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**Special Issue: British-East Asian Conference of Historians 2018**  
*Core and Periphery in British and East Asian Histories*

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## Introduction to the Special Issue

Shigeru Akita\*

This special issue is based on the selected papers submitted at the first British-East Asian Conference of Historians (BEACH), which was held at the Department of History, Kyungpook National University, in Daegu, Korea, on 13–15 September 2018.

The common theme of the conference was ‘Core and Periphery in British and East Asian Histories’. The concept of *Core and Periphery*, originally developed by Immanuel Wallerstein in his ‘World-Systems Theory’, can also be applicable to the relations between a capital city and provinces, a superpower and a weak state, and an imperial power and its colonies.

During the British penetration of the East Asian regions, a temporal *Core and Periphery* system emerged. Although the *Core and Periphery* concept cannot be applied directly to the relationship between Britain, Japan, and Korea, the long-existing ties between Britain and Japan as well as between Korea and Japan reflect the relationship that is similar to the *Core-Periphery* dynamics. The concept of *Core and Periphery* can also be found in each nation’s history. There have been many cases in British and East Asian histories that demonstrate conflicts as well as cooperation between the centre and localities.

The conference aimed to scrutinise the *Core and Periphery* structure in the histories of Britain, Japan, and Korea and analyse the correlations existing among them. The conference consisted of the following seven sessions and one graduate session:

- Session 1. Core and Periphery as Historical Theory
- Session 2. Core and Periphery in Medieval British History
- Session 3. Core and Periphery in Early Modern British History
- Session 4. Core and Periphery in British-Asian History
- Session 5. Core and Periphery in East Asian Histories
- Session 6. Core and Periphery in the History of the Non-Asian British Empire
- Session 7. Core and Periphery in Contemporary British History

In this volume, we could include two plenary lectures by Prof. Hirokazu Tsurushima and Prof. Young-Suk Lee and four papers by Japanese historians. Most of the papers submitted by British and Korean scholars are published separately in a special volume of the *Yongkuk Yonku (The Korean Journal of British Studies)*.

BEACH is the successor to the series of the Anglo-Japanese Conference (AJC), which were merged with the conferences of the East Asian Society of British History (EASBH) in August 2015. BEACH is the newly emerged international collaboration of the Korean Society

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of British History (KSBH), the previous AJC committee and the Institute for Historical Research (IHR), University of London. The first BEACH conference was hosted and sponsored by the 'BK21 Plus Project' of the Department of History, Kyungpook National University (KNU). The EASBH highly appreciates the generous support and warm hospitality of KNU.

This volume is dedicated to two retired former presidents of the society, Prof. Young-Suk Lee (Gwangju University) and Prof. Hirokazu Tsurushima, for their strong commitment to and leadership of the academic collaboration on British history.

# Japan and Korea: An English Visitor's View of Two Countries in the Late Victorian Age\*

Young-Suk Lee\*\*

## 1. Isabella Bird and Her Journey to East Asia

In his poem *The Great Roots*, Soo-Young Kim, a Korean resistant poet in the early 1960s, briefly mentions Isabella Bird's travel around Korea: "Now I am in love with Mrs Bishop [Isabella Bird]. She refers to this country as a strange place where every man disappears at night and only women wander around on the street".<sup>1</sup> Isabella Bird (1831–1904) was a famous female travel writer in the Victorian age.<sup>2</sup> She was also the first female member of the Royal Geographical Society. Bird published her travel writings on Japan, Korea, and China, based on her trips to the East Asian countries in the 1870s and 90s.<sup>3</sup>

As Britain became the core state of the world system in the late Victorian age, Japan and Korea were among the periphery countries from the perspective of the English intellectuals. The two countries, however, were quite different with respect to their status in the world system. Japan had already experienced a rapid modernization at that time, while Korea had just signed treaties of commerce with some western countries in order to avoid the influence and oppression of Japan, especially in the 1880s. Korea was just entering the periphery of the capitalist world, whereas Japan was closer to being a semi-peripheral state.

In this paper, I will discuss how these differences between Japan and Korea are described in Bird's writings by interpreting her world-view in terms of the 'three strata', namely the core, semi-periphery, and periphery.

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\* The paper is to revise my plenary speech at the first British-East Asian Conference of Historians held at Kyungpook National University in Daegu, South Korea between September 12 and 15, 2018.

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1 Poet Kim might be the first person that mentioned Bird's book in Korea.

2 Throughout her life, Bird traveled around the world and published several books about North America, Hawaii, Japan, Malaysia, Persia, Tibet, China and Korea. Recently, J. Osterhammel describes Bird as a 'globetrotter' in his book about the history of globalization in the 19th century. J. Osterhammel, *The Transformation of the World: A Global History of the Nineteenth Century* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2013), 80.

3 Isabella L. Bird, *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan* (New York: G. P. Putnam, 1880), 2 vols.; Isabella Bishop, *Korea and Her Neighbors* (New York: F. H. Revell, 1898); Isabella Bishop, *The Yangtze Valley and Beyond* (London: John Murray, 1899). Bird was married to Dr John Bishop in 1881 and after that, called Mrs Bishop. Here I will use her maiden name. *Unbeaten Tracks* was translated into Japanese three times in 1973, 2000, and 2012, and *Korea and Her Neighbors* was also translated into Korean language in 1994 and 2000.

## 2. Searching for Tradition and Changes in Japan

The word, ‘tourist’ first appears in English in 1800, and ‘tourism’ was also first used in 1811, which suggests that the spread of international journey can be attributed to the industrial revolution.<sup>4</sup> Especially the transportation network of train or passenger-ship made intercontinental travels easier for people in the 19th century. When traveling to East Asia, Bird was helped a lot by local British diplomats and missionaries. In particular, she could take advantage of the human network of Christian missionary groups, which made her form her view of East Asian countries based on information and knowledge from missionaries.

In the spring of 1878, Bird visited Japan. A quarter of a century had passed since the Japanese government signed a treaty making foreign trades possible under the pressure of the USA. After the overthrow of the Shogun government in the civil war named Meiji Revolution, young politicians initiated a series of reforms under the name of ‘civilization and enlightenment’ meaning ‘modernization of the country’. What is interesting here, however, is that Bird tried to see not modern and urban Japan, but traditional and agricultural countryside. At landing in Yokohama, she says as follows: “I long to get away into the real Japan”.<sup>5</sup> The title of her book, *Unbeaten Tracks*, represents her intention.

Bird arrived at Yokohama on May 21, 1878 and left Japan on December 19. As soon as she arrived in Japan, she visited small towns and villages in rural areas three times. After visiting the rural areas, she stayed in Tokyo from September to December. Her itinerary was as follows: between May 24 and July 4, she traveled 247 miles from Tokyo to Niigata. During this journey, she visited 26 small towns or villages. For her second trip, for a month after July 11, she traveled 368 miles from Niigata to Aomori, which means she visited 47 villages and town during her second traveling. Finally, between August 13 and September 12 she traveled 358 miles from Hakodate to Hokkaido to observe especially the lives of people living in Ainu.<sup>6</sup> She wrote about traditional rural villages rather than the urban areas experiencing modernization, and how they were undergoing changes in the process of modernization.

Although she admired Japan’s rapid modernization, Bird showed her sorrow or regret toward the loss of traditional things. She insisted on traveling to the countryside in order to take a closer look at the ‘real Japan’ before it would have changed forever. Of course, there were many dangers in exploring the remote rural regions of Japan. To ask for the help of local

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4 Jozsef Borocz, “Travel-Capitalism: The Structure of Europe and the Advent of the Tourist”, *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 34: 4 (1992), 712.

5 Bird, *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan*, vol. 1, 21. And for the recent outstanding study on Bird’s visit of Japan, see Kiyonori Kanasaka, *Isabella Bird and Japan: A Reassessment* (Folkestone: Renaissance Books, 2017). In addition, see as follows. Joohyun Park, “Missing Link found, 1880: The Rhetoric of Colonial Progress in Isabella Bird’s *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan*”, *Victorian Literature and Culture*, 43 (2015), 371–88; L. Williams and S. Clark, “Isabella Bird, Victorian Globalism, and *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan* (1880)”, *Studies in Travel Writing*, 21: 1 (2017), 1–16; Steve Clark, “Isabella Bird, Rudyard Kipling, and the Bandobast of East Asian Travel”, *Studies in Travel Writing*, 21: 1 (2017), 76–91; Tomoe Kumojima, “A Strange Thrill: Isabella Bird and the Fugitive Community of Travellers”, *Studies in Travel Writing*, 21: 1 (2017), 33–46.

6 On her three travel courses, see Bird, *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan*, vol. 1, 200, 406; *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan*, vol. 2, 157. For a detailed analysis of Bird’s exploration of Japan, see Kanasaka, *Isabella Bird and Japan*, chapter 3.

authorities, the British consul, Harry Parks, issued her a special passport for “health, botanical research, or scientific investigation”.<sup>7</sup>

What was the ‘real Japan’ Bird wanted to see? Above all, the real Japan she imagined might be found in the traditional architecture and culture related to the life and authority of the ruling class. Bird showed her admiration when she visited to the Toshogu in Nikko, where the tomb of Tokugawa Ieyasu and the shrine were constructed to honour the first shogun. She stayed in Nikko for nine days. The shrine including its surrounding landscape was the paragon of traditional architecture and art that the ruling forces before the Meiji Restoration had developed with all their enthusiasm. The wooden building was a sort of mystery for Bird.

Impressed as I had been with the glorious workmanship in wood, bronze, and lacquer, I scarcely admired less the masonry of the vast retaining walls, the stone gallery, the staircase and its balustrade, all put together without mortar or cement, and so accurately fitted that the joints are scarcely affected by the rain, damp, and aggressive vegetation of 260 years.<sup>8</sup>

Bird also tried to see a traditional Japan before rapid modernization by exploring the remote areas of Japan. In addition, she may have sought to observe the lives of the Japanese Ainu. Her third trip, in fact, focused on observing the Ainu, and as a result, the part of the third trip in *Unbeaten Tracks* accounts for almost a quarter.<sup>9</sup> This, however, is not subject to analysis in this paper. I only focus on comparing the life or working attitude of Japanese ordinary people with Koreans’ one.

How did Bird think of ‘real Japan’, particularly with regard to the ordinary people? An answer to this question would contain the words such as ‘diligence’ or ‘industry’, judging from her book *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan*. The word ‘diligence’ caught the eyes of Bird when she first saw the wide windows attached on the train from Yokohama to Tokyo. Perhaps this word seemed to her to be a symbol of ‘traditional Japan’.

On this fertile and fruitful plain stand not only the capital, with a million of inhabitants, but a number of populous cities, and several hundred thriving agricultural villages. Every food of land which can be seen from the railroad is cultivated by the most careful spade husbandry and much of it is irrigated for rice. Streams abound, and villages of grey wooden houses with grey thatch, and grey temples with strangely curved roofs, are scattered thickly over the landscape. It is all homelike, livable, and pretty, the country of an industrious people.<sup>10</sup>

When Bird traveled from Tokyo to Niigata, many rural villages she visited were flooded with people. In cultivating, villagers, on the other hand, engaged in some handicrafts works. Tea-leaf drying was their main business, and people in many villages raised silkworms for their additional income. A silk village could be identified by the mulberry forest. White and

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<sup>7</sup> Bird, *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan*, vol. 1, 84.

<sup>8</sup> Bird, *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan*, vol. 1, 116–17.

<sup>9</sup> See Kumojima, “A Strange Thrill”, 35–40.

<sup>10</sup> Bird, *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan*, vol. 1, 28.

yellow cocoons were laid on boards along the village roads. It was also easy to see women weaving fabric from cotton yarn imported from Britain. Bird was amazed at the fact that each village had a large population, varying from children to adults. The seven or eight-year-old girls with babies on their backs were playing with other girls, and the girls who were too young to carry babies were playing with dolls instead.<sup>11</sup>

Bird looked at countless rural villages and crowded country farms. Seeing many young children, she realized that Japan was a populous country. The villages were also flooded with shops. In other words, agriculture and manual industry were being developed even in the countryside. This is the distinct contrast between the rural communities of Japan and Korea at that time.

These villages are full of shops. There is scarcely a house which does not sell something. Where the buyers come from, and how a profit can be made, is a mystery. Many things are eatables such as dried fishes, 1.5 inch long, impaled on sticks; cakes, sweetmeats composed of rice, flour, and very little sugar; circular lumps of rice dough called ‘mochi’.<sup>12</sup>

Bird’s records on the prosperity of Japan’s agricultural villages in the 1870s suggest that this vitality did not suddenly emerge out of the Meiji Restoration, but had been growing partially due to the continuous changes in the agricultural communities that had begun in at least the 17th century.

Akira Hayami, a Japanese historical anthropologist, published a series of articles analyzing the village census compiled by feudal lords [Daimyos] of the Nobi Plain from the 17th to 19th centuries. According to the survey data, the population increased by 30 percent between 1670 and 1820, while livestock declined by more than 200 percent. What does this change mean? The livestock recorded in the 17th century census was used for agricultural purposes. The reduction in the number of horses and cows for plowing means a reduction of the capital input in the agricultural sector. This implies that some structural changes occurred in the productive functions of agriculture in the Tokugawa period. Using livestock to plow at that time was a capital-intensive method. The peasants responded to the increase in population by extending working hours and strengthening labor instead of investing the capital needed for raising livestock. In short, it was a labor-intensive method. Hayami called this shift from capital-intensive method to labor-intensive one the ‘industrious revolution’.<sup>13</sup>

In the Tokugawa era, the standard of living of the peasantry was improved despite a decrease in capital inflow. It stemmed from the dissemination of more efficient cultivation

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11 Bird, *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan*, vol. 1, 102.

12 Bird, *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan*, vol. 1, 142.

13 On Hayami’s view, see Osamu Saito, “An Industrious Revolution in an East Asian Market Economy? Tokugawa Japan and Implications for the Great Divergence”, *Australian Economic History Review*, 50: 3 (2010), 240–61. The term of the industrious revolution, however, is somewhat conceptually different from the industrious revolution of modern Europe later presented by Jan de Vries. According to de Vries, producers in Western Europe in the 18th century escaped from the pre-industrial labor practices which tended to pursue leisure and relaxation rather than extra labor when they reached certain standard of living, and worked harder for meeting their ‘consumption needs’. He called this new practice the industrious revolution. On de Vries, see as follows: Jan de Vries, “The Industrial Revolution and the Industrious Revolution”, *Journal of Economic History*, 54: 2 (1994), 249–70.

methods and bettered implements, and the extension of peasants' working hours from six hours to eight hours in the process of replacing livestock with manpower for plowing. The labour ethic that diligence is a virtue had also been established. Without heavy exploitation by the ruling forces, a sort of 'good-cycle' structure could happen, which means that diligence was followed by improving living standards, increased productivity, establishing labor ethics and increasing production. Hayami believes the industrious revolution was closely related to the dissolution of the large family system in the 17th century. In other words, the rise of the small family system led to the industrious revolution.<sup>14</sup>

After the Meiji Revolution, the winds of modernization affected Japanese society from the cities to the rural area, and from the upper classes to the lower classes. First, Bird realizes the change by getting on the railroad from Yokohama to Tokyo. The railway, which opened in 1872, was built mainly by British engineers. The Yokohama station was a handsome and convenient stone building with spacious hallways and large waiting rooms for different classes. Seeing the effective management and productive operation of the station, Bird realized that Japan was entering the orbit of internationalization. Ticket clerks were Chinese, the guards and engine drivers were Englishmen, and the train officials were Japanese in European uniform. The way for passengers and luggage was also very efficient. "Only luggage in hand is allowed to go free; the rest is weighed, numbered, and charged for, a corresponding number being given to its owner to presentation at his destination".<sup>15</sup>

The destination of Bird's first trip was Niigata. The city having 50,000 inhabitants was not directly related to foreign trades, and there were few foreign residents. It was very interesting to her that Niigata excluded from foreign trades had several schools such as "a school deserving the designation of college, an English school organized by English and American teachers, an engineering school, a geological museum, splendidly equipped laboratories, and the newest and most approved scientific and educational apparatus".<sup>16</sup> In addition, the city hall was built of wood with white paint, and there was also a large hospital operated by European doctors. This was a sign of modernization. Still, Bird paid more attention to the traditional Niigata downtown. It seemed to her that the genuine Japanese Niigata was "the neatest, cleanest, and most comfortable-looking town she has yet seen".<sup>17</sup> She compares the old town of Niigata with that of Edinburgh.

What is interesting in Bird's description of the modernization of Japan is the expansion of educational institution. Though the expansion in cities is natural, even in small villages, elementary educational institutes were so widely spread. In the late Victorian age, British intellectuals used to talk about the boom of Japanese education. According to the official statistics by the Japanese government in 1886, 3,232,719 students attended at 3,037 schools, and the number of teachers reached to 84,703.<sup>18</sup> British intellectuals visiting Japan at that time

14 Saito, "An Industrious Revolution in an East Asian Market Economy?", 247.

15 Bird, *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan*, vol. 1, 27.

16 Bird, *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan*, vol. 1, 220.

17 Bird, *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan*, vol. 1, 221.

18 [P. K. Douglas], "Progress in Japan", *Edinburgh Review*, 172 (July 1890), 67. Cf. The name written in [ ] was originally anonymous, but is the case to confirm author through W. E. Houghton, ed., *The Wellesley Index to Victorian Periodicals*,

admired the Japanese government's interest in primary education. According to a writer, two-fifths out of 5,000,000 children were already received primary education by 1880. It was 1870 when Britain forced primary education.<sup>19</sup> There was not much difference between Britain advanced in modernization and Japan beginning modernization.<sup>20</sup> The writer explains the reasons for the strong desire to primary education with following words. Observance is the foundation of Japanese social order. Elementary education is the most important way to instill an attitude of obedience into children. He also emphasizes that as teaching Chinese characters is very effective for obedient manners of children, four-Chinese character idioms derived from Chinese classics were given children as a guide for their lives.<sup>21</sup> Bird describes in detail the scene of elementary education at a village named Irimichi.

At 7 a.m. a drum beats to summon the children to a school whose buildings would not discredit any school-board at home. Too much Europeanized I thought it, and the children looked very uncomfortable sitting on high benches in front of desks, instead of squatting, native fashion. The school apparatus is very good, and there are fine maps on the walls. The teacher, a man about twenty-five, made very free use of the black-board, and questioned his pupils with much rapidity. The best answer moved its giver to the head of the class, as with us. Obedience is the foundation of the Japanese social order, and with children accustomed to unquestioning obedience at home the teacher has no trouble in securing quietness, attention, and docility.<sup>22</sup>

In addition to primary education, the Japanese government was also interested in secondary or higher education. Kubota that she visited during her second trip was a city having a population about 36,000. Bird was surprised with the education facilities in the classroom of a teachers' school in the city, especially in the chemistry classroom and the earth science classroom. It was because facilities in Japan were superior to those in Britain in the classrooms. She was also surprised that a modern hospital of the city was operated by Japanese doctors only. After she had talked with the hospital director and doctors, she knew that the hospital itself had taught medical science. About 50 students were in medical practice. Although there was no foreign doctor, the hospital and its medical school were managed according to European style and method.<sup>23</sup> In short, the success and accomplishment in education were very shocked to Westerners. A British writer predicted in his writing that Japan would catch up in a few decades Britain's educational achievement that had been endeavored by its government over a century.<sup>24</sup>

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*1824-1900*, 5 vols. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1966–89).

19 [Francis R. Conder], "Japan Revolutionised", *Edinburgh Review*, 154 (July 1881), 152.

20 Perhaps it is because in England, elementary education had been left entirely to the day schools which Anglican or non-conformist churches had established.

21 [Conder], "Japan Revolutionised", 152–53.

22 Bird, *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan*, vol. 1, 132.

23 Bird, *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan*, vol. 1, 308–10.

24 [Douglas], "Progress in Japan", 67.

### 3. Korea's Frustrations and New Hope

In the 1890s, Isabella Bird again explored South Korea, Manchuria, and the Yangtze River in East Asia. Especially her main destination on this trip was Korea. Between February 1894 and January 1897, she visited Korea six times. According to Walter Hillier's preface of Bird's *Korea and Her Neighbors*, Bird, to get accurate information about Korea, depended on the data acquired through some foreign advisers of the Korean Government and diplomats working in Seoul. She also got a lot of information from Christian missionaries in Korea.<sup>25</sup> She could understand Korea, based not only on her direct research knowledge, but also on the views and perceptions of Westerners who had lived in Korea at that time. In fact, until the end of the nineteenth century, Korea and its situation were not well known to foreigners. Bird wrote that "accuracy is my first aim to visit Korea".<sup>26</sup> Bird visited Korea repeatedly, related to the Sino-Japanese War in 1894. In order to avoid being involved in the war, she went to Manchuria and the Maritime Province in Russia, and later visited the Yangtze River basin in China. Later she published two books of travel writing on Korea and China with her experience.

Bird had a setback in her plan from the start when she came to Korea. In Japan, she wrote a series of letters about her trip and sent them abroad. At that time Japan already had postal systems run even in the countryside distant from an urban district. Twenty years later, she found it impossible to mail to foreign countries in Korea. Poor postal circumstances in Korea prevented Bird from sending her traveling experiences by mail, unlike the case of Japan. She took careful notes, making correction from time to time with more prolonged observations of residents.<sup>27</sup> What does it mean? Korea in the 1890s was much underdeveloped in comparison with Japan in the 1870s. That's why she got an unpleasant impression of the country when she first came to Korea. The countryside was barren and monotonous. Not only the slums of Busan and Incheon, but even the capital Seoul could not be escaped from those impressions by her. Seoul was beautiful, but its beauty was broken by trash littered here and there.

One of the 'sights' of Seoul is the stream or drain of watercourse, a wide, walled, open conduit, along which a dark-colored festering stream slowly drags its malodorous length, among manure and refuse heaps which cover up most of what was once its shingly bed. There, tired of crowds masculine solely, one may be refreshed by the sight of women of the poorest class, some ladling into pails the compound which passes for water, and others washing clothes in the fetid pools which pass for a stream.<sup>28</sup>

Bird's negative impressions of Korea were very various. Even main roads were rarely more than rough bridle tracks. As no wheeled carts were, most goods were carried on the backs

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25 Bishop, *Korea and Her Neighbors*, 2-3.

26 Bishop, *Korea and Her Neighbors*, 5. For the existing study of *Korea and Her Neighbors*, see Jihang Park, "Land of the Morning Calm, Land of the Rising Sun: The East Asia Travel Writings of Isabella Bird and George Curzon", *Modern Asian Studies*, 36: 3 (2002), 513-34.

27 Bishop, *Korea and Her Neighbors*, 5.

28 Bishop, *Korea and Her Neighbors*, 45.

of men and livestock. The shops of Seoul were literally not a noteworthy featured. Transactions were frequently cheated between sellers and buyers, and nobody condemned them in public. This means that the commerce and logistics in Korea remained at a very low level. People had no scruples about illegal dealings and did not criticize other people's misbehaviors. Officials were also accustomed to bribery and oppressive rules, and policemen dealt with the public with threats and violence. The ruling classes spent their lives with tedium, and no careers were open to the middle class. Many ruling class women were forced to stay inside their homes, while rural women were driven to take charge of all the labor, from domestic service to agricultural labor.<sup>29</sup> Seeing the worst situation in Korea, she concludes as follows:

Class privileges, class and official exactions, a total absence of justice, the insecurity of all earnings, a government which has carried out the worst traditions on which all unreformed Oriental governments are based, a class of official robbers steeped in intrigue, a monarch enfeebled by the seclusion of the palace and the pettiness of the Seraglio, a close alliance with one of the most corrupt of empires, the mutual jealousies of interested foreigners, and an all-pervading and terrorizing superstition have done their best to reduce Korea to that condition of resourcelessness and dreary squalor in which I formed my first impression of the country.<sup>30</sup>

Bird's negative impression of Korea, however, is gradually eased. As she visited the northern part of Korea, especially Mount Keum-Kang, she was overwhelmed by the beautiful scene of the mountain. She was impressed by the scenes of the towering mountains against the blue sky, the running streams in deep valleys, and the dense forests on the downhill and concluded "dirty squalid as the villages are, at a little distance their deep-leaved brown roofs, massed among orchards, on gentle slopes, or on the banks of sparking streams, add color and life to the scenery".<sup>31</sup>

Bird's visit to Korea was followed by the Sino-Japanese War, the assassination of the queen under Japanese conspiracy, and then the Korean government's reforms under Japanese coercion. In the years of the war, she toured Manchuria, Russia, and the Yangtze River in China.<sup>32</sup> After the war, Japan's pressure to Korea grew more and more intense, seemingly forcing Korea to reform its *ancien regime*. What did Bird think about Japan's interference to Korea? She, of course, resented Japanese illegal activities. Especially she explained in detail the process of the assassination of the Queen by some Japanese troops, and deplored it.<sup>33</sup> It was because she was much impressed by the Queen's elegance when she had had audience with the Queen before the assassination.<sup>34</sup>

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29 On her negative impression, see Bishop, *Korea and Her Neighbors*, 20, 33, 276, 310, 332, 340, and 446.

30 Bishop, *Korea and Her Neighbors*, 446.

31 Bishop, *Korea and Her Neighbors*, 130.

32 Bird traveled around Manchuria, Russia and the Yangtze Valley between September and October 1894, and she again traveled around southern China between February and June in 1895.

33 On the assassination of the queen, see Bishop, *Korea and Her Neighbors*, 271–74.

34 Bishop, *Korea and Her Neighbors*, 253.

But Bird appraised positively a series of reforms of the Korean government in 1894 and 1895, led by Japan. The abolition of feudal systems including caste, flogging, old civil service examination and domestic slaves, and railroads construction had certainly brought new changes to Korean society. Especially, she gives a favorable assessment of Count Kaoru Inoue, a Japanese diplomat, because he helped the Korean government to execute those reforms. According to Bird's evaluation, Japan's policy to Korean modernization was successful, because, with the help and pressure of Japan, the Korean government and Korean politicians could achieve the reform in Korea, anyway.

Bird thinks that Western modernization would be the only way for Korea to get out of its poverty. She believes Korea could get over poverty by ameliorating corruption in officials, introducing new education systems, protecting producers, and recruiting officials based on their abilities. These whole processes for Bird meant Western modernization. In this regard, Japan and Korea are in contrast. The former had begun a reform for Western modernization. As a result, Japan could enter to the path of prosperity. On the other hand, the latter was suffering from under the traditional yoke. In fact, the new way of thinking introduced by Westerners, the inevitable contact with foreigners, and the influence of a free press were affecting the lives of Korean people. Under the shadow of China, the Korean ruling classes enjoyed unlimited opportunities for the extortions and tyrannies. Japan, however, introduced a new way of thinking on the government and society, and let Koreans understand the human rights that all classes should be respected.<sup>35</sup> But modernization was not an easy way to be tread down on continuously. Though the reforms had been introduced into Korea owed to Japan, Korea had been too inexperienced to undertake the reforms. Bird says as follows:

It is into this archaic conditions of things, this unspeakable grooviness, this irredeemable, unreformed Orientalism, this parody of China without the robustness of race which helps to hold China together, that the ferment of the Western leaven has fallen, and this feeblest of independent kingdoms rudely shaken out of her sleep of centuries, half frightened and wholly dazed, finds herself confronted with an array of powerful, ambitious, aggressive, and not always over-scrupulous powers.<sup>36</sup>

Gradually Bird began to think that the lazy and idle lives of Koreans stemmed from "the exploitation of voracious and corrupt officials". No matter how hard they work to make a profit, they were discouraged to work because the profit would be stolen by the officials.<sup>37</sup> It was after the visit to Korean villages in Manchuria and Russia that Bird was forced to change her previous negative impression of Koreans' lifestyles. Especially after looking at the lives of Koreans living in Russia, she realized that her negative appraisal of Koreans' temperaments was the biased one. Korean immigrants in Russia worked hard, showing her their energy and diligence to improve their lives. She was surprised with their thrift and the abundant and comfortable furnishings in their houses. Though, during her stay in Korea, she had thought

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<sup>35</sup> See Bishop, *Korea and Her Neighbors*, chapter 37.

<sup>36</sup> See Bishop, *Korea and Her Neighbors*, 22.

<sup>37</sup> Bishop, *Korea and Her Neighbors*, 336-37.

Koreans the dregs of a race, and regarded their condition hopeless, in Russia she was forced to modify her opinion with what she saw there. She compares Korean with Chinese immigrant villages in rural Russia, and concluded that Korean immigrants lived more affluently than Chinese immigrants.<sup>38</sup> What is necessary in Korea is the reform of the government eliminating the corruption and exploitation of officials and administrating the system properly. With the process of reform, she believed that suspicious and indolent Koreans could be reborn to the people of independence and manliness in manners, resembling British people rather than Asiatic one. Her wish, however, tells us how deeply her attitude was immersed in Anglo-centrism.

She thought that the resources of Korea had not been developed yet, remaining unexhausted, and that the country's capacities for successful agriculture had been scarcely exploited. Its climate is superb, rainfall abundant, and its soil productive. If the governmental reforms are successful, the country would be inhabited with a hardy and hospitable race.<sup>39</sup> When she left Korea, she could hope the development in the future and showed her affection for Koreans.

The distaste I felt for the country at first passed into an interest which is almost affection, and on no previous journey have I made dearer and kinder friends, or those from whom I parted more regretfully. I saw the last of Seoul in snow in the blue and violet atmosphere of one of the loveliest of her winter mornings.<sup>40</sup>

#### 4. Between the Core and the Periphery

The first edition of Bird's *Unbeaten Tracks* was published in two volumes in 1880. The book was re-published in one bound volume in 1885 by the publisher John Murray. In the process of re-publication, the type and content of the book had been considerably changed. Fifty-nine letters were condensed into 43 ones, and sixteen letters were omitted, while some of them would have been merged and others deleted.<sup>41</sup> It is important to ascertain which letters have been deleted. While some parts of those letters may have been deleted because they deemed unnecessary or contained incorrect contents about Japan, other may have described Japan on the basis of the author's prejudice which would be a little uncomfortable for the Japanese people. I would like to tell one example showing the latter case.

The most effective way for the Japanese in the process of modernization was to learn professional knowledge and information from foreign experts with the invitation of them. However, inviting foreign experts to Japan was forced to guarantee substantial salaries. With the help of this policy, many foreign experts worked at government ministries, schools, hospitals and factories in Japan. At that time, the finances of the Japanese government must

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38 Bishop, *Korea and Her Neighbors*, 229.

39 Bishop, *Korea and Her Neighbors*, 445.

40 Bishop, *Korea and Her Neighbors*, 459.

41 The 1885 edition removed the following chapters from the first edition: letters 4-5, 7, 19, 21, 47, 50-59.

have been very poor. The best way for the Japanese government was to learn the knowledge from foreign experts as quickly as possible and fire them as soon as possible. In contrast, it would have been important for foreign experts to delay the transfer of knowledge to the Japanese to work as long as possible and to receive high salaries. A British intellectual's article expressed this mood without reservation. According to the writer, the Japanese government invited scholars from Germany, the United States, Britain, and France, and let them work at higher education institutions in Japan. These scholars were tempted to stay in Japan by high salaries. However, there were some dark designs. The Japanese government was ready to fire them as soon as Japanese students or experts gained their knowledge, as if "they were throwing away the orange peel immediately after sucking out the flesh of the oranges".<sup>42</sup> Bird also lets us know a similar atmosphere, and this was deleted in the 1885 edition.

It is no part of the plan of the able men who lead the new Japanese movement to keep up a permanent foreign staffs. To get all they can out of foreigners, and then to dispense with their services is their idea. The telegraph department has passed out of foreign leading-string in this week, and other departments will follow as soon as possible. The Naval College has English instructors, the Medical College is under the charge of Germans, the Imperial University has English-speaking teachers, the Engineering College has a British Principal, assisted by a large British staffs, and a French Military Commission teaches European drill and tactics to the army. The change in the teaching staffs is frequent, and people talk not only of actual but possible changes, whose engagement expires next month or next year. Though there are some probabilities of its renewal, their salary would be reduced.<sup>43</sup>

Bird's attitude toward Japan shows a sense of superiority, while praising the Japanese people's hard working for modernization. She emphasizes the need to understand the situation from the point of view of the Japanese people, but still sees the Japanese from the perspective of the people of the core state. What was omitted in the 1885 edition might be related to this aspect. Her references to Japanese groups residing in Korea in the 1890s, however, include other aspects. It is more important to compare between Koreans and the Japanese people rather than between British visitors and the Japanese people. Bird looked at the Japanese residence in Korea when she reached Wonsan. The roads in Korea were almost all narrow and bumpy. Approached to Wonsan, the narrow road turned into a broad one paved with pebbles. The road led to a Japanese residence. There were neat wooden buildings on either side of the road. Bird thought it was the cleanest and most attractive town in Korea. The town was different from other Korean villages in every way. The town was another 'advanced Japan' in Korea.

Broad and well-kept streets, neat wharves, trim and fairly substantial houses, showing the interior dollishness and daintiness characteristic of Japan, a large and very prominent Japanese Consulate in Anglo-Japanese style, the officers of the Japan Mail Steamship Company, a Japanese Bank of solid reputation, Custom's building, of which a neat reading-

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<sup>42</sup> [Conder], "Japan Revolutionised", 123.

<sup>43</sup> Bird, *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan*, vol. 1, 42.

room forms a part, neat Japanese shops where European articles can be bought at moderate prices, a large schoolhouse, with a teacher in European dress, and active manikins and hobbling but graceful women, neither veiled nor muffled up, are the features of the pleasant Japanese colony.<sup>44</sup>

In the 1890s, Bird visited not only Korea, but also Shanghai and the Yangtze River areas several times.<sup>45</sup> In her description of Shanghai, she refers specifically to the contrasting landscapes between English and Chinese communities, or between the English settlement and the French one. It is very similar to comparing the Japanese settlement with other Korean towns and villages in Korea.

When she visited Shanghai, she felt the vitality of the city, especially coming from the English settlement. The Huang-Pu River and its banks became over-powering, and their smoky chimneys showed her “the presence of capital and energy”.<sup>46</sup> Within the English settlement, there were banks, hotels, and private houses of the most approved and massive Anglo-Oriental architecture. The important streets were all lighted with electricity or gas, and a successful drainage system kept Shanghai sweet and wholesome. But this landscape was only related to the English settlement. The French district was underdeveloped, comparing with the English one, and there was an absolutely Chinese city called “Shanghai before Shanghai”, of which Chinese people led their own life “according to their traditional methods as independently as though no foreign settlement existed”.<sup>47</sup> Bird, here, contrasts the prosperity of the English settlement with the poverty of other Chinese districts. Indeed, the English settlement led to prosperity in Shanghai. As a result, many Chinese people moved to the English settlement. This was the reason why the population in Shanghai had rapidly increased. Then, what did make Shanghai prosper, unlike other Chinese cities? Bird looks at rational urban administration in the English settlement, while emphasizing the positioning conditions as a trading port and the role of foreign capital. Her explanation of the prosperity of Shanghai contains an Anglo-centric perspective.

I soon began to learn why Shanghai is called, or calls itself, ‘the model Settlement’, and to recognise the fitness of the name. The British and American settlements are governed by a Municipality elected by the rate-payers, consisting of nine gentlemen, provided by the rate-payers to the general satisfaction, arranging admirably for the health, security, comfort, and even enjoyment of the large foreign community, as well as for the order and well the whole East what can be accomplished by an honest and thoroughly efficient British local

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44 Bishop, *Korea and Her Neighbors*, 173.

45 She says as follows: “I have reached Shanghai four times by Japanese steamers, three times in coasting steamers of American build, once in one of the superb vessels of the Canadian *Empress* line, once from Hankow in a Dutch gunboat, and the last time, after nearly three and a half years of far Eastern travel, in a small Korean Government steamer, her quint, mysterious, and nearly unknown national flag exciting much speculation and interest as she steamed slowly up the river”. Bishop, *The Yangtze Valley and Beyond*, 15.

46 Bishop, *The Yangtze Valley and Beyond*, 16.

47 Bishop, *The Yangtze Valley and Beyond*, 16.

administration.<sup>48</sup>

Although Bird had looked at East Asian countries from an Anglo-centric perspective, on the other hand, she tried to balance her attitude respecting the traditions and values of East Asia. For example, Korea's traditional music is peculiar and unpleasing to Westerners, because they do not know what the sounds are intended to express. But for the same reason, Western music would be also unfamiliar to Koreans.<sup>49</sup> She advises Westerners should also look at China in a balanced way. What is needed is not to emphasize the low morals of the Chinese but to respect their "sophisticated ancient civilization and traditional values".<sup>50</sup> In fact, cultures are all equal because they are different each other. What is important in the understanding of other cultures is not to discriminate but to discover differences. This view is prevalent today. But Bird's view was very surprising, considering her view was made in the end of the 19th century, because most Westerners at that time understood other worlds through Orientalism.

