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GUIDELINES FOR SUBMISSION OF MANUSCRIPTS

The *Hanover Historical Review* (*HHR*) Editorial Board welcomes submissions of essays, document transcriptions, and book reviews of a historical nature from any discipline.

Manuscripts must be prepared in conformity with *The Chicago Manual of Style* in 12-point Times Roman font, double-spaced (including footnotes) and with pages numbered.

Submissions should be sent by email attachment to Professor Michael Raley (raleyjm@hanover.edu) as a digital file in Microsoft Word. Because all submitted manuscripts will be evaluated anonymously, the author's name should appear only on the title page. There should be no personal identifying markers (including headers and hidden texts) within the body of the paper. Please print your paper on the front sides of the pages only (single-sided).

Articles should not exceed 3,000 words without the prior approval of the *HHR* editors. Please note that submissions accepted for publication may be edited to conform to the *HHR*'s style. The *HHR* editors remain the final arbiters of length, grammar, and usage. However, they will endeavor to consult with authors with regard to any changes made in the interest of clarity and economy of expression.

The *HHR* disclaims responsibility for any statements, either as fact or opinion, made by contributors.

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FOREWORD

In the fall of 1992, supported by colleagues and enthusiastic students, Professor Frank Luttmer proposed a journal that would publish student papers and documents related to the field of history written, transcribed, and/or translated by students from any department of Hanover College. An editorial board of students was selected to determine which papers and documents would be chosen for the journal, and also to edit them for uniformity of style in preparing the journal for publication. Professor Luttmer provided support to the editors in the early stages of preparing the journal, while Professor Daniel Murphy helped oversee the final copyediting for the printer.

The inaugural issue of *The Hanover Historical Review* appeared in Spring 1993 and enjoyed great success. The *HHR* flourished for the rest of the decade, but was published only sporadically after Professor Lutmer's illness and untimely death. At the outset of the 2016-17 academic year, the Hanover College History Department decided to resume publication of the *Hanover History Review*, provided that we could find sufficient support for this project among our students. Twelve of our students immediately volunteered to serve on the *HHR*'s editorial board. Working with this group of eager and diligent students and now their successors in 2017-2018 has turned out to be a great joy for us as faculty mentors. The result of their diligent efforts may be found within the covers of this latest volume of the *HHR*.

Throughout the 2017 fall semester, the *HHR* editorial board met every other week on Thursday evenings at 7 p.m. to discuss the 2017 *HHR* Call for Papers and submission guidelines, as well as to draft a constitution and by-laws for the *HHR* editorial board. The 2018 HHR contains, once again, transcriptions of primary sources, this time a set of letters dating from the First World War and written by members of the Rogers family. These were given to the Hanover College Archive, overseen by Hanover College Archivist Jennifer Duplaga, and transcribed by students of Professor Sarah Vosmeier with her oversight. This year the board also decided to create a more permanent historical record of the "The Lutheran Reformation: 500 Years Later Symposium" commemorating the 500th anniversary of the posting and publication of Luther's *Ninety-Five Theses* on October 31, 1517, which was held at Hanover College on October 31, 2017. Toward this end, the 2018 *HHR* includes a reprint of the symposium program along with the seven student papers that were presented that day. In order to create a historical record, these are published here exactly as they were read at the symposium and without further revision or expansion.

The historical essays included in this year's HHR have all been written for classes at Hanover College. All submissions must conform to *The Chicago Manual of Style* and are reviewed by the board members anonymously. Only Professor Raley knew the identity of the authors until the essays had been reviewed by the board members. This the board regarded as especially important at a small liberal arts college such as Hanover College, where everyone knows everyone else; beyond this, however, a few of the board members wished to submit

essays for consideration, and to ensure impartiality here Professor Raley distributed these, minus their authors' names, to other members of the board for anonymous peer review.

Eight specific criteria guided the board's reviews:

1. Does the essay have a clear thesis that is supported with focused arguments and plausible evidence? (If yes, please also state the thesis.)
2. Is the thesis supported with an ample supply of primary sources, critically interpreted for the reader?
3. Is the author's argument placed within the field of current scholarship on the subject (historiography)?
4. Does the essay make a substantive contribution to our knowledge of the subject matter? In other words, does the essay advance the current scholarship in new directions?
5. Are the footnotes/endnotes correctly formatted in Chicago Style? Do they show evidence of attention to detail?
6. Is the writing style clear and fluid? Is the argument interesting?
7. Does this still seem like a paper written hurriedly for a class, or has the author carefully revised the essay for consideration by the *Hanover Historical Review* editorial board?
8. What specific revisions or additions would you suggest that the author make to improve the article pending its acceptance for publication?

Following the review process, the authors of the submissions were provided with summaries of the board members' comments. The review process, the board decided, would yield one of three ratings: (1) accept for publication as is (or with only minor editing required); (2) revise and resubmit (typically requiring more research and substantive revisions and/or additions as well as reediting the prose and reference notes); or (3) reject for publication. This year we rejected no submissions outright, though some authors chose not to revise and resubmit their work. Those who did revise and resubmit their work were expected to pay close attention to the comments and suggestions for substantive revisions as well as for the editing of the text and formatting of the notes that had been provided by the board members in their reviews. The Junior and Senior Editors of the *HHR* took over from here, reading all essays still under consideration again and suggesting editorial grammatical and format changes for consistency and clarity. Professors Murphy, Raley, and Sarah McNair Vosmeier oversaw the final editing of the journal, which was printed on campus by Carol Persinger.

What we as faculty members have found refreshing has been the seriousness and dedication with which these students and also the authors of the articles appearing in this volume have approached their tasks. In the midst of the burdens of daily college assignments, athletic commitments, club and student senate responsibilities, rehearsals for campus musical organizations, community volunteer work, and part-time employment, each gave willingly and

freely of his or her time to make this project come to fruition. In the process, these students not only performed a worthy public service, but also no doubt learned a great deal in the process.

For all of these reasons and many more personal ones, we have thoroughly enjoyed working with these fine students. We hope that you will share our enthusiasm as you read the articles and documents published within these covers (or within this .pdf file if you are reading the digital version).

Daniel P. Murphy and J. Michael Raley,
Managing Editors
June 2018

Outstanding Freshman History Essay
2017-2018

Women's Rights in Ancient Rome:
From Republic to Empire
Jordan Kennedy

To study women in premodern history (ca. 3,000 BCE to ca. 1500 CE) is often to study women
through the perspective of the literate men who kept the official records of the respective time
and place. This is certainly true when looking at ancient Rome, from Republic to Empire. Here
women were allowed no active role in public or political life.[1] And although Roman women
were educated to a point, female Roman authors today are virtually nonexistent save for a few
poets like Sulpicia, whose works are the only poems written by a woman known to have
survived the centuries.[2] While Sulpicia's work gives historians insight into the lives of patrician
women in Rome, the lives of plebian women are far more difficult to recover today simply
because so few Roman sources survive that directly pertain to the masses of common women. In
such cases the laws, customs, and practices of ancient Rome typically yield the best insights into
the lives of Roman women. There is, of course, an inherent danger that relying on such evidence
may result in a broad, monolithic view of Roman women whose unique experiences as
individual women surely must have varied considerably from household to household, yet were
rarely, if ever, recorded. And yet, these sources continue to yield our best glimpses into the lives
of these women. Although women in Rome experienced more freedoms than, for example,
women in ancient Athens, women living in Republican Rome (ca. 509 BCE to 30 BCE) lived in
a patriarchal society that strictly controlled and restricted their movements and opportunities.[3]
The surviving sources suggest, however, that a dramatic shift in the liberties of women took
place as the political government shifted from the Republic to the Empire with the rule of
Augustus Caesar and his successors. Roman women were less constrained and instead were
granted far more freedoms, often by covert means, after the transition to the Imperial government
in the first century CE than they had hitherto experienced under Republican Rome.

   One startling difference in the rights of men and women in Rome showed through in that
"only women came into manus."[4] During the Republic (509 BC – 30 BC), women typically were
confined, constricted, and controlled through the *manus* marriage, through which legal control of
the wife was transferred from her father to the authority of her husband (*cum manu*). Marriage
was the key event in a Roman woman's life, and she had to be deemed worthy and pure. To have
been a worthy wife in the Roman Republic, in other words, she must have exhibited "proper
restraint, [and] . . . not desire a diversity of words," as reiterated in a eulogy for a woman in the

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  [1] PBS, *The Roman Empire in the First Century: Women*,
http://www.pbs.org/empires/romans/empire/women.html (accessed November 26, 2017).
  [2] Sulpicia, *Six Poems* (ca. 100 BCE), trans. Lee Pearcy, *Materials for the Study of Women and Gender in the Ancient World*, http://www.stoa.org/diotima/anthology/sulpicia-anth.shtml (accessed November 26, 2017).
  [3] Ugo Enrico Paoli, *Rome: It's People Life and Customs*, trans. R. D. MacNaghten (Aberdeen, U.K.: University Press Aberdeen, 1963), 113.
  [4] Grubbs, Judith Evans, ed., *Women and the Law in the Roman Empire: A Sourcebook on Marriage, Divorce, and Widowhood* (London: Routledge, 2002), 21.

1st century BCE.[5] Typically, around the age of 14 a marriage would be arranged for a daughter by her father. Her wedding was perhaps the most important event in a woman's life. Carefully adorned and dressed, the woman remained veiled throughout the day. She would then pass from her father's control to that of her new husband.[6] Everything she owned or would have received while under her father's control (e.g., property, inheritance, and so forth) would be transferred to the control and oversight of her husband. In this way, "a woman left the *patria potestas* of her own *pater familias* and transferred to that of her husband."[7] Patriarchal traditions limiting women's rights ran deep in the Roman Republic.

Under Imperial Rome, however, marriages changed. The most common marriage, *sine manu* (without a transfer of control), was a legal fiction that in practice allowed Roman women more freedom and independence. Marriages were still arranged, but without a transfer of the *manus* to the husband, a wife continued to remain under the (theoretical) guardianship of her father, who, since Roman patricians often married late in life, likely was deceased by the time that his daughter reached marriageable age. Moreover, after marrying, that daughter might be expected to relocate at some distance from her own family. Despite the theoretical implications here, since she no longer lived with or near her own family and her father might no longer be living, through marriage she was in fact emancipated from control by her *pater familias*. Thus, through a *sine manu* marriage an aristocratic Roman wife typically retained control of her own inheritance and property.[8]

The Roman empire also expanded a woman's rights as a daughter or slave, including protection from sexual exploitation, as illustrated in the following late imperial law forbidding the rape of daughters or slaves:

> It is Our pleasure, therefore, that such procurers [here referring to males legally responsible for women] . . . shall not be able to enjoy the right of control over their daughters or slaves, or to acquire any gain from them in this manner. . . . If the procurers should suppose that they may insist or if they should compel the women to undergo the necessity of sinning against their will, they shall . . . forfeit all the power which they had over them, . . . [and] they shall be proscribed and delivered to the punishment of being assigned to exile in the public mines. Such a punishment is less severe than that of a woman who is compelled, at the command of a procurer, to tolerate the sordidness of a condition which she does not wish."[9]

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[5] "A portion of a eulogy for Murdia delivered by her son from her first marriage", quoted in *Sexuality and Gender in the Classical World: Readings and Sources*, ed. Laura K. McClure (Oxford, U.K.: Blackwell Publishing, 2002), 160.

[6] Harold Whetstone Johnson, *The Private Life of the Romans* (Chicago: Scott, Foresman and Company, 1907), 56-57, 114.

[7] Karl Christ, *The Romans: An Introduction to Their History and Civilisation*, trans. Christopher Holme (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1984), 100.

[8] Christ, *The Romans*, 100.

[9] Michael Maas, ed., *Readings in Late Antiquity: A Sourcebook* (London: Routledge, 2000), 238.

This law against rape from the Theodosian Code of 428 CE clearly reflected the influence of Christian teaching that had come with Emperor Constantine's conversion in 312 CE and with Christianity's having been declared the official religion of Rome during the later years of that century. Theodosian's Code henceforth protected women from being raped by their fathers and (at least theoretically) gave even slave women the right to say 'no' and to exert more control over their bodies.

With marriage can come divorce; whether from adultery, conflict, lack of connection, or some other reason. Divorce, much like today, was common throughout the late Roman Republic and Empire, when women finally gained the unilateral privilege of initiating divorce. This liberty, readily available until the early fourth century CE, gave women considerable control over their lives; however, following his conversion to Christianity, the Emperor Constantine made divorce more difficult for a woman to obtain, thereby further restricting them.[10] Constantine limited the grounds for divorce initiated by women to cases in which the "husband is a homicide, a sorcerer, or a destroyer of tombs."[11] In so ruling, Constantine effectively took away what rights women had gained at the beginning of the Roman Empire. This law, which later also became part of the *Theodosian Code*, reinforces the notion that, although women gained some rights during the imperial period, the society was still patriarchal at heart. If she filed suit for divorce for any other reason or failed to prove one of these three charges against her husband, she risked losing all of her possessions as well as being deported. Any gains in "women's rights" thus were strictly the result of expedience and necessity, not of an aim for equality. This law must also be viewed within the growing moral constraints upon marriage and divorce being imposed by the Catholic Church as well as by Constantine's desire for stability among Rome's aristocratic families.

The future of a divorced or widowed woman within the imperial government was bleak. As divorces and marriages between teenage women and older aristocratic men who might only live a few years after marrying became the norm during the late Republic and Empire, having more than one marital partner over the course of one's lifetime became quite common, not only for Roman men, but also, and especially, for aristocratic Roman women.[12] Here, on the one hand, was an example of the freedom that Imperial Rome afforded women as opposed to the Republic. At the same time, even during the period of the Roman Empire a lack of employment opportunities paying a living wage made life difficult for widows and divorcees. Only if a widow or divorcee were independently wealthy or remarried could she hope to enjoy a good life, free from financial worries. This explains why widows, along with orphans, the disabled, and the elderly, often became the poorest of the poor, citizens for whom neither the state nor their families were willing to provide. At the same time, wealthy patrician and equestrian widows and

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[10] Grubbs, ed., *Women and the Law in the Roman Empire*, 187.

[11] Emperor Constantine Augustus to Ablavius, Praetorian Prefect (331 CE), *Theodosian Code* 3.16.1, in *Readings in Late Antiquity*, ed. Mass, 233.

[12] Catherine Clay, Chandrika Paul, and Christine Senecal, *Envisioning Women in World History*, vol. 1: *Prehistory—1500* (Boston: McGraw-Hill, 2009), 53.

divorcees faced enormous social pressure to marry powerful male suitors seeking access to their wealth and property.[13]

Women lacked opportunities to be financially independent because their social roles, particularly during the Republic, were almost exclusively confined to the home, even though within the home Roman women exerted the greatest degree of control over lives and their decisions.[14] And in that home was also to be found the other major duty of a wife: having [legitimate] children and rearing said children. From the late Republic on, young boys and girls of prominent, wealthy families were sent to elementary schools together. There girls learned reading, writing, and math, but at the home they were taught some of the most important skills that a woman of that day could possess: spinning, weaving, and embroidering.[15] Through such skills an aristocratic Roman woman could express her creativity and contribute fiscally to the household. Furthermore, aristocratic Roman women managed their estates, including delegating specific manual tasks to their slaves. Although these women were responsible for many household activities, this did not signify that they had control over other decisions made in the house. For example, husbands were legally permitted to expose unwanted children under his *patria potestas*, at least until the 4th century CE, when (again, under the influence of Christianity) it became illegal to do so. Infanticide was far more likely to occur when a girl was born, yet Roman women had little or no control over this abhorrent practice.[16] Even in the home, the ideal sphere for a woman to operate within, a lack of complete control remained evident.

Despite the Christian restrictions on divorce noted above, religion in the late Republic and early years of the Empire allowed women more control and freedom over personal life choices and families. Religion played a major role in Roman society, under both Republic and Empire, whether polytheistic or Christian. Roman forms of the Greek gods viewed goddesses differently. Instead of being virginial, pious, and pure they were "sexually active" and revered patronesses of marriage and childbirth. This exaltation of goddesses demonstrates the respect for women in religion. In fact, Roman women were "free to . . . attend religious festivals as they wished."[17] And Rome had many religious festivals throughout the year.[18] One of the most prestigious offices that a Roman woman could assume was that of a Vestal Virgin. The Vestal Virgins constituted the only female priesthood in Rome.[19] Another opportunity in religion for women arose out of Christianity. This new religion allowed [wealthy] women to gain "prominence in the church"[20] and with this prominence brought women more religious freedom.

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[13] Christ, *The Romans*, 76.

[14] Christ, *The Romans*, 99.

[15] Paoli, *Rome*, 113-114.

[16] Christ, *The Romans*, 99-100.

[17] Clay, Paul, and Senecal, *Envisioning Women in World History*, 51, 55.

[18] W. Warde Fowler, *The Roman Festivals of the Period of the Republic: An Introduction to the Study of the Religion of the Romans* (London: Macmillan, 1916), 21-32.

[19] Maas, ed., *Readings in Late Antiquity*, 105.

[20] Clay, Paul, and Senecal, *Envisioning Women in World History*, 56.

With her death, Tarbo, was able to inspire a fledging Christian community in North Africa.[21] Another important early figure in the church was Phoebe, to whom Paul referred in Romans as "a deacon of the church."[22] As a leader of the early church, Paul supported Phoebe and other Christian women with their involvement in the church, and also asserted that in Christ "there is neither male nor female, for you are all one in Christ."[23]

Politics, too, presented Roman women with a paradox. While officially Roman women were not allowed to participate in politics, they could control, influence, and operate behind the scenes or through their husbands. Augustus' wife Livia is a prime example of female influence on politics. She would advise him on matters of state, and it was said that he even took notes on her opinions.[24] Operating behind the scenes through the men in their lives was common for women, especially in the transition period between the Republic and Empire. Clodia, wife of Metellus, was often asked to influence her husband on the matters of political affairs. Cicero himself once confessed to Metellus that he had appealed to his wife, Clodia.[25] By asking her to speak to her husband, Cicero was acknowledging the power and equality that existed between Clodia and Metellus. Even though she was not able to serve as a public political figure, Clodia could, and did, wield her political influence in other ways. This was something that the turbulent times of the late 1st century BCE made possible. But perhaps the most influential female 'politician' of the Roman Empire was Theodora, wife of emperor Justinian. Before her marriage, she supported herself as a prostitute and actress. During her husband's reign, Theodora was his trusted counselor, offering her opinion during events such as the Nika Riots in 532 CE.[26] Although they were not allowed to influence Imperial Roman politics directly, many women like Livia, Clodia, and Theodora took advantage of their status and the times to effect change.

An aristocratic woman's status and her opportunities in Rome, paradoxically, were limited in both the Republic and Empire, and yet reflected a relaxation of restrictions in the late Republican and Imperial periods, often through legal fictions, that allowed her far more autonomy than Roman women had experienced heretofore. These changes impacted the marriage options and personal autonomy of these women, as well as Roman politics and religion. Thus the strife and ultimate triumphs of Roman women, however limited they may have been in a patriarchal society, exerted a long and lasting impact on the Roman Empire that extended even to the early Church.

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[21] Maas, ed., *Readings in Late Antiquity*, 217.

[22] Jen McNeel, "Romans 16: Who Was Phoebe?," *The Text in Context*, http://thetextincontext.com/romans-16-who-was-phoebe/ (accessed January 14, 2018).

[23] Galatians 3:28 (NAS).

[24] Clay, Paul, and Senecal, *Envisioning Women in World History*, 59.

[25] Julia Dyson Hedjuk, ed., *Clodia: A Sourcebook* (Oklahoma City: University of Oklahoma Press, 2008), 34.

[26] Maas, ed., *Readings in Late Antiquity*, 218.

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Student Essays

The Ciompi Revolt of 1378:
Socio-Political Constraints and Economic Demands of Workers
in Renaissance Florence
Alex Kitchel

I. Introduction

In June of 1378, political tensions between the *Parte Guelpha* (supporters of the Papacy) and the Ghibellines (supporters of the Holy Roman Emperor) were on the rise in Italy. These tensions stemmed from the Parte Guelpha's use of proscriptions (either a death sentence or banishment/exile) and admonitions (denying one's eligibility for magisterial office) to rid Ghibellines (and whomever else they wanted for whatever reasons) from participation in the government. However, the Guelphs had been unable to prevent their Ghibelline adversary, Salvestro de' Medici, from obtaining the position of *Gonfaloniere* ("Standard-Bearer of Justice"), the most powerful position in the commune. By proposing an ultimately unsuccessful renewal of the anti-magnate Law of Ordinances, he was able to win the support of the *popolo minuto* ("little people"), who, at his bidding, ran around the city, burning and looting the houses of the Guelphs. By targeting specific families and also by allying themselves with the minor guilds, these "working poor" hoped to force negotiations for socio-economic and political reform upon the major-guildsmen. Instead, however, this forced the creation of a *balìa* (an oligarchic ruling committee of patricians), charged with suppressing the rioting throughout the city. With the city still high-strung, yet more rioting broke out in the following month.

The few days before July 21, 1378 were shrouded in conspiracy and plotting. Fearing that the *popolo minuto* were holding secret meetings all throughout the city, the government arrested some of their leaders, and, under torture, these "little people" confessed to plans of creating three new guilds and eliminating forced loan policies. While the Florentine government at that time was a republic in the most basic sense of the word, the seven major guilds controlled most of the political offices and refused to relinquish any of them. The existing government compelled subjects to render forced loans and pay high taxes while granting little-to-no representation in government for the members of the fourteen minor guilds and *sottoposti* ("non-guildsmen") in addition to more general exploitation in their work and private lives. As tensions arose throughout Florence, a major schism broke out between the seven major guilds and the fourteen minor guilds. The minor guilds wanted greater representation in the government while the *sottoposti* also submitted a demand for their own representation in government and a reduction or end of the public debt. In response to these demands, the major guilds and the *Signoria* made it even more difficult for the either of these groups to obtain representation in government. Infuriated, the fourteen minor guilds allied themselves with the new formed "*Ciompi*" (wool workers). On July 21, 1378, after negotiations between the two sides failed, the *popolo minuto* and minor guildsmen decided to rebel violently against the Florentine government and took up arms to overthrow the *Signoria* and their government in an event that would be later known as

the Ciompi Revolt. While the Ciompi were subsequently defeated after a relatively short reign, their revolt exerted a long-term impact upon Florentine government that endured for centuries.

This paper aims to explore the Ciompi Revolt and its context, starting with the impact of the Black Death in 1348 on Florence and extending to the end of events of the Ciompi Revolt in 1382. As one of the most revolutionary times in history, the parallel impact of the Renaissance, especially in Florence, cannot be overstated. The Ciompi Revolt, which occurred relatively early within the Renaissance, arguably constituted the first "industrial" labor revolt and rebellion in history.[1] For all intents and purposes, it was relatively modest and lackadaisical in terms of the demands and desires of the Ciompi, who sought economic gains, but had no desire to reform the government from scratch. Certainly they did not want to end, rewrite, or draft a constitution. Instead, what the Ciompi really desired was some degree of political participation, however limited, within the Florentine communal government. Thus the socio-economic structure of Florence played a pivotal role in the revolt as the product of inter- and intra-class conflicts that were full of plots and conspiracies. The Ciompi Revolt was revolutionary because it drew from these class tensions in every aspect; these tensions forced changes within the socio-political and economic spheres. While it was not as extreme as some Marxist historians have claimed, without the class tensions in Florence this revolution might never have occurred. As it turned out in the end, however, the Ciompi Revolt established a new form of government with new social and political boundaries and, in the process, altered the economy of Florence by focusing upon the workers rather than solely upon their production.

II. The Revolt of the Ciompi

The Ciompi Revolt came in three phases: the reform, the revolt, and the reaction. While no sharp chronological divisions may be identified during this chaotic period of Florentine history, the different phases reflect more broadly the events that transpired in Florence during the months of June, July, and August of 1378, respectively. At first, the peaceful Ciompi simply wanted political recognition along with economic reform. By the end of the revolt in August 1378, however, they were using violence to achieve their goals, along with burning and looting. For one to understand how the Ciompi Revolt erupted and evolved, it may be helpful to consider not only what the Ciompi desired and how they initially planned to achieve their goals, but also to understand why the Ciompi ultimately rose up as rioters in response to the infighting among the Florentine elites. In part because the Parte Guelfa's use of proscriptions and admonitions so angered their enemies, the Ghibelline notable, Salvestro de Medici championed the Ciompi, who ultimately rioted in mid-June as the phrase "Long live the People" echoed throughout the city.

While the wool workers had been around for a while and had become the backbone of the Florentine economy, the promise of higher wages and a better life was all too enticing for many

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[1] I use the term "industrial" as a relative term, referring to textile workers and the conditions and work-lives within the guild system. The Industrial Revolution of the 18th and 19th centuries was much different with its use of factories and machines.

people – especially for males entering the city. Nonetheless, these workers entered the city with false expectations, for while wages were certainly increasing, so too were the debt and taxes of Florence. During the 1340s, the banking industry – for which Florence was known internationally – had collapsed (as it would do once again in the 1450s at the end of the Hundred Years' War).[2] These banks were still owed a significant amount of money by both England and France, and their collapse was induced by the default on these loans in the 1340s, leading to increasingly hard times for the wool workers. In response to this, taxes skyrocketed in Florence.[3] Additionally, with this collapse and its adverse impact on the wool workers, many workers were plagued with unemployment. In short, "although fully employed skilled workers (especially those with small households) did well between the plague and 1378," John Najemy has noted, "debt, taxes, irregular employment, and large families kept many in poverty."[4]

II.1. Deterioration of the Parte Guelpha, the Guelphs' Conflict with the Ghibellines, and the War of the Eight Saints

The start of what is now considered the Ciompi Revolt originated not through tensions from the lower classes, but was actually due to increasing tensions within the Parte Guelpha itself. These tensions were compounded by the Guelph Party's conflict with the Ghibellines and the Avignon Papacy. Florence itself had always maintained that it was a Guelph city. From the 1350s to the 1370s, it was the Guelphs, led by the Albizzi family amongst other prominent Guelph families, who ruled Florence.[5] Feeling undermined and underrepresented were the Ghibellines, who barely had any say in governmental affairs. This was in large part accomplished through the Parte Guelpha's use of proscriptions (sentences of death or exile) and admonitions (denying opponents the right to hold a magisterial office). In practice, this meant that they had "the right to determine who were true Guelphs, [and] could exclude from civic office those it deemed to lack this essential requirement."[6] In so doing, the Guelph Party was "warning anyone of whom it disapproved that, should he accept a position which the statutes reserved for Guelphs, he would incur the penalties for violating them. In this way, those who dominated the 'Parte' hoped to retain their power to act as guardians of what they regarded as the traditional interests of Florence."[7] It can be concluded that the Parte Guelpha intended to retain its control of the Florentine government. The conflict between the Guelph Party and the Ghibellines, in fact, reflected a division between factions within the upper class. Most, if not all, of those belonging

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[2] Richard C. Trexler, "Follow the Flag: The Ciompi Revolt Seen from the Streets," *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance* 46, No. 2 (1984): 9.

[3] , John Najemy, *A History of Florence 1200-1575* (Malden, Mass.: Blackwell Publishing, 2006), 144.

[4] Najemy, *A History of Florence, 1200-1575*, 160.

[5] Najemy, *A History of Florence, 1200-1575*, 146.

[6] Chronicle attributed to Acciaioli, in *Chronicles of the Tumult of the Ciompi: Including the Chronicle Attributed to Alamanno Acciaioli, the Anonymous Additions to It, the So-Called First Anonymous Chronicle and the Chronicle of Ser Nofri di ser Piero delle Riformagioni*, ed. and trans. Rosemary Kantor and Louis Green (Clayton, Australia: Dept. of History, Monash University, 1991), 2.

[7] Chronicle attributed to Acciaioli, in *Chronicles of the Tumult of the Ciompi*, ed. and trans. Kantor/Green, 3.

to these two political parties were adversaries within Florence – adversaries with considerable wealth, status, and power at stake. This not only upset the actual Ghibellines but also many others who were not because even people who were merely suspected, but not actually Ghibellines, were losing offices and positions within the government. Steaming for revenge and awaiting their opportunity to usurp the Guelphs, the Ghibellines' opportunity come to fruition when the Guelphs in Florence declared a war against the papacy in 1375.

In the year of 1375, a Guelph-led Florence declared war against the Avignon papacy – mistakenly known today as the "War of the Eight Saints" because of the longstanding confusion of the "Eight Saints" with the "Eight of War." As noted above, the Guelphs, avid supporters of a *Roman* papacy, had appointed a *balìa* of eight men to orchestrate this war. These men, known as the Eight of War (*Otto della Guerra*), heeded the call for this fight against the papacy. Opposing the *Otto della Guerra* was Pope Gregory XI, head of the Avignon papacy, who resided in Avignon, but governed Italy through legates. The poor treatment of the Italian people by the legates ultimately led to open rebellion and a union of the Italian city-states. However, as Florence was punished for the eight men's actions and placed under an interdict, the city began to crumble at the seams.   It soon became clear that the *Otto della Guerra* and the captains of the Parte Guelpha, all of whom were Guelphs themselves, were going to collide. The Guelph captains' power to proscribe or admonish leading citizens gave them near total control over Florentine politics. At the same time, however, the leading members of the Parte Guelpha seemed to be alienating themselves from Florentine society. In addition to this, the war was becoming increasingly unpopular, and so, too, were both the *Otto della Preti* and the *Otto della Guerra*. The Guelph captains' power culminated when, on April 22, 1378, they proscribed the spice merchant, Giovanni Dini, who was one of the *Otto della Guerra* leading the war against the Avignon papacy.[8] The conflicting tensions within the Guelphs of Florentine society opened a window of opportunity for the Ghibellines. As opportunity knocked, Salvestro de Medici, rose to the highest position in the Florentine government: Standard-Bearer of Justice.

II.2. The Ciompi "Reform"
The importance of Salvestro de' Medici's election as Gonfaloniere of Justice, the highest position in Florentine government, cannot be understated. Salvestro's rise to this position seems peculiar, mostly due to the fact that he was an adversary to Parte Guelpha. However, he was not the only new person to take a leading position in Signoria in May and June of 1378. This term would be a tumultuous one, riddled with conspiracy and, eventually, violence. An important point to note here is that none of these priors belonged to the wool guild, despite the fact that its membership comprised nearly one-third of Florence's population during this time. The priors' inability to understand Salvestro's motives as well as the desires and demands of the Ciompi would ultimately led to an insurrection like none that Florence had ever witnessed before.

Salvestro de' Medici knew that opposing the Parte Guelpha while they were still at full strength would be futile. Instead, the contemporary chronicler Marchione di Coppo Stefani

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[8] Robert Fredona, "Political Conspiracy in Florence, 1340-1382" (Ph.D. diss., Cornell University, 2010), 91.

reports, he had a secret plan with his allies, who met at the house of Luigi de Lippo Aldobrandini.[9] This is where they hatched a plot that would cause upheaval and violence throughout the streets of Florence. The Parte Guelpha probably knew of the secret meeting, for they "immediately met at the Palace of the Parte [Guelpha] and straight away summoned all the heads of the 'grandi' families who favoured the measures which supported the Parte, nearly all of them with breastplate and knives and some with daggers hidden at either side."[10] According to Stefani's *Florentine Chronicle*, the Guelph's standard-bearer, Lapo da Castiglionchio, went to the Palazzo Vechio accompanied by over thirty armed men to hear the proposition of Salvestro de Medici.

The rise of Salvestro de Medici came with many consequences, not only for the Parte Guelpha, but also for Florence as a whole. Historian Samuel Cohn observed that, "on June 1378, Salvestro de' Medici and others from the merchant-elite families sparked a constitutional struggle that challenged the Guelph Party's control and manipulation of government elections through its denunciations [*ammonitti*] of those drawn from the purses [elected] for office."[11] As Salvestro started his two-month term, he took immediate action to curb the Parte Guelpha's power through his decision to "reform the state and rein in the Law of Admonition."[12] He also "called for a renewal of the old Ordinances of Justice . . . . Originally passed at the end of the thirteenth century to eliminate from government those families labeled as magnates, . . . the Ordinances were still officially the law of the land, even if they had largely fallen into disuse."[13] These actions were taken to limit the Parte Guelfa's leading families' power by declaring them magnates, which by law meant that they were ineligible to participate in the government. Despite having promised to support these reforms, the councils of the Twelve Good Men and Sixteen Standard-Bearers (which contained many citizens belonging to magnate families) in the end refused to renew the Ordinances of Justice. Upon receiving the news that his proposal had not passed, Salvestro stood up and declared, "Wise people of the council, today I wanted to cleanse this city of the wicked tyranny of powerful men, but I am not allowed to do so because my companions and the colleges will not consent to it. . . . And as I am not obeyed in my desire to do good, I consider myself no longer prior, nor gonfaloniere. I therefore intend to go home. Choose another gonfaloniere in my place and do it with God's grace."[14]

Seeing the leading figure of the government about to resign his position within days of assuming his post caused a public commotion. Unwilling to let the Salvestro resign, chaos broke

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[9] Marchione di Coppo Stefani, *Florentine Chronicle*, in *Chronicles of the Tumult of the Ciompi*, ed. and trans. Kantor/Green, 76.

[10] Stefani, *Florentine Chronicle*, in *Chronicles of the Tumult of the Ciompi*, ed. and trans. Kantor/Green, 79.

[11] Samuel Cohn, *Popular Protest in Late Medieval Europe: Italy, France, Flanders* (Manchester, U.K.: Manchester University Press, 2004), 202.

[12] Leonardo Bruni, *History of the Florentine People*, ed. and trans. James Hankins (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2004), 3:5.

[13] Guido Ruggiero, *The Renaissance in Italy: A Social and Cultural History of the Rinascimento* (Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 159.

[14] Chronicle attributed to Acciaioli, in *Chronicles of the Tumult of the Ciompi*, ed. and trans. Kantor/Green, 8-9.

out within the Councilmen of the Twelve and Sixteen. Machiavelli reports, "Many of the noble citizens were threatened in opprobrious language; and an artificer seized Carlo Strozzi by the throat, and would undoubtedly murdered him, but was with difficulty prevented by those around."[15] As frustration rose throughout the room, many of the Twelve and Sixteen Councilmen were arguing, and little was accomplished. Even within the powerful and elite of Florentine society, there was no agreement. It was through the rash actions of one Councilmen, Benedetto di Nerozzo degli Alberti, who ran to the window and shouted out "Long live the people, Long live Liberty!,"[16] that commotion was stirred not just within the upper-level people of society, but now within the ranks of the *popolo minuto* as well.

Outside of the palace, however, guildsmen and *popolo minuto* reacted more tentatively. This rather peculiar scenario suggests that the *popolo minuto* were unsure about the direction in which the political elites were taking them. The people of Florence went home that night and slept under wakeful and stressful tension. The next morning, shops were closed and guards were placed all throughout the city. This was done due to the fear that the *popolo* might mount an insurrection. Although hoping not only to maintain control over the *popolo*, but also over their actions, the patricians of the city in fact incited revolt. Several chroniclers recorded what they witnessed over the next few days. Alamanno Acciaioli observed:

> On Sunday, all the guilds gathered together in their shops, and then each artisan was in his own shop. They elected certain representatives, one for each guild.
> On Monday morning the colleges assembled early in the signoria and the representatives also came. All that day they stayed with the priors and their colleges, discussing and framing certain laws. But that day nothing could be decided, for they could not reach agreement.
> Thus on Tuesday, the guilds began to arm themselves, according to the order given by several citizens in their own guild shops. The guild banners were unfurled. This action was brought to the attention of the priors and the colleges. They immediately chose the Ninety-six. When the council was summoned and the Ninety-six chosen, an uproar arose in the square and people with the guild banners shouted, 'Long live the people.' Therefore the council decided to turn over general authority to the priors and the colleges, to the captains of the Party, to the ten of liberty ('dieci della libertà'), to the eight of guard ('otto della guardia') and to the guild representatives.[17]

Seeing that not much had been accomplished and that the Parte Guelpha continued to dominate the government, riots soon broke out. The homes of many Florentines would soon be consumed by flames. These riots began on June 21, 1378. Although not nearly as violent as those of the

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[15] Niccolò Machiavelli, *History of Florence and of the Affairs of Italy: From the Earliest Times to the Death of Lorenzo the Magnificent*, trans. Peter Smith (Gloucester, Mass.: Harper and Row, 1974), 122.

[16] Chronicle attributed to Acciaioli, in *Chronicles of the Tumult of the Ciompi*, ed. and trans. Kantor/Green, 8.

[17] Chronicle attributed to Acciaioli, in *Chronicles of the Tumult of the Ciompi*, ed. and trans. Kantor/Green, 9.

following day, they nevertheless played an important part at the beginning of creating a collective identity for the *popolo minuto* and breaking the social constraints that had held in place within society. This can be seen through both the guilds' election of members to represent them as constituents, and through the rising of the *popolo minuto* as a physical force, wreaking havoc among the homes and leaders of the Guelph Party.

The rioting continued and even intensified over the next two days. In his *Florentine Chronicle* (ca. 1378-early 1380s), the contemporary chronicler Marchione di Coppo Stefani recorded the events that took place in Florence over these next few days:

> . . . On the said Tuesday at the third hour, a disturbance broke out and, hoisting their standards, the guilds rushed to arms and came to the Piazza of the Priors. The first to move was the guild of the furriers. . . . But I believe that it was a true judgment that none except for those listed below had [his house] either burnt down, touched or robbed. The first were messer Lapo da Castiglionchio's houses, his loggia and those of his kinsmen, which were on the Piazza of the Ponte Rubaconte opposite the house of the sons of messer Jacopo dagli Alberti, in which there was little to rob, because in the night and morning everything had been removed except for what was in wood or bedding. He had fled to Santa Croce where, it was rumoured, when he heard that his house had been put to the flames, he said 'Now wait for St John's day, now Piero di Filippo, St John's day will be yours.' And dressed as a friar he followed the bank of the Arno and reached the Casentino.[18]

Stefani recorded a very vivid and detailed depiction of the rioting that took place in Florence in late June 1378. The astonishing detail provided in his *Florentine Chronicle* indicates that the Ciompi targeted the Parte Guelpha's leaders' houses. Thus the resulting insurrection suggests that Salvestro and his allies were exploiting the *popolo minute* as they targeted their enemies and used the common people to achieve their ends. In addition to the looting and burning, the *popolo minuto* also freed prisoners in the city, which is the only part for which Salvestro and his allies, more than likely, did not plan. Again, in Stefani's words: "And then they rushed to the Stinche and released all the prisoners, doing great harm both to the commune and to the citizens . . . , and burnt it down."[19] Acciaioli adds, "And when they finished this looting and burning the 'popolo minuto' and the guildsmen went and broke into the commune's jail and, acting under the orders of Bardo di Guglielmo Altoviti, they let free all the prisoners. Bardo had two of his nephews in jail; they were his sister's son: one was Alesso Baldovinetti and the other Andrea delle Botti."[20]

In addition to the freeing of political prisoners, the War Commission (The Eight of War) hired a man not from Florence, but one from the town of Poggibonsi, Checco di Iacopo da

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[18] Stefani, *Florentine Chronicle*, in *Chronicles of the Tumult of the Ciompi*, ed. and trans. Kantor/Green, 78.

[19] Stefani, *Florentine Chronicle*, in *Chronicles of the Tumult of the Ciompi*, ed. and trans. Kantor/Green,78-79.

[20] Chronicle attributed to Acciaioli, in *Chronicles of the Tumult of the Ciompi*, ed. and trans. Kantor/Green, 10.

