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Message from the Editors

It is no secret that identity has begun to dominate the cultural landscape. From literature to film, politics to journalism, the term encompasses a large proportion of our contextual zeitgeist. Academia is not removed from this milieu. Historians, classists, and archaeologists have long since considered the meaning of identity; and debated, in turn, what this interpretation means for their respective discipline. Of course, we can never truly know what identity meant for people living in the past.

Submissions for our sixteenth edition of Pons Aelius have critically engaged with the connotations of the word "identity". Our front cover gives a quick taste of the flavours that one will find within this journal.

Greg Cotton's piece contains an insightful analysis of Pulp's hit Common People. Greg places this song into the FanFair surrounding John Prescot's "New Labour". Pulp's song, and the subsequent anxieties about class, are only a snapshot of a longer history associated with identity. As Greg does aptly note, this is akin to Robert Louis Stevenson's publication of the novella Dr. Jekyll and Mr Hyde in the nineteenth-century.

Shannon Doyle unpacks masculine identities in Early Modern England. Using self-help guides, Shannon shows the impact of identity on men, women, and the family. The use of self-help literature is seeing a resurgence in recent scholarship; Shannon's work is significant in brining that research to Early Modern England. This is an insightful read, one that should not be overlooked by any historian – no matter their chosen epoch.

Rain Howard evaluates the works of Sarah Crews and Solomon Lennox, Rebecca Schneider, Broderick Chow, Erini Kartsaki, and Søren Kierkegaard, in relation to non-binary genders. Taking these historical philosophers one by one, Rain offers a perceptive interpretation to how these works might impact repetitive actions in a work-out environment. Rain's work, which is unique for this journal, not only gives a historical understand of literature, but also offers insight on how these works might be relevant today. It is a work of contemporary history, pre-modern history, and political action.

Oral Historian Ally Keane offers an insight into the experiences of using Augmented and Alternative communication systems. Ally demonstrates effectively how their encounters has changed over time. Ally grounds the article in discussions on accent, dialect, and tonality;

offering a unique perspective on class, gender, and geographical locations. Ally is certainly an Oral Historian to watch out for.

Dr. Ioannis Mitsios employs a holistic approach, taking into consideration the literary, iconographic, and topographic evidence — along with the historical and ideological context of the classical period — to examine how the ideology of autochthony, isolated the Athenians from the rest of the Greeks. Special emphasis is given to the autochthonous aspects of the heroes Erechtheus, Erichthonios, and Kekrops, all of them connected to autochthony through myth and iconography. This analysis will contribute to a deeper understanding of how these figures were used to construct Athenian identity in contrast to other Greek states.

Finally, Ben Sharpe offers a unique perspective on the Glorious revolution. By examining the personal lives of individuals, Ben demonstrates how relationships were informed by both political principles and personal consciousness. Ben systematically dissects a person's personal identity and how this is often interwoven with ones personal connections. Ben's article not only demonstrates the skills of an admirable historian but may also illuminate some of the problems facing our societies today.

Common People Like You: Jarvis, Jekyll and the British Fetishisation of the Working Class.

Greg Cotton

According to the 1995 song *Common People* by Sheffield band Pulp, the proposition, 'I wanna sleep with common people like you,' was put to singer Jarvis Cocker by a 'well-to-do' girl 'from Greece [with a] thirst for knowledge [who] studied sculpture at Saint Martin's College.'[1] As the song became Pulp's breakthrough hit this proposition was immortalised into pop culture legend. *Common People* was described by Nick Keppler in the *Financial Times* in 2018 as 'rail[ing] against class tourism [and] the naïve desire of bohemian sons and daughters of fortune to blend into the underclass as some sort of cultural experience.'[2] For the Greek girl (alongside the other bohemian sons and daughters) the attraction to the eponymous "common people" was, according to Cocker in a 2006 BBC documentary *Pulp: The Story of Common People,* something that 'she found [...] exotic in some way.'[3]

Class identity itself now exists as a duality, that can be defined along economic or cultural lines, with both the economically rich but culturally poor and the economically poor but culturally rich able to self-identify as working-class. Conversely, both can claim the other is middle-class – largely as a pejorative – and therefore out of touch with the common people. Ironically, neither of these demographics leaves space for those who are both culturally and economically poor. This desire to identify as working- class in Britain stems from a perceived association of authenticity. Furthermore, as Cocker sings in *Common People*, this self-identification of British people as working- class has its roots in an inherent idea in Britain that

[1] *Common People*, written by Pulp: Jarvis Cocker, Russell Senior, Steve Mackay, Nick Banks and Candida Doyle. Produced by Chris Thomas (Island Records, London, 1995); *Pulp: The Story of Common People* dir. Paul Grant & Colin Stone. First broadcast on BBC Three 15 January 2006. [27:37 – 27:41]. www.youtube.com/watch?v=h3wUANrCwmU&t=60s. Accessed 7 May 2024; *Common People*, Ibid.
[2] Nick Keppler 'Pulp's Common People – railing against class tourism,' *Financial Times,* 11 May 2018.
[3] *Pulp: The Story of Common People,* [28:37 – 28:40]. Accessed on 7 May 2024.

'think[s] that poor is cool.'[4] Whilst the parameters of class identity have been realigned in post-Thatcher Britain this phenomenon of duality is not a new one. Social duality, particularly with the expansion of urban populations, has existed since at least the nineteenth century, and is arguably most famously explored in Robert Louis Stevenson's 1886 novella *Strange Case of Dr Jekyll and Mr Hyde.*

Both *Common People* and *Jekyll* are culturally important texts that are concerned with the disruptive nature of crossing class boundaries. Despite portraying images of Britain separated by more than one hundred years, this essay intends to show that both the song and the novella can be used in parallel to demonstrate both the class tensions in sex and the sexual tensions in class in Britain. Just as sleeping with and living like common people allowed the well-to-do to gain access to a perceived exotic underworld in 1990s Britain, the novella is concerned with homosexuality in nineteenth-century Britain in which any homo-curious gentlemen could slip into an illicit underworld.

With Cocker's compulsively commoving Casiotone riff twinkling in the background, this essay considers the extent to which *Common People* and *Jekyll* explore the dualities of class inherent in British identity. More specifically this essay will explore how sexual sociality was mediated by class through the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Next, the aim is to investigate the ways in which class tensions emerged as a result of urbanisation, and how the class duality goes some way to reconcile it. By doing so, this essay aims to examine what is meant by "the common people" in present-day Britain and the socio-political implications of these assumptions.

A pivotal lyric of *Common People* is '[e]verybody hates a tourist, especially one who thinks it's all such a laugh.'[5] Cocker is clear in recognising that the middle-class have no intention of actually being poor, simply playing at it. For example, whilst they can 'rent a flat above a shop [...] smoke some fags and play some pool,' Cocker states in *Common People* this

[4] *Common People*.
[5] Ibid.

is always done with the reassurance that 'if [they] call [their] dad, he could stop it all.'[6] Class tourists who move from the world of the middle class to that of common people are able to exist to in both worlds. But this class tourism does not work both ways. Whilst Jekyll is able to indulge his vices in a transgressive class tourism that turns him into a monster, the appearance of Mr Hyde in the middle-class environment gives fellow gentlemen an unspecified 'strong feeling of deformity.'[7] What the gentlemen in *Jekyll* recognise as the 'deformity' in Hyde is his working-class body, which does not fit inside Dr Jekyll's clothes.[8] Similarly, whilst the Greek girl can enjoy her dalliances with the underclass there seems to be no suggestion that Cocker, or any of those same common people, will be invited or welcomed into the Greek girl's world of the well-to-do. Indeed, Cocker has to make do with a 'rum and coca cola.' This duality represents a larger, broader duality in class across cities in Britain that began with mass-urbanisation in the eighteenth-century and is now manifested in the gentrification of previously working-class neighbourhoods.

Dr Jekyll is described as a 'decent' gentleman who transforms into what Martin Danahay describes in *Dr Jekyll's Two Bodies* (2013) as the '"indecent" body of a working-class man.'[9] Quite what Jekyll does with Hyde's 'indecent body' is never disclosed, but the reader is led to believe that it is both deviant and perhaps even criminal. It is initially implied that Hyde's main malfeasance is the transgression of class boundaries, however, there are heavy homosexual overtones in *Jekyll*. Consensual male homosexuality remained a crime in England until 1967 and Hyde's most criminal act that the viewer observes appears to be an attempted homosexual solicitation gone awry.

In *Between Men: English Literature and Male Homosexual Desire* (1985), Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick coined the term 'homosexual panic', where a homosexual rendezvous is at first invited, then violently and brutally rejected.[10] In *Dr Jekyll's Closet* (1990), Elaine

[6] Ibid.
[7] Robert Louis Stevenson, *Strange Case of Dr Jekyll and Mr Hyde* (1886), Reprint (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 9.
[8] Stevenson*, Jekyll,* 15.
[9] Martin Danahay, 'Dr Jekyll's Two Bodies,' *Nineteenth Century Contexts*, Vol. 35 (1) (Taylor & Francis, 2013), 23.
[10] See Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, *Between Men: English Literature and Male Homosexual Desire* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1985).

Showalter writes that *Jekyll* 'can be most persuasively read as a fable of fin-de-siecle homosexual panic.'[11] Hyde's murder of an elderly, wealthy MP Sir Danvers Carew after what can be seen as an attempted sexual solicitation can be read as an incident of 'homosexual panic.' The pair meet on a street that is overlooked by a maid's window – indicating it is a backstreet – at around midnight. That a Member of Parliament was walking down a backstreet at midnight, stopping to talk to a working- class looking man – we do not know whether Hyde and Carew are strangers or if they have shared previous encounters – elicits some suspicion as to Carew's intentions. Carew, who is described as 'an aged and beautiful gentleman,' speaks to Hyde but Hyde does not respond.[12] Instead, Hyde attacks him, beating him to death with his cane. The murder of Carew resembles the incidents of inter-class homosexual solicitation and 'homosexual panic' in 1920s London as described by Matthew Houlbrook in his essay *Soldier Heroes and Rent Boys* (2003).

Although none of the incidents described in *Soldier Heroes* are fatal, there are multiple similarities between Carew and Hyde's encounter and some of the solicitations between guardsmen sex-workers and gentlemen in Piccadilly in the 1920s. Particularly the case of Roland B. in 1929, in which he pleaded self-defence for robbery with violence, and described how 'walking along Piccadilly, he had passed [his victim]' who 'looked very hard at [him].' On being invited to the gentleman's flat 'overtures were made which sent him mad.' Through this madness Roland then proceeded to beat the gentleman with 'punches and the blows of a chair leg.'[13] The chain of events described is remarkably similar to the encounter between Hyde and Carew.

In *Dr Jekyll's Closet,* Showalter states that 'homosexuality had been a topic of considerable scientific and legal interest in 1886' and 'by the 1880s [...] the Victorian homosexual world had evolved into a secret but active subculture [therefore] for most middle-

[11] Elaine Showalter, 'Dr Jekyll's Closet,' *Sexual Anarchy: Gender and Culture at the Fin de Siecle,* (New York: Viking, 1990), 4.
[12] Stevenson, *Jekyll*, 20.
[13] Matthew Houlbrook, 'Soldier Heroes and Rent Boys: Homosex, Masculinities and Britishness in the Brigade of Guards, circa 1900-1960,'*Journal of British Studies* Vol. 42 (3) (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 382.

class inhabitants of this world, homosexuality represented a double life.'[14] This double life is, Showalter implies, the one that Jekyll is living through Hyde. Showalter goes on to imply that Stevenson himself was bisexual or homosexual. That is not for this essay to discuss further, but one can assume that Stevenson was at the very least aware of these secret homosexual encounters happening when he was writing *Jekyll*.

It is never explicitly stated that Jekyll, or indeed Hyde, are homosexual. However, there is a large body of work that has applied queer theory to *Jekyll*, including Showalter and Kosofsky Sedgwick. There are also very clear homosexual undertones in Jekyll assuming the working-class body of Hyde in order to live a secret nocturnal double life. It is notable though, that the conflict in Jekyll's double life does not come from the contrast between being a respectable bachelor and being a homosexual, but instead that of being a gentleman and that of being a working-class man.

Carew is not the only character in *Jekyll* who can be read as queer. Indeed Dr Jekyll, and many of the novella's gentlemen characters, are all portrayed as bachelors. Utterson, the novella's protagonist is described as a man who 'is austere with himself.'[15] These austere bachelors live lives with temperance and repress their feelings in order to appear proper. This is further confounded by the fact that Utterson and Enfield walk along a street with 'shop fronts [that had] an air of invitation.'[16] Catching another man's eyes in the reflection in a shop window was a form of homosexual solicitation and whilst the shop fronts are 'inviting' Utterson does not stop to look. Utterson and Enfield know the practice but are able to resist. Furthermore, at first Utterson seems to assume that Hyde is a former scorned lover of Jekyll's. Perhaps Hyde is Jekyll's 'bit of rough' in the same way Cocker is to his Greek girl.[17] According to Robert Luckhurst in his introduction to the OUP edition of *Jekyll*, there are 'half- uttered fears of Jekyll's friends over his relationship with Hyde' which 'allow the possibility of sexual dissidence to emerge.'[18] It is precisely because they understand the homosexual relationship

[14] Showalter, *Dr Jekyll's Closet*, 4.
[15] Stevenson, *Jekyll*, 5.
[16] Ibid., 6.
[17] Robert Luckhurst, 'Introduction,' *Strange Case of Dr Jekyll and Mr Hyde* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006) xxvi.
[18] Luckhurst, 'Introduction,' xxvi.

between gentleman Jekyll and working-class Hyde that they initially remain discreet. Early in the novella, Utterson suspects that Hyde is blackmailing Jekyll for 'some capers of his youth,' which also parallels the trials for blackmail against guardsmen recounted in *Soldier Heroes*.[19]

Houlbrook describes the various accounts of blackmail as a way in which guardsmen sex workers were able to 'maintain [the] lifestyle' having 'become used to a life of luxury beyond their means' once their gentlemen companions 'got tired of [them].'[20] Whilst the upper-class gentleman may hold all the financial and social power in these relationships, the risk of having a double life disclosed left them exposed to corruption. Houlbrook notes that corruption 'provided a space within which guardsmen could justify their actions.'[21] In both *Soldier Heroes* and *Jekyll* it is the working-class blackmailer that is seen as the accused guilty party, and in each case the blackmailed gentleman that must be pitied. The physicality of Roland B and the 'apelike' Hyde turn them from the victim of a socially powerful and predatory queer man into the perpetrators of savage and 'indecent' attacks.[22]

In *Common People*, Cocker laments that common people 'drink and dance and screw because there's nothing else to do.'[23] That Jekyll only becomes Hyde after drinking a potion – to which he then becomes addicted – suggests that Stevenson had similar ideas about the pre-occupations and vices of the common people. In many of the cases referred to in *Soldier Heroes*, the guardsmen are invited up to a gentleman's apartment and plied with drinks by their prospective lovers, which allows them, like Jekyll, to surrender their agency and fall 'under evil influence.'[24] In order to – even temporarily – improve their prospects, the guardsmen seem to have 'nothing else to do [but to] drink and dance and screw.'[25]

[19] Stevenson, *Jekyll,* 8.
[20] Houlbrook, *Soldier Heroes*, 381.
[21] Ibid.
[22] Stevenson, *Jekyll,* 20; Danahay, *Dr Jekyll's Two Bodies*, 23.
[23] *Common People*.
[24] Houlbrook, *Soldier Heroes,* 381.
[25] *Common People.*

This duality was lived throughout the cities of Victorian Britain, particularly London and Stevenson's native Edinburgh. Whilst London is the setting for *Jekyll*, it is an unrecognisable and unnavigable London. For example, the East End of London and the West End can be separated by a single house. For Luckhurst, the disconcerting duality of Jekyll's house 'an imposing town house in a West End square that seems to have a back door that leads directly into a disreputable, lower-class area of the kind usually associated with slums,' represents an urban London with a 'physical split [that] reinforces the division of personality.'[26] This duality also existed in Edinburgh where the city is split between the New Town, with its geometric design and spacious, leafy Georgian townhouses, and the medieval Old Town, a crowded labyrinth of dingy alleyways. Edinburgh serves as a much better inspiration for *Jekyll*'s London, which exists in a mysterious duality of its own, almost London but not quite as anyone would recognise it, almost Edinburgh but not called as such.