## 5. Conclusion

Nowadays, some historians tend to interpret the British Empire in the Victorian age from the perspective of globalization.<sup>51</sup> It is true, however, that the expansion of the British world at that time had been initiated by imperialistic motives. Imperialism is the most important keyword for understanding the British world in the nineteenth century.

It should take careful reading to analyze some travel writing of English visitors on East Asia. One's image of the other is immensely influenced by the process of identifying herself. Bird's praise of the diligence of Japanese people could be interpreted as a process of identifying British society where hard labour had disappeared along with the spread of machines after industrialization. Bird sees the Obedience of Japanese people as one of their negative characteristics. This impression, however, would also be reflecting her self-confirmation of the Victorian society which had realised the ancient ideal of being 'free-born Englishmen'. Frist arriving in Korea, Bird experienced unpleasant feelings stemming from the filthy scenery of the urban and rural areas, which might have sharply contrasted with her image of the clean British cities with a perfect drainage system.

Bird visited Korea and China about 16 years after her trip to Japan. As she had previously published her travel writing on Japan, she did two books on Korea and China, respectively, at

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48 Bishop, *The Yangtze Valley and Beyond*, 19. Here, what is interesting is that Bird regards the French concession as a backward district. The settlement was small and markedly inferior. She says, "It is apparent that France regards her concession as a colony rather than a settlement, and she has lately urged her claims for an extension of it in a most selfish and indefensible manner". See Bishop, *The Yangtze Valley and Beyond*, 23.

49 Bishop, *Korea and Her Neighbors*, 164.

50 Bishop, *The Yangtze Valley and Beyond*, 11.

51 For Example, see Paul Young, *Globalization and the Great Exhibition: The Victorian New World Order* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013).

the end of the 19th century. Admittedly, it is a limit of this paper that it is based on the analysis of a single visitor's travel writing. However, in her trips to Japan, Korea, and China, Isabella Bird obtained various information and knowledge about these countries from several Christian missionaries and British diplomats working there, which suggests that her writings not only show her own view, but some of the general views held by the westerners at that time.

As mentioned earlier, Bird perceives Japanese-Korean relations similarly to British-Chinese relations. Here, we see that an English intellectual's views towards East Asia consist of different layers. Bird sees East Asia through the lens of Anglo-centrism, appreciating Japan's rise to successful modernization. Bird believed that had Korea and China succeeded in reform, they could have gone towards a better direction in the future. However, Bird also thought that in order for Korea and China to move forward, they should embrace the advanced civilizations of Japan and Britain, respectively. Bird suggests the possibility of cooperation among four countries: advanced Britain, Japan experiencing successful modernization, and underdeveloped Korea and China. Imperial rule or imperialism, however, is mostly omitted from her perspective. In this regard, she was still within the limits of Anglo-centrism. At that time, for many Koreans and Chinese, their traditions were a valuable and powerful pillar to help them escape from imperial rule or imperialism. Half a century ago, Soo-Young Kim thought the old tradition as follows:

The dirty traditions are good to me.  
 I reminded myself of the mud at Gwanghwamun gate  
 And now in the reclaimed stream, next to the house of a friend's wife  
 I think about the days when women used to wash with a fire in a lye pot,  
 I also regard this gloomy time as a paradise.<sup>52</sup>

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52 Soo-Young Kim, *The Great Roots* (1964).

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- Cf. Writer names in the blank ([ ]) have been ascertained from W. E. Houghton, ed., *The Wellesley Index to Victorian Periodicals, 1824-1900*, 5 vols. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1966–89).



‘A Barbarian Region Can Produce Someone Good and Learned’:  
The Core-Periphery Relationship of Medieval Britain  
from 900 to 1200

Hirokazu Tsurushima\*

**Prologue**

Since Immanuel Wallerstein’s important work, *The Modern World-System*, the historiographical theory of core, semi-periphery and periphery has been accepted at various levels.<sup>1</sup> Although his theory has provoked severe criticism, here we may stress that it is one of the ways of thinking in history. The core, semi-periphery and periphery theory is mainly concerned with the world-system, which refers to the inter-regional and transnational division of labor. But this definition is too narrow for me when thinking of history in general. What is the world at all? From my point of view, it is a kind of wider society which does not only shares the sense of the symbolic values, like a calendar, but also the perception of common destiny, for better or worse. From this point of view, the British Isles, including Ireland, was, at some stage, the world.<sup>2</sup> If I say so, I, too, provoke harsh criticism. But my simple question is why people in the British Isles, including Ireland, speak English.

Today, I am going to explore the history of medieval Britain from a point of view of the core, semi-periphery and periphery theory. Honestly speaking the subject of core-periphery is given by the conference organizer, and we should regard this theory as our construct except some medieval ideologist. In addition, for the avoidance of doubt, here I strongly stress that this idea has nothing to do with our sense of value but is a matter of relationship. I never think that the so-called ‘Celtic regions’ were under-developed nor that England was a developed country, even if I sometimes call the former as ‘Celtic-fringe’. I am not a MP in the Victorian Parliament. The differences between them lay in their standing in the historical context. If you reconstruct a ‘History of Britain’, from a Scottish, or Welsh or Irish horizon, you may show different perspectives. We always need pantoscopic eyesight. However, my major subject is medieval English history, and my knowledge of the rest of Britain is too poor to give all of you a fully of pantoscopic perspective over Britain through the idea of the core-periphery relations. So, in advance, I apologize to you for my lecture being mainly concerned with England.

Moreover, I describe the British Isles, including Ireland, as ‘Britain’. What does medieval Britain mean? Ironically and strictly speaking, there was no ‘Britain’ in the medieval British

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1 I. Wallerstein, *The Modern World-System I: Capitalist Agriculture and the Origins of the European World-Economy in the Sixteenth Century* (New York, 1973).

2 H. Tsurushima (ed.), *Nations in Medieval Britain* (Donington, 2010).

Isles. ‘Britain’ means Roman Britain before A. D. 410 or Great Britain after 1707. Therefore, medieval Britain is a construct or an analytical concept to give a framework for discussion.

## Power-relations

The relationship always has a cause. What was the cause and what made the core?

**Document1** [973] Edgar, the peaceable king of the English (*rex Anglorum*), was blessed, crowned with the utmost honour and glory, and anointed king in his thirtieth year at Pentecost, 11 May, in the first indiction, by the blessed bishops Dunstan [of Canterbury] and Oswald [of Worcester], and by the other bishops of the whole of England in the city of Bath. Then, after an interval, he sailed round the north coast of Wales with a large fleet, and came to the city of Chester. Eight underkings (*subreguli*), namely Kenneth (II), king of the Scots (r. 971–995), Malcolm, king of the Cumbrians (Strathclyde) (r. 975–97), Maccus, king of many Islands (or of Mann and the Isles) (d. before 977), and five others, Dufnal, Siferth, *Huwal*, Jacob (or Iago of Gwynedd) (r. 950–79), and Iuchil, went to meet him, as he had commanded, and swore that they would be loyal to, and co-operate with, him by land and sea.<sup>3</sup>

John of Worcester, a writer in the early twelfth century, refers to Edgar’s eight sub-kings, including Kenneth king of the Scots, Malcolm king of the Strathclyde, Maccus king of the isle of Man, Iago of Gwynedd and four others. The king of the English declared his political position as the little insular emperor in Britain, which must have been far from the truth, because his power was not strong enough and the idea of the emperor was not supported by the Christian authority, the papacy. Although ‘[a]part from Edgar himself, the participants are recorded only in accounts written in the twelfth century’,<sup>4</sup> the birth of this ideology of the power is important. This event symbolically shows the birth of the embryo of the political core in Britain and the agenda of the imposition of English suzerainty on the other rulers of Britain, especially the Scottish kings. For the tenth-century apologists of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* or the twelfth-century writer the king of the English should be the center-core of Britain, asking for subjection of the periphery-country rulers to him. But even in the twelfth century this idea belonged only to his intention and not to theirs.

However, this political movement was interrelated with the gradual process of territorialization in Britain from the tenth century onward. Lothian was, for example, recognized as a part of Scotland in c. 975 by King Edgar, although it was possibly lost to the earls of the Northumbrians for a while. However, it is the changing usage of the word Albion

3 *The Chronicle of John of Worcester*, ii. ed. by R. R. Darlington and P. McGurk, trans. by J. Bray and P. McGurk (Oxford, 1995), pp. 422–23. *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, D & E, records six sub-kings, while Aelfric the Homilist in his *Life of St Swithin*, records eight sub-kings. *English Historical Documents, vol. 1: c. 500–1042*, 2nd edn., ed. by D. Whitelock (Oxford, 1979), no. 239.

4 A. Williams, ‘An Outing on The Dee: King Edgar at Chester, A. D. 973’, *Medieval Scandinavia* 14 (2004), pp. 229–44, at p. 229.

that shows the territorialization of Britain. The name Albion had been used from the time of Pliny onwards to designate the Island of Britain.<sup>5</sup> Bede described Britain as ‘once called Albion (*Alba*)’.<sup>6</sup> But by the tenth century there had emerged the kingdom of Alba, which ‘can unambiguously be said to be ancestral to modern Scotland’.<sup>7</sup> However, a text known as ‘Synchronisms of the Irish Kings’, dating from c. 1119, ‘was an attempt to produce parallel lists of the claimants to the kingship of Ireland alongside the major provincial kings’, in which ‘[t]he kings of Alba seem to have been regarded as provincial kings of the Irish’.<sup>8</sup>

The ruling class of Ireland still seems to have ideally regarded ‘Scotland’, that is the land of the Scots (*Scotti*) in the British Isles, as their periphery, although Ireland and Wales failed to build their own unified kingdoms. This shows that the word *scottus* had a connotation of ‘the Irish’, even after a long time of their separation. We must remember that the core-periphery is always in mutual relationship.

## The King’s Title

After King Alfred had withstood the ‘Viking’ invasion, his son Edward the Elder began making a federated kingdom of the West-Saxons and the Mercians, and with the help of Æthelflæd, his sister, completed it. The idea of kingship had already been changing from the traditional high-king bound to the gods or goddesses to the anointed Old Testament king, but the coronation of Otto I of Germany in 961 as well as that of Charles the Great in 800 probably gave strong impetus to this process. The title of the king in the charters changed from king of the West-Saxons to king of the Angles and Saxons, that is Anglo-Saxons (see Table 1).<sup>9</sup> The word Anglo-Saxons appeared as a modern construct in the seventeenth century,<sup>10</sup> but this combined word for the Angles and the Saxons originated here. While the royal title used the words ‘Saxons’ or ‘Angles’, the concept of kingship was still bound to quasi-tribal ideas and could exist together with sub-kings within the kingdom. The great change happened in the reign of king Æthelstan, grandson of King Alfred. He used the title ‘king of the Angles’ (*rex Anglorum*). Æthelstan belonged to the family line of Cerdic<sup>11</sup> and of the Saxon kings, but in this title ‘Angles’ was not used in the tribal sense, but had a different implication, ‘the English’,

5 J. Crick, ‘Edgar, Albion and Insular Dominion’, in D. Scragg (ed.), *Edgar, King of the English, 959–975* (Woodbridge, 2008), pp. 158–170, at p. 158.

6 *Bede’s Ecclesiastical History of English People*, ed. by B. Colgrave and R. A. B. Mynors (Oxford, 1969), pp. 14–16. Hereafter cited as *EH*.

7 A. Woolf, *From Pictland to Alba, 789–1070* (Edinburgh, 2007), p. 1.

8 Woolf, *From Pictland to Alba*, p. 61.

9 H. Tsurushima, ‘What Do We Mean by ‘Nations’ in Early Medieval Britain’, in Do (ed.), *Nations in Medieval Britain*, pp. 11–13.

10 The word the ‘Anglo-Saxon’ in the Latin form re-appeared in W. Camden, *Britannia* (1586), and the word ‘the Anglo-Saxon’ first appeared in J. Colville, *The Paraenese or Admonition ... unto his cuntrey men* (Paris, 1602).

11 This ideological legend, invented by the late ninth century along with compilation of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* in the reign of King Alfred, stresses that Cerdic, a Germanic invader into Britain in 495, was the common ancestor of Alfred and all previous kings of the West Saxons, although the name of Cerdic was Brittonic.

Table 1. King's Title

	Alfred 871-899		Edward 899-924		Æthelstan 924-939		Edgar 959-975		Æthelred 978-1016		Cnut 1016-35		Edward 1042-66		William 1066-87	
	%	Qnt*	%	Qnt	%	Qnt	%	Qnt	%	Qnt	%	Qnt	%	Qnt	%	Qnt
King	13	2	4	1	2	1	13	21	5.2	5	9.7	3	12	7	17	37
The Saxons	20	3	4	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
The West Saxons	13	2	4	17	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
The Angles & Saxons	41	6	71	4	6	4	0	0	2	2	0	0	2	1	0	0
The English	13	2	17	0	69	44	32	51	31	30	48	15	51	31	82	181
Albion	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6.3	6	9.7	3	0	0	0	0
Britain	0	0	0	0	23	15	20	31	6.3	6	3.2	1	25	15	0.5	1
Emperor	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6.5	2	0	0	0.5	1
The Angles & Saxons	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3.2	1	5	3	0	0
The English	0	0	0	0	23	15	9	15	17	16	13	4	3	2	0.5	1
Albion	0	0	0	0	0	0	11	17	18	17	3.2	1	1.7	1	0	0
Britain	0	0	0	0	0	0	15	24	13	12	3.2	1	0	0	0	0
Priest	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total		15		23		79		159		96		31		60		221

\*Qnt: Quantity

Sources: The Electronic Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Charters: An Annotated List and Bibliography*, ed. by P. Sawyer (London, 1968), S 343-458, 667-827, 833-946, 949-992, 998-1162; *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum: The Acta of William I (1066-1087)*, ed. by D. Bates (Oxford, 1998).

whose origin was in Bede’s ‘*Anglus*’<sup>12</sup> or King Alfred’s ‘*Anglecynn*’.<sup>13</sup> In his *Ecclesiastical History of English People*, the eighth-century Northumbrian monk, Bede, divided the *nationes* (peoples)<sup>14</sup> of Britain into five language groups, the Britons, the Picts, the Irish, the English and the Latin-speakers.<sup>15</sup> In the eighth century, however, language was not the only criterion for defining the nation (people).<sup>16</sup> Although we cannot underestimate the ‘power of language’, it might often be the case that a political unit established its own language. It was the Romans who actually divided the Britons from the Picts by describing only those who accepted the *Pax Romana* as ‘Britons’, although the language of the Picts was probably related to that of the Britons. The Roman Empire divided the British Isles into the core (the province of Britain) and the periphery (the rest), that is, the empire and the barbarians’ land. On the other hand, from the Roman point of view, the whole province of Britain was the periphery. So, the province is set as the semi-periphery in the concept of the core, semi-periphery and periphery structure.

The English speaking people is not the only element of the English. Bede recorded the origin of the Christian mission, by referring to the encounter of the young pope Gregory I with an English boy at the market in Rome (see Document 2).

**Document 2** It is said that one day, soon after some merchants had arrived in Rome, a quantity of merchandise was exposed for sale in the market place. ... As well as other merchandise he (Gregory) saw some boys put up for sale, with fair complexions, handsome faces, and lovely hair. On seeing them he asked ... from what region or land they had been brought. He was told that they came from the island of Britain ... He asked again whether those islands were Christians or still entangled in the errors of heathenism. He was told that they were heathen ... Again he asked for the name of the race. He was told that They were called *Angli*. ‘Good’, he said, ‘they have the face of angels, and such men should be fellow-heirs of the angels in heaven’. ‘What is the name’, he asked, ‘of the kingdom from which they have been brought?’ He was told that the men of the kingdom were called *Deiri*. ‘*Deiri*’, he replied, ‘De ira! snatched from the wrath of Christ and called to his mercy. And what is the name of the king of the land?’ He was told that it was Aelle (the first king of Deira (r. 559/60–588); and playing on the name, he said, ‘Alleluia! the praise of God the Creator must be sung in those parts’.<sup>17</sup>

This story, despite its *jeux de mots*, shows the second element of the English. They are the people that a Roman pope thought of as candidates for a mission, although the Christian faith was already popular among the peoples in Britain. The mission, led by St Augustine, was first settled in Canterbury, so that the Saxons as well as the Angles could be called the English.

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12 See below, note 15.

13 S. Foot, ‘The Making of *Anglecynn*: English Identity before the Norman Conquest’, *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 6th ser., 6 (1996), pp. 25–49.

14 I define the word nation as the peoples who had the kingdom or had the strong intention to have it.

15 Bede, *EH*, pp. 16–17.

16 M. Herbert, ‘Sea-divided Gaels? Constructing Relationships between Irish and Scots c. 800–1169’, in B. Smith (ed.), *Britain and Ireland, 900–1300: Insular Responses to Medieval European Change* (Cambridge, 1999), pp. 87–97.

17 Bede, *EH*, pp. 132–34.

They were the people of the church of Canterbury. This is partly the reason why Archbishop Lanfranc designated himself as a new Englishman (*Ego tamen novus Anglus*).<sup>18</sup>

During the tenth century, once the king was entitled king of the English, his subjects could be also designated as the English, although they still had other ways of self-identification. The English kings, descendants from the Saxons, stopped using the word Saxons, which was only used by the peoples of ‘the periphery countries’, such as the Welsh, the Scots and the Irish.<sup>19</sup> As an ideal notion, the king’s title was exaggerated. King Æthelstan used the title king of Britain or emperor of the English, although the latter case shows that the meaning of ‘the English’ was not yet consolidated. It was in the reign of Edgar that the exaggeration of king’s title reached a climax. Edgar did not use just the title of the emperor (*basileos*) of Britain but also that of Albion (*Alba*).<sup>20</sup> It is a matter of course that the title of the emperor was self-claimed and not an official one given by the Church, showing the ideology of the unified kingdom with possible strong rivalry against the German king, possibly borrowing the title of *basileos* from the medieval Roman empire, that is Byzantium. After Edgar, the more deeply the English kings were involved in the continental political matters (that is, the core area matters of Europe), the less their titles were exaggerated and the title king of the English came to be common, although on Edward the Confessor’s seal, modelled on that of the German Emperors, the king’s title is *basileus*.

### ***Albion or Alba and Transformation of the North***

But why did Edgar designate himself the emperor of *Albion (Alba)*? As Alex Woolf says ‘the Viking Age when Scandinavian warriors and settlers transformed so much of northern Britain, ... saw the emergence of the kingdom of Alba which the English called Scotland’.<sup>21</sup> This is also the case with the kingdom of the English. The dissolution of the kingdom of the Northumbrians by the Scandinavians opened a gate to Scotland as well as to the expansion of the Anglo-Saxon kingdom beyond the Humber, which crushed the political ties between Dublin and York made by the Vikings. The identity of the English was created in the area now called England (*Engla lond*), which word was first used in *c.* 1000.<sup>22</sup>

Bede wrote, ‘Britain, once called *Albion*, is an island of the ocean (*Britannia Oceani insula, cui quondam Albion nomen fuit*)’.<sup>23</sup> ‘Albion lies at the root of Irish *Alba* or *Albu*, which before the tenth century denoted much the same as Albion (i.e. the island of Britain)’.<sup>24</sup> The

18 *The Letters of Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury*, ed. and trans. by H. Clover and M. Gibson (Oxford, 1979), no. 2.

19 A. Williams, *The English and the Norman Conquest* (Woodbridge, 1995), p. 1

20 ‘*ego Edgar tocius Britannie basileos*’ (S 765; A.D. 968); ‘*Ego Eadgarus basileus dilectæ insulæ Albionis subditus nobis sceptri Scotorum*’ (S 779; A.D. 970); S. P. Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Charters: An Annotated List and Bibliography* (London, 1968).

21 Woolf, *From Pictland to Alba*, p. 1.

22 Cf. *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, C. 1014.

23 Bede, *EH*, i.

24 Crick, ‘Edgar, Albion and Insular Dominion’, p. 168.

Irish Chronicles (*Annales of Ulster* and *Chronicum Scottorum*) shows that a new kingdom of Alba (*ri Alban*) appeared in 900.<sup>25</sup> ‘It was the conquest of Pictland by Cinaed mac Alpín ... that caused *Alba* to be narrowed down to mean “North Britain”’.<sup>26</sup> On the other hand, in England, after Bede, the word Albion escaped peoples’ memory until the latter part of the tenth century, when Bede was reevaluated by the monastic reformers, in particular, Dunstan, archbishop of Canterbury, who contributed to the proliferation of the term. This term *Albion* was used to assert the authority of the archbishop of Canterbury over Britain as its metropolitan. For this purpose Dunstan performed Edgar’s Carolingian coronation in Bath in order to declare their position of the core as the emperor of *Albion* [all Britain] against the ‘periphery’ rulers.

The non-English peoples in Britain resisted the expansion of the kingdom of the Angles and Saxons at various levels from direct attacks to dreams. The military expedition against King Æthelstan in Brunanburh in 937 ended in miserable defeat.<sup>27</sup> Ironically speaking, however, this strength of King Æthelstan possibly formed the springboard for the vitalization of ‘Welshness’: the *Cymry*. In the tenth century, ‘the rulers of Brittany had gained a very large measure of independence and had considerably expanded their territory’, aided by ‘the strong Breton-English alliance in the reign of Æthelstan’.<sup>28</sup>

*Armes Prydein Vawr* (The Great Prophecy of Britain) can be read as a dream of the restoration of British power over Britain by the return of two ancient kings; that is, Cynan [Conan] of Brittany and Cadwaladr of Gwynedd (c. 655–c. 682); the poem was probably composed by a supporter of the ruler of Gwynedd. *Armes Prydein Vawr* was edited in c. 940, maybe after Brunanburgh in 937, and its title appears in the *Book of Taliesin*, an early fourteenth century manuscript, made after the conquest of the North Wales by Edward I (about the same time as the ‘Scottish Independence war’), when Wales became the Principality.<sup>29</sup> It describes the Saxons (*Saesson*) as ‘the foreigners’ (line 176), and divides the allies of the *Cymry* into two groups. The one is the Alliance, that is, of the men of Dublin (*gwyr Dulyn*), the Irish of Ireland (*Gwydyl Iwerdon*), of Man (Anglesey: *Mon*), Britain (Scotland: *Phrydyn*). The other is ‘those to be included with the *Cymry*’; that is, the men of Cornwall and of Strathclyde (*Cornyw a Chludwys eu kynnwys genhyn*) (lines 9–11). The poem expressed the desire that those peoples under the leadership of the Welsh would drive the English away from Britain. In the tenth century, the English imperialistic expansion caused the birth of self-and other-definition of the Welsh people. On the other hand, the poem has a political aspect. It shows indifference to Hywel Dda (c. 880–950), king of Deheubath, a sub-king of Æthelstan.

25 Woolf, *From Pictland to Alba*, p. 122.

26 Crick, ‘Edgar, Albion and Insular Dominion’, p. 168.

27 *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, A. B. C. D. 937.

28 T. M. Charles-Edwards, *Wales and the Britons, 350–1064* (Oxford, 2013), p. 519.

29 J. K. Ballard, ‘Armes Prydein Vawr’, in *The Battle of Brunanburh: A Casebook*, ed. by Michael Livingston (Liverpool, 2011), pp. 28–37, 155–170; Charles-Edwards, *Wales and the Britons*, pp. 519–21, 527–32.

## The Church in Britain and Ireland

The archbishopric of Canterbury had kept a strong self-consciousness as the metropolitan see of Britain. The twelfth-century historian Eadmer of Canterbury, who died in *c.* 1124, re-wrote the eighth-century *Vita Sancti Wilfridi*, and maintained this authority by defining ‘the archbishop of the Church at Canterbury as Primate of all Britain (*totius Britanniae Primas*)’.<sup>30</sup> On the other hand he defined ‘the (arch)bishop of York as a representative on behalf of the entire Northern part of Britain and Ireland ... together with another one hundred and twenty-five fellow bishops’.<sup>31</sup> Canterbury continued to stress its position of the core-church against the other churches in the periphery of Britain (inclusive of Ireland). The struggle for the primacy between Canterbury and York continues into the high middle ages, which resulted in the intermingling and distorted rather relations of bishoprics in Britain.

In other parts of Britain, the episcopal system as the architecture of hierarchic control had been built slowly and in an unnormalised form. In tenth-century Scotland, ‘The high-quality religious sculpture that defines the later Pictish period (*c.* 700–900) disappears ... the most important royal sites came to be located in low-lying land and were often associated with major churches’ like St Andrews.<sup>32</sup> In the twelfth century the assertion of the metropolitan authority of the archbishop of Canterbury over the Scottish churches delayed the establishment of the Scottish bishoprics until as late as the fifteenth century. In 1192, the papal bull ‘*Cum universi Christi jugo subjecti*’ of Clement III identified the Scottish Church as a special daughter and named its nine dioceses.<sup>33</sup> However, there was no Scottish archbishop until in 1472 St Andrews and in 1492 Glasgow became the archiepiscopal sees respectively. Until then, the kings of the Scots had been crowned by the bishop of St Andrews.

Ireland had a long tradition of her own church system. We must not forget that once Ireland was the centre for missionaries to Francia in the Early Middle ages. In the twelfth century, partly under the influence of the Gregorian reform, four reforming synods were held: Cashel (1101), Rath Breasail (1111), Kells-Mellifort (1152), and Cashel (1172). The first synod was convened at Cashel by Muirchertach O’Brien (Ua Briain) in his capacity as king of Ireland. However, it was a local synod, urged by the Canterbury archbishops to take in hand the reform of the church. The decrees have survived and are found in O’Brienan Ua Brian genealogy,<sup>34</sup> which suggests that the synod could have been a family affair. After the papal curia had extended its control over the churches in Ireland, in 1111 a synod was convened by the papal legate, Gille, bishop of Limerick in Rath Breasail. Its purpose was to romanize the Irish Church, in particular by the establishment of diocesan episcopacy. Although it marks the beginning of the transition from a monastic to a diocesan and parish-based church, the synod itself still belonged to the policy of Muirchertach Ua Briain without the representatives of provinces of Connacht and Leinster. But

30 *Vita Sancti Wilfridi auctore Edmero*, ed. and trans. by B. J. Muir and A. J. Turner (Exeter, 1998), ch. 115.

31 *Op. cit.*, ch. 61.

32 Woolf, *From Pictland to Alba*, pp. 312–13; M. O. Anderson, *Kings and Kingship in Early Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1973), p. 260.

33 A. O. Anderson, ‘The Bull “Cum Universi”’, *Scottish Historical Review* 25 (1928), pp. 335–341.

34 D. O. Croinin, *Early Medieval Ireland, 400–1200* (London and New York, 1995), pp. 281–82.

the plan was far from becoming a reality. In 1152, the Kells-Mellifort synod was convened under the authority of Tairrdebach Ua Conchobair, the High-King of Ireland and under the presidency of Cardinal Giovanni Paparoni, the papal legate. It pressed forward with the plan of territorial dioceses. Ireland was reorganized into four archbishoprics; Armagh, Dublin, Cashel, and Tuam, and divided into thirty-six dioceses. Armagh was granted primacy, while on the face of it, the diocese of Dublin appeared to be withdrawn from Canterbury. The fact that there were four archbishoprics and no united king of Ireland show the lack of systematic consistency and there seemed to be no strict hierarchal structure among the churches.

But in 1172 just after the arrival of Henry II, king of the English, he made a request for a synod to be held. In 1172, the synod of Cashel took place, although the archbishop of Armagh seems to have refused to attend. No original source survived of this synod and only Gerald of Wales mentioned it: ‘all divine matters be henceforth conducted agreeably to the practices of the holy Church according as observed by the Anglican Church’.<sup>35</sup> This reform followed the practices of the English Church, behind which stood the papal curia. The old Irish church system was drawn into the papal curia (the core) line under pressure from English kings, who might stand as the semi-periphery to Rome and as the core to Ireland, in deformation-form in the twelfth century. There was no one king, crowned by the archbishop, in the sense of Latin Christendom, although there were four archbishops.

In Wales, there had existed no organized hierarchy of bishops nor an established metropolitan structure.<sup>36</sup> Only occasionally could the bishops of St Davids and Bangor exercise a temporary primacy over their fellow bishops. However, unlike in Ireland, bishops were not dependent on the authority of abbots. Bishoprics, their numbers or catchment areas had been fluid from time to time. The origin of the Welsh church was quasi-monastic, rather like the British church, strongly condemned by St Augustine’s Roman mission.<sup>37</sup> ‘Each mother church constituted a self-contained ecclesiastical community [called *clas*], consisting of an abbot (who might also, as in St Davids, be a bishop) and a group of canons [called *caswyr*], sharing a common income but living as secular clerks, often indeed as married clerks and even transmitting their property and ecclesiastical offices to their children’.<sup>38</sup> This *clas* church was similar to the minster church in England before the Benedictine monastic reform, which had not affected the Celtic monasteries. The monastic orders to which the papal curia consented were all introduced into these areas, especially after the Norman Conquest.<sup>39</sup>

After the Norman Conquest, dioceses were being defined and demarcated until the twelfth century, under the metropolitan control of Canterbury. In 1095, Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury asserted his primatial authority over the Welsh bishops. In the thirteenth century there were four bishoprics; Bangor, St Asaph, St Davids and Llandaff. The metropolitan claims

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35 Giraldus Cambrensis, *Expugnatio Hibernica: The Conquest of Ireland*, ed. and trans. by A. B. Scott and F. X. Martin (Dublin, 1978); M. T. Flanagan, ‘Hiberno-Papal Relations in the Late Twelfth Century’, *Archivium Hibernicum* 34 (1977), pp. 55–70.

36 I mainly depend on R. R. Davies, *Conquest, Coexistence, and Change: Wales, 1063–1415* (Oxford, 1987), pp. 172–209.

37 Bede, *EH*, ii. 2.

38 Davies, *Conquest, Coexistence, and Change*, p. 174.

39 J. Barron and K. Stöber, *Abbey and Priories of Medieval Wales* (Cardiff, 2015), pp. 7–9.

of St Davids, formulated by Gerald of Wales who temporarily got the support of native princes, came to nothing. It was not the Welsh princes but Bernard bishop of St Davids who proclaimed the superiority of St David, with the help of Armes Prydein and Rhigyfarch's late-eleventh-century *Life of St David*. Bernard, who was a Norman member of Henry I's court and a chaplain to the queen, pressed his bishopric's claim to the metropolitan status over the whole of Wales. 'The case rested in part on the distinctiveness of the Welsh as a people and the need, therefore, for them to have an archbishop of their own'.<sup>40</sup>

In Britain, it is in the eleventh century that the formation of ecclesiastical system, was, slowly or gradually, or directly or indirectly, making progress under the political and ecclesiastical pressures wrought by the powers of English kings and prelates. Generally speaking, churches 'took on the colour of the society in which they operated'.<sup>41</sup> If there was no hierarchy of the bishoprics, this shows that there was no 'hierarchy of the nobility' (that is the aristocracy). If there were no territorial dioceses, this means that there were no territorial local communities, well-defined or not, although both the *cantref* or the *commote* are known in Wales. For this allegation, such a legendary story was probably invented that 'St David's had been a metropolitan see from the time of the first introduction of Christianity into Britain'.<sup>42</sup>

In the tenth to twelfth centuries, the 'Celtic' churches were served by a sort of community of clergy, *clas* or *Celi Dei* (Companions of God), although *Celi Dei* lived in communities within the major church settlements.<sup>43</sup> In Scotland *Celi Dei* continued to staff monasteries which accepted continental monastic rules. Eventually many became Augustinian canons. They maintained traditions of learning and threw up talented and famous scholars or writes. Asser, who was the bishop of Sherborne, (d. c. 909) and the author of the *Life of King Alfred*, was a relative of Nobis, Bishop of St Davids and belonged to the community.<sup>44</sup> Rhigyfarch (1056/7–1099), the author of the *Life of St David*, also belonged to the community of St Davids.<sup>45</sup> He was the eldest son of Suelin, Bishop of St Davids from 1091 to 1099. According to a Latin poem, Suelin was a native of Llanbadarn Fawr, sprung from a clerical family. He was educated in Welsh (*Britannias*) schools, Scotland (*Albania*) and visited Ireland (*Scotorum aura*), famous for its teachers, and remained there for thirteen years. He returned to Ceredigion and there earned great renown as a teacher. He had four sons; Rhigyfarch, Arthen, Daniel and John, and he made education for them his special concern. It is interesting that the change in his sons' names shows a sort of Normanization in South Wales. This is his career before he became a bishop.<sup>46</sup> Suelin, Rhigyfarch, and their family belonged to a clerisy of Native priests.

40 Davies, *Conquest, Coexistence, and Change*, p. 190.

41 Davies, *Conquest, Coexistence, and Change*, p. 175.

42 There is evidence for the bishops associated with St Davids at least from the ninth century if not earlier. J. Barrow (ed.), *St David's Episcopal Acta, 1085-1280* (Cardiff, 1998), p. 1. Cf. H. Pryce, 'Pastoral Care in Early Medieval Wales', in J. Blair and R. Sharp (eds.), *Pastoral Care before the Parish* (Leicester, 1992), pp. 41–62 at p. 52.

43 Woolf, *From Pictland to Alba*, p. 314.

44 Asser's *Life of King Alfred: Together with the Annals of Saint Neots Erroneously Ascribed to Asser*, ed. by W. H. Stevenson, with an introductory article by D. Whitelock (Oxford, 1959), pp. lxx–xcv.

45 Rhigyfarch's *Life of St David*, ed. and trans. by J. W. James (Cardiff, 1967).

46 J. E. Lloyds, *A History of Wales from the Earliest Times to the Edwardian Conquest*, 3rd edn., 2 vols. (London, 1939), ii, p. 460.

Their activity shows the high standard of ‘Celtic’ priestly culture.

### Coronation<sup>47</sup>

Please return to the document 1. It was King Edgar who was crowned by the archbishop in the first recorded usage of the Carolingian coronation ordo at Bath, in 973, although Eadwulf, king of the Northumbrians had been consecrated and enthroned in 796, while Æthelstan was crowned as king of the Angles and Saxons in 925, and even Edgar himself had been crowned before. We can imagine the ritual itself from the image of the Bayeux Tapestry (Figure 1) as well as the description of William I’s coronation (Document 3), both at Westminster, in 1066. The coronation of the German Emperor Otto I was probably the impetus for Edgar’s Carolingian type of coronation at Bath. The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* A, recorded Bath as the very place of the ancient city of Ach-man’s city, which was probably derived from Roman name Aquae-sulis. The king and his council-court were possibly conscious of Roman imperial tradition. It was this king who frequently used *Basileos*, which was the title of Byzantine or Medieval Roman emperor, as the title of the ruler in the charters. This possibly showed Edgar’s feelings of competition with the German Emperor. Edgar and his successor were official kings as crowned following the coronation ordo. But his title of *Basileos* was not so, and after the Norman Conquest when England came to be engaged in the continental power struggles, English kings never used imperial titles.

In medieval Britain, kingship had its ritual aspects. It is well known that in the coronation ceremony, the king of the English was crowned by the archbishop according to the Frankish coronation ordo.

**Document 3** Turning himself towards the holy altar, the archbishop made the king stand facing it. He gathered to him all the bishops who had been summoned, and together with the king they prostrated themselves upon the ground. Standing upright, the precentor began Kyrie eleison and also involved the intercession of the saints. But after the Litany of the Saints was completed, the episcopal order rose with the archbishop, the king alone being left prostrate. The precentor had ceased chanting; every order was silent. The archbishop bad the people pray and forthwith began the rite itself. He said the collect and raised the king from the dust. Then with the chrism poured forth, he himself anointed the king’s head, and consecrated him king in the royal manner.<sup>48</sup>

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47 J. L. Nelson, ‘The Earliest Surviving Royal *Ordo*: Some Liturgical and Historical Aspects’, in B. Tierney and P. Linehan (eds.), *Authority and Power: Studies in Medieval Law and Government Presented to Walter Ullman* (Cambridge, 1980), pp. 29–48; Do, ‘The rites of the Conqueror’, *Proceedings of the Battle Conference on Anglo-Norman Studies* 4 (1981), pp. 117–32; Do, ‘The Second English *Ordo*’, in J. L. Nelson, *Politics and Ritual in Early Medieval Europe* (London, 1986), pp. 361–74; Do, ‘The First Use of the Second Anglo-Saxon *Ordo*’, in J. Barrow and A. Wareham (eds.), *Myths, Rulership, Church and Charters: Essays in Honour of Nicholas Brooks* (Aldershot, 2008), pp. 17–26; P. E. Schramm, *A History of the English Coronation*, trans. by L. G. Wickham Legg (Oxford, 1937).

