

History Today

May 2016
Vol 66 Issue 5

Flower of Scotland

*The romance
and the reality
of the Jacobite
Rebellion*



First World War

The creation of a
cyborg soldier

Ancient Rome

The Emperor
Domitian's eunuch

Space Exploration

An astronaut realises
a medieval dream

HistoryToday

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Print managed by Webmart Ltd. 01869 321321.

Printed at W. Gibbons & Sons Ltd, Willenhall, UK.

Distributed by MarketForce 020 3787 9001 (UK & RoW) and Disticor 905 619 6565 (North America).

History Today (ISSN No: 0018-2753, USPS No: 246-580) is published monthly by History Today Ltd, GBR and distributed in the USA by Asendia USA, 17B S Middlesex Ave, Monroe NJ 08831. Periodicals postage paid New Brunswick, NJ and additional mailing offices. Postmaster: send address changes to History Today, 701C Ashland Avenue, Folcroft PA 19032. Subscription records are maintained at History Today Ltd, 2nd Floor, 9/10 Staple Inn, London WC1V 7QH, UK.

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Total Average Net Circulation
18,556 Jan-Dec 2014



Black and white history: an anti-Ranter tract published in London in 1650.

FROM THE EDITOR

GARY SHEFFIELD, the combative historian of the First World War, responded with contempt to a local television company's plans to make a programme about the first day of the Somme (though barely anything of the battle's five-month course). 'My toleration of such stuff is very low at the moment', he wrote. Referring to government plans to commemorate the events of July 1st, 1916 with a nationwide vigil, he was similarly unimpressed: 'I resigned from a committee a few weeks ago because I wouldn't put up with dumbing-down any longer ... No context whatsoever. No attempt at education, explanation or interpretation. Again.' He went on to recommend Stephen Badsey's 'A Muddy Vision of the Great War', his critique of television coverage of the centenary of the beginning of the conflict, published in *History Today* in May 2015.

Historians as conscientious as Sheffield have to counter a desire for certainty, which extends far beyond the demands of television producers. A simplistic, black and white world view colours much public debate at the moment, on subjects as diverse as the European Union, the Middle East, Scottish nationalism and, most strikingly, in the unedifying sight of the race to become president of the United States, a position for which a nuanced, complex view of the world might be thought mandatory.

It is crucial that historians maintain their fundamental maxim: 'It is a bit more complicated than that.' The temptation to simplify or to make glib, anachronistic parallels with the past should be avoided at all costs, though it can seduce even the finest minds.

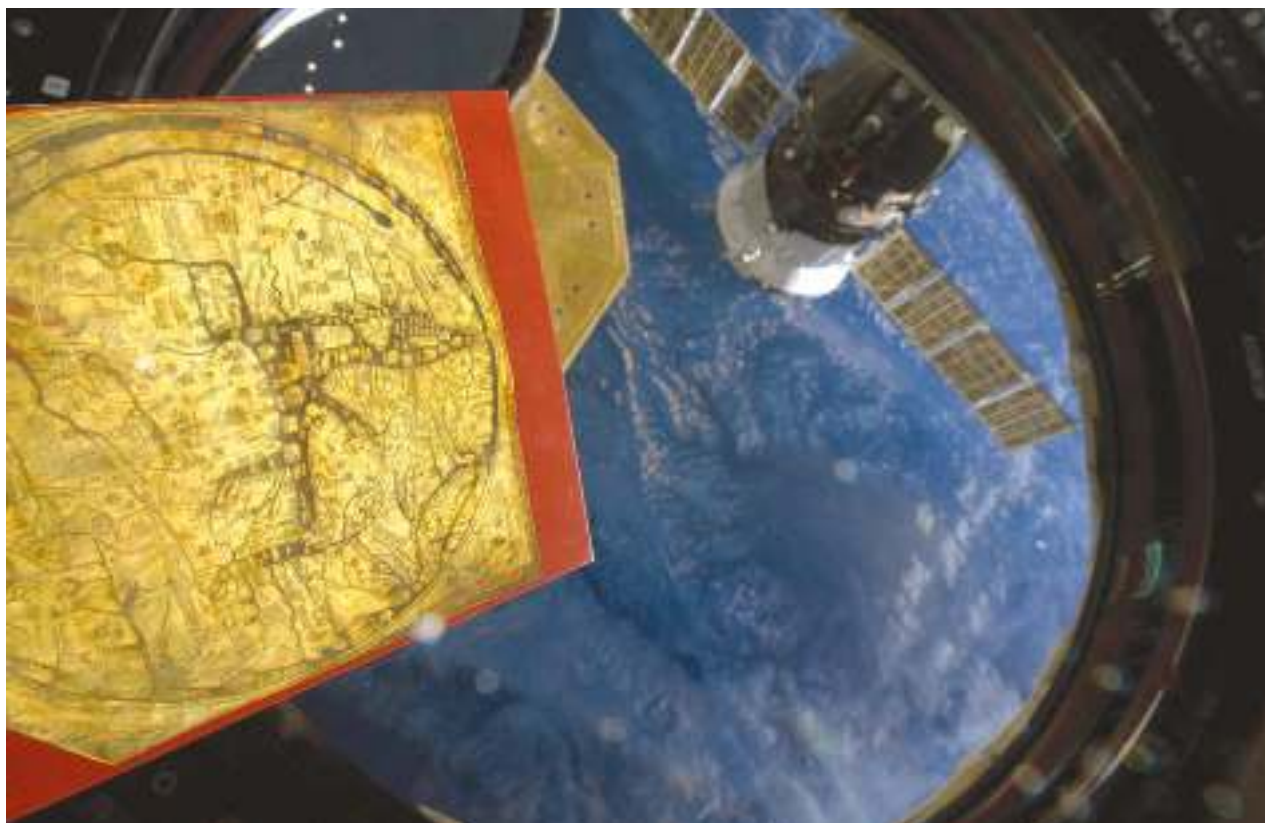
John Adamson, in his 2009 survey of the historiography of the English Civil War, recalls that time in the late 1960s and early 1970s when even historians of the order of Christopher Hill, biographer of Cromwell and author of the *World Turned Upside Down: Radical Ideas During the English Revolution* (1972), could make unconvincing parallels between the *soixante-huitards* and the radical groups of the 1640s, such as the Levellers, the Ranters and the Diggers. 'For a moment', writes Adamson, 'Flower Power peered into the murky waters of Civil-War sectarianism and, Narcissus-like, fell in love with its own reflection.'

It is too easy to see ourselves in the past. The point is to see others.

Paul Lay

HistoryMatters

Mapping the Earth • Royal Oak • US Protectionism • Social History at 40



The World From on High

A medieval map combined with a view of the Earth from space is a reminder of humanity's ancient desire to chart the world from above.

Dale Kedwards

ON FEBRUARY 11TH, 2016 the British astronaut Tim Peake tweeted a picture from aboard the International Space Station (ISS). Captioned 'a copy of one of the oldest maps in Britain, now exploring the newest frontier here in space', it showed a facsimile of the English Hereford map (c.1300), on display at the city's cathedral, where it has been for at least 400 years.

The 700-year-old Hereford map offers a unique insight into what medieval people thought the Earth looked like. The map, drawn onto a single

piece of vellum measuring 5ft 2in by 4ft 4in, is oriented in the true sense of the word with east (Latin *oriens*) at the top and has Jerusalem at its centre. The map is of the type known as the T-O: the O of the inhabited world is divided into the three known continents – Europe, Africa and Asia – by the watery T formed by the intersection of the rivers Don and Nile and the Mediterranean, whose position in the middle (*medius*) of the Earth (*terra*) is clear on Peake's photograph.

With its 1,091 inscriptions, the map was an attempt to summarise human knowledge in fields as diverse as geography, ethnography, zoology and history.

Ancient and modern: Tim Peake's photograph.

The inscription that shows the location of Hereford has at some point been rubbed away and rewritten, probably as a result of generations of viewers marking their place in the world with their fingers.

What is striking about Peake's image is how alike the two views of the Earth are. Both show us circles of lands indented with darker bays and seas. Though 'the newest frontier here in space' has only recently become accessible to us, the longing for an orbital view of the Earth is not new.

In his *Phaedo*, Plato, in the fourth century BC, described the Earth from above as a patchwork of terrains and vegetations, stitched together like a leather ball. Another legend, from the fourth century AD, has Alexander the Great build a flying machine – made from a basket tethered to two griffins ▶

– which he used to fly to such a height that the Earth looked to him like a threshing floor encircled by a serpent. Mathematical proofs of the sphericity of the Earth have been around since antiquity and medieval people were aware that they inhabited a globe. The English mystic Julian of Norwich (c.1342–c.1416) wrote that she was shown the Earth in a vision: she held it – as round as a ball and about the size of a hazelnut – in the palm of her hand.

