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Article 1

“It is a Female Marriage!”: Lesbian Relationships in Victorian England

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**“IT IS A FEMALE MARRIAGE!”
LESBIAN RELATIONSHIPS IN VICTORIAN ENGLAND**

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Abstract: Marriage in Victorian Era England was already a strict social expectation, and this paper explores the added complexity that came with queer identity for women during this time. Through a case study of Irish writer and philosopher Frances Power Cobbe and her wife, Mary Lloyd, lesbian relationships are compared and contrasted with heterosexual marriage. Additionally, exploration of the beginnings of the field of sexology helps to illustrate the complex relationship between sexuality and gender within the context of Victorian society. Using primary texts in the genre of "lifewriting," this paper attempts to illustrate the realities of same-sex intimacy, the cult of domesticity, and the social requirement of marriage within the Victorian world.

Illustrating the Victorian World: On Marriage and Motherhood

In the Victorian world, marriage was considered absolutely necessary for women. Unmarried women were viewed as odd and unconventional; a husband was believed to be crucial for a woman's livelihood. Marriage was regarded as a duty, yet "the young, of both sexes, should be taught to look forward to it, not as a mere plaything, but as one of life's responsibilities."² Marriage between a man and a woman was the "natural" state of affairs. From arranged and strategic marriages to the careful monitoring of private diaries, women in the nineteenth century were under immense pressure to find a suitable man to marry.

This paper will center on how lesbian women fit into a period that was completely obsessed with marriage, how they conformed to societal expectations, and how early sexologists

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² William Andrus Alcott, *The Physiology of Marriage* (John P. Jewett & Company, 1856), 14.

tried to define them in late Victorian society. First, I will use an actual lesbian relationship from this era as a case study to display the reality of non-conformity. Second, I will examine how both fiction and biographical literature responded to these non-normative relationships. Finally, I will examine the field of sexology which began to pathologize the spectrum of sexuality. Using both primary sources from this period in England and modern secondary sources, an effective comparison between heterosexual and homosexual marriage among Victorians can be made. Despite differences perceived by society, when examined in hindsight, it is clear that these two partnerships were strikingly similar in function and practice.

There were immense pressures involved in the lives of women in Victorian society and conventional marriage was thought to serve an enormous cultural purpose. The relative impossibility of women being able to remain unmarried meant that the expectation of marriage was even more stressful for queer women at the time. Those who did not have a professional career such as writer, journalist, actress, or craftsperson, would have struggled to find income, and it was a privilege that some women could afford to stay unmarried. Additionally, the Victorian Era introduced the “redundant women problem” which proved cause for alarm. This rhetoric is best demonstrated by essayist William Rathbone Greg, who explicitly states how shockingly far he would go to solve the “redundant women problem.”

In the analysis of queer history from this era, there is a lack of research on the relations of lesbians in particular. The word *queer*, indeed, does include women but does not attend to the necessary specificity of women and their relations with one another.³ The concept of same-sex desire is not a blanket statement; the societal implications of a public queer relationship differ

³ Valerie Traub, “The Sign of the Lesbian,” in *Thinking Sex with the Early Moderns* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016), 288–89.

between genders. Modern historians recognize changes in queer histories in different places and periods. However, one thing remains unchanging in the realm of LGBTQ+ studies: “the category of normal is always defined in opposition to ‘queers.’”⁴ Many queer women were married to men and unable to pursue their true romantic feelings. Solace was sought in female friendships, but not all were lucky enough to make those connections. Danger lay within the discussion of any activities that were not heteronormative; lesbianism, in theory or practice, was taboo.

A large responsibility of women in Victorian England was the moralization of their husbands and the maintenance of their houses. The role of the wife was primarily concerned with cooking, housekeeping, and tending to children. The duties of a wife and mother as a moralizing force filled volumes of books, pamphlets, and religious sermons. Referred to as “the angel in the house,” it was expected of a woman to place the happiness of her husband and children before her own.⁵ Perfecting the role of the housewife was critical; the angel of the house desired to avert her husband’s eyes from the temptations of the market.

Amid their wifely obligations, many queer women sought female friendships, fostering a camaraderie that fueled opposition to marriage. The “cult of domesticity,” or “true womanhood,” was an idealized set of societal standards placed on women. Piety, purity, submissiveness, and domesticity were the mark of femininity during this period, as prescribed by American child-rearing manuals that were ever-present in the nineteenth century.⁶ The cult of domesticity stamped out all creative, social, and professional whims of Victorian women, and men with

⁴ Rebecca Jennings, *A Lesbian History of Britain: Love and Sex Between Women Since 1500* (Oxford, England ; Greenwood World Pub., 2007), xvi.

⁵ Jennings, *A Lesbian History of Britain: Love and Sex Between Women Since 1500*, 59.

⁶ Maxine L. Margolis, *Mothers and Such: Views of American Women and Why They Changed* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), 12.

working wives were often stigmatized. Female friendships (also referred to as *romantic friendships*), therefore, proved a vital social function and were widely accepted and even encouraged to maintain wives' spirits.⁷ Opposition to marriage, on the other hand, was not hard to find (though the social expectation was unwavering in severity). From quite a negative perspective, Author Sarah Grand remarked that marriage consisted solely of "crocheting, child-rearing, and husband attending."⁸ Thus, unmarried women were dubbed "redundant" because they did not fit into the traditional "wife" or "mother" roles.

Narratives of Sapphism: Works of Fiction and Frances Power Cobbe

Contemporary literature of the era (circa 1900) grappled with the concept of women's autonomy and sexuality. *The Awakening*, written in 1899 by American author Kate Chopin, "deals with women struggling with their desires to define and control their lives, especially sexually."⁹ According to Chopin, there should be no such choice between a woman's autonomy and intimacy.¹⁰ Despite the seemingly unstoppable rise of the family unit in ideological significance, marriage had taken on a new form in the nineteenth-century world: it became less a social alliance and more so a union based on love.¹¹ While this may seem rather obvious to the twenty-first-century reader, marriage arrangements were more often than not predetermined

⁷ Jennings, *A Lesbian History of Britain*, 40.

⁸ Iveta Jusová, *The New Woman and the Empire* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2005), 17.

⁹ Susan Koppelman and Cairns Collection of American Women Writers., *Two Friends and Other Nineteenth-Century Lesbian Stories by American Women Writers* (New York: Meridian, 1994), 175.

¹⁰ Koppelman and Cairns Collection of American Women Writers., 177.

¹¹ Jennings, *A Lesbian History of Britain*, 59.

since the eighteenth century, all in the name of financial and societal status. However, the incorporation of *feelings* into the selection of a partner certainly altered the marriage narrative.

In what is now regarded as classic literature, the discussion of marriage for love versus strategy began to influence actual marriage conventions. A tradition of middle-class domestic fiction of the Victorian Era was to use marriage between characters as a vehicle with which to subdue characters' desires to transgress social roles.¹² Author Elizabeth Robins used marriage as a commentary on the compatibility between people of the same class, which further cemented the idea of a static social hierarchy. Robins' literature uses marriage as a plot to solve "private dilemmas" and reconcile socioeconomic problems.¹³ Such a phenomenon is not independent of literature; arranged marriage was commonplace in reality. The marriage plot acted as a vehicle by which heteronormative marriage became the foundation of British society. It was only at the end of the nineteenth century that "new woman" literature began to provide a space for women to explore their identities and be honest with how miserable marriage has the potential to be.

This was not just a discussion in circles of literature, though. Frances Power Cobbe was an Irish writer and philosopher known for her feminist ideals. In the late 1850s, Cobbe had traveled to Italy to visit a friend and was introduced to Mary Lloyd, an acquaintance of her host. The friendship between the two quickly grew, and they had moved in together by the mid-1860s. The couple settled in London and bought a house together in South Kensington and at last, the "lonely wanderings" of Cobbe were over.¹⁴ The two women had both pursued careers and thus

¹² Jusová, *The New Woman and the Empire*, 24.

¹³ Jusová, 102.

¹⁴ Frances Power Cobbe, *Life of Frances Power Cobbe, as Told by Herself*, 1894, 396.

were able to afford to remain unmarried: Cobbe a writer and philosopher, and Lloyd an accomplished sculptor.

In the wake of her partner's death in 1896, Cobbe insisted that she be buried next to Lloyd, a request that was granted eight years later upon her death in 1904.¹⁵ According to a long-time friend of Cobbe, Blanche Atkinson, Cobbe struggled deeply with Lloyd's death.

The sorrow of Miss Lloyd's death changed the whole aspect of existence for Miss Cobbe. The joy of life had gone. It had been such a friendship as is rarely seen—perfect in love, sympathy, and mutual understanding. No other friend—though Miss Cobbe was rich in friends—could fill the vacant place, and henceforward her loneliness was great even when surrounded by those she loved and valued.¹⁶

To many, it seems that Cobbe regarded Lloyd as a spouse as much as other women considered their husbands. The companionship of the two never faltered and neither ever married; Cobbe says in her autobiography that no other person in her life understood her as Lloyd did.¹⁷ Though never said explicitly by either woman in their letters or writings, the relationship between the two rings distinctly queer.

The “friends” Victorian women mentioned in letters and diaries often held a more significant role in the writers' lives than was let on. As literary scholar Sharon Marcus shows, referring to someone as a “very special friend” was code for an intimate relationship; many women wrote publicly about their cohabitation and sharing of assets with such a “friend.”¹⁸ In a contemporary work, English physician and teacher Sophia Jex-Blake was public in 1858 with her supposed inability to “love men as other women did” which sounds remarkably similar to the

¹⁵ Sharon Marcus, *Between Women: Friendship, Desire, and Marriage in Victorian England* (Princeton University Press, 2007), 53.

¹⁶ Blanche Atkinson, “Life of Frances Power Cobbe, as Told by Herself,” in *Introduction*, 1894, vi.

¹⁷ Cobbe, *Life of Frances Power Cobbe, as Told by Herself*, 710.

¹⁸ Marcus, *Between Women: Friendship, Desire, and Marriage in Victorian England*, 50.

modern definition of lesbianism.¹⁹ Though Cobbe repeatedly referred to Lloyd as a “perfect friend” it is clear that her affection runs deeper than that. In 1873, Cobbe wrote a poem dedicated to Lloyd, with stanzas full of compliments and professions of admiration and a refrain that reads “I want you – Mary.”²⁰ However, Cobbe and Lloyd’s ability to remain unmarried was a relatively rare opportunity.

Often, when one thinks about lesbian relationships before the twentieth century, it is assumed to have been secretive and scandalous, which was not always the reality. In most cases, women conducted affairs extramaritally, in what scholars call *romantic friendships*. Women who attempted to engage in these extramarital relationships not only risked their marriage, family, and financial stability but also their social status and that of the women they became intimate with. For many, the risks outweighed the rewards. A now-infamous record of this scenario is that of Virginia Woolf and Vita Sackville-West. Both prominent English authors, the women’s personal lives were far from private. Their relationship was rather public as well, and they openly described their desire for one another in letters. Several decades following Cobbe and Lloyd, their explicit mention of their passion for one another revealed a change in public opinion concerning the stigmatization of queer women. Woolf and Sackville-West were quite outspoken in their letters. Scholar and author Karyn Z. Sproles notes in her analysis of the letters that the women frequently “revisit[ed] Freud’s consistently misunderstood notion of the castration complex or penis envy.”²¹ Of course, since Woolf and Sackville-West were married to men and

¹⁹ Marcus, 46.

²⁰ Marcus, 50.

²¹ Karyn Z. Sproles, “Love Letters and Feminine Sexuality,” in *Desiring Women*, The Partnership of Virginia Woolf and Vita Sackville-West (University of Toronto Press, 2006), 133–34.

conducted this short-term affair extramaritally, they likely incurred less scrutiny than women who pursued a lesbian relationship more analogous to marriage.

Journaling and lifewriting, on top of letter correspondence, were routine practices for most people in the Victorian Era. These records now provide crucial insights for modern historians. It was common for women's journals to be published in the genre of "lifewriting."²² While letters reveal interpersonal dialogue, journal writing included private thoughts and speculations. The term "lesbian" was never used in diary entries regarding a potential partner. It seems that women during this period looked "toward a new definition of women who loved women as members of a third sex."²³ "Sapphist" was a more common term of the era, but the phenomenon mostly remained nameless until well into the twentieth century.

Femininity and Gender: An Ongoing Argument

Exploration of sexuality and gender identity is far from a modern phenomenon; queer women in the nineteenth century expressed these feelings in countless letters and diary entries, now immortalized in their lifewriting. Elaborate play with pronouns was also common and many women referred to their partner with masculine terms and men's nicknames.²⁴ Such manipulation of gender roles and identities is interpreted in several ways by modern historians, from a political statement to a case of gender dysphoria. The ease with which Victorian women adopted masculine personas is indicative of a much more forgiving society than the conventional narrative of the Victorian period suggests.

²² Marcus, *Between Women: Friendship, Desire, and Marriage in Victorian England*, 27, 33, 41.

²³ Martha Vicinus, *Intimate Friends: Women Who Loved Women, 1778-1928* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), 112.

²⁴ Vicinus, *Intimate Friends: Women Who Loved Women, 1778-1928*, 9.

There is a significant exploration of the gender binary and its fluidity in Victorian literature which introduced more liberalized definitions of womanhood and femininity. Francis Power Cobbe theorized about the social success that would accompany modernized gender roles. In her piece, *What Shall We Do With Our Old Maids?* she identifies a distinction between the genders but does not discount women's abilities on this basis. Instead, she points out women's unique faculties and suggests that "the more each of them can be drawn out, trained, and perfected, the more *womanly* she will become."²⁵ This dynamic mentality—both within literature and in greater society—gained popularity but nonetheless remained an aspect of nineteenth-century subculture. Cobbe, who famously remained unmarried and pursued a career remarked, "The woman who means to pursue aright either literature or science, will consider it her business to prepare herself for so doing, *at least* as much as if she proposed to dance on the stage or make bonnets in a milliner's shop."²⁶

William Rathbone Greg takes an opposite view to Cobbe. He lamented that young girls who were working to earn wages should instead be preparing for the labors of domestic life.²⁷ Both Cobbe and Greg's essays are a product of the 1860s, evidencing the distinct polarization of this argument. In another essay by Cobbe, entitled *Celibacy v. Marriage*, it is argued that the interests of women are unduly sacrificed to fulfill their husbands' destinies.²⁸

Visibility for queer women was undoubtedly hard to come by in this period, but literature provided a rare avenue by which courageous authors could challenge the status quo. Discussion

²⁵ Frances Power Cobbe, "What Shall We Do with Our Old Maids?," *Fraser's Magazine for Town and Country, 1830-1869* 66, no. 395 (November 1862): 605.

²⁶ Cobbe, 609.

²⁷ William Rathbone Greg, *Why Are Women Redundant?* (Trübner, 1869), 5.

²⁸ Frances Power Cobbe, "Celibacy v. Marriage," *Fraser's Magazine for Town and Country, 1830-1869*, 1862, 42.

of femininity and gender identity are often brushed over in contemporary literary criticism, but it was perhaps impossible to explain this instance in Sarah Grand's novel, *The Heavenly Twins*.

Grand described her character Angelica as feeling more comfortable when in menswear than the dresses she was forced to wear on account of her sex.²⁹ Though this event occurred in literature, it is reflective of reality in many ways. Literature was a way for people to push boundaries that were difficult to push in real life and provided visibility to queer women at the time who lacked the freedom to speak about it.

The "old maid" dilemma was a persistent and nagging issue in the minds of conservative Victorian men. In 1869, Greg noted in his discussion of unmarried women that the excess of single women in England was unacceptable and suggested that these maidens could simply be shipped away to a country with more bachelors.³⁰ Greg's rhetoric is not unlike his contemporaries. The discussion of women's marital status seemed to be a prevalent problem in men's lives, assuming that there was some fault within women who chose to remain unmarried, pursue careers, or not have children.

A woman in the Victorian Period was faced with an impossible decision: pursue a career (and forfeit a family) or have a family (and abandon professional ambitions). For nineteenth-century actress and playwright Elizabeth Robins, "a professional career and a childless life appeared the most prudent option" for success in her circumstances.³¹ Oftentimes, biblical passages were invoked to promote the idea that a heterosexual relationship is the only natural state of being. In this sense, the man is expected to conduct his marriage just as Adam ruled over

²⁹ Jusová, *The New Woman and the Empire*, 33.

³⁰ Greg, *Why Are Women Redundant?*, 13.

³¹ Jusová, *The New Woman and the Empire*, 98.

Eve.³² In a lesbian marriage, however, there is no man to take the role of Adam and many failed to understand how a marriage could function without the guiding hand of a man. Nonetheless, Christian rhetoric was most often employed to emphasize the true reason for marriage: children.

Marriage, The “Social Requirement”

The luxury of deciding between marriage and professional life cannot be understated. Many women, especially those in lower social classes, had no choice but to enter domestic life, and thus unmarried women or couples who elected not to have children were a minority in the nineteenth century. To some, it was extremely cut-and-dry: women who could not “attract a virile man and procreate” were unnatural and useless.³³ This rhetoric was extremely isolating for many queer women. Citation of the divine command “increase and multiply and replenish the Earth” was common among both women and men to promote what was considered success in marriage.³⁴ Women who were *unable* to have children were considered poor spouses, almost regarded as worse than women who had no *desire* to have children. Mona Caird, author of an 1897 novel, *The Morality of Marriage: And Other Essays on the Status and Destiny of Woman*, discussed the compulsion to have children, inquiring what proportion of mothers actually wanted to have children.³⁵ Regardless of the exact proportion, it is undeniable that women who acted on desires to remain single or childless were ostracized and ogled at in society, earning themselves the now-cliché title of “old maid.”

³² Alcott, *The Physiology of Marriage*, 10.

³³ Martha Vicinus, *Intimate Friends: Women Who Loved Women, 1778-1928* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), 149.

³⁴ Alcott, *The Physiology of Marriage*, 181.

³⁵ Mona Caird, *The Morality of Marriage: And Other Essays on the Status and Destiny of Woman* (G. Redway, 1897), 134.

As the beginnings of the feminist movement gained momentum, education and employment became more readily available for middle-class women. The Industrial Revolution additionally facilitated the rise of the middle class.³⁶ Despite this social change, gender roles persisted. Work, politics, and war were designated for men and family and the home for women.³⁷ Established career women such as Cobbe were not oblivious to marriage's crucial societal function, but a marriage and a career were simply incompatible, which forced women to choose one or the other.

While Victorian women saw education as an opportunity to escape the cult of domesticity, men recognized it as a threat to marriage. The emergence of homosocial structures in middle- and upper-class society (in the form of flourishing female friendship) was part of the virtuous conduct that marked gentry women as well-bred.³⁸ As women gained more opportunities for education in the late nineteenth century, more women were able to support themselves, maintain careers, and remain unmarried, which indeed threatened the institution of marriage.³⁹ The many women who entered these careers had to grapple with the fact that it would most likely come at the expense of marriage and motherhood. Historians pinpoint the emergence of a "modern" type of Victorian woman: social conflicts, such as changing class structures and power relations, were being expressed in terms of gender and sexuality.⁴⁰ For the majority of women, though, they did not pursue one of these emerging careers as Frances Power Cobbe and Mary Lloyd did. For many, marriage was seen as an inescapable fate, full of

³⁶ Jennings, *A Lesbian History of Britain*, 59.

³⁷ Jennings, 76.

³⁸ Jennings, 47.

³⁹ Jennings, xviii.

⁴⁰ Jennings, 57, 59.

“constraints, unhappiness, and injustice.”⁴¹ In a lesbian marriage, there was no understood partner dynamic. Women in relationships such as these supported themselves with work while maintaining a marriage. In the case of Cobbe and Lloyd, the two appeared at social events as a couple and shared property, assets, and income. The two women were spouses in every sense of the word.

Novelist Mona Caird also remarked that the subjugation of women in heterosexual marriage was an unnatural imbalance. Her discussion of equality in gender roles is surprisingly progressive and her opposition to marriage is a sharp contrast to the writings of conservative men like William Rathbone Greg.⁴² Victorian society was reliant on marriage for structure, describing the institution as “the golden chain that binds society together,” and without it, the world order may as well collapse.⁴³ Queer women like Cobbe and Lloyd who pursued a female marriage and even those who deeply disliked the typical family unit recognized it as “an important source for imagining and constructing same-sex intimacy.”⁴⁴ Scholar of English Literature and Women's Studies, Martha Vicinus, notes that lesbian couples throughout history have imitated the institutions and practices of heterosexual couples. She poses the question: *How can they not, surrounded as they are by powerful normative codes?*⁴⁵ This inquiry is vital to understanding the function of female marriage during this period. Once free from the social expectations of heteronormativity, there is little to change in marriage practices other than the identity of the

⁴¹ Koppelman and Cairns Collection of American Women Writers., *Two Friends and Other Nineteenth-Century Lesbian Stories by American Women Writers*, 45.

⁴² Caird, *The Morality of Marriage*, 6–11.

⁴³ Alcott, *The Physiology of Marriage*, 14.

⁴⁴ Vicinus, *Intimate Friends*, 229.

⁴⁵ Vicinus, 7.

participants. Thus, it is not conformity to a conventional mold but instead the personalization of a tried-and-true form.

Just as the standard husband-wife couple would, romantic friends who fell in love followed the normative patterns for wedding and married life. They went through the motions of courtship before exchanging declarations of marriage as was customary in the Victorian Era.⁴⁶ Cobbe and Lloyd, for example, exchanged countless letters before moving in together, a correspondence that persisted throughout their relationship when Cobbe traveled for work. The two legally were regarded as unmarried, but were nonetheless involved in a long-term committed relationship as were their heterosexual contemporaries. In fact, as noted in Cobbe's *What Shall We Do With Our Old Maids?* the 1851 and 61 censuses revealed that about thirty percent of women remained unmarried.⁴⁷ By the end of the nineteenth century, reports of "numerous unmarried women involved in long-term romantic friendships" were commonplace.⁴⁸ Such is the case of Cobbe and Lloyd. While many men saw this as problematic, early feminists recognized this as the beginning of queer liberation.

Such freedom opened the door for lesbian women to pursue one of the basic tenets of a relationship: cohabitation. In a fashion that reflected husband-wife coupling, Cobbe and Lloyd lived together for over thirty years. Cobbe remarked that the love of Lloyd was as integral to her life as was her mother's affection in her youth.⁴⁹ This analogy was not uncommon for women's relationships with other women. In many cases, these romantic friendships began as a "cross-age

⁴⁶ Vicinus, 7.

⁴⁷ Cobbe, "What Shall We Do with Our Old Maids?," 594.

⁴⁸ Vicinus, *Intimate Friends*, 163.

⁴⁹ Cobbe, *Life of Frances Power Cobbe, as Told by Herself*, 393.

mother-daughter relation before they became a husband-wife marriage.”⁵⁰ Early sexologists, in an attempt to understand homosexual relationships, settled on a natural definition of passion for women as a “refashioning [of] the language of mother-daughter love.”⁵¹ It is crucial to remember that the only example of love between women that was present in the Victorian Era was mother-daughter relationships. Just as queer people mirrored the normative codes of heterosexual couples, women who loved women used what experience they had in order to make sense of their experiences.

Queer, educated, career women who could financially support themselves had the opportunity to pursue a domestic relationship with other women, a privilege Cobbe and Lloyds enjoyed. Cobbe would refer to Lloyd as “my old woman” and “my *wife*.”⁵² According to scholar Sharon Marcus in her study *Between Women: Friendship, Desire, and Marriage in Victorian England*, it is important to remember that language can be difficult, and that romance was not always evident where sexual relations occurred, and the same vice-versa. She states:

Elements of friendship, kinship, marriage, and romance in lifewriting...references to passion, exclusivity, idealization, complicity, private language, and mutual dependence [and] declarations of love are as insufficient to prove a sexual relationship between Victorian women as lack of evidence of sex is to disprove it.⁵³

Cohabitation between women was the closest many could get to formal marriage. Throughout the late nineteenth century, Cobbe and Lloyd sustained an intimate relationship and lived together in what was described as a “dear old house with my beloved friend for companion” in

⁵⁰ Vicinus, *Intimate Friends*, 109.

⁵¹ Vicinus, 113.

⁵² Marcus, *Between Women: Friendship, Desire, and Marriage in Victorian England*, 52.

⁵³ Marcus, 54.

Cobbe's autobiography.⁵⁴ Though gay marriage would not be legalized in England for over a century, the existence of queer couples has been prominent throughout history.

Though considered novel in society, lesbian relationships like that of Cobbe and Lloyd were relatively analogous in retrospect to conventional marriages. The phenomenon of a lesbian couple was something ogled at by many contemporaries; one observer of a queer couple in 1852 remarked, almost incredulously, "they live together, dress alike... It is a female marriage."⁵⁵ In a way, Cobbe and Lloyd were outliers: they were unmarried women in a society in which women were expected to marry. On the other hand, though, the two engage in common domestic activities, modeling their relationship after the heterosexual couple, as if they felt that their love for each other matched that of the love other women felt for their husbands.

The only part of a lesbian marriage that differed greatly from a heterosexual one was the legality of the partnership. Husband-wife marriage was "on the books," so to speak, granting legal and financial advantages once the papers were signed. In a queer marriage, however, it was a struggle to obtain legal priority as the recipient of their spouse's income over blood-kin or the typical partner.⁵⁶ If a lesbian couple dared to establish a home together, as Cobbe and Lloyd did, they inevitably faced countless economic and social difficulties, often incurring public scrutiny.⁵⁷ The Victorians in the late nineteenth century had already undergone immense societal transformation, and further deference from what was known as "normal" was certainly not preferred by most.

⁵⁴ Marcus, 53.

⁵⁵ Vicinus, *Intimate Friends*, 9.

⁵⁶ Vicinus, 28.

⁵⁷ Vicinus, 18.

A Third Gender? Early Sexology

Sexology during the Victorian Era was undoubtedly somewhat of a pseudoscience, attempting to categorize a spectrum of sexuality and gender identity. The condition of *gender inversion*, as it was referred to in this period, referred to effeminacy in men or masculinity in women.⁵⁸ In the case of lesbian relationships, sexologists assumed that one partner must experience gender inversion, thus indicating the cause of same-sex desire. Indeed, it was undeniably easier to explain same-sex desire if one woman was to cast herself as the male partner.⁵⁹ At this time, information on the topic was far from plentiful, and “gender inversion and sexual object choice were still confused, perhaps because it was hoped that the former made visible the latter.”⁶⁰ Of course, this area of study was still in its infancy and took on a different tone at the turn of the century. Throughout the 1900’s, sexologists became increasingly suspicious rather than curious of queer people. Condescending categorization is blatantly visible in this era.

Sexologists’ characterization of the lesbian as a “mannish-woman” or “boy-woman” was vehemently rejected by the women themselves. It is interesting to note, though, that this was not dissimilar to the mid-century theory that lesbians were an entirely separate sex.⁶¹ Many queer women detested this caricature of masculine lesbians, believing that sexologists thought them nothing more than “an imitation of the despised male.”⁶² Due to the extreme categorization of sexologists, the *androgyne* model became more popular among masculine lesbians, who found

⁵⁸ Vicinus, 11.

⁵⁹ Vicinus, 80.

⁶⁰ Vicinus, 205.

⁶¹ Vicinus, 178.

⁶² Vicinus, 191.

personal definitions of femininity in all forms.⁶³ This freed queer women from the constricts of the gender binary by allowing them to adopt traits typically categorized as either feminine or masculine.