48 *The Carmen of Hastingae Proelio of Guy Bishop of Amiens*, ed. and trans. by C. Morton and H. Muntz (Oxford, 1972), lines 783–835 at 820–35.



Figure 1. *Hic Presidet Harold Rex Anglorum, Stigant Archiepiscopus*



Figure 2. The coronation of Alexander III, king of Scotland

D. E. R. Watt, S. Taylor and B. Scott (eds.), *Scotichronicon by Walter Bower in English and Latin*, vol. 5, illus. 1 facing p. 288; Corpus Christi College, Cambridge MS 171.

The Bayeux Tapestry illustrates the coronation of King Harold II at Westminster, strengthening the description of Guy. Harold is seated on the throne with all the insignia of power, that is, the crown with *fleurs-de-lys*, the staff or sceptre in his right hand and the orb in his left. He wears a purple mantle around the shoulder. To the right stands Stigand, Archbishop of Canterbury who presides over the rites, and to the left stand two nobles, one of them proffering the sword, the symbol of the temporal power. Five laymen give the popular acclamation.<sup>49</sup> It reproduces the Frankish coronation-rites.

49 H. Tsurushima, *Baiyu no Tuzureori wo Yomu: Chūsei no Ingurando to Kan-Kaikyō-Sekai [Interpreting the Bayeux Tapestry: Medieval England and the Cross-Channel World]* (Tokyo, 2015), pp. 87–88.

**Document 4** After the death of his devoted father, the boy Alexander, being eight years of age, came with a large number of bishops, prelates, earls, barons and knights to Scone on the following Tuesday, 13 July. ... the king should be invested as a knight by the bishop of St Andrews, who filled the office of king, in the same way as William Rufus had been invested with the knightly insignia by Lanfranc archbishop of Canterbury who had also crowned him. ... This was done. For when David bishop of St Andrews girded the king with the belt of knighthood in the presence of the magnates of the land, and set out the rights and promises which pertain to a king, first in Latin and in French, the king graciously conceded and accepted all of this, and readily underwent and permitted his blessing and ordination at the hand of the same bishop. ... In accordance with the custom which had grown up in the kingdom from antiquity right up to that time, after the solemn ceremony of the king’s coronation, the bishops with the earls brought the king to the cross which stands in the cemetery at the east end of the church. ... they installed him there on the royal seat which had been bedecked with silk cloths embroidered with gold. So when the king was solemnly seated on this royal seat of the stone, with his crown on his head and his sceptre in his hand, and clothed in royal purple, and at his feet the earls and other nobles were setting down their stools to listen to a sermon, there suddenly appeared a venerable, grey-haired figure, an elderly Scot. Though a wild highlander he was honourably attired after his own fashion, clad in a scarlet robe. Bending his knee in a scrupulously correct manner and inclining his head, he greeted the king in his mother tongue, saying courteously: ‘God bless the king of Albany, Alexander mac Alexander, mac William, mac Henry, mac David’. And so reciting the genealogy of the kings of Scots he kept on to the end.<sup>50</sup>

The ceremony of the coronation of King Alexander III of Scots kept in Scone shows that it had two phases. The first one was the continental coronation rite imported from England. It followed the model of William II, kings of the English. The second phase was an old and traditional rite, which had two elements. The one was the stone of king-making. In 1292, a new king of the Scots was inaugurated at Scone, and placed on the stone called ‘Stone of Destiny’. This is the reason why it was afterwards laid up in Westminster Abbey as a war booty against Scotland by Edward I.<sup>51</sup> The other element was the king’s poet (*ollamh rígh Alban*), who had an important role of presenting the sceptre and royalty to the new king by addressing him with the proclamation, ‘God Bless the King of Scots (*Benach De Re Albanne; Beannachd Dé Rígh Albanaich*)’, and by reciting Alexander’s genealogy, in Gaelic. ‘It was not until the poet presented him [the king] with the scepter of kingship that Alexander actually became king’ and ‘[i]t is clear that the church played only a secondary role in the whole affair’.<sup>52</sup> This quasi-pagan rite in the coronation ceremony was a traditional custom longstanding by the time of Alexander III. In 1124, Ailred of Rievaulx stated that ‘the clergy could scarcely induce him [King David I] to go through with the required ceremonies’.<sup>53</sup>

50 D. E. R. Watt, S. Taylor and B. Scott (eds.), *Scotichronicon by Walter Bower in English and Latin*, vol. 5 (Aberdeen, 1990), pp. 292–95.

51 G. W. S. Barrow, *Scotland and Its Neighbours in the Middle Ages* (London and Rio Grande, 1992), p. 36.

52 J. W. Bannerman, ‘The King’s Poet and the Inauguration of Alexander III’, *Scottish Historical Review* 68 (1989), pp. 120–49, at p. 133; Barrow, *Scotland and Its Neighbours*, p. 37.

53 Barrow, *Scotland and Its Neighbours*, p. 37. Cf. J.-P. Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, cxcv, col. 713.

That the coronation ceremony was composed of a mixture of traditions from Latin Christendom and a pagan element shows the place of the kingdom of the Scots in a ‘quasi-periphery area’. And the important role of the Gaelic-speaking king’s poet shows the periphery-core relationship within the kingdom. The core needed the periphery. Although the eighth-century political texts constructed the legend of Kingship of Tara, in Ireland, the concept of territorial kingship only became a political unit in the Viking Age in Ireland. And Ireland was never reigned over by an ‘official’ Christian king who needed the Latin Christendom type of coronation ceremony.

## Epilogue

The tenth-, eleventh- and twelfth-centuries can be recognized as a period of expansion of Western Europe and of the formation of Latin Christendom. When the English and the Anglo-Normans looked north-westward to Wales, Scotland and Ireland, they saw societies conceptualized as ‘barbarian’, in the same way as the core areas would call the periphery areas, while they would call themselves civilized. ‘There were still no towns and the vast majority of the population lived in scattered dwellings or small hamlets and engaged in a mixture of arable and pastoral farming’.<sup>54</sup> Coinage was still not produced in the country, nor widely circulated, although in areas of Scandinavian settlement coins from England circulated. Wales, Scotland and Ireland were still fundamentally rural and occupied by kin-based societies. Under the strong leadership of the papal curia, the societies in the so-called core areas including England came to be based on the small monogamous family.<sup>55</sup> On the other hand, in the ‘Celtic’ areas, there remained the world of large polygamous families or kin groups. This is the reason why polygamy, divorce, and incest were the target of criticism. The difference in the family structure underlay the differences in social, governmental religious and even economic structures.

The terms core and periphery are very often useful for describing the history of the world at any level. However, we must not forget the terms are ours and not theirs. Therefore, they show our perspective but fail to show theirs. Any relationship was and always is mutual and fluid. Moreover, the core-periphery relation had always some sort of relative structure. For example, during the process of unification, the cores and the peripheries appeared inside ‘England’ as well as inside ‘Scotland’. In England, the South or the old area of the West-Saxons, in particular south of the Thames, had become the core by A. D. 1000, and the north of the Humber was set as the periphery, so that the areas between them can be regarded as the semi-periphery.<sup>56</sup> In Scotland, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, formative periods in the

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54 Woolf, *From Pictland to Alba*, p. 312.

55 R. Fleming, *King and Lords in Conquest England* (Cambridge, 1991), p. 8; L. Lancaster, ‘Kinship in Anglo-Saxon Society: II’, *British Journal of Sociology* 9 (1958), pp. 359–77, at p. 371; J. Goody, *The Development of the Family and Marriage in Europe* (Cambridge, 1983), pp. 37, 136–37; C. McCarthy, *Marriage in Medieval England: Law, Literature and Practice* (Woodbridge, 2004), pp. 128–29.

56 D. Hill, *An Atlas of Anglo-Saxon England* (Oxford, 1981), pp. 87–91: Itineraries of the kings from Edward the Elder to

emergence of a unified and self-confident medieval kingdom of the Scots,<sup>57</sup> the areas from the south to the east through which the king’s court went the rounds became the core and the north-west gradually came to be the periphery, although the clear distinction between the Lowlands and Highlands was only recognized in the fourteenth century.<sup>58</sup> On the other hand, in Wales and Ireland, without the unification of the kingdom or its abortion, the core and periphery structures remained obscure. A kind of core would be made by the pressure of the English.

How can we think of the mutuality between them? We must write their history, considering their (contemporary) perspective. We must reconstruct their words from their perspective, that is from contemporary evidence. I use here the word Celtic or Anglo-Norman for my convenience. But they are modern constructs. We must carefully distinguish between them.<sup>59</sup> Lacking such pliable conceptual handling, the core-periphery theory will collapse as a bloodless idea.

Gerald of Wales wrote that ‘just as a well-governed region may produce some wicked and ill-governed people, so, from time to time, a barbarian region can produce someone good and learned, and that a place does not make a person illustrious but a praiseworthy person makes a place illustrious’.<sup>60</sup>

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Cnut, p. 94: Itineraries of the kings from Harold I to Edward the Confessor.

57 K. J. Stringer, ‘Periphery and Core in Thirteenth-Century Scotland: Alan, Son of Roland, Lord of Galloway and Constable of Scotland’, in A. Grant and K. J. Stringer (eds.), *Medieval Scotland: Crown, Lordship and Community – Essays Presented to G. W. S. Barrow* (Edinburgh, 1993), pp. 82–102.

58 *An Atlas of Scottish History to 1707*, ed. by P. McNeil and H. MacQueen (Edinburgh, 1996), pp. 159–63: Place-dates of Royal Charters, pp. 192–94: Sheriffdoms, p. 195: Justice Ayres in the Thirteenth Century, pp. 196–97: Burghs, et passim.

59 O. Brunner, *Neue Wege der Verfassungs- und Sozialgeschichte* (Göttingen, 1968).

60 *Gerald of Wales: De Principis Instructione*, ed. and trans. by R. Bartlett (Oxford, 2018), pp. 4–5.



# Tudor's Twin 'Reformations' of Ireland and the 'Pale': 'Semi-periphery' in the Early Modern English/British State\*

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## 1. Introduction

Ireland is often called the oldest colony of England or Britain. This hackneyed expression suggests that the relationship between England/Britain and Ireland could be characterised as 'core-periphery'. However, creating this division between England/Britain and Ireland and seeing their relationship as such is not always suitable. The Tudor period may, for example, be one of the exceptions.

Within the realm of the early Tudor dynasty, Wales (both the Principality and the Marches), the northern districts of England adjacent to the Scottish border and the greater part of Ireland shared some political, economic and social features: great magnates quasi-independent of the monarch ruled expansive territories; livestock farming was the main industry; and the population density was low and there were few towns and settlements.

The south-eastern part of England around London was very different: It was under the effective control of the monarch; mixed farming prevailed; and the population density was high, with many large and small cities and towns. In other words we should apply the concept of 'core and periphery' to the relationship between the south-eastern part of England and the three areas of Wales, the northern districts of England and the greater part of Ireland.<sup>1</sup>

Early modern Ireland had, however, a small area called the 'Pale'. We cannot apply the concept of 'periphery' there. The 'Pale' differed significantly from the greater part of Ireland. In the name of the Lord (the King from 1542) of Ireland the English monarchy had effective control there through their viceroys. The Pale's ruling elite consisted of minor and mid-level nobility and gentry. Regarding the economic and social aspects, mixed farming prevailed, population density was higher, and urban settlements were developed. The concept of 'core and periphery' may be applied to the relationship between the Pale and the rest of Ireland. Still it may be difficult to say the Pale of Ireland was entirely on par with south-eastern England in those days. We could instead place the early modern Pale in a position of 'semi-periphery' within the Tudor realm, according to Wallerstein's threefold world system analysis.

Wallerstein used the terms centre, semi-periphery, periphery from an economic perspective to indicate the functional roles and positions of entities in the modern world system. Here,

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1 S. Ellis, *Ireland in the Age of the Tudors, 1447–1603: English Expansion and the End of Gaelic Rule* (London and New York: Routledge, 1998); id., *Tudor Frontiers and Noble Power: The Making of the British State* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995).

however, these terms are used differently to indicate the political status of the elite ruling respective parts of the polity under the Tudors.

Semi-peripheral entities occupy an unstable and ambiguous position in the threefold structure; they could both ascend to the position of centre or fall to the position of periphery. This paper tracks how the Pale's ruling elite committed themselves and responded to the twin reformations — secular and religious — that the Tudor monarchy attempted in Ireland and how through these reformations the Pale's elite ultimately fell to the peripheral position.

## 2. Ireland before the Tudor 'Reformations'

Ireland became an English colony in the High Middle Ages following the Papal Bull *Laudabiliter* of Adrian IV. *Laudabiliter* granted King Henry II of England the right to invade and govern Ireland and triggered invasions by Anglo-Norman nobles and the royal progress of Henry II. By the mid-13th century the greater part of Ireland was ruled by English feudal lords under the English monarch as the Lord of Ireland.<sup>2</sup>

The Late Middle Ages, however, saw the resurgence of native Gaelic great chieftains who had been once the provincial kings of Ireland but had been marginalised by the English invaders. They became warlords, employing professional soldiers called gallowglasses (heavily equipped foot soldiers) or kerns (lightly equipped foot soldiers). They recovered their lost territories and tightened their grip on lesser clans. Meanwhile, powerful English feudal lords in Ireland also became warlords to counter the Gaelic resurgence. This trend was facilitated by the English monarch's disregard for Ireland. The monarch's external interests were much more concerned with Scotland and France. Thus, great warlords of both Gaelic and English descent dominated independent territories and confronted each other. They maintained their military power through arbitrary and casual levies called 'coign and livery' on local communities.<sup>3</sup>

The English monarchy appointed one of most powerful English warlords as its Irish viceroy (Lord Deputy) and left the responsibility of governing Ireland to him. From the mid-15th century, the office of Lord Deputy was normally occupied by the then Earl of Kildare, chief of the Fitzgerald dynasty, which had built its territory next to Ireland's capital Dublin.<sup>4</sup>

The small eastern part of Ireland around Dublin called the Pale was the exception. There were no warlords in the Pale itself, and its political elite were relatively minor lords and gentry of English descent. Most officers of Dublin Castle, the colonial government of Ireland, came from this background, though they were under the strong influence of the Fitzgeralds of Kildare.<sup>5</sup> The Pale's political society was rather similar to that of south-eastern England

2 T. W. Moody and F. X. Martin (eds.), *The Course of Irish History*, revised and enlarged edition (Cork: The Mercier Press, 1984), chs. 8–9.

3 *Ibid.*, ch. 10.

4 T. W. Moody, F. X. Martin and F. J. Byrne (eds.), *A New History of Ireland IX: Maps, Genealogies, Lists* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984), pp. 478–9.

5 A. Cosgrove (ed.) *A New History of Ireland II: Medieval Ireland* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), ch. 18.

around London as mentioned above.

### 3. The Tudor Reformation of the Irish Government

King Henry VII of the Tudor dynasty who reunited England politically after the War of the Roses diminished the power of the great nobles and incorporated them as court nobles. At the same time, he promoted members of the gentry to responsible positions both in court and localities. He succeeded in strengthening royal power through these methods in England. However, he avoided interfering in affairs of Ireland where independent warlords rivalled each other, and continued to entrust the responsibility of governance to the successive Fitzgerald Earls of Kildare.<sup>6</sup>

Great changes occurred during the reign of Henry VIII in the 1530s. Thomas Cromwell who led the so-called Tudor reformation in government of England as a royal favourite, also tried to tighten London's grip on Dublin. In response, the Fitzgerald dynasty of Kildare rebelled against the king. This rebellion was suppressed relatively easily by the royal army sent from England and the Kildare dynasty died out<sup>7</sup>. However, as Lord of Ireland, the Tudor monarch was now responsible for governing Ireland directly.<sup>8</sup>

The Tudors faced two significant problems. One was that the Gaelic chieftains had never had any legal relationship with the English monarchs. The other was that royal authority in Ireland had been effectively confined within the Pale.

First we will examine the Tudor's solution to the former problem. In 1542 an act of the Irish parliament created the title of King of Ireland for King Henry VIII of England and his successors. He and his predecessors had ruled the island as Lord of Ireland before that time. This title was derived from the aforementioned Papal Bull of Adrian IV, *Laudabiliter* from 1155. Henry VIII's severance of relations with the Holy See in 1534 meant his legal basis as Ireland's ruler lapsed. The 1542 act was once interpreted as creating a new legal basis for Henry to rule the island. However, Brendan Bradshaw identified another more important aspect — the act was intended to convert the Gaelic chieftains into loyal subjects.<sup>9</sup> The so-called 'surrender and regrant' policy was introduced to substantiate this intention. The policy's contents were as follow: the Gaelic chieftains were to accept the English monarch's sovereignty and were to be raised to the peerage in reward; they were to surrender their territories, which would be regranted as royal fiefs;<sup>10</sup> and they were to cast off Gaelic law and customs and accept the English common law system.

Thereby the office and territory of a chieftain were to be family property of the incumbent chieftain and to be inherited by right of primogeniture. Formerly, the office of chieftain was

6 Moody et. al., *A New History of Ireland IX*, pp. 479–80.

7 Later, the Kildare dynasty was restored by Mary I.

8 B. Bradshaw, *The Irish Constitutional Revolution of the Sixteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), chs. 4–6; S. G. Ellis, 'Thomas Cromwell and Ireland, 1532–1540', *Historical Journal*, 23: 3 (1980), pp. 497–519.

9 Bradshaw, *op. cit.*, pp. 231–8.

10 The phrase of 'surrender and regrant' originates from this practice.

supposed to be awarded to the most eligible among all males of the sept, as elected in full assembly. Thus, the ‘surrender and regrant’ policy’s most important purpose was to ensure political stability within the Gaelic clans, in which violent struggles for succession to chieftainship had been normal, and to bring peace to the Gaelic territories.<sup>11</sup>

Now, we will shift our attention to the Tudor’s solution to the second problem. To extend royal authority across Ireland independent warlords needed to be transformed into loyal, peaceful, non-military lords. The House of Tudor contemplated establishing provincial councils in Munster, Connacht and Ulster,<sup>12</sup> similar to the Council of Wales and the Marches or the Council of the North in England. A provincial president would be dispatched with soldiers under his command. Meanwhile, demilitarised local magnates served as councillors and helped the president maintain law and order within his jurisdiction. Soldiers under the president’s command would be maintained through fixed and regular taxes imposed on the local communities.<sup>13</sup>

How did the local powers respond to these innovations? Some utterly rejected them from the very first, including the O’Mores of Leix and the O’Connors of Offaly. The Dublin government put them down militarily and forfeited their lands and distributed them to the English undertakers (Leix-Offaly plantation).<sup>14</sup>

However, some were attracted by these reforms. Clearly, the ‘surrender and regrant’ policy was beneficial to the incumbent chieftains. In fact, Conn, the chieftain of the O’Neills of Tyrone, Murrough, the chieftain of the O’Briens of Thomond, Ulick, the chieftain of the MacWilliam Burkes of Clanricarde, and Donald, the chieftain of the MacCarthy Mor sept accepted the Tudor policy and were created Earls of Tyrone, Thomond, Clanricarde, and Clancare, respectively. The chieftains of the O’Sullivans Beare, MacCarthys of Muskerry, and O’Connors of Sligo also accepted though they were not ennobled.<sup>15</sup>

The institution of provincial councils seems to have been unacceptable to warlords whom it deprived of military power. In fact, the maintenance of military power became a heavy burden on the warlords as well as the residents who suffered from arbitrary and casual levies (coign and livery). The residents were to bear the maintenance costs of the provincial president’s soldiers but fixed and regular taxes may have been better than coign and livery. Still, the Earls of Thomond and Clanricarde formed a good relationship with Sir Nicholas Malby, the second provincial president of Connacht.<sup>16</sup>

Others, however, stood to lose their vested interests through these reforms. These included

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11 Bradshaw, *op. cit.*, chs. 7–9; N. Canny, *The Elizabethan Conquest of Ireland: A Pattern Established, 1565–76* (Hassocks: Branch Line, 1976), pp. 62–3; C. Brady, *The Chief Governors: The Rise and Fall of Reform Government in Tudor Ireland 1536–1588* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 52, 72–3, 91, 97–8.

12 The Provincial Council was established only in Munster and Connacht, but ultimately not in Ulster.

13 Canny, *op. cit.*, ch. 5; Brady, *op. cit.*, pp. 73–4, 117–8, 137–41.

14 T. W. Moody, F. X. Martin and F. J. Byrne (eds.), *A New History of Ireland III: Early Modern Ireland 1534–1691* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1976), pp. 77–9.

15 *Ibid.*, pp. 48–52; Brady, *op. cit.*, pp. 255–6; Ellis, *Ireland in the Age of the Tudors*, p. 151; M. O’Dowd, *Power, Politics and Land: Sligo 1568–1688* (Belfast: The Institute of Irish Studies, The Queen’s University of Belfast, 1991), pp. 26–8.

16 B. Cunningham, *Clanricard and Thomond, 1540–1640: Provincial Politics and Society Transformed* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2012), ch. 1.

individuals eligible for chieftainship under the conventional Gaelic system who lost this possibility under 'surrender and regrant'. Sean O'Neill, a son of Conn, the first Earl of Tyrone killed his half brother Matthew whom the Dublin government had admitted to succeed to the earldom, taking the office of chieftain of the O'Neills for himself.<sup>17</sup> Among the O'Briens, Donough, the second Earl of Thomond was killed by his younger brother Donal after the death of the first earl. Internal dispute over the earldom continued between Donal and Conner, the oldest son of Donough for twelve years.<sup>18</sup>

The real victims of the institution of provincial councils were, of course, the professional soldiers who had formed the warlord's power base. A great rebellion occurred in the late 1570s and the early 1580s in Desmond of Munster. Consequently, the house of the Earl of Desmond, the Fitzgerald dynasty, came to an end, and their large lands were confiscated and distributed to English undertakers (Munster plantation). However, the rebellion was not instigated by the Earl of Desmond but by James Fitzmaurice Fitzgerald, a cousin of the earl and the leader of the soldiers.<sup>19</sup>

Eventually, Tudor Ireland experienced an island-wide rebellion against the monarchy called the Nine Years' War in Irish History. The ringleader was Hugh O'Neill, the son of Matthew (killed by Sean). He was admitted as the third Earl of Tyrone by the royal government and as the chief of the O'Neills by his sept. This meant he had two alternatives: to support the political reformation of Ireland on the side of royal government as an English peer or to reject it on the side of the anti-government forces as a Gaelic chieftain and warlord. He ultimately chose the latter option. He formed an alliance with the chieftain of the O'Donnell sept, his former archenemy, and other Gaelic magnates discontent with the royal government, and incited a rebellion in 1595.<sup>20</sup> This rebellion later expanded across Ireland, and Hugh requested military aid from the Spanish king. The Tudor government eventually suppressed the rebellion in 1603, the last year of the Tudor period,<sup>21</sup> and finally established centralised rule over Ireland. The paradox of the Tudor rule of Ireland is that the governmental reforms aimed at making Ireland a peaceful country ended in a nationwide war and military conquest.

How, then, did the Pale's elite respond to the Tudor Reformation of government in Ireland?

Some voices for more royal commitment to Ireland had already arisen from within Ireland during the Kildares' heyday. These calls originated with the Dublin Castle's officers from the Pale who were unhappy with the arrogant Kildares.<sup>22</sup> The collapse of the Kildare dynasty and the royal rule of Ireland were welcome developments for the Pale's elite.

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17 Canny, *op. cit.*, pp. 33–4; Moody et. al., *A New History of Ireland III*, pp. 71–3, 80–3; Ellis, *Ireland in the Age of the Tudors*, pp. 274–8.

18 I. O'Brien, *O'Brien of Thomond: The O'Briens in Irish History 1500–1865* (Chichester: Phillimore & Co, 1986), pp. 17–21.

19 C. Brady, 'Faction and the Origins of the Desmond Rebellion', *Irish Historical Studies*, 22: 88 (1981), pp. 289–312.

20 H. Morgan, *Tyrone's Rebellion: The Outbreak of the Nine Years War in Tudor Ireland* (Dublin: Gill & Macmillan, 1993).

21 Moody et. al., *A New History of Ireland III*, pp. 119–41.

22 One of them was Sir Patrick Finglas who wrote a treatise on the reformation of Ireland in c. 1515. See "The decay of Ireland written by Patrick Finglas, one of the Barons of the Exchequer in Ireland," in the ---- year of Henry VIII', in J. S. Brewer and W. Bullen (eds.), *Calendar of the Carew Manuscripts: Preserved in the Archbishop's Library at Lambeth* (Neldeln/Liechtenstein: Kraus Reprint, 1974, first published in 1867), Vol. 1 (1515–1574), pp. 1–6.

They also had confidence in their own knowledge and skills to rule Ireland and expected their appointment and promotion within the Dublin Castle.

Sir Anthony St. Leger, the Lord Deputy of Ireland, dispatched from England, pushed the Irish parliament to pass the Act of Kingship and initiated ‘surrender and regrant’, but he was powerfully supported by a local politician and administrator, Sir Thomas Cusack. Cusack was consecutively a member of the Irish parliament, the offices of the Master of the Rolls in Ireland, Lord Chancellor of Ireland, and Chancellor of the Exchequer of Ireland. He was from County Meath, and both of his parents came from long-established families of the Pale.<sup>23</sup>

Later, viceroys like the Earl of Sussex or Sir Henry Sidney considered the Irish post as a mere stepping-stone for promotion in the royal court in London and were too eager to implement reforms by military force. They arbitrarily levied provisions for their soldiers from residents and billeted them among householders in the Pale. This conduct (‘cess’) like ‘coign and livery’ offended and alienated the Pale’s elite from the Dublin Castle.<sup>24</sup> Nevertheless, they never shook their loyalty to the Tudor monarchy, and as such, they never took the side of the rebels in the Nine Years’ War.<sup>25</sup>

However, the Tudor monarchy became distrustful of the Pale’s elite after the instigation of another reformation of Ireland.

#### 4. The Tudor Religious Reformation in Ireland

The English Reformation began with Henry VIII’s break with the Holy See over the issue of his divorce. Afterward there were the radicalisation of Protestantism under Edward VI, the restoration of Catholicism under Mary I, and then the establishment of moderate Anglicanism under Elizabeth I in c. 1580. The English Reformation was unique in that it was state led.

Ireland, as a part of the Tudor realm, also experienced a similar state-led Reformation by the monarchy. What distinguished the Irish Reformation from the English one was, however, that the state-led Reformation was explicitly frustrated and a reformed European Catholicism took hold in Ireland in c. 1580.

The Protestant Reformation’s failure in Ireland is one of the most significant issues in early modern Irish history.<sup>26</sup> There is not enough room to explore it in full detail here, but we can point to the critical lack of both human and material resources available to the Tudor monarchy to support the Reformation in Ireland. Moreover, the anti-Tudor factions beyond the Pale

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23 *Dictionary of Irish Biography: From the Earliest Times to the Year 2002, Vol. 2 (Burdy-Czira)*, ed. by J. McGuire and J. Quinn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 1141–4; Bradshaw. *op. cit.*, pp. 189–92

24 Brady, *op. cit.*, ch. 6.

25 N. Canny, *From Reformation to Restoration: Ireland 1534–1660* (Dublin: Helicon, 1987), p. 152; C. Lennon, *Sixteenth Century Ireland: The Incomplete Conquest* (Dublin: Gill & Macmillan, 1994), p. 299.

26 K. S. Bottigheimer, ‘The Reformation in Ireland Revisited’, *Journal of British Studies*, 15: 2 (1976), pp. 140–9; N. Canny, ‘Why the Reformation Failed in Ireland: une question mal posée’, *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 30: 4 (1979), pp. 423–50; K. S. Bottigheimer, ‘The Failure of the Reformation in Ireland: une question bien posée’, *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 36: 2 (1985), pp. 196–207; H. A. Jefferies, ‘Why the Reformation Failed in Ireland’, *Irish Historical Studies*, 40: 158 (2016), pp. 151–70.

united with the forces of reformed Catholicism. Pope Pius V's excommunication of Elizabeth I in 1570 made defiance of the Tudor monarchy a kind of Catholic crusade against heresy. Both James Fitzmaurice Fitzgerald in the Desmond Rebellion and Hugh O'Neill in the Nine Years' War could justify their actions as such.<sup>27</sup>

The failure of the Protestant Reformation and the infiltration of reformed Catholicism, however, also became apparent among the Pale's elite by c. 1580, who had hoped the English monarchy would increase its commitment to Ireland and hold Ireland's loyalty. The process how the Pale's elite rejected Anglicanism and accepted reformed Catholicism has not been well explained. One perspective holds that it was the result of an increasing antipathy toward Ireland among the English elites, due to the frequent rebellions and sluggish process of the Protestant Reformation there. The Pale's elite had long sent their sons to London, Oxford, or Cambridge for study, but as these places had become uncomfortable for Irish students, many instead travelled to the Continent for the study. There the students encountered reformed Catholicism and brought it back to Ireland.<sup>28</sup> Recently, however, another perspective has highlighted the resilience of Catholicism in the Pale from the start of Elizabeth's reign and the role William Walsh, the deposed Marian Bishop of Meath played in maintaining Catholicism there.<sup>29</sup>

In any case, the Pale's elite accepted reformed Catholicism. They became the core of the 'Old English' in Ireland who held their secular loyalty to the crown but maintained religious loyalty to Rome. On the other hand, from the mid-16th century, the Protestant Church of Ireland effectively served as the church only for the 'New English' who came from England as government officials, new landowners involved with plantations, or individuals hoping to secure property and high social status through dubious or illegal means if necessary.

The Old English asserted the compatibility of loyalties to the king and the Pope under the Stuart monarchy. However, it was difficult for the monarchs to accept such a view when unity of church and state was the principle of the period and subjects had to follow the faith of their rulers. In fact, James VI and I called the Old English his 'half-subjects'.<sup>30</sup> Their power was, however, still quite strong locally and the New English lacked unity and had a tendency to prioritise their private interests over public (the king's) ones. The New English were not entirely trustworthy from the monarch's perspective. Thus, the Stuart monarchs could not ignore the Old English and had to rely on them to maintain local government in Ireland. The Old and New English maintained delicate balance of power in Ireland in the first half of the 17th century. Still, there is no doubt that the former's status under the Stuart monarchy was at risk, due to their religious beliefs.

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27 Lennon, *op. cit.*, pp. 315–24.

28 H. Hammerstein, 'Aspects of the Continental Education of Irish Students in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth I', in T. D. Williams, (ed.), *Historical Studies: Papers Read before the Irish Conference of Historians, VIII* (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1971) pp. 137–53.

29 H. A. Jefferies, 'Elizabeth's Reformation in the Irish Pale', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 66: 3 (2015), pp. 524–42; id., 'Why the Reformation Failed in Ireland'.

30 Moody et al., *A New History of Ireland III*, p. 217.

## 5. The Changing Views of the New English versus the Old English: The Arguments of Edmund Spenser and Sir John Temple

The Old English's precarious status is clearly illustrated by changes in the strategy used to denounce them by their New English critics. This change will be demonstrated through the arguments of Edmund Spenser and Sir John Temple.

First, we will overview the careers of Spenser and Temple. Edmund Spenser, the author of *The Faerie Queene*, is considered one of the greatest poets of Renaissance England. He came to Ireland as a private secretary of Arthur Grey, 14th Baron Grey de Wilton who was the Lord Deputy of Ireland (1580–82) and then became a landowner involved with the Desmond Plantation in Munster. He escaped from his estate when the revolt occurring in Ulster expanded to Munster in 1598. He then travelled to London and died there in 1599.<sup>31</sup>

Sir John Temple was born in Ireland in 1600 as a son of Sir William Temple, the provost of Trinity College, Dublin. He was educated at Trinity College in Dublin and then entered Lincoln's Inn in London. He was appointed to the post of the Master of the Rolls in Ireland and was admitted to the Privy Council of Ireland in August 1641. He was elected a Member of the Irish House of Commons for Meath in July 1642. When the English Civil War began in the summer of 1642, he became a parliamentarian. He obtained estates through the Cromwellian conquest and plantation. At the Restoration of Charles II in 1660, Temple was confirmed in his office of the Master of the Rolls and sworn to the Privy Council. He was appointed Vice-Treasurer of Ireland in 1673. Temple died in 1677.<sup>32</sup>

Spenser authored a treatise titled *A View of the Present State of Ireland* in the 1590s. This treatise was written in the form of dialogues between two fictitious characters named *Irenius* and *Eudoxus*. It paints the native Gaelic Irish society as barbaric, and argues the necessity of using cruel methods like a scorched-earth policy or forced transplantation to suppress opposition to the English monarchy's reformation of Ireland. It was never published before his death but is supposed to have circulated in manuscript among English intellectuals, and a diluted version was published in James Ware's *Ancient Irish Chronicles* in 1633.<sup>33</sup>

Temple wrote a book concerning the Catholic rebellion stemming from the Ulster uprisings instigated by Sir Phelim O'Neill in the autumn of 1641. It was published as *The Irish Rebellion* in London in 1646.<sup>34</sup> This book is remarkable for its description of the cruel actions against the Protestant settlers by the Catholic populace at the start of the rebellion. It was based on depositions from those Protestants who had escaped their homes with their bare life after

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31 *Dictionary of Irish Biography*, Vol. 8 (Patterson-Stagg), pp. 1092–5.

32 *Dictionary of Irish Biography*, Vol. 9 (Straines-Z), pp. 293–6.

33 *Dictionary of Irish Biography*, Vol. 8, p. 1094.

34 The full title is *The Irish Rebellion, or An History of the Beginnings and First Progress of the General Rebellion Raised within the Kingdom of Ireland upon the Three and Twentieth Day of October in the Year of 1641, Together with the Barbarous Cruelties and Bloody Massacres which Ensured Thereupon*. This book was republished in 1679, 1746, and 1812. Here, I used the 1679 edition printed in London by R. White for Samuel Gellibrand, 1679 in *Early English Books*, 1641–1700 (STC II), Unit 42, Reel 1270.

suffering from popular violence and losing their properties.<sup>35</sup> It aimed to appeal to the English Protestant public for support in stemming the cruelty of Irish Catholics and in suppressing the rebellion.<sup>36</sup> This book immediately became the authorised history on the Irish rebellion of the 1640s.<sup>37</sup>

It is important to discuss how Spenser and Temple, respectively viewed the Pale's elite, who formed the core of the Old English in Ireland.

Spenser considered Gaelic Irish society as a barbarous one in need of reform, but he did not expect the Old English, the descendants of settlers in the Middle Ages, to be the reformers. The cliché that the English degenerated and became more 'Irish' than the Irish was used by the Pale's elite to criticise the dominance of rampant warlords. Arguably, this line of thinking was taken up by Spenser. He points to the 'liberty' enjoyed by the Geraldines of Desmond and Kildare and the Butlers of Ormond as the most significant reason for their degeneracy.<sup>38</sup>

However, we should note that Spenser writes, 'the English pale hath preserved itself through nearness of their state in reasonable civility'.<sup>39</sup> He excludes the Pale's elite from the degenerate Old English.

How did Temple view the Pale's elite? The Catholic Rebellion he took as his theme originated in Ulster, and its ringleader was Sir Phelim O'Neill. Sir Phelim was Gaelic Irish in ethnicity, though we should include him among the Old English in terms of his political and religious views. Pointing to the Old English's degeneration, Temple says, 'many Irish, especially of the better sort, having taken-up the English language, apparel, and decent manner of living in their private houses: and so an advantage did they find by the English Commerce and Cohabitation, in the profits and high improvements of their lands and native commodities, so incomparably beyond what they ever formerly enjoyed, or could expect to raise by their own proper industry', and Sir Phelim is presented as an example of such civilised (Anglicised) Irish.<sup>40</sup>

Temple tells us that Sir Phelim was not the true ringleader, and two groups were truly behind the rebellion: Catholic priests<sup>41</sup> and the Pale's elite.<sup>42</sup> For Temple and the New English in general, the Pale's elite may have been their greatest rivals and irritation.

This demonstrates that the Englishness of the Old English was no longer advantageous; what mattered was their Catholicism. The changing views of the Pale's elite, from Spenser's to Temple's, speak eloquently of their descent in status among the whole English (or British) political elite.