The most influential orbital view of the Earth, however, appeared in Cicero's *De re publica* (54–51 BC). This dialogue on Roman politics concluded with the dream of the Roman military tribune Scipio Aemilianus (185–129 BC), in which

Another legend, from the fourth century AD, has Alexander the Great build a flying machine from a basket tethered to two griffins

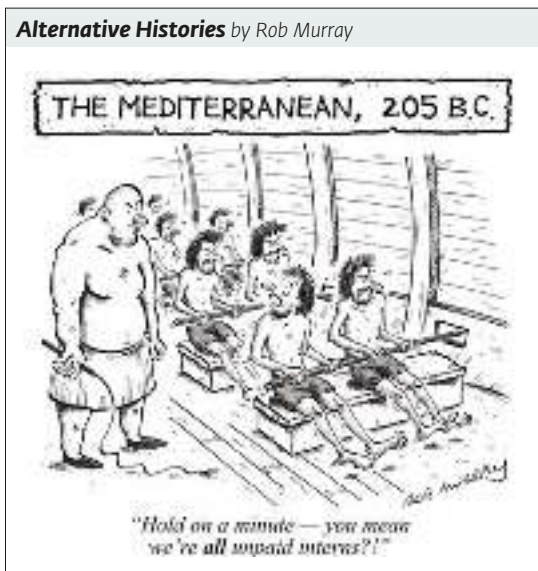
he is visited by his deceased grandfather, the renowned general Scipio Africanus, and taken up to the sky. From 'a high place full of stars, shining and splendid' Scipio observes the cosmos and its stellar workings: the Milky Way appeared as a circle of brightest white, the stars were orbs far exceeding the Earth in size and the moon shone with light borrowed from the sun. Scipio despairs at the smallness of the Earth and, even more, that of the Roman

Empire, exclaiming that 'the Earth itself appeared to me so small, that it grieved me to think of our empire, with which we cover but a point, as it were, of its surface'.

Scipio's cosmic vision became a cornerstone for cosmographical thought in the High Middle Ages through Macrobius's *Commentary on the Dream of Scipio*, written in the early fifth century. Macrobius explained Cicero's literary allusions to the shape and nature of the cosmos, employing a series of maps and diagrams to show the spherical Earth in relation to the celestial sphere – the convexity of the night sky on which the stars appear to turn around the Earth – and delineate the globe into climatic zones based on latitude. The Hereford map belongs to a similar intellectual world: its circle of lands does not represent a flat disk world, but rather the inhabited part of the northern hemisphere.

Peake's view of the Earth has been anticipated for millennia. Antique and medieval thinkers lacked the technological but not the imaginative means to put themselves into orbit and look down on the Earth. Looking out of the window of the ISS onto a world where, in the astronomer Carl Sagan's words, 'everyone you love, everyone you know, everyone you ever heard of, every human being who ever was, lived out their lives', gives us a share of the breathless wonder with which the ancients mapped their world.

Dale Kedwards is a historian of medieval maps at the University of Zurich.



The Royal Oak

Memory, heritage and history combine in one enduring symbol of the Restoration to reveal the complexities of England's contested past.

Jerome de Groot

FOLLOWING his defeat at the Battle of Worcester in September 1651, Charles Stuart found himself a fugitive. He evaded Cromwell's troops by hiding in priest-holes in the houses of loyal subjects; disguising himself as a woman; and by climbing an oak tree at Boscobel House in Shropshire. This particular moment, the coming-together of the emblematic English tree with the disinherited prince, became a key moment in the recollection of the Civil Wars. Rather than a symbol of defeat, the Royal Oak became one of defiance, of loyalty to the kingdom and of the stoicism of its subjects.

During the 1650s and especially on the occasion of Charles' Restoration in 1660, the story was celebrated and narrated. Parliament decreed May 29th – the king's birthday and the day



he re-entered London – to be ‘Oak Apple Day’, a holiday dedicated to the celebration of the Stuarts’ deliverance. John Wade’s 1660 poem ‘The Royal Oak’ celebrated the tree:

*These two wandred into a Wood
Where a hollow Oak there stood,
And for his Precious lives dear sake
Did of that Oak his palace make.*

The resulting intellectual battle over ‘what happened’ at this moment in time reflects developments in historical and memorial practice over the centuries. Thomas Blount’s semi-official version perpetuated various myths; Clarendon’s *History of the Rebellion* gave a more sober account; the king told the story regularly and dictated a version to Samuel Pepys, which was not published until the 19th century. Others focused on the moment of romanticised loyalty, as in *Memoirs of King Charles I and the Loyalists who suffered in his cause*, published in 1795 in an attempt to rally support for the monarchy.

Historians began to contest the ‘facts’ about the king’s time in the tree. John Hughes codified what became known as the ‘Boscobel Tracts’ in 1830, partly as a corrective to the narration found in Walter Scott’s *Woodstock* (1826). Hughes

called it ‘by far the most romantic piece of English history we possess’, but sought to present the ‘sources’ of the story in order to get at what truth there might be in it. In 1897 James Fea similarly updated the sources with photographs and maps, in order to further ‘illustrate the adventurous and romantic story’.

As this shows, the story of the Royal Oak was of great interest through the early 19th century. Building on Scott’s example, Harrison Ainsworth wrote *Boscobel: or the Royal Oak* in 1872. Ainsworth’s oak is hollow and the king receives visitors there. Horace Smith’s *Brambleyte House; or, Cavaliers and Roundheads* (1836) and William Dimond’s *The Royal Oak: An Historical Play* (1811) testify to the renewed interest in the period. Dimond apologises that ‘strict Historical fact hath occasionally been forsaken, and some incidents, altogether fanciful, have been introduced’. The story of the incident, already idealised, becomes increasingly romanticised, confused, conjectured about and added to.

The tree itself became a central part of a particular memorial culture. Pepys says that the king took a cutting from the tree and planted it in St James’s Park. This oak was uprooted by Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough, in 1705, prompting angry complaints. Descendants of the oak are also to be found at Hyde Park, Chelsea Botanic Gardens, Donington Churchyard in Shropshire (near Boscobel) and Dropmore near Maidenhead. The tree was so popular with souvenir hunters, despite a fence and then a wall, that it died (Pepys noticed it had no bark by 1702). It is still possible to visit the ‘new’ tree now at Boscobel (this one recently damaged by storms, with a third planted in 2001 for the future). You can buy saplings in its English Heritage Shop and hence possess your own ‘Royal Oak’. Strangely most of the pictures of the tree on social media sites – Flickr, Twitter, Facebook – have no humans in them, adding an iconic but bleak sheen to the unique Oak standing apart from the forest.

The memory of the event became more and more suffused into English

culture. Though abolished in 1859, there are still celebrations around the country relating to ‘Oak Apple Day’. The Chelsea Pensioners celebrate the delivery of Charles by wearing sprigs of oak in their hats and various villages in the south-west of England continue to observe the holiday.

The upsurge of interest in the early 19th century coincided with the mushrooming number of pubs all seeking patriotic customers; the ‘Royal Oak’ is now generally thought to be the third most popular pub name in England. It even gave its name to the Royal Oak area in West London. The popularity of the term in the early 1800s also led to the naming of a racehorse born in 1823 in Yorkshire. After an indifferent career in England, Royal Oak was taken to France, where he became the most expensive stud in French history, siring 171 thoroughbreds. It is this ‘work’ in siring that led to his immense significance to racing in France and the renaming of what had been the Grand Prix du Prince Imperial as the Prix Royal-Oak in 1869.

Another clear combination of tree and money is the pound coin issued as the ‘English’ constituent part of the UK in 1987. The Royal Oak with crown was sculpted by Raphael Maklouf, most famous for rendering the head of the queen used on coins between 1985–97.

The Royal Oak has also given its name to eight warships. The first, built in 1664, was burnt by the Dutch on the Medway in 1667; another was torpedoed while at anchor in Scapa Flow in 1939, with the loss of more than 800 crew.

The event has become a complex part of English memorial culture: as a historiographic debate, heritage, a site of tourism and memory, something to be owned, a place to drink, something to spend. Memory, heritage and history work in strange, fascinating, non-linear ways, through England into France, and tracing these various trajectories reveals to us the complexity of consumption of the past.

Jerome de Groot’s *Consuming History: Historians and Heritage in Contemporary Popular Culture* is published by Routledge.

Branches of
history: the
Boscobel Oak.

The Return of Protectionism

US presidential candidates are reprising the arguments of a century ago.

Marc-William Palen

FREE TRADE is under fire in the United States. The Democratic Party hopeful Bernie Sanders lambasts free trade agreements for forcing 'American workers to compete against desperate and low-wage labour around the world'. Republican frontrunner Donald Trump has called for 45 per cent duties on Chinese products and punitive tariffs on US companies that build factories abroad. 'History doesn't repeat itself, but it does rhyme', Mark Twain is attributed as saying and the mounting opposition to trade liberalisation has echoes of Twain's Gilded Age America, when opposition to liberalisation became the foundation of US political economy and foreign policy. The embrace of free trade by America's political elites arose only in the wake of the Second World War.