Jekyll's London, therefore, represents the duality of urban Britain in the nineteenth century, where multiple identities occupied spaces, although these spaces were not necessarily shared harmoniously. With the Reform Acts of 1867 and 1884 enfranchising working-class men and urban Britain expanding at a rapid pace, there were growing anxieties about a violent class war. To the gentlemen of *Jekyll*'s London, Hyde represents the ever-invasive 'Savage of Civilisation' which the *Pall Mall Gazette* in 1888 warned 'we are raising by the hundred thousand in our slums.'[27] Whilst rich West Enders could indulge their vices in the East End, there was a great fear that the criminality of the East End was moving westward. The inhabitants of the East End were growing ever more resentful of West Enders travelling into the East End to indulge, Jekyll-like, in their sexual and/or criminal deviancies.

Even today, for example, the Victorian East End is remembered for the crimes of Jack the Ripper. That these brutal murders were committed by someone with some medical training against working-class sex workers suggests that this is another example of an educated West Ender carrying out their wanton depravities on (and in) the East End. More widely the ensuing

[26] Luckhurst, *Introduction,* xxviii
[27] Pall Mall Gazette (08 September 1888), cited in L. Perry Curtis Jr., *Jack the Ripper and the London Press* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001), 126.

scandal around the unsolved murders helped perpetuate in the press the idea of the East End as a feral, dangerous place, and therefore also somewhere salacious, exotic and exciting. Even in the 1880s, there was something exhilarating about the lives of the common people.

This is similar to how Cocker's Greek girl sees common people. She seeks to live amongst the common people in Hackney in order to indulge in her exotic fantasies, to live what Cocker reminds the listener is somewhat of an indulgent fantasy. Most crucially, just as Dr Jekyll only needs to revert to using the front entrance of his house rather than the back door in order to escape Hyde's world, the Greek girl can always wash off the grease and escape the life of the common people. Cocker's lover can 'rent a flat above a shop, cut [her] hair and get a job' but does not need to worry about 'watching [her] life slide out of view' like common people do.[28] There are no worries of having a double life exposed for Cocker's well-to-do Greek lover. When transformed into Hyde, Jekyll is able to establish an entire separate life in Hyde's London. However, whilst Jekyll's absence is not noted at all by his fellow gentlemen, the moment Hyde begins to appear in Jekyll's London the relationship becomes indiscreet and therefore disruptive.

But who are the common people? As a lot of traditional working-class jobs in manufacturing have disappeared from Britain, the idea of who is working-class, and what makes them working-class, has become less and less tangible. With the manufacturing jobs gone, a rising number of homeowners, thanks to right-to-buy and Britain in the midst of a boom in the 1990s, Geoffrey Evans and Jonathan Mellon note in 'Social Class' in the *British Social Attitudes Survey* (2016), that following the 1997 election, John Prescott 'supposedly announced "we're all middle class now."'[29] The old metrics by which class was measured had become blurred and Blair intended to 'liberate Britain from old class divisions.'[30] In *Music, politics and identity: from Cool Britannia to Grime4Corbyn* (2017) Rhian E. Jones notes that in the mid-1990s 'working-class identity was linked with sexism, chauvinism and hedonistic excess, while

[28] *Common People*.
[29] Geoffrey Evans & Jonathan Mellon, 'Social Class,' *British Social Attitudes Survey*. Vol. 33 (NatCen, 2016), 2.
[30] Tony Blair, *Leader's Speech at the Labour Party Centenary Conference in Bournemouth*, 27 September 1999. http://www.britishpoliticalspeech.org/speech-archive.htm?speech=205. Accessed 7 May 2024.

middle-class was associated with education and experimentation.'[31] Jones says that New Labour's aspiration to make sure 'we're all middle-class now' meant that 'the existence of working-class identities could be overlooked or denied.'[32] However, when Prescott and Blair had assumed that blurred class boundaries would mean more people would embrace their new economic middle-class identity, they did not anticipate the extent to which the British people would, as Cocker sings, 'think that poor is cool.'[33]

As a result, rather than embracing their middle-class economic status, the British instead held on to their working-class roots. Class could now be constructed, or identified, along not just economic but also cultural lines. As *Jekyll* had shown, poor was dangerous, illicit and therefore also exciting. But poor was also honest. Crucially, poor was cool. Evans and Mellon found that 47% of respondents in managerial and professional roles, that they define as 'objectively middle-class,' self-identified as working-class.[34] Furthermore, almost a quarter (24%) of respondents who held these 'objectively middle-class' roles and whose father had also held a managerial or professional role still identified as working-class. So, there are bank managers and even bank managers who are the sons of fellow bank managers who still define themselves as being amongst Cocker's common people, despite being 'objectively middle-class.'

Take for example Baby Boomers who work or worked in managerial or professional occupations without a university education but with a mortgaged home, living economically middle-class lives but claiming to be working-class common people. Mellon and Evans call these 'the working class of the mind.'[35] Their university educated millennial children, however, might live in Hackney, rent flats above shops, cut their hair and get (low paying) jobs and watch their prospects of home ownership 'slide out of view.'[36] They may have grown up lower middle-class but now live within working-class economic lines.

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[31] Rhian E. Jones 'Music, Politics and Identity: from Cool Britannia to Grime4Corbyn,' *Soundings,* Vol. 2017 (67) (Chadwell Heath: Lawrence & Wishart, 2017), 55.
[32] Jones, *Music, Politics and Identity*.
[33] *Common People*.
[34] Evans & Mellon, *Social Class*, 7.
[35] Ibid.
[36] *Common People.*

Who is, and who is not, among the common people is explicitly defined in economic terms in Pulp's song. The Greek girl is studying sculpture at Saint Martins and has a thirst for knowledge. That is all we are ever told about her, and yet we know she is not one of the common people. But Cocker, despite being one of the common people, is also studying at Saint Martins, and presumably also 'has a thirst for knowledge.'[37] Therefore, whilst there is an economic barrier between Cocker and his Greek girl, their mutual access to cultural capital and thirst for knowledge seems to transcend that barrier.

In *Split: Class Divides Uncovered* (2020), Ben Tippet states that 'a rigid distinction that says class is just about economics or culture is clearly a false binary.'[38] Class, Tippet states, 'is about global power and the vast economic inequalities it produces.'[39] So whilst the *Social Class* survey shows that in the face of evidence to the contrary, many Brits consider themselves to be common people, Tippet suggests that this is rooted in a sense of powerlessness rather than a desire to define oneself as working class. In a post-Thatcher, post-New Labour Britain where everyone feels powerless, everyone feels like they belong to the common people. Much like the gentlemen in *Soldier Heroes* and *Jekyll*, Cocker's Greek girl is aware of the power that her money gives her over Cocker and the other common people. Surrounded by anxious shoppers, she laughs at the idea of 'pretend[ing she's] got no money,' whilst Cocker mentions that he 'can't see anyone else smiling.'[40]

In an interview with *Q* in 1996, Cocker described *Common People* as a song 'in the right place at the right time' tapping into social anxieties in the air, 'that kind of social voyeurism, slumming it, the idea that there's a glamour about low-rent, low-life.'[41] In much the same way as Evans and Mellon identified a demographic that is 'the working class of the mind,' being "common" was glamourised as a simple, honest way of living.[42] In the mid-90s there was what Christoph Singer calls in *"Poor Is Cool"* (2018) 'a pop-cultural movement towards a more naturalistic and gritty aesthetic' and a 'social (faux-)realism' which gave 'the

[37] Ibid.
[38] Ben Tippet *Split: Class Divides Uncovered* (Pluto Press, London, 2020), 67.
[39] Ibid.
[40] *Common People.*
[41] Phil Sutcliffe, 'Common As Muck!,' *Q*, March 1996.
[42] Evans & Mellon, *Social Class*, 2.

white, well-off listener [...] a specific way of "slumming" and consuming the social Other.'[43] Cocker singles out *Parklife* (1994) by Britpop band Blur, in which middle-class singer Damon Albarn adopts a mockney accent to boisterously chant the chorus, as a particular example of this 'patronising social voyeurism.'[44]

Pulp and their song *Common People* were co-opted by the Britpop and Cool Britannia movements that they neither claimed to nor aspired to belong to. In their 1996 rock music encyclopaedia *Rock: The Rough Guide*, Jonathan Buckley and Mark Ellingham describe Pulp as '[s]tripping away the glamour from Britpop's idealisation of the working class.'[45] For example, fellow Britpoppers Oasis, snarling with Hyde-like gristle, were keen to stress their working-class background, growing up both economically and culturally poor, but their songs did little to provide any social commentary on the working-class experience. In *Music, politics & identity* Jones notes that whilst Blur engaged in 'what they imagined to be edgy and exciting boorishness [...] of the lower orders' Oasis 'characterised ["working-class" music] as traditional white guitar rock' whose success was in its 'authenticity and accessibility.'[46]

But for Cocker, poor was not cool, nor was the life of the common people a simple one, nor was it to be idealised or coveted, nor something that could be play-acted. For Cocker common is defined as 'vulgar, coarse and rough-arsed,' descriptions that would fit Hyde.[47] In fact, Hyde's rampant savagery comes closer to Cocker's view of common people. 'There is that noble savage notion,' he explained of *Parklife* and the patronising social voyeurism, 'but if you walk round a council estate, there's plenty of savagery and not much nobility going on.'[48]

To conclude, the image of the working class as portrayed in both *Common People* and *Jekyll* is one that is both pitied and desired, both exciting and intimidating. In both the reaction

[43] Christoph Singer '"Poor Is Cool": The Working Class Myth in Pulp's "Common People"." *Resistance and the City* (Boston: Brill, 2018), 86.
[44] Sutcliffe, *Common As Muck!*
[45] Jonathan Buckley & Mark Ellingham eds. *Rock: The Rough Guide* (1st ed., Rough Guide, 1996), 699.
[46] Jones, *Music, Politics and Identity*, 55.
[47] Sutcliffe, *Common As Muck!*
[48] Ibid.

of the gentlemen of *Jekyll*'s London to Hyde and Cocker's Greek lover's proposition there is a notion of 'patronising social voyeurism' in which the power dynamics across the class boundaries are both exotic and erotic.[49] These titillating dualities are played out in modern urban Britain, as traditionally working-class neighbourhoods have been gentrified by the middle-class bohemian children that Keppler claims Cocker had 'railed against.'[50] The west/east, rich/poor borders that had historically defined London have been blurred, as have the traditional cultural and economic markers of class. This has led to a post-class delusion in which many people identify as working-class common people in order to either denounce their privilege or recognise their powerlessness, a phenomenon Jones calls 'a kind of class drag.'[51] Because whilst the sentimental idea of a 'noble savage' had existed since the eighteenth century, the dystopian image of common man portrayed by Cocker and Stevenson showed that there was little nobility to be found in, and little to be sentimental about, the savagery common people lived in, and absolutely no invitation for that noble savage to enter the civilised well-to-do middle-class world.

[49] Ibid.
[50] Keppler, *Pulp's Common People – railing against class tourism*.
[51] Jones, *Music, Politics and Identity*, 54.

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Definitions of Masculinity in Early Modern England

Shannon Doyle

English masculinity, or manhood as it was referred to in texts from the time, shifted and adapted throughout the early modern period in response to the many social and economic changes that occurred in this time frame. As a result of this, it is safe to say that at no point during this period was there ever a singular complete and uniform concept of manhood or masculine identity.[1] More to the point, different men practiced manhood and actioned masculine ideals in different ways, as will be explored further. Throughout this article, where manhood is mentioned, it will be in reference to the masculine values and the themes of patriarchy and credit, as these were consistently present in discussions of manhood both throughout the period and in secondary literature. This article will focus on definitions and meanings of manhood to illustrate how the masculine identity was constructed in England at the time. In the period, there were many how-to guides, or conduct books published to teach young men how to be men such as *A Godlie Forme of Householde Government* by John Dod and Robert Cleaver that was a widely circulated text from the time and just one example of the teachings made available to young men. These will be examined to assess the expectations that men were meant to possess alongside secondary literature to evaluate the impact of these expectations.[2]

Early modern manliness centered around a man's credit and patriarchal success that resulted from manifestations of a broad set of qualities or attributes that were escribed to English masculinity of this period. Conduct writers such as John Dod and Robert Clever who stated that 'a man needeth many things' and 'qualities moe, which were too long to rehearse', played a key role in establishing an expectation of what a man should be by naming traits that they deemed necessary for respectable masculinity.[3] These traits included 'strength, industry,

[1] Bernard Capp,' 'Jesus Wept' but Did the Englishman? Masculinity and Emotion in Early Modern England', *Past & Present*, 224 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 107.
[2] Mark Breitenberg, "Anxious Masculinities: Sexual Jealousy in Early Modern England," *Feminist Studies*,19.2 (Maryland: Feminist Studies, Inc., 1993), 378.
[3] John Dod and Robert Clever, *A Godlie Forme of Householde Government for the Ordering of Private Families, According to the Direction of Gods Word : Whereunto is Adioyned in a More Particular Manner, the Seuerall Duties of the Husband Towards His Wife, and the Wiues Dutie Towards Her Husband, the Parents Dutie Towards Their Children, and the Childrens Towards their Parents, the Masters Dutie Towards His Seruants, and also the Seruants Dutie Towards Their Masters,* (London: Thomas Man, 1610), 350.

self-sufficiency, honesty, authority, self-government, moderation, reason, wisdom and wit' which were all claimed for patriarchal manhood.[4] Honest respectability was seen as the leading trait for a man to possess for both the achievement of the masculine identity and the betterment of society. By putting these traits into a societal context 'conduct writers insisted that it was not only the terms of manhood that were at stake but the entire social order', showing how the demonstration of these traits was a key pillar of early modern manhood.[5] Over the course of the early modern period, some of these qualities shifted slightly in definition with physical descriptors such as 'sturdy' or 'robust' acquiring a more moral meaning, attesting to a man's character.[6] Each quality had its own range of associations and definitions that differed from person to person, their importance being decided by the circumstances of the individual whether that be class, occupation, age, or marital status. As such, the configurations and order of importance of these traits also varied widely.[7] For example, a single craftsman may have valued industry and self-sufficiency above the rest whereas a married businessman at this time might have thought authority, reason and wisdom were most important. This, to an extent, demonstrates the contradictions of manhood in early modern England as an expectation was set that all men were to reach when the reality was that these standards were unattainable for most men.

