their vow" in thanks for continued health after visiting the baths.[28] There have also been other military gravestones found. These epitaphs record members of the Legio XX, Legio II, and Colonia Glevum. The gravestones found at Bath that document the presence of Legio XX and Legio II are undated, so we cannot for certain know whether these men died while stationed in the area.[29] Regardless, we can picture a number of injured or retired soldiers attending the spas for treatment.

Without any reference by which we can date Tancinus, we cannot know where in Britain he may have been stationed. The absence of the formula "dis manibus" could indicate a date earlier than the mid-first century. The letters appear to be an early imperial form, noted to be common in Rome under Augustus, but would take time to reach the provinces, appropriate because the gravestone could not be prior to Claudius' invasion of AD 43.[30] It was noted that a marker of the first century is that the tombstone opens with the name in nominative case and an abbreviation h.s.e. at the end.[31]

Other inscriptions found in Britain indicate that Ala Vettonum had been stationed at Binchester (Vinovia).[32] The Vettones garrisoned this fort probably from the late second century to the early third.[33] Nearby at Bowes, the troops of Ala Vettonum carried out building work on a fort at Lavatris in AD 197-202.[34] Two tombstones also attest a presence in Brecon Gaer (Cicvcivm).[35] Tancinus is the only reference we have to relate the Ala Vettonum to Aquae Sulis.

If Tancinus's gravestone is early as the lack of DM suggests, the Vettones may still have been stationed relatively near the southeast area, then perhaps Tancinus did die while in service in the Bath area. There are no other records to place the Ala Vettonum elsewhere at this time and it could have been stationed there. However, if this were the case, we would expect to find more references to the cavalry in the area. Assuming that Tancinus was in Britain in the mid-first century, as the evidence suggests, it is more likely that Ala Vettonum was stationed elsewhere, perhaps at Brecon Gaer than at Bath. Tancinus' span of service and age likely indicate that he retired from military service due to an ailment and sought treatment in Bath. His stone may have been commissioned by himself or friends upon his death. The quality of the carving reflects that it was not an immensely rich man who paid for the epitaph but was instead suited for a military man. We have no information to date or place Tancinus' military pursuits, but there is enough to suppose his death in Bath. In the years since the stone was cut, it has been broken, weather worn, cracked, perhaps chiselled, drilled, and painted. Despite this, it can be concluded that L. Vitellius Tancinus was a Spanish cavalryman from the Ala Vettonum, a Roman citizen who served a significant amount of time in the military.

[27] British Archaeological Association, *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* 1862; XVIII, p. 295.
[28] RIB 139, RIB 143, RIB 144, RIB 146, RIB 147.
[29] RIB 146 identifies a man of Legio II who died during the reign of a pair of emperors, suggesting a date of 161 or later.
[30] Keppie, *Understanding roman inscriptions*, p. 28.
[31] Eric Birley, *Archaeologia Cambrensis* (1953), pp 101-2, 10.

[32] RIB 1029, RIB 1028, RIB 1032.
[33] W. S. Hanson, and Laurence Keppie, (eds) *Roman frontier studies* (Oxford, 1979), p. 233-54.
[34] RIB 730.
[35] RIB 403, RIB 405.

Monastic ecclesial reforms and its impact on the early development of the Irish churches

Sonya Ocampo-Gooding

The Christian monastic movement was a vehicle for two powerful energies, mysticism and asceticism, which helped spread Christian beliefs from the east in Egypt to the west of Europe and into Ireland. Together, mysticism, with Plato's idea of the immortality of the soul, and the ascetic practices, based on Greek contemplative traditions of purification and contemplation, created the fundamental basis of the early Christian monastic movement. The deserts of Egypt were the cradle of monasticism where distinct types of monasticism developed under St. Antony and St. Pachomius. Later on, the spread of monasticism in Western Europe occurred under influential spiritual leaders such as Athanasius, John Cassian and Martin of Tours, whose influence reached the Celtic world of Ireland. Three important figures emerged within the development of monasticism in the Irish church: St. Patrick, Columcille, and Columbanus. Under the doctrine of *homoiosis*, or the similitude of God, they became the guiding lights for the 'Golden years' of the Irish Celtic church and the distinctive views and practices of the ecclesial monastic movement reforms.

Mysticism and asceticism have been important forces behind the development of many religions. In particular, Christian monasticism has been the vehicle of these two powerful forces, mysticism and asceticism, to spread Christian beliefs from the east to the west.

In *The mystical element of religion* Friedrich Baron von Hugel explained that mysticism is only a part or element of a concrete religion and of any particular religious personality. As such, a 'mystic' does not practice mysticism, but believes and practices Christianity, Islam, Judaism, Hinduism or other religion.[1] Bernard McGinn notes in *Foundations of mysticism* that in the Christian religion, Origen's theory was based on the tradition of explicit mysticism embodied in the phenomenon of monasticism in the fourth century. Mysticism is the process or a way of life centred on the encounter between the Infinite Spirit and the finite human spirit.[2] The mystic experiences of early Christians were to experience the presence of God in ascetic practices, sacramental rituals, and forms of prayer based on spiritual values, patterns of life, and the examples of the scripture explained by the fathers.

Oliver Freiberger notes in *Asceticism and its critics* that cultural expressions can be examined in asceticism in the context of its semantics, such as people who practice the asceticism of self-restraint in working or making money. The term 'asceticism' could then reach the more abstract level of cultural theory of self-denial 'ascetic.'[3] Geoffrey Galt Harpham locates asceticism at the root of all cultures because 'all cultures are ethical cultures' and they 'impose on their members the essential ascetic discipline of self-denial'.[4] In terms of religion, one must differentiate between what 'religion' means in the historical context, and how it reflects the motives, aims, and behaviour of the individuals. There is a difference between religious and non-religious phenomena. In the broader sense of asceticism, one must then distinguish the historical context of ascetic from non-ascetic practices and beliefs.[5]

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[1] Bernard McGinn, 'The presence of God: a history of western Christian mysticism' in *The foundations of mysticism: origins to the fifth century* (New York, 1991), p. xvi.
[2] McGinn, 'The presence of God,' p. xvi.
[3] Oliver Freiberg, *Asceticism and its critics: historical accounts and comparative perspectives* (Oxford, 2006), p. 3.
[4] Ibid.
[5] Ibid., p. 4.

Freiberger examines asceticism along the original meaning of the Greek *askesis* (exercise) or a rather strenuous religious practice. On this level of cultural asceticism, specific tools are designed for the self-control of its members, e.g. initiation rites to control pain, which the individual needs as an adult. There is then the 'elite asceticism,' which is the extraordinary form of self-control that only the *virtuosi* of a small group of religious members in a society seek in specific forms of social, religious and personal goals. In this definition of asceticism, a culture exists based on the connection of 'normal' culture practices and in the 'extraordinary' or more 'radical' forms of an ascetic life. Therefore, in the historical definition of asceticism, initiation rites fall into the level of cultural asceticism. Celibacy is, however, on the level of 'elite' asceticism where lasting practices affect bodily needs for religious practices. There is a difference in fasting two weeks ahead of a ritual performance and the enduring fasting of the ascetic monk. Asceticism should be understood, in this term, as a lifestyle and not a mode of religious practice.[6]

Egypt was the pioneer-site of Christian monasticism. The force of the Church of Alexandria led the theological work of the patristic age and Christian beliefs spread in the cities of the Eastern Empire. Alexandria and its famous Platonic schools of Philosophy and Jewish Rabbinic learning became the centre of Christendom, the origin of heresies and the cradle of the greatest Greek Fathers: Clement of Alexandria, Origen and Athanasius.[7]

There are two aspects of Greek contemplative tradition that influenced Christian mysticism: the soul's return to God, and the cathartic process of the sage curbing his passions and nursing virtue in his soul. Plato's tradition of the return of the soul to God was the language of the Desert Fathers. The concepts of *askesis* (purification) and *theoria* (contemplation) describe the soul's return to God.[8] The soul (the true human subject) continually searches to possess the Absolute Good which beatifies. *Theoria* is the achievement of possession of the Absolute Good, earned along the ascending purification or *askesis* of love and knowledge, and its goal is the assimilation of the soul to its supernal source.[9] In brief, the word 'asceticism' has kept its common meaning as the consistent, rigorous renunciation of certain pleasures. J. Giles Milhaven notes that ascetics have their own pleasures, 'most obviously the pleasures of self-mastery, God's presence, the pleasure of serving God, the pleasure of anticipating union with God, or the pleasure at repentance of a sinner'.[10]

The great Christian theologians of Alexandria, Clement of Alexandria, Origen and Athanasius were the powerful intellectual stimulus of the group of theologians, who brought together the Greek philosophy and religious practice along the traditions of early Christianity.[11]

Origen *adimantios* (man of steel) born in Alexandria (185 A.D.) was the pioneer of the early Christian theory, the theology of asceticism, in the School of Alexandria. His theory was based on Greek philosophy: the end of life was the vision of God. His ascetical theology of pure renunciation with the training of the body, the conquest of sin, the fight with the demons, and the practice of virtue had all one destiny which was the contemplation of God in pure mind.[12]

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[6] Freiberg, *Asceticism*, p. 6.
[7] C. H. Lawrence, *Medieval monasticism: forms of religious life in western Europe in the middle ages*. Second edition (London, 1989), pp 4, 5.

[8] McGinn, 'The presence of God', p. 24.
[9] Ibid., p. 25.
[10] J. Giles Milhaven, 'Asceticism and the moral good: a tale of two pleasures' in Vincent Wimbush, and Richard Valantis (eds), *Asceticism* (New York, 1995), p. 376.
[11] Christopher Brooke, *The age of the cloister: the story of monastic life in the middle ages* (New Jersey, 2003), p. 29.
[12] Owen Chadwick, *Western asceticism* (Philadelphia, 1958), p. 22.

Origen's coherent program, the merger of the ascetical and mystical elements, in Christianity made it clear the transformative processes of the fallen soul to reach the virtuous experience through the readings and appropriation of the scriptural text. His method of illustrating the view of scripture was achieved by the interconnection of body, soul and spirit using the scripture as a shorthand, in which the believer felt he/she was within the text and the action being carved into their soul.[13]

In the history of Greek Christian mysticism, Origen's theology of mysticism prepared the background to one of the most decisive factors of the creation and triumph of the monastic movement in the fourth century. Monasticism became a religious innovation that carried great influence, and an institution with values that has impacted the history of Christianity until the present.[14] Ideas need an institution to have effect, and monasticism provided that institution.

David Knowles in *Christian monasticism* defines the word 'monk' from the Greek word *monos*, alone or solitary, or one who lives alone or apart from others. In Christian religious history, the term 'monk' refers to a person who 'left the world' in the sense of living alone or in community as the 'anchorite' or the 'hermit' lived in the fourth century.[15] Later on, in the Christian monastic development, 'monk' was applied to one who followed the rules recognized as monastic which were based on the origins of the teaching of Jesus.[16] In general, western writers refer 'monk' to religious devotees from other religions.

In the early stages of monasticism males and female monastics became the religious *virtuosi* who practiced asceticism through the program of sexual abstinence and contemplative prayers to prepare them for a direct contact with God. To fight the ideal of elitism, the early desert fathers remind themselves that Christian perfection was measured by humility, charity, kindness, and patience and not by some specific spiritual gifts to experience the presence of God.[17] The importance of the monk reached its zenith after Christianity became the state religion with Constantine, the Great, in the fourth century. Eusebius of Caesarea, the emperor's advisor and court theologian, wrote 'Giving the monk (*monachoi*) a home was God's first and greatest provision for humankind, because they are front rank of those advancing in Christ'.[18]

The deserts of Egypt, Syria and Palestine were the places were early Christian asceticism was practiced in a free-form of small groups of men and women within a Christian village being recognized in a papyrus text as *monachoi* (solitary ones) in early 324 A.D.[19] By the time of Antony's death in 356 A.D. there were colonies of hermits on the mountains of Nitria, to the west of the Nile Delta and north of the inner desert of Scetis, Palestine and Syria. These colonies known as *Lauras*, Greek word meaning pathway or passage, were made of several hundred solitaries living in caves or huts generally far from each other. The fountainhead of two traditions of asceticism, the eremitical and cenobitic, provided the inspiration and vitality to the types of monastic organizations that were created in the Western and Byzantine East during the Middle Ages.[20] St. Antony, the hermit (c. 251-356) from Egypt known as the 'father or abbot' of monastic life led the eremitical (*eremos* or

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[13]Bernard McGinn, 'Asceticism and mysticism in late antiquity and the early middle ages' in Vincent Wimbush and Richard Valantis (eds), *Asceticism* (New York, 1995), p. 64.
[14] McGinn, 'The presence of God,', p. 131
[15] David Knowles, *Christian monasticism*, (New York, 1969), p. 9.
[16] Ibid.

[17] McGinn, 'The presence of God,' p.133.
[18] Ibid.
[19] Ibid.
[20] Lawrence, *Medieval monasticins*, p. 4.

desert) ascetical movement[21] and St. Pachomius, the abbot, (c.292-346) a pagan Egyptian peasant who served in the imperial army founded the first monastic congregation with a Rule, the *coenobite* or common life in Upper Egypt.[22] (Map 1) Athanasius of Alexandria once commented that 'The desert was made a city by monks, who left their own people and registered themselves for citizenship in the heavens'.[23]

The Eastern monastic movement spread to the West through the Middle East from Palestine, Syria, Mesopotamia and Asia Minor in the Pachomian (cenobitic) form towards Italy. It was under the inspirational guidance of the East Fathers, Athanasius, John Cassian and Martin of Tours that the monastic movement fused in the West. (Map 2)

Athanasius, one of the intellectual forces in the diffusion of Eastern monasticism in the West passed the ideals of the Eastern monk, through his *Life of St. Antony*, to Western Christianity in Trier and Rome during his exile in 335-7A.D and 339-46 A.D.[24]

Charles Kannengiesser notes that Athanasius became 'the most famous church leader in the Roman empire of the fourth century. He is also the first authority in the Christian church who recognized the importance of monasticism for the Christian way of life'.[25] Kannengiesser adds that Athanasius was a figure who 'transformed episcopacy itself, first in Egyptian Christianity and later on in the universal church.'[26] The ideals of Pachomian monasticism traveling to the west a

[21] Brooke, *The age of the cloister*, p. 28.
[22] McGinn, 'The presence of God', p. 137.
[23] William Harmless, *Mystics* (Oxford, 2008), p. 135.
[24] Lawrence, *Medieval monasticism*, p. 11.
[25] Charles Kannengiesser, 'Athanasius of Alexandria and the ascetic movement of his time' in Vincent Wimbush, and Richard Valantis (eds), *Asceticism* p. 479.
[26] Kannengiesser, 'Athanasius of Alexandria,' p. 490.

century later made it possible for the monk, Gregory the Great to be elected Bishop of Rome. As such, Kannengiesser states that 'The Athanasian legacy to the ascetic movement of the fourth century included more than a disciplinarian administration of charisma; it created for that movement a historic chance to transform the face of the church'.[27]

Another powerful influence for the West was John Cassian, the monk from Scythia, a disciple of John Chrysostom in Constantinople and Pope Leo the Great in Rome. Cassian presented his experiences among the anchorites in Egypt to the monks at Lerins and Provence in Gaul. The pulse of the coenobitic discipline and spiritual life is infused in his writings *Institutes and Conferences* (415-422) where he encapsulated the ethos of the desert and the teaching of the famous abbots,[28] as well as the framework of the monastic life in the thought of 'The fear of the Lord: leads us to compunction of heart; leads us to renunciation of all that is the soul's own; lead us to humility...'.[29] In Cassian's *Collations*, one of the most sophisticated statements of fourth century teaching of spiritual life and one of the supreme masterpieces of early Christianity exhibited his teaching on the purity of heart, 'The ultimate goal of our way of life is, as I said, the kingdom of God, or kingdom of heaven. The immediate aim is purity of heart. For without purity of heart none can enter into that kingdom...'.[30] *The Conferences* were read every night before compline in early medieval monasteries with quotations on the rule of St. Benedict.[31]

St. Martin, bishop of Tours, was born in Savaria, Pannonia (modern Hungary) (316-97 A.D.), a soldier and son of a veteran of the imperial army before he

[27] Ibid.
[28] Lawrence, *Medieval monasticism*, p. 12.
[29] Brooke, *The age of the cloister*, p. 39.
[30] Chadwick, *Western asceticism*, p. 197.
[31] Knowles, *Christian monasticism*, p. 15.

converted to Christianity. He became the first major figure in Gallic monasticism. St. Martin chose to live the life of an anchorite in a cell near Milan but his monastic life took him to Poitiers, the first monastery on Gallic soil with the semi-eremitical style of Antony ruled by example, then he moved to Liguge and to Marmotiere.[32] At Marmotiere, he followed the Eastern Laura organization with his hermits in 372 A.D. His biographer, Sulpicius Severus wrote after 400 A.D. *Life of St. Martin* which was received in Rome, Africa, Egypt, the East and becoming a classic of medieval hagiography.[33]

After St. Martin brought the lifestyle of a hermit-group to Liguge and Marmotiere, the monastic life spread like a fan over central and western Gaul to the Celtic regions of the England, Cornwall, Wales and the land of Eire.[34] On these islands, Ireland, Cornwall and Wales, monasticism developed under the eremitical type, spreading from 540 to 600 and becoming the ruling element not only in the church but in a society where Roman organization of cities and towns did not exist. These were the islands where chieftains accepted Christianity as their new religion, and carried the whole clan into their conversion. It is here where we encounter a large monastic community around two or three thousand and where their king was the abbot.[35]

St. Martin was very influential and active in missions among Celtic tribes in the diocese of Tours and according to legends it was said to have met St. Ninian, a Briton by race, during his visit to Whithorn in Galloway. According to Bede's writings in 731, Ninian founded Whithorn which was known as Candida Casa (White

House)[36] a generation before St. Patrick came to Ireland.[37] Ninian might have been regarded as an important leader of the Celtic churches in the awakening of the interest of anchorite or eremitical monasticism.[38] The influence of St. Ninian might also have been present in St. Patrick's move towards asceticism, when St. Patrick formed groups of 'monks and virgins' under vows at some of the many churches he founded where it could be normal that a monastic unit grew beside them.[39]

The hagiography of 'special people' such as Patrick, Columcille and Columbanus exemplifies the doctrine of *homoiosis*, the 'similitud of God' stated by Plato as an appropriation to the idea of the 'athlete of virtue.' Patrick and others were an example of this doctrine in their pursuit to imitate the perfect goodness of the gods.[40] St. Patrick, a captive, visionary, bishop, and missionary is the legend who has been buried in the hagiographies of Ireland of the fifth century. Thomas O'Loughlin states that Patrick has been so 'shamrockladen by the cultural politics of defining Irish identity that for many he has become an almost mythical figure'.[41] We can still, however, know more about him than about any fifth century English, 'let alone Irish person'.[42]

Due to the lack of factual proofs about Patrick's and Palladius' mission to Ireland, O'Loughlin believes that not only Patrick and Palladium missions, but other ones too, were working among the Irish during that time and without connection between them, rather than a single person, who should be seen as the pioneers of

[32] Lawrence, *Medieval monasticism*, p. 14.
[33] Ibid.
[34] Knowles, *Christian monasticism*, p. 28.
[35] Ibid., p. 31

[36] John McNeill, *The celtic churches: a history A.D. 200- to 1200* (London, 1974), pp 24, 5.
[37] Ryan John, *Irish monasticism: origins and early development* (Ithaca, 1972), p. 105.
[38] McNeill, *The celtic churches*, p. 23.
[39] Ibid., p. 26.
[40] Catherine Thom, *Early Irish monasticism: an understanding of its cultural roots* (New York, 2006), p. xxi.
[41] Thomas O'Loughlin, *Celtic theology: humanity, world and God in early Irish writings* (London, 2000), p. 25.
[42] O'Loughlin, *Celtic theology*, p. 25.

Christianity in Ireland.[43] Nevertheless, the development of monasticism in Ireland along the lines of Continental thought had a drawback. St. Patrick's aim was to create a ruling episcopate in the Roman Britain style and the Continent, where the monastic element was ruled by a bishop, but the tribal and rural Irish organization might have hindered the permanent establishment of the diocesan episcopacy after his death in 520 A.D.[44]

There were 100 years of silence that covered Irish religious development and organization of the nascent churches under the legendary image of St. Patrick and the account of a missionary visit of Palladius in 431 A.D.[45] The origin of the silence remains a point of enquiry. The strength of the movement of monasticism grew in importance during the second half of the sixth century in Ireland when important monasteries were founded. St. Columba built Durrow Abbey in 553 A.D. where the illuminated manuscript *Book of Durrow* was written. Clonmacnois (*Cluain Mhic Nois*) or Meadow of the Sons of Nos) in County Offaly was founded by St. Ciaran in 545 A.D., who was educated under St. Finnian of Clonard and Enda of Aran (d. 579). St. Comgall, from Antrim and educated at Clonmacnois, founded Bangor Abbey in County Down in 579 A.D.[46]

Although Irish monks were able to absorb the Egyptian rigorous teachings of monasticism as the ideal model in their quest for direct contact with God, the Celtic spirit expressed it differently from the Coptic. One of the distinctions of the Irish monk towards expressing his contact with God was through his contact with nature. As David Knowles writes, we cannot imagine this poem from Connaught c. 670 A.D.

[43] Ibid., p. 26
[44] McNeill, *The celtic churches*, p. 69.
[45] Daibhi O'Croinin, *Early medieval Ireland: 400-1200* (London, 1995), p. 197.
[46] Nancy Edwards, *The archaeology of early medieval Ireland* (Philadelphia, 1990) p. 90.

being written by an eastern monk describing his abode and surroundings in the light of God:

> I have a bothy (hut) in the wood,
> None knows it save the Lord, my God;
> One wall an ash, the other hazel,
> And a great fern makes the door.
>
> The doorpost are made of heather,
> And the lintel of honeysuckle;
> And wild forest all around
> Yields mast for well-fed swine.
>
> This size my hut; the smallest thing;
> Homestead amid well-trod paths;
> A woman (but blackbird clothed and seeming)
> Warbles sweetly from its garble.[47]

Ireland's introduction to Christianity took place during the powerful and surprising monastic movement that spread from Egypt to Asia Minor and to Western Europe during the fourth and fifth centuries. (Map 3) The 'Golden Age' of the early Irish church and culture gave Ireland the title of the 'Island of Saints and Scholars' during the sixth to the eighth centuries, and served as a guiding light for the rest of Europe alongside their missionary monks.[48] Another distinctive feature of asceticism for the Irish was the *peregrinatio* or exile as a form of renunciation. Monks left Ireland to foreign places in order to spread the Christian faith and monastic life. Irish monks (Scoti) in their *peregrinatio* took their culture (manuscripts and paintings), and their rule to built monastic foundations in Iceland, the western isles of Scotland, Brittany, central Europe in Regensburg and Vienna and as far as Bobbio in Lombardy. Columba, the apostle of Western Scotland (521-97 A.D.), of the Dal

[47] Knowles, *Christian monasticism*, p. 31.
[48] O'Croinin, *Early medieval Ireland*, p. 196.

Riada leading religious establishment, founded Iona.[49] Columbanus (540-615 A.D.), the first great Irish 'man of letters' was famous for his poems which were supposedly composed by him while he rowed with his monks up the Rhine in 611 A.D.[50] He traveled to the Vosges mountains to found Luxeuil (c.590) and continued through his life visits to the Rhineland and the Alps to come back to Bobbio where he died. The monk Aidan, from Iona, came to Northumbria, was consecrated bishop and founded Lindisfarne in 635 A.D.[51]

The Rule of Columbanus, another distinctive feature of Irish monastic practice, replaced the litmus test of the contemporary Mediterranean monachism by imposing severe fasts and a fierce penal code. Yet, for him, monasticism was based not on a Rule but an abbot which was the mainspring of the life. Therefore, throughout the branches of his monasteries which were founded by him or influenced by him the will of the abbot was expressed differently by different personalities.[52]

Another of the distinctive features that emerged from the 100 years of silence under the St. Patrick and Palladius missions from the nascent Irish churches was the Hiberno-Latin writings during the six centuries and its ascetic praxis of monasticism. These writings and ascetic practices contributed to the shift on the theology of sin clearly stated in the Irish handbooks of penances or 'penitentials', which points to the distinctiveness of the Celtic consciousness that illustrated the radicality of the Irish response to the Christian Evangelium.[53]

These writings contained a selection of themes, which had utilitarian and vocational purposes: monastic rules, handbook of penances (penitentials) or manuals

[49] Knowles, *Christian monasticism*, p. 32.
[50] O'Croinin, *Early medieval Ireland*, p. 199.
[51] Richard Fletcher, *The barbarian conversion: from paganism to christianity* (Los Angeles, 1999), p. 163.
[52] Knowles, *Christian monasticism*, p. 32.
[53] O'Croinin, *Early medieval Ireland*, p. 197.

for spiritual confessors, and cannon law. At first, these texts came under British influence, but soon they were superseded by the native's ardour to perfection.[54] In particular, the Irish penitentials embodied the shift on the theology of sin which changed from being punitive and public to the post-patristic healing and private. In St. Patrick's *Epistola ad milites Corotici*, he publicly accused Coroticus and his men for the sins of apostasy and shedding blood. St. Patrick excluded them for not submitting to public penance.[55] The penitentials, O'Loughin states, are the most distinctive feature of the insular churches, the Irish and the Welsh, in how they became the lighting post for their innovation and transformation into a new Christian practice and theology.[56]

It is unknown where the first penitential was written. After a blank period, the *Penitential of Finnian* was written around 591A.D. by Finnian of Clonnard (549A.D.) or Finnian of Moville (579 A.D.)[57] and it appears in full development dated in the late six century and might have been written in Clonnard, the monastery he founded. The *Penitential of Finnian* was a pastoral handbook for dealing with the sins of repentant Christians. The penitentials were aimed exclusively to people who had sinned - not in abstract problems and not with a category of people. To each crime, a specific 'penitential remedy' of fasting, alms, and prayer was prescribed.[58] What was the reason of the appearance of the *Penitentials of Finnian*? O'Loughin attributes it to crucial changes in how sin and penances were seen and dealt with the

[54] Ibid.
[55] O'Loughin, *Celtic theology*, p. 52.
[56] Ibid., p. 49.
[57] Peter O'Dwyer, *Towards a history of Irish spirituality* (Blackrock, 1995), p. 17.
[58] O'Loughin, *Celtic theology*, p. 52.

church. Surviving documents illustrate major factors of this change that can be explained in a theological and practical context.

Christianity was spreading in Ireland in mid fifth century and the church adopted administrative features based on monastic origin. Sin was a concern of the Latin Church in two separate areas: In the diocese, it was a restoration of baptismal regeneration as a 'one-off' severe penance. In the monasteries, sins were seen as that cause, which prevented one from attaining perfection to be in contact with God. Therefore, in the monastery, to defeat sin was an integral part of conversion and discipleship based on the command *penitentiam agite* or Do penance! To reach perfection was a life of penance.

The writings of John Cassian were a strong influence on the insular view of monasticism and penance. His focus was the sins of the monks. Cassian changed the view of penance with one brushstroke: He studied sin as an ongoing part in the life of the monk that had to be examined and removed as sickness. Therefore, the view of penance was seen, not as a punishment, but as a healing medicine: Penance served to repair a damage done. It was a mode of reparation and a repayment for being saved before a disaster. 'Let us make haste to cure contraries *contraria contrariis curantur* and to cleanse away these faults from our hearts and introduce heavenly virtues in their places . . .'[59] Cassian sought the parallel of the principle of 'contraries are healed by contraries' in medicine to cure a disease. As the body with fever gets healed with cold, then the spiritual disease of gluttony could be healed by fasting.[60]

Sin was now a sickness which needed a diagnostic. It was not a crime that needed prosecution. This individuality of the sin put a value on the concept of

spiritual self-knowledge instead of the need for public declaration within the church. The one to care for the sins was now the one who care for the souls of the monks. His decisions were as those of the physician with the patient and not the bishop acting as a judge.[61] The *Anmchara*, the one who took care for the sins, had a prominent role in the Irish monastic place and its relationship to penitential practices. The introduction of the soul-friendship relationship in the Irish private penitential led to a prolongation and intensification of his soul searching by the penitent. The *Anmchara* acted like the doctor treating an illness. The penitent will bare his soul, intimate thoughts and deeds and if found unfaithful to the Evangelium, the 'soul-doctor' will prescribe a penance appropriate to the soul-illness. In this way, as the doctor treats his patient illness, the Irish soul-friend relationship laid the foundation for a more personal, instead of a public approach to sin and its forgiveness.[62] In some areas of northern England, where the monks had established their monastery, there was an established practice of women serving as *Anamchara*. They even practiced hearing confessions in the technical sense. Abbess Hilda of Whitby was one of them.[63] The purpose of all the Irish penitentials was to heal the penitent and to return the sinner to the community and its worship involving his/her heart for the true conversion to become real. The notion of conversion is ingrained in the Irish psyche. Druids had a place of honour in its society as healers, lawyers and doctors, and with the *filid*, they were the keepers of the stories of the Tuatha to keep the sense of community. Likewise, the *Anmchara* of the Irish monastic tradition knew in detail the stories of the monks who came to them for advice. They knew that healing was the primary reason of the penances and as such they did not take advantage of the 'power' they

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[59] O'Dwyer, *Towards a history*, p. 17.
[60] O'Loughin, *Celtic theology*, p. 53.