At the end of the Civil War, in 1865, the Republican party rebranded itself as a supporter of protectionism, introducing high tariffs alongside government subsidies for US industry. Such policies, directed at Britain, bastion of free trade, saw Adam Smith's invisible hand hiding behind protectionist walls.

In the late 19th century the US and Britain had a very different relationship from the 'special' one of today. Anglo-American relations were riven with tensions reflected in Republican trade policy, which reflected a fear of the unfettered competition that would advantage Britain's advanced industries.

Anglophobia became entwined with the GOP's defence of economic nationalism, which promised to protect the high wages of American workers and to help allay widely held fears that America's nascent industries would be pulled prematurely into Britain's orbit.

Not all Americans agreed that the Republican party's mixture of economic nationalism and imperial expansion was the best approach for the creation of US wealth, but, with shades of Trump's



conspiratorial view of China, Anglophobic paranoia arose when US supporters of free trade began to mobilise and to work closely with allies in Britain.

A vocal minority of American free traders, in emulation of Britain's liberal system, desired an end to US protectionism and sought instead to make peaceful expansion into foreign markets through international trade liberalisation. They based their vision for US economic globalisation on the Victorian ideology known as Cobdenism, named after Britain's free-trade apostle Richard Cobden, the radical politician who had led the charge in overthrowing British protectionism in the 1830s and 1840s and who threw himself into the international peace movement until his death in 1865. His philosophy gained an influential following in the US, including abolitionists such as Ralph Waldo Emerson, Henry Ward Beecher and William Lloyd Garrison, who subscribed to his belief that international free trade and a foreign policy of non-interventionism would bring peace and prosperity, not just to the US and Britain but to the world. Protectionist policies in their view precipitated tariff wars, geopolitical rivalry and global conflict. But their

Home front: a US anti-free trade poster from 1888.

idealistic fight for free trade and peace was an uphill battle.

Republican conspiracy theories stalked the postbellum free trade movement. When these same Cobdenites appeared to be gaining the upper hand in US politics in the early 1890s, the future Republican president William McKinley – a man who had earned the nickname 'the Napoleon of Protection' – exemplified the GOP's protectionist paranoia. He suggested that a transatlantic free trade conspiracy was at work. McKinley himself charged that it was 'beyond dispute' that a partnership existed 'between Democratic free trade leaders in the United States and the statesmen and ruling classes of Great Britain'.

Only a handful of years later, in 1897, the Napoleon of Protection found himself in the White House just in time to witness the dawning of a new American century and to oversee the acquisition of a colonial empire.

Republican economic nationalism found its foreign policy complement in turn-of-the-century jingoism. An economic depression from the 1870s to the 1890s enhanced the perception that the US needed more foreign markets for its surplus goods and capital. Imperially minded Republican protectionists developed new coercive methods for obtaining new markets, culminating in the Republican acquisition of a colonial empire during the Spanish-American War of 1898. From then on, Republican protectionists would direct the imperial course of US economic expansion throughout the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

Today's heated debate over US trade policy rhymes with the great tariff debate of the late 19th century. The 2016 presidential campaign trumpets the return of protectionism. Reflecting the paranoia of Republicans past, those who support free trade initiatives are now charged with being part of a vast conspiracy to undermine American democracy. As in the American Gilded Age, the future of US – and world – economic globalisation once again hangs in the balance.

Marc-William Palen is lecturer in Imperial History at the University of Exeter and author of *The Conspiracy of Free Trade: The Anglo-American Struggle over Empire and Economic Globalization, 1846-1896* (CUP, 2016).

Social History 40 Years On

A genre pioneered by the likes of Asa Briggs and Harold Perkin stands on the cusp of a great leap forward.

Pamela Cox

THE DEATH OF ASA BRIGGS in March robbed social history of one of its lions. In 1976, just as he stepped down as Vice-Chancellor of the University of Sussex, he became one of the founders of the Social History Society (SHS) and remained its honorary president until his death.

Briggs was one of many pioneers of social history. The main driving force behind the SHS was Harold Perkin, author of *The Origins of Modern English Society, 1780-1880* (1969). Both were Labour men, grammar school boys and both were inspired by E.P. Thompson's *The Making of the English Working Class* (1963). Both defined their work against the more radical History Workshop group arising out of the 'New Left'.

A few days after Briggs' death, the SHS held its 40th anniversary conference, to take stock of the genre. In academia, it feels as if social history stands on the cusp of a great leap forward. Powered by the digitisation of millions of paper records, researchers are using 'big data' to break new ground. The Old Bailey Online project, for example, has created public access to nearly 200,000 trials across two centuries dating from the late 1600s.

Similarly, the 'Founders and Survivors Initiative' links the records of 73,000 convicts transported from Britain and Ireland to Tasmania, records which can get down to intimate detail, revealing lost loves, captured, for example, in the tattoos inked on a convict's forearm.

The acclaimed 'Legacies of British Slave-ownership' project has lifted the lid on every recorded slave-owner in the country, from metropolitan elites such as the Gladstone family to market-town spinsters. Not only do we learn how much compensation each was awarded for the 'loss' of their emancipated

slaves; we also learn what they did with that money. Slave compensation saw government funds channelled into middle- and upper-class coffers. Some slave-owners left life-transforming legacies to relatives, others made investments in steelworks, coal mines, railways, libraries, galleries and gardens, providing much of the capital behind Briggs' 'Age of Improvement'.

This new approach is not the preserve of modernists. Early modernists and medievalists, too, are using these tools in distinctive ways. 'England's Immigrants 1330-1550', for example, is documenting the many migrants who made their livelihoods in England during the Middle Ages.

One of the keynotes at the SHS conference asked us to consider the

Emotional geography: Chilvers Coton mapped in 1684.



Large-scale collaborative research is thawing the often frosty relationship between social and economic historians

emotional geographies of one of the best-documented parishes in early modern England. Chilvers Coton, a community of almost 800 residents straddling the Warwickshire coal seam, is being brought alive by Steve Hindle, through a cache of maps, surveys and household censuses created by the local landowner in 1684.

Read against standard parish records, the documents enable us to virtually walk down the village's lanes and look through its windows. We learn that several infants were born within months of each other at one end of the

village and that Wash Lane was full of widows: some taking in lodgers and others lodging with relatives. Household inventories show that the village's many metal workers, when not making coal rakes and sieves, were also its musicians, owning a fine collection of fiddles.

This kind of large-scale collaborative research is thawing the often frosty relationship between social and economic historians. Since the 1950s, the two factions have argued over research methods and battled over the soul of the discipline. The banking historian Leslie Pressnell remarked that where social historians embraced 'bleeding heart' stories of exploitation and resistance, economic historians were seen as a rather 'bloodless lot', turning to ever more complicated 'cliometrics' to trace past growth patterns and business cycles.

Like many, I applaud social historians' efforts to open up space for hidden histories: of women, empire, sexuality, consumer cultures and more. At the same time, I value the work of economic historians, which retained a more material focus on demographic shifts and changes in living standards, health and life expectancy.

These new collaborative projects allow us to combine both approaches. They also open up new possibilities for something that has long been at the heart (bleeding or otherwise) of social history: empathy. Debates at the SHS conference showed that, while divisions still exist between us, a common belief in the basic value of historical empathy is something that still unites us.

To say that social history allows us to develop empathy with, say, the tenants or landlords of Chilvers Coton is not to say it encourages sympathy for them or to say that it demands a particular political response from us. Rather, it is that we can, momentarily, walk in their shoes, see the world from their perspective, understand what was important to them and why. To experience empathy is to experience an expansive, cosmopolitan and skeptical disposition. Some might say it is social history's creed.

Pamela Cox is Professor of Sociology and History at the University of Essex and Chair of the Social History Society.

The Flower of Scotland

Few events have been as romanticised and misunderstood as the Jacobite Rebellion, which broke out in 1745. And, as **Jacqueline Riding** explains, politics has brought its myths to the fore once again.

IT WAS ONE OF THE IMAGES of the 2015 General Election. Not a beaming David Cameron on the steps of 10 Downing St after securing, against all the odds and the now discredited opinion polls, a Conservative majority (albeit a slim one). No, it was a photograph of Alex Salmond, former leader of the Scottish National Party (SNP) and ex-First Minister of Scotland. The new honourable member for Gordon is seen breezing past the doorkeepers at Members' Lobby, en route to the Commons Chamber during the State Opening of Parliament, face flushed, arms swinging with abandon. While this image, with the accompanying caption 'When yer absolutely hammered but the bouncer still lets you in anyway' went viral on Twitter, other, more observant, folk were noting a particular feature of Mr Salmond's

attire: a white rose button hole. This detail stimulated lively discussions, theories and clarifications. The thistle is understood to be the national flower of Scotland, so what was the significance of a white rose?