Reality was more often than not in direct opposition to the definitions of lesbians by sexologists. They were not psychologically abnormal, did not imitate men, and were not estranged from their bodies sexually.⁶⁴ More accurate markers of lesbian marriage were developed later, including androgynous or masculine nicknames, exchange of terms of endearment between women, and similar or matching dresses.⁶⁵ As the field expanded, there was a greater focus on “psychological and social, rather than physical, attributes in order to identify the sources of lesbian erotic desire.”⁶⁶ Surely to the relief of many, it was also declared that gender inversion was not a disease, but instead an “innate biological and psychological anomaly.”⁶⁷ Though this was not exactly a positively connotated conclusion, it was far less alienating a definition than the ones that preceded it.

As mentioned, an integral facet of societal perception of lesbians is their masculine or feminine presentation. Feminine-presenting lesbians are less likely to incur discrimination and, both today and in the Victorian Era, are less likely to have their sexuality be the focus of speculation. Throughout history, men’s voices on women’s issues have been amplified over women’s first-hand testimony. It is no surprise that Greg, in his “Why Are Women Redundant?” article, makes explicit mention of unmarried women who displayed more masculine traits,

⁶³ Vicinus, 191.

⁶⁴ Vicinus, 178.

⁶⁵ Vicinus, 10.

⁶⁶ Vicinus, 83.

⁶⁷ Vicinus, 203.

deeming them “abnormal.”⁶⁸ Of course, when examining this through a modern lens, it rings more clearly of an instance of queer identity, whether that be gender non-conformity or simply a masculine stylistic preference among lesbians.

Cobbe was one of the few women in this era to adopt this: she had particular interests in the “masculine world of politics, wore her hair short, and adopted streamlined fashions perceived as male.”⁶⁹ Cobbe’s friend, Blanche Atkinson, remarked in the introduction to Cobbe’s autobiography that:

For convenience sake, she had adopted a style of dress for herself to which she kept, letting ‘Fashions’ come and go unheeded, she was not indifferent to dress in other women, and admired colours and materials, or noted eccentricities as quickly as anyone. She once referred laughingly to her own dress as ‘obvious.’⁷⁰

Cobbe and Atkinson’s shared casual discussion of masculinity in women is evidence of the long-standing societal acceptance that “some women were born more masculine in appearance and aptitude.”⁷¹ Cobbe’s unconventional nature does not seem to bother Mary Lloyd or herself.

Within this relationship, the women had created a “self-sufficient world where masculinity could be assumed with the ease of a change in clothing.”⁷² In a lot of ways, queer women who made lives together freed themselves of societal expectations with their inherent unabashed self-sufficiency.

⁶⁸ Greg, *Why Are Women Redundant?*, 10.

⁶⁹ Greg, 10.

⁷⁰ Atkinson, “Life of Frances Power Cobbe, as Told by Herself,” xxiii–xxiv.

⁷¹ Vicinus, *Intimate Friends*, 3.

⁷² Vicinus, 9.

The Legacy of the Lesbian: Final Thoughts

Though Cobbe and Lloyd did not often engage in masculine or androgynous nicknames, countless other couples did, “perhaps as an escape from patriarchal authority and its claim to the naming of women in marriage.”⁷³ Within a lesbian marriage, there was no *Mrs. Husband’s Name*, retaining women’s individuality and independence in a way heterosexual women could not. Contemporary author Alice French adopted the androgynous pen name of Octave Thanet so as to “avoid the bias of anti-feminist magazine editors.”⁷⁴ Thanet’s work became iconic at the turn of the century, as she fearlessly “discounts the notion of male superiority, promotes the value of education for women, and advises *against* marriage.”⁷⁵ Countless other authors and professional women practiced this, heterosexual and homosexual. With each pseudonym, women slowly broke out of the shell cast around them by men in power. Women’s Studies scholar Iveta Jusová, in her analysis of this phenomenon, stated that:

As long as the system of meaning-production is controlled by male authorities, invested in the maintenance of the existing gender relations and status quo, women’s use of ambiguity [came] with a heightened possibility of being misconstrued and trivialized as irrationality or madness.⁷⁶

The beginnings of the feminist movement were perpetually dampened by the resistance of men. Women attempted to circumvent this, but in most cases, the gender bias of society at large was impossible to navigate.

⁷³ Vicinus, 8.

⁷⁴ Koppelman and Cairns Collection of American Women Writers., *Two Friends and Other Nineteenth-Century Lesbian Stories by American Women Writers*, 78.

⁷⁵ Koppelman and Cairns Collection of American Women Writers., 78.

⁷⁶ Jusová, *The New Woman and the Empire*, 109.

Queer women today have the bravery of lesbians like Frances Power Cobbe and Mary Lloyd to thank for the beginnings of the feminism and queer liberation movements. Though the more masculine partner in a female marriage may attract more negative attention, it is also “she who is remembered, rather than her more outwardly conventional and feminine partner” in the sphere of queer legacy.⁷⁷ Unapologetically queer women such as Cobbe dressed and lived as they liked, paving the way for the generations of queer women to follow. Cobbe employed the masculine without embracing the patriarchal. The prescriptive literature of the nineteenth century concerning domesticity became less viable and though the lesbian “might be an unacknowledged minority, to be condemned or ignored, but she could not be eradicated.”⁷⁸ Queer women are inextricably intertwined with the feminist cause, fighting for their rights and using their “deviant female sexuality” to their advantage.

⁷⁷ Vicinus, *Intimate Friends*, 3.

⁷⁸ Vicinus, 172.

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Article 2

Home Rule: The Liberal Party's Quest to Pacify Ireland

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HOME RULE: THE QUEST TO PACIFY IRELAND

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Abstract: This paper examines a period in Irish history when the Liberal Party of the United Kingdom attempted to grant Home Rule to Ireland. From 1801 to 1922, what today is the Republic of Ireland was one of four countries which constituted the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. From the 1860s to the 1910s, Irish nationalists pushed for a policy known as Home Rule in order to devolve lawmaking authority from the British Parliament in London to a new Irish Parliament in Dublin. This dramatic change in the United Kingdom's constitutional structure would have kept Ireland in the UK, but the Irish people would have enjoyed greater control over their country's internal affairs. This paper will explain why Home Rule never came to pass despite the Liberal Party's multiple efforts to make it a reality, resulting in the Irish War of Independence and the Irish Civil War.

To William Ewart Gladstone, Hawarden Castle was not just a home. Situated comfortably in the Welsh countryside, far removed from the bustling metropolitan world of Westminster, Hawarden Castle was a sanctuary where Gladstone found the physical and intellectual strength to serve four terms as Prime Minister of the United Kingdom. A majestic estate surrounded by miles of lush woodlands and rolling green fields, Hawarden Castle was where Gladstone returned time and again to immerse himself in his vast personal library and chop down mighty Welsh oak trees with the energy of a man half his age. Hailed by his supporters as the “Grand Old Man” of British politics, when Gladstone entered his fourth term at the age of eighty-two he was the oldest person ever to serve as Britain's Prime Minister — a record that he continues to hold today.² During the twelve years when he shifted worlds between Number 10 Downing Street and Hawarden Castle, Gladstone implemented landmark social

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² Roy Jenkins, *Gladstone: A Biography* (New York: Random House, 1997), 460.

reforms which changed the face of Britain. Gladstone introduced secret voting, disestablished the Church of Ireland, and recognized the right of trade unions to organize. When he left public life and retired to Hawarden Castle in 1895, Britain was a more free and equal place because of William Ewart Gladstone.

Although Gladstone’s legacy includes these lasting legislative accomplishments, his most ambitious proposal — a plan to introduce Home Rule in Ireland — ended in failure. Upon his appointment as Prime Minister in 1868, Gladstone declared that, “my mission is to pacify Ireland.”³ For eighty-five years, Ireland had been part of the United Kingdom. But it lacked direct authority over its own domestic affairs, which were controlled by the British Parliament in London. In 1886, Gladstone introduced a policy known as Home Rule in order to grant Ireland greater self-governance. Home Rule would have kept Ireland within the United Kingdom, but Ireland would have been given direct authority over its own internal affairs through the creation of a new Irish Parliament in Dublin. In 1886 and 1893, Gladstone attempted to pass Home Rule legislation. After Gladstone’s proposals were defeated in Parliament, his Liberal Party took up the fight for Home Rule again under Prime Minister H.H. Asquith. A Home Rule bill was finally passed in 1914, yet the outbreak of World War I prevented its implementation. The Home Rule movement collapsed in the aftermath of Britain’s unpopular reaction to the 1916 Easter Rising, and it would take a two-year war of independence for Britain to accept the existence of an Irish Parliament. Home Rule was a noble attempt to “pacify Ireland,” but it failed due to opposition from British and Irish unionists, the stubbornness of the House of Lords, and the Easter Rising.⁴

³ Elizabeth Newmarch, “The Irish Answer,” *Gladstone’s Library*, May 1, 2018.

⁴ Newmarch, “The Irish Answer.”

British rule in Ireland began during the reign of King Henry II of England. In 1169, Norman troops invaded Ireland in order to help a deposed Irish king reclaim his throne.⁵ Two years later, King Henry II landed in Ireland with an army of four thousand men to bring the country under his domain instead.⁶ Over the next six centuries England strengthened its control over the Emerald Isle through treaties and wars of counter-rebellion, culminating in the creation of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland in 1801. When it joined the United Kingdom, Ireland was made up of thirty-two counties. Twenty-six counties, mostly in the south and northwest, were majority Catholic while six counties in the northeastern region of Ulster were majority Protestant. Nineteenth-century Ireland suffered from a stratified social structure that was divided as much by religion as it was by wealth. Although Protestants were a minority in Ireland as a whole, they made up the majority of the Irish ruling class and only Protestants could serve in Parliament. Jay P. Dolan explains that by, “the end of the eighteenth century Irish Catholics owned only 5 percent of Ireland’s land,” and this vast disparity in land ownership along religious lines created a wealthy Protestant Ascendancy which dominated Ireland politically and economically at the expense of the country’s impoverished Catholic tenant farmers.⁷ Although Britain allowed Catholics to serve in Parliament in 1829, Parliament continued to pass laws which reinforced Ireland’s social, political, and economic inequities.

The outbreak of the Great Famine in 1845 was a crucial turning point in the relationship between Britain and Ireland. After a blight infected Ireland’s potato crops, Ireland lost one third of its population through death and emigration in a matter of five years.⁸ Ireland actually had a

⁵ Geoffrey Barrow, “Scotland, Wales and Ireland in the Twelfth Century,” *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, ed. David Luscombe and Jonathan Riley-Smith, Vol. 4 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 608.

⁶ Barrow, “Scotland, Wales and Ireland in the Twelfth Century.”

⁷ Jay P. Dolan, *The Irish Americans: A History* (New York: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2010), 6.

⁸ William G. Powderly, “How Infection Shaped History: Lessons From The Irish Famine,” *Transactions of the American Clinical and Climatological Association* 130 (2019): 127-135.

food surplus during the Great Famine, but most of that food was exported to Britain instead of being used to feed the Irish people, and the British government did little to provide relief to a starving population. In the 1860s, with Ireland still reeling from the long-term effects of the Great Famine, Irish nationalists began pushing for a dramatic new change in the United Kingdom's constitutional structure. Although most Irish nationalists wanted to stay in the United Kingdom, they also wanted to shift control of Ireland's domestic affairs from the British Parliament in London to a new Irish Parliament in Dublin. This policy was known as Home Rule. The idea behind Home Rule was simple. Ireland would stay in the United Kingdom and it would continue to send representatives to the British Parliament, but it would also have a local legislature of its own. The British government would still have ultimate authority over Ireland, but the Irish Parliament would have the power to write and enforce Ireland's domestic legislation. This would have been similar to the relationship between the United States' federal government and its individual state governments, which can pass their own internal laws despite the fact that America's national government in Washington, DC is supreme over the states.

Although Gladstone would eventually become Britain's leading champion of Home Rule, he did not support the measure until he was forced to do so by political circumstances. In the lead-up to the 1885 British general election, when Gladstone was seeking a third term as Prime Minister, Home Rule was adamantly advocated by an Anglo-Irish Protestant from Cork named Charles Stewart Parnell. An eloquent aristocrat with a large bushy beard whose boundless charisma made him a favorite of Irish nationalists, Parnell founded the Irish Parliamentary Party in 1882 in order to transform the growing Home Rule movement into an organized political force. Under Parnell's leadership, the IPP quickly became the most popular political party in Ireland, yet without a majority in the British Parliament Parnell had no hope of passing a Home Rule bill unless he allied with either the Liberals or the Conservatives.

At first, it was not obvious that Parnell would join forces with Gladstone. Gladstone was a classical liberal who believed in free trade, social equality, and individual liberty, but his record on civil rights left much to be desired. The vast family fortune which allowed Gladstone to live in luxury at Hawarden Castle was derived in no small part from his father's usage of slavery on sugar plantations in the British West Indies. The younger Gladstone supported the abolition of slavery when he first ran for Parliament in 1832, but he campaigned on gradual rather than immediate emancipation. Parliament passed a bill providing for the gradual emancipation of slaves in 1833, with slave owners being handsomely compensated, and it was Gladstone's own father who received the highest compensation package out of any slave owner in Britain.⁹ During a speech in Newcastle, England in 1862, Gladstone argued that Britain should intervene in the American Civil War by mediating a peace settlement between the Union and the Confederacy.¹⁰ Because British public opinion strongly supported the Union, Gladstone had to immediately backtrack his comments by emphasizing his firm opposition to slavery and the Confederacy.¹¹

Over the course of his tenure as Prime Minister, Gladstone would emerge from his father's shadow — and his own problematic past — to become a beloved figure lionized by working class voters as “the people's William” in spite of his privileged background.¹² While his father had been content to profit from the suffering and enslavement of other human beings, William Gladstone was driven by a powerful sense of justice that led him to make the United

⁹ Nick Bourne and Oliver Slow, “William Gladstone's family to apologize for slavery links,” *BBC*, August 20, 2023.

¹⁰ “Mr. Gladstone Defines His Position More Clearly.; Correspondence With Mr. Mosley of Manchester, Members of Parliament on the Topic. The Voice of the Conservatives. Tone of the Press. Emissary Mason on Recognition. The Blockade of Bermuda. The Movements of Alabama,” *The New York Times*, November 9, 1862.

¹¹ Mr. Gladstone Defines His Position More Clearly.; Correspondence With Mr. Mosley of Manchester, Members of Parliament on the Topic. The Voice of the Conservatives. Tone of the Press. Emissary Mason on Recognition. The Blockade of Bermuda. The Movements of Alabama.”

¹² Andrew Adonis, “The people's William,” *Prospect Magazine*, July 4, 2009.

Kingdom more democratic. In addition to expanding the franchise and reapportioning seats in the House of Commons to be more equal in population size, Gladstone reformed Ireland's land laws in order to expand Catholic access to land ownership. He also disestablished the Irish branch of the Anglican Church, which had long been the state church of Ireland despite the country's Catholic majority. These changes helped bridge the divide between Catholics and Protestants, but they did not go far enough to silence nationalist calls for Home Rule. As the IPP grew in strength, the stage was set for a confrontation between Parnell and Gladstone.

Gladstone's second term as Prime Minister came to an abrupt end in June 1885 when his budget proposal was defeated in the House of Commons by an alliance of Conservatives and the IPP. Gladstone was compelled to resign, allowing the Conservatives to form a minority government under the Marquess of Salisbury. Gladstone's entire future in politics now hung in the balance and Parnell saw an opportunity to extract Home Rule from a war-weary veteran of the political battlefield. Without a majority in Parliament, Salisbury was forced to call a general election which lasted from November to December 1885. Although the Liberals won a plurality of seats in the House of Commons, they came seventeen seats short of a majority.¹³ Parnell had carried the IPP to a relatively strong showing with eighty-six seats, allowing him to play the role of kingmaker.¹⁴ With the Liberals and the Conservatives eager to form a majority with the help of Irish MPs, Parnell offered to support either party if they promised to enact Home Rule.

Gladstone was hesitant to accept Parnell's offer. The reason that Gladstone was out of power in the first place was that his government had been toppled by Parnell's opposition to the 1885 budget, so Gladstone distrusted Parnell at the outset. Yet Gladstone also recognized that gaining the IPP's support was his only hope of returning to Number 10 Downing Street. After

¹³ Roy Jenkins, *Gladstone: A Biography* (New York: Random House, 1997), 520.

¹⁴ Jenkins, *Gladstone: A Biography*.

carefully contemplating his options, Gladstone became attracted to Home Rule when he realized that it just might be the bold stroke which he needed to finally “pacify Ireland.”¹⁵ Gladstone rolled the dice. He accepted Parnell’s offer of a coalition between the Liberals and the IPP. In exchange, he announced his support for Home Rule in February 1886. The IPP joined with the Liberals in forming a government, allowing Gladstone to become Prime Minister for a third time, and Gladstone introduced his first Home Rule bill to the House of Commons on April 8, 1886.

Unionists in both Britain and Ireland — particularly in Ulster — were horrified by Gladstone’s proposal. In Ireland, Protestant unionists jeered Home Rule as “Rome Rule” because they believed that an Irish Parliament would be dominated by the Catholic Church.¹⁶ To unionists in Britain, Home Rule was an affront not just to the Union between Britain and Ireland but to the British Empire itself. They feared that if Ireland were given its own Parliament, then so would England, Scotland, and Wales. The inevitable next step would be independence not just for Ireland but for Britain’s colonies in Gambia, Sierra Leone, the Gold Coast, South Africa, Canada, Australia, and India. Liberal MP Joseph Chamberlain of Birmingham so opposed Home Rule that he broke from Gladstone to form the Liberal Unionist Party, splitting the Liberals in two with another general election just months away.

Perhaps no Member of Parliament was more vocal in his opposition to Home Rule than Lord Randolph Churchill. Predicting that the Liberals would lose the next general election if Gladstone’s Home Rule bill failed, Churchill planned on replacing Salisbury as Conservative Leader were their party to win the election. Churchill’s cynicism was laid bare when he told Lord Justice FitzGibbon that, “the Orange card would be the one to play,” against the Liberals in

¹⁵ Elizabeth Newmarch, “The Irish Answer,” *Gladstone’s Library*, May 1, 2018.

¹⁶ Terence A.M. Dooley, “Why Monaghan Protestants Opposed Home Rule,” *Clogher Record*, Vol. 14, No. 3, 1993, 43, <https://doi-org.proxygw.wrlc.org/10.2307/27699359>.

1886 — invoking the Protestant Orangemen of Ulster who looked to William of Orange as their hero.¹⁷ Giddy at the prospect of a fight with Gladstone, Churchill stirred the British public against Home Rule with the provocative slogan, “Ulster will fight, Ulster will be right.”¹⁸ Although Churchill was an opportunist with his sights set squarely on Number 10, he spoke for millions of people in the United Kingdom who genuinely feared the potential ramifications of Home Rule.

Torn asunder by Liberal Unionists and Conservatives alike, the first Home Rule bill failed in the House of Commons. Gladstone’s Liberals were decimated in the general election of 1886, and Chamberlain’s Liberal Unionists joined Salisbury’s second government in a coalition which commanded a massive Parliamentary majority. Most politicians would have been removed from their party’s leadership after such a humiliating defeat. Yet Gladstone’s years of loyal service to the Liberals earned him the support of most Liberal MPs, allowing him to cling onto the Liberal leadership. When he returned to the House of Commons as Leader of the Opposition, Gladstone was received by Liberals as a hero while Chamberlain was shunned as an apostate. James Louis Garvin notes that when Gladstone walked down the floor of the Commons, “wild cheers for Gladstone were followed by a storm of hate against Chamberlain,” who was shouted down by Liberal MPs as, ““Traitor! Judas!””¹⁹ For his part, Churchill lost his gambit to become Prime Minister. Instead of replacing Salisbury after the election, he was forced to resign his cabinet post and he died of syphilis eight years later. He was only forty-five years old.

At the age of eighty-two, Gladstone returned to Number 10 in 1892. The previous year, Parnell died of pneumonia after his affair with an Irish MP’s wife split the IPP and ruined his

¹⁷ “Lord Randolph Churchill - Oxford Reference,” *Oxford Reference*, 2017.

¹⁸ William Manchester, *The Last Lion: Winston Spencer Churchill: Visions of Glory, 1874-1932* (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1983), 454.

¹⁹ James Louis Garvin, *The Life of Joseph Chamberlain, Volume 2: 1885-1895: Disruption and Combat* (London: Macmillan, 1933), 250.

reputation. Yet even with Parnell gone and the IPP divided, Gladstone guided a second Home Rule bill to passage in the House of Commons — only for it to be blocked by the House of Lords. Jenkins describes Britain’s unelected upper chamber of Parliament as being dominated by unionist Lords who shared the view that, “the Irish had no taste for justice, common sense, moderation or national prosperity and looked only to perpetual strife and dissension.”²⁰ For all of Gladstone’s political prowess, there was little he could do to convince a recalcitrant House of Lords to pass Home Rule. The Lords rejected Gladstone’s second Home Rule bill by a wide margin, and Gladstone resigned the premiership of the United Kingdom for the final time in 1894.²¹ The following year Salisbury led his party to another electoral triumph with the support of Liberal Unionists, who continued to politically benefit from their opposition to Home Rule.

After more than a decade in the political wilderness, the Liberals returned to power when Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman became Prime Minister in 1905. Campbell-Bannerman advocated a cautious “step by step approach” to Home Rule, and he did not propose a Home Rule bill during his brief premiership.²² When Campbell-Bannerman resigned due to ill health in 1908, he was succeeded by Chancellor of the Exchequer H.H. Asquith. An accomplished barrister from a well-established Yorkshire family, Asquith had been on the front lines of Gladstone’s 1893 fight for Home Rule during his time as Britain’s Home Secretary. Renowned as, “one of the best public speakers of his generation,” Asquith was lauded by his admirers as, “the Last of the Romans.”²³ Like Caesar before his descent into despotism, Asquith’s government was a great triumvirate of himself, Chancellor of the Exchequer David Lloyd George, and President of the Board of Trade Winston Churchill. Nicknamed the “Welsh

²⁰ Roy Jenkins, *Gladstone: A Biography* (New York: Random House, 1997), 553.

²¹ Jenkins, *Gladstone: A Biography*, 606.

²² “Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman,” *Encyclopedia Britannica*, last modified September 3, 2023, <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Henry-Campbell-Bannerman>.

²³ Lester, V. Markham, *H.H. Asquith: Last of the Romans* (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2019), 145, 343.

Wizard,” Lloyd George was a masterful orator whose legendary rhetorical skills more than outmatched his slight 5’6” frame.²⁴ When Labour politician Tony Benn described meeting Lloyd George as a boy in 1937, he remarked, “I mean talk about charisma, the man absolutely radiated it.”²⁵ Winston Churchill, the son of Lord Randolph Churchill, had been a rising star in British politics since his miraculous escape from an enemy camp during the Second Boer War made him a national hero. Flanked by outstanding government ministers and equipped with a large Liberal majority in the House of Commons, Asquith seemed ideally suited to make Home Rule a reality.

Like Gladstone and Campbell-Bannerman, Asquith did not initially press for Home Rule. During his first term Ireland was placed on the backburner while Asquith prioritized the Liberal vision of a welfare state where children, the elderly, labor, and the sick would find a helping hand in the British government. As much as Asquith wanted to avoid getting involved with Irish politics, he was forced to back Home Rule in order to save his entire ministry from collapse. In 1909, Asquith put forward a revolutionary proposal known as the People’s Budget. Devised by Lloyd George and Churchill, the plan called for tax increases on income and land in order to finance Liberal welfare programs. With the Liberals holding an overwhelming advantage in the House of Commons, the People’s Budget easily passed the lower chamber of Parliament.

Yet one thing stood in Asquith’s path: the House of Lords, the same institution which torpedoed Home Rule in 1893. Aristocratic Lords howled at the prospect of having to pay higher taxes to finance government welfare programs. Even Liberal Lords such as Lord Rosebery, who briefly succeeded Gladstone as Prime Minister in 1894, opposed the People’s Budget on the

²⁴ Claire Price, “A Welsh Wizard is 75; Lloyd George, Who Led the British to Victory In the World War, Has Never Ceased Fighting,” *The New York Times*, January 16, 1938.

²⁵“From Llanystumdwy to 10 Downing Street,” *BBC News*, July 19, 2006.

grounds that it was, “pure socialism... and the end of all, the negation of faith, of family, of property, of Monarchy, of Empire.”²⁶ In November 1909 the House of Lords rejected the People’s Budget, the first time the Lords had ever rejected a budget in the entire history of the United Kingdom. Asquith was forced to call a general election in order to seek a popular mandate to overrule the Lords. In the election of January 1910, the Liberals just barely scraped by when it won a plurality of only two seats.²⁷ Yet the Conservatives had actually won the overall popular vote, and no party had a Parliamentary majority.²⁸

Like Gladstone in 1886, a desperate Asquith was forced to turn to the IPP. And like Charles Stewart Parnell, IPP leader John Redmond would get to decide who held the keys to Number 10. The Liberals were so badly damaged by the election that in order to remain in office, Asquith needed to build an alliance with MPs from the nascent Labour Party and the IPP. Redmond made it clear that the price to be paid for this alliance was Home Rule. Having been left with no choice but to strike a deal with Redmond, Asquith finally acquiesced to Home Rule. Redmond gave his support to the Liberal government, and in return Asquith promised to propose a third Home Rule bill. Bucking to pressure to pass a budget supported by the majority of Britain’s political parties, the Lords withdrew their veto in April 1910 and the People’s Budget became law. Nevertheless, the Lords were certain to veto a third Home Rule bill. The only way around this would be to weaken the Lords’ ability to veto legislation passed by the Commons, forcing Asquith to call yet another general election for December 1910. The results were even closer than in January, with the Liberals coming just one seat ahead of the Conservatives, but the British people had given Asquith a mandate to reform the House of Lords with the support of

²⁶ “The People’s Budget,” *Spartacus Educational*, n.d.

²⁷ V. Markham Lester, *H.H. Asquith: Last of the Romans* (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2019), 159.

²⁸ Lester, *H.H. Asquith: Last of the Romans*.

Labour and the IPP.²⁹ The Commons passed the Parliament Act of 1911, which stated that the Lords could veto most bills for a maximum of two years. After King George V threatened to pack the House of Lords with new Liberal peers if they did not pass the bill, the Parliament Act of 1911 passed the upper chamber of Parliament by seventeen votes.³⁰

In April 1912, following through on his promise to Redmond, Asquith proposed the Government of Ireland Act. The bill would have created a bicameral Irish Parliament while simultaneously reducing the number of Ireland's MPs in the British Parliament. After the bill was passed by the Commons, Home Rule was again shot down by the Lords. The Commons passed Home Rule again in 1913, but the Lords vetoed the bill a second time. The Liberals pushed on, passing Home Rule in the Commons again in 1914 only for the House of Lords to reject the bill once more. By this point the Government of Ireland Act had been passed by the Commons for two years, meaning that the Commons could override the Lords and submit the bill for the King's approval. In September 1914 the bill received King George V's Royal Assent and became law. At long last, Home Rule had finally been achieved — or so it seemed.

Just as the fierce opposition of British and Irish unionists defeated the first Home Rule bill in 1886, militant unionism threatened to derail Home Rule in 1914. While the debate over Asquith's Home Rule bill was in its final stages, it appeared that civil war was imminent. Leader of the Opposition Andrew Bonar Law denounced the bill and openly supported Ulster Protestants who planned to violently rebel against the British government if Home Rule were implemented. After Irish unionists Sir Edward Carson and James Craig created the Ulster Volunteer Force to prevent the implementation of Home Rule in Ulster through military force, British army officers in the region mutinied to protest Home Rule during the Curragh Mutiny of

²⁹ Lester, *H.H. Asquith: Last of the Romans*, 169.

³⁰ Lester, 170.

1914. With Ireland on the brink of civil war, Asquith proposed an Amending Bill that would have temporarily excluded Ulster from Home Rule while allowing the rest of the country to be governed by an Irish Parliament in Dublin.