[61] Ibid., p. 54.
[62] Thom, *Early Irish monasticism*, p. 40.
[63] Ibid.

had.[64] H. Connolly states that the *Anmchara* had an important role in the Irish monastic place and its relationship to penitential practice: 'it is only in the context of the healing dialogue that a theological reading of the Irish penitential literature can properly take place.'[65] Therefore, the theological reading of the Irish penitential literature should be done in the context of a healing dialogue. Catherine P. Thom notes that the value of Columbanus' penitential reforms, which were transferred to the Continent at the end of the sixth century, is centered in that the Irish Church can claim the introduction of a unique form of penitential practice. As such, the Irish Church can also claim to have made a valuable and influential contribution to the life of the Church in the sixth century. In brief, the beginnings of private 'confession' instead of 'public confession,' offers the view of change and of making a great contribution not only to the inner life of the early Irish Church but also into the future of the Universal Church.[66]

The law texts were written after the penitentials and they received the influence of Latin canon law. Irish laws followed other northern non-Roman (Germanic) legal systems in the sense that an offense was made good by payment of an honour price. The honour price had to be paid by the offender or the family's offender. Therefore, a sin was an offense against God's dignity and to remove it carried a price. The monastic notion of ascetic reparation was then extended to the whole society as a religious education to be able to understand and to overcome sin in pursue of the communication with God.[67]
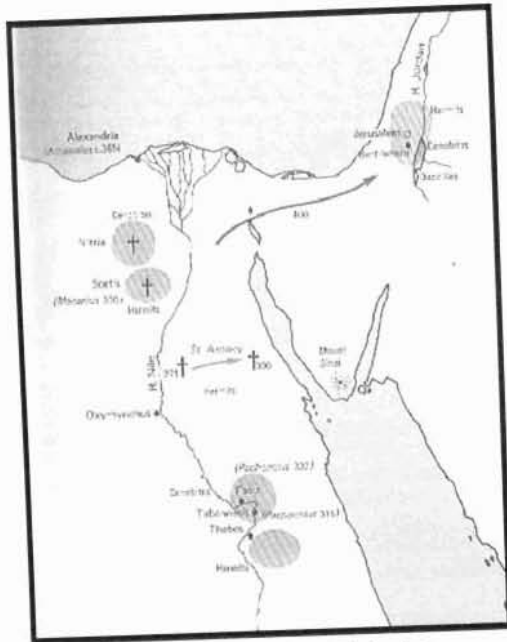
The forces of mysticism and asceticism have served as a common thread bounding the religions of human history. In particular, Christian monasticism was significant in the spread of Christianity in the western world because it was fed from these two energies, mysticism and asceticism, in an institutionalized form that permitted to develop according to its cultural and religious times. The presence and guidance of great minds such as Athanasius, John Cassian, and Martin of Tours, who each in its own disciplines of mind were able to implement important aspects of the monastic movement during its western dispersion that reached the Celtic churches. And, it is in the early Irish development, the 'Golden Age' of its monastic development that we find the most significant impact and influences as a whole: in the shift of penitential, from public to individual, a practice which is still on in our modern times. By keeping their ancient customs, the early Irish monastic church give us also, a cultural window to see broader implications in the monastic reforms that followed later on in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

> If anyone has sinned in his heart through thought, and then at once has repented, let him strike his breast, and ask God for pardon, and make satisfaction, and thus he will become well (*sanus*).
>
> Finnian of Clonnard[68]

[64] Thom, *Early Irish monasticism*, p. 74.
[65] Ibid., p. 40.
[66] Ibid., p. 31.

[67] O'Loughin, *Celtic theology*, p. 55.
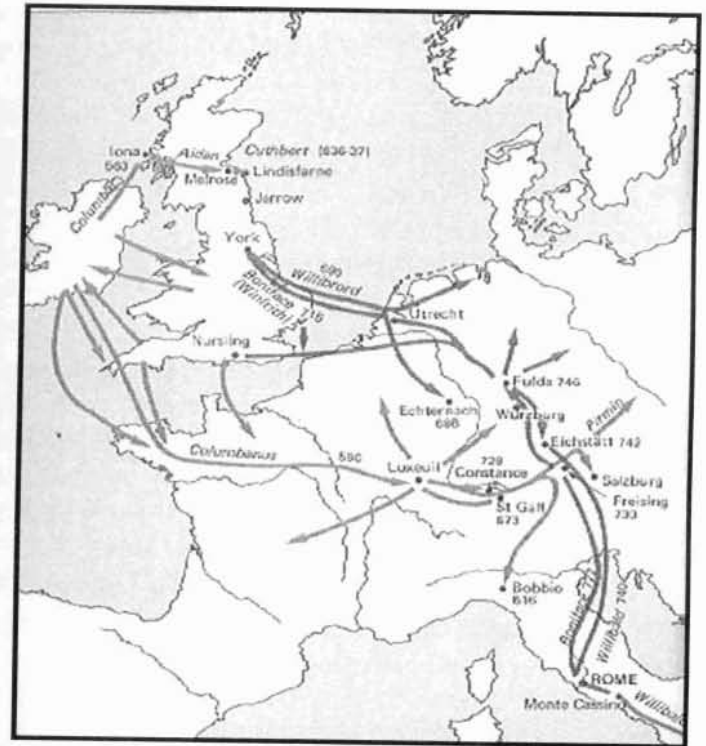[68] Ibid., p. 57.

Map 1. The cradle of monasticism: Egypt (Palestine).
Source: David Knowles. *Christian monasticism* (New York, 1969).
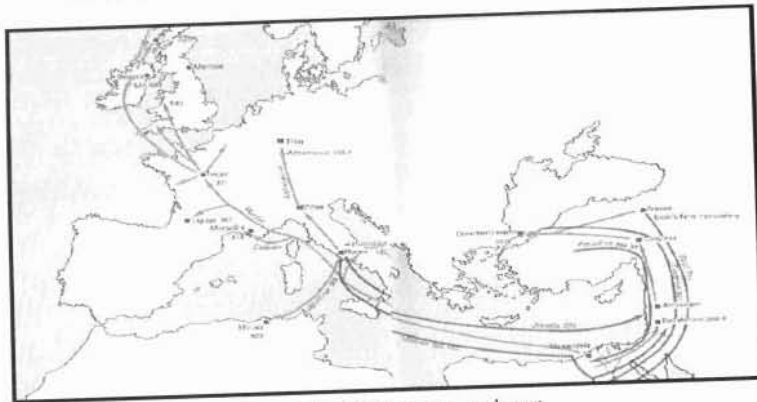
Map 2. The two extremes of monastic influence: east and west.
Source: Knowles. *Christian monasticism.*

Map 3. Celtic monasticism: Columba, Columbanus, Aidan (560-670) before Charlemagne.
Source: Knowles, *Christian monasticism.*

Reappraising the Synod of Whitby

Erin Thomas A. Dailey

The Synod of Whitby, convoked by King Oswiu of Northumbria in 664, has long been of interest to scholarship.[1] It has usually been remembered according to the account found in Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum*, generally held to have been written in 731.[2] In this retelling, Oswiu ended a dispute over the calculation of Easter, and the proper monastic tonsure, by changing the religious practice of the kingdom. Northumbria exchanged the customs traditional in Celtic areas (*mos Scottorum*) in favour of the practices current in the remainder of the West (*universialis ecclesia*), which had found approval by the See of Rome. This narrative gave rise to an interpretation of the synod as a shift from 'Celtic' to 'Roman' custom. Recent scholarship has become aware of the problematic nature of these labels, and Frankish influence at the synod has begun to come into view. However, such new insights have yet to be interpreted in the context of the politics of Oswiu's reign. This study will suggest that the Merovingian contingent at Whitby advocated a different set of tables from either the 'Celtic' attendees, and from some of the other 'Roman' attendees. Furthermore, Oswiu's political decisions will be taken into consideration in light of this hypothesis.

Oswiu's decision to convene a synod at Whitby in 664 has produced a large historiographic tradition, which may outweigh the relative historical significance of the assembly. The gathering was simply one episode in the longstanding, widespread dispute over Paschal computation in the Early Middle Ages, and its decision on the matter applied only to Northumbria. There are two main reasons for this outpouring of energy over Whitby. For one, the synod had the good fortune of featuring as a climatic moment in Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica*, where it owes its narrative prominence to Bede's literary aim of stressing church unity, as well as his

personal interest in ecclesiastical computus. Secondly, at the beginning of the modern period the synod became incorporated in the protestant metanarrative, with its interest in early forms of Christianity that could be perceived as independent from papal authority until their inevitable subjugation to Catholic dogma.[3]

Although Reformation mythmaking has largely been cast aside, and while scholarship has become increasingly aware of the need to revaluate Bede's material, the interpretation of the synod as involving two opposing parties has endured.[4] This perspective is indebted to Bede's narrative structure, as well as the account of Stephen of Ripon, written between 710 and 720.[5] Although Stephen's account differed from Bede's on certain details, it also characterised the assembly as a clash between two groups: the '*scotti*' and '*bryttones*' on one side, and the '*Romana ecclesia et apostolica sedes*' on the other.[6] Bede stated that the position of the *scotti* was represented by the bishops Colman and Cedd, the abbess Hilda, and their clergy, while the case of the *universialis ecclesia* was argued by the bishop Agilbert, the priests Wilfrid and Agatho, the chaplain of queen Eanflæd, named Romanus, and a deacon named James. Stephen drew the same picture, although he offered fewer names, mentioning Colman and Hilda in opposition to Agilbert, Wilfrid, and Agatho.

The list of names given by Bede and Stephen, however, includes individuals with extensive Frankish connections, specifically Agilbert and his follower, Wilfrid. Although they were described as belonging to the 'Roman' party, there are reasons to consider them as a distinct, Merovingian contingent that should be seen as independent from James, and perhaps Romanus. Agilbert is of central

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[1] The site of the assembly is uncertain. Rather than Whitby, it may have been held at Strensall, just north of York along the river Foss, see P. S. Barnwell, C. A. S. Butler, and C. J. Dunn, 'The confusion of conversion: Streanæshalch, Strensall and Whitby and the Northumbrian Church', in M. Carver (ed.) *The cross goes north: processes of conversion in northern Europe AD 300-1300* (York, 2003), pp. 311-26 (pp 316-25); On the date, see P. Grosjean, 'la date du Colloque de Whitby', in *Analecta Bollandiana* 78 (1960), pp 233-74 (p. 248).
[2] Bede, *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Angelorum*; C. Plummer (ed) *venerabilis Baedae Opera historica*, (2 vols. Oxford, 1896), I, 5-360. The synod was recorded by Bede in book 3, chapter 25.

[3] My perspective has drawn upon that of P. Wormald, 'The venerable Bede and the "Church of the English"', reprinted in S. Baxter (ed.), *The times of Bede: studies in early English Christian society and its historian* (Oxford, 2006), pp 207-28 (pp 210, 1); Detailed analyses of celtic romanticism in scholarship can be found in I. Bradley, *Celtic Christianity: making myths and chasing dreams* (Edinburgh, 1999); D. Meek, *The quest for celtic Christianity* (Millfield, 2000); and T. O'Loughlin, *Celtic theology* (London, 2000), pp 1-23.
[4] Examples include M. Deansley, *A history of the medieval Church: 590-1500*, 9th edition (London, 1969), pp 47-8; E. John, 'Social and economic problems of the early English Church', in *Land, Church, and people: essays presented to H. P. R. Finberg*. *Agricultural History Review*, 18, supplement (1970), pp 39-63; H. Mayr-Harting, *The coming of Christianity to Anglo-Saxon England* (London, 1972), pp 105-13; F. M. Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England* (Oxford, 1971), pp 123-4; J. Campbell, *The Anglo-Saxons* (Oxford, 1982), p. 102; R. Abels, 'The council of Whitby: a study in early Anglo-Saxon politics', in *Journal of British Studies*, 23 (1983), pp 1-25; Judith Herrin, *The formation of Christendom* (Princeton, 1987), p. 269; B. Yorke, *Kings and kingdoms of early Anglo-Saxon England* (London, 1990), pp 72-99; D. P. Kirby, *The earliest English kings* (London, 1991), pp 101-4; N. J. Higham, *The convert kings* (Manchester, 1997), pp 235-55; and P. Brown, *The rise of western Christendom: triumph and diversity, AD 200-1000*, 2nd edition (Oxford, 2003), p. 361.
[5] Stephen, *Vita Wilfridi* (ed.) *The life of Bishop Wilfrid by Eddius Stephanus: text, translation, and notes*, and trans. by B. Colgrave (Cambridge, 1985), On the date of the *Vita Wilfridi* (c. 710-20), see W. Goffart, *The narrators of barbarian history (A.D. 550-800): Jordanes, Gregory of Tours, Bede, and Paul the Deacon* (Princeton, 1988), p. 284. For a comparison and criticism of the accounts of Bede and Stephen, see pp 308-24.
[6] Stephen, *Vita Wilfridi*, 10.

importance, since he was the only named attendee in episcopal orders opposed to the *scotti*. Oswiu called upon Bishop Agilbert to express the views against Colman's position on the calculation of Easter. Both Bede and Stephen wrote that Agilbert gave the honour of speaking to his follower, Wilfrid. Each narrator then placed a different speech into Wilfrid's mouth, articulating the 'Roman' position in a manner perhaps more indicative of their own views than of Wilfrid's actual words. Because Wilfrid served this literary function as the voice of the arguments for the Roman Easter, Agilbert's position as party leader and episcopal frontman has gone overlooked.[7] In a typical example, Peter Hunter Blair regarded Agilbert's presence at Whitby to be a mere coincidence.[8]

Most of the information on Agilbert's background derives from Bede, who gave a brief biography of the Frank when he described the Christianisation of Wessex. Bede wrote that Agilbert arrived in Wessex from Gaul and became the second bishop of the kingdom (sometime after 646). The Frank had previously studied the scriptures in Ireland for some time. Agilbert served as Bishop of Wessex for several years until the king, Cenwealh, decided that he did not like the Frank's *'barbara loquella'*. Cenwealh divided the diocese into two, and posted Wine (who had also been ordained in Gaul) to the new bishopric. Agilbert took offence, left Britain, returned to Francia, and became Bishop of Paris, where he lived to old age. At some point during this tenure in the Merovingian kingdoms, Cenwealh decided he wanted Agilbert back, but the bishop declined to leave his post at Paris for one in Wessex, and instead sent his nephew, the priest Leutherius, to Cenwealh for episcopal ordination.[9]

In giving his account of the Synod of Whitby, Bede referenced Agilbert's credentials as a former Bishop of Wessex. This overshadowed Agilbert's more impressive qualities as an important figure in the Frankish realm. Stephen paid no attention to Agilbert's time in office among the Anglo-Saxons, describing him only as *episcopus transmarinus*.[10] There are enough hints to suggest that Agilbert belonged to a family closely connected to the Merovingians.[11] For example, his nephew's name,

Leutherius (as Bede recorded it), is a form of the name Chlothar, borne by Merovingian kings. Agilbert's elevation to the See of Paris, the Neustrian capital, implies that he had extensive political connections. Agilbert signed a charter of donation in the 670s – the last time he appears in the historical record.[12] His impressively carved sarcophagus at Jouarre, a monastery ruled over by his sister, Theodechild, still survives.

The exact chronology of Agilbert's career, and his precise post in 664 during the Synod of Whitby, are difficult to determine. Bede implied that Agilbert was already a bishop (*pontifex*) when he came from Gaul to Cenwealh's kingdom of Wessex, sometime after 646, although his former post is unknown. After serving Cenwealh *non multis annis*, he left Wessex disgruntled and travelled to Gaul. Both Bede and Stephen seem to give the impression that Agilbert travelled from Francia to Whitby in 664 in order to attend the synod. However, Agilbert could not have been Bishop of Paris until after 666, since the see was held by a certain Importunus.[13] This has resulted in the view that Agilbert travelled to Whitby directly from Wessex, before returning to Gaul.[14] Although this reading is certainly viable, it remains possible that Agilbert spent time in Gaul between his post in Wessex and his presence at Whitby, regardless of his post.

Agilbert's follower, Wilfrid, had Gallic connections as well. Unlike Agilbert, Wilfrid was not Frankish in origin. He had been born in Northumbria in the early 630s. But he spent a good measure of his early career in Gaul. He stayed with Aunemundus, Bishop of Lyons (652-653 and 655-658), who at one point even offered Wilfrid his see.[15] Wilfrid travelled through Gaul on many occasions, and his building projects among the Anglo-Saxons showed signs of inspiration from Merovingian

[7] An important exception to this is N. J. Higham, *The convert kings: power and religious affiliation in early Anglo-Saxon England* (Manchester, 1997), pp 255-7.

[8] P. H. Blair, *Roman Britain and early England: 55BC-871AD* (Edinburgh, 1963), p. 234.

[9] Bede, *Historia ecclesiastica*, 3.7; cf. 4.12.

[10] Stephen, *Vita Wilfridi*, pp 9, 10, 12.

[11] For my overview of Agilbert, I have drawn upon R. le Jan, *Famille et pouvoir dans le monde franc (VII⁺-X⁺ siècle): Essai d'anthropologie sociale* (Paris, 1957); J. Guerout, 'Les origines et le premier siècle de l'abbaye', in

Y. Chaussey *et al* (eds), *L'Abbaye royale notre-dame de Jouarre*, (2 vols, Paris, 1961), I, 41-7; G. A. de Maillé, *Les cryptes de Jouarre: plans et relevés de Pierre Rousseau* (Paris, 1971); P. Geary, *Before France and Germany* (New York, 1988), pp 172-4; also the entry by P. Fouracre on 'Agilbert' in M. Lapidge *et al* (eds) *The Blackwell encyclopaedia on Anglo-Saxon England* (Oxford, 1998).

[12] *Chartae Latinae Antiquitores*, p. 13; A. Bruckner and R. Manichal (eds), *Facsimile edition of the latin charters prior to the ninth century* (Zurich, 1981), Paris, Archives nationales, K2, no. 10.

[13] L. M. O. Duchesne, *Fastes episcopaux de l'Ancienne Gaule*, 3 vols (Paris, 1899-1915), II, pp 468-9. See also G. J. J. Walstra, *Les cinq epitres Rimees dans l'appendice des formules de Sens, Codex Parisinus Latinus 4627, Fol. 27 - 9. La querelle des eveques Frodebert et Importun (an 665/666)* (Brill, 1962).

[14] Plummer, *Venerabilis Baedae Opera Historica*, II, p. 145; B Thorpe (ed.) cf. *Florentii Wigorniensis monachi chronicon ex chronicis* (London, 1848).

[15] Stephen, *Vita Wilfridi*, pp 4-6, On the problem of the identification of Aunemundus as Wilfrid's patron, see A. Coville, *Recherches sur l'histoire de Lyon du V ᵐᵉ siècle au IX ᵐᵉ siècle (480-800)* (Paris, 1909), pp 381-5. Aunemundus's predecessor, Viventiolus, had also hand selected his successor. *Acta Sancti Aunemundi alias Dalfini episcopi*, ed. by P. Perrier, *Acta sanctorum*, 7 (Antwerp, 1780), chapter 2.

custom. On at least one of these journeys, Agilbert may have put Wilfrid up at Jouarre.[16]

The label of Agilbert and Wilfrid as representatives of a 'Roman' party fails to appreciate their Merovingian background. Likewise, the label 'Celtic' has its own set of difficulties. The distinction between *scotti* and the *universialis ecclesia* first entered the historical record in late sixth-century Francia, when the Irish monk Columbanus travelled to the Merovingian kingdom of Burgundy and began founding monasteries. These institutions kept certain practices that were distinctive of their Irish provenance. Columbanus's monks wore a different tonsure than their Gallic neighbours, and used a different set of Easter calculation tables. There is little indication that the tonsure sparked any disagreement.[17] However, the use of different Easter tables, which sometimes resulted in Columbanian monasteries celebrating Easter on a different day than the rest of Francia, was met with hostility from certain Merovingian ecclesiastics.[18]

Columbanus calculated the date of Easter according to a set of tables that employed an eighty-four year cycle, common in Ireland at the time. Scholarship has come to label these tables as the Celtic-84. The Merovingian church of the sixth century calculated Easter according to a different set of tables composed by Victorius around 457. Victorius had been commissioned by Pope Hilarius (461-468), when the pope was still only an archdeacon, and his tables subsequently found papal approval.[19] Columbanus championed the Celtic-84 against the Merovingian episcopacy during his lifetime, and he even wrote to Pope Gregory I, informing him that the papacy was in error in its support of the Victorian tables.[20] However, after Columbanus's death in 615, his institutions in Gaul began to abandon the Celtic-84 in favour of the Victorian

tables, and by the early 640s this process was more-or-less complete.[21] Similarly, the Celtic-84 was gradually replaced by the Victorian tables in Ireland through a series of regional synods.[22]

By the time of the Synod of Whitby in 664, the Celtic-84 was only used by the monastery of Iona, its satellite institutions, and by the Britons – most of the *scotti* actually used the Victorian tables. Northumbria owed its use of the Celtic-84 to its Christianisation by Ionan missionaries during the mid-seventh century. For this reason, scholarship has come to avoid describing Colman, Cedd, and Hilda as belonging to the Celtic party, and preferred to use the more nuanced label of 'Ionan' party. This accords with contemporary academic reservations about Celtic romanticism.[23] The name of the calculation tables as the 'Celtic-84' has proved more tenacious. Although this set of tables was distinctive of the use in Celtic-speaking areas during Columbanus's life, it subsequently lost this meaning. Furthermore, credit for the creation of this eighty-four year cycle of tables may be owed to Sulpicius Severus, working in Gaul in the late fourth or early fifth century.[24]

If Colman, Cedd, and Hilda are understood as belonging to an Ionan party, and the Merovingian background of Agilbert and Wilfrid is recognised, two other attendees remain: James the Deacon, and Queen Eanflæd's chaplain, Romanus. Although Bede thought of these two as members of Agilbert's party, it is possible that they had their own views on the calculation of the date of Easter. The arguments at the Synod of Whitby, as described by Bede and Stephen, suggest that Agilbert and Wilfrid argued in favour of a third set of tables, those of Dionysius Exiguus, rather than the Celtic-84 or the Victorian. There are some indications that James used the tables of Victorius.

[16] Stephen, *Vita Wilfridi*, pp 9, 12; with P. Wormald, 'Bede and Benedict Biscop', in *Times of Bede*, pp 3-29 (p. 6).
[17] There is only the single reference by Jonas: B. Krusch (ed.) *Vita Columbani Discipulorum eius libri duo actore Iona*, *monumenta Germaniae historica, scriptores rerum Merovingicarum*, 4 (Hannover, 1902), book 2, chapter 9. At the synod of Mâcon, the monk Agrestius accused his abbot, Eustasius of Luxeuil, of a number of heterodox practices. After these accusations failed to arouse the desired condemnation, Agrestius pointed out that Eustasius used the Columbanian tonsure. This charge was similarly ineffective, and the Merovingian bishops acquitted Eustasius of any wrongdoing.
[18] This is documented, most of all, in Columbanus's *Letters*, trans. by G. S. M. Walker, *Sancti Columbani opera* (Dublin, 1960), especially 1.3-5, 2.5-7, and 3.2-3; also R. Stanton, 'Letter 1: translation and commentary', in *Journal of medieval latin*, 3 (1993), pp 149-68.
[19] F. Wallis, *Bede:Tthe reckoning of time* (Liverpool, 2000), pp l-liii.
[20] Columbanus, *Letters*, pp 1-4.

[21] Jonas, *Vita Columbani*, 1.26; T. Charles-Edwards, *Early Christian Ireland* (Cambridge, 2000), pp 364-76; C. Stancliffe, 'Jonas's life of Columbanus and his disciples', in J. Carey, M. Herbert and Ó Riain (eds) *Studies in Irish hagiography* (Dublin, 2001), pp 189-220 (pp 205-13); C. Corning, *The celtic and roman traditions: conflict and consensus in the early medieval Church* (New York, 2006), pp 51-3.
[22] Corning, *The celtic and roman traditions*, pp 81-94, 108-11; Charles-Edwards, *Early Christian Ireland*, pp 416-40.
[23] The use of the term 'Celtic', in the larger sense of a Celtic Church, was famously called into question by K. Hughes, 'The celtic church: Is this a valid concept', in *Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studies*, 1 (1981), pp 1-20; a position echoed by W. Davies, 'The myth of the celtic church', in N. Edwards, and A. Lane (eds) *The early church in Wales and the west* (Oxford, 1992), pp 12-21. Now the label 'Celtic' is often restricted to describing a linguistic family, P. Sims-Williams, 'Celtomania and Celtoscepticism', *Cambrian Medieval Celtic Studies*, 36 (1998), pp 1-35.
[24] D. McCarthy, 'The origin of the *Latercus* Paschal cycle of the insular celtic Churches', in *Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studies*, 28 (Cambridge, 1994), pp 25-49.

Although the Victorian tables had been used by the Merovingian church in the early seventh century, and had gradually found acceptance in Columbanus's monasteries and in Ireland, they contained certain imperfections. These were resolved by the tables of Dionysius Exiguus, composed in 525. The adoption of the Dionysian tables in the West is far more difficult to track than the adoption of the Victorian tables. The showdown between the Celtic-84 and the Victorian tables in Gaul produced a relative abundance of documentation. The gradual replacement of the Victorian tables by the Dionysian, however, produced no such wealth of documentation, which suggests that this was a relatively smooth process. The Dionysian and Victorian tables shared many similarities, agreeing together against the Celtic-84. From the years 600 to 664, the Dionysian and Victorian tables only gave different dates for Easter on a maximum of five years (617, 621, 641, 645, 655), while the Celtic-84 conflicted with the Victorian no less than 42 times, and with the Dionysian slightly more.[25]

It is also difficulty to determine when the Dionysian tables won the approval of Rome. The first indications of this occurrence are actually Bede and Stephen's accounts of the Synod of Whitby. These authors associated Wilfrid's arguments with the usage of the *universialis ecclesia* and the *apostolica sedes*, and the specifics of the arguments indicate that Agilbert and Wilfrid supported the Dionysian tables. Although the tables Wilfrid advocated were not named in either account, Bede described Wilfrid as arguing against Colman and his use of *luna xiv-xx*, which the Celtic-84 employed, and in favour of *luna xv-xxi*. This set of lunar ranges was used by the Dionysian tables, but not the Victorian, which instead used *luna xvi-xxii*. It is unclear where Agilbert learned about the Dionysian tables. Although Francia naturally comes to mind, it remains a possibility that Agilbert first encountered the Dionysian tables during his studies in Ireland.[26]

Stephen also wrote that Wilfrid argued for the Dionysian calculation tables, and their *luna xv-xxi*. However, he characterised the opposition as favouring a range of *luna xiv-xxii*. This specific lunar range was not used by any table, although its *terminus post quem* matched the Celtic-84, and its *terminus ante quem* matched the

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[25] Here I am indebted to the splendid reconstruction and comparison of the Easter tables found in Corning, *The roman and celtic traditions*, pp 183-90.
[26] I owe this point to the suggestion of Ian Wood. For Agilbert's time in Ireland, see Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica* pp 3-7.

Victorian. Perhaps Stephen meant to indicate that Wilfrid was rejecting both the Celtic-84 and the Victorian systems combined.[27] It is in this context that James's presence at the synod should be interpreted. James had first come to Northumbria with the Roman missionary Paulinus, who had converted and baptised King Edwin (616-633).[28] At this time, the Victorian tables were still the papally approved method of calculating Easter. After Edwin's death in battle, James was the only member of the mission to remain in Northumbria.[29] The kingdom subsequently adopted the Ionan Easter/Celtic-84 for the next thirty years, until the Synod of Whitby. Because Bede identified James as a supporter of the 'Roman' Easter, it is reasonable to assume that he had continued to use his own (Victorian) calculation tables even after the kingdom had officially accepted the Celtic-84, from the 620s through to the 660s.

Perhaps James held fast to the set of tables that he had used for over forty years, against the Celtic-84, causing him to view the newly introduced Dionysian tables with suspicion. Although the Victorian and Dionysian tables were far more similar to one another than they were to the Celtic-84, the year after the Synod of Whitby, 665, was one of the rare years when they gave divergent dates for Easter. On this unusual occasion, the differences between the Victorian and Dionysian tables were not academic. Of so, then the 'Roman' position at Whitby may actually have been represented by two groups, Victorian and Dionysian, with James belonging to the former. It would be interesting to know the opinions of the aptly named Romanus, Eanflæd's chaplain, but unfortunately no further information is available concerning him. Even if James did not regard the Dionysian tables with hostility, the Synod of Whitby would have been the right setting for him to officially acknowledge the validity of the new tables. Presumably, this would have been important if the Dionysian tables were to be perceived of as Roman, since James had represented *Romanitas* in Northumbria for a generation.

There remains one more point to be made about the labels 'Celtic' and 'Roman'. Although Agilbert and Wilfrid were characterised as belonging to the latter group, each man had extensive personal connections with Irish monasticism. Agilbert

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[27] Corning, *The roman and celtic traditions*, p. 126.
[28] Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, 2.16. Edwin may have previously accepted Christianity from Ionan adherents, C. Corning, 'The baptism of Edwin, King of Northumbria: a new analysis of the British tradition', *Northern history*, 35 (2000), pp 5-15.
[29] Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, 2.20.

had studied the scriptures in Ireland, presumably at a monastery.[30] He also had connections with Columbanian monasticism on the Continent, especially Luxeuil, as did Wilfrid's Frankish patron Aunemundus.[31] During Wilfrid's later career in Northumbria, he gained a reputation as having introduced the rule of St. Benedict, which was likely the mixed Columbanian-Benedictine rule used in Gaul.[32] During the winter of 675-676, he arranged for a Merovingian, Dagobert II, to leave the Irish monastery of Slane, travel through Britain, and reclaim his throne.[33] Thus, both Agilbert and Wilfrid had their own dossiers of 'Celtic' credentials, although these connections were not necessarily with Irish institutions that still used the Celtic-84.

The flexibility of Agilbert and Wilfrid's identities may have played a significant role in Oswiu's decision to invite them to the synod, and to side in their favour. The pair could be perceived as Roman, since they had extensive connections with the wider western Church, and since they championed a set of Easter calculation tables then used in Rome. Wilfrid had gone on pilgrimage to Rome in 654, and seems to have maintained his contacts in the eternal city, since he visited the papal court in 679 and 704.[34] And Oswiu had planned to use Wilfrid as a guide on his pilgrimage to Rome through Gaul in 673.[35] Both Agilbert and Wilfrid could also be perceived as Celtic, at least regarding their extensive connections with Columbanian monasticism, and certain monasteries in Ireland. Agilbert even seems to have had close relations with Columbanus's associate, Ado.[36] Wilfrid had spent some years of his youth studying at Lindisfarne, the headquarters of Ionan custom in Northumbria.[37] His disciple, Willibrord, studied in an Irish monastery.[38] Willibrord related to Wilfrid certain miracles of Oswald, the late Northumbrian king who had promoted the Celtic-

[30] Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, 3.7.
[31] I. N. Wood, 'Ripon, Francia and the Franks casket in the early middle ages', in *Northern History*, 26 (1990), pp 1-19 (p. 11).
[32] Stephen, *Vita Wilfridi*, pp 14, 47, 63; Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, pp 3, 28, 4.2; Wormald, 'Bede and Benedict Biscop', pp 5-6.
[33] Stephen, *Vita Wilfridi* , pp 28, 33; also B. Krusch (ed.) *Gesta Dagoberti III regis Francorum, MGH, SRM, 2*, chapters 13-14, which conflates Dagobert II and III into one individual. On Dagobert and his exile, see R. Gerberding, *The rise of the Carolingians and the liber historiae Francorum* (Oxford, 1987), pp 47-66; J-M. Picard, 'Church and politics in the seventh century: the Irish exile of King Dagobert II', in *Ireland and northern France, AD 600-850* (Dublin, 1991), pp 27-52 (p. 49-50); I. N. Wood, *The Merovingian kingdoms (450-751)* (London, 1994), pp 231-4; M. Becher, 'Der sogenannte Staatsstreich Grimoalds: Versuch einer Neubewertung', in J. Jarnut et al (eds) *Karl Martel in seiner Zeit* (Sigmaringen, 1994), pp 119-47.
[34] Stephen, *Vita Wilfridi*, pp 5, 29-32, 52-4.
[35] Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, p. 4-5.
[36] Jonas, *Vita Columbani*, 1.26; I. Stilingus (ed.) *Vita sancti Agili Abbatis, Acta Sanctorum*, 6 August (Antwerp, 1743), chapter 4.
[37] Stephen, *Vita Wilfridi*, p. 2.
[38] Stephen, *Vita Wilfridi*, 2; Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, pp 3.13.