Some south of the border, particularly those from Yorkshire, expressed surprise and even delight, that Alex Salmond was signalling his camaraderie with God's Own County, while others pondered whether the flower alluded to a little-known and unexpected affinity with the 15th-century Plantagenet kings of England. It emerged that, for several decades now, the Scottish Nationalists have worn a white rose at ceremonials such as the State Opening at Westminster and Holyrood, as recounted by a party source, to 'symbolise the white rose in the poem'. That poem is 'The Little White Rose' by Hugh MacDiarmid:

*The rose of all the world is not for me.
I want for my part
Only the little rose of Scotland
That smells sharp and sweet – and breaks the heart.*

These lines are also carved into the Canongate Wall, part of the Scottish Parliament buildings in Edinburgh. The button hole that Mr Salmond and his fellows were sporting, however, turned out to be a cultivated African-grown florist rose rather than the beautiful, hardy and native little Scots Rose or *rosa spinosissima*, a common, five-petal summer flower, but the spirit of the symbol was there.

The unprecedented sight of 56 SNP MPs at Westminster all wearing white roses certainly drew attention to it. The 'Little White Rose' of Scotland may be a modern nationalist symbol, but from the late 17th century the white rose has been an emblem of the Jacobites, the supporters of the exiled Stuart king, James VII of Scotland and II of



Alex Salmond,
MP arrives for the
State Opening of
Parliament, May
27th, 2015.

England and Ireland and his male heirs. Other symbols include the sunflower (loyalty), moths and butterflies (transformation/hope) and the oak leaf and acorns, the latter a dynastic symbol associated with the Boscobel Oak Charles II hid in after his defeat at the Battle of Worcester in 1651 (see History Matters, page 4). In exile for a second time, from 1690, the oak also came to signify the hope of a similar reversal in Stuart fortune. In some interpretations, the White Rose specifically signifies James Francis Edward Stuart (b.1688), James VII and II's son, whose birthday, June 10th, is celebrated as 'White Rose Day'. As seen on a fan at the Victoria and Albert Museum, a white rose and two buds represents James Francis Edward and his offspring, Charles Edward and Henry Benedict.



A Jacobite fan depicting the white rose and Charles II hiding in an oak tree.

The white rose is thought to have become particularly visible, as a specifically Jacobite symbol, during Charles' attempt to restore the dynasty in 1745-6. One legend has the Bonnie Prince (not unlike, according to Shakespeare, his distant Plantagenet forefathers) plucking a white rose to adorn his hat during the march through the Western Highlands towards Edinburgh. Even if this is true, for practical reasons it is unlikely that Charles or members of the Jacobite army wore roses throughout the campaign (July 1745 to April 1746). It is therefore a possibility, as suggested by the National Records of Scotland, that the white rose was represented, in turn, by the 'white cockade', which Jacobite troops and supporters certainly did wear. Cockades, textile rosettes, were already an established visual signal of

political allegiance in Europe. But during the Jacobite Rebellion of 1745 the symbol had become so well known that the use of the white cockade, indeed 'white' in general, was the coded means by which adherents to the Stuart cause made themselves known wherever Charles and his army marched.

It was widely reported, prior to the prince's arrival at Edinburgh on September 17th, 1745, that Charles habitually wore highland garb and a blue bonnet with a white cockade. Richard Cooper's 'Wanted poster', produced after the British government announced a £30,000 bounty for the prince's capture, was probably created before the Edinburgh-based artist had actually seen his subject, as the image is more caricature than portrait and the garb bears little relation to the red tartan short coat, red velvet breeches and boots Charles wore at this time. After his father was declared James VIII and III at Edinburgh's Mercat Cross, the historian John Home, who was present, observed that 'a

The Last Kings of Scotland?

1685

Charles II of England and Scotland succeeded by his Catholic brother, James II (James VII of Scotland)

1688

June 10th: James Francis Edward Stuart born as the Catholic heir to James II



James II by Godfrey Kneller, 1684.

1688

James II (left) is overthrown by forces supporting his daughter Mary II and her husband William of Orange in the Glorious Revolution. James flees to Ireland

number of ladies in the windows strained their voices with acclamation, and their arms with waving white hankerchiefs in honour of the day'. During the Jacobite army's occupation of Manchester in late November, the teenager Elizabeth 'Beppy' Byrom, daughter of the poet and Jacobite sympathiser John, noted in her journal on November 29th the making of 'St. Andrew's crosses', as she calls them, and the following day, St Andrew's Day itself, 'more crosses making till twelve o'clock'.

SHE IS ALMOST certainly referring to cockades of white cotton fabric or ribbon. In anticipation of Charles' imminent arrival, Beppy had also purchased a white dress with a blue sash, which she wore to greet the occupying army and again the following evening, when she finally met the man of the hour himself. James Maxwell of Kirkconnell, an officer in the Jacobite army, recalled that from 'Manchester to Derby the country seemed pretty well affected. As the army marched along, the roads, in many places, were lined with numbers of country people, who showed their loyalty by bonfires, acclamations, white cockades, and the like'. Another officer, Captain John Maclean, also noted 'at severall houses we saw White flags hanging out Such as Napkins and white Aprons, and in the Gavels of Some houses white Cockades fixed'.

Whatever its origins, in the mid-18th century the white rose/cockade was an international symbol of political and dynastic affiliation, not specifically a Scottish nationalist one. This continued into the late 19th and early 20th centuries, with the formation of the Order of the White Rose, a society to which a medley of people were drawn, from Scottish nationalists to adherents of the 'true' British royal line, to sympathetic antiquarians. The latter were keen to rid the Jacobite cause and the Stuart dynasty in general of the thick, sticky layer of romantic doom that had enveloped it. At the same time, the legitimist Jacobite League of Great Britain even considered putting members forward as candidates in parliamentary elections. It is unlikely that many now, including the SNP, would advocate (through the wearing of a white rose) the removal of The Queen in favour

of a German duke, Franz von Bayern (b.1933), who is identified by the Royal Stuart Society as the current heir of the Stuart dynasty and therefore, as Franz or Francis II, *de jure* British monarch. He is also, as it happens, the great-grandson of the last ruling King of Bavaria, Ludwig III. As Oscar Wilde might have said, to lose one crown ... Alex Salmond denied any whiff of Jacobitism in his wearing of a white rose and, in any case, the Stuart heir has, we are told, no interest in pressing his claim. This seems, however, a good moment to explore other myths and realities around the Jacobites, Jacobitism and the event that generated and continues to perpetuate more myths than the entire subject combined: the 1745 Jacobite Rebellion.

Perhaps the most important myth to bust is nationality. All Jacobites were Scottish, right? The only thing that united all Jacobites was not their nationality, but their desire to see the return of the Stuarts to the British and Irish thrones. Jacobites came from all parts of the British Isles and Ireland and, in exile, formed an international

It is unlikely that many now, including the SNP, would advocate the removal of Her Majesty the Queen for a German duke

network, living as far afield as Italy, America, Russia and beyond. Neither were all Jacobites Catholic. The 'senior' Stuart branch, the male heirs of James VII and II, were indeed Catholic, but many Jacobites were protestant: whether 'High Church' Anglican and Episcopalian, or dissenting. Lord George Murray, lieutenant-general of the Jacobite army during the '45, was protestant, as was the Life Guards commander David Wemyss, Lord Elcho. It is true that some minorities, such as British Catholics, could expect greater tolerance under a Catholic monarch, although, aside from the prominent Catholic clans, few Catholics within Britain displayed any interest in joining Charles' campaign. The most eminent English Catholics, the Duke and Duchess of Norfolk, attended court at St ▶

1689

April 11th:
Coronation of
William III and
Mary II

1689

First Jacobite uprising.
John Graham of
Claverhouse, Viscount
Dundee launches assault
on provisional Scottish
parliament

1690

April 30th-May 1st:
Jacobite army led by
Thomas Buchan is
defeated by Orange
Royalists led by
Thomas Livingstone
at Battle of Cromdale

1692

Massacre of Glencoe. Thirty-eight members of Clan McDonald are murdered by members of Clan Campbell on the grounds that they had not pledged allegiance to William and Mary. Forty women and children die of hypothermia

James's at the height of the threatened advance to London. As Henry Fielding observed in his journal, *The True Patriot*:

The Season which they have chosen to express their Attachment to his present Majesty, should silence the Clamours of hot-headed Men, who cannot separate the Ideas of a Roman Catholic and a Rebel, tho' it be a notorious Truth, that not one single Man of Consequence, who is a Professor of that Religion, hath taken the Opportunity, of these Times of Danger and Confusion, to express Marks of Disaffection to the Government, or to endeavour molesting it.

The prince's Catholicism and that of his close associates, Sir Thomas Sheridan (Charles' former tutor in Rome) and Colonel John William O'Sullivan, who were also Irish, created tensions within the Jacobite command from the onset. Some believed that James Francis Edward and his heirs should convert, as France's Henry IV had done, while some wanted them back regardless, as their right to rule was divine and incontrovertible and was certainly not dictated by the desires (or, as they would see it, self-interest) of ministers and parliaments. Although James VII and II and his son sacrificed everything for their Catholicism, it is not so certain whether the Jacobite heir-apparent in 1745, Charles, would have done the same. While he needed the support, both financial and military, of his powerful Catholic cousin, Louis XV of France, he was unlikely to convert. But might he have done so to strengthen his position, in a predominantly Protestant Britain, once his father was in possession of the throne? We will never know, but there are some hints.