Asquith's compromise might have worked if not for World War I. On July 28, 1914 Austria-Hungary declared war on Serbia following the assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand. On August 1 Germany declared war on France and Russia, then it invaded Belgium the next day. This was a blatant violation of the Treaty of London which guaranteed Belgium's neutrality. Germany, when it was still a Confederation led by Prussia, had signed that treaty in 1839 along with the United Kingdom. Under the terms of the treaty, its signatories were obligated to militarily intervene against another power if it violated Belgian neutrality. Germany did not need to invade Belgium, which had no involvement whatsoever in Ferdinand's death. Yet after Russia mobilized its troops to protect Serbia, and after France mobilized its troops to support Russia, Germany decided to declare war not only on Russia but also on France. Fearing the formidable French defenses along the German border, the German army chose to attack France by crossing through Belgium first rather than invading France directly.

When Asquith's government protested this gross infraction of international law, German Chancellor Theobald von Bethmann-Hollweg scoffed that the Treaty of London was nothing more than, "a scrap of paper."³¹ On August 4, Britain responded to the Kaiserreich's arrogance by declaring war on Germany. After the Government of Ireland Act was given Royal Assent in September 1914, Asquith decided to suspend the bill for the duration of World War I. This was in line with political custom in Britain, where constitutional issues were traditionally put on hold during wartime. It was also a fateful mistake that caused profound damage to the Home Rule

³¹ Larry Zuckerman, *The Rape of Belgium: The Untold Story of World War I* (New York: NYU Press, 2004), 43.

movement. Asquith, like most British leaders, believed that the First World War would be a short one. Based on this assumption, he thought it would be prudent to suspend Home Rule while Britain focused its energies on fighting Germany. But the war quickly descended into grueling trench warfare that lasted until November 1918, costing the British Empire over nine hundred thousand lives — more than twenty-seven thousand of which were Irish.³²

Initially, most people in Ireland supported the British war effort. Even Irish nationalists were outraged by the German army's aggression against Belgium, particularly the burning of Louvain which had close historic ties to Ireland. Through his leadership of the Irish Volunteers, created in 1913 to counter the rise of the Ulster Volunteer Force, Redmond called for the Irish to enlist in the British Expeditionary Forces. Yet by 1916, support for Ireland's participation in the war diminished as the conflict ground to a stalemate on the Western Front. With the Great War raging on with no end in sight, a nationalist political party called Sinn Féin grew in popular appeal. Sinn Féin argued that rather than settling for Home Rule, Ireland should become a republic and declare outright independence from the United Kingdom. Despite the horrors of the Great War, support for independence continued to be a minority viewpoint in Ireland. In fact, the Irish people would likely have accepted Home Rule after the end of World War I in 1918 if not for the British government's unpopular response to a doomed rebellion in the spring of 1916.

On Easter Monday in April 1916, a poet named Patrick Pearse led a small army of rebels to Dublin where they seized control of the General Post Office and declared independence from the United Kingdom. Although Pearse hoped to facilitate a general uprising throughout the rest of the country, most people in Ireland sided against the rebels and they supported remaining in the United Kingdom. Without outside assistance, Pearse had no chance against the thousands of

³² John Dorney, "Ireland and the First World War - A Brief Overview," *The Irish Story*, November 9, 2018.

British troops who marched into Dublin and crushed the rebellion after only five days of fighting. On the penultimate day of the Easter Rising, General John Maxwell arrived in Dublin as Ireland's new military governor. Maxwell responded to the rebellion with a sadistic campaign of revenge that violated basic legal rights and civil liberties. On Maxwell's watch more than thirty-five hundred people in Ireland were arrested,³³ at least eighteen hundred were imprisoned in a so-called "internment camp" in Wales,³⁴ and over two hundred were court-martialed.³⁵ Maxwell saw to it that defendants were tried in secret without counsel, and he ordered the executions of fifteen people who had not even been convicted by a jury.³⁶

As a result of the British government's brutal response to the Easter Rising, Irish public opinion turned against Home Rule in favor of outright independence from Great Britain. Redmond's IPP deputy John Dillon angrily lashed out at Asquith on the floor of the House of Commons, saying that initially, "the great bulk of the population were not favourable to the insurrection," but now, "what is happening is that thousands of people in Dublin, who ten days ago were bitterly-opposed to the whole of the Sinn Fein movement and to the rebellion, are now becoming infuriated against the Government on account of these executions."³⁷ To many people in Ireland, life after the Easter Rising gave legitimacy to what nationalists had been saying for decades: Ireland must be able to govern itself. But Irish nationalists were no longer content with Home Rule. Instead, they wanted independence from Britain, and they were willing to die for it.

Under fire from all sides for his inept leadership of Britain's war effort, Asquith was forced out of office in December 1916 and replaced by Lloyd George. The new Prime Minister

³³ "Irish politics regarding union and independence, 1913 – 1949," *State Library Victoria*, 2016.

³⁴ Maev Kennedy, "Welsh Village summons ghosts of Ireland's revolutionary past," *The Guardian*, December 27, 2015.

³⁵ Brian Barton, "The secret court martial records of the Easter Rising," *The History Press*, n.d.

³⁶ "Aftermath - Easter 1916: Rebellion and Memory in Ireland," *KU Libraries*, The University of Kansas, n.d.

³⁷ "Continuance of Martial Law," *Hansard 1803-2005*, May 11, 1916.

hoped to salvage Home Rule by brokering a compromise with the nationalists and unionists, but by then it was too late. Most people in Ireland wanted to leave the United Kingdom. In the general election of December 1918, the IPP was wiped out by Sinn Féin. Instead of taking seats in the British Parliament, Sinn Féin formed a new Parliament in Dublin called the Dáil Éireann. Refusing to recognize the Dáil Éireann, Britain attempted to reassert its control over Ireland during the Irish War of Independence from 1919 to 1921. After the war's conclusion, Ireland was granted dominion status within the British Commonwealth and Britain accepted the existence of the Dáil Éireann as the official legislature of the Irish Free State. However, many Irish nationalists were angered when the Anglo-Irish Treaty forced the Dáil Éireann to swear an oath of loyalty to Britain. The treaty also partitioned Ireland so that Ulster's six majority Protestant counties remained in the United Kingdom, while Ireland's other twenty-six counties became part of the Irish Free State. The partition of Ireland and its lack of full independence facilitated a civil war that caused more deaths than the War of Independence itself. The Irish Free State was replaced by the Republic of Ireland in 1937, and in 1949 the Irish Republic declared itself to be fully independent from Britain. Across the border in Northern Ireland, Ulster's internal tensions over its own status in the United Kingdom would be unresolved for another five decades.

Irish Home Rule failed for four overarching reasons. The first was the uncompromising opposition from unionists who defeated Home Rule in 1886 and fanned the flames of civil war in 1914. The second was the House of Lords which blocked Home Rule in 1893 and delayed the passage of the Government of Ireland Act until 1914. The third was World War I, which caused Asquith to suspend the implementation of Home Rule after it had already been passed. The fourth was the British government's response to the 1916 Easter Rising, which turned the Irish people in favor of outright independence from Britain. Had any one of these factors not stood in

its way, Home Rule could have become a reality. When Gladstone died at Hawarden Castle, the home and sanctuary which stood at the center of his political career, he had failed in his quest to “pacify Ireland.”³⁸ Following the Irish War of Independence and the Irish Civil War, Ireland would continue to be devastated by violent tensions between nationalists and unionists. Although Gladstone’s dream of an Ireland at peace had been defeated, it did not die. In the end, it thrived. One hundred years after Gladstone’s death, the 1998 Good Friday Agreement finally brought the lasting peace to Ireland which the Liberal Party had fought so hard to achieve.

³⁸ Elizabeth Newmarch, “The Irish Answer,” *Gladstone’s Library*, May 1, 2018.

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Article 3

“Tell the Truth”: The Ethics, Aftermath, and Efficacy of OutRage!’s 1994 ‘Outing’ of the Anglican Church

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“TELL THE TRUTH”: THE ETHICS, AFTERMATH, AND EFFICACY OF OUTRAGE!’S 1994 ‘OUTING’ OF THE ANGLICAN CHURCH

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Abstract: In 1994, at the General Synod of the Church of England, a group of protestors from OutRage! 'outed' ten Anglican bishops as secretly gay. OutRage! was a British, direct-action gay rights group started in the 1990s. Peter Tatchell, the leader of OutRage!, organized this protest to fight against the Church of England's homophobic and hypocritical rhetoric towards queer clergy. Tatchell claimed this moment as a pivotal one in the Anglican Church's attitude towards homosexual clergy and laity. This research examines Tatchell's claim as well as the 'outing' as a protest method. This research examines the history and ideology behind 'outing,' OutRage!'s activism, and the Church of England's public attitude towards homosexuality. Utilizing tabloid media coverage and other archival documents, this essay examines if the 'outing' of Anglican bishops between 1994 and 1995 was ethical and effective and if it catalyzed real change within the Church. Through this research, I argue that while the church's policy towards homosexuality was not affected by this protest, the consciousness-raising that occurred around the UK due to the media coverage of these 'outings' was hugely effective and had widespread consequences both inside and outside of the church.

Introduction

In November 1994, on the steps of the General Synod – the Church of England’s annual national assembly meeting held in London – a group of gay rights protesters took center stage and garnered national attention. These activists from OutRage! held ten placards, with each naming an Anglican bishop along with the slogan ‘Tell the Truth’.² They claimed that these bishops had practiced homosexual lives. Yet at the time, Anglican policy rejected clerical participation in homosexuality. OutRage!, a British gay rights organization founded in 1990, was led by famed activist Peter Tatchell. It was infamous in the British media for its controversial, direct-action approach to queer equality.

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²“OutRage! Administrative/Biographical History,” Bishopsgate Institute, last modified 2023.

In March 1995, a senior member of the Church, the Bishop of London David Hope held a press conference in which he described his sexuality as ambiguous, lying in a “grey area” between homosexuality and heterosexuality.³ Prompted by a letter about his accused homosexuality from Peter Tatchell, some celebrated this moment as a pivotal step in the Anglican Church’s attitude towards homosexuality. Tatchell described Hope’s announcement as a “catalyst for reform within the Church of England.”⁴

‘Tell the Truth’ came after years of efforts by queer British people fighting for equality and an end to LGBTQ+ discrimination. Broadly, the English government banned ‘buggery,’ or gay sex in 1533, and executed violators until the 19th century.⁵ This ban remained active until 1967 when the Parliament passed the Sexual Offences Act. Prompted by findings on the normative nature of homosexuality published in the Wolfenden Report, this act legalized homosexual sex for citizens aging twenty-one and above.⁶ Between the 1960s and 1990s, homosexuality became more widely accepted by the British population. However, institutions like the Parliament still attempted to stifle the livelihood of queer British citizens by pushing for homophobic legislation that criminalized queer sexual expression. ‘Tell the Truth’ came to fruition out of this context.

Before ‘Tell the Truth,’ gay groups in the United States unsuccessfully attempted to employ ‘outing’ as a political tool in the early 1990s. ‘Outing’ referred to the non-consensual disclosure of an individual’s hidden sexual identity to the public. This later became a sophisticated method for gay rights organizations in England, and according to OutRage!, caused

³Clifford Longley and Ben Fenton, “Bishop tells of distress at OutRage intimidation,” *Telegraph*, March 13, 1995 (Folder 41 - General Synod/OutRage! Bishopsgate Institute).

⁴Ian Lucas, *OutRage! : an oral history* (London: Cassell, 1998), 195.

⁵Francois Lafitte, “HOMOSEXUALITY AND THE LAW: The Wolfenden Report in Historical Perspective,” *British Journal of Delinquency* 9, no.1 (July 1958), 14.

⁶Kate Gleeson, “Freudian Slips and Coteries of Vice: The Sexual Offences Act of 1967,” *Parliamentary History* 27, pt. 3 (2008), 405.

real change in systems of moral code and governance. Originally a radical, obscure, and theoretical form of protest, OutRage! made ‘outing’ a practical and effective tool that rose to prominence in England. ‘Outing’ caused controversy, enraged the mainstream media, and sparked widespread public debate. Many questions emerged from this ‘outing’ of the Church of England—where was the line between ‘public life’ and ‘private life’? Was ‘outing’ moral? Who could use this tool? Was it effective?

In this essay, I attempt to understand OutRage!’s utilization of ‘outing,’ tracking the tool from its unpopular beginnings in the United States, to a successful media hoax by radical OutRage! exiles, and to the ‘outing’ of Bishop Hope in 1995. Few if any historians have examined the story of OutRage!’s ‘Tell the Truth’ campaign in its entirety. As the first historian to examine this narrative in full, my research relied on tabloid media as well as internal OutRage! documents to recount the 1994-1995 series of actions sanctioned against the Anglican Church. By looking at the case of the Church of England, I hope to test Peter Tatchell’s claim that ‘outing’ caused actual change within the Church, and that it is an effective way to force pro-LGBTQ+ change in historically homophobic institutions. Through both archival research and secondary sources, this essay attempts to grapple with the question at the center of Bishop Hope’s 1995 press conference: *does ‘outing’ work?*

Background

Before continuing this paper, establishing the context and terminology of ‘outing’ is necessary. ‘Coming out’ is the process of disclosing one’s sexuality to others. ‘Outing,’ on the other hand, refers to the act of an individual revealing someone else’s sexuality to others. This is

often non-consensual, typically as a form of revenge, or as this paper wish to establish, as a form of protest.

While OutRage! and the Church of England are British institutions, English gay rights groups that employed ‘outing’ credit American gay rights organizations for inventing and using this political tool first. Thus, this background will focus on the origin of ‘outing’ as a political tool in the American context rather than British history.

Before the emergence of modern gay rights movement, ‘outing’ existed as a tool for heterosexuals to expose closeted queer folks. Senator Joseph McCarthy’s House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) led one infamous large-scale ‘outing.’ Established in 1938, HUAC attempted to expose and expel both secret communists and closeted homosexuals within the U.S. government. These efforts were respectively known as the ‘Red Scare’ and the ‘Lavender Scare.’ Senator McCarthy believed that “homosexuals might be easily recruited by foreign intelligence services and communists” as their experiences in the closet exemplified their susceptibility to deception.⁷ HUAC investigated agencies that employed suspected homosexuals, causing the resignation of about one hundred LGBTQ+ civil servants.⁸ In this instance, the U.S. Congress turned to ‘outing’ to oust homosexuals from the government. This was just one example of ‘outing’ by heterosexuals to discriminate against queer people. Later, as gay rights groups began to reappropriate ‘outing’ against public figures, tabloid media compared their actions to those of Senator McCarthy and HUAC.

As a political tool used by queer people, ‘the closet’ originated from the Stonewall Riots in 1969, the genesis of the modern gay rights movement.⁹ A year after the riot while at the first

⁷“The Lavender Scare - The origin of policy to exclude homosexuals from Federal service,” National Security Agency, *History Today*, last modified October 10, 2018.

⁸“The Lavender Scare,” National Archives Foundation, last modified June 20, 2023.

⁹Abigail Saguy, “The history of ‘coming out,’ from secret gay code to popular political protest,” *UCLA Newsroom*,

gay pride parade, activist Michael Brown claimed that “[homosexuals] have to come out into the open and stop being ashamed...this march is an affirmation and declaration of our new pride.”¹⁰ Unabashed pride and openness about one’s sexuality became the centerpiece of the gay rights struggle in the United States. While different from ‘outing,’ reclaiming ‘the closet’ remained a staple of queer liberation. Activists purposefully rejected powerful heterosexuals’ use of ‘the closet’ against homosexuals and reclaimed their ‘closet’ as a source of pride and power.

The first mention of ‘outing’ as a tool for queer activists emerged from Taylor Branch’s 1982 ‘Closets of Power’ profile on Dan Bradley.¹¹ When Bradley publicly ‘came out’ as gay months before, he became “the highest federal official in American history to declare...that he was a homosexual.”¹² In this piece, Bradley candidly revealed that many powerful men – including “lawyers, lobbyists, [and] bureaucrats” – engaged in secret homosexual lifestyles.¹³ Bradley cited two extremely conservative congressmen whom he saw at gay parties and cruising circuits before both men were arrested for illicit homosexual activity. Bradley expressed anger at the hypocritical politics of these men who pursued homophobic legislation while living secret homosexual lives.¹⁴

Branch proposed the idea of “outage,” or ‘outing,’ which he believed would become a major political tactic for gay activists to call out the hypocrisy of conservative, closeted politicians.¹⁵ While gay activists for the most part “respect almost anyone’s right” to express their sexuality on their own terms, Branch claimed that these homophobic, secretly homosexual

February 20, 2020.

¹⁰Lacey Fosburgh, “Thousands of Homosexuals Hold A Protest Rally in Central Park,” *New York Times*, June 29, 1970.

¹¹Taylor Branch, “Closets of Power,” *Harper’s*, October 1, 1982, 35.

¹²Phil Gailey, “Homosexual Takes Leave of a Job and of an Agony,” *New York Times*, March 31, 1982.

¹³Branch, “Closets of Power,” 44.

¹⁴Branch, “Closets of Power,” 45.

¹⁵*Ibid.*, 47.

politicians posed an exception.¹⁶ While heterosexual institutions had used ‘outing’ to evoke fear and submission within LGBTQ+ people, Branch proposed that queer people could punish closeted leaders not for their sexuality, but for their hypocrisy. ‘Outing’ in this sense existed as a method of reappropriation, an effort by queer activists to reclaim a source of power that politicians and leaders employed against them in many instances. This form of protest is subversive, controversial, and deeply sensitive.

In less than a decade, Branch’s prediction came to fruition in the United States. In 1991, activists put up posters around Manhattan of different celebrities with the caption “Absolutely Queer,” thus ‘outing’ these individuals.¹⁷ These posters targeted Ronald Reagan, Paula Abdul, Jodie Foster, John Travolta and others. This public ‘outing’ “was largely ignored by the general public” and any media attention concerning these celebrities’ alleged sexuality remained in strictly queer magazines.¹⁸ Another group, the Bald Urban Liberation Brigade, attempted to ‘out’ bald celebrities such as William Shatner and John Wayne with little success and recognition.¹⁹ Other two well-known groups, ACT-UP and Queer Nation, which “publicly named officials known to be gay,” again received little reaction from the mainstream media.²⁰

Various articles about ‘outing’ in England in the 1990s argued that “the tactic of naming believed homosexuals called ‘outing’ was first used by gay activists in America.”²¹ When ‘outing’ reached Britain, groups hoped to employ the method and garner more impact than their American counterparts. While paying homage to the efforts of the American organizations,

¹⁶Ibid., 48.

¹⁷Bill Turque, “The Age of ‘Outing’,” *Newsweek*, August 11, 1991.

¹⁸“Evil witch-hunt that backfired all over America,” July 30, 1991 (La/Outing ‘FROCS’/LAGNA, Bishopsgate Institute).

¹⁹Tom Brown, “Stay in your closet!” *Daily Record*, August 5, 1991 (La/Outing ‘FROCS’/LAGNA, Bishopsgate Institute).

²⁰Lucas, *OutRage!*, 63.

²¹Robin Stacey, “Royal to be Named as a Gay,” *Sunday Mirror*, August 28, 1991 (La/Outing ‘FROCS’/LAGNA, Bishopsgate Institute).

‘outing’ took a more sophisticated and methodical turn in England. OutRage! recognized the faults and the seemingly unserious efforts of their American peers and vowed to turn ‘outing’ into a viable political tool.

The Origins of OutRage!

Peter Tatchell, the leader of OutRage! and public face of the 1994 ‘outing’ of the Anglican Church, was born in a working-class evangelical family in Australia. His deeply puritanical parents encouraged young Tatchell to resist sin, including homosexuality. At a young age, the American Civil Rights movement sparked his political awakening and piqued his interest in activism. He then got involved with anti-Vietnam War protests, and began to understand methods of political mobilization, garnering media attention, and swaying public opinion towards a cause.²² Tatchell moved to England in 1971 and immediately felt free to embrace his homosexuality. He saw London as “an amazing place for a young queer man to arrive.”²³ Tatchell joined the Gay Liberation Front (GLF), the first major gay rights organization in England. As an organizer for GLF, Tatchell participated in various street protests and pushed for a public embrace of queer love and acceptance throughout all of Britain.

In 1983, after establishing himself as a powerful activist, Tatchell was chosen by the Labour Party as the candidate for the Bermondsey by-election, running for a safe Labour Parliamentary seat in Southeast London. The Labour party encouraged Tatchell to keep quiet about his homosexuality, despite his history of working with the GLF. While he attempted to focus on local and national issues, Tatchell’s homosexuality and personal life became the focus of the election. Tatchell’s opponent, John O’Grady, publicly called him a “queen” and sang that

²²*Hating Peter Tatchell* directed by Christopher Amos (Wildbear Entertainment, 2021), Netflix.

²³*Ibid.*

he “[wore] his trousers back to front,” making fun of Tatchell’s sexuality.²⁴ The local media, fueled by O’Grady’s campaign, also attacked Tatchell for his effeminacy and sexuality, questioning his ability to hold such a position. Tatchell received verbal and physical threats and received a “live bullet” in the mail to his home address.²⁵

Tatchell lost this election by a large margin, and some historians cite the media’s coverage of Tatchell’s homosexuality as a major factor in this shocking loss of a safe Labour seat. Tatchell himself called this the “most homophobic UK election ever.”²⁶ While painful and embarrassing, this moment informed Tatchell of the power that tabloid media played in politics and power. His experience with the press during this election informed Tatchell the potent issue of homosexuality in the media. He recognized that British tabloid journalists bite at the chance to publicize the homosexuality of a public figure to sell as many papers as possible, which Tatchell could use to his advantage in his own activism.

After this loss, Tatchell turned his attention back to organizing the British LGBTQ+ cause. Tatchell’s early activism focused on liberation struggles, an end to the centuries of discrimination and violence homosexuals faced. The *Gay Liberation Front Manifesto* described the movement’s impetus as follows: “homosexuals, who have been oppressed by physical violence and by ideological and psychological attacks at every level of social interaction, are at last becoming angry.”²⁷ However, a new and terrifying crisis facing the LGBTQ+ community stifled this wave of gay activism in the 1980s: the emergence of the acquired immunodeficiency syndrome, or AIDS.

²⁴Andrew Grice, “The ‘homophobic’ campaign that helped win Bermondsey,” *Independent*, January 27, 2006.

²⁵Lucy Robinson, “Confronting Thatcher: the Bermondsey by-election, Lesbians and Gays Support the Miners and AIDS activism,” in *Gay Men and the Left in Post-War Britain: How the Personal Got Political* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007), 155.

²⁶Peter Tatchell, “Bermondsey was the dirtiest, most violent British election of the 20th century – and we can learn from it today,” *Guardian*, February 24, 2023.

²⁷“Gay Liberation Front Manifesto,” London, 1970 (LGBTQ+ Collections. Bishopsgate Institute).

The British public responded to the first reports of AIDS in the U.S. with suspicion and doubt. Yet when the first four Londoners died of AIDS in 1982, the gay newspapers in England realized AIDS was not just a conspiracy theory attempting to stifle the sexual freedom of gay men; AIDS presented a real threat, and began ravaging through British gay communities.²⁸ By 1988, 1,500 Brits died of AIDS.²⁹ By 1995, 10,000 citizens had been diagnosed with AIDS and 25,000 people lived with HIV.³⁰ As AIDS became a major concern in England, Tatchell focused his efforts on AIDS awareness and prevention.

Between 1981 and 1988, the British government and independent organizations made active efforts to fight against HIV/AIDS through education and activism. The Terry Higgins Trust became the first AIDS organization created in England, founded in honor of the first Brit to die of AIDS.³¹ Through spreading information, the British government intervened and attempted to address HIV/AIDS for the protection of England citizens. The Department of Health and Social Security distributed a leaflet to every household in Britain which explained the virus and provided prevention methods for all.³² Tatchell's activism at this time also focused on education. In 1986, he published *AIDS: a guide to survival*, a book for queer men to prevent their likelihood of catching the virus.³³

However, in 1988, Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's Conservative government passed Local Government Act 1988, Section 28, which placed a "prohibition on promoting homosexuality by teaching or by publishing material" applied to all local authorities. This

²⁸Simon Garfield, "After the Dance," in *The End of Innocence: Britain in the Time of AIDS* (Bloomsbury, UK: Faber, 2021), 13.

²⁹Simon Watney, "Numbers and Nightmares: HIV/AIDS in Britain," in *Imagine Hope: AIDS and gay identity* (New York: Routledge, 2000), 136.

³⁰Terrence Higgins Trust, "1990s," *Our History*, Accessed August 2, 2023.

³¹Ibid.

³²Department of Health and Social Security, "AIDS : don't die of ignorance," 1987 (AIDS ephemera, Awareness & Education, Box 1. Wellcome Collection).

³³Peter Tatchell, *AIDS : a guide to survival* (London: Gay Men's Press, 1986).

limited AIDS education and awareness efforts.³⁴ Following Section 28, a new wave of activism emerged throughout England focused on aggressive action to force the British government to take a stronger role in fighting HIV/AIDS as well as supporting LGBTQ+ people and their rights. Activists like Tatchell expressed deep anger and frustration about Section 28 as well as the lack of support for LGBTQ+ people from the government. OutRage! formed in this new wave of radical, direct-action gay rights organizations.

Keith Alcorn, Chris Woods, Simon Watney, and Peter Tatchell formed OutRage! in May 1990 at the London Lesbian and Gay Center in Farringdon.³⁵ The name OutRage! represented the anger queer British people felt about the constant cycles of violence and criminalization against their community, a reality that the activism hoped to end. Two major events catalyzed the founding. First, the murder of actor Michael Boothe in 1990, who was publicly cruising in Hanwell when a group of young men kicked him to death. The police called the murder “an extraordinarily severe beating, of a merciless and savage nature.”³⁶ The second event was “the huge rise in the number of gay and bisexual men arrested and convicted for consenting, victimless [sexual] behavior.”³⁷ In its Statement of Aims, OutRage! described itself as a “group of queers committed to radical, non-violent direct action and civil disobedience to assert the dignity and human rights of queers”³⁸ Over the next twenty years, OutRage! became one of the most effective, controversial, and longest-lasting LGBTQ+ direct action organizations in the world. Receiving constant news coverage for its unorthodox protest methods and creative activism, Peter Tatchell and OutRage! quickly became the face of queer radicalism in England.

³⁴Local Government Act 1988, Section 28, Parliament of the United Kingdom (1988).

³⁵“OutRage!,” Bishopsgate Institute.

³⁶Stuart Hobday, “The murder of Michael Boothe changed gay rights forever but his killers still roam free,” *Independent*, April 30, 2020.

³⁷“OutRage! 1990-2011,” *OutRage!*, last modified 2023.

³⁸“OutRage!” Bishopsgate Institute.

FROCS and ‘Outing’ in England

As OutRage! grew in the 1990s, their early activism concerned the homophobic Parliament. OutRage! believed that proposed legislation such as Clause 25, which attempted to criminalize “solicitation by men (cruising); procurement of homosexual acts; and gross indecency” – which included almost all gay sex or attempts at gay sex – threatened the lives and liberties of homosexuals throughout the country.³⁹ This attempt to criminalize homosexual sex led to many protests by OutRage! and other organizations, enraged at this proposed homophobic legislation.