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35 The 1641 depositions, <http://1641.tcd.ie/>; A. Clarke, 'The 1641 Depositions', in P. Fox (ed.), *Treasures of the Library of Trinity College, Dublin* (Dublin: Royal Irish Academy, 1986) pp. 111–22.

36 K. S. Bottigheimer, *English Money and Irish Land: The 'Adventurers' in the Cromwellian Settlement of Ireland* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971), p. 101.

37 N. Canny, 'What Really Happened in Ireland in 1641', in J. Ohlmeyer, (ed.), *Ireland from Independence to Occupation, 1641–1660* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995) pp. 24–42, at p. 25.

38 W. L. Renwick (ed.), *A View of the Present State of Ireland by Edmund Spenser* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970), pp. 63–4.

39 *Ibid.*, p. 64.

40 *The Irish Rebellion*, p. 14.

41 *Ibid.*, p. 59.

42 *Ibid.*, p. 65.

## **6. Postscript**

The Old English were deposed from their status as Ireland's ruling elite through the Wars of the Three Kingdoms of the 1640s and the Cromwellian conquest and land confiscations of the 1650s. After the Restoration they regained their ruling status temporarily under the Catholic King James II but were again deposed by the defeat of James and the Irish Catholics in the Williamite War in 1690–91. Thus, the Protestant Ascendancy of Ireland was established and would last for about two centuries.

# Understanding a Pattern of “Imperial Teleconnections” in Modern Asia: The Foundation of the Hong Kong and Shanghai Banking Corporation (1860–67)

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## Abstract

This article aims to clarify the origin of the Hong Kong and Shanghai Banking Corporation. In the background, there was a cotton boom that occurred in Bombay in the early 1860s. A small group of Bombay-based merchants were involved in stock speculations and speculative companies. They attempted to establish a large-scale international bank with its head office in Hong Kong to invest the surplus in East Asia. Against this scheme in Bombay, a wealthy group of Hong Kong-based merchants planned a local bank based on their own capitals, which was distinct from the Anglo-Indian international banks in Hong Kong. This banking scheme was initiated by leaders who wished to transform Hong Kong into a key “gateway” in Asia. Thus commercial activity generated in Bombay fueled an international opportunity in Hong Kong which induced the establishment of the Hong Kong and Shanghai Banking Corporation (HSBC).

The case of the Hong-Kong based local bank was connected to the reconstruction of British imperial administration in Asia. It was supported not only by the Hong Kong colonial government and the Colonial Office but also by the Treasury, which championed British economic principles of cheap government, free trade, and sound currency for the colonies and the wider world. This article accounts for a pattern of British imperial expansion into Asia which was analogous to “teleconnection” in the atmospheric sciences which suggests a causal connection or correlation between meteorological or other environmental phenomena that may occur a long distance apart. By exploring the formation of HSBC, a pattern of “imperial teleconnection” between Bombay, Hong Kong, and London will be portrayed.

**Keywords:** Hong Kong and Shanghai Banking Corporation (HSBC), Bombay, Hong Kong, Exchange Business, International Trade Finance, British Empire, Imperial Teleconnection

## Introduction

From the late nineteenth century, the number of British international banks and their branches increased rapidly all over the world. Their growth was related to the development of the British Empire, British capital exports, and British foreign trade. The link with the Empire was the most obvious of the three. The overseas location of the offices of the British banks was overwhelmingly correlated with British imperial power. In Asia, they operated from either British colonies, or cities which had fallen under the de facto control of the Western powers.<sup>1</sup>

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1 G. Jones, *British Multinational Banking, 1830–1990*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993, 28.

The most powerful was the Hong Kong and Shanghai Banking Corporation (HSBC), which was referred as one of the British “Eastern exchange banks”.<sup>2</sup> It was founded in 1865 by expatriate businessmen of several nationalities in Hong Kong and firmly rooted in several Asian “gateways”<sup>3</sup> as social and cultural bases of Chinese, Indian, and other merchants. In reality, their world-wide mercantile networks contoured the pattern of HSBC’s involvement into the Asian and world economy.<sup>4</sup>

How can we connect the emergence and growth of HSBC to expansion and development of British imperialism into the nineteenth century’s Asia? According to Cain and Hopkins work, the rapid growth of the City of London was the key to a better understanding of the peculiar nature of British overseas expansion and imperialism. In this view, the extension of City interests to the Far East materialized the foundation of HSBC and its London agency in 1865–66, which made an effective if sometime awkward collaboration with the Foreign Office. HSBC played a prominent role in the creation of the template of British policy in China by 1900.<sup>5</sup> Cain and Hopkins thus advocate the commercial-economic explanation from the metropolitan perspective.

Cain and Hopkins contend that the peripheral or ex-centric theory of imperialism developed by Robinson and Gallagher. Robinson and Gallagher cast the light to events of the periphery such as the actions of rival European powers, and to the collapse of local collaborative regimes that had ever sustained Britain’s informal rule.<sup>6</sup> Their strategical-geopolitical work was supported by other scholars of imperial history.<sup>7</sup> However, Cain and Hopkins argue that “the peripheral approach cannot account for the fact that local crises occurred in identifiable chronological clusters in parts of the world often far removed from each, except by appealing to a law of coincidence which itself is an admission of weakness”.<sup>8</sup> In other words, Robinson and Gallagher failed to distinguish symptom from causes, and

2 The principal British “Eastern exchange banks” were entitled the Oriental Banking Corporation (est. 1842), the Chartered Bank of India, Australia, and China (est. 1853), the Chartered Mercantile Bank of India, London, and China (est. 1853), and the National Bank of India (est. 1863). These banks were primarily intended to finance international trade of Asia, which led the assault especially on the Indian foreign exchange market. See T. Kawamura, “British Exchange Banks in International Trade of Asia from 1850 to 1890,” in U. Bosma and A. Webster, (eds.), *Commodities, Ports and Asian Maritime Trade since 1750*, London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015, 179–197.

3 The term “gateway” means network centers functioning like a computer device, which connects networks using different communications protocols and also passes information from one network to the other network. In the study of economic history, it may represent the special control centres for the interdependent skein of financial, informational and cultural flows and connections which sustained modern globalization. In the respect, Hisasue describes Hong Kong as “gateway” playing the important role in commercial and financial business in Asia. See R. Hisasue, *Hon Kon: “Teikoku no Zidai” no Geto Wei [Hong Kong: Gateway in the Age of Empire]*, Nagoya: Nagoya University Press, 2012.

4 Hamashita argued that HSBC deployed its offices in key footholds of Asian merchants and served to construct tightly knit relationships of Hong Kong with China, Japan, Southeast Asia and India. T. Hamashita, *Hon Kon: Aja no Nettowaku Toshi [Hong Kong: A Network-City of Asia]*, Tokyo: Chikuma Shobo, 1996.

5 P. J. Cain and A. G. Hopkins, *British Imperialism, 1688–2000*, 2nd edition, London: Longman, 2002, 422–445.

6 R. Robinson and J. Gallagher with A. Denny, *Africa and the Victorians: The Official Mind of Imperialism*, London: Macmillan, 1961.

7 J. S. Galbraith, “The Turbulent Frontier as a Factor in British Expansion”, *Comparative Studies in History and Society*, vol. 2, 1960, 150–168; D. K. Fieldhouse, *Economics and Empire, 1830–1914*, Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1973; D. C. SarDesai, *British Trade and Expansion in Southeast Asia, 1830–1914*, New Delhi: Allied Publishers, 1977; C. A. Bayly, *Imperial Meridian: The British Empire and the World, 1780–1830*, London: Longman, 1989.

8 Cain and Hopkins, *British Imperialism*, 10.

confined themselves to what is only a partial understanding of the fundamental cause of imperialism.

A more detailed reassessment on the causes of imperialism is offered by other historians. Darwin explores the best clue to the wider, puzzling aspect of Victorian imperialism, focusing upon “the pluralism of British society” and “the diversity of British interests at work in the periphery”.<sup>9</sup> He reconsiders the diversity of forms of imperial rule in tropical Africa and Asia, stressing the British “bridgeheads” created by merchants and missionaries not only on the peripheral coasts, but also through lobbying and counter-lobbying by leaders and groups in London, forming a “second bridgehead”. In short, he proposes that the functioning and interaction of these bridgeheads at home and abroad need to be integrated into the larger picture of imperial expansion.<sup>10</sup>

Darwin’s work is instrumental in reconstructing a comprehensive explanation of the random, opportunistic episodes of imperialism, which one-sidedly depends neither upon the “metropole” nor the “periphery”. But he has not yet provided a crucial answer to the theoretical question which Cain and Hopkins originally raised against the Robinson and Gallagher thesis. How should we explain the mechanism of Britain’s chaotic, complex but insatiable imperial expansion? In this respect, the debate on what we call “intra-Asian trade” reminds us of a new perspective on this key question. For example, Sugihara shows the rapid development of intra-Asian trading networks among India, South East Asia, China, Japan, and other Asian places in the long nineteenth century, initiated mainly by Asian merchants.<sup>11</sup> In addition, he suggests that a factor shaping imperial expansion were intra-Asian trading relations between geographically far apart British colonies and those of rival European empires in the region. This shows the existence of the centrifugal forces from periphery to periphery that might promote Victorian overseas expansion in Asia.

This article sets out a new term “imperial teleconnection” as a means of defining the horizontal forces more briefly and explaining the occurrences in parts of Asia often far removed from each. In atmospheric sciences, the term “teleconnection” explains a causal connection or correlation between meteorological or other environmental phenomena that may occur a long distance apart.<sup>12</sup> The concept “imperial teleconnection” will thus serve to connect

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9 J. Darwin, “Imperialism and the Victorians: The Dynamics of Territorial Expansion”, *English Historical Review*, vol. 447, 1997, 617. Darwin suggests that “existing models do insufficient justice to the contingency of Victorian empire-making”. Ultimately he is highly doubtful of the existence of an “official mind” in governing circles.

10 Webster demonstrates the ability of London-based gentlemanly capitalists to defend their interests in mainland Southeast Asia against local crises, to dominate the channels between metropole and periphery, and then to manipulate City’s commercial contacts with the province for making public opinions in favour of Britain’s invasion into Upper Burma. His work is the challenging synthesis of gentlemanly capitalism and the peripheral theory. See A. Webster, “Business and Empire: A Reassessment of the British Conquest of Burma in 1885”, *Historical Journal*, vol. 43, no. 4, 2000, 1003–1025.

11 Sugihara defines “intra-regional trade” as trade within a region that unities local economic spheres into an entity with some degree of integration. K. Sugihara, “Asia in the Growth of World Trade: A Re-interpretation of the ‘Long Nineteenth Century’” in Bosma, and Webster, *Commodities, Ports and Asian Maritime Trade since 1750*, 18.

12 S. Nigam and S. Baxter, “Teleconnections”, in G. R. North, J. Pyle and F. Zhang (eds.), *Encyclopedia of Atmospheric Sciences*, 2nd edition, vol. 3, Amsterdam: Academic Press, 2015, 90–109. An example of them is an El Niño, which becomes one of phases of El Niño Southern Oscillation (ENSO). A seesaw of atmospheric pressure between East Pacific and Indo-Australia is closely linked to El Niño. The events of ENSO triggers the Indian Ocean Dipole (IOD) by an extension of the Walker Circulation to the west and associated Indonesian throughflow, which is defined by the difference

the metropolitan to the periphery theories, that is, to amalgamate the commercial-economic and the strategical-geopolitical explanations. By introducing this concept into the studies of imperial history, we can pick out the mechanism of Britain's expansion in modern Asia. A globe-scale pattern of "imperial teleconnection" between Britain and Asia is arguably a feature here presented.

### 1. "Anglo-Indian" Banks in Hong Kong

In 1863, Hong Kong hosted a number of British international banks, including the Oriental Banking Corporation, the Chartered Mercantile Bank of India, the Chartered Bank of India, the Commercial Bank of India, the Agra and United Bank Service, and the Bank of Hindustan, China, and Japan. These six banks were the "Anglo-Indian" banks with shareholders in India and England. Since the mid-1840s, for example, the Oriental Bank and the Commercial Bank had carried on business in Hong Kong while having located the headquarters in Bombay. In December 1864, the *London and China Telegraph* published an article "NO MORE BANKS IN CHINA" and stressed that the number of foreign banks then in operation were more than ample for the requirements of legitimate trade. At the same time, it was feared that an excessive proliferation of banks would destabilize the local economy.<sup>13</sup>

These "Anglo-Indian" banks were involved in receipt of deposits and bullions, the issuing of advances and loan, bills discounting, notes issuance, and other financial services. In particular, they financed China's foreign trade by the buying and selling of bills drawn on London. At local offices, they received current and fixed deposits and further invested them in the operations of foreign exchange. A key principle of these banks was to minimize financial involvement in colonial industries, plantations, and infrastructure, and the banks tended to avoid holding large-scale estates because of the failure of some owners indebted to them.<sup>14</sup>

More interestingly, the above-mentioned banks issued their own dollar-denominated banknotes in some parts of Asia, providing a second source of funds alongside local deposits. The desire to increase them served as a stimulus to branch expansion and to penetration "inland".<sup>15</sup> Contracts, payments and other mercantile operations continued to be made in silver dollars as the local standard of value in Hong Kong and the neighbouring areas. Unlike Britain and India, Hong Kong had few regulations governing banking and the issuance of banknotes. By Royal Proclamation of 9th January 1863, Hercules Robinson, Governor of

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in sea surface temperature between a western pole in the Arabian Sea and an eastern pole in the eastern Indian Basin. The positive IOD events affects the Asian monsoon system by the shift of the eastern Indian Ocean warm pool, and is a significant contributor to heavy rainfall over East Africa and to sever droughts / forest fires over the Indonesia region and Australia. Teleconnection patterns are extracted from analysis of the sea-level / tropospheric pressure variations all over the world on the long-term timescales. For relationships between ENSO and IOD, see R. Kawamura, "A Possible Mechanism of the Asian Summer Monsoon-Enso Coupling", *Journal of the Meteorological Society of Japan*, vol. 76, no. 6, 1998, 1009–1027.

13 *London and China Telegraph*, 13th December 1864, vol. 6. no. 158.

14 Kawamura, "British Exchange Banks", 180–183.

15 Jones, *British Multinational Banking*, 38.

Hong Kong (1859–65), decided that “the dollar of Mexico, or other silver dollar of equivalent value” was made the only unlimited legal tender.

In Hong Kong, the Oriental Bank and the Chartered Mercantile Bank had issued banknotes respectively until March 1863. Following the example of the two banks, the Chartered Bank and the Agra Bank joined that business. An increase of banknotes in circulation generated from the commercial prosperity of Hong Kong. In December 1863, the total issues of all the four banks were no less than \$2,151,050 in dollar-denominated banknotes.<sup>16</sup> In 1870, the Chartered Mercantile Bank issued the largest amount of local banknotes in Hong Kong office amongst its offices in Asia.<sup>17</sup>

In August 1864, news came in that a Hong Kong-based joint stock bank “the Bank of China” had been promoted in Bombay.

## 2. Existment in Bombay: “Bank of China”

In the mid-nineteenth century, Bombay prospered as the greatest center of international trade in Western India and attracted substantial immigrant from neighboring areas. The gross value of Bombay’s foreign trade amounted roughly to 672.6 Lakh in merchandize in 1833/34, and increased about four times 2605.8 Lakh in 1858/59.<sup>18</sup> Between 1830 and 1864, the population grew rapidly from approximately 229,000 to 780,000.<sup>19</sup> From the 1850s, Bombay-based merchants and entrepreneurs advanced into new fields of business. The commercial growth of Bombay required the extension of residential space and water supply system and the constructions of improved waterside accommodation in the Port. There were a growing demand for land to construct railways and new cotton mills.

The railways were expected to reduce transportation time, and guarantee a more regular outward flow of raw materials, especially raw cotton, and then a regular inflow of imports, especially manufactured goods. In 1845, a group of London-based merchants and officials launched the first Indian railway company, the Great Indian Peninsula Railway Company (incorporated in 1849), which was later to connect Bombay to Thane and other parts of Central India. In 1855 the Bombay Baroda and Central Indian Railway was formed in London, which intended to connect Bombay to Surat, Ahmedabad, and the rich cotton lands of Gujarat. The two railways provided other profitable opportunities of investment and industrial growth for construction of their terminus and passenger stations in Bombay. For example, the Elphinstone Land and Press Company was floated in 1858 by a British agency house of W. Nicol & Co. to

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16 Amount of Paper Currency in Circulation, *Hong Kong Blue Book*, 1863, CO/133/20, Hong Kong Original Correspondence (HKOC), National Archives, 257.

17 The amount of the bank’s notes issued in Asia was as follows: Colombo £47,635, Candy £18,618, Singapore £53,372, Penang £42,334, Hong Kong £127,490, Shanghai £15,631. Statements of General Balance, MBH 2368, Chartered Mercantile Bank of India, London and China Archives, HSBC Group Archives.

18 S. M. Edwardes, *The Gazetteer of Bombay City and Island, Volume I*, Bombay: The Times Press, 1909, 416.

19 M. Dossal, *Imperial Designs and Indian Realities: The Planning of Bombay City, 1845–1875*, Bombay: Oxford University Press, 1991, 23–24.

provide a building site for the terminus of the Great Indian Peninsula Railway Company. In 1861, the reclamation company agreed with the Government of Bombay to reclaim the large area of Mody Bay, from the Fort to Mazagan, along the north shore of the island.<sup>20</sup> Meanwhile, the terminus of the Bombay Baroda and Central Indian Railway was intended to build near the cotton depot at Colaba. In 1864, the government gave the right for the Bombay Reclamation Company (named “Back Bay Reclamation Company”) to reclaim the western foreshore of the island.<sup>21</sup> The reclamation of land at Back Bay was to convert unhealthy swamps into useful space.

The outbreak of the American Civil War in 1861 cut off Lancashire from its source of raw cotton supplies and made it almost wholly dependent on India. The price of raw cotton rose rapidly, stimulating Indian production and Bombay’s trade. Bombay’s cotton exports were highly profitable, and it attracted large scale investments, which was partly manifested as excessive speculation in joint stock shares.<sup>22</sup> Only nine new companies were registered in Bombay in 1861–62, but the accumulation and spread of wealth led to the incorporation of forty-six new companies in 1863.<sup>23</sup> From May 1864 to May 1865, some 38 banks, 66 financial companies and 10 land reclamation companies were promoted.<sup>24</sup> A recurring process is discernible in these promotions: When a financial company was formed, a bank initiated its speculation by advancing on its shares. The financial company would then launch a new scheme, for example a land reclamation company, which it promoted aggressively in collaboration with the bank. The lead to this speculative fever was given by the larger financial companies which became heavily involved in a wide variety of Bombay’s urban developments. For example, the Financial Association of India and China (known as “Old Financial”), which was established in May 1864, financed Back Bay Reclamation Company.

As shown by Table 1, Old Financial was promoted by seven people. Willis was the company’s chairman. Elias was a son of David Sassoon, the leader of the Bombay’s Jewish mercantile community, who had made his own business connections, especially based upon cotton and opium, with China. Readmoney was one of the Parsee community leaders in Bombay, who had become a guarantee-broker to two British firms and gained great wealth. Old Financial was prepared to finance almost any ventures in all parts of India. One example was Back Bay Reclamation Company launched by five people. Readmoney played the pivot between this company and Old financial. Scott, Steel, and Cassels were concerned with the very influential British agency houses in Bombay. Roychand was an influential Jain merchant from Surat, who held more significant commercial interests in cotton trade in Bombay and the cotton-producing areas of Gujarat.<sup>25</sup> The numerous merchants required new banks which

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20 Dossal, *Imperial Designs and Indian Realities*, 185.

21 Dossal, *Imperial Designs and Indian Realities*, 160–164.

22 R. J. F. Sullivan, *One Hundred Years of Bombay: History of the Bombay Chamber of Commerce, 1836–1936*, Bombay: The Times of India Press, 1937, 68.

23 R. S. Rungta, *The Rise of Business Corporations in India, 1851–1900*, London: Cambridge University Press, 1970, 73.

24 F. H. H. King, “The Bank of China is dead”, *Journal of Oriental Studies*, no. 7, 1969, 45.

25 C. E. Dobbin, *Urban Leadership in Western India: Politics and Communities in Bombay City, 1840–1885*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1972, 17.

**Table 1.** Promoters of Bank of China and Other Companies in Bombay (In May 1864)

	Old Financial	Back Bay Co.	Bank of China	Asiatic Bank	Bank of Bombay
Andrew Grant (Campbell, Mitchell & Co.)	○				
Richard Willis (Forbes & Co.)	○		○		
A. F. Wallace (Findlay, Clark & Co.)	○		○		
John L. Scott (Findlay, Scott & Co.)	○				
Samuel L. Auckland (Solicitor)	○				
Elias D. Sassoon (E. D. Sassoon & Co.)	○				
Cowasjee J. Readmoney (Merchant)	○	○	○	○	○
Michael H. Scott (Ritchie Steuart & Co.)		○	○	○	○
Gavin Steel (Gray & Co.)		○		○	
Walker R. Cassels (Peel, Cassels & Co.)		○	○		
Premchand Roychand (Merchant)		○			○
Robert Hannay (Gray & Co.)			○		○

**Source:** A. K. Bagchi, *The Evolution of the State Bank of India, The Roots, 1806–1876, Part I: The Early Years, 1806–1860*, Bombay and New York: Oxford University Press, 1987, 207–209.

would give them the large advances they needed to conduct business. Readmoney, Scott, and Steel therefore promoted the Asiatic Banking Corporation on February 1864 to focus on exchange operations between India and Britain.<sup>26</sup> It had been granted a Royal Charter of Incorporation by the British Government. This exchange bank, the financial company, and the reclamation company came to be triangulated. Old Financial’s speculative concerns reached out to Calcutta and Hong Kong, which came to invest in the Bengal Credit Mobilier, the Port Canning Company, and the Bank of China.

The Bank of China was launched in May 1864, with a capital of 60 lacs of rupees in 30,000 shares. Its Head Office was intended to be in Hong Kong, with branches in other parts of China. As Table 1 shows, its scheme attracted considerable attention amongst only a few prominent merchants and capitalists who were commonly acting as promoters of Old Financial and Back Bay Reclamation Company. The promoters were Willis, Wallace, Readmoney, Scott, Cassels, and Hannay. Willis was appointed as the provisional chairman. They were also partners of the influential British agency houses, long associated with the Bombay Chamber of Commerce. Scott and Hannay had been the Chamber’s President in 1861–62 and 1862–63 respectively. The Bank of China also illustrated one symbolic example of the triangular patterns between banks, Old Financial and Back Bay Company. The bank was thus intended to undertake a wide spectrum of business between the long-term investments of a financial association and the purely inter-continental trade finance and exchange operations. Moreover, the Bank of China was projected to occupy in Hong Kong a position similar to that which the “Presidency banks” of Bengal, Bombay and Madras enjoyed in India.<sup>27</sup> Willis, Scott, Readymoney, and Hanne were involved in the Bank of Bombay (see Table 1), and modelled after its role and position.

<sup>26</sup> Rungta, *The Rise of Business Corporations in India*, 77–78.

<sup>27</sup> King, “The Bank of China is dead”, 47.

The Bank had acquired a Royal Charter of incorporation from the East India Company in 1840, by which it was enjoyed monopoly of the issue of banknotes in Bombay.<sup>28</sup> More importantly, governmental officials and influential merchants were strongly represented on the Board of Directors. The Bank of China aspired to create similar relations with the British colonial government in China as existed between the Bombay government and the Bank of Bombay.

The Bank of China's promoters aimed to apply to the British Government for a Royal Charter to commence business in Hong Kong, and simultaneously hoped to transform it into a London-based joint stock bank. But the promoters desired to escape a troublesome procedure for becoming a chartered London bank. This matter admitted of no delay of the commencement of business in China. For the purpose, another 1,000 shares were to be taken up by Old Financial. The capital was also raised from 60 to 80 lacs in 40,000 shares. Thus, Willis the provisional chairman looked to full support from Dent & Co. and other Hong Kong merchants, and delegated Neal Porter to China in August 1864.<sup>29</sup> But Porter could not help returning to Bombay without success in Hong Kong. Why?

### 3. Exitement in Hong Kong: Scheme of Local Bank

Thomas Sutherland, Superintendent of the Peninsula and Oriental Steamship Navigation Company (P. & O.), received from its ship captain that Bombay financiers were planning to establish a majority Indian-own banking institution to profit from China's international trade. He prepared a prospectus of an alternative institution and obtained the backing of Francis Chomley, senior partner of Dent & Co., and other leading merchants in Hong Kong. In August 1864, they formed the provisional committee of the newly projected bank. Chomley chaired the first meeting.

In September 1864, a prospectus for a colonial bank serving the needs of the local community and assisting government to reform colonial currency and finance was announced in the *London and China Telegraph*.<sup>30</sup> It was named "The Hong Kong and Shanghai Banking Company", with a capital of 500 million dollars, in 20,000 shares of 250 dollars. HSBC also intended to be incorporated by a Royal Charter from the British Government, as the Bank of China and other Anglo-Indian banks. It might be thought to inspire what was of importance, namely public confidence. The column highly evaluated the project to be a very proper one.

HSBC's prospectus commenced as follows:

The scheme of a local bank for this colony with branches at the most important places in

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28 A. K. Bagchi, *The Evolution of the State Bank of India, The Roots, 1806–1876, Part I: The Early Years, 1806–1860*, Bombay and New York: Oxford University Press, 1987, 472–473. The business of all the Presidency banks were confined to issuing bank notes, receiving deposits, keeping cash accounts, discounting bills and drafts, and carrying out other investments in the respective presidencies. The exchange operations were prohibited by the charter. By the establishment of a Government Paper Currency Office in 1860, they were withdrawn the privilege of issuance in British India.

29 King, "The Bank of China is dead", 48–49.

30 *London and China Telegraph*, 15 September 1864.

China has been in contemplation for a very long period.

As already noted, the style of the banks in Hong Kong and their attitude to China were derived from Britain’s long experience in India, all of which maintained their connections in the close knit world of the “Anglo-Indian” business community in India and Britain. HSBC intended to be a domestic bank for the colony and China. The prospectus continued:

The local and foreign trade in Hong Kong and at the open ports in China and Japan has increased so rapidly with in the last few years that additional banking facilities are felt to be required.

The *Blue Books* shows the continuous increase of shipments using the port of Hong Kong. In 1847 the number of ocean-going ships entering and clearing was 346; in 1862 there were 2,719 ship; in 1864 there were 4,558.<sup>31</sup> In 1847 the chief countries from which the ships entered into the port were Britain, India/Singapore, and the China coast. Ships clearing from Hong Kong sailed principally for the China coast, India/Singapore, and Australasia.<sup>32</sup> This pattern mirrored the geography of the established triangular trade between Britain, India, and China. In 1864, meanwhile, the chief countries from which the ships entered into the port were the China coast, Southeast Asia, and India/Singapore. Hong Kong received 71 ships from Japan. Ships clearing from Hong Kong sailed mainly for the China coast, Southeast Asia, India/Singapore, Britain, the Americas, and Japan.<sup>33</sup> With the existing pattern of trade with Britain and India, Hong Kong developed closer ties with the China coast, Southeast Asia, Japan, and the Americas. The colony rapidly transformed into the principal gateway that served the formation of the Asian-Pacific world.

The prospectus continued further:

The Banks now in China being only branches of corporations whose headquarters are in England or India, and which were formed chiefly with the view of carrying on exchange operations between those countries and China, are scarcely in a position to deal satisfactorily with the local trade which has become so much more extensive and varied than the former years.

HSBC intended to supply this deficiency. Additionally, it would also assume the same position in Hong Kong as the chartered Presidency Banks of Bengal, Bombay and Madras in India. Under strict regulations, the three Banks had been founded by the East India Company to deal

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31 *Blue Books: Hong Kong*, CO/133/1–22, HKOC.

32 In 1847 ships entering into Hong Kong was 49 from Britain, 46 from India/Singapore, 44 from the China coast, 15 from Australasia, 9 from Southeast Asia, 8 from the Americas, 4 from Continental Europe; Ships departing from it was 107 for the China coast, 24 for India/Singapore, 22 for Australasia, 9 for Southeast Asia, and 1 for Continental Europe.

33 In 1864, ships entering into Hong Kong was 1,109 from the China coast, 392 from Southeast Asia, 311 from India/Singapore, 136 for Britain, 83 from the Americas, 71 from Japan, 59 from Australasia, and 23 from Continental Europe; Ships departing from Hong Kong were 1,291 for the China coast, 513 for Southeast Asia, and 350 for India/Singapore, 47 for Britain, 35 for the Americas, 35 for Japan, 14 for Australasia, 5 for Continental Europe, and 4 for other countries.

**Table 2.** Provisional Committee of Hong Kong & Shanghai Banking Corporation (August 1864)

Directors	Notes
Francis Chomley	First Chairman; Dent & Co.; Member of Legislative Council of HK
Thomas Sutherland	First Vice-Chairman; Superintendent, P. & O. Steam Navigation Company; first chairman of Hong Kong & Whampoa Dockyard
Henry B. Lemann	Gilman & Co.
Robert Brand	Smith, Kennedy & Co.
George F. Maclean	Lyall, Still & Co.
George J. Helland	John Burd & Co.
Woldemar Nissen	Siemssen & Co.
W. Schmidt	Fletcher & Co.
Albert F. Heard	Augustine Heard & Co.
Douglas Lapraik	Watchmake; Shipowner; Hongkong and Whampoa Dock Company
William Adamson	Hong Kong Manager, Borneo Company Ltd.
Rustomjee Dhunjeeshaw	P. F. Cama & Co.
Pallanjee Framjee	P. & A. Camajee & Co.
Arthur Sassoon	David Sassoon Son & Co.

Source: *London and China Telegraph*, 24 April 1866, 240.

with the government's cash accounts, to discount bills and securities, to advance working capital credit to private business, and to issue and circulate currency notes. In short, HSBC would act not only as a foreign exchange operator but also as a loaning, discounting, and bank-note issuing institution. HSBC was evidently to compete with the Bank of China. On the 31st December 1865, about 25% of its assets was employed in "discounts, loans, credits, &c" while "exchange remittance" occupied 41% of the total.<sup>34</sup> The Chartered Mercantile Bank of India invested only 7% of its working capitals in "Bill discounted, Loans and Advances". HSBC financed domestic trade to a larger extent like the Presidency banks.

As Table 2 illustrates, the provisional committee's members consisted of 14 merchants. Amongst them, Chomley of Dent and Sutherland of P. & O. took the lead. Dent & Co. had commenced business at Canton from 1824 and competed with the big two firms Jardine, Matheson & Co. and Russel & Co.<sup>35</sup> They shared a virtual monopoly in the opium trade. Their rivalry remained unchanged in the early 1860s, and Jardine and Russel were not involved in the new banking scheme initiated by Dent. The type of these firms were the "agency house", which acted as a commodity trader, banker, bill-broker, shipowner, insurance agent, etc. Other European and American firms were the same type as Dent and Jardine. More significantly, the old established agency houses in the China coast emerged as offshoots of the great East India houses in India and London. They generally enjoyed the growth of opium business in intra-Asian country trade.

Sutherland and Lapraik were relatively new to Hong Kong and the China coast. P. & O. was founded in 1835 and received a Royal Charter of incorporation in 1840. In 1842, a regular

<sup>34</sup> *London and China Telegraph*, 24 April 1866, 240.

<sup>35</sup> C. N. Crisswell, *The Taipans: Hong Kong's Merchant Princes*, Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 1981, 79.

service to carry mail and passenger was established from England through Egypt to Ceylon and India, with an extension by 1845 to the Straits Settlements, Hong Kong, and Shanghai. In 1852, the company started steam communication with Australia. In due course, Sutherland became the Hong Kong Superintendent and served the development of the company’s operations to the China coast and Japan. In 1863, he co-founded with Douglas Lapraik the Hong Kong & Whampoa Dock Company. In 1865, Lapraik co-founded the Hong Kong, Canton, and Macao Steamboat Company with Arthur Sassoon.

Arthur Sassoon came from the most eminent family of Bombay-based Baghdadi Jews. The family firm was David Sassoon Son & Co., which performed a crucial role in the expansion of their networks from South to Southeast and East Asia. Arthur was entrusted with the management of the firm’s Hong Kong branch. It was involved in intra-Asian regional trade, and became one of the P. & O.’s regular customers to ship Indian opium to Hong Kong and the treaty ports in China. In association with their owned Indian agencies, the Sassoons began manipulating the prices at the sales in Calcutta and Bombay. After 1860, the Sassoon family rivaled Jardine’s Malwa Syndicate to gain huge profits from the intra-Asian regional trade in opium.<sup>36</sup> Opium and shipping came to forge close ties between Arthur, Sutherland, and Lapraik.

The provincial committee had the two Parsees in Hong Kong, Rustomjee Dhunjeeshaw of P. F. Cama & Co. and Pallanjee Framjee of P. & A. Camajee & Co. P. F. Cama & Co. opened offices in the colony, Shanghai, and Amoy with 17 employees totally in China.<sup>37</sup> The Parsees had been keen to act as middlemen between the Indian population and the European traders settled on the western coast of India, and consequently prospered as merchants, bankers and financiers.<sup>38</sup> Parsees and other Indian merchants were also involved in intra-Asian regional trade in raw cotton, cotton yarns, and especially opium to the Straits Settlements, Canton, Hong Kong, and the China coast. In particular, Parsees enjoyed a commercial superiority over other groups. By 1860, 17 out of a total of 73 merchant firms in Hong Kong were owned by Parsees.<sup>39</sup> HSBC was a local bank ventured by different expatriate merchants in Hong Kong.

HSBC concerned itself with Southeast Asian business from the start. Two directors’ firms, Gilman & Co. and Fletcher & Co., had long maintained connections with Singapore. The most distinguished figure was James Adamson, Hong Kong’s manager of the Borneo Company Ltd., which was formed in 1856 in London as a joint-stock company to exploit business opportunities in Borneo. The firm established its branches in Calcutta, Sarawak, Thailand, Java, Hong Kong, and Shanghai, which located its local headquarter in Singapore. Singapore was a greater hub for integrating Southeast Asia into a highly developing intra-Southeast Asian

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36 C. A. Trocki, *Opium, Empire and the Global Political Economy: A Study of the Asian Opium Trade, 1750–1950*, New York: Routledge, 1999, 112–114.

37 *The China Directory for 1861*, Hong Kong: A. Shorterde & Co., 1861.

38 C. Dobbin, *Asian Entrepreneurial Minorities: Conjoint Communities in the Making of the World-Economy, 1570–1940*, Surry: Curzon Press Ltd., 1996.

39 C. Plüss, “Globalizing Ethnicity with Multi-local Identification: The Parsee, Indian Muslim and Sephardic Trade Diasporas in Hong Kong”, in I. Baghdiantz-McCabe, G. Harlaftis and I. P. Minoglou (eds.), *Diaspora Entrepreneurial Networks: Four Centuries of History*, Oxford & New York: Berg, 2005, 251.

trading network while connecting strongly to intra-Asian trade and international trade.<sup>40</sup> Adamson had a close business partner in Singapore, Tan Kim Ching, to import consignment of rice from Siam. The commodity was re-exported to Dutch East Indies, the Malay Peninsula, Penang, Borneo, and Hong Kong/China. Tan was one of the most powerful Straits Chinese merchants to corner the opium market and to control the price of foodstuff in the colony, and also had close relations with the royal family of Siam.<sup>41</sup> The Borneo Company intended to expand rice business from Singapore to Hong Kong and the neighbouring ports of China. Adamson sought not only to enjoy financial services from HSBC, but also to secure a foothold in the Hong Kong mercantile community.

#### 4. HSBC and Imperial Governance in Asia

In December 1864, Francis Chomley submitted to Governor Robinson an application for an Ordinance or Act of Incorporation to enable HSBC to carry out more fully its objects.<sup>42</sup> The bank's prospectus was enclosed with other information such as capitals, promoters, shareholders, and the nature of banking business. With regard to the business, it was re-emphasized that notwithstanding the very extensive foreign trade with China and Japan this was the first bank locally started or in which majority of Hong Kong merchants were interested. The chief inducement which the promoters had in view was to supply an absolute want arising out of the inability of other banks' branches established there to meet the varied requirements of local trade. Otherwise, Chomley wanted to exempt the new bank from the following regulations for the incorporation of banking companies in the colony: that the second moiety of capital must be paid up within two years from the charter date and that shareholders must bear a liability for twice the amount of subscribed capital. Chomley urged that these two regulations would be inconvenient and disadvantageous to meet colonial banking business more adequately. With these exemptions, he believed that HSBC was in a position to undertake all the other conditions of a charter or Act of Incorporation.