After the Battle of Culloden in April 1746, Hugh MacDonald of Baleshare recalled a conversation he had with Charles while the prince was a fugitive in the Western Highlands and Islands:

'Do you 'no, Mr. M'Donald,' he says, 'what religion are all the princes in Europe of?' I told him I imagin'd they were of the same establish'd religion of the nation they liv'd in. He told me they had tittle or no religion at all.

Such comments make clear that Charles was less wedded to Catholicism than either his father or his brother. Within



Richard Cooper's 'Wanted poster' of Charles Edward Stuart, 1745.



Queen Anne, the last Stuart monarch, 1703.

1701

Act of Settlement disqualifies Catholics from inheriting the English throne

1702

March 8th: Anne becomes Queen of England, Scotland and Ireland after death of William III

1707

May 1st: Acts of Union unite kingdoms of England and Scotland as Great Britain. Anne becomes Queen of Great Britain and Ireland

a year of Charles' reported comments, Henry had returned to Rome, taken holy orders and entered the College of Cardinals; a disastrous own goal for the Stuart cause and an act his brother never forgave. It is also rumoured that Charles converted to the Church of England on his secret visit to London in 1750. Yet, ultimately, it is the prince's tragedy that the major bar to what he most desired was a thing he seemed to care so little about.

THE JACOBITES were Scottish Nationalists? Well, it is true that some supporters did want to see the dismantling of the Union between Scotland and England and, indeed, encouraging and capitalising on disaffection towards the Union was a key tool in the exiled Stuarts' public relations and recruitment arsenal, at least within Scotland in the decades immediately following the Union of 1707. In October 1745 Charles issued a proclamation from Holyrood Palace reiterating the declared Stuart position that the Union was null and void, partly, he stated, because of the bitter complaints he had received from all corners of his father's domains concerning it, but mainly, and crucially, because the Acts of Succession and Union barred the Catholic Stuarts from ruling. In other words the Union, as it stood, was anti-Stuart in Charles' mind (rather than specifically anti-Scottish) and therefore required dismantling. It is also true that, from a practical point of view, ruling the whole of the British Isles from London was less complicated than dealing with two parliaments at Westminster and Edinburgh, as the late Stuart monarchs prior to the Union, from James VI and I onwards, would no doubt agree. Charles might have thought that a successful campaign followed by his conversion could be a suitable compromise.

On a recent visit to Culloden battlefield, as we drove past the battle lines, my taxi driver pointed towards the

blue flags, indicating the Jacobite army front line, and then the corresponding red British army flags and said: 'There's the Scottish army on the right and the English Army on the left.' So the Jacobite Risings – and the Battle of Culloden that terminated them – was about Scotland versus England? The excellent battlefield centre at Culloden has made a great effort to dispel this enduring myth. The guidebook even opens with a section entitled 'debunking the myths of Culloden', of which this is one. But, as my taxi driver's

comment suggests, this particular piece of misinformation persists. In fact, the battlefield itself, despite the best efforts of the National Trust for Scotland, reinforces this myth.

Battlefields are strange, emotional places: none more so than Culloden. Away from the visitor centre and its even-handed didactic displays, on the open windswept, boggy moor, the battlefield is punctuated with markers where the myth is carved in stone. The stirring declaration on the 20ft-high memorial cairn reads: 'The graves of the gallant highlanders who fought for Scotland & Prince Charlie are marked by the names of their clans.' These clan stones dot the battlefield, accompanied by locations such as 'The Field of the English', traditionally where the British army dead were believed to have been buried. As the flowers placed alongside the Clan stones suggest – most conspicuously, since the success of the TV

series *Outlander*, the Clan Fraser stone – these markers continue to have a powerful hold. They were introduced into the landscape by Duncan Forbes, Laird of Culloden, in 1881, ironically, given the message of the memorial cairn, the descendent of Duncan Forbes, the 5th Laird (d.1747), Lord President of the Court of Session, a proud Highlander and tireless supporter of the Protestant succession, as embodied by the House of Hanover, and the Union. Certainly a large number within the Jacobite army troops were fighting



Portrait of a Jacobite Lady, by Cosmo Alexander, 1750s.

1714

August 1st: George I becomes first Hanoverian king of Great Britain and Ireland after death of Anne

1715

'The Fifteen': Following George I's coronation, Tory Jacobites organise armed rebellions against the British army, led in Scotland by John Erskine, the Earl of Mar. The rebellion collapses in early 1716

1719

June 10th: Spanish government sponsors Jacobite rebellion in north-west Highlands. Rising is defeated by British army troops at Battle of Glen Shiel

1720

December 20th: Charles Edward Stuart, 'Bonnie Prince Charlie' born in Rome

for Scotland – although, technically, the Jacobite army as a whole was fighting first and foremost for a Stuart restoration – but their leader, Charles, had shown no interest in restoring his dynasty to the throne of Scotland alone. After the extraordinary victory at Prestonpans on September 21st, 1745, when a majority of British army troops were still in Flanders, Charles could have established himself at Edinburgh, awaiting the long-promised French battalions to consolidate his position, while preparing for the arrival of his father as king of Scotland. This was the preferred option for many of his Scottish commanders, who considered the size of their army and the certainty that British army troops would now be recalled en masse, as a strong argument against venturing south. Instead Charles, with just 6,000 men, insisted on an advance into England. His despair on the retreat from Derby, with his great prize, London, so tantalisingly near, was profound.

Some modern accounts describe the British army as 'Hanoverian'. The Hanoverian army, which fought alongside the British army at Fontenoy, came from Hanover in Germany. Contemporaries described the army under Sir John Cope at Prestonpans, General Henry Hawley at Falkirk (another Jacobite victory, January 17th, 1746) and the Duke of Cumberland at Culloden (April 16th, 1746) as the King's Troops, not the Hanoverian or 'Government' army. It is

also correct to describe it as the British army: if the troops fighting in Flanders during the War of Austrian Succession (1740-48) are called the British army, the same troops, on British soil, remain the British army.

HERE IS AN additional complication: describing the Jacobite army as the 'Highland' army. Contemporaries, Lowlanders and English alike, talked about the 'Highlanders' and the 'Highland army' and focused their attention on the Highland contingent, as Charles and his men marched through their towns and villages. This response derived from what onlookers saw as their alien appearance – the great plaids or 'Highland dresses' as some English observers described them – and the unfamiliar Gaelic language. In the early stages of his campaign, while Charles was attempting to gather support in the Western Highlands, the small army could have been described as 'Highland'. At the raising of the standard at Glenfinnan on August 19th, 1745, the 1,000 or so men gathered around it came predominantly from the Cameron and MacDonald clans. By the time the army occupied Edinburgh and had remained in the environs of the city for almost six weeks, the composition had changed, to include many lowland gentlemen and tradesmen. When the Jacobite troops crossed into England in early November,

A stone marks the Field of the English, Culloden.



The teenage Charles Edward Stuart depicted in highland garb by William Mosman.



1727

June 11th: George II becomes King of Great Britain and Ireland after death of George I

1745

Charles Stuart lands on the West Coast of Scotland with a few companions. Assembles force of around 2,000 to march on Edinburgh

compositionally it was a different army. At Culloden about two thirds of Charles' troops were Highland Gaels, but there were also Lowlanders, Irishmen, Frenchmen and some Englishmen. Meanwhile, within the British army facing them, four infantry battalions were Scottish, and the Duke of Cumberland's commanders included Charles Cathcart, 9th Lord and Chief of Clan Cathcart. The highest-ranking British army fatality was Lord Robert Kerr, eldest son of the Marquis of Lothian, and brother of the Earl of Ancram, who commanded cavalry during the battle.

THE LARGE Highland contingent was very distinctive. To create a visual cohesion across the whole army, while encouraging the idea of a single body, tartan plaid was worn, via an item of clothing or, in the case of the English Manchester Regiment, a sash, whether a clansman or not. The wearing of tartan plaid, once so particular to the Highlands, gave the impression, to an outsider, that the Jacobite army was a distinctly Highland force. When the rebellion failed, in contrast to what had occurred after previous risings, the Highland way of life was directly targeted. As Colonel Joseph Yorke, one of Cumberland's aides-de-camp, declared to his brother, Philip, soon after Culloden: 'You must never expect to see a total end to the rebellious spirit of this country till the Highlanders are unclanned, undressed, effectually disarmed and taught to speak English.' To many beyond the Highlands, the dress, particularly tartan plaid, was now synonymous with the Jacobite cause. Lord President Forbes, however, considered disarming, rather than 'undressing', to be the crucial factor in preventing another rebellion: punishing those who had joined Charles, along with 'all the rest who have not, and who I will venture to say are the greatest Number' was unreasonable. Despite his plea, the Act of Proscription came in to force on August 1st, 1746, through which the wearing of Highland dress was prohibited. The only official exemption was within the British army, towards which Highland military prowess would now be channelled. Inevitably, this law also confirmed tartan as the covert and, in some instances, overt symbol of protest and resistance.