As OutRage! considered measures to respond to the legislation, a small sect of members considered the ‘outing’ method used by American organizations. Could ‘outing’ the closeted MPs who supported homophobic legislation like Clause 25 deter their efforts? Debates surrounding the ethics of ‘outing’ began within OutRage! in 1991. Those in favor viewed ‘outing’ through activist Gabriel Rosetti’s framework, published in the gay magazine *Outweek*. They only considered ‘outing’ well-known, powerful figures who “den[ied] their homosexuality while being known active homosexuals...using their position of power to oppress other homosexuals and...enjoying the privilege of homosexuality at the same time.”⁴⁰

OutRage! struggled to achieve consensus on this topic. One member, Lynne Sutcliffe, cited her own troubled experience ‘coming out’ and her hesitation to inflict that same pain on others: “I remember being really troubled by the idea of outing...the idea of somebody outing me was really scary.”⁴¹ Others within OutRage! believed ‘outing’ was “childish and puerile,” as

³⁹Jean Fraser, "Clause 25 'means prison for gay sex'," *Pink Paper*, December 22, 1990 (GALHA/4/4: Section 28. Bishopsgate Institute).

⁴⁰Lucas, *OutRage!*, 64.

⁴¹Lucas, *OutRage!*, 64.

well as legally murky.⁴² They felt OutRage!’s other direct-action strategies worked well to accomplish their mission, which included mass arrests and public disruptions. At this point, Peter Tatchell, the leader of OutRage! himself opposed ‘outing.’ In a 2017 interview, Tatchell remarked that “initially, I did not support...’outing.’ I was very much against it.”⁴³

However, some OutRage! members passionately supported ‘ethical outing’ – not outing indiscriminately, but the ‘outing’ of homophobic and hypocritical public figures. They truly believed, if used correctly, ‘outing’ constituted a politically effective way to pressure public officials to bolster support for pro-queer legislation and policy. Speaking in support of ‘outing,’ organizer Patrick McCann said that for “anybody who was in the public eye, there was a duty for them to be out and if they weren't going to be out, I...was going to out them.”⁴⁴ After many conversations, the organization could not unanimously agree to endorse ‘outing’ as a strategy.

Thus, members of OutRage! who supported ‘outing’ formed the Faggots Rooting Out Closeted Sexuality (FROCS) as a distinct organization from OutRage! in 1991.⁴⁵ Particularly focused on attempting to equalize the age of consent for homosexuals, FROCS hoped to utilize ‘outing’ as a form of “sexual politicking.” They hoped that by ‘outing’ well-known figures, they could “further the cause of gay pride and equality.”⁴⁶ On July 27th, 1991, FROCS announced that they would soon release a list of more than 200 secretly gay British leaders including Members of Parliament, judges, bishops, and even a member of the Royal Family.

The media response to FROCS’s claim was swift and aggressive: the mainstream media rallied together against FROCS and this ‘outing’ plan. The harshest critiques posed FROCS as a

⁴²Lucas, *OutRage!*, 65.

⁴³Another Way Now, “Peter Tatchell #BraveChoices - Outing CoE Bishops,” posted on June 12, 2017, YouTube video, 0:06:19.

⁴⁴Lucas, *OutRage!*, 65.

⁴⁵Andrew Brown, “How outing came in with a vengeance,” *Independent*, March 21, 1995.

⁴⁶Brown, “How outing came in”

“shrill band” of “militant gays” perpetuating a “squalid witchhunt” against innocent members of the British cultural and political scene.⁴⁷ The few openly gay MPs in 1991, all of whom came out after leaving Parliament, also rallied in support of their allegedly closeted peers. Matthew Paris, a former Tory MP, told *News of the World* that “if anyone would have [outed me], it would’ve wrecked my career...I’d never had never been selected and it would have made life as an MP very difficult.”⁴⁸ Most newspaper articles deemed the ‘outing’ method as an invasion of privacy, unnecessary, and unethical. The outrage against FROCS was widespread, with well-known gossip newspapers releasing scathing articles against this threatened ‘outing’ to their vast audiences around the UK and the world.

Many newspapers and magazines hypocritically attacked FROCS and this ‘outing’ by using violently homophobic and hateful rhetoric. Tom Brown published a piece in the *Daily Record* titled “Stay in your Closet!” in which he wrote that ‘outing’ was wrong because “there are already FAR TOO MANY glad-to-be-gay types flaunting themselves – and their unsavory practices – in public.” Touting commonly used conservative talking points, Brown warned that the British public must remain wary about homosexuality in general, as “we’re bound to worry about the effect of homosexual propaganda on our younger generation, especially in the AIDS age.”⁴⁹ Other papers described FROCS as “sadists,” “revolting,” and made constant comparisons between FROCS and the aforementioned ‘Lavender Scare’ in the United States.⁵⁰

FROCS held the ‘outing’ press conference on August 1st, 1991. The leaders of FROCS, Simon Loughery and Shane Broomhall, charged members of the media 20 pence per person to

⁴⁷“Witchhunt is a disgrace,” *DailyStar*, July 29, 1991 (La/Outing ‘FROCS’/LAGNA, Bishopsgate Institute).

⁴⁸“MPs face ‘You are gay’ smears in poster war,” *News of the World*, July 28, 1991 (La/Outing ‘FROCS’/LAGNA, Bishopsgate Institute).

⁴⁹Brown, “Stay in your Closet!” (Bishopsgate Institute).

⁵⁰“Queer case of McCarthyism,” *Daily Telegraph*, August 29, 1991 (La/Outing ‘FROCS’/LAGNA, Bishopsgate Institute); “Witchhunt...” (Bishopsgate Institute).

hear the names of the 200 secretly homosexual men and women.⁵¹ The men revealed to the packed room of media personnel that this ‘outing’ was a hoax, and that the list never existed.⁵² The goal, as stated by Broomhall, was to “expose the double standards, hypocrisy, and homophobia of the media.”⁵³ He went on to say that “the press has made a fortune from vilifying lesbians and gay people for years,” and that it was due time for FROCS to get the media back.⁵⁴

Despite their staunch resistance to the ‘outing,’ the news reports from the press conference exposed that many journalists (as FROCS expected) eagerly jumped on this chance to print the list and make money from the ‘outing’ of these well-known figures. A story in the *Independent* entitled “Press misses out” wrote that, unfortunately, “the closet will remain closed.”⁵⁵ In the same article, Peter Tatchell summarized the hoax perfectly: “the tabloid press has been very cleverly maneuvered into defending a person’s right to privacy – let’s hope those papers stick by that principle in the future.”⁵⁶

FROCS considered this ‘outing’ hoax a success. For years, the media made millions printing stories about the suspected sexuality of well-known figures. Now that a group of radical gays attempted to take that power back, the media vehemently opposed their efforts. FROCS recognized and called out this hypocrisy. The group manipulated the tabloid media to bring attention to the real issues at hand – the homophobic legislation threatening the nation, such as Clause 25. Many major outlets picked up this story and circulated FROCS’s political ethos around England. FROCS successfully brought themselves and OutRage! to the front pages of the

⁵¹Paul Johnson, “Out, Damned Spot, Out!” *Spectator*, August 10, 1991.

⁵²Wendy Holden, “Media taken on outing to nowhere,” *The Daily Telegraph*, August 1, 1991 (La/Outing ‘FROCS’/LAGNA, Bishopsgate Institute).

⁵³De Jongh, Nicholas, “Frocs says ‘outing’ hoax made tabloids look silly,” *Guardian*, August 1, 1991 (La/Outing ‘FROCS’/LAGNA, Bishopsgate Institute).

⁵⁴Holden, “Media taken on outing,” (Bishopsgate).

⁵⁵Alex Renton, “Press misses out as homosexuals remain in the closet,” *Independent*, August 1, 1991 (La/Outing ‘FROCS’/LAGNA, Bishopsgate Institute).

⁵⁶Ibid.

British media and forced the press to, for the first time, defend the livelihood of allegedly closeted gay figures. This effective media tactic by FROCS set the precedent for the practice of ‘outing’ as a successful way to bring attention to the fight for queer equality and liberation.

The Church of England and ‘Tell the Truth’

Along with Parliament, OutRage! targeted both the Catholic and Anglican Church for their homophobic history and lack of support for the British queer laity. In July 1990, the future Archbishop of Canterbury and head of the Church of England, Dr. George Carey, spoke out against ordaining homosexuals within the Church. He told the press that he considered practicing homosexuality a “scandal,” he wished to rid from the clergy.⁵⁷ At his enthronement, or ceremony of inauguration, OutRage! organized a protest where “50 gay men and women enacted scenes of flagellation and burning at the stake.”⁵⁸ OutRage! then penned an open letter to Dr. Carey, imploring him to “[condemn] all violence...against gays and lesbians,” and distributed pamphlets about Carey’s history of homophobia at his enthronement.⁵⁹

OutRage! condemned the Church’s lack of support in equalizing the age of consent. The Sexual Offences Act of 1967 decriminalized homosexual acts if “the parties consent thereto and have attained the age of 21 years,” yet the age of consent for heterosexuals was sixteen.⁶⁰ This led to what OutRage! deemed unnecessary persecution of homosexual individuals, as this age disparity showed blatant homophobia and unequal rights for queer citizens. In 1991 alone, 169

⁵⁷Andrew Brown, “Next Archbishop of Canterbury sets tough line on homosexuality,” *Independent*, July 28, 1990 (Folder 28 - Church of England/Archbishop Carey/Methodists: 1991/OutRage! Bishopsgate Institute).

⁵⁸Valentine Low, “Controversy as Carey becomes archbishop,” April 19, 1991 (Folder 28 - Church of England/Archbishop Carey/Methodists: 1991/OutRage! Bishopsgate Institute).

⁵⁹Ahmir Ahmad, Martin Harrington, and Dave Hurlbert to Rt. Hon. George L. Carey, 12 March 1991 (Folder 28 - Church of England/Archbishop Carey/Methodists: 1991/OutRage! Bishopsgate Institute); OutRage!, *It’s time for the Church of England to stop preaching hate*, pamphlet (London: 1994) (Folder 41 - General Synod/OutRage! Bishopsgate Institute).

⁶⁰Gleeson, “Freudian Slips and Coteries of Vice,” 405.

men in the United Kingdom were convicted for having gay sex with other consenting adults because one partner was below twenty one.⁶¹ Parliament lowered the age of consent for homosexuals to eighteen in 1994, yet OutRage! continued fighting for a fully equal age of consent.⁶² OutRage! focused on the Church of England as the Anglican House of Bishops issued a statement against the equalization of the age of consent, calling on Parliament to protect the youth from “harm and exploitation.”⁶³

The *1991 Issues in Human Sexuality* documented the Church of England’s official opinion on homosexuality at the time. Created by a subcommittee of the House of Bishops during the General Synod in 1991, this text examined sexuality through the lens of scripture, modern society, and Anglican teachings. The committee hoped to reach a clear consensus on homosexuality through research and debate, a feat that former efforts by the Church failed to accomplish.

The committee wrote that the Church supported pure, committed homosexual relationships rooted in faith and religious commitment. However, such homosexual relationships “do not constitute a parallel and alternative form of human sexuality,” clarifying that homosexual love is not comparable to heterosexual love in terms of Biblical support.⁶⁴ The committee nonetheless ordered the Church to accept homosexuals within the laity. The report then strongly stated that the clergy *cannot* practice homosexuality, due to the impact a practicing homosexual may have on his or her congregation. The Church agreed to accept clergy who identified as “homophile in orientation, but who are committed to a life of abstinence” as “their desire is to be

⁶¹“Love wins! Age of consent equalised for gay and bi men,” *Stonewall*, last modified 2023.

⁶²“Love wins! Age of consent equalised for gay and bi men,”

⁶³Will Stroude, “Equal age of consent: A comprehensive history of the battle for gay parity,” *Attitude*, January 5, 2021.

⁶⁴*Issues in human sexuality : a statement by the House of Bishops of the General Synod of the Church of England* (London: Church House Publishing, 1991), 40 (LAGNA Pamphlet Box 35/LGBTQ+ Library. Bishopsgate Institute).

free to live among their neighbours with dignity and without concealment, unembarrassed.” The report ended with a pledge to not actively seek out homosexuals within the clergy.⁶⁵ As the Church of England refused to support homosexual clergy and an equal age of consent, OutRage!’s main goal was to change how the Anglican Church treated homosexuals in England.

Despite this repudiation of homosexual clergymen, the Church remained much more lenient on this issue. Just before Bishop Michael Turnbull’s 1994 enthronement as Bishop of Durham, the fourth most senior position in the Church of England, news broke that decades earlier, Turnbull was convicted of gross indecency. In 1968, police arrested him for cruising a public restroom to seek out sexual intercourse with other men.⁶⁶ Despite this news, the Archbishop of Canterbury renewed his support for the bishop who assumed his new position four weeks after this story broke. Gay rights groups quickly criticized this hypocrisy and the Church’s willingness to “decide that it is in its own interests to accept homosexual behaviour as compatible with Christian ministry” in only some cases.⁶⁷ Hoping to take advantage of this support, OutRage! launched a campaign to forever change the Anglican Church. In the *Minutes of General Meeting, 24/11/94*, OutRage! laid out a clear plan of action; at the 1994 General Synod, OutRage! would ‘out’ ten closeted, hypocritical bishops.⁶⁸

OutRage! informed the press of their plan: “Ten Anglican Bishops who are alleged to be gay (either now or in the past) will be named by gay activists...as delegates arrive for the Church of England General Synod.”⁶⁹ Urging these bishops to ‘Tell the Truth’ (the name of this

⁶⁵*Issues in human sexuality : a statement by the House of Bishops of the General Synod of the Church of England*, 46.

⁶⁶“Churchmen deplore revelation on bishop,” *Herald*, September 26, 1994.

⁶⁷“Churchmen deplore revelation on bishop,”

⁶⁸OutRage! General Meeting Minutes. November 24, 1994 (Folder 88 - Minutes, 1992-1996/OutRage! Bishopsgate Institute).

⁶⁹Peter Tatchell, “10 Bishops to be Named at Synod.” press release, November 3, 1994 (Folder 41 - General Synod/OutRage! Bishopsgate Institute).

campaign), their reasoning was simple. If these ten bishops publicly confirmed their homosexuality, the Church would have no choice but to reverse its previous decision and affirm the right of practicing homosexual clergymen and clergywomen. Since these bishops lacked the courage to ‘come out’ themselves, OutRage! decided to do it for them.⁷⁰ On November 30th, 1994, at 9:15AM, OutRage! ‘outed’ ten respected Anglican Bishops.

The immediate media reaction to this campaign fell nothing short of polemic. The *Daily Telegraph* wrote that “the proper name for [‘Tell the Truth’] is homosexual terrorism.”⁷¹ Rt. Rev. Nigel McCulloch described the protest as “wicked” and attributed it to causing more hostility towards gay rights organizations.⁷² He continued, calling the ‘outing’ a “deplorable practice of causing hurt and embarrassment to individuals by spreading unsupported innuendos.”⁷³ The repudiation of OutRage! was widespread in the tabloid press. The papers, riddled with anti-‘outing’ coverage, painted OutRage! as the perpetrators of a criminal offense against the bishops. Only one paper even dared to print the names of the ten ‘outed’ Bishops. Rumors spread of legal retaliation for the protest, and the verdict was clear; the mainstream media believed OutRage! made a fatal mistake with the ‘Tell the Truth’ campaign.

Although the media response remained wholly negative, OutRage! felt ‘Tell the Truth’ merited an immediate success. Citing major attention on the radio and in newspapers, members of OutRage! discussed immediately after the protest that “print coverage of the action had been superb.”⁷⁴ As FROCS did only three years earlier, OutRage! used ‘outing,’ a method that they

⁷⁰Ibid.

⁷¹“Homosexual terrorism,” *Daily Telegraph*, December 14, 1994 (Folder 41 - General Synod/OutRage! Bishopsgate Institute).

⁷²Damian Thompson and Wendy Holden, “Churchmen angered by naming of ‘gay’ bishops,” *Daily Telegraph*, December 1, 1994 (Folder 41 - General Synod/OutRage! Bishopsgate Institute).

⁷³“Gay activists “out” 10 bishops,” *Reuters America*, November 30, 1994 (Folder 41 - General Synod/OutRage! Bishopsgate Institute).

⁷⁴OutRage! General Meeting Minutes, December 1, 1994 (Folder 88 - Minutes, 1992-1996/OutRage! Bishopsgate Institute).

believed would garner massive public attention, to bring their issues with the Church to all of England. These conversations no longer existed solely within gay circles – debates about homosexuality and the Church spread throughout England and into many Anglican households.

In 1991, when FROCS launched their ‘outing’ campaign, OutRage! and Peter Tatchell did not support ‘outing’ as a method of protest. However, Tatchell said that regarding ‘Tell the Truth,’ “over a period of about six months debate within OutRage! [in 1994], I became convinced that what I would call ‘ethical outing’ of hypocrites and homophobes was justified.”⁷⁵ Aware of the backlash this campaign could cause, Tatchell made the political calculation that while “in the short term [OutRage!] would suffer great opprobrium,” this campaign could make real waves and change the attitudes of Anglican clergy and laity all over Britain.⁷⁶

Immediate Impact of ‘Tell the Truth’

In early 1995, the *Sunday Times* reported that conversations began between OutRage! activists and Church of England representatives. Organized by Archbishop Carey, the talks focused on the issue of homosexuality in the clergy. The four OutRage! campaigners “asked the church to end its policy of sacking gay clerics and to be more forthright in its condemnation of anti-gay prejudice.” The bishops listened “very carefully” to the organizers.⁷⁷ Additionally, the *Observer* reported that Archbishop Carey planned for representatives of the Church to “attend a European conference on homosexuality in the Church.”⁷⁸ Despite the widespread repudiation of the campaign, the Anglican leadership approached the concerns OutRage! expressed with open

⁷⁵Another Way Now, “Peter Tatchell,” YouTube.

⁷⁶Ibid.

⁷⁷Lesley Thomas, “Church in peace talks with gays,” *Sunday Times*, January 15, 1995 (La/Outing ‘FROCS’/LAGNA. Bishopsgate Institute.)

⁷⁸Martin Wroe, “Threat of Church rift over gays.” *Observer*, February 2, 1995 (Ma/CoE/1990s/LAGNA. Bishopsgate Institute).

ears, willing to discuss their differences with OutRage! to add more nuance to the internal conversations and considerations occurring in the Church.

One of the ten bishops ‘outed’ by OutRage! at the General Synod was Rt. Rev. Timothy Bavin, the Bishop of Portsmouth. Bavin expressed feeling “deeply distressed” by the allegation and refuted the claims outright.⁷⁹ A spokesman for the bishop told the press that the ‘outing’ unjustly “attempt[ed] to change the House of Bishops’ policy on homosexuals by causing hurt and embarrassment to individuals.” Bishop Bavin himself supported the Church’s decision to ban practicing homosexuals from the clergy.⁸⁰ The accusation by OutRage! hurt Bishop Bavin so deeply that he gave up his role as a bishop to pursue a life of monkhood.⁸¹ This was an unprecedented decision for someone of his rank. Bavin’s decision shows the negative impact ‘Tell the Truth’ had on unsuspecting members of the Church, as OutRage! produced little evidence to back their accusations.

In an interview with BBC2 TV’s newsmight in early March 1995, the former Bishop of Glasgow and Galloway became “the highest member of the Church of England to ‘come out’.”⁸² Rt. Rev. Derek Rawcliffe described the negative impact his repressed homosexuality had on his life, and urged the Church to reverse its policy on gay partnership for the clergy.⁸³ While not named by OutRage!, Rev. Rawcliffe decided to ‘come out’ after OutRage! “privately pressured” him to openly declare his homosexuality.⁸⁴

⁷⁹Chris Owen and Graham Keeley, “Bishop ‘distressed’ by gay group’s allegation,” *Portsmouth*, December 1, 1994 (Ma/CoE/1990s/LAGNA. Bishopsgate Institute).

⁸⁰Owen and Keeley, “Bishops ‘distressed’ by gay group’s allegation.”

⁸¹Anthony Doran, “Bishop in gay slur retreats to monastery,” *Daily Mail*, January 31, 1995 (Ma/CoE/1990s/LAGNA. Bishopsgate Institute).

⁸²Leonard, “Gay bishop.”

⁸³Valerie Grove, “I realised I loved him. I was in real turmoil,” *Times*, March 10, 1995 (Folder 14 - Christian Clergy/OutRage! Bishopsgate Institute).

⁸⁴Andrew Brown, “Activists vow to pursue their ‘outing’ mission,” *Independent*, March 10, 1995 (Ma/CoE/1990s/LAGNA. Bishopsgate Institute).

Anglican audiences met Rawcliffe's 'coming out' with mixed responses. One opinion in the *Church Times* lauded "his courage in speaking as he did," yet disagreed with his "condoning [of] sinful practice."⁸⁵ The tabloid media ridiculed him for his flamboyance, making fun of his appearance and style rather than commenting anything substantial on his announcement.⁸⁶ Importantly, this interview aired only hours after Cardinal Basil Hume, the Archbishop of Westminster and Head of the English Catholic Church, released a statement condoning homosexual affection while still "condemning its physical expression."⁸⁷ In the midst of 'Tell the Truth,' the Anglican world faced a crisis. OutRage!'s accusations caused ripples and divisions within the Church as the wider Christian world moved closer towards accepting homosexuality. How would the Church of England respond?

Bishop David Hope

David Hope was ordained by the Anglican Church in 1965. He soon became the principal of St. Stephen's House Oxford, a school often described as "Sodom and Gomorrah."⁸⁸ Dr. Hope cracked down on the rampant alcoholism and homosexuality in the school. He garnered the nickname 'Ena the Terrible' due to harsh treatment of disobedient students.⁸⁹ He then became a bishop in 1985 and was promoted to Bishop of London in 1991.⁹⁰ The Bishop of London is the

⁸⁵Ted Harrison, "A bishop comes out," *Church Times*, March 3, 1995 (Church Times Jul-Dec 1994/1994 Index. Lambeth Palace Library).

⁸⁶Andrew Brown, "What a week it was...for gas and the Church," *Independent*, March 10, 1995 (Folder 14 - Christian Clergy/OutRage! Bishopsgate Institute).

⁸⁷Grove, "I realised."

⁸⁸Greg Hadfield, "Bachelor who cleaned up Sodom and Gomorrah," *Daily Mail*, March 14, 1995 (Ma/CoE/1990s/LAGNA. Bishopsgate Institute).

⁸⁹Greg Hadfield, "Bachelor who cleaned up Sodom and Gomorrah."

⁹⁰Alex Hendry, "Prude nicknamed Ena the Terrible by his students," *Daily Express*. March 14, 1995 (Ma/CoE/1990s/LAGNA. Bishopsgate Institute).

third most senior position in the Church. The Church chose Hope for this role to clean up the London diocese, known for its homosexual clergy.⁹¹

On March 13th, 1995, Bishop Hope held a press conference at London House. He announced that he had received a “threatening” letter from Peter Tatchell and accused OutRage! of attempting to ‘out’ him as a homosexual if Bishop Hope did not ‘come out’ himself. Hope felt “deeply distressed” and held the press conference to clear the air on his sexuality.⁹² Bishop Hope explained that he practiced celibacy, choosing to live a single life. In regard to his sexuality, his identity was more complicated: “some may choose to describe themselves as being homosexual or as heterosexual — for some the area is slightly grayer. And all I’m saying is that that’s the sort of area I find myself in.”⁹³

He then turned his attention to OutRage! and the ‘Tell the Truth’ campaign. He called the group's efforts “profoundly disturbing” and “intimidatory,” and criticized the lack of substantial evidence proving the ‘outing’ claims.⁹⁴ He then questioned the ethics of ‘outing’ and the deep intrusion into the private lives of the bishops, asking “to what extent [should] any person...be subjected to such intrusion...to accomplish someone else’s agenda?”⁹⁵

Hope held this press conference months after receiving the letter. In January, Bishop Hope and Peter Tatchell met in-person for forty minutes about “wide-ranging” topics. Afterwards, Tatchell handed Hope the letter, sealed in an envelope “to save [him] any embarrassment.”⁹⁶ In the letter, Tatchell claimed to have secret information about Hope’s

⁹¹Hendry, “Prude nicknamed Ena the Terrible by his students.”

⁹²Longley and Fenton, “Bishop tells of distress,” (Bishopsgate Institute).

⁹³Bill Mouland and Anthony Doran, “Blackmailing of the bishop,” *Daily Mail*, March 14, 1995 (Ma/CoE/1990s/LAGNA. Bishopsgate Institute).

⁹⁴Mouland and Doran, “Blackmailing of the bishop.”

⁹⁵Mouland and Doran, “Blackmailing of the bishop.”

⁹⁶Betty Saunders, “‘Trying to be as open as I can,” *Church Times*, March 17, 1995 (Church Times Jan-Jun 1995/1995 Index. Lambeth Palace Library).

sexuality, but chose not to ‘out’ Hope with the ten other bishops, putting the onus on the bishop to ‘come out’ himself. He encouraged Hope to “find the inner strength and conviction to realize the importance of voluntarily coming out as gay.”⁹⁷ Tatchell cited homosexuality within the laity and clergy, anti-gay legislation, and the Church’s torrid history of homophobia as reasons for Hope to ‘come out’. Tatchell ended the letter by imploring Bishop Hope to recognize that his ‘coming out’ would change the course of Anglican history.⁹⁸

Quickly after Bishop Hope’s announcement, the Anglican community rallied around him. In a letter of solidarity, the World Conference of Anglican Primates wrote “we express to you our solidarity in deploring this reprehensible intrusion into your private life. We assure you as a body that we stand against this kind of provocation.”⁹⁹ Anglican journalist Terry Waite also verbalized his support for Hope, believing that the bishop responded to the accusation with honesty and coolness, bravely reclaiming his narrative. Hope “[transformed] a damaging episode into a helpful...one,” and opened the possibility for more discussion on the topic of homosexuality.¹⁰⁰ Many, including Waite, considered this moment “some indication that the Church can tackle the issue of sexuality calmly and openly...with dignity and love” as Hope did.¹⁰¹

The Bishop of Southwark, Rt. Rev. Roy Williamson, used this moment to speak out against the ban on homosexual clergy. He told the *Standard* that when considering to ordain a priest, he focused on morality rather than the “private affair” of one’s sexuality¹⁰² Archbishop

⁹⁷Peter Tatchell to Rt. Rev. David Hope, December 30, 1994 (Ma/CoE/1990s/LAGNA. Bishopsgate Institute).

⁹⁸Tatchell to Rt. Rev. David Hope.

⁹⁹Betty Saunders, “Primates rally around Hope,” *Church Times*, March 17, 1995 (Church Times Jan-Jun 1995/1995 Index. Lambeth Palace Library).

¹⁰⁰Terry Waite, “Confounding the bullies,” *Church Times*, March 17, 1995 (Church Times Jan-Jun 1995/1995 Index. Lambeth Palace Library).

¹⁰¹Waite, “Confounding the bullies.”

¹⁰²Geraint Smith, “I would ordain gay priests says bishop,” *Standard*, March 14, 1995. (Ma/CoE/1990s/LAGNA, Bishopsgate Institute).

Carey diametrically opposed Williamson's words, yet stated that if "people do not cause suspicion or scandal, we don't poke our noses into people's business."¹⁰³ Here, the Archbishop reaffirmed OutRage!'s claim that the Church hypocritically failed to actually enforce their strict anti-homosexual clergymen rule. Nonetheless, Williamson's words cut deep into the heart of the disagreement within the Church. His spokesman summed up the nature of the debate well, when he expressed "the fact is that the Church is divided. Everyone has an opinion on homosexuality, and the opinions differ in the Church as in the rest of society."¹⁰⁴

Conservatives within the Church feared that this moment moved the Church into the wrong direction. Reform, a conservative Evangelical group, threatened to leave the Church of England over the fear of homosexuals within the clergy.¹⁰⁵ They saw this potential change in Church ruling as antithetical to the Bible and the Church's values. The group warned that Anglicans "might soon be in a church where their minister has been in bed on Saturday night having anal intercourse and other genital activity with his boyfriend, and then on Sunday morning preaching and handing the holy communion to them."¹⁰⁶ While espousing deeply homophobic views, Reform garnered support from similarly concerned Anglicans.