The meaning of manhood in early modern England was riddled with contradictions and constraints. Manhood operated on 'three axes of difference', social status, householding status and age, with men coming into manhood around the ages of 30 or 35 due to the association between manhood and maturity and establishment in both the household and business, achieving the masculine ideal.[8] These axes meant that a large number of men, such as those in the lower classes that could not be the sole provider, did not fit into the definition of manhood. While this led to some men obsessing over how to achieve manhood from their position whether through career progression or the stricter governance of the household, there was also a group who expressed their manhood in direct opposition to patriarchal ideals. Many attributes

[4] Alexandra Shepard, *Meanings of Manhood in Early Modern England,* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 247.
[5] Shepard, *Meanings of Manhood in Early Modern England*, 73.
[6] John Tosh, "The Old Adam and the New Man: Emerging Themes in the History of English Masculinities, 1750 - 1850," in *English Masculinities, 1600-1800*, eds. Tim Hitchcock and Michèle Cohen, (New York: Addison Wesley Longman, 1999), 232.
[7] Shepard, *Meanings of Manhood in Early Modern England,* 247.
[8] Ibid, 246.

of manliness were 'subtly and exclusively aligned with the self-styled respectability' of higher-class men, thereby creating an anti-masculine group who were rude and base where the former were honest and moderate.[9] This creation of a group who relied heavily on physical strength rather than intellectual prowess and existed outside of the franchise is an example of how patriarchal manhood in early modern England not only privileged men over women, but also privileged men over men.[10]

The privileging of 'several men above many others' was only one way that men suffered under the patriarchy with the contradictions in defining manhood being near impossible to keep up with.[11] One example of this is how men were expected to stoic and in control of themselves but at the same time were expected to feel 'compassion for the sufferings of others, even if imaginary', throwing away any idea of realism to temporarily favour empathy to the point of fancifulness showing how the 'approved models of masculinity have swung' between firm and delicate forms.[12] This was not the only way in which masculine ideals were self-conflicting, there was a view at the time that obtaining the skills of maintaining polite conversation could not be done without spending time in the company of women and that while the skill was 'essential to the fashioning of a young gentleman' it was also effeminating due to the role women played in honing it.[13] Jean Bernard, a visitor to England in the eighteenth century, marked this as strange, noting how the English men feared 'the company of women' not only due to their concerns over losing their masculinity but also due to the preference of male company.[14] Male friendships were incredibly important in early modern England as 'homosociality alone could secure manliness' and was imperative for preventing men becoming too soft through contact with women.[15] This shows that there were tensions between men and women and that women were seen as an inherent threat to masculinity, a problem that

[9] Ibid.
[10] Ibid.
[11] Alexandra Shepard, 'From Anxious Patriarchs to Refined Gentleman? Manhood in Britain, circa 1500-1700', *Journal of British Studies*, 44. 2, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 290.
[12] Capp, "'Jesus Wept' but Did the Englishman?" 108.
[13] Michèle Cohen, "Manliness, Effeminacy and the French: Gender and the Construction of National Character in Eighteenth-Century England", in *English Masculinities, 1600-1800*, eds. Tim Hitchcock and Michèle Cohen, (New York: Addison Wesley Longman, 1999), 47.
[14] Jean Bernard and Abbé Le Blanc, *Letters on the English and French Nations,* (Dublin: Richard James, 1747), 24.
[15] Michèle Cohen, *Manliness, Effeminacy and the French: Gender and the Construction of National Character in Eighteenth-Century England,* in English Masculinities, 1600-1800, eds. Tim Hitchcock and Michèle Cohen, (New York: Addison Wesley Longman, 1999), 60.

had to be handled. Overall, in early modern England, there were contradictions within the definitions of masculinity that put men under pressure to conform to impossible standards and a need for 'peer approval in confirming masculine status', making masculinity a public parade with a high public importance.[16]

The term patriarchy in early modern England largely referred to a man's place as head of a household. For men at that time, there were strong links between patriarchy, heading a household and masculine ideals. By leading a family unit, men were able to step fully into manhood in a way that they were unable to do before marriage. Men were expected to demonstrate the ideals of authority, mastery, control and discipline of themselves and their family. While the pressure of fully obtaining manliness was eased through a marital union, married men were introduced to the pressures of maintaining their manly reputation and upholding a new set of ideals. These pressures were only worsened by the fact that the performance of men's household duties was not only seen as 'beneficiary to the family but also to the public and to wider society.'[17] These expectations of men and householding ultimately meant that the 'patriarchal model of manhood… was nonetheless designed to constrain men' as they were to control and confine women, showing it to be a deeply flawed concept.[18]

As mentioned briefly above, heading a household was an opportunity for a man to live out many early modern ideals of manhood due to its association with 'mastery not only of a man's self, but of his subordinates and his resources', becoming 'equated with manhood itself.'[19] Heading a household was presented to men in England as the main objective to be aspired to, an elevation of status that served as the 'precondition of men's political involvement within the wider community.'[20] This made the household a necessary step for the progression of manhood and men within early modern society. Marriage gave men, particularly younger men, numerous opportunities because 'marital status transcended hierarchies of age', allowing men to access spaces and open doors that they were previously excluded from on account of not being mature enough.[21] This was even more important as a significant number of

[16] John Tosh, "The Old Adam and the New Man," 229.
[17] Shepard, *Meanings of Manhood in Early Modern England,* 86.
[18] Ibid.
[19] Ibid., 70.
[20] Ibid.
[21] Ibid, 75.

householding men were excluded from the franchise due to their age, class, or simply not having a member of Parliament to vote for. Given that the household was approached both as the 'primary unit of society and a microcosm of polity', disenfranchised men were given some political significance for their roles in the family.[22]

In wider society, the home had significant public importance, not only as the 'primary unit of society' but also as a 'highly resonant analogy for the state, and …as the site of production as well as reproduction, this importance was reflected on individual men with their marital status becoming a signifier of their character and eligibility for high ranking positions.[23] However, dedication to the household becoming an indicator of political honesty was also an area of concern for men who were seen as being too devoted to the household, with worries growing that these men would be unable to put aside domestic and familial problems to focus on a cause or goal.[24]

Fatherhood and the masculine identity were deeply entwined. Children were seen as the products of their parents, a reflection of their successes and failures who would go out into the world as individuals and proceed to make an impact on it. As such, not only did fatherhood augment desirable qualities such as judgment and leadership, but it also posed a great risk of undermining a man's authority.[25] When it came to raising sons, fathers were expected to instill values of responsibility, duty, respectability, and self-mastery into their children as well as teaching them how to run a domestic economy through the use of account books and volumes detailing household management, creating generational ideals of masculinity.[26]

In early modern England, fathers were to their sons the primary role model and household educator, a practice that minimized the fear that men who are raised in feminine settings would not grow into a proper young gentleman.[27] More than this, there was an

[22] Ibid.
[23] Shepard, "From Anxious Patriarchs to Refined Gentleman?" 282.
[24] Tim Reinke-Williams, 'Manhood and Masculinity in Early Modern England', *History Compass*, 12.9 (New Jersey: Wiley-Blackwell, 2014), 689.
[25] Reinke-Williams, "Manhood and Masculinity in Early Modern England," 687.
[26] Ibid.
[27] Tosh, "The Old Adam and the New Man," 228.

irrational concern that men who spent too much time in the company of women would somehow become emasculated and gain feminine characteristics and lose familial authority, by extension, becoming subordinate to his wife.[28] Fatherhood for early modern men, it seems, consisted of cycles of men teaching their sons to be like them or better. By being better men than their fathers, these sons would strive more and more for the ideals of manhood which in turn would become more and more rigid and unreachable leading to early modern striving to reach these expectations that constantly floated just above their fingertips.

Women, and their relationships with men, were one of the main ways through which early modern Englishmen secured their manhood as the running of a successful household was one of the greatest expressions of patriarchal success.[29] This is an example of how even though manhood and its ideals concerned and affected women, it was still oriented around men and, to an extent, marked women as an enemy to masculinity. Within the household, women were largely blamed when things went wrong due to being regarded as the more domestic sex with responsibilities with the home. That being said, men could be held as doubly responsible, not only for failings on their part, such as not providing enough income, but also due to the mistakes being seen as them 'forfeiting their authority over themselves and others'; showing further how the ideals of self-governance were not only viewed as something that a man held over himself but also a quality that was extended to his entire household.[30]

Overall, when it came to householding and marriage in early modern England, women were an integral part and were vital in a man fully stepping into manhood. Without women, it would have been impossible for any man to achieve patriarchal manhood.

When it came to householding, the duties and expectations of a husband were detailed in conduct books and how to guides. Examining excerpts from John Dod and Robert Clever's *A Godlie Forme of Householde Government*, the authors clearly link masculinity with

[28] Ibid.
[29] Shepard, "From Anxious Patriarchs to Refined Gentleman?" 282.
[30] Shepard, *Meanings of Manhood in Early Modern England,* 70.

provision and exchange in a similar way that femininity and chastity were intertwined.[31] In their conduct guide, Dod and Clever state that the duty of a husband is to 'seeke [a] living: and the Wives dutie is to keepe the house' and that 'The dutie of the Husband is to get goods: and of the Wife to gather them together', demonstrating the partnership required for the effective running of a household.[32] Focusing once again on the role of a man as head of a household, the authors state that the main duty of a husband is to 'get money and provision' because ' It is to be noted, and noted againe, that as the provision of [the] houshould dependeth onely on the Husband' emphasising the economic responsibilities of being the head of a household and reiterating the importance of men as the sole provider.[33]

Overall, Dod and Clever chracterise the duties of a man in the family as 'active and inquisitive' whereas the roles of a wife are more passive and are a response to the actions of the husband, showing that men were expected to lead the household in every aspect from securing money and goods to giving instruction and direction.[34] Dod and Clever were not the only conduct writers to hold this view. Writing ten years after Dod and Clever, Thomas Gataker, in his marital guide *Marital Duties Briefly Couched Together*, envisaged the husband as an elm supporting a vine, the vine being a wife and a family.[35] Gataker echoed Dod and Clever's points by stating that the 'office of the husbande is to maintain well hys livelihood' and that his main role was to 'provide money', showing further the expectation of men to be the sole providers of the family and that their main duties were economic.[36]

The economic emphasis on manhood and the role of men in the household is a prime example of commercial masculinity. Commercial masculinity concerns the expectation that men were the main, ideally sole, providers for the household. Men in early modern England were expected to be financially elevated enough to provide goods and money for their families without the aid or intervention of their wives, children or other relatives. This is another

[31] Alexandra Shepard, "Manhood, Credit and Patriarchy in Early Modern England c. 1580-1640." *Past & Present*, 167, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 77.
[32] John Dod and Robert Clever, *A Godlie Forme of Householde Government for the Ordering of Private Families, According to the Direction of Gods Word*, 167.
[33] Ibid.
[34] Shepard, "Manhood, Credit and Patriarchy in Early Modern England c.1580-1640," 75.
[35] Thomas Gataker, *Marriage Duties Briefely Couched Togither,* (London: William Jones, 1620), 45.
[36] Gataker, *Marriage Duties Briefely Couched Togither.*

example of how gender standards for men favoured wealthier individuals and those from the upper classes or affluent backgrounds, demonstrating further that manhood was very exclusive and its design kept out the majority of men. In fact, the majority of wives in early modern England and many children were 'vital contributors to the family economy', showing further how unattainable the standard of men as the sole provider was.[37] Caught between an ideal of complete financial independence and a reality of constant financial strain, it was to be expected that husbands would be reluctant to accept monetary assistance from other members of the household until the last possible moment. This can be seen in the following excerpt of *The Weavers' Garland*, a poem from the late eighteenth century that tells the story of a despairing husband discussing his financial decline with his wife.

'Sweet dear and virtuous wife,

My senses are in strife

About this careful life,

For we decline:

Times being grievous hard,

All trading spoil'd and marr'd'[38]

In this verse, spoken by the husband, it is clear to see that the husband is distressed by their financial situation as his industry has suffered a great decline. From this verse it can also be seen that the husband has kept this information from his wife as the trading was already 'spoil'd and marr'd' when he confided in her, showing the pressure he felt to keep up the facade of having complete control over their financial situation. The next verse shows the response of the wife.

'I will the burthen bear,

[37] Shepard, *Meanings of Manhood in Early Modern England*, 187.
[38] *The Weavers' Garland, or a New School of Christian Patience in Twenty Seven Divine and Moral Lessons Between a Despairing Husband and a Chearful Wife*, (1770), 2.

Along with you:

Our sons and daughters they

Shall work'[39]

Not only does this verse demonstrate the willingness of the wife to aid the household nut it also shows that throughout the entire decline of the husband's business or industry, there were multiple people who could have helped out at any given time, showing further how ingrained and internalized the expectation of the head of the household to be the sole provider was, and how damaging this standard was to many families in early modern England.

Commercial masculinity in early modern England was more than an ideal, it was a moral issue and a signifier of the trustworthiness and respectability of a man. This is made clear in a case in 1591 in which a witness, John Stoddert, was removed from the case as it had been discovered that he was neglecting his patriarchal role as household provider by overspending at alehouses, disregarding his 'function and vocation' of maintaining his family.[40] Men who diverted resources away from the family economy were labeled by English society as being dishonest and negligent, not only because they were failing at providing for their wives and children but also because it was a fathers chief responsibility to 'ensure adequate financial provision' for future generations.[41] As such, economics played a large part in ideas of masculinity and even householding men risked their reputation by failing to provide for their families.

Reputation, credit, and public perception were the pillars that upheld early manhood, without public pressure to conform there would have been no reason to strive to live up to ideals of manhood. The importance and value of credit was emphasised in addresses, conduct books and official documents alike. Men were encouraged and expected to behave a certain way at all times.

[39] *The Weavers' Garland, or a New School of Christian Patience in Twenty Seven Divine and Moral Lessons Between a Despairing Husband and a Chearful Wife*, (1770), 3.
[40] Shepard, *Meanings of Manhood in Early Modern England*, 186.
[41] Reinke-Williams, 'Manhood and Masculinity in Early Modern England' 687.

Masculinity in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was entirely dependent on the state of a man's reputation. A good reputation, and by extension entrance into manhood, had to be earned from peers and then protected against defamation‘ and slander, making achieving masculinity an extremely public ordeal that was entirely contingent on outside approval and inherently insecure.[42] The public nature of manhood and the achievement of it had the result that conversations and ideas of manliness confused the boundaries of public and private life in political debates and settings.[43] This can be seen with domestic disorder, a private matter that occured in the home, that could damage a man's credibility and standing in the community like John Stodderd in the aforementioned case.[44] Although it could be said that masculinity in early modern England was not entirely superficial as it relied on 'solid inner qualities' that made the man such as reason, courage and many others as opposed to behaviour and appearance, it would only have been the demonstration of such traits and the observation of such demonstrations by other people that they could be accredited to a man.[45] In short, even if inner qualities were the main factor, they were only met with recognition once they had been viewed by a man's peers.

In *Addresses to Young Men*, written by James Fordyce in the late eighteenth century, Fordyce asks the reader if out of 'the many pleasures which you, my friends, promise yourselves in the journey of life, are you not delighted with the idea of being esteemed, honoured, applauded, by your fellow travelers?'[46] By asking this question, Fordyce shows how important peer approval was for young men and also tells his readers that this approval is the highest achievement. Fordyce then doubles down on this by stating that he has found the 'desire of praise… so powerful in the minds of young men', revealing that public perception was one of the biggest motivators for young men in early modern England.[47] Peer approval, once internalised by men at a young age would have led to men conforming to and striving to achieve the ideals of manhood at that time and would have led to them feeling immense amounts of pressure to match up to expectations any way that they could.

[42] Tosh, "The Old Adam and the New Man," 230.
[43] Reinke-Williams, 'Manhood and Masculinity in Early Modern England' 689.
[44] Tosh, "The Old Adam and the New Man," 230.
[45] Ibid, 231.
[46] James Fordyce, *Addresses to Young Men* (Dublin: John Exshaw, 1777), 70.
[47] Ibid, 152.

Overall, masculinity and manhood in early modern England revolved mainly around the ideas of patriarchal householding and credit. The importance of householding to the attainment of the masculine identity alongside the perceived consequences of spending time in the company of women had the result that women were a necessity for men and their public success in manhood while at the same time being viewed as one of the biggest threats to masculinity at the time. The emphasis of conduct books on credit and reputation made masculinity out to be entirely dependent on other people's attitudes towards an individual, the fact that the validity of a man's manhood was a key part of him as a person in that opportunities could be taken away from a man and he could be vilified for other people's perception. Requirements for achieving manhood were complex and difficult to achieve for a significant number of men. This would have caused a lot of men to feel insecure about their masculinity which, when coupled with the view of women as a threat to masculinity, would have led to strained relations between men and women and some men harboring a tainted view of women.

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Repetitive Motions, Transformative Notions: Exploring the Interplay of Physical Exercise and Non-Binary Genders.

Rain Howard

Introduction

The exploration of physical exercise as a transformative realm for gender identity, particularly within the unique environment of the gym, presents an intriguing intersection where cultural narratives and personal identities converge. This paper will consider the performative nature of exercise practice due to its repetitive nature. Consequently, it navigates the profound impact of these performative physical activities, like weightlifting, in constructing a sense of self and its potential to disrupt gender norms. Drawing upon the seminal works of scholars such as Sarah Crews and Solomon Lennox, Rebecca Schneider, Broderick Chow, Erini Kartsaki, and Søren Kierkegaard, their insights into repetition collectively weave a narrative that catapults repetitive performative exercises from mere physical endeavours to potent acts of self-expression and identity construction. Therefore, considering these combined perspectives has the potential to offer a more nuanced approach to identities, particularly in the context of non-binary and genderqueer experiences. This approach holds significant importance for these communities, especially given the current heightened political climate characterised by increased hostility towards trans individuals, particularly within the sports arena. Embracing the transformative power of these repetitive actions may offer hope and resilience to those who find themselves at the intersection of societal scrutiny and self-discovery.