Even the origins of Highland dress has its complications.



The memorial cairn on Culloden Moor.

According to a footnote written by H.R. Duff, the editor of Lord President Forbes' *Culloden Papers*, quoting a 1769 letter by Evan Baillie, published in the *Edinburgh Magazine* in 1785, 'the kilt or Pheliebeg [Philibeg] was not the antient Highland garb, but was introduced into the Highlands about 1720 by one Thomas Rawlinson, an Englishman'. The author concludes that: 'The convenience of the dress soon caused it to be universally adopted in the Highlands.'

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Paul Monod, *Jacobitism and the English People, 1688-1788* (Cambridge University Press, 1989).

1745

September 21st: Battle of Prestonpans. Jacobite army led by Charles defeats the British army in Scotland led by Sir John Cope

1745

Jacobite army advances as far as Swakestone Bridge, Derbyshire. Lack of French and English support prompts army to return north, against Charles' wishes

1746

January 17th: Battle of Falkirk Muir. Jacobite army defeats British army led by Henry Hawley. The army marches north pursued by George II's son, the Duke of Cumberland

1746

April 16th: Jacobite forces decisively defeated at Culloden Moor, near Inverness, by British army troops, led by the Duke of Cumberland. The rebellion collapses. Charles Stuart flees via the Isle of Skye to France

InFocus

Going for Gold, 1964

SENATOR Barry Goldwater from Arizona wins the Republican presidential nomination at its 1964 Convention. In one play on his name, 'gold coins' rain down, while on the placards it is a chemical formula. His good looks and a good war in Burma give him immediate appeal.

His new brand of Republicanism had its birth in William Buckley's *National Review* magazine in the 1950s and matured in his own book *The Conscience of a Conservative* (1960), ghosted by Buckley's brother-in-law. He was trying to supplant the New Deal orthodoxy, get away from McCarthyism and from the Eisenhower-era Republican identification with East Coast country club elites. He was anti-Communist but also anti-Washington, like many Arizonans, who felt too much of their state was national park or forest, Indian reserve or military base. Big government threatened liberty, whether through civil rights, social security, federal aid for schools, federal welfare, farm programs or the union shop.

Goldwater's campaign had significant handicaps: it was conducted under the shadow of the Kennedy assassination the previous November and in the face of what has been called 'the most one-sided and unfair press coverage ever deployed' before an election. He was portrayed by commentators as inept and irresponsible, as determined to end social security and with a dangerous attitude to nuclear weapons. He did not help himself with his off-the-cuff suggestion that the Ho Chi Minh Trail be defoliated with low-level nuclear devices.

Lyndon Johnson may have brushed him aside, but the election taught his new-style Republicans, including the 17-year-old Hillary Clinton, who campaigned for him, how to organise, how to fund-raise, how to compete. By computerising mailing lists of likely contributors, supporters raised \$5.8 million at a cost of \$1 million, big money in those days. Most importantly, Goldwater ran strongly in Georgia, Alabama, Louisiana and South Carolina, signalling the end of the Democrat hold on the South, as white voters transferred their allegiance.

Here was the basis for Nixon's southern strategy, which got him into the White House after the traumas of 1965-68: defeat in Vietnam, riots at home, the counter-culture challenging beliefs, Black Power's demands for civil rights and economic equality. The white working class was unsettled; it sought Republican reassurance and, but for Watergate, there might have been no Democrat intermission later in that decade. Goldwater, meanwhile, went his own way. When the religious right took over the Arizona Republican party in the 1990s, he endorsed the Democrat candidate for the House of Representatives.

ROGER HUDSON









*The Kidnapping
of Ganymede*
by Peter Paul
Rubens, 1611-12.

ROMAN POETRY offers many pleasures, but one thing it does not often provide is insight into the lives and experiences of the socially marginalised. We hear a lot about members of the social and political elite, from whom came both the authors and most of the readers of literature in Rome. We also see a fair amount of abuse directed at figures who might threaten the control exerted by this elite, such as influential women or powerful ex-slaves. Sympathetic accounts of the lives and aspirations of such people are, however, thin on the ground.

No group in Greco-Roman society was more maligned than the one to which Earinus belonged. He was a eunuch. To a culture that associated sexual potency with social respectability, eunuchs were beneath contempt. Yet for a brief moment in AD 94 Earinus transcended his contemptible condition, or at least that is how it appears from examination of the historical record. The story of Earinus tells us something about an individual's efforts to achieve dignity in a culture that despised him.

Earinus was a slave owned by Domitian, Roman emperor from AD 81 to 96. Our evidence for Earinus' life comes almost entirely from the poetry of Statius and Martial, the leading lights of Rome's literary culture during Domitian's reign. Like Caligula, Nero or Caracalla, Domitian is one of the 'bad emperors'. He was undoubtedly paranoid ('Shortage of funds made him rapacious', wrote his biographer ▶

The Eunuch and the Emperor

Was the eunuch Earinus the lover of Domitian, one of Rome's 'Bad Emperors'? **Llewelyn Morgan** pieces together the extraordinary relationship between them.



The Arco Felice, constructed by Domitian, one of the architectural projects that asserted his control over Rome. Engraving, Filippo Morghen, c.1766.

Suetonius, ‘and fear made him savage’). Yet there is a case to be made that, while less tactful than other emperors, he understood the essential character of imperial rule and was a competent and assiduous administrator. The greater prominence of Domitian in the public eye and the more blatantly autocratic nature of his regime left its mark on contemporary literature: one reason for the comparative neglect of Statius and Martial in modern scholarship is their sycophantic treatment of the emperor. But there is more to both poets than flattery and, even when they do schmooze Domitian, there is considerable historical interest in how they go about it.

One aspect of this more autocratic tendency under Domitian has special relevance for Earinus. Domitian had appointed himself Perpetual Censor, the guardian of traditional Roman morality. Among his enactments as Censor, courtesans were forbidden from travelling in litters, a conveyance that conveyed status, and a senator was expelled from the Senate for being too keen on dancing. More disturbingly, when a Vestal Virgin committed adultery, Domitian had her buried alive. (Her lovers were beaten to death with rods in the Forum.) But this puritanical zeal also saw him ban child prostitution and child castration; with a characteristic eye for detail he also introduced price controls, thereby ensuring that slave dealers who still had eunuchs on their books would not benefit from a rise in price as the commodity became more scarce.

Six poems by the epigrammatist Martial, all from his ninth book, and one longer composition by Statius, from his occasional poems known as *Silvae*, describe an elaborate, international ceremony in AD 94. Earinus, at the time aged between 16 and 18 years old, cut his long hair short and sent the cuttings, enclosed in a gold box studded with precious stones and accompanied by a golden mirror, as an offering to Asklepios, god of medicine, at his shrine in Pergamon (Pergamon is now Bergama in western Turkey, but was then an important city in the wealthy Roman province of Asia).

Statius’ poem recounts Earinus’ life up until that moment in AD 94, in the highly stylised manner of court poetry. It is the poetic counterpart, consciously so, of the gold, bejewelled box that bore his hair to Pergamon. Extracting dependable biographical information about Earinus from it (and from Martial’s epigrams on the same topic) is a challenge, but what we can gather is that Earinus had been born at Pergamon and was either a slave from birth or had been sold into slavery (perhaps by impoverished parents) at a very early age. Trafficked to Rome, in conditions certainly grimmer than those Statius describes (a swan-drawn chariot driven by Venus herself ...),

Domitian had appointed himself Perpetual Censor, the guardian of traditional Roman morality

Earinus entered the service of the emperor.

At some point, but most likely when still a very small child, Earinus had been castrated. A Byzantine medical treatise by Paul of Aegina describes the kind of procedure he underwent:

When still infants, children are placed in a basin of hot water. Then, when the parts are relaxed, the testicles are squeezed with the fingers while still in the basin until they disappear and, being dissolved, no longer feel solid to the touch.

Castration of male children, by this or by a surgical method, produced a commodity for which dealers could ask high prices: a slave considered more malleable and docile, representing no threat to an owner's womenfolk and whose boyish good looks would be preserved beyond the natural age of puberty.

Eunuch slaves and ex-slaves of the emperor's household would become a significant phenomenon in the later Roman Empire, in some cases wielding immense power. In Earinus' day, however, the imperial eunuch was still a rarity. One interesting exception is Posides, an official of the Emperor Claudius half a century earlier, who was involved in some capacity in the conquest of Britain. Posides was notorious for his immense wealth and extravagant building projects. There is an attractive theory that he gave his name to Positano, jewel of the Amalfi Coast: a spectacular Roman villa underlies much of the modern town and may have been called Posidetanum, the villa of Posides.