Other debates occurred within the Church after Bishop Hope's announcement. While most disagreed with OutRage!'s methods, many believed the Church had a duty to clarify its stance on homosexuality, once and for all. Conservative church members called for the Evangelical Leader's Conference to "clarify 'beyond any doubt' their attitude towards

¹⁰³Smith, "I would ordain gay priests says bishop."

¹⁰⁴Smith, "I would ordain gay priests says bishop."

¹⁰⁵Cole Morton, "Reform keeps pressure on bishop," *Church Times*, March 31, 1995 (Church Times Jan-Jun 1995/1995 Index. Lambeth Palace Library).

¹⁰⁶Revd. Peter W. Youle, "Reform the concerns of 'ordinary Anglicans'," *Church Times*, April 7, 1995 (Church Times Jan-Jun 1995/1995 Index. Lambeth Palace Library).

homosexuality...that homosexual genital acts are wrong for both clergy and laity.”¹⁰⁷ On the other side, the Action for Gay and Lesbian Ordination launched, an organization that

“[demanded] that gays and lesbians be treated the same as heterosexuals by the Church.”¹⁰⁸

While the debate between OutRage! and the Church remained a fixture of the tabloid press, the important internal debates and conflicts provided a better vision of the Church’s diverse opinion on the issue. Following Bishop Hope’s press conference, there emerged a “concerted attempt to seize the agenda for the next decade in the Church of England.”¹⁰⁹

Interestingly, Tatchell and OutRage! appeared mostly absent from *Church Times* coverage of ‘Tell the Truth’ and Bishop Hope. Apart from the initial coverage of the press conference, focus remained solely on the Church. Hope attempted, as Waite argued, to deny OutRage! the power to “set the agenda in the Church’s debate on homosexuality.”¹¹⁰ In fact, the ‘outing’ caused primates to call for an open debate on homosexuality in a pastoral letter, recognizing that clear discrepancies existed between the rules and realities of homosexuals within the clergy.¹¹¹ The Church did not attempt to hide this event; instead, Anglicans came together to confront this issue as a community through open discussion and conversation.

The ‘outing’ of Dr. Hope had little impact on his career trajectory. Less than a month after his press conference, the *Church Times* announced that Bishop Hope of London had been promoted to Archbishop of York, the second highest ranking leader in the Church of England.¹¹²

¹⁰⁷“Reform wants gays to be opposed,” *Church of England Newspaper*, December 16, 1994 (Ma/CoE/1990s/LAGNA. Bishopsgate Institute).

¹⁰⁸Ruth Gledhill, “Church split by campaign to ordain homosexuals,” *Time*, March 10, 1995 (Ma/CoE/1990s/LAGNA. Bishopsgate Institute).

¹⁰⁹William Oddie, “Will the Church surrender to the gay lobby?” *Daily Mail*, December 17, 1995 (Ma/CoE/1990s/LAGNA. Bishopsgate Institute).

¹¹⁰ Oddie, “Will the Church surrender to the gay lobby?”

¹¹¹Cole Morton, “Primates agonise over sexual expression,” *Church Times*, March 24, 1995 (Church Times Jan-Jun 1995/1995 Index. Lambeth Palace Library).

¹¹²Betty Saunders, “London to lose Hope to York,” *Church Times*, April 13, 1995 (Church Times Jan-Jun 1995/1995 Index. Lambeth Palace Library).

Citing his ‘outing’ as only “another obstacle from his path,” church members praised Dr. Hope for his “deep spiritually, firmness of purpose,” and “clear mind.”¹¹³ If anything, Dr. Hope’s response to his ‘outing’ brought him more success. The laity and clergy alike revered Hope as a true, calm leader within the Church who was able to handle difficulty with faith and poise.

The Debate Surrounding ‘Outing’

While this essay focused mostly on the media coverage of ‘Tell the Truth’ and other ‘outing’ campaigns, debates on the ethics of this political tactic began in the 1990s between scholars and activists. How do those who pursue careers in queer history, theory, and activism understand and explain ‘outing’?

Peter Tatchell succinctly describes ‘outing’ as “legitimate self-defense against a hypocritical and homophobic society.”¹¹⁴ When lobbying and politeness cannot change the minds of politicians, brute force and direct action are the only ways to create change. He believes that ‘outing’ is morally justified when it “can help destroy the power and credibility of gay public figures who harm other lesbians and gay men.”¹¹⁵ By making LGBTQ+ people unsafe and unable to freely ‘come out,’ politicians and public figures lose their own right to privacy. Malcolm Sutherland, OutRage! member, expresses a similar ideology to Tatchell regarding ‘outing.’ Sutherland believes that ‘outing’ exposes a “form of hypocrisy which is dangerous for gay men and women.”¹¹⁶ In short, ‘outing’ is morally permissible when public figures appear

¹¹³Betty Saunders, “Praise for clear mind.,” *Church Times*, April 13, 1995 (Church Times Jan-Jun 1995/1995 Index. Lambeth Palace Library).

¹¹⁴ Peter Tatchell, “In Defence Of Outing – The Ethics Of Naming Names,” *Peter Tatchell*, February 21, 1995.

¹¹⁵ Tatchell, “In Defence Of Outing – The Ethics Of Naming Names.”

¹¹⁶Derek Jarman and Malcolm Sutherland, “A helpful shove off the straight and narrow,” *Guardian*, July 31, 1991 (Folder 8 - Outing/OutRage! Bishopsgate Institute).

dangerous for queer communities and when ‘outing’ can stifle their ability to pursue such attacks.

Anya Palmer argues that ‘outing’ is “the perfect way to force lesbian and gay issues on the agenda.” As long as hypocritical, closeted homosexuals hold office, ‘outing’ will exist. She sees the ‘outing’ perpetuated by OutRage! as a manifestation of the anger queer people feel towards a government and church who refuse to accept their equality and right to love as equal to their fellow citizens. While Palmer sees ‘outing’ as unsustainable and somewhat ineffective, she defends the right of queer folks to turn to ‘outing’ if homophobes attempt to stifle queer life and liberty.¹¹⁷

One major debate that emerges concerning ‘Tell the Truth’ pinned the tabloid press against OutRage!. If the tabloid press made millions from ‘outing’ celebrities, why did they attack OutRage! for doing the same in a fight for liberation and equality? At the time, Suzanne Moore argued against this double-standard between homophobia disguised as “investigative journalism” and queer activism painted as an immoral invasion of privacy. While criticizing ‘outing’ for lying out-of-touch with progressive queer politics, she defended OutRage!’s right to use “homophobia as a weapon.”¹¹⁸ Generally, those in favor of ‘outing’ do not see the practice as particularly effective or practical, yet defend the right of queer groups to ‘out’ as a protest method.

On the other hand, many queer radicals find fault with ‘outing.’ Simon Watney, one of the founders of OutRage!, does not deny how “ideologically brilliant...[‘Tell the Truth’] revealed the depths of anti-gay prejudice amongst journalists” yet believes that the act of ‘outing’

¹¹⁷Anya Palmer, “Outing is the issue which splits the gay community,” *Guardian*, March 15, 1995 (Ma/CoE/1990s/LAGNA. Bishopsgate Institute).

¹¹⁸Suzanne Moore, “Straight talking,” *Guardian*, March 16, 1995 (Ma/CoE/1990s/LAGNA. Bishopsgate Institute).

leans into “the normative values of the dominant sexual epistemology.” Watney argues that radical queerness becomes less about a shared “homosexual desire” among queer people, but about “the social experience of discrimination and prejudice.” Queerness is more than just a sexual identity, and thus, these closeted homophobic figures do not fall into the category of queer. ‘Outing’ leans into a heteronormative understanding of sexuality and society and takes attention away from true queer radicals making positive change in communities.¹¹⁹

In Ronald Broach’s “Does human dignity require outing homosexuals?” the author responds to previous arguments from queer activists who write that a rejection of ‘outing’ accepts queer worthlessness and “[endorses] the view that being gay is loathsome and disgusting.”¹²⁰ Broach disagrees with this claim. ‘Outing’ does not protect queer identity. Instead, ‘outing’ makes some queer people more susceptible to harm from others. The issue of homophobia does not lie within individual homosexuals or homophobes, but with society as a whole. Society must change before gay groups reveal an individual’s private lives to the public. Broach argues that ‘outing’ is an overly broad and overly corrective method to solving a deeper issue. To him, ‘outing’ is an ineffective method to solve this issue.¹²¹ Clearly, there is little consensus on ‘outing’ as a practice. Gay communities remain conflicted about the practice, unsure if the ends justify the means.

¹¹⁹Simon Watney, “Queer epistemology: activism, ‘outing’, and the politics of sexual identities,” *Critical Quarterly* 36, no. 1 (March 1994).

¹²⁰Ronald J. Broach, “Does Human Dignity Require Outing Homosexuals?” *Journal of Social Philosophy* 29, no. 2 (June 2008).

¹²¹Broach, “Does Human Dignity Require Outing Homosexuals?”

Conclusion

In 1994, OutRage! ‘outed’ important figures in the Church of England to push for Anglican support for homosexuality, especially within the clergy. In the end, OutRage! publicly ‘outed’ fourteen bishops, and two additional bishops claimed that OutRage! privately pressured them to ‘come out,’ as well. None of these bishops faced repercussions from the Church and many of them continued to serve for the rest of their lives. In 1995, Dr. Hope revealed that despite his accusation that Tatchell’s letter caused his announcement, he in fact called the press conference after a writer for the *Daily Telegraph* “gave him the impression that he was going to be exposed by OutRage!” which OutRage! refuted.¹²²

Peter Tatchell’s claim that Bishop David Hope’s ‘outing’ and press conference led to substantial and tangible change within the Church of England remains unfounded. In the press conference, Bishop Hope explained his celibacy and admitted that he never acted upon his sexual ambiguity. Church doctrine accepts and welcomes this form of sexual expression. The *1991 Issue on Sexuality* states that a member of the clergy who is homosexual but celibate should share this with their congregation if they “desire...to be free to live among their neighbours with dignity and without concealment, unembarrassed.”¹²³ Church doctrine encouraged Bishop Hope’s ‘coming out.’ While Bishop Hope did not necessarily make this announcement on his own terms, the Church of England rallied so quickly around him because he did not break any barriers as a bishop – his identity fell perfectly into Anglican doctrine.

It remains difficult to find a clear link between ‘Tell the Truth’ and genuine change in the Church of England. Even some of Tatchell’s claims about progress are misleading or somewhat exaggerated. He claimed that the “world conference of Anglican primates...issued a statement of

¹²²“Dr. Hope: Was he pushed or did he jump?,” *OutRage!: Queer Intelligence Service*, last modified July 29, 1999.

¹²³*Issues*, 46.

solidarity and called on the Church to rethink their attitude on homosexuality.”¹²⁴ While they did issue a statement in support of Bishop Hope, they only referred to a future debate on the issue of homosexuality – in my research, the Church used this same sentiment constantly wherever they faced a controversial issue – and no substantial debate was ever reported. Tatchell also claimed that the campaign “opened up greater acceptance of gay priests, resulting in a number of individuals feeling able to come out for the first time.”¹²⁵ Only in 2016 did the first Anglican bishop ‘come out’ as a practicing homosexual, over twenty years after ‘Tell the Truth.’¹²⁶ Clearly, the rare instances of open homosexuality within the clergy lie inconsistent with Tatchell’s claims.

However, ‘Tell the Truth’ succeeded in two vital aspects. First, throughout my research, I encountered hundreds of newspaper articles on FROCS, ‘Tell the Truth,’ and Bishop Hope. OutRage! had the connection to get their message across to all of Britain. Even if the British tabloids were disapproval of these methods and repudiated gay rights organizations with blatantly homophobic rhetoric, millions of people read about OutRage!’s ‘outing’ efforts every day, bringing this political tool to the forefront of British society.

Second, OutRage!’s efforts sparked public conversation within the Anglican Church. On Hope’s ‘outing,’ Terry Waite wrote that “[Bishop Hope] has no wish to let [OutRage!] set the agenda in the Church’s debate on homosexuality, but he has provided them with yet more column-inches of attention, albeit mostly hostile ones.”¹²⁷ Even if the Anglican Church and Bishop Hope rejected the methods of OutRage!, they had no choice but to respond to the claims

¹²⁴Lucas, *Outrage!*, 195.

¹²⁵Lucas, *Outrage!*, 195.

¹²⁶Harriet Sherwood, “Bishop of Grantham first C of E bishop to declare he is in gay relationship,” *Guardian*, September 2, 2016.

¹²⁷Waite, “Confounding,” (Lambeth Palace Library).

and thus give validity to the ‘Tell the Truth’ movement. The public ‘outings’ brought the quiet conversations within the Church to the forefront of the Anglican community, as seen through the constant coverage from the *Church Times*. Without ‘Tell the Truth,’ these internal debates may have remained hidden for longer.

Today, ‘Tell the Truth,’ is a forgotten moment in Anglican history. Few if any scholars have discussed this campaign and the effects of OutRage! on the Church of England. While ‘outing’ remains a controversial and unpopular method, OutRage!’s impactful employment of this political tool to bring their issues to the forefront of British society and the Anglican community must be remembered for its courage and savvy. As the debate about ‘outing’ continues, ‘Tell the Truth’ is a vital testcase to understand how ‘outing’ can be employed, as well as the method’s impact.

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Article 4

Beans and Beer: Analyzing the Transition of English Coffeehouses and Taverns from the 17th to the 18th Century in Terms of Public Sphere

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BEANS AND BEER: ANALYZING THE TRANSITION OF ENGLISH COFFEEHOUSES AND TAVERNS FROM THE 17th TO THE 18th CENTURY IN TERMS OF PUBLIC SPHERE

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Abstract: This paper examines the transition of English coffeehouses and taverns from the 17th to the 18th century, focusing on their role within the public sphere. The 17th century witnessed a surge in social interaction and information exchange in Europe, particularly in England where the Glorious Revolution broadened the avenues for free expression. This period saw significant infrastructural improvements and economic growth in London, drawing a diverse populace engaged in various industries. Coffeehouses emerged during this era, inspired by traditional drinking establishments like alehouses, inns, and taverns, and soon became integral to metropolitan life. This study utilizes primary accounts from Samuel Pepys and Dr. Alexander Hamilton to explore how these venues served as crucial platforms for social interaction across different social strata, thus contributing to the development of the public sphere. The paper argues that while these establishments initially facilitated diverse social integration, the 18th century saw a shift towards more segmented interaction based on economic, professional, or social similarities, which diluted the robustness of the public sphere. This transition is analyzed through the contrasting dynamics in these establishments, as documented in Pepys' and Hamilton's writings, reflecting broader social and cultural shifts in England during the transition from a predominantly rural to a more urbanized society. The findings suggest that the evolution of coffeehouses and taverns from inclusive to more exclusive venues mirrors the changes in the English public sphere, highlighting a gradual decline in its inclusivity and representativeness.

The seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Europe witnessed a dramatic shift in the magnitude of social interaction and information exchange as technological innovation and novel ideologies abounded. In England, for instance, the Glorious Revolution² culminated in social, political and economic enfranchisement that subsequently engendered wider avenues for free expression.³ While England was still a rural-majority country, its seventeenth-century infrastructural improvements and

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² The Glorious Revolution was a series of events from 1688–89 that led to the deposition of King James II and the empowerment of the English Parliament. Changes in Parliament were seen through the institution of the Bill of Rights that would grant the body rights such as the freedom of speech and the right to independently meet.

³ *Encyclopedia Britannica*, s.v. "Oliver Cromwell," by Maurice Ashley and John S. Morrill, accessed December 9, 2021, <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Oliver-Cromwell>.

rising employment opportunities enabled the exponential growth of London.⁴ With industries that required skills developed across the spectrum of educational backgrounds, London brought together a diverse population of people united under a common ambition to seize opportunity.⁵ Inspired by the hospitality of the alehouses, inns, and taverns that dominated the earlier two centuries, coffeehouses, once established, evolved into a staple of metropolitan life.⁶ Together, drinking-houses and coffeehouses acted as the loci of exchange.⁷ By contextualizing the origins and dynamics of these spaces through the lenses of Samuel Pepys (1633-1703) and Dr. Alexander Hamilton (1712 -1756), this paper seeks to understand how both environments contributed to the growing public sphere by bringing together men from various social positions. Commercial-recreational spaces were originally oriented to bridge the private lives of their patrons by establishing areas open to all. However, eighteenth-century spaces began to partition guests based on economic, professional, or social likeness. In effect, the strength of the public sphere decreased from the seventeenth to the eighteenth century, as the constituents of the “public” became a misrepresentation of society’s population.⁸

In particular, the similarities and differences between coffeehouses and drinking-houses in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries will be explored through selections from *Diaries of Samuel Pepys*, which covers experiences in London, and *Gentleman's Progress: The Itinerarium of Dr. Alexander Hamilton*, which describes his travels in the American northeast. Having chronicled his time in both kinds of establishments, Samuel Pepys allows us to witness a primary interpretation of the social dynamics of drinking-houses and coffeehouses in the second half of the seventeenth century.⁹ A well-off man living in colonial British America, Dr. Alexander Hamilton wrote accounts of the culture of

⁴ Matthew White, “The Rise of Cities in the 18th Century” (British Library, 2009), <https://www.bl.uk/georgian-britain/articles/the-rise-of-cities-in-the-18th-century>.

⁵ White, “The Rise of Cities in the 18th Century.”

⁶ Alejandro Colás, “The Public Sphere: Eating and Drinking in Public” in *Food, Politics, and Society: Social Theory and the Modern Food System*, 1st ed., (University of California Press, 2018), 104.

⁷ Colás, “The Public Sphere,” 98.

⁸ Jurgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society* (The MIT Press, 2001), 1, 7.

⁹ Colás, “The Public Sphere,” 94.

patrons in drinking-houses and coffeehouses that illuminate the shift from between-group to within-group public association over time. While Pepys' and Hamilton's descriptions of coffeehouses and drinking-houses differ in that Pepys focuses on England whereas Hamilton discusses colonial British America, both accounts demonstrate how the social culture of each area was influenced by elite and non-elite hierarchies and the presence of urbanization. This overlap allows these two geographically disparate experiences to offer valid insight into the examination of English drinking-houses and coffeehouses from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.¹⁰

In comparing how both kinds of establishments developed over time through a historical and anecdotal lens, this paper investigates how English drinking-houses and coffeehouses influenced the development of the public sphere. Imbued with their own particularities and styles, both institutions forged histories of service, hospitality, and commerce to provide a forum where public opinion thrived and, therefore, enriched the public sphere. The turn of the eighteenth century witnessed a reduction in social class mixture in English drinking-houses and coffeehouses that weakened the public sphere.¹¹

Samuel Pepys was born in 1633 near London as the fifth child to working-class parents. He channeled his humble beginnings as a source of inspiration to rise to prominence as a leader in governmental, academic, commercial, and, through his acclaimed *Diaries*, literary fields. Departing from the countryside for education, Pepys attended various preparatory schools in London, eventually matriculating to receive a Bachelor's (1653) and Master's degree (1660) from Magdalene College, in Cambridge, England. In December 1655, he married Elizabeth Marchant, the fifteen-year-old daughter of a French refugee. Through descriptions of his marital relationship, Pepys conveyed the turbulence and disloyalty of this union. In his professional life, Pepys shared a close relationship with Edward Montagu, a naval captain in good standing with Oliver Cromwell, who inducted him into powerful

¹⁰ Valérie Capdeville, "Transferring the British Club Model to the American Colonies: MAP," *Revue De La Société D'études Anglo-Américaines Des XVIIe Et XVIIIe Siècles* (Dec. 2017), <https://doi.org/10.4000/1718.867>.

¹¹ Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*, 7.

circles.¹² Because of his diligence and growing network, Pepys was promoted from a clerk to a treasurer in three years. After being sent to Africa to become the commissioner and eventually, treasurer of Tangier, Morocco, a former colony of the British Empire, Pepys sought a more enriching career. Pepys' desire to operationalize his attentiveness and serve the state led him to take a post that would strategize the expenses of the Royal Navy. He guided the English Navy through the trials of the 1665 Great Plague and the 1666 Great Fire of London. Pepys' deteriorating eyesight, as well as his increasingly busy professional life, led him to discontinue his diary in 1669. By then, his writings had covered nine years of his life. In cataloging his personal and work life amidst England's unstable mid-to-late-century political scene, Pepys' *Diaries* are revered by scholars for their encapsulation of everyday life. Pepys does not shy away from topics that might have been considered mundane or self-effacing, thus providing a genuine experience of a middle-aged adult in the burgeoning bourgeois community. Entries of the *Diaries* that feature trips to drinking-houses and coffeehouses allow readers to experience the nature of these communities. In 1673, Pepys' departed from his position to become the secretary to the new commission of the Admiralty. He then continued to rise through the ranks of naval power. Despite his dramatic entanglement in the 1678 murder of London Magistrate Sir Edmund Berry Godfrey, for which his framed charges on the death were eventually dropped, Pepys is best remembered for his endeavor to strengthen the British Navy. He died on May 26, 1703, in London.¹³ The selected entries for this paper are his works from 1659 to 1663.

Dr. Alexander Hamilton's experience as a member of the academically and socially affluent class would inform his perception of eighteenth-century British colonial society in the Americas. Alexander Hamilton was born on September 26th, 1712, near Edinburgh, Scotland. Hamilton's

¹² Edward Montagu (1625-1672) was an English admiral who was responsible for bringing "Charles II to England at the Restoration in 1660" and "fought in the Second and Third Dutch Wars" (Morrill). ³ Oliver Cromwell (1599-1658) was an English soldier, commander and public official who led the *parti forces* through the English Civil Wars and was named Lord Protector of England, Scotland, and Ireland throughout the republican Commonwealth (Ashely and Morrill)

¹³ Samuel Pepys, "Introduction, Entries from 1659-1663," in *The Diary of Samuel Pepys: A Selection* (Penguin Books: London, 2003).

father's academic prosperity gave Hamilton the opportunity to study and become a doctor. In 1738, Hamilton moved to Annapolis, Maryland, to open a medical practice.¹⁴ Six years later, Hamilton traveled from Maryland to York, Maine. Throughout this journey, Hamilton catalogs the particularities of various colonial American men and women, with a focus on manifestations of class. Through his honest accounts of interactions with others of various social classes, Hamilton reveals the conventional perception of genteel men in the public. Like Pepys' diary, the scholarly value of Hamilton's work is grounded in its authenticity.

Upon returning from Maine, Hamilton founded the Tuesday Society in 1745, a social club in Annapolis, Maryland that served men of wealth and power.¹⁵ Soon after, Hamilton married Margaret Dulany of the prominent Dulany family. Hamilton believed that the status he obtained through marriage made him a competitive candidate for political office. Accordingly, he occupied a seat on the Maryland Assembly from 1753 to 1754. On May 11th, 1756, Hamilton died at the age of 43.¹⁶

English coffeehouses and drinking-houses synthesized private enterprise and public space, and in effect, centralized public sentiment into a public sphere. As early as the thirteenth century, the emergence of trade-capitalism among city-states created cross-class dialogue through the exchange of goods and services. As the localities where trade thrived, cities blossomed into hubs of public knowledge. In effect, an additional commodity arose: news.¹⁷ At this juncture, "publicity" was reengineered to be defined by and serve the public.¹⁸ Wanting to capitalize on the industriousness of its people for its own gain, the state exercised regulation that deepened the tenuous dichotomy between the "nation" and the "people." In this, the forces of the "people" became known as the "public" and, in

¹⁴ Robert Micklus, "The Delightful Instruction of Dr Alexander Hamilton's Itinerarium," *American Literature* 60 (1988): 359.

¹⁵ Capdeville, "Transferring the British Club Model."

¹⁶ Alexander Hamilton, *Gentleman's Progress: The Itinerarium of Dr. Alexander Hamilton, 1744*, ed. Carl Bridenbaugh (University of Pittsburgh Press, 1948).

¹⁷ Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*, 16, 20.

¹⁸ Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*, 2.

their common association and opinion, the “public sphere.” While lacking the traditional physicality of other forms of power, the public authority’s strength manifested in its inclusivity, durability, and enormity.¹⁹ Though commerce engendered the idea of the public as an entity of power, the potential for the body to remain powerful required infrastructure to collect and preserve its interactions. Through drinking-houses and coffeehouses, the public was able to sustain its intangible yet potent power.²⁰

The origins of coffeehouses and drinking-houses reflected a popular desire to formulate connection across social groupings and experiences. English drinking-houses heavily influenced the culture of expression of the coffeehouse. Rooted in the tradition of public drinking established in the late Middle Ages, drinking-houses evolved from open private places scattered throughout the country to places that brought together individuals seeking to create wealth beyond the home as a result of the economic opportunity at the close of the Black Death.²¹ Drinking-houses can be separated into two categories: alehouses or taverns, and inns.²² Each type maintains a different social connotation.²³ By coalescing journeyman, day laborers, poor craftsmen, and domestic servants, alehouses garnered a reputation for fostering the unification of less economically enfranchised members of society.²⁴

While inns were reserved for mercantile or professional classes who stayed overnight during business travel, taverns and alehouses serviced people from all layers of the economic hierarchy, and, in consequence, facilitated conversational and commercial exchange between levels of economic status.²⁵ While in New York, for example, Hamilton traveled to an inn where the innkeeper desired him to “walk into a room where some Boston gentleman that would be company for me in my journey

¹⁹ Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*, 17-18, 28.

²⁰ Colás, “The Public Sphere,” 98.

²¹ James Van Horn Melton, “Drinking in Public: Taverns and Coffeehouses” in *The Rise of the Public in Enlightenment Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 226, 228.

²² Colás, “The Public Sphere,” 101.

²³ Within this paper, taverns and alehouses will be used synonymously, as the primary and secondary literature incorporated into this paper also does so. This adjustment allows for a better comparison between institutions and eras.

²⁴ Melton, “Drinking in Public,” 230.

²⁵ Melton, “Drinking in Public,” 228-229.

there.”²⁶ As a traveler with status through his identity as a doctor, it is reasonable that Hamilton would be an encouraged patron of the inn. By the late-seventeenth century and early eighteenth century, taverns had become the epicenters for political discourse and allegiance formation.²⁷ By the mid-eighteenth century, there were eight thousand alehouses in London, and the value of tavern culture was firmly entrenched in the social fabric of England.

Modeled after the venues Europeans observed in the Ottoman Empire, European coffeehouses first emerged in Venice in 1645. Soon after, the first English coffeehouse was established in Oxford in 1650. London then gained its first establishments, where the same style of mercantilism that enabled the rise of the public sphere would also focus it by encouraging coffeehouse patronage through making coffee itself cheap and plentiful.²⁸ While hosting individual particularities, coffeehouses found common ground in their commitment to facilitating discourse, independent of social status and on material of “common concern.”²⁹ In creating spaces for individuals of all tiers of the period’s conventional social ladder, drinking-houses and coffeehouses facilitated the growth of the public sphere.³⁰

In the seventeenth century, the burgeoning economic and political change enabled the socially inclusive prosperity of English coffeehouses and drinking-houses. As a result of England’s political commitment to mercantilist policies that optimized the capital harvested from the colonies, the social prominence and parties of the market grew.³¹ Having established a space where the different stratas of English society could convene, both coffeehouses and taverns facilitated commercial enterprise. These endeavors, ranging from the exchange of goods to information on trade, reflected the sociological diversity of their patrons. Drinking-houses and coffeehouses were heralded as the locus for political

²⁶ Hamilton, *Gentleman's Progress*, ed. Carl Bridenbaugh, 236.

²⁷ Melton, “Drinking in Public,” 232-233.

²⁸ Melton, “Drinking in Public,” 240.

²⁹ Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*, 36.