Poggibonsi, to lead this later charge around the city to burn down the houses of notable Parte members. This created an even more intense environment, seeing that two friars were later killed in this rioting. Additionally, the *popolo minuto* broke into a church and began looting it. This foreshadows an eventual breaking away from the order and structure of Salvestro and his allies. The *popolo minuto* were really beginning to test the limits and see what they could actually accomplish independently.

These first-hand and contemporary accounts record the actions taken by the people of Florence in late June 1378. Much damage was done to the city and the houses of the Parte Guelpha's leaders. Unable to rein in the *popolo minuto* on that day, it was evident that the Parte leaders need to make some sort of change. The night before St. John's Day, a holiday in Florence celebrating the memory of the martyr St. John the Baptist, the Parte Guelpha hatched a plan. In this, they hoped to exploit the *popolo minuto* by redirecting them at the Ghibellines. The chronicler Stefani details this plan:

> It was discovered from inquires made later that Piero di Filippo was to have in his house, on St John's eve, . . . [conspirators, which] had decided to raise a cry, form ranks and overrun the city, immediately going to the Palace of the Priors, taking it without opposition, and afterwards overrunning the city, shouting "Long live the people and the Guelph party." They were to lead to the populace to the houses of the "admonished", the Ghibellines, and to certain of their enemies, and then reform the government of the city in their own way, restricting it, they said, to sixty men.[21]

This plan, so they thought, was fool-proof. Perhaps it might have gone their way. But it can sufficiently be concluded that if Stefani was able to learn of this plan, so was Salvestro. Before the Parte could act, Salvestro and his allies launched a preemptive strike. In a daring attempt, and one that launched the Ciompi into action, Salvestro championed himself and his allies as leaders of the *popolo minuto*. As champions of the *popolo minuto*, Salvestro and his followers were able to initiate attacks on the Parte Guelpha. This kept the Parte preoccupied and on their heels, unable to fend off these attacks. Because of this, Salvestro utilized this time to re-promulgate some existing laws. These included "a law that any citizen who had been admonished by the captains of the Parte as a Ghibelline or who was suspect to the Parte Guelpha since 1357 could and would be restored to his rights if he acquired two-thirds of the beans [votes] of those present. . . But whoever was thus restored could not himself, and neither could his relatives, hold office until an interval of three years had elapsed."[22] In addition to this, they "declared Messer Lapo de Castiglionchio and his associates rebels, and, with him, many others who were universally hated."[23] Thus Salvestro was able to remake the laws and decisions that the Parte had controlled for the past several decades. But what he did not expect was how out of

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[21] Stefani, *Florentine Chronicle*, in *Chronicles of the Tumult of the Ciompi*, ed. and trans. Kantor/Green, 78.
[22] Chronicle attributed to Acciaioli, in *Chronicles of the Tumult of the Ciompi*, ed. and trans. Kantor/Green, 11.
[23] Machiavelli, *Florentine Histories*, trans. Banfield and Mansfield, 118.

control the *popolo minuto* would become. The chronicler Nofri di ser Piero delle Riformagioni explained just how the *popolo minuto* got its start and very pointedly blamed a select a few for what would occur in the upcoming months:

> Once this was done [the burning of the Parte's houses], they gave the order for the unrest to stop, and it largely began to quiet down. But the crowd, when it is moved, oftentimes does not stop when those who incited it want it to do so. This is what happened to the city of Florence. The people did not stop where Tommaso di Marco degli Strozzi, messer Salvestro de' Medici, messer Benedetto degli Alberti, Giovanni Dini and other instigators of such evil and scandal would have wanted it to stop; they continued, till in the end everyone ended up badly.[24]

In the aftermath of these violent riots in June, much had been done to limit more rioting. This included the creation of a baliá of eighty men who went about repairing the city. This *balìa* was finally able to stifle nearly all of the Guelph Party's influence. In doing so, the transfer of power was complete; Salvestro and his allies seemingly had won. It appeared that the violence was going to diminish after the new leaders of the commune "issued a ban stating that no one should carry offensive or defensive weapons."[25] The ban was ineffective, however, because "the shops were not opened, nor did the citizens lay down their arms, but continued to patrol the city in great numbers."[26] While the Eighty believed that the riots were going to subside, they actually began to unite around the guildsmen and would continue. This was based on the creation of the *popolo minuto's* identity outside of the social constraints that had previously served as the customary law guiding Florence.

On July 1, 1378, the new Priors came into office and Luigi di messer Piero Guicciardini became the new Gonfaloniere of Justice.[27] The new Signoria was credited with creating a stable environment in Florence: "Everyone praised the priors and the colleges for their work. Every day the situation in the city improved. There was peace and quiet without any disturbance for ten days."[28] And although the new Priors and the Gonfaloniere formed the new Signoria and succeeded in quelling the riots in the city, the Eight still held most of the control in Florence. The two groups hoped to collaborate and create a new and stable government, but that was not to be the case.

Over the course of the next few days, the situation began to deteriorate within the city. First, on the 5th of July, the Parte Guelpha, still reeling from the rapid descent from leaders of the government to a limited part in government, "requested that many of the citizens in the Guelph

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[24] Chronicle of Nofri di ser Piero delle Riformagioni, in *Chronicles of the Tumult of the Ciompi*, ed. and trans. Kantor/Green, 61.

[25] Cohn, *Popular Protest in Late Medieval Europe*, 212.

[26] Machiavelli, *History of Florence*, trans. Smith, 124.

[27] Chronicle attributed to Acciaioli, in *Chronicles of the Tumult of the Ciompi*, ed. and trans. Kantor/Green, 12.

[28] Chronicle attributed to Acciaioli, in *Chronicles of the Tumult of the Ciompi*, ed. and trans. Kantor/Green, 12.

Party should try to restore the party's good image [and] refrain from fighting, rioting, and acts of arson."[29] This, they hoped, would show that blame was only that of the captains belonging to the Parte and not the Guelphs as a whole. It also shows that they were going to try again to win over the mass number of people in Florence to their cause despite their mistakes. Seeing this, the Florentine government took the decision into their own hands, deciding "that no one could be barred from office-holding while in office but only after a certain amount of time and only with serious matters could such an inquiry be made, and if no sound grounds were found, the person could not be condemned as a Ghibelline; rather it must be proven that the suspect was in fact a Ghibelline."[30] This was a slap in the face to the Parte because now all their enemies were able to petition for their reinstatement into government. This meant that their popularity, despite their best attempts, was going to continue to diminish. The captains of the Parte were soon at the behest of the guilds and Florentine government: "Today, 8 July 1378, all the leaders of the guilds assembled in the Palace of the Guelph Party in front of their captains to make several demands. The captains answered to the councilors and their leaders, saying they were willing to do anything they asked, and everyone was in agreement; our city remained in peace and harmony."[31] But this peace and harmony would not last very long.

After their work in June, the minor guilds hoped to receive more voice within government. These minor guilds "had displayed a distinct solidarity while helping the major guildsmen crush the Parte; after those disturbances, they began to agitate for an increased share of government offices."[32] While the minor guildsmen were initially happy with this result, it soon began to change as they realized that they actually would have more power if they aligned themselves with the wool guild.[33] Machiavelli, too, asserts that those "who had shown themselves boldest feared that, with the greater differences quieted and composed, they would be punished for the mistakes committed by them and that, as always happens to them, they would be abandoned by those who had incited them to do evil."[34] Clearly they feared that Salvestro and his allies – the ones who had first initiated the rioting that led to the fall of the Parte Guelpha – might forsake them.

This provides another reason why the *popolo minuto* – the plebs as Machiavelli so called them – began to band together. This was based on the fact that, "the *minuti* heard a rumor that the new government for July-August, headed by a Standard Bearer from Oltrarno [the quarter of Santo Spirito], had brought in foreign executioners to punish them for the activities in June."[35] The *popolo minuto*, who were also in this case the *sottoposti*, were scared that the Florentine government was going to have them punished for their actions. This fear is generally attributed

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[29] Cohn, *Popular Protest in Late Medieval Europe*, 212.

[30] Cohn, *Popular Protest in Late Medieval Europe*, 212-213.

[31] Cohn, *Popular Protest in Late Medieval Europe*, 213.

[32] Trexler, "Follow the Flag," 367.

[33] Cohn, *Popular Protest in Late Medieval Europe*, 215.

[34] Machiavelli, *Florentine Histories*, trans. Banfield and Mansfield, 120.

[35] Richard Trexler, *The Workers of Renaissance Florence* (Binghamton, New York: Center for Medieval and Early Renaissance Studies, SUNY Binghamton, 1993), 67.

as the leading cause for the *popolo minuto* uniting together. In addition to this, they felt that this was another step in the unfair treatment they received in Florentine society, for they were not allowed to have a voice in government because they were not members of the guild but rather subjects.

Realizing that they could work together to achieve a larger (or in the case of the *sottoposti*, an initial) voice within the government, the two groups – the minor guilds (*arte minori*) and the *popolo minuto* – united together against the major guildsmen (*arte maggiori*). Such a revolutionary move had previously been unknown in Florence, yet an alliance between the minor guilds and *popolo minuto* would give them a distinct numerical advantage over their opponents. And the *popolo minuto* would now be allied with the Ciompi, for the wool workers were ones who were recognized as uniting with the minor guilds. This was a clear break from the social structure, stratification, and constraints of Florentine society. Never before this had the *popolo minuto*, the *sottoposti*, or the Ciompi been so directly involved in making political decisions nor had they heretofore played a role within the government.

It is easy to see why the Ciompi were the ones to rise up. They were the largest and most populous guild in Florence, and yet they had no voice in the city's government. According to Machiavelli, "The lower classes, then, the subordinates not only of the woolen, but also of the other arts, were discontented, from the causes just mentioned; and their apprehension of punishment for their burnings and robberies they had committed, did not tend to compose them."[36] That very night, the Ciompi were beginning their nocturnal meetings. Bruni says, "the city mob, mostly poor men from the lowest class, already aroused by the discords amongst the greater citizens, began to hold nocturnal meetings and to discuss how they might lay claim to offices for themselves; and in the end they agreed to seek a guild of their own in the city and a place on the priorate." In these, it can be concluded that the *sottoposti* and *popolo minuto* had unifying goals – ones that the minor guilds would help them achieve. These goals, as Martin Breaugh points out, "aimed at democratizing the political system and the operation of the trade guilds by making the treatment of Florence's various social strata more egalitarian."[37] It was from these nocturnal meetings that the government sparked the populace of Florence into a frenzy.

On the afternoon of July 28, 1378, an informant reported on these nocturnal to the priors. In his reports, he spoke of these meetings and told the priors that in order to learn more about this, they must capture "someone named Simoncino, . . . (who) can tell you all about the planned conspiracy and what was planned."[38] The priors brought in Simoncino and he confessed to planning to riot at nine in the morning the next day. This was due to the threat of hanging by a brutal police official named ser Nuto from Città di Castello. He gave the names of others who had met at the *Spedale de Preti* (hospital of the priests) in Via San Gallo. In addition to these, he

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[36] Machiavelli, *History of Florence*, trans. Smith, 128.

[37] Martin Breaugh, *The Plebeian Experience: A Discontinuous History of Political Freedom* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2013), 14.

[38] Chronicle attributed to Acciaioli, in *Chronicles of the Tumult of the Ciompi*, ed. and trans. Kantor/Green, 15.

confessed that men from good families, guildsmen, and those proscribed had joined the *sottoposti* in this cause; this included Giovanni Dini, a spice merchant who was previously part of the *Otto della Guerra* until the Parte Guelpha proscribed him.

When the priors asked Simoncino why the people wanted to rebel, he replied, "The carders, the wool combers and beaters, the dyers, the tanners, the washers and others who were subject to the wool guild ('arte della lana') no longer want to be subject to them and do not want their official to exist for them not to have anything to do with him. . . . And they also want a part in the ruling of the city. And they want any theft and arson committed against them not to be held against them."[39] The priors, it seemed, were not as worried about what the Ciompi wanted so much as stamping out the leaders of this cause. Instead of having a discussion about the misfortunes and mistreatment of the subjects of Lana guild, they interrogated Simoncino for information on the leaders. The Priors probably felt that if they could take out the leaders, then the rioting could be brought to an end. Such thinking, however, was in error, as they would find out later in Simoncino's testimony.

Deciding that this was not enough, the priors decided to escalate their tactics. They used torture. According to Fredona, "Simoncino broke under the pain of the *stappado* (*parecchi tratti* of rope) and added one crucial element to his earlier description of the plot: 'that the leader and organizer of the conspiracy was Salvestro di messer Alamanno de' Medici."[40] This had a major impact upon the priors, for none of them suspected that the former Standard-Bearer himself was involved in the insurrection of the *sottoposti* and Ciompi. Two others later confirmed this, and the priors sent someone to retrieve Salvestro so they could hear his testimony:

The clever Salvestro, however, was able to escape a worse fate through diplomacy. Upon hearing his testimony, "The merciful priors honestly reproved and pardoned him, although some wanted to treat him otherwise."[41] In his testimony, Salvestro referred to these people "minuti" and "people hardly worth mentioning." This shows clear distinction between Salvestro (and thus the patricians of the city) from the lower-end classes of Florentine society. And while Salvestro might have been saying this just to make his testimony sound more convincing, it seems far likely that this reflected his true feelings, given as it was under duress.

In addition to the shocking revelation surrounding Salvestro, Simoncino revealed plans detailing the revolt throughout the city:

> The first to rise up would be those people from Camaldoli and from San Friano. The bells of the Carmine and San Friano would ring and then those of San Piero Gattolino and those of San Niccolo and of Orgissanti, of Santo Stefano a Ponte, of San Piero Maggiore and of San Lorenzo. Four groups would then gather: one in San Spirito, with a thousand men or more;

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[39] Chronicle attributed to Acciaioli, in *Chronicles of the Tumult of the Ciompi*, ed. and trans. Kantor/Green, 15.

[40] Acciouli, quoted in Fredona, "Political Conspiracy in Florence, 1340-1382," 107.

[41] Chronicle attributed to Acciaioli, in *Chronicles of the Tumult of the Ciompi*, ed. and trans. Kantor/Green, 17.

another in Santo Stefano a Ponte, with 400 or more men; another in San Piero Maggiore, with 800 or more; and the last in San Lorenzo, would be innumerable.[42]

The mass had developed a complex way of organizing and communicating. Using the ringing of church bells and the lighting of torches from church towers, they planned their movement meticulously. The large masses of people recorded by Simoncino certainly alarmed the priors, for they dispatched 230 lancers into the Piazza at dawn.

But a man named Niccolò degli Oriuoli, who was manning the palace clock, had heard of the priors plans and ran home, yelling "To arms, to arms; the priors are bent on slaughter. . . Arm yourselves, bad people; if not, you shall all die."[43] Now aware of not only the prior's plans but also of their torture of Simoncino, the people were enraged. They were willing to fight with violence and bloodshed in mind to avenge Simoncino and others who had been wronged. They sought to limit the ability of the Ser Nuto to execute and hang them, and to achieve their demands of participation within government through the creation of new guilds.

II.3. The Ciompi "Revolt"
On the morning of July 21, 1378 (different chroniclers and contemporaries detail different days, such as the 19 and 20 of July, in their writings), the Palazzo Vecchio had been densely packed with people. On one side, only about 80 or so of the 230 lancers had shown up to defend the priors and quell the Ciompi and *sottoposti*. On the other side, members of the fourteen minor guilds, the *sottoposti*, and the Ciompi severely outnumbered the lancers. They dominated the Piazza and knew that their numbers were superior; thus they moved when they had a clear and distinct upper hand. Shouting the very same phrase that had stirred the *popolo minuto* into a frenzy the previous month – "Long live the people" – the Ciompi won the Piazza. In doing so, the priors were trapped within their palace. They had little alternative but to listen to the demands of the Ciompi.

The Ciompi's first action was to "demand with threats the return of the captives."[44] When this was not done quickly enough, the Ciompi stormed the city towards the home of Luigi di Messer Piero Guicciardini, the current Standard-Bearer of Justice in Florence. Together, the Ciompi burned down his house and those of his relatives, hoping to make their point. It worked, and the Signoria handed over four prisoners that were being held at the Palace.[45] But this did not stop the Ciompi, for they were not done burning the residences of those whom they saw as opposing them. It is especially important that while the Ciompi burned down houses of these people, they did not loot and rob them like they had in the June burnings. This was probably due to the fact that the Ciompi wanted to distinguish themselves from the June burnings, which were done out of retribution and revenge rather than politics.

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[42] Chronicle attributed to Acciaioli, in *Chronicles of the Tumult of the Ciompi*, ed. and trans. Kantor/Green, 16.

[43] Chronicle attributed to Acciaioli, in *Chronicles of the Tumult of the Ciompi*, ed. and trans. Kantor/Green, 17.

[44] Bruni, *History of the Florentine People*, 3:7.

[45] Cohn, *Popular Protest in Late Medieval Europe*, 217.

As a result of the mass arson, the Ciompi feared repercussions for their actions. That very evening they knighted over sixty people, including Salvestro de Medici and seven of the Eight of War.[46] It might at first glance seem odd that the Ciompi knighted, almost exclusively, citizens belonging to the upper-class of Florentine society, and yet, there was a certain logic in their action. Indeed, they hoped that by doing this that they would gain the protection of these people so that the priors and the Florentine government would not punish them. The upper-class citizens did not resist because, if they had done so, the Ciompi would have more than likely burned their residences along with those of their relatives. Even more peculiar in this knighting was the fact that the current Standard-Bearer, Luigi Guicciardini, was also knighted. The Ciompi had just burned the homes of Luigi and his relatives, yet they knighted him on the basis that they now held power over the most politically powerful person in Florence. This connects in tandem with Robert Fredona, who notes in his dissertation chapter, "Conspiracy and Tumult of the Ciompi," that it is "entirely possible that Salvestro de' Medici and Tommaso Strozzi themselves co-orchestrated the knighting ceremony (or, almost certainly, the early stages of it) along with the leaders of the *popolo minuto*, selecting for the new dignity their friends, allies, and fellow conspirators."[47] Both the upper-class citizens and the Ciompi thus gained much from this knighting, in addition to its being a show of power.

But the Ciompi were not even remotely done with their demands and violent means. On the next day, they stormed the Palazzo Vecchio again. Seeing that they were by themselves, its guards departed (or perhaps even some joined the Ciompi) the Palazzo and went to defend their own homes rather the priors. Unopposed, the Ciompi made demands upon the priors. One of the first demands was that the police official, Ser Nuto, be delivered to the people. Fearing for their own lives, they sent Ser Nuto to the Ciompi, who promptly "was hanged, dismembered and cut into tiny pieces which some took home in lumps weighing less than half an ounce."[48] The priors, in order to quell this uprising, sent four people out to negotiate with the Ciompi, but instead they helped to fuel the riots taking place outside the Podesta's Palace. The number of the people grew to the thousands and on the morrow and overnight, seeing that they could not leave the Palace, the priors fortified themselves within it. They "were determined to defend themselves valorously rather than leave the palace."[49] The next morning, rain poured from the skies – so much that no one in Florence could ever remember that much falling. Perhaps this was foreshadowing the dreary days that the priors would face in the coming days.

The priors made one last attempt to understand the wishes of the Ciompi. They sent representatives to meet with "the heads of the plebs, with the syndics of the guilds and certain citizens" to figure out "what they wanted to demand from the Signoria."[50] These petitions had been prepared and the Ciompi were ready to announce their demands. In the *Chronicle* attributed

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[46] Stefani, *Florentine Chronicle*, in *Chronicles of the Tumult of the Ciompi*, ed. and trans. Kantor/Green, 83.

[47] Fredona, "Political Conspiracy in Florence, 1340-1382," 124.

[48] Stefani, *Florentine Chronicle*, in *Chronicles of the Tumult of the Ciompi*, ed. and trans. Kantor/Green, 85.

[49] Chronicle attributed to Acciaioli, in *Chronicles of the Tumult of the Ciompi*, ed. and trans. Kantor/Green, 20.

[50] Machiavelli, *Florentine Histories*, trans. Banfield and Mansfield, 126.

to Alamanno Acciaioli,[51] the author defines twenty-eight clear and concise demands of the Ciompi, and notes that these were just the requests that he could remember off the top of his head. Similarly, Machiavelli sums it up as:

> The Wool guild could no longer have a foreign judge; that three new guild corporations be formed, one for the carders and dyers, another for the barbers, double makers, tailors, and such mechanical arts, and the third for lesser people; and that from these three new guilds there would always be two Signori and from the fourteen lesser guilds three; that the Signoria should provide houses where these guilds could meet.[52]

The demands of the Ciompi were relatively modest compared to how extreme they might have been. After the burning and looting that had taken place, the Florentine government would be ill advised to turn this down, for if they did not, Florence would likely become a battleground – one that would be bathed in blood. Knowing they had the upper hand, the Ciompi were structuring the government so that they would be able to rival the major and minor guilds for political power. This was the most ambitious element of their demands. They had always borne the costs of society; now they were going to reap the benefits. With this new structure, they desired to be political and social equals, regardless of class or wealth.

Immediately afterwards, the People's Council met and passed these demands, leaving it up to the Council of Commune to pass these and make them active in Florentine society. The voices outside from the Ciompi in the Piazza were so loud that the councilmen could scarcely hear themselves. The measure was passed but one prior, Guerriante di Matteo Marignolli, went to check the door to make sure the Ciompi were not entering. In all actuality, he lied and tried to leave, but as the Ciompi saw him departing, this united them together. They started yelling "Let them all come down, for we no longer want them to be priors." Tommaso di Marco degli Strozzi entered the Palace and told the priors of the betrayal and lying of Marignolli and that "it is for this reason the 'popolo' and the guildsmen want you to go home." The priors were shocked. They had agreed to the demands of the Ciompi, yet now they faced an alternative that no one previously could have imagined: leave and no longer be part of Florence's government, or risk the burnings of their homes and those of their relatives in addition to threats of having their families and children murdered in front of them. And so only the Eight remained in the palace.[53]

With only the Eight, some servants, and a few other people remaining inside the Palace, the Ciompi stormed the Palace of the Podestà. Upon entering, one of their ranks named Michele di Lando asked his companions, "Do you want me to handle your affairs?" to which they replied

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[51] Chronicle attributed to Acciaioli, in *Chronicles of the Tumult of the Ciompi*, ed. and trans. Kantor/Green, 21-24.

[52] Machiavelli, *Florentine Histories*, trans. Banfield and Mansfield, 126.

[53] Chronicle attributed to Acciaioli, in *Chronicles of the Tumult of the Ciompi*, ed. and trans. Kantor/Green, 25.

in the affirmative.[54] Michele di Lando, a comber, was of a humble origin, and he was "barefoot and scantily clothed."[55] Yet, on this day, he became the Standard-Bearer of Justice and Podestà. Immediately upon becoming the Standard-Bearer, "he publicly commanded that no one burn or steal anything."[56] After calming the city, he set about making changes to the government and politics of Florence as he saw fit. This included "making and unmaking decisions, holding the keys, locking the city, writing letters and giving orders on his own behalf."[57]Additionally, it was the Eight of War who were determined to pick the next priors of the city to join di Lando on the Signoria, but di Lando was one step ahead of them. He created the Signoria: four priors from the lesser plebs, two from the greater guilds and two from the lesser guilds.[58] Thus, he chose the new priors by himself.

Obviously the Eight of War felt that they had been outmaneuvered and deceived by Michele di Lando. But that was of minimum concern to di Lando, who picked the Council of the Sixteen Standard-Bearers and the Twelve Good Men (Council of the Buonuomini). Thus, Michele di Lando had complete control of the government. And while the Florentine government was still republican in form, it was now authoritarian in control. Each of these new members of the government "came to the rostrum as had been the custom of other priors and each was sworn into office" and "all swore never to work against the prevailing regime; and so each swore to God's honour."[59] In doing this, they created three new guilds. Now nearly 13,000 men were members of guilds in contrast to the previous total membership of 4,000–5,000. Every male of working age who was now a member of a major or minor guild could potentially participate in government. [60]

This new government was not perfect in any sense. First of all, the upper-level citizens and major guilds that had so long played a role in the defense of Florence were not a part of this new government – at least physically. Michele di Lando knew that he would need some sort of military defense, so, in order to reinforce to Ciompi and the *popolo minuto*, he commissioned 1500 crossbowmen, many of whom had company-commanders who belonged to the upper-levels of the Florentine social hierarchy.[61] In addition, rather than being employed as wool workers, they were professional soldiers.[62] Despite the logic in di Lando's action and its efficacy for the city, their appointment angered the Ciompi, who had worked hard to show themselves capable of handling themselves.

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[54] Chronicle of Nofri di ser Piero delle Riformagioni, in *Chronicles of the Tumult of the Ciompi*, ed. and trans. Kantor/Green, 64.

[55] Machiavelli, *Florentine Histories*, trans. Banfield and Mansfield, 127.

[56] Machiavelli, *Florentine Histories*, trans. Banfield and Mansfield, 128.

[57] Stefani, *Florentine Chronicle*, in *Chronicles of the Tumult of the Ciompi*, ed. and trans. Kantor/Green, 86.

[58] Machiavelli, *Florentine Histories*, trans. Banfield and Mansfield, 128.

[59] First Anonymous Chronicle, in *Chronicles of the Tumult of the Ciompi*, ed. and trans. Kantor/Green, 41.

[60] Najemy, *A History of Florence*, 165.

[61] First Anonymous Chronicle, in *Chronicles of the Tumult of the Ciompi*, ed. and trans. Kantor/Green, 41.

[62] Richard Trexler, "Neighbors and Comrades: The Revolutionaries of Florence, 1378." *Social Analysis* 14 (December 1983): 85.

II.4. The "Reaction" to the Ciompi Revolt

In August, the Signori decided to work on a new "scrutiny" (a list of guild members who were eligible for public office) that was drawn up with the intention of retaining the Standard-Bearer of Justice within the three newly-created guilds rather than allowing the major and minor guilds to control this important office. This satisfied the new guilds, but apparently sparked the beginning of a union between the major and minor guilds that would emerge in the weeks ahead. These were not the only tensions, however, for others were rising within the Ciompi as well. The Ciompi were breaking down into factions, and many of these factions were separating over their beliefs and ideals on how best to run the commune. This is, in part, due to the fact that Michele di Lando and his government were ruling with an iron fist, even against the very people they had sworn to protect. The dissatisfied and angry Ciompi responded in the best way they could: they created a new *balìa* of eight men, two from each quarter to represent them as they presented a new petition to Lando's government. The priors agreed to sign it, but Michele di Lando refused and had one of the representatives imprisoned.[63]

With two factions of the Ciompi squaring off, the first moves were made by the *popolo* as they entered the Piazza della Signoria, completely surrounded Palazzo Vecchio, and forced their petition onto the di Lando government. The petition declared that knights (comprised of nobles and powerful burghers) could no longer hold office, much like the Law of Admonition had formerly restricted magnates. Messer Luca di Totto da Panzano again read the petition before the commune and the *popolo*, who accepted it to everyone's satisfaction. In addition, Luca became a spokesman for the *popolo* bearing the official title of *popolano* ("man of the people").[64] He became their captain and worked with the new *balìa* of eight – the Eight of Santa Maria Novella – on behalf of the *popolo minuto*.[65] But this was short lived, as he attempted to use the *popolo minuto* to extract his revenge upon Ghibellines by burning and looting their houses. Hearing of this, the *popolo minuto* rejected Luca and by the next day he had fled Florence for fear of his life. The *popolo minuto* returned to Santa Maria Novella to debate their next move.

While debating their next move, a new Signoria was drawn up through a process. The Ciompi and other *popolo minuto* occupying the Piazza either cried out, "We don't want him, tear it up, tear it up," or else "Good, good."[66]Although the priors had long been considered to be the most powerful men in the city, these new priors were confronted by the Eight of Santa Maria Novella who had been elected by the *popolo minuto*. According to Bruni, the power of the Eight stemmed from "fear . . . and certain great men joined them, not without deference."[67] Machiavelli reported further that they had "ministers and orders that gave them reputation and

[63] First Anonymous Chronicle, in *Chronicles of the Tumult of the Ciompi*, ed. and trans. Kantor/Green, 45.

[64] First Anonymous Chronicle, in *Chronicles of the Tumult of the Ciompi*, ed. and trans. Kantor/Green, 46.

[65] Stefani, *Florentine Chronicle*, in *Chronicles of the Tumult of the Ciompi*, ed. and trans. Kantor/Green, 92.

[66] Stefani, *Florentine Chronicle*, in *Chronicles of the Tumult of the Ciompi*, ed. and trans. Kantor/Green, 93.

[67] Bruni, *History of the Florentine People*, 3:11.

reverence."[68] Regardless of the source of their power, they clearly posed a serious challenge to Michele di Lando and his government.

With tensions increasing, two representatives of the Ciompi went to Michele di Lando to talk, thinking that they had the upper hand due to their large numbers and the power of the Eight of Santa Maria Novella. Michele di Lando, after listening to them for some time, became increasingly annoyed. In a brash act, he told them he would be right back and instead armed himself, asking, "Where are the traitors?"[69] Then he "rushed at them, slashing and wounding one of them in the face and spearing the other with the point of this weapon."[70] Michele di Lando now was acting as the *de facto* ruler of Florence, as his power consumed him.

The Ciompi soon realized that he no longer represented their interests. Knowing that the Ciompi would now become enraged, he moved quickly. That same day, di Lando himself rode out on horseback and alone attempted to clear the Piazza della Signoria of the Ciompi, who were chanting the very same phrase used in the past tumults: "Long live the People."[71] It worked, and he cleared the Ciompi, if only momentarily from the Piazza. This enabled the guildsmen to enter the Piazza, swelling their numbers. A bloody fight ensued.[72] Another tactic was used on August 31st when the *popolo minuto* and Ciompi refused to give up their banner of the Angel. Instead di Lando decreed that, under the threat of losing their feet, they must be under their guild banner while in the Piazza. Now clearly identified as distinct from the guilds, members of the Ciompi and *popolo minuto* came under fierce assault:

> Here they [the Ciompi] stood quietly. Then the innkeeper's guild, that is the butchers, and those with the golden banner, put themselves in front of these people and formed a huge barrier of shields, as they had been ordered to do. For when they received a sign from the palace, they were to strike. This happened at nine o'clock of the same evening. The 'popolo' defended itself vigorously. . . . When those traitorous gentlemen, called by their guild name, and the members of the wool guild, saw that the 'popolo' would not let itself be crushed, they threw many stones and arrows on to them, they thought themselves done for. So they turned around to flee, but were crushed and driven out. Many were killed and wounded on that day."[73]

This account shows that the bond within the Ciompi was strong, and that they were defeated more by betrayal rather than by the physical prowess of the guilds. According to another account however, a brigade of crossbowmen drew their bows, prompting the guilds to call them treacherous. Well-armed, the guilds were simply able to defeat the Ciompi.[74] This demonstrates

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[68] Machiavelli, *Florentine Histories*, trans. Banfield and Mansfield, 129.

[69] Stefani, *Florentine Chronicle*, in *Chronicles of the Tumult of the Ciompi*, ed. and trans. Kantor/Green, 96.

[70] Bruni, *History of the Florentine People*, 3:13.

[71] Stefani, *Florentine Chronicle*, in *Chronicles of the Tumult of the Ciompi*, ed. and trans. Kantor/Green, 96.

[72] Trexler, "Follow the Flag," 384-385.

[73] First Anonymous Chronicle, in *Chronicles of the Tumult of the Ciompi*, ed. and trans. Kantor/Green, 48.

[74] Cohn, *Popular Protest in Late Medieval Europe*, 229.

that the guilds and the government relied more upon brute strength, and that was how they won the day. The Ciompi were massacred that day, and the betrayal of Michele di Lando would forever be remembered.

The next day, September 1, 1378, a new Signoria was elected. Two Ciompi were included in it; but when armed citizens entered and protested this, the two Ciompi were replaced with guildsmen. This left Michele di Lando (and five others) as the only Ciompi within the government.[75] With these people taking power, it was also declared on this day that the twenty-fourth guild of Ciompi should be disbanded while the other two were to be maintained. Afterwards, the government restructured itself, deciding that "no Ciompi was to hold office . . . . Five priors were to be drawn from these sixteen [minor] guilds and four from the seven major or employer's guilds. The Standard-bearer of Justice was to be chosen alternately from these groups of five and four priors, the first being from the five."[76] Two things can be concluded from this reorganization of the government. The first is that no Ciompi could hold office. This effectively ended the Ciompi Revolt and brought it back to how it all had begun in June, namely, as a power struggle between the guildsmen. This leads to a second conclusion, which is that the major guilds were not going to be content with the minor guilds receiving more positions in every political body of the Florentine government. Ultimately, this would invoke yet another power struggle, one that would bring Michele di Lando's downfall. Salvestro de' Medici would come to power and rule Florence as a virtual dictator until the return of the Guelfs to power four years later.

III. The Lasting Impact of the Ciompi Revolt: What Did They Gain and Lose?

The Ciompi Revolt lasted until 1382. After the events in late August and early September, certain elements of the Ciompi Regime held strong. The most intriguing part is that Salvestro de Medici, the one whose colleagues considered at fault for the entire revolt, became effectively the dictator of Florence from mid-September 1378 until 1382. According to Robert Fredona, the entire Ciompi Revolt was "a secret plan set in motion by Salvestro and his allies."[77] This seems difficult to believe, for no one at the time could have predicted how the events over the next three months would turn out. Yet, somehow, Salvestro de Medici ended up controlling all of Florence for nearly four years. He lost his power only when the Guelph faction came back to Florence, ousting him in the process. With the return of the Guelphs, the twenty-second and twenty-third guilds were also disbanded, and the government returned to the structure it had held prior to June 1378.

Despite the return of the old form of government, it is safe to say that the Ciompi Revolt played a pivotal role in Florentine politics and society for centuries afterwards. First and foremost, it would leave a rift between the major and minor guilds that would continue to exist in

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[75] Machiavelli, *Florentine Histories*, trans. Banfield and Mansfield, 130.

[76] Stefani, *Florentine Chronicle*, in *Chronicles of the Tumult of the Ciompi*, ed. and trans. Kantor/Green, 98.

[77] Fredona, "Political Conspiracy in Florence, 1340-1382," 149.

socio-political terms. The major guildsmen, who were wealthy but more importantly had a high social status, would often come to blows with the minor guilds, whose status as *gente nuova* strictly meant that they were only in these guilds because of their increasing wealth. Socio-political status and wealth often conflict and, due to their actions within the Ciompi Revolt, the guilds would continue their rift well after it. Additionally, Florence's powerful elites and government had been increasing their fear over time that the Ciompi and lower classes were always plotting against them and would revolt once again. This led to a more authoritarian oligarchic government, one that would continue to suppress the lower classes. Perhaps the most important impact of the Ciompi Revolt stems from Salvestro de Medici. As dictator, he was the first from the Medici house to control the government of Florence. During the next century his descendants, now prominent bankers, would establish a dynasty that would, in effect, rule Florence behind the scenes, even though, despite their near total control of Florentine politics through their enormous wealth and personal influence, they would carefully manage their public image by refusing to hold public office themselves.

It is easy to argue that this paper focuses on the exploitation of the Ciompi and the *popolo minuto* by the upper-class citizens. But this paper argues that the exploitation was due to the class stratification and structure within Florence. The hegemony and deference of the Ciompi were due to the social constraints that tied and bound them at the heels of the patricians and magnates of Florentine society. It is clear that their exploitation was a product of this social stratification and constraints. When these constraints were broken, the Ciompi united and were able to form a new identity – one that was far different from the previous one. Ultimately, if it were not for these constraints and the tensions emanating from the social hierarchy, the Ciompi Revolt might never have occurred.

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New Monarchy Economics: Power Centralization in York and Tudor England (1461 – 1509)
Daniel Johnson

A subject of great debate amongst York and Tudor historians has been whether Henry VII's reign marked a transitional period that laid the foundation for the "revolutionary" reign of Henry VIII and the later Tudors. British historian G. R. Elton argued that Thomas Cromwell pioneered changes that led to bureaucratic governance and the first modern nation state,[1] but other scholars have consistently found that this view discredits the influence of both Henry VIII and previous English monarchs. Historian Steven Gunn has argued in the tradition of K.B. McFarlane that centralization tactics implemented under Henry VII's reign were precipitated by similar developments during Edward IV's tenure.[2] Yet, too few works solely consider what developments under York rulers were maintained by the first Tudor king. The controversial nature of Henry VIII's reign understandably overshadows that of both his father and their York forbears in historical literature. Still, the events that culminated in the assertion of the divine right of the monarch with the Act of Supremacy in 1534 emerged rather suddenly in comparison to the gradual centralization of regnal political authority in England.[3] The extant sources on York and early Tudor rule suggest that these gradual improvements, primarily in the form of economic policies, consolidated power under the Crown while modernizing outmoded English institutions and practices.

Scholarship directly pondering the continuity of economic policy in the regimes of Edward IV and Henry VII is both scant and scattered, but the occurrence has not gone without note. Many scholars, since at least J.R. Green in the mid-19th century, mention the era's consistency; yet typically these are sections (with wide variation in detail) found as part of larger works that rarely have an explicit focus on the subject.[4] This has largely been attributed to the fact that most scholars who have commented on this period have done so under the banner of late medieval or early modern history.[5] The result has been an emphasis on different methodologies and primary sources that makes synthesizing the two perspectives difficult. Of course, there are exceptions to the rule. The recently deceased Roger Lockyer, previously a lecturer at the University of London, held that there was "little that was new about the reign of either monarch."[6] Furthermore, a collection of essays titled *The End of the Middle Ages?* contains essential discussions on various aspects of English society and governance in the late medieval

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[1] Geoffrey R. Elton, *A History of England in Eight Volumes*, vol. 4: *England under the Tudors*, ed. Sir Charles Oman (London: Meuthen and Company, 1955).

[2] Steven Gunn, "The Structures of Politics in Early Tudor England," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 5 (1995), 59-90 at 62.

[3] Jack J. Scarisbrick, *Henry VIII* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968), 324.

[4] John. R. Green, *A Short History of the English People* (London: Macmillan Publishing, 1874), 302.

[5] Steven Gunn, "Henry VII in Context: Problems and Possibilities," *History* 92 (2007): 301-17 at 303.

[6] Roger Lockyer, *Tudor and Stuart Britain, 1471-1714* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1964), 31.

and early modern periods that blurs the distinction between them.[7] Though it seems the continuity perspective has gained prominence since the middle of the 20th century, few have accounted for this adequately. Indeed, the surviving evidence suggests that Henry VII enhanced previously developed tactics and learned from the mistakes made by his immediate predecessors who had ruled England during the Wars of the Roses.

While York rule was brief (1461-70, 1471-85), there are comparisons and contrasts to be made between it and that of the first Tudor monarch, but first it may be prudent to define the term New Monarchy. This will provide a context in which to think about distinguishing between practices that seemingly maintain the political traditions of Henry VII's predecessors and those which become characteristic of European monarchs in the early modern period. The goal therein is to determine what practices transfer over and evaluate their implications for the monarch's ability to innovate methods of self-rule. The New Monarchy is a phenomenon that can be defined as a shift to absolutist rule that became characteristic of many European monarchs of the early modern period. Some historians have modified the definition to recapture J. R. Green's assertion that these rulers were absolutists, but not despots.[8] Perhaps the late medieval historian M.A. Hicks put it best describing it as "a combination of ideology, procedures and coercive implementation."[9] In other words, new monarchs like Edward IV and Henry VII pursued authoritative policy goals, and, if at all, were more concerned with maintaining an appearance of parliamentary consent than obtaining it. In fact, even Elton argued that Henry VII sought to bring "potentially dangerous" men to heel rather than to bolster the treasury.[10] These practices illustrative of new monarchs serve as an archetype for the York and Tudor rulers considered in this comparative study.