Søren Kierkegaard, through his existential lens, suggests that repetition is fundamentally a forward-looking movement.[1] When this philosophical concept is applied to physical activities, it suggests that repetitive exercises are more than mere physical acts; they are engagements of profound significance that shape identity and challenge societal norms.

Rebecca Schneider's concept of performative repetition as 'queer evidence,' explored in "Performing Remains," provides a platform for considering repetition.[2] Schneider challenges

[1] See S. Kierkegaard, *Repetition: An Essay in Experimental Psychology* (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1964).
[2] Rebecca Schneider, 'Performance Remains', *Performance Research* 6.2 (January 2001): 100–108.

the conventional understanding of historical narratives, using Robert Lee Hodge's Civil War re-enactment as a poignant example. Her approach to repetition illustrates how it can extend beyond physical re-enactment to become a deeply emotional and transformative experience, thereby redefining historical representation.

Broderick Chow's perspectives on physical culture offer further insights into this complex relationship between exercise and identity. He suggests that modern fitness practices, deeply rooted in the historical evolution of physical culture, transcend simple adherence to physical norms.[3] Instead, they emerge as dynamic processes of self-construction, with weightlifting, particularly, as a form of rehearsal or performance that fosters the emergence of new identities and narratives.

Building upon the discourse of repetition, Erini Kartsaki's interpretation positions repetition as a dual process of success and failure, blurring the distinction between the concrete and the symbolic.[4] This view is especially relevant to physical exercise, where each repetitive motion has meanings that transcend physical manifestation.

Viewing physical exercise through these lenses, I argue that repetition in physical exercise, especially in the gym setting, is a critical transformative act that challenges traditional gender norms and plays a pivotal role in the construction and articulation of non-binary identities. By examining activities such as weightlifting, I will show how physical exercise is a potent method of expressing personal narratives, not just about strength or vitality.

Reinterpreting the Repetitive Nature of Exercise: Subverting Masculine Ideals

"Physical culture demands repetition, then as now. It scripts a limited range of movements and bodily behaviours that must be repeated on a regular basis if progress is to be made."[5]

Contemporary exercise practises, such as weightlifting and boxing, are underpinned by repetitive actions. In weightlifting, athletes often focus on exercises like squatting and bench pressing. These movements involve lifting weights in a controlled and repetitive manner.

[3] Broderick D. V. Chow, "A Professional Body: Remembering, Repeating and Working out Masculinities in *Fin-de-Siècle* Physical Culture," *Performance Research* 20.5 (2015): 30–41.
[4] Eirini Kartsaki, *On Repetition: Writing, Performance & Art*, (Bristol Chicago: Intellect, 2016).
[5] Chow, "A Professional Body," 31.

Athletes perform these repetitions to improve their technique, increasing the weight they can lift ("load") and ultimately enhancing their physical strength and muscle development. Counting repetitions and sets is a common practice, providing a structured framework for progressive improvement.

Boxing, however, incorporates repetitive actions such as sparring and shadowboxing. Boxers engage in these activities to hone their skills, improve their agility, and enhance their fighting techniques. Sparring involves controlled and repetitive combat with training partners, while shadow boxing allows fighters to practice their moves and footwork before a virtual opponent. Like weightlifting, repeating these actions is essential for skill refinement and overall performance enhancement.

Broderick Chow illuminates the profound connection between weightlifting and the construction of masculinity throughout history and in contemporary society.[6] He reveals that, within the expansive physical culture movement, weightlifting emerged as a pivotal tool in crafting and perpetuating an ideal of fascist masculinity. This perspective is further explored through the lens of weightlifting and physical culture in Nazi Germany, where the practice transcended mere physical fitness to embody fascist masculine ideals. Drawing on the research of J.A. Mangan, the discussion extends to the martial male body's role as a potent political emblem within fascist regimes.[7] Mangan's work unveils how physical culture, epitomised by the "Superman" archetype, was meticulously designed to reflect fascist principles of strength, purity, and discipline. This exploration sheds light on the fascist glorification of war and martial virtues, illustrating how the regime's emphasis on physical strength and discipline was linked to instilling an ethos that aligned with fascist values. The inseparability of sport and militarism illustrates how physical culture fused the physical and ideological, creating individuals who were physically formidable and ideologically aligned with fascism.

Chow's perspective on physical culture acknowledges its historical roots, drawing parallels between his experiences under the barbell and the re-enactment of past participants. His repetitive weightlifting rituals initiate a dialogue with historical figures in the sport, establishing a connection between Chow and weightlifting's storied past. While this re-

[6] Ibid, 30-41.
[7] See J. A. Mangan, *Shaping the Superman: Fascist Body as Political Icon : Aryan Fascism* (Oxfordshire, England: Routledge, 2013).

enactment of repetitive actions may suggest a reinforcement of entrenched masculine ideals, Chow insists that each repetition beneath the barbell becomes a moment of personal discovery and identity affirmation. In this light, weightlifting transforms into a mode of historical reenactment, providing a platform for exploring and validating one's identity. This journey of exploration paves the way for a more nuanced understanding of the self.

While recognising physical culture's contemporary and historical role in regulating bodies, Chow challenges the notion that it solely disciplines bodies to conform to established norms. Instead, he posits physical culture as an arena for active, agential self-construction.[8] The repetitive nature of these exercises, often perceived as disciplinary, can also be interpreted as a rehearsal or performance, providing a space for creating new meanings and identities.

In parallel, scholars like Crews and Lennox have emphasised that boxing has historically been a domain exclusively associated with masculinity, where individuals not socially categorised as male have often faced exclusion.[9] Furthermore, they argue that the presence of women in boxing challenges the many narratives associated with the sport. According to their perspective, repetition in the context of boxing does not simply reenact uniformed masculinity or femininity; instead, it leads to a renegotiation of gendered identity. This is what they term 'subversive repetition,' repetitions that offer the potential for transformation as they demonstrate bodies in dialogue with and contesting ideologies and gender norms.[10] Analysis of Crews's participation in shadowboxing echoes this notion as they note that her body is ‘battling symbolic power.’[11]

While these scholars have primarily considered bodies that adhere to binary ideals, this research raises questions about experiences and potential liberatory possibilities. It focuses on repetitions in physical activity when applying these notions to those with more fluid gender identities or non-binary individuals.

[8] Chow, “A Professional Body,” 34.
[9] Sarah Crews and P. Solomon Lennox, "Boxing, Bourdieu and Butler: Repetitions of Change," *Studies in Theatre and Performance* 40.2 (2020), 146.
[10] Crews and Lennox, “Boxing, Bourdieu, and Butler,” 148.
[11] Ibid, 156.

Schneider's Concept of Repetition as 'Queer Evidence.'

Rebecca Schneider's examination of repetition in "Performing Remains" introduces a novel perspective on understanding history and identity, mainly through the lens of performative arts. Schneider's analysis is vividly illustrated through the example of Robert Lee Hodge's Civil War re-enactment. Hodge's portrayal of a deceased soldier is not merely a historical representation; it is an act that brings the past into the present, blurring the lines between the two. This form of repetition, which Schneider terms 'queer evidence,' challenges the conventional understanding of history as a static and unchangeable narrative.[12] Instead, it posits that history is a dynamic process continually reconstructed and reinterpreted through present-day action.

In traditional historical discourse, evidence is often seen as tangible artefacts or documented facts that provide a direct window into past events. However, Schneider's concept of 'queer evidence' upends this view. By re-enacting the Civil War, Hodge does not simply mimic historical events; he embodies them, thereby creating a form of evidence that is as emotional and evocative as factual. This performative repetition becomes a method to connect with history, not through distant observation but through a visceral, embodied experience. It suggests that history, rather than being a fixed entity, is subject to reinterpretation and reanimation through the bodies and actions of those in the present.

Applying Schneider's approach to repetition in physical exercise, the experiences of non-binary individuals, especially in activities such as weightlifting, demonstrate a challenge to established gender narratives. Synonymous with how Hodge's historical re-enactments contest conventional historical narratives, the involvement of non-binary individuals in a physical exercise becomes a potent form of identity expression and construction. Through repetition in their routines, each lift and motion under the barbell transforms into more than just a display of physical strength; it becomes a performative act that simultaneously asserts their identity, confronts gender norms, and reshapes personal narratives.

For non-binary individuals, the gym becomes a stage where the performance of repetition carries significant implications for identity. In a space often dominated by traditional gender expressions, lifting weights becomes a form of dissent. The repetitive nature of this exercise embodies a conscious rejection of gender norms and a reclamation of space. Each

[12] Schneider, "Performance Remains," 103.

repetition is a statement, a way of carving out a place in a narrative that has historically excluded or marginalised non-binary identities.

Moreover, this repetitive exercise, much like Hodge's re-enactment, is an embodied experience. It is not merely about changing the body to fit a particular aesthetic or normative ideal. Instead, it is about experiencing the body in motion, understanding its capabilities and limits, and using that understanding to express and affirm one's identity. Just as Hodge's re-enactment brings a past event into tangible reality, weightlifting's physical exertion and repetitive nature bring non-binary experiences and identities into a tangible, visible sphere.

Schneider's concept of repetition as 'queer evidence' offers a profound framework for understanding how performative repetition, be it in historical re-enactment or physical exercise, can serve as a powerful medium for challenging and reshaping narratives. For non-binary individuals, in particular, the repetitive acts of physical exercise are not merely routines for bodily health but are charged with symbolic significance. They serve as acts of resistance against normative gender frameworks, ways to affirm one's identity, and means to actively participate in the continual reconstruction of history and identity narratives.

Broderick Chow's perspective on Physical culture and self-construction.

Broderick Chow's analysis of physical culture, particularly in the context of contemporary fitness practices, offers a unique lens through which we can view the act of weightlifting not merely as a physical activity but as a medium of self-construction and identity exploration. Chow posits that modern fitness regimes, although seemingly diverse in their approach and execution, are deeply rooted in the physical culture that originated in theatrical spectacles and strongman performances.[13] This historical lineage is crucial in understanding how contemporary fitness practices, especially weightlifting, transcend physical development and become a platform for personal narrative and identity formation.

Chow elaborates further, stating, "Physical culture and, by extension, fitness programs thus all provide the space to 'go off script', creating new uses, affects, relations, and communities far from what is intended."[14] Chow's insights underscore the gym's potential as a

[13] Chow, "A Professional Body," 34.
[14] Ibid.

dynamic space where individuals, particularly from non-binary or marginalised communities, can diverge from traditional norms, crafting unique identity narratives and forging new community ties.

His insights reveal that the repetitive nature of weightlifting exercises is not just a means to achieve physical prowess or aesthetic goals. Instead, these repetitive actions resemble rehearsals or performances where individuals actively engage in self-construction. Each repetition under the barbell is not just an act of physical exertion but a step in the journey of self-discovery and identity assertion, shifting the focus from conforming to physical norms to seeing exercise as a medium for personal expression and transformation.

Reflecting on his own experiences, Chow notes,

"In each rep, I discover more about my corporeal self that drives me to return again... Hitting a 'PB' (personal best) on a snatch or clean and jerk is a complicated feeling: the rush of my body's boundless possibilities is accompanied by a new understanding of my physical limitations and vulnerability."[15]

This personal account underscores the introspective journey inherent in physical exercise, where each repetition becomes a moment of connection with historical practices and a step towards self-discovery.

Lifting weights becomes a symbolic dialogue with the self and history. Through each lift, individuals connect not only with their bodies in the present but also with historical figures who have shaped the practice of weightlifting, such as Eugen Sandow and George Hackenschmidt. This connection to the past adds depth to lifting weights, transforming it into a historical re-enactment and personal discovery process.

Moreover, Chow emphasises the importance of the gym space in this process. As a modern-day arena of physical culture, the gym becomes a site where historical narratives and personal stories intersect. Each participant's repetitive exercises contribute to identity construction, making the gym a poignant space for those seeking representation beyond traditional fitness narratives.

[15] Ibid, 39.

In summary, Broderick Chow's perspective on physical culture and fitness practices sheds light on the profound implications of repetitive exercises in weightlifting. It is a process that goes beyond physical development, encompassing self-construction, identity exploration, and a connection with historical figures. Through each repetition, individuals engage in a personal narrative, crafting their identity and affirming their place in the evolving story of physical culture. This transformative process highlights the gym as a space for physical training and a crucible for personal discovery and narrative construction.

Kartsaki's view on Repetition, Success, Failure, and the symbolic.

Erini Kartsaki's exploration of repetition within performance art provides a deep and nuanced perspective, particularly when examining repetition's role in the realms of physical exercise and gender identity. Kartsaki views repetition as a process intertwined with desire and death, suggesting that it embodies a constant cycle of reaching an ideal and the simultaneous acknowledgement of its unattainability.[16] This perspective provides a rich theoretical framework for understanding the role of repetitive physical exercise, particularly in challenging and redefining gender norms.

Kartsaki posits that repetition encompasses a duality of success and failure.[17] Each act of repetition in physical exercise is an attempt to achieve a specific goal or state – a personal record, a desired form, or a sense of accomplishment. This represents the 'success' aspect of repetition, where the individual strives to surpass their previous achievements. However, this striving acknowledges 'failure' – the recognition that the previous attempts were not the pinnacle and that there is still room for improvement. This cyclical process of reaching and falling short, success and failure, is emblematic of the human condition, reflecting our innate desire to grow and our inevitable limitations.

In the context of physical exercise and gender norms, this duality becomes particularly poignant. For many, especially those who do not conform to traditional gender binaries, the gym becomes a space where they strive to construct their identities and assert their presence. Each repetition is a step towards self-realisation, a successful act of carving out a space where they can express their true selves. However, this journey is also marked by the awareness of

[16] Kartsaki, *On Repetition: Writing, Performance & Art*, 129.
[17] Ibid.

societal constraints and the challenge of navigating a space often dominated by rigid gender expectations. Thus, each workout session becomes a microcosm of the larger struggle for acceptance and recognition.

Kartsaki's concept of repetition as a process of desire is also crucial in this context. The repetitive nature of exercise is also driven by the individual's longing to fulfil their own personal goal, be it a muscular body, personal fulfilment, or societal acceptance. This desire drives individuals to return to the gym, to lift another weight, and to push their boundaries. However, inherent in this desire is an understanding of its partial unattainability. The ideal body, perfect performance, or complete societal acceptance must always be within reach. This unattainability does not diminish the value of repetition; instead, it infuses each act with a sense of purpose and urgency.

Moreover, the symbolic meanings attached to physical exercise in the context of challenging gender norms are deeply resonant with Kartsaki's views. Each act of lifting, running, or stretching is imbued with layers of meaning. For a woman in a male-dominated gym, her presence and participation challenge traditional gender roles. For a person whose gender is fluid or sits outside of the gender binary, lifting weights might symbolise a reclaiming of physical strength and a defiance of the fragility often stereotypically associated with their perceived gender identity. In these scenarios, the repetitive nature of the exercises transforms them from mere physical activities to powerful statements of identity and resistance.

Erini Kartsaki's perspective on repetition offers a compelling lens through which to view physical exercise and its role in challenging gender norms. The inherent duality of success and failure in repetition mirrors the struggles and triumphs of those challenging societal norms. The process of desire, embodied in the repetitive nature of exercise, reflects the ongoing pursuit of personal and societal goals. Thus, through this lens, physical exercise becomes a rich tapestry of symbolic acts, each repetition a statement of identity, a challenge to normativity, and a testament to the enduring human spirit.

Physical Exercise Through the Lens of Kierkegaard's Repetition.

Repetition has been a recurring theme in the works of various philosophical studies throughout history.[18] However, Søren Kierkegaard (1813-1855), a prominent figure in existential philosophy, introduced a distinctive perspective on repetition that diverged significantly from conventional notions. Unlike the Greek concept of recollection, which focused on the past, Kierkegaard regarded repetition as a forward-looking and existential phenomenon.[19] This unique understanding of repetition provides a valuable framework for examining physical exercise, particularly in how it contributes to forming identity and the challenge it poses to societal norms.