³⁰ Melton, “Drinking in Public,” 226.

³¹ Curtis P. Nettels, “British Mercantilism and the Economic Development of the Thirteen Colonies,” *The Journal of Economic History* 12, no. 2 (1952): 106-107.

organization, discourse, and expression.³² While coffeehouse meetings were known to generate political strategy of particularly anti-royalist parties, political parties frequented drinking-houses to bemoan loss and celebrate party victories or holidays.³³ In the midst of economic and political innovation, coffeehouses and drinking-houses, through their ability to host and incentivize togetherness, allowed for the spread of businesses and philosophies. By inspiring communities of private citizens to publicize and grow their enterprises, coffeehouses and drinking-houses strengthened the public sphere.³⁴

Moreover, the accessibility of printed information due to an increase of journalism in public affairs and the newly-minted ‘press conference’ allowed for the public flourishing of economics and politics.³⁵ Beginning in the early seventeenth-century, political journals were first published at weekly rates and quickly progressed to daily publication by the mid-century. Relying on the private reportage of citizens to generate a selective flow of information, the quasi-public realm of news gave way to mass print.³⁶ Comparing Pepys’ and Hamilton’s encounters with news allows us to analyze the growth of media over the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries. Pepys’ November 23rd, 1663, diary entry shows the coffeehouse’s ability to centralize news distribution. On this day, “he called at the Coffeehouse, and there by great accident heard that a letter came that our ship was safe to come to Newcastle.” In New York, on September 1st, 1744, Hamilton attended the Hungarian Club, where there was “a deal of news by Boston papers and some private letters, and among other news, that of the Dutch having declared War against the French.”³⁷ While both examples featured newsletters, the regional scope of affairs discussed and the size of circulation were more substantial by the eighteenth

³² Melton, “Drinking in Public,” 243.

³³ Vicki Hsueh, “Intoxicated Reasons, Rational Feelings: Rethinking the Early Modern English Public Sphere,” *The Review of Politics* 78, no. 1 (2016): 31.

³⁴ Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*, 36.

³⁵ Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*, 23.

³⁶ Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*, 20.

³⁷ The Hungarian Club was a social club in New York City that had weak association to the country or culture of Hungary. Per the National Endowment for the Humanities, the club featured “Anglos pretending to be Hungarians” (Shields 2008)

century. While the magnitude of the media had grown, the place for discussion had not. In discovering their era's best form of information, Pepys' and Hamilton's show the strong connection between information distribution and commercial-recreational spaces.

Coalescing the expansion of economic, political, and print markets with the presence of the conventionally elite class, coffeehouses and drinking-houses enabled patrons of all backgrounds the opportunity to satiate their thirst for knowledge. Through providing access to individuals of higher economic or professional status, coffeehouses and drinking-houses engendered the bourgeois class.³⁸ Despite coming from different backgrounds, the bourgeois united under a common objective to thwart the traditional boundaries of class through merit.³⁹ While the bourgeois would frequent coffeehouses and drinking houses, the “buzz” of coffee against the toxicity of alcohol rendered the coffeehouse a more generative place to interact with the higher class.⁴⁰ Through these interactions, social customs of “politeness,” typically reserved for the elite, became mainstream. “Politeness” gave the “non-genteel a patina of gentility,” allowing middle-class and lower-class patrons to participate in traditionally exclusive spaces with respect from higher classes.⁴¹ While in Boston, Hamilton was frustrated when observing how the bourgeois attempted masquerading as the elite by employing verbose language absent value or meaning. Here, Hamilton remarks how he despised the “the middling sort of people” who “even in their common conversation in which their indirect and dubious answers to the plainest and fair questions,” and, instead, preferred guests who are “more polite, mannerly, and hospitable to strangers.”⁴² Because the diffusion of “politeness” encouraged all guests to ascribe to the same reserved conventions, differences of class were masked. This allowed conversations to become more focused on issues and ideas rather than superficial topics aimed at dissecting differences. Pairing

³⁸ Bourgeois can be defined as “the social order that is dominated by the so-called middle class... the term connotes a philistinism, materialism, and a striving concern for respectability” (Ryan)

³⁹ Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*, 23.

⁴⁰ Lawrence E. Klein, “Coffeehouse Civility, 1660-1714: An Aspect of Post-Courtly Culture in England,” *Huntington Library Quarterly* 59, no. 1 (1996): 32.

⁴¹ Klein, “Coffeehouse Civility,” 35.

⁴² Hamilton, *Gentleman's Progress*, ed. Carl Bridenbaugh, 285.

intellectual curiosity with civility, the bourgeois grew to power and influence, petitioning for themselves and others to have a seat at the political table.⁴³

Frequenting coffeehouses and drinking-houses as well as harnessing his intuition in order to break down barriers to entry in different fields and circles, Pepys' professional progress demonstrates an ideal progression of an individual of the bourgeois. In the November 2nd, 1663, entry in his diary, Pepys writes on how he "went abroad to the Coffeehouse, and coming back went to Sir W. Pen and there sat with him and Captain Cocke till late at night." Here, Pepys is able to engage in casual conversation with higher ranked members of the Royal Navy, such as William Penn, who soon thereafter founded and presided over the province of Pennsylvania. In gathering with these men, Pepys illustrates the capacity for the bourgeois to capitalize on the liberal communication to become learned or involved in powerful affairs. Although Pepys was already a ranked member of the Royal Navy, his association with Penn by means of the coffeehouse contributed to his success. Likewise, in an earlier diary entry, Pepys' experience in an English tavern demonstrates how that institution similarly worked to build bridges over class. In an early entry from his diary from February 11th, 1659-1660, Pepys met with a friend to go to the "3 Tun tavern and drank half a pint of wine."⁴⁴ Not liking the wine, Pepys travels to an alehouse and later goes to the Guildhall Pub alone. There, he sees a Monk who had just met with the Mayor of London and an Alderman and heard "a shout [he had] never heard in all [of his] life" crying out, "God bless your Excellence." Though Pepys' actions in this example are motivated by the practice of drinking rather than the art of conversation, his small engagement with the higher class shows the mixed social environment of taverns. While Pepys himself might have only glanced in the direction of the mayor and an alderman, the fact that his companion was able to meet them shows the

⁴³ Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*, 28.

⁴⁴ The entry cites two dates due to how from the late 12th century to 1751, the historical and civil or legal year had different beginning states. While the historical year began on January 1st, the civil year began on March 25th. Thus, all dates between January 1st and March 25th possess two end year dates, to accommodate for the historical calendar and civil calendar, where the latter would have an earlier year date. (University of Nottingham)

ease of social interaction between levels of power and influence. Further, while coffeehouses maintained a reputation for sophistication, the casualness of taverns, and the effects of the beverages they served, made for more genuine connection between patrons.⁴⁵ While both establishments maintained diverse sets of social cultures, the unrestrained presence of a higher, more empowered class of individuals enabled information diffusion, the formation of alliances, and the standardization of civic practice that, when adopted by the bourgeois, would enable their individual and collective gain.

As the eighteenth century commenced, coffeehouses and drinking-houses, in beginning to partition their free spaces for specific associations of people, eroded the integrity of the public sphere.⁴⁶ Throughout the seventeenth century, the resurgent popularity of taverns and the emergence of coffeehouses in London engendered a culture of liberal participation and expression, untethered to socioeconomic status. While other venues restricted community participation based on wealth or status, such as universities, coffeehouses and taverns capitalized on a brewing popular sentiment for knowledge and class mobility to allow free exchange and enterprise.⁴⁷ Through enabling motivated members of society to gather through a shared interest in conversation, coffeehouses and drinking-house fostered companionship and allegiances between their patrons. These unions often evolved into formal ideological groups such as political parties, or organizations, such as the London Stock Exchange (1698) and Llyod's of London (1688), an insurance market. These groups were headquartered in John's Coffeehouse in Change Alley and Lloyd's Coffeehouse, respectively.⁴⁸ In his May 28, 1663, diary entry, Pepys goes to "the coffee-house in Exchange Alley" where he "bought a little book 'Counsell to Builders,' by Sir Balth Gerbier."⁴⁹ This excerpt demonstrates the culture of informal buying and selling present in commercial-recreational spaces. The fact that John's Coffeehouse did not have a reputation for the distribution of books or being a participant in the literary

⁴⁵ Melton, "Drinking in Public," 244.

⁴⁶ Melton, "Drinking in Public," 247.

⁴⁷ Melton, "Drinking in Public," 244, 248.

⁴⁸ Melton, "Drinking in Public," 245-246.

⁴⁹ Change Alley was formerly known as Exchange Alley (The City Gent 2019)

scene strengthens the notion that coffeehouses and drinking-houses provided opportunities for market practice, regardless of the type of exchange or whether the exchange adhered to the theme of the venue in question. Yet, as discipline-based associations solidified, a desire to make their communities independent and separate from the public spaces of commercial-recreational spaces grew. This aspiration was rationalized by the logic that creating standards to entry would increase the efficiency of co-operation.⁵⁰ For coffeehouses and tavern owners, annexing additional rooms, reserving pre-existing ones, or trading booths for open tables was a lucrative move as patrons would be attracted to the ability to reap the benefits of hospitality without sacrificing privacy. In New York on September 6th, Hamilton left dinner to go to Waghorn's, a tavern, where after "having sat some time in mixed company, Major Spratt came in" and they "retired into a room by themselves."⁵¹ Electing to remove themselves from "mixed company" to have a more intimate conversation, Hamilton and Major Spratt illustrated the eighteenth century's newfound desire to seek out privacy within a public domain. In the simple insertion of "into a room by ourselves," Hamilton communicates the commonplaceness and ease with which social isolation could be achieved.

Privatization of social gatherings is exhibited by Dr. Hamilton's visits to a Philadelphia coffeehouse and a Baltimore tavern. Coffeehouses, having already drawn a reputation for a particular kind of orderly conduct, more naturally moved towards social specialization and selectivity. Similar to how Johnathan's grew to almost exclusively service stockbrokers, British colonial America satisfied the trend of instituting private space in the coffeehouse.⁵² Upon reaching Philadelphia, Dr. Hamilton was introduced to the Governor's Club at a local coffeehouse by Dr. Phineas Bond.⁵³ The Governor's Club, he learned, was a "society of gentlemen that met at the tavern every night and

⁵⁰ Melton, "Drinking in Public," 248.

⁵¹ Hamilton, *Gentleman's Progress*, ed. Carl Bridenbaugh, 310.

⁵² Melton, "Drinking in Public," 248-249.

⁵³ Dr. Phineas Bond (1717-1773) was the founder of the Philadelphia Pennsylvania Hospital and companion to Benjamin Franklin. (Penn University Archives and Record Center)

conversed on various subjects.”⁵⁴ When included among these gentlemen, Hamilton enthusiastically discusses English poems and foreign writers. This experience was a stark contrast to Hamilton’s time at Tradaway’s, a tavern in Baltimore, where the “drunken club was dismissing.” Observing their flippant manner, Hamilton goes on to satirically question “why our heads overloaded with liquor become too ponderous for our heels.”⁵⁵ Juxtaposing the behavioral and intellectual discrepancy of these encounters, it becomes evident that different social groups of the eighteenth century tended to frequent specific venues. Though some people regarded taverns more negatively for their attraction of lower-class guests and propensity for violence, the setting of the Governor's Club proves that taverns could host guests from across the socioeconomic spectrum, even if these groups didn’t amalgamate. While it is notable that the taverns of London going into the eighteenth-century became considered more refined due to a middle-to higher-class patronage, these visits were predicated on the ability to conduct private enterprise in a commercial location, not for the purpose of classless connection. In addition to separation based on professional identity, like at the Governor’s Club, selective organizations also catered to specific professions. In Boston, Hamilton goes to the “Physically Club at the Sun Tavern according to appointment, where we drank punch, smoked tobacco, and talked off sundry physical matters.”⁵⁶ Here “physically” is analogous to “physician.” In entering a tavern for a designated meeting time with a specific group in a common professional association, Hamilton's experience at the Sun Tavern exemplified the eighteenth-century desire to separate communities based on likeness. Overall, Hamilton’s time in taverns throughout British Colonial America demonstrates the eighteenth-century’s organic phenomena and planned practice of creating private dialogue within traditionally public social spaces.

While various organizations, originating from drinking-houses or coffeehouses, experienced success in the eighteenth century, the prosperity of an individual or collection of individuals is not

⁵⁴ Hamilton, *Gentleman's Progress*, ed. Carl Bridenbaugh, 191.

⁵⁵ Hamilton, *Gentleman's Progress*, ed. Carl Bridenbaugh, 180.

⁵⁶ Hamilton, *Gentleman's Progress*, ed. Carl Bridenbaugh, 263.

congruent to the prosperity of the public. Though both continued to be relevant pieces of social infrastructure, the growth of drinking-houses or coffeehouses did not necessarily represent the vitality of the public sphere, even if the institutions are considered to symbolize it. Instead, a strong public sphere is an open public sphere, a culture where all can fairly participate. Size and bargaining power may be important, but liberal incorporation of classes into social communities is a prerequisite for the sphere itself. When places that sustain the public sphere through facilitating consistent between-group interaction adopt measures to encourage or enforce within-group interaction, the public sphere deteriorates.⁵⁷ By comparing Pepys and Hamilton, the transition from between-group to within-group socialization can be examined. Through his ability to navigate between all kinds of people at drinking-houses and coffeehouses, Pepys could formulate relationships that brought him access to opportunities that lasted throughout his professional career. On the other hand, Hamilton characterized these spaces through stereotypes, and participated in them on the basis of having shared attributes with his fellow patrons. In less clear descriptions, while Hamilton's reactions towards the customers of Baltimore may be hyperbolized, the fact that he was able to make generalizations communicates the environment's social homogeneity. Hamilton's entrance into private affiliations within establishments entrenches the postulate that the eighteenth-century moved towards favoring private interactions. The fact that Hamilton founded the Tuesday Club in 1745, a membership-based social club in Annapolis, Maryland directly after his travels expressed in the *Itinerarium* makes clear the increasing cultural relevance of exclusive communities in the eighteenth-century.⁵⁸ In experiencing the public sphere through such an angle, Hamilton was unable to embrace the potential for drinking-houses and coffeehouses to enrich his perspective through cross-class dialogue. Thus, through separating the landscape of space that facilitated open, recreational discussions and association through partial or total separation of groups or types of people, eighteenth-century Europe experienced a deterioration of the public sphere.

⁵⁷ Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*, 37.

⁵⁸ Capdeville, "Transferring the British Club Model."

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Article 5

The Diné Against Spanish and American Expansion: A Southwestern Story of Ingenuity and Adaptation

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THE DINÉ AGAINST SPANISH AND AMERICAN EXPANSION: A SOUTHWESTERN STORY OF INGENUITY AND ADAPTATION

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Abstract: Through a concise historical narration of the exposure of the Diné to the arrival of the Spanish, the latter's attempts to undermine Navajo sovereignty, and finally the American expansion into Dinétah, I argue that the Diné showed great attachment to their traditional land and way of life, pushing them to resort to ingenuous strategies in order to retain what was being stolen from them, until the Navajo eventually came out as the main Indigenous player in the Southwest. I begin with an account of the early encounters with the Spanish, comparing Diné lifestyle before and after the arrival of the European settlers. Then, the notion of Navajo sovereignty is discussed: after replacing the concept in the particular Diné context, I show how, in different areas, the Navajo were successful or not at remaining sovereign. Finally, I analyze the impact of American expansion on the Navajo.

“It is difficult to imagine anything in the natural order that could have wrought the crushing changes experienced by the native peoples following the arrival of the Europeans in the Southwest. Within just a few generations, the universe as the Indians had known it ceased to exist. And Native Americans have been unable to return to their former glory and lifeways.”²

—Laurance D. Linford—

Introduction

With a population of nearly 400,000, the Navajo, or Diné, is the largest Indigenous Nation in the United States.³ The current territory is expansive, extending through parts of Arizona, northwestern New Mexico, and southeastern Utah. However, as a result of the arrival of the Spanish and, later, of American-led politics of expansion and expropriation,⁴ this land only accounts for about half of the traditional homeland, Dinétah.⁵

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² Linford, *Navajo Places*, 4.

³ Romero, ‘Navajo Nation Becomes Largest Tribe in U.S. After Pandemic Enrollment Surge’.

⁴ Iverson and Roessel, *Diné*, 102.

⁵ Linford, *Navajo Places*, 1.

The arrival of European powers and the subsequent expansion of the United States into the Southwest remodeled every aspect of Native American life, yet the Diné emerged more favorably than many of their neighbors amidst this long power struggle. This essay attempts to explain why and how the Navajo managed to overcome numerous colonial enemies to eventually arise as the largest Indian American nation in the United States. Through a concise historical narration of the exposure of the Diné to the arrival of the Spanish, the latter's attempts to undermine Navajo sovereignty, and, finally, the American expansion into Dinétah, this essay demonstrates how the Diné's strong attachment to their traditional land and way of life pushed them to resort to ingenious strategies in order to retain what was being stolen from them, such that the Navajo eventually emerged as the main Indigenous player in the Southwest.

I begin with an account of the early encounters with the Spanish, comparing Diné lifestyle before and after the arrival of the European settlers. I next discuss the notion of Navajo sovereignty. After placing the concept of sovereignty in the particular Diné context, I show how, in different areas, the Navajo were successful or unsuccessful at retaining sovereignty. Finally, I analyze the impact of American expansion on the Navajo.

The Navajo Nation Before and After the Arrival of European Settlers

General Background

Archaeological and traditional accounts differ significantly on the origins of the Diné. Discrepancies were observed between modern Navajo architecture and prehistoric remnants of the area that do not apply to other tribes and nations currently living in the same region: archeologists thus deduced that they immigrated later than their Pueblo counterparts. Furthermore, linguistic anthropologists have pointed out that the Diné language contains roots found in the Athabaskan family, contrary to all surrounding Pueblo groups. From those two observations, it was concluded that the Navajo immigrated from the North some 10,000 years

ago, in what is believed to be a slow and irregular descent into the Southwest.⁶ Traditional oral accounts of the coming about of the Navajo, however, provide a substantially different explanation. The Diné are believed to have passed through three different worlds, namely the Black, Blue, and Yellow worlds, until finally reaching their current territory, the White world.⁷ An important implication of this traditional account is that the Navajo believe that they have been present in the Southwest for as long—if not longer—as other tribes:⁸ they consequently derived a strong feeling of legitimacy over the land. Later, Western attempts to expand into the Southwest would naturally not be welcomed by a nation that valued its territorial ownership to such an extent.

The Navajo Before the Arrival of the Spaniards

The Navajo emigrated to the Southwest as a nomadic nation, a rather mobile group of hunter-gatherers. Once their long immigrational journey was complete, they adopted a sedentary lifestyle, borrowing significantly from the neighboring Pueblos. Over time, waves of Puebloan and Apachean immigrants brought new ideas and resources to the Diné, such as novel ceremonial practices, more efficient farming techniques, and additional livestock. The Navajo quickly grew to become a nation characterized by its diversity, ensuring successful cultural, economic, and agricultural developments.⁹

Although quite accepting of the influence of other groups, the Diné must not be mistaken as a malleable group. Very attached to their ownership of the land, they often denied Puebloan villages their right of possession over the territory. This somewhat vertical relationship could eventually lead to resentment, and until the Europeans stepped foot in the

⁶ Linford, *Navajo Places*, 3.

⁷ Bruchac and Caduto, 'Four Worlds: The Dine Story of Creation'.

⁸ Linford, *Navajo Places*, 4.

⁹ Iverson and Roessel, *Diné*, 44.

Southwest, Navajo and Puebloans maintained tense relations all the while recognizing each other as mutually beneficial trade partners.¹⁰

The Changes Brought to the Diné by the Arrival of the Spanish.

The arrival of the Europeans was characterized by scattered exploration missions. Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca arrived first in the area in 1528, followed a decade later by the exploration of Fray Marcos de Niza and that of Francisco Vásquez de Coronado, who established the first contacts between the Navajo and the Spanish.¹¹

An important influence the Europeans had on the Diné is of a technological nature. The latter adopted the European style of herding sheep and goats, causing not only a substantial increase in agricultural efficiency, but also the emergence of new trade patterns with Puebloan nations. For instance, Diné women would spin and weave the additional wool into clothing items, blankets, and forms of artistic expressions, oftentimes with a commercial intention.¹² Moreover, the introduction of sheepherding brought an identity change, characterized by a sense of security. Exposed to an uncertain environment, the Navajo always lived in fear of a future famine. Their newly acquired farming skills, as historians Iverson and Roessel note, “provided the base for social cooperation and mutual interdependence. They began to have greater confidence not only in today, but in tomorrow as well.”¹³

The violent nature of Spanish expansion also greatly impacted the Diné way of life; facing such brutality, the relations between the Navajos and neighboring nations and villages changed. The Spanish conquistadors were eager to establish dominance over the land,¹⁴ an objective greatly incompatible with the aforementioned feeling of Navajo ownership of the

¹⁰ Iverson and Roessel, *Diné*, 44.

¹¹ Linford, *Navajo Places*, 4.

¹² Hope, ‘The Past, Present, and Future of the Navajo Nation’.

¹³ Iverson and Roessel, *Diné*, 44.

¹⁴ Iverson and Roessel, *Diné*, 45.

territory. The technological innovations brought by the Europeans were not enough to forestall tensions, and the conflict lasted for several centuries.¹⁵ Archaeological records found that bison bones and other bison-related objects were less present in the Southwest during the seventeenth century than before the Spaniards' arrival.¹⁶ This decrease was notably caused by the forced surrender of Indigenous agricultural surplus imposed by the *encomenderos* and missionaries: the Navajos, facing a food shortage, increased the frequency of their raids in Pueblo settlements.¹⁷ Puebloans began to resent the Spaniards, who had failed to implement the protection they had promised.¹⁸ The Diné and the Pueblo, beyond their own grievances and rivalries, thus developed a common enemy: the Spanish occupier. More than the collection of resources, the Spanish also coerced Southwestern Indigenous Nations into forced labor. According to Iverson and Roessel, "The Navajos suffered more from Spanish slavery than any other Native group."¹⁹ Indeed, New Mexican Church records testify to the existence of an extensive system of captivity: more than 12,000 Diné were eventually registered as prisoners of a Spanish family.²⁰ Arguably, the combination of the surrendering of agricultural resources and the Spanish-made system of forced labor brought about enormous amounts of resentment towards the colonizers, among the Navajos as well as in neighboring tribes. Eventually, the different Native groups had no choice but to gather against a common enemy, leading to the creation of a new system of alliances between Navajo, Apache, and Pueblo Native Americans. In 1680, this newly enhanced cohesiveness enabled the Native groups to successfully overthrow the Spanish.^{21,22} It appears that Navajo relations with their Indigenous neighbors

¹⁵ Iverson and Roessel, *Diné*, 43.

¹⁶ Reséndez, *The Other Slavery*, 163.

¹⁷ Bowden, 'Spanish Missions, Cultural Conflict and the Pueblo Revolt of 1680', 226.

¹⁸ Bowden, 'Spanish Missions, Cultural Conflict and the Pueblo Revolt of 1680', 226.

¹⁹ Iverson and Roessel, *Diné*, 47.

²⁰ 'Baptismal Books and Burial Books', qtd in Brugge, *Navajos in the Catholic Church Records of New Mexico 1694-1875*, 167–69.

²¹ Iverson and Roessel, *Diné*, 48.

²² Reséndez, *The Other Slavery*, 165.

were substantially reimagined: for example, the vertical but cordial relationship between Navajos and Puebloans changed with the arrival of the Europeans, to then revolve around alliances forged through the resentment of a common enemy.

In Linford's words, crushing changes were brought to the Navajos by the Spanish: although they greatly benefited from the European technological innovations, the horrendously violent nature of the Spanish expansion into the Southwest completely changed the relational structure between the Navajo, the Apache, and the Pueblo.

How the Diné Dealt with Matters of Territorial, Political, and Cultural & Personal Sovereignty Against the Spanish Colonial System *General Background*

The very concept of sovereignty was first borrowed from theology by European political philosophers in the aftermath of the Reformation in order to qualify the king as the ruler of the State.²³ The term has since taken a plethora of different meanings depending on the context in which it is applied: in present-day liberal democracies for instance, sovereignty entails a delegation of power from the people to a fairly and freely chosen leader.²⁴ In a non-Western context however, sovereignty might be difficult to measure and observe as it is only reflective of European logics of power and governance. The Diné, for example, did not possess a power structure like that of European States until recently, thus making it difficult to assess questions of Navajo sovereignty. Consequently, this essay aims at expanding the common conception of sovereignty to topics more relevant to the Diné, namely, territorial, political, and cultural & individual sovereignty. How, in each of those three sovereign domains, were the Navajos able to retain to their sovereignty against European colonizers? This section demonstrates that the Diné were rather successful at holding on to their land as well as to the

²³ Wilkins, *The Navajo Political Experience*, 15.

²⁴ *Ibid*, 16-17.

majority of their political institutions, but that they suffered great losses in terms of cultural and personal sovereignty.

Territorial Sovereignty

Evaluating the extent to which the Diné were able to hold onto their territory is a challenge. Perhaps most difficult is establishing a reliable proxy upon which to measure the losses and gains of territory, that is, finding a defined area that will serve as a comparative point for later historical developments to determine how Navajo territorial autonomy evolved. Referring to traditional Diné verbal maps can prove useful in doing so. Stories told by Navajos relate the pursuit of a monster, Tsé Naaghái (Traveling Rock), throughout Dinétah. This story is particularly relevant from a geographical standpoint, as the characters involved cross the entire Dinétah in search for Tsé Naaghái. Thus, the landmarks described by the storytellers will reflect the borders of what the Diné consider to be their traditional territorial delineation. Indeed, many landmarks of the Southwest are mentioned in the story of the pursuit of Tsé Naaghái: “He again began his journey [...] on the farther [south] side of Cotton Wood Pass [Béesh Łichíí’ Bigiizh]”,²⁵ and “To the top of “fish flows out” [Łóó’ Háálíní] sunray glided with him, to the place called “dark mountain” [Dził Dahzhinii, black mountain up above].”²⁶ By closely analyzing each landmark mentioned in the story, historians Klara Kelley and Harris Francis manage to draw out a West-to-East line, starting at the Southern rim of the Grand Canyon, passing through the Grassy Plateau of Coal Mine Mesa, the Canyon de Chelly, the Chuska Mountains, the Chaco Plateau, and ending at the Continental Divide.²⁷ Because it is most representative of traditional Navajo conceptions of territorial sovereignty, those verbal maps should be used as reference points to determine territorial fluctuations. Furthermore, it is

²⁵ Haile, ‘Appendix 2 in Tales of an Endishodi’.

²⁶ Haile, ‘Appendix 2 in Tales of an Endishodi’.

²⁷ Kelley and Francis, *A Diné History of Navajoland*, 70.

important to note that Dinétah does not represent a unified territory; rather, it is made of a very sparse Navajo population punctuated with Puebloan settlements. Thus, territorial expansions and losses can occur within Dinétah, contingent on the identity of the people invading the Navajo or being invaded by the Navajo.