Robinson requested instructions of Edward Cardwell, the Secretary of State for the Colonies (1864–66), in reference to a project of a local bank in Hong Kong. The bank's shareholders applied the local government for an Ordinance of Incorporation to be declared a corporate body and to issue its banknotes taken at the colonial treasury. As Robinson pointed out, there was then no legal restriction whatever in that colony but the rules and regulations as regards the establishment of colonial banking companies. In this respect, they desired that two regulations should be modified for reasons explained in the letter of Chomley. Robinson also informed Cardwell that "the project had received the warm support of the whole foreign

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40 A. Kobayashi, "The Role of Singapore in the Growth of Intra-Southeast Asian Trade, c. 1820s–1852", *Southeast Asian Studies*, vol. 2, no. 3, 2013, 443–474.

41 T. Miyata, "Shamu Kokuo no Shingaporu Egento: Tan Kim Ching no Raisu Bizinesu wo megutte [The Siamese Royal Agent in Singapore: The Activities of Tan Kim Ching]", *Southeast Asia: History and Culture*, vol. 31, 2002, 27–56.

42 Hongkong Bank to Colonial Secretary, Hong Kong, 23rd December 1864 CO/129/101, no. 199, HKOC, 237–241.

mercantile community, not only here but throughout China and Japan”.<sup>43</sup> The establishment of this bank was seen as a great boon by nearly every party with an interest in the welfare of East Asia. Therefore, Robinson intended to pass a special Ordinance with the modification desired if no objection would be entertained to the measure by Home Government.

In March 1865, Cardwell transmitted Chomley’s application to the Committee of Privy Council for Trade (so-called Board of Trade) and the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury for the consideration of HSBC’s incorporation in Hong Kong.<sup>44</sup> The matter of colonial banking had always been laid before the two governmental departments, including the privilege of a Royal Charter or Act of Incorporation. On the subject, they had in most cases sought opinions and advices for Treasury Solicitors, Colonial Office, India Office or other departments. In this manner, the Home Government took the case of HSBC into full deliberation.

The Treasury informed the Colonial Office that no objection was seen to Chomley’s application for a special Ordinance for the incorporation of a local bank under the regulations for the establishment of banks in the colonies. Since 1825, the Treasury had aimed to introduce the gold standard into British colonies. James Wilson, Financial Secretary to this Treasury (1852–55), considered the function of private bank notes issues as the best means of circulating paper currency in the colonies, who promoted economic policies on the ideology of free trade based on the pound sterling pegged to the value of gold.<sup>45</sup> Chomley’s application suited the Treasury’s needs very well. On this subject, however, the Treasury continued to enforce the above-mentioned second regulation on the bank while permitted the alteration of the first.<sup>46</sup>

Robinson’s governorship was a period of remarkable development in Hong Kong,<sup>47</sup> in which he encouraged the formation of the Chamber of Commerce in 1861. Among the notable events was the establishment of a mint to coin Hong Kong dollar and thereby provide an adequate supply of reliable currency. In the new bank’s prospectus, monetary reforms served to weaken the existing compradoric system and ensure that modern-style banks would become the principal medium for the transactions of the monetary operations connected to the colony’s trade. Robinson also considered it urgent to pass the companies’ ordinance actually protecting the principle of limited liability of shareholders in joint stock companies. In reality, the ordinance’s enactment promoted the incorporation of HSBC declared by its provincial committee.

In July 1864, the Hong Kong General Chamber of Commerce submitted a letter to the Hong Kong colonial secretary, in which the Chamber’s Committee suggested that Hong Kong be made subject to the Companies Act of 1862 in England (25 & 26, Vict., c. 89).<sup>48</sup> The Committee expressed its opinion that, as regards the establishment of public companies the

43 H. Robinson to E. Cardwell, 29th December 1864, no. 99, CO/129/101, HKOC, 233–236.

44 Colonial Office to Treasury, 1st March 1865, no. 199, CO/129/101, HKOC, 246.

45 H. A. Shannon, “Evolution of the Colonial Sterling Exchange Standard”, *IMF Staff Papers*, vol. 1, 1950–51, 334–354.

46 Treasury to Colonial Office, 19th April 1865, no. 305, CO/129/108, HKOC, 305–306.

47 G. B. Endacott, *A History of Hong Kong*, London: Oxford University Press, 1958, 105–120.

48 Hong Kong General Chamber of Commerce to Colonial Secretary, Hong Kong, 18th July 1864, no. 38, CO/129/104, HKOC, 272–273.

Limited Liability Ordinance should be enacted for the general interests of the colony community. In September 1864, the draft ordinance was declined by the Legislative Council of Hong Kong, and a meeting of the Chamber was hurriedly convened to issue a response opposing the decision to Governor Robinson. The document was signed by 50 companies and individuals including the provisional directors of HSBC. They believed that the ordinance would be a means of promoting undertakings not yet accessible to individuals or mercantile firms. Another memorial was submitted by 99 Hong Kong residents, who called for a law similar to the Companies Act of 1862 to be implemented in the colony,<sup>49</sup> imploring that the ordinance be once again brought before the Legislative Council. However two prominent companies, Jardine, Matheson & Co. and Russell Co. did not sign the two memorials. Robinson presented the new Ordinance before the Legislative Council on the earnest suggestions of the commercial community. The Ordinance was soon passed and became “Hong Kong Ordinance No. 1 of 1865”. In March 1865, a copy was sent to the Colonial Office for the Home Government’s confirmation.<sup>50</sup>

However, a protest by James Whittall was also forwarded to the Colonial Office. Whittall had worked at Jardine, Matheson & Co. in Canton and Yokohama. In 1864 he had become the firm’s head and an unofficial member of the Legislative Council in Hong Kong. In his view, the colony did not universally desire the law of limited liability of shareholders in joint stock companies because it was actually little more than a mercantile depot.<sup>51</sup> His protest was that the powers and privileges of limited liability could find no other outlet than the encouragement of reckless speculation and would thus be calculated to injure, rather than promote British and Chinese commercial interests beyond the limits of the colony. The Colonial Secretary of Hong Kong, William T. Mercer, expressed his opposition to Whittall’s protest, and in the belief that other members of the Council would also have the same opinion regarding the needs for the Ordinance. It became clear, then, that Hong Kong’s commercial community was not necessarily of one mind.

In April 1865, HSBC was registered under the provisions of the Ordinance. Soon thereafter, the Manager of HSBC’s head office requested the Colonial Secretary to authorize the reception of its bank notes in payment of government dues.<sup>52</sup> Robinson and Mercer supported the bank’s request, and recommended to Cardwell that the Home Government approved the recognition of the bank’s issued notes since it obtained the confidence of the public in this colony. Cardwell transmitted the despatch to the Treasury,<sup>53</sup> which then referred to the colonial banking regulations (including the unlimited liability of shareholders) concerning

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49 Hong Kong General Chamber of Commerce to Colonial Secretary, Hong Kong, 9th September 1864, no. 38, CO/129/104, HKOC, 274–275.

50 Robinson to Cardwell, 10th March 1865, no. 38, CO/129/104, HKOC, 260–264; Colonial Office to Treasury and Board of Trade, 31st May 1865, no. 38, CO/129/104, HKOC, 276–277.

51 Protest by against the “Companies Ordinance” by James Whittall, 11th March 1865, in a dispatch from Hong Government to Colonial Office, 30th March 1865, no. 19, CO/129/104, HKOC, 389–393.

52 V. Kresser to Mercer, 26th May 1865, no. 121, CO/129/106, HKOC, 79–80.

53 Mercer to Cardwell, 10th August 1865; Cardwell to G. Hamilton, Treasury, 16th October 1865, no. 121, CO/129/106, HKOC, 77–81.

bank notes: all banks in Hong Kong were to be established either by a separate general enactment or by a special Ordinance applicable to the case in question. Under these circumstances, therefore, it would be necessary to exclude the banking companies from the scope of the Hong Kong Ordinance of 1865. The Hong Kong government repealed the clause relative to banks in the Ordinance<sup>54</sup> and arranged a special Ordinance for the incorporation of HSBC's issued notes.<sup>55</sup> In August 1866, Robinson enacted Ordinance No. 5 of 1866 and sought the confirmation of the Home Government.<sup>56</sup> Via this ordinance, the new local bank was officially registered as “The Hongkong and Shanghai Banking Corporation”. The decision was soon reported to the Home Government for its confirmation.<sup>57</sup>

India had long been so important to early colonial banking in Asia since the Government of India had imposed restrictions on the bank's operations.<sup>58</sup> As a result, the British chartered banks (except for the three Presidency banks) had fully been prevented from issuing notes within the territories of the East India Company, and were thus confined to their role as exchange banks; administering currency exchange, deposits and remittances from the Indian Presidencies and the Straits Settlements. Therefore, the Treasury confirmed the Hong Kong Ordinance in question, but only questioned the establishment of the bank's agencies or branches in India.<sup>59</sup> The reason was because the local law empowered it to carry out business solely in Hong Kong and was not be applicable to any other colonies or places. This can also be explained by the fact that the Indian government had never permitted the opening of any offices within its territories in any cases of joint stock banks without advance consent. It was thought that the foundation of banks must be subject to the conditions imposed by the Treasury and the establishment of their agencies or branches should comply with local laws and the powers of local government. The Treasury therefore instructed Governor of Hong Kong to revise the corresponding section in the Ordinance. Governor R. G. MacDonald made the alteration immediately. In August 1867, the revised Ordinance was sent to London.<sup>60</sup>

The directors of HSBC were willing to adhere to and introduce the Treasury's instruction into the Deed of Settlement in progress.<sup>61</sup> They intended to obtain the right of colonial business in India, being subject to its strict regulations. In August 1867, the bank's first Chief Manager, Victor Kresser, applied not only for official permission to open branches in Shanghai, Hankow, Foochow, Yokohama, and Nagasaki but also for the consent of the Indian authorities

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54 HK government to Colonial Office, 11th October 1865; Treasury to Colonial Office, 1st November 1865, CO/129/106, HKOC, 355–358.

55 HK government to Colonial Office, 7th March 1866, no. 49, CO/129/112, HKOC, 14–15.

56 No. 5 of 1866: A Ordinance was enacted by the Governor of Hongkong, with the Advice of the Legislative Council thereof, for the Incorporation of the Hongkong and Shanghai Banking Company, 14th August 1866, CO/131/6, HKOC.

57 HK government to Colonial Office, 24th August 1866; Colonial Office to Treasury, 31st October 1866, no. 100, CO/129/114, HKOC, 333–338.

58 For early colonial banking in India, see Kawamura, “British Exchange Banks”, pp. 183–184.

59 Treasury to Colonial Office, 16th November 1866; Colonial Office to HK government, 24th November 1866, no. 10928, CO/129/118, HKOC, 351–354.

60 HK government to Colonial Office, 2nd August 1867, no. 347, CO/129/124, 2–6.

61 HSBC to HK government, 31st January 1867; HK government to Colonial Office, 31st January 1867; Colonial Office to Treasury, 30 March 1867, no. 205, CO/129/129, HKOC, 276–284.

**Table 3.** Main Items in HSBC's Balance-Sheet from 1866 to 1872

		1866	1868	1870	1872
<b>Liability</b>	Paid-up Capital & Reserve Fund	\$2,985,200	\$3,500,000	\$4,800,000	\$6,000,000
	Notes in Circulation	\$4,132,651	\$1,110,749	\$1,714,769	\$2,369,638
	Deposits (Current/Fixed)		\$5,953,716	\$9,399,215	\$13,703,285
	Bills Payable	\$7,861,210	\$10,425,153	\$21,672,582	\$31,258,057
	Others	\$347,085	\$460,649	\$465,968	\$342,342
<b>Total (Liability=Assets)</b>		\$15,326,146	\$21,450,267	\$38,052,534	\$53,673,322
<b>Assets</b>	Cash	\$1,944,515	\$4,226,539	\$10,178,701	\$8,097,815
	Indian Government Security	\$0	\$720,000	\$2,946,851	\$2,165,635
	Bills Discounted, Loans & Credits	\$9,199,503	\$4,379,651	\$8,111,149	\$11,027,305
	Bills Receivable	\$4,071,102	\$12,005,148	\$16,670,776	\$32,221,833
	Others	\$111,025	\$118,928	\$145,057	\$160,733

Source: *The Economist: or the Political, Commercial, Agricultural, and Free-trade Journal*.

to establishing agencies for exchange, deposits and remittance in any places under the control of the Indian government. The Deed of Settlement was transmitted to London.<sup>62</sup>

The years 1866–67 brought a watershed in the history of colonial banking in Asia. The crisis of 1866 was a global economic downturn, which occurred with the collapse of a London-based discount bank, known as Overend, Gurney and Company. This financial panic and the end of American Civil War simultaneously had a harmful influence on Bombay's money market, and led to failures of Old Financial, the Bank of Bombay, and the Bank of China. Hong Kong also experienced liquidations of the “Anglo-Indian banks” such as the Commercial Bank Corporation of India and the East, the Asiatic Banking Corporation, and Bank of Hindustan, China and Japan. At the same time, Dent & Co., Augustine Heard & Co., and other commercial firms encountered bankrupts or serious financial difficulties, which had been interested in the founding of the HSBC and the regional economy of China.

Meanwhile, HSBC weathered the storm and finally survived by maintaining trade finance and other business with more deliberate intent. As Table 3 provides, the bank's performance (Liability=Assets) expanded more than three times within the first decade of operation. In the balance-sheet items, “Bills Payable” in the Liability side were as important as “Bills Receivable” in the Assets side.<sup>63</sup> This reflects the fact that HSBC specialized in the short-term finance of international trade between Europe and parts of Asia, focused primarily on the

62 HSBC to HK government, 21 August 1867; HK government to Colonial Office, 26th August 1867; Colonial Office to Treasury, 28th October 1867, no. 355, CO/129/129, HKOC, 188–191.

63 The “payables” represent bills payable mostly in London and partly in Asia. In most cases, they were purchased by entrepreneurs based in Asia — mainly merchants importing commodities locally — to make remittances from Asia to Britain. The bills drawn by the Asian offices on London and sold to the bank clients therefore represent the imports of commodities from Britain to Asia. On the other hand, the balance item “receivables” concerns drawings by bank clients on London. The bills drawn on London were sold to the branch office mainly by the exporting merchants in Asia and represent Asian commodity exports to Britain. Kawamura, “British Exchange Banks”, pp. 181–182.

foreign exchange business, especially the selling and buying of bills of exchange on London at the offices in Asia. And then, HSBC also saw the steady increase in “deposits” and “Bills Discounted, Loans and Credits”, involving the interior economies of the countries where the bank operated. In this respect, HSBC proved itself the “local bank”.

## 5. Conclusion

The 1850s and 1860s, which encompassed the end of the East India Company (1858), the separation of the Straits Settlements from British India (1858–67), and the Second Opium War (1856), were a watershed in the complicated reconstruction of Britain’s imperial administration in Asia under the progress of modern globalization. In this context, this article explored the formative process of HSBC (1860–67), suggesting a global-scale pattern of “imperial teleconnections” that occurred between Bombay, Hong Kong, and London. By so doing, to some extent, one can see why and how Britain could expand its territories and influence in Asia from the analysis of the commercial and social-pressure variations in parts of Asia.

This story started in Bombay far away from Hong Kong. The Bombay scene was one of the phases of imperial teleconnection in question. In the early 1860s, several Bombay-based merchants who gained massive profits from a cotton boom founded speculative joint-stock companies. They were the core members of the Bombay mercantile community and intended to establish an Anglo-Indian bank “the Bank of China” for investing their surplus resources in Hong Kong and parts of East Asia.

The excitation in Bombay triggered the excitation in Hong Kong through the intra-Asian business networks. Bombay was a great propeller of centrifugal force, generating a “periphery-periphery” extension of the wave motion, and its pressure stimulated distrust among Hong Kong merchants. The merchants in Hong Kong did not want more banks from the outside because the existing “Anglo-Indian” banks prioritized the interests of their shareholders residing in India and Britain. Rather, they sought a “local bank”, funded with their own capital, to suit their needs while they regarded the colony as a site interacting between China and other parts of Asia.

However, the Hong Kong mercantile community could not fully support the foundation of HSBC and the principle of limited liability of shareholders. In addition to the traditional rivalry between Jardine, Matheson & Co. and Dent & Co., as well as one between Russel & Co. and Augustine Heard & Co., there were also new rivalries stemming from the promotion of rival docks, rival insurance companies, rival shipping firms, and rival exchange banks.<sup>64</sup> In that situation, the incorporation of HSBC was sanctioned by the Hong Kong’s mercantile community, the colonial government, and ultimately the Home Government. In particular, the Treasury intended to help the “official mind” of the London-based “gentlemanly capitalist”

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64 King, “The Bank of China is dead”, 48.

principles of cheap government, free trade, and sound currency pervade the colonies. This local event generated a government-colonial banking interaction in Britain's imperial policy toward East Asia.

In conclusion, the example of HSBC highlights complex factors behind Britain's expansion into East Asia: the commercial impulse in India, intra-Asian regional trading networks, and the complexity of the business community in Hong Kong. This article finds out an interconnected "periphery-periphery" relation from Bombay to Hong Kong, which has long been the hidden, unspoken dynamics in the "core-periphery" framework. Scholars need to move beyond the existing historiography of locating metropolitan or peripheral factors as causes of imperialism, and also debating the strategic-geopolitical or the commercial-economic explanations of imperial expansion. If we look at the process of Victorian expansion world-wide, the "core-periphery" framework offer at best only partial explanations for the complex character and timing of British intervention.<sup>65</sup> In this respect, the studies of "imperial teleconnection" suggest the need for our fundamental rethinking of the amalgamation of the different perspectives on British imperialism. Deeper understanding will require further study.

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65 Darwin, "Imperialism and the Victorians", 641.

# Harold Macmillan's Commonwealth Tour of 1958 Revisited: The Case of New Zealand and Australia

Hiroyuki Ogawa\*

## Abstract

Harold Macmillan, who served as the British Prime Minister from 1957 to 1963, made a tour of the Commonwealth countries in Asia and the Pacific from 7 January to 14 February 1958. He visited India, Pakistan, Ceylon (now Sri Lanka), Singapore, New Zealand, and Australia, all for the first time as a British Prime Minister in office. Macmillan spent the major part of his tour in two old Dominions in the Pacific, i.e. New Zealand (20–28 January) and Australia (28 January–11 February). This article follows Macmillan's path in New Zealand and Australia and analyses the objectives and outcomes of his Commonwealth tour. Special attention will be paid to Macmillan's discovery (or re-discovery) of the importance of the bonds between Britain and the Commonwealth (particularly old Dominions) and his discussions with the New Zealand and Australian Prime Ministers on the transformation of the Commonwealth into a multi-racial association as a result of postwar decolonisation in Asia and Africa. As the British government tried to establish a Free Trade Area in Europe at the time of Macmillan's visit, his discussions on this European project with the New Zealanders and Australians will be examined as well.

**Keywords:** Harold Macmillan, the Commonwealth, New Zealand, Australia, European Free Trade Area, European Economic Community

## Introduction

There are many existing studies on Britain's external policy during the term of Harold Macmillan's Conservative government from January 1957 to October 1963. In particular, a number of scholars have explored his Cold War diplomacy and personal relations with two American Presidents (Dwight D. Eisenhower and John F. Kennedy), Britain's first application to join the European Economic Community (EEC) and its eventual failure, and the 'wind of change' and dissolution of the British Empire during Macmillan's premiership.<sup>1</sup> However, Macmillan spent nearly two months on the Commonwealth cause during about one year after he became the Prime Minister on 10 January 1957, attending the Commonwealth Prime

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1 Some of the major studies are Wolfram Kaiser, *Using Europe, Abusing the Europeans: Britain and European Integration 1945–63* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1996); N. Piers Ludlow, *Dealing with Britain: The Six and the First UK Application to the EEC* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997); John P. S. Gearson, *Harold Macmillan and the Berlin Wall Crisis, 1958–62: The Limits of Interests and Force* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1998); Nigel J. Ashton, *Kennedy, Macmillan and the Cold War: The Irony of Interdependence* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002); L. J. Butler and Sarah Stockwell, eds., *The Wind of Change: Harold Macmillan and British Decolonization* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013).

Ministers' Meeting in London (from 26 June to 5 July 1957) and touring Commonwealth countries in Asia and the Pacific (from 7 January to 14 February 1958).

In his Commonwealth tour, Macmillan visited India, Pakistan, Ceylon (now Sri Lanka), Singapore, New Zealand, and Australia, all for the first time as a British Prime Minister in office.<sup>2</sup> Indeed, it was '[t]he first, and last, grand tour of the Commonwealth undertaken by a British Prime Minister'.<sup>3</sup> Particularly, Macmillan spent a major part of his tour in two old Dominions in the Pacific, i.e. New Zealand (20–28 January) and Australia (28 January–11 February). Macmillan's party<sup>4</sup> chartered a Britannia aeroplane dubbed 'Flying No. 10 Downing Street' from the British Overseas Airways Corporation (BOAC), and flew more than 33,000 miles, though in New Zealand and Australia they mainly used the aircrafts provided by the respective governments. In addition, Macmillan travelled about 1,500 miles overland.<sup>5</sup>

Although Macmillan's involvement with the Commonwealth in the early days of his premiership was widely covered by the contemporary mass media, existing scholarly works have paid much less attention. It is true that Macmillan's Commonwealth tour of 1958 has been addressed — at least in some detail — in several biographical studies. Most notably, Alistair Horne's official biography examined Macmillan's Commonwealth tour based on the then unpublished Macmillan diaries and interviews with persons involved.<sup>6</sup> One of the earliest biographies, written by Anthony Sampson who accompanied Macmillan's tour as a correspondent of the *Observer*, and one of the latest biographical studies, authored by D. R. Thorpe, also dealt with Macmillan's Commonwealth tour, though to a lesser extent.<sup>7</sup> However, all of them did not consult British governmental records and largely stressed that the Commonwealth tour was a success for Macmillan. For instance, Horne argued that there was 'absolutely no doubt that, by its end, the Commonwealth tour had been an unmitigated success' and 'perhaps above all, the success of the tour had assured him of the impact he could make in the world outside parish-pump politics'.<sup>8</sup> In addition, Robert Rhodes James, who was not a biographer of Macmillan, also emphasised that Macmillan's Commonwealth tour of

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2 India, Pakistan, Ceylon, New Zealand, and Australia were Commonwealth member states. While Singapore was still a Crown Colony at the time of Macmillan's visit, it was soon to obtain internal self-government in May 1958.

3 Peter Catterall, ed., *The Macmillan Diaries, Vol. II: Prime Minister and After, 1957–66* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2011), p. 89.

4 The party included Harold Macmillan, Dorothy Macmillan, Sir Norman Brook (Secretary of the Cabinet), J. M. C. James (Permanent Under-Secretary of the Commonwealth Relations Office), Harold Evans (Macmillan's Adviser on Public Relations), and Neil Cairncross and John Wyndham (Private Secretaries to the Prime Minister). The National Archives, Kew [hereafter TNA], CAB129/93, C (58) 120, 4 June 1958, Appendix A: Composition of the Party accompanying the Prime Minister.

5 TNA, PREM11/2219, Prime Minister's Commonwealth Tour Statistics, undated. There were royal tours of the Empire and the Commonwealth which were much longer than Macmillan's Commonwealth tour. For example, the tour by Elizabeth II and the Duke of Edinburgh in 1953–54 lasted as long as six months and covered 40,000 miles. They visited Bermuda, the Bahamas, Jamaica, Belize, Fiji, Tonga, New Zealand, Australia, Ceylon, Aden, Uganda, Malta, and Gibraltar. Philip Murphy, *Monarchy and the End of Empire: The House of Windsor, the British Government, and the Post-war Commonwealth* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), pp. 60–65.

6 Alistair Horne, *Macmillan 1957–1986: Volume II of the Official Biography* (London: Macmillan, 1989), pp. 74–75, 83–88.

7 Anthony Sampson, *Macmillan: A Study in Ambiguity* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1967), pp. 137–140; D. R. Thorpe, *Supremacy: The Life of Harold Macmillan* (London: Chatto & Windus, 2010), pp. 407–409.

8 Horne, *Macmillan 1957–1986*, pp. 87–88.

1958 was 'a genuine personal and political triumph, and was perceived as such'.<sup>9</sup> Rather exceptionally, Thorpe rightly pointed out that the benefits of the Commonwealth tour 'seemed short-lived', but only mentioned that the Conservatives lost two by-elections shortly after Macmillan's return to Britain.<sup>10</sup>

In contrast, this article examines the New Zealand and Australian part of Macmillan's Commonwealth tour by consulting primary materials held at the National Archives of the United Kingdom (some governmental records of Australia, Singapore,<sup>11</sup> and the United States were used as well). It explores longer-term factors which eventually made Macmillan's 'successful' tour less effective by taking into account wider perspectives of Britain's external policy as well as international and intra-Commonwealth dynamics. Furthermore, it argues that Macmillan's Commonwealth tour of 1958, which demonstrated — if nothing else — the presence of sentimental ties between Britain and the old Dominions and even made them stronger, paradoxically left certain negative legacies, as those ties implied substantial difficulties for Britain when it tried to join the EEC from the early 1960s onwards.

In analysing the New Zealand and Australian part of Macmillan's tour,<sup>12</sup> special attention will be paid to his discovery — or re-discovery — of the importance of the bonds between Britain and its Commonwealth partners (particularly old Dominions) and his discussions with the then New Zealand and Australian Prime Ministers — Walter Nash and Robert Gordon Menzies respectively — on the transformation of the Commonwealth into a multi-racial association as a result of postwar decolonisation in Asia and Africa. As the British government tried to establish an industrial Free Trade Area (FTA) among seventeen Western European countries — the so-called Plan G — at the time of Macmillan's visit,<sup>13</sup> his discussions on this European project with the New Zealanders and the Australians will be examined as well.

## New Zealand, 20–28 January 1958

Macmillan and his party departed from London Airport (which was to be renamed as Heathrow Airport in 1966) at ten o'clock in the morning on 7 January, stopped at Nicosia, Cyprus, and Bahrain for refuelling, and arrived in Delhi around noon the following day. They visited India (8–12 January), Pakistan (12–16 January), Ceylon (16–18 January), and Singapore (18–19 January), before taking a long flight from Singapore to New Zealand.

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9 Robert Rhodes James, 'Harold Macmillan: An Introduction', in Richard Aldous and Sabine Lee, eds., *Harold Macmillan and Britain's World Role* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1996), p. 4.

10 Thorpe, *Supernac*, p. 409.

11 The Office of the Commissioner-General for the United Kingdom in South-East Asia was located in Singapore, which gathered and disseminated information on Macmillan's Commonwealth tour.

12 The Asian part was analysed in Hiroyuki Ogawa, 'Commonwealth no kizuna: Macmillan shushō no Ajia rekihō, 1958 [The Bonds of the Commonwealth: Harold Macmillan's Round of Visits to Asia, 1958]', in Yuichi Hosoya, ed., *Sengo Ajia-Yōroppa kankeishi: Reisen, Datsushokuminchika, Chiikishugi [A History of Postwar Asian-European Relations: The Cold War, Decolonisation, Regionalism]* (Tokyo: Keio University Press, 2015), pp. 93–120.

13 James Ellison, *Threatening Europe: Britain and the Creation of the European Community, 1955–58* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2000).

After only a short stop for refuelling at Darwin in the Northern Territory of Australia, they arrived in Auckland at four o'clock in the afternoon on 20 January. Macmillan was received by Walter Nash, Sir George Mallaby (United Kingdom High Commissioner), and officials of the New Zealand government. According to Macmillan's autobiography, to be transported 'so rapidly from the tropical heat and exotic scenery of the East to the temperate climate and familiar surroundings of New Zealand was indeed a change. To be greeted by the friendly faces of English and Scottish people was like coming home'.<sup>14</sup> As Mallaby reported to Lord Home, the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, after Macmillan's departure from New Zealand, Macmillan's arrival in Auckland attracted 'a considerable crowd of people whom he addressed and saluted with spontaneous and unrehearsed informality. This was the first of a number of similar occasions, and I must confess that I was surprised — and I think New Zealand officials were equally surprised — by the large numbers of ordinary men and women who turned out, not only in the cities, but in the small townships and along the roadside to wave a welcome'.<sup>15</sup>

After his arrival, Macmillan spoke at a press conference and made several references to what he called 'the new Commonwealth', which he said was something unique in world history. He emphasised that it was created not by 'weakness but by set purpose ... The independence of India, for instance, had not arisen from the failure of British rule there'.<sup>16</sup> After dinner, Macmillan and Nash had an informal discussion, where Sir Norman Brook (United Kingdom Cabinet Secretary), Mallaby, and Alister McIntosh (Permanent Secretary of the New Zealand Department of External Affairs) were also present. Looking back on the Asian part of his tour, Macmillan stressed the great importance of India. 'If she stayed firm she would prove to be a great bulwark for the free world ... While an uncommitted India is often disagreeable to the United Kingdom ... its liberal though neutralist outlook meant that spiritually she was on our side'. While Macmillan pointed out 'somewhat of a ramshackle structure' of Pakistan because of its shortage of water, lack of resources and trained men, and general instability, he maintained that it would greatly serve the British interest to try to help Pakistan. On India and its Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru, Nash agreed by saying that while 'we were strongly and openly anti-Communist, Nehru was possibly equally so but in a different fashion'. It was added that Nash felt 'above all that Nehru was the greatest cohesive influence serving the free world in the East'.<sup>17</sup>

On the morning of 21 January, the Macmillans attended a civic reception held at Auckland Town Hall and then left by car to Wellington. On the way, Macmillan was received at a Maori gathering at Ngaruawahia and stopped at Hamilton, where he met the Mayor and some of the

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14 Harold Macmillan, *Riding the Storm 1956–1959* (London: Macmillan, 1971), p. 397.

15 TNA, CAB129/93, C (58) 120, 4 June 1958, Appendix C: United Kingdom High Commissioner in New Zealand to Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, Wellington, 10 February 1958.

16 National Archives of Singapore, Singapore [hereafter NAS], DIS315/57, Pt. 1, 'The New Commonwealth', Press Release issued from the Office of the Commissioner General for the United Kingdom in South East Asia, Phoenix Park, Singapore, 21 January 1958.

17 TNA, CAB129/93, C (58) 120, 4 June 1958, Appendix B: Record of a discussion between the Prime Ministers of the United Kingdom and New Zealand in Auckland on 20th January, 1958.

leading citizens. He then arrived at Wairakei and stayed at a hotel there. The next day, he and his wife left Wairakei by car, arrived at Wellington at 5.45 p.m., and stayed at the Government House where they were received by the Governor-General, Lord Cobham, and Lady Cobham.<sup>18</sup>

On the morning of 23 January, Macmillan and Nash had a meeting at Parliament House and mainly talked about Cold War security issues. Nash emphasised the value of the Australia, New Zealand, and United States Security Treaty (ANZUS) signed in 1951, especially because it provided regular opportunities for New Zealand and Australia to discuss military problems of common concern with the Americans. According to Nash, the British government had always been informed of the substance of the discussions at these meetings. Macmillan admitted the usefulness of ANZUS but expressed his hope that eventually it would be recognised that the most practical method of organising military planning for Southeast Asia and the Pacific would be on a four-power basis — the United States, Britain, Australia, and New Zealand. Macmillan then referred to the Malayan Emergency and stressed the importance of improving the functions of the Anglo-New Zealand-Australia-Malaya Area (ANZAM) agreement of 1948 and making it more effective. Nash added that the Southeast Asia Treaty Organisation (SEATO) established in 1955 was the most effective international organisation in the region and had ‘the great ideological advantage’ of combining Asian countries and ‘countries of European stock’.<sup>19</sup>

Macmillan then attended a meeting of the New Zealand Cabinet. He pointed out to the New Zealand ministers the importance of the Commonwealth, which provided ‘a useful bridge for the interpretation and greater understanding of Western ideas and philosophy by the less developed and the uncommitted countries’.<sup>20</sup> Macmillan then made a speech at the State Luncheon held at Parliament House. In this speech, he dealt with the relationship between the Commonwealth and the rest of the world. Particularly, he stressed the importance of the Commonwealth’s link with the United States and of the ‘Declaration of Interdependence’ — formally titled the ‘Declaration of Common Purpose’<sup>21</sup> — which he made with Eisenhower at their meeting held at Washington in October 1957. In addition, he asserted his belief that closer associations between Britain and Western Europe (at that time proposed by Britain as a European FTA), far from weakening the Commonwealth, would contribute to make it more prosperous and powerful. Following the Churchillian ‘three circles’ conception, Macmillan concluded that the best safeguard of the vital interests of the Free World was the close

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18 TNA, CAB129/93, C (58) 120, 4 June 1958, Prime Minister’s Commonwealth Tour, Part III: Diary of the Commonwealth Tour, New Zealand and Australia. Details of Macmillan’s daily activities are based on this document.

19 TNA, CAB129/93, C (58) 120, 4 June 1958, Appendix B: Record of a Discussion between the Prime Ministers of the United Kingdom and New Zealand in Wellington on 23rd January, 1958. In June 1948, the Malayan Emergency was declared in response to Communist insurrection in British Malaya. Australian and New Zealand troops were sent to Malaya from 1955 and maintained after the independence of the Federation of Malaya in August 1957.

20 TNA, CAB129/93, C (58) 120, 4 June 1958, Appendix B: Record of a Meeting of the New Zealand Cabinet held on 23rd January, 1958, and attended by the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom.

21 TNA, PREM11/2339, Declaration of Common Purpose issued by the White House at 4 p.m. on Friday, 25th October, 1957, on the talks between the President and the Prime Minister.

cooperation of the Commonwealth, the United States, and Western Europe.<sup>22</sup>

On 24 January, Macmillan and Nash had a discussion mainly on trade issues. Nash proposed a revision of the Ottawa Agreement signed between Britain and New Zealand in 1932, particularly for reducing the preferential margins guaranteed to British goods in the New Zealand market. The New Zealanders had multiple reasons for requiring a revision of the Ottawa Agreement. They were frustrated by the decreased value of their preferences in the British market, which were fixed at flat rates as opposed to *ad valorem* preferences given to many British goods in the New Zealand market, and also by the excessively generous guaranteed margin of preference of 20 per cent given to British goods, which added substantial costs for New Zealand's domestic industries. In addition, New Zealand also faced balance of payments difficulties, severe competition from third countries (they particularly complained about 'dumped' competition from European dairy farmers in the British market), and increased production of British farmers supported by subsidies stipulated by the Agriculture Acts of 1947 and 1957.<sup>23</sup>

In the afternoon, Macmillan and his party took a Dakota aircraft of the Royal New Zealand Air Force (RNZAF) from Wellington, flew across the Cook Strait, and arrived in Dunedin. The Macmillans spent the weekend of 25–26 January at Dunedin. On Saturday morning, Macmillan went to Town Hall to inaugurate the Dunedin Festival and made a short speech from the balcony. In the afternoon, the Macmillans attended a civic reception at Town Hall. On Sunday, 26 January, Macmillan, his wife, and Mallaby visited the Presbyterian Cathedral, where Macmillan read the lesson. They had luncheon with the Mayor, Sir Leonard Wright, and the Mayoress at the Grand Hotel. According to Mallaby's memoirs, Macmillan proclaimed himself at home in 'a city so full of men of his own name' and was 'relaxed and happy'.<sup>24</sup> Indeed, Dunedin was 'established' by the Lay Association of the Free Church of Scotland in 1848, and the city's name was the Gaelic form of Edinburgh. Macmillan was especially welcomed by the Scottish population there. He was rather moved, as he had a welcome which 'any man of my name and descent might expect to command; but I have never seen so many Scottish people so enthusiastic. It was an unforgettable tribute which seemed to come from the heart'.<sup>25</sup>

On the morning of 27 January, Macmillan left Dunedin by car for Christchurch. After attending a civic reception and having a luncheon at Timaru, he arrived at Christchurch at 4.45

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22 TNA, CAB129/93, C (58) 120, 4 June 1958, Appendix C: United Kingdom High Commissioner in New Zealand to Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, Wellington, 10 February 1958.

23 TNA, PREM11/2434, Discussion between the Prime Ministers of the United Kingdom and New Zealand in Wellington on Friday, 24th January, 1958; Hiroyuki Ogawa, 'Britain's Commonwealth Dilemma: Discussions with Australia, Canada, and New Zealand and Transition of British Trade Policy, 1956–59', *Contemporary British History*, Vol. 17, No. 3 (2003), pp. 17–18.