The short nature of Richard III's reign (1483 – 85) has precluded him from substantive discussion in this work. Thus, the focus of this article will be on Edward IV and Henry VII. The areas considered are those in which York and Tudor policies overlapped: the nobility, financial reform, and foreign trade. More specifically, York and Tudor monarchs alike sought, as much as possible, to increase their control over the English nobility, produce more efficient standards of collecting revenue independent of Parliament, and strategically position England within the emerging wool trade industry. Many of the policies which allowed these monarchs to centralize power under the Crown were economic in nature. Although many of them originated during Edward IV's reign, Henry VII typically provided more effective implementation.

The instability of Henry VI's reign is regarded as quite the juxtaposition to that of his successors in terms of asserting any degree of control over the aristocracy. Yet, it was clear that if the new monarchs wanted to rule independent of Parliament, then they would need means for

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[7] John L. Watts, ed., *The End of the Middle Ages? England in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries* (Stroud, U.K.: Sutton, 1998).

[8] Paul Cavill, *The English Parliaments of Henry VII 1485-1504* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 7.

[9] Michael Hicks, *Edward IV* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), 151.

[10] Geoffrey R. Elton, *Reform and Reformation: England, 1509-1558* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1977), 7.

generating revenue that lay within the royal prerogative.[11] That being said, Edward IV was hardly averse to the nobility; on the contrary, overdependence upon baronial powers characterized the tumultuous first nine years of his reign.[12] To undo this reputation, Edward IV sought to create a formal patronage network that would expand Yorkist dominance. Indeed, the *Croyland Chronicles* record that Edward "had taken care to distribute the most trustworthy of his servants throughout all parts of the kingdom."[13]

Typically, appointments secured through royal patronage were for life, but Edward IV knew well that loyalties in this period were fleeting. As a result, many of the grants he bestowed had forfeitures attached and as such they could be revoked. All grants were subject to a series of Acts of Resumption. Both kings rather meticulously reviewed and initialed the provisos that patentees were required to submit to obtain exemptions for each individual act, and those seeking to pass lands to heirs were often revoked.[14] The direct attention of the monarch in this matter emphasizes the concerns these rulers had for assessing the state of their respective systems of patronage to maintain a control that must have seemed foreign given the volatility of the past century. Lander has argued that Henry VII continued the practice, most notably to undo grants made by Richard III, but argues that the bulk of acquiesced crown lands were gathered while Edward IV still reigned.[15]

There is little doubt regarding Lander's assertion that Henry VII inherited vast properties as a product of the forfeiture clauses attached to grants, but the use of those lands differs from York to Tudor. Henry VII owed fewer favors than his York predecessor which enabled him to keep the lands rather than reward them to loyal subjects.[16] However, the first Tudor monarch anticipated that he would need to secure loyalties through other means. As Edward IV sought to do with forfeitures, Henry VII employed methods that rewarded his loyal subjects in a way that made them more dependent and/or no more well-off financially than they had been previously. One prevalent method he deployed was a system of bonds and recognizances. These were debts that could be triggered if the conditions attached were not met.[17] While this practice originated under Henry VI, and was maintained by Edward IV, Henry VII began to use it as a primary means of coercing the nobility.

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[11] Gerald Harriss, "Political Society and the Growth of Government in Late Medieval England" *Past & Present* 138 (February 1993): 28-57 at 44.

[12] Michael Hicks, *The Wars of the Roses, 1455-1485* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), 23.

[13] Anonymous, "The Croyland Chronicle: The Third Continuation of the History of Croyland Abbey (January, 1477 – June, 1483)," *Richard III Society*, http://www.r3.org/on-line-library-text-essays/crowland-chronicle/part-vii/ (accessed December 1, 2017).

[14] Hicks, *The Wars of the Roses, 1455-1485*, 201.

[15] J. R. Lander, *Government and Community: England, 1450-1509* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1980), 69.

[16] Anthony Tuck, *Crown and Nobility, 1272-1461: Political Conflict in Late Medieval England* (Worcester: Barnes & Noble Books, 1985), 324.

[17] Hicks, *The Wars of the Roses, 1455-1485*, 256.

There are other instances where the goal of limiting the power of the nobility remains clear during both the York and Tudor reigns even though different policies were employed to achieve this important goal. For example, whereas Edward IV significantly promoted the nobility, the total number of noble families diminished substantially under Henry VII. However, both had the intent of maintaining the loyalty of their aristocratic subjects in mind. For Edward IV, it was necessary to establish a network of nobles to expand Yorkist influence, but also to award those who helped to secure the throne. His arguably excessive patronage for his wife's family, the Woodvilles, put him at odds with many of his supporters and is seen as one of the causes of Warwick's rebellion. Edward IV used the marriages of the queen's sisters to expand his household loyalties, but managed to anger some of his staunchest supporters, though some contend this did not directly result in Warwick's rebellion in 1469.[18]

Regardless of whether these decisions truly did contribute to the instability that briefly ended Edward's reign, Henry Tudor intended to make no such error. First, Henry VII sought to grant as few land appointments as possible, instead opting to reward loyalty with appointments to the Order of the Garter, which came with no hereditary titles or land holdings.[19] Second, his marriage to Elizabeth York was uncontroversial, unlike Edward IV's marriage to her mother, Elizabeth Woodville. In doing so, Henry VII combined the Lancaster and York claims strengthening his own in the process.[20] In corresponding fashion, under Henry's reign the number of noble families was cut in half by 1509, and relatively few nobles had enough power to influence him in any way, let alone to the extent by which Edward had been swayed by Warwick prior to 1470.[21]

Philip Edwards indicates that many of these noble families died out for reasons directly unrelated to Henry VII, namely the lack of an heir. Yet, this does not detract from the fact that this is one of the primary reasons Henry VII is seen as more successful in consolidating authority over the nobility than his Yorkish predecessors. However, this should not be construed as an attempt to perpetuate the myth that Henry VII remade the nobility upon his accession, but rather insinuates that a mixture of circumstances resulted in a depleted noble class in comparison to Henry's York predecessors.[22]

A method similar (but riskier) to resumption in nature, but also in terms of establishing fealty from the nobility was the use of Acts of Attainder. These statutes allowed those suspected of treason, or other high crimes, to be convicted by an Act of Parliament, and have their lands stripped and assimilated into the Crown's holdings.[23] In April 1470, Edward IV used Acts of

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[18] Susan Higginbottom, *The Woodvilles: The Wars of the Roses and England's Most Infamous Family* (Gloucestershire, U.K.: The History Press, 2013), 34.

[19] Roger Lockyer, *Tudor and Stuart Britain, 1485-1714* (Abingdon, U.K.: Taylor and Francis, 2004), 5.

[20] Francis Bacon, *The History of the Reign of King Henry VII and Selected Works*, ed. Brian Vickers (Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 7.

[21] Philip Edwards, *The Making of the English State, 1460-1660* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2001), 87.

[22] E. A. Wasson, "The Penetration of New Wealth into the English Governing Class from the Middle Ages to the First World War," *The Economic History Review* 51 (1998), 25-48 at 35.

[23] Lockyer, *Tudor and Stuart Britain, 1485-1714*, 5.

Attainder against those who had supported the earl of Warwick's rebellion after the Kingmaker grew discontented with Edward's arbitrary decision-making.[24] Though Warwick's rebellion briefly unseated Edward IV only a decade into his rule, when he returned to the throne less than a year later and acquired Warwick's estate, he had inherited three of the largest estates in England.[25]

While the practice of attainder itself was not novel, Henry VII began using it in a way that was almost explicitly coercive. He proliferated the practice as he prosecuted around 140 attainders. These lands were often given to courtiers who acted as tenants, and the king collected sizable fees from the taxes associated with the land holding.[26] This is yet another example of the ways Henry used informal patronage to avoid granting titles. In most cases, attainders against supporters were reversed, and their lands were restored.[27] For example, Nicholas Latimer, who had been a supporter of the duke of Buckingham when he revolted against Richard III, was attainted in 1484, but pardoned and put on the bench of Dorset after Henry VII was victorious at Bosworth.[28] In fact, roughly 65% of the attainders executed between 1453 and 1504 were reversed, and as a result the financial effect of attainders was temporary at best.[29] By using attainders to apply pressure, Henry VII avoided giving away Crown lands and actually expanded his holdings. Yet, it appears Henry was aware that authoritarian behavior had shortened the reigns of his predecessors, so the reversal of attainders was typically accompanied by new positions, though these new titles often came with no land.

In large part, the power centralization that took place from York to Tudor England focuses on increasing royal income. It should then come as little surprise that overlap can mostly be identified through financial policy. Growing disdain for parliamentary taxation since the end of the 14th century would have been apparent by the time Edward IV came to power in 1461. He showcases his awareness of this sensitive issue when he told Parliament he sought "not to charge my subjects but in great and urgent causes."[30] Thus, he would have to find methods of obtaining solvency that did not require him to rely on Parliament.

Edward IV pursued a variety of economic policies that make him stand out from his Lancastrian forbearers. Reclaimed lands were put into the hands of salaried officials, rather than

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[24] "Calendar of the Patent Rolls" (1461-1485), *Hathi Trust Digital Library*, https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=iau.31858020272120;view=1up;seq=230 (accessed December 1, 2017).

[25] George Holmes, *The Later Middle Age, 1272-1485*, ed. Christopher Brooke and Denis Mack Smith (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1966), 234.

[26] Steven Gunn, "The Courtiers of Henry VII," *The English Historical Review* 108 (1993): 23-49 at 45.

[27] Hicks, *The Wars of the Roses, 1455-1485*, 256.

[28] D. A. Luckett, "Crown Patronage and Political Morality in Early Tudor England: The Case of Giles, Lord Daubeney." *The English Historical Review* 110, no. 437 (1995): 578-95 at 584.

[29] J. R. Lander, *Conflict and Stability in Fifteenth-Century England*, 3rd ed. (London: Hutchinson & Co., 1969), 103.

[30] Edward IV, "Edward IV's Speech to Parliament, 1467," in *Lancastrians and Yorkists: The Wars of the Roses*, ed. D. R. Cook (New York: Routledge, 2014), 98-99.

sold off for enormous rents.[31] This allowed the king to insert loyal men who acted as ad hoc landlords with the purpose of finding any justification they could to hike up the rent.[32] While this may have increased revenue, it was the establishment of the King's Chamber over the Exchequer as the national treasury that set the tone for true reform in Edward's financial administration. In the process, Edward IV not only avoided the audits of his creditors, but placed the royal coffers firmly at his disposal. He employed a plethora of auditors and surveyors, and even siphoned money from the Exchequer into the King's Chamber.[33] As Edward IV had diligently attended to the forfeiture provisos, Henry VII was vigilant in his administration of Chamber finance. Virtually all chamber accounts were scrutinized and signed by the king, and he established commissions to address feudal income that many may have attempted to hide. An Act of Parliament passed in January 1504 set coinage standards so as not to allow the debasement of the currency.[34]

Much is made of Edward IV's use of benevolences, which were actively employed by Henry VII as well. This was a system of forced loans which predates both reigns but was revived by Edward IV. Edward's 1474 benevolence was lucrative, but widely unpopular, and benevolences were ultimately criminalized under Richard III.[35] The practice was revived by Henry VII, but it appears Henry was more careful to limit the extraction of these payments to those who could afford it, and unlike Edward IV, he paid all of them back.[36] This may have contributed to its overwhelming unpopularity in the York era, as opposed to the reception Henry VII received. However, it is more likely the case that Henry VII's securing of parliamentary assent deterred civil unrest; this is a step that Edward had not taken.[37] Henry VII often improved upon practices and mistakes introduced (or reintroduced) under York rule.

Another aspect of royal finance that intersects in York and Tudor rule is their engagement in trade. As England slowly recovered the from the financial collapse of the mid-14th century, and the burgeoning cloth trade began recovery, by the second half of Edward IV's reign he was encouraging nobles to engage in trade just as much as the gentry.[38] It is likely that in this respect he was influenced by the royal council, which had among its members both the landed aristocracy and gentry/professional classes.[39] In the second half of Edward IV's reign Customs duties, which had existed since the late 13th century, substantially increased their yield. However,

[31] Anthony Cheetham, *A Royal History of England: The Wars of the Roses*, ed. Antonia Frasier (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 72.

[32] Hicks, *Edward IV*, 156.

[33] B. P. Wolffe, "The Management of English Royal Estates under the Yorkist Kings," *The English Historical Review* 71 (1956): 1-27 at 14.

[34] Bryan Beacon, *Henry VII: The First Tudor King* (London: The Rubicon Press, 2000), 110.

[35] Roger Virgoe, "The Benevolence of 1481," *The English Historical Review* 104 (1989): 25-45 at 26.

[36] Beacon, *Henry VII: The First Tudor King*, 111.

[37] Bacon, *The History of the Reign of King Henry VII and Selected Works*, 85.

[38] Pamela Nightingale, "Knights and Merchants: Trade, Politics and the Gentry in Late Medieval England." *Past & Present* 169 (2000) 36-62, at 62.

[39] Robert Bucholz and Newton Key, *Early Modern England 1485-1714: A Narrative History*, 2nd ed. (Oxford, U.K.: Blackwell Publishing, 2009), 39.

there is debate about whether this was a product of trade expansion or efficient administration.[40] Both kings commissioned goods: Edward with wool and tin, and Henry with cloth.[41] Surprisingly, in 1493 Henry VII made the unfortunate decision of banning Burgundian imports, which resulted in a serious economic slump that led to riots in London.[42] However, protectionism was hardly a new development during Henry VII's reign. Edward banned the export of unfulled cloth, and both Henry VII and Henry VIII would later renew this policy in 1487 and 1512 respectively.[43] Accordingly, the standard of living began to increase dramatically under the Tudors. By 1577, it was "not rare to see an abundance of Arras, rich hangings of tapestrie."[44] As Bennet acknowledges, this would not have been the case merely a century before.

In hindsight, economic policy was too broad a concept from which to draw any specific conclusions without a longer discussion being necessary. However, reflecting on the overlaps presented above, Edward IV can be seen as a man with one foot in the doorway to modernity and one foot out. He saw that he would need to be innovative to keep his throne, and more should be said about his contributions to early modern developments. Conversely, Henry VII appears to have adjusted his trajectory through the benefit of hindsight that had not been available to Edward IV during the early years of his reign. However, Henry's lapse in judgement concerning trade with Burgundy reinforces the idea that though he strongly heeded his predecessor's failures, the novelty of overseas trade was a frontier about which he had little history to draw upon. Furthermore, for all the work Edward IV put into nationalizing the Chamber, he was nearly insolvent by the time of his death in 1483. His policies, while usually well-intentioned, often fell short of their mandated purposes; and some of his contemporaries, like Dominic Mancini, attribute his shortcomings to increasingly gluttonous behavior, but also allude to the factional disputes within his Yorkist alliance.[45] Ultimately, Henry VII's reign was arguably less innovative, albeit far more efficient than those of his predecessors.[46]

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[40] Lander, *Government and Community: England, 1450-1509*, 79.

[41] Lockyer, *Tudor and Stuart Britain: 1485-1714*, 22.

[42] Hicks, *The Wars of the Roses, 1455-1485*, 150.

[43] John D. Mackie, *The Earlier Tudors, 1485-1558*, ed. Sir George Clark (New York: Oxford University Press, 1952), 469.

[44] Harrison Paston, *The Pastons and Their England*, ed. and trans. H.S. Bennet (Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 1922), 87-88 at 87.

[45] Lander, *Government and Community: England, 1450-1509*, 312.

[46] Neville Williams, *A Royal History of England: The Tudors*, ed. Antonia Frasier (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 28.

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The French Connection:
How the French Wars of Religion Dismantled Two Dynasties and Sowed the Seeds of Representative Government in England

Elizabeth Donaway

It has been the consensus among Tudor historians that France's relationship to England during Elizabeth I's reign can only be understood as that of a neutralized threat due to its own debilitating French Wars of Religion. Indeed in R. B. Wernham's *The Making of Elizabethan Foreign Policy, 1558*-1603, France is mentioned only a handful of times while the rest of the book is devoted to the contentious relationship between England and Spain. When France is referenced, it is to describe its change of status from an English enemy to "more or less of a friend."[1] This reconfiguration was not borne of any change in the French outlook, but rather, of its focus on domestic hostilities. Moreover, the widespread interpretation of Robert Bucholz, Newton Key, and others that the French Wars of Religion "eliminated the French threat to England for a generation"[2] largely ignores the fact that the English and the French monarchs faced a number of similar dilemmas over the course of the second half of the sixteenth century and that, as a result, they adopted policies in response to them that at times were comparable, yet at others contrasted sharply. Taken together, this suggests that Elizabeth I may have studied and learned from the actions of the French monarchs in handling her own national problems.

Denying that the ally-enemy dichotomy was the only way that two kingdoms might have influenced one another gives rise to the possibility that France's Wars of Religion may have exerted a profound impact on England during the second half of the sixteenth century. As in France, Elizabeth faced tumultuous and longstanding religious tensions that had persisted for decades. The unprecedented exposure that Elizabeth I had to another kingdom in the midst of religious wars and a succession crisis provided invaluable insight and gave her an advantage in determining the manner in which she would choose to handle her own crises and, in particular, the question of succession.

For France, the late sixteenth century was a period of instability and anarchy. Brought on by the threat of a monarchical shift from traditional Catholicism to Protestantism, the French Wars of Religion culminated in one of the deadliest religious conflicts in history, claiming over 3 million lives.[3] News of such chaos had reached the international sphere and served as a warning to other monarchical regimes. Acknowledging this tacitly, Elizabeth sought stability and peace in her realm. Thus it is hardly surprising that she privileged her experienced, Protestant male cousin, James I, over the other prospective successors, and indeed over any natural heir she might have produced with her principal Catholic suitor, the French Duke of Alençon. Under

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[1] R. B. Wernham, *The Making of Elizabeth Foreign Policy, 1558-1603* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980), 1.

[2] Robert Bucholz and Newton Key, *Early Modern England, 1485-1714: A Narrative History* (Oxford, U.K.: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009), 130.

[3] Robert J. Knecht, *The French Religious Wars, 1562-98* (Oxford, U.K.: Osprey Publishing, 2002), 51.

other circumstances, James's aforementioned qualifications, namely his Protestantism and his male identity, would not have given him any advantage over the other possible successors with the same amount of Tudor blood. As Protestantism and male identity became more prized than pure royal blood in an English king, however, Elizabeth endeavored to avoid provoking the populace to revolt. Thus she allowed her royal prerogative to choose her own husband and successor to be restricted by the English people's repudiation of a potential Catholic ruler.

In this way, the civil and religious strife on the continent revealed to the monarchs of both France and England that the foundational underpinnings of their respective governments were changing even as the monarchs of both realms increasingly found themselves at the mercy of their subjects. Longstanding dynastic families such as the Valois were purged from rule at the hands of the French majority, which sent clear signals across Europe and, particularly, across the Channel. Thus with the French Wars of Religion serving as the catalyst, the Virgin Queen chose a Protestant heir, extinguished the Tudor dynasty, and tacitly acknowledged that the English people, as represented by Parliament, had at least a limited right to determine who might rule them – a concession which opened the door for debate about representative government in England.

In this paper, the definition of the English people is limited to elites since there is little or no documental evidence to support a claim of an increased political consciousness among the uneducated commoners during Elizabeth's reign. However, as Leticia Alvarez Recio has argued convincingly, what can be said for the lower classes is that the English identity was becoming conflated with Protestantism.[4] Meanwhile, the noble, gentry and merchant classes were becoming more educated at this time; therefore, the number of English people who were knowledgeable about the law, government, and current events was expanding. This new knowledge led to fresh debate about the government, especially the concept of a contract between the people and the sovereign.

Another point in the argument that must be proved is the claim that this expanded group of educated English subjects not only was fully aware of, but also had a keen interest in, the events taking place in France after 1562 during the French Wars of Religion. One piece of such evidence is to be found in Anne Dowriche's *French Historie*, published in 1589, in which Dowriche makes use of Catherine de' Medici as a warning to Elizabeth not to act as a tyrant as her French counterpart had. Given that she was the daughter of member of Parliament, Anne's knowledge about current French affairs demonstrates that the French succession and religious crises were by no means unheard of within England. While her *Historie* is by no means an expansive one, it is concerned with recent "times for crueltie."[5] In fact, Dowriche's *Historie* is comprised of only three historical events in which Huguenots were treated brutally by the French government: "the affair of the Rue St. Jacques, the martyrdom of Annas Burgeus, and the St.

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[4] Leticia Alvarez Recio, *Fighting the Antichrist: A Cultural History of Anti-Catholicism in Tudor England* (Portland: Sussex Academic Press, 2011), 12.

[5] Anne Dowriche, *French Historie*, in *The Early Modern Englishwoman: A Facsimile Library of Essential Works: The Poets, I*, ed. Betsy S. Travitsky and Patrick Cullen (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2001), 1-38 at 18.

Bartholomew's Day Massacre."[6] Such a selection reveals something of a growing anti-Catholic sentiment in England, but even more important is the fact that Dowriche was using current events in France to comment on the political situation within her own country. As Mihoko Suzuki has observed, "The proximity in the representation of Elizabeth and Catherine [Queen Mother of France] points also to a political proximity of which Dowriche would be critical: Elizabeth's government sought to preserve an alliance with the Catholic monarchy of France, engaging in lengthy negotiations over the proposed match with Alençon, which began in 1572, the year of the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre and the general persecution of Protestants, and continued until 1579."[7] Disguising such criticism with a discussion of French events, Dowriche subtly was able to attribute the blame for the heinous treatment of Huguenots to both the French and English monarchs. Although Elizabeth I "openly displayed her outrage [after the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre] . . . [she] simultaneously reiterated her goodwill so as not to jeopardize Anglo-French amity."[8] Such a "nuanced reaction" from Queen Elizabeth stirred doubt amongst those committed English Protestants who expected the queen to defend "their Huguenot brethren across the channel."[9]

Galvanized by such a lackluster response, Dowriche reminded the queen of her "oath of Princelie vow" that she gave to her people, even though she did not refer to Elizabeth outright.[10] In putting forth this statement as if it were a settled fact, Dowriche revealed the extent to which the concept of a "social contract" forged between the monarch and the people had taken root in the educated English class by 1589. Another important political development to be found within Dowriche's *Historie* was her belief that a monarch could "perjure" himself or herself and could commit "treason" against his or her own people.[11] The fact that Dowriche raised the possibility that a monarch might commit a crime demonstrates that the conception of a monarch who was above the law became less palatable when the monarch was deemed guilty of abusive treatment of his or her own citizens (as was the case in the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre)..

During the early years of her reign, long before Dowriche's *French Historie* had been written, Elizabeth's lack of a natural heir and husband had been a source of much contention, in part because political instability was so often associated with an unestablished succession. In 1563, only five years after the queen had come to the throne and just one year after the Wars of Religion had begun in France, MP John Hales published *A Declaration of the Succession of the Crowne Imperiall of Inglande*. In it, "Hales fervently argued that the law clearly delineated Mary

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[6] Patrick Cullen, *The Early Modern Englishwoman: A Facsimile Library of Essential Works: The Poets, I* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2001), xi.

[7] Mihoko Suzuki, "Warning Elizabeth with Catherine de' Medici's Example: Anne Dowriche's *French Historie* and the Politics of Counsel," in *The Rule of Women in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Anne J Cruz and Mihoko Suzuki (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2009), 183.

[8] Nate Probasco, "Queen Elizabeth's Reaction to the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre," in *The Foreign Relations of Elizabeth I*, ed. Charles Beem (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 78.

[9] Probasco, "Queen Elizabeth's Reaction to the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre," 77.

[10] Dowriche, *French Historie*, 18.

[11] Dowriche, *French Historie*, 35.

Stuart's exclusion and that Catherine Grey and her heirs were, legally, the only rightful claimants. The law, not a politically inferior female monarch, had determined the successor."[12] That is, if Elizabeth continued to disregard her duty to produce a legitimate heir or choose a successor other than the Catholic Queen of Scots, then "a united Commons would present Elizabeth with its acceptance and determination of the legal successor," since the queen herself did not understand the importance of an established line of succession for the political stability for England. Although Hales was imprisoned as punishment for writing the pamphlet, such fervent criticism and calls for the election of the heir to the throne "perhaps by way of legislation" of Parliament did not bode well for maintaining Elizabeth's sovereign prerogatives.[13] Although there is no way to quantify such a sentiment, it seemed that the English were fixated upon order and royal legitimacy to an uncanny degree.[14] This obsession could have become even more potent with the civil war ensuing across the channel in France, especially when one considers the fact that the English Protestants "suspected those [Catholics] who did not [convert] as being disloyal to the crown."[15] The anxiety must have only intensified with the knowledge that such violence was occurring in a country with five natural male heirs, while Elizabeth had none and appeared to have no intention of remedying that situation.

By 1572, it seemed that the last and best hope for the still-unmarried Elizabeth I's eventual marriage lay with the French Duke of Alençon, a brother to the King of France. Clearly such a match to a foreign Catholic nobleman posed a number of problems of its own. Indeed, Lord Burghley commented to the Admiral of France," The marriage of the Queen is of more moment to the weal of this realm, and of Christendom for the benefit of religion, than he fears their sins will suffer them to receive, but trusts that God who has so mightily prospered their estate will bring his marvellous work to some further perfection."[16] Here Burghley asserts that the well-being of the realm requires the Queen's marriage to one of her own religion, which might seem strange in light of the fact that the Duke of Alençon was a Catholic, but Lord Burghley was making the case that if the Duke were to choose to convert to Protestantism, then the possibility of "further perfection," namely, a union between France and England, might follow. In response, the French Queen Mother, Catherine de' Medici, expressed that ". . . the principal impediment in her opinion consisted in the difference in their ages, and the case of religion; the latter she hoped might be so accorded to the satisfaction of both parties."[17] Although

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[12] Victoria de la Torre, "'We Few of an Infinite Multitude': John Hales, Parliament and the Gendered Politics of the Early Elizabethan Succession," *Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies* 33 (2001): 557-582 at 574.

[13] Victoria de la Torre, "'We Few of an Infinite Multitude': John Hales, Parliament and the Gendered Politics of the Early Elizabethan Succession," 579.

[14] Bucholz and Key, *Early Modern England, 1485-1714: A Narrative History*, 160.

[15] Alvarez Recio, *Fighting the Antichrist: A Cultural History of Anti-Catholicism in Tudor England*, 71.

[16] Lord Burghley, "Lord Burghley to the Admiral of France, 22 August 1572," *British History Online*, http://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/foreign/vol10/pp163-173 (accessed 29 November 2017).

[17] Francis Walsingham,"Walsingham to Sir Thomas Smith, 5 August 1572," *British History Online*, http://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/foreign/vol10/pp163-173 (accessed 29 November 2017).

such an ambiguous reply could be construed as willingness on the part of the Duke to convert to Protestantism, it is unlikely that the religious impediment would be solved to the satisfaction of the English because, in the reply, the Queen Mother does not specify which of the pair would convert if the marriage had taken place. This response was made to Elizabeth's previous rejection of Alençon's suit in which she cited both "the difficulty of religion" and the "difference of age" as the major deterrents to marriage.[18] Interestingly, though, the rejection does not seem to diminish the strength of the marriage negotiation, as only weeks later Lord Burghley assured that "if Her Majesty had not as good hope of more conformity in the Duke than was found in the Duke of Anjou, she would in nowise yield to have any more time therein spent."[19] Religion then is the fulcrum on which the marriage balances, more so than age or any other impediment. Though Catherine de' Medici may have expected Elizabeth to convert to Catholicism, the English position was clear: the Duke had to conform himself to the Protestant religion as a prerequisite before being considered as a prospective husband to their Queen. The significance of such a requirement was revealed to Elizabeth, her councilors, and the English people when only days after these correspondences had been exchanged and these assurances made, the French Catholic threat to Protestants, both at home and abroad, was grotesquely brought to light.

Elizabeth's pause of the marriage negotiations with France following the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre in August 1572 demonstrates Elizabeth's uncanny ability not only to placate the English people, but also to do so while maintaining diplomatic relations with France. Without such a pause in the ongoing negotiations for her hand in marriage, the English people, who were appalled at the way in which the Catholic King of France had murdered the Huguenots, might have doubted Elizabeth's motives. Was she more inclined to believe French royal propaganda in which Gaspard De Coligny the Huguenot Admiral of France was convicted "of high treason against the King's authority, and of being the principal deviser of the late conspiracy against his person,"[20] or the reports of the "great numbers of foreigners [Huguenots forced] to fly into England"[21] after the massacre that presented quite a different scenario? Under such circumstances, it would have been unwise for Elizabeth to consider marrying a French Catholic when there was so much uncertainty surrounding French sentiments and intentions toward those of the Protestant faith. In a public demonstration of her outrage, Elizabeth I recalled her personal secretary, Sir Francis Walsingham, from Paris, where he had been acting as the ambassador. Walsingham's withdrawal not only afforded Elizabeth an opportunity to obtain "a very good account of what he had seen" firsthand, but also to indicate to both the French monarchs and her people that she did not believe the French royal accounts claiming that the

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[18] Elizabeth I, "The Queen to Walsingham, 27 July 1572," *British History Online*, http://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/foreign/vol10/pp163-173 (accessed 29 November 2017).

[19] Lord Burghley, "The Answer to be Made to the French Ambassador, August 1572." *British History Online,* http://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/foreign/vol10/pp163-173 (accessed 29 November 2017).

[20] Parliament of Paris, "Decree of the Parliament of Paris, 29 October 1572." *British History Online*, http://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/foreign/vol10/pp186-200 (accessed 31 November 2017).

[21] M. Haultain, "M. Haultain and others to Lord Burghley, 27 September 1572," *British History Online*, http://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/foreign/vol10/pp186-200 (accessed 31 November 2017).

massacre had been incited by the Huguenots.[22] By doing so, Elizabeth I reaffirmed her devotion to the Protestants while making no overt moves to intervene militarily in France. Though Elizabeth's diplomatic punishment of the French may pale in comparison to "these treasons and horrible massacres which have been perpetrated in Paris," her response indicates that she and her ministers had misgivings about the French monarchy's commitment to peace with Protestant England.[23] "It is now thought that their cruelty will rather increase than assuage . . . None is so much threatened as poor England."[24] Although there was certainly no evidence to support the idea that English Protestants would be targeted by the French Catholics, the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre was a powerful reminder of the Catholic threat in a country that already identified deeply with the "discourse of [Protestant] victimhood or martyrdom."[25] Moreover, it also underscored the unlikelihood that the Duke of Alençon would convert to Protestantism even as a means to wear the Crown of England.

Even worse, the events that followed the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre were marked by increased oppression of the Huguenot population as they were denied the right to serve in the capacity of "officers, magistrates, and administrators of justice and finance . . . on account of the distrust with which they are viewed by . . . Catholic subjects . . . [unless they] conform themselves to the Roman religion."[26] Such an action certainly recalled to mind the various injustices that Protestants suffered under the rule of Mary I, when the very definition of what it meant to be "English" excluded Protestantism. The persecuted English Protestants no doubt rejoiced when Elizabeth ascended to the throne, and yet the threat of another Catholic marriage with a foreign prince must have engendered serious misgivings on the part of those who expected Elizabeth to be a defender of Protestants. By the same token, Elizabeth knew that the people's "opposition to . . . [Mary's] marriage went unheeded": a mistake that caused Mary problems for the rest of her reign and blighted her legacy.[27]

The proposed match with the French Duke of Alençon posed a greater challenge to Elizabeth than Mary's marriage to Philip because the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre provided tangible evidence of a recent and still ongoing "conspiracy against those of the true religion" in France.[28] Presumably, then, it would be seen as a greater dereliction of duty for Elizabeth to marry François than it had been for Mary to have married Philip because the French royalty had already proved what they would do to those of the Protestant faith. Moreover, the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre had been memorialized in English culture with Christopher

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[22] Francis Walsingham, "Walsingham to Lord Burghley, 3 September 1572," *British History Online*, http://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/foreign/vol10/pp186-200 (accessed 29 November 2017).

[23] Junius De Jonge. "Junius De Jonge to Killigrew, 25 September 1572," *British History Online*, http://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/foreign/vol10/pp186-200 (accessed 31 November 2017).

[24] Francis Walsingham, "Walsingham to Lord Burghley, 30 October 1572."

[25] Alvarez Recio, *Fighting the Antichrist: A Cultural History of Anti-Catholicism in Tudor England*, 45.

[26] Charles IX, "Edict of Charles IX, 22 September 1572," *British History Online*, http://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/foreign/vol10/pp186-200 (accessed 28 November 2017).

[27] Alvarez Recio, *Fighting the Antichrist: A Cultural History of Anti-Catholicism in Tudor England*, 40.

[28] De Jonge, "Junius De Jonge to Killigrew, 25 September 1572."

Marlowe's play *The Massacre at Paris* (1593), which "enjoyed one of the greatest public successes of the last decades of Elizabeth's reign, with a total of eleven performances in the span of two years (1593 and 1594)."[29] More than two decades after the infamous event had taken place, the subject matter still drew large crowds, signaling that the English people had long memories when it came to the heinous treatment of Protestants. As one English contemporary noted in 1572, the English could hardly overlook "those enemies of God, whose design is to destroy, one after another, all those who have not on their forehead the mark of the whore of Babylon."[30] By framing the French threat as spiritual, national, and existential, the possibility of an Anglo-French marriage was portrayed as one that could only be seriously considered by an English monarch who cared little about the spiritual or physical well-being of his or her people.

Nevertheless, these warnings were only half-heeded by Elizabeth, who chose to resume marriage negotiations with François late in 1572. These negotiations were considered seriously by Elizabeth until 1579; indeed, the "evidence suggests that the queen was in love - if not, perhaps, with Alençon, then with the idea of marriage."[31] Such a statement only adds to the mystery surrounding Elizabeth I's decision not to marry. Whereas in 1579 Elizabeth had penned "On Monsieur's Departure," in which she lamented the departure from England of the Duke of Alençon who can by "no means . . . [be] . . . rid from my breast," by the early 1580s she had resolved firmly never to marry.[32] Beyond the death of the Duke of Alençon in 1585, this transition has been attributed, not insignificantly, to her growing acknowledgement that "she could not be simultaneously *under* a husband and *over* England . . . [without] licensing anarchy,"[33] as well as to the need to "privilege 'virtue' (defined, for [English] queens, as confessional conviction) in relation to blood – and to situate virginity as the antithesis, not of maternity but of tyranny,"[34] so as to "nullify Mary's [Queen of Scots] claim to political authority without simultaneously invalidating . . . " her own.[35] However, it must also be noted that in "On Monsieur's Departure" she had written, " I love and yet am forced to seem to hate," as if the choice not to marry the Duke had been out of her hands.[36] This, of course, might be explained if the whole of Elizabeth's courtship with the Duke had been disingenuous from the start, merely a means of "convincing the Catholic powers that war might be unnecessary."[37]

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[29] Alvarez Recio, *Fighting the Antichrist: A Cultural History of Anti-Catholicism in Tudor England*, 135.

[30] De Jonge, "Junius De Jonge to Killigrew, 25 September 1572."

[31] Bucholz and Key, *Early Modern England, 1485-1714: A Narrative History*, 136.

[32] Elizabeth I, "On Monsieur's Departure," *Poetry Foundation*, https://www.poetryfoundation.org/poems/44221/on-monsieurs-departure (accessed 31 November 2017).

[33] William H Swatos, "Ave Virginia, Regina Terrae: The Power of Culture and the Culture of Power," in *Equal at Creation: Sexism, Society, and Christian Thought*, ed. Joseph Martosans and Pierre Hégy (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998), 96-113 at 104.

[34] Anne McLaren, "Gender, Religion, and Early Modern Nationalism: Elizabeth I, Mary Queen of Scots, and the Genesis of English Anti-Catholicism," *The American Historical Review* 107 (2002): 739-767 at 766.

[35] McLaren, "Gender, Religion, and Early Modern Nationalism," 745.

[36] Elizabeth I, "On Monsieur's Departure."

[37] Bucholz and Key, *Early Modern England, 1485-1714: A Narrative History*, 136.

And yet, Elizabeth seemed to have real affection for the Duke. It must then not go unnoticed that 1579 also saw the release of a pamphlet by John Stubbs entitled, *The Discoverie of a Gaping Gulf Whereinto England is like to be Swallowed by Another French Marriage*, in which he used "the inherent hierarchy of the 'head' metaphor central to the Ephesian passages within the marriage vow as a means to challenge Elizabeth's attachment to her sovereign prerogatives."[38] This controversial pamphlet, over which Stubbs would be deprived of his right hand as punishment, revealed Elizabeth's situation in a stark light. Marriage to the Duke might have solved Elizabeth's long-standing succession problem, but it also would have deprived her of her right to rule independently. After all, Ephesians 5:22 required that "wives submit yourselves unto your own husbands." Stubbs asked pointedly, "If the husband, which is the head, be drawn aside by the wife, over whom nevertheless he hath authority and rule, how much more easily shall the wife be perverted by her husband, to whom she is subject by the law of God and oweth both her awe and obedience?"[39] This question exposed the dangers of a woman who married a heretical man: the wife would be subjected to the demands of her husband (as was only fitting), including to his religious proclivities. With this application of the traditional marital expectations on the royal pair, Stubbs effectively demonstrated "how vain that promise is of theirs who say that Monsieur shall be instructed in our religion and drawn from his by going with our Queen to hers."[40] The rules of marriage were the same for royalty and the commoner. As the head, the husband would determine the religious identity of the pair.

By illuminating the gender biases that surrounded marriage, Stubbs lucidly presented the fact that, "in marrying, the queen's inferior position as wife generated serious dangers in the form of a wrong husband, since he was the senior partner in the relationship."[41] This conception of marriage clarifies why there was such vehement opposition to the marriage of Elizabeth and Francois, for although Elizabeth was the Queen, as a wife, she would be subservient to the will of her husband. A husband who was connected to the atrocities committed by Catholics in France, if not by virtue of his actions then by virtue of his connection to the royal family and his Roman Catholic faith, was most certainly a dangerous choice. It was with this work and the possible marriage's "unpopular[ity] not only with her council but with her people as well"[42] that another influence of the French Wars of Religion made itself known in England: the English people, especially its vocal population of zealous Protestants, would not be ruled by a monarch who did not share their religion.

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[38] Drew Daniel, "Striking the French Match: Jean Bodin, Queen Elizabeth, and the Occultation of Sovereign Marriage," in *Political Theology and Early Modernity*, ed. Graham Hammill and Julia Reinhard Lupton (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012): 240-264 at 252.

[39] John Stubbs, *Gaping Gulf*, in *John Stubb's Gaping Gulf with Letters and Other Relevant Documents*, ed. Lloyd E. Berry (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia): 1-93 at 11.

[40] Stubbs, *Gaping Gulf*, 11.

[41] De la Torre, "'We Few of an Infinite Multitude': John Hales, Parliament and the Gendered Politics of the Early Elizabethan Succession," 564.

[42] Bucholz and Key, *Early Modern England, 1485-1714: A Narrative History*, 136

This sentiment was proved all the more true when Henry of Navarre won the French throne by converting to Catholicism in 1594 – the first instance in which a French king yielded to popular opinion on the matter of religion. This certainly was not the impetus for the English to consider restricting the succession to include only Protestants, for Mary Queen of Scots had been executed in 1587 to avoid such a fate. However, it did confirm for the first time that a monarch might allow his or her actions to be directly directed by the will of the people.