On the one hand, Spanish colonization paved the way for the territorial expansion of the Navajo territory, providing the Natives with both the motive and opportunity to do so. As mentioned earlier, the Diné became a pastoral people when introduced to new techniques of sheep-breeding. Inevitably, the need for more grazing land arose, constituting a motive for expansion.²⁸ While many Puebloan peoples were intensely exposed to Spanish attacks and to the pressure of crop failures and diseases such as small pox, the Diné remained relatively safe from those harms. Surrounded by weakened neighbors, the Diné had an opening to expand their territorial influence.²⁹ Consequently, the Diné increased their territorial influence, leading the Canyon de Chelly to become the center of Navaho civilization by the end of the eighteenth century.³⁰

On the other hand, Dinétah became subject to harsher Spanish invasions in the 19th century. As soon as 1805, the Spanish launched a series of military operations conducted by a Sonoran named Antonio Narbona, eventually reaching Canyon de Chelly.³¹ This event alone represents a clear loss of territorial sovereignty: the newly established heartland of Dinétah had been violated. Yet, the Spanish attempted to go even further and tried to take over the entire Navajo territory—they were able to side with the Cañoncito, a Navajo group. In 1819 they reached the agreement that in exchange for protection, Dinétah would be conceded to the Spaniards. The Spanish were rapidly disillusioned, however. The terms they had agreed upon were only consented by the Cañoncito, while other Navajo groups immediately ostracized them

²⁸ Denetdale, *The Long Walk*, 20.

²⁹ Iverson, *Diné*, 74.

³⁰ Iverson, *Diné*, 75.

³¹ Iverson, *Diné*, 75.

and even regarded them as the enemy, thus refusing categorically to relinquish fully their territorial sovereignty.³² Therefore, it appears that the Navajo retained an important control over their homeland, albeit subject to frequent Spanish invasions and territorial takeovers.

Political Sovereignty

Due to their decentralized nature, Navajo political institutions were often considered unorthodox by Europeans. Governance as imagined by the Diné was not based on coercion and the centralization of authority, but rather on a loose version of democracy³³ that emphasized the role of the individual and their personal freedom.³⁴ Thus, this section does not focus on the extent to which Navajo governmental structures held their control over the individuals: rather, it assesses the Diné's ability to hold onto their traditional political apparatus against the Spanish invasion.

Diné governance was characterized by two emblematic institutions, both operating at their own level: the Naachid and the Naatani. The Naachid intervened at the national scale: when, every two to four years, 12 Peace Chiefs and 12 War Chiefs would meet. The institution eventually declined starting in the mid-1700s. In part because of Spanish missions, the People moved towards southerly and westerly directions of Dinétah and lost some of its former unity: five loose tribal subdivisions took shape, namely San Mateo, Chuska, Cebolleta, Canyon de Chelly, and Ojo del Oso. Overtime, the Naachid lost its gathering power, with the last meeting being reported in the 1850s.³⁵ The second institution, the Naatani, operated on a local level. They were constituted of Headmen and Headwomen whose purpose was to direct the “natural communities,” local Diné settlements made of 10 to 40 families.³⁶ Despite the Spanish

³² Iverson, *Diné*, 76-77.

³³ Democracy is meant here in a purely etymological sense: the power of the people.

³⁴ Young, *A Political History of the Navajo Tribe*, 31.

³⁵ Young, *A Political History of the Navajo Tribe*, 18.

³⁶ Wilkins, *The Navajo Political Experience*, 69.

intrusions, the decentralized nature of the Naatani ensured that it remained the main Navajo governing structure.³⁷

Moreover, Spanish attempts to replace Diné political institutions were relatively unsuccessful. Following the emergence of the five new Navajo groups mentioned earlier, the Spaniards wished to appoint a governor general to rule over the entire Indigenous nation. Don Carlos and El Pinto successively assumed that role, and although the latter was more successful than his predecessor, both were unable to get rid of the Naatani system and to establish a centralized, Spanish-led governance in Dinétah.³⁸ In terms of political sovereignty, it appears that the Diné managed to hold onto some of their institutions in spite of the Spanish invasion.

Personal and Cultural Sovereignty

Historical accounts of tribal sovereignty have emphasized the intangible spiritual and cultural force of Indigenous nations as a key component.³⁹ Thus, this essay considers that a cultural or spiritual deviation brought by European colonies—such as conversions to Christianity—represents a decline of Native sovereignty, this time in cultural and personal terms. Records from the Mexican Church bring forth the systemic conversion—whether forced or voluntary—of Navajos to Catholicism by Spanish missionaries. For instance, those records show that within Spanish households holding six or more Indigenous captives, 62% were Navajos, all of whom converted into Christianity.⁴⁰

Furthermore, it has been mentioned that the Navajo institutions greatly emphasized the role of the individual in decision-making: therefore, any large-scale infringement of the Navajo individual translates into an infringement of Diné sovereignty. The system of conversions to

³⁷ Wilkins, *The Navajo Political Experience*, 72.

³⁸ Wilkins, *The Navajo Political Experience*.

³⁹ Wilkins, *The Navajo Political Experience*, 16-17.

⁴⁰ 'Baptismal Books and Burial Books', qtd in Brugge, *Navajos in the Catholic Church Records of New Mexico 1694-1875*, 167-69.

Christianity mentioned above notably operated through the holding captive of Navajos: arguably, enough individuals were captured that it reflected a major infringement on Navajo sovereignty. By the 1860s, the Spanish practice of holding Native Americans captive was so entrenched that among the estimated 14,000 Diné living in the Navajo homeland, 12,000 are considered prisoners.⁴¹ With regards to personal and cultural sovereignty, the Diné were exposed to a systemic alienation that did not allow them to successfully hold onto their autonomy.

Although subject to significant Spanish interventionism against their territorial integrity as well as against their political institutions, it appears that the Diné were successful at retaining their sovereignty in those regards. In terms of personal and cultural sovereignty however, the Navajo were exposed to an intense Spanish-made process of alienation, leading the Native American nation to lose a great deal of agency.

The Diné Against American Expansionism: the National Era and its Toll on Navajo Sovereignty

General Background

In 1848, the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo was signed between Mexico and the United States, thereby putting an end to the Mexican-American War. The Americans were now in control of the Southwestern territory, which brought great change to local Indigenous Nations.⁴² The Diné, who had successfully retained their political institutions and territory against the Spaniards, this time lost their sovereignty to the Americans and experienced a complete redefinition of their ways of life. At the same time, a more comprehensive look shows evidence that some Diné retained significant agency over their territory, to the point that the

⁴¹ 'Baptismal Books and Burial Books', 107.

⁴² DeLay, *War of a Thousand Deserts*, 11.

current Navajo territory has been influenced by Diné decision-making, rather than by the U.S. colonial administration.

The Road to the Long Walk: First Exposures to American Expansionism

Shortly after the signing of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, a rivalry emerged between the Diné and the Americans. Although the defeat of Mexico indirectly served the Navajos' interests by neutralizing the New Mexicans, whom the Indians had been in quarrel with for decades, the Americans quickly became a new invader from the West rather than an ally against a common enemy.⁴³ Recognizing the firepower superiority of the U.S. troops, the Diné signed several treaties to guarantee peace between the two groups.⁴⁴ Those treaties, however, proved rather inefficient: only one, the Treaty of Ojo Del Oso, was ratified by the U.S. Senate, and none of those agreements were accepted and enforced by the Indigenous Nation as a whole—in large part due the decentralized organization of the Navajo. Raids and warlike activities against New Mexicans thus carried on: being an element the Americans insisted upon in several treaties, they eventually resorted to military operations against the Diné, whom they now considered enemies.⁴⁵ In 1849, Colonel John Washington walked into Navajo territory and captured and scalped Narbona, a very prominent Diné leader, in spite of his peaceful intentions.⁴⁶ Later, the Americans built Fort Defiance in Dinétah as provided under the Treaty of Ojo Del Oso, which resulted in an increase in tensions until war broke out in 1858.⁴⁷

Although the Diné suffered a great deal more from this war than the Americans, the latter remained unable to contain and control the Indigenous group. Explaining in a letter to Brigadier General Lorenzo Thomas the necessity of taming the Navajo, Officer Carleton observes that

⁴³ Denetdale, *The Long Walk*, 26.

⁴⁴ Denetdale, *The Long Walk*.

⁴⁵ Denetdale, *The Long Walk*, 25.

⁴⁶ Denetdale, *The Long Walk*, 31.

⁴⁷ 'Treaty of Ojo Del Oso'.

the strategy adopted up until this point was ineffective: military officers concluded that a forced relocation of the Diné was the best course of action.⁴⁸ Accordingly, they drafted a plan for removal, marking the beginning of the “Long Walk” to Fort Sumner.⁴⁹ The reputedly impenetrable Canyon de Chelly was thus broken into as the American military proceeded to force the Nation out of their homeland.⁵⁰ When the Diné arrived at Fort Sumner, they quickly learned that the living conditions were extremely poor and inadequate to their agricultural and nutritional habits. They were provided with small government rations and relied on the few sheep they managed to bring along, but they could not feed themselves properly and often resorted to crows, coyotes, skunks, and dead animals.⁵¹ After four years of imprisonment, conditions did not seem to improve as the US government, still struggling with economic recovery following the Civil War, could not provide the necessary resources.⁵² Thus the treaty of 1868 was signed, allowing the Diné back into Dinétah, establishing durable peace between Navajos and Americans, defining the borders of the reservation, providing help with the building of basic infrastructure, and launching an educational program according to the American model.⁵³ A notable aspect of the agreement is the redrawing of the Navajo territory: as shown on fig. 1, only section A was given to the Diné, representing a very small part of the original Dinétah, considered so sacred and valuable by its residents.

At first glance, it thus appears that the Navajo, who had been rather successful in preserving their sovereignty against the Spanish colonizers, were unable to resist the American invader, and consequently lost an exceedingly large part of their sacred territory.

⁴⁸ Carleton, ‘Letter to Brigadier General Lorenzo Thomas’, September 1862, qtd in Kelly, *Selected Correspondence of Kit Carson’s Expedition against the Navajo*, 10–11.

⁴⁹ Carson, ‘The War of the Rebellion’, 73.

⁵⁰ Carson, ‘The War of the Rebellion’, 71; Hopkins, ‘Kit Carson and the Navajo Expedition’.

⁵¹ Kelley and Francis, *A Diné History of Navajoland*, 16.

⁵² Kelley and Francis, *A Diné History of Navajoland*, 17.

⁵³ ‘Fort Sumner Treaty’.

The Post-Fort Sumner Redefining of Navajo life

As discussed earlier,⁵⁴ the Diné had been successful at maintaining their political and territorial sovereignty against the Spanish colonial power. After the Long Walk however, scholars have claimed that the Navajos were tamed for the first time,⁵⁵ losing both land and political power. Not only did their territory greatly decrease, but their way of life completely changed following the events of Fort Sumner: for instance, they now privileged peaceful and agricultural activities and never raided again.⁵⁶ From a political standpoint, they became intensely exposed to the U.S. colonial administration and, in historians Kelley and Francis's words, "[the Americans] channeled US colonizer culture into the Diné world."⁵⁷ This cultural transfer included the incorporation of different agricultural techniques, the establishment of new trade outposts, and a great geographic reorganization.⁵⁸ While these shifts marked a decrease in the Navajo's ability to hold on to their territorial and political sovereignty, this reorganization was also characterized by an important period of revitalization.⁵⁹ To the demographic expansion that quickly followed the homecoming of the Diné, the American government responded with a two-fold strategy:⁶⁰ progressive extensions of the reservation,⁶¹ and contributions to the rapid growth of livestock. As seen on fig.1, the Diné reservation gradually grew bigger, until it almost tripled compared to the original treaty provision.⁶² Regarding the United States' contribution to the rapid growth of livestock, they notably provided the Diné with loans and federal bequests, which led to strongly established trade relations with neighboring Indian and non-Indian populations.⁶³ Trading posts started

⁵⁴ Cf. Essay 2.

⁵⁵ Hopkins, 'Kit Carson and the Navajo Expedition', 61.

⁵⁶ Hopkins, 'Kit Carson and the Navajo Expedition.'

⁵⁷ Kelley and Francis, *A Diné History of Navajoland*, 18-19.

⁵⁸ Kelley and Francis, *A Diné History of Navajoland*.

⁵⁹ Iverson, *Diné*, 106-42.

⁶⁰ Kelley and Francis, *A Diné History of Navajoland*.

⁶¹ Iverson, *The Navajo Nation*, 14-16.

⁶² Each letter corresponds to an executive order increasing the Navajo reservation.

⁶³ *Ibid.*

appearing, and weaving techniques changed following the introduction of new sheep breeds: in 1883, 1.3 million pounds of Navajo wool was bought.⁶⁴ Therefore, while the aftermath of the Long Walk was not marked by a decline of the Navajo society per se, it remains that the nation lost its territorial and political autonomy and that the profound transformations it underwent were caused by the American colonial strategy rather than by internal decision-making.

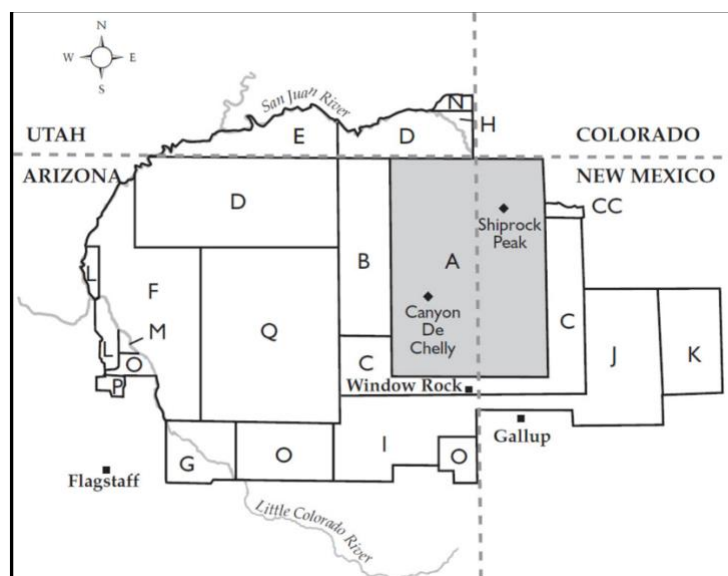


Figure 1: Boundaries of the Navajo Nation (In Iverson, *Diné*).

Our understanding of the Navajos' loss of sovereignty, however, requires more nuance. Firstly, individuals within the Indigenous Nation retained a great deal of agency: many of them decided not to comply with the 1868 Treaty, returning to their original home instead even when that meant establishing residence outside of the official reservation.⁶⁵ Moreover, most of the scholarship has focused on the Diné leadership and treaty negotiations, but because the Navajo were characterized by their decentralized nature, those accounts fall short of telling a story representative of all the Diné. Historian Robert McPherson makes the claim that numerous

⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵ Kelley and Francis, *A Diné History of Navajoland*, 18.

Navajos showed an attitude of resistance towards the American expansionists, particularly on the Northern frontier. Creating an alliance with the Paiutes and the Utes, they were able to repel the Mormons and the gentile settlers through aggressive—but not warlike—actions such as the grazing of large herds of sheep on public lands. McPherson insists that if today the Diné own the largest Indigenous reservation in the United States, it is because some Navajos, detached from a leadership engaged in treaty negotiations, were able to make it happen through strategic decision-making and coercive but measured actions. In other words, “the Navajos continued to prove that they were pawns to no one.”⁶⁶

While the American expansion in the Southwest brought crushing change to the Navajo and greatly reduced their territorial and political sovereignty, it would be unrepresentative to claim that the Navajo became a tamed group docile to the U.S government. Rather, this essay shows that if Navajo leaders did surrender to the United States, the Diné as a whole did not: through their own actions, they were able to exert influence over their territory and to finally shape what is today the Navajo Nation Reservation.

Conclusion

The Navajo suffered greatly from the Spanish colonies and the American expansionists, at whose hands it lost territory, political agency, and even personal autonomy. Despite those substantial costs, the Diné were never subdued: they resisted Spanish colonization through alliances and technological adaptations, held on to their territorial and political sovereignty, and managed to progressively extend their shrunk territory even at their darkest hour in the Long Walk.

Today’s Navajo nation is organized according to a Western model of governance, divided into the three executive, legislative, and judicial branches, and disposes of its own

⁶⁶ McPherson, *The Northern Navajo Frontier, 1860-1900*.

college as well as of a branch of public service.⁶⁷ Evidently, the modern Diné have a very strong hold on their sovereign independence: as this essay has attempted to highlight, this is the result of the Navajo's long-lasting ability to resist invaders and adapt to new challenges that allowed them to be "pawns to no one."⁶⁸

⁶⁷ 'Yá'át'ééh'.

⁶⁸ McPherson, *The Northern Navajo Frontier, 1860-1900*.

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Article 6

Kirishitan and Teppo: When Japan Encounters with Westerners

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KIRISHITAN AND TEPPU: WHEN JAPAN ENCOUNTERS WITH WESTERNERS

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Abstract: This paper introduces the first period of European-Japanese interaction, starting from 1549, when Francis Xavier S.J. landed in Kagoshima, to the early 17th Century as the Tokugawa government completely banned Christianity and restrained the rights of foreigners. This paper is primarily based on sources from the European point of view, with the accounts, statistics, and letters documented by the missionaries and businessmen. It analyzes the grounds for this encounter and how both Europeans and Japanese perceived and reacted to each other. Another primary focus of the paper is on the European impression of Japan in terms of bringing the exotic yet vastly influential Christianity and new technology. Finally, the downfall of European influence is a captivating topic that involved a series of political incidents where among the Europeans; the long-lasting conflict between Jesuits and Franciscans displeased Toyotomi Hideyoshi and the reunification of Japan after centuries also prompted Japanese rulers to be vigilant against foreigners. Some of the underexplored topics, such as population trades commanded by European traders, are also discussed in this paper.

Introduction:

Due to its particular geographical location, Japan, as a country and region, was pretty much obscure from the European parts of the world until the modern era when Matthew Perry finally opened the Japanese border through his black ships. As an island country with a size comparable to England, everything in Japan remained quite monolithic, with its ethnicity being claimed as primarily based on the Yamato and Ainu origins. These geopolitical factors enabled Japan to be a relatively independent country for thousands of years, being an active receiver of cultural differences from other countries like Korea and China instead of suffering from invasion. Yet everything above is limited up until the pre-modern period when Japanese people

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had never even thought about seeing people with blonde hair and speaking some weird languages. Following that, this paper will explore the perspectives of Japanese and European people when they first encountered each other. In a broader context, in the 16th century, Japan was able to forge relationships with European countries, principally Portugal, and benefitted from new technologies and the cultural influence of the missionaries, which propelled Japan into a new era. This period of cooperation, however, underwent a profound shift as Hideyoshi consolidated his reign and perceived the growing European influence, especially Christianity, as a potential threat to Japan's stability. Consequently, Japan's quest for unity led to the decline of interactions. Therefore, exploring such interaction and transformation is vital to understanding how Japan navigated the challenge of maintaining its independence in the changing global environment.

Medieval Japan was dull in the sense that it lacked the interaction with other countries that it had established hundreds of years earlier. The largest possible contact would be the invasion of the Yuan Dynasty when Kublai Khan issued attacks on Japan after taking over all parts of Korea and China in both 1274 and 1281. In the first attack, though the Yuan army defeated the Japanese samurai soldiers, but ended up retreating due to the lack of supplies. The second attack, much more well-known today, is when the *Kamikaze (Divine wind)* started: Yuan's army was forced to withdraw because of the great typhoon. Japan fortunately slid away from being captured by the great empire, yet the governing regime, the Kamakura Bakufu, wasn't that lucky. Since the government mobilized all the samurai and local rulers by promising to win the war and giving them land shares, the ultimate peace created significant troubles since

the government had nothing to offer as a reward. The samurai became very upset, which caused the Bakufu to be overthrown by 1333.²

The Ashikaga Bakufu, following the fall of Kamakura, needed to be in stable control of Japan. Due to constant civil wars and turmoil, the local rulers changed to Daimyo one by one, meaning they could fight each other for lands and resources without the permission of the Bakufu, and their obedience to the Bakufu was only apparent. Eventually, Bakufu's influence was limited only to Kyoto, and Japan became highly feudal during this so-called "Warring States" period.³ As the name suggested, the whole era of around 200 years was characterized by constant warfare, revolts and social upheaval. However, it also opened up many opportunities that helped Japan face the Europeans. The high liquidity within the society empowered the flow of thoughts, and upheavals and wars further mobilized the samurai and caused an upgrade in their fighting tactics. On the other hand, marching into the age of discoveries, large-scale sea piracy also helped Japan gain knowledge and exploits from other countries, thus creating an environment suitable for welcoming the arrival of Europeans later on.

Conversely, the Europeans during that era were sternly interested in discovering foreign lands, equipped with their shipbuilding and sailing technologies, and competing among several countries. Spain, Portugal, England, and France were the countries responsible for seeking hidden lands and every possible opportunity for exploration. Asia became their final destiny of colonization after Africa and the Americas. Still, owing to the distance, European colonization in Asia started relatively slow compared to their works in the Americas. Similarly, the goal of their explorations in Asia was not limited to colonization but included spreading the faith and trading.

² Lyong, Choi, and Sang, Hun Yi, *Forced Self-Reliance: The Kamakura Bakufu Defense against the Mongol Invasion of Japan*. *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 202, 52.

³ Hane, M. *Premodern Japan: A Historical Survey* (2nd ed.), Routledge, 2015, 128.
<https://doi.org/10.4324/9780429494819>.

However, Japan remained entirely unknown to Westerners, except from the documentation of Marco Polo, where he wrote down the existence of *Zipangu* (Japan). But did people take Marco Polo's words seriously at the time, considering he was examined as a liar? Therefore, neither Japan nor Europe were aware of each other's existence nor prepared to meet each other.

Europeans Came to Japan, Not Colonizing

The first encounter between Europeans and the Japanese was a total accident. In 1543, two Portuguese men went on a Chinese junk, seeking opportunities in trading around the Malacca Straits in Southeast Asia. Unexpectedly, the junk lost track because of the severe weather and finally drifted ashore on a Japanese island called Tanegashima. Even the Chinese on the cruise didn't expect this to happen, and they soon made contact with the local Japanese people.⁴ The appearance of the two Portuguese men became a blockbuster event, and what was more legendary was their possession of firearms. The Japanese local rulers were immediately amazed by the guns and asked their artisans to make copies of them. Some artisans even came from today's Osaka to Tanegashima to learn the skill of producing or instead copying the mold of the guns. As a result, the accidental visit of the two Europeans opened up the European vision of Japan, and Japan, on the other hand, also first experienced the technological advancement of Europe.

The first coming of the two Portuguese men spread the breaking news of the existence and location of Japan back in Europe. Europeans valued trading opportunities, and their activity also received broad scrutiny with views on exoticism. They weren't welcomed in China because of the locked country policy; they resided in Japan, wishing to trade with both Japanese and

⁴ Lidin, O.G, *Tanegashima - The Arrival of Europe in Japan*, (1st ed.), Routledge, 2015 <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203479575>, 22.

smugglers to China, namely the Japanese pirates (known as Wokou).⁵ This demonstrates a general shift in policy: while the Portuguese government prioritized its colonial missions in the Americas, Africa, and the Persian Gulf, Japan and the rest of the eastern and southern part of Asia was too large and far for them to establish effective colonial government as they did elsewhere. Consequently, the government mainly occupied ports that were important in location, such as Macao and Goa, and used them as footholds for expanding their influence. The actual “colonial works,” including religion and trading, were conducted chiefly through individuals rather than organized by the country. The Nanban Trade, therefore, became extremely popular for its outstanding opportunities for great earnings.

Still, why didn't the Portuguese and other European countries try to colonize Japan, as they saw Japan as a profitable country? Europeans certainly understood the resources within Japan, and the lure of enormous gold and silver mines was apparent. However, historian Brett Walker compared the Japanese people with the Tupis of Brazil and concluded that Japan won in favorable geological and physical conditions.⁶ Even though the Japanese and Tupis people were both considered belligerent and war-like, Japan, as a narrow but long island chain with numerous mountains, certainly deterred the Portuguese. Furthermore, it was acknowledged that the diseases European colonizers carried were already epidemic in Japan, which created no effect in eradicating the population. The Tupis weren't that fortunate: their resistance to the diseases was very little, and vast numbers of the people died because of that, providing fruitful conditions for the Portuguese colonizers. As a result, whether it was due to the purpose of helping to colonize or simply a coincidence is unknown to us, the Portuguese government did send Catholic

⁵ De Sousa, Lucioitor, *Global History and New Polycentric Approaches: Europe, Asia and the Americas in a World Network System*, Singapore: Springer Singapore, 2018, 165.

⁶ Walker, Brett L. *A Concise History of Japan*, Cambridge Concise Histories. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015, 88. doi:10.1017/CBO9780511783043.007.

missionaries, which became very influential in Japan's societal context. Even if Japan remained ununited with civil rivalries happening, the Europeans still didn't choose to colonize Japan but focused on cultural penetration.

We can also tell the Portuguese and the European countries at the time didn't have a clear goal in Japan from the loosely organized missionary works. A straightforward comparison could be made between Goa and Nagasaki: Goa was captured by Portuguese colonists with the primary goal of establishing a European-like society and assimilating the local culture while remaining absolutely loyal to the Portuguese government.⁷ Alphonse Albuquerque also attributed all of his power to the Portuguese king, saying, "Your Highness should publicly reprimand those who serve you ill in India and publicly commend those who serve you well and zealously. It is your advantage to do this because your service and your policies are advanced thereby."⁸ The reason for the elaborate treatment of Goa was its geopolitical importance, as Goa was a standpoint of the trade route from the Indian Ocean to the Red Sea. This was one of the most profitable trading routes in the world since it carried all the spices and gems in India to Europe, and Portuguese people almost took a monopoly over this route. Meanwhile, Nagasaki, another port city that the Portuguese essentially founded, became significant only because it was in southern and western Japan, thus closer to China and other countries. However, Japan remained a relatively isolated area, and even trading with China and Korea was already impracticable; there weren't many countries left around Japan except the Philippines, which the rival Spaniards colonized. In contrast, Albuquerque could easily travel and build connections around the Indian Ocean due to good geological knowledge and the extensive routes. As a result, he documented that traveling

⁷ Coutinho, Verissimo, *Goa's History of Education: A Case Study of Portuguese Colonialism*, Dissertations 1568, 1975, 116.

⁸ Earle, T.F., and John Villiers, eds. *Albuquerque: Caesar of the East. Selected Texts by Afonso de Albuquerque and His Son*. Liverpool University Press, 1990, 139. <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctv16zjjbh>.

around countries such as Malacca and Pegu⁹ was so convenient that it was almost a routine. Thus, all the trade that came to Japan was spontaneous, while the Portuguese government wasn't involved in it.

Similarly, the coming of the missionaries was more of a voluntary act than a forced mission. For instance, Francis Xavier became interested in Japan after hearing about this newly founded nation while still doing missionary work in India. Still, the mechanism of their missionary works in Japan was almost entirely different from in the Americas: as Europeans didn't colonize Japan, those missionaries kept an equal status with the Japanese people when they were in Japan, therefore creating the condition favorable of mutual understanding and learning.¹⁰ The small number of missionaries in Japan also proved this point. Alessandro Valignano suggested that by 1584, the number of missionaries in Japan was no fewer than 85.¹¹ Compared with the rapidly growing population of Japanese Christians, such sheer contrast demonstrates the loose attention from both Rome and the Portuguese government. In a sentence, Japan was a less reachable and desirable place for the Portuguese government; instead, it was more of an individual and visionary act from the missionaries in different parts of Asia.

European Introduction of Christianity, The Works of Missionaries, and The Clash With Buddhism

Francis Xavier, a Portuguese missionary and also one of the co-founders of the Jesuits, was the first to come to Japan as a missionary. In 1549, accompanied by a Japanese who spoke Portuguese, Xavier came to Kyushu and then traveled around the western parts of Japan. He

⁹ Earle, *Albuquerque: Caesar of the East*, 143.

¹⁰ Rubiés, Joan-Pau. "Real and Imaginary Dialogues in the Jesuit Mission of Sixteenth-Century Japan." *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 55, no. 2/3 (2012): 449. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/41725627>.