24 George Mallaby, *From My Level: Unwritten Minutes* (London: Hutchinson, 1965), pp. 68–69.

25 Macmillan, *Riding the Storm*, p. 400. Macmillan said at Sydney Town Hall later in the tour that he had 'no English blood — being half Scots and half American', while he was 'redeemed by the pure English breeding of my wife'. TNA, DO35/9619, Speech by Rt. Hon. Harold Macmillan, M.P., Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, on the occasion of the Civic Reception tendered to him and Lady Dorothy Macmillan at Sydney Town Hall, 4 February 1958. Dorothy Macmillan (*née* Cavendish) was the third daughter of the 9th Duke of Devonshire.

p.m. On the way, Macmillan enjoyed driving through the countryside of the South Island. 'Perhaps the most enjoyable day was the drive from Dunedin to Christchurch, with various stops which gave us a good view of the countryside and a useful picture of the life of the people'.<sup>26</sup> Indeed, except for the flight from Wellington to Dunedin, Macmillan visited major cities and several smaller towns in New Zealand by car. It was rather suitable for Macmillan's stated objective of his Commonwealth tour, as he had stressed when he departed from London Airport that his chief purpose was 'to listen, see, and to learn'.<sup>27</sup> In the evening, he attended a dinner given in his honour by the Canterbury Chamber of Commerce in Christchurch.

On 28 January, Macmillan's final day in New Zealand, Nash flew to Christchurch for a discussion and to bid farewell to the Macmillans. It was publicly announced that the two countries would start discussions on a revision of the Ottawa Agreement, as Macmillan conceded to the demand presented by Nash at their meeting four days previously. At the joint press conference, Macmillan said there might be a need to amend or revise the Ottawa agreement, but still maintained that 'in broad concept it is to our advantage for it to remain'. However, bilateral negotiations were subsequently held and eventually led to the signing of the new Anglo-New Zealand Trade Agreement in August 1959, which formally replaced their Ottawa Agreement of 1932 and reduced the guaranteed margins of preference given to British goods. The new Anglo-New Zealand Trade Agreement was a further sign of the centrifugal tendencies between Britain and the old Dominions, as the preceding Anglo-Australian trade negotiations in 1956–57 had also resulted in the contraction of the preferential margins guaranteed to British goods in the Australian market.<sup>28</sup>

In a farewell broadcast, Macmillan spoke of the 'useful talks' which he had had with Nash and New Zealand ministers. He said that his discussions with the New Zealand ministers were 'as intimate and informal as those between Cabinet colleagues at home and it is good to think that Prime Ministers of different Commonwealth countries can talk together on this practical basis'. Referring to his visits to India, Pakistan, and Ceylon, Macmillan said that he had seen 'something of the diversity of our Commonwealth and I was even more impressed by the unity of aim and purpose which underlies this diversity and I have felt even more strongly than before that while we may still take pride in the Empire built by our ancestors in the past we can feel fresh confidence and hope in the new Commonwealth of the future, the concept of an expanding Commonwealth in which peoples emerging from a dependent status become equal partners by their own free choice'.<sup>29</sup> Macmillan also stressed that the strength of 'our unique association' was founded in 'our common belief in principles and institutions which are fundamental to human freedom. We all believe in the tolerance, the mutual give and take of our system of Parliamentary democracy. We believe in justice for everyman, we believe in liberty of conscience, we believe in the freedom of the individual, freedom of speech, thought

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26 Macmillan, *Riding the Storm*, p. 400.

27 TNA, DO35/9619, Statement at London Airport by the Prime Minister, The Rt. Hon. Harold Macmillan, M.P., on Departure for his Commonwealth Tour on January 7, 1958.

28 *The Times*, 29 January 1958; Ogawa, 'Britain's Commonwealth Dilemma', p. 22.

29 *The Times*, 29 January 1958.

and action within the law'.<sup>30</sup>

At noon, Macmillan's party took a trans-Tasman flight from Christchurch to Canberra, Australia, via Sydney Airport. Macmillan appeared to have really enjoyed and felt at home in New Zealand, and for him and his wife, 'New Zealand probably represented the high point of the tour'.<sup>31</sup> In addition, Macmillan repeatedly emphasised the importance of the close ties and shared values among the Commonwealth countries and the value of the 'New Commonwealth' as a bridge between old Dominions and newly-independent nations. However, Macmillan and Nash could not completely agree on defence matters particularly whether the security arrangements in the Pacific should be tripartite (ANZUS) or quadripartite (ANZUS plus the UK), and Macmillan's reluctant acceptance to revise the Ottawa Agreement eventually led to the contraction of the preferential trade relations between the two countries.

### **Australia, 28 January – 11 February 1958**

At three o'clock in the afternoon on 28 January, Macmillan and his party landed at Sydney Airport from Christchurch. In Australia, they were to visit Canberra, Brisbane, Sydney, Melbourne, and Hobart, and their surrounding areas over fifteen days. At Sydney Airport, Macmillan's party was met on arrival by Lord Carrington, the United Kingdom High Commissioner, several Australian ministers, and representatives of the New South Wales government. At a press conference at the airport, Macmillan answered several questions and particularly referred to British investment in and migration to Australia. He pointed out that Britain by far had been the largest contributor of overseas investment in Australia (two-thirds of the total overseas investment in Australia had come from Britain since World War II), despite 'all the troubles they had and the losses of two wars'. When asked whether he was in favour of greater migration from Britain to the Commonwealth, particularly to Australia, Macmillan answered quite positively, though he said at the same time that Britain was losing some of its young people with skills, training, and learning by sending emigrants. Macmillan insisted that Britain had done all it could to support migration, referring to the fact that 230,000 British people had settled in Australia with help from the Assistance Passage Scheme after the Second World War. He stressed that about half of the total migrants who had come to Australia since the war had been from Britain and that he wanted this to continue 'because naturally it makes us feel that the ties of friendships based upon tradition will be maintained'.<sup>32</sup>

Then, his party left Sydney Airport for Canberra in a Convair aircraft of the Royal Australian Air Force (RAAF). This aircraft was to be used for all subsequent flights within Australia. At five o'clock, Macmillan's party arrived at the RAAF base in Canberra and was met by Menzies and members of the Diplomatic Corps. Macmillan and his wife drove to

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30 Macmillan, *Riding the Storm*, p. 382.

31 Horne, *Macmillan 1957–1986*, p. 86.

32 TNA, DO35/9619, Prime Minister's Visit, Verbatim Report of Press Conference on Arrival at Sydney, Tuesday, 28th January, 1958.

Government House where they were received by Sir William Slim, the Governor-General, and his wife. In the evening, the Macmillans were entertained by the Menzies at a dinner party at the Prime Minister's Lodge, before returning to Government House, where they were the guests of the Governor-General.<sup>33</sup>

On 29 January, Macmillan laid a wreath at the Stone of Remembrance in the Australian War Memorial at 9.30 a.m. He then attended a full Cabinet meeting of Australia at Parliament House. Macmillan began by summarising his impressions of the Asian Commonwealth countries which he had visited. He argued that the new Commonwealth countries were in a position to influence the uncommitted countries and they could therefore be a channel through which the older members of the Commonwealth could influence those countries. According to Macmillan, the political contest with the Soviet Union was to win the uncommitted countries, and therefore the West should not only maintain their own living standards, but also help raise the living standards in those countries. In this context, he emphasised that India was the most important country. Macmillan also mentioned the United States' attitude towards the Commonwealth, saying that while there was 'some ambivalence in their attitude towards the British Commonwealth — partly jealousy and partly admiration', the Americans were increasingly willing to work in cooperation with the Commonwealth. At the end of the meeting, Menzies expressed appreciation for 'the interesting review' of the world situation given by Macmillan.<sup>34</sup> After attending this meeting for over two hours, R. G. Casey, the Australian Minister for External Affairs, made a somewhat detached comment that due to 'the considerable number of people in the room (nearly 25) Mr. Macmillan understandably kept his remarks fairly general, although it was, on the whole, an interesting time'.<sup>35</sup>

In the afternoon, both Prime Ministers had a meeting at Menzies' room in Parliament House. Menzies said that he might be subjected to some public pressure for Australia to develop the capacity to produce nuclear weapons and that this would be more likely to happen if France became a nuclear power. However, he maintained that he himself would not be in favour of developing nuclear capacity and that Australia's military contribution could best be made in the form of conventional forces. In response, Macmillan suggested that it would be useful for Britain and Australia to discuss the possibility of equipping Australian military facilities and equipment (such as air bases and bombers) in Southeast Asia and the Pacific in such a way that they could, if necessary, use nuclear weapons provided by the United Kingdom or the United States. It was agreed that military planning by Australian authorities should take into account this possibility.<sup>36</sup>

Macmillan then delivered his main speech at the Parliamentary Dinner held at Parliament

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33 *The Times*, 29 January 1958.

34 TNA, CAB129/93, C (58) 120, 4 June 1958, Appendix B: Record of a Meeting between the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom and the Australian Cabinet held at Parliament House, Canberra, at 10.30 a.m. on 29th January, 1958.

35 National Archives of Australia, Canberra, A4940, C1962 Part 1, Casey to A. H. Tange (Secretary of the Department of External Affairs), 29 January 1958.

36 TNA, CAB129/93, C (58) 120, 4 June 1958, Appendix B: Record of a Discussion between the Prime Ministers of the United Kingdom and Australia in Canberra at 2.45 p.m. on 29th January, 1958.

House, which was broadcast throughout Australia and ‘was well received’.<sup>37</sup> He began by maintaining that Anglo-Australian relations had been particularly close within the Commonwealth, because they were bound together by strong ties of common origin, common loyalties, and common sacrifices. In addition, he emphasised that Britain was Australia’s largest trading partner and Britain’s investment in Australia was far higher than that of any other country and ‘indeed higher than all the countries of the world put together’. He also stressed that there was a steady flow of ‘a good character of British immigrants who come here to make careers in what they rightly believe to be a land of ever-increasing opportunity’. He then pointed out that Britain’s proposal for a European FTA only covered manufactured goods, which meant that it would exclude agricultural produce that was particularly important for Australia and many other Commonwealth countries. Macmillan added that he thought there was a general recognition that Britain, ‘as a member of the Commonwealth and as the banker of the sterling area’, should try to be stronger by utilising competitive pressures within an industrial FTA in Europe. Macmillan tried to reassure the Australians by mentioning that Britain’s reappraisal of its defence policy would not involve any reduction of its responsibilities in Southeast Asia and that Britain still maintained a large contingent in Malaya. He also put forward the proposition that all countries of the Free World should be interdependent, saying the Commonwealth was accustomed to this concept. He then went on to say that the changes in the fabric of the Commonwealth in the previous ten years were immense and revolutionary in character and, ‘so far as I know, absolutely without example in history’. It was because, he argued, new members of the Commonwealth with different histories, backgrounds, races, and creeds were added to the old Commonwealth countries which owed their unity to common origin and common allegiance to the Crown. Macmillan enumerated the values and principles supposedly shared among the Commonwealth countries, such as Parliamentary government, individual freedom, and freedom of speech, thought, and action within the law. He added that there was ‘above all the belief that the machinery of the State exists to be the servant and not the master of its citizens’. He concluded his speech by making reference to his belief that it was ‘the special task of the Commonwealth to show in practice, as well as in theory, that these principles which we hold so dear still meet the fundamental needs of men’.<sup>38</sup>

On the morning of 30 January, Macmillan held brief discussions with Sir William Slim at Government House, and H. V. Evatt, the Leader of the Opposition of Australia, at Parliament House. He then drove to the Australian National University (ANU), where he was met by Lord Bruce,<sup>39</sup> the Chancellor of the University, and Sir Leslie Melville, the Vice-Chancellor. Macmillan received a degree of Doctor of Law *honoris causa* (earlier in the tour, he also received an Honorary Doctorate of Law at the University of Ceylon on 17 January). In the

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37 TNA, CAB129/93, C (58) 120, 4 June 1958, Appendix C: United Kingdom High Commissioner in Australia to Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, Canberra, 28 February 1958.

38 TNA, DO35/9619, Mr. Macmillan’s Speech at the Parliamentary Dinner, Canberra, 29 January 1958.

39 Lord Bruce was the first Chancellor of ANU from 1952 to 1961, after being the Australian Prime Minister (1923–29) and the High Commissioner to the United Kingdom (1933–45).

evening, Macmillan and his wife returned to Government House and attended a dinner party given by the Governor-General.

Macmillan wrote in his diary that after 'some very good days in Canberra, with really useful talks with Menzies and his ministers, we set off again and had three days in Queensland'.<sup>40</sup> The next morning, Macmillan left the RAAF base in Canberra and then arrived at Brisbane Airport, where he was welcomed by G. F. R. Nicklin, the Premier of Queensland. After he spoke briefly to the press at the airport, Macmillan attended a Parliamentary luncheon given by Nicklin at Parliament House.

At the Parliamentary luncheon, Macmillan spoke of food production and particularly sought to reassure his audience that in its policy towards establishing a European FTA the British government constantly had in mind the interests of the Commonwealth countries, especially Australia, because Brisbane was the capital of a predominantly agricultural State of Queensland.<sup>41</sup> He mentioned that Britain accounted for about a third of Australia's total exports and Australia had been one of the biggest markets for British exporters. Macmillan then referred to the new Anglo-Australian Trade Agreement signed in February 1957, in which British millers had undertaken to do their 'best endeavours' to purchase not less than 750,000 tons of Australian wheat equivalent per annum. He also stressed that Britain had helped Australia's agricultural exports through the Commonwealth Sugar Agreement and the fifteen-year Meat Agreement between Britain and Australia. After referring to these benefits for Australia, Macmillan argued that neither countries should underestimate the large benefits of the Commonwealth preferential system because of minor differences. Macmillan then gave an explanation on Britain's proposal for a European FTA, which he presented as one of the issues of major importance on which the British government was working at that time. He emphasised that Britain had made it clear that Britain should be free to safeguard agricultural imports from the Commonwealth countries to the British market. In addition, it was insisted that a European FTA would facilitate the unity of Western Europe, strengthen the British economy and in so doing strengthen the sterling area as a whole, and renew Commonwealth ties. Macmillan went on to say that 'the links that bind us together in the British Commonwealth are far stronger than any that could be founded on economic ties alone. The Commonwealth heritage; common allegiance to the British Crown; we old Commonwealth countries, you and me, may rejoice in the gracious person of our beloved Queen'.<sup>42</sup>

After the Parliamentary luncheon, both the Macmillans attended a civic reception given by the Lord Mayor of Brisbane, followed by a dinner party at Government House, where they stayed and were received by the Administrator of Queensland, Sir Alan Mansfield and Lady Mansfield. Macmillan was rather impressed and wrote in his diary that 'Brisbane was very

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40 Harold Macmillan Diaries [hereafter HMD], 3 February 1958, in Catterall, ed., *The Macmillan Diaries, Vol. II*, p. 94.

41 TNA, CAB129/93, C (58) 120, 4 June 1958, Appendix C: United Kingdom High Commissioner in Australia to Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, Canberra, 28 February 1958.

42 TNA, DO35/9619, Speech by the Right Honourable Harold Macmillan, M.P., Prime Minister of the United Kingdom at the Parliamentary Luncheon in Brisbane, 31 January 1958. On the new Anglo-Australian Trade Agreement, see also Ogawa, 'Britain's Commonwealth Dilemma', pp. 9–10.

enthusiastic — a splendid “civic reception” and so forth’.<sup>43</sup> Macmillan and his wife spent the weekend in the countryside. On Saturday, 1 February, they left Brisbane for Caloundra, where they saw a surf carnival. They drove to Nambour where they were received by the municipal authorities and representatives of the sugar-cane industry, whose interests were largely protected by the Commonwealth Sugar Agreement mentioned by Macmillan the previous day. The Macmillans drove to Banyak Suka, a country property about 40 miles away from Brisbane, and stayed there for two nights. On Sunday, they inspected an experimental laboratory of Imperial Chemical Industries (ICI) on the estate.

On the morning of 3 February, Macmillan and his wife left Banyak Suka and drove directly to Brisbane Airport, from where they left for Sydney. On their arrival at Sydney Airport, they were met by J. J. Cahill, the Premier of New South Wales. They then drove to Kirribilli House — a seaside guest house maintained by the Australian Government — next to Sydney Harbour, where they stayed during their visit to Sydney. The Macmillans attended a luncheon party at Government House given by the Governor of New South Wales, Sir Eric Woodward. Late afternoon, Macmillan attended a reception at Parliament House given by the New South Wales Branch of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association.

At the State Dinner given by Cahill at Hotel Australia, Macmillan made a speech mainly on the Commonwealth, the United States, and the Cold War. After referring to the threat of Communism and the necessity of strengthening the unity of the Free World, he stressed the special importance of ‘our own British Commonwealth’. He argued that the Commonwealth was founded on the ‘principles of freedom which it is our object and purpose to defend. We in the Commonwealth can make a most significant contribution to this great world struggle in which we are now engaged’. He then emphasised the importance of the close relationship between the Commonwealth countries and ‘that other great Anglo-Saxon democracy, the United States of America’. Macmillan went on to say that ‘[h]ere are the great English-speaking peoples of the world, with all their common heritage in the past, and with all their common interests in the present and all their common aims and ambitions for the future. ... We stand united in support of the causes of Parliamentary democracy and individual freedom. We are together seeking to rally all the nations of the free world in support of those causes’.<sup>44</sup>

On the morning of 4 February, Macmillan visited the factory of the British Motor Corporation (BMC) and then drove to Town Hall to attend a civic reception given by the Lord Mayor of Sydney. In the speech at Town Hall, Macmillan praised the tradition of local government widely prevalent among the Commonwealth countries. He argued that that tradition was based on the shared principles — self-government, civic sense, the desire to serve, citizens’ sense of duty, and their pride in their cities.<sup>45</sup> In the afternoon, the Macmillans attended a reception at the Trocadero Ballroom given by the Conference of Joint Empire Societies. They were received by Major Cecil Chapman, President of the Overseas League. Macmillan met

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43 HMD, 3 February 1958, quoted in Macmillan, *Riding the Storm*, p. 405.

44 TNA, DO35/9619, Speech by the Rt. Hon. Harold Macmillan at the State Dinner, Sydney, 3 February 1958.

45 TNA, DO35/9619, Speech by Rt. Hon. Harold Macmillan, M.P., Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, on the occasion of the Civic Reception tendered to him and Lady Dorothy Macmillan at Sydney Town Hall, 4 February 1958.

'Empire-minded' — and more or less increasingly 'Commonwealth-minded' — parliamentarians and leading citizens, who were supposedly the embodiment of the tradition of Parliamentary democracy and traditional ties within the British Empire and the Commonwealth. In the evening, Macmillan was entertained to dinner by Lord Carrington and met with a number of leading citizens of Sydney.

The next morning, Macmillan inspected some animals which had been brought from the Sydney Zoo and then went on a tour of Sydney Harbour on an open motorboat of the Sydney Maritime Services Board. At two o'clock in the afternoon, both the Macmillans left Kirribilli House for Sydney Airport and took off for Melbourne. They arrived at Melbourne Airport, where they were met by H. E. Bolte, the Premier of Victoria. Macmillan made a brief statement to the press at the airport and went to Government House, where the Macmillans were received by the Governor of Victoria, Sir Dallas Brooks, and Lady Brooks.

At the State Dinner given by Bolte, Macmillan made a speech which was widely reported and 'undoubtedly made a deep impression'.<sup>46</sup> He said that Britain's supreme objective was to prevent war, and for that purpose, Britain relied primarily on the strategic nuclear deterrent. He stressed that it was in the interest of the Free World as a whole that Britain should be 'a first-class nuclear power'. He explained Britain's strategy to organize the East of Suez naval forces as a task force consisting of an aircraft carrier and supporting forces, which would be capable of acting alone if necessary. He added that many countries in this region faced the menace of Communist China, but the greater danger was not large-scale military aggression, but 'subversion, infiltration and minor probing', and this could be dealt with most effectively by maintaining conventional forces on the ground. He insisted that Britain had already made it clear that it would maintain substantial land, sea, and air forces in Southeast Asia and the Far East and that the British Far East Fleet would continue to be based in Singapore.<sup>47</sup>

On 6 February, Macmillan planted a tree at the Shrine of Remembrance in Melbourne at 10.15 a.m. He visited Victoria Barracks, where he met senior British Officers of the Defence Services and attended a reception given by Sir Philip McBride, the Australian Minister of Defence. Shortly afterwards, he attended a luncheon given by the Victorian Chambers of Commerce and Manufacture and made a speech to an audience of more than 800 people. Macmillan said that, while he understood that there was a feeling of disappointment that Britain could not invest more in Australia, Britain had provided 65 per cent of the private capital that had come to Australia since 1946. He also referred to the growing manufacturing industries in Australia which were expected to stimulate and increase the trade between Britain and Australia in the long run. He concluded his speech by saying that Britain would do its best

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46 TNA, CAB129/93, C (58) 120, 4 June 1958, Appendix C: United Kingdom High Commissioner in Australia to Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, Canberra, 28 February 1958.

47 NAS, DIS315/57, Pt. 1, 'Defence Policy in S. E. Asia', Press Release issued from the Office of the Commissioner General for the United Kingdom in South East Asia, Phoenix Park, Singapore, 6 February 1958. However, as the Macmillan government increasingly relied on nuclear weapons, the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND) — 'coalesced out of a range of smaller leftist and pacifist groups' — was established and called for Britain's unilateral nuclear disarmament. Jose Harris, 'Tradition and Transformation: Society and Civil Society in Britain, 1945–2001', in Kathleen Burk, ed., *The British Isles since 1945* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), p. 105.

to play its part in joint endeavours with Australia. In the afternoon, Macmillan visited Geelong, where he was received by the Mayor and called on the Shell Company refinery. In Australia, Macmillan visited some major British multinational companies — the ICI's experimental laboratory, the BMC's factory, and the Shell Company refinery — which demonstrated Britain's substantial local investment. In the evening, he was entertained to dinner by Lord Carrington and met with a number of leading citizens of Melbourne. Afterwards, Macmillan and his wife attended a civic reception at Town Hall given by the Lord Mayor of Melbourne.<sup>48</sup>

On 7 February, at 9.30 a.m., Macmillan left for Dandenong and visited an industrial development area. He then went to Nunawading where he visited a migrant hostel and was received by Harold Holt, the Minister of Labour and National Service. On the following day, the Macmillans flew from Melbourne to Hobart. At eleven o'clock, they arrived at Hobart Airport and were met by the Premier of Tasmania, Robert Cosgrave. Macmillan met the press informally at the airport, and then he and his wife drove to Government House, where they were received by the Governor, Sir Ronald Cross, and Lady Cross.

In his speech at the State Luncheon given by Cosgrave at Parliament House, Macmillan said that it was remarkable to find himself surrounded by 'people, scenery and townships that are as English as those to which I return in a few days' time', though he was in Tasmania where 'I could hardly be further away from my own home'. He did not forget to add that 'I say English because it is of England particularly that your lovely island reminds me — although I suppose the Scots get here, too'. Then, Macmillan described Australia as 'a free and sovereign State' and said that close partnership between the two countries 'must be, and is, a partnership based on equality', while he could not 'fail to notice the tremendous loyalty to our sovereign Queen of which I have seen so many expressions since I set foot in Australia'. He concluded his speech by saying that the partnership between Britain and Australia was 'something more than a business or political partnership. It is a tradition founded on sentiment and sustained by faith. Twice in my lifetime it has been tested by dark days of bereavement and anxiety. We have shared our sorrows and our triumphs — our defeats and our victories. It is in this spirit that I bring to you a message of affectionate greetings from all the British people'.<sup>49</sup>

On Sunday, 9 February, Macmillan and his wife went to church at Hobart and the former read the lessons. He spent the rest of the day resting, while his recorded message was delivered on the Australian Broadcasting Corporation (ABC) in the evening. Macmillan referred to his visits to Australia's 'great cities' and their surrounding towns and countryside, while again stressing the importance of 'this new and different Commonwealth of Nations which is, I believe, by its very nature fitted to play a vital role in the great moral issue which now divides the world — the struggle between tyranny and justice'. He concluded by stating that, while he had been in Australia, 'I have had much to say about the interdependence of all the nations of the free world. But between Britain and Australia there is something more than this —

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48 TNA, DO35/9619, Speech by the Rt. Hon. Harold Macmillan, Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, to the Victorian Chambers of Commerce and Manufactures at Melbourne, 6 February 1958.

49 TNA, DO35/9619, Speech by the Rt. Hon. Harold Macmillan, Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, at the State Luncheon at Hobart, Tasmania on the 8th February 1958.

something more, even, than partnership. We are members of one family. And this brotherhood between us will enable us, within the widening circle of the new Commonwealth, to exercise an increasing influence in the cause of peace and freedom'.<sup>50</sup> At eleven o'clock in the morning on 10 February (Macmillan's sixty-fourth birthday), both the Macmillans attended a civic reception given by the Lord Mayor of Hobart at Town Hall. The Prime Minister's party left Hobart Airport, arrived at Canberra, and drove to Government House, where Macmillan met Casey.

On 11 February, at 10.30 a.m., Macmillan again attended a Cabinet meeting of Australia at Parliament House. In this meeting, Menzies and Macmillan said that they expected the Commonwealth Trade and Economic Conference, which was to be held in September 1958 in Montreal, to contribute to bringing the Commonwealth countries together and especially reducing Canadian dependence on the United States. Then, Menzies and John McEwen, the Australian Minister for Trade, stressed the importance of the EEC and European FTA proposals for Australia and expressed their support for the British policy. They said that they recognised that important issues — political and defence as well as trade — were at stake. On the other hand, they also expressed their concerns about possible effects on Australian primary products and questioned whether Britain's unwavering attitude could be maintained in the long run. Macmillan admitted that it was difficult to know what would happen in the long run, but reassured them that it was not Britain's intention to make agricultural concessions. At the end of the meeting, Australian ministers asked for the sympathetic interest of the British Government in their attempts to increase the flow of British migrants to Australia.<sup>51</sup>

In the afternoon, both Prime Ministers had a meeting at Parliament House. Some Australian ministers were also present. Macmillan said that Britain did not have any reservations about its support for the existence of ANZUS. He added that he detected some impression on the part of the United States that ANZAM was 'some sort of survival of colonialism'. He insisted, however, that it was really necessary for the four powers which could deploy effective defence forces — the United States, Australia, New Zealand, and the United Kingdom — to undertake some joint consideration of defence policy for Southeast Asia. Macmillan thought that his close relations with Eisenhower were such that he could make this suggestion to the President of the United States. Menzies believed that Macmillan 'may well be able to use his present relationship with the United States to get closer to its thoughts'. It was agreed between the two Prime Ministers that Macmillan would speak to Eisenhower at a suitable opportunity bilaterally and then work towards bringing Australia and New Zealand into the arrangements later on. Macmillan added that, pending reactions to his approach, ANZAM's present role should be maintained.

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50 TNA, DO35/9619, Broadcast by the Rt. Hon. Harold Macmillan, M.P., Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, to be delivered on the A.B.C. Stations at 7.15 p.m. on Sunday the 9th February, 1958.

51 TNA, DO35/8382, United Kingdom High Commissioner in Australia to Commonwealth Relations Office, telegram No. 201, 13 February 1958. During the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Meeting held from June to July 1957, the idea to hold a Commonwealth Trade and Economic Conference was originally advanced by John G. Diefenbaker, the Canadian Prime Minister, in order to reduce Canada's dependence on the United States by re-strengthening its economic ties with the Commonwealth. Ogawa, 'Britain's Commonwealth Dilemma', p. 10.

On the question of the two Chinas, Casey referred to the possibility that the People's Republic of China would be recognised separately from Taiwan. He argued that there was, of course, no certainty that Beijing would accept recognition on the basis of mainland China alone, but this might be the only basis on which the majority of countries would consider recognition. Macmillan noted these views but commented that the United States was still firmly against taking any action on the recognition of Communist China. Menzies said that the point was raised only for future consideration.<sup>52</sup> Indeed, when Macmillan had visited Washington in October 1957, he and his Foreign Secretary (Selwyn Lloyd) had to concede to the American position that nothing should be done to admit Communist China as a member of the United Nations.<sup>53</sup>

Casey then referred to the appeal which Sir Oliver Goonetilleke, the Governor-General of Ceylon, had made to various countries for 'very large assistance' for reconstruction after the flood in the previous year had caused extensive damage to Ceylon. Casey went on to say that in Australia's view great caution should be exercised while considering anything like the possibly exaggerated amount requested by the Ceylonese. Macmillan pointed out that Britain had given some assistance to meet immediate needs after the flood. For long-term reconstruction, the United Kingdom had taken the position that Ceylon's first step was to assess the damage and devise a practical programme of reconstruction. Finally, Macmillan and Menzies agreed that, if they were asked at their joint press conference later on the same day on the use of nuclear weapons by Commonwealth forces in Southeast Asia, their answers should as much as possible be on the lines of '[w]e have not discussed any such arrangement'. Macmillan added that he saw no objection to a joint examination by the two air forces of the technical facilities for using nuclear weapons in Southeast Asia, and that he would consider promoting such discussions on his return to Britain.<sup>54</sup>

Macmillan and Menzies gave a joint press conference at Parliament House. This press conference held immediately before Macmillan's departure covered a wide range of topics, such as British and Australian defence contributions in Southeast Asia, the FTA proposal in Europe, the Commonwealth Trade and Economic Conference, safeguards for Australian agricultural exports to the United Kingdom, and Britain's migration policy and investments in Australia. Then, Menzies remarked that Macmillan's visit to Australia 'has been beyond all question a wonderful success'. In addition, according to Carrington's account, 'the same thought was repeated in the extremely friendly leading articles which appeared in all the principal newspapers on the Prime Minister's departure'.<sup>55</sup>

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52 TNA, CAB129/93, C (58) 120, 4 June 1958, Appendix B: Record of a Meeting held at Parliament House, Canberra, at 2.45 p.m. on 11th February, 1958.

53 National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, RG59, Department of State, Conference Files, Box 136, CF926, MTW MC-3, Macmillan Talks, Washington, October 23–25, 1957, Memorandum of Conversation, 'US-UK Cooperation', October 23, 1957, White House.

54 TNA, CAB129/93, C (58) 120, 4 June 1958, Appendix B: Record of a Meeting held at Parliament House, Canberra, at 2.45 p.m. on 11th February, 1958.

55 TNA, PREM11/2219, United Kingdom High Commissioner in Australia to Commonwealth Relations Office, No. 36 Saving, Australia Fortnightly Summary Part I, 1st–14th February, 1958, 14 February 1958; TNA, CAB129/93, C (58) 120, 4 June 1958, Appendix C: United Kingdom High Commissioner in Australia to Secretary of State for

According to Sampson, the Australian part of the tour was 'the most triumphant sector. Macmillan, helped by the breezy high commissioner, Lord Carrington, managed to put himself over to the Australians more effectively than he had ever done in Britain. The extroversion and noise seemed to break down his reserve, and away from sceptical Britishers he became suddenly almost jolly ... He had long talks with his host, Robert Menzies ... and made tactful speeches stressing the importance of the multi-racial Commonwealth'.<sup>56</sup> Furthermore, Thorpe pointed out that 'Australia did wonders for his self-esteem. In other countries he had been received with respect, and, in New Zealand, enthusiasm. In Australia it was genuine affection. Undoubtedly it helped that the Australian Prime Minister was Macmillan's old friend, "Bob" Menzies'.<sup>57</sup>

At eight o'clock in the evening on 11 February, Macmillan and his party left Canberra for Singapore on their way back to London. The aircraft landed at Darwin for refuelling and arrived at Singapore early next morning. In Singapore, Macmillan held a press conference soon after arrival, met with British businessmen, drove around the city for two hours, and had a discussion with Lim Yew Hock, the Chief Minister of Singapore. In the early morning on 13 February, Macmillan's party left Singapore for London. The Britannia aeroplane stopped at Calcutta (now Kolkata, India), Karachi (Pakistan), Bahrain, and Nicosia (Cyprus) for refuelling and arrived in London around noon on 14 February 1958.

## Conclusion

The New Zealand and Australian part of Macmillan's Commonwealth tour demonstrated that strong sentimental ties still existed between Britain and the two old Dominions. These emotional ties were made even stronger by Macmillan's visit. According to Carrington's report to London sent after Macmillan's departure from Australia, it became 'increasingly evident as the tour progressed that Mr. Macmillan was achieving a great personal success; the welcome which he received from the general public in Brisbane and Melbourne in particular was striking. Full press and radio coverage of Mr. Macmillan's activities and speeches was sustained throughout the tour and leading articles were very friendly. There is no doubt that the Prime Minister's visit has given the United Kingdom a great boost both with Australian Ministers and with the general public'.<sup>58</sup> In addition, as Mallaby reported from Wellington in his aforementioned despatch to Lord Home, the reactions in New Zealand were as enthusiastic as those in Australia.

However, the effects of a single visit, though a long one, could not be very long-lived. Additionally, sentimental ties, even though they were strong, could not completely dissolve

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Commonwealth Relations, Canberra, 28 February 1958.

<sup>56</sup> Sampson, *Macmillan*, pp. 138–139.

<sup>57</sup> Thorpe, *Supermac*, p. 408.

<sup>58</sup> TNA, PREM11/2119, United Kingdom High Commissioner in Australia to Commonwealth Relations Office, telegram No. 196, 12 February 1958.

fundamental differences in national interests. Indeed, New Zealand and Australia sought to renegotiate the Ottawa Agreements of 1932 and replaced them with the new trade agreements with reduced preferential margins for British goods in their markets. Britain also pursued its own European FTA proposal and reinforced New Zealand and Australian support during Macmillan's visit, though it eventually failed due to France's veto by the end of 1958. Despite Macmillan's repeated reassurances, it became increasingly clear that Britain could no longer send a sufficient number of migrants to New Zealand and Australia, because of Britain's relatively low unemployment rate (especially in the late 1940s and 1950s) and the increased demand for population growth for economic development in the two old Dominions in the postwar years.

Furthermore, Macmillan himself was to lead the transition of Britain's external policy towards its first application to join the EEC in 1961, despite substantial anxieties expressed by some Commonwealth countries (particularly Canada, Australia, and New Zealand) over its negative impacts on Anglo-Commonwealth relations. Macmillan wrote in his memoirs that, when his government tried to accede to the EEC, '[c]ertainly the Commonwealth aspects of the problem overshadowed all others — politically, economically and, above all, emotionally'.<sup>59</sup> Within the Conservative Party and among its strong supporters in particular, there were many people who attached great importance to the traditional ties with the old Dominions. It was also pointed out in a British Cabinet meeting that the general public tended to have a lot of expectations for the Commonwealth as a multi-racial association.<sup>60</sup> Therefore, the Macmillan government had to pay special attention to the interests of the Commonwealth when it made an application to join the EEC in order to alleviate opposition within Britain as well as from the Commonwealth partners. However, the Macmillan government's attempts to safeguard the interests of the Commonwealth, together with those of British farmers with which the Conservatives also had close links, made Britain's first bid to join the EEC extremely difficult to achieve and became one of the major reasons for its eventual failure.

Macmillan repeatedly stressed the importance of the 'New Commonwealth', which included newly-independent Asian and African states to the ministers and the public of New Zealand and Australia. Particularly, he reiterated the crucial role which India and Nehru could play in the increasingly globalised Cold War. While Nash made favourable remarks about Nehru, Menzies and Australian ministers seem to have refrained from expressing positive opinions about Asian and African members of the Commonwealth. Macmillan could only achieve partial success on this issue. Indeed, at the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Meeting in March 1961, the Commonwealth countries were severely divided on the question of the Union of South Africa's continued membership after it became a republic. When Asian and African member states strongly criticised apartheid South Africa's continued membership, Menzies took the side of Pretoria. Macmillan and Keith Holyoake (New Zealand Prime Minister from December 1960) tried to reconcile the polarised attitudes among the

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59 Harold Macmillan, *At the End of the Day 1961–1963* (London: Macmillan, 1973), p. 7.

60 TNA, CAB128/35, CC (61) 22, 20 April 1961.

Commonwealth countries and keep South Africa within the Commonwealth, while they were also critical of apartheid. However, Macmillan's efforts (with Holyoake) did not succeed and South Africa eventually withdrew from the Commonwealth when it became the Republic of South Africa in May 1961.<sup>61</sup>

Macmillan's Commonwealth tour of 1958 was widely and favourably covered by the press in Britain and other Commonwealth countries, and could basically be considered a success. However, as regionalisation — both in Europe and, to a lesser extent, in the Asia-Pacific — and anti-racism became stronger from the late 1950s onwards, it became increasingly difficult to maintain the cohesion of the globalised and multi-racial 'New Commonwealth'. Macmillan's Commonwealth tour of 1958 was carried out in the midst of these growing tides. Therefore, its effects could only be rather short-lived, while Britain and the Commonwealth as a whole were to face increasing difficulties particularly from the early 1960s onwards.