In deciding to convert, Henry IV of France likely never claimed that "Paris is worth a Mass," but his exact words are immaterial since "Henry's decision to abjure was made for political reasons – to end the civil wars and to restore the authority of the monarchy."[43] Although Henry was a Huguenot, he understood that now his Calvinist comrades posed a threat to the stability of his reign, and so he retreated to the time-tested French strategy to reunite "all French men and women under one religion, the Catholic faith."[44] He did soften this apparent betrayal by issuing the Edict of Nantes in 1589, of which "neither Protestants nor Catholics were totally supportive."[45] The Edict of Nantes established a means by which the king could rule what amounted to two different sets of citizens while maintaining "its ultimate goal . . . [of] religious concord."[46] Even though Elizabeth I lamented Henry's conversion in a letter of July 1593, Henry IV's conversion was an important concession made by a savvy ruler who sought to walk a fine line and retain his power.[47] It also reveals that, although an absolute monarch of that era might choose to ignore his or her subjects' views, he or she would do so at the peril of alienating them and meeting the end of his immediate predecessor.

Henry III, of course, had been murdered by "a Jacopin . . . desirous to execute his devilish intent . . . who, in making him a monastical reverence, with a knife which he held in his sleeve struck the King under the short ribs to have pierced his bowels."[48] After the "attempt on [Henri III's] royal person,"[49] many of his subjects celebrated with "demonstrations of rejoicing and exultations of divine will."[50] The assassination of Henry III revealed the predicament of any monarch who did not conform to the norms of the society over which he or she reigned. Henry III was a Catholic monarch, yet he chose as successor the Huguenot or heretic King of Navarre after he "murdered the duke and Cardinal of Guise" and "arrested . . . a number of nobles sympathetic to the League" in order to "win back the initiative and authority" in the Catholic

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[43] Mack P. Holt, *The French Wars of Religion, 1562-1629* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 156.

[44] Holt, *The French Wars of Religion, 1562-1629*, 156.

[45] Holt, *The French Wars of Religion, 1562-1629*, 166.

[46] Holt, *The French Wars of Religion, 1562-1629*, 166.

[47] Rayne Allinson, *A Monarchy of Letters: Royal Correspondence and English Diplomacy in the Reign of Elizabeth I* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2012), 151. Her brief began with the words, "What griefs, oh! What regrets, oh! . . ."

[48] William Lyly, "William Lyly to the Queen, 1 August 1589," *British History Online*, http://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/foreign/vol23/pp393-411 (accessed 31 November 2017).

[49] William Lyly, "William Lyly to the Queen, 1 August 1589."

[50] Holt, *The French Wars of Religion, 1562-1629*, 135.

League.[51] After his power grab failed, Henry III had joined forces with Henry of Navarre. For this betrayal of the Catholic cause, Jean Boucher wrote *The Just Deposition of Henry III* which "justified tyrannicide, even regicide, on behalf of individuals."[52]

A justification for individual subjects, not simply magistrates as had been asserted by Calvinists,[53] violently to resist their monarch would reverberate throughout England where Elizabeth was still in the process of making the decision about who would succeed her with no male issue. The two peculiar factors impacting Henry IV's ascension, namely, his nationality and his conversion to the majority religion, would also be mirrored in Elizabeth's resolution of the succession crisis. The fact that Henry IV's coronation went relatively smoothly following his conversion to Catholicism demonstrates, ironically, that religion played a more fundamental role in defining the people of France and England and their monarch in the late sixteenth century than did origin. Henry III's unfortunate end and deathbed choice of successor not only shines light upon Elizabeth's decision not to name a successor during her lifetime; it also explains why her heir presumptive, the future James I, was Protestant, albeit not English. This choice "inaugurated what proved to be a conclusive move away from belief in kingship as embodied essence to its abstract conceptualization as an office of state: one that was, in the last resort, divorceable from both the blood and the person of the king."[54] Although James Stuart had royal blood, so too did other claimants to the throne. After the reigns of one Catholic and one Protestant Queen, however, Elizabeth's councilors and Parliament much preferred a Protestant ruler with a "male identity."[55]

While the French Wars of Religion boosted the English economy through the resulting influx of Huguenot refugees and the monetary support of Henry IV, and also strengthened anti-Catholic sentiments throughout England while influencing English plays and poems that memorialized recent events across the English Channel, may it be claimed with any certainty that the French Wars of Religion spawned a reevaluation of the English hereditary monarchy or sowed the seeds of representative government in England? Traditionally, the argument has been viewed from one of two sides. On the one hand, there is Quentin Skinner, who argued that power in England originated from the top-down. On the other hand, Peter Lake, working from Patrick Collinson's "The Monarchial Republic of Queen Elizabeth I," finds that " . . . the vision of the polity central to the 'republic', was only dragged into the light of day, forced into formal articulation, by moments of real crisis, points at which the clique at the center of the regime

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[51] Holt, *The French Wars of Religion, 1562-1629*, 132.

[52] Holt, *The French Wars of Religion, 1562-1629*, 134.

[53] John Witte, *The Reformation of Rights: Law, Religion, and Human Rights in Early Modern Calvinism* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 113.

[54] Anne McLaren, "The Quest for a King: Gender, Marriage and Succession in Elizabethan England," *Journal of British Studies* 41 (2002): 259-290 at 265.

[55] McLaren, "The Quest for a King: Gender, Marriage and Succession in Elizabethan England," 283.

found themselves staring down the barrel of a popish succession."[56] It could be seen then that by preventing Elizabeth from marrying the Duke, Elizabeth's council had gained considerable ground by preventing a Catholic succession (an issue that heretofore had been seen as a matter of royal prerogative). However, the extent to which the council's opposition actually prevented the match can be disputed, for reciprocally and just as validly, one might argue that Elizabeth had already chosen to remain a Virgin Queen by 1579.

However, it should be further noted that Elizabeth's choice to remain unmarried not only left the succession question unsettled, but also introduced new problems that accompanied Elizabeth's portrayal of herself as the spouse of England. Theodore Beza, an exiled French Calvinist living in Geneva, had conceived that, "like marital covenants, political covenants were solemn agreements sworn by rulers and the people before God . . . [which] required full and free consent . . . [and] could be annulled when those conditions for formation were violated."[57] Therefore, rather than simplifying her relationship with her people, by refusing to marry a Catholic and constructing her relationship to the people of England as a "marriage", Elizabeth's subjected her reign to the understanding that like any marriage, in the Calvinist tradition, the relationship between ruler and subject might be dissolved if either party failed to uphold the "conditions for formation." In this way, the choice to be a monarch freed from the bonds of marriage produced a more equitable relationship between ruler and ruled that could be broken by either party. In short, if marrying a Catholic king had portended a catastrophe, then Elizabeth's singledom was not free from its share of pitfalls either.

It must also be recognized that new understandings of the English monarchy did not originate solely outside of England. An illustration of just how far this critique of government went could be found in Richard Hooker, a preeminent Anglican theologian and priest who influenced contemporary views about the roles of the monarch and Parliament through his *Of the Laws of Ecclesiasticall Politie* (1593). In this work, he defended the idea that God "left men free to make choice of their own governor." [58] Thus even a man of God who no doubt had encountered and comprehended divine right rhetoric denied that a monarch ruled by divine right; rather, he argued that a king rules through the consent of the people. To Hooker, the best government "emerged as the king-in-parliament. While the functions of the government were divided, it was there in parliament, that a unified supremacy of power seemed to lie."[59] Although Queen Elizabeth was unlikely to agree that the best form of government emerged from a union between the monarch and Parliament, given her disdain for convening Parliament, the French Wars of Religion revealed that monarchs who neglected the will of their people, represented in England by Parliament, were not likely to remain monarchs for long. It was the tacit and, later,

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[56] Peter Lake, "'The Monarchial Republic of Queen Elizabeth I' (and the Fall of Archbishop Grindal) Revisited," in *The Monarchial Republic of Early Modern England: Essays in Response to Patrick Collinson*, ed. John F. McDiarmid (Burlington, Vermont: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2007): 129-149 at 132.

[57] Witte, *The Reformation of Rights: Law, Religion, and Human Rights in Early Modern Calvinism*, 138.

[58] Howell A. Lloyd, "England: Hooker," in *The Cambridge History of Political Thought, 1450-1700*, ed. J.H. Burns and Mark Goldie (Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 280.

[59] Lloyd, "England: Hooker," 281.

explicit acknowledgement of this development that ultimately transformed the English government into a true constitutional monarchy in 1689.

The French Wars of Religion influenced Elizabethan England in many subtle and overt ways because the wars' outcome suggested that subjects of a realm could, through insurrection, bring about the end of a royal dynasty. For most queens, the first priority after gaining the throne would be to secure it through marriage and the production an heir, yet the expectation that the English heir would be Protestant at least in part convinced Elizabeth instead to reject her Catholic suitor. Although Elizabeth could have ignored the wishes of her people and married a Catholic, doing so would have been a disservice to herself because it would have sown distrust among the English people who remembered the reign of Mary I and her Catholic husband. And yet, as an absolutist Tudor monarch, Elizabeth refused to admit that public pressure did have an impact on her decision to marry. That is why her persona, Gloriana, was the perfect way to mask her conformity with an imperious infallibility - a denial of the fact that the people's opinion did matter in government decision-making.

In the same way, the anti-Catholic sentiment of the majority of her subjects also influenced the final question of her reign: the succession. The French Wars of Religion demonstrated that the people would stomach many things in a monarch but not the rejection of the state religion. And since England was Protestant, it was the duty of the monarch to appoint a Protestant heir. However, Elizabeth would not concede to the people's will explicitly. As Gloriana lay in her deathbed, she did not disappoint. Refusing to name a successor, she maintained her royal dignity until the end. However, James's claim to the throne had been strengthened with the Treaty of Berwick of 1586 and with Parliament's acceptance of his claim in 1603. Notwithstanding Elizabeth's reticence to name a successor, the resolution of the succession question underscored the fact that the people's will would not be ignored in the future. Although Elizabeth I had made no overt effort to create a more representative government in her lifetime and the French Wars of Religion did not directly lead to a representative government in either France or England, the fact remains that the fundamental underpinnings of government were changing within England and France. The question was no longer simply what is the will of the monarch, but rather, how might the will of the monarch and the desires of the people be reconciled to create political stability. Whether the English monarchy was prepared for the change or not, the newborn conception of majority rule took its first toddling steps in Elizabeth's reign with the people's peaceful demands for a king who shared their religious values. In the next several decades, this infant would gain a voice that would demand even more concessions from the king and would grow teeth and claws to force the issue where agreement was not forthcoming.

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The Looming Specter of Death:
The Town of Madison and the Influenza Epidemic of 1918-1919
Will Werner-Wilson

Historians tend to gloss over the effects of international pandemics such as the influenza epidemic of 1918-1919. [1] What historical research exists comes from websites such as the *Influenza Archive* that exclusively focuses on the virus' impact in American cities.[2] Furthermore, books like *The Spanish Influenza Pandemic of 1918-1919* only cover the disease's progress from the perspective of whole countries.[3] Recent research into the virus mostly focuses on the biological aspect of the disease and neglects the human story behind the epidemic.[4] As a result of medical research, we currently possess vaccinations to prevent a large-scale epidemic, but the effectiveness of these treatments varies from year to year.[5] The 1918-1919 flu affected one-third of the world's population, and more soldiers died from the flu than combat in WWI.

This essay explores how the people of Madison, Indiana, reacted to the pandemic. To the contemporary perspectives of the writers of the *Madison Courier* the influenza virus mostly pertained to the world outside their city. Influenza infected a smaller portion of Madison's population than much of the outside world. It is difficult to estimate the actual infection rate in the town, but according to the *Madison Courier*, the Red Cross Hospital treated three hundred patients over the virus' course in the town, which would be about 4.3 percent of the population.[6] The virus claimed twenty-six lives from a population of 6,934, which amounts to only a point-four percent mortality rate for the town.[7] 50 million to 100 million individuals died from influenza worldwide.[8] The lower infection/death rate in Madison begs an inquiry into the local history of the community, especially given its prominence as an Ohio River town. The influenza epidemic arrived at Madison in September of 1918 and lasted until the early summer. In response, the riverside town initiated two separate public bans against congregating in groups larger than five people at a time. The *Madison Courier*'s coverage of the virus in addition to letters from prominent citizens can give viewpoints on the virus from the townspeople. These sources might offer explanations as to why the virus affected the town so little. Possible

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[1] Howard Phillips and David Killingray, eds., *The Spanish Influenza Pandemic of 1918-1919: New Perspectives* (London: Routledge, 2003), 1.

[2] University of Michigan Center for the History of Medicine and Library Archives, *The Influenza Encyclopedia: About this Project* (Ann Arbor: Michigan Publishing, Ongoing Project).

[3] Phillips and Killingray, eds., *The Spanish Influenza Pandemic of 1918-1919*, 1.

[4] David M. Morens and Anthony S. Fauci, "The 1918 Influenza Pandemic: Insights for the 21st Century," *The Journal of Infectious Diseases*, vol. 195, no. 7 (Apr. 1, 2007): 1018-1028.

[5] Susan Scutti, "Flu vaccine just 36% effective this season, CDC reports." *Cable News Network* (2008).

[6] "Ban was on Twelve Weeks Lifting of Health Regulations Marks Ending of Unprecedented Condition," *The Madison Courier*, December 30, 1918: 6.

[7] Chas Bruce Kern, "September 1918 – March 1920 Monthly Bulletin," *The Indiana State Board of Health.*

[8] Jeffery K. Taubenberger and David M. Morens, "1918 Influenza: the Mother of All Pandemics," *Emerging Infectious Diseases Journal*, vol. 12, no. 1 (January 2006): 15-22.

explanations for the low death rate could be the public bans initiated by the local government, the galvanizing fear of the epidemic, and sterilization guidelines from the Red Cross.

The government of Madison, Indiana, took immediate action to combat the spread of the influenza virus in the town. The public health board initiated two public bans throughout the course of the virus' stay in the city. The first, initiated October 7th, prohibited people from going to pool rooms and other social gatherings. Furthermore, the ban required people with colds to stay at home. Additionally, the ban required people to avoid crowds in public. Lastly, the board of health put a stop to public funerals; henceforth, only family and close friends could attend. The original ban lasted five weeks until November 8th, but the lifting of the ban still stipulated that children remain at home from school if they had colds.[9] Influenza continued to appear in Madison, however, and the Health Board reinstated the ban on November 14th, extending it until December 30th. Additionally, the second ban shut down church on Sunday. According to the *Madison Courier*, "the necessity of the ban created conditions in Madison that heretofore were unknown."[10] The people of Madison realized that limiting the spread of the influenza virus would create a safer environment in the town. Madison's size of roughly seven thousand in 1918 might have made the bans feasible. It is doubtful that a population much larger would have been able to start a public ban with the same success. A larger city would come with greater amounts of commerce and a greater risk for exposure. Madison's small scale allowed the citizens to take drastic measures that might have stemmed the rise of influenza patients. The people of Madison disrupted their social lives for the sake of stopping the spread of the influenza. The ban arose from the fear that one could contract influenza just from appearing in public. The fear the public expressed towards influenza can be seen in the advertisements for products that "prevented" contraction of the virus.

The pervasive nature of advertisements for influenza-combating products in the *Madison Courier* throughout the epidemic reflects the fear of the population at the lack of reliable preventative care. Even though the conditions for influenza in Madison were not apocalyptic, advertisements to combat the virus popped up more commonly than government sponsored messages. At the time, no dependable treatment for influenza existed, so products for combating influenza could only have caused a placebo effect. One local pharmacy, Peter's Drug Store ran an advertisement that promised: "Ward off Influenza Grip and Pneumonia by taking Peter's Cold Tablets. They break up a cold in a few hours. 20¢ Box. Satisfaction guaranteed or money refunded. Made only by W. A. Peters . . . ."[11] Despite the money-back guarantee, Peter's Drug Store continued to place these advertisements in the *Madison Courier* throughout the epidemic's time in Madison. Another non-local brand of medicine called Father John's Medicine advertised itself as a "Wholesome Food Medicine and Body Builder" prior to the epidemic's arrival in Madison. Father John's Medicine switched its tune, however, and advertised itself as way to cure

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[9] "Board of Health Makes Official Announcement – Schools to Open Monday," *The Madison Courier*, November 8, 1918: 1.

[10] "Ban Was on Twelve Weeks – Lifting of Health Regulations Marks Ending of Unprecedented Condition," *The Madison Courier*, December 30, 1918: 6.

[11] Peter's Cold Tablets, Advertisement, *The Madison Courier*, September 24, 1918: 6.

the "grip" once the virus had spread to Madison. The advertisement for the remedy stated, "If you are overtired, weak or run-down, you catch cold easily. If you have a cold it is easy for grip to take hold. If you have the grip, it may easily lead to pneumonia, and that often ends fatally. So first of all do not allow yourself to get run down or weakened. Build up new strength by taking Father John's Medicine, which gives health resistance to overcome disease."[12] Both national and local pharmaceutical products sought to command the patronage of Madison citizens during the epidemic. The pharmaceutical ads dropped the influenza angle once normal conditions returned. The persistence of flu-related advertising in the *Courier* demonstrated the desperate lengths that people would traverse to avoid contracting the flu, even though none of the products was efficacious. The public wanted a medicine they could take to prevent influenza infection, but it is doubtful that any contemporary medicine would have helped in that regard.

The fear of the influenza virus can also be seen in letters exchanged by family members connected to Madison. The Rogers family of Madison discussed the virus in their letters throughout the duration of the epidemic. Irene Rogers wrote to Alma Rogers to express concern over her afflicted brother-in-law, Carter. Irene stated in her letter that:

> I am so sorry Carter is sick – I know how serious it is; we have a young friend just came home from a camp in the East with the Spanish Influenza. The care that you [Alma] can give ought to help him thru – but <u>do</u> take care of yourself no to overdo. I am thinking about you all the time – all of you – it will be on my mind constantly until I hear that Carter is better . . . .[13]

At the time of the letter, Irene lived in Ann Arbor, Michigan, while Alma remained in the Madison area. Alma's response is not possessed in the same collection of Rogers Family Papers. The letter shows a number of aspects of the experience of living in the epidemic. One example would be the seriousness with which people approached the pandemic. Irene expressed concern that her mother-in-law not debilitate herself while treating Carter. Additionally, by overdoing it Alma might contract the flu as well. Furthermore, Irene's letter displayed the uncertainty people possessed in the face of their own mortality.

Throughout the epidemic people compared the spread of influenza to World War I. An article in the *Madison Courier* on December 2, 1918, declared: "Influenza More Deadly Than War Census Bureau Says. Epidemic caused 82,306 Deaths In One Month. Disease Quite Likely to Return."[14] Like World War I, the epidemic hovered over the people of Madison, but the virus posed a more potent threat to the burgeoning city. The fear of the influenza virus led the people of Madison to take unheard of precautions in order to prevent the infection of new victims. Nonetheless, the anxiety caused by the influenza outbreak did not diminish the practicality of the citizens of Madison in their responses to the epidemic.

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[12] Father John's Medicine, Advertisement, *The Madison Courier*, October 29, 1918: 2.

[13] Irene Rogers, letter to Alma Rogers, Sept. 28, 1918, folder 1, box 6, Rogers Family Papers Collection, Duggan Library, Hanover College (Hanover, Ind.).

[14] "Influenza More Deadly Than War," *The Madison Courier*, December 2, 1918: 2.

The actions taken by the civil government and the compliance of the citizenry demonstrate the pragmatism of Madison's population in 1918, despite the relatively low number of influenza patients. In October, the Red Cross published a list of guidelines to enable the people of Madison to stem the spread of the virus. These guidelines stated, "All colds, however slight, should be treated as possible attacks of influenza. Patients affected by colds should stay at home and sterilize discharge from the nose and throat . . . Avoid the breath or expelled secretions from people suffering from colds . . . All those in attendance on patients with influenza should wear masks."[15] Additionally, the local Red Cross chapter financially supported the cost of the care for the influenza patients, which the *Madison Courier* estimated to be in the thousands. Furthermore, the newspaper discussed sanitary precautions the Red Cross took to stop the spread of the virus. According to the paper, "The Emergency Hospital established by the Red Cross in the Elks' home on November 7th for the care of influenza and pneumonia patients was closed today . . . The nurses worked about the building cleaning up and disinfecting the rooms."[16] The Red Cross took excellent precautions to prevent the spread of the disease. Regularly cleaning the environment of the infected most likely helped to stop the spread of the disease. Their advice to avoid public spaces, maintain a clean home environment, and sterilize bodily expulsions might have limited the reach of the influenza virus.

The citizens of Madison appealed to the *Courier* as well as the local government to take measures to make influenza easier to avoid. In November, according to the *Courier*, citizens became concerned with discerning families stricken with influenza. An editorial stated that "a number of citizens have asked the Courier to say that all houses with cases of the Influenza should be quarantined and placarded. Not having a degree as a doctor of medicine the Courier interviewed Dr. Rudolph, president of the city board of health, who said the citizens are right and that he will bring the matter before the board at once."[17] Clearly, the lack of an effective method by which to identify influenza victims led the citizens of Madison to call for more drastic measures. On one level, the placard precaution quarantine might appear a bit extreme, but the world was dealing with unprecedented levels of the virus. Restricting the movements of those who had contracted the virus through quarantine and then labeling their houses so that others might avoiding contact with them for the duration of the pandemic would have provided a practical and effective course of action. Alas, the newspaper did not publish a follow up article reporting whether or not the public followed through with the citizens' request.

Madison, Indiana, might have kept the extent of the influenza's reach small through the concern of the local populace, the actions of the Red Cross, and the local Health Board's Public Ban. The influenza epidemic posed a real threat to people of Madison between 1918 and 1919 even if few residents actually contracted the virus. Lack of reliable preventative care led to a surge in advertisements for "medicine" to combat the virus' spread. The increase in advertisements could be seen as a symptom of the townspeople's fear of the illness. Furthermore, the Red Cross and the *Madison Courier* ensured that methods to prevent the spread of the disease

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[15] "Red Cross: Observe These Rules," *The Madison Courier*, October 10, 1918: 5.

[16] "Care of Influenza Patients Closed Today," *The Madison Courier*, January 6, 1919: 6.

[17] "Quarantining the Influenza," *The Madison Courier*, November 14, 1918: 3.

were known in the community. Proper sanitization would ensure that the victims rested in a clean environment. Containing bodily expulsions and wearing masks also helped to prevent the spread and contraction of influenza. Public bans prevented people from gathering in areas, so that they would not contract the disease.

At the same time, however, the influenza virus clearly impacted the people of Madison economically, socially, and politically, as they altered their entire way of life to prevent its spread. The influenza virus, in fact, took many more American lives than World War I. Not surprisingly, the influenza epidemic threatened and impact the daily lives of the townspeople of Madison, Indiana, in ways that the First World War could not. Because the national death rate horrified the Madison townspeople, they took extreme measures to combat the spread of the virus locally. Church did not close because of World War I, nor did other public spaces like theatres and pool halls. One cannot understate the significance of the public Bans. The influenza epidemic fundamentally disrupted the social fabric of Madison. In today's world, people can interact with one another through social media, so a complete ban on public interaction might not seem so daunting, but the same technology did not exist in 1918. People willingly cut themselves off from their neighbors and friends in order to minimize the spread of influenza. In so doing, the people of Madison, Indiana, demonstrated their courage as they fought their own war here at home.

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Why Her?
Adolf Hitler's Attraction to Eva Braun
Natalie Williamson

Adolf Hitler has been studied by a multitude of historians in hopes of understanding this charismatic figure who somehow seduced millions.[1] The German populace, of course, saw Hitler as restoring their nation to its former glory. German women, in particular, saw in Hitler a softer side, even though Hitler ensured his private life remained concealed from the public. Indeed, only his closest associates actually knew the Führer. As a result, a series of important questions come to the fore when trying to understand Adolf Hitler, especially as they touch upon his relationship with his mistress and later wife, Eva Braun. Their relationship has largely been a mystery because he kept her locked away from the public for his own personal benefit. Braun herself, left a very small historical footprint, with almost no primary source information.

Adolf Hitler's childhood experiences shaped his personality. Understanding his likely psychopathology, along with his beliefs about the character, appropriate roles, and innate identities of women, allows one to make informed inferences about the dynamic of his relationship with Braun. Hitler was drawn to Braun and continued their relationship because she assuaged his insecurities, serving as a surrogate mother figure, filling the void left after the death of Hitler's mother, Klara, and exhibiting unquestioning loyalty to him. Braun tolerated his unceasingly manipulative, conniving, and brutish behaviors, whether or not she actually recognized them as such. Her behavior and attitudes conformed almost entirely to his notions of what the ideal woman might be, and in return he gave her attention, but only when it suited him. He took, but only rarely gave. This behavior, over the course of their sixteen-year relationship, demonstrated the psychopathologies which can also be identified in other areas of his life.[2]

Understanding Hitler's Madness

Adolf Hitler was an intriguing and mysterious individual. Hitler's inability to form close personal relationships can be observed in his interactions with both men and women. Throughout his life, his behavior was characterized by hate, brutality, and narcissism, which functioned as social coping mechanisms as he interacted in interpersonal relationships. Norbert Bromberg, author of *Hitler's Psychopathology*, described these relationships as primitive, superficial, crude, and rudimentary.[3] Bromberg suggests that Hitler lacked the ability to have interpersonal

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[1] Sebastian Haffner, *The Meaning of Hitler* (London: Phoenix, 2011), 195.

[2] Ian Kershaw, *Hitler 1889-1936: Hubris* (New York: Pantheon, 2013), 45. Kershaw stated that Hitler described his ideal woman as being: cute, cuddly, naïve, tender, sweet, and stupid. In addition to these characteristics, Hitler maintained, politics should never be a topic of discussion with women.

[3] Emphasis of Hitler's egocentrism is discussed throughout various sources and historians' works. A few examples of these references are: Norbert Bromberg and Verna Volz Small, *Hitler's Psychopathology* (International Universities Press: New York, 1983), 15; Cate Haste, *Nazi Women* (London: Channel 4, 2001), 71; and Joachim C. Fest, *Hitler* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich,1974), 14.

connections that carried risk of rendering himself vulnerable to other people. Hitler survived by exercising impulse control, much like an immature child.[4]

Psychologists have diagnosed Adolf Hitler with narcissistic-borderline personality disorder. Norbert Bromberg, for example, has characterized Hitler as " . . . exhibiting narcissistic personality with paranoid features, functioning on a borderline personality level . . . ."[5] Bromberg defines Hitler's pathological syndrome when he describes Hitler as a man "who represents himself as an omniscient simplifier of complex issues, who ignores obvious realities to promise the clearly impossible, whose oratory brims with rage, who charges one single enemy with responsibility for all difficulties."[6] In short, Hitler was a megalomaniac who was controlled by a deeply rooted egocentrism. Most children grow out of this egocentric mindset at an early age, but those who have a narcissistic personality remain motivated by egocentrism for the entirety of their lives. In Hitler's case, he could not cope with the psychological abnormalities he possessed and turned to an alternate reality, outbursts of rage, and a projection of hatred for the 'enemy'; when the enemy was truly himself.[7]

Furthermore, Bromberg conveys that both narcissism and borderline personality disorder play significant roles within the formulation of any relationship.

> [Hitler] complains of a feeling of emptiness. He had little if any sense of humor. He tends to lie. Even if very intelligent, he can be most literal in understanding of concepts. He often had neurotic symptoms. Most importantly, the narcissistic personality cannot make significant relationships, being at most times arrogant, contemptuous, and denigrating, as well as demanding and exploitative.[8]

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[4]Bromberg, *Hitler's Psychopathology*, 10.

According to Bromberg Hitler's, "…emotional life is shallow and his feelings are undifferentiated in quality; he may find these aspects of himself to be a deprivation, something to complain about. His inability to form "healthy" relationships impacted the entirety of the relationship Braun and Hitler shared. Common behaviors that Hitler exhibited with Braun and other colleagues could be a result from narcissistic-borderline personality disorder.

[5] Bromberg, *Hitler's Psychopathology*, 8.

[6] Bromberg, *Hitler's Psychopathology*, 3.

[7] Bromberg, *Hitler's Psychopathology*; Cate Haste, *Nazi Women* (London: Channel 4, 2001), 71. Bromberg identified Hitler's psychopathic projection as a means for hatred of Jews. Hitler found attributes within himself that represented the Jewish population, whom he deemed inferior and placed the blame for his inferiorities upon these individuals. Other historians describe similar aggressive and angry behavior. A great example can be found in Cate Haste's *Nazi Women*; "In his private life, Hitler's core of destructiveness, rage and egotism cast a shadow over his personal relationship with women. He romanticized women, deifying them as sacred mothers. Or he denigrated them as pretty, irrational beings who gave him some comfort, entertained him and were therefore useful to him. Ultimately, he needed to control them. But he also needed their political support. He needed them to sacrifice themselves to his mission, and to the Nazi state. And it was essential to his self-image, and to his messianic task, that they idolized him personally, and surrendered everything to their political faith in him."

[8] Bromberg, *Hitler's Psychopathology*, 10.

Hitler often denied reality as a means of coping with his discomfort with the truth.[9] If Hitler had to face the truth, he would have had to process the death of both of his parents, his lack of basic necessities, and the atrocities of war during his late adolescent life.[10] Hitler never grieved in a healthy way to overcome adversities; rather, he used other people to maintain his emotional stability. His rage would spew out onto almost everyone he came in contact with, acting paranoid and enraged throughout the majority of his life, fighting to control and manipulate both his acquaintances and his closest colleagues. Healthy individuals can compartmentalize their own insecurities in some kind of context by not allowing these inferiorities to be the driving factor of their behavior. However, Hitler was apparently incapable of this compartmentalization, denying his inadequacies and hiding them behind the punishment and manipulation of others, his form of authority. He blamed his sense of inferiority on others, and allowed no one to get close enough to him to get to know his authentic self – no one, that is, except, perhaps, Eva Braun.

At least some of the narcissistic borderline-personality disorder stemmed from paternal abuse and maternal overcompensation. Hitler's father, Alois Hitler, was domineering and crude: he drank excessively; he mistreated his wife; he beat his children. Ian Kershaw described Alois as, " . . . an archetypal provincial civil servant—pompous, status-proud, strict, humourless, frugal, pedantically punctual, and devoted to duty."[11] This very strict and impersonal man inflicted significant emotional baggage on his young son. Witnessing and experiencing firsthand his father's abuse shaped young Adolf's expectations of gender roles in a traumatic way. Klara, meanwhile, overcompensated for Alois's abuse by coddling Adolf.

A peculiar thing happened though when Adolf spoke about his father; " . . . In *Mein Kampf*, he wrote about his father in reverent and respectful phrases, mentioning only one, rather natural, disagreement between father and son."[12] He said, "I had honored my father, but my mother I had loved."[13] One can argue that Hitler's lack of forwardness about his father's abuse and neglect was for three reasons: denial of reality, the sheer inability of becoming vulnerable with anyone to expose this inferior aspect of himself, and the cultural expectation for men to avoid discussing their feelings during the early 1900s.

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[9] Sereny, Gitta. *Albert Speer: His Battle With Truth.* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1995), 102 and 288.

Albert Speer was a German architect who was, for most of World War II, Reich Minister of Armaments and War Production for Nazi Germany. Speer was Adolf Hitler's chief architect before assuming ministerial office. He became a part of Hitler's inner circle. He believed that Hitler exhibited similar behavior, stating that he was "fascinated by Hitler's lack of affection." Speer also mentioned Hitler not needing to manipulate individuals because he simply ordered them around in a fabled reality.

[10] Bromberg, *Hitler's Psychopathology* 65. According to Bromberg, as a young adult, age 20, he was a homeless beggar: pale, unshaved, sunken cheeks, and frail. He lived in a hostel and had not created truly any brotherhood-like relationships. Norbert Bromberg noted that some individuals made fun of him while others considered him fantastic. He served in the World War I army and truly enjoyed being a soldier. He finally had food and shelter, and enjoyed the war as a whole. This connection has been made previously about his fascination with war in early development.

[11] Kershaw, *Hitler 1889-1936: Hubris*, 11.

[12] John Lukacs, *The Hitler of History* (Random House, Inc.: New York, 1997), 55.

[13] Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 18.

In addition, there is speculation that Hitler watched his father rape his mother. Children who witness a rape, experience abuse and neglect, and suffer child molestation are prone to life-long emotional trauma. Such trauma can lead to a set of negative behaviors within children, including a constant yearning for power and control, and a high risk for exhibiting behaviors similar to those which they have experienced. Emily Bazeloni, an intern for the New Haven Advocate, described such children with these experiences as being "more likely to develop a raft of emotional and health problems including depression, post-traumatic stress disorder, and suicidal thoughts."[14] This would explain why Adolf Hitler was said to have anxiety and depression. Children experiencing these adversities need stability in their lives and actively seek people or material objects out in order to fill the void they experience. Hitler's possible witnessing of his mother's rape solidified the hate for his father and created lasting effects on his feelings towards women and sexual relations in general.[15]

As a result, paternal abuse and witnessing sexual assault, coupled with his mother's personal attributes, hindered Hitler developmentally. Klara Hitler coddled him throughout her lifetime and sought to protect him from the anger of his father, rather than helping him to develop as an independent person. Because Hitler was the only male she had left in their family line, she clung to him and fixated over his health and well-being.[16] Psychiatrists from Waite's studies within *The Psychopathic God* noted that, "by loving Adolf so thoroughly, Klara could combat resentments she may have unconsciously felt toward a child imposed by her brutish husband who 'enslaved her, sucked her dry, and crippled her with never-ending demands."[17] Klara's enslavement to Hitler's every whim was one of the reasons that she suffered from life-long depression. Hitler, too, was handicapped by his mother's overbearing love. He sought this maternal comfort from the female sex until his death. His yearning for control and deeming individuals "good" as long as they catered to needs, while punishing them when they did not, has been compared by psychologists to a narcissistic child punishing his mother for not fulfilling his every need.

The Oedipus Complex

One could argue that the relationship with his mother stemmed from an Oedipus complex. Oedipus complexes normally develop during childhood and are shown through an unconscious sexual desire for their parent. Historians like Robert Waite, Norbert Bromberg, Verna Small, and William Carr claimed Hitler's attraction for Klara Hitler resulted in extreme hatred for his father.

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[14] Emily Bazeloni, "A Question of Resilience," *The New York Times*, 30 April 2006, http://www.nytimes.com/2006/04/30/magazine/a-question-of-resilience.html?_r=0 (accessed 2 Nov. 2017).

[15] Robert G.L. Waite, *The Psychopathic God: Adolf Hitler* (Basic Books, Inc.: New York, 1977), 162. Waite refers to rape and sexual interactions between parents potentially unlocking incestual desires and fears.

[16] Waite, *The Psychopathic God*, 172. Hitler is said to have had survivor's guilt for being one of the few children to live. Waite in *The Psychopathic God* claimed that psychologists, Lawrence Climo and Peter Loewenberg, believed Hitler was terrified of death, therefore never maturing and remaining childlike for his entire life.

[17] Waite, *The Psychopathic God*, 141.

Robert Waite observed, "We speculate that the closer little Adolf felt toward his mother, the more anxiety he felt about his father; the more he feared his father, the more he clung to his mother—and the circular anxiety of the Oedipal conflict was intensified."[18] Hitler clinging to Klara created a perpetual cycle of coddling, using her for protection against his father's rage. These types of infantile behaviors can result from shirking the responsibilities of maturity.

These oedipal characteristics resulted in a life-long search for a woman just like his mother. Hitler's childhood experiences and Oedipus conflict created a strong sense of companionship, protection, and love for his mother; thus, shaping his attitudes, expectations, and treatment of women. For this reason, his one true love was his mother. The search for a woman like his mother ended when he met Eva Braun.

Hitler's View Towards Women

Hitler's views on a woman's place were similar to views within traditional, nationalist German culture: "He regarded women as inferior beings and yet at the same time dangerous entrappers of men and thought wives to be impediments to warriors."[19] His opinions about women were often inconsistent, yet he was certain about their duties. "Whereas he usually speaks of them in derogatory and contemptuous terms, he often poses as the defender of motherhood and the sanctity of womanhood because he wants to appear wise, heroic, benign, or commanding."[20] Their place was to uphold domestic life and their calling was marriage. Others noted Hitler's views and engagement with women. For example, one of his colleagues, Reich Minister of Propaganda Joseph Goebbels, described Hitler's isolation of women from politics as evidence of his respect for them.[21] Another noteworthy account on Hitler's views about women occurred in a post-1945 interview. Getraud "Traudl" Junge, who served as one of Hitler's secretaries, recounted, "He had an old-fashioned opinion of a woman's place. Not especially Austrian, you understand, but more due to the feelings he had about himself. For instance, he thought it was his right to possess any women he wanted. . . . He was very charming, Hitler. As a man to a woman, that is. He had a nice way of flirting. So it was a contradiction in his personality, in a way."[22] Junge recalled that Hitler assumed the paternal role in his relationships with women, including his romantic relationship with Braun.

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[18] Waite, *The Psychopathic God*, 162.

[19] Bromberg and Small, *Hitler's Psychopathology*, 236.

[20] Bromberg and Small, *Hitler's Psychopathology* 20.

[21] Abrams and Harvey, *Gender Relations in German History*, 190. The National Socialist Movement is by nature a masculine movement. According to Abrams and Harvey, Joseph Goebbels believed that, "Instead, German women should identify and pursue a new complementary feminine ideal, and win back the respect that was due to them and that had been lost by trying to compete in masculine world. Women's political duty was defined in terms of their activity in the private sphere (and by extension to those activities in the public sphere of waged labor deemed to be expressions of feminine, maternal attributes)."

[22] Gerald McKnight, *The Strange Loves of Adolf Hitler* (Gary's Inn Road, London: Sphere Books Limited, 1978), 17.

Thou Shall Not Marry

Although he vigorously sought to promote marriage and reproduction among the "Aryan" population, Hitler did not follow his own protocol in this regard. He characterized his leadership of Germany as a sort of devout marriage, claiming that his love was Germany and that he was married to all of the women of Germany.[23] Further, as the "husband" to all German women, he encouraged each of his "brides" to preserve the Aryan race. Marriage brings rights and claims to attention. Hitler did not desire to marry because his concerns were in, " . . . social mobility, better housing for workers, modernizing industry, erecting a welfare system, sweeping away the reactionary privileges from the past; in sum, building a better, more up-to-date, less class-ridden, Germany society . . . "[24] Hitler saw his vocation as rebuilding Germany, transforming Europe, and dominating the world; he did not have energy to spend time on something so mundane as marriage, in which the common folk engaged. Hitler stated, "If I were to marry, I could have a genuine marriage. But it would be a link to another direction than the one in which my mission lies. One or the other would have to suffer—yes, one would even have to be put in second place."[25] "Marriage makes sense only if one wishes to establish a family. The family *is* the meaning of marriage."[26]

Although Hitler deeply admired Braun, he long refused to marry her. "As long as Hitler had a future, he ruled out marriage. There was no room for a wife. It had also been politically inconvenient."[27] Braun had been forced to accept that she was no more than a plaything for Hitler. Why, then, did he marry Eva Braun in April 1945? The answers have been speculative. Kershaw claimed, "The marriage now cost him nothing. He did it simply to please Eva Braun, to give her what she had wanted more than anything at a moment when marrying him was the least enviable fate in the world."[28] A portion of Kershaw's theory was true, for the marriage cost him nothing; however, Hitler did not simply give her what she wanted. Indeed, he was able to marry Braun because he no longer had to be concerned about the stress of marriage interfering with politics or the war. Judging by his defiant personality not only towards his father, colleagues, and political involvements, but towards women in general, Hitler would never have married merely to please Eva. Therefore, the idea that Hitler had become a widower in April 1945 is more persuasive. Germany was dead and his marriage to German women was over. For the man who blamed Germany's military losses and every other setback on others, his marriage to Eva was a way to concede to everyone that the war was over without actually admitting that his leadership had failed and thus "the Third Reich is no more." Hitler was no longer the Führer and was free from the need to live a staged life. Since he had resumed the life of a common man once more,

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[23] Sayer and Botting, *The Women Who Knew Hitler*, preface.