¹¹ Moran, Mr J F, and J. F. Moran. "The Japanese and the Jesuits: Alessandro Valignano in Sixteenth Century Japan." Routledge and CRC Press, 2014, 2.

made some good impressions on Japanese people with the initial record of bringing around a thousand Japanese people into the faith of God when he was preaching in the cities of Yamaguchi and Funai. However, considering he stayed for more than two years in Japan, and compared with later missionaries, there indeed were some area limitations Xavier experienced.¹²

Xavier's initial impression of Japanese people was very positive. All ordinary people showed respect and obedience to their local lords, and the samurai were also loyal to the lords because of their sense of honor. They also hated cheating and stealing, while in Europe, those traits were so familiar.¹³ His description of the monks is the exact opposite. He described the chaos and disorganization of the Buddhistic sects, that "disputes and controversies often arise, with individuals striving to prove the superiority of their own rule."¹⁴ Xavier's conversations with Ninxint, an old monk, shaped his view on Buddhism: they thought of worldly things in general, didn't restrict their behaviors, and wasted too much time on things of indulgence. He also witnessed similar acts of selling indulgence: the monks asked for alms and claimed the more they gave, the wealthier and happier they would live in the afterlife. The negative opinion on Buddhism is further imprinted on Xavier, which marked the hostility between the two religions.

Xavier recognized Buddhism and the monks as the greatest enemies of Christianity in Japan. One of the most significant conflicts happened when the local ruler invited him to talk with the monks. The atmosphere was tit for tat: the monks constantly challenged the teachings of Xavier about God. They contended with Xavier's doctrines that there was only one heaven and no reincarnation by arguing there should be different heavens for different people and that the

¹² Ellis, Robert Richmond. "'The Best Thus Far Discovered': The Japanese in the Letters of Francisco Xavier." *Hispanic Review* 71, no. 2 (2003), 155. <https://doi.org/10.2307/3247185>.

¹³ Coleridge Henry James. 1872. *The Life and Letters of St. Francis Xavier*. London: Burns and Oates, 263.

¹⁴ Coleridge, *The Life and Letters of St. Francis Xavier*, 332.

next world is a reward for this life.¹⁵ Xavier's ultimate response was that Christians were humble in front of God and the teachings of Jesus and were subject to making mistakes, thus trying to partition themselves from the monks. Interestingly, such debate between the two different teachings was never resolved and continued to exist through the following decades. Another anecdote that witnessed Xavier's hatred of the monks is when Xavier was using *Deus* to call God, the monks poignantly called that into the problem by saying the Portuguese pronunciation of God sounded like a liar in Japanese, therefore arguing that the basis of Christianity is wrong.¹⁶

However, even though this incident clearly shows how the monks presented an anti-Christian attitude towards the missionaries, I think there were some reasons other than simply being attributed to xenophobia. Compared with the Japanese traders and manufacturers who appreciated the coming of Europeans because of the profits brought by technological advancement, as I've mentioned above, the monks stood for the interest of the whole class. Therefore, monks were much more stubborn since they were afraid of the turmoil that could possibly end the existing social structure and bring about great turmoil (which did happen as the Shimabara Rebellion occurred in 1638). Moreover, similar to what the Roman Church did in the Age of Reformation, the monks were unwilling to give up their established religious teaching and hierarchy system. The miscommunication was another reason, as the Jesuits initially came from Goa; the monks thought Christianity was another branch of Buddhism following the teaching of Sakyamuni, thus generating colossal contempt.¹⁷

Also, religions are closely tied to politics; for example, the missionaries greatly influenced some daimyo like Otomo Sorin in Kyushu. The direct result of his conversion was his

¹⁵ Coleridge, *The Life and Letters of St. Francis Xavier*, 326.

¹⁶ Coleridge, *The Life and Letters of St. Francis Xavier*, 330.

¹⁷ Rubiés, Joan-Pau. *Real and Imaginary Dialogues in the Jesuit Mission of Sixteenth-Century Japan*, 465.

ambitious plan of establishing a Catholic kingdom in Japan, which provided him *casus bellis* for attacking the surrounding heretic daimyo.¹⁸ This shows that after the missionaries better understood Japan's history and current situations, they began to exercise their power from being both foreigners and missionaries into Japanese politics. This appears to be very useful for missionaries to go down-to-earth and expand their influences to all classes, but ultimately led to Toyotomi Hideyoshi and Tokugawa Ieyasu's distrust of their desire to manipulate politics.

On the other hand, the resolute behavior of the monks also proved beneficial to Christianity in Japan. It urged the missionaries to be more competitive in spreading Christianity in competition with Buddhism, thus resulting in adaptation to Japanese culture and coming up with a much better understanding of Japanese thoughts and behaviors. Otherwise, Xavier understood that Christianity would never be on the same level as Buddhism. In the letter from Cosmes de Torres, the successor of Xavier, about missionaries in Japan, he emphasized the importance of the missionaries showing "humility" and devoting themselves to penetrating society.¹⁹ I think this is a beautiful demonstration of the mutual-beneficial part of the religions in Japan since both Buddhism and Christianity were now aware of the importance of enhancing their behaviors when interacting with the people. Indeed, later in the 1580s, Alessandro Valignano even regarded the Buddhists as role models; he appreciated the bonzes' spiritual exercises and "their dignity and gravity,"²⁰ a vastly different method from his predecessors. However, the exercise of such a brilliant notion wasn't successful as Valignano noticed some Jesuits were too arrogant that they believed the Japanese could never fully understand their

¹⁸ Strathern, Alan. *Immanent Power and Empirical Religiosity: Conversion of the Daimyo of Kyushu, 1560–1580*. *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 47, no. 2, 2020, 262. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/26966455>.

¹⁹ Ruiz-de-Medina, Juan (ed.). 1990. *Documentos del Japón 1547-1557*, Monumentica Historica Societates Iesu 137. Rome, Jesuit Historical Institute, 217.

²⁰ Boxer C. R. 1951. *The Christian Century in Japan 1549-1650*, Manchester: Carcanet in association with the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, 83.

teachings.²¹ Therefore, from this contradiction, we can easily understand the various thoughts the Jesuits obtained in their missionary works and the conflict between them, thus foreseeing the ultimate failure and prohibition.

Buddhism was troublesome to almost all the missionaries from the beginning to the end due to its historical longevity in Japan, Luis Frois was one of them. Frois was a Jesuit close to some powerful daimyo, such as Oda Nobunaga, who harshly criticized Buddhism in Japan. Buddhism came to Japan some one thousand years earlier, way before the arrival of the Europeans. It was the single dominant religion in Japan, and has remained as such to this day. The primary benefit of Buddhism compared with Christianity was that it was already integrated into the Japanese culture itself, even into Shintoism, the native religion in Japan similar to Animism. However, almost all the Jesuits who came to Japan argued critically about the legitimacy of such a deep-rooted religion. Frois' central argument was that "the bonzes enter religious life to live in pleasure and ease and to escape hardships."²² In his book comparing all the differences between Europeans and Japanese, he critiqued Japan in this part concerning religion. We have to admit that on some occasions, his comments seem very radical and one-sided, especially this one: "When the bonzes get tired of religion, they either marry or become soldiers,"²³ while not mentioning how the Church became decadent over the centuries in the Middle Ages, that ironically the Popes now became the most significant source of corruption. Sarcastically, half a decade earlier, Martin Luther proposed his Ninety-five Theses directly targeting the corruption within the Church and the brazen act of selling indulgence.

²¹ Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan 1549-1650*, 87.

²² Frois, Luis, S.J. *The First European Description of Japan, 1585: A Critical English-Language Edition of Striking Contrasts in the Customs of Europe and Japan by Luis Frois, S.J.* (D.T. Reff, & R. Danford, Eds.; R. Gill, Trans.; 1st ed.). Routledge, 2014, 94. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315852140>.

²³ Frois, *The First European Description of Japan*, 97.

Nevertheless, Frois' descriptions generally captured the power and influence of Buddhism in Japan concurrently. They pointed out that Buddhism and the bonzes had already become a class in the society, which wasn't different from Samurai. This further implies the obstacles that Christianity had to deal with, separating the monks from the ordinary people. Like Xavier, Frois also believed that the monks were the real problems in the society, and the opinion of the peasants remained the same. Meanwhile, Frois's acidic comments on Buddhism also established the reason for their missionary work. Japanese citizens who sensed the monks' malfeasances would naturally lean more toward the Christians, thus providing better conditions for spreading the faith.

From the perspective of the Japanese people, the coming of Xavier and Christianity was something they thought interesting, and they kept being curious about learning from Xavier. Xavier introduced them to European astronomical views, and his audiences were so into it since they had never thought of the universe. The curiosity among Japanese people was a triggering factor that helped the Europeans increase their influence, and the missionaries spread the faith. Xavier also concluded that compared with the teaching of reason and intellect, the Buddhist teaching had more to do with morality and restrictions on desires. Xavier seemed content with such differences and ensured that such qualities made Japanese people suitable for accepting Christianity, and he used the example that the first Japanese converts "whom within a month he had converted to the faith, [and became] men of the highest quality in the kingdom."²⁴

Christianity's influence made even some of the most potent daimyo so intoxicated with the Nanban culture. Oda Nobunaga, the leader of the Oda clan who almost united Japan before his sudden assassination, was a devout student of European thought and technology. Militarily,

²⁴ Coleridge, *The Life and Letters of St. Francis Xavier*, 311.

he decisively saw the promising future of Teppo (firearms) in his wars and promoted them to the whole of his army. Moreover, he showed a taste in all the European goods. As a daimyo, Nobunaga has been showing his taste for collections of luxurious or renowned artifacts, such as teacups, following the traditional Japanese way of appreciating those items. Such action contained the goal of showing off his influence: having a collection of highly renowned artifacts translates into the accumulation of political power and legitimacy of Nobunaga's domination.²⁵ Therefore, it is apparent that Nobunaga's preference for European goods, such as clocks and globes, could also demonstrate his regime's power. Still, we cannot ignore that Nobunaga, the most innovative ruler in the Sengoku period, was fascinated by the new European gadgets. Natural curiosity and desire for new things caused Nobunaga to favor European technology and his tolerance of Christianity. Nobunaga enjoyed talking with missionaries, including Luis Frois, and finally, in 1580, even allowed the Jesuits to open up a seminary in the city of Kyoto.²⁶ All of this evidence demonstrates the positive impression Christianity had on the rulers and governors of Japan. Thus, it's not hard to understand the rapidity of the spread of Christianity during the reign of Nobunaga.

New Technologies And Cultural Influences From Europe And Their Impact

Christianity remained influential ever since it landed in Japan, yet that wasn't the only thing European people brought to Japan. Most conveniently, through trade, the European dealers and ships brought numerous technological advancements into Japan that none of the Japanese

²⁵ Pitelka, Morgan. "*Famous Objects: Treasures, Trophies, and Warrior Power*," University of Hawai'i Press, 2016, 26. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctvvn521.7>.

²⁶ Hiraoka, Ryūji. "*Jesuits and Western Clock in Japan's 'Christian Century' (1549-c.1650)*." *Journal of Jesuit Studies* 7, no. 2, 2020, 204-220, <https://doi.org/10.1163/22141332-00702004>.

people had even imagined. Therefore, this essay section primarily introduces Japan's technical and cultural aspects adapted from foreigners.

Japan's geological features, such as being a long set of islands with significant coastlines, created ideal conditions for regional trading, except that most countries were pretty far by distance. However, in the 16th century, after the Europeans had improved their ability to ship, Japan's preponderance came to appear. Sakai, a city in the central area near Kyoto and Osaka, became that era's most important trading center. The prosperity of Sakai was a direct cause of economic growth in the Ashikaga period, which was also linked to the improvement of agricultural techniques. Economic prosperity came with an increasing level of fluidity, i.e., the demographic movement within the society, and that led straight to the industry of money industry and banks. This gave rise to many ports and trade cities. Sakai emerged as a significant autonomous trading town governed by a council of 36 elders²⁷, which recalled huge resemblances with the Venetian Republic in Europe. The city even had its military power and was also paying for the sohei (monk soldiers) so that the sohei might govern their independence. It was only until the advent of Oda Nobunaga, who opposed the existence of such a regime as a threat, and managed to control it, that the city's autonomy rapidly declined.

With its particular supremacy over other ports and trading cities, as described above, Sakai became the most important one because of the preference of the Westerners and consolidated its relationship with foreign trading. Previously, the trade centers were in Western Japan, such as in Kyushu, since they were easily accessible and the Western lords did not engage much with foreigners. After the Westerners became well-known, the center shifted to Sakai, and now it became a city entirely of Europeans.

²⁷ Hane, *Premodern Japan*, 138.

As we've described, trading was a spontaneous work driven by the desire for profits. Thus, it created problems related to the Japanese government and the missionaries. In 1583, in his *Sumario*, Valignano criticized the moves of the Portuguese traders, that "they often go to places against the padres' wishes, there is always much jealousy and rivalry between these lords, from which follow in turn great toil and moil to the padres and Christianity."²⁸ He described the devastating consequences that the missionaries couldn't cope with the traders and criticized their myopia since the competition between the business people caused distrust of the local rulers and affected the reputation of the missionaries. Another essential downside of the trade, as we would discuss more on Hideyoshi's decision to ban Christianity, was the slave trade. Portuguese traders were enthusiastic about purchasing slaves from some local rulers, which created extreme disgust for Hideyoshi and his people, which I will emphasize more later in the discussion.

Regarding technological advancement, firearms were inevitably the most essential thing Europeans brought to Japan, decisively changing Japanese warfare. Nevertheless, after Europeans came to Japan in 1543, the first *Teppo* was produced in Sakai the following year. At the start of the years, producing firearms was brutal: the craftsmen were building a model copying the European guns; the greatest difficulty occurred on the screw, that Japan was yet to be introduced screws, so the artisans were merely creating replicas for all the individual screws. That was indeed time-consuming.²⁹ Another fact was the early production of firearms was quite dangerous, and the artisans could not restore the delicate designs of the firearms; plus, the soldiers weren't so skilled in manipulating the guns. Thus, cases of self-explosion often occurred in the early years. However, with more and more Europeans coming to Japan, their teaching of

²⁸ Cooper, Michael, S.J. *They Came to Japan*, Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1965, 97.

²⁹ Lidin, Tanegashima, *The Arrival of Europe in Japan*, 102.

techniques and selling of updated types of firearms greatly facilitated the use of firearms in Japanese warfare. The issue of lack of iron was also conquered, as Japan imported a great amount of iron from India and Thailand, facilitated by the shipping routes created by the Europeans.³⁰ It was believed that as early as 1549, in one of the battles in Kyushu, the Satsuma clan was already using firearms.³¹ By the end of this period, the amount of firearms obtained symbolized the power of each daimyo and his army. Oda Nobunaga, one of the first daimyo to purchase firearms, was dedicated to equipping his soldiers with firearms, resulting from his dominance in Japan. In conclusion, the Europeans' technologies, such as firearms, and the prosperity that occurred with their trading, greatly facilitated Japan's keeping up with the most influential European countries at the time, with some downsides, such as the slave trade.

The Downfall of European Influence And The “End” of Christianity in Japan

The decline of Christianity and foreigners was of many causes. In general, since the *Bateran Edict* in 1587, the freedom of missionaries and the tolerance of Christianity and foreigners in Japan were in constant decline. Such rapid change was the immediate cause of a unified Japan. For the rulers after Oda Nobunaga, Christianity was an imaginary enemy, especially people living in the era who had all experienced the devastating effects of the riots from Buddhist sects. However, we do have to recognize that before the *Bateran Edict*, Hideyoshi's attitude towards Christianity was amiable; in the re-distribution of the lands after he unified Japan, he treated the Christian daimyo very well and provided a reasonable amount of land for them.³² Yet 1587 is still marked as a period of decisive changes, and there's enough

³⁰ Lidin, Tanegashima, *The Arrival of Europe in Japan*, 62.

³¹ Lidin, Tanegashima, *The Arrival of Europe in Japan*, 62.

³² Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan 1549-1650*, 144.

reason to conclude Hideyoshi's previous friendliness was indeed a camouflage. In 1587, after Hideyoshi had successfully captured Kyushu, he assumed control over the whole of Japan, and the help of missionaries and the Christian daimyos seemed unnecessary, even quite dangerous.

The *Bateran Edict* in 1587, announced by Toyotomi Hideyoshi, marked the start of the banning of Christianity. There were three significant things mentioned: Only the lower classes were free to choose the faith they wanted, while the lords were forbidden to force them into conversion; Congregations of Christian people can be even more dangerous than the Buddhist riots; the vassals and local lords must understand the lands they acquired were temporary, that Hideyoshi himself had ultimate superiority over them.³³ All of these demonstrated Hideyoshi's desire to consolidate and stabilize his regime: in his design, Japan was under his control. Therefore, none of the local lords he appointed were as powerful as those of Daimyo in the previous decades. For the economy to prosper, it was of the utmost importance to have the peasants remain unaffected by politics and religious turmoils. In contrast, there were frequent incidents with the local lords changing religious beliefs, and the people started losing faith in the lords. For Hideyoshi, the one who unified Japan, such incidents were intolerable for the people's living and economic growth. In addition, in Hideyoshi's mindset, he also sensed the potential danger of Christianity growing as powerful as the *ikko-ikkei* movement—massive, collective, and systematic Buddhist riots that troubled Japan for decades until the 1570s. The high degree of organization and levels within the Christian Church, plus Jesuits and Portugal's tight connection with the actual religious leader, the Pope, made Hideyoshi fully aware of their power.³⁴ The replica had already existed in Japan, where the Honnoji and its massive monk soldiers created so

³³ Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan 1549-1650*, 148.

³⁴ Boscaro, Adriana. *Toyotomi Hideyoshi and the 1587 Edicts Against Christianity*. *Oriens Extremus* 20, no. 2, 1973, 227. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/44001284>.

many troubles for Oda Nobunaga that even he couldn't eradicate them all. Still, this edict, compared with the later total banning of Christianity, appeared to be mild since it never actually mentioned banning Christians; what it was doing was more of a regulation for the behaviors of the missionaries. On the other hand, this was a period when Japan experienced openness, and everything became different in the next decade.

Another primary reason for Hideyoshi's transition, which later developed into the disgust of Christianity, was a much less well-known yet gloomy aspect: the slave trade. Unfortunately, this is one of the very opposing sides of the European arrival. In 1587, Hideyoshi suddenly issued queries to the Jesuit General Gaspar Coelho, and one of the four questions was, "Why do the Portuguese buy many Japanese and export them from their native land as slaves?"³⁵ This was indeed contradictory to the ideals the missionaries had been preaching, and Coelho's response was in extreme panic. He passed the buck to the Portuguese businessmen and Japanese local lords by claiming they were the ones only concerned about monetary profits and promoted the trade of slaves, who were usually local Japanese prisoners.³⁶ There were many reasons for the Portuguese to perform the slave trade in Japan: it was believed that the Chinese and Japanese slaves were smarter and better than other slaves.³⁷ The slave trade was also quickly and massively profitable, and the Portuguese were notoriously known for their experience in the slave trade. As a result, the missionaries almost lost all of their rights and properties, and it was under the efforts and decent behaviors of Valignano that the Jesuits regained their status in Japan three years later.

³⁵ Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan 1549-1650*, 146.

³⁶ Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan 1549-1650*, 147.

³⁷ Saunders A. C. de C. M., *A Social History of Black Slaves and Freedmen in Portugal 1441-1555*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010, 168.

Interestingly, Mendes Pinto, a mysterious traveler and businessman who claimed to be traveling with Francis Xavier to Japan but was often challenged, documented that some Japanese rulers also had enslaved women.³⁸ In addition, one of the Jesuits also criticized the slave trade, especially the trade for sex, by saying: “A girl’s own father, mother, or brothers—without any feeling of shame on the part of any of those concerned—will without hesitation sell her as a prostitute before she is married, for a few pence, under the pressure of poverty.”³⁹ Here, he directed the spearhead against the morality of the Japanese people while acknowledging the reality of their poverty and their miserable conditions. All these details demonstrate one thing: after four decades of interaction between Europeans and Japanese people, their understanding of each other became much more apparent, and many flaws of Japanese culture stopped being obscure. Surely, Hideyoshi was aiming for complete control of the population, and he ordered the land inspection and population census, after which he decided to abolish slavery. However, we also have a sense of how the tension was built through the understanding of each other’s flaws.

On the other hand, regarding Christianity, there was a reason it stopped being favored by Toyotomi Hideyoshi: the conflict and antagonism between the Jesuits and Franciscans. After the Iberian Union in 1580, the Portuguese people remained in constant disbelief and resentment towards the Spanish people, and such national sentiment also transferred to the two Christian orders. The Jesuits, with the most support from Portugal, came the earliest, thus establishing a large population of believers. Yet the Franciscans, based in Spain, later competed with the Jesuits using a different strategy. Jesuits attracted most nobles and daimyos by the end of the

³⁸ Pinto, Mendes. *The Travels of Mendes Pinto*. University of Chicago Press, 2013, Chapter 141.

³⁹ Cooper, *They Came to Japan*, 64.

16th Century. At the same time, according to their mendicant disciplines, the Franciscans were immediately favored by most people experiencing poverty. The Jesuits were more traditional in their methods, while the mendicant orders were much more radical. Valignano, the person in charge of the Jesuits' missionary work in Japan, excluded the Franciscans as he desired the Jesuits' dominance in Japan. In his *Sumario*, Valignano informed Rome about the importance of Jesuits' dominance in Japan and pinpointed the inconveniences brought by the lack of collaboration or even the negative impression from the works of the other Christian orders.⁴⁰ This proved to be correct, that even when Hideyoshi banned public preaching, and the Jesuits followed it strictly by preaching clandestinely, the Franciscans believed they had secured the relationship with Hideyoshi and were rampant against the Bateran Edict.⁴¹

The culmination of the worsened circumstances was the 26 Christian Martyrs in 1597. The *San Felipe* incident was the direct cause of the great purge of Christians in Japan. In 1596, the shipwrecked *San Felipe* from New Mexico reached the shores of Japan. After an investigation by the Japanese government, the ship's captain referred to the missionaries by arguing their work was not to convert and take control of Japan. Hideyoshi immediately became furious and ordered his people to investigate accordingly. However, it was also believed that Hideyoshi voraciously desired the gold and goods on *San Felipe* and that everything was designed to be a plot to seize the goods.⁴² The incident became even more complicated and uncanny, and both Jesuits and Franciscans blamed each other for being responsible for enraging Hideyoshi. In a conversation with Joao Rodrigues, one of the influential missionaries in Japan in the final decades, he confessed that he didn't offer help to the Franciscans and Spaniards because

⁴⁰ Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan 1549-1650*, 154.

⁴¹ Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan 1549-1650*, 163.

⁴² Chen, Xizi. *Squabbles Between the Jesuits and the Franciscans: A Historical Review of Policies of Two Christian Orders in Japan*, *Trans/form/ação* 46, no. 1, 2023, 246.

they didn't consult the Jesuits.⁴³ Nevertheless, on February 5, 1597, 26 Christians, with the majority being Japanese believers and four Franciscan friars, were crucified in Nagasaki, the symbolic trading city.⁴⁴

However, even after such a brutal incident, Christianity and the missionaries remained prosperous for almost twenty years until Tokugawa Ieyasu unified Japan and established the Tokugawa Bakufu. This demonstrates that Toyotomi Hideyoshi was using this incident to target the rampant foreigners and manifest his absolute power, where he could even order the foreigners to death. Still, we must recognize that Japan was, in the long run, fighting against the Koreans, and Hideyoshi was losing popularity. Thus, we can conclude that partly because Hideyoshi relied on the Europeans to provide weaponry and cooperate with the Jesuits and partly due to his declining control of Japan, the foreign community still persisted for a while after his death. The ban on foreigners came when Tokugawa Ieyasu took charge following Hideyoshi's death in 1598. The number of Jesuits until 1615 was consistently above 100, showing the still loose policy until the Tokugawa government consolidated its power. From 1614 to 1615, the number of Jesuits dropped drastically from 118 to 53, showing a fundamental change in policy, which was concurrent with the eradication of the remaining Toyotomi clan in the siege of Osaka.⁴⁵ The siege of Osaka also destroyed Sakai and the following European communities.⁴⁶ Essentially, after becoming one of the most potent *Shoguns* (leaders of Bakufu) in history and distributing most of the lands to his descendants and daimyo loyal to him, he didn't need anything from the Europeans and missionaries. In a shocking turn, as we can imagine, in the age

⁴³ Cooper, *They came to Japan*, 125.

⁴⁴ Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan 1549-1650*, 166.

⁴⁵ Schutte, Josef Franz, S.J. *Introductio ad Historiam Societatis Jesu in Japonia 1549- 1650*, Roma, 1968, 379.

⁴⁶ Cooper, *They came to Japan*, 254.

of peace, weaponry was the most dangerous and unnecessary thing for the government. Therefore, it became reasonable for Ieyasu to ban everything related to the Europeans. We can also connect the lines of reasoning between Ieyasu and Hideyoshi, that Hideyoshi directly pointed out: “I have received information that in your kingdoms the promulgation of the law is a stick and deceit by which you overcome other kingdoms,”⁴⁷ showing extreme disgust and the concern on Japan being the next target of colonization. Therefore, the two rulers' transition in attitudes toward Europeans showed that they never trusted the Europeans but manipulated them for their purposes in a qualified way.

Finally, in 1635, the son of Ieyasu, Tokugawa Iemitsu, issued the *Sakoku Edict* (lock-country edict). This highly harsh edict forbade the coming of all foreigners, as well as Japanese going abroad, not even any ship.⁴⁸ This was a real ban, and Japan virtually disappeared from the world's knowledge by forbidding all global interactions, which marked the end of a century of European and Japanese engagement. Until this year, all the arguments from the missionaries and the trading spots and stores established by the Europeans came to a finale. But that doesn't mean they were all meaningless, as the Europeans returned to Japan two centuries later.

Conclusion

If we move our sight a little bit in the span of history to the world where Matthew Perry just knocked out the Japanese lock-country policy, and Europeans and Americans returned to Japan after almost three centuries, shall we ask ourselves, if Japan remained open, would it be

⁴⁷ Chen, *Squabbles Between the Jesuits and the Franciscans*, 248.

⁴⁸ Vaporis, C.N., & Vaporis, C. *Voices of Early Modern Japan: Contemporary Accounts of Daily Life During the Age of the Shoguns* (2nd ed.). Routledge, 2020, 99. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003005292>

advantageous or disadvantageous to the whole country in the face of an open, global, yet dangerous environment?

It was true that Japan slacked behind and discarded the opportunities to keep up with European countries from the starting lines. Sarcastically, the abdication of Tokugawa Yoshinobu was directly caused by the Japanese people's anger towards the government's fainted response to foreign threats of colonization. This was the opposite of Ieyasu's design, which was supposed to protect the Japanese people from alien invasion. However, we have to recognize that Japan remained well-off for more than two hundred years, and its unity was beneficial to its rapid growth and prosperity after the Meiji Reformation.

If we compare Japan with China, we realize that the two countries were adopting very similar lock-country policies. Yet, the response in the face of foreign invasion in the 19th century was vastly different: Japan quickly transformed its power from the Shogun and local rulers to a centralized government following the world's current. At the same time, China put in massive efforts, but all types of corruption and resistance existed. One reason was that Japanese people were well aware of the changing global situation and clearly understood in the 19th century that remaining isolationism was killing Japan. Different from the 16th century when they still had choices to make themselves, now there was this single way left, and they had to execute their decision.

From the tremendous momentum brought by the Europeans in the 16th century, Japan managed to maintain its independence and import helpful knowledge from the Europeans, as well as the attempt to believe in Christianity. When they perceived threats, the rulers decided to isolate Japan from other countries, a decision from the modern view was considered a double-

edged sword. The 16th century was such a turbulent time, and the Japanese people managed to survive firmly and were recognized by the Europeans.

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