84, and by at least the early eighth century Wilfrid was cultivating veneration of Oswald as a saint at his monastery of Hexham.[39]

While Agilbert and Wilfrid may have argued against the Celtic-84, their extensive connections with Irish institutions render it impossible to regard them as 'anti-Celtic'.[40] Indeed, one of their more useful qualities was their potential to be associated with both a Roman and Irish identity. Such characteristics stood alongside their impressive Gallic connections. This is particularly true for Agilbert, a Frankish bishop who may have had Merovingian blood. The revaluation of the parties present at Whitby necessarily entails a new understanding of the King Oswiu's decision, which should not be viewed simply as a shift from Celtic to Roman practice. Instead, this oversimplification may represent the official story that Oswiu wanted to propagate.

Originally, when Oswiu had first acquired kingship in Northumbria, there are reasons to believe that he needed to identify with Northumbria's Ionan past.[41] His brother and predecessor, Oswald, who reigned from 634-642, had introduced Ionan missionaries to the Kingdom of Northumbria. In the early part of Oswiu's reign, the king needed to promote a sense of continuity with his brother's past rule. The Northumbrian throne had not passed directly from Oswald to Oswiu. Oswiu had originally gained only half the kingdom, acquiring the other half after assassinating Oswine, a rival king. Oswald's son, Œthelwald, who was about sixteen when Oswine died, apparently gained the support of the same noble faction that had favoured Oswine, and thereafter colluded with Oswiu's enemy, Penda: he is last mentioned in the context of Oswiu's crucial defeat of Penda at Winwæd in 655.[42] It may be that Oswald had intended Œthelwald to succeed him, and that he was considered a ward of Oswine, which would make Oswiu a usurper. Whatever the case, the notion of Oswiu's direct succession from Oswald, and the concept of an Oswald-Oswiu house

[39] Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, 3.13; A. Thacker, 'Membra disjecta: the division of the body and the diffusion of the cult', in C. Stancliffe and E. Cambridge (eds) *Oswald: Northumbrian king to European saint* (Stamford, 1995), pp 97-128 (p. 109); D. P. Kirby, 'Northumbria in the time of Wilfrid', in D. P. Kirby (ed.), *Saint Wilfrid at Hexham* (Newcastle upon Tyne, 1974), pp 1-34 (pp 26-8); D. Rollason, *Saints and relics in Anglo-Saxon England* (Oxford, 1989), pp 113-4.
[40] See C. Stancliffe, 'Bede, Wilfrid, and the Irish'. *Jarrow Lectures* (Newcastle upon Tyne, 2003).
[41] Oswiu's early career, and his political connections with Celtic regions, had been detailed in A. Smyth, *Warlords and holy men: Scotland AD 80-1000* (London, 1984).
[42] Kirby, 'Northumbria in the time of Wilfrid', pp 11, 19; cf. Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, 3.14, 3.23-4. On Œthelwald's age and disappearance from the sources after *Winwæd*, see Plummer, *Venerabilis Baedae Opera historica*, II, p. 179.

were myths that only made sense after Oswiu had eliminated the rival claimants and established himself as overlord. And these were myths that Oswiu very much wished to cultivate: hence, we find him interring Oswald's incorrupt hand and arm in his royal city of Bamburgh, and his head at Lindisfarne.[43]

Such local political necessities no longer obtained in 664. By the time of the Synod of Whitby, Oswiu had long secured his power in Northumbria, and he was extending hegemonic influence far south of the Humber. Although Oswiu may still have needed to consider relations with monasteries of Irish origin, he no longer stood to gain from cultivating an Ionan identity for his rule. Oswiu can be seen promoting the notion that he had exchanged Ionan custom for Roman custom in the aftermath of the Synod of Whitby. Colman and his clergy left Northumbria for Iona following the convocation, and Oswiu removed Lindisfarne as the episcopal seat of Northumbria, marking a demonstrative break from tradition.[44] Oswiu exchanged letters with Pope Vitalian, requested a papal consecration for one of his bishops, received relics from the pontiff, and planned a pilgrimage to the eternal city, cancelled only by his untimely death.[45]

Oswiu was clearly concerned to dispense with any 'Ionan' identity for his reign, and to replace this with a certain sense of *Romanitas*. On a pragmatic level, however, the Kingdom of the Franks was a more immediate concern for the king than either Iona or Rome. Merovingian influence is more difficult to discern, since Bede – the principal narrator of Oswiu's reign – was more interested in Ionan and Roman influences. Yet there are reasons to believe that, by 664, Oswiu's political horizons had expanded to include Francia. By expanding his power from Northumbrian lord to Anglo-Saxon overlord below the Humber, Oswiu had to deal with the southern kingdoms, and Frankish influence had always been significant there.[46] Kings in the

south had sought to cultivate relations with the Merovingians through ecclesiastical channels. The Burgundian bishop, Felix, had been active in East Anglia in the first half of the seventh century, and had held the Northumbrian missionary Aiden in high esteem.[47] Bishop Richarius had also worked in England.[48] Agilbert had served in Wessex for some time, and his supplanter, Wine, had also been consecrated in Gaul.

Official Frankish influence in Anglo-Saxon Britain dated back to the days of Æthelberht, King of Kent (d. 616). He had taken a Frankish bride, Bertha, and given her (and her Frankish bishop, Liudhard) use of a church dedicated to St. Martin of Tours.[49] The dedication is suspiciously Merovingian. Oswiu's wife, Eanflæd, was Æthelberht and Bertha's granddaughter. It seems that the family maintained its connections with Francia. Eanflæd's mother, Æthelberg, had sent her sons to Dagobert I for protection after her husband's death in 633.[50] Furthermore, Eanflæd's uncle (or step-uncle) Eadbald had married Emma, a Frank and probably the daughter of the Neustrian *maior domus* Erchinoald.[51] Oswiu was therefore directly connected to the Frankish aristocracy through his in-laws, and such relations were important for his political policy.

One example illustrates this point. In 668, the papal appointee to the Archbishopric of Canterbury, Theodore, travelled through the Merovingian kingdoms in order to secure his post in Kent. At first his party stopped in Arles, where they were received by the local bishop, John. Ebroin, the Neustrian *maior domus*, then gave them permission to travel through the realm. Theodore went to Paris and stayed with Agilbert for some time. His associate and companion, Hadrian, stayed with Emme, Bishop of Sens, and then Faro, Bishop of Meaux. Although Theodore departed for Britain from the port of Quentovic, Hadrian was arrested by Ebroin, under the suspicion that he was a spy for the Byzantine emperor, who was in the West at the

[43] Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, 3.6, 3.12.
[44] Ibid., pp 3.26.
[45] Ibid., pp 3.29, 4.5. Oswiu's decision to have his nominee for the Archbishopric of Canterbury consecrated in Rome has been seen as a determining factor for his prior decision at Whitby, thus Abels, 'Council of Whitby', pp 13–6. However, Bede may have been mistaken about Oswiu's role in the selection, see N. Brooks, *The early history of the Church of Canterbury* (Leicester, 1984), p. 70.
[46] I. N. Wood, *The Merovingian north sea* (Alingsås, 1983); Wood, 'The channel from the fourth to the seventh centuries AD', in *Maritime celts, frisians and saxons. CBA research report*, 71 (London, 1990), pp 93–7; Wood, 'Ripon, Francia, and the Franks casket'; Wood, 'The Franks and Sutton Hoo', in I. N. Wood and N. Lund (eds) *People and places in Northern Europe, 500–1600; essays in honour of Peter Sawyer* (Woodbridge, 1992), pp 235–41; Wood, 'Frankish hegemony in England', in M Carver (ed.), *The age of Sutton Hoo* (Woodbridge, 1992), pp 10–21; Wood, *The Merovingian kingdoms*, pp 176–80; Wood, 'The mission of Augustine of Canterbury to the English', in *Speculum*,

69 (1994), pp 1–17; and Wood, 'Some historical re-identifications and the christianization of Kent', in G. Armstrong and Wood (eds), *Christianizing peoples and converting individuals. International medieval institute*, 7 (Turnhout, 2000), pp 27–36.
[47] Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, 2.15, 3.18, 3.25.
[48] B. Krusch (ed.) *Vita Richarii sacerdotis centulensis primigenia, MGH, SRM*. 7, chapter 7; Alcuin, *Vita Richarii MGH, SRM*, 4, chapter 8, which changed the location to the less specific 'Britain'.
[49] Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, 1.25; B. Krusch and W. Levison (eds) Gregory of Tours, *Decem libri historiarum, MGH, SRM*. 1.1, chapters 4.26, 9.26. On Liudhard and further connections to Francia, M. Werner, 'the Liudhard Medalet', in *Anglo-saxon England*, 20 (1991), pp 27–42.
[50] Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, 2.20.
[51] Wood, 'Frankish hegemony in England', p. 240.

time.[52] After an investigation, however, Hadrian was permitted by the Neustrian *maior* to continue on his journey to Britain. This example reveals that Anglo-Saxon kings were wise to cultivate their connections with the Franks. Theodore's acquisition of the See of Canterbury was important for Oswiu, who had shown a good deal of interest in the succession of the archdiocese. After leaving the seat vacant for five years, he hand selected the successor, Wighard, and sent him to Rome. It was only Wighard's unexpected death that caused the selection of Theodore by the pope, which Oswiu presumably found pleasing.[53]

When Oswiu invited the Frankish Agilbert to Synod of Whitby, he was following the precedent of other Anglo-Saxon kings, who had sought to foster Merovingian ecclesiastical influence. He was also drawing upon the familial background of his Kentish wife, Eanflæd. His decision at Whitby brought Northumbria into alignment with the Merovingian kingdoms on the matter of the calculation of Easter. Agilbert and Wilfrid's connections with Irish monasticism may have softened the blow, or at least undermined Colman's position, since he based his arguments on an appeal to Irish tradition. Equally important for the king was the fact that Agilbert and Wilfrid could be thought of as Roman. This brought them into association with James and Romanus, who may have actually favoured a different set of Easter calculation tables. The view of the narrative sources, written half a century after the convocation, represents the way the synod was remembered, and Oswiu's own agenda seems to have been at work here.

The actual nature of the attendance at Whitby was more complicated than either Bede or Stephen indicated. And our understanding of the synod gains little from the labels 'Celtic' and 'Roman'. Colman, Cedd, and Hilda ought not be thought of as representing the position of the *scotti* on the whole. By 664, most of the Celtic-speaking world had abandoned the use of the Celtic-84 in favour of the Victorian tables, which had long been popular in Gaul. Ironically, the Celtic-84 itself may even have been composed in Gaul. Likewise, the association of Agilbert, Wilfrid, Agatho, James, and Romanus as belonging to one 'Roman' party fails to appreciate the possibility that James and perhaps Romanus preferred a different set of tables.

Furthermore, Agilbert, and to a lesser extent Wilfrid, could more properly be described as constituting a Frankish contingent – perhaps even Hiberno-Frankish. Indeed, Oswiu may well have been more concerned with the nearby Franks than with distant Rome.

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[52] The emperor was in Sicily at the time, Duschesne (ed.) *liber Pontificalis,Le Liber Pontificalis, Texts, Introduction et Commentaire*, 2 vols (Paris, 1886-92), entry on pope Vitalian.
[53] Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, 4.1.

The influence of the published works of David Hume in eighteenth-century France and Germany

Alexander Lock

The influence of David Hume on the European continent, particularly in eighteenth-century France and Germany[1], is great: his ideas triggered discussions among a wide range of thinkers and reviewers and he soon gained, amongst the *philosophes*, the *Aufklärer*, and the general reading public alike, a reputation as an elegant and witty philosophical writer.[2] Hume's elegant writing style, perhaps more so than his philosophy, fostered on the continent a lively interest in Hume not just as 'the philosopher' but as 'the writer and the man' as well.[3] To Immanuel Kant, who clearly admired 'the celebrated Hume', it was, indeed, 'not given to everyone to write so subtly and yet so alluringly as *David Hume*'.[4] 'Scottish philosophy exercised an ascendancy over Continental Europe from about 1760 to about 1840', yet, it was the works of Hume that were predominant in establishing this ascendancy.[5] As Michel Malherbe has observed the 'Scottish influence entered the Continent by means of the collected works of Hume'.[6] On examination however, the influence and reception of Hume's published writings can be seen to have been different in both France and Germany; in France he was treated as a man of letters and celebrity, amongst German writers his works were treated critically and Scottish Common Sense philosophers were used as a basis to refute some of his sceptical propositions.

This essay will focus on the impact of the works, and personality, of David Hume in Germany and France in the eighteenth century. Though some of Hume's works were translated into other European languages these translations were late in

coming and so made little impact on contemporary philosophical debate in those languages amongst those who could not read French of German. The first Spanish translation of Hume's works did not appear until 1842 and though in 'peripheral' countries such as Denmark the first translation appeared in 1771 – a single translation of Hume's essay 'Of Liberty of the Press' (1753) – the work did not have a wide impact and Hume remained virtually unknown with nothing more being translated into the Danish language until the twentieth century.[7] It was, therefore, mainly over Germany and France that the ideas of the Scottish Enlightenment had most effect and it is for this reason that this essay will focus upon the influence of David Hume in France and what is now Germany;[8] perhaps we should say French and German cultural provinces since the Swiss should be included and the court of Frederick II of Prussia spoke French in preference to German.[9] Finally, Hume's 'doctrines were more popular in France than anywhere else on the Continent' and this will be reflected in the extensive attention that this essay will give to Hume's reception in France.[10]

David Hume was widely celebrated and welcomed by his French contemporaries who found him 'to be truly *le bon David*'.[11] Hume's reputation in France was such that an unknown but obviously well connected English traveller 'strongly recommended' him to Lord Hertford, about to be the British Ambassador to the French court, as an eminently suitable replacement for his official secretary.[12] Such a choice was *prima facie* surprising as Hertford was a pious man and Hume was, as early as 1745, known as a religious sceptic with atheistic tendencies, however, the recommendation and appointment of Hume was done precisely because he was recognised 'as one whose named carried great prestige in France'.[13] Indeed, his reputation was such that the arrival in 1763 of the first British ambassador since the outbreak of the Seven Years War was overshadowed by that of his private secretary.

[1] It is perhaps anachronistic to talk of Germany in a pre 1871 context. However, by using the term Germany I am referring to the geographical region in which the various German states were located within the Holy Roman Empire in the eighteenth century.

[2] Fania Oz-Salzberger, *Translating the enlightenment: Scottish civic discourse in eighteenth-century Germany* (Oxford, 1995), p. 61; Manfred Kuehn, 'Hume in the *Gottingische Anzeigen*: 1739-1899', *Hume Studies*, 13, 1 (1987), p. 55.

[3] Günter Gawlick and Lothar Kreimendahl, *Hume in der Deutschen Aufklärung: Umrisse einer Rezeptionsgeschichte* (Stuttgart, 1987), p. 7.

[4] Immanuel Kant, *Critique of pure reason*, trans. Norman Kemp Smith (London, 1964 [1781]), p. 606; Immanuel Kant, *Prolegomena to any future metaphysics that will be able to come forward as science*, trans. by Gary Hatfield (Cambridge, 2008 [1783]), p. 12.

[5] Michel Malherbe, 'The impact on Europe' in *the Cambridge companion to the Scottish enlightenment* ed. by Alexander Broadie (Cambridge, 2003), p. 299.

[6] Ibid.

[7] John Christian Laursen, 'David Hume and the Danish debate about freedom of the press in the 1770s', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 59, 1 (1998), pp 167-72.

[8] Malherbe, 'The impact on Europe', p. 299.

[9] Giles MacDonogh, *Frederick the Great: a life in deed and letters* (London, 2000), p. 31.

[10] Daniel Schulthess, 'Reid in Europe', *Reid studies*, 2, 2 (1999), p. 19; Michel Malherbe similarly agrees that though 'Scottish thought had a wide readership in Germany after 1760' it was 'not quite as extensive as in France'. See Malherbe 'The impact on Europe', p. 307.

[11] E. C. Mossner, *The life of David Hume* (Oxford, 1980), p. 447.

[12] A. J. Ayer, *Hume a very short introduction* (Oxford, 2000), p. 16.

[13] Ibid; David Fate Norton, 'An introduction to Hume's thought' in David Fate Norton (ed.), *The Cambridge companion to Hume* (Cambridge, 1993), p. 18; Ayer, *Hume*, p. 16.

David Hume, who was 'afforded the reception of a hero'.[14] When 'le bon David (or Saint David)[15] arrived in France...his reputation had preceded his person'.[16]

By 1763, and the arrival of Hume at Paris, 'several translations of his work had brought him many readers and nearly as many admirers at Paris' with the most influential translations of the Scottish thinkers in France being those of Hume's collected works.[17] Given the restrictions placed upon Hume's works by the French authorities this is perhaps surprising. The complete works of Hume, published as *Oeuvres philosophiques de M.D. Hume* (1758-1760), were translated into French by the Swiss philosopher Jean Bernard Mérian for the Prussian Academy at the request of Pierre Louis Maupertuis and Jean Henri Samuel Formey.[18] In 1761, however, the French censorship authorities placed the work on the *Index Librorum Prohibitum*.[19] Permission to sell the *Oeuvres philosophiques* was refused and the works were regularly seized and placed in the Pilon de la Bastille.[20] Despite this, however, sales of the work flourished; though the *Oeuvres philosophiques* was banned records in the *Archives de la Bastille* show that illegal copies of the work were still widely available into the 1770s.[21] Indeed, by the mid-century in France, according to Laurence Bongie Hume's philosophical had become 'a profitable publishing venture well worth the risks involved' with a number of established booksellers selling Hume's philosophical works despite the possible penalties.[22]

In 1754 the first French translations of Hume's extremely successful *Political Discourses* were published free of restrictions in Paris.[23] One translated by the abbé Le Blanc and another less successful one translated by Eléazar de Mauvillon.[24] These translations were very well received amongst the reading public and the great success of Le Blanc's 1754 edition was such that the second edition, published in 1755, bore the *privilège du Roi* – permission granted to the printer to publish – as well as the name of the translator.[25] These translations were also reviewed in various French learned journals that had a wider European circulation.[26] The *Correspondance littéraire*, a confidential journal written in French by the German born Friedrich Melchior Grimm and subscribed to by several German rulers and by Catherine II of Russia, admired and praised Hume's *Political Discourses* writing in a 1754 review how 'the *Political Discourse* by M. Hume is highly esteemed in England and deserves to be everywhere'.[27]

The works of David Hume were equally well received by the *philosophes* who, almost without exception, welcomed Hume as a new ally.[28] In 1748 with the English publication of his *Three Essays Moral and Political* Hume made the acquaintance of Montesquieu who was so impressed with the *Essays* that he sent Hume a copy of his *L'Esprit des Loix* (1748), and remained in close correspondence for the remaining seven years of his, Montesquieu's, life.[29] The *philosophe*, Helvétius, wrote to Hume in 1759 to inform him 'that the Scottish philosopher's name was to be found in his work *De l'esprit*, and, indeed, that it would have been cited there more often if the severity of the censor had permitted'.[30] On his arrival in France in 1763 Hume was immediately taken up by the polymath Paul-Henri Thiry, Baron d'Holbach

[14] Mossner, *David Hume*, p. 441.
[15] In an unpublished letter to David Hume, Gustav Philip comte de Creutz the Swedish ambassador to the French court suggested that Françoise Marie Arouet de Voltaire saw Hume as 'St. David'. The comte de Creutz wrote to Hume: 'Monsieur de Voltaire is full of you my dear philosopher. He calls you his St. David'. See Laurence L. Bongie, 'Hume, "Philosophe" and philosopher in eighteenth-century France', *French Studies*, 15 (1961), p. 214; J. Y. T. Greig, 'Some unpublished letters of David Hume', *Revue de Littérature Comparée* (1932), p. 853. This anecdote is also relayed by James Boswell who suggests, however, that it was the Swedish ambassador at Madrid. See G. Scott and F. A. Pottle (eds), *Private papers of James Boswell from Malahide castle*, 18 vols. (New York, 1928-1934), 4, p. 130; Mossner, *the life of David Hume*, p. 487.
[16] Malherbe, 'The impact on Europe', p. 303.
[17] Mossner, *David Hume*, p. 423; Mulherbe, 'The impact on Europe', p. 300.
[18] David Hume, *Oeuvres Philosophiques de M. D. Hume. Traduits de l'Anglais. Contenant les huits Premiers Essais sur l'Entendement Humain*, trans. J. B. Mérian and Jean Baptiste Robinet, 6 vols. (Berlin, 1760); See John Christian Laursen, Richard H. Popkin and Peter Briscoe, 'Hume in the Prussian academy: Jean Bernard Mérian's "On the phenomenalism of David Hume"', *Hume Studies*, 23, 1 (1997), pp 153-91.
[19] Laurence L. Bongie, 'David Hume and the official censorship of the Ancien Régime', *French Studies*, 12, 3 (1958), p. 237.
[20] Bongie, 'Hume, "Philosophe" and philosopher in eighteenth-century France', p. 214; see also Bongie, 'David Hume and the official censorship of the Ancien Régime', pp 234-46.
[21] The *Oeuvres philosophiques* was confiscated from numerous established booksellers in France. On the 10 July 1767 twenty-four copies of the *Oeuvres philosophiques* in five volumes were confiscated from Briasson; on 30 Sept. 1768 twenty-five copies of the *Oeuvres philosophiques* in six volumes were confiscated from Du Four; six copies were confiscated from Gibart; and ten copies from Durand *neveu* in 1770. See Bongie, 'David Hume and the official censorship of the Ancien Régime', p. 238.
[22] Ibid.

[23] Malherbe, 'The impact on Europe', p. 300.
[24] David Hume, *Discours politiques de Monsieur Hume, traduits de l'Anglois*, trans. abbé Jean-Bernard le Blanc, 2 vols. (Amsterdam, 1754); David Hume, *Discours politiques de Monsieur Hume par Mr. de M-----*, trans. Eléazar de Mauvillon (Amsterdam, 1754).
[25] Bongie, 'David Hume and the official censorship of the Ancien Régime', p. 235.
[26] See Bongie, 'Hume, "Philosophe" and philosopher in eighteenth-century France', pp 213-27.
[27] Mossner, *David Hume*, p. 478; Friedrich Melchior Grimm, *Correspondence littéraire*, edited by Maurice Tourneux, 16 vols (Paris, 1877-1882 [1750-1790]), 2, p. 178.
[28] Bongie, 'Hume, "Philosophe" and philosopher', p. 213; see also Mossner, *David Hume*, pp 475-88. The exception was Jean-Jacques Rousseau who 'alone contrived to pick a quarrel with the most delightful and generous of men' David Hume. See Isaiah Berlin, *The age of enlightenment: the eighteenth-century philosophers* (Oxford, 1979), p. 163; Mossner, *the life of David Hume*, pp 507-32; David Hume, *a concise and genuine account of the dispute between Mr. Hume and Mr. Rousseau: with the letters that passed between them during the controversy. As also, the letters of the Hon. Mr. Walpole, and Mr D'Alembert relative to this extraordinary affair. Translated from the French*, trans. Anon (London, 1766).
[29] Ayer, *Hume*, p. 11.
[30] Bongie, 'Hume, "Philosophe" and philosopher', pp. 213-4; see J.H. Burton (ed.), *Letters of eminent persons addressed to David Hume* (Edinburgh, 1849), p. 6.

who described Hume as 'one of the greatest philosophers of any age' and this despite d'Holbach's patronage of Denis Diderot and Jean Le Rond d'Alembert.[31] E.C. Mossner has pointed out that Denis Diderot was 'strongly attracted' to Hume and Voltaire likewise 'always professed the highest regard' for Hume.[32] In a letter dated 1764 Voltaire wrote to the Marquise du Deffand praising the works of Hume, preferring, unlike many of his contemporaries, Hume's philosophy over his more popular *History of England* (1754-62). He wrote: *'J'aime bien autant encore la philosophie de M. Hume, que ses ouvrages historiques'* ('I much prefer the philosophy M. Hume to his historical works').[33] In the same year, in his *Dictionnaire philosophique* (1764), Voltaire praised Hume – whilst criticising his theories regarding polytheism as 'the primary religion of men' advanced in *The Natural History of Religion* (1757) – as a 'philosophical scholar, who is one of the most profound metaphysicians of our times'.[34] The *philosophes*, clearly, were not only aware of the works of Hume but used them to compliment and develop their own philosophy.

Along with his *Political Discourses* Hume's *History of England*, published in London between 1754 and 1762, also contributed substantially to his literary reputation on the continent. According to Laurence Bongie, Hume 'first became known in France as a writer on political and economic subjects and finally as England's greatest historian'.[35] Indeed, Hume's *History* was still in demand on the continent even after 1800 when for most other Scottish works the number of translations rapidly decreased.[36] The translations of Hume's *History* were revised several times in the nineteenth-century, with new translations in German by G. Timaeus at Lüneburg appearing in 1806-7. In France J.B. Després published a new translation in 1819-22 and M. Langlois in 1829-32.[37] From the outset the popularity and demand for Hume's *History* rivalled that of the *Political Discourses*. The

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[31] Baron d'Holbach cited in Bongie, 'Hume, "Philosophe" and philosopher', p. 214.

[32] Mossner, *David Hume*, pp 477, 487.

[33] Theodore Besterman (ed.) Françoise Marie Arouet de Voltaire, *Correspondence*, 13 vols. (Paris, 1981), 7, p. 744.

[34] Françoise Marie Arouet de Voltaire, *Philosophical dictionary*, trans. by Theodore Besterman (Harmondsworth, 1971 [1764]), p. 350. Though Voltaire does not specifically name Hume it is clear from his discussion regarding polytheism that he is referring to Hume. François Xavier Swediauer was the first writer to recognise the reference in his own, aptly named, *Philosophical Dictionary* (1786). For more information see James Feiser (ed.), *Early responses to Hume*, 10 vols. (Bristol, 1999), 6, pp 149-50.

[35] Bongie, 'Hume, "Philosophe" and philosopher', p. 213.

[36] Malherbe, 'The impact on Europe', p. 302.

[37] Ibid, p. 300.

translations of the successive volumes of the *History of England* appeared quickly in both France (from 1760) and in Germany (from 1763) and Hume soon gained a reputation as a great historian.[38] Friedrich Melchior Grimm recognised the international success of the work writing how: 'The *History of England*, by David Hume, has a great reputation across Europe'.[39] In a letter to George Montagu the gossip Horace Walpole, similarly, noted the veneration with which the French held Hume's *History* and conveyed his disbelief (and perhaps envy) at the continental success of Hume's writing. Walpole could not:

> believe that when they [the French] read our authors, Richardson and Mr. Hume should be their favourites? The latter is treated here with perfect veneration. His *History*, so falsified in many points, so partial in as many, so very unequal in its parts, is thought the standard of writing.[40]

Hume's complete *History*, published in France in 1763 and translated by the abbé Antoine François Prévost and completed by Mme Octavie Guichard Belot, received the praise of Grimm who in his review, written just a few months before Hume arrived in Paris, commended Hume as one who 'proves by his example that the writing of history belongs by right to the philosophers, exempt from prejudices and passions'.[41] Similarly, in his 1764 review of the complete *History* in *La Gazette Littéraire* Voltaire recommended Hume's *History* with equal enthusiasm. Like Grimm, Voltaire applauded Hume's impartiality:

> Nothing can be added to the fame of this *History*, perhaps the best ever written in any language...Mr. Hume, in his *History*, is neither parliamentarian, nor royalist, nor Anglican, nor Presbyterian – he is simply judicial.[42]

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[38] Ibid.

[39] Grimm, *Correspondence littéraire*, 5, p. 245.

[40] Horace Walpole to George Montagu, 22 Sept. 1765, in Paget Toynbee (ed.), *The letters of Horace Walpole, fourth earl of Oxford*, 16 vols (Oxford, 1905), 6, p. 301.

[41] Grimm, *Correspondence littéraire*, 5, p. 245.

[42] Françoise Marie Arouet de Voltaire, 'Review of *L'Histoire complète de l'Angleterre* in *La Gazette Littéraire* (2 mai 1764)' in *Oeuvres Complètes*, 52 vols. (Paris, 1883-1887), 25, pp 169-73 cited in Mossner, *David Hume*, p. 318.

With the dissemination of these publications on the continent Hume's fame grew, not just in France but also in other countries where educated Francophones dwelt. With cautious praise, Grimm observed the growing 'reputation that he is beginning to have in France' and in a letter to Hume, written in 1763, the Scottish Lord Elibank similarly recognised Hume's celebrity writing: 'no author ever yet attained to that degree of Reputation in his own lifetime that you are now in possession of at Paris'.[43] On the continent 'Hume had become famous – in some circles, infamous'.[44]

When Hume arrived in France his works were widely read and, according to Michel Malherbe, his 'fame had spread well beyond the circle of *les philosophes*. He was invited to Parisian *salons* and was…welcome in the best political circles, where he could meet people who were very close to the heart of royal power'.[45] During his stay in France Hume informed Adam Smith that he was 'everywhere met with the most extraordinary Honours which the most exorbitant Vanity cou'd wish or desire' regarding his works – namely the *Political Discourses* and the *History*.[46] In another letter to Adam Ferguson written at the Court at Fontainbleau, Hume described his exasperation at hearing so many compliments regarding his work:

> I have now passed four days at Paris, and about a fortnight in the Court at Fontainbleau, amidst a people who, from the Royal Family downwards seem to have it much at heart to persuade me, by every expression of esteem, that they consider me as one of the greatest geniuses in the world. I am convinced the Louis XIV never, in any three weeks of his life, suffered so much flattery; I say suffered, for it really confounds and embarrasses me, and makes me look sheepish. Lord Hertford has told them, they will chase me out of France, *à coup des complimens et des louanges* [with compliments and commendations].[47]

Such comments demonstrate the esteem with which Hume was held. Not only was he lauded by the reading public and reviewers but he was also admired by the social elite with which he was socially engaged in France. Indeed, Friedrich Melchior Grimm noted that both the court and the Parisian public rivalled each other to pay homage to the 'excellent' David Hume. Such rivalry further demonstrates how fashionable Hume was in France:

> M. Hume ought to love France, where he has received the most distinguished and most flattering reception. Paris and the court rival each other to honour him…This David Hume is an excellent man.[48]

Furthermore, Hume's notoriety in Paris and in France generally was not a transitory fad, merely coinciding with his arrival in France, but continued throughout the entire twenty-six months of his stay and beyond.[49] In 1765, two years after Hume's arrival in Paris the cousin of Lord Hertford, Horace Walpole, visited France and in a letter to Henrietta Howard, Countess of Suffolk was surprised to find that in Paris still 'Mr. Hume is fashion itself' and was benefiting from a growing Anglomania on the continent:

> However, as everything English is in fashion, our bad French is accepted into the bargain. Many of us are received everywhere; Mr. Hume is fashion itself, although his French is almost as unintelligible as his English.[50]

Though Hume was widely and favourably received in France it must be acknowledged that his reputation was established amongst the reading public by his more accessible works such as the *History* and the *Political Discourses*, which contained only essays written in the style of 'easy philosophy', rather than his more difficult philosophical writing.[51] These last, such as his essay 'On Miracles' (1748) and, later, *The Natural History of Religion* alarmed more orthodox readers who ranked him among the *philosophes*, and his *Oeuvres philosophiques* were, similarly, regularly

[43] Grimm, *Correspondence littéraire*, 2, p. 415; Lord Elibank to David Hume 11 May 1763, cited in Mossner, *The life of David Hume*, p. 424.
[44] E. C. Mossner, 'The continental reception of Hume's *Treatise*, 1739-1741', *Mind*, 56, 221 (1947), p. 31.
[45] Malherbe, 'The impact on Europe', p. 303.
[46] David Hume to Adam Smith, 28 Oct. 1763, in J.Y.Greig (ed.), *The letters of David Hume*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1932), 1, p. 407.
[47] David Hume to Adam Ferguson, 9 Nov. 1763, in ibid. 1, p. 410.