Kierkegaard's concept of repetitive consciousness emphasises the importance of self-determination and autonomy in one's existence. Genuine authenticity is achieved by not allowing oneself to be solely defined or influenced by society and external factors.[20] In the context of physical exercise, this perspective becomes especially relevant as it highlights the role of exercise in shaping identity and its potential to challenge societal constructs.

In Kierkegaard's framework, repetition is not a mere return to what has been but an active movement towards the future. This perspective resonates deeply with the nature of exercise, particularly in contexts where individuals engage in physical activities to challenge traditional gender norms. Each repetitive action in exercise, be it lifting weights or sparing in boxing, is more than just a physical act; it symbolises growth, progression, and a conscious reshaping of personal and gender identity. For instance, a non-binary individual engaging in weightlifting is not merely repeating a physical motion but actively participating in creating a new self-narrative that defies traditional gender roles and embraces a unique identity.

Significantly, Kierkegaard associates repetition with freedom.[21] In the realm of exercise, this is particularly relevant for non-binary or gender-nonconforming individuals. For them, each repetition during a workout is a choice, an exercise of freedom. It is a declaration

[18] Plato (428 BCE – 348 BCE) Nietzsche (1844-1900), and more contemporary thinkers such as Deleuze and Derrida have extensively explored the meanings and possibilities associated with repetition.

[19] Kierkegaard, *Repetition,* 33.

[20] Martina Pavlikova and Igor Tavilla, "Repetition as a Path to Authentic Existence in Kierkegaard's Work," *Journal of Education Culture and Society* 2 (2023): 111–12.

[21] M. Jamie Ferreira, "Repetition, Concreteness, and Imagination," *International Journal for Philosophy of Religion* 25.1 (February 1989): 31, https://doi.org/10.1007/BF00141025.

of autonomy, an affirmation of their identity against societal expectations. This repeated choice to engage in physical activities that may contest traditional gendered expectations is a potent expression of self-determination. It is a statement that societal constraints do not bind them but are free agents crafting their narratives through the medium of their bodies.

Kierkegaard posits that repetition leads to happiness, as it enables the creation of new experiences and meanings.[22] In the context of exercise, the repetitive nature of training brings joy and empowerment. It is a profound departure from past narratives of gender, where each repetition is an act of self-affirmation and an engagement in the present moment. For those challenging gender norms, this joy is found in the empowerment of using their bodies to express themselves.

Kierkegaard's insights into repetition provide a valuable philosophical framework for understanding the role of exercise in expressing gender identity. His emphasis on repetition as a forward-looking, meaning-creating, and stabilising force offers a powerful perspective on how repetitive physical activities are not merely about fitness but are significant acts of self-expression and societal dissent. In the context of gender identity, particularly for non-binary and genderqueer individuals, the repetitive nature of exercise becomes a medium for asserting autonomy, crafting new narratives, and redefining the contours of gender expression. Through this lens, each repetition in exercise is seen not just as a physical act but as a profound statement of identity, freedom, and happiness.

Conclusion

Exploring physical exercise through the lenses of these scholars reveals a rich variety of meanings and implications, particularly when applied to physical activity and concerning gender identity and expression. Furthermore, it highlights the transformative power of repetition in physical exercise, not just as a tool for physical enhancement but as a profound medium for challenging and reshaping societal gender norms.

Further analysis of repetitive actions in exercises like weightlifting and boxing reveals their role in skill enhancement and physical development. Broderick Chow's perspective connects weightlifting to masculinity and identity exploration, while scholars Crews and

[22] Ferreira, “Repetition, Concreteness, and Imagination,” 31.

Lennox discuss how repetitive actions in boxing can challenge gender norms. This research prompts questions about the transformative potential of repetition for individuals with fluid or non-binary gender identities. It offers a nuanced view of how repetition shapes identity and disrupts societal norms in physical exercise.

Rebecca Schneider's concept of performative repetition as 'queer evidence' lays the groundwork for understanding the historical and emotional significance of repetitive actions. The analysis of Robert Lee Hodge's Civil War re-enactment illustrates how such performances, though rooted in the past, actively engage with and reinterpret history. This concept resonates deeply with how non-binary individuals experience physical exercise, such as weightlifting. Each repetitive motion is more than a physical act. It's a powerful statement of identity and challenges traditional gender narratives.

Broderick Chow's perspective on physical culture and self-construction further enriches this narrative. His insights into the historical lineage of contemporary fitness practices reveal the performative and identity-shaping aspects of physical exercise. Through repetitive exercises, the gym becomes a space for personal discovery and historical re-enactment, allowing individuals, especially those from non-binary and genderqueer communities, to create new meanings and affirm their identities.

Erini Kartsaki's exploration of repetition as a process of success, failure, and the symbolic underscores the complex interplay between physical actions and their deeper meanings. The duality of success and failure inherent in repetitive exercise mirrors the personal struggles and triumphs of individuals challenging gender norms. Each repetition embodies a process of desire and an acknowledgement of the unattainable, rendering the act a symbolic gesture of resistance and self-affirmation.

Søren Kierkegaard's existential view of repetition offers a profound perspective on exercise in the context of gender identity. Repetition, in his framework, is not just a physical act but a path to self-realisation, autonomy, and happiness. It becomes a source of comfort, stability, and freedom, particularly relevant for those expressing their gender identities through exercise. Each repetition is a declaration of autonomy and a rejection of societal constraints. In

this light, exercise becomes a powerful medium for self-discovery and societal dissent, symbolising self-determination and a more authentic existence.

In summary, the repetitive nature of physical exercise emerges as a multifaceted tool for challenging and reshaping gender norms. Evidently, each repetition in the gym or fitness space is more than a step towards physical improvement; it is an act of historical engagement, personal narrative reclamation, and identity formation. The transformative power of these repetitive acts extends beyond individual expression; they contribute to a broader cultural and societal discourse on gender. They are acts of defiance against normative frameworks, offering new insights and possibilities for understanding and expressing gender identity.

This comprehensive exploration highlights the importance of viewing physical exercise not just in terms of its physical benefits but as a significant cultural and social practice. It underscores the possibilities of the gym as a microcosm of society, where battles over identity, expression, and norms are fought and won. In this light, the repetitive lifting of weights or the consistent drills of a boxer is not just a path to physical well-being but a powerful statement in the ongoing narrative of gender identity and expression.

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Experiences of High-Technology Voices by Augmentative and Alternative Communication Users, c. 1980 to 2020

Ally Keane

Introduction:

'It is really important that the sound that comes from my aid is the way I feel and sound inside my heart' – Alan Martin[1]

Augmentative and Alternative Communication (AAC) is a name for a group of strategies which can be used by people with communication disorders, including signing and gesturing, communication boards, and high-technology voice output communication aids (VOCAs). Whilst figures cannot be found for the actual number of people who use AAC, an estimated 0.5% of the UK population, equating to 336,650 people, could benefit from some form of AAC.[2] This paper will focus on VOCA users to identify their experiences of computerised voices, to explore how they have viewed these voices, and to what extent they felt representative of their voice.

There is a dearth of literature surrounding both the history of AAC devices and services, with no literature exploring the experiences of AAC users, despite there being an increase in research surrounding other communication technologies, such as hearing aids, and other prosthetic devices. AAC users have also notably been neglected from disability research conducted in other areas, such as medicine, social sciences, and science and technology studies. Most research looking at the experiences of AAC users is conducted through proxies, notably caregivers or speech and language therapists, allowing their voices to be prioritised over AAC users'. Most qualitative research conducted with AAC users, in an attempt to capture their experiences of various aspects of life, have been conducted in the field of social sciences. Furthermore, the current research tends to take a 'social model of disability' stance, and therefore does not focus on people's experiences of impairment, meaning that AAC users are

[1] Alan Martin and Christopher Newell, "Living Through a Computer Voice: A Personal Account," *Logopedics Phoniatrics Vocology* 38.3 (2013): 102.
[2] Sarah Creer et al, "Prevalence of People Who Could Benefit from Augmentative and Alternative Communication (AAC) in the UK: Determining the Need," *International Journal of Language & Communication Disorders* 51:6 (2016): 640.

not able to appropriately discuss the experience of using devices, for the fear that it will provide a medical model view of AAC and complex communication needs.[3] Exploring voice and identity through the experience of AAC users is important, as they exist in a world where the spoken voice is privileged over other forms of communication, and where many AAC users feel removed from the 'human mainstream.'[4]

This research will seek to correct the epistemic and societal injustice by using a range of sources to put user voices and experiences at the forefront. This will include using user testimonies from the *Communication Matters* journal, qualitative studies from the field of social sciences, and other archival material. Using these sources will mean that certain voices are prioritised, namely AAC users who are more activist in nature and literate, and therefore able to write articles for *Communication Matters*, and those who have been included in research studies. This will likely mean that the voices of those who are illiterate, and use symbols to communicate, will be absent alongside people who have learning disabilities, as they are deemed unable to give informed consent and unable to partake in many research opportunities.

Voice:

The poet Henry Wadsworth Longfellow describes voice as 'the organ of the soul.'[5] Voice is inherently linked to our identity. It allows us not only to express ourselves, but also allows others to gain information about us: it gives them an indication of where we were raised and our class status, alongside showing our emotions and personalities. It also allows people to recognise others even when they are out of view.[6] The field of oral history regularly highlights the importance of voice to help provide additional meaning to experiences, with Traies stating 'the diverse voices, each with its own timbre, emotion and regional accent' bring 'stories vividly to life.'[7]

This research is predominantly using user testimonies from people with congenital conditions, such as cerebral palsy, who were born with little to no speech. For those with

[3] Mary Wickenden, "Identity in Teenagers who use AAC: Report and Consultation on a Project in Progress," *Communication Matters* 22.1 (2008): 11.
[4] Meredith Allan, "AAC and Self-Identity," *Communication Matters* 20:3 (2006): 11 and "Remaking My Voice," Ted, accessed 30th January 2024, https://www.ted.com/talks/roger_ebert_remaking_my_voice?language=en
[5] Henry Wadsworth Longfellow. *Hyperion*. Volume 2. (Boston: 1839), 28.
[6] Sarah Marshall, Amanda Hynan, and Nicole Whitworth, "Perceptions of People who use AAC about the Potential of Speech-Generating Devices to Express Identity," *Communication Matters* 33.3 (2019): 38.
[7] Jane Traies, "The Perils of the Recording: Ethical Issues in Oral History with Vulnerable Populations," *Oral History* 48.1 (2020): 79.

acquired conditions, using AAC felt like a serious loss of identity. Yamagishi et al. argued that voice is such an integral part of who a person is, that when it is lost due to acquired conditions, people may withdraw from social interactions, and even from family too.[8] Roger Ebert, a prominent US film critic, highlights that his old and new voice are 'tied indelibly to [his] identity,' and that the loss of his voice forced 'the birth of a new person.'[9] For Denise Gubbay, who had 'worked in verbal communication all her working life,' the loss of speech and the use of AAC was very difficult to come to terms with and felt like the loss of her identity.[10] She felt that when she first got an AAC device and was unable to speak that she 'had no identity,' and felt that she 'was merely the object of pity.'[11] The use of AAC made it feel like she had been reduced to 'the sum of her symptoms,' rather than seen as a person.[12]

Whilst this literature discusses voice in relation to the identity of AAC users, it is important to acknowledge that the priority was and continues to be the development of functional devices which allow them to communicate as effectively as possible.[13] This means not only having devices which do not regularly break down and need repair, but also have better volume, so they could be heard in crowded and loud environments, and better lighting, so they could communicate with others when outside.[14] Nonetheless, a priority which has remained high on the agenda is the personalisation of voices. Voice is not just functional, allowing them to speak and read out the text they had written; it is a 'critical function' for personal identity.[15] AAC users have discussed having personalised voices since the inception of speech synthesis in VOCAs, with the calls becoming more prominent from 2000. This included not only accents, but also intonation to allow further expression. This paper will focus on these two aspects of voice.

Accent:

When speech synthesis was first available (c.1980), there was initially only one voice, which was an American male. This meant that despite gender, age, or geographical location, all AAC users sounded like an American man. Yamagishi et al. observed this caused embarrassment for

[8] Junichi Yamagishi et al, "Speech Synthesis Technologies for Individuals with Vocal Disabilities: Voice Banking and Reconstruction," *Acoustical Science and Technology* 33.1 (2012): 1.
[9] "Remaking My Voice."
[10] Denise Gubbay and Lindy van Creveld, "A Pilgrim's Progress," *Communication Matters* 12.2 (1998): 22.
[11] Ibid, 20.
[12] Ibid, 22.
[13] Martin and Newell, "Living Through a Computer Voice," 96.
[14] Marshall, Hynan, and Whitworth, "Perceptions of People who use AAC": 39.
[15] Yamagishi et al, "Speech Synthesis Technologies": 1.

AAC users and caused a lack of motivation to use a VOCA.[16] Because of the small market size of VOCAs, American-accented English became the default, as it was too costly to provide a wider range of voices suitable for so many people, each with their own unique voice.[17] In a Research Institute for Consumer Affairs booklet on communication aids available in the United Kingdom (UK) in 1984, when accent was mentioned in the product information, only American accents were available.[18] In 1988, Stowe, Rowley, and Chamberlain suggested that whilst they understood that only American male voices were available at the time, female AAC users would find 'varied pitch' more acceptable in lieu of a woman's voice.[19] Speech scientist Rupal Patel remembers the time when she saw a young girl and a grown man having a conversation, using their respective devices, but both had the same voice.[20] AAC users were all using voices 'that didn't fit their bodies or their personalities.'[21]

From a user perspective, not many people look back on these voices fondly. Alan Martin remembers having to 'speak with an American, swanky voice,' which he 'hated,' as it was nothing close to his Liverpudlian accent.[22] This is backed up by other users, including a respondent to a Scope survey on the experiences of people who use communication aids, who said 'I do not like the American accent. I would like a voice near my natural voice and language.'[23] Even as late as 2008, teenagers who used AAC were still complaining about having an American voice.[24]

In the early 2000s, when a wider range of voices had been provided, they tended to be a generic 'accent-less' Southern-based British accent (closest to Received Pronunciation). Alan, for example, described the voice as more 'like a BBC news reader than the 'Scouser' that is the real me.'[25] Not only were the businesses missing out on local dialects, they also were missing the voices of the other three major UK countries – Scotland, Northern Ireland and

[16] Ibid.
[17] Ibid.
[18] Research Institute for Consumer Affairs, *Communication Aids: A Guide for People Who Have Difficulty Speaking* (London: RICA, 1984), 22-3. British Library Archive, 88/09034.
[19] Janet Stowe, Corinne Rowley, and M. Anne Chamberlain, "Acquisition and Use of Communication Aids by Those Buying Aids Directly from the Supplier," *British Journal of Occupational Therapy* 51.3 (1998): 100.
[20] "Synthetic Voices, as unique as fingerprints," Ted, accessed 30th January 2024, https://www.ted.com/talks/rupal_patel_synthetic_voices_as_unique_as_fingerprints?language=en
[21] Ibid.
[22] Martin and Newell, 'Living Through a Computer Voice": 98-99.
[23] James Ford, *Speak For Yourself* (Scope: London, 2000), 27.
[24] Wickenden, "Identity in Teenagers": 13.
[25] Martin and Newell, 'Living Through a Computer Voice": 99.