[24] Kershaw, *Hitler 1889-1936: Hubris*, xxiii.

[25] Otto Wagener and Henry Ashby Turner, *Hitler: Memoirs of a Confidant* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987), 223.

[26] Wagener and Turner, *Hitler*, 33.

[27] Joachim C. Fest, *Hitler* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1974), 820.

[28] Ian Kershaw, *Hitler: A Biography* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2008), 947.

the façade of success was no longer needed. One can go as far as to speculate that, for the first time in his life, he had become an adult.[29]

His actions imply that he may have denied marriage because he was too afraid to become attached and never found the true connection with anyone until late in his relationship with Braun, or that he believed his duty to his country was far more important than that of marriage. Based upon patterns in relationships and his previous traumatic childhood experiences, Hitler's rationale for resisting marriage was a conglomeration of things. Hitler had a megalomaniacal dream of creating a perfect nation. In addition, he had not found any woman that he saw as anything more than a pastime. Finally, one can conclude he had wrestled with the idea of marriage to Braun for quite some time. She continuously brought up marriage, while he shut it down. Not until he believed that his duties with Germany were coming to end did he grant her wish.[30] The most rational explanation seems to be that Hitler waited until his time commitment to the war effort was complete, or at least a lost cause, before he married Braun. This marriage, however, would have no possibility of a happy ending, for the newly-weds were condemned to a bitter end, a joint suicide.

Eva Braun

The obvious question is, what made Eva Braun so special to Hitler? She had been born in 1912, making her 23 years old when she first met Adolf Hitler. Braun came from a devout Catholic family. Her parents described Eva as a fun-loving, mischievous child who brought joy to their family during the war. Braun would never back down from a dare. She was the trouble maker of the three siblings (Eva, Gretl, and Ilse) and was also regarded as a problematic student throughout her formal education. "She has a graceful figure, holds herself well, and has a fine disposition," her mother once observed, "but she's too frivolous to study hard. She will only learn as long as she's being amused."[31] Because of Eva's boisterous behaviors – sneaking out, chasing boys, and violating the "typical" Catholic lifestyle prescribed for young girls – her

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[29] Robin Cohen, and Paul M. Kennedy. *Global Sociology* (New York: New York University Press, 2013). According to Cohen, life is characterized by both front and back stage life. Front stage is where the individual is always "on". They maintain a professional presence and provide a façade or a demonstrate their best qualities during life in the front stage. Back stage is where the individual can be their true selves. It is a casual relationship where they can joke and show a different part of themselves that they may not in a professional setting. Hitler continuously lived a front stage focused life. Even in his home, he continuously had someone watching him and writing down everything he said. Hitler was notoriously a performer within his lifetime. After the death of Germany, he finally had the ability to relax and express his authenticity.

[30] John Toland, *Adolf Hitler* (Garden City: Doubleday, 1976), 237 and 375. In reference to Toland's work, during the beginning of their relationship he became very fond of her and would bring her flowers and candy. Early in their relationship she spread a rumor that she was Hitler's mistress and he was going to marry her. She almost got fired from her job at Hoffman's photography shop for spreading this rumor. He also never entertained talk about marriage. On her twenty-first birthday, he bought her matching earrings and ring and bracelet. Toland stated that they would never stay together for appearance sake. Eva was losing hope he would ever marry her. "As the head of the Third Reich, he told her, he must devote himself to the nation with no family distractions"

[31] Glenn B. Infield, *The Private Lives of Eva and Adolf* (New York: Grosset & Dunlap, 1978), 5.

parents imposed strict restrictions on her in an unsuccessful effort to reform her. Her mother's goal for her was to become a well-known dressmaker or marry a wealthy man so that her social status would rise above theirs. Eva did in fact rise in social status, but not by the means which her parents had envisioned. Why did such a seemingly "normal" girl become the mistress of one of the most atypical men known to history?[32]

Eva Braun and Klara Hitler were quite similar. Hitler's attraction to Braun stemmed from the attributes shared by both women. Albert Speer described Braun as, a "very feminine . . . a man's woman, incredibly undemanding of herself, helpful to many people behind the scenes—nobody ever knew that—and infinitely thoughtful of Hitler. She was a restful sort of girl. And her love for Hitler was beyond question."[33] Klara fell in the same category as Eva; she was suited for Hitler. These two were among the very few women to whom he ever spoke kind regards. Each woman was at his disposal, catering to his every need, remaining loyal through every fit of rage and absence, and loving him unconditionally. Hitler loathed his father for treating Klara abusively and neglectfully. Ironically, though, he also failed to address his mother with respect, and his treatment of Braun, too, was insensitive, apathetic, and manipulative.

Hitler had a strong relationship with both women and saw them as inherently dainty and innocent. Therefore, he sought to shelter them from the world. Klara died before the young Hitler could provide any actual shelter and comfort, but in his imagination, he was her protector. He built a home specifically for Braun, and she was to never go out in public without his permission.[34] Hitler also came to the realization that he had not been supportive of Braun after she attempted suicide in August of 1932. Following the incident, he briefly made more of an effort to be present and bask in her loyalty. Only after he faced the prospect of losing her, did he make some attempt to consider her feelings and desires, abandoning his monovision of what the relationship could do for him. It is noteworthy, however, that he relapsed on his attentiveness to Braun and her needs. It took a second suicide attempt and his move to the Berghof to prompt him to make her a priority for the remainder of their lives. His relocation to the Berghof was significant because he now interacted with Braun on a daily basis as a result of their living arrangements.

Braun was loyal to Hitler even before their relationship had fully begun. In the beginning stages, she grew enamored of him and wanted his complete attention. Braun had always been a bit of a wild child – testing boundaries, exuding extreme sex-appeal, and aggravating her father. However, she kept their affair a secret for over a year. She was emotionally captivated by him. "Hitler paid Eva compliments, thus arousing her interest."[35] She abandoned her family, moved in

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[32] Infield, *The Private Lives of Eva and Adolf.*

[33] Cate Haste, *Nazi Women*, 55.

[34] A question to address is, why would this "trouble maker," outgoing girl be submissive to Hitler? I infer that it seems as though both Eva's age and the fatherly like relationship Eva and Hitler shared was a large contribution to her submissive behavior. She was treating Hitler like a substitute father in terms of loyalty and obedience, and was still rebelling against her biological father by being with Hitler.

[35] Guido Knopp, *Hitler's Women* (Routledge: New York, 2003), 9.

with the Führer of Germany, and thereafter had limited contact with any of her family members except for her sister Ilse.

Dissecting the Attraction

Perhaps Hitler was so attracted to Braun and vice versa because they were archetypes of each other. Carl Jung describes archetypes as the origin, and the self as the presence.[36] "Because 'the world exists not merely in and for itself, but also as it appears to me', and because 'no two people see the same object in the same way', their interaction involves both objective and subjective factors. Thus, on the intersubjective level," one of his biographers noted, "Jung develops a theory of gender relations based on the premise that one partner offers a form of unconscious compensation for the attitude of the consciousness of the other."[37] According to Jung, archetypes are universal. They are what form our motivational structure. Archetypes are, 'customary or habitual ways of dealing with critical situations', and so 'in any crisis in life, this archetype or another is constellated', since it is 'a sort of typical mechanism, or typical attitude, by which one settles typical problems.'[38] They manifest themselves in relationships through what individuals wish to see within others. When looking for a romantic partner, we try to complete ourselves. Thus *anima* fulfills the feminine side of men, tenderness and vulnerability, while *animus* satisfies the masculine side of women. As Paul Bishop summarizes Jung's theory, "[W]hen the heterosexual man looks at the woman, he engages with her on a conscious and on an unconscious level: consciously he sees a woman, but unconsciously he is becoming aware of another aspect of himself; his (gendered) (unconscious) 'other', his animus, and her own anima."[39]

The attributes that Hitler lacked within himself he found in Braun. Cate Haste has characterized them as opposites, "Eva smiling and laughing, excited and lively; Hitler never smiled, was stiff, awkward, and preoccupied."[40] Her outgoing, charismatic personality made up for his negative, desolate personality. Bromberg stated, "Eva's very triviality (lack of seriousness or importance) seems part of what made Hitler comfortable with her. . . . He often described her as the ideal woman, as an adoring and undemanding doll."[41] His compulsive behavior was compensated by her ability to ground him and see the bright in every situation. Nerin Gun described Braun as fulfilling her essential role of "comforting Hitler by her physical presence, by the constant assurance of her devotion, by the simple fact that she was the one person in whom he felt he could put complete trust."[42] Braun's dedication served as a source of emotional fulfillment for him.

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[36] Ann Casement, *Carl Gustav Jung* (SAGE Publications, 2001), 211.

[37] Paul Bishop, *Carl Jung* (London: Reaktion Books, Limited, 2014), 139.

[38] Bishop, *Carl Jung* 140.

[39] Casement, *Carl Gustav Jung*, 146.

[40] Haste, *Nazi Women*, 59.

[41] Bromberg and Small, *Hitler's Psychopathology*, 116.

[42] Nerin E. Gun, *Eva Braun: Hitler's Mistress* (New York: Meredith Press, 1968), 166.

Intellectually, Hitler needed a woman to counterbalance his intellect, manipulative tendencies, outbursts of rage, and obsession with politics and the war. Kershaw observed that Hitler believed Braun 'was just an attractive little thing, in whom, in spite of her inconsequential and feather-brained outlook—or perhaps just because of it—he found the type of relaxation and repose he sought.'[43] Braun was a very relaxed individual who never seemed to be focused on any stressors in life. She sought zest and distraction. Joachim Fest stated, "She was a simple, moderately attractive girl with unpretentious dreams and thoughts that were dominated by love, fashion, movies, and gossip . . . "[44] Braun had no interest in politics whatsoever, which proved helpful in their relationship since this enabled Hitler to step away from the role of the chancellor for small moments in time and simply enjoy her company. However, their separate drives to be the center of attention and frequent descents into depressive states created tensions within the relationship. Some of these can be directly explained through the attributes that Alois and Adolf Hitler shared as father and son.

The Happy Couple

The Hitler-Braun relationship from start to finish had a distinct timeline of four phases. During the first phase (1929- August 1932), Braun was nothing more than a plaything. This portion of their relationship was very one-sided. This phase culminated in Braun's depression and her first suicide attempt. The second phase of their relationship lasted from August 1932 until her second suicide attempt in May 1935. During this phase, Hitler showered her with care and affection so as to prevent her from additional self-harm. Her second suicide attempt in May 1935 marks the beginning of the third phase of their relationship, which lasted until the day they married, April 29, 1945. During this period their relationship had a dynamic rarely, if ever, witnessed by any of his colleagues, in which the pair openly teased each other.[45] She would playfully criticize him for his actions, and he, in turn, would reciprocate. Hitler and Braun each knew their roles within their relationship, yet somehow it worked. The fourth and final stage of their relationship lasted from the moment Hitler and Braun said their vows until the second they both perished, a total of thirty-six hours.

Mention of their relationship began in 1929. The multiple stages within the Braun-Hitler bond renders its longevity fascinating. Here the repeated cycles of Braun being the apple of Hitler's eye and then being neglected are noteworthy. Hitler's neglect lasted for long spans of time, such as a three-month window when Braun became quite certain his absence was for the interest of other women. She recorded her distraught feelings in her diary. On February 18, 1935, she wrote that she was, "racking [her] brains to find out why he left without saying good-bye to [her]."[46] She believed his absences were characterized by his lack of interest in her due to political involvement and new "replacements," or other women. Unfortunately, it is not clear as

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[43] Kershaw, *Hitler 1889-1936: Hubris*, 352.

[44] Fest, *Hitler*, 524.

[45] Fest, *Hitler*, 153.

[46] "Eva Braun - The Diary," http://www.evabraun.dk/evabraun6.htm (accessed 19 Oct. 2017).

to how intensely the situation was influenced by her feelings of insecurity as opposed to his philandering. Hitler's time was spent mostly in Berlin, campaigning for the chancellorship. During this time, and even when Hitler did visit, he typically ignored her. His time at home was preoccupied with dinners with cabinet members and party officials, and filled with talk of politics. There was little evidence found for Hitler ever devoting much time to Braun away from his work during the first phase of their relationship.

Throughout all phases of their relationship, including the time they did spend together and even during his leaves of absence, Eva had few boundaries. Hitler, as noted above, maintained a strictly traditional attitude towards women's behavior. Nonetheless, Braun was allowed to do more than even he believed a typical woman should do.

> Cate Haste mentioned in her text that, 'She was allowed to sing, to dance, to paint her nails with red paint, and she was even allowed to smoke a cigarette outside. Meanwhile, we had to go to the loo to smoke. (said Reinhard Spitzy) 'And there I met Generals and Ministers and with a towel we pushed out by the window the smoke, because Hitler had a very good nose, and it was forbidden to smoke. But Eva Braun was allowed everything'.[47]

Still, it was difficult for Braun to deal with the lack of attention from Hitler, and thus she searched for ways to make him notice her.[48] Her efforts were unsuccessful and led her to attempt suicide for the first time; Braun used her father's First World War pistol to shoot herself in the chest. She missed her jugular vein and was found by her younger sister.[49] Their relationship changed briefly, but sadly Braun was once again left feeling unimportant. Therefore, in 1935 Braun designed her second suicide attempt. She wrote a letter explaining her extreme dissatisfaction with her life and pleading for attention from him. She took twenty Vanodorm and was found yet again by her sister Ilse.[50] The second suicide attempt served as another a wake-up call for Hitler. The impact of this event was far more lasting than previous suicide attempts by Braun. Hitler immediately began putting Braun's needs in the forefront of his mind and making an effort to show her how important she was to him by trying to find a balance between his private life and politics.

The shift resulted in the relationship most know: allowing Braun public involvement (established member of his household), Hitler speaking highly of her, and behaving like a young couple cooing over each other. He lavished her with expensive gifts, and together they entered the final stage of their relationship, which lasted until the moment they both took their final breaths. "By 1944 Eva and Hitler had matured and so had their relationship. She had become a

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[47] Haste, *Nazi Women*, 56.

[48] Sereny, *Albert Speer*, 109. 'He hid her from everybody except his most intimate circle but at that point, even there, denied her any social standing and constantly humiliated her. It was a painful thing to see. She was really a very nice girl, young, shy and modest.' It was not just Eva who witnessed Hitler's lack of affection. Speer easily picked up on Hitler's neglectful tendencies, thus resulting in her continual search for attention.

[49] Lambert, *The Lost Life of Eva Braun*, 134.

[50] Lambert, *The Lost Life of Eva Braun*, 142-143.

wise if sometimes melancholy woman, lacking the exuberance of a young girl but kinder and more thoughtful, with a real concern for others."[51] Their relationship transitioned into a level of comfort and admiration. Hitler completely trusted her and relied upon her as a comforting mechanism. The relationship had a solid foundation of mutual respect, allowing it to flourish. Having moved beyond mere physical attraction, Hitler came to value Braun. As a result, she was willing to make the ultimate sacrifice in a demonstration of her love and loyalty to her long-time lover and now husband, Adolf Hitler.

Braun's submission should perhaps come as no surprise. Her diaries continuously mention her need to be noticed and cared for by Hitler, and her willingness to submit to whatever was asked of her so that she would receive attention. Submission was likely also a product of the clear imbalance of power within the relationship. It was a very father–daughter-like type of relationship. Although she possessed a bold personality, Germany was still a male-dominated society in which females were unequal. It seems that she was the first person he grew attached to and reliant on since his mother died. "Little by little Hitler was becoming dependent upon her- at least in that tiny enclave of his life that could be called private life."[52] In reinforcing their claim about Hitler's dependency upon Braun, Sayer and Botting have observed, "Her physical presence was a comfort to him, her devotion and trust a constant reassurance in an unsure world. She was the perfect opposite that complemented the other partner."[53] This shows a softer, more humane side of Hitler. His relationship with Braun cracked the façade of Hitler's opaque slate.

Conditional suicide was central to the last phase of their relationship. Their planned suicide was a grotesque way of sealing their love for one another. Just thirty-six hours before their deaths in April 1945, Hitler and Braun married, and Hitler kissed her on the mouth in front of his colleagues after she had pledged her loyalty to him.[54] Braun was the only woman with whom he had ever displayed affection publicly. This act was shockingly ordinary and yet revolutionary for his character; he became the gentle, loving, and "human" Adolf.

Das Ende

Hitler and Braun had an extremely multi-faceted relationship, outlined by a broad array of emotions. Initially, Braun seemed to be a toy or a diversion, but gradually the relationship shifted to something characterized by mutual gratification. This fulfillment could be analyzed through Carl Jung's archetypal perspectives; Braun was able to fill Hitler's voids and vice versa. Both background knowledge and an understanding of Hitler's psychopathology, past experiences, and childhood, allows one to draw conclusions as to why their relationship was the way it was, and to determine the reason for a shift in the relationship following Braun's suicide attempts. After Braun demonstrated her desperation for Hitler's affections with her two suicide attempts, the dynamic of their relationship changed from one-sided to mutually fulfilling, with both lovers

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[51] Lambert, *The Lost Life of Eva Braun* 374.
[52] Sayer and Botting, *The Women Who Knew Hitler* 133.
[53] Sayer and Botting, *The Women Who Knew Hitler* 133.
[54] Toland, John. *Adolf Hitler*. (Garden City: Doubleday, 1976), 869.

ending their lives in a joint suicide. "'Death matters little to me,' she [Eva] said. 'I know the end that is in store for me. . . . My place is with *him*!'"[55] Although Hitler did not record his perspective on these last days, his actions suggest that, in those last hours, he might have also said, "My place is with her."

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[55] Sayer and Botting, *The Women Who Knew Hitler*, 166.

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The Higher Segregation:
A Brief Look at African American Identity at Hanover College in the Mid-Twentieth Century
Caroline H. Brunner

Mid-twentieth-century America can be summed up as a time of volatile metamorphosis. Calls for social and political equality were gaining visibility in popular discourse, igniting a discussion that drew sharp divisions between communities. As with most social movements, the most inflammatory zones were college campuses. The free flow of ideas, coupled with the push to engage in discourse, facilitated an atmosphere primed for debate both inside and outside of the classroom. Students impassioned with newfound idealism waged ideological battles daily with their opinions on war, racism, and oppression. But for one rural, liberal arts college in southern Indiana, this was not the case. Deviating from the standard of campus culture, Hanover College in all its tradition and caliber rivaled the norm of an era that was famous for its apparent distinctiveness – especially when it came to the rise of the Civil Rights protest. The entire period of the mid-twentieth century, of course, was largely defined by the social, political, and cultural movements of the African American community. Yet while most other institutions were reacting to the national baptism by fire, the overarching theme at Hanover College was to protect the equilibrium. By doing so, rather than allowing for an impactful legacy of transformation, the Hanover College mood instead showcased an ethic of resistance that, in many ways, reflected the antithesis of its values.

The social structure of Hanover College in the 1960s and 1970s deviated from the normal characterization of higher education as a prime habitat for controversy. It seemed as though Hanover was immune to the strife of the era – tucking itself into the sylvan paradise of Southern Indiana and refusing to come out. One can imagine that some hot-button topics came forth during classroom discussions, but they never culminated into a sustained, long term, campus-wide conversation.

"I always say, that place was like a bubble." says Leroy Jenkins, who attended Hanover his first two years of college in the late 1960s. "You could basically put up a gate and lock it . . . it was like a little island. The whole world is going on around you, full of madness, but this was like a little idyllic Shangri-La." [1]

Building upon the concept of a bubble, one begins to envision a peculiar place. Although constructed and maintained by a white majority, Hanover College for the most part accepted students on the merit of their personhood. Raymond Thomas, class of 1970, describes a flexible social ladder inside the Hanover Bubble that seemingly disregarded race. "One of the things that struck me, both at the time and in hindsight, was I had a friend who was also from Ghana. His social skills were much superior to mine in some respects, so that he was able to navigate the situation a little bit more easily than I was able to. So, in terms of personal friendship, he had more of those than I did. But in other ways he was much less comfortable than I was . . . . From

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[1] Caroline Brunner, Interview with Leroy Jenkins (August 10, 2016).

where I sat as a student at that time, I thought that while there was overall a white environment in which blacks felt uncomfortable, there was also some level of – for individuals anyway – effect of what their social skills were."[2]

Corroborating Thomas' point, Leroy Jenkins also describes a neutral community structure that determined acceptance based upon how well one could adapt to the existing social architecture. "Freshman Year. First semester, I was actually very popular among the students, . . . and at that time we had class officers. And I said, 'Oh well, I think I might run for class vice president.' And then I said, 'Well, no just run for president.' And in the pool there was 3 people running for class president . . . and so I ran a fairly active campaign, but what happened was I eventually became class president because of the polarities – I was kind of the middle person . . . Therefore, I won the general election. And that showed the degree of my activity, and at that time there was still the five frats – and of course you know, that Hanover was about 90 percent Greek. So, in order to have a social life you had to be a member of a fraternity. Being a black student, I was limited in which fraternities I could join . . . . My limits were the Betas, the Lambdas, or the Fijis. And at that time, everyone had assumed that I would be a Beta . . . but I had decided that I would be a Phi Delt, but they had a race clause. They told me not to worry about the race clause, that they were getting rid of it in August. So I came back in my second year and became the first Black Phi Delt in the world."[3]

Jenkins' anecdote perfectly illustrates the way in which Hanover's social climate was unique. On a surface level for some students, race was considered wholly inconsequential for the individual, a trivial inconvenience that contributed very little to one's ability to cope within the greater campus community. For some students, this was a positive – to go about, and not be faced with the constant objection because of skin color, had a degree of liberation – but to many others, it was not.

Sarah Howard, class of 1969 (now Sarah Howard Jenkins), quickly became disenchanted with this approach. "I think . . . that may have been why I had pulled away, after graduating. Because it was so isolated . . . and I felt like people weren't really in touch with everything that was going on, what life was like for people other than middle class white students. And I recognized that at that particular point I had become disenchanted with Hanover, I was becoming aware of what people had actually thought. Their lack of knowledge about human beings . . . in this cocoon we were living in . . . ."[4]

This bubble-like effect is what a post-racial society would attribute to the idea of *colorblindness*. In their book, *Racial Formation in the Twenty-first Century*, authors Daniel HoSang, Oneka LaBennett, and Laura Pulido describe colorblindness as "an ideological frame [that] denies race should inform perceptions, shape attitudes, or influence individual or collective action."[5] In their definition, the point of colorblindness is that a society or individual can

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[2] Caroline Brunner, Interview with Raymond Thomas (August 19, 2016).

[3] Brunner, Interview with Leroy Jenkins (August 10, 2016).

[4] Caroline Brunner, Interview with Sarah Howard Jenkins (July 25, 2016).

[5] Daniel HoSang, Oneka LaBennett, and Laura Pulido, *Racial Formation in the Twenty-first Century* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012), 309.

transcend the concept of race and achieve a certain idealized unity, echoing the classic proverb, "We are all one race, the human race!"

In the context of the Hanover cultural bubble, colorblindness was not meant to encourage solidarity. Rather, it was an escape route for white students to avoid racial contention. Struggle for racial equality held little significance to the white majority, for none of them had experienced it. Race among the Hanover College student body was recognized only when it posed a threat to white individualism – or the ability of a white individual to behave in a manner unrestricted by limits of social convention regarding race.

Colorblindness does not mean that racial problems do not exist. Rather, because the element of race is ignored, so too are the issues surrounding race. This brand of racism suddenly becomes normalized and operative, rearing its head through micro-aggressive and sometimes unconscious mediums, and, being recognized little, with the only individuals aware of its existence being the targets.

In 1964 a student named David Larson met and questioned then-research consultant for the Indiana Civil Rights Commission, Dr. Donald M. Royer. A sociologist from Chicago, Royer had been brought to Hanover under the sponsorship of the campus' Civil Rights Committee. Larson's questions focused on the Civil Rights movement and Dr. Royer's personal thoughts on Hanover's maturity regarding such. "I have a feeling that the Negro revolt is passing by Hanover without being noticed," Royer told Larson, "Hanover operates within a social vacuum, and cannot be considered a real testing laboratory for civil rights. I see a need for a more conscientious student awareness of the nature and dimensions of the Negro problem. . . . There are too many factors preventing a Negro from wanting to come to Hanover – the cost, the admissions requirements, the lack of a full social life . . . ."[6]

The prevalence of racist attitudes in the context of Hanover College was shaped not by the contrast of black and white, but more by a spectrum of gray. For the mass of the student body at Hanover, apathy was the default. "The feelings of the American white are marked by ambivalence toward the Negro," wrote Aaron Woods III, class of 1969. "This ambivalence is manifested in a standard of behavior to which the Negro is expected to adhere. Any deviation from this standard constitutes an assault on the power structure. The white man becomes alarmed because the Negro has refused to accept his traditional backseat and the white man's definition of the Negro's self and identity. It is this white-imposed standard that demands the Negro to be more farseeing and patient than whites and finds virtue in non-violence, inaction, and Tomism."[7]

It was this same ambivalence born out of a colorblind ethos, that lacked just as much stamina as it did decisiveness. The very moment that the periphery of the social spectrum began to agitate the status quo, the middle of the spectrum – or the grey ambivalent majority – immediately took on more contrast and gravitated towards the margins of extreme opinion. It was not an evenly distributed polarization, however, and opinions of the masses were more inclined to shift towards intolerance and racism.

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[6] David Larson, "'Rights' Sociologist says Hanover Bypassed," *Hanover College Triangle*, January 24, 1964.
[7] Aaron Woods III, "Black Collegians Generate New Negro Mood," *Hanover College Triangle*, Dec. 12, 1967.

The apathetic mood at Hanover took on a recurring theme: someone would challenge the cultural convention in a way that brought attention, emphasis or advocacy to the social condition of African American students. "You got the occasional person," Judy Moffett says, "who would stick their heads outside the bubble. I was not the only one . . . We weren't terribly unique. Maybe on this topic we were the first, but there were other subjects. I couldn't tell you what they were, but I know there were people who weren't followers. There were some good students, people who were thoughtful." Noting that there was a small dissenting minority within the larger community allows for one to understand that there was, in some way, an existing group of dissenters who could and would push at the system. In response, the passive majority either took on racist philosophies or allowed those with racist attitudes to monopolize the matter. Even if there was no adoption of ideology amongst some, the indifference allowed for the dominant view – in this case, intolerance – to prevail.

A look at Andrew Katsanis, Jr.'s 1954 social survey on racial attitudes quantifies these complexities. Katsanis' survey is a thorough investigation into the cultural climate of mid-century Hanover. His questionnaire was completed by 477 participants, constituting, at that time, 83% of the student body.[8] And while this data preceded the era being examined in this study, it provides the fullest documentation of the dominant general sentiments of the principal class of the student body, a class that stayed relatively static in terms of socioeconomic stratum, ethnic identity, age, and educational background moving forward.

The analysis of the data collected by Katsanis' shows an overwhelming majority of students favored the admittance of black students into the college. Even more students were "willing to work with Negroes on committees, work projects, live in the same dormitory, and eat at the same table, and participate in all school activities with them." However, on issues that required greater personal involvement in the overarching problem of racism, one can see the shifts in the spectrum's dynamic. While roughly half the students questioned would accept a black student as a friend, only about 38% of them would be willing to room with a black student. And while half the students in Greek-letter organizations were willing to accept black students into the fold of their institution, only 9% would go against the race clauses of the National ruling body that barred African American members.[9]

In the context of this data, the emphasis must be put on where and when blackness was not allowed. Black Hanover students were very much accepted as a part of the community, but they could not expect to receive accommodation for their blackness. Anytime blackness encountered the white student's individualism – whether in regard to his privacy or to his organization – it posed a threat. Most of the contentions that developed between white and black students at Hanover during the 1960s thus did not reflect the image of brutality and violence that

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[8] Andrew Katsanis, Jr., "A Study of Certain Attitudes of the Hanover Student Body Regarding Negroes," *Hanover College Triangle*, Jan. 9, 1954.

[9] Katsanis, "A Study of Certain Attitudes of the Hanover Student Body Regarding Negroes." Author's note: Through the interviewee's narrative and the data presented by Katsanis, it is clear that Hanover College's social sphere in that day was dominated by sorority or fraternity involvement. 228 of the 477 students who participated in Katsanis's survey were Greek.

characterized the era on other campuses across the country. Rather, it constituted a mood of indifference – the gray area – that never gave room to intercultural conversations that manifested itself in the form of subtle "racisms."

"I assumed that, I thought that Hanover students, were . . . a little more enlightened," Sarah Howard Jenkins, class of 1969, says. "I lived in Donner hall; my roommate was from Richmond, Indiana; Phoebe was her name. . . . Phoebe and I got along really well. Most of the people on my floor were Indiana natives. We all got along really well, but I made a discovery that they were curious about things like . . . if I had a tail or not; I mean you would think that an intelligent human being living in the 60s, would know that black people do not have tails! We are human beings; we just have a different shade of skin. And I think I was just, amazed, that in that day and time, that people could be so . . . naïve about another human being . . . to have [ignorance of such an extreme level] exist at the college level, especially at an institution at the caliber of Hanover was surprising to me . . . ."[10]

Alongside these behaviors, it also must be noted that the more insidious and micro-aggressive forms of racism in this condition take on a certain nuance that deserves attention. Many of the Hanover students had never seen African Americans before, and, as a result, had never studied or been close to them.[11] Under conditions of such an overwhelming lack of diversity, tension develops whenever someone different from those who typically inhabit the space (such as a person of color) enters – or, in the perspective of those dominating the space, intrudes.[12]

In her 1963 article, entitled "Why We Are So Similar," Judy Moffett discussed the issue of homogenous demographics at Hanover College. Here she explains that the reason that colleges such as Hanover fail successfully to establish diverse atmosphere is because the current college climate can only accommodate a white cultural context. Hanover College's location, cost, and current student demographics all contributed to an unpreparedness of administration and student community to properly integrate, not just on a political level, but culturally and racially.[13]

Sarah Howard Jenkin's anecdote reflects this, and calls emphasis to how the quality of blackness – a term that refers not only to the state of 'being black,' but also to engagement in the *culture* that surrounds 'being black' – affected her role in a community that was neither prepared nor willing to accept it. As an anomaly, she was dubbed as an 'other.' As a tactical mechanism of establishing identity, the process of 'othering' is when one individual exploits the difference between oneself and another – usually within the larger strata of society – in order to define oneself in opposition of the other individual.[14] Using racist frameworks, groups can use the method of 'othering' to fabricate labels and create stereotypes. It's the sociological dramatization

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[10] Brunner, Interview with Sarah Howard Jenkins (July 25, 2016).

[11] Brunner, Interview with Sarah Howard Jenkins (July 25, 2016).

[12] Elijah Anderson, "The White Space," *Sociology of Race and Ethnicity* 1 (2015): 5, 17, 13.

[13] Judy Moffett, "Why We Are So Similar," *Hanover College Triangle*, November 8, 1963.

[14] Simon de Beauvoir, *The Second Sex*, trans. H. M. Parshley (Hammondsworth, Middlesex, U.K.: Penguin, 1949), first used the label "Other" to refer to women, who had long been the "second" sex.

of a clique, characterizing individuals based on myths while never actually encountering the validity of such.

Anderson argues that this interplay between the White Space dynamics and the resulting tribal attitudes equates in a cultural tension that finds the dominant white group relying on its misinformed perceptions to justify behavior. "Whites and others often stigmatize anonymous black persons by associating them with the putative danger, crime, and poverty of the iconic ghetto, typically leaving blacks with much to prove before being able to establish trusting relations with them."[15] These initial aggressions upon entering the White Space require black students to ever be conscious of their blackness. They must acknowledge that what makes them different is not as a source of pride, but of obstacle. It never explicitly denies acceptance into the fold, but it constitutes that in order to be accepted, blackness has to be censored.

The paradox of 'we accept you, not your blackness' that has been alluded to thus far, is a concept outlined by W. E. B. DuBois in his essay, *The Strivings of the Negro People.* In this work, there is a moment of decohesion that strikingly echoes other moments brought forth in interviews from alumni. "Being a problem is a strange experience," DuBois states, "peculiar even for one who has never been anything else . . . It is in the early days of rollicking boyhood that the revelation first bursts upon one, all in a day as it were . . . something put it to the boys' and girls' heads to buy gorgeous visiting cards – ten cents a package – and exchange. The exchange was merry, till one girl, a tall newcomer, refused my card . . . Then it dawned upon me with a certain suddenness that I was different from the others; or like, mayhap in heart and life and longing but shut out from their world by a vast veil."[16]

The constant awareness of difference, and the following inner turmoil, is characterized by DuBois as being a sense of two-ness. In one soul, he has his blackness – the legacy of strife and unique cultural contribution that deserves a place in the consciousness of Americanism; In the other soul, lies the American – or rather the one that identifies with the consciousness of Americanism in the first place.[17] Through this juxtaposition, DuBois puts Americanism at war with blackness – which is very telling about the nature of both these aspects.

In the context of Hanover College, Aaron Woods III authored a particularly compelling article in the 1967 issue of *The Hanover College Triangle*, Hanover College's student newspaper, regarding the construct of identity in a predominately white space, and how an African American man or woman navigates it: "Traditionally, when the infrequent negro was accepted at a white campus he was so elated that he worked frantically to become what he imagined the proper negro gentleman in a white environment [would be]. In his attempts to attain

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[15] Anderson, "The White Space," 13. Anderson argues previously (p. 11) that the "ghetto" is a representation of a black spaces because of social systems that have fenced in African Americans there: "This 'place' was established during slavery and shaped by a history of state sanctioned racial segregation. As blacks arrived and settled in cities, they were typically contained in ghettos, a process vividly described in works by W. E. B. Du Bois (1899); Robert E. Park, Ernest Burgess, and Rod McKenzie (1925); St. Clair Drake and Horace Cayton (1945); E. F. Frazier (1962); Kenneth B. Clark (1965); William J. Wilson (1978, 1987); Douglas Massey and Nancy Denton (1998); and me (Anderson 1978, 1990, 1999)."

[16] W. E. B. Du Bois, "Strivings of the Negro People," *The Atlantic Monthly*, August 1897, 194.

[17] Du Bois, "Strivings of the Negro People."

the proper image he found himself confronted with an identity crisis and became what might to be best termed a 'white n--_____.' Even though in the midst of the flow of activities and at the paramount of acceptance made possible by his assimilation, he became isolated from his true self by having to conform to standards and values that held little meaning and enrichment for him, since he could never realize the fruits of these values in a hostile color conscious society."[18]

Anderson would describe this as one of the survival techniques for black students in white spaces. "Individual blacks are required to show that the ghetto stereotypes do not apply to them; in effect, they perform to be accepted. This performance can be as deliberate as dressing well and speaking in an educated way or as simple as producing an ID or a driver's license in situations in which this would never be demanded of whites. Depending on how well the black person performs or negotiates, he or she may 'pass inspection,' gaining provisional acceptance from the immediate audience."[19]

Using a DuBois based perspective, Woods believes the othering of African Americans acts as a censorship of black culture. Much like DuBois, Woods notes that there is a crisis of black identity when he or she is alienated from his blackness in order to promote 'Americanism.' According to his experience in a predominately white space, as long as a black man or woman disguised his blackness, and performed the role that would have him or her accepted – their "otherness" would be diminished. Woods says that once a black man or woman who has been confined within himself or herself for assimilative purposes "sees the situation in it's true light" or rather, recognizes the whitewashing of self and limitation of autonomy, then it is hard to reconcile the "bitter emotions."[20]

"The result of these factors is formation of Afro or all black clubs or societies" says Woods. "Afro black groups are formed for various reasons. Among them is the feeling that the curriculum in the American universities has omitted or degraded the Afro- American contribution to the nation's history." The issue of teaching the role of the African American in education plays a huge part in creating an oppression spaces that leads to groups that encourage the emphasis of "Afro-American-ness." Consider this excerpt from Carter Woodson's *The Miseducation of the Negro:* "Much of what [universities] have taught as economics, literature, religion, and philosophy is propaganda . . . When a Negro has finished his education in our schools, then he has been equipped to begin the life of an Americanized or European white man...The education of the Negroes then, the most important thing in the uplift of Negroes is entirely in the hands of those who have enslaved them . . . The present system under the control of the whites trains the Negro to be white and at the same time convinces him of the impropriety or impossibility of his becoming white."[21]

Sarah Howard also noted this in an article written in 1968, aimed at a certain 'Mr. Phelan.' This piece was written in response to Phelan's argument regarding to the 'proper' – in

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[18] Aaron Woods III, "Black Collegians Generate New Negro Mood," *Hanover College Triangle*, December 12, 1967.

[19] Anderson, "The White Space," 13.

[20] Woods, "Black Collegians," 2.

[21] Carter Woodson, *The Mis-Education of the Negro* (Washington, D.C.: Africa World Press, 1990).

his mind – response to the questions of the plight of African Americans. Phelan's answer was quite straightforward, but also sensible: education! By taking the black student out of his ignorance, African Americans would be perfectly equipped to serve society. As outlined by Carter Woodson, however, American education in many ways had perverted knowledge to serve as agitprop. Howard noted further, "One element which Mr. Phelan omitted in his basic presupposition was that the Negro of today is seeking a sense of dignity – a renewed faith in himself as a human being. The Negro has been stripped of his dignity, manhood, and self-respect...The 'Black Power' movement of today is but a means of reaffirming and re-establishing the Negro's love of self . . . to use Mr. Phelan's plan at Hanover would add insult to injury."[22]

In reference to richer African American students, Howard questioned why someone with high qualifications would consider coming to Hanover when the college could not offer them anything profoundly exceptional. To attract and retain such students, Hanover would have to adapt drastically to accommodate blackness. "Firstly, [Hanover] must add courses oriented toward the black aspects of the American Culture; Negro History, Negro Literature, or Contemporary African History. Secondly, rid the campus of Greek organizations which have religious and/or racial clauses, agreements, etc."[23] Finally, Howard suggested something that goes back to reference the idea of the Hanover Cultural Bubble: "[Hanover must be given] an injection called 'life.' The Negro Youth have been more exposed to the rudiments of life than his white counterpart and to be shipped to a 'security island' is a backward step for him."[24]

Without overtly saying it, Howard's article is echoing Woodson and Woods, by contesting that there is no outlet for the expression of blackness and consequentially the black Hanoverian cannot realize themselves fully. The constant sanitization of self leads to frustration, and feelings of demoralization. The creation of Afro groups is a result of the lack of visibility given to the role of African Americans in not just the past, but in the contemporary. Woods makes clear that these groups provide a sense of community that allows the African American student a place that does not require the augmentation of his existence. As alluded to by Joe R. Feagin, Hernan Vera, and Nikitah Imani in *The Agony of Education: Black Students at White Colleges and Universities*, desegregation was not a mutual exchange that resulted in creation of cultural discussion, but rather a project to push the black student into the white mold and call it diversity.[25] Afro black groups directly challenge and, as Woods states, "reject white culture."[26]

However simple in design, the spectrum of racial attitudes at Hanover proved to be an expression of a complex and delicate status quo. In the words of Judy Moffett: "Hanover College was a subdued powder keg of racial intolerance, despite the image of rural sleepiness it projects."[27] The turn of students from passive or ignorant "racisms" to active or explicit displays

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[22] Sarah Howard, "Alternate Plan for Race Relations," *Hanover College Triangle*, May 14, 1968.

[23] Howard, "Alternate Plan for Race Relations."