[48] Grimm, *Correspondence littéraire*, 6, p. 458.
[49] Mossner, *David Hume*, p. 445.
[50] Horace Walpole to the countess of Suffolk, 20 Sep. 1765, in *The letters of Horace Walpole*, 6, p. 298.
[51] Malherbe, 'The impact on Europe', p. 300.

condemned by reviewers.[52] The reading public in France preferred the literary criticism and style of Hume's 'easy philosophy' rather than his more ambitious, and now more celebrated, epistemology which was largely ignored.[53]

French contemporaries saw Hume as a 'man of letters' rather than a philosopher and, to Laurence L. Bongie who identifies a distinction between the terms philosopher and *philosophe* (the *philosophes* 'needed practical 'faith and certainty, not sceptical or critical negations' of philosophy), Hume was 'reduced to the status of the *philosophe*' and stylish critic.[54] In France, as a philosopher, 'Hume was what he was in his own country: a sceptical metaphysician; but as a man of taste and learning, he could be honoured and applauded'.[55] This conservative reaction of the general reading public to the works of David Hume is summed up in a 1763 review in the journal *Bibliothèque des sciences et des beaux-arts* which demonstrates how Hume was received.[56] The reviewer wrote:

> M. Hume is small minded when he attacks religion; but he deserves to be listened to, when he talks politics, morals, history, and all that concerns taste and letters. On these topics, he should be taken as one of the leading writers of this century.[57]

The contemporary readership in France and the reviewers who supplied their views saw the works of Hume as fashionable well-written prose for the audiences 'amusement' and largely dismissed his more challenging philosophy.[58] In a review of Hume's *Essais philosophiques sur l'entendement humain* (1761) Grimm, comparing Hume with Denis Diderot, endorsed this view of Hume as '*un sage paisible et aimable*' ('a gentle and amiable sage') whose writing was for the entertainment of the public and to be only tentatively engaged with as philosophy. For Grimm:

Hume…has not the colour, nor perhaps the depth of genius of M. Diderot. The French philosopher has the air of a man inspired…The English philosopher is a gentle and kind sage who looks to be in charge of the truth for its entertainment…Mr. Hume is comparable to a brook, clear and limpid, which flows always evenly and serenely, and M. Diderot, to a torrent whose impetuous and rapid force overwhelms whatever opposes passage.[59]

Further evidence that Hume was admired in France more for his popular style than his philosophy can be seen with the reception of his *Treatise of Human Nature* (1739-40). Although the first published response to Hume's ethical theory appeared in French in the *Bibliothèque raisonée* as a review of book three of Hume's *Treatise of Human Nature* by Armand Boisbeleau de La Chapelle, the actual *Treatise* received little public attention both on the continent and in Hume's native Britain.[60] The *Treatise* was not extensively reviewed on the continent and it was not translated into German until 1790-2, nor into French until 1878.[61] As Hume noted 'It fell *dead born from the press*, without reaching such distinction, as even to excite a murmour among the zealots'[62]. Indeed, more extensive comments were offered on Rousseau's dispute with Hume in 1766 and 1767 in the journal *Mémoires de Trévoux* than were published regarding Hume's *Oeuvres Philosophique* or his *History* demonstrating the public's interest in the celebrity of David Hume rather than in his philosophical works.[63]

Though 'surprisingly little historical and systematic work has been done on the early reception of Hume's philosophy in Germany' there is much evidence to suggest that the works of David Hume had an enormous impact on German

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[52] Ibid, p. 303.
[53] Mossner, 'The continental reception of Hume's *Treatise*, 1739-1741', p. 31; Bongie, 'Hume, "Philosophe" and philosopher', p. 215.
[54] Mossner, 'The continental reception of Hume's *Treatise*, 1739-1741', p. 31; Bongie, 'Hume, "Philosophe" and philosopher', pp 213-27, see esp. pp 213, 225.
[55] Malherbe, 'The impact on Europe', p. 304.
[56] Bongie, 'Hume, "Philosophe" and philosopher', p. 213.
[57] *Bibliothèque des sciences et des beaux-arts* (La Haye, 1763), p. 550.
[58] Manfred Kuehn, 'David Hume and Moses Mendelssohn', *Hume Studies*, 21, 2 (1995), p. 197. To Kuehn the sceptical philosophy of David Hume was, similar to France, also 'not taken seriously' in Germany.

[59] Grimm, *Correspondence littéraire*, 4, pp 69-70.
[60] *Bibliothèque raisonnée des ouvrages des savans de L'Europe* (Amsterdam, 1741), pp 411-27. David Fate Norton and Dario Perinetti in their essay 'The *Bibliothèque raisonnée* review of Volume 3 of the *Treatise*' have done extensive work to discover the identity of the reviewers of Hume's *Treatise* in the *Bibliothèque raisonnée* have deduced that the anonymous reviewer was Armand de La Chapelle.
[61] Mossner, 'The continental reception of Hume's *Treatise*, 1739-1741', p. 42; Malherbe, 'The impact on Europe', p. 300.
[62] David Hume, *The Life of David Hume, Esq. Written by Himself. To Which is Added, a Letter from Adam Smith, LL.D. to William Straham, Esq.* (Dublin, 1777), p. 4.
[63] Malherbe, 'The impact on Europe', p. 314, footnote 8.

epistemology.[64] Here it was his philosophy that was widely discussed amongst reviewers, academics and the public at large rather than his more literary works or his personality.[65] The contrast between Hume's reception in Germany and his reception in France was thus marked. By 1753 Hume had become established as a reputable philosophical writer in the eyes of the literary journals in Germany.[66] By that date, as Manfred Kuehn has noted, Hume had come to be considered as an important and established writer by the editors and reviewers of such journals as the *Gottingische Anzeigen*, who closely watched Hume's publications.[67] Furthermore, the numerous reviews of Hume's work in journals like the *Gottingische Anzeigen* inevitably meant that regular readers, even if they had not actually read the German translations of Hume's works can be supposed to have had some idea about Hume and his work.[68]

In German philosophical circles generally the various philosophers of the Scottish Enlightenment, and not just David Hume, were well known. Their works had a significant influence upon the development of German thought and, according to Manfred Kuehn Scottish epistemology played 'a central role in the philosophical discussions in Germany between 1768 and 1800'.[69] This is an important point. Whether Scottish philosophy influenced eighteenth-century German thought at all, and whether Hume paved the way for the reception of this philosophy, are matters of controversy.[70] Nonetheless, the arguments of Fania Oz-Salzberger and Manfred Kuehn that the contributions of the Scottish Enlightenment in Germany 'presented in the works of Hume, Robertson, Kames, Ferguson, Smith and Millar…had a profound influence – albeit in complex and not easily recognizable ways – on the ideas of history and civil society in the works of Kant, Herder, Schiller, and Hegel' are

convincing.[71] Scottish philosophy certainly played a highly significant role in Germany in the second half of the eighteenth century and it was not only the sceptical philosopher David Hume that was widely acknowledged.[72]

Evidence suggests that many German philosophers were greatly influenced by Scottish Common Sense philosophy: the works of Thomas Reid, James Beattie and James Oswald were employed by thinkers such as Gotthold Lessing, Moses Mendelssohn, Johann Georg Sulzer and Johann August Eberhard as a welcome means of combating the scepticism of David Hume.[73] Even groups such as 'the so-called 'counter-enlighteners'' – Johann Gottfried Herder, Johann Georg Hamann and Friedrich Heinrich Jacobi – who were closely associated with the *Sturm und Drang* literary movement and rejected the idea of a rational foundation of knowledge, all owed a great deal to Scottish moral philosophy.[74] Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, a central figure in the *Sturm und Drang* movement, recognised how the Germans had 'fully understood the merits of worthy Scottish men for many years' and similarly Herder, who again was central to the *Sturm und Drang* movement, praised the Scots asking: 'And who would not respect the Scots *Ferguson, Smith, Stewart, Miller, Blair?*'[75]

Further evidence of the notable success of Scottish philosophers in Germany can be gleaned from the number of Scottish titles being translated and sold in Germany: more than forty titles were translated into German between 1760 and 1800, and the period between publication in Britain and translation in Germany became gradually shorter.[76] The number of translations of Scottish works in German even surpassed those in French whose 'production was much more modest, amounting to approximately one third of German translation and publications'.[77] Of all the Scottish philosophers 'David Hume was one of the first beneficiaries of the

[64] Kuehn, 'Hume in the *Gottingische Anzeigen*: 1759-1800', p. 46; Salzberger, *Translating the enlightenment*, p. 61. Fania Oz-Salzberger suggests that 'The impact of the Scottish enlightenment on the German *Aufklärung* has long been neglected, obscured, or oversimplified', p. 57.
[65] See S. Charles, J. C. Laursen, R. H. Popkin and A. Zakatistovs, 'Hume and Berkeley in the Prussian Academy: Louis Frédéric Ancillon's "Dialogue between Berkeley and Hume" of 1796', *Hume Studies*, 27, 1 (2001), pp 85-127; Kuehn, 'Hume in the *Gottingische Anzeigen*: 1759-1800', pp 46-73; Mossner, 'The continental reception of Hume's *Treatise*, 1739-1741', pp 31-43.
[66] Kuehn, 'Hume in the *Gottingische Anzeigen*: 1759-1800', pp. 46-73.
[67] Ibid, p. 54.
[68] Ibid., p. 56.
[69] Manfred Kuehn, 'The early reception of Reid, Oswald, and Beattie in Germany: 1768-1800', *Journal of the History of Philosophy*, 21, 4 (1983), p. 480.
[70] To some early historians the works of Reid, Oswald and Beattie 'did not have much impact on the mainstream of German philosophy' (Redekop, p. 319); See Benjamin W. Redekop, 'Reid's Influence in Britain, Germany, France, and America' in Terence Cuneo and René van Woudenberg (eds), *The Cambridge companion to Thomas Reid*, (Cambridge, 2004), pp 313-39; Schulthess, 'Reid in Europe', pp 19-30; John P. Wright, 'Critical notice: Manfred Kuehn, *Scottish common sense in Germany, 1768-1800: A contribution to the history of critical philosophy*', *Reid Studies*, 2, 1 (1998), pp 59-65.

[71] Oz-Salzberger, *Translating the enlightenment*, p. 65.
[72] Manfred Kuehn, *Scottish common sense in Germany, 1768-1800: a contribution to the history of critical philosophy* (Montreal, 1987), p. 4. See also Kant, *Prolegomena*, p. 8, where Kant is similarly compelled to references Thomas Reid, James Beaties and James Oswald in relation to the philosophy of David Hume.
[73] Ibid, p. 9; Malherbe 'The impact on Europe', p. 308. For further reading regarding Moses Mendelssohn and the Scottish enlightenment see Kuehn, 'David Hume and Moses Mendelssohn', pp 197-220.
[74] Malherbe 'the impact on Europe', p. 310; See Kuehn, *Scottish common sense in Germany, 1768-1800*, p. 50; Malherbe 'The impact on Europe', p. 310; Oz-Salzberger, *Translating the enlightenment*, p. 65.
[75] Goethe cited in Kuehn, *Scottish common sense in Germany*, p. 8; Hans Dietrich Irmscher (ed), Johann Gottfried Herder, *Werke: Briefe zu Beförderung der Humanität*, 10 vols. (Frankfurt am Main, 1991), 7, p. 656. For more on the roles of Goethe and Herder in the *Sturm und Drang* movement see Roy Pascal, *The German Sturm und Drang* (Manchester, 1951), pp. 1-7, *passim*.
[76] Malherbe 'The impact on Europe', p. 300.
[77] Ibid., p. 301.

accelerated speed of English-German translation in the second half of the century'.[78] *The Four Dissertations* (1757) were published in Germany in the same year as their original in England.[79] Though his *Treatise*, as discussed above, was not translated into German until 1790-2, his *Enquiry concerning Human Understanding* (1748) appeared in German in 1755 as part of the first German edition of *Essays Moral and Political* (published in English 1741-42) and his highly successful *History of England* that appeared in English between 1754-62 was first published in German in 1762, through two separate translations in Berlin and Leipzig.[80]

Though many Scottish philosophers exercised an important role in German philosophical debate the philosopher who played one of the most important, if not the most important, role was, according to Manfred Kuehn, David Hume.[81] The works of Hume exercised an enormous influence on German philosophical thought and in particular on the works of Immanuel Kant. To Manfred Kuehn 'without Hume there would be no Kant'.[82] Kant's lectures were given a new impetus by Hume and his friend at Königsberg, Johann Georg Hamann himself strongly influenced by Hume's attacks on rationalism, called Kant 'the Prussian Hume' to which Kant did not object.[83] In his infamous *Critique of Pure Reason* (1781), and subsequent works, Kant tried to refute Hume and in a now famous passage taken from his *Prolegomena to Any Future Metaphysics* (1783) Kant unequivocally acknowledged his debt to, this 'berühmten Mannes' ('celebrated man'), David Hume whose epistemology redirected Kant's work:[84]

> I readily admit that the remembrance of *David Hume* was the very thing that many years ago first interrupted my dogmatic slumber, and gave a completely different direction to my researches in the field of speculative philosophy.[85]

By Kant's own admission David Hume was Kant's 'sagacious predecessor' who significantly influenced his work giving it new direction.[86] Hume's Pyrrhonian scepticism – what Kant would describe as 'des Hume'schen Problems' ('the Humean problem') – by 'showing on the one hand how an uncritical trust in reason had foundered in dogmatism, and on the other by reducing pure empiricism to absurdity…paved the way for Kant' and provided the basis and subject matter of the first *Critique* in which Kant believed he had found 'der Auflösung des Hume'schen Problems' ('the solution of Hume's problem').[87] In another passage from the introduction to his *Prolegomena* Kant again recognises his debt to Hume suggesting that his theory is but a modified extension of Hume being steered metaphorically from the dangerous shallow waters of scepticism to the open seas of *a priori* knowledge:

> Hume also foresaw nothing of any such possible formal science, but deposited his ship on the beach (of scepticism) for safekeeping, where it could then lie and rot, whereas it is important to me to give it a pilot, who, provided with complete sea-charts and a compass, might safely navigate the ship wherever seems good to him, following sound principles of the helmsman's art drawn from a knowledge of the globe.[88]

Kant, here by his own admission, derived much inspiration from Hume or as Manfred Kuehn noted: 'Kant begins at the point at which the Scots stopped'.[89]

It was not only the works of Immanuel Kant that drew inspiration from, and critiqued, Hume's philosophical works. Even before Kant many German thinkers were responding to Hume's work either directly in indirectly.[90] Indeed, Hume's impact on German epistemology was much greater than even the influence he had on Kant can suggest: his work significantly coloured the thoughts of many German philosophers who in their own work specifically 'set out to answer or refute Hume'.[91]

[78] Oz-Salzberger, *Translating the enlightenment*, pp 60-1; see also Norbert Waszek, 'Bibliography of the Scottish enlightenment', *Studies on Voltaire and the eighteenth century*, 230 (1985), pp 294-7.
[79] Ibid.
[80] Ibid.
[81] Kuehn, *Scottish common sense in Germany*, p. 40.
[82] Manfred Kuehn, *Kant: a biography* (Cambridge, 2001), p. 253; this idea was first developed by Kuehn in his *Scottish common sense in Germany*, p. 248.
[83] Kuehn, *Kant: a biography*, p. 120; Berlin, *The age of enlightenment*, p. 272; Roger Scroton, *Kant a very short introduction* (Oxford, 2001), p. 129; Kuehn, *Kant: a biography*, p. 257.
[84] Ayer, *Hume*, p. 88; Kant, *Prolegomena*, p. 9.
[85] Ibid, p. 10.

[86] Ibid.
[87] Scroton, *Kant*, p. 21; Kant, *Prolegomena*, p. 10. See also Manfred Kuehn, 'Kant's conception of Hume's problem', *Journal of the History of Philosophy*, 21 (1983), pp 479-95.
[88] Kant, *Prolegomena*, pp 11,12.
[89] Kuehn, *Scottish common sense in Germany, 1768-1800*, p. x.
[90] Ibid, p. 40.
[91] Oz-Salzberger, *Translating the enlightenment*, p. 61; Kuehn, *Scottish common sense in Germany, 1768-1800*, p. 14. In 1787 Friedrich Heinrich Jacobi published a discussion regarding the works of Hume in his *David Hume über den Glauben, oder Idealismus und Realismus* , *David Hume on Belief, or Idealism and Realism*.

For many German philosophers, particularly Moses Mendelssohn, Hume's scepticism in epistemological matters undermined morality and religion.[92] Hume's empiricism appeared to be a stepping-stone to scepticism and scepticism was considered to be directed against religion provoking many Germans to write refutations of Hume as a defence of morality and religion.[93] When the Prussian Academy published the first volume of Hume's *Oeuvres Philosophiques* in 1758 the introduction, written by Jean Henri Formey the permanent secretary of the Academy, explicitly reminded the reader that the purpose of the publication was to refute sceptical arguments.[94] To Formey, the purpose of the publication was 'to spurn the faults and excesses of Dogmatism, in ancient and modern form, and recover the faults and excesses of Pyrrhonism'.[95]

Formey's introduction encompassed the desire of many German philosophers to refute Hume and this in turn prompted them to look to the Common Sense philosophy of the Scots such as Reid, Beattie and Oswald who in the epistemological debate against Hume 'were considered to be of great importance. They had something to say to which the Germans felt well advised to hear'.[96] It was 'against the background of these analyses [of Hume] that the views of Reid, Oswald and Beattie became relevant'.[97] To Manfred Kuehn, '"Reid, Oswald and Beattie," as *the* enemies of Hume, and as the "popular" philosophers *par excellence*, played a role that is not to be underestimated'.[98] It was amidst the German debates regarding Hume's work, and particularly his scepticism, that Scottish Commons Sense philosophy entered the philosophical discourse in Germany.[99] In France where the public preferred Hume's 'easy philosophy' and his *History*, Hume's epistemology, particularly that contained in his *Treatise*, was known to very few and as such Thomas Reid's 'anti-Humean polemic did not serve a widely perceived need' achieving little success until the nineteenth century.[100] The Germans, conversely, 'were more

[92] Kuehn, *Scottish common sense in Germany, 1768-1800*, p. 14.
[93] Gawlick and Kreimendahl, *Hume in der Deutschen Aufklärung*, p. 7; Kuehn, *Scottish common sense in Germany*, p. 31.
[94] Malherbe 'The impact on Europe', p. 308.
[95] Jean Henri Formey, 'Préface de L'Editor' in David Hume, *Oeuvres philosophiques*, 1, p. v.
[96] Kuehn, 'The early reception of Reid, Oswald, and Beattie in Germany', p. 485; See also Manfred Kuehn's *Scottish common sense in Germany*.
[97] Wright, 'Critical notice; Manfred Kuehn, *Scottish common sense in Germany*', p. 51.
[98] Kuehn, *Scottish common sense in Germany, 1768-1800*, p. 40.
[99] Ibid. p. 51.
[100] Malherbe 'The impact on Europe', p. 304.

receptive than the French' to the philosophical debates of the Scots.[101] Hume's texts had a significant impact which prompted the reading of Scottish Common Sense philosophy as part of the Humean debate.[102] German thinkers drew on Reid and other Scottish Common Sense philosophers, whose works were reviewed almost immediately, in order to engage with Hume: 'the sceptic to be fought against'.[103] Indeed, the incredible success, compared with eighteenth-century France, 'of Beattie is partly explained by the possibility that this violent critique of the *Treatise* satisfied a felt need [in Germany] for certainty' against the scepticism of Hume.[104] In this way the influence of Scottish philosophy in Germany was largely derived from the desire of many German philosophers to refute the works of David Hume and its inherent scepticism.[105]

To measure the extent of the influence of David Hume in Europe is no easy matter. First there is the problem of establishing a readership outside of purely philosophical circles and secondly there is the problem of empirical evidence: do you measure the impact by publication runs, by speed of translation, or by anecdote and the remarks of wits and philosophers? In this essay, in so far as sources have permitted, I have tried to do both. My conclusion is that David Hume's reception and influence, though significant in both France and Germany, was markedly different in each country. In France it was Hume's celebrity and literary style, rather than his epistemology, which were celebrated by readers and reviewers alike. Though the French *philosophes* applauded and engaged with Hume's philosophy his works such as his *Political Discourses* and his *History* were more popular with the Court and Parisian public.[106] In Germany Hume's *History* and more literary works were also a great success; however, his philosophy demonstrably had a far greater impact upon the reading public in Germany than in France, where it was seriously considered by reviewers and scholars who sought to refute Hume in the interests of morality and religion. As a result, the works of other Scottish Enlightenment philosophers, particularly the Common Sense philosophy of Reid, Beattie and Oswald, were explicitly engaged by the *Aufklärer* – in a way that is incomparable with France – as a

[101] Ibid. p. 308.
[102] Ibid.
[103] Ibid. See also Kuehn, *Scottish common sense in Germany*, p. 50.
[104] Ibid.
[105] Oz-Salzberger, *Translating the enlightenment*, pp. 74-5.
[106] Grimm, *Correspondence littéraire*, 6, p. 458.

way to contest Hume's extreme scepticism and, with the use of metaphysics, provide some answers to 'the Humean problem'.[107]

[107] See Kant, *Critique of pure reason*, p. 55; Kant, *Prolegomena*, pp 10-11; Manfred Kuehn, 'Kant's conception of Hume's problem', pp 479-95.

The trail of escape, 1850-1930: did Irish females benefit from their migration to the United States?

Karl Cristoph Esser

After 1850, millions of people migrated from Europe to the United States. Although the number of German and Irish emigrants was similar, Irish migration is seen as an exodus because such a high percentage of the Irish population left its homeland. By 1890, forty percent of all Irish-born people were living outside of Ireland and Kevin Kenny estimates that 'five million first and second generation Irish Americans in 1900 exceeded the entire population of Ireland by more than 500,000'.[1] Whereas other European emigrants were families, couples or single males, Irish female emigrants outnumbered Irish males and most of these females were unmarried, young, and 'well below the prevailing age of marriage'.[2] This exodus of young Irish women to the U.S. has been a controversial subject for historians, who have been unable to agree on reasons why the exodus took place and whether the women benefited from their migration.[3]

Kerby Miller is the leader on one side of the discourse, making arguments which rely heavily on letters which Irish female domestic servants in the United States sent back home to Ireland. According to him, these letters show that British imperialism had caused so much suffering in Ireland that women were effectively forced to leave their home country and work as servants in the United States. Through this, these women stopped being a financial burden for their family on the one hand and they could send remittance back home to support their families in Ireland on the other hand. However, Miller's arguments do not explain why the number of emigrants did not drop significantly after Ireland became independent in 1921.

Kenny, the leader of the other side of the discourse, argues that one has to be critical of letters as they do not present objective facts but personal and therefore subjective accounts. In his most resent research, he leaves behind the narrow view of Irish migration history and tries a more general approach by looking beyond it into related fields such as the area of domestic service as a whole in the United States.

[1] Kevin Kenny, *The American Irish: a history* (New York, 2000), p 131.
[2] Ibid., p. 151.
[3] Most notably K. Miller, K. Kenny, H. Diner, J. Nolan, R. Harris and I. O'Carroll.

Kenny argues that the reason for the exodus of so many young Irish women might not have been caused by the British occupation of Ireland but by Irish society itself, which made females subordinate to males and did not offer them any chance for development.

In its consideration of whether Irish women really benefited from their migration to the United States, this article is divided into two main parts. The first part looks at the situation of women in Ireland and discusses their needs and desires. The second main part examines the recompense Irish women received from moving to the United States to be employed as factory workers, domestic servants and teachers.

It is necessary to have a clear picture of the situation of women in Ireland at the time in order to decide whether Irish women really benefited from their migration to the United States. There are three relevant issues to be discussed: first, who migrated; second, what women did before their migration; and third, who made the decision to migrate. According to Miller the dream of every young woman in Ireland was to have a 'house and a family of her own which could be acquired only through marriage'.[4] In order to fulfil her dreams her family had to find a husband for her according to the dowry system. This system had two main conditions: first the bride's family had to pay money to the groom's family as dowry and second 'dowries or matches could be arranged only between families of comparable wealth and reputation'.[5] However, most families could only afford a dowry for one of their many daughters. According to Miller, it 'was the women whom the dowry system could not accommodate who poured overseas into American cities'.[6] Before these young females migrated, they worked without pay at home or as paid servants in other families. According to Kenny, 'the most important paid occupation for Irish women was farm servant, which usually involved single women living in the homes of their employers'.[7] Miller argues that 'many Irish females had worked as household servants prior to emigrating' also supports this.[8]

It is most important to know who made the decision about migration. In her book *Ourselves Alone*, Janet Nolan argues that Irish women made this decision by themselves. She thinks that in the 'view of Irish women's increasingly restricted lives,

their decision to migrate becomes a remarkable act of female self-determination'.[9] Nolan's view is contrary to that of most other historians, however, who see females as passive participants not only in the migration process but also in their previous role in Irish society. According to Miller, Ireland after the Great Famine was a Catholic country with a patriarchal society, in which females were subordinate to their 'male relatives' economic strategies and, more broadly, to a cult of family and domesticity which could entrap women.'[10] Rita Rhodes argues that 'economically-based decisions made by patriarchal Irish families and daughters' duties (to relieve financial burdens at home and to send money as remittance from abroad) were conceived in traditional, self-sacrificial terms'.[11] Therefore, it was chiefly male family members who decided the future of young Irish women: they decided which daughters were allowed to marry, whom they would marry and when. In addition, they decided which daughters had to remain unmarried, staying in the family to look after parents and often younger siblings. Finally, they could decide which daughter should be sent to the United States to support the family at home with their earnings. Thus, the life and future happiness of young Irish women was not in their own hands, but was dependent on the decisions made by their patriarchal family.

The reasons why Irish women migrated to the United States and what they wanted to achieve there are very controversial questions. Nolan sees female migration mainly as part of the Irish fight for independence from Britain: 'while Ireland was struggling for independence from British control … Irish women were seeking a separate independence' in the United States.[12] While there is no doubt that Irish Americans supported the Irish fight for independence, most other historians do not support Nolan's argument that these females left Ireland with their own independence as their goal. However, Nolan also shares Joanna Bourke's view that young Irish women migrated to the United States to found a family, to become homemakers and mothers. Hasia Diner, on the other hand, argues that Irish women emigrated primarily for economic reasons.[13] Rita Rhodes supports this view with her research, in which she discovered that the Irish mother's typical injunction to their daughters was, 'Go where you will earn good money, you have wasted your time too long here'.[14] Miller

[4] K. Miller, '"For love and liberty" Irish women, migration and domesticity in Ireland and America, 1815-1920', in P. O'Sullivan (ed.), *Irish women and Irish migration*, (London, 1995), p. 51.
[5] Ibid.
[6] Ibid.
[7] Kenny, *The American Irish*, p. 139.
[8] Miller, "For love and liberty", p. 55.

[9] J. Nolan, *Ourselves alone: womens emigration from Ireland 1885-1920* (Lexington, 1989), p. 3.
[10] Miller, "For love and liberty", p. 51.
[11] Ibid, p. 52.
[12] Nolan, *Ourselves alone*, p. 6.
[13] Miller, "For love and liberty", p. 51 and H. Diner, *Erin's daughters in America: Irish immigrant women in the nineteenth century* (Baltimore, 1983).
[14] Seen in Miller, "For love and liberty", p. 52.

reconciles the two positions by arguing that Irish women sought both economic opportunities and the chance to secure husbands and families. These women therefore had to migrate at as early an age as possible. This would give them the opportunity to work for many years in their adoptive country, time to earn enough money to support their family at home, pay their sisters' fares to the United States, and save enough money for a dowry of their own before they became too old for motherhood.

Yet there is evidence that there were other, potentially even more important motivations for Irish women to emigrate. Ide B. O'Carroll explains that some females migrated to the United States, as they wanted to escape 'homes in Ireland where they had been subject to sexual abuse'. [15] This is supported by O'Carroll's case study, in which one woman said, the 'only way my mother could think of for birth control was by not sleeping with my father. The times when she was likely to conceive, she would stay in another house. That was the scene of my sexual abuse by my father. ... not one of us nine girls is in Ireland [anymore]'. [16] In another case a girl was constantly sexually molested by her brothers: 'when my parents weren't in the house. ... They were always hounding me. I never felt safe in the house ... I saw America as a place of opportunity. I wanted to have some sense of freedom. [17] Although these are only individual cases, O'Carroll's research might nevertheless represent the tip of an iceberg. Kenny supports Carroll's research and argues that the motivation for Irish women's migration was mainly based on the idea of escape. He found that even 'those who did have a dowry often fled Ireland ... Emigration could therefore become a form of escape, a means of throwing off the shackles of an authoritarian, patriarchal society in which women's status was distinctly subordinate'. [18] For Kenny, escape was the main reason for female migration: financial incentives and matrimony were secondary. Thus even though are strong arguments that point to the American economy as the pull-factor for Irish female migration, as it offered them greater financial security and the related opportunity to start their own families, there are even more convincing arguments casting Ireland's culture as a strong push-factor. Young Irish women were desperate to escape from a degrading culture, even if they were uncertain about the new life that awaited them in the United States. What life was really like for these women in their new country, and whether they succeeded in escaping their old life, will be discussed in the following sections.