Wales. Scott joked when discussing his new Lightwriter, 'the accent could be more Scottish!'[26] BT, much earlier (c. 1996), introduced new software called 'BT Laureate' for communication aids which included a synthesised voice in an English accent which similarly only provided the 'accent-less' voice.[27] Roger, though American, had a British accent for a period of time, earning him the nickname 'Sir Lawrence' by his wife.[28] He chose this at the time simply because it was the clearest one he could find, which was a common reason for AAC users to choose one voice over another, despite it being nowhere near their voice.[29]

Many users wanted an accent that sounded like them: a local or regional accent which was representative of their gender. Alan admits that he privately told his friends that he would like a 'Scouse' voice. He began paying for additional software using private funds, never knowing if it would 'prove compatible' with his device, allowing him to have access to more voices.[30] Whilst he acknowledged there had been improvements in his voice since the early 1990s, he continued to seek his voice: 'a young man from Liverpool. An average 'Scouse' voice. A bit like some of the Beatles used to sound in their younger days.'[31] His whole identity was based around 'being born and raised in Liverpool,' which often made using his device difficult as it did not feel representative of him.[32] Alan and other users highlighted that if they had a voice which sounded like them, they would have felt more motivated to use their device.[33]

Users did attempt to make their voices work for them, by very cleverly trying to insert local dialect and slang into the vocabulary. The teenagers from Wickenden's study wanted their devices to properly say 'slang language,' so they could fit in with their classmates and sound more like the other teenagers in their community.[34] As Alan stated, often because of the accent, when he tried to manipulate the voice synthesis software by spelling words wrong in an attempt to make them sound more Liverpudlian, they 'still [sounded] posh!'[35]

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[26] Scott Wood, "A Personal Perspective," *Communication Matters* 14.1 (2000): 4.
[27] Barnaby Perks, "Cambridge Adaptive Communication," *Communication Matters* 12:3 (1998): 16.
[28] "Remaking My Voice."
[29] Ibid.
[30] Martin and Newell, 'Living Through a Computer Voice": 99.
[31] Ibid, 100-1.
[32] Ibid,101.
[33] Ibid and Marshall, Hynan, and Whitworth, "Perceptions of People who use AAC": 39.
[34] Mary Wickenden, "'Talk to me as a teenage girl': An Anthropological Study of Identity and Lifeworlds with Teenage AAC Users," *Communication Matters* 24:3 (2010): 5.
[35] Martin and Newell, 'Living Through a Computer Voice": 100.

AAC manufacturers did begin to market themselves as providing a range of different voices, accepting that it was important for AAC users to have a voice which was more aligned to their actual voice. In 2003, the company DynaVox introduced DynaWrite to the market, which included 'a choice of voices' and the ability to 'record special messages.'[36] In 2005, Toby Churchill Limited launched new models of the Lightwriter, which offered both 'a male or female British accent.'[37] Marshall, Hynan, and Whitworth did acknowledge that by 2019, there was a wider range of voices available to people who used VOCAs and new technologies had emerged, namely voice banking, which meant that AAC users could begin to have voices which were unique to them.[38]

Digitised Speech and Voice Banking:

Whilst it was acknowledged by many stakeholders internationally that there needed to be an emphasis 'on producing aids which support the speech organs' to improve individual 'perception of identity,' the technology to create synthesised speech closer to one's voice was not available until the creation of voice banking technology.[39] Voice banking refers to a process for creating a personalised synthetic voice, whereby either a person at risk of losing their speech or a voice actor will record a number of words and phrases. These recordings can then be inputted into a computer model and uploaded on to the device so any inputted speech can be synthesised and said aloud by a VOCA.[40] This allows the user to have a unique voice and provides alternatives to the generic voices that were previously the only option for AAC users.[41] Voice banking is an option available to some AAC users, usually provided through charities or private funds, but it is not available to all. Roger, who did have the funds to pay privately for voice banking technology, approached a company in Edinburgh in the early 2010s. Initially, he thought it 'would be creepy to hear [his] own voice coming from a computer.'[42] When it was created using old footage from television and radio and uploaded onto his laptop,

[36] DynaVox, "DynaWrite," advertisement, *Communication Matters* 17.1 (2003): 23.
[37] Toby Churchill Limited, "New Lightwriter and AdVOCAte+" advertisement, *Communication Matters* 19.1 (2005): 23.
[38] Marshall, Hynan, and Whitworth, "Perceptions of People who use AAC": 38.
[39] Margita Lundman, Elisabet Tenenholtz, and Karoly Galyas, *Technical Aids for the Speech Impaired – Interntionally Coordinated Development Work: Report on Project*, 1978. The National Archives, MH 154/1298.
[40] Richard Cave and Steven Bloch, "Voice Banking for People Living with Motor Neurone Disease: Views and Expectations," *International Journal of Language & Communication Disorders* 56:1 (2021): 118.
[41] Cave and Bloch, "Voice Banking for People Living with Motor Neurone Disease," 118.
[42] "Remaking My Voice."

'it sent chills down [his] spine.'[43] Whilst he acknowledged that there are a good range of voices on computers, 'they all sound like somebody else, while this voice sounded like [him].'[44]

Prior to voice banking technology, the only way to have a more personalised voice was to use digitised speech. This meant the recording of set words and phrases, which were uploaded onto the device. However, users were limited solely to the small number of recorded words and phrases, due to the increased memory capacity that was needed. For example, in 1984, Tracey, a young girl from Birmingham, received her communication aid.[45] A number of other pupils, around the same age as Tracey and also from Birmingham, recorded set words and phrases. Tracey was then able to pick the voice which sounded most like her, and those 230 words and phrases were uploaded onto her device.[46] This meant that whilst she was limited to those recorded words and phrases, she had a voice which sounded like her. Her parents also began to associate Tracey's voice with her, as they didn't know the schoolgirl who had provided the voice.[47] Synthesised speech, on the other hand, provided the ability for infinite word combinations, but sounded less natural and more robotic.

The Difficulty of Regularly Changing Voices:

Some AAC users experienced feeling attached to some voices over others, and as the voice software technology was not universal, every time a device was changed, there was always the chance their voice would change too. Often the change of voices was due to sudden communication aid breakdown, so was not on AAC users' terms, for example, wanting to upgrade to a more sophisticated device.[48] Marshall, Hynan, and Whitworth found that when VOCAs had a better voice, it was easier for AAC users to switch to the new device, but when the voice was perceived as worse, it led to negative feelings and 'the loss of identity' as others would no longer recognise them.[49]

Lee Ridley discussed this and said he 'didn't really like [the] voice at first,' when he changed to a newer model of the Lightwriter as he had become used to the old voice, which he

[43] Ibid.
[44] Ibid.
[45] 'Tracey Gets a Voice at 15 – Thanks to British Genius," *Daily Mail*, 15 November 1984, Birmingham Archives, MS 1579.2.8.2.1.
[46] "Tracy Gets a Voice at 15."
[47] Ibid.
[48] Marshall, Hynan, and Whitworth, "Perceptions of People who use AAC": 40.
[49] Ibid.

identified with himself.[50] Conversely, Alan felt that it would be easy to change to a different device, if there was a better voice provided, but would find it hard if he had to switch to a new device which had worse voice quality. He was happy with the voice he had, as he thought it was 'the best available for [him] at the moment.'[51] He found that upgrading his device, which had a new voice, allowed him to get 'one step nearer' to his ideal voice.[52] Some AAC users, particularly as more advanced technologies have become available to more people in the last decade, were allowed to trial a range of devices, and therefore voices, which helped them to choose the one they liked best and felt was most representative of them.[53] Despite this, they were still intrigued by the voice banking technologies, which they had not yet been able to access, to give them a more personalised voice.[54]

Expression:

Locke wrote about the functions of communication: 'propositional speaking' and 'intimate talking.'[55] Propositional speaking is the transmission of facts, whilst intimate talking is the paralinguistic elements of speech which help to convey meaning, including intonation, body language, facial expressions, and gestures.[56] Intimate talking is something that high-technology AAC devices have and continue to miss, much to the frustration of AAC users; those markers of identity which allow them to show their personalities.[57] Some professionals working on new AAC devices and software did acknowledge the difficulty of expression through devices. Turner, for example, created new software which moved away from pre-stored words and phrases, suggesting that 'it may be hard to develop your own linguistic voice, your individuality through the words and syntax of others,' but could not provide the change they wanted in intonation.[58] It is highlighted by Meredith Allan, former President of the Australian Branch of International Society for Augmentative and Alternative Communication and an AAC user, that society has a 'dominant language culture,' which AAC users have to fit into.[59] Whilst she

[50] "Lee," Abilia Toby Churchill, accessed 7 December 2021, https://web.archive.org/web/20170201041713/http://www.toby-churchill.com/lightwriter-community/user-stories/lee/
[51] Martin and Newell, 'Living Through a Computer Voice": 100.
[52] Ibid, 99.
[53] Marshall, Hynan, and Whitworth, "Perceptions of People who use AAC": 39.
[54] Ibid.
[55] John Locke, "Where did all the gossip go? Casual conversation in the Information Age," *American Speech Language Hearing Association* 40.3 (1998): 27.
[56] Locke, "Where did all the gossip go?"
[57] Mandy Brown and Joan Murphy, "The Personal Touch," *Communication Matters* 16.1 (2002): 3.
[58] George Turner, "Let Language Develop, Let People Develop," *communication Matters* 17:2 (2003): 17.
[59] Allan, "AAC and Self-Identity": 11.

admits that gesture is often used by both AAC users and non-users alike, and is acceptable in 'the verbal world,' the lack of ability to communicate quickly and opportunities for 'intimate talking' means there will always be 'a stigma placed on [them] by the global community.'[60]

Most AAC users have struggled to convey meaning using their devices, due to the lack of expression available. A lot of what is conveyed in conversation is not just the words that are said, but also the intonation that we put on our words to provide additional meaning. Denise highlighted this, saying: 'a person using a Lightwriter is totally reliant on words to get the message over. To add to this, the fact that in the English language a lot of the meaning is carried through stress and intonation, we begin to see how difficult it is to use the Lightwriter to its full potential.'[61] Alan found it difficult using devices when working with children, as when he said 'Wow' or gave praise, it sounded 'a bit flat,' and he thought made him sound 'a bit sarcastic.'[62] Lee, a stand-up comedian, had to spend a great deal of time typing words differently, because the device wouldn't say it correctly, and had to play his set through a few times to ensure that it sounded ok.[63] On the other hand, Roger picked out a device which provided him with more expression. Using a Macintosh laptop, which included 'the Alex voice,' he could enter text which would be read out and which he said understood 'the difference between an exclamation point and a question mark,' making a 'sentence sound like it was ending instead of staying up in the air.'[64] However, the ability for the laptop to be able to do this could be because it is bigger and therefore more capable of having these features, than a small, portable VOCA. Roger suggested having an 'Ebert test,' in which if speech synthesis 'can successfully tell a joke and do the timing and delivery' well, then that's a voice he would want.[65]

Conclusion:

Whilst many users acknowledged that difficulties in using AAC tended to lie more in functional aspects of the devices, many wanted access to a more personalised voice, which helped to express who they were. Whilst there have been notable improvements in technology and the range of voices available to AAC users, there is still a way to go to ensure that all users feel

[60] Ibid.
[61] Gubbay and van Creveld, "A Pilgrim's Progress": 22.
[62] Martin and Newell, 'Living Through a Computer Voice": 100.
[63] "Lee."
[64] "Remaking My Voice."
[65] Ibid.

that they have a voice which is representative of themselves. Voice banking provides an opportunity to get a step closer to having access to this voice, but not all users can access this technology, instead having to rely on the pre-programmed voices on the devices. Even voice banking technology has a way to go, in terms of allowing users to have the natural intonation and expression of speech, giving users the option to say something 'happily' or 'funnily,' rather in the monotonous, evenly timed speech. In a world where the spoken word is prioritised, this will continue to be something high on the agenda for VOCA users, so they can begin to feel more in line with the communication norms of society. Overall, whilst some users felt that their voices were beginning to sound more like them, it has been difficult for VOCA users over the years to speak in a voice which did not feel representative of them. Whilst they acknowledged that there had been improvements and new devices that brought them closer to their voice, several had still not reached the point where their voice felt fully representative of their identity.

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"Isolation Through Autochthony in Classical Athens"

Dr. Ioannis Mitsios

Abstract

In this paper, by employing a holistic approach, taking into consideration the literary, iconographic and topographic evidence — along with the historical and ideological context of the classical period — I will examine how the ideology of autochthony (a major ideology of the classical period) isolated the Athenians from the rest of the Greeks. Special emphasis will be given to the autochthonous aspects of the heroes Erechtheus, Erichthonios and Kekrops, all of them connected to autochthony, though myth and iconography.

Erechtheus, Erichthonios and Kekrops

Erechtheus is the oldest of the Athenian heroes who received cult on the Acropolis, attested both in the Iliad and the Odyssey.[1] In the Iliad (2.546-551), Homer connects the hero with the city of Athens and the goddess Athena — the major and poliadic goddess — who is mentioned as his nurse. Furthermore, Erechtheus is presented as an autochthonous hero — born from the Earth — and additionally his cultic status and persona are emphasized, given that he receives sacrifices of bulls and rams. In the Odyssey (7.80-81), the testimony on the hero is more laconic. No matter of that, Homer has Athena entering the temple of Erechtheus and links the cults of Athena and Erechtheus. Scholars that focus on the cultic evidence, believe that Erechtheus is predominantly presented as a god in Homer.[2] Others that focus on the autochthonous nature of the hero (and his birth from the Earth), claim that Erechtheus is mostly presented as a hero-king, rather than a god.[3] It seems that Homer's Erechtheus has both divine and heroic attributes.[4]

Like Homer, Herodotus (8.55) also presents Erechtheus as an autochthonous hero — calling him the "Earthborn" — and relates him with the cults of the Acropolis and the strife

[1] The bibliography on Erechtheus is massive. The most important recent studies remain those of Kron 1976, 32-83; *LIMC* IV (1988), s. v. Erechtheus 923-951; Meyer 2017, 244-267; Mitsios 2018, 102-172; forthcoming a).
[2] Rosivach 1987, 295; Papachatzis 1989, 176. Mikalson (1976, 146 n. 21), based on the interpretation of the verb *«ἱλάονται»,* believes that the sacrifices were made for a god, rather than a hero.
[3] Hadzisteliou-Price 1973, 136.
[4] Kearns (1989, 133) notes that the epithet «*μεγαλήτωρ*» in Homer is attested mostly for humans, rather than gods. For the presence of Erechtheus in Homer, see also Mitsios 2018, 108-111.

between Athena and Poseidon for the land of Attica. In another passage (8.41.2-3) the historian relates Erechtheus's sanctuary on the Acropolis with snakes — the chthonic element *par excellence* — further emphasizing the autochthonous nature of the hero.[5] Lastly, Herodotus (8.44) connects the Athenians of historical times with Erechtheus, stating that they switched their name to Athenians when he became a king.

We may not have any iconographic depiction of Erechtheus in an autochthonous context — and in fact his appearance in art is very limited — but his connection to autochthony cannot be questioned, given that the is presented as an autochthonous and "Earthborn" hero, already by the time of Homer.[6]

Erichthonios is another Athenian hero connected to the ideology of autochthony. In fact, he has been interpreted by some scholars as a doublet of Erechtheus.[7] The first account on Erichthonios may derive from two fragments of Pindar (*fr*. 253 Sn-M; Danais fr. 2 K), who names Erichthonios as the son of Earth and Hephaestus.[8] The first secure testimony on the hero derives from Euripides (*Ion* 20-25), who calls Erichthonios "the Earthborn" and speaks of his nurture by the daughters of Kekrops (Aglauros, Herse and Pandrosos), stating that two snakes guarded the chest in which he was placed. The fullest account on the hero derives from Apollodorus (3.14.6), who also calls Erichthonios "the Earthborn" and attests that he was the founder of the Panathenaia, the major festival of the city of Athens. According to his testimony, Athena wiped off with wool (*ἔριον*) the semen of Hephaistus who chased her (trying to rape her) and then Erichthonios was born from the Earth. Several other ancient authors — including Isocrates(*Panathenaicus* 126) and Pausanias (1.2.6; 1.14.6) — mention that Erichthonios was "Earthborn", reaffirming the autochthonous nature of the hero. In fact, his relation to autochthony is indicated by the very etymology of his name. According to scholars, the name of Erichthonios derives from the words *erion/ἔριον* (meaning=wool) and

[5] Most recently on the aspects and symbolisms of snakes, see Mitsios 2023, 34-36.
[6] For the limited iconography of Erechtheus, see LIMC IV (1988) s.v. Erechtheus nos 1-80.
[7] Kron 1976, 37-39; Mikalson 1976; Parker 1987, 200-201; Kearns 1989, 110-115, 160-161; Dowden 1992, 86; Gantz 1993, 233-237; Brulé 1996, 44-46; Hurwit 1999, 33; Blok 2009a, 259; Frame 2009, 458; Sourvinou-Inwood 2011, 88; Connelly 2014, 123.
[8] The testimonies are cited from Harpocration s. v. *autochthones* and may refer to Erechtheus, instead of Erichthonios, as Kearns (1989, 161) states. For the issue, see also Shear 2016, 157 n. 53, as well as Frame 2009, 463 n. 238 for the difficulties on the dating of the *Danaid* of Pindar.

chthon/*χθών*(meaning=Earth).[9] Given that, the origin of his name is in complete agreement with the mythological episode, attested by Apollodorus, where Athena wipes off with the wool (*erion*) — in disgust — the semen of Hephaestus that fell on the *earth* (*chthon*).