[24] Howard, "Alternate Plan for Race Relations."

[25] Joe R. Feagin, Hernan Vera, and Nikitah Imani, *The Agony of Education: Black Students at White Colleges and Universities* (New York: Routledge, 1996), 13.

[26] Woods, "Black Collegians."

[27] Judy Moffett, "They Also Serve," *Colorado State University Collegian*, Oct. 20, 1964.

of intolerance required minimal agitation of the existing cultural frame work. Moffett herself witnessed this first hand in her senior year when she, and fellow student Robb Baker, decided to found a student chapter of the NAACP at Hanover. The intention was to target local vendors, like barber and soda shops, to persuade them to give service to the African American students.

"The college president dissuaded me." writes Moffett, "Leery of any campus organization subject to external control, he 'suggested' that was organize independently . . . and tread prudently with one eye on the trustees." It was then that Moffett organized an open call meeting for any interested students, anticipating that those in attendance would be just that.

> I got up and led the meeting and said a few words about why we had decided to try and start a group like this, and what our goals were. Mainly, for instance, to try and get more information about the situation, what the policies were, and then see what we could do about it if anything. But it seemed to be something that needed attention to be paid to it . . . And then a hand went up, and I called on the person, and he said, "Why are you really starting this group?" Very defensive. And I wasn't expecting that! I had just explained what we were starting.
>
> But I did learn within the two days was that all the Greeks organizations thought the administration had put some independents up to raising this question in order to expose the sororities and fraternities as segregated. I didn't know it was segregated, I didn't care about it. They didn't mean anything to me, it didn't occur to me that black students weren't in them I just assumed they had better sense. And I was flabbergasted, first that they hadn't believed what I said, and second that they were segregated. And several of my friends, who were in Greek life, quit because they didn't know it was segregated either. So, a certain amount of consciousness raising did happen as a result of this, but mostly I found out was that the student body as a whole did not support this proposal, because they had self-interest at stake.[28]

From that point, Moffett's attempt to create a fully functioning and resourced organization was stunted by opposition – perhaps not demonstrative, but wholly ideological. The aim of the proposed organization had turned inward, focusing now on campus discrimination. Thusly igniting a cold war of ethics, as Greek organizations – concluding that "the administration was using [the organization] to get rid of the sororities and fraternities because of their constitutional or de facto segregation" – now actively worked to stunt whatever activity the committee attempted.[29]

In a 1962 issue of the *Hanover Triangle*, David Larson wrote about the condition of the fraternities regarding race and the surrounding college perspective. The research question asked by Larson and his peers was simple: Does an African American student have equal opportunity in all phases of the Hanover Academic community? "It is reasonably certain that in the areas of administration and faculty, no racial discrimination of any kind is involved . . . within the student

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[28] Brunner, Interview with Judy Moffett (September 12, 2016).

[29] Moffett, "They Also Serve."

body, however, there is one area of racial discrimination and this relates to the membership requirements of fraternities and sororities." Larson continued on to describe the situation, detailing that all college-owned property was required to be accessible to all, no matter race, color or creed.[30] The interesting point of Larson's article, however, is the last section – wherein Larson mentioned that student's involvement and management of change was the only way to ensure proper action is taken. Larson directly challenged students to realize that by overlooking the responsibility of reform, they were abandoning the tenets of the College's values and destroying their own status. As mentioned by Moffett, the characterization of motivation was self-interest. The Cultural Bubble of Hanover College would always prevail as long as the students elected to perpetuate it. Inside of Moffett's narrative was the blueprint to the framework of the spectrum model, a disturbance in the cultural stasis, that triggers a shift from apathy to aggression, and then sustains itself with the execution of purposeful, but indirectly racist objectives.

Following the publication of Larson's essay, a letter was sent to the Editors of the Triangle – signed anonymously under the name "CONCERNED PARENT." In the short but telling letter, one can see the aspects of white individualism being threatened by blackness or the support of blackness. In reference to a report of an institution mandating that it's Greek affiliated houses integrate by 1965, the sender vehemently refutes that "social fraternities should not be denied the right to determine their standards of membership granted to them by two vital amendments to the *Constitution of the United States of America*: the right to 'peaceable assembly' and to the privacy of the 'houses' and 'papers' of all citizens."[31] The "concerned parent" asserts that social rights are just as fundamental as civil rights, and that by confusing the two, mandated integration is violating the personal freedoms of affiliated students.

On April 7, 1969, *The Triangle* published the first in a series of unique articles that focused on the black experience at Hanover. The collection of articles, initially advertised as four but concluding in the second installment of the series, were based on recorded conversations of thirteen African American students. Moderated by Sarah Howard, participants engaged in panel-like discussions of varying topics and offered candid perspectives of the administration, faculty and students. These conversations were then transcribed, made anonymous, and edited for final publication. In 2016, several alumni present at the 1969 panel were interviewed for the present project; oddly, many failed to recall this 1969 panel ever having happened, while others were unable to say definitively which comments might have been theirs.

The content of these 1969 conversations, however, is particularly striking because it perfectly expresses the spectrum of opinion within the small black community at Hanover. Many points of discussion produced intensely sharp divisions amongst the group, while the ones that drew consensus reveal nuances of the black experience that otherwise are lost from an outsider's perspective.

The first topic of discussion tackled by the panel was centered on the student relationships with the faculty and thoughts on how those relationships could serve to benefit – or

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[30] David Larson, "HC Greeks to Face Racial Problems," *Hanover College Triangle*, April 3, 1964.
[31] Concerned Parent, "Letter to the Editor," *Hanover College Triangle*, April 24, 1964.

impede – each individual. The answers brought forward sharply contrast one another, as some students claim that they had a healthy relationship while others critique the professors and expressed their wishes for a more diverse faculty. "I can agree with some points about the faculty being very good," says one student identified as Participant N, "My only complaint is that there is not one black person on the faculty. And I think, as a black, there should be a black person I can go to for advice in some regard. I need someone who will understand my field as a black person, and to tell me or to guide me or to warn about downfalls, whereas a white person can tell me so much, I mean he's not a black, he can't fairly understand me or what I'm after or where I'm trying to go."[32]

This grievance was met with varying shades of approval and disapproval, as participant K makes a very bold and polarizing statement: "Well, actually my feelings are, personally, that all black people should leave Hanover College and no blacks should be allowed to go here. My feeling is that Hanover should be totally white . . . I don't think Hanover has anything to offer any black person in the entire country . . . ."[33]

Here, we see several students rush to either condemn or confirm the statement. Participant N is of the latter. "I agree with K. Unless this school becomes desegregated to the point where there is total equality – and when I say equality I mean freedom, the freedom to join and participate in any and everything . . . I'm not talking about phony Greek societies. I'm talking about in your department. For example, When I say I want someone to talk to, I don't mean to tell me where to go, because I'm going to make my decision myself . . . I want a man who has more experience, a grown up above me who has been through where I am going to go, who can tell me when to watch . . . there may be a branch there, you step a little you might not trip. For example, I went to a certain professor, and I said I wanted suggestions for the best graduate school to apply to. He says to me; I should go to Indiana University where [I have] an "in" there. Well, IU is an ass of a school – pardon me – it has a rotten X department. He says you can't get away from your blackness, why not go to an easy school." [34]

By unpacking this, one can come to several conclusions. First, one can tease out the nature of the racial climate through different perceptions. Participant N and K are voicing their disdain for a system that they feel is actively putting them at a disadvantage, whereas there are several other voices that directly contrast these accounts, such as participant H, who said that N and K just want an easy way out and a black college professor that will tailor their needs. This highlights an interesting intra-group dynamic between the different personalities. It shows that the African American students were extremely diverse in opinion and didn't totally have a completely homogenous experience at Hanover.

Second, it shows the intricacies of the student – faculty interactions. This intimate look is reflective of the way Judy Moffett and Leroy Jenkins claim that Hanover College was not properly equipped to handle black students. It also demonstrates a quality of Aaron Wood's thesis of cultural identity and the creation of black groups being wrought out of this need to join

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[32] "14 Campus Blacks Discuss the College," *Hanover College Triangle*, April 7, 1969.
[33] "14 Campus Blacks Discuss the College."
[34] "14 Campus Blacks Discuss the College."

in community with those of a collective experience. Instead in this instance one is not seeing a need for relatable peers; rather, we are seeing a yearning for a mentor who can relate to the students in a way that can address culturally specific questions that professors who are not from the same context would not understand.

The question of the administration can be summed up in a simple section of the interview where one of the participants asks the others if they believe the administrations is really dedicated to improving conditions for African American students, to which the others unanimously agree, "No."[35] As one student put it, "I think the students perpetuate the system, [but] the faculty helps it, I think you'd gain something from staying here, but I think you lose something in the long run." [36]

In the words of another, who seems to echo elements of Aaron Woods' article, "It seems like to come here, you have to pay a price to be a part of the system . . . I mean, it seems every encounter I've had with the administration has been unpleasant. They get in here and try to get me to fall in line and you know the first time it happened, I laughed, but the second time I realized the man was not kidding and it wasn't funny. They will pick you out of a bunch and say, 'We're going to make an example out of you.' It would be different if I had actually violated a college rule but the thing they have against you is your attitude . . . what does my attitude have to do with studies?" [37]

Here, one can see what can be believed to be an effect of a colorblind system through the question of black identity. While the administration was not targeting students overtly because of their race, the administrator's perception of that race influenced the way they looked at that student's actions and personality; leading them to hold onto their prejudices, while alleging that their contentions were towards individuals. Even though the administrators were not actively seeking to politically re-segregate, they still held African American students to a different standard than the white students. In his interview, Leroy Jenkins touched on the administration's behavior towards him, and the other black students. "Dean [Glen Leo] Bonsett, the Dean of students, was a mess. He was the prime enemy, he was one of the reasons that I was like, I have to get out of here. He just did not have a clue. He was one of those people I think who did the job, did it cause he had to, but I think, he would have preferred the school to have been all white and he never really made any special effort . . . I was on scholarship, and I worked, I worked on Campus – Sophomore year I was a busboy at a sorority house and Freshman year I worked at the bowling alley and all this kind of stuff. So because my mom was a single parent, and she sacrificed, and bought me a car – a little GW. And so I had this car, and Bonsett took great offense with me having a car. I mean with me being on scholarship and how could I afford this car, I mean it was just . . . just very negative. And, he threatened my scholarship, and said, 'Well, I don't know if you'll have that next year.'"[38]

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[35] "14 Campus Blacks Discuss the College."

[36] "14 Campus Blacks Discuss the College."

[37] "Talk Centers on Naïve Whites," *Hanover College Triangle*, May 8, 1969.

[38] Brunner, Interview with Leroy Jenkins (August 10, 2016).

As far as their relationship with students, the black panelists varied in opinion and degree of intensity. They generally agreed, however, that white students "perpetuated Hanover's whiteness,"[39] and tended to be subtler about their racism. "But in some respects, that's worse than the admitted white bigot from the south [because you at least know where they stand]." said one panelist. In some ways, the students found their experience at Hanover rewarding simply because they believed they were learning how to navigate the white man's world. However, all 14 students agreed unanimously that they would not come to Hanover knowing "what they knew now." One student even went as far as visiting every African American senior in their hometown that had alluded about possible attendance at Hanover and dissuaded them. "All I had to say was, Look, . . . this ain't it. No matter what this man tells you, that ain't what's happening."[40]

Hanover College during the 1960s and 1970s was a place of nuance. It was a sterilized environment, with its culture catering to and operating solely through the influence of white students. This contrasted with the national narrative in more ways than one. First, the evidence of racism was colored more by indirectness and ignorance than by outright hatred. Second, the community as a whole was able to maintain white individualism with little resistance. And third, the national mood was volatile and uncertain; while Hanover College achieved a floating stagnancy that in some way kept everyone from drowning, it also never allowed for forward progress.

It was through mechanisms such as the cultural bubble and the spectrum that Hanover manifested its perpetual lukewarmness. And while it never decidedly elected a posture more explicit than faint distaste, it was the implicit social conditioning and subtleties present that defined Hanover's racial atmosphere concretely. The condition of Hanover in this mid-twentieth century context is an interesting case study because it seems to also provide contextualization for the current climate, much of which has stayed the same. But perhaps through the analysis of the past, the students of today can facilitate a shift that would decisively champion justice, equality and right.

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[39] Brunner, Interview with Leroy Jenkins (August 10, 2016).

[40] Brunner, Interview with Leroy Jenkins (August 10, 2016).

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Remembering "The Lutheran Reformation:

500 Years Later Symposium" at Hanover College

Commemorating the 500th Anniversary of

Luther's *Ninety-Five Theses,*

October 31, 1517 — October 31, 2017

INTRODUCTION
J. Michael Raley

As the fall of 2017 and the 500th anniversary of the posting of Martin Luther's *Ninety-Five Theses* (October 31, 1517 – October 31, 2017) approached, I decided to offer an introductory Luther seminar in which the students, in addition to a few select secondary articles and Roland Bainton's bestselling biography, *Here I Stand: A Life of Martin Luther*, would spend most of their time closely reading original works by the reformer in translation. This would allow them critically to discuss works such as the *Ninety-Five Theses*; Luther's sermon, *Two Kinds of Righteousness* (1519); some of his major treatises, including *On the Babylonian Captivity of the Church* (1520), *Appeal to the German Nobility* (1520), *On the Freedom of the Christian* (1520), *On Secular Authority* (1523), and *On the Keys* (1530); Erasmus's essay *On the Freedom of the Will* (1524) alongside Luther's blistering response, *On the Bondage of the Will* (1525); Luther's controversial diatribe during the Peasants' War of 1525, *Against the Robbing and Murdering Hordes of Peasants*; his two Catechisms of 1529 along with his revisions of the Catholic Mass in Latin and German, the *Formula Missae* (1523) and *Deutsche Messe* (1526); and a selection of Luther hymns, including "A Mighty Fortress Is Our God."

Just prior to that fall and still during the summer of 2017, Hanover College President Lake Lambert III suggested that we might also have gift funds available for a rare Luther publication exhibit in Duggan Library overseen by Hanover College Archivist Jennifer Duplaga that would both complement the seminar and also would call attention publicly to the upcoming 500th anniversary of that single event which above all others, seen with hindsight, had marked the beginning of the Protestant Reformation. These rare works included a 1530 first edition of Luther's *On the Keys* printed at Wittenberg by Hans Lufft, a 1520 edition of Luther's *On Usury* printed at Basel by Adam Petri, and two Luther sermons from the funeral of Elector John of Saxony printed at Nürnberg in 1532, all obtained on loan from the Remnant Trust. To these were added a facsimile edition of the 1534 *Luther Bibel* from my own collection, along with other related materials and select copies of the American Edition of *Luther's Works*, the official English translation for which Hanover College Professor Miriam Pittinger's father, Jaroslav Pelikan, had long served as general editor.

Since we were now planning both a Luther seminar and a Luther rare book exhibit, it seemed only logical that we should expand this further to host a symposium celebrating the 500th anniversary itself on October 31st (All Hallows' Eve, better known today as All Saints' Eve). The program for *The Lutheran Reformation: 500 Years Later Symposium* is printed below (pp. 101-116). As part of the program, I had announced to the students enrolled in the Luther seminar on the first day of the semester (Monday, September 4, 2017) that, because of the upcoming anniversary, their first research paper would be due just four weeks later and that the authors of those whose essays were judged to be the best would be invited to revise and read their polished papers at the Luther Symposium on October 31st. Only one of these students had studied Luther or the Protestant Reformation prior to enrolling in this course, and three of them were first-semester freshmen at Hanover College. In the end, to these students' credit, six were chosen

from the seminar, along with one other student from another class, to present at the symposium. They continued editing and improving their essays right up until the day of the symposium, and they also worked hard as they honed their oral skills in advance of their presentations. Each of the remaining students in the class assisted with the symposium in various other ways, ranging from setting up tables, directional signs, and preparing packets for the symposium to playing Martin Luther in a mock reenactment of the supposed posting by Luther of his *Ninety-Five Theses* to the door of our chapel (in lieu of the Castle Church at Wittenberg). Several Hanover College faculty members also participated in the symposium in various capacities, ranging from presenting conference papers and giving the keynote luncheon address to introducing speakers or panel discussions and helping in other less prominent ways. Meanwhile, many guests and Hanover College students attended the various sessions scheduled throughout the day. That evening, we were all privileged to a fine dinner at the home of President and Mrs. Lambert, followed by the Cornelius and Anna Cook O'Brien History Lecture, "The Importance of Luther's *95 Theses*: Then and Now," given by John D. Roth, Ph.D., Professor of History, Goshen College, and Director of the Institute for the Study of Global Anabaptism, who had recently participated in a Luther seminar at Wittenberg and who also had been a strong advocate for reconciliation between Lutherans and Anabaptists.

When considering what, if anything, from this important symposium to include in the 2018 *Hanover Historical Review*, the Editorial Board ultimately decided that we should publish the program from the symposium along with the texts of the seven Hanover College student papers, exactly as they were presented at the symposium on October 31, 2017, without any further expansion or revision, as a matter of permanent record. As noted above, six of these papers were researched, drafted, edited, and, ultimately, presented at the symposium within a span of eight weeks as part of the Luther seminar. While the pressing time factor precluded more expansive research at the secondary level (that is, interpretive articles and books written by modern scholars), these essays more than compensate in their close reading and critical analyses of the respective Luther texts under consideration. Indeed, each of the seven essays addresses a different, albeit critical doctrinal issue in the early teaching of Martin Luther. Collectively, they offer a composite picture of the complex reformer during the impactful initial decade of the Protestant Reformation.

The Lutheran Reformation: 500 Years Later Symposium

Hanover College
Tuesday, October 31, 2017

Lucas Cranach the Elder, *Portrait of Martin Luther* (1529), Oil on Panel, Hessisches Landesmuseum Darmstadt

Luther's *Ninety-Five Theses*

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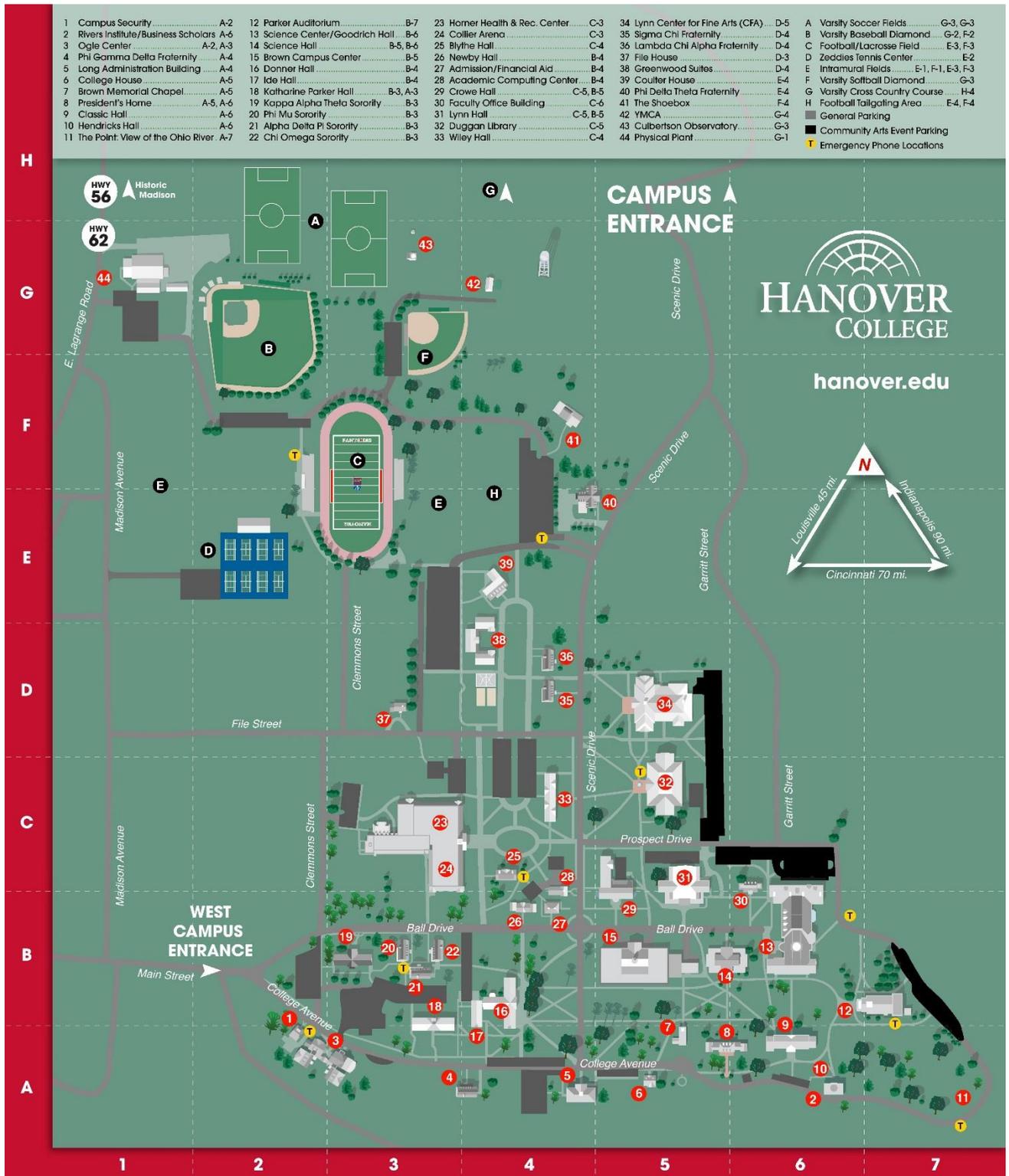*Hanover Historical Review* Board

Video Recording

V. Lori Hedges

Sodexo

Michaela Owens

Hanover College Campus Map

#			#			#			#					
1	Campus Security	A-2	12	Parker Auditorium	B-7	23	Horner Health & Rec. Center	C-3	34	Lynn Center for Fine Arts (CFA)	D-5	A	Varsity Soccer Fields	G-3, G-3
2	Rivers Institute/Business Scholars	A-6	13	Science Center/Goodrich Hall	B-6	24	Collier Arena	C-3	35	Sigma Chi Fraternity	D-4	B	Varsity Baseball Diamond	G-2, F-2
3	Ogle Center	A-2, A-3	14	Science Hall	B-5, B-6	25	Blythe Hall	C-4	36	Lambda Chi Alpha Fraternity	D-4	C	Football/Lacrosse Field	E-3, F-3
4	Phi Gamma Delta Fraternity	A-4	15	Brown Campus Center	B-5	26	Newby Hall	B-4	37	File House	D-3	D	Zeddies Tennis Center	E-2
5	Long Administration Building	A-4	16	Donner Hall	B-4	27	Admission/Financial Aid	B-4	38	Greenwood Suites	D-4	E	Intramural Fields	E-1, F-1, E-3, F-3
6	College House	A-5	17	Ide Hall	B-4	28	Academic Computing Center	B-4	39	Coulter House	E-4	F	Varsity Softball Diamond	G-3
7	Brown Memorial Chapel	A-5	18	Katharine Parker Hall	B-3, A-3	29	Crowe Hall	C-5, B-5	40	Phi Delta Theta Fraternity	E-4	G	Varsity Cross Country Course	H-4
8	President's Home	A-5, A-6	19	Kappa Alpha Theta Sorority	B-3	30	Faculty Office Building	C-6	41	The Shoebox	F-4	H	Football Tailgating Area	E-4, F-4
9	Classic Hall	A-6	20	Phi Mu Sorority	B-3	31	Lynn Hall	C-5, B-5	42	YMCA	G-4		General Parking	
10	Hendricks Hall	A-6	21	Alpha Delta Pi Sorority	B-3	32	Duggan Library	C-5	43	Culbertson Observatory	G-3		Community Arts Event Parking	
11	The Point: View of the Ohio River	A-7	22	Chi Omega Sorority	B-3	33	Wiley Hall	C-4	44	Physical Plant	G-1	T	Emergency Phone Locations	

HWY 56 — Historic Madison

HWY 62

CAMPUS ENTRANCE

HANOVER COLLEGE

hanover.edu

N

Louisville 45 mi.
Indianapolis 90 mi.
Cincinnati 70 mi.

E. Lagrange Road

Madison Avenue

Clemmons Street

File Street

Madison Avenue

Clemmons Street

WEST CAMPUS ENTRANCE

Main Street

College Avenue

Ball Drive

Scenic Drive

Garritt Street

Prospect Drive

Ball Drive

College Avenue

PANTHERS

Martin Luther and the *Ninety-Five Theses*

In 1515, Pope Leo X renewed the plenary indulgence, allowing Catholics to contribute to the rebuilding of St. Peter's Basilica at Rome and, at the same time, through the indulgence reduce the amount of time that they or their deceased loved ones would spend in Purgatory. Meanwhile, Albrecht of Brandenburg, recently appointed Archbishop of Mainz along with his previous positions as Archbishop of Magdeburg and Administrator of the diocese of Halberstadt, saw a solution to the enormous debt he had incurred in obtaining his third papal appointment (this, moreover, without having attained the minimum age of 35 required by canon law). Albrecht would authorize the sale of the indulgence for St. Peter's throughout the archdiocese of Magdeburg by the Dominican Johann Tetzel, 50% of the proceeds from which would go to repaying his debt to the Fugger family. This allowed Tetzel to sell the indulgence right up to the border with Electoral Saxony, but not within it, because Elector Frederick the Wise refused to sanction its sale within his territory. In preaching the indulgence to German audiences Tetzel is reported to have claimed, "The moment that the coin in the coffer rings, the soul from Purgatory springs."

Meanwhile, Martin Luther, an Augustinian friar, priest, and Professor of the Bible at the University of Wittenberg, had grown disillusioned with acts of penance such as the viewing of relics and undertaking of pilgrimages, along with the sale and purchase of indulgences. Rather than performing such acts, he insisted, the devout Christian should instead be living a life of faith, grounded in Scripture and focused upon repentance and displaying love and concern towards one's neighbor. In Luther's view, the parishioners from his church who had crossed over the border to journey to nearby Jüterbog to hear Tetzel preach and then had purchased indulgences were being deceived. Even worse, their souls were in mortal danger as a result. The situation was so dire that it called for drastic and immediate action.

On October 31st, 1517, All Hallows' Eve, the day before Elector Frederick would once again display his enormous collection of relics for viewing (in return for a donation) by his subjects on All Saints' Day (November 1st), Luther sent *Ninety-Five Theses* in Latin for a proposed *Disputation on the Power of Indulgences* to Albrecht of Mainz, who in turn forwarded them on to Rome. Legend has it that Luther also appended a copy of the *Ninety-Five Theses* to the door of the Castle Church at Wittenberg on that same day at noon (though a later account by Melanchthon claims this occurred at Vespers), and soon thereafter they appeared in print in Latin and also as a German translation, quickly becoming a best seller throughout Germany. With hindsight, scholars look to Luther's *Ninety-Five Theses* as the beginning of the Protestant Reformation.

Program Overview

8:00-8:45 AM: REGISTRATION AND PROGRAM DISTRIBUTION (Classic Hall Lobby)

9:00-9:30 AM: WELCOME, J. Michael Raley, and OPENING ADDRESS, President Lake Lambert (Science Center 137)

9:30-10:30 AM: SYMPOSIUM SESSION I (Science Center 137)

10:45-11:45 AM: ADDRESS, PANEL DISCUSSION AND VIEWING OF THE REMNANT TRUST LUTHER RARE BOOK EXHIBIT (Joseph Wood Evans Memorial Special Collections and Archives Center, Duggan Library)

12:00 NOON: COMMEMORATIVE POSTING OF THE *NINETY-FIVE THESES* (Brown Memorial Chapel)

12:15-1:30 PM: LUNCHEON AND KEYNOTE ADDRESS, Rev. Catherine Knott, Hanover College Chaplain (Brown Campus Center Faculty Dining Room)

1:45-2:45 PM: SYMPOSIUM SESSION II (Science Center 137)

3:00-4:30 PM: CONCURRENT STUDENT PRESENTATIONS (Science Center 136 & 137)

5:00-6:30 PM: SYMPOSIUM DINNER (President's Home, *Advance Registrants Only*)

7:00 PM: CORNELIUS AND ANNA COOK O'BRIEN LECTURE:
"The Importance of Luther's *Ninety-Five Theses*:
Then and Now"
Professor John D. Roth, Goshen College
Director of the Institute for the Study of Global Anabaptism
(Fitzgibbon Recital Hall, Center for Fine Arts)

8:00-8:45 AM	REGISTRATION AND PROGRAM DISTRIBUTION
Classic Hall Lobby	**Registration and Program Distribution**

9:00-9:30 AM	WELCOME and OPENING ADDRESS
Science Center 137	**WELCOME AND INTRODUCTION** **About the *Ninety-Five Theses . . .*** J. Michael Raley **OPENING ADDRESS** ***The Reformation Legacy in American Higher Education*** Hanover College President Lake Lambert III

9:30-10:30 AM	SYMPOSIUM SESSION I: LUTHER AND SECULAR AUTHORITY
Science Center 137	***Martin Luther on Secular Authority:*** ***The Powers of Princes versus the Obligations of Subjects*** Nicholas Vaughn, Hanover College Student ***Secular Authority vs. the Right to Resist: Martin Luther on the Question of the Legitimacy of Resisting the Emperor*** J. Michael Raley, Hanover College

10:45-11:45 AM	ADDRESS, PANEL DISCUSSION, AND VIEWING OF THE REMNANT TRUST BOOK EXHIBIT
Joseph Wood Evans Memorial Special Collections and Archives Center, Duggan Library	**SESSION CHAIR:** Matthew Vosmeier, Hanover College ***Pelikan the Expositor*** Miriam Pittenger, Hanover College **PANEL DISCUSSION:** *Remnant Trust Book Exhibit* Jennifer Duplaga, Miriam Pittenger, and J. Michael Raley, Hanover College **VIEWING OF THE REMNANT TRUST BOOK EXHIBIT**

12:00 Noon	**COMMEMORATIVE POSTING OF THE *NINETY-FIVE THESES***
Brown Memorial Chapel	*Commemorative Posting of the* Ninety-Five Theses by Martin Luther
12:15-1:30 PM	**LUNCHEON AND KEYNOTE ADDRESS**
Brown Campus Center Faculty Dining Room	**SESSION CHAIR:** Sara Patterson, Hanover College **KEYNOTE LUNCHEON ADDRESS** ***Going Back to God:*** ***Luther, Calvin, and the Central Tenets of Reformed Theology*** Rev. Catherine Knott, Hanover College Chaplain
1:45-2:45 PM	**SYMPOSIUM SESSION II: LUTHER, LITERACY, AND EDUCATION**
Science Center 137	**SESSION CHAIR:** Daniel Murphy, Hanover College ***A Reading Revolution Forestalled:*** ***The Protestant Crisis of Scriptural Authority, Public Education, and Literacy in Sixteenth-Century Germany*** J. Michael Raley, Hanover College ***The 16th-Century Lutheran Catechization Campaign in Germany and Its Legacies*** Richard L. Gawthrop, Franklin College
3:00-4:30 PM	**CONCURRENT STUDENT PRESENTATIONS: LUTHER TREATISES OF 1520**
Science Center 136	**SESSION CHAIR:** Larry Thornton, Hanover College ***Martin Luther, Faith, and the Reformation of the Church*** Rebekah Jones, Hanover College Student ***Calling to the German Nobility:*** ***Why the Church Needs Reforming*** Rebecca Thorpe, Hanover College Student ***His Body, His Blood, and Our Baptism:*** ***Martin Luther's True Sacraments*** Emma Kate McMurtry, Hanover College Student

Science Center 137	SESSION CHAIR: Jeffrey Brautigam, Hanover College *Martin Luther's Treatise* On Usury*:* *The Effect of Materialism on Spirituality* Payton Fergus, Hanover College Student *Martin Luther and the Priesthood of All Believers:* *The Foundation of Reform and Spark of Revolution* Abigail Estes, Hanover College Student *Martin Luther's Uphill Battle:* *A Fight Against One's Own Intelligence* Madison Grimes, Hanover College Student
5:00-6:30 PM	**SYMPOSIUM DINNER**
President's Home	(*Advance Registrants Only*)

7:00 PM	**CORNELIUS AND ANNA COOK O'BRIEN HISTORY LECTURE**
Fitzgibbon Recital Hall, Lynn Center for Fine Arts	*The Importance of Luther's 95 Theses: Then and Now* **John D. Roth, Ph.D.** Professor of History, Goshen College, and Director of the Institute for the Study of Global Anabaptism

Symposium Abstracts
(Listed by the Authors' Last Names)

"Going Back to God: Luther, Calvin, and the Central Tenets of Reformed Theology"
by Rev. Catherine Knott, Hanover College

In agreement with theologian Karl Barth, Luther's work has taken us towards a "vertical" theological stance to counter the more "horizontal" medieval theology, thus placing far more emphasis on the mercy of God than on human capacity to bear "divine goodness" in the act(s) of good works. Calvin shares with Luther this emphasis on justification through the action(s) of the Triune God alone, though he begins to reintegrate the "horizontal" theological plane. In short, Calvin emerges as an ethicist, in addition to his position as theologian. However, it is Luther who emerged as the force behind the emphasis on the exclusive actions of God and their "alien righteousness"- a tenet now understood to be quite central to the Reformed faith.

"The 16th-Century Lutheran Catechization Campaign in Germany and Its Legacies"
by Richard L. Gawthrop, Franklin College

*Over the course of the 16th century, Luther and his followers put forth extraordinary efforts to educate their flock on the basic tenets of Protestant Christianity and then assess the long-term consequences of this religious educational campaign. Though ultimately salvation for Protestants depended on God's grace rather than on human action, in practice 16th-century Lutherans dedicated themselves to the goal of preparing parishioners to respond in faith to the Word of God when it was made known to them by Lutheran preaching and pamphlets. Initially, Luther believed that the preaching of the "true Gospel" to the people would bring about a dramatic improvement in the spiritual life of the German people, preparing them for the coming of the Last Days. Yet Luther's optimism about the outcome of his reform movement, even as it was rapidly spreading through northern and central Germany, was quickly called into question by the widespread and horrific Peasants' Revolt of 1524-25. Luther was also disturbed by the results of a late 1520s inspection of church parishes, conducted at the behest of the Elector of Saxony, which showed the parishioners' almost complete ignorance of Christian doctrines and less than exemplary levels of morality. In response to the popular need for religious training, Luther in 1529 produced his "Large Catechism," soon followed by the "Small Catechism," the latter becoming the basis of Lutheran religious education to this day. In addition, he worked with the Elector of Saxony to establish a "Church Constitution" (*Kirchenordnung*) and school ordinance that called for the establishment of primary schools in every parish, in which the essentials of the Lutheran faith as well as rudimentary reading skills would be taught. Over the course of the next several decades, the ecclesiastical institutions in Saxony were replicated in all the other Lutheran city-states and territorial princedoms in the German lands. The paper concludes by assessing the long-term impact of this initial Lutheran catechization effort. Most scholars now accept the finding that the state-imposed schooling did not have the desired outcome of raising the level of religious knowledge or morality of the German people as a whole. Yet, the aspiration to reform society by educating all its members did not die with the end of the Age of Reformation.*

"The Reformation Legacy in American Higher Education"
by Hanover College President Lake Lambert III

The Protestant Reformation was not only a religious reordering of society. It also reordered education, including higher education. Protestants arriving in North America brought this passion with them and established denominational colleges at a rapid rate. Multiple motives guided efforts of the Reformers and their American heirs in education, but their commitment to a new theology of Christian vocation was central. This paper will describe this "theology of education" and its close connections to the Reformer's understanding of vocation as well as the threats it faces today, most notably from another German innovation—the modern research university.

"Pelikan the Expositor"
by Miriam Pittenger, Hanover College

The American Luther Edition, published jointly by Concordia Publishing House and Fortress Press between 1955 and 1986, comprised 55 volumes (54 volumes of text plus a comprehensive index). Many of the works were made available here in authoritative English translation for the first time. Jaroslav Pelikan served as general editor for the first 30 volumes of the series and played a seminal role in shaping and orchestrating the 27-year publishing project. His book Luther the Expositor *(1959) was written as a companion volume to the Biblical commentaries with which the edition began. In Part I, Pelikan outlines four basic principles of Luther's exegesis: the authority of the Word of God in the Bible, the role of the dogmatic tradition, the Bible as the history of the people of God, and the importance of controversy for determining what the Scriptures meant. In Part II, he works through Luther's exegesis of a series of texts on the Lord's Supper as a case study for the principles outlined in Part I. What emerges is not only a detailed portrait of Luther as a virtuoso exegete in his own right, but indeed a broader assertion based on Luther's exegesis that the history of Biblical interpretation must play a crucial role in constructing a meaningful history of both dogma and systematic theology. Jaroslav Pelikan would eventually write precisely such a history in his magisterial five-volume work,* The Christian Tradition: A History of the Development of Doctrine *(1971-1989). So by 1959 he was already well on his way toward formulating many of the fundamental ideas that would underlie and permeate his magnum opus. This book on Luther, then, and Pelikan's involvement with the Luther edition, obviously helped to lay the groundwork for much that was yet to come.*

"Secular Authority vs. the Right to Resist:
Martin Luther on the Question of the Legitimacy of Resisting the Emperor"
by J. Michael Raley, Hanover College

In his treatise, On Secular Authority *(1523), Luther famously opposed any form of resistance to secular political authority other than passive disobedience if commanded to violate godly law. During the Peasants' Revolt (1525), Luther thus opposed the violent uprising by the peasants and, rather notoriously, called for the secular authorities to slaughter them. The question remains, however, whether Luther ever recanted or revised his earlier statements on secular authority to support resistance against Emperor Charles V, who threatened to eliminate the Reformers'*

strongholds and crush their movement after the Protestant princes' confession of faith at the Diet of Augsburg in 1530. The surviving evidence suggests that Luther employed arguments based upon constitutional, natural, and private law to justify limited resistance to the emperor, yet allow Luther sufficient room to maintain consistency with his earlier statements opposing physical resistance to political superiors.

"A Reading Revolution Forestalled: The Protestant Crisis of Scriptural Authority, Public Education, and Literacy in Sixteenth-Century Germany"
by J. Michael Raley, Hanover College

Literacy rates were already on the rise when, during the early years of the sixteenth century, German territories witnessed a dramatic increase in the printing of vernacular broadsheets, pamphlets, and Bibles. Luther and other reformers of the early sixteenth century initially sought to use the growing print media to their advantage in fostering ecclesiastical reform and doctrinal teaching among the masses. This was done not only through the printed text, but also by means of audio-visual aspects through the illustrations and public recitations of the pamphlets. Thus a reading revolution was well under way by 1524-1525, when the crises for Scriptural and socio-political authority, embodied respectively in Eucharist conflict and in the Peasants' Revolution, made it abundantly clear to Luther and his followers that the common people could not be trusted to interpret Christian freedom and other doctrines responsibly. Once secular authority had been restored after 1525, a disillusioned Luther no longer advocated a Bible for every believer, but ultimately promoted memorized catechisms that would form and teach each believer the essentials necessary for salvation alongside of other mnemonic devices such as memorized hymns and select Bible verses that, too, would reinforce Luther's teachings. In the end, what might have become the German reading revolution of the early sixteenth century instead ended abruptly, at least for a time among the peasantry. Once again, literacy became a tool for the clergy and ruling and business classes, while the evangelical visitations of Luther's day pointed out time and again the failure of German congregations fully to comprehend Lutheran doctrine. In Reformed German territories, however, the picture appears to have been quite different.