When these young unskilled women arrived in the United States some of them tried their luck with jobs in factories, but most became domestic servants and many of the servants' daughters would later become school teachers. To find out whether unskilled female workers in the United States had really found a better life, Marilyn Cohen conducted a case study, 'The migration experience of female-headed households': this study compared the lives of Irish *emigrées* working at a mill in Greenwich, New York, and women who worked for the same company's mill in Gilford, Ireland, between 1880 and 1910. [19] She argues that an indicator of improvement in these womens' lives would be social mobility, which she assessed based on four main considerations: 'the proportion of working wives, the ages of children in school, the ownership of home versus rental, and a comparison of the occupations of parents and children within Greenwich households and between Greenwich and Gilford households'. [20]

In Gilford, Ireland, about twenty per cent of married women were employed. However, in Greenwich married women did not work. [21] This could mean that husbands in Greenwich earned enough money to support the family, making it unnecessary for his wife to earn an income. This, however, only proves that men earned more in the United States, and does not indicate whether women were better paid in their new country. A second indicator for the improvement of social mobility is home ownership. In Gilford, Ireland, none of the working class owned their homes. In contrast, more than fifty per cent of the male-headed households in Greenwich owned their homes. At the same time, there was only one instance of home ownership among female-headed households in Greenwich, suggesting that in this area independent Irish immigrant women were excluded from an improvement in living conditions. [22] In Greenwich in 1900, children still had to leave schools as early as possible in order to supply their families with their wages. However, ten years later, the families in Greenwich could support older children allowing them to remain in school longer. This means that working class Irish immigrant families could give their children the opportunity for social mobility through education and social mobility of

[15] I. O'Carroll, 'Breaking the silence from a distance: Irish women speak on sexual abuse', in O'Sullivan (ed.), *Irish women and Irish migration*, p. 193.
[16] Ibid, pp 194, 5.
[17] Ibid
[18] Kenny, *The American Irish*, p. 139.

[19] M. Cohen, 'The migration experience of female-headed households: Gilford, Co. Down, to Greenwich, New York, 1880-1910', in P. O'Sullivan (ed.), *Irish women and Irish migration*, p. 139
[20] Ibid, p. 140.
[21] Ibid.
[22] Ibid., p. 140, 1.

children is seen as an indicator for improvement for the whole family.[23] At the same time, no daughters in the Greenwich families managed to move further up the social ladder than their mothers or even females of the same generation in Ireland.[24] In conclusion, the evidence of Cohen's case study has suggested that for those who worked in factories, migration brought some improvement of the males' situation, but brought only minimal improvements to the female situation. While this is only a single case study, it reflects the overall picture of factory workers given by historians within and beyond Irish migration.[25]

The alternative to industrial work was domestic service, the chosen occupation of most young, unmarried and unskilled Irish women in America. Even as late as 1900, more than seventy per cent of all employed Irish-born women in the United States worked as servants. This figure is uncontroversial and supported by all historians.[26] For the understanding of the advantage and the disadvantage of domestic service it is important to look at four issues of if: first, the financial aspect; second, domestic service as a way to secure matrimony; third, why so many domestic servants did not marry; and finally, if domestic service was the right environment for young women to be safe for sexual harassment.

Financially, going into service was a good choice for female Irish immigrants: wages for domestic servants were higher than in any other occupation available for unskilled (as well as the majority of skilled) women in the United States. In addition, live-in servants did not need to spend money on accommodation, board and clothes. They 'often amassed savings of $1,000 or more before they quit work altogether for marriage', a figure supported by David Katzman and Faye Dudden.[27] Furthermore, there is common consent amongst historians about the material benefit of being a domestic servant. Asserting that the financial opportunities of domestic service 'were better than those facing women in unregulated factories, sweatshops, and tenements', Nolan argues that wages earned as domestic servants helped Irish *emigrées* to control their own future in the United States: 'once established abroad, they freely chose when and whom to marry'.[28]

Basing his research on numerous letters written by domestic Irish servants in the United States, Miller argues that 'domestic service provided an ideal economic as well as cultural foundation for archiving a "good marriage" and a home in the United States'.[29] However, even if the financial benefit of domestic service was high, marriage was not as easy as Nolan and Miller believe. Katzman and Dudden have shown the downside of domestic service, highlighting issues of 'overwork, long hours, constant supervision, demeaning treatment and profound loneliness and alienation'.[30] Miller refuses to see this as a drawback, arguing that if Irish women also suffered in their jobs as servants, 'for the great majority of Irish immigrant women domestic servitude was only temporary, a means to achieve another goal, and the extent to which Irish women resented its limitations only encouraged their escape to what they regarded as the shelters of husband and homemaking'.[31] Miller underlines this argument with a quotation from a letter in which a domestic servant 'admitted that although she was employed in "a very nice family", she, too, turned to matrimony to escape unbearable loneliness'.[32] Diner points out, however, that this 'escape' into matrimony could turn into a nightmare with an abusive, drunken husband and, in many cases, a broken marriage.[33] It would seem, then, that the life of an Irish emigrée in the United States can be described as a trail of escape: first an escape from patriarchy, poverty and even sexual abuse in Ireland, to become a domestic servant in the United States; second, an escape from the loneliness and potential degradation of life as a servant to the arms of husband; finally, in the case of an unhappy marriage, escape from her husband might lead to the workhouse or prostitution. Rarely on their trail of escape did these women succeed in finding refuge in a home they could call their own.

Many female Irish immigrants who worked as domestic servants were unable fulfil their dream of matrimony, and there were three main reasons for this. First, some young immigrants took the idea of 'love and liberty' too literally which brought them only the disgrace of unwed motherhood and the likely poverty of prostitution, as they would be rejected by the expatriate Irish society.[34] Secondly, female Irish domestic servants did not always want to exchange the benefit of working and living in a middle or upper class household for the disadvantage of marriage to

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[23] Ibid.
[24] Ibid, p. 142.
[25] Kenny, *The American Irish*, p. 152.
[26] Ibid.
[27] Miller, 'For love and liberty', p. 66; David M. Katzman, *Seven days a week: women and domestic service in industrializing America* (Oxford, 1979); Faye E. Dudden, *Serving women: household service in nineteenth-century America* reprint ed. (Wesleyan, 1983).
[28] Nolan, *Ourselves alone*, pp. 92-4.

[29] Miller, 'For love and liberty', p. 55.
[30] Ibid, p. 56.
[31] Ibid, p. 57.
[32] Ibid.
[33] Ibid, p. 58.
[34] Ibid, p. 57.

working-class Irish Americans. Irish males in the United States were excluded from the financial and intellectual development made possible for Irish females through their jobs as domestic servants. The males often had to live in shanty towns, moving around for jobs; there was a high rate of alcoholism and crime in these towns, and the men tended to lived unhealthy life. More importantly, these Irish males had left a home country in which women were subordinate to men, but when they came to the United States they found themselves *de facto* inferior to females in financial, cultural and intellectual terms. It is quite likely that many males could not deal with this new situation, and that it could become a huge burden in a marriage. Knowing these problems could have deterred females from leaving their secure shelter of a middle class household for an insecure future in a working class home. Finally, the most important reason for a female domestic servant not to marry was that, according to Miller, her marriage would have cut her off from steady employment and capital accumulation.[35] As explained earlier, it was chiefly for economic reasons that young Irish women were sent abroad, and historiography argues that women who emigrated remained closely connected to their family in Ireland, who were financially dependent on them. It is quite likely that some of these *emigrées* who worked as domestic servants waited for permission from their family back home in order to marry. A woman whose family depended on her income may not have wanted her to marry and stop working, and thus some women may not have received permission to marry until they became too old to raise families of their own. Moreover, even if permission to marry was not an issue, the drain of financially supporting their family back home meant that it would nonetheless take some time for immigrant women to save enough money for their own dowries. Thus, the younger these Irish females were when they came to the United States to begin domestic service, the higher their chances of matrimony.[36]

Finally, regarding the question of whether domestic service was an appropriate form of employment for young women, one has to decide which resources are the most reliable: while some scholars, and most notably Miller, look to letters written by Irish immigrant servants, others, led by Kenny, prefer a broader range of resources, not restricting themselves solely to the Irish experience. Miller paints quite a positive picture of domestic service based on letters, which were sent home by domestic servants. However Harris believes such letters 'have their limitations as

sources': 'emigrants', she says, 'did not always describe their true feelings and circumstances, nor were they inclined to admit failure in the new land'.[37] While domestic service offered Irish women financial advantages, Ruth-Ann Harris points out that it such employment was less satisfactory in terms of personal development.[38] Kenny goes even further in his critique of domestic service, basing his arguments on research carried out in the history of domestic service in general.[39] This wider discourse proves that domestic service could be a nightmare for every young female servant, Irish or otherwise. Kenny notes that domestic service was only favoured by Irish-born women, not by emigrants from other nations who avoided domestic service at any cost, no matter how bad wages and working conditions might have been in factories.[40] Especially striking is that even the daughters of Irish domestic servants tended to avoid service whenever possible in spite of the financial benefit.[41] According to Kenny, one reason why Irish mothers who had worked as domestic servants did not want their daughters to follow the same path could be the 'sexual exploitation endured by Irish women in their adopted households'.[42] He concluded that young 'female immigrants clearly had very good reasons for avoiding service in favour of factory labour, despite the material disadvantages of the latter'.[43] Dudden also raises the issue of the sexual abuse of domestic servants by their employers, having discovered that 'a large proportion (of the prostitutes) having lived in service and been seduced by their masters' had even become pregnant by them.[44] All immigrants must have been aware of the problem of sexual exploitation of female domestic servants by their masters and their masters' sons: this could be the reason why no other immigrant groups went into domestic service, nor did the daughters of Irish domestic servants. For all of them their sexual integrity was more important than financial benefit. Nevertheless, young Irish female immigrants went into domestic service in spite of the risks. One could argue that there was such a huge pressure on Irish females by their families to send remittances home to Ireland that they had to work as domestic servants, no matter what, as only this job enabled them to earn so much money. This would mean that having emigrated to the United States, these

[35] Ibid, p. 58.
[36] Ibid.

[37] R. Harris, "'Come you all courageously": Irish women in America write home', *Eire-Ireland* 1 and 2 (2001).
[38] Ibid.
[39] Dudden, *Serving women*; Katzman, *Seven days a week*; S. Deutsch, *Women and the city: gender, space and power in Boston, 1870-1940* (Oxford, 2002).
[40] Kenny, *The American Irish*, p. 152.
[41] Ibid, p. 151.
[42] Ibid, p. 153, 4.
[43] Ibid.
[44] Dudden, *Serving women*, p. 215.

women were still not safe from the sexual abuse they may have been trying to escape by leaving Ireland; moreover, as domestic servants, they were subject to the patriarchal control of their employers in addition to the responsibilities they still owed to their patriarchal family back home. Only if they had managed to cut off the patriarchal control over their life by their family in Ireland, their employer and their Irish community in the United States, they would have had the chance to benefit from their migration. How little they finally managed to get rid off the control over their life by others can be seen at the occupations of their American born daughters.

While most of the Irish born females became domestic servants in the United States, their American born daughters were quite likely to become schoolteachers. According to Diner, like domestics servants, 'female schoolteachers were expected and, in fact, often legally required, to remain single'.[45] This means these contracts made daughters, like their mothers, to some degree the property of their employers who exercised control over their private lives. Diner argues the Catholic Church used these girls to educate pupils according to Catholic beliefs, first in the Church's own Catholic schools and later even in 'public schools [which] represented Protestantism or godlessness'.[46] For this purpose 'parishes and dioceses introduced high school departments in their parochial school precisely to prepare young women … for a public schoolteaching career', resulting in 'defenceless young women … have[ing] spent all their years since early girlhood' being trained as teachers as a matter of course. [47] This means these young American born girls were controlled by and used for the purpose of a patriarchal Catholic church which, one can argue, stood in for the influence and control over women which the patriarchal male family held in Ireland. Unfortunately, historiography gives no account of American born granddaughters and great-granddaughters, who possibly assimilated with American culture and in this way set themselves free.

To conclude, the discourse about Irish migration between 1850 and 1930 is dominated by the question of why young Irish females migrated to the United States. Miller emphasises financial reasons, arguing that the Irish economic situation caused by the British occupation was so bad that young women had to migrate to secure money and matrimony. On the other side of the argument, Kenny believes that it was a patriarchal Irish society that forced women to seek happiness abroad. Unfortunately,

emigration provided no real escape as the same patriarchal Irish society was already waiting on the other side of the Atlantic. Diner shows that Irish *emigrées* did not even secure freedom for their daughters, as a powerful Catholic Church in the United States began prepare them from an early age to become teachers, who were not permitted to marry. Kenny is correct, then, to argue that women who felt trapped by Irish society did not find escape from its limitations by moving to the United States. Whether they found jobs as factory workers or as domestic servants, Irish *emigrées* continued to be controlled by their families, their employers or fellow expatriates in their new home: the experience of Irish women in the United States thus shows the limitations on the benefits of migration.

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[45] Diner, *Erin's daughters*, p. 96.
[46] Ibid, p. 97.
[47] Ibid.

Seeking a new beginning: IRA veterans in the United States, 1923-30[1]

Gavin Wilk

'Thus I said adieu to my native land and started out on a journey that would change
my whole life and make me an American.' Jeremiah Murphy, IRA volunteer, Kerry
No. 2 Brigade[2]

After the spring 1923 IRA cease fire which ended the Irish Civil War, thousands of
republican volunteers sat in prisons and detention camps, while others, still fleeing
from the Irish Free State Army 'faded away' from the local population.[3] As the days
turned into months for the captured volunteers, visions of an Irish Republic were
dulled through hunger strikes and cold jail cells, while men still barely free 'were
hunted like foxes', as mountain hideouts and safe houses became overrun.[4] Those 'on
the run' attempted to live a wary existence integrating into their old communities,
while others quickly and secretly escaped from Ireland.[5] Once the gates of the prisons
and camps were opened, life for the newly freed and still active IRA members proved
extremely difficult. Participating in the IRA proved cumbersome, as the organisation
was forced to regroup and become highly furtive. This deterioration of the IRA, along
with a lack of employment opportunities in Ireland, resulted in numerous volunteers
joined the queues boarding ships bound for foreign nations.[6]

For many of these men emigrating from Ireland, their final destination was
the United States. Some would enter the US illegally through the porous Canadian
border, while others acquired passports and secured visas legally through American
consulates.

A few of these individuals who displayed 'drive and determination'
fighting for the IRA, became successful American businessmen, entrepreneurs and
labour leaders.[7] For these future success stories as well as those IRA veterans who
would not have been as publicly recognised, descriptions of their emigration
experiences and subsequent life in the US during the immediate years after the 1923
IRA cease-fire provides a glimpse into the initial period of adjustment faced by
afflicted republicans who yearned 'to begin life over again'.[8]

In December 1923, Second Kerry brigade quartermaster, Denny Reen,
along with his brother, John and over forty other republicans, escaped from prison in
Cork city. Travelling shoeless, the two Reen brothers, and their fellow Kerry brigade
members managed to arrive back safely to their native Kerry. However, with the
distinct possibility of being re-captured by Irish Free State forces, Denny Reen was
forced to 'steal away from home by night' and quickly flee the country.[9] He and his
brother John subsequently emigrated to Canada, albeit temporarily.[10] Documents show
that by 1926, Denny and John Reen, along with three other brothers, all IRA veterans,
were living in New York.[11]

For some IRA members, the actual process of crossing the Canadian-
American border proved extremely harrowing. In the summer of 1924, Pat 'Belty'
Williams, a native of Tralee and member of the First Kerry Brigade, accompanied by
a friend and fellow IRA volunteer, arrived in Canada. Together, they travelled by train
to a desolate town in the Canadian frontier along the border. Equipped with a compass
and a few sandwiches, the two men walked illegally across the border to Chazy, New
York. Upon arriving at a rural train station, their good fortune quickly ended after
being apprehended by two state police troopers. Upon admitting his crime, Williams
was sentenced to three months imprisonment in the federal jail at Owego, New York
and was faced with a deportation back to Ireland. Still determined to stay in the US,
Pat Williams managed to escape, and ended up in Manhattan. After 'sleeping rough in
Central Park' for a number of nights, Williams attended a dance for Kerry immigrants,

[1] Research for this paper was supported by a postgraduate scholarship from the Irish Research Council for the
Humanities and Social Sciences. An earlier version of the paper was presented at the Department of History
Graduate Research Seminar, University of Limerick, 28 October 2009 and the Economic and Social History
Society of Ireland Annual Conference, Belfast, 13 November 2009.
[2] Jeremiah Murphy, *When youth was mine: a memoir of Kerry 1902-1925* (Dublin, 1998), pp 223, 317.
[3] Murphy, *When youth was mine*, pp 281-2.
[4] Ernie O'Malley, *The singing flame* (Dublin, 1978), pp 229, 246-7.
[5] Murphy, *When youth was mine*, pp. 281-2.
[6] Chief of Staff (hereafter C/S) to members of Army Council, 29 September 1925 (University College Dublin
Archives (hereafter UCDA), Maurice Twomey Papers (hereafter MTP), P69/206 (16-18)); J. Bowyer Bell, *The
secret army: the IRA* (New Brunswick, New Jersey, 1997), pp 40-50.

[7] J. J. Lee, 'Emigration: 1922-1998' in Michael Glazier (ed.), *The encyclopaedia of the Irish in America* (Notre
Dame, 1999), p. 263.
[8] O'Malley, *The singing flame*, p. 290.
[9] Murphy, *When youth was mine*, pp 280-1, 283.
[10] Ibid., p. 335.
[11] Denny Reen's official forename was Denis. Besides Denis and John, the three other Reen brothers were
Timothy, Jeremiah and Michael. See National Archives of Ireland (hereafter NAI) Census of Ireland, 1911,
'residents of house number 4 in Gortanahaveboy, East (Rathmore, Kerry). Online at
http://www.census.nationalarchives.ie/reels/nai002529763/ (16 December 2009). In 1926, it was reported by a
Kerry IRA officer that these five brothers emigrated from Ireland between the years 1923 and 1925. 'Application
for enrolment on foreign reserve list'; 'Timothy J. Reen', 'Jeremiah J. Reen', 'Michael J. Reen', 'John J. Reen',
'Denis J. Reen', 30 March 1926 (UCDA, MTP, P69/170(73), P69/170(76-9) Form FR 2)..

where he was re-acquainted with three of his fellow First Kerry brigade members. His was invited to stay with them for the weekend, and quickly began his assimilation into American life.[12]

Other emigrating IRA members availed of a legal and more direct route into the US. Less than a year after Pat Williams walked into the New York dance hall, fellow Kerry native and IRA volunteer, Jeremiah Murphy arrived by ship in New York Harbour. Unlike Pat Williams, Murphy landed legally with a proper visa granted at the US Consulate in Cobh.[13] But as with Williams, Jeremiah Murphy's first inclination was to get in touch with local relatives and friends. After arriving, he consulted a map of New York from the Travellers and Society Hall and walked out to his cousins' home, where he proceeded to drink tea until midnight.[14] During 1924 and 1925, a number of men from the North Mayo Brigade also arrived in the US, destined for Cleveland to join family and friends who had arrived years earlier.[15] One Achill Island IRA volunteer who crossed the Atlantic was Patrick J. O'Malley. Arriving in New York on 14 October 1924, with 25 dollars, O'Malley quickly set out for Cleveland to join his sister, Bridget.[16]

IRA volunteers who arrived in the US from spring 1923 to the summer of 1925, would have been acquainted, but not allowed to join, the two American based Irish republican organisations, the American Association for the Recognition of the Irish Republic (AARIR) and the re-organised Clan na Gael. The AARIR, created by Éamon de Valera in 1920 was the more public of the two organisations. After the 1923 IRA cease fire, the AARIR remained devoted to de Valera and his politically focused republican principles. The organisation publicly campaigned for de Valera's release from prison in 1924 and fully supported the future creation of Fianna Fáil.[17]

Overall, militant republicanism was not in the ethos of the AARIR, with arms shipments and military fundraising being passed on to the re-organised Clan na Gael.

The re-organised Clan na Gael was created in 1920 after an irrevocable split occurred between Philadelphia based republicans Joseph McGarrity and Luke Dillon and New York Irish-American leaders, John Devoy and Daniel Cohalan. Disgusted with Devoy and Cohalan's public animosity towards Éamon de Valera, McGarrity and Dillon broke away from their New York counterparts and created the re-organised Clan. Their new Clan maintained the secret oath-bound military idealism that had guided the original organisation over the previous five decades.[18] Dillon who was imprisoned for 14 years after attempting to dynamite Canada's Welland Canal during the time of the Boer War was known by many as one of the toughest Irish republicans in the US.[19] McGarrity, originally from Tyrone, emigrated to the US during the 1890s. Although acknowledged to be 'somewhat quiet', McGarrity was also referred to as 'the best friend' to Irish republicanism in America.[20] To the dismay of McGarrity and Dillon and their members, the ranks of the Clan na Gael, were not being increased by militant republicans arriving from Ireland.

During 1922, the IRA placed restrictions on emigration, only allowing volunteers to leave Ireland if it was 'absolutely necessary' for their health or if they were faced with severe economic distress.[21] Overall, emigration permits were issued sparingly and 'for very grave reasons.'[22] However, in their effort to maintain stability, the IRA leadership failed to immediately recognise the desperation faced by numerous volunteers after the Civil War. For men in 'middling health', they were ordered that if you 'can recover completely in this country it is your duty to stay in it.'[23] Those facing long periods of unemployment who wished to 'obtain a livelihood' in the US were advised that 'being idle for a considerable time is not sufficient' for an

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[12] T. Ryle Dwyer, *Across the waves: a true story of love and loss in a time of war* (Cork, 2002), pp 25-6; 'Application for enrolment on foreign reserve list', 'Paddy Williams', 22 February 1926 (UCDA, MTP, P69/167(70), Form FR 2).
[13] Murphy, *When youth was mine*, p. 301; Bernadette Whelan, *United States foreign policy and Ireland: from empire to independence, 1913-29* (Dublin, 2006), p. 495.
[14] Murphy, *When youth was mine*, pp 323-4.
[15] Brian Hanley, *The IRA 1926-1936* (Dublin, 2002), p. 162.
[16] Passenger and crew lists of vessels arriving at New York, 1924 (National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, DC (hereafter NARA), Records of the immigration and naturalization service, record group 85 (hereafter RG 85) T715_3557; Óglaig na h-Éireann, transfer to foreign reserve list in U.S.A., 'Patrick Joseph O'Malley', undated (UCDA, MTP, P69/170(134), Form FR 3).
[17] Francis M. Carroll, 'American association for the recognition of the Irish republic', in Michael Funchion (ed.), *Irish American voluntary organizations* (Westport, 1983), pp 9-12.

[18] Funchion (ed.), 'Clan na Gael', in *Irish American voluntary organizations*, pp 74, 89-90; Tim Pat Coogan, *The IRA: a history* (Niwot, Colorado, 1994), pp 76-7. For the remainder of the paper, the reorganised Clan na Gael under the leadership of McGarrity and Dillon will be referred to as the Clan na Gael.
[19] Memoirs of Connie Neenan (Cork City and County Archives (hereafter CCCA), Connie Neenan Papers (hereafter CNP), PR7(7), Box 1, p. 131).
[20] Joseph Connolly to James MacNeill, 2 February 1922 (UCDA, Éamon de Valera Papers (hereafter EdVP), P150/1267).
[21] C/S to Sean Gallagher, 6 March 1924 (UCDA, MTP, P69/43(107)).
[22] Adjutant General (hereafter A/G) to Officer Commanding (hereafter O/C) Dublin I Brigade, undated (UCDA, MTP, P69/132(172)).
[23] C/S to Sean Gallagher, 6 March 1924 (UCDA, MTP, P69/43(107)).

authorised permit.[24] These regulations may have dissuaded a few from departing, but scores of others did not abide by the IRA rules set forth and left Ireland on their own accord. In August 1924, IRA leadership had calculated that at least 600 men had emigrated to foreign countries since the cease fire without proper authorisation.[25] All of these men were considered 'deserters', and thus those arriving in the US were banned from joining the Clan na Gael.[26]

In an effort to bypass these regulations, Irish Republican Army Veterans' Associations were created in New York City, Boston and Philadelphia, under the guidance of Cork IRA leader, Sean Moylan who was serving as the military attaché to the anti-treaty republican 'government'.[27] Moylan realised the importance of providing a militant Irish republican organisation for recently arrived IRA volunteers, and firmly believed that if the men joined passive American centric Irish organisations such as the Ancient Order of Hibernians or the County Societies' they would be 'definitely lost to Ireland'.[28] These Army Veterans' Associations, which most likely received unofficial support from the Clan na Gael faced resistance from the IRA and were not allowed to progress. A quick demise occurred after Army General Headquarters declared that the Clan na Gael was not permitted to provide any 'protection and authority' for these Associations.[29] By April 1925, none of the veterans associations were operating.[30] Although republican ideals still guided many republicans after arriving in the US, their first priority was finding work. Manual

labour jobs provided the quickest opportunities for employment. First Cork Brigade volunteer, Stephen Welch, was a 'boiler maker' in Ireland and took these skills to America where he soon landed a job earning 30 dollars a week at the Atlantic Works ship and engine plant in East Boston.[31] Welch's friend, Eugene Sheehan, was not trained in Ireland at a particular skill and depended on assistance from friends and acquaintances in finding employment. Sheehan, who hoped to join the Carpenters Union, had to initially work as a 'helper' for the superintendent of Simpson & Son, a 'contracting and building firm', which only paid him 65 cents an hour.[32]

As exemplified by Eugene Sheehan and Stephen Welch, the majority of IRA members in Ireland as well those arriving in the US during the 1920s were in fact labourers. However, the IRA was also comprised of a few students, some of whom studied medicine.[33] One such medical student who had since graduated and became a practicing physician after being released from prison was Padraig Quinn. Upon disembarking from the SS Mauretania on 26 November 1926, the only visible indication to immigration inspectors of a possible violent past was the scar on the right side of his head.[34] Unbeknownst to the inspectors, this IRA veteran from Newry had in fact seen extensive action during the Anglo-Irish War and Civil War fighting in the Fourth Northern Division and served as the quartermaster under General Frank Aiken. Quinn experienced the horrors of war firsthand in April 1923, when he and his brother Sean were seriously wounded while fighting Free State forces. Suffering a gunshot wound to his leg, the aspiring doctor along with his brother were captured and taken to a military hospital. While slowly recuperating, Quinn watched helplessly as his brother died on an adjacent hospital bed.[35] After being released from prison, he returned to the study of medicine and married Margaret McGuinness from Chicago. By November 1926, the couple, then living in Rome, decided to relocate to the US.[36]

[24] James Browne to O/C Dublin Brigade, c.June 1924 (UCDA, MTP, P69/132/173)); A/G to O/C Dublin 1 Brigade, circa June 1924 (UCDA, MTP, P69/132(172)).
[25] Brian Hanley, 'Irish republicans in inter-war New York', Irish Journal of American Studies (hereafter IJAS), Issue 1 (Summer 2009), found online at http://www.ijasonline.com/BRIAN-HANLEY.html, IJAS online (21 December 2009); Army Council report, 10 August 1924, UCDA, MTP, P69/179(110).
[26] Unsigned to 'Salesman', 14 September 1923 (UCDA, MTP, P69/37(142)); Hanley, The IRA 1926-1936, p. 161; Brian Hanley, 'Irish republicans in inter-war New York', IJAS, 1 (Summer 2009), found online at http://www.ijasonline.com/BRIAN-HANLEY.html, IJAS online (21 December 2009). The total number of IRA veterans who emigrated to the US after the Civil War is difficult to decipher due to the those who left Ireland illegally and without proper IRA paperwork. Based on examining certain IRA Foreign Reserve lists, Brian Hanley has calculated that 200 IRA veterans emigrated to the US between 1924 and 1926. This calculation, however, only represents an initial and 'partial' figure. See Hanley, The IRA 1926-1936, pp 161-3.
[27] The anti-treaty republican 'government' was formed by Éamon de Valera in October 1922. Aligned with the IRA, this republican 'government' disclaimed the existing Irish Free State government and re-instated the previously abolished Second Dáil Éireann. Although not exerting any power over the Irish people, this republican 'government' consisted of a twelve member cabinet. 'Government' representatives were also placed in the US. Tim Pat Coogan, De Valera: long fellow, long shadow (Dublin, 1993), p. 339; Michal Laffan, The resurrection of Ireland: the Sinn Féin party, 1916-1923, pp 424-6; Whelan, United States foreign policy and Ireland, pp 384-5; Sean Moylan and Donald Leary to 'all Ex-I.R.A. Men', 27 May 1924 (UCDA, MTP, P69/37(115)).
[28] Unsigned to 'Salesman', 14 September 1923 (UCDA, MTP, P69/37(142)).
[29] Acting 1st Lieut. Adj. Committee for the Irish Republican Army Veterans' Association to de Valera, 14 January 1925 (UCDA, MTP, P69/37(232)).
[30] C/S to Military Attaché, 15 April 1925 ((UCDA, MTP, P69/37(221-3)).

[31] Katherine Enright to Liam Pedlar, 21 September 1925 (National Library of Ireland (hereafter NLI), Joseph McGarrity Papers (hereafter JMcGP), Ms. 17,479). For more information about the Atlantic Works, see http://web.mit.edu/museum/collections/nautical_list.html#atlantic (12 December 2009).
[32] Katherine Enright to Liam Pedlar, 21 September 1925 (NLI, JMcGP, Ms. 17,479).
[33] Hanley, The IRA 1926-1936, p. 24.
[34] Passenger and crew lists of vessels arriving at New York, 1926 (NARA, RG 85, T715_3970).
[35] O'Malley, The singing flame, pp 164-5, 269; Éire, 12 January 1924.
[36] James F. McNaboe, Counsellor at law to Coert Dubois, Chief visa office, 1 December 1926 (NARA, College Park, Maryland, General Records of the Department of State, Visa Case Files, 1924-32, record group 59 (hereafter RG 59), Box 776, 811.111).

Seven months later, the *Irish World* was advertising a notice regarding Quinn's medical practice in New York at 131 East 19th Street.[37]

When Quinn set foot on American soil in November 1926, the rules and regulations administered by the IRA had indeed changed for IRA volunteers arriving in the US. In June 1925, Army Headquarters declared that IRA members would be allowed to leave Ireland for sickness if they supplied a written doctor's note. For men facing economic distress, they too would be officially allowed to cross the Atlantic, as long as they joined a newly created Foreign Reserve.[38] It was also determined that men who left Ireland in the days and months after the 1923 cease fire up through July 1925 would be allowed to retrospectively join this Reserve.[39] Enrolment would be 'conditional upon the individuals concerned being members of the recognised Republican organizations' in the US. Ultimately, the doors of the Clan na Gael Clubs were opened to all IRA veterans in good standing.[40]

Over the next year, events in Ireland would influence Clan na Gael's next move. During the November 1925 General Army Convention, the IRA became independent of the republican 'government' and created a new constitution, declaring the Army would assist 'all organisations working for the same objects.'[41] Within two months, Kerry IRA leader Con O'Leary, officially referred to as An Timthire for the IRA, was travelling across the US, visiting Clan clubs. O'Leary's visit coincided with that of Frank Aiken, the Minister for Defence of the republican 'government' and now former IRA Chief of Staff. Both Aiken and O'Leary were actively recruiting support from IRA veterans in the US. However, the two Irish republican spokesmen delivered different messages. Aiken persuaded veterans that politics was the path of choice for the current republican movement, while O'Leary conveyed the militant argument.[42]

In early 1926, while Éamon de Valera was gaining international attention with his political manoeuvres, including resigning from Sinn Féin and creating Fianna Fáil, the Clan na Gael remained committed to militant republicanism.[43] On 19 April, the *SS Republic* sailed into New York Harbour. Among the passengers arriving was the IRA's Lieutenant Commandant of the First Southern Division, Cornelius 'Connie' Neenan.[44] During the previous two years, Neenan's mother, sister and brothers had left Ireland for New York. Neenan succumbed to family pressure, and joined them. Employed in Ireland as a salesman for the Southern Oil Company, he received a transfer from Army Headquarters and departed from Cobh. Years later, the Cork republican wrote, 'I was in anything but a happy frame of mind.' He however quickly got over his depressed state and immersed himself in the Irish republican movement. During Neenan's first week in New York, he was introduced to Joseph McGarrity, and stayed close to him until McGarrity died in 1940. Immediately, Neenan joined the Liam Lynch Clan na Gael Club and began work with the Tidewater Oil Company, where he was employed as an accountant.[45] This job, however, would only last for a few months, before he was called on by the IRA.