The sources never let us forget that Posides was a eunuch. His condition both fascinated and appalled Romans. They also encountered eunuchs in the cult of Cybele, notable for the *galli*, eunuch acolytes of the goddess, who processed through Rome to the accompani-



Positano on Italy's Amalfi Coast, site of the villa that may have belonged to Posides.

ment of drums, cymbals and raucous music. Self-castration for the *galli* was a way of distancing themselves from ordinary life and drawing closer to the divine. (The Skoptzy, a Christian sect in 19th-century Russia, are another example of such a phenomenon.) Cybele's festival was an important one in the Roman calendar, but the *galli* were never something the Romans could feel comfortable with.

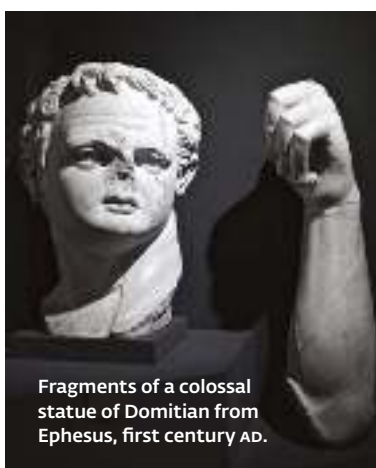
Eunuchs were a decadent, eastern phenomenon, an alien and alarming presence to many in Rome. Representative of this attitude is the poet Claudian in his attack on Eutropius, a political rival of Claudian's patron Stilicho, also a eunuch. Claudian runs through a litany of horrifying events – speaking animals, showers of stones, fountains turned to blood – but insists that all fall short of the

Domitian, AD 51-96

ACCORDING TO Suetonius' *The Lives of the Twelve Caesars* (AD 121), Domitian, the third and final ruler of Rome's Flavian dynasty, founded by his father Vespasian in AD 69, was born on October 24th, AD 51 and spent a childhood defined by poverty in a family that did not have a 'single piece of plate'. Following the suicide of Nero in 68, Rome endured civil war in the bloody Year of the Four Emperors, which culminated in the ascension of Vespasian.

Vespasian was succeeded by his first son Titus, who died in AD 81. Suetonius writes that Domitian 'never ceased' to plot against his brother and, when Titus became ill from 'a dangerous disease', Domitian ordered he be left for dead. He succeeded his brother to the imperial throne on September 14th, AD 81.

Suetonius describes Domitian as tall and handsome in youth but afflicted by baldness and a protruding belly in later life. He was 'excessively lustful' and 'incapable of exertion'. During his early rule Domitian spent 'hours in seclusion every



Fragments of a colossal statue of Domitian from Ephesus, first century AD.

'Rapacious through need, cruel through fear ...'

day', though he became known for 'grand costly entertainments' and the restoration of many buildings destroyed by a fire in AD 80, including the Capitol. Despite his

own immorality, he put in place measures to raise public standards, forbidding male castration and punishing the adultery of the Vestal Virgins, which had been tolerated by his father and brother. Domitian was not considered a military emperor, according to Suetonius, though he did embark on a successful campaign against the Germanic tribe, the Chatti, in upper Weser in AD 83 and was the first emperor since Augustus to give the army a pay rise.

Increasingly paranoid, Domitian 'had no hesitation in resorting to every sort of robbery' to pay for his extravagances, seizing property and wealth from the living and the dead. He stripped the Senate of its power, executing senators and officers for trivial offences. Having become 'an object of terror and hatred to all', one of the plots on his life that he had long feared was finally successful. On September 18th, AD 96 he was hacked to death in his bed by a group of conspirators, which may have included his wife, Domitia. The people, says Suetonius, received news of his death with indifference; the Senate was overjoyed.



The view from the Asklepieion along the Via Tecta towards the city of Pergamon.

Martial and Statius imply that Earinus was Domitian's lover as well as his wine server and dwell at length on his attractiveness

ultimate prodigy Eutropius, a eunuch consul. The consul, chief magistrate of the traditional Roman state, represents Rome's austere traditional values; a eunuch their polar opposite. Claudian was writing three centuries after Earinus and Posides, but his prejudices were entirely in tune with Roman tradition.

Boiled down to its essence, Greco-Roman sexual morality was about maintaining the integrity of the male body. Domitian, meanwhile, was Roman morality in human form, the *ensor perpetuus*. Yet by the time we encounter him, Earinus had become one of Domitian's closest retainers, seemingly held in great affection by the emperor. (Suetonius mentions 'a small boy clad in scarlet with an abnormally small head', to whom Domitian would chat during shows in the Colosseum; I have wondered whether this is a glimpse of Earinus.) His precise role in the palace was as Domitian's *minister*, which in Latin means cupbearer: Earinus prepared and served the emperor's wine. This brought him into intimate contact with the emperor, allowing Statius to inflate the privilege he enjoyed, having contact as he did with 'the right hand [of the emperor] that the Getae seek to know, and Persians, Armenians and Indians to touch'. But a Greco-Roman cupbearer was unlike a wine butler in one critical respect. The slave that poured the wine was expected to serve the master in other ways as well: Seneca writes of the minister who, 'dressed like a woman, wrestles with his age: he cannot escape his boyhood ... and remains awake all night, dividing it between his master's drunkenness and his master's lust'.

MARTIAL and Statius imply that Earinus was Domitian's lover as well as his wine server and dwell at length on his attractiveness. Martial spends three poems riffing on his name, its meaning being 'springlike', which the poet associates with delicacy, youth and beauty. Statius has Venus, goddess of love, first setting eyes upon him at Pergamon, 'a boy radiant with the star of exceptional beauty' and mistaking him for one of her own sons, a Cupid. Both poets also work hard to

assimilate Earinus to Ganymede, Jupiter's cupbearer and lover. It is also true that, throughout history, eunuchs have been the object of sexual exploitation and that was as true in antiquity as for castrati in 18th-century Europe. So it may seem obvious that Domitian and Earinus' relationship was the same as that between Ganymede and Jupiter.

For all that, there is no proof that relations between Earinus and Domitian were carnal in nature. The task facing these poets was to exalt the emperor's cupbearer and one way to achieve this, in a highly artificial literary culture, was by amplifying stereotypical traits of beauty and sexual attractiveness. It is worth considering Earinus' appearance in his later teens, when the physical consequences of his castration were no doubt becoming more obvious: the unnaturally high voice, the lack of facial hair and his youthful features. In Late Antiquity the rather otherworldly appearance that eunuchs developed would make angels and

eunuchs interestingly interchangeable artistic categories; similar language was used of the castrato's uncategoryable voice. Depicting Earinus as an ethereal beauty comparable to Ganymede may be a similar strategy. Above all, Earinus must be a fitting attendant for Domitian himself and the emperor's own facial beauty was a regular theme of these poets: 'You are *sans pareil*, boy', says Statius' Venus. 'The only one more beautiful is he to whom you will be given.'

We can speculate all we like on Earinus' wider experiences, but all we really know is what happened in AD 94. The primary significance of his offering to Asklepios is clear enough and confirmed by the poets. It is a coming of age ceremony. Martial uses the key word *ephebus*, meaning a boy at the point of puberty, but the cutting and dedication of long hair, which was associated with boyhood, as a mark of transition to manhood was a well-established ritual. The golden mirror that Earinus also sent to Pergamon carried a similar symbolic force. As Statius describes it, it appears to function like a photograph, an item that captures and perpetuates his youthful beauty but which now, like the boy's long hair, is surrendered and dedicated to the god as he leaves his childhood behind him.

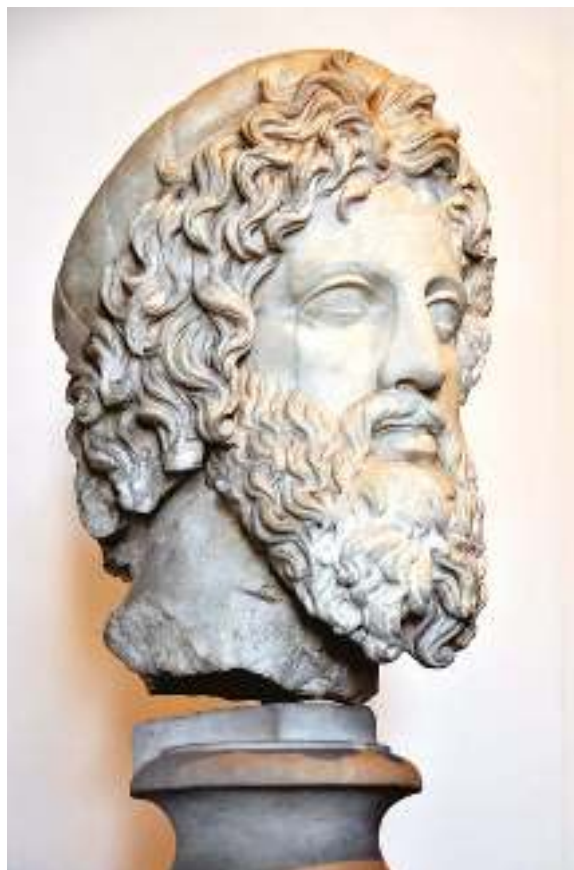
WHAT IS peculiar about all this is that, as a eunuch, Earinus could never 'come of age' in the standard fashion. As Statius writes, had Earinus never been castrated, 'You would have sent more than one offering to Asklepios' threshold'. As it is, Earinus can only send his hair to indicate his change in status; an uncastrated teenager would have dedicated

both his hair and the first shavings of his beard. In other words, the ritual Earinus had secured for himself (and for what it is worth the poets do seem clear about his agency in persuading Domitian to allow it) is an approximation of a ritual appropriate only to an uncastrated man. Earinus is insisting on becoming an adult, notwithstanding the insurmountable obstacles, and is asserting his maturity in the most conventional way he can.