"The Importance of Luther's *Ninety-Five Theses*: Then and Now"
by John D. Roth, Goshen College

October 31, 2017, marks the culmination of a series of events celebrating the 500th anniversary of the Protestant Reformation. For many modern Christians, Martin Luther's legacy to the modern world is uncontested: freedom of conscience; new access to Scripture; salvation as a gracious gift of God; and the dignity of all vocations, to name only a few. But the Reformation Luther unleashed with the posting of his Ninety-Five Theses *on October 31, 1517, also had several unintended consequences whose impact on modern life is far more ambivalent than these celebrations often imply. The lecture will honor Luther, while also raising several critical questions about the Reformation and its legacy for the world today.*

Abstracts of Student Presentations
(Listed by the Authors' Last Names)

"Martin Luther and the Priesthood of All Believers:
The Foundation of Reform and Spark of Revolution"
by Abigail Estes

"Martin Luther and the Priesthood of All Believers: The Foundation of Reform and Spark of Revolution" elaborates on Martin Luther's doctrine of the priesthood of the believer. This doctrine disrupted the Catholic church's hierarchy, stripping power from the pope and priests and handing it to the laity. The new-found freedom led to a revolution of faith that resulted in the Protestantism of today. The core idea of equality for all would also influence modern day political thought. All of this reflects the importance of the doctrine as a threat to the Church authorities of Luther's day and as a major influence upon the idea of freedom today.

"Martin Luther's Treatise *On Usury*:
The Effect of Materialism on Spirituality"
by Payton Fergus

This paper looks to examine the first part of Luther's sermon, On Usury *(1519), which later was expanded into a treatise for widespread distribution. Supported by many Bible verses, as Luther's treatises were wont to do, Luther's essay examines the spiritual dangers stemming from material wealth and the risks associated with greed. To Luther, Christians should avoid materialistic pleasures and focus on the most important outcome in life: spiritual salvation and concern for one's neighbor. The following is an analysis of his argument and evidence to support his claims.*

"Martin Luther's Uphill Battle: A Fight Against One's Own Intelligence"
by Madison Grimes

"Martin Luther's Uphill Battle: A Fight Against One's Own Intelligence" is an examination of the implication of Luther's intelligence and the impact it had upon his writings. Throughout time, it has seemed as though some of Luther's writings surpass the comprehension of his colleagues and his critics, resulting in miscommunication. With reference to, and support from, Howard Gardner's Theory of Multiple Intelligences and analysis of Luther's writings, the author explores Luther's intelligence. Grimes dissects this breakdown in communication by critically analyzing Luther's intelligence and the impact that his intelligence and world-view had in his writings.

"Martin Luther, Faith, and the Reformation of the Church"
by Rebekah Jones

Martin Luther was a pioneer of the Protestant Reformation, beginning with the Ninety-Five Theses *and developing with the three treatises that he wrote in 1520, including* On the Freedom of a Christian*, dedicated to Pope Leo X. This treatise expounds upon Luther's belief on Christian freedom as well as on the corresponding duty of Christian servanthood. Accompanying the treatise is a letter to Pope Leo X, in which Luther tries, unsuccessfully, to build the pope's trust in him so that Luther might be able to help reform the Catholic Church. This paper includes an analysis of the treatise and the letter that Martin Luther wrote to Pope Leo X, as well as an evaluation of*

additional possible causes of the Peasants' Revolt of 1525, attributed by many at least in part to a misunderstanding of Luther's treatise on Christian freedom.

"His Body, His Blood, and Our Baptism: Martin Luther's True Sacraments"
by Emma Kate McMurtry

For the thousands of Christians celebrating sacraments, there are different ways of receiving the sacrament and even a different meaning behind each sacrament. The goal of this paper is to outline Martin Luther's understanding of the sacraments from his treatise, The Babylonian Captivity, *and especially the sacraments of baptism and eucharist. His clarification is very important because it was one of the many root causes of his separation from the Catholic Church that we know as the Lutheran Reformation. Also, this treatise is significant because the thoughts incorporated in this and other texts published in 1520 led to his excommunication from the Catholic Church. For Luther there are specific requirements a sacrament must have to uphold its title; by the end of this work he has claimed only Baptism and the Lord's Supper pass these tests and are worthy of the status of sacraments. Confirmation, Marriage, Holy Orders, Extreme Unction, and Penance are only rites of the Church but have no saving quality about them. He places significant emphasis on faith in God's promises and how this impacts one's salvation. Without this treatise, we might not know a different way of participating in the sacraments other than the traditional, Catholic mode, and it is important to consider and observe the difference in beliefs.*

"Calling to the German Nobility: Why the Church Needs Reforming"
by Rebecca Thorpe

In 1520, Martin Luther penned An Appeal to the Ruling Class of German Nationality as to the Amelioration of the State of Christendom *in hopes of gaining the support of Germany's nobility to help reform the Catholic Church. In this* Appeal, *Luther explains the reasons why he believes the Catholic Church needs reform, which range from the pope's employing many unneeded people, to his selling benefices to the highest bidder. In conclusion, Luther fears that if reforms are not made soon Germany will find itself under total domination by the papacy and its people will be left with nothing.*

"Martin Luther on Secular Authority: The Powers of Princes versus the Obligations of Subjects"
by Nicholas Vaughn

This paper explores Martin Luther's view towards the role of secular government in his early scholarly life through a close reading of Secular Authority: To What Extent It Should Be Followed (1523) *as well as through the* Table Talk of Martin Luther, *a collection of conversations transcribed by Martin Luther's students and guests during dinner at his Wittenberg home. Ultimately, Luther's view of secular authority proved to be a complex and controversial subject, a divinely-ordained power that by 1523 needed to be reined in, yet could not be opposed lawfully by subjects except through passive disobedience, something that the peasants of southern Germany who were about to revolt failed to grasp.*

About the Keynote and O'Brien Speakers . . .

Rev. Catherine Knott serves as Chaplain at Hanover College, and has been ordained in the Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.) since 2006. Knott received a B.A. from the University of North Carolina at Greensboro ('02), and both her M.Div. ('05) and Th.M. ('12) from Princeton Theological Seminary. She is currently a Ph.D. candidate in Theological Ethics through Garrett Evangelical Theological Seminary of Evanston, IL, and anticipates graduation in May 2018. Knott has served congregations in the Chicago area and in Scotland, and has also served as on-call hospital chaplain through the North Shore Healthcare System of Evanston, IL. She lives with her husband, Jason, and three rambunctious terriers.

Lake Lambert, III, Ph.D., began his tenure as the 16th president of Hanover College July 1, 2015. Lambert came to Hanover from Mercer University in Macon, Ga., where he served as dean of the College of Liberal Arts since 2010. Prior to Mercer, Lambert served as a professor of religion and Board of Regents Chair in Ethics at Wartburg College in Waverly, Iowa, from 1996 to 2010. During his last two years, he served as assistant dean of academic planning at Wartburg and directed the college's strategic planning process. An active scholar, Lambert's research has focused on workplace spirituality, professional ethics, and church-related higher education. He is the author of *Spirituality, Inc.: Religion in the American Workplace* (NYU Press 2009) which surveys the role of spirituality in business. He has also authored several articles and essays in academic journals. He earned his Ph.D. at Princeton Theological Seminary in 1997. He holds B.A. (economics and history) and M.T.S. degrees from Emory University (Georgia).

John D. Roth, Ph.D., University of Chicago (1989), is a professor of history at Goshen College, where he also serves as director of the Mennonite Historical Library and editor of *The Mennonite Quarterly Review*. Dr. Roth is the founding director of the Institute for the Study of Global Anabaptism at Goshen College, in which capacity he maintains an active global lecture/teaching schedule. He is currently focusing on several research, writing, and translation projects related to the global Anabaptist-Mennonite church. His recent books include: *Separationism and the Believers Church Tradition*, ed. William Brackney and John D. Roth (forthcoming); *The Global Anabaptist Profile*, co-authored with Conrad Kanagy and Elizabeth Miller (2017); trans. from German: Hanna Schott, *Love in a Time of Hate: The Story of André and Magda Trocmé and the Village that Said No to the Nazis* (2017); *Constantine Revisited: Engaging Peter Leithart's Defending Constantine*, ed. John D. Roth (2013); *Teaching That Transforms: Why Anabaptist-Mennonite Education Matters* (2011); *Healing Memories: Reconciling in Christ. Report of the Lutheran-Mennonite International Study Commission* (2010); and *Täufer und Reformierte im Disput: Texte des 17. Jahrhunderts über Verfolgung und Tolerenz aus Zürich und Amsterdam*, co-edited with Philipp Wälchli, Urs B. Leu, and Christian Scheidegger (2010). He also has published articles in *The Annotated Luther: Fortress Annotated Study Edition*, vol. 5: *Christian Life in the World*, ed. Hans Hillerbrand, Kirsti Stjerna, Timothy Wengert (2017); *Dictionary of Luther and the Lutheran Tradition*; *Cambridge History of Theology*; *Mennonite Quarterly Review*; *The Mennonite*; and *Conrad Grebel Review*. This past May he was a presenter at the Luther and the Rise of Pluralism Conference that convened at Wittenberg, Germany.

About the Session Presenters . . .

Jennifer Duplaga is the Archives and Public Services Librarian for Hanover College, where she cares for the manuscript, photographic and rare book collections, in addition to the institutional records of the college. She holds degrees in German and History from Wittenberg University in Springfield, OH. She received a Master of Library Science and a Master of Arts in History from Indiana University-Purdue University in Indianapolis in 2005. For 10 years, Ms. Duplaga worked as the Special Collections Administrator for the Kentucky Historical Society, managing the archival collections. She joined the staff of Hanover College in April 2015.

Dr. Richard Gawthrop is the Hon. Roger D. Branigin Professor of History at Franklin College. A native of Philadelphia, he received his B.A. from Colby College and his Ph.D. in history from Indiana University. His book, *Pietism and the Making of Eighteenth-Century Prussia*, was published by Cambridge University Press in 1993. In his twenty-sixth year at Franklin College, he has taught world history surveys and the History Department's senior seminar, as well as upper-level courses in German, Russian, East Asian, Middle Eastern, and Latin American history. In addition, he established at Franklin a winter term course in which students serve and live at missions for the homeless in downtown Indianapolis. He met his wife, Jane, in Bloomington, where she was a Legal Services Organization attorney; and their daughter, Elisabeth, works in communications for a climate-science research institute at Columbia University in New York City.

Dr. Miriam Pelikan Pittenger joined the Hanover Classical Studies department in 2005. She earned a BA *summa cum laude* from Yale University in 1989 and both M.A. (1991) and Ph.D. (1997) from the University of California, Berkeley. Her book *Contested Triumphs: Politics, Pageantry, and Performance in Livy's Republican Rome* was published by the University of California Press in 2008. She also happens to be the daughter of the eminent church historian Jaroslav Pelikan and recently took over as literary executor for his estate. In 1946 at the age of 22 Pelikan earned both his Divinity degree from Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, and his Ph.D. from the University of Chicago. He taught at Valparaiso University, at Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, at the University of Chicago, and at Yale, with a post-*emeritus* appointment at the Annenberg School for Communication at the University of Pennsylvania. Over his long career he wrote nearly 40 scholarly books, including his *magnum opus*, the five-volume history of doctrine entitled *The Christian Tradition* (1971-1989). Along the way he served as general editor for the first 30 volumes of the English Luther edition. His companion volume to that series, *Luther the Expositor* (1959) will form the focus for his daughter's presentation today.

J. Michael Raley currently chairs the History Department at Hanover College. He also serves on the Publications Committee of the American Musicological Society and on the boards of the Indiana Association of Historians and the Jefferson County, Indiana, Historical Society. He is the co-editor (with Edward C. Lorenz and Dana Aspinall) of *Montesinos' Legacy: Defining and Defending Human Rights for 500 Years* (2015) and (with Deborah Carlton Loftis) of *Minds and Hearts in Praise of God: Hymns and Essays in Church Music in Honor of Hugh T. McElrath* (2006). His articles have appeared in the *Sixteenth Century Journal*, *Journal of World History*, *Journal of Southern Religion*, *Ons Geestelijk Erf* (Antwerp), and *Anuario Musical* (Barcelona).

About the Student Presenters . . .

Abigail Estes, from the small town of Hillsboro, Indiana, is a freshman at Hanover College. She plans on majoring in history with focus in American history and minoring in theatre.

Payton Fergus is a senior history major from Evansville, Indiana. Raised in a Lutheran church and household, he sought to further his understanding and background knowledge of his faith by taking Dr. Raley's class this semester on Martin Luther. Currently in his final year of academics and varsity football, Payton intends to take the LSAT in December and become a prosecutor. He enjoys listening to and making music, spending time in the library working on research papers, and making people laugh.

Madison Grimes is a Hanover College senior from Mooresville, Indiana. She is majoring in elementary education and minoring in Spanish and history at Hanover College. Madison is a member of Hanover College's Concert Choir and Chamber Singers choral ensembles. She is a member of Alpha Lambda Delta and serves on the Executive Team of Alpha Delta Pi and the Panhellenic Council. Additionally, she is an active member of Phi Sigma Iota Foreign Languages Honor Society, Mortar Board Senior Honor Society, and Gamma Sigma Pi Honor Society. After graduation in May, Madison plans to pursue a career in teaching in the Indianapolis area.

Rebekah Jones is a freshman at Hanover College. She comes from Greenfield, Indiana and graduated from Indiana Virtual School. At Hanover, she plans to major in history and minor in French. She currently works at the campus archives as a student worker. After graduation, Rebekah plans to attend graduate school and pursue a career as an archivist.

Emma Kate McMurtry is a freshman at Hanover College and plans to major in history. She developed her passion for the past early in her academic career and intends to pursue this discipline into post-graduate work or perhaps enter the field of law. Her favorite period is late seventeenth- and eighteenth-century U.S. history, focusing on the issues that led to and accompanied the creation of a new form of government. She hopes to continue her academic career in history while developing skills in other fields at Hanover, inside and outside of the classroom. She is appreciative of the opportunity she has been given to present her work at this conference and before those who have come to support her.

Rebecca Thorpe is from Hanover, Indiana, and is currently a sophomore at Hanover College. She is a member of both Hanover College's Chamber Singers and Concert Choirs. She participates in the Archery Club and the History Club and is a member of the Catholic Student Organization on campus. She plans on double majoring in mathematics and secondary education while also getting her license in special education.

Nicholas J. Vaughn, of New Albany, Indiana, has long had an interest in politics. While still in high school, he volunteered to work for the campaigns of several public candidates. Aside from his political interests, Nick is currently a sophomore pursuing a degree in history from Hanover College with a focus on American history. Recently he was selected to speak at Hanover's *Charters of Freedom* Dedication.

Student Papers Read at the Luther Symposium

Martin Luther and the Priesthood of All Believers:
The Foundation of Reform and Spark of Revolution
Abigail J. Estes

Martin Luther became a catalyst for the groundbreaking Reformation with his assault against the Catholic church starting with his *95 Theses* in 1517. While not the first to stand against the massive machine of the Catholic Church on the grounds of reform, Luther's stand was perfectly timed in history and resulted in radical change. With the help of the new printing press, Luther's works and ideas spread and took root in the souls of many which would ultimately lead to the creation of Protestantism and incite revolutionary concepts for which the Reformation is revered. One assertion made through his works that helped back this change was the priesthood of all believers.[1] The priesthood of all believers was a newer concept centered around the independent faith of the Christian, which was founded in the grace of God and belief in Him and His promise which was given through scripture. The doctrine of the "priesthood of all believers" is a central theme throughout Martin Luther's works which sparked reform in Catholicism and created the foundation for modern day Protestantism and its basis in political theory.

Luther establishes this concept of the priesthood in his treatises that called for reform of the Catholic church. In the 16th century, the Catholic Church was a well-oiled machine. It was more than just ministry in the lives of the people; it was a driving force behind business and government as well. Religion was found in every aspect of a person's life. For Luther to challenge the Church and assert his doctrine of the priesthood of all Christians was dangerous because his claims knocked the legs out from under the established hierarchy of the Church.

First, giving all Christians equality in Christ strips the Pope of certain powers while boosting those of the temporal authorities. Martin Luther claims in his *95 Theses* that "the pope has neither the will nor the power to remit any penalties . . . " and that "the pope himself cannot remit guilt"[2]. In Luther's *An Appeal to the Ruling Class of German Nobility* (1520), he elaborates on these two theses by putting forth his famous doctrine on the priesthood of all Christians. He attacks "the three walls" of the Church which had "protected them till now in such a way that no one could reform them"[3] with the idea that "all Christians whatsoever really and truly belong to the religious class"[4] and "each and all of us are priests"[5]. This was a direct attack on the pope's power in the secular realm as well as his superiority in the spiritual realm, for Luther insisted that both secular authority and spiritual power are divinely sanctioned. Furthermore, in his treatise *On the Babylonian Captivity of the Church* (1520), Luther attacks the idea of the corrupt office of the papacy which falsely deceives people in their faith and salvation. Luther claims that "neither pope, nor bishop, nor anyone else, has the right to impose so much as a single syllable

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[1] Martin Luther, *An Appeal to the Ruling Class of German Nationality*, in *Martin Luther: Selections from His Writings*, ed. John Dillenberger (New York: Anchor Books, 1962), 403-485 at 407.

[2] Martin Luther, *The Ninety-Five Theses*, in *Martin Luther: Selections from His Writings*, ed. John Dillenberger (New York: Anchor Books, 1962), 489-500 at 490.

[3] Luther, *An Appeal to the Ruling Class of German Nationality*, 406.

[4] Luther, *An Appeal to the Ruling Class of German Nationality*, 407.

[5] Luther, *An Appeal to the Ruling Class of German Nationality*, 414.

of obligation upon a Christian man without his own consent"[6] and further denies powers to the pope to ordain any such ceremonial practices or rites as sacraments. Luther's denial of the papacy of such powers as well as discrediting the papacy by depicting the pope in such a light as being the "Antichrist" and a "tyrant" ultimately diminishes the position's importance and authority within the Church and the secular sector.

Secondly, Luther's assertion of the priesthood eliminates the necessity for extensive hierarchical roles. He renounces necessity and power of a priest through his denial of transubstantiation, the need for confession in penance to be carried out by an ordained priest, and even of the need for ordination altogether. He first questions the need for the priest's intermediary office within the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, questioning "Why could not Christ maintain His body within the substance of the bread as truly as within its accidents?"[7] In this question, Luther highlights that the transubstantiation performed by the priests is not scripturally sound and is, therefore, unnecessary. Next Luther challenges the idea of the need to confess to an ordained priest in penance. He claims that anyone can confess to anyone else in faith, and that they will be forgiven as "Christ manifestly gave the power of pronouncing forgiveness to anyone who had faith in Him."[8] Luther develops this point extensively in his doctrine of the priesthood.

The exception to the necessity of ordination, for which Luther denies sacramental status, is the act of preaching. On this matter Luther states that "although we are all equally priests, we cannot all publicly minister and teach."[9] Not everyone is called to teach the word of God, but all are called by God to do something that will ultimately build upon their faith. He further addresses the rite of ordination in his treatise *That a Christian Assembly or Congregation has the Right and Power to Judge Teaching and to Call, Appoint, and Dismiss Teachers* (1523), in which he asserts congregational authority to call its own priests with foundation in predetermined faith.[10] As summed up by Roland Bainton, "The repudiation of ordination as a sacrament demolished the caste system of clericalism and provided a sound basis for the priesthood of all believers . . . what the priest does any Christian may do, if commissioned by the congregation, because all Christians are priests."[11] Luther had destroyed the essentiality of hierarchal roles in the Christian faith with his argument against ordination.

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[6] Martin Luther, *The Pagan Servitude of the Church*, in *Martin Luther: Selections from His Writings*, ed. John Dillenberger (New York: Anchor Books, 1962), 249-359 at 304.

[7] Luther, *The Pagan Servitude of the Church*, 267.

[8] Luther, *The Pagan Servitude of the Church*, 321.

[9] Martin Luther, *On the Freedom of the Christian*, in *Martin Luther: Selections from His Writings*, ed. John Dillenberger (New York: Anchor Books, 1962), 42-85 at 65.

[10] Martin Luther, *That a Christian Assembly or Congregation Has the Right and Power to Judge Teaching and to Call, Appoint, and Dismiss Teachers*, trans. Eric W. Gritsch and Ruth C. Gritsch, in *Luther's Works*, vol. 39: *Church and Ministry I*, ed. Eric W. Gritsch and Helmut T. Lehmann, (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1970), 305-314 at 306, 309.

[11] Roland H. Bainton, *Here I Stand: A Life of Martin Luther* (New York: Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, 1950), 106.

Lastly the priesthood of all believers gave more freedom to the laity. When one talks about "freedom", one should first consider the relativity of the word. Following the Apostle Paul, Luther defines the freedom of a Christian in two theses: "A Christian is a perfectly free lord of all, subject to none. A Christian is a perfectly dutiful servant of all, subject to all."[12] At first these phrases appear contradictory, but the meaning becomes clear once it is established that these refer to the spirit and body of man, not to the freedom of man from one another. Christians are all priests through faith, which frees them from the bondage of the world, but then they become a servant to their neighbors in their love for humanity and God. Understanding Luther's idea of Christian freedom in a religious sense clarifies his ideology of the priesthood of all believers. Luther details the priesthood further with respect to the effect of the duties and rights of all Christians as priests in his works *A Freedom of a Christian* (1520) and *Concerning the Ministry* (1523). Luther describes the general life of a Christian as one based around living "in Christ through faith, [and] in his neighbor through love"[13] with good works being done to allow growth in faith. Luther outlines the seven offices of priests, which he attributes as rights to all Christians: ministry of the Word, baptism, consecration or administration of the sacred bread and wine, the binding and loosing from sin, sacrificing, praying for others, and judging and passing on doctrines.[14] Each of these offices separates Christians from relying solely on the clergy for their salvation. With the established independence of faith in religion, people would not have to rely on the Church hierarchy in their daily lives as they had so long before.

The idea of equality and freedom to all through Christ sparked a revolution of mind and spirituality in a time of humanistic influence and unrest in the secular domain. Luther did not condone a violent revolution of any sort, nor did he desire there to be a split from the Catholic Church. Despite his discouragement of such, bloodshed and division became inevitable. The clarification that Luther attempted to achieve through treatises and additional writings were in vain. The laymen, with the radical Carlstadt and others at the helm, easily misinterpreted the pronounced "freedom" which they had been given in being deemed "priests" and "free lords of all." These people looked past the ideas of faith which brought spiritual freedom and applied it in the social sector. The misinterpretation mounted with civil unrest that ultimately resulted in the Peasants' Revolt of 1524-1525. Luther's teachings and books became part of the backbone of these revolts, and Luther became the face of rebellion. The violence did not stop there as new form of Christianity arose from this new concept of faith. Protestantism and its many denominations sprang forth from the woodwork of the Reformation. With this division came further conflict between the uncompromising churches which still differ on doctrinal issues today. Little had Luther known that the Reformation would cause unrest in Europe and the rest of the world for centuries to come.

The revolutionary concept of equality found within the doctrine of the priesthood would also influence several philosophical and political aspects of development of the Western

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[12] Luther, *On the Freedom of the Christian*, 53.

[13] Luther, *On the Freedom of the Christian*, 80.

[14] Martin Luther, *Concerning the Ministry*, trans. Conrad Bergendoff, in *Luther's Works*, vol. 10: Church and Ministry II, ed. Conrad Bergendoff and Helmut T. Lehmann (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1958), 4-44.

hemisphere. While the content of the ideas is applied to two separate subjects, it can be suggested that there is a link between Luther's Christology and modern-day political thought. One instance of this is the obvious connection between Luther's *Freedom of a Christian* and that of J.J. Rousseau's *The Social Contract*. Rousseau references Luther's theses from *On the Freedom of the Christian*, stating that "Man was born free, and everywhere he is in chains. Many a one believes himself the master of others, and yet he is a greater slave than they."[15] He further relates the idea of the equality of Christians to the sovereignty of all people. Related to Rousseau's "Social Contract Theory" is democracy on which the United States of America was founded. Protestant ideals such as Luther's doctrine on the priesthood of all believers is reflected in many of America's founding documents. Thomas Jefferson wrote in the *Declaration of Independence*: ." . . it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the Laws of Nature and of Nature's God entitle them."[16] Did Luther not assert a similar democratic thought process when he said, "the others . . . possess full freedom and means to drive away unworthy ministers and to call and appoint only such worthy and devout men as they choose?"[17] Technicalities of the situations can cause skepticism, but this is only one example of the extensive connections present that show Luther's influence in today's philosophy and modern political theory. Speaking of equality and freedom, it can be said that "the general pattern remains unassaulted even while its articulations do not. Contradictions and difficulties do not force the abandonment of the notion itself but rather occasion different formulations of it, which betray an effort to continue to comprehend the vagaries of experience in its terms."[18] The priesthood of all believers was a dangerous and revolutionary idea which gave way to the advocation of individual rights when shined under a humanistic light.

Martin Luther's doctrine of the priesthood of all believers is a key idea throughout his works which denounced the Catholic church, one that remains a core belief in Protestantism even today and has considerable ties to modern political thought. In asserting the individual faith of Christians and refuting the necessity of the hierarchy of the Catholic church, Luther caused a deep theological divide that led to the Reformation and in turn the birth of Protestantism, which is still a major influence today. Not only did Luther's doctrine inspire religious reform and division, but it presented a new thought process which would be replicated extensively in political theory, an idea which was to be further interpreted in the protection of individual religious belief enshrined in the First Amendment. The priesthood of the believer proved to be an influential doctrine in establishing freedom and an individualistic view on religion that has become such a common philosophy today.

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[15] Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *The Social Contract*, in *The Social Contract and The First and Second Discourses* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), 149-254 at 156.

[16] Thomas Jefferson, *The Declaration of Independence* (1776), *America's Founding Documents*, National Archives https://www.archives.gov/founding-docs/declaration-transcript (accessed October 26, 2017).

[17] Luther, *Concerning the Ministry*, 10.

[18] Joshua Mitchell, "The Equality of All under the One in Luther and Rousseau: Thoughts on Christianity and Political Theory," *The Journal of Religion* 72 (1992): 351-365 at 351.

Martin Luther's Treatise *On Usury*:
The Effect of Materialism on Spirituality
Payton Fergus

In 1519, Martin Luther delivered a sermon entitled *On Usury* which was later translated and published in 1520. Four years later he published an expanded treatise in two parts, the first of which was *On Commerce* and the second of which was a reprint of his expanded 1520 version of *On Usury*, which thus enjoyed a wide circulation. Here Luther discusses materialism and its effects on one's spirituality and usury; or the act of charging high interest on loans. Luther, as is well known, was deeply concerned with both the salvation and the earthly welfare of his parishioners. In his visit to Rome in 1511 as well as in Johann Tetzel's prolific selling of indulgences in Germany in 1517, Luther had witnessed the impact of greed upon his fellow clergymen. Two years later, Martin Luther delivered this famous sermon on the spiritual perils of materialism.

In his treatise *On Usury*, Luther examines the spiritual misconduct of those in charge of transactions of temporal goods in a handful of scenarios. Avarice and usury had taken hold over men in the world, especially merchants and people involved in the exchange of money and goods. In such perilous times, Christians appeared to have lost sight of their moral values along with their need to grow spiritually closer to God. Instead, greed is dominating the world. In light of this, Luther offers spiritual guidance through scriptural references and parallels to Christ's life, hardly surprising given Luther's principle of *sola scriptura* and his emphasis upon living a Christ-like life of service honoring God through love of one's neighbor. To Luther, of course, the Word of God was the only spiritual teaching and source of authority that should be acknowledged by the parishioners. In his treatise, Martin Luther instructs his followers to not seek revenge from those who have wronged us, but rather, to help those in need and lend without expectations of generating a profit through repayment with interest, i.e., usury.

Luther begins with a discussion of how a Christian should respond to those who have wronged them, for example, by taking our temporal goods by force. Christ says, "If anyone will go to law with you to take your coat, let him take your cloak also." He references Jesus's response to the servant, Malchus, who according to John 18:10 struck Jesus upon Pilate's orders. In I Peter 2:23 we read further, "When they hurled their insults at him, he did not retaliate; when he suffered, he make no threats."[1] Luther explains Jesus's passive response by saying, "Christ does not threaten, does not avenge Himself, does not strike back, does not even refuse the other cheek; nay, nor does he condemn Malchus."[2] Luther criticizes the idea of retaliating against those that have wronged us because that is not the way that Christ would respond. It is almost as if Christ is transparent to transgressions; nearing indifferent. And when it comes to people taking things from you by force, Luther has an even more passive reaction. He explains that if one takes

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[1] I Peter 2:23 (NIV).

[2] Martin Luther, *On Commerce and Usury (1524)*, ed. Philipp Robinson Rössner (New York: Anthem Press, 2015), 190.

something from you, you should allow him to take more if he pleases because "like Christ on the cross, you must pray for him and do well to him who does evil to you."[3]

This is quite the opposite of how most people would react to a belonging being taken. Human nature may dictate that we take back what we deem as equal, whether it be the same object or something else. To Luther, this was a result of the Fall, when human nature was damaged beyond repair. However nice and courteous the points he makes, however, Luther seems to contradict himself in a few paragraphs. He references the canon law principle of "resist force with force" and also points to the patriarchs, King David, and other fathers in the Old Testament and supports their violence by saying, "They never sought revenge or their own profit, but only acted as obedient servants of God, just as Christ teaches in the Gospel that at God's command we must act even against father and mother, whom he commanded us to honor." Do these statements not contradict one another? No, answers Luther, because the one is higher than the other. "When God commands you to take revenge or to defend yourself, then you shall do it; and not before then."[4] Nevertheless, this statement raises raises a series of questions that seem unanswered in the text. How and when does one know that it is God commanding him or her to take justice or seek revenge and not just address his/her own personal wants? Whatever the answer here, it would seem that if the situation is concerning temporal, or materialistic, goods, or even Christian martyrdom, the individual should take the high road, and turn the other cheek as Christ did.

In Luther's second scenario, he discusses the act of giving freely to those in need. Again referring back to the damaged human nature, Luther discusses the greed that keeps Christians from living Christ-like lives. When talking about this hindrance, Luther says "they fear that they would die of hunger or be entirely ruined if they were to do as God commands; that is, to give to everyone who asks for it . . . [Yet] Christ says, 'He who does not trust God in a little thing will never trust him in a great.'"[5] Essentially, Christians should trust that God will provide for them even as he does the sparrows of the field; as members of the faithful, they are commanded to help those less fortunate. Luther believed that faithful Christians should do good works and show kindness towards their neighbors because they know they are saved through baptism. By trusting God with our salvation, we should know that he will take care of us and provide for us in need. If people are too concerned with their temporal goods, they lack faith and will surely lose sight of their spiritual salvation.

Going still further, Luther criticizes those who give to their personal acquaintances, but not to the poor. "Men give freely and present gifts to their friends, the rich and the powerful, who do not strictly need them and forget the needy about it."[6] Again, Luther is driving home his point about living Christ-like. Jesus did not give to the kings and tyrants; rather, he ministered to those who needed help and guidance. Christians are not graced by God simply to help themselves; they are to serve as Christ not only to their neighbors by giving to the needy and spreading God's

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[3] Luther, *On Commerce and Usury*, ed. Rössner, 190.

[4] Luther, *On Commerce and Usury*, ed. Rössner, 191.

[5] Luther, *On Commerce and Usury*, ed. Rössner, 193.

[6] Luther, *On Commerce and Usury*, ed. Rössner, 194.

grace in the process, but also to their enemies and opponents. Temporal and other materialistic goods, in the end, serve no purpose other than arrogance and obliviousness to the real source of empowerment: God's grace.

Next, Luther takes a turn and hints at trespasses by the church in Rome. He criticizes the lavish spending of the papacy on "alms . . . [such as] giving for churches, monasteries, chapels, altars, church towers, church bells, organs, paintings, statues, silver and gold ornaments and vestments, and for masses, vigils, singing, reading, testamentary endowments" and so on then continues on to point out "that where there are a hundred altars or vigils, there is not one man who feeds a tableful of poor people, let alone gives food to a poor household."[7] Here Luther is clearly pointing to the Christian obligation to give generously to the poor. Certainly all the beautiful and extravagant décor could wait just a little bit longer while the poor families in town were taken care of by their fellow parishioners. Luther is not condemning the maintaining of churches, but instead is emphasizing more so the fact that God commands us to help our neighbors at a time when, it seems, many people were turning a blind eye to the less fortunate. Again, being very concerned with the salvation of his parishioners, Luther goes on to warn, "Beware therefore O man! God will not ask you at your death and at the Last Day, how much you have left in your will, or whether you have given so much or so much to churches; but he will say to you, 'I was hungry and ye fed me not; I was naked and ye fed me not.'"[8] Here, Luther again drives home his point of living life like Christ. In so many stories of the Bible, Jesus would give to those who desperately needed it; many being those in the lower class who lacked the means to provide for themselves. If every man and woman has God's image in him/her, would it not be doing good works through faith to help out those in need? To Luther the faith comes before good works, so there should be no reason that a Christian should turn away any man or woman based on their financial status. Tying in with his point about giving to those who already can provide for themselves, Luther condemns the act of selective helping and choosing to serve oneself rather than others. The lavish spending by Rome had bothered Luther because it honored a physical structure rather than addressing human need.

In his final point, Luther discusses usury—lending money at interest—and the spiritual ramifications that it held on one's salvation. When discussing lending without charges, Luther quotes Christ's words in Luke 6:34, "If ye lend to them of whom ye hope to receive, what thanks have ye? For even wicked sinners lend to one another, to receive as much again" when the biblical command in Deuteronomy is, "Ye shall lend and expect nothing in return."[9] Here, as well as nowhere else in the Bible, it says nothing about charging interest when lending. Thus Luther defines lending as loaning without charge, and usury as loaning with the expectation of repayment with interest.

And yet, if an individual charges interest, how much have they really given up? For there is nothing truly given in the name of God if it is to be returned to an individual. Christ did not charge interest when he helped the needy. Instead, he did the works out of love because he knew

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[7] Luther, *On Commerce and Usury*, ed. Rössner, 195.

[8] Luther, *On Commerce and Usury*, ed. Rössner, 196.

[9] Luther, *On Commerce and Usury*, ed. Rössner, 198.

that material goods held no relevance in God's kingdom and the afterlife; the true gift of God's grace. Material goods on this earth are only temporary and satisfy the damaged human nature from after the Fall. He ties it back to his teaching about giving to those who truly need it by saying, "Christ wants us to lend not only to friends, the rich, and those to whom we are well disposed, who can repay us again, by returning this loan, or with another loan, or by some other benefit; but that we lend to those who cannot or will not repay us, such as those in need, and our enemies."[10] Here Luther promotes the kind of costly discipleship that he will also advocate in *On the Freedom of a Christian*, in which asserts that "the Christian is the dutiful servant of all." Luther really wants his parishioners to transcend their materialistic selfishness so that they can spread the love of God through charity extended to their neighbors. He wants people to realize that there are bigger things at play than a person's wealth because God's plan is so much more important than the amount of wealth accumulated. For this monetary wealth holds no purpose unless it is being spent in spreading God's grace through kind acts, and not unnecessary spending of the church on items "for God's sake."

At the conclusion of the first part of his treatise, Luther goes on to offer three laws by which a Christian should govern himself when making transactions. When discussing materialistic behavior and the lending of money at interest, he says, "first, this passage in the Gospel which commands that we shall lend. Now lending is not lending unless it be done without charge and without advantage to the lender . . . . Second, this is contrary to Natural Law, which the Lord also announces in Luke 6:31 and Matthew 7:12: 'And as you would that men should do to you, do you also to them likewise' . . . [And] third, usury is also against the and Old and New Testament Law, which commands 'thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself.'"[11] These instructions for morally and spiritually sound business and personal transactions reflect much wisdom. The first law, Luther explains, means that Christians should lend and give to others, without expecting a return, just as Christ has done for his people. Further, when people make transactions of any sort, they should be executed with respect and honesty. The second law is what many people, regardless of religion or lack thereof, may call the "Golden Rule": treat others the way you wanted to be treated. If people shared the same empathy, compassion, and kindness as Christ had, many of the world's problems would be solved. With his third law, Luther again calls out the usurers of his time and accuses them of "acting against nature, are guilty of mortal sin, and seek[ing] their neighbor's injury for their own profit."[12] For not only is Luther concerned with the victims of usury, but so are the usurers themselves. Their salvation was at risk because of their avarice and deceitfulness. Here we can see Luther practice his own teachings and beliefs. Just as Christ had granted forgiveness for those who wronged him, Luther seeks to aid the salvation of those who act wrong against others. These three laws would help Luther's following act in a way that mirrors Christ.

Luther makes one last jab at the Catholic Church before taking an intermission between sermons. When discussing the previous three laws, he notes, "spiritual goods and churches have

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[10] Luther, *On Commerce and Usury*, ed. Rössner, 198.

[11] Luther, *On Commerce and Usury*, ed. Rössner, 199.

[12] Luther, *On Commerce and Usury*, ed. Rössner, 199.

neither authority nor freedom to break God's commandments, rob the neighbor [parishioners], practice usury, and do wrong."[13] He is saying that the church must change its ways and give back to the parishioners. It spends too much money on materialistic objects that do not benefit the parishioner's salvation. Put into context, too much is going towards St. Peter's Basilica and the papal treasury at Rome, and not enough is being spent to alleviate the poverty found throughout Germany. The church is meant to support the people in their need in return for their personal sacrifices. This can be done by saving money and supporting those in financial trouble, instead of expending enormous sums on costly buildings that serve only the sight of the people.

Martin Luther examines the materialism of the world around him as he feels greed has begun to take over not only the clergy but his parish as well. Luther believes that his parishioners must realign their transactions and interpersonal relations with that of Jesus. Luther is known for his hammering home of living Christ-like. By imitating Christ, one will transmit the love and grace given to them by God. Luther gives lessons on how one should respond to certain scenarios such as not seeking revenge from those who have wronged us, helping those in need, and lending without intentions of beneficial payouts.

So what can we take away from this treatise and incorporate into our daily lives? The foundation of Luther's systematic theology: Do good works through faith and live a life of penance, one that parallels Christ's. It is not a bad thing to turn the cheek to those who have wronged us, but if they should call upon us in their time of need, we should answer the call without any hesitation because Christ would have done the same thing. Also, whether it be an enemy or friend, we should always answer the call to help and be unbiased to any relationship or lack thereof. And finally, when lending this helping hand to somebody, it would be uncharacteristic of our Christian heritage to ask for anything in return. For truly, as Christ himself taught, "it is more blessed to give than to receive."[14] Such kind acts should stem from the faith and salvation we receive as Christians from baptism. The materialistic obsession with society is straying us as Christians from what we should really be concerned about: salvation. For our physical time on this earth is extremely brief, but the grace of God in eternal salvation is everlasting.

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[13] Luther, *On Commerce and Usury*, ed. Rössner, 200.
[14] Acts 20:35 (NIV).

Martin Luther's Uphill Battle:
A Fight Against One's Own Intelligence
Madison Grimes

Martin Luther is perhaps best known for his opposition to the Catholic Church in early 1500s. From the posting of the *95 Theses* on October 31, 1517, to *Against the Papacy at Rome Founded by the Devil* published on March 25, 1545, Luther repeatedly expressed his displeasure with the Catholic Church and the ways he believed that Christians were being misled. Many Christians firmly believed they had been saved, yet Luther suspected eternal damnation was more likely in store for them after departing their worldly life. Luther's deepest concerns were over the salvation of the Christian people; souls for which he felt personally responsible as a priest. Luther's existential thinking -namely his concerns surrounding salvation and spiritual questions, contributed to misunderstanding and a breakdown in communication between Luther and the papacy. Modern educational theorist, Howard Gardner, would attribute this break in understanding to Luther's unique "intelligence."[1]

Like Martin Luther, Howard Gardner is one of the most well-known thinkers in his field. Unlike Luther, however, Gardner's focus is on human intelligence rather than on religion; he examines what it means to be intelligent, and seeks to understand, " . . . HOW people are smart as opposed to how smart they ARE."[2] Gardner's studies and research have molded education systems across the globe and transformed the understanding of intelligence from one form, IQ testing, to another, his Theory of Multiple Intelligences. Intelligence henceforth was no longer to be seen as a singular measurement that could be found by completing one exam; Gardner introduced a series of complex variants that exist within intelligence, the variants that make each individual unique.