The Clan na Gael and IRA formally aligned on 15 September 1926. The IRA recognised the Clan as the 'only Irish Revolutionary organization in America' and the Clan promised to offer 'its undivided support physically, morally and financially' to the IRA. It was officially agreed that an IRA representative (referred to as An Timthire) would be appointed in the US who would liaise between the two groups and make sure that authorised IRA veterans joined the Clan clubs.[46] In November, the IRA offered Connie Neenan this representative position and a salary of 40 dollars per week.[47] Neenan was required to co-ordinate the IRA networks with the Clan throughout the US. He was also ordered to handle the necessary paperwork related to the Foreign Reserve lists.[48]

During the late 1920s, IRA volunteers continued to arrive in the US. Unlike their predecessors, a stronger republican support system was now in place. Michael Flannery, a Tipperary IRA member experienced this support immediately

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[37] *The Irish world and American industrial liberator* (hereafter *Irish world*), 21 May 1927.
[38] General Order No. 25, C/S to C/Os of all independent units, 2 June 1925 (UCDA, MTP, P69/206(47-8)).
[39] Hanley, *The IRA 1926-1936*, pp 161-2.
[40] Sean T. O'Kelly to Luke Dillon, 10 August 1925 (NLI, JMcGP, Ms. 17,447).
[41] Constitution of Óglaig na h-Éireann, 14-15 November 1925, NLI, JMcGP, Ms. 17,529. Although the IRA became essentially independent of any political organisation, the Army was still temporarily and loosely aligned with Sinn Féin and later Fianna Fáil through an Advisory Council. Hanley, *The IRA 1926-1936*, p. 113.
[42] Frank Aiken was replaced by Andrew Cooney as the Chief of Staff during the 1925 Army Convention. Aiken however remained on the executive council for a limited period after the Convention. Hanley, *The IRA 1926-1936*, p. 113; President to The Envoy, 16 December 1925 (CCCA, CNP, PR7(7), Box 1), Memoirs of Connie Neenan, (UCDA, EdVP, P150/1777, p. 128); Chairman of Army Council to Chairman of Clann na Gael, 31 December 1925 (NLI, JMcGP, Ms. 17,528).

[43] Marie Veronica Tarpey, *The role of Joseph McGarrity in the struggle for Irish independence* (New York, 1976), pp 228-30.
[44] Passenger and crew lists of vessels arriving at New York, 1926 (NARA, RG 85, T715_3832); 'Transfer to Foreign Reserve List in U.S.A. (Transfer 1A, Form FR 3), 'Cornelius Neenan', 5 March 1926 (UCDA, MTP, P69/169(2)).
[45] Memoirs of Connie Neenan, pp 116, 127-8 (CCCA, CNP, PR7(7), Box 1).
[46] Clan na Gael and Óglaigh na h-Éireann Agreement, signed by Andrew Cooney and Luke Dillon, 15 September 1926 (UCDA, MTP, P69/185(257)).
[47] A/C to Neenan, 10 November 1926 (UCDA, MTP, P69/183(175)).
[48] Memoirs of Connie Neenan (CCCA, CNP, PR7(7), Box 1 p. 129).

after arriving in February 1927. Flannery, like so many others during the second half of the 1920s, went through the proper immigration channels with the American Consulate. After passing the medical examinations, he was cleared to enter the US as a partial refugee. However, the American Consulate official in Dublin warned Flannery 'to keep entirely away from the Irish, to get a job and keep a clean nose!' When arriving in New York, Flannery's promise to the official 'was gone with the wind' as he promptly entered the doors of a Clan na Gael Club located on the upper west side of the city.[49]

A number of the IRA veterans now embedded in the US during the latter half of the 1920s progressed in their workplace. Men living in cities such as New York used friendships formed in Clan na Gael clubs to organise labour unions. IRA veterans and James Connolly Clan na Gael Club members including Michael Quill, Gerald O'Reilly and Tom O'Shea played an integral role in organising fellow republicans and other immigrants employed in the Interborough Rapid Transit Company (IRT) in New York. Their efforts led to the creation of the Transport Workers Union of America (TWU) during the 1930s.[50] In Cleveland, IRA veteran and Clan na Gael member, Patrick O'Malley, who arrived in 1924 with 25 dollars, joined White Motor Corporation in 1928, where he worked as a timekeeper and inventory checker, and soon became a major union organiser in the city.[51]

Other republicans took entrepreneurial and business orientated paths. Eugene Sheehan, who initially struggled as a helper for a building superintendent in 1925 was by 1930, working in the funeral home business as an embalmer's assistant.[52] Sligo born republican, Frank O'Beirne, who had arrived in the US during the middle 1920s, was employed as a shipping agent.[53] And Michael McLoughlin, the former Brigadier General of the Carrick-on-Shannon battalion who arrived in 1925 was by

the end of the decade, managing a Great Atlantic and Pacific Tea Company store in New York.[54] McLoughlin was also by 1929, the Treasurer of the Clan na Gael and joined Connie Neenan and Cork IRA veteran Dan O'Donovan on the organisation's Executive Council. The fact that this trio of republican emigrants actually held Clan leadership positions by the late 1920s portrays the extent of influence IRA veterans had on Clan na Gael.

In January 1930, 1,500 people gathered at the Church of the Transfiguration in Philadelphia to attend the funeral of Luke Dillon. The faces staring at Dillon's casket draped with American and Irish flags, included dozens of IRA veterans who were now firmly settled in America. Michael McLoughlin, Frank O'Beirne, Connie Neenan and dozens of other veterans joined fellow Irish-American republicans in honouring the life of Dillon.[55] A number of these men would continue their republican activism, supporting the IRA bombing campaign in England.[56] Other veterans would shift their focus to a political solution and support Éamon de Valera's Fianna Fáil party.[57] A few returned to Ireland, while others became involved in money-making schemes, including the Irish Hospital Sweepstakes.[58] And some republicans would not survive the decade. Michael McLoughlin, less than a year after attending Dillon's funeral would be shot dead during a robbery at his New York shop.[59]

It is clear that the US offered numerous opportunities for many IRA veterans in the period after the Irish Civil War, and for some, another location to continue their republican activities. Employment was available in US cities for these republicans to gain financial security. Medical practices were opened, unions could be organised and independent businesses started up. Once the Clan na Gael and IRA aligned in 1926, an Irish republican national organisation formally supported by the IRA became available for republicans to join and actively support. Their militant republican activism, which could have caused imprisonment in Ireland, was allowed

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[49] Dermot O'Reilly (ed.), *Accepting the challenge: the memoirs of Michael Flannery* (Dublin 2001), pp119, 123.

[50] Joshua B. Freeman, *In transit: the transport workers union in New York City, 1933-1966* (Philadelphia, 2001), pp. 25, 56-57; Hanley, 'Irish republicans in interwar New York', *IJAS*, http://www.ijasonline.com/BRIAN-HANLEY.html, *IJAS* online (21 Dec. 2009).

[51] 'Patrick O'Malley', *The encyclopaedia of Cleveland History*, online at http://ech.cwru.edu/ech-cgi/article.pl?id=OPI (10 Oct. 2009).

[52] Census, Enumeration district: 108, Suffolk, Boston, Massachusetts, 1930 (Records of the Bureau of the Census, Record Group 29 (hereafter RG 29), NARA, Roll: 944, p. 14B).

[53] O'Beirne stated in a 1932 passenger record that he first entered the US in 1927. However, a newspaper advertisement shows that O'Beirne was in fact in the US for a period of time before this date. In March 1924, the *Irish World* stated that O'Beirne was the Co. Leitrim Men and Ladies' Auxiliary club vice-president in New York. Passenger and crew lists of vessels arriving at New York, New York, 1897-1957, Passenger and crew lists of vessels arriving at New York, 1932 (NARA, RG 85, T715_5255); *Irish World*, 15 March 1924; Tom Mahon and James J. Gillogly, *Decoding the IRA* (Cork, 2008), p. 205.

[54] Hanley, *The IRA 1926-1936*, pp 162-3; 'Application for Transfer to Foreign Reserve List', 'Michael McLoughlin', 'Michael McLoughlin', 10 March 1926 (UCDA, MTP, P69/169(5), Form FR 1); *An Phoblacht*, 3 January 1931.

[55] *Irish World*, 18 January 1930.

[56] Memoirs of Connie Neenan (CCCA, CNP, PR7(7), Box 1 pp 154-6).

[57] Hanley, *The IRA 1926-1936*, pp 166-7.

[58] Uinseann MacEoin, *The IRA in the Twilight Years: 1923-1948* (Dublin, 1997), p. 653; Coogan, *The IRA: a history*, p. 85; Marie Coleman, *The Irish sweep: a history of the Irish hospitals sweepstakes* (Dublin, 2009), pp 123-7.

[59] *An Phoblacht*, 3 January 1931.

to be conducted across the US. From 1923 through 1930, IRA veterans emigrating to and residing in the US were granted the freedom to advance their collective republican ideals, while also reclaiming and shaping their individual lives.

The once and future fascist:
British fascism, Churchill, Royalists, and the abdication of Edward VIII

Ted Rogers

It seems the stuff of tabloids: the newly crowned King of Britain not only falling in love with a twice divorced foreign commoner, but also planning to marry her. Add to this that the woman had a known past in international espionage and that she had trained in the Chinese brothels of Kongmoon to learn the Asian erotic arts of *Fang Chung*.[1] Finally, cast this sexual intrigue as the catalyst of a plot to form a Fascist government in which the King is supposed to become the dictator of Britain. As fanciful as this sounds, compelling evidence exists that this is exactly what transpired during the abdication crisis of Edward VIII. In December, 1936, during the depths of the Great Depression, as Fascist parties grew in strength across Europe, Edward VIII abdicated the British throne in order to marry the recently divorced Mrs.Wallis Simpson. Central to forcing the King's abdication were Prime Minister Stanley Baldwin and the Archbishop of Canterbury, Cosmo Lang. Others vociferously opposed the King's abdication, desiring that Edward form a 'King's Party' and take dictatorial control in ruling the British Empire. The confluence of those supporting the king made for interesting bedfellows. As the Fascist movement in Britain, Italy, and Germany, rallied around the King, so did Winston Churchill and Lord Beaverbrook.

In this article I explore the relationships among Edward VIII, Churchill, and the British Fascist movement. Specifically I ask three questions: First, to what degree did Edward VIII entertain ideas of forming a Fascist 'King's Party', or of pursuing an entrance into public politics along Fascist lines after abdicating? Second, did Winston Churchill advocate the King pursuing such a path, and to what degree

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[1] Charles Higham, *The Duchess of Windsor: the secret life* (Hoboken, 2005), 30-2. *Fang Chung* is the sexual art focusing on arousal through relaxation and erotic massage in which the male climax is delayed through the manipulation of various nerve centers so as to build the confidence of men who are often impotent, allowing them to reach the state of orgasm. Interestingly, Edward VIII had problems with impotency.

was he sympathetic with Fascist ideology? Finally, to what degree did British Fascists align themselves with the King?

Many today understand Fascism as an ideology specific to the governments of Germany and Italy that arose in the interwar period and lasted to the end of World War Two. However, Fascism had widespread appeal across Europe and exerted strong influence in such countries as Austria, Hungary, Romania, and Spain, with many in these countries seeing Fascism as the only force able to oppose Communism, or alternatively, as a third option of governance/economics that rejects both Capitalism and Communism. By 1938, fifteen nations in Europe were governed by Fascist or rightist proto-Fascist dictatorships.[2]

But, what is Fascism? Defining Fascism is difficult and is often attempted by describing what Fascists oppose. As negative definitions fail to describe the constituent parts of any ideology, for the purposes of this article I will adopt Michael Mann's short definition of Fascism as 'the pursuit of a transcendent and cleansing nation-statism through paramilitarism.'[3] Here, 'nationalism' is defined as a populist commitment to an organic idea of nation whereby diversity or race or ideology is aggressively resisted.[4] 'Statism' refers to the goal and organizational form of government as the central authoritarian power trusted to bring social and economic change and enforce the moral development of the populace. 'Transcendent' expresses the belief that nation-statism can transcend social conflict through violence against those who agitate class strife, and then by incorporating classes into a state corporatist body.[5] 'Cleansing' in this definition refers to ridding the state not only of certain minority ethnicities, but also of groups with dissenting ideologies. Finally, 'paramilitarism' functions both as a value and an organizational tool of Fascists, which serves to enforce the implementation of Fascist ideology.[6]

In interwar Britain, a number of Fascist parties existed. Though many such groups existed in Britain in the 1920s, it was not until the economic crisis signaled by the Wall Street stock market crash of 1929 that one group, the British Union of Fascists, gained prominence. Organized under Oswald Mosely, a former Labour

Cabinet Minister, the British Union of Fascists (henceforth B.U.F), responding to the 1929-1931 economic crisis, became the first Fascist organization in Britain to generate detailed financial policy statements.[7] With the January 1936 death of George V, the B.U.F. initiated a pro-monarchist policy. While Mosely was pro monarchy and Edward VIII was, as I will demonstrate later, pro-fascist, the King did not return Mosely's admiration. In a conversation in 1934 among the then Prince Edward, Home Secretary John Gilmour, and John Aird, Gilmour brought up the rising tide of the B.U.F., of which Aird wrote, the Prince appreciated the organization with the exception of its leader, Mosely.[8] Churchill flirted with the idea of uniting with Mosely in 1931 to form a new government in the midst of the world financial crisis after he (Mosely) had resigned from the Labour Government, but later chose not to.[9]

Edward's parents raised him in a deliberately egalitarian fashion.[10] Noted for his charm and good looks, he was very popular, and overworked.[11] Edward's egalitarian nature served him well during tours of the British Empire - yet government officials found Edward's outspoken nature regarding social problems, his disdain for royal protocol, and his suspect political acquaintances troublesome.[12] Edward was a staunch supporter of the French in WWI, but by the late 1920s his sympathies— dominated by fear of bolshevism and rising sympathy for the economic problems faced by Germany, shifted in favor of Germany. He also supported Italy's invasion of Abyssinia.[13] Increasingly in the early 1930s, Edward perceived Communism as the greatest threat to Europe, leading him to publicly praise Fascism. In 1933, in a conversation with the Austrian Ambassador to Britain regarding German National Socialism, Edward stated that Fascism was the only option for Britain if they were to combat the Communists.[14] Later, in a pro-Hitler conversation with the Prince of Prussia, Louis Ferdinand, Edward remarked that, as many other countries were

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[2] Micheal Mann, *Fascists* (Cambridge, 2004), p. 38.
[3] Ibid., p.13.
[4] Ibid.
[5] Ibid., p.14.
[6] Ibid., pp 16,17.

[7] Thomas Linehan, *British Fascism 1918-1939: parties, ideology and culture* (Manchester, 2000), p.84.
[8] John Aird, as quoted in Phillip Ziegler, *King Edward VIII: the definitive portrait of the Duke of Windsor* (New York, 1990), p. 182.
[9] Martin Gilbert, *Winston S. Churchill: the prophet of truth* (New York, 1976), p. 410.
[10] H.C.G. Mathew, 'Edward VIII (later Prince Edward, duke of Windsor) (1894-1972),' in H.C.G. Mathew and Brian Harrison (eds) *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004; online ed. Lawrence Goldman (ed.) January 2008, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/31061 (accessed Apr. 12, 2009).
[11] Charles Arnold-Baker, *The companion to British History, 3rd Edition* (London, 2008), p. 465.
[12] Ibid.
[13] Ziegler, *King Edward VIII*, p.179.
[14] Edward VIII, as cited in Phillip Ziegler, *King Edward VIII*, p. 179.

adopting totalitarianism. Britain, too, might be ready for a dictatorship.[15] Believing France to be degenerate and weak, Edward saw allegiance with a newly empowered and resurgent Germany as England's best choice. Edward admired the effectiveness of Fascists in Italy and Germany to combat what he saw as the rising specter of Communism. He also admired the achievements of the Nazis in social issues close to his heart: housing for workers and reduction of unemployment.[16]

The German government courted Edward, aware of his appreciation for Fascist accomplishments. In 1935, German Ambassador Leopold von Hoesch relayed a conversation that he had had with Edward, noting that Edward was critical of the one-sided attitude of the Foreign Office and favored Germany's position and aspirations.[17] Another German State Department official noted Edward's disapproval of France's desire to revive the *entente cordiale*.[18] Continuing on, the ambassador noted a rift in Edward's ideology concerning his role as King of Britain versus that of his father, writing 'Nor did he (Edward) hold his father's view that the king must blindly accept the Cabinet's decisions. On the contrary, he felt it his duty to intervene if the Cabinet were to plan a policy which in his view was detrimental to British interests.'[19] Later, along similar lines, German Ambassador Ribbentrop wrote in a confidential letter to Hitler that, 'An alliance Germany-Britain is *for him* (Edward) an urgent necessity and a guiding principle.'[20] Regarding Edwards's insistence on taking direct governmental action, Ribbentrop noted that in response to his (Ribbentrop's) suggestion that he arrange a meeting between Baldwin and Hitler, the King replied, 'Who is King here? Baldwin or I? I myself want to talk to Hitler, and will do so here or in Germany. Tell him that please.' Continuing to underscore Edward's desire to participate directly in British politics, Ribbentrop underscored that the King was determined bring the business of government on himself.'[21]

Having established that Edward VIII was well disposed towards Fascist authoritarianism, held pro-National Socialist views, and had a desire to take the reigns of government for himself, we now need to take a brief look at Churchill.

By the 1930s, Churchill's political power had waned significantly, as his opportunistic nature was well known to all.[22] Though, as noted earlier, Churchill had declined to join his forces with Mosely in his attempt to establish a new party to challenge the British government in 1931, Churchill still held great respect for the accomplishments of European Fascist governments. In 1926, Churchill praised the Fascist leadership of Italy, saying that Italy possessed a government 'under the commanding leadership of Signor Mussolini, which does not shrink from the logical consequences of economic facts.'[23] Churchill commented approvingly, on a 1927 trip to Italy, on the changes under Mussolini. Continuing, he noted how impressed he was with the enthusiasm of those giving the fascist salute.[24] Slightly more than one week later Churchill rebuffed those who stated that the Fascist government of Italy was ruling contrary to popular support, stating that he himself, had he been an Italian, would have joined the Fascist struggle against Communism, and that the Fascists had 'rendered service to the whole world.'[25]

Contrary to popular notions, in the early 1930s Churchill was among the ranks of the appeasers, calling for the 'removal of the just grievances of the vanquished.'[26] Although Churchill saw great merit to Fascism, he recognized the difference between Fascism and National Socialism. However, in the early through mid 1930s he continued in praise of Hitler and sympathized with Hitler's push for a growing German assertiveness.[27] In 1935 Churchill wrote in praise of Hitler that he had restored Germany to the most powerful position in on the continent, and had reversed the results of the Great War.[28] By the late 1930s Churchill perceived Germany as an increasing threat, though how great a threat, as opposed to Communism, is not clear. What is clear is that Churchill appreciated the efficiency of Fascism as an agent of change for the state and a counterpoint to Communism. This played nicely into the growing popularity of Fascism in Britain as evidenced when the

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[15] Kenneth Young (ed.), Sir Robert Bruce Lockhart, *The diaries of Sir Robert Bruce Lockhart* (New York, 1973), p. 263.
[16] Zeigler, *King Edward VIII*, pp 179-80.
[17] *Documents on German foreign policy: C, IV* (Washington, 1962), p. 49.
[18] *Ibid.*, p. 1017.
[19] Ibid.
[20] Ibid., p. 1062.
[21] Ibid., p. 1063.

[22] Churchill started his political career as a Conservative, then in 1904 became a Liberal, only to abandon the liberal party to run as an independent in 1924, and then to return to the Conservative party in 1925. By the 1930s he had alienated so many in politics that the period became known as his 'wilderness years.'
[23] Winston Churchill, as quoted in Martin Gilbert, *Winston S. Churchill*, p.142; Churchill to Hamilton, Barstow and Hopkins (Churchill Papers, 18/30); Churchill-Volpi negotiations (Treasury papers, 172/1505).
[24] Winston Churchill, as quoted in Martin Gilbert, *Winston S. Churchill*, p. 224.
[25] Ibid., p. 226.
[26] Winston Churchill, as quoted in Martin Gilbert, *Winston S. Churchill*, p. 452.
[27] A.J.P. Taylor, *English history 1914-1945* (Oxford, 2001), pp 317, 374.
[28] Winston S. Churchill, *Great contemporaries* (Safe Harbor, 1942), p. 196.

British Olympic team entering the 1936 games offered the Fascist salute, to the delight of the crowd.

Upon his father's death, Edward became King of the United Kingdom and British Dominions and Emperor of India on January 20, 1936. Prior to his ascension to the throne, Edward had kept a number of consorts, several of them married, for whom he developed intense romantic feelings. When he came to the throne, Edward had already known Mrs. Wallis Simpson, wife of an American millionaire, since 1931, and had maintained a love affair with her since 1934. As mentioned, Simpson was a woman with a dubious past, including espionage and sexual arts training obtained in the brothels of Kongmoon.[29] Given Edwards problem with impotency, Mrs. Simpson was 'the only person who could physically arouse him.'[30] Edward's parents disapproved of Simpson. By mid summer of 1936, Sir Horace Wilson, advisor to Prime Minister Baldwin, noted that the King's involvement with Mrs. Simpson had come to the point where the King and Simpson were under government surveillance, with significant questions surrounding the King's having shared access with Simpson to state papers.[31]

The Simpson affair became more heated in October, when Simpson filed for divorce from her husband. On 20 October, Prime Minister Baldwin chose to broach the matter with the King, aware that although the British press had chosen not to follow the story of the King and Mrs. Simpson, the American press was pursuing it. However, Baldwin doubted that his intervention had any efficacy.[32] In early November, calling Simpson a 'hard-bitten bitch,' Baldwin openly stated that he had turned the state's lawyers to the matter of investigating how the state could block a possible marriage of the King to Simpson.[33] Edward, however, had his support network as well.

In 1934, Sir Reginald Mitchell-Bank founded the pro-Edward, royalist, Imperial Policy Group (IPG), which included such notables as Lord Mansfield, Lord Bertie of Thame, the Earl of Glasgow, Sir Charles Petrie, and Lord Phillimore. This

group encouraged Edward's direct participation in government and sought to signal to the governments of France, Italy, Austria, and Spain, that, despite official state proclamations, Britain's real policy regarding Europe was to keep out of all conflicts on the continent in order to give Mussolini and Hitler free reign against the Soviet Union.[34] As Edward's intention to marry Wallis Simpson became clear, the IPG began to meet almost daily in order to find ways to court MPs and raise support for a King's government.[35]

The King's increasing foray into public politics angered Baldwin's government. In mid November 1936, the King toured mining villages of South Wales to discern the living conditions of the urban poor. Distressed by what he saw, Edward publicly stated that 'something must be done' to ease the plight of the working poor.[36] As Victor Cazalet noted, King Edward publicly united Baldwin's National Government and Bolshevism as responsible parties.[37] The *Blackshirt*, the newspaper of the B.U.F., came out in favor of the King's call for reform, offering him their full support.[38] Ramsay MacDonald noted in his diary of the King's trip that Edward must be monitored, and that the King's actions were constitutionally questionable.[39] Baldwin responded to Edward's increasing foray into public politics by increasing pressure on Edward to abdicate, using the monarch's relationship with Simpson as a convenient foil. Confronting Edward, Baldwin stated that the King could not marry Wallis Simpson and remain sovereign.[40] After another meeting with Edward on November 25, Baldwin agreed to consult the Dominion PMs regarding the possibility that he either marry Wallis Simpson in a morganatic marriage, in which she would not become queen, or abdicate. A review of the telegram sent to the various PMs shows that Baldwin worded the document in such a way as to ensure that the reply would be 'in favor of abdication,' stating that the idea of a morganatic marriage had been put to the King by 'some outside quarter.'[41] While the Dominion PMs replied in favor of abdication, Canadian PM Mackenzie King saw through the guise questioning if the

[29] Higham, *The Duchess of Windsor*, pp 30-2.
[30] Arnold-Baker, *The companion to British history*, 3rd Edition, p. 465.
[31] Papers of Sir Horace Wilson including a history of the days surrounding the abdication, 8 Dec. 1936-13 Apr. 1939 (TNA, PREM 1/466).
[32] Philip Williamson and Edward Baldwin (eds), Stanley Baldwin, *Baldwin papers: a conservative statesman, 1908-1947* (Cambridge, 2004), p. 388.
[33] Ibid.

[34] Higham, The Duchess of Windsor, p. 152.
[35] Ibid., p. 155.
[36] Edward VIII, as quoted in Zeigler, *King Edward VIII*, p. 262.
[37] Victor Cazalet, as quoted in Robert Rhodes James, Victor Cazalet: a portrait (London, 1976), p. 186.
[38] A. Raven Thomson, 'Prosperity bubble blown: the King explodes the hollowness of "Boom" Bluff,' the Blackshirt, No. 188, 28 November, 1936.
[39] Diary of Ramsay McDonald, 21 Nov 1936 (TNA, PRO 30/69 1753).
[40] Arnold-Baker, *The companion to British History*, 3rd edition, p. 465. Also see 'Abdication of Edward VIII, 10 Dec. 1936' (TNA, Office of the Prime Minister papers, PREM 1/466).
[41] 'Abdication of Edward VIII, 10 Dec. 1936' (TNA, Office of the Prime Minister papers, 1/466).

abdication was voluntary, or imposed by the King's ministers.[42] To further pressure the King to abdicate. Baldwin threatened Edward with the resignation of the Government, along with the assurance that Labour had agreed not to form a new government, if Edward did not either abdicate or refrain from marrying Simpson.[43] As Baldwin and his Cabinet worked to force Edward from the scene, others rallied around the King in opposition to the government.

Churchill was one of the King's strongest proponents. As Baldwin's government pushed for Edward to abdicate, Churchill remarked, 'What crime has the King committed? Had we not sworn allegiance to him? Were we not bound to that oath? Was he to be condemned unheard? Was he seeking to do anything that was not permitted to the meanest of his subjects?'[44] Lord Beaverbrook, coming into possession of Baldwin's telegram to the Dominions, canceled his tour of the United States and returned to London.[45] With the English press now openly covering the Simpson issue, Edward compared the subscribership of the papers supporting him versus those against, finding that the readership of the papers supporting him was 12.5 million people versus 8.5 million against.[46] Playing to his popularity, Edward announced to Baldwin his wish to put the issue of his marriage to Simpson to the people by making a live broadcast on BBC, and then retiring from the country while the people decided. This was a direct endeavor by Edward to sidestep Baldwin's government; basically, a statement to 'let the people choose between you and me.' The proposed statement by the King appealed directly to the people based on the King's authority, completely bypassing the Cabinet. The proposed address began

> By Ancient custom, the King addresses his public utterance to his people.
> Tonight I am going to talk to you as my friends – British men and women
> wherever you may reside, within or without the Empire…I am still that
> same man whose motto was 'Ich Dien,' 'I serve'; and I have tried to serve
> this country and this Empire for the last twenty years.[47]

[42] Mackenzie King to Baldwin, 30 Nov. 1936 (CAB 127/155).
[43] Notes by Sir Horace Wilson, 30 Nov. 1936, (PREM 1/466), p. 14.
[44] Duff Cooper, The Duff Cooper Diaries, ed. John Julius Norwich, (London, 2006), p. 234.
[45] Zeigler, King Edward VIII, p. 265.
[46] Ibid., p. 267.
[47] Records of the Cabinet office (CAB 23/86).