Growing up was not the only significant transition Earinus experienced in AD 94. From an introduction to Statius' third book of *Silvae* and from an ancient title to his poem about Earinus we learn that he was also no longer a slave. He is introduced as Domitian's *libertus* and named 'Flavius Earinus'. In other words, he had been freed by the emperor and had adopted the coveted 'three names' of a free man, T. Flavius Earinus, adding elements of his former master's name to his own. Manumission of favoured slaves was a common practice in Rome, but the late teens was an astonishingly early age to achieve it and a sign of the esteem in which Domitian held him. Earinus' escape from slavery seems as relevant to his ritual as his age. Long hair was a mark of slaves as well as children and cutting it was symbolic of one's achievement of freedom. Slavery and childhood were conditions easily assimilated in antiquity: male slaves, whatever their age, were addressed as *pais* or *puer*, 'boy', a reflection of their subordinate status; a freed slave, however, could proclaim himself *homo inter homines*, 'a man as good as the next man'.

So when Earinus cut his hair short, it symbolised in two parallel ways his transformation in status: he is no longer ►

Right: bust of Asklepios, first century AD, from the Museo Palatino, Rome. Far right: the physician Galen of Pergamon, by Ekin Erman, Bergama, 2012.





Frieze depicting Asklepios and his daughter, Hygieia, fifth century BC, Vatican Museum.

a slave and he is no longer a boy. Statius is vague about the precise rationale of the dedication to Asklepios, but Martial talks of the offerings sent to Pergamon as *rata uota*, 'vows fulfilled'. The implication seems to be that Earinus had promised these offerings to Asklepios, if he secured something he desired from the god. Surely what Earinus had requested of Asklepios was to be relieved of his role as cupbearer, which entailed at one and the same time an end to his childhood and his servile status.

After this flurry of activity, ceremonial and poetic, Earinus returns to obscurity. Domitian, no longer Earinus' master after his manumission, but still his patron, was assassinated two years later in AD 96, so the silence may have many explanations. The only possible glimpse of his future life is an inscription that survives in Florence, originating in Rome, seemingly an epitaph erected by 'T. Flavius Earinus' for Luria, dead at 21; the text indicates a marital relation between the two. We cannot be certain that this is our Earinus, but if the inscription has been accurately rendered, there cannot have been many of that name wandering around the Eternal City.

Earinus may have left a trace of an entirely different kind behind him, or so at least scholars of Pergamon suspect. The evidence is a rapid expansion of the cult of Asklepios at Pergamon, datable from the turn of the first and second centuries AD; in other words, to precisely the time when the shrine had been the scene of Earinus' act of dedication. During Domitian's reign, significantly, the hereditary priests of the cult were given the honour of Roman citizenship and henceforth, like Earinus, bore Domitian's family name of Flavius. Domestic events within the Imperial court could have a disproportionate impact in

the Empire at large and it is safe to assume that the ceremony in AD 94 for the emperor's favourite was magnificent. At Pergamon the theory is that the patronage bestowed upon the shrine of Asklepios by Earinus and, by extension, the emperor himself, was the spark that propelled the Asklepieion at Pergamon into its period of greatest celebrity.

IN THE DECADES after Earinus' dedication, the cult centre, which had existed since the fourth century BC, was remodelled on a much grander scale, becoming nothing less than the premier health resort of the Roman Empire. The Asklepieion at Pergamon was a religious spa, like a combination of Lourdes and Harrogate. Alongside treatment spaces, there were temples and a library and a theatre for the distraction of patients who might spend extended periods of time at the shrine. 'Asia flocks to Pergamon', we hear, though 'Asia' here is the Roman province (now, roughly, western Turkey), not the continent. In a passage from the satirist Lucian, Asklepios is one of the young, upstart gods that the head of the gods, Zeus, complains have robbed him of the respect that humanity used to give him:

Since Apollo founded his oracle at Delphi and Asklepios his hospital in Pergamon and the temple of Bendis arose in Thrace and the temple of Anubis in Egypt and the temple of Artemis in Ephesus, these are the places where they all run and celebrate feast-days and bring hecatombs, and offer up ingots of gold, while I, they think, being past my prime, am sufficiently honoured if they sacrifice to me once every four whole years at Olympia.

In its heyday the Asklepieion must have been quite something to behold. Treatment began with 'incubation',

Some scholars have seen a contradiction between Domitian's intolerance of the practice of castration and his affection for a eunuch

sleep within the precincts of the shrine: Asklepios communicated the appropriate course of therapy through dreams. One of the many instructions received from the god by Aelius Aristeides, a long-term patient at Pergamon, was to smear himself in mud from the Sacred Well and run three times around the temples. With potentially hundreds of people at any one time undertaking therapy dictated in their sleep, among them the great and good of the province of Asia, the mind boggles. It was also a dream of Asklepios that brought to the shrine at Pergamon its most famous alumnus, Galen, the greatest physician of the ancient world. He had been following a conventional education of philosophy and politics until Asklepios visited his father in a dream and instructed him to send Galen to study medicine (the Asklepieion was a place of education, too: think Lourdes-Harrogate-Oxford). Galen's influence on medical practice in antiquity and the Middle Ages stretched from western Europe to India. It is strange to imagine that Earinus' ceremony may have been its source.

BUT ASKLEPIOS is not just a fortuitous presence in Earinus' story. He was born in Pergamon and Statius claims, somewhat implausibly, that he had had a connection to Asklepios from the beginning. But there is a logic over and above private loyalties in making these offerings to this of all gods. Asklepios was the healer god, *ho Soter Asklepios* in Greek, 'Asklepios the Saviour'; his shrine was the place you went to be cured. Paul of Aegina, who provided us with the technicalities of castration earlier, did so only grudgingly. Castration is contrary to medical principle, he insists, since 'the object of our craft is to restore parts of the body from an unnatural to a natural state'. Earinus' condition, in ancient medical terms, was unnatural, but what his dedication to Asklepios symbolised is his escape from the two handicaps to which his castration had consigned him, immaturity and slavery. In social terms, Earinus has been cured, restored to a natural state, and I think his prayer to Asklepios, in fulfilment of which he vowed his hair and the boyish image captured by the mirror, has a simple explanation. Like all supplicants to the god of medicine, Earinus prayed to be made good.



A Romano-British castration clamp.

By making his dedication as he does, T. Flavius Earinus indicates that his prayer to Asklepios has been granted. And while we read all of this through the filter of a deeply conservative set of values, in which uncompromised manhood represents the ideal state, one is impressed and moved by Earinus' efforts to achieve what the ancient world considered respectability, having been dealt the grimmest of hands in a society that saw physical and social disability as moral failings.

We should not forget the emperor, whose permission was a prerequisite of everything that Earinus achieved. Some scholars of these poems have seen a contradiction between Domitian's intolerance of the practice of castration and his affection for a eunuch, even suggesting that Martial and Statius may be hinting at Domitian's hypocrisy: the moralist who slept with a eunuch. There is a precedent in antiquity for reading the story of Earinus as evidence that Domitian was a bad 'un, too. The historian Cassius Dio, writing a century or so later, makes the lurid claim that, although Domitian 'entertained a passion for a eunuch named Earinus', he outlawed castration across the Empire out of spite towards his dead elder brother Titus, who had a particular penchant for eunuchs. In actual fact, Dio probably had no better idea about Earinus than we have and was, like us, extrapolating as best he could from the writings of Statius and Martial.

The poets certainly do not downplay the tension: Martial precedes his epigrams on Earinus in Book Nine with poems celebrating

Domitian's anti-castration law and Statius explicitly refers to Domitian's legislation, commenting that it came too late to save Earinus. Whether Domitian slept with Earinus or not, there seems to be no contradiction here at all. The flipside of banning castration is precisely the rehabilitation of a eunuch, his reinvention as a 'proper' man. Both are the hallmark of an emperor who styled himself the unrelenting champion of moral decency. Domitian's censoriousness could lead him to acts of intolerance and despotism, but in the case of Earinus he did the decent thing.

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