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61 Ronald Hyam, 'The Parting of the Ways: Britain and South Africa's Departure from the Commonwealth, 1951–61', *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, Vol. 26, No. 2 (1998) pp. 157–175.



# Core and Periphery in Anglo-Saxon England: The Mercian Assemblies in the Kingdom of the Anglo-Saxons and the Formation of the English Kingdom\*

Yuta Uchikawa\*\*

## Abstract

In 927, the kingdom of the English was formed for the first time by King Æthelstan (r. 924–939). In his assemblies, all the peoples within the kingdom and from other parts of Britain gathered; the assembly embodied the structure of the core, semi-periphery, and periphery in early medieval Britain by tightening the existing ties between the West Saxons and the Mercians and integrating new peoples from the peripheral region.

In the period just before this, however, assemblies operated in a totally different way. In the kingdom of the Anglo-Saxons (c. 880–927), there were two distinct assemblies for the West Saxons and the Mercians. Although this period has been acknowledged by many scholars as a crucial stage in the process of the formation of the English kingdom led by the West Saxon kingship, which absorbed the former kingdom of the Mercians into its control in the course of the struggle with the Vikings, the details of governance of the Mercians have not been paid due attention because of the sporadic nature of remaining sources. Nevertheless, since the assembly was the principal mechanism of governance in the early medieval Europe, its function in the Mercian realm merits further investigation to understand how and the extent to which West Saxon kings integrated their long-time rival into the newly founded polity.

Thus, in this paper, I reconstruct the Mercian assembly convened by Æthelred, Lord of the Mercians (r. c. 880–911) and his wife Æthelflæd, Lady of the Mercians (r. 911–918) in this period by using all the available sources, i.e., charters and narrative sources, analysing its function in various aspects (place, time, attendance, and business). Then, the West Saxon intervention, namely, by King Alfred (r. 871–899) and his son King Edward the Elder (r. 899–924), to the Mercian assemblies is considered by categorising it into several types. Finally, the role of the Mercian assemblies in the context of core-periphery structure formed in this period is revisited.

**Keywords:** Anglo-Saxon England, Assemblies, Charters, Core and Periphery, Kingdom of the Anglo-Saxons, Mercia, Wessex

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## 1. Introduction<sup>1</sup>

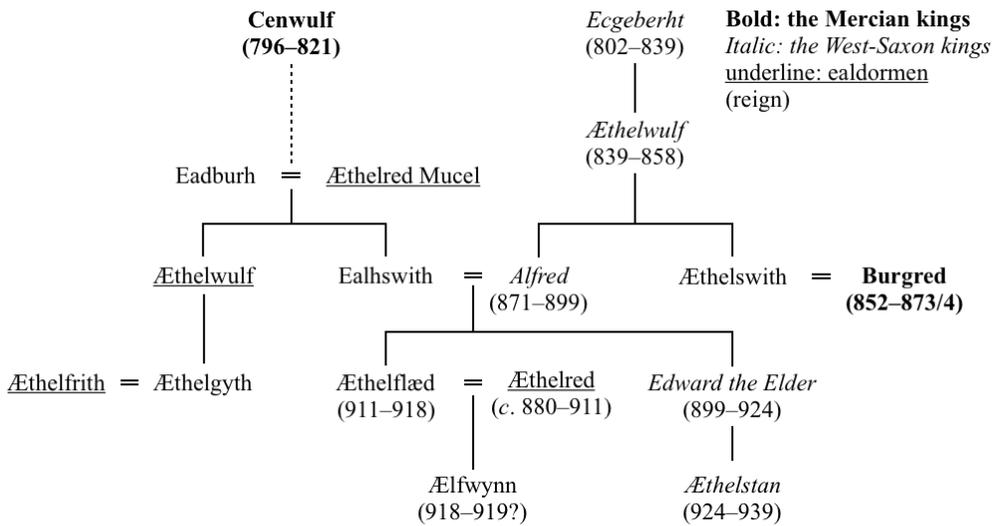
### 1.1. THE MERCIANS, THE DWELLERS ON THE BOUNDARY

The Mercians, who have dwelt in the region almost equivalent to the present-day Midlands, derive their name from the Old English word *mearc*, ‘a limit, boundary’.<sup>2</sup> Although ‘The Dwellers on the Boundary in the Midlands’, or ‘peripheral people in the core’ for our purpose, sounds rather strange, it tells something of the historical course they followed. Among many Germanic peoples who migrated to Britain in the mid-fifth century, the Mercians settled in the upper Trent Valley, which was situated on the frontier either between Northumbria and Southumbria or between the Anglo-Saxons and the Britons.<sup>3</sup> In the seventh century, they experienced rivalry with Northumbria, which held *imperium* or overlordship over the lands south of the Humber at that time.<sup>4</sup> In the eighth century, they acquired the *imperium* under King Æthelbald (r. 716–757) and King Offa (r. 757–796) and became the core.<sup>5</sup> Around the end of the century, however, they failed to maintain their position due to the conflict in the royal succession, the rise of the West Saxons and the beginning of the Viking attacks. The ninth century saw the decline of the Mercians, first by losing dependent kingdoms, then by surrendering the eastern part of Mercia including their homeland to the Scandinavians and confining themselves to the western Mercia with Gloucester and Worcester in the Severn Valley as their political and ecclesiastical centres and eventually by becoming part of the new polity King Alfred (r. 871–899) of the West Saxons created. They became ‘the Dwellers on the Boundary’ once again.

### 1.2. THE WEST SAXONS AND THE FORMATION OF THE KINGDOM OF THE ANGLO-SAXONS AND BEYOND

Thus the West Saxons came to the fore and England was gradually formed in the ninth and tenth centuries by their kings. After the Viking invasion, King Ecgerht of Wessex (r. 802–838)

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- 1 Below is the list of abbreviations used in this paper. *ASC*: *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, trans. M. Swanton (London, 1996) (cited as e.g. ‘ASC A 793’, which means ‘in the year of 793 in the Manuscript A of *ASC*’); *Asser*: *Asser’s Life of King Alfred together with the Annals of Saint Neots erroneously ascribed to Asser*, ed. W. H. Stevenson (Oxford, 1904); *Vita Alfredi*, in *Asser’s Life of King Alfred and Other Contemporary Sources*, trans. S. Keynes and M. Lapidge (London, 1983) (cited with chapter numbers); *Æthelweard*: *The Chronicle of Æthelweard*, ed. and trans. A. Campbell (Toronto/New York, 1962); Hill, *Atlas: An Atlas of Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. D. Hill (Oxford, 1981); Keynes, *Atlas: An Atlas of Attestations in Anglo-Saxon Charters c. 670–1066*, rev. edn., ed. S. Keynes (Cambridge, 2002); *MR*: *Mercian Register in ASC BC*; *PASE*: *Prosopography of Anglo-Saxon England* ([www.pase.ac.uk/](http://www.pase.ac.uk/)), accessed 10/6/2019, (cited as e.g. PASE Æthelred 1); *S*: *Anglo-Saxon Charters: An Annotated List and Bibliography*, ed. P. H. Sawyer (London, 1968); *Electronic Sawyer* ([www.esawyer.org.uk](http://www.esawyer.org.uk)), accessed 10/6/2019 (cited with charter numbers). Other literature will be referred by the author’s surname and year of publication from the second appearance.
- 2 J. Bosworth and T. N. Toller, *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary Based on the Manuscript Collections of the late Joseph Bosworth*, enlarged edn. (Oxford, 1898, 1921); <http://www.bosworthtoller.com/> (accessed 10/6/2019), s.v. *mearc*.
- 3 C. Hart, ‘The Kingdom of the Mercians’, in *Mercian Studies*, ed. A. Dornier (Leicester, 1977), 43–61.
- 4 Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum (HE)*, II, 5, ed. and trans. B. Colgrave, and R. A. B. Mynors, *Bede’s Ecclesiastical History of the English People* (Oxford, 1969).
- 5 *HE*, V, 23; F. M. Stenton, ‘The Supremacy of the Mercian Kings’, in *Preparatory to Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. D. M. Stenton (Oxford, 1970), 48–66; S. Keynes, ‘The Kingdom of the Mercians in the Eighth Century’, in *Æthelbald and Offa: Two Eighth-Century Kings of Mercia: Papers from a Conference held in Manchester in 2000*, ed. D. Hill and M. Worthington (Oxford, 2005), 1–26.



**Figure 1.** Kinship between the West Saxons and the Mercians

and his descendants took control of other Anglo-Saxon kingdoms, firstly by taking them from Mercia, then by conquering those which had been occupied by the Vikings since the mid-ninth century. Ecgeberht and his son Æthelwulf (r. 838–858) built a bipartite kingdom of the West Saxons and other peoples south of the Thames.<sup>6</sup> The latter’s son Alfred altered it to ‘the kingdom of the Anglo-Saxons’ by forging a firm connection with the Mercians.<sup>7</sup> He entrusted the remnant of Mercia to a certain ealdorman called Æthelred, Lord of the Mercians (r. c. 880–911). His kingdom was expanded by his son Edward the Elder (r. 899–924) and his daughter Æthelflæd, Lady of the Mercians (r. 911–918), who was married to Ealdorman Æthelred, so that it incorporated all the land south of the Humber. In 927, his grandson Æthelstan (r. 924–939) conquered Northumbria and became the first king of the English. The English kingdom eventually consolidated in the reign of Edgar (r. 959–975), great-grandson of Alfred. Æthelstan and his successors from time to time also claimed the overlordship upon the other British rulers and designated themselves as the king/emperor of all Britain/Albion.<sup>8</sup>

### 1.3. CORE, SEMI-PERIPHERY, AND PERIPHERY IN EARLY MEDIEVAL BRITAIN

This process of the formation of the English kingdom can be regarded as the process of creating the system of core and periphery in Britain. In this view, Wessex and the land south of the Thames served as the core, the land between the Thames and the Humber and what used to be Northumbria as the semi-periphery and other British polities such as the Welsh kingdoms

6 S. Keynes, ‘King Alfred and the Mercians’, in *Kings, Currency, and Alliances: History and Coinage of Southern England in the Ninth Century*, ed. M. Blackburn and D. N. Dumville (Rochester, 1998), 1–45.

7 It is named after the titles he began to use after c. 880: ‘the king of the Angles and the Saxons’ (*rex Anglorum et Saxonum*) and ‘the king of the Anglo-Saxons’ (*Angul-Saxonum rex*), e.g. S346, Asser 1, etc.

8 *rex/basileus totius Britanniae/Albionis*, e.g. S409, 411, etc.

and the kingdom of the Scots as the periphery. It should be noted, however, that the core-periphery relations were multi-layered and plural; Æthelred and Æthelflæd exercised a kind of overlordship over the Welsh rulers while their realm was under the West Saxon influence.<sup>9</sup> Also, there existed other core-periphery relations within each region of Britain.<sup>10</sup> Moreover, core and periphery could move with the itinerant king; this matters in the case of Æthelstan.<sup>11</sup>

#### 1.4. THE PERIOD OF THE KINGDOM OF THE ANGLO-SAXONS AND THE GOVERNANCE OF MERCIA

That said, in this process, the period of the kingdom of the Anglo-Saxons was of particular interest. According to Simon Keynes, it was not a mere alliance between Wessex and Mercia, but a completely new polity which integrated two peoples under King Alfred, who began to designate himself as the king of the Angles and Saxons against the common threat of the Vikings.<sup>12</sup> In this polity, the Mercians were regarded as ‘an integral part of Alfred’s kingdom’ and Æthelred and Æthelflæd ‘operated from the start under Edward’s overall control’.<sup>13</sup>

The detail of how Mercia was governed, however, has not attracted much attention yet. Although it is well known that Æthelred and Æthelflæd held it as autonomous rulers since West Saxon kings rarely travelled beyond the Thames,<sup>14</sup> little study has been done on the aspects of their rule such as when, where, to whom, with whom, and how they exercised their power. What prevents us from understanding the reality of their governance is the scarcity of evidence, but it can be approached by focusing on assemblies and charters issued there.

#### 1.5. ASSEMBLIES IN THE EARLY MIDDLE AGES AND IN ANGLO-SAXON ENGLAND

Like in other polities in early medieval Europe, the assembly in Anglo-Saxon England functioned as an effective and central device which enabled the rulers to govern their realms often lacking regional administrative units and centralized bureaucratic structure.<sup>15</sup> All kinds of matters such as grants of lands and privileges, legislations of laws, settlement of disputes, marriage, peace-making, muster, election and deposition of kings, coronation, celebrations of feasts, liturgies, funerals, etc. were conducted, discussed with counsellors and settled with their consent. It was known as *gemot* in Old English and *conventus* and *concilium* in Latin by the Anglo-Saxons, the attendees of which were collectively called *witan* in Old English and *senatores*, *seniores* and *sapientes* in Latin, which mean or imply ‘wise men’.<sup>16</sup> It should be distinguished from a church council, which was called *synodus* in Anglo-Saxon sources, even

9 Asser 80; *MR* 916; *ASC* A 922 (recte 918).

10 E.g. high-kings of Tara in Ireland, kings of the Scots, etc.

11 See ‘2.4. Business’ and ‘4. Conclusion’ below.

12 Keynes 1998, 34–39.

13 Keynes 1998, 35–38.

14 Hill, *Atlas*, maps 147, 154. Alternatively, if one supposes that the West Saxon kings were present at the Mercian assemblies even though they were not recorded in charters, they must have travelled across the Thames more often than previously thought and the maps cited here must be redrawn, which is unlikely as demonstrated below.

15 T. Reuter, ‘Assembly Politics in Western Europe from the Eighth Century to Twelfth’, in *The Medieval World*, ed. P. A. Linehan and J. L. Nelson (London, 2001), 432–50. F. Liebermann, *The National Assembly in the Anglo-Saxon Period* (New York, 1913) pioneered the study of the Anglo-Saxon assemblies. Recent synthesis is L. Roach, *Kingship and Consent in Anglo-Saxon England, 871–978: Assemblies and the State in the Early Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 2013).

16 Liebermann 1913, 6–12; Roach 2013, 20–21.

though both took place often at the same occasion.<sup>17</sup>

From the reign of Æthelstan, the main and virtually only arena in which core, semi-periphery, and periphery interacted with each other was the assembly convened by the kings of the English. In assemblies of Æthelstan onwards, both secular and ecclesiastical orders from all over England and sometimes other British rulers gathered and their activity was recorded in charters made on the occasion. For the English kings, assemblies at the same time ‘contributed to a growing sense of unity’ among peoples within England and were ‘intended to assimilate new subjects, to tie the periphery more closely to the royal court’ as Levi Roach and John Maddicott put it respectively.<sup>18</sup> For rulers outside England, on the other hand, the occasion provided the opportunity to show their obedience and closeness to the kings of the English/Britain, expect generous gifts from them and secure their position within their own realms. Therefore, the assemblies of the English functioned to make the relation between the core and periphery visible and strengthen it.

As such, assemblies have drawn much attention, especially since the 2000s.<sup>19</sup> Most of the works on the assemblies, however, focus on those of Æthelstan onwards, that is, those of the period in which the structure of core and periphery already existed. This is partly because Æthelstan’s assemblies are thought as the origin of the Parliament by some scholars.<sup>20</sup> Consequently, it is unclear how this structure appeared. Thus, it is worth examining the period just before the birth of the kingdom of the English and the role played by assemblies in it in order to have a better understanding of the structure which would last for centuries and have a not insignificant influence even to present-day Britain.

Before Æthelstan, in the period of the kingdom of the Anglo-Saxons, assemblies worked in a completely different way. There was not one assembly of the Anglo-Saxons, but two separate assemblies for the West Saxons and the Mercians.<sup>21</sup> It does not mean, however, that Wessex was unable or unwilling to expand their control into Mercia. On the contrary, to allow the semi-peripheral and autonomous Mercians to operate their own assemblies could be interpreted as a deliberate strategy of the West Saxon kings during the transitional period in order to integrate the formerly mighty and independent kingdom with different traditions into their own without being too aggressive. In fact, they never let the Mercians govern themselves in a fully independent way, but intervened in the Mercian assemblies intermittently when their interests such as economic rights, territorial ambition and kinship with and patronage to the Mercian elites were concerned. In doing so, the West Saxon kings attempted to secure control over Mercia, while at the same time injecting their kingship into the Mercians in an acceptable

17 C. R. E. Cubitt, *Anglo-Saxon Church Councils c. 650–c. 850* (London, 1995), 3–8.

18 Roach 2013, 212–213; 213, n. 4; J. R. Maddicott, *The Origins of the English Parliament, 924–1327* (Oxford, 2010), 7.

19 C. Insley, ‘Assemblies and Charters in Late Anglo-Saxon England’, in Barnwell and Mostert 2003, 47–60; Maddicott 2010; Roach 2013; S. Keynes, ‘Church Councils, Royal Assemblies, and Anglo-Saxon Royal Diplomas’, in *Kingship, legislation and power in Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. G. R. Owen-Crocker and B. W. Schneider (Woodbridge, 2013), 17–184.

20 Maddicott 2010.

21 There were joint assemblies of the West Saxons and the Mercians, but these were the exception. See ‘3.1. Joint Assemblies’ below. Molyneux also mentions separate assemblies in this period briefly in G. Molyneux, *The Formation of the English Kingdom in the Tenth Century* (Oxford, 2015), 56.

way. However, this policy seems to have been abandoned in the later period of Edward's reign and after some turmoil appeared a new kingdom with one assembly.

Thus, in this paper, I focus on the Mercian assemblies in the period of the kingdom of the Anglo-Saxons (c. 880–927) by using charters issued at them and narrative sources which mention them, and attempt to show the role they had in the formation of the English kingdom and thus of the creation of the core and periphery in England/Britain. Firstly, various aspects of the Mercian assemblies, that is, places, times, attendance and business are examined. Then, the intervention in the Mercian assemblies by the West Saxon kings is discussed.

#### 1.6. SOURCES

Of law-codes, charters, and narrative sources, which would tell us about the reality of the Mercian assemblies, Mercian law-codes are not known, and we must concentrate on the latter two. In a broad sense, charters can signify all types of documents listed by Peter Sawyer.<sup>22</sup> Here we will deal with charters in a narrow sense, that is, title-deeds of lands and privileges, and notifications, which record dispute settlements. Since they were made at assemblies, they have prime importance for understanding assemblies.<sup>23</sup> Where they are not available, narrative sources can supply additional information. They are extant as original or copy in single-sheets, or compiled into cartularies at various religious houses. Some are lost and others are forgeries or with interpolations. Accordingly, we must always deal with them carefully.

In terms of assemblies, the witness list incorporated into charters has significance;<sup>24</sup> the attendees and their hierarchy can be reconstructed from it. It was written on a strip of parchment at assemblies and handed over to the scribe responsible for making a charter. It was inserted into a due place on the charter and sometimes the original list was attached to it.<sup>25</sup> Secular and ecclesiastical elites are found on it, listed in order of each rank: kings, queens, other members of royal blood, underkings, archbishops, bishops, ealdormen, abbots, priests, thegns and so on. Though it is not certain that all those attending were listed, the number can be taken as the minimum. In the case of charters in cartularies, however, witness lists are often abbreviated or even omitted.<sup>26</sup> The importance of the witness list as a method of authentication was widely acknowledged by contemporaries.<sup>27</sup>

Thirty-three documents related to the Mercian assemblies, including charters issued by the West Saxon kings and Bishop Wærferth of Worcester (r. 869×892–907×915), are known.<sup>28</sup>

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22 See note 1 above.

23 Considering the facts that almost all magnates were listed in the witness list and there was no mention to courts while there was to assemblies, it is safe to estimate that charters were issued exclusively in assemblies. Roach 2013, 24–25.

24 Anglo-Saxon charters were influenced by the late Roman law via continental private charters, which need witnesses for authentication. It was suitable for the Anglo-Saxons, who did not inherit the late Roman bureaucracy and thus lacked seals and notaries to authenticate charters. Roach 2013, 27.

25 S163, 293.

26 S224 (abbreviated); 371 (omitted).

27 S346; trans. A. E. E. Jones, *Anglo-Saxon Worcester* (Worcester, 1958), 91–2.

28 S217–226, 346, 349, 361, 362, 367, 367a, 371, 1278–83, 1415, 1416, 1441, 1442, 1446, 1628, 1837–1839; H. P. R. Finberg, *The Early Charters of the West Midlands* (Edinburgh, 1961), nos. 267, 271.

Some of them are forgeries and lost.<sup>29</sup> The majority of extant charters were preserved in the Worcester cartularies. We virtually know nothing of those from other major Mercian ecclesiastical centres like Lichfield and Hereford and shall return to this point (See ‘3.5. Authority (*anweald*) over Mercia’ below). At least, the West Saxon intervention was limited even in Worcester archive, the bishop of which maintained a close relationship with the kings. It questions more intense intervention in the other parts of Mercia by the kings. Moreover, existing charters are concentrated in Æthelred’s time and only two documents remain from Æthelflæd’s. This might indicate suspension of issuing charters in her time, which was the case for the latter part of her brother Edward the Elder’s reign, or other possibilities.<sup>30</sup> When we look into narrative sources, however, a different image emerges. Relevant narrative sources are *the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, composed originally in the court of Alfred in Old English and later copied and continued in various religious houses; *the Mercian Register*, a set of annals with particular interest in Mercian affairs from 902 to 924, embedded in the Manuscripts B, C and D of *ASC*, and *the Life of King Alfred* written in Latin by Bishop Asser of Sherborne among others.

## 2. The Mercian Assemblies

+ In the reign of our Lord Christ the Saviour, when eight hundred and ninety-six years had passed since His birth, and in the fourteenth Indiction, — in that year Ealdorman Æthelred summoned together at Gloucester all the Mercian council, the bishops and the ealdormen and all his nobility; and this he did with the cognizance and leave of King Alfred. And then they deliberated there how they could most justly govern their people, both in spiritual and temporal matters, and also do justice to many men, both clerical and lay, with regard to lands and other things in which they had been wronged.<sup>31</sup>

This description of the assembly at Gloucester in 896 tells a lot about the Mercian assemblies in the kingdom of the Anglo-Saxons. Æthelred was able to convene assemblies just as his predecessors did. He was able to decide what should be done both in religious and secular affairs and settle disputes with the aid and consent of his magnates. The marked difference from previous ones was that he did all of these under the permission of King Alfred. Still, the king seems to have been absent from the occasion, for he did not appear in the dispute

29 Forgeries: S226, 349, 1282; lost: S1837–1839; Finberg 1961, nos. 267, 271.

30 From 910 until his death in 924, we have no charter of Edward. This is interpreted as the deliberate choice of Edward, who wanted to spare his landed resources to cope with the Vikings. See S. Keynes, ‘A Charter of Edward the Elder for Islington’, *Historical Research* 66 (1993), 303–328, at 314 and below.

31 S1441: ‘+ Rixiendum ussum Dryhtene þem Helendan Criste, Eftor ðon þe agan was ehta hund wintra 7 syx 7 hundnigontig Eftor his acenednesse, 7 þy feowerteoþan gebonngere, þa ðy gere gebeon Æþelred alderman alle Mercna weotan tosomne to Gleaweceastre, biscopas 7 aldermen 7 alle his duguðe; 7 ðæt dyde be Ælfreres cyninges gewitnesse 7 leafe. 7 heo þa þær smeadan hu heo ryhtlicast heora þeodscipe ægþer ge for Gode ge for weorlde gehealdan mehton, 7 ec monige men ryhtan ge godcundra hada ge weorldcundra, ge on londum ge on ma þara þinga þe heo on forhaldne weran.’; F. E. Harmer, *Select English Historical Documents of the Ninth and Tenth Centuries* (Cambridge, 1914), no. XIV, 24–5, 56–7. The modern English translation is slightly modified by me.

concerning land holding which was settled there and recorded in the same document.<sup>32</sup> His participation was minimal. In other cases, Æthelred and his counsellors even acted without any reference to Alfred.<sup>33</sup> At times, however, his influence was more visible.<sup>34</sup> As a whole, the Mercian assemblies were autonomous but not independent from the West Saxon kingship. Bearing this in mind, we will look at places, times, attendance and business of the assemblies in turn and reveal the way how it was functioning for the governance of the region.

### 2.1. PLACE

It is not usual that a charter in this period records the place where it was written. In all, we have seven places for the Mercian assemblies in this period: Droitwich (twice),<sup>35</sup> Gloucester,<sup>36</sup> Worcester,<sup>37</sup> Shrewsbury,<sup>38</sup> Risborough,<sup>39</sup> *Weardburh*<sup>40</sup> and Chelsea<sup>41</sup> (Figure 2). The first three places fall within the bishopric of Worcester, that is, the former kingdom of the Hwicce. According to charter evidence, Æthelred seems to be a descendant or have some relation to an ealdorman of the Hwicce in the early ninth century and this region could be his power base.<sup>42</sup> Though Gloucester and Worcester were major ecclesiastical centres, they also situated near the Welsh border along with Shrewsbury and *Weardburh*. Assemblies at these places were probably intended as a check against the Welsh and the Vikings.

This distribution of the assembly places sharply differs from the former pattern. In the kingdom of the Mercians, there were two areas where assemblies took place frequently: the upper Trent Valley and downstream of the Thames. The former had been the political centre of the Mercians and the latter the economic centre of Britain and where church councils used to be held.<sup>43</sup> On the other hand, there had been no assemblies in Gloucester, the centre of the former province of the Hwicce. The shift from the Trent and the Thames to the Severn reflects the consequence of the takeover of the eastern part of the kingdom by the Vikings.

When we look at the West Saxon assemblies during that period, they were confined to the south of the Thames and concentrated at their political and economic centres, Winchester and Southampton (Figure 2). There was only one assembly jointly convened by the West Saxons and the Mercians which can be located. It took place in Chelsea, which was situated on the border of two peoples.<sup>44</sup>

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32 Keynes supposes an Alfred in the witness list as King Alfred. However, he appears without a title and between thegns and the parties concerned. It is quite unusual the king is accorded no title and recorded in such position; this Alfred seems his namesake and probably of thegny class. Cf. Keynes 1998, 28–9, n. 129.

33 See note 60 below.

34 See '3. The West Saxon Intervention' below.

35 S220, 1446.

36 S1441.

37 S1283.

38 S221.

39 S219.

40 S225.

41 S1628.

42 A. Burghart, 'The Mercian Polity, 716–924', unpublished PhD thesis (King's College London, 2007), 307–9; S218, 1187.

43 Hill, *Atlas*, map. 145; Burghart 2007, Table 30; 281–283.

44 See '3.1. Joint Assemblies' below.

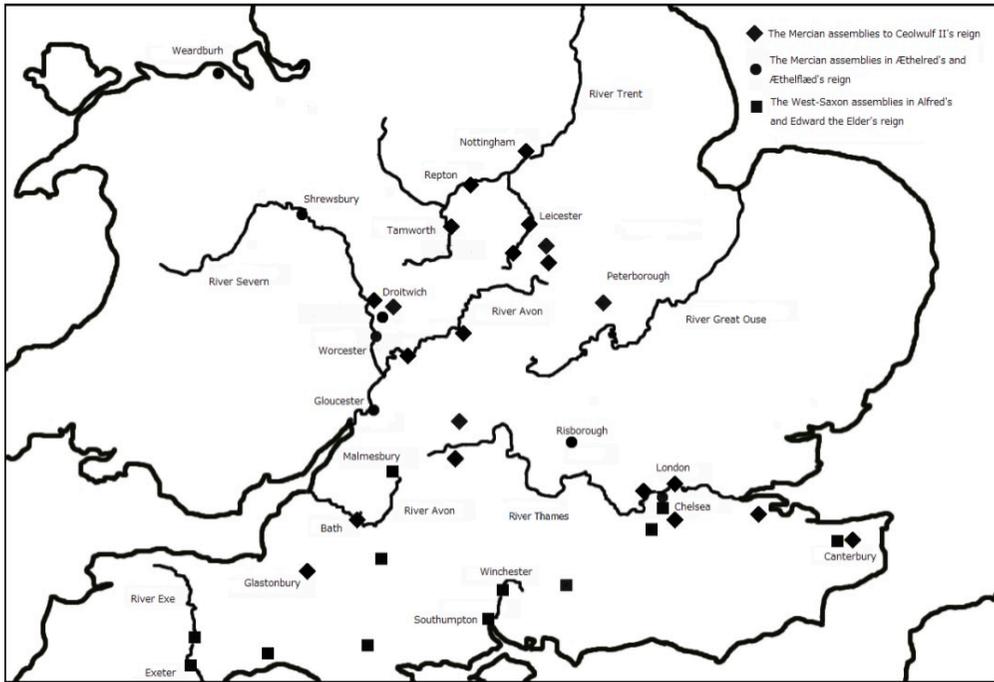


Figure 2. Assembly Places in Charters



Figure 3. Assembly Places in Narrative Sources in the Period of the Kingdom of the Anglo-Saxons

Narrative sources add some information (Figure 3). If we reckon the occasion of burh building and military campaign as an assembly just as Æthelstan held in the course of his expedition towards Scotland in 934,<sup>45</sup> we can observe a contrast between the reign of Æthelred and that of Æthelflæd. While Æthelred had the power to mobilize the Mercian army in his own right in the campaigns against the Vikings,<sup>46</sup> he also accompanied King Alfred when they reconstructed London in 886 and made peace with the Vikings at Tiddingford in 906.<sup>47</sup> On the contrary, Æthelflæd and Edward the Elder built and occupied burhs in the north-western and eastern part of the Mercian realm independently and were never in the same place. For Æthelflæd, this process can be regarded as the reconquest of former Mercian territory which her husband had not been able to reclaim from the Vikings. For Edward, however, it was undoubtedly the expansion of his kingdom into the territory never under West Saxon control before. This shows that the cooperation between Wessex and Mercia or the connection between the core and the (semi-)periphery weakened after the death of Æthelred.<sup>48</sup> Also, the pattern of Æthelflæd's assemblies might show the further shift from the Severn to the north-western Mercia due to Edward's ambition (See '3.5. Authority' below).

In this context, the significance of Tamworth in terms of assemblies was also illustrated in narrative sources; when it was reconstructed by Æthelflæd in 913, all the Mercians came there to celebrate the occasion; after her death in 918, Edward took it and all the nation of the land of Mercia and kings and people of the Welsh formerly under her control were subjected to him there; in 926, King Æthelstan and Sihtric, Viking king of York, assembled there and Æthelstan gave him her sister.<sup>49</sup> As the former 'capital' of Mercia, Tamworth probably functioned as a centre of power where Æthelflæd sought the more independent status of the Mercians, Edward firmer control of the (semi-)periphery, and Æthelstan the connection with the peripheral ruler further afield.

## 2.2. TIME

Evidence for meeting times, frequency, and duration of Æthelred's assemblies is also limited and charters often tell only the year.<sup>50</sup> On the other hand, Æthelflæd's assemblies were datable both from charters and narrative sources.

In Anglo-Saxon England, assemblies were held at any time of the year, but often church festivals, particularly Christmas, Easter, and Pentecost were favoured.<sup>51</sup> However, this tendency is not confirmed in the period of the kingdom of the Anglo-Saxons. Besides,

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45 Roach 2013, 159; S407, 425, 426.

46 *Æthelweard*, 50.

47 *ASC* A 886; *Æthelweard*, 51.

48 P. Stafford, 'Political Women in Mercia, Eighth to Early Tenth Centuries', in *Mercia: An Anglo-Saxon Kingdom in Europe*, ed. M. P. Brown and C. A. Farr (London / New York, 2001), 35–49, at 46; P. Stafford, 'The Annals of Æthelflæd: Annals, History and Politics in Early 10th-Century England', in *Myth, Rulership, Church and Charters: Essays in Honour of Nicholas Brooks*, ed. J. S. Barrow (Aldershot, 2008), 112–113.

49 *MR* 913; *ASC* A 922 (recte 918); *ASC* D 925 (recte 926).

50 Keynes, *Atlas*, tables XII, XXII, XXXV.

51 M. Biddle, 'Seasonal Festivals and Residence: Winchester, Westminster and Gloucester in the Tenth to Twelfth Centuries', *Anglo-Norman Studies* 8 (1985), 51–72, at 69–72.

**Table 1.** Charters related to Mercia in the period of the kingdom of the Anglo-Saxons with reference to either Kings of the West Saxons or Lords of the Mercians

Charter no.	Date	Assembly Place	Number of Witnesses	Land Concerned
S222	883×911		9	Worcestershire
S218	883		17	Gloucestershire
S223	884×901			Worcester
S219	884	Risborough	14	Worcestershire
Finberg 1961, no. 271 (L)	886×911			Clive cum Lenc in the hundred of Esch
S217	887		6	Oxfordshire
S220	888	Droitwich	25	Hertfordshire
S1839	888			Worcestershire
S346	889		8	London
S349(F)	895		17	Suffolk/Cambridgeshire
S1441	896	Gloucester	12	Gloucestershire/Wiltshire
S1442	897		18	Worcestershire
S1628	898or899	Chelsea		London
Finberg 1961, no. 267 (L)	889			Worcestershire
S221 (O)	901	Shrewsbury	15	Shropshire
S362	901		35	Wiltshire
S367 (O)	903		23	Buckinghamshire
S367a	903		12	Middlesex
S371	903		3	Somerset
S1446	903	Droitwich	13	Gloucestershire
S1280	904	Worcester	21	Worcester
S361	904		11	Oxfordshire
S1282 (F)	907		11	Worcestershire
S224	914		14	Derbyshire
S225	9/9/915or916	Weardburh	16	Warwickshire
S226 (F)			7	Worcestershire

(O) = original, (F) = forgery, (L) = lost

assemblies were held intermittently in the period and there were intervals of several years. It differs from Æthelstan's assemblies, which took place twice to five times a year throughout his reign.<sup>52</sup> Mercian assemblies before Æthelred were also held regularly.<sup>53</sup> Even so, Æthelred convened assemblies almost once a year during the 880s and late 890s. In 899, 903, 904, he held assemblies twice, including ones jointly held with Alfred and Edward (Table 1). If burh building was reckoned, Æthelflæd supposedly held them four times in 915 (for the apparent scarcity of her assemblies, see '3.5 Authority' below). In the case of *Scergeat* in 912, the timing on the eve of the Invention of the Holy Cross might support this interpretation.

This instance attracts our attention to a possible relation of Æthelflæd's assemblies to St Helena, mother of Roman Emperor Constantine the Great. In 912, Æthelflæd went to a place

<sup>52</sup> Roach 2013, 75.

<sup>53</sup> Burghart 2007, Table 30.

called *Scergeat* and built a stronghold there. This happened on the eve of the Invention of the Holy Cross, a feast which commemorates the finding of the True Cross by St Helena on 3 May in 326.<sup>54</sup> Æthelflæd's charter may contain a further association with the empress. On 9 September in 915 or 916, she issued a charter at Weardburg.<sup>55</sup> Considering that assemblies were often held for a week or so,<sup>56</sup> the date indicates an assembly on the Exaltation of the Holy Cross celebrating the dedication of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre on 14 September in 335. The cult of the True Cross and St Helena was widespread in Anglo-Saxon England and both feasts were known to the Anglo-Saxons and recorded in most of their calendars.<sup>57</sup> It is likely that Æthelflæd likened herself to St Helena as a pious and powerful feminine ruler.<sup>58</sup>

The general scarcity and irregularity of assemblies in this period can be ascribed to the intense warfare against the Vikings. Successive attacks by the Vikings made regular assemblies at church festivals impossible. However, in the relatively calm periods following the peace treaty with the Vikings, they were held just as before and after the period. In this regard, it is wrong to see Æthelstan's assemblies as a turning point with their frequency and regularity in occurrence, as Maddicott stressed.<sup>59</sup> The period just before Æthelstan, i.e. the period of the kingdom of the Anglo-Saxons was an anomaly under the pressure of the Vikings. If you look back further, a similar kind of frequency and regularity of assemblies was observed; Æthelstan's assemblies must be seen as a part of this continuum.