Just like his relevant figure of Erechtheus, Erichthonios is also connected to snakes. Pausanias (1.24.7) identifies the serpent inside the shield of the statue of Athena Parthenos (made by Pheidias) with Erichthonios (Figure 1).

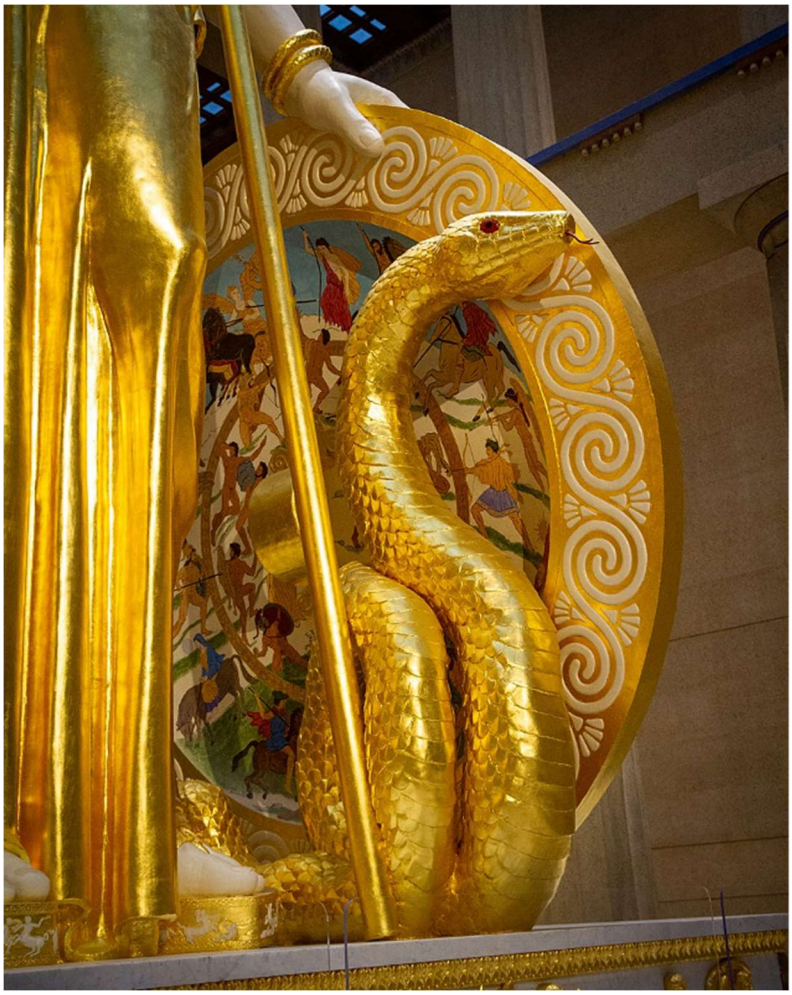

Figure 1. Detail of the snake (identified with Erichthonios) inside the shield of Athena Statue of Athena Parthenos at Nashville.

[9] For bibliography on the etymology of Erichthonios, see Connelly 2014, 133 n. 27.

In contrast to Erechtheus's iconography, we have plethora of depictions of Erichthonios birth in vase painting. The first depiction of Erichthonios is shown on a black-figure lekythos from Palermo, dated to 490-480 B.C (Figure 2).[10]

Figure 2. Palermo, Mormino Collection 769.

Erichthonios on a black-figure lekythos from Palermo

The same lekythos also attests the first depiction of Kekrops, the autochthonous and *diphyes*/mixanthropic hero, who was worshipped on the area of Erechtheion, further emphasizing the message of autochthony. The majority of Erichthonios depictions in vase painting show him in the "*anodos"* scenes, where *Ge* (Earth) delivers the baby hero to Athena, pointing to his autochthonous nature.[11] On a red-figure kylix, dating from 430 B.C. and

[10] Palermo Mormino Collection 769. *BAPD* 270.
[11] For the birth of Erichthonios and the "anodos" scenes see *LIMC* IV s. v. Erechtheus nos 1-28; Mitsios 2018, 142-145 (with emphasis on vases from the Acropolis of Athens).

attributed to the Codrus Painter, *Ge* delivers the baby Erichthonios to Athena, in the presence of Kekrops and his daughters (Figure 3).[12]

Figure 3. Berlin, Antikenmuseen F 2537

The birth of Erichthonios on a red-figure kylix of the Codrus Painter

Kekrops was another important Athenian hero who received cult on the Acropolis (on the wider area of the Erechtheion) and was connected to autochthony.[13] The hero first appears in Herodotus (8.44) and is connected with the prehistoric phase of the city. Similarly, Thucydides (2.15.1) relates Kekrops with the early kings of Attica. In fact, it has been suggested that the etymology of the name of Kekrops should be sought in prehistoric times.[14]

The first account on the *diphyes* and mixanthropic nature of Kekrops comes from Euripides (*Ion* 1163-1164), who talks about "Kekrops's serpent coils", indicating his *diphyes*/mixanthropic nature, being half human and half snake. Apollodorus (3.14.1) is the fullest account on Kekrops and presents him as an autochthonous and *diphyes*/mixanthropic hero, the first king of Athens.

[12] Berlin, Antikenmuseen F 2537. *BAPD* 217211.
[13] For extensive studies on Kekrops, see Kron 1976, 84-103; *LIMC* VI (1992) s.v. Kekrops, 1084- 1091; Gourmelen 2004; Mitsios 2018, 167-211; 2023; 2024; forthcoming a); forthcoming b).
[14] Kron 1976, 86, n. 385.

In art, Kekrops is depicted as a *diphyes* and mixanthropic creature, with his upper part in human and his lower in snake shape. Most iconographic depictions of the hero — only with few exceptions — show him as half human and half snake, emphasizing his autochthonous nature.[15] His autochthony is also indicated by the absence of any information regarding his birth and genealogical line, indicating that Kekrops was a product of the Earth itself. His first iconographic depiction is attested on a black-figure lekythos from Palermo, dated to 490/480 B.C. (Figure 4).[16] As stated above, on the other side of the lekythos, the figure of Erichthonios — the other major autochthonous hero — is shown, a fact that stresses out the message of autochthony on the iconography of the vase. The connection between the birth of the "Earthborn" Erichthonios and the *diphyes* and mixanthropic figure of Kekrops is attested in other vases, such as the kylix of Codrus which we have examined above (see Figure. 3). In fact, in ancient Greek art and myth, the figure of Kekrops was considered the autochthonous hero *par excellence* when it comes to iconography (being *diphyes*, half human and half snake), while Erichthonios was considered the autochthonous hero *par excellence* when it comes to myth (being "Earthborn").

[15] For the iconographic treatment of Kekrops, see *LIMC* VI (1992), s.v. Kekrops nos 1-42; Mitsios 2018, 200-213 (with emphasis on iconographic depictions deriving from the Acropolis of Athens).
[16] Palermo Mormino Collection 769. *BAPD* 270.

Figure 4. Palermo, Mormino Collection 769.

Kekrops on a black-figure lekythos from Palermo

Sophocles (*Ajax* 202) and Euripides (*Ion* 202) call the Athenians "Erechtheids" and Pindar (*Isthmionicus* 2.19) refers to the Athenians under the same name, relating the people of Athens with the hero Erechtheus. Similarly, Herodotus (8.44), connects the Athenians of prehistoric times to Kekrops, mentioning that the Athenians during Kekrops's reign were called "Kekropidai". From these sources we note that both the heroes Erechtheus and Kekrops are highly relevant to the Athenians of the classical period, who considered themselves their descendants/offspring.[17]

[17] Most recently, for the contribution of Erechtheus and Kekrops to the shaping of Athenian identity, see Mitsios forthcoming a).

Autochthony in Classical Athens

But what was the importance of autochthony — a major ideology of the Athenians of the classical period — and how did it isolate the Athenians from the rest of the Greeks?

The word *autochthon* (*αὐτό́χθων)* derives from the words *αὐτός* + *χθών*, meaning "the one from the same land" and has the same meaning as *gegenes (γηγενής)* (see Plato, *Sophist* 247c; 248b).[18] The word autochthon is first attested in Aeschylus (*Suppliant Women* 250) and is used regularly thereafter. Autochthon (*αὐτό́χθων)* is opposite to an immigrant/outsider (*έ́πηλυς*)[19] and mixed populations (*μιγά́δες*).[20]

Several different ancient authors associate autochthony with the city of Athens. Hellanikus (*FGrH* F 27) attests that "the Athenians were autochthonous, born from the Attic land". Thucydides claims that "the Athenians dwelt in the country without a break in the succession from generation to generation" (2.36.1) and that "the same people have always inhabited Attica" (1.2.5). Plato states that "the Athenians praised themselves for coming out of soil" (*Menexenus* 237b) and Lysias (2.17) attests that "the Athenians were born of the soil and possessed in one and the same country their mother and their fatherland". Plato (*Menexenus* 237b) and Hyperides (6.7) associate Athenian autochthony with nobility of birth and piety (*εὐγέ́νεια*) and given that, even the lowest Athenian citizen was considered superior when compared to a non-Athenian one.

The ideology of Athenian autochthony has been studied by scholars from several different angles. Autochthony has been studied in relation to Athenian myths,[21] funerary speeches,[22] Attic drama (especially the works of Euripides),[23] iconography,[24] the works of

[18] Rosivach 1987, 297.
[19] As attested in Herodotus (4. 197. 2; 8. 73. 1-2); Isocrates (4. 63; 12. 124); Plato (*Menexenus* 237b).
[20] As attested in Isocrates (4.24; 12.124).
[21] Montanari 1981; Rosivach 1987.
[22] Loraux 1981.
[23] Saxonhouse 1986; Meltzer 2006; Calame 2011.
[24] Shapiro 1998.

Herodotus[25] and Plato (especially his work *Menexenus*),[26] gender studies,[27] and Perikles's Citizenship Laws of 451/450 B.C.[28]

In fact, the ideology of autochthony is almost contemporary with Perikles's Citizenship Laws.[29] Aristotle (*Athenian Constitution* 26.3) and Plutarch (*Life of Perikles* 37.3) attest that according to the Citizenship Laws of Perikles, the Athenian citizenship was granted when both parents were of Athenian background, while previously the Athenian heritage of the father was enough for the award of the citizenship. Whether the Citizenship Laws of Perikles were influenced by the ideology of autochthony or if they were the ones that played a role on its formation, remains a hotly debated subject and scholars argue for both cases.[30] Given the iconographic evidence we have examined above and the fact that in most of the cases myths predate historical facts, I believe that the ideology of autochthony predated Perikles's Citizenship Laws.[31]

The ideology of autochthony has long been connected to the funerary speeches. In the funerary speech for the war dead of the Battle of Potidaea (*CEG 10*), it is stated that the "*aether* took the soul of the war dead, while the Earth took their bodies".[32] It has been stated by scholars that in the funerary speech of Perikles, the Athenian war deadreturned to the Earth, where they first belonged, being autochthonous and products of the Attic land.[33] The tragedies of Euripides — especially the works *Erechtheus* and *Ion* — are related to the ideology of autochthony and have alreadybeen connected by scholars with the funerary speeches.[34]

[25] Loraux 2000; Thomas 2000.
[26] Loraux 2000; Pappas 2011.
[27] Nimis 2007; Räuchle 2015.
[28] Blok 2009b; Pelling 2009.
[29] For Perikles' Citizenship Laws, see Patterson 1981; Walters 1983; Boegehold 1994; French 1994; Podlecki 1998; Blok 2009b; Kennedy 2013,53-55.
[30] Ogden (1996, 66) and Blok (2009a, 271-2), argue that the ideology of autochthony contributed to the formation of Perikles' Citizenship Laws, while Hall 2002 (204-205), believes the opposite.
[31] The lekythos from Palermo with the depiction of both Kekrops and Erichthonios is dating from 490/480 B.C., suggesting that the autochthonous figures were shown at least in the iconography of that time, predating Perikles' Citizenship Laws.
[32] Sourvinou-Inwood 2011,79.
[33] Nimis 2007, 399.
[34] Lacore 1983; Francois 2004.

In terms of the ideology of autochthony, it has been suggested that the Athenians had no memory of any migration and they believed that they have always lived in the same land.[35] Likewise their mythological heroes Erechtheus, Erichthonios and Kekrops they believed that they were born and sprung from the Earth itself, being "products" of the Attic land. The continuous, undisturbed and unstopped habitation of the city of Athens by the Athenians connected every Athenian citizen with the ideology of autochthony.[36] It was this specific ideology that differentiated and isolated the Athenians from their political rivals, the Spartans, who were of Dorian origin and were considered *ἐπήλυδες*/ outsiders, migrated from elsewhere.

Herodotus (5.72), in his description of the Spartan king Kleomenes entrance to the shrine of Athena on the Acropolis, attests that the priestess of Athena Polias said the following words: "Go back, Lacedaemonian stranger, and do not enter the holy place since it is not lawful that Dorians should pass in here". In Herodotus's testimony the Spartan king is treated as an outsider and *ἔπηλυς,* not allowed to participate in Athenian cult, as it was taking place on the Acropolis, the religious centre of the city of Athens. We see from the words of the priestess, that autochthony and Athenian/Ionian origin are the key elements for participating in Athenian cult and the major religious activities of the city.

Concluding Remarks

The study of the Athenians and the city of Athens under the context of autochthony, helps us to better understand Athenian civilization. The interpretation of the word "Greekness" more like a word meaning opposition to barbarity, rather than a word for a united nation by the Athenians,[37] placed the ideology of autochthony in the centre of the Athenian beliefs of the classical period.[38] The ideology of autochthony was crucial for the identity of the city of Athens and was connected to democracy, the democratic values, the equality between the Athenian citizens and the abolishment of tyranny.[39] Therefore, we see that autochthony differentiated and isolated the Athenians from the rest of the Greek states. In fact, in some

[35] Rosivach 1987, 296; Osborne 2010, 250.
[36] Pappas 2011, 78.
[37] Hornblower (2008, 37-44), mentions that the word "Greekness" in classical times basically means opposition to barbarity.
[38] On identity and ethnicity, see Gruen 2013.
[39] Montanari 1981; Rosivach 1987, 301; Valdés Guía 2008; Lambert 2010, 143; Osborne 2010, 106.

(extreme) cases, their differentiation and isolation of the Athenians took the form of snobbism, making the Athenians feeling superior compared to the rest of the Greeks.[40]

[40] For the ideology of autochthony as a reference for Athenian superiority and snobbism against the rest of the Greeks, see Parker 1987, 195; Shapiro 1998, 151.

Abbreviations

BAPD = Beazley Archive Pottery Database. http://www.beazley.ox.ac.uk.

CEG: P.A. Hansen, Carmina epigraphica graeca saeculorum VIII-V a. Chr. n., Berolini et Novi Eboraci.

FGrH: F. Jacoby, Fragmente der griechischen Historiker Berlin.

IG: M. Fraenkel, Inscriptiones graecae. Berlin.

LIMC: Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae. Zürich and Munich.