Note that in this statement Edward does not acknowledge the government in any way—neither its authority, nor its existence. He chooses to appeal to an ancient tradition of absolute monarchial authority and then reminds the public of his twenty years of service, first as Prince of Wales and then as King. By so doing Edward made a clear claim that governance rested with him and not with Baldwin's National Government. Ramsay MacDonald understood this, stating in the 4 December Cabinet meeting that the proposed address was a blatant attempt to overthrow the government.[48] Sir Horace Wilson, advisor to Baldwin, received direct information from the King's private secretary, via Sir John Reith, that the proposed broadcast was just one phase of an attempt to set up a 'King's Party'.[49]

Other political insiders, too, understood the intensity of the intrigue surrounding the King's proposed broadcast. Baldwin's threatening the King with the resignation of the government if he refused to abdicate, and securing a pledge from the Labour Party that its leadership would not agree to set up a government in it's place, opened the door for the possibility of the King, by not abdicating, taking direct control of the government. Given the King's strong pro-Fascist leanings, there is every likelihood that this would be a Fascist government. Sir Henry Channon, a friend of Edward's, noted in his diary on 22 November of the King 'He …is pro German, against Russia … shouldn't be surprised if he aimed at making himself a mild dictator.'[50] Churchill agreed to set up a 'King's Party,' establish a new government, and overthrow Baldwin's group of 'feeble men,' with the tally of approximately sixty MPs ready to support the King.[51] Channon stated that Churchill was the only possible person to form a government if Baldwin's cabinet resigned.[52] Duff Cooper, another close friend of Edward's, cited Baldwin's statement that he (Baldwin) had been approached by an undisclosed member of parliament who asked if

[48] Diary of Ramsay Macdonald, 4 Dec 1936 (TNA, PRO 30/69 1753).
[49] Notes by Sir Horace Wilson, 30 Nov. 1936 (PREM 1/466).
[50] Robert Rhodes James (ed.), Sir Henry Channon, 'Chips,' the diaries of Sir Henry Channon (London, 1996), p. 84. Of note, Channon was an incredible sycophant, and amazingly self-possessed. He also wrote in his diary 'I sometimes wonder why I keep a diary at all. Is it to relieve my feelings? Console my old age? Or to dazzle my descendants?' While he chose to preen incessantly in his diaries, he failed to mention what exactly a 'mild dictator' might be.
[51] Taylor, English history 1914-1945, pp 401, 404.
[52] Channon, 'Chips,' the diaries of Sir Henry Channon, p. 91.

the monarchy was going Fascist.[53] Word spread that a large segment of the military were ready to take up arms in support of the King and against the Government.[54]

Baldwin moved quickly to block the King's plan to make the broadcast, confronting him on 3 December, stating that constitutionally, he must speak through his Cabinet (Baldwin's Government).[55] Edward replied, 'You want me to go, don't you?' to which Baldwin, dropping all pretence, replied 'yes.'[56] Baldwin reported to the Cabinet that the King wanted to avoid divisiveness and leave with dignity.[57] He also stated that he urged the King to make his decision as soon as possible.[58] The King emphatically denied that he had ever stated an intention to abdicate, or used the word 'abdicate' in the presence of the Prime Minister.[59] What all parties do agree on is that the King won a major concession from Baldwin, whose Government had moved quickly to isolate Edward. The King asked for, and was granted, permission to talk with Winston Churchill, although Baldwin stated later that he regretted allowing the meeting.[60]

Churchill dined with Edward on 4 December. He reported that the King was quite upbeat at first, but rapidly sank into a state of exhaustion.[61] If Churchill were tasked with forming a new government, he would need time and he pushed the King to delay; an argument Edward appreciated.[62] Churchill charged ahead, writing a letter to Baldwin stating that Edward was 'in a state of great nervous tension,' and that it would be a cruel to force the King to make a decision in his present condition.[63] Baldwin dismissed Churchill's account of the King's state and the Government continued to work toward abdication. Churchill, having failed to gain needed time from the Cabinet, made a direct appeal to the public, publishing a statement in the *Times* on 7 December, challenging the National Government's authority and pleaded for time for the King. A portion of this statement read:

If the King refuses to take the advice of his ministers, they are, of course, free to resign. They have no right whatever to put pressure upon him to accept their advice by soliciting beforehand assurances from the Leader of the Opposition that he will not opt for an alternative in the event of their resignation, and thus confront the King with an ultimatum. Again, there is cause for time and patience.[64]

Here Churchill asks for time and attempts to undermine the legitimacy of both the National Government and the Labour party. Political insiders understood the deeper meaning of the plea. J.A. Spencer, a friend and advisor of Asquith's, wrote of Churchill's petition 'that the present state of things should be prolonged for five months - five months of raging and tearing controversy, quite possibly a King's party being formed against the Government...'[65] Yet, however hard Churchill and others were willing to work, Edward was exhausted. Lord Beaverbrook, confidant of both Churchill and Edward, telephoned Churchill after meeting with the King that weekend and reported, 'Our cock won't fight.'[66] Although Churchill tried to press on, his public challenge to the Government backfired and he was ferociously booed in the House of Commons, as long time allies abandoned him. One, Robert Boothby, tore into Churchill, accusing him of doing more damage to the King than Baldwin could have.[67] The King's party disappeared, leaving Churchill politically isolated.

On 11 December, 1936, Edward abdicated. Fears of social division regarding Edward's abdications were so intense as to compel Mary, the Queen Mother, to issue a direct proclamation to the people of Britain and the Dominions in which she appealed for continued loyalty to the Empire.[68] The Queen's statement shows sincere fear that the abdication might not only be divisive, but also lead to acts of disloyalty. Interestingly, no constitutional stonewall was erected by Baldwin's government against Queen Mary directly addressing the people of Britain.

[53] Cooper, *The Duff Cooper diaries*, p. 233.
[54] As quoted in Zeigler, *King Edward VIII*, p. 277.
[55] CAB 23/86.
[56] Ibid.
[57] Ibid.
[58] Ibid.
[59] Zeigler, *King Edward VIII*, p. 275.
[60] Baldwin, *Baldwin Papers*, p. 388.
[61] Zeigler, *King Edward VIII*, p. 275.
[62] Ibid.
[63] CAB 23/86.

[64] Winston Churchill, 'Mr. Churchill's statement: a plea for delay,' *The Times*, 7 December 1936, p. 8.
[65] J.A. Spencer, as quoted in Martin Gilbert, *Winston S. Churchill: the prophet of truth* (New York, 1976), p. 819.
[66] Lord Beaverbrook, as quoted in Martin Gilbert, *Winston S. Churchill: the prophet of truth* (New York, 1976) p. 820.
[67] Robert Boothby, as quoted in Martin Gilbert, *Winston S. Churchill*, pp 822-3.
[68] PREM 1/452.

Hitler was distraught by the news of Edward's abdication since he had viewed the king as a fascist supporter and admirer of himself and his policies.[69] While Germany revised its plans regarding Edward, Baldwin worked to ensure Edward would pose no further threat. To ease the transition of his brother to the throne, Edward was willing to leave the country for a reasonable period of time, but based on the premise that he had behaved honorably by abdicating, he intended a return to government in some capacity.[70] Baldwin's government, however, had permanent exile in mind, and worked to make the now-Duke of Windsor's allowance of £25,000 per year conditional on his remaining out of the country unless granted special permission by the government.[71] At 2:00 A.M., 12 December, the morning after his abdication broadcast, the Government moved Edward to the HMS *Fury* with orders that the ship was to take him to France.[72]

In Britain, Lloyd George considered mounting a campaign in favor of Edward, threatening to bring such disruption that the 'Coronation won't count for very much.'[73] Additionally, Edward received continued offers to establish the 'King's Party.'[74] However, immediately after abdication, Edward was not disposed to entertain such thoughts. His relations with his family began to rapidly deteriorate though, as did his feelings towards Britain's government. The first insult came when archbishop Lang published an invective against Edward. This was followed by Baldwin's threat to remove police protection from Mrs. Simpson. In April 1937, Edward learned that not a single member of his family would attend his wedding. As well, his £25,000 allowance was called into question. By spring of 1937, any good will by Edward towards the Government or his family had dissipated. While these issues ruminated outside of public view, the Government worked efficiently to brush the memories of the former King under the carpet.[75] Still, others in Britain worked hard on Edward's behalf, not giving up on the possibility of a Fascist restoration.

On 4 September, 1937, the Special Branch of the Metropolitan Police, London, issued a report on a new organization, formed that June, known as the

'Octavians.' The report noted that one of the founding officers of the group was a man named George Whish, who had been a member of the British Union of Fascists up until the founding of the Octavians.[76] The constitution of the Octavians states that the organization was formed to assure the good treatment of the Duke of Windsor and recognize his service to the people and to 'make contact throughout the country with those who hold similar views...To organize, if necessary, measures of protest against any actions which may in the future be directed against H.R.H.'[77] On 11 October, 1938, Whish, on behalf of the Octavians, wrote in the editorial section of the *Daily Mirror* of the need to invite Edward back to Britain to take up residence.[78] The editorial staff of the paper agreed, and on 13 October of 1938, the *Daily Mirror* ran a posting asking readers who had a 'strong opinion of the desirability of the return of the Duke of Windsor' back to Britain to express their views.[79]

Meanwhile, in late July, the now-Duke and Duchess of Windsor traveled to Italy, during which both spoke in favor of the benefits of Fascism.[80] On the evening of 30 July Edward appeared at a performance of the Monte Carlo Ballet and frequently gave the Fascist salute, to the joy of the crowd.[81] A few months later, in October of 1937, the Duke and Duchess toured Nazi Germany, joined by Churchill's son, ostensibly to review working class living conditions.[82] Though Churchill grew increasingly wary of the re-armed Germany, he still felt Fascism was a better alternative than Communism as he stated in an 14 April address to the House of Commons, when he said 'I will not pretend that, if I had to choose between Communism and Nazi-ism, I would choose Communism.'[83] Many individuals in Britain feared their political options were rapidly coming to that choice.

Hess, Goebbels, and Goering enthusiastically feted the Duke and Duchess and, on 22 October, the day before their departure, Hitler asked them to tea.[84] Edward enjoyed an hour-long private meeting with the Fuhrer. Commenting on the visit,

[69] Adolf Hitler, as quoted in Zeigler, *King Edward VIII*. PRO FO 371/20734, p. 232.
[70] Michael Bloch, *Operation Willi: the Nazi plot to kidnap the Duke of Windsor July 1940* (New York,1984), p. 39.
[71] Ibid., and Higham, *The Duchess of Windsor*, p. 167.
[72] Zeigler, *King Edward VIII*, p. 289.
[73] Lloyd George, as quoted in Zeigler, *King Edward VIII*, p. 295.
[74] Ibid.
[75] Ibid., p. 288.

[76] Zeigler, *King Edward VIII*, p.288.
[77] Exerpt from Metropolitan Police Special Branch report 9 Apr. 1937 (HO 144/22448)
[78] 'Our live letterbox,' the *Daily Mirror*, 11 Oct. 1938.
[79] Ibid., 13 Oct.1938.
[80] Higham, *The Duchess of Windsor*, p. 213.
[81] Ibid.
[82] Zeigler, *King Edward VIII*, p. 336.
[83] Winston S. Churchill, *While England slept: a survey of world affairs, 1932-1938* (New York, 1938), p. 353. It is important to note that Churchill's ambivalence towards fascism did not end until Germany's annexation of Austria on 13 March, 1938, as he made clear in his address to the House of Commons in his address on the following day, in which he called for resistance to Nazi aggression.
[84] Bloch, *Operation Willi*, p. 37.

Albert Duckwitz, with the German Embassy in Copenhagen, remarked to his American counterpart 'The Duke of Windsor is by no means finished in his work.'[85] Bruce Lockhart reported to the Foreign office of the trip that the Nazis remained convinced that Edward would return to Britain 'as a social-equalizing King,' and that he would initiate an 'English form of Fascism and alliance with Germany.'[86] There was popular support in Britain for the visit, even cheering in the cinemas when a newsreel of the Duke's tour was shown, and Winston Churchill wrote to congratulate Edward on pulling off the visit so successfully.[87] However, the Duke's brother, now King of Britain, feared that Edward was trying to stage a comeback with the help of friends and advisors who were sympathetic to the Nazi's.[88]

In Britain, the B.U.F. came out against the Government's conduct in forcing Edward's abdication.[89] In another Fascist paper, *ACTION*, Oswald Mosely wrote that with Edward leaving the country, so too 'have gone many of the hopes of his generation.' Oswald went on to write of the deep divide within the country, stating 'the line of division was broadly the line dividing the younger from the older generation,' referring to the Fascist tendency to emphasize the importance of youth.[90] The Octavians, too, kept up their work, writing of Edward's abdication and exile in March 1939 that it was time 'the episode be terminated, that the exile be recalled,' and called for the Duke to be allowed public office - in other words, to be able to establish his own government.[91]

Although it is clear that multiple Fascist groups in Britain desired to return the Duke to power, resistance on the part of the British government to any attempt to allow Edward back into Britain, coupled with the war in Europe, thwarted any such plans. As mentioned, Edward originally thought his exile would be temporary, but the British government moved swiftly to ensure that it would be permanent.[92] While Edward contemplated his return to Britain while enjoying the company of Fascist Continental political and social leaders, the world moved toward war. Following

Germany's invasion of Poland, Britain declared war on Germany on 3 September, 1939. On that day, Edward and his wife were sunbathing at their house at Antibes. The British Ambassador phoned Edward from Paris to tell him the news of the war. After the call, Edward returned to the pool, stated simply 'Great Britain has just declared war on Germany'. Then he dove into the pool for a swim.[93] Edward requested permission to return to Britain. Eventually Churchill sent a destroyer to ferry the Duke and Duchess back to Britain, but neither the government nor Edward's family sent a car to pick him up when he and his wife arrived, nor did any family member come to see him.[94] Still, Edwards's presence made it necessary to provide him with some type of government job. The Duke was offered a choice between two jobs. The first was that of Assistant Regional Commissioner in Wales and the second was as a liaison officer with the British Military Mission at French General Headquarters. Edward chose the first, which would have kept him in Britain, and the offer was immediately revoked.[95] So, with little fanfare, Edward and his wife were transported back to France.

The British government worked hard to keep Edward's profile low - so low, in fact, that he was forbidden to visit the British Expeditionary Force in France.[96] On 10 May 1940, Germany began its invasion of France, piercing the French line of defense within days. Edward left his post - some say abandoned it - and returned to his home in Antibes. On 10 June, Paris fell. Six days later, Petain became premier and made peace with Germany. The Duke and Duchess stripped their home of everything of value, threw together a hasty caravan of cars, and fled to the Spanish border. The British government gave them no help.[97]

Upon arriving in Spain, Edward made several public remarks that Britain should make peace with Germany.[98] Churchill instructed the Duke to head immediately to Lisbon, from which he and the Duchess would be evacuated. While the Duke and Duchess proceeded to Lisbon, Edward foolishly threw down a gauntlet, stating that he would not return to England unless his wife was recognized as a Royal.

[85] Albert Duckwitz, as quoted in Zeigler, *King Edward VIII*, p. 338.
[86] Sir Robert Bruce Lockhart, as quoted in Zeigler, *King Edward VIII*, p. 338.
[87] Winston Churchill, as quoted in Zeigler, *King Edward VIII*, p. 339.
[88] Zeigler, *King Edward VIII*, p. 339.
[89] Raven Thomson, 'Back to the people: the lesson of the past week,' the *Blackshirt*, no 191, 19 Dec. 1936.
[90] Oswald Mosely, 'Forward for Britain: Cabinet guilty of the most flagrant dictatorship without asking the people,' *ACTION*, no. 44, 19 Dec. 1936.
[91] E.D. Hart, 'When the Duke comes home,' *The Octavian*, no. 7, Mar. 1939.
[92] Bloch, *Operation Willi*, p. 39.

[93] Wallis Warfield, *Duchess of Windsor: the heart has its reasons* (New York, 1956), pp 329-30.
[94] Zeigler, *King Edward VIII*, pp 346-7.
[95] Bloch, *Operation Willi*, p. 40.
[96] Ibid., p. 41.
[97] Zeigler, *King Edward VIII*, pp 359-60.
[98] Ibid., p. 363.

and he were given an influential governmental or military post.[99] In other words, Edward not only sought Royal recognition for his wife, but also pushed for his active return to British government. Churchill's responded to Edward via telegram threatening him with arrest if he did not comply immediately with the demand to leave the continent.[100] The next day Churchill sent another telegram, this one, softened in tone, offering Edward the governorship of the Bahamas. The Bahamas, as well as being geographically removed from Britain, was little more than a spit of sand and rock off the coast of Miami and one of the least important and smallest of Britain's colonies with a population of only 72,000. Edward accepted the appointment, leaving Lisbon on 1 August, 1940. Edward later remarked that he regretted the decision, stating that he wished that he had stayed in Europe 'so as to be able to step in at the decisive moment.'[101] The German government established a plan to coax, coerce, or if necessary kidnap Edward in order to install him as the Fascist leader of Britain after what they presumed would be a quick victory.[102] How much British intelligence knew of this plan and whether the Duke would have actively participated is unknown. Yet with his appointment to a remote chain of islands on the other side of the Atlantic, the Duke of Windsor would not again pose a threat to the government of Britain.

A significant problem exists with much of the current historiography regarding the complex issues around Edward and Churchill during this time. Some noted historians, such as A.J.P. Taylor, simply state that Churchill intended to establish a 'Kings Party,' but give no documentary proof.[103] Philip Zeigler, biographer of Edward VIII, portrays Edward as innocent of any intrigue against the Government. Others such as Martin Gilbert paint a rosy picture of Churchill as duped by the King, but having no knowledge of what Edwards intentions were. However, the subtitle of Gilbert's biography of Churchill, 'The Prophet of Truth, 1922-1939,' reveals his bias. Though key documents that would prove conclusively what each persons intentions were and how each was involved remain classified, this is still a field worthy of more study, in that an abandonment of the teleological idea of history

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[99] As quoted in Bloch, *operation Willi*, p. 66.
[100] Bloch, *Operation Willi*, p. 74. It is important to note that by now Churchill's relationship with Edward had cooled considerably, as Churchill had discovered that Edward had misrepresented his need for a government stipend to support his (Edward's) exile. In fact, Edward had more than enough funds of his own to maintain a lavish lifestyle.
[101] As quoted in Zeigler, *King Edward VIII*, p. 373.
[102] Zeigler, *King Edward VIII*, pp 374, 5.
[103] Taylor, *English History 1914-1945*, p 401.

in light of the incredible potential for a radically different outcome had the King chosen to fight, or had he overtly joined forces with the Germans presents to us the terrifying possibility of a very different world today. As shown, views that paint Churchill or Edward as innocent of any Fascist ideology or of any intention to take over the government are highly suspect.

This essay has demonstrated not only that Edward and Churchill viewed Fascism in a positive light, but that both had high respect for the accomplishments of the Fascists in Italy and Germany. It has also been shown that both openly praised Fascism, and that both commented that Fascism would be of benefit to Britain in combating Communism. Additionally, and crucially, It is evident, that, through analyses of Edward's thwarted attempt to broadcast his position to the United Kingdom and Churchill's public 'appeal for time' published in The Times that both actors, one within a very short time of the other, attempted to appeal directly to the public to cast off Baldwin's government, and that this was openly recognized by Government leaders. Repeatedly we have been reminded of Churchill's opportunistic nature and the fact that, being already politically alienated, he had little to lose and much to gain from a change in government.

My analysis of the Government's behavior during and after Edward's abdication show that Baldwin's Government feared the possibility that Edward, as a private citizen, would stage some type of comeback. Furthermore, evidence shows that the British Union of Fascists, as well as the Fascist Octavian Society, openly supported Edward's return to government as a private citizen. I have demonstrated that during the period of Edward's first exile in France, he was openly supportive of Fascists on the continent and that this was widely known in Britain and supported by Churchill. Indeed, I have shown that the British Government remained fearful of, and sought to isolate, Edward up to and through the change of venue from exile in France to exile in the Bahamas.

Thus claims by biographers and historians that Edward or Churchill acted alone, without the knowledge or support of the other, are dubious. Yes, key documents do remain classified. But as this short article has shown, documents currently available complicate a picture that many have oversimplified. Questions concerning possible attempts by Edward and Churchill to overthrow Baldwin's government, or by Edward, after abdication, to force his way back into a position of

leadership in the British government, warrant a book length treatise as does a speculative examination of the possibility that, had these attempts played out, a Fascist government could have come to power in Britain and allied with the German National Socialists.

Irish perceptions of Germany 1945-55

André Heller M.A.

The famous German novelist Heinrich Boll came to Ireland in the early 1950s. His experiences in this country can be found in his 1957 publication *Irisches Tagebuch* (Irish diary). Reading his account it becomes obvious that less than a decade after the end of the Second World War, the Irish reaction to a German native was characterized by warmth and friendliness, reactions that seem quite remarkable given the fact that Germany had not only started a world war, but had also committed terrible atrocities, especially against Jews. In chapter six of Boll's *Irisches Tagebuch*, we come across an Irishman, who utters an even more remarkable opinion. After several glasses of beer, the Irishman says: *'Sag mal, Hitler war, glaube ich, kein so schlecter Mann, nur ging er, so glaube ich, ein wenig zu weit'*. (Tell me, Hitler was, I believe, not such a bad man, but he went, I think, a bit too far.)[1] When Boll tried to explain that Hitler indeed was a very bad man, the Irishman replies: *'Schade dass auch du dich von der englischen Propaganda hast beoeren lassen, schade'*. (It is very sad that even you got bewitched by English Propaganda.)[2] Given the international reputation of Germany during that time this opinion seems quite extraordinary.

There are other visible signs that ten years after the end of the Second World War, the Republic of Ireland held Germany in quite a high regard. First of all is St Kilians, a German school, since 1957 situated in St. Brigid's house in Dublin directly beside University College Dublin. Another visible indicator is a well in St. Stephen's Green which was donated by Germany and opened to the public in 1957. With it Germany expressed its gratitude for the Irish relief work for Germany after the war. But how did it happen that the Republic of Ireland reinstalled very close relations with Germany very soon after a devastating war, which had not only damaged the image of Germany worldwide, but also changed the face of Europe?

I would like to analyze the Irish perception of Germany in the first decade after the Second World War not only to find out why Heinrich Boll was received so

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[1] Heinrich Boll, *Irisches Tagebuch* (Koln, 1957), p. 47.
[2] Ibid. p. 48.

positively by the Irish but also to find out what this perception said about the Irish self-perception and indeed about the way the Irish saw themselves within the emerging European structure.

'Neutrality gone mad.'

Even before the official end of the Second World War an Taoiseach Eamon De Valera made a very controversial move. On 3 May 1945 he went to the house of the German ambassador to Ireland, Eduard Hempel, and formally offered condolence to the German people on the death of Adolf Hitler. This action triggered a strong reaction especially in the US, Britain and Russia. Newspapers in the United States published by Irish communities were even more virulent in their criticism: 'I am horrified, ashamed, humiliated, by you offering your sympathy to the German people on the death of a murderer of millions; not only soldiers, but women and children, patients in hospital'.[3] Angela D. Walsh, a member of the Irish-American community in the United States of America, most likely wrote this in a letter to Teresa S Fitzpatrick, the circulation manager of the *Atlantic Monthly*, a periodical founded in Boston in 1857, where it was published. Another voice in the *Atlantic Monthly* perceived the action of De Valera as 'Neutrality gone mad'.[4] According to Dermot Keogh, to many Irish in Britain as well the visit seemed 'singularly out of place'.[5] And it was not only the English-speaking world that criticised the Irish policy. Professor I S Zvavich, an expert on Britain and Commonwealth Affairs at Moscow University said after the war that Ireland had been 'thoroughly pro-fascist' in the Second World War. The government of Eamon De Valera was 'one of the most fascist and reactionary in present-day Europe'.[6]

'Peccadilloes in comparison with supreme crime of the atomic bomb.'[7]

When the first pictures of German concentration camps were shown in Irish cinemas, the reaction of the viewers was characterized by disbelief. At first, this reaction seems inappropriate, given the proceedings and the character of those camps. Analyzing the circumstances in which these pictures were shown, we are able to understand why this reaction occurred. The existence of German concentration camps was known in Ireland since mid 1944. The wartime censorship was lifted on 11 May 1945 and not only brought pictures of German concentration camps into Irish cinemas, but also Allied propaganda movies. Very often the propaganda got mixed up with reports about German atrocities, which changed the Irish perception of the matter. Another important element to be considered is that films about liberated concentration camps were often shown together with a horror film, which definitely influenced the Irish perception. In fact, letters were sent to the newspapers protesting that the films about the concentration camps were obvious fabrications.[8] *The Leader* offered an interesting approach on the topic of concentration camps, and maybe another explanation for the weak Irish reaction. There it was said that the killing and tortures in German concentration camps were 'insignificant in comparison to the slaughter and cruelty which was carried out in the corresponding institutions in Russia [...]'[9] The dislike Russia had of Ireland after the Second World War can be seen as mutual. The dropping of the atomic bombs on Japan raised far more criticism and open disapproval in Ireland. For the *Irish Times*, the German concentration/death camps, the tortures and killings of the Soviet's Gulags and all the other atrocities of the war were as 'peccadilloes in comparison with supreme crime of the atomic bomb.'[10]

It becomes obvious, that immediately after the end of the Second World War, Irish opinion differed from international opinion about Germany. The Irish reacted with a certain disbelief to the widely displayed pictures of German wartime atrocities. Complementing this view was the Irish post-war position towards Germany which was characterised by a strong urge to help the German population.

'With our own sorrowful heritage of the policy of 'to hell or to Connacht', surely we will not exclude these unfortunate victims of war from our charity'.[11]

While on the one side this quote clearly and appropriately describes the Irish perception towards the German population during the post-war years, we also see a cynical anti-British statement within these lines, a sentiment which still persists in

[3] Angela D. Walsh to Eamon de Valera, 3 May 1945 as quoted in Dermot Keogh, 'Eamonn DeValera and Hitler: An analysis of international reaction to the visit to the German minister, May 1945' in *Irish Studies in International Affairs* 3, 1 (1989), p. 82.
[4] *New York Tribune*, 4 May 1945.
[5] *The Times*, 21 May 1945.
[6] See Dermot Keogh, *Ireland and Europe 1919-1948* (Cork, 1989), p. 203.
[7] *Irish Times*, 31 Oct. 1946.

[8] See R.M. Douglas, *Architects of resurrection* (Manchester, 2009), p. 221.
[9] *The Leader*, 12 Jan. 1946.
[10] *Irish Times*, 31 Oct. 1946.
[11] *Irish Press*, 4 Oct. 1945.

Ireland. The Irish government, following an initiative of an Taoiseach Eamon de Valera agreed to donate goods worth £3,000,000 to the continent in 1945. One year later goods worth the same amount were donated to the continent. If we compare this amount to the amount of relief sent by other countries, £3,000,000 seems like a drop in the ocean. But small as it may seem, this donation put severe strain on the Irish population. If this amount of money is seen in the context of the Irish Gross National Product and the overall economic performance in 1945, it becomes obvious, that this donation was a 'remarkable Achievement'.[12]

The Irish population, urged by the Irish hierarchy to act as Christians to preserve a Christian spirit in Germany, did what they could to support a war stricken continent.[13] More donations per capita were made by the Irish population than by any other country. These donations were mainly sent to the Continent through organisations such as the International Red Cross or the Save the German Children Society. This organisation had been founded in October 1945, to help German children, who were seen as most affected by the destruction of Germany. As honourable as this organisation was, it had since its foundation, aroused a very controversial overtones. This was due not only to the involvement of two Irish MPs who during the war had uttered anti-semitic statements, but mostly because the first secretary of the organisation was Hermann Goertz, a former German spy in Ireland. Still this organisation was very successful and had its brightest moment in 1947 during 'Operation Shamrock', when a number of German children, mostly from the Ruhr area, were brought to Ireland to escape the destruction and to recover. While the European nations, who had been members of the Allies during the Second World War, reproached the Irish Free State for this aid and, somewhat simplistically, depicted them as pro-German and pro-Axis, the real picture was far more complicated than this criticism would indicate. The Irish government as well as the Catholic Church provided help for Europe and especially for Germany while fostering ulterior motives. Donating goods worth £3,000,000 was a remarkable move, but it also clearly expressed the wish of the Irish government to step out of the shadow of other big nations especially Britain and to take a position beside them. The Irish population

provided help simply out of humanitarian reasons. Induced by the memory of suffering in their own country, the Irish population built up organisations and also helped personally by sending parcels to Germany.

'The Irish people have watched with interest and admiration the wonderful economic recovery of the German nation since the end of the war.'[14]

In 1949, important changes happened in Ireland as well as in Germany. Ireland was split into the Republic of Ireland, which was established that year, and Northern Ireland. Germany witnessed similar developments with the foundation of the Federal Republic of Germany which included the areas in western Germany which had been occupied by Britain, the USA and France. The eastern part, occupied by Russia, was cut off and later turned into the German Democratic Republic. Several aspects of the partition of both countries were similar and the situation in Germany was closely observed by the Irish in the Republic of Ireland.

Das interesse wurde dadurch gesteigert, dass man in Irland bei der Teilung Deutschlands in Ost und West an die eigenen schmerzlichen Erfahrunen in Nordirland erinnert wurde.

(The interest [of the Irish] was increased, because the German partition into East and West woke painful memories of their own experiences in Northern Ireland.)[15]

There were several similarities visible. The 'Basic Law', the constitution of the Federal Republic of Germany, so called because it was perceived as a temporary and preliminary constitution under both German states were reunited, stated that the Federal Republic of Germany was the only legitimate German state and that East Germany was currently under Russian/Polish administration. The establishment of the Federal Republic of Germany deepened the German partition and the Russians made the crossing from one state to another more and more difficult. Shifting our focus to Ireland we can see similarities in the development. The Irish constitution of 1937 had been drafted for an Ireland of 32 counties, including the six counties of Northern Ireland. While the Federal Republic of Germany blamed Russia for the continuation of the German partition, many Irish blamed Britain for the Irish

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[12] Eda Sagarra, 'Dreissig Jahre Bundesrepublik-aus irischer Sicht', in Johannes Haas-Heye (ed), *Im Urteil des Auslands, Dreissig Jahre Bundesrepublik* (Munchen, 1979), p. 106, il. 1.4.
[13] *South Star*, 20 Apr. 1946.

[14] Speech, John Bolton in Bonn, 11 June 1951 in Cathy Molohan, *Ireland and Germany, 1945-1955* (Dublin, 1999), p. 69, il.31-3.
[15] Eda Sagarra, 'Dreissig Jahre Bundesrepublik-aus irischer Sicht', in Haas-Heye (ed.), *Im Urteil des Auslands*, p. 106, il. 13.16.

partition. We have to keep in mind though, that the crossing of the border from the Republic of Ireland into Northern Ireland was not as obstructed as the border crossing between the two German states.

Another issue in connection with Germany came into the focus of the Irish population, another issue connected closely to the problem of partition. The Franco-German struggle over the Saarland is critically viewed by Irish newspapers. *The Leader* blames French possessiveness as the major reason for the tensions between both countries. The question was raised in 1952 as to why free elections were taking place in West Germany, while the French were not allowing free elections in the Saarland.[16] Reginald Colby, who visited the Saarland in 1954, was a journalist not only for the *Irish Independent*. He also wrote an article for the periodical *The Age*. It might thus be assumed that he was a freelancer. Colby described the situation in as late as 1954, as satisfactory. The Saarland had connections with French economy, but the Saarlanders spoke German and were a European state, independent politically from both Germany and France.[17] As late as 1955 however, the problem of the Saarland appeared far from solved, as the Saarlanders were still torn between Germany and France. Even more, freedom of press did not exist in the Saarland.[18] The observer writing for the *Irish Independent* pointed out what he saw as German traits persisting in the Saarland, which might also be seen as especially appealing to the Irish.

'The Saarlanders themselves are patriarchal in character, strongly catholic and mainly of peasant origin. They are deeply attached to their own land and live in close knit communities.'[19]

A further reason to cover this topic can be seen in the evoking of parallels with Ireland. Like Northern Ireland, the Saarland was a part of Germany, German speaking but governed by another, foreign country which seemed unwilling to give it back to the country it obviously seemed to belong to. Joachim Fischer pointed out that already before the Second World War, when it was agreed in the Treaty of Versailles that the Saarland would be cut off of Germany, parallels between Ireland and Germany had created Irish Sympathies for Germany, when the case of the

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[16] *Sunday Independent*, 23 Nov. 1952.
[17] *Irish Independent*, 23 Mar. 1954.
[18] *The Leader*, 3 Jul. 1954.
[19] *Irish Independent*, 22 May 1955.