### 2.3. ATTENDANCE

In the thirty-three documents relevant to the Mercian assemblies, the kings of the West Saxons appeared sixteen times while those which recorded only Æthelred and Æthelflæd were nine.<sup>60</sup> The rest are convened by or related to Bishop Wærferth of Worcester and will be dismissed in our discussion.<sup>61</sup> In nine out of the sixteen documents, the West Saxon kings presided over assemblies: three by themselves (all are forgeries or lost and will not be considered here) and six with Æthelred and Æthelflæd, which means there was no Mercian assembly convened solely by the West Saxon kings.<sup>62</sup> In the remaining seven, they played different roles (see '3. The West Saxon Intervention' below). One of Edward's charters which records a forfeiture of

54 *MR* 912.

55 *S225*.

56 King William the Conqueror consecutively held an assembly for five days and a church council for three days in Christmas (*ASC* E 1085). The Council of Clofesho in 803 took place for seven days. In the Continent, an assembly usually lasts for two to five days. Liebermann 1913, 50; Cubitt 1995, 279–80; Roach 2013, 71–72.

57 E.g. Old English poem *Elene* by Cynewulf; R. Rushforth, *An Atlas of Saints in Anglo-Saxon Calendars* (Cambridge, 2002).

58 There was a tradition of women's authority in Mercia. Compared to the West Saxon counterparts, Mercian queens had more political power. They witnessed and sometimes even issued charters. Besides, Queen Cynethryth, queen of Offa, issued coins by her name. It is extremely rare for a woman to issue coins in the Early Middle Ages. This coin seems to be modelled on the coins of St Helena. St Helena was described as a warrior-queen in *Elene*. This is the image often attributed to Æthelflæd and it seems that she was not unaware of it. See also Stafford 2001, 2008.

59 Maddicott, 2–3.

60 The former: *S217*, 218, 223, 226, 346, 349, 361, 362, 367, 367a, 371, 1282, 1441, 1442, 1628; Finberg 1961, no. 267; the latter: *S219*, 220, 221, 222, 224, 225, 1280, 1446; Finberg 1961, no. 271.

61 *S1278*, 1279, 1281, 1283, 1415, 1416, 1837, 1838.

62 Solely in *S226* (forgery), 349 (forgery), 1839 (lost) and jointly in *S346*, 361 367, 367a, 371, 1628.

the land ‘by the judgment of all the councillors of the Gewisse [= the West Saxons] and of the Mercians’ in his father’s reign is problematic (see ‘3.1. Joint Assemblies’ below).<sup>63</sup> As for the other attendance, it can be reconstructed from the witness list as mentioned above.

The Mercian witnesses were designated as ‘the counsellors (lit. ‘wise men’) of the Mercians’.<sup>64</sup> When assemblies were convened jointly, the distinction between the West Saxon counsellors and their Mercian counterparts was acknowledged as ‘counsellors consisting of bishops and ealdormen from both peoples’ and it was reflected in the order of the witnesses.<sup>65</sup> Apart from those appearing in the joint assemblies, there was no Mercian layman who attested in the West Saxon charters. Mercian bishops were occasionally found in the West Saxon charters since they had to attend the church council of the province of Canterbury, which was under the West Saxon control.<sup>66</sup> Generally speaking, by taking into account the distribution of assemblies (Figures 2 and 3 above), there were two distinct assemblies with different participants in the kingdom of the Anglo-Saxons.

The scale of the attendance is also of interest. It should be noted that witness lists were often abbreviated or omitted in cartularies and it is difficult to know the exact number of attendees, but at least they indicate the minimum and give us some idea about the scale. Bearing this in mind, the attendees of Æthelred’s and Æthelflæd’s assemblies were twenty-five at most and fifteen on average (Table 1). This is half in size compared to the former assemblies of the Mercians.<sup>67</sup> However, it exceeded the average of attendance in Alfred’s assemblies and on a par with that in Edward’s.<sup>68</sup> On the other hand, assemblies of Æthelstan and his successors were larger in size and attendance reached a maximum of one hundred and one in the assembly at Lifton in 931.<sup>69</sup> Of course, such a large number is exceptional and most assemblies of the kingdom of the English have twenty-five to forty witnesses.<sup>70</sup> Again, the decrease in the size of assemblies in the kingdom of the Anglo-Saxons was the sign of crisis caused by the Vikings.

The most powerful and frequent in appearance among the witnesses were bishops and ealdormen. Three bishops were prominent: Bishops of Lichfield, Worcester, and Hereford, of which Bishop of Lichfield appears to be a superior as the holder of the first see in Mercia, although its activity is unclear because it situated near the border between Mercia and lands occupied by the raiding army. Bishops of Lindsey and Leicester disappeared after eastern part of Mercia was surrendered to the Vikings. Instead, Bishop of Dorchester(-on-Thames), who moved his see from Leicester, started his attestation from 888.<sup>71</sup>

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63 S362.

64 S218: ‘... ealra Myrcna witena, godcundra hada 7 woroldcundra ...’; S222: ‘... cum consensu omnium Merciorum senatorum ...’.

65 S346: ‘... cum testimonio et licentia seu consensu senatorum episcoporum seu ducum utriusque gentis ...’. In the witness list, which only recorded Alfred, Æthelred, Æthelflæd, and bishops, West Saxon bishops preceded Mercian ones.

66 See ‘3.1. Joint Assemblies’ below.

67 Keynes, *Atlas*, tables XIII–XVIII.

68 Keynes, *Atlas*, tables XIX–XXIII, XXXIII–XXXV.

69 S416.

70 Maddicott 2010, 4; Keynes, *Atlas*, tables XXXVI–LXXV.

71 Keynes, *Atlas*, table XIV.

The number of ealdormen attesting charters varies from one to six. This contrasts with one to sixteen and with an average of seven in the former period. This is again the effect of losing eastern Mercia to the Vikings. The situation is the same as Alfred's charters; one to three ealdormen against the average of five or six in the period before and after his reign. Scholars have associated this small number of ealdormen at his assemblies with his policy that his followers should be divided into three groups and only one of them should be with him at any given time.<sup>72</sup> Ealdormen were commanders in war and had to devote themselves to leading armies against the Vikings.

Some bishops and ealdormen survived the change of regime. Bishop Deorlaf of Hereford and Bishop Wærferth of Worcester occupied their positions from the reign of King Beorhtwulf (r. 840–852) to Æthelred and that of King Burgred (r. 852–874) to Æthelflæd respectively.<sup>73</sup> Ealdormen Æthelwald and Beornnoth continuously attested charters from the time of former Mercian kings to Æthelred's reign.<sup>74</sup> Æthelred himself may have been attesting charters as an ealdorman in his predecessor's reign, but it is uncertain whether it was indeed him or his namesake.<sup>75</sup>

Other characteristics concerning the attendance of the Mercian assemblies are the frequent attestations of queens, absence of priests and fewer appearance of thegns compared to the West Saxon assemblies. As already mentioned, Mercian queens had significant political power.<sup>76</sup> One could assume that this tradition enabled Æthelflæd to govern the Mercians with Æthelred and succeed him with rightful lordship after his death. In regard to priests and thegns, we must consider the difference in the structure of two polities. In Wessex, there was a sort of 'bureaucratic administration'; ealdormen were appointed by the king as a head of each shire and chaplains and thegns were at their courts to serve as office-holders. On the other hand, Mercia remained the federation of tribal kingdoms and provinces; the king was *primus inter pares* and ealdormen were leaders of local peoples and competitors in royal succession.<sup>77</sup> With this difference, it was more convenient for the West Saxon kings to leave the governance of the Mercians to their own assemblies presided over by Æthelred and Æthelflæd with the help of their ealdormen and bishops. They, if not Edward, at least Alfred knew the limit of their power; it is too early for them to govern the semi-periphery directly without the effective mechanism to realize it.

#### 2.4. BUSINESS

Since we outlined the Mercian assemblies in the kingdom of the Anglo-Saxons, we will proceed to examine the business handled there. The majority of Æthelred's charters deal with

72 Roach 2013, 30–31; Asser 100; Keynes, *Atlas*, tables XVII, XXII, XXXV.

73 PASE Deorlaf 1; Wærfrith 6.

74 PASE Æthelwald 28; Beornnoth 10.

75 S222.

76 See note 58 above.

77 Keynes 1998, 5–6, nn. 16–17; for a more nuanced view, see C. Insley, 'Collapse, Reconfiguration or Renegotiation? The Strange End of the Mercian Kingdom, 850–924', *Reti Medievali Revista* 17 (2016), 231–49, at 235–8.

the grant of lands and privileges.<sup>78</sup> In addition, the lease of lands,<sup>79</sup> the reissue of charters<sup>80</sup> and dispute settlements<sup>81</sup> are also recorded just as in charters issued by other independent rulers in Anglo-Saxon England. One of Æthelflæd's charters is concerned with the grant of land and the other with the grant of permission to acquire land.<sup>82</sup> All charters issued with Alfred grant lands and privileges<sup>83</sup> and those with Edward order reissuing of lost charters.<sup>84</sup> All of these are related to Mercia in some way. On the other hand, there is no charter of the West Saxon rulers dealing with Mercian affairs without participation of the Mercians and vice versa. In other words, the West Saxon kings were not able to decide Mercian affairs without the presence of the Mercians while the latter did not involve themselves with things irrelevant to Mercia.<sup>85</sup> There was a clear distinction between the activities of the two assemblies. The fact that, from time to time, Æthelred and Æthelflæd were capable of granting lands and privileges, which usually belongs to kingship, without permission of Alfred and Edward means their quasi-regal power within their realm. Besides, although in a minor scale, Æthelflæd continued to issue charters in the 910s while her brother refrained from doing so. She had room to act with her own agenda. In this regards, it might be rather surprising that they never accorded themselves the titles 'king' and 'queen' even in their own charters. They were instead Lord and Lady of the Mercians, though their neighbours and later people thought differently.<sup>86</sup> This might be a result of the mutual compromise between core and periphery; the West Saxon kings allowed autonomous governance to the Mercian rulers in exchange for their abandoning of kingly title.

Narrative sources hint at other business occurred in assemblies. The ritual of submission to Alfred by Æthelred and the Mercians<sup>87</sup> and to Æthelflæd by the Viking army of Leicester and the people of York<sup>88</sup> probably took place at assemblies as was commonplace in the continent.<sup>89</sup> Peace treaties with the Vikings can be added to this; after the Battle of Eddington in 878, the Viking leader Guthrum and his leading men came to Alfred's court at Aller to take baptism as part of their treaty and afterwards they spent twelve days together at Wedmore, where Guthrum's unbinding of the chrism and gift-giving took place.<sup>90</sup> All of these must be most effectively done in public at assemblies. The translation of relics to the burhs is also

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78 S217, 219–221, 223, Finberg 1961, no. 271.

79 S218.

80 S222.

81 S1441, 1442, 1446.

82 S224 and 225 respectively.

83 S346, 1628.

84 S361, 367, 367a, 371.

85 For the latter, cf. the case of S362 below.

86 For Æthelred: *Fragmentary Annals of Ireland*, ed. and trans., J. N. Radner (Dublin, 1978), 169–73; *Æthelweard*, 50; Mercian regnal list in BL MS Cotton Tiberius A. xiii, fol. 14v; for Æthelflæd: *Annales Cambriae, A.D. 682–954*, ed. and trans., D. N. Dumville (Cambridge, 2002), s.a. 918; *The Annals of Ulster (to AD 1131) Part I: Text and translation*, eds. and trans., S. Mac Airt and G. Mac Niocaill (Dublin, 1983), s.a. 917 [recto 918]; Henry Archdeacon of Huntingdon, *Historia Anglorum*, ed. and trans., D. Greenaway (Oxford, 1996), 308–09.

87 Asser 80.

88 MR 918.

89 Roach 2013, 173, n. 55.

90 ASC A 894 (recte 893).

supposed to have involved religious rites just as St Swithun's relics were received at Winchester with *adventus* (a ritual procession after Christ's entrance to Jerusalem).<sup>91</sup>

We already saw Æthelflæd's assemblies possibly related to the feasts of St Helena. In addition to presenting herself as a religious and mighty queen, the choice of the dates seems to aim at the smooth succession of her rulership to her daughter Ælfwynn by emphasizing women's authority, which was embodied in the name of St Helena. Indeed, she attested just after her mother in the assembly at Weardburg.<sup>92</sup> It is also observed in Wessex that a king made his son attest at assemblies in his final years as if he wished to secure the succession to his son in the presence of his counsellors.<sup>93</sup> Her attempt, however, came to nothing since Ælfwynn was deposed by her uncle Edward.<sup>94</sup>

The fate of the Mercian assemblies after Edward's takeover of Mercia was unknown to us because no charter remained from this period. He did continue constructing and conquering burhs and mobilize the Mercians to his campaigns, but he does not seem to have been welcomed by everyone. He died under uncertain circumstances at Farndon (near Chester) in Mercia in 924. This is remarkable because the West Saxon kings seldom entered Mercia. Indeed, according to a twelfth-century historian William of Malmesbury, a revolt occurred in Chester and some Mercians took part in it.<sup>95</sup> Since he died several days after he defeated them, he might have been fatally injured in the battle. Considering Edward's absence from the Mercian and West Saxon heartlands due to his activity in the border between Mercia and Northumbria and possible enmity of the Mercians towards him, it seems more plausible that the governance of Mercia was entrusted to someone else. The most likely candidate is Æthelstan; though the eldest son of Edward, he was seen as illegitimate from a certain faction in the West Saxon court. William wrote that he was sent to the court of Æthelred and Æthelflæd after remarriage of his father and brought up there.<sup>96</sup> Although how far his statement can be trusted is uncertain, his closeness to the Mercian people was illustrated after the death of Edward; counsellors of the Mercians elected not Ælfweard, another son of Edward from his second marriage, who was chosen by the West Saxons, but Æthelstan.<sup>97</sup> In doing so, the Mercians proved to be able to act on their own initiative in such a momentous event as royal succession. For Æthelstan's part, he acted as the king of the Mercians at least in the first years of his reign. In one of his charters issued in 925, he styled himself as *rex Anglorum* (here 'king of the Angles' rather than 'the English') and gave land in Derbyshire to his thegn Eadric with the consent of only the Mercian bishops and abbots.<sup>98</sup> The beneficiary seems the grantee in Æthelflæd's charter.<sup>99</sup> When the king gave his sister to Sihtric of York in the next year, the

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91 E.g. *MR* 909; Roach 2013, 199–210.

92 S225.

93 Roach 2013, 40.

94 See '3.5. Authority' below.

95 William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum Anglorum: The History of the English Kings*, trans. R. A. B. Mynors, R. M. Thomson and M. Winterbottom (Oxford, 1998), ii. 133. 1., 211.

96 William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum Anglorum*, ii. 133., 210–11.

97 *MR* 924; S. Foot, *Æthelstan: The First King of England* (New Haven/London, 2011), 11–12, 34–37.

98 S395.

99 S225.

event took place in Tamworth, the former political centre of the Mercian kings.<sup>100</sup> From these two instances, it would be safe to say that the Mercian assemblies continued to function under the control of King Æthelstan as the successor of Æthelred and Æthelflæd rather than as the king of the Anglo-Saxons in his early reign. It should also be pointed out that he remained an outsider in Wessex, which was reflected in his relationship with the New Minster at Winchester, the centre of the West Saxon kingship.<sup>101</sup> This shows the reality of core-periphery structure in early medieval Europe without capitals; the core could be easily transferred with the itinerant kingship and, in Æthelstan's case, Mercia temporarily gained a position of the core.

### 3. The West Saxon Intervention

So far, we stressed the autonomy of the Mercians with their own assemblies. This is by no means to say that the West Saxon kings lacked power or will to intervene in the Mercian affairs. On the contrary, they utilised the Mercian assemblies for accomplishing their ends. Their intervention took various forms: (1) acting as agents, (2) making permission, confirmation, and consent as well as witnessing, (3) making permission, confirmation, and consent, or (4) witnessing. (1) occurred in joint assemblies of the West Saxons and the Mercians and will be examined first. The others ((2)(3)(4)) were observed in the Mercian assemblies in which the West Saxon kings and their courts happened to be present. (3) could happen without their presence by means of messengers or letters.

#### 3.1. JOINT ASSEMBLIES

One would think that joint assemblies of the West Saxons and the Mercians were direct antecedents of the assemblies of the English after Æthelstan. However, they were quite different in some respects. Firstly, there was a disproportion of the ratio of the two peoples in the witness list. In terms of bishops, the Mercian bishops were always present while the West Saxon counterparts were absent from some occasions and always fewer when they attended. The fact they were separated in witness lists was already mentioned. As for laymen, they were often omitted, but ealdormen and thegns joined from both sides.

Moreover, different roles were expected of the counsellors of each people. In the three charters issued by Edward, Æthelred, and Æthelflæd at the same assembly, the beneficiary Ealdorman Æthelfrith asked only for the three rulers and the counsellors of the Mercians to rewrite the lost charters. Archbishop of Canterbury, a brother of Edward, and the West Saxon bishops and ealdormen were also there but just as witnesses.<sup>102</sup> Mercian affairs could be treated in joint assemblies, but the decisive role was played by the Mercians. Thus, joint assemblies in this period were not the place where unity was expressed and assimilation of

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100 See '2.1. Place' above.

101 Foot 2011, 18.

102 S367, 367a, 371 (witnesses were omitted). It is unlikely that the West Saxons were absent, and their names were added later since it is unthinkable that no West Saxon counsellor accompanied Edward in the assembly.

peoples into the English was facilitated as Æthelstan's assemblies.

The case of Edward's charter above (S362) needs some consideration. He granted land called Wylve in Wiltshire, which had been forfeited by a certain ealdorman in Alfred's reign. The forfeiture was reportedly done 'by the judgment of all the councillors of the Gewisse [= the West Saxons] and of the Mercians'.<sup>103</sup> Since it concerns with land in Wessex and still both the West Saxons and the Mercians appear to have decided, Keynes argued this as the evidence that the kingdom of the Anglo-Saxons had emerged.<sup>104</sup> Although he deems 'this meeting of West Saxon and Mercian councillors' as 'one of the earliest of such joint councils', who presided over it is not specified in the charter; it is equally possible it was co-convened by Æthelred and Æthelflæd.<sup>105</sup> Besides, it was a recollection made from the West Saxon viewpoint and the roles of each people might be different as noted above.

The motivation of this most direct intervention varied. In the case of Alfred, he, with Æthelred and Æthelflæd, granted privileges and properties in the city of London to Archbishop Plegmund of Canterbury and Bishop Wærferth of Worcester.<sup>106</sup> London had long been the focus of conflicting interests between Wessex and Mercia. Moreover, the beneficiaries were the Mercians invited to his court for education reform.<sup>107</sup> On the other hand, all of Edward's four charters related to reissuing of lost charters which had granted lands to the Mercian laymen. One of them was concerned with land near Oxford.<sup>108</sup> It was originally granted by King Burgred of Mercia and his wife Æthelswith. For Edward, Æthelswith was his paternal aunt (Figure 1) and the Oxford area was again intensely contested between Wessex and Mercia. It must be noted that when Æthelred died in 911, Edward received 'London and Oxford and all the lands which pertained to them'.<sup>109</sup> Also, the other three aforementioned charters were concerned with lands along the border of Wessex and Mercia and kinship played a significant role. The beneficiary Ealdorman Æthelfrith had married with Æthelgyth, daughter of Ealdorman Æthelwulf, and one of the lands in question was granted by Æthelwulf to his daughter.<sup>110</sup> For Edward as well as Æthelflæd, Æthelwulf was his maternal uncle. In short, the West Saxon kings chose to intervene in this way when both territorial ambition and kinship and patronage to the Mercian elites were concerned.

The church council also provided the two peoples with an opportunity to gather together. It had functioned as a sole occasion where the magnates from all kingdoms of the Anglo-Saxons interacted with each other beyond the limit of their own realm in the seventh and eighth centuries. Overlords like Offa of Mercia utilised it and claimed their lordship to other peoples. After around 850, it seems to have become less important and eventually suspended.<sup>111</sup> The

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103 D. Whitelock, ed., *English Historical Documents*, vol. 1, c. 500–1042 (London, 1996), 576.

104 Keynes 1998, 31.

105 Molyneux pointed out the possibility of separate assemblies in Molyneux 2015, 56, n.39.

106 S346, 1628.

107 Asser 77; 87; Keynes and Lapidge, 259–260, nn. 164–167; 330, n. 17; Keynes 1998, 40, nn. 169–170.

108 S361.

109 ASC A 910.

110 S367, 367a, 371.

111 Cubitt 1995, 239–240.

truth is, however, that it came under the West Saxon control and continued to be held as their tool, even though its frequency was decreased due to the devastation of bishoprics in the north-eastern part by the Vikings. By means of it, the West Saxon kings exercised their power over the Mercian bishops, who were suffragans of the Archbishop of Canterbury, who had in turn been subordinate to the king since 838.<sup>112</sup>

There were some traces of church councils in the kingdom of the Anglo-Saxons. A charter recording the meeting between King Alfred, Æthelred, Æthelflæd and Archbishop Plegmund of Canterbury at Chelsea in 898/899 was probably issued at one of such occasions since church councils had been frequently held there.<sup>113</sup> The meeting in Southampton in 901 convened by Edward also seems to have been a church council because the Mercian as well as the West Saxon bishops attested while no layman was present.<sup>114</sup> In the case of a meeting where the partition of the West Saxon sees was decided, it was unquestionably a church council since it was presided over by Archbishop Plegmund.<sup>115</sup> Along with the newly created bishops, Bishop of Dorchester was also consecrated. This again reflects the interest Edward had in the Oxford area. For bishops' part, on the other hand, who were by nature oriented towards the Church of the English beyond political rivalries of the kingdoms, they acted as harbingers of the integration of the West Saxons and the Mercians by attending church councils.

The intervention by the West Saxon kingship was felt not only in joint assemblies, but also in the Mercian assemblies themselves. In the following sections, we shall examine how it was conducted by looking at each of the remaining three types of intervention described above.

### 3.2. MAKING PERMISSION, CONFIRMATION, AND CONSENT AS WELL AS WITNESSING

Three charters fall within this category. In one of them, Æthelred, with King Alfred's permission and witness, granted land in the Oxford area to the bishopric of Worcester and exempted it from a tribute to Alfred. He also translated serfs from a royal vill for its maintenance.<sup>116</sup> In another charter, Æthelred, with Alfred's consent and witness, exempted Berkeley Abbey from a tribute to Alfred in exchange for land and money. He leased the land to the third party afterwards, but there was no intervention of the king in this transaction.<sup>117</sup> The last one records the grant of rights in Worcester to the bishopric of Worcester by Æthelred and Æthelflæd. Again, there was no intervention by the king when rights belonging to Æthelred's and Æthelflæd's lordship were concerned. He only intervened by confirmation and witnessing when his right to levy tolls from wagons and loads of salt from Droitwich was excluded from the grant of privileges to the bishop.<sup>118</sup> In summary, this kind of intervention

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112 S1438.

113 S1628. The former councils are recorded in S106, 123, 125, 128, 136, 150, 151, 158, 166, 180, 1430; *ASC* A 785 (recte 787).

114 S365, 366, 370, 1443.

115 S1296, 1451a; A. Rumble, 'Edward the Elder and the Churches of Winchester and Wessex', in *Edward the Elder 899–924*, ed. N. J. Higham and D. H. Hill (London, 2001), 230–247, at 238–244.

116 S217.

117 S218.

118 S223.

was done as long as his rights were directly affected by the transactions.

### 3.3. MAKING PERMISSION, CONFIRMATION, AND CONSENT

Two charters record this kind of intervention. In a charter of Bishop Wærferth, which seems ‘corrupt, but cannot be a mere invention’,<sup>119</sup> he leased land pertaining to the bishopric to Cynehelm, his kinsman, with the permission of King Alfred and of Æthelred and Æthelflæd.<sup>120</sup> The fact that two clergies were acquaintances of the king probably was the motivation of royal commitment. Otherwise, if it is entirely forged, that the forger apparently thought it appropriate to include Æthelred and Æthelflæd attracts our attention; they should be there to make the forgery look genuine. In the other instance, the assembly at Gloucester mentioned earlier took place under the cognizance and permission of the king. What matters here is not particular rights or acts, but the relationship between Alfred and Æthelred, who was subordinate to the king. However, the assembly itself was carried out by Æthelred and the Mercians on their own initiative.<sup>121</sup> In both cases, Alfred was probably absent; the witnesses of the bishop’s charter were comprised only of clergies of Worcester and it was unlikely for the king to come all the way to Worcester and Gloucester across the Thames. Although writs are not extant from this period, letters and seals were known.<sup>122</sup> Alfred was able to communicate his permission through them.

### 3.4. WITNESSING

One document records the former agreement between Bishop Wærferth of Worcester and Ealdorman Æthelwulf concerning land belonging to the church of Winchcombe with attestations of Alfred and Æthelred.<sup>123</sup> Both parties had close connections to the king; Wærferth as partners in his education reform and Æthelwulf as brothers-in-law (Figure 1). It is likely that they thought it appropriate to make an agreement in the presence of Alfred, who had every reason to avoid disputes between his friends and family. One remaining question concerning this instance is where the assembly took place. Since Wærferth never attested in the West Saxon charters except those issued in joint assemblies — it is surprising considering his close connection with the king — and his *familia* were among the witnesses, this might happen in a rare occasion of Alfred’s visit to the Mercian see. In short, the latter two types of intervention were made when parties concerned were tied to the king by kinship or patronage.

Unlike these instances examined so far, locatable assemblies of the Mercians from which the kings of the West Saxons were absent and lands and privileges concerned there were all situated within Mercia, and not least most of them were far away from Wessex such as in the Welsh border, the Severn Valley and the Avon Valley (Table 1). Moreover, parties concerned except Bishop Wærferth and Ealdorman Æthelwulf had no relationship to the kings. There

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119 J. A. Robinson, *The Times of St Dunstan* (Oxford, 1923), 38.

120 S1282.

121 S1441.

122 Asser 79, Keynes and Lapidge, 141.

123 S1442. Finberg 1961, no. 267 seems to record the same agreement.

was no need for the kings to intervene in these affairs and probably had no power to do so. They entrusted these to the assemblies convened by Æthelred and Æthelflæd. This tendency becomes more evident after Æthelflæd's succession. There was no mention of Edward in her remaining charters, let alone the joint assemblies. This might reflect the difficulty of keeping the periphery under control if the core has only indirect means to rule it.

### 3.5. AUTHORITY (*ANWEALD*) OVER MERCIA

From this and all the discussion made so far arises the matter of authority over Mercia. It is *anweald* in Old English, and the *ASC* refers to or implies it more than once. London had been under Æthelred's authority since 886, when Alfred entrusted it to him, until 911, when he died and Edward took control of it with Oxford and lands pertaining to them.<sup>124</sup> This means lands north of the Thames except those under Scandinavian control belonged to Æthelred until his death. This is supported by legislation evidence; one of Æthelstan's law-codes legislated at the assembly of Grately seems to have been based on Edward's law-code issued before the mid-910s. One of the clauses states there should be *an mynet* ('one coinage') in king's *anweald* ('area of authority'); this matches the coin production south of the Thames with uniform design, weight and fineness while quite different types were minted in western Mercia; Edward's authority had not reached Mercia yet.<sup>125</sup> After annexation of the London and Oxford areas, however, Edward seems to have taken more expansionist policy against Mercia; at the same time as his well recorded military campaigns towards Danish territory, he apparently mobilized armies of Gloucester and Hereford to make the raiding army promise to leave his *anweald* in 914.<sup>126</sup> On the other hand, Æthelflæd was absent from the core region of her power, i.e. the province of Hwicce after her husband's death, which must have been followed by his funeral and burial in Gloucester. She might have lost the area to Edward by 914 and her move to reclaim Tamworth in 913 and her subsequent campaigns in north-western Mercia might have been a reaction to her brother's aggression. Her campaign against the southern Welsh kingdom of Brycheiniog in 916 can be seen in this context too.<sup>127</sup> If this is the case, Æthelflæd transferred her core to the north, while Edward merged the southernmost periphery into his core. The natural consequence of this must be more frequent assemblies in her new dominion, of which very few are known due to the lack of archives from Lichfield and Hereford. Although absence of evidence might be simply evidence of absence of her assemblies just as her brother's or a result of the devastation caused by the Scandinavians, it is equally possible that it resulted from *damnatio memoriae* by the West Saxons; she was mentioned in the main text of the *ASC* only once in 918 on her death as Edward's sister with no title.<sup>128</sup> In *Mercian Register*, however, she died in 'the eighth year that she held control of Mercia (*Myrcna anweald*) with rightful lordship'.<sup>129</sup> Also, her daughter Ælfwynn 'was deprived of all control

124 *ASC* A 886; 911.

125 Molyneux 2015, 136–140.

126 *ASC* A 917 (recte 914).

127 *MR* 916; see Insley 2016, 239–41.

128 *ASC* A 921 (recte 918).

129 *MR* 918.

in Mercia (*ælcas anwealdes on Myrcum*), and was led into Wessex three weeks before Christmas.<sup>130</sup> Even after Edward got rid of the mother and the daughter and acquired the authority over Mercia, he suffered a rebellion in his last year by the Mercians.<sup>131</sup> Edward's attempt to reorganize the core-periphery structure between Wessex and Mercia proved to be premature and inactivity of assemblies on both sides of the Thames in the later years of his reign would be caused by the tension between the siblings as well as by the Vikings. The task was left to his son Æthelstan, whom the counsellors of the Mercians chose as their king.

#### 4. Conclusion

In the kingdom of the Anglo-Saxons, the formative period of the core-periphery structure of Wessex and Mercia, the Mercian assemblies functioned as an autonomous and effective governance system for the West Saxon kingship, which lacked the means of the direct control of Mercia. At the same time, they served as a medium through which the West Saxon kingship permeated Mercia by selective interventions and gradually absorbed both Mercian elites and lands into Wessex at least until the early years of Edward's reign. However, the assembly itself was not the place to visualize the structure and strengthen it. Indeed, Æthelflæd's assembly showed a centrifugal tendency with its northwards shift and no interference of the West Saxons after her brother's attempt to bring Mercia under his direct control. Rather, church councils fulfilled the role to some extent; they attracted Mercian churchmen to the core of Wessex. When we look further afield, what was to become the semi-periphery and periphery of Britain, such as the Welsh kingdoms and the Viking kingdom of York, were initially subjected to the Mercians and the ritual of submission took place in the Mercian assemblies. Although Edward succeeded this overlordship, it remained superficial and fragile. The person who truly inherited all of these was Æthelstan, who was probably reared by Æthelred and Æthelflæd, started his career as a deputy of his father in Mercia and then became the king of the Mercians. With him, the core moved to Mercia temporarily. After his takeover of the whole kingdom, the Mercians rushed into Wessex crossing the Thames.<sup>132</sup> Under Æthelstan, formerly distinct assemblies of the West Saxons and the Mercians merged into the assemblies of the English and acquired a totally different role: to tighten the existing ties between the West Saxons and the Mercians and to integrate new peoples from the peripheral region. In this sense, Æthelstan is the key figure to transform the assemblies into the arena which embodies the structure of the core, semi-periphery, and periphery in early medieval Britain.

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130 *MR* 919.

131 See note 95 above.

132 On the strongly Mercian character of his court personnel, see Insley 2016, 244–5.

Programme of  
**1st British-East Asian Conference of Historians**  
*Core and Periphery in British and East Asian Histories*  
held  
12–15 September 2018  
at  
Kyungpook National University, South Korea

*Wednesday 12 September*

**Graduate Session**

Chair: Younghwi Yoon (Kyungpook National University, Korea)

Eunsung Cho (Columbia University, US)

*Techno-Nationalism from a Peripheral Position: Focusing on “Juche Fiber”  
Vinalon in North Korea*

Yuta Uchikawa (University of Tokyo, Japan)

*Core and Periphery in the Anglo-Saxon England: The Mercian Assemblies in the  
Kingdom of the Anglo-Saxons and the Formation of the English Kingdom*

Hyeseon Shin (Kyungpook National University, Korea)

*A Colony or an Independent Nation? Oliver Cromwell’s Perspective on Scotland*

Inbok Yi (Kyungpook National University, Korea)

*The Operation of Royal Treasury (Naesusa, 內需司) and Arguments about Public  
and Private Matters (公私) in the Late Choson Period*

*Thursday 13 September*

**Opening Remarks**

BK Project Team Leader, President of the Korean Society of British History

**Plenary Speech I**

Hirokazu Tsurushima (Kumamoto University, Japan)

*The Core-Periphery Relationship of Medieval Britain*

**Session 1: Core and Periphery as Historical Theory**

Chair: Youngju Jung (Pusan National University, Korea)

Joanna Innes (University of Oxford, UK)

*Core, Periphery and Historical Discourse*

Shigeru Akita (Osaka University, Japan)

*Beyond, the ‘Core-Periphery’ Framework: Reinterpretation of the Modern  
World-System from Asian Perspectives*

Younghwi Yoon (Kyungpook National University, Korea)

*Rethinking the Framework of 'the Core-Periphery': The Multi-centres of the Transatlantic Slave Trade*

### **Session 2: Core and Periphery in Medieval British History**

Chair: Joonglak Kim (Kyungpook National University, Korea)

Sangdong Lee (Chonnam National University, Korea)

*Rethinking the Origin of the Stone of Destiny as a Scottish National Icon*

Mio Ueno (Otsuma Women's University, Japan)

*Aliens in Late Medieval London*

### **Session 3: Core and Periphery in Early Modern British History**

Chair: Jun Iwai (Shizuoka University, Japan)

Tadashi Yamamoto (Osaka University of Economics, Japan)

*Tudor's Twin 'Reformations' in Ireland and the 'Pale': 'Semi-Periphery' in the Early Modern English / British State*

Stephen Taylor (Durham University, UK)

*Centre and Periphery in the Church of England in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*

Paul Tonks (Yonsei University, Korea)

*From Global Periphery to Commercial Centre: An Eighteenth-Century Scottish Historian and Political Economist on British Union, Empire and Naturalization*

*Friday 14 September*

### **Plenary Speech II**

Youngsuk Lee (Gwangju University, Korea)

*Japan and Korea: An English Visitor's View on Two Countries in the Late Victorian Age*

### **Session 4: Core and Periphery in British-Asian History**

Chair: Sangsoo Kim (Hankook University of Foreign Studies, Korea)

Kate Smith (University of Birmingham, UK)

*The East India Company at Home in the British Country House, 1757–1857*

Tomotaka Kawamura (University of Tokyo, Japan)

*A Pattern of 'Imperial Teleconnection' between Bombay, Hong Kong and London: The Foundation of the Hong Kong and Shanghai Banking Corporation (1864–67)*

Heasim Sul (Yonsei University, Korea)

*The Images of Britain as Appeared in Korean Newspapers, 1920–1999: Consumption and Material culture*

### **Session 5: Core and Periphery in East Asian Histories**

Chair: Baekyung Kim (Kwangwoon University, Korea)

Jongho Kim (Seoul National University, Korea)

*Struggle for Survival of Chinese Capitalists during the Japanese Occupation, 1942–1945: OCBC (Oversea-Chinese Banking Corporation)'s Business Network and Its Adaptation to Japanese Occupation*

Junseok Oh (Kyungpook National University, Korea)

*A Study on the Realities of Local Governance in Qin's First Emperor Period through Li-ye Bamboo Slips*

Shinji Yamauchi (Kobe Women's University, Japan)

*Japanese Sulfur and East Asia during the 11–16th Centuries*

### **Session 6: Core and Periphery in the History of the non-Asian British Empire**

Chair: Woonok Yeom (Korea University, Korea)

Daeryoon Kim (Daegu Gyeongbuk Institute of Science and Technology, Korea)

*Mercantilism, still a Useful Concept for British Imperial History?*

Mahito Takeuchi (Nihon University, Japan)

*The British World-System and the Labour-and-Firearms Traffic in Africa and the Southwest Pacific*

Richard Huzzey (Durham University, UK)

*Colonial Subjects, Petitioning, and the Peripheralisation of Empire, c. 1780–1918*

*Saturday 15 September*

### **Plenary Speech III**

Peter Mandler (University of Cambridge, UK)

*Not the Age of STEM: What Students Choose to Study in the Anglophone World ... and Why It Matters*

### **Session 7: Core and Periphery in Contemporary British History**

Chair: Yongmin Kim (Konkuk University, Korea)

Taejoon Won (Pohang University of Science and Technology, Korea)

*Britain's Attempt to Reform the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council: The Case of Southeast Asia, 1964–1971*

Hiroyuki Ogawa (University of Tokyo, Japan)

*Harold Macmillan's Commonwealth Tour of 1958 Revisited: The Case of Australia and New Zealand*

Philip Murphy (Institute for Commonwealth Studies, University of London, UK)

*Defining Core and Periphery in Post-War British Nationality policy*