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The Questioning of Personal Alliances during the Glorious Revolution as illustrated by the actions of the 2nd Earl of Clarendon between 1688 and 1689

Ben Sharpe

Introduction

Personal alliances were and still are relevant in the political world and naturally these relationships could be questioned. During the tumultuous reign of James II this was no different, as the case of Henry Hyde, 2nd Earl of Clarendon will show. The Earl was a key High Church Tory and, along with his brother Laurence Hyde, Earl of Rochester, held key positions in the first year of James's reign, namely Lord Lieutenant of Ireland and Lord Treasurer respectively. Clarendon, along with his brother, was also James' brother-in-law through the King's first marriage to their sister Anne Hyde and therefore had a personal alliance to James. Clarendon also had a personal alliance to his brother, being part of the same political faction for the entirety of their political careers. However, in the aftermath of the Glorious Revolution, Clarendon would stay loyal to James and not swear the oath of allegiance to William III and Mary II, whilst simultaneously abandoning the personal alliance with his brother who opted to swear the oath. This article seeks to look at the questioning by Clarendon of these personal alliances between the years 1688 to 1689 in order to answer the key research question of why Clarendon made the choice to abandon a political and familial alliance with his brother despite sharing the same ideology yet keep his political and familial alliance with a usurped monarch, who at times he opposed. We will be looking at this through two sub questions; firstly, why Clarendon opposed several policies of James II and secondly why he did not then swear the oath of allegiance, remaining loyal to James. It will look at the Earl of Clarendon through an episodic framework from his support of the Seven Bishops to his non-swearing of the oath in 1689. Whilst acknowledging that personal relationships play a role in political decisions, one's political principles and conscience cannot be understated in the questioning and abandonment of personal alliances.

Henry Hyde's political principles were built upon several key pillars: the doctrine of passive obedience and the right and lawful succession of the Crown, as well as the maintaining of the Church of England in its then current state. There was no attempt from Clarendon to

remain politically neutral during the reign of James II. His strong High Church Tory beliefs led him to both support and oppose James during his reign. In addition, the fact he would disagree with his brother over the Oath of Allegiance, demonstrates to us that even the closest members of the High Church Tory political grouping could split with each other over such a significant issue. As such Henry Hyde presents historians with an interesting case in that when people end their personal alliances, is it because of ideology or because not doing so would be political suicide.

In the early 1680's Clarendon, along with his brother, emerged as the leaders of a political grouping known as the High Church Tories. A High Church Tory is hard to define but there are several key principles which they would have adhered to. They believed in the divine right and 'absolute sovereignty of a hereditary monarch' coupled with a duty of 'non-resistance' among the monarch's subjects.[41] The Duke of Ormonde, a prominent member of the same grouping exemplified in his oath to Bishop Fell what Clarendon would have believed in. He pledged that he would 'through all dangers maintain and support the religion of the Church of England as it is this day taught, practiced and established by law and the monarchy and Crown of England in a right and lawful succession'.[42] In the High Church Tory principle of passive obedience 'prayers and tears were the only weapon against a rightful monarch'; yet they did have the right to abstain from a monarch's decision if it went against the laws of God.[43]

The issue with these beliefs is that ultimately, they were subjective and could be used to justify different actions to the same situation. However, the problems faced by High Church Tories were not just restricted to merely the interpretation of their beliefs. There were also tensions within the group revolving around James's actions, that perhaps were only revealed when put under serious stress by the Revolution; indeed, Clarendon himself would alternate between opposing and supporting James's actions between 1688 to 1689.

Out of Office

The dismissal of Clarendon from his role as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland in 1687 marked the end of a long partnership between James and the Hyde brothers, with only a few High Church

[41] Spurr 2012: 111.
[42] Chancellor Ormonde letter to Bishop Fell 23 July 1679: Dublin.
[43] Spurr 2012: 111-112.

Tories remaining in office such as George Jeffreys and Sir Edward Herbert. After this split with the majority of Tories James embarked upon his landmark policy, a Declaration of Indulgence. The First Declaration of Indulgence was issued on 4th April 1687, promising religious tolerance for Roman Catholics as well as dissenters such as Anabaptists and Quakers. This Declaration of Indulgence was issued for a second time in April 1688 with the added requirement that it be read out by the clergy in their services for two consecutive Sundays. In this document James swore to continue to 'protect and maintain' the Church of England 'in the free exercise of their religion as by law established, and in the quiet and full enjoyment of all their possessions.'[44] However, he also promised to suspend all penal laws against those who did not want to attend Church of England services or receive communion. It also allowed people from other sects to worship in either private houses or chapels as well as ending the legal obligation for people to have to take the required Test Act in order to gain civil or military positions. This caused huge uproar amongst the Clergy with only 200 churchmen out of over 9000 complying with James's order.[45]

Having met with the High Church Clergy on several occasions Clarendon was at the heart of the resistance opposing the King's order to read out the Declaration. Indeed, on 12th May 1688, he dined with the Archbishop of Canterbury and, along with the Bishops of London, Ely, and Peterborough, they decided that they would refuse to read it out in their upcoming services.[46] Clarendon was also with the Bishops of St Asaph and Ely the night before they presented the King with their petition that they should not be required to read the Declaration and he was part of a group of noblemen who put up bail for the Seven Bishops, thus showing that he was publicly committed to the cause.[47]

After the trial of the Seven Bishops, rumours began to spread that William of Orange was set to invade England. James invited Clarendon to a meeting where he signalled that he was preparing to resurrect his alliance with the Anglican Church and the High Church Tories. He then held a meeting with the bishops where he promised to treat them with kindness. The bishops, who were unsatisfied with this vague commitment, presented a series of demands to the King which included amongst others the reversion of two of James's controversial policies

[44] http://www.jacobite.ca/documents/16870404.htm (date accessed 31st July 2022).
[45] Harris 2006: 26.
[46] Singer 1828: 171.
[47] Yates 1934: 480.

surrounding the Ecclesiastical Commission and the running of Magdalen College at Oxford University. The King formally accepted these demands on 3rd October 1688 and then summoned all of the Lords Temporal, who were in London, for a meeting. However, Clarendon refused to sit at the council table whilst Father Petre (a Catholic courtier) remained part of the meeting. The King agreed to Clarendon's request and from this point onwards Clarendon continued to meet with the King on a regular basis.[48]

What is important to note here is that from this point onwards it is clear that the King has the absolute loyalty of Clarendon. Clarendon would have been reassured by the King acquiescing to the clergies demands and by granting the request made by Clarendon, which would only have deepened this reassurance. Despite Clarendon's brother, the Earl of Rochester, being absent from these meetings, the brothers still maintained their personal alliance with each other. On 8th November 1688, Clarendon had dinner with Rochester and the Bishops of St Asaph and Peterborough, during which they discussed how they wanted to advise the King. Namely, they wanted to ask him to call a Parliament 'to prevent the shedding of Blood'.[49] At this moment in time both Clarendon and Rochester believed that a compromise could be reached with James.

When William of Orange landed in Torbay on 5th November 1688 and marched to Hungerford, several army officers including Clarendon's son, Cornbury, defected to William. James then sent three commissioners, Lord Halifax, Lord Nottingham and Lord Godolphin to negotiate with him over the calling of a free and lawful parliament. Clarendon then decided on his own initiative to also visit William. This was a seemingly strange action but with upcoming elections to parliament and with his estate situated close to Hungerford, Clarendon would have been seeking to ensure his own candidates were elected. He arrived ahead of the three commissioners on 3rd December and was warmly greeted by William. On 8th December the commissioners arrived and on the same night William's secretary Jepson asked Clarendon if he would join his advisors to negotiate with the King's Commissioners and, surprisingly, Clarendon agreed.[50] Wrongly, this is seen by some historians as an attempt by Clarendon to gain power under William. However, his son's defection would most certainly have clouded

[48] Singer 1828: 195-196.
[49] Ibid, 201.
[50] Ibid, 220-221.

his judgement, and it appears that Clarendon was taking the word of both James and William to be true. James appeared to want to compromise, and William only wanted to secure a free and lawful parliament. Clarendon then was merely trying to resolve what he saw as an increasingly dangerous situation. These efforts proved to be in vain when James fled England on 12th December and William no longer had to restrict himself to his Declaration.

The Convention of 1689 and the Oath of Allegiance

The Convention was opened on 22nd January 1689 and Clarendon found himself in a difficult situation in that he did not want William and Mary to be crowned either on their own or as joint monarchs.[51] The outcome of the Convention and the subsequent Oath of Allegiance would not only lead to Clarendon maintaining his personal allegiance to a usurped monarch but would also lead to him severing his ties with his brother, Rochester.

At the time there were numerous views surrounding the issue of what do in the wake of James's flight. At one end of the spectrum, some wanted the recall of James and the removal of William's army from England. At the other end, people such as the Bishop of London, William Compton, one of the seven who had signed the letter inviting William over, wanted James to be forced to abdicate and for William to be crowned monarch. Clarendon's position was rather puzzling and changed as the situation developed during the Convention Parliament of 1689. Wanting James back as King but realising this was politically impossible, he called for a regency. After the regency vote failed in the Lords on 29th January 1689 by 51 votes to 49 votes, his position once again shifted. He attempted to persuade parliament to recall the Prince of Wales, James' son, from France to take up the throne. After this was rejected, he was of the view that Mary should be crowned as sole monarch. Instead, Parliament voted to give the crown to both William and Mary as joint monarchs, and they were duly crowned on 11th April 1689. Clarendon's shifting actions demonstrates to us how his personal allegiance to James was constantly present in his thoughts. What is of wider significance is how this demonstrates that a politician's beliefs do not always translate into their political actions. The need to compromise in order to reach a practical solution is very much apparent in Clarendon's actions from Hungerford to the Convention Parliament. He is seeking to keep James on the throne in some capacity until it is politically impossible thus demonstrating to us his personal

[51] Ibid, 246.

allegiance to James as well as the fact that politicians' actions do not always reflect their ideology.

By 1st August 1689, all men serving in office, either in ecclesiastical or civil roles, had to have sworn the Oath of Allegiance to William and Mary, or face suspension from their positions. Clarendon had not done this, yet his brother had, ensuring that Clarendon maintained a personal allegiance to the deposed James II, yet he had simultaneously damaged his relationship with his brother. This decision was based on Clarendon's views surrounding the three major debates; namely the primary debate on whether one can take the Oath when the previous King was still alive and the secondary debates on whether an abdication actually took place and whether one owed an allegiance to a de facto monarch rather than a de jure monarch. There is no direct evidence of how Clarendon was thinking. However, there were a number of pamphlets published that debated these exact issues and they advocated the position that he settled upon. They may indicate how Clarendon thought through the issues and reached the conclusion that he did.

Many pamphlets were produced which dealt with the issue of whether one can take the Oath when the previous King was still alive. In a Tory pamphlet printed for Samuel Smith titled *A Friendly Conference concerning the New Oath of Allegiance to K. William and Q. Mary*, there is a conversation between two people, one of whom is trying to persuade the other that taking the Oath of Allegiance is the correct thing to do. The person who is being persuaded asks 'is it not treason in the highest nature that can be, to swear Allegiance to a new King, when my old and true K. is alive? And is not treason a capital crime?'.[52] Indeed in a non-juror pamphlet titled, *Two Letters Written to the Author of a Pamphlet, Solomon and Abiatharit* it stated, 'and now Sir, if you will give me the same liberty to put together, which you take; I cannot learn from all this, how our old Laws and Oaths binds us to your new Allegiance; but that rather our constitutions and oaths binds us to King James and not to William'.[53] What this pamphlet was suggesting was that an old oath cannot tie someone to a new monarch, when he is a usurper. When it came to Clarendon, it was not a surprise that he became a non-juror, indeed, in his diary on 14th January 1689, he wrote 'that I knew the common talk of the town

[52] Fraser. A Friendly Conference concerning the New Oath of Allegiance to K. William and Q. Mary 1689: London.
[53] Grascome Two Letters Written to the Author of a Pamphlet, Solomon and Abiatharit 1692: London.

was that the prince should be proclaimed King…that for my part, I could not agree to it; nor could I absolve myself from the oaths I have taken to the King'.[54] Clarendon held a view that he could not be absolved from his oath to James and thus the pamphlet potentially gives us an insight into his thinking. Furthermore we know that when asked by William Lloyd, Bishop of Asaph to accept the oath (a longtime friend and ally), Clarendon replied that 'I could not be absolved from the oaths that I had taken; that, having already taken the former oaths, my allegiance was due to King James, and not in my power to dispose of…and could not admit of any explanations to be put upon them; which would look, in my opinion, but as equivocations against the letter of the oath'.[55] For Clarendon then, the oaths were sacrosanct and could not be broken whilst James was still alive.

The secondary debate of whether abdication had taken place was very clear for Clarendon in that he was not willing to accept that James' abdication had taken place, if William came to the throne either as a sole monarch or a joint monarch with Mary. Unlike his brother, Clarendon continued to pursue the line that there was no historical precedent for abdication and as such James had not abdicated. Therefore, one cannot simply transfer their allegiance from James to William as the previous monarch had not died. It is impossible to know for certain why Clarendon interpreted his political beliefs in the way he did; for him James was still the rightful monarch. Charles Leslie, who was Clarendon's friend and chaplain, became a prominent non juror. Given that Clarendon reached the same conclusion as Leslie in respect of the same issues, we can infer that they had the same reasoning. As his chaplain, Clarendon probably sought spiritual advice from Leslie during this time and thus, their views were likely similar. The conversations that Leslie had with Clarendon show us that conscience was very much part of one's political principles and would affect one's political behaviour. Leslie wrote many political tracts that may well have reflected the views of Clarendon. He was a figure who first and foremost believed that religion was the 'most ridiculous' reason for rebellion.[56] Writing in his first major work *Answer to a Book*, he argues 'True Religion is not Propagated by the Sword: It is a small still Voice that cannot be heard in War. It is built like Solomon's Temple, without the noise of a Hammer; War confounds it and debauches it'.[57]

[54] Singer 1828: 246.
[55] Ibid, 266. This piece takes a literal interpretation of Clarendon's Diary. It tells us not his thought processes but his immediate and unscripted reaction to events.
[56] Leslie 1692: 36.
[57] Ibid, 36.

These comments by Leslie are as much about conscience as they are about political ideals, showing that taking the Oath of Allegiance was not just solely about one's political beliefs but that political beliefs were intertwined with matters of conscience.[58]

The final debate over the Allegiance Controversy was whether one owed allegiance to a de facto monarch rather than to a de jure monarch and whether William being a de facto monarch equated to him being a usurper. One could still have accepted William as a de facto monarch without swearing the Oaths because if one lived peacefully in the kingdom, accepting the situation, then you have effectively recognised the name the laws are exercised in. In practice one is then accepting William as de facto monarch. This was very different to swearing the oaths, with the former being a passive action and the latter an active one. However, Clarendon and many non-jurors viewed a de facto monarch and a usurper as diametrically opposed concepts.[59] Their belief in the doctrine of the divine right of kings ensured that they concluded that a monarch was God's representative on earth, and this combined with their view that William was a usurper ensured they could not accept him as a de facto monarch; thus, they considered James to be the rightful monarch and therefore they could not swear allegiance to William.

Whilst we cannot say for certain is that Clarendon was influenced by these sorts of arguments, we can say that Clarendon's close relationship with many of the non-juring bishops and clergy ensured that he may have been influenced by these arguments and these relationships were certainly key in explaining why he did not swear the Oath of Allegiance and subsequently became a non-juror.

Conclusion

The position that Clarendon took when it came to the Oath of Allegiance was very much part of a wider spectrum of views on the issue. These views were shaped by personal alliances which were in themselves shaped by, not only personal relationships, but also political ideology and conscience. Furthermore, what was also at hand was the problem of keeping one's political actions consistent with one's political beliefs. Clarendon opted to not swear the Oath due to his

[58] Conscience formed part of Charles I decision making as shown by Eikon Basilike. It would be highly unlikely that Clarendon would not have read and been influenced by this.
[59] Nenner 1995: 210.

personal relationship with James, his political ideology, his conscience and the desire to reconcile his political actions with his beliefs. In doing so he kept his personal alliance with James but abandoned his brother.

The interaction between political ideology, personal relationships and conscience all contribute to whether one keeps or abandons personal alliances. What is also at play is whether one can be content with knowing that your political actions were not consistent with your political ideology. Clarendon was clearly not satisfied with this and did not swear the Oath despite showing opposition to James on a key occasion since he did not believe that William and Mary had succeeded to the throne lawfully. In doing so he kept his personal alliance to James yet abandoned the one he had with his brother showing us that political decisions ultimately have huge ramifications upon one's personal relationships.

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