Saarland was compared to the cutting off of Ulster from the rest of Ireland.[20] The Saarland itself voted in a plebiscite in 1955 to be included into the Federal Republic of Germany, which led to the so-called 'small reunification' in 1957.[21] As the situation between Germany and the Saarland was seen as paralleled with that of Ireland and Northern Ireland, the 'small reunification' would have been a sign of hope for Ireland. *Romantischen Träumen von einem wiederaufleben des christlichen Abendlandes* (Romantic dreams of a resurrection of the Christian Occident)[22]

The first German elections after the Second World War gained much interest in Ireland. Several aspects of the elections can be seen as the reason for that. First of all, Konrad Adenauer, first German chancellor after the Second World War, was a devout Catholic. His party, the Christmas Democratic Union openly displayed its Christian character in the title. These two aspects clearly aroused the interest of the Irish hierarchy, who shortly after the war had addressed their flock to send help to Germany to prevent a Christian spirit from failing. It can be assumed that the Irish hierarchy took some credit for this development. The German Catholic church would have as strong an influence in German politics as the Irish hierarchy had in Irish politics. However, Eda Sagarra is right which she stated:

> *Als die Iren nach der Wahl des Katholiken Konrad Adenauer zum Bundeskanzler, eines Staatsmanns, de rim Grunde dem irischen Geschmack durchaus entsprach, Deutschlands Weg zurueck in eine europäische Staatengemeinschaft christlicher Prägung begrüssten, hing man fälschlicherweise romantischen Träumen von einemWiederaufleben des christlichen Abendlandes nach.*

> (When the Irish after the election of the Catholic Konrad Adenauer as chancellor, a politician after the taste of the Irish, greeted the return of Germany into a European community influenced by Christianity, they followed the wrong assumption of the resurrection of a Christian occident.)[23]

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[20] See Joachim Fischer, *Das Deutschlandbild der Iren 1890-1939* (Heidelberg, 2000), p. 405.
[21] See Speech of Peter Muller, President of the Saarland on 12 Sep. 2007, Http://www.saarland.de/dokumente/thema_SaarLorlux/Ansprache_Ministerpraesident_Mueller_2007_09_12_Buessel_– 50_Jahre_Saarland_in_Europa.pdf (accessed 15 Aug. 2009).
[22] Eda Sagarra, 'Dreissig Jahre Bundesrepublik – aus irischer Sicht', in: Haas-Heye (ed.), *Im Urteil des Auslands*, pp 104, il. 22-3.
[23] Ibid., p. 104, il. 18-23.

When it became clear that West Germany had its own government, the government of the Republic of Ireland quickly tried to establish trade relations. Already in 1949, a trade agreement between both countries was signed. This definitely was a very good development for both countries. The Republic of Ireland needed raw materials, especially coal, while the rapidly growing German economy needed to find new export markets. A darker aspect to this definitely positive development is that in the area of local government as well as in the economy and politics, many Germans were employed and protected by the Allies, who had in one way or the other collaborated with the Nazis.[24] While the Irish had been the first to critically approach the Allies in connection with their proceedings in Germany, this development did not cause any apparent hesitation or guilt. It seems therefore as if the Irish government was acting very cynically, and hypocritically, ignoring the German past to explore and join new markets outside the Commonwealth. This shift away from Britain and towards the continent becomes even more clear when we take a look at how Ireland tried to solve the economic crisis the country was facing in the early 1950s. Instead of turning to Britain, which still was the biggest export market for the Republic of Ireland, the Irish government turned to Germany instead. In the early 1950s Ireland tried to attract German businesses to Ireland, especially by pointing out that goods could be exported to Britain duty-free. Further Irish arguments were the low wages in Ireland and a stable government.[25] These arguments show that Ireland turned to Germany to solve their industrial crisis rather than to Britain, the more obvious choice. Additionally, by offering German companies the opportunity to establish branches in their country, the Irish government aimed at self-sufficiency at the expense of the British. Once again this was not only a purely economic move, it was another strong indicator of the Irish desire to distance itself from Britain. Another reason can be seen in the comment of John Belton, Irish envoy to the Federal Republic of Germany: 'The Irish people have watched with interest and admiration the wonderful economic recovery of the German nation since the end of the war'.[26] Relations between Ireland and Germany continued to grow rapidly. In 1951, diplomats were exchanged between both countries and from 1952 onwards, Ireland

had a permanent stand on the Frankfurt Trade Fair. The Irish hierarchy admired the sensible choice of Germany in sending a catholic ambassador to Ireland.

The main aim of this society would be the strengthening of cultural ties between Ireland and Germany on the basis of their common Christian civilisation.[27] The Irish population definitely welcomed the growing economic and cultural connections between both countries. In 1951, cultural organisations started to replace relief organisations in Ireland. In October 1951 the Irish-German Society was founded. It can be assumed that this society was founded with the memory of the foundation of the German-Irish Community in Berlin in 1917.[28] A rather controversial element of this cultural society is that the Irish-German society had been called for, among others, by Heinrich Becker and Helmut Clissmann. During the Second World War, Heinrich Becker had been allowed to stay in Ireland making pictures and teaching German, closely watched by the Irish secret service. But he had also been a member of the NSDAP and a former SA member.[29] Helmut Clissmann was a graduate of Trinity College Dublin, but during the Second World War he became involved with the German Intelligence and worked for it attempting to make contact with the IRA. Although the effort of these two men to establish an Irish-German cultural friendship was apparently genuine, their dubious past seemed to be quickly forgotten. The aim of the Irish-German society was declared as follows:

> 'The main aim of this society would be the strengthening of cultural ties
> between Ireland and Germany on the basis of their common Christian
> civilisation.'[30]

Possibly remembering the problems that Save the German Children Society had had to face since the foundation, it was pointed out that the Irish-German society was 'non-political and non-sectarian.'[31] Under the auspices of the society, social events were organised, such as dances, screenings and exhibitions.[32]

Although the Save the German Children Society had been quite controversial since its foundation, the help and support they had provided for Germany in the difficult years after the end of the Second World War were not

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[24] See Frank Tipton, *A history of modern Germany since 1815* (London, 2005), p. 504.
[25] Ibid., p. 75.
[26] Speech John Bolton in Bonn, 11 June 1951, in Molohan, *Ireland and Germany*, pp 69, 31-3.

[27] *Leitrim Observer*, 20 Oct. 1951.
[28] For information on this community see Fishcher, *Das Deutschlandbild der Iren*, p. 223.
[29] See Molohan, *Ireland and Germany*, pp 78-9.
[30] *Leitrim Observer*, 20 Oct. 1951.
[31] Ibid.
[32] See *Munster Telegraph*, 7 Mar. 1952, *Irish Independent*, 18 Dec. 1952, *Irish Independent*, 14 May 1953.

forgotten. In early 1952, German gratitude for the 'strictly private and voluntary' help which had been offered by the society was declared and tokens of gratitude in the shape of gifts were sent.[33] In late 1953, the work of the Save the German Children Society was honoured even more when the Cross of Merit of the Federal Republic of Germany was awarded to five members of the Irish Red Cross. It is remarkable however, that the honour was given to members of the Irish Red Cross for their work in connection with the Save the German Children Society.[34] The question remains, why no members of the society were honoured directly.

The mains features of Irish perceptions of the German past that had started to develop immediately after the end of the Second World War had continued to grow, until four tendencies had become clearly visible. First of all, a strong anti-British sentiment continued to persist in the Republic of Ireland. This had always been a strong sentiment within the Irish community, but after the Second World War, fuelled by the Irish wish for independence from Britain and the strong orientation towards the continent especially Germany, had created some extreme opinions such as the one uttered by the Irishman in response to an explanation of Heinrich Boell. Another development, for which a certain anti-British opinion was essential, was the desire of the Irish government to position the country alongside and on the same level with other big nations in Europe and in the world such as the USA and Britain. The first manifestation of this after the Second World War clearly was the Irish donations worth £3,000,000 to a suffering Europe. This development is clearly visible in the Irish creation of close trade connections with Germany and the application for acceptance into the UN, which Ireland joined in 1955. A negative aspect in the developments is the Irish reaction on German wartime atrocities. First characterised by disbelief, the dark German past gets then first quietly accepted and then ignored.

Nevertheless, the Irish contributed immensely to the recovery of Germany, something which was not forgotten by Germany. Visible connections of this and of a special and grown friendship are the German school, St. Killians, which found its final location in 1957 in St. Brigid's House on Stillorgan Road in Dublin. The connection of the school and one of Ireland's patron saints might stand as another symbol for the close connection between both countries. The other symbol of friendship between both countries can be found in St. Stephen's Green in Dublin. In 1954 the German Gratitude Fund presented the Irish with a sculpture called *Nornenbrunnen*.[35] When the statue was unveiled in 1957, Dr. Katzenberger expressed the gratitude of the German people to the Irish for having supported Germany in a 'truly Christian spirit'.[36] John Cosgrave, Minister for External Affairs, accepted the gift in the name of the Irish people and expressed the belief that the sculpture stood in the centre of Dublin 'as a symbol of the friendship of the two peoples down the years.'[37]

The Irish perception of Germany had already been good, but during the first decade after the war, this relationship intensified. But we always have to keep in mind that the Irish sympathies for Germany had been used for Irish self-interest, especially when it comes to Irish economic self-sufficiency, particularly from the British economic hegemony. It is obvious, that the Irish perception of Germany was positive, but always characterised by special intentions, at least when it comes to the Irish government and the Irish church.

Thus the treatment of Germany by the Irish helps to deepen our understanding of Irish self-perceptions. Although Ireland had been neutral during the war, the Irish immediately understood the importance of the concept of a unified Europe and tried to play an important role in his development. Although on the periphery and concerned with their own autonomy and sovereignty, they worked for Europe and tried to get involved in it, as the Irish saw themselves as Europeans more than other European countries at that time. It has become clear in this thesis that the Irish perception of Germany was indeed more positive in the decade after the Second World War. Another aspect that has become clear is that the developments were not always uncontroversial and much more complicated that it might have been assumed.

[33] *Irish Independent*, 12 Jan. 1952.
[34] Ibid. 17 Dec. 1953.

[35] See Mohohan, *Ireland and Germany*, p. 63.
[36] *Irish Independent*, 30 Jan. 1956.
[37] Ibid.

Rehabilitation and vocational training among the Jewish community in Shanghai during and immediately after the Second World War[1]

Katarzyna Person

This article will examine the extraordinary story of the Jewish community in Shanghai —Jews from Austria, Germany and Poland, who escaping the Holocaust, managed to create a thriving community in the Far East. Through the example of vocational training it will show how with an amazing strength of spirit a group of enthusiasts set up schools which were to provide the Jewish community with a future, at a time when the shape of such a future looked very uncertain.

The International Settlement of Shanghai was set up in 1842, when the port was opened to Western trade, and as a result, France, Portugal, Italy, United States and Great Britain established their exterritorial rights in the city with the formation of the so called foreign concessions. Shanghai of the 1930s was already the financial centre of China, a busy commercial centre and one of the most important ports in the world. It was a city of immigrants, many of them adventurers who came there to make a fortune. As David Kranzler wrote in a study of the city:

At one and the same time, Shanghai's foreign concessions were the centres for Christian missionizing and a 'den of inequity,' with the highest ratio of brothels in the world. It was a place where everything could be and was bought or sold, where fortunes were made quickly and dissipated even faster. [2]

From 1937, part of Shanghai, the Hongkew, was occupied by Japan. The occupation cut short the economic growth of the city. Aside from its four million Chinese inhabitants, Shanghai became a temporary home to 100,000 foreigners, including a large Jewish community.

A small Sephardic Jewish community made of 600-700 mainly Baghdadi Jews, who had existed in Shanghai from the mid-nineteenth century, was in the early twentieth-century joined by Russian Jews who fled the country after the 1917 October Revolution. By the early 1930s these two groups constituted a community of about 6,000. From the mid-1930s, refugees from Central and Eastern Europe started arriving. By the end of 1939, when large-scale immigration was halted, 20,000 refugees fleeing the Holocaust had made it to the International Settlement of Shanghai - the only place in the world that, until August 1939, required no visa and had no immigration quotas. For many the city became the only hope of salvation and a true haven. Describing the immigration in his memoir, one of the former inhabitants of Shanghai wrote:

In 1939... the trickle increased to such a flood that the local Jewish assistance committees were no longer able to cope... The tempo of their arrival increased with every ocean liner arriving into the harbour, with no end in sight. The majority of refugees came by ship; the large Italian liners *Conte Biancamano*, *Conte Verde* and *Conte Rosso* shuttled back and forth between Italy and Shanghai, bringing thousands. Others travelled by train via Poland, the Soviet Union, where they boarded Japanese costal steamers for the three-day voyage to Shanghai.[3]

The 1930s refugees consisted of two main groups. The first to arrive consisted of

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[1] While writing this article I have received great help from the ORT Archive (The acronym ORT has no meaning in English and derives from the nineteenth century Russian society formed for the advancement of the Jewish people), especially the archivist Rachel Bracha. For more on the Jewish community in Shanghai see for example Marcia R. Ristaino, *Port of last resort: the diaspora communities of Shanghai* (Stanford, 2001); Hillel Levine, *In search of Sugihara: the elusive Japanese diplomat who risked his life to rescue 10,000 Jews from the Holocaust* (New York, 1996); James R. Ross, *Escape to Shanghai: a Jewish community in China* (New York, 1994); Marvin Tokayer and Mary Swartz, *The Fuga plan: the untold story of the Japanese and the Jews during World War II* (New York, 1996) and other books which are quoted in this article. For more on ORT during and immediately after the Second World War see Sarah Kavanaugh, *ORT. The Second World War and the rehabilitation of Holocaust survivors*, (London, 2008).

[2] David Kranzler, *Japanese, Nazis and Jew: The Jewish Refugee community of Shanghai 1938-1945* (Hoboken NJ, 1988).

Central European Jews, mainly from Austria and Germany, fleeing their home countries in the wake of the first anti-Semitic legislations. Among those refugees were many assimilated and sometimes converted Jews, including a large proportion of professionals. The second group, originating in Eastern Europe, started arriving in Shanghai in 1939, after Hitler's invasion of Poland and his advance into the East. This group was much more differentiated. It was composed of a number of traditional Jews, including rabbis and yeshiva students as well as Zionists and secular intellectuals and artists. A large part of this group, around 1,000 people, who reached Asia via Siberia, arrived in Shanghai in mid-1941 after first staying in Kobe in Japan.

At its peak the Jewish Community of Shanghai numbered 30,000 people. They settled in three sections of the city - the residential and fairly comfortable French Concession (or Frenchtown), the buzzing commercial International Settlement and finally, the poorest, Japanese's controlled sector of Hongkew, inhabited mainly by the poorest strata of working-class Chinese. The divisions reflected the varied economic status of the refugees. One of the refugees wrote:

> Whoever earns well can in fact forget that this is Asia and can live in European style. The most beautiful flats are available in Shanghai: villas, parks, theatres, movie houses, concerts, artists, American-style department stores with roof gardens.[4]

Yet with rents as much as seventy-five percent lower than in the rest of the city, it was Hongkew that became the new home of the vast majority of Jewish refugees. With the support of the existing community and international organisations, the refugees were able to find homes and establish thriving businesses. They also successfully implemented their communal institutions. The social and religious matters of the community were administered by a collective body of the Jewish Council of Eastern European Jews, known as the *Judische Gemeinde* - similar to those existing in Jewish communities in Europe.

The 'Shanghai Jews' established their own schools, newspapers, hospitals and a total of seven synagogues. There was a vibrant cultural life with a Yiddish Theatre, which despite complete lack of funds and rehearsal time put on performances of the greatest Yiddish classics including *Der Dibbuk* and *Mirele Efros*.[5] There were a number of lending libraries. Political and communal organizations were set up, the oldest dating to the arrival of first Jewish refugees from Russia in 1917, including the branches of all the major Jewish youth movements. One of the relatively well off Shanghai Jews remembered:

> Against all odds, in the face of insurmountable obstacles and the never ending struggle for a meal, the demand for cultural activities was constant. Several dozen periodicals were published by enterprising refugees. There were literary gazettes, two monthly medical newsletters for physicians (in German, English, and Chinese), numerous Yiddish publications, and three daily newspapers. Those of us who were lucky enough to work and earn enough money not to have to live in one of the camps had opportunities for various diversions. We attended countless lectures, literary and musical recitals, and chamber concerts, and could listen to German-language radio programs. Over the years we had our choice from among the more than sixty plays produced. We especially enjoyed the operettas that were performed by actors who once had been well known on the stages of Vienna and Berlin.[6]

Even though the vast majority of Shanghai Jews managed to maintain a minimum standard of living, or perhaps live out of selling their possessions and help from relatives abroad, those of the community who could not achieve some degree of economic self-sufficiency were offered support from numerous charity organizations

[3] Ernest G Heppner, *Shanghai refuge: a memoir of the World War II Jewish ghetto*, (Lincoln, 1993), p. 42.
[4] Annie F. Witting 'Letter' (1940) in Irene Eber (ed.), *Voices from Shanghai: Jewish exiles in wartime China* (Chicago, 2008) p. 52.

[5] On Yiddish language theatre in Shanghai, see Shoshana Kahan, *In fayer un flamen: togbukh fun a yiddisher shoyshpilerin* (Buenos Aires, 1949). Excerpts in English translation are published in *Voices from Shanghai* pp.107-118.
[6] Heppner, *Shanghai refuge* p.86

functioning in the city. The most important local ones were the Committee for the Assistance to European Jewish Refugees in Shanghai (CFA), organized in 1938 by prominent Shanghai inhabitants already established in the city to help newly arrived refugees. There was also HICEM - the oldest Jewish immigrant aid organization - a combination of HIAS (Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society) and JCA (Jewish Colonization Association). Of all the foreign organizations, the most important part was played by the largest international aid organization - the American Joint Distribution Committee (the Joint). Those of the refugees who could not afford private rooms, were living in one of five permanent refugee camps, euphemistically referred to as *Heime* (Home). Aside from housing 300 to 600 refugees each[7], *Heime* operated public kitchens which provided them with three free meals a day. The *Heime* were permanently overcrowded, depressing places, unable to offer refugees any sense of privacy while also being devoid of any acceptable sanitary conditions.

The focus of the Jewish community in Shanghai was placed on the education of the youth. There was a large, secular English-language free school run by the Shanghai Jewish Youth Association in the Kinchow Road Heim, which consisted of two kindergartens and nine grades.[8] Additionally, there was the smaller fee-paying and more Jewish-oriented Freysinger School. Additional recreation was provided by sports and activities clubs. Both schools as well as the majority of activities were financed by the Joint. There was also a range of courses for adults, focusing especially on teaching them English, which would prove necessary both for earning a living in Shanghai and in emigration. There was also a quasi-university, the so-called Asia Seminar, where a faculty consisted of intellectuals who taught high-level classes in

subjects such a Sanskrit and Urdu. Additional classes for adults were also provided in Jewish culture, languages and history. The Orthodox community of Shanghai maintained a *Talmud Torah*, which by 1944 had an enrolment of 300 students,[9] and later a *Yeshiva*, known as the Far East Rabbinical College. The students of the already mentioned *Mirr Yeshiva* also continued their studies. There were also two branches of Beth Jacob School established to provide education for Orthodox girls.

A clear void in the educational landscape was the lack of education for youth who no longer qualified for free primary-level education provided by the Jewish Community in Shanghai. These young people, who were referred to by members of the members of the community as the 'lost' generation, spent their days roaming the streets and picking up random jobs. These young people had to be provided with skills which would enable them to make a living both in Shanghai and in whichever places they ended up in the future.

This task was taken over by ORT (The Society for the Promotion of Trades and Agriculture in Russia). ORT was established in Russia in 1880. By the mid-1930s, despite growing anti-Jewish legislations and mounting anti-Semitism, the organisation expanded into a well-functioning network of Jewish trade schools providing physical and psychological relief for the unemployed in Eastern and Central Europe. The work continued after the outbreak of the Second World War in September 1939. From the beginning of the war the help provided by the organization was two-fold. ORT concerned itself firstly with Jewish refugees, who sought asylum in countries not yet taken over by the war. Secondly, it worked in the ghettos of Eastern Europe.

[7] Kranzler, *Japanese, Nazis and Jews*, p.132.

[8] Ibid., pp 389-92.

ORT's work in Shanghai began in early 1941. It was first started by Charles Rosenbes, a refugee from Poland and a member of the central board of ORT. In setting up its schools in Shanghai ORT cooperated with the successful Guild of Craftsmen, which was set up to secure jobs for skilled Jewish craftsmen and to promote their work in Shanghai.

The funding of the schools met with two primary obstacles. The first was that in order to function properly, the schools needed the support of the whole community. The relations within the Jewish community of Shanghai were extremely fragile, and by the summer of 1941, had, as Irene Eber writes, reached unbearable proportions.[10] The old established communities generally rejected the newly arrived refugees, seeing them as economic competition and a burden on social help. The second was the extremely unfavourable attitude of the Chinese community. By training skilled Jewish workers ORT was only contributing to the already existing severe economic competition between the Jewish refugees and the local population.

Not less importantly, the organization had to undertake serious organizational challenges. Space for classes, often requiring specialist workshops, had to be found in the alien and new environment of Shanghai. Specialist teachers had to be recruited from among the refugee community. The school had to cater for a variety of skills and backgrounds. Among the Austrian and German refugees was an especially high percentage of members of the intelligentsia and professionals, including many medical doctors. According to an AJDC report quoted by David Krazler, more than fifty-five percent of refugees from Austria and Germany were

already over forty at the time of their emigration.[11] The group from Poland was younger, and more traditional. Even though it included many secular intellectuals, among Polish refugees was also a large Orthodox group, which included 400 Talmudic students and rabbis - members of the Mirrer Talmudic School *yeshiva*, one of the oldest in Europe. ORT teachers had to be therefore not only skilled tradesmen but also great pedagogues able to deal with a class consisting of such diversity and different linguistic backgrounds. Finally, and maybe most importantly, young people, who up until then were making full use of their freedom in the fascinating, new environment, had to be convinced that vocational training was really worth their while.

Despite the obstacles, the undertaking turned out to be an astonishing success. By the end of the year, Rosenbes had a wide range of educational and training courses running in several locations. Six-month courses offered by ORT included building trades, electricity, locksmiths training and carpentry and later cooking, gardening, bookbinding, gas welding, typewriter repair, millinery, driving, wireless operating and industrial trades. The courses offered where therefore very similar to those offered by ORT at the time to Holocaust refugees in Europe.[12] Altogether 3,500 students, more than fifteen per cent of the refugee population of Shanghai, were trained in relatively good conditions. Many of them started work immediately upon graduation.

The fortunes of the community changed in December 1941 after Japanese forces attacked Pearl Harbour. In February 1943, at the insistence of the Germans, the Japanese authorities restricted its Jewish inhabitants to a ghetto in the Hongkew. A

[9] Ibid., p. 427.
[10] Irene Eber, 'Introduction' in *Voices from Shanghai*, p.17.

[11] Kranzler, *Japanese, Nazis and Jews*, p. 284.

Polish-Jewish actress noted:

> What we feared has finally happened. Today the official proclamation appeared that everyone who came after 1937 must move into a special neighbourhood. It is called by the polite [name] 'permitted district' [designated area]; one is ashamed to call it by its real name, 'ghetto.' In truth we will be locked inside a ghetto. And as for this we had to run thousands of miles in order to fall into a ghetto here.[13]

Control over the Jewish community was taken over from the Judische Gemeinde by the Bureau for Stateless Refugees. For over 8,000 refugees the move to Hongkew meant going through the trauma of the loss of housing and livelihood. Within three months they had to abandon businesses in other parts of the city and find new lodgings in the ghetto, which were almost always severely inferior. Unemployment grew, living conditions deteriorated, and very quickly life became much harder. Even though some of the ghetto inhabitants managed to live fairly comfortably out of newly set up businesses or the black market, the living conditions of the majority were deplorable. During the harsh winter of 1943, the lack of coal and food meant that a number of people died in the severely overcrowded Hongkew from disease and malnutrition-related illnesses. The relief organization, cut off from funds from overseas, were gradually running out of money. Despite all these extreme drawbacks, ORT Shanghai continued to run its training courses, providing students not only with practical skills but, just as importantly, with moral encouragement. The schools became true asylums were young people could escape from the harsh reality of the 'permitted district' and which made them believe that there was to be a future in which they could utilise their skills. Astonishingly, the schools not only continued functioning but also developed. In 1943 ORT started operating a Complementary

School for Apprentices, in which young people training with the Guild of Craftsmen Masters were provided with theoretical knowledge.

At the same time however, the situation of the organization itself was becoming catastrophic. The outbreak of the war in the Pacific severed the Shanghai community's contact with outside agencies, including financing from the headquarters. ORT Shanghai was left to its own devices and had to rely on its own resources. Moreover, ORT in Shanghai suffered from problems similar to those encountered in the ghettos in Eastern Europe. A major problem in the overcrowded Hongkew was an extreme lack of appropriate housing to build workshops and conduct classes. This issue became especially acute as in July 1945 ORT was forced to relocate to a metalwork factory when its building collapsed during an air raid of Okinawa-based American Bombers on the Japanese radio station located in Hongkew - an attack which left over thirty Jewish refugees dead. No less crucial were the emotional problems of the students. With the passing of time, those in the ghetto were growing disillusioned, apathetic and were losing hope that the war was to end anytime in the near future. For the Shanghai refugees, cut off from any news from home, this feeling of hopelessness was compounded as they could only wonder about the fate of their families and friends left behind in Europe.

The American troops entered Shanghai in August 1945. The Japanese were surrounded and on 3 September 1945 the ghetto officially stopped existing. Yet for basically all the Shanghai Jews the joy of liberation ended almost immediately as the Allied troops started discovering death camps and news of the Nazi atrocities started spreading around the world. In a moving passage of her diary Shoshana Kahan wrote:

> The Mir Yeshiva has posted a list of Jews who were saved in Warsaw. We all besieged the house of

[12] See Kavanaugh, *ORT, The Second World War and the rehabilitation of Holocaust survivors*, pp 86-114.
[13] Shoshana Kahan, 'In fire and flames' diary of Jewish actress' in Irene Eber (ed.), *Voices from Shanghai*, p. 110.

the yeshiva. Everybody pushed to take a look, perhaps he will [find] one of his near ones. Many refugees didn't want to go close to the list, they don't want to know the truth that they don't have anyone anymore.[14]

At that point the Shanghai Jewish community realised that there was no going back to their former homelands. The only answer was emigration. While for the time being many ORT graduates, especially students of a course in 'driving motor vehicles', found employment with the US Forces,[15] the focus of the whole community was on leaving Shanghai as quickly as possible. Contrary to their hopes, obtaining visas turned out to be an arduous, and in the first post-war year, seemingly hopeless, process. The majority of countries where the immigrants wanted to go to, mainly America, Australia and Canada, introduced a strict immigrant quota. Israel, at that point under British rule, seemed completely out of reach. While Shanghai Jews were waiting to emigrate, vocational schools started again playing an important part in the life of the community. World ORT re-established contact with ORT Shanghai, and at the same time additional funds became available from AJDC. Money was sent through in 1946, enabling the organization to move into a more suitable building in Dalny Road and significantly widen the number of courses on offer and increase the places available. ORT's programmes were centralised there and its many courses included building, gardening, fashion-design, book-keeping, hairdressing, driving, spray-painting and the manufacture of neckties. A visitor to the school described a carpentry class 'where they are building doors and windows as well as other construction projects.' The students, she said, built furniture in one class while an industrial art class supplied 'lovely decorative designs for the nursery school.' She

explained:

> The children in this nursery, which is maintained by the AJDC, receive a hot meal a day cooked by the girls in the ORT cooking course. In the bookbinding course former lawyers, businessmen and even a philosopher are successfully studying to acquire manual skills and produce beautiful pieces of excellent craftsmanship.[16]

Yet the focus of ORT's attention at the time was turned to the needs of those seeking to emigrate. In mid 1947 the organization reported:

> ORT had to adapt the schedule and general curriculum to the special demands connected with the migration as follows: 1. One had to consider what were the best trades to teach prospective migrants. 2. One had to shorten the training time of the courses due to the fact that many of our pupils were leaving. 3. One had to give assistance in migration problems whenever possible.[17]

The gradual lessening of immigration restrictions in the West led to a growing migration from Shanghai, with most leaving for Israel, North America or Australasia – including Charles Rosenbes, who moved to Australia in June 1947. By 1948 the Jewish population had shrunk from 30,000 to 10,000 and the remainder was to be forced to leave after the Chinese Revolution of 1949. With Rosenbes' departure, M. Rechenberg took over as director and ORT began to offer vocational courses at the Shanghai Jewish School (SJS) and the Shanghai Jewish Youth Association School, where they were incorporated into the regular school curriculum of the SJS for their senior pupils. ORT vocational training at the SJS commenced on 8 September 1947, with dressmaking classes, followed by carpentry classes on 8 October 1947. Gardening classes were opened on 26 January 1948, with a tree-planting ceremony attended by all schoolchildren, on which occasion explanations were given them regarding the aims and objects of ORT.

In March 1948, ORT Shanghai relocated from Dalny Road into a hut

[14] Kahan, *In fire and flames*, p. 116.
[15] World ORT Archive [WOA] d05a014, *report on the ORT Activities August 1946-July 1947*, Submitted to the meeting of the Central Board of the World ORT Union (6-7 July 1947), p.120.

[16] WOA: *American ORT Federation Bulletin* (January 1949), p. 4.

provided by the JDC and erected in the grounds of the SJS School in Seymour Road. To mark the move, the organization set up an exhibition of students' work, the opening of which became an important communal event. The newspaper published by the SJS informed:

> The visitors who had turned up in force, were impressed by the spick and span interior of the hut, with its coat of white oil-paint and fluorescent lighting...The exhibition was a real treat. Objects on display included wooden boxes, ladders, exquisitely painted handkerchiefs, leather brooches, painted glass bottles, book covers, blouses, dresses and fashion drawings by ORT pupils, mainly SJS boys and girls...Special credit should be given to the gardening class for the attractive flower bed surrounding the hut.[18]

In addition to its school courses, ORT continued to work with adults. In late 1948 it offered special courses for the elderly - lessons in bookbinding and the making of neckties were organised for the elderly inmates of the Joint-House. Another bookbinding course was organised for T. B. patients undergoing treatment at the Refugees' Hospital. This course lasted from 19 January 1948, until 15 April 1948. ORT's work with Holocaust survivors in Shanghai terminated in early 1949.

The vast majority of those who underwent the training found their new home in Israel. For many of them their training in Shanghai remained just an episode; others stayed with their trade for the rest of their lives. What was more important however, was the extraordinary communal spirit to which the schools testified. M. Rechenberg, the director of ORT school in Shanghai, explained that the school provided much more than just vocational training:

> Our training...was more than a mere teaching of a trade. Many of our pupils had suffered and undergone great hardships, and often have broken down under this strain. We tried to assist them

morally, we tried to give them a new outlook and a new way of thinking, and thus to build up their character and personality.[19]

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
[17]WOA d05a014: *Report on the ORT Activities August 1946-July 1947.* Submitted to the meeting of the Central Board of the World ORT Union (6 -7 July1947), p. 120.
[18] WOA f326036- *The Weekly Summary. World ORT Union Financial and Accounting Office* (Week ending 7 May, 1948), p. 6.

[19] WOA d02a001b: M.Rechenberg, *ORT Shanghai: society for promotion of handicrafts and agriculture for Jews in East Asia. Activities for the Years 1947-1948* (Shanghai, 1949) p. 26.

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