Gardner's *Frames of Mind: The Theory of Multiple Intelligences*, was first published in 1983[3] and has been revisited several times in the last several decades as the author added and expanded upon his theory. The Theory of Multiple Intelligences, as originally published, identified seven Intelligences and suggested every person has some amount of each Intelligence, but most people are stronger in a few and therefore weaker in others. Even rarer are individuals who are extremely strong in one or two Intelligences.[4] This theory has become imperative to educators as they incorporate it into their classrooms in order to reach all students effectively.

The original seven Intelligences identified by Howard Gardner are: Linguistic, Musical, Logical-Mathematical, Spatial, Bodily-Kinesthetic, Interpersonal, and Intrapersonal Intelligence.[5] A decade after publishing his original theory, Gardner revisited the theory and

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[1] Howard Gardner, *Frames of Mind: The Theory of Multiple Intelligences* (New York: HarperCollins Publishers, 1983), vii.

[2] Ian J. McCoog, "The Existential Learner," *Clearing House: A Journal of Educational Strategies, Issues and Ideas*, vol. 83, no. 4 (January 2010): 126-128 at 126.

[3] McCoog, "The Existential Learner," 126.

[4] McCoog, "The Existential Learner," 126.

[5] Gardner, *Multiple Intelligences*, vii.

determined, based on his previously established criteria, another intelligence needed to be added to the list: Naturalist Intelligence.[6] Again, as Gardner published this information, he argued that people are a combination of different Intelligences in variations, and the human brain has the ability to constantly change.

In his theory, Gardner established basic criteria each "Intelligence" would have to meet before he would officially consider it one of the Intelligences. The first criteria is that the specific Intelligence must be able to be tied to one specific area of the brain. Secondly, the type of Intelligence needs to have been found in exceptional individuals within society. (One example could be a savant or prodigy who exhibits precision with the Intelligence.) Next, the Intelligence must have a set of "core operations" unique to it as an Intelligence. Additionally, the Intelligence must show development in humanity over time and history, supporting its importance as an Intelligence. There must be a "symbol system" that represents the Intelligence. And lastly, the Intelligence must be supported by psychological findings and studies.[7]

A brief explanation of each Intelligence runs as follows:

A person with high Linguistic Intelligence may be described as "word smart." Language seems to come easily to him or her; this individual enjoys reading and writing different types of literature.

Musical Intelligence is the ability to learn to play a musical instrument quickly and without much difficulty, as well as the ability to understand more complex theory of music and how musicality functions. Aside from musical performance, individuals with high Musical Intelligence also find rhythms and patterns in the world around them. [8]

Logical-Mathematical Intelligence yields precise mathematical and reasoning skills. People with high Logical-Mathematical Intelligence have great problem-solving abilities.[9]

High Spatial Intelligence is responsible for accelerated understanding of physical space, and how objects in space interact with one another. Great visual artists and chess champions are expected to have high Spatial Intelligence because they can easily relate to the space in which they are working in.[10]

Individuals with Bodily-Kinesthetic Intelligence may have been described as "natural athletes" or "sporty" as children. For these individuals, motor coordination developed swiftly and they learn best in hands on, interactive environments where they can manipulate materials.[11]

"People smart" is how individuals with high Interpersonal Intelligence are typically described. Interpersonal Intelligence gives people the ability to, " . . . notice distinctions among others; in particular, contrasts in their moods, temperaments, motivations, and intentions."[12]

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[6] Kathy Checkley, "The First Seven . . . and the Eight: A Conversation with Howard Gardner," *Educational Leadership* 55, no. 1 (1997): 8-13.

[7] McCoog, "The Existential Learner," 127.

[8] Gardner, *Multiple Intelligences*, 17.

[9] Gardner, *Multiple Intelligences*, 20.

[10] Gardner, *Multiple Intelligences*, 21-22.

[11] Gardner, *Multiple Intelligences*, 18-19.

[12] Gardner, *Multiple Intelligences*, 23.

Whereas a person with high *Inter*personal Intelligence can "read" those around him or her, a person with high *Intra*personal Intelligence has a, " . . . viable and effective model of himself or herself."[13] These individuals are very aware of their *own* emotions, feelings, and thoughts.

Gardner describes the Naturalist Intelligence as the, " . . . human ability to discriminate among living things (plants, animals) as well as sensitivity to other features of the natural world (clouds, rock configurations)."[14] Among those with high Naturalist Intelligence one would find highly regarded geologist, meteorologist, and plant taxonomists.

While these eight intelligences seem strikingly different at first, they all share together one common element that is often overlooked; a common relation to the *physical* world. Their primary concern is with the space, people, and other societal constructs such as language and music that surround human kind. As Gardner stated, people possess a combination of these intelligences, usually with a few that are stronger than others; however, it is possible for an individual to have a highly dominant Intelligence in one or two areas. This certainly seems to have been the case for Martin Luther who may have possessed what Gardner describes as the "half" Intelligence. More on this anon . . .

Gardner later revisited his theory and suggested yet another possible Intelligence: Existential Intelligence. People who posses a high Existential Intelligence may be described as "wonder smart" and they, "ponder the most fundamental questions of existence. Why do we live? Why do we die? Where do we come from? What is going to happen to us?"[15] When evaluating whether Existential Intelligence could join the ranks as the ninth Intelligence, Gardner hesitated because, researchers have not yet been able to pinpoint the activity of existential thought to one *specific* area of the brain.[16] This means Existential Intelligence falls short of one of Gardner's eight criteria (earning the "half Intelligence" nickname), but that may not be the case forever as psychological science continues to expand and improve the understanding of function of the human brain.

As with any research, Howard Gardner has his critics. Susan M. Barnett, Stephen J. Ceci, and Wendy M. Williams have criticized Gardner's theory, claiming that the theory focuses on a " . . . macrolevel orientation (for example, focusing on holistic performances such as spatial reasoning skills and verbal fluency) that can be distinguished from theories that focus on microlevel processing . . . In other words, multiple intelligence theories . . . usually are summarizations of macrolevel processes."[17] Barnett, Ceci, and Williams, argue that the Theory of Multiple Intelligences focuses only the overall performance of an individual as opposed to focusing on the more minute processes that lead to the completion of greater products. Gardner

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[13] Gardner, *Multiple Intelligences*, 25.

[14] Checkley, "The First Seven . . . and the Eight: A Conversation with Howard Gardner," 12.

[15] McCoog, "The Existential Learner," 127.

[16] McCoog, "The Existential Learner," 127.

[17] Susan M. Barnett, Stephen J. Ceci, Wendy M. Williams, "Is the Ability to Make a Bacon Sandwich a Mark of Intelligence?, and Other Issues: Some Reflections on Gardner's Theory of Multiple Intelligences," in *Howard Gardner Under Fire: The Rebel Psychologist Faces His* Critics, ed. Jeffery A. Schaler (Peru, Illinois: Carus Publishing Company, 2006), 102.

responded to this criticism by asserting that an individual could, " . . . belong to Mensa, with an IQ approaching 200, and yet never be able to execute anything of significance (except an IQ test!)"[18] In Gardner's opinion, it does little good if a person has a remarkably high IQ, or is able to fine tune minute details, yet is never able to apply that information to create anything larger or more meaningful. The smaller processes must be present for an individual to create a grand final product, but the final product is that which indicates the Intelligence, making the final products the most noteworthy to observe.

To say that Martin Luther was an individual of extremely high Existential Intelligence may seem somewhat controversial to some, but after analyzing his works and life, I would argue that Luther fit the explanation outlined by Gardner. Luther spent decades of his life writing and speaking out against the Catholic Church, well aware of the possible repercussions, because of his devotion to the spiritual well-being of his parishioners. From his time as a monk, throughout the rest of his life, Luther focused his thinking on a main question that fits closely with Gardner's description of Existential Intelligence: What is our role on earth?

For Luther, life on earth is meaningful, but not in the materialistic way as understood by so many. Luther developed an interesting understanding of labor and vocation that was, predictably, rooted in his relationship with God. In Luther's opinion, "God has called men to labor because . . . [God] labors."[19] Luther describes the importance of every vocation from tailors to shepherds to fisherman. To Luther, each vocation was crucial and respected because it was guided by God, and by serving in their vocation, humans were serving God and their fellow humans. The role of humans on earth, as understood by Luther, is to serve God and one another through vocational works, providing for and taking care of each other in times of need. Now, to others these vocations were likely "talents" or "trades," but Luther's Existential Intelligence led him to understand that there was greater meaning, or at least that there should be, behind the day to day tasks that humans fulfil. Through the completion of these vocations, and serving neighbors and God, Luther's Existential conclusion is that humans receive the grace of God through faith in God's promises and thereafter selflessly perform works out of their faith in God.

Through examination of the *95 Theses*, one can see how Martin Luther might have had an *extremely* high Existential Intelligence. Luther posted the *95 Theses* on October 31, 1517, on the Castle church at Wittenberg to express his concern over the actions of the papacy, especially in regard to the sale of indulgences within the Catholic Church. In ninety-five succinct statements Luther explained what he felt the papacy was doing wrong, and how the church officials were leading the followers of the church astray. The posting of the *95 Theses* was the beginning of Luther's years long clash with the papacy at Rome which ultimately ended in his excommunication.

The key point and common theme in the *95 Theses* is Luther's concern regarding the salvation of his parishioners. His greatest fear was his parishioners would die believing they had achieved salvation solely based on the fact that they had heeded the warning of the papal nuncio

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[18] Howard Gardner, "Replies to My Critics," in *Howard Gardner Under Fire: The Rebel Psychologist Faces His* Critics, ed. Jeffery A. Schaler (Peru, Illinois: Carus Publishing Company, 2006), 301.

[19] Roland Bainton, *Here I Stand: A Life of Martin Luther* (New York: Meridian, 1995), 181.

Johann Tetzel and had purchased indulgences, when in fact at least some of them would ultimately face eternal damnation because they were relying on a piece of paper rather than the living Word of God. For Luther, as a person with an extremely high Existential Intelligence, he was ultimately unconcerned with worldly problems that did not impact one's spiritual life. Instead, he stood up adamantly against the papacy in matters he believed could impact the salvation of his parishioners. His concerns about the Church's penitential practices were outlined throughout his *95 Theses.*

In Thesis Twenty-Seven Luther wrote, "There is no divine authority for preaching that the soul flies out of purgatory immediately as the money clinks in the bottom of the chest."[20] Luther was referencing the apparent promise of Johann Tetzel, a Dominican who sold indulgences in German territories, as well as high ranking officials at Rome, that indulgences had the power to reduce the time of a stay in purgatory. These individuals implied that a family member could even purchase an indulgence for a loved one who had already died, to reduce the time in purgatory for the deceased loved one. Luther was critical of this practice because there is no scriptural support for the sale of indulgences or what they may, or may not, be capable of. As a strong Existentialist, Luther was appalled that people were encouraged by the papacy to use a worldly currency to "purchase" their eternal salvation or "buy" reduced time in purgatory because he could clearly see that this was merely a worldly action fulfilling a worldly need, the papacy filling its pockets with money from indulgences, and not based upon faith in God at all. To Luther, this seemed perilous because he had become convinced that faith was the only way to ensure salvation, not meaningless actions on earth.

Thesis Seventy-Five reads, "It is foolish to think that papal indulgences have so much power that they can absolve a man even if he has done the impossible and violated the mother of God."[21] Luther made it clear he believed the pope did not have the power to absolve such an extreme sin. He also took issue with the fact that the papacy was selling indulgences, something worldly and not of scripture, to absolve something so serious, even if it may have been only an exaggeration. Again, this shows Luther's contempt for the corrupt role of worldly religious officials in matters of faith. In his opinion, the only facet of power in these religious matters was the faith of the believers. The pope has no control over the faith each individual has in God, Luther argued; therefore, he has no power to absolve such sins simply as he sees fit.

In Thesis Eighty-Two, Luther questioned the power of the pope when he asked, "Why does not the pope liberate everyone from purgatory for the sake of love . . . . Meanwhile he redeems innumerable souls for money, a most perishable thing, with which to build St. Peter's church, a very minor purpose."[22] Luther questioned the importance of worldly objects by referring to money and St. Peter's church as "perishable" and "minor," respectfully. In the eyes of the members of the Catholic Church, St. Peter's was built to be a tribute in honor of St. Peter, but Luther saw it as excessive and unnecessary, built on lies the papacy imposed on the lay

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[20] Martin Luther, *The Ninety-Five Theses*, in *Martin Luther: Selections from His Writings*, ed. John Dillenberger (New York: Anchor Books, 1962), 489-500 at 493.

[21] Luther, *The Ninety-Five Theses*, 498.

[22] Luther, *The Ninety-Five Theses*, 498.

people of the church. Luther's Existential mindset leads him to be extremely critical of how the pope is spending money, practically picking the pockets of fearful parishioners rather than displaying Christian Charity towards them. As an individual of extremely high Existential Intelligence, Luther clearly sees the insignificance of St. Peter's church in relationship to the salvation of church members, rather than encouraging greater faith in the power of God amongst the followers of Christ, this church building would only instill greater awe of the wealth of Rome and the papacy.

Similar to the *95 Theses*, Luther's *Appeal to the Ruling Class of German Nationality as to the Amelioration of the State of Christendom* (1520) holds more insight regarding Luther's Existential Intelligence. In this treatise, Luther, " . . . calls upon the ruling class to reform the Church, since the Church will not reform itself."[23] Luther outlined to the ruling class the problems developing within the church and the papacy. He then offers twenty-seven suggestions for improvements that the ruling class, as the secular authority, may implement in order to bring structure and righteousness back to the church.

Luther's Twenty-First suggestion regards poverty and the action of begging within the cities. Luther states, "No one living among Christians ought to go begging. It would be an easy law to make, if only we dared, and were in earnest that every town should support its own poor."[24] Luther suggested to the secular authorities that they must make it the responsibility of the entire town to care for those living in poverty within their community. Although Luther recognized that this might be difficult to implement unless the town's citizens were sincere, he seemed to believe wholeheartedly that this potentially could permanently solve the issue of poverty throughout Germany. Again, this ties to Luther's Existential Intelligence and his belief that the purpose of each individual in life is to serve his or her neighbor. Thus, Luther turned to a truly spiritual ideal in order to solve the worldly dilemma of poverty, once again showing his extremely strong Existential thinking.

Similarly, in his Eighteenth suggestion, Luther addresses the problem of the toxicity of festival days for church members. Luther wrote, "All festival days should be abolished, and Sunday alone retained . . . The reason for the proposed change is the present misuse of festival days in drinking, gaming, idleness, and all sorts of sins . . . no service is done to God . . . "[25] Luther took issue with the excessive number of festival days, which were meant to be spent giving thanks to God, but instead, by his day, had become whirlwinds of sin. Luther mentioned the fact that on these days, no service is done to God or others, for that matter, as parishioners spend the day idly. While others may have regarded festival days highly because of the possibilities for greater worship of God, Luther and his Existential Intelligence saw it as an excuse for people to unnecessarily cease fulfilling their servanthood before God and one another by putting off their divinely-sanctioned vocation in order to celebrate sinfully in the physical world.

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[23] Luther, *The Ninety-Five Theses*, 403.

[24] Luther, *The Ninety-Five Theses*, 460.

[25] Luther, *The Ninety-Five Theses*, 455.

Based on his writings, especially the *95 Theses* and *An Appeal to the Ruling Class*, one can conclude that Luther possessed an extremely high Existential Intelligence, perhaps so dominantly Existential that he found it difficult at times to relate to others who did not see things in the same way. Imagining Existential Intelligence as one of nine (or eight and a "half") Intelligences, and considering that it is the only intelligence that focuses on non-earthly relationships and ideals, one may assume that most people in the general population have a greater amount of intelligence in the other eight intelligences. Therefore, the majority of the population would have exhibited a greater concern over worldly preoccupations due to their own Intelligences, which were likely based on worldly ideas. For Luther, on the other hand, the primary concern was over greater existential questions, most importantly the salvation of his parishioners and their role on earth. At times, he surely must have felt that he was fighting an uphill battle since so few of his parishioners really understood his concerns. This difference in concerns and world-view between those with high Existential Intelligence, such as Martin Luther, and those with high and moderate Intelligence in any of the other eight Intelligences, the majority of the population, is a foundational reason why so many people, including other religious leaders, secular leaders, and lay people misunderstood or brushed off Luther's passionate pleas.

Martin Luther, Faith, and the Reformation of the Church
Rebekah Jones

The journey to reformation began when Martin Luther wrote the *95 Theses* in 1517. Forged in rage, this document laid the foundation for the ever changing and developing opinions and beliefs of Luther. During his preparation for the Leipzig debate in 1519, Luther's opinions grew to be more radical. Thus, the year 1520 was monumental for Martin Luther. He published three of his most important treatises that year, including *On the Freedom of a Christian*. Accompanying the treatise is a dedicatory letter addressed to Pope Leo X. In it, Luther is kind towards Pope Leo, whom he believes is being misled by those around him. In so doing, Luther is actively trying to gain his trust and convince him to follow his lead in reforming the Catholic Church. At the same time, the language of the letter is so inflammatory and the ideas of the treatise so revolutionary that there was never any real possibility that Pope Leo X would accept Luther's offer.

At first glance, the letter to Pope Leo X almost does not register as being written by Martin Luther, for he addresses Pope Leo X in high regards. It is unclear if Luther is genuine in his praises as this letter is the product of the papal nuncio Karl Miltitz's and the Augustinian friars' encouraging Luther to "address the pope a disclaimer of personal abusiveness and a statement of faith"[1] as a form of mediation. What is clear, though, is that Luther has an agenda: he hopes to gain Pope Leo's trust so that he may reform the Catholic church. Luther attempts to draw a distinction between the Roman See and the individual pontiff who occupies its seat, Pope Leo. He claims that he has not said horrid things about Pope Leo, that "to my knowledge, [I have] spoken only good and honorable words concerning you whenever I have thought of you."[2] All of this builds up to Luther asking, or in his words begging, to be given a hearing after he has proven himself with this letter, stating again that he has no ill will towards Pope Leo and adding that he has "no quarrel with any man concerning his morals but only concerning the word of truth."[3] Luther's demeanor changes when he writes that Rome is "more corrupt than any Babylon or Sodom ever was."[4] He continues stating how angry he is over the fact that "good Christians are mocked in your name and under the cloak of the Roman church"[5] and insists that he "will continue to resist your see as long as the spirits of faith lives in me."[6] Then Luther regains his composure and clarifies that he places no blame on Pope Leo himself for the current state of the church, but adds biblical examples to illustrate that Pope Leo is a lamb sitting amongst wolves.[7] Luther goes on to explain that it seems that his power is limited because even if Pope Leo were to begin the process of reformation, the consequences could potentially be deadly.[8] Luther tries to convince

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[1] Roland Bainton, *Here I Stand: A Life of Martin Luther* (New York: Meridian, 1977), 126.

[2] Martin Luther, *On the Freedom of the Christian*, in *Martin Luther: Selections from His Writings*, ed. and trans. John Dillenberger (New York: Doubleday, 1962), 42-85 at 44.

[3] Luther, *On the Freedom of the Christian*, 45.

[4] Luther, *On the Freedom of the Christian*, 45.

[5] Luther, *On the Freedom of the Christian*, 45.

[6] Luther, *On the Freedom of the Christian*, 45.

[7] Luther, *On the Freedom of the Christian*, 46.

[8] Luther, *On the Freedom of the Christian*, 46.

Pope Leo that he is telling him the truth because he wishes him well.[9] Luther ends his letter to Pope Leo X by giving Pope Leo a gift by dedicating the treatise of *The Freedom of a Christian* to him. *And what a gift it was!*

In the treatise itself, which Luther proceeded to dedicate to the pontiff, Luther first defines the tensions involved with being a Christian. Then he expounds upon the basic components of the Christian faith and what it requires of us, so that people can gain the benefits of being a Christian. *On the Freedom of a Christian* is thus a 'how to' guide on being a Christian the 'correct' way while at the same time pointing out the faults and dangers inherent in the Catholic church's teachings. Luther's purpose in writing this was to prove to Pope Leo X that he is qualified to lead the reformation of the Catholic Church. Luther's arguments towards the faults of the church were supported by scripture and his solutions were also supported by scripture, which in his opinion made his arguments and solutions valid, at least according to Luther's interpretation. As might be expected, however, the pontiff and other high Catholic clergy held rather different views from Luther's.

On the Freedom of a Christian begins with Luther stating how Christianity has been seen as an easy faith to embrace, though he quickly disregards this claim by stating that they "have not experienced it and have never tasted the great strength there is in faith."[10] To simplify the process, Luther presents two bold propositions in strong tension that concern the freedom and the bondage of the Christian:

(1) "A Christian is a perfectly free lord of all, subject to none"; and

(2) "A Christian is a perfectly dutiful servant of all, subject to all."[11]

Following the Apostle Paul, Luther recognizes the mystery involved here, namely, in that both propositions seem contradictory to each other, and yet, at the same time, he asserts, "If, however, they should be found to fit together they would serve out purpose beautifully."[12] Luther then goes on from there to do just that.

The first point that Luther explains is the man is composed of two sides, a spiritual side and a bodily side, which he further explains as the inner man and outer man. Luther claims that "no external thing has any influence in producing Christian righteousness or freedom, or in producing unrighteousness or servitude,"[13] so works and any other physical activities such as meditation, praying, fasting, and etc. cannot help gain justification. According to Luther, there is only two things that a Christian needs, namely, Christ and the Word of God which, according to Luther, is "rich and lacks nothing since it is the Word of Life."[14]

One common emphasis that appears in some, if not all, works by Martin Luther is the importance of faith. Faith helps a Christian gain righteousness and freedom. So where can faith be found? According to Luther, faith is received through scripture, which is divided into the

[9] Luther, *On the Freedom of the Christian*, 47.
[10] Luther, *On the Freedom of the Christian*, 52.
[11] Luther, *On the Freedom of the Christian*, 53.
[12] Luther, *On the Freedom of the Christian*, 53.
[13] Luther, *On the Freedom of the Christian*, 54.
[14] Luther, *On the Freedom of the Christian*, 54.

commandments and the promises. The commandments are the whole of the Old Testament. The commandments teach man what is good and what man ought to do, and explain how to satisfy the law, for the law has to be satisfied (though Luther concludes in the end that the law can only condemn us). The promises are found in the New Testament, which declares the glory of God, that through Him "has made all things depend on faith so that whoever has faith will have everything and whoever does not have faith will have nothing."[15] The commandments and the promises are interconnected, for the promises that God has given are the result of the commandments. The promises of God are thus to a Christian man: faith suffices for everything and there is no need for works for justification. This connects to what Luther calls the first power of faith, which is that one does not need the law or works for justification and salvation.

Luther goes on to talk about the Christian "who does not believe,"[16] in short the individual who does not believe in the Word of God and/or in Christ. Luther believes that those who do not believe are by nature deceived. Non-believers, according to Luther, are a servant to all, while everything that a non-believer does is inherently evil because they do things for their own advantage. Luther believes that the reason why non-believers are evil stems from human nature following the Fall, which can only be corrected through faith in Christ.

The benefits of being a believer of Jesus Christ include truth, righteousness, and uniting the soul to Christ. Luther compares uniting the soul to Christ with marriage, in that both become one flesh as Christ and his bride must share all of the things that are their own. In doing this, Christ shares the weight of sins, death, and hell that his believer possesses and in turn the believer is freed from sins, death, and hell and is granted righteousness, life, and salvation.

Luther believes that all Christians receive the priesthood through faith, which allows them to be worthy enough to appear before God, to pray for others, and to teach the things that are of God. Above all, Luther believes that helping one's fellow man is a Christian's responsibility, one that is passed down to us from Jesus Christ as we model our lives after him. Luther then criticizes the Catholic Church by questioning why there should be a difference in power and authority between a priest and the laymen when scripture does not support such a claim. He further criticizes the Roman Church with the fact that the God calls ministers to serve others and teach them the teachings of Christ and the freedom that comes with being a believer, precisely the opposite of what the clergy of his day were doing.

Along with the priesthood, according to Luther, Christians are a part of God's kingdom. Luther quotes 1 Peter 2:9: "You are a chosen race, God's own people, a royal priesthood, a priestly kingdom, that you may declare the wonderful deeds of him who called you out of darkness into his marvelous light."[17] But being a part of the priestly kingdom does not spare Christians of suffering; in fact, Luther believes that "the more Christian a man is, the more evils, sufferings, and deaths he must endure."[18]

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[15] Luther, *On the Freedom of the Christian*, 58.

[16] Luther, *On the Freedom of the Christian*, 64.

[17] Luther, *On the Freedom of the Christian*, 63.

[18] Luther, *On the Freedom of the Christian*, 63

Luther then turns his attention to the outward man, explaining why good works are commanded even though faith does everything. The first part of Luther's treatises explains that a "A Christian is a perfectly free lord of all." This is accomplished through faith. The second part explains that "a Christian is a perfectly dutiful servant of all, subject to all." This is covered by the outward man and good works that result from his faith. This is where the real work begins: "Here a man cannot enjoy leisure; here he must indeed take care to discipline his body by fastings, watchings, labors, and other reasonable discipline."[19] In doing this the person is weakening their outer self so that they can be taken over by the spirit so that it will conform to the inner man and thus, the inner man rejoices for it can reap the benefits. The key point of this though is that the person has to do this purely out of wanting to please God, for if it is done in a wanting an advantage way then it is invalid.

Though faith and good works are intertwined so that one cannot be done without the other, they both don't have the same value. Without faith Luther believes that those works no longer have positive value; instead they are done out of evil or as a result of deception. The exception to this is if the person first becomes a believer and a Christian, for a believer does good works not because of the good works per se, but rather, because they believe. Therefore, a non-believer who does good works, is not a good person, because since s/he is a non-believer, his/her intentions cannot be pure and good because they are deceived and are deceiving others. Again, the thing that makes a person evil is not their evil works, but their human nature along with the fact that they lack faith.

This treatise in particular was the cause of a lot of commotion, especially among the peasants who read it or else had it read to them. Luther later claimed that the peasants had misinterpreted what he meant by a Christian being "a perfectly free lord of all, subject to none." Peasants' daily life consisted of laboring for their lords, and though in turn they were able to live, they in fact had little control over their lives. So, a peasant reading or hearing *On the Freedom of a Christian* would not have truly understood what Luther actually meant in his distinction between spiritual liberty and earthly freedom.

In the end, the fault of the Peasants' Revolt of 1525 could not be laid at a single individual's doorstep because several factors ultimately led to the revolt, with the first factor being the hierarchy of the Catholic Church, the system in which all of the clergy including priests, bishops, archbishops, cardinals, and the pope were seen as being the highest in authority. This system demands that there be a laity over which the ecclesiastical elites exercise control. Though the clergy did not have direct control over the peasants in terms of the tasks they performed every day, they did have control over the peasant's religious life. For example, the clergy encouraged peasants to give up their hard-earned money as offerings and to buy indulgences so that they could gain entrance into heaven or at least shorten their sentence in purgatory. Along with the peasants' other demands outlined in their famous *Twelve Articles*, this control may have led the peasants to denounce the church and in turn help lead to the revolt.

A second factor, of course, was Martin Luther and his writings, especially *On the Freedom of a Christian.* In the treatise, Luther addresses all Christians as equals, "be they princes or

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[19] Luther, *On the Freedom of the Christian*, 67.

commoners, and by insisting on their freedom, he broke with social deference."[20] This undermined the power structure between the peasants and the elite nobility. Luther then extended this to religious freedom by stating that "everyone can pass a safe judgement on all works and laws and make a trustworthy distinction between them and know who are the blind and ignorant pastors and who are the good and true"[21] Lastly, Luther trusted that people would understand the treatise in the same way that he did, that in Christ the inner man is free and the outer man is dutiful, not vice versa. He could be called naïve because of this or just plain ignorant to the fact that the peasants were not educated in the way that he was.

In conclusion, it is evident that Luther had the people's best interest in mind and was very adamant about this. In the letter to Pope Leo X, Luther states multiple times that he has no ill will towards Pope Leo and claims to believe that Pope Leo has no control over the current state of the church, but does this in a contradictory way and then goes on to explain that the church stands in grave need of reform, which in itself implies that the church leaders have not been doing their jobs. The treatise itself is essentially a guide on how to be a Christian the correct way, which in turn is a guide for how the church should be reformed. His primary motive is to try to convince the pontiff and higher Catholic clergy that they should follow his lead in reforming the church because he understands through scripture what is wrong with it and how its erroneous practices can best be corrected.

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[20] Lyndal Roper, *Martin Luther: Renegade and Prophet* (New York: Random House, 2016), 156.

[21] Luther, *On the Freedom of the Christian*, quoted in Roper, *Martin Luther: Renegade and Prophet*, 168.

His Body, His Blood, and Our Baptism:
Martin Luther's True Sacraments
Emma Kate McMurtry

In the early sixteenth century, people of faith relied on the papacy to guide their spiritual lives. The general public did not even have access to the writings of the Catholic Church in their native tongue, since Latin was the official language for all published works. Martin Luther, an Augustinian monk and priest, challenged not only the language barrier, but also many precepts of the Church of Rome, on the basis that its leaders were deceiving faithful believers and jeopardizing their salvation. In 1517, Luther's *95 Theses* began a string of publications in which he repeatedly challenged the beliefs and practices of the papacy; these criticisms would ultimately initiate what became known as the Protestant Reformation.[1] Luther's treatise, *The Babylonian Captivity of the Church* (1520), for example, addressed several issues, but Luther's main concern here was to determine which of the Catholic sacraments were authentic.[2] Luther believed that, in order for a religious act to be considered a sacrament, it needed both a basis in Scripture and support from a verifiable act of Christ. This definition of a sacrament was seen as too extreme and even as heretical by the Romanists. However, Luther felt that relying upon sacraments that did not meet these requirements might risk one's salvation. In the end, only Baptism and the Lord's Supper met Luther's strict standards as true sacraments; marriage, confirmation, Holy orders, extreme unction, and Penance were, in Luther's mind, mere creations of the Church that had the effect of deceiving the public by increasing their reliance on Rome and the clergy. Through his treatise, Luther hoped to empower the people of God to assume responsibility for their personal salvation, free them of the narrow and prescribed path Rome had set, and recognize the sacramental gifts of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit.

The first key point Luther makes clear in his treatise is that he denies divine jurisdiction to the papacy, but he credits them with human jurisdiction. He admits he has learned a lot from his opponents, but then immediately jumps into the discussion of the Eucharist, specifically of communion in both kinds for the laity. In the medieval Church the laity received the bread, but the wine was restricted to the priest administering the sacrament. Because he mentions this so early in his treatise, even before he declares Holy Communion to be an official sacrament, Luther makes it clear that this is an issue about which he is very passionate. Luther is critical of a certain opponent, Hieronymus Emser, and his treatise, THE INFALLIBLE FOUNDATION. Emser argues that John 6:48-63, where Christ proclaims, "I am the living bread," means that the laity should only receive one element of communion, the body (bread), while the blood (wine) remained reserved only for the clergy.[3] Luther emphatically rejects his opponent's claims. He denies Emser's interpretation of the verses in John 6—"Truly we must grant that the Leipzig professor of the Bible can prove anything he pleases from any passage of Scripture whatever."

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[1] Roland Bainton, *Here I Stand: A Life of Martin Luther* (New York: Meridian, 1995), 60.

[2] Martin Luther, *The Pagan Servitude* [i.e., *Babylonian Captivity*] *of the Church*, in *Martin Luther: Selections from His Writings*, ed. John Dillenberger (New York: Anchor Books, 1962), 249-359 at 249.

[3] Luther, *The Babylonian Captivity of the Church*, 253.

Emser interprets a parallel passage by the Apostle Paul in I Corinthians 11 as saying that communion in both kinds "is permitted by the Lord," whereas Luther argues that the correct rendering would be, "I have received [the bread and the cup] of the Lord." Luther concludes that "it is most impious to deny to the laity the use of both kinds in Holy Communion." [4] This argument for communion of both kinds had been made by an earlier reformer, later accused heretic, Jan Hus, whom Luther defends.[5] This debate led Luther right into the argument of which Catholic sacraments are still sacraments and which are simply rites or ceremonies. He denies all the sacraments except the Lord's Supper, Baptism, and Penance; though later he will also deny the sacrament of Penance.

For something to be a sacrament in Luther's mind there must be word and sign. The sacraments are not sacred or efficacious on their own but because they were found in the Scripture along with a sign, established by Christ. Luther says, "Let us confine ourselves to the very words by which Christ instituted and completed the sacrament, and commended it to us. For these words alone and apart from everything else, contain the power, the nature, and the whole substance of the mass. All the rest are human productions, additions to the words of Christ, things without the mass could still continue, and remain at its best."[6] The receiver of God's grace must have sacramental faith in the promise in order for the sacrament or sign to take place. Grace is made real through the faith in the promise that has been made between God and humans. Throughout all of this, the faith of the believer is strengthened. The description proves this idea he makes for each Catholic sacrament, when he either confirms or denies them as sacraments. Luther does not deny the others as rites or ceremonies in faith, but he restricts the title of "sacrament" to those who have a sign commanded by Christ attached to the divine promise.

While Luther is addressing the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, he again makes the argument for both kinds of communion for the laity. He also mentions the Bohemians, followers of Hus, and how they were right to want communion of both body and blood. He asks why one part of the sacrament is more sacred than the other and argues that to withhold either of the elements from the people, bread or wine, was to invalidate the whole of the sacrament. He views this as another way to suppress the laity and deceive them of their salvation in heaven, he says, "I conclude, therefore, that to deny both kinds to the laity is impious and oppressive; and it is not in the power of any angel, nor of any pope or council whatever to deny them."[7] Along with withholding both kinds from the laity, Luther thinks the papacy is depriving them of God's grace by keeping the Scripture in their possession. The papacy did not allow for the laity to engage in debate over Scripture and its meaning. While they see this as eliminating any misinterpretations, Luther sees this action as withholding the Word of God from His people. He believes the mass should be said in the vernacular and the Bible written in languages other than Latin. He says, "and that he would do it in the vernacular, whatever that may be, in order that faith may be the more effectively awakened. For why should it be permissible to celebrate the mass in Greek,

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[4] Luther, *The Babylonian Captivity of the Church*, 254-255.

[5] Bainton, *Here I Stand*, 89.

[6] Luther, *The Babylonian Captivity of the Church*, 271-272.

[7] Luther, *The Babylonian Captivity of the Church*, 263.

Latin, and Hebrew, but not in German or any other language?"[8] During the mass, when the priest elevates the bread and wine as a sacrifice to God, Luther believes this experience would be more intimate and personal if the congregation heard the words and understood them in their native language.

He then ponders if transubstantiation, the transformation of bread into body and wine into blood, is really what is happening to the bread and body or if it is simply consubstantiation, the difference being that Luther does not believe there needs to be a complete transformation but rather, that Christ coexists with the bread and wine. He asks why Christ cannot already be present in the bread and wine, and why a priest must convert bread and wine into body and blood. Christ only used the words, "This is my body," and "This is my blood." Luther questions the element of sacrifice involved in the transformation and believes that no priest is necessary for the elements to become Christ, only faith in the promise of the sign. Luther argues that the priest cannot make God nor does he sacrifice Christ again. He points out that the Church never mentioned the word, transubstantiation for over 1,200 years and that there is no scriptural evidence of a transformation; if Christ intended for there to be a repeated sacrifice, he would have said so at the Last Supper.[9] There is Christ's body and blood which is present in the substances of bread and wine. "The sacrament of the mass must not be magical but mystical, not a performance of a rite but the experience of a presence."[10] This is where faith in the promise comes into play; if there is no faith in the promise then there is no Christ in the bread and wine. Although he has these complaints about how the Catholic Church is performing the sacrament, he still labels it a sacrament. This is because of Christ's commands at the Last Supper with his Apostles. Christ proclaims his body and blood in the bread and wine and commands his followers to take and eat as well as drink. There is both word and sign of God's grace made real through the faith in this divine promise.

The second sacrament Luther recognizes is Baptism, although it is different than how he views the Lord's Supper. Baptism is much more important in his eyes. Baptism saves humans from the Original Sin that we inherited in the fall from God. It is a divine promise from God and whoever believes he is saved will be saved. Luther believes this promise is more crucial than any other promise, vow, or order that men take. This is the promise that salvation depends upon, because without faith there can be no salvation. Without believing in God's grace, Baptism means nothing and this is what is bothering Luther. He is convinced that Christians are forgetting their baptism and the promise, but if they remember their baptism then their faith will be strengthened just as if they participate in the Lord's Supper.

Luther calls on all children of God, at all stages of life, to remember their covenant with God by living a penitent and Christ-like life. The reason that people are forgetting their baptism is because people are easily distracted and deceived by outside sources. He believes the ceremonies and rituals that the papacy emphasizes only take away from the promise given in baptism, for these ceremonies have not been commanded by Christ. Scripture and faith in God's

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[8] Luther, *The Babylonian Captivity of the Church*, 288.

[9] Luther, *The Babylonian Captivity of the Church*, 267.

[10] Bainton, *Here I Stand*, 107.

promises, especially Baptism and the Lord's Supper, are the only paths to salvation according to Luther, and they should be the focus of people's lives. This derives from the idea that humans need to be living Christ-like lives, with works done in love and faith and a life of penitence. When Christ faced his impending crucifixion he placed all of his faith in His Father; on the cross itself, He says, "Father into your hands I commend my spirit."[11] Luther would ask believers even in their darkest times to place their faith in God just as Christ did immediately before giving up his spirit.

Luther also focuses on the importance of baptizing children. He says, "Today baptism is of the highest advantage for them. For if this sacrament were administered only to grown-up people and older folk, I do not believe it could retain its power and beauty in the teeth of the overwhelming greed and superstition which have overthrown all religion among us."[12] He thinks that if the Church focused solely upon baptizing adults it would become another way for the papacy to make money by implementing regulations, restrictions, rules, and preparations that would add up to a generous sum, even if believers were not paying for the sacraments themselves. The innocence of children prevents such acts from taking place, but once again Luther thinks similar distractions in adulthood are causing people to overlook their baptism and the gift that it is. "That situation has given rise to innumerable impositions of vows, orders, and manmade ordinances, for which the whole world has hardly room."[13] Luther writes, addressing the many rouses with which he thinks the Catholic Church is deceiving humanity. These things that are supposed to save someone and bring them closer to their salvation are just false promises. If faith in the promise of baptism is strong, then one could not be deceived or need these other interruptions from a Christ-like life. Another reason Luther believes that infants should be baptized is because they are helped by vicarious faith.[14] When a child is presented for baptism, the faith of all those around him or her is given to the child as well as strengthened for those people, that for a believing community the whole is cleansed, changed, and renewed. The reason for this is that the child is not yet able to have faith in the promise God's offering and the sacraments are not themselves efficacious, according to Luther, and so the community must believe this child has been saved and raise him/her in faith.[15]

In this section of his treatise, Luther makes two main points about baptism. The first is the divine promise offered by Christ, "He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved."[16] This quote follows Luther's sacrament requirement of Scripture, because it not only is a promise, but it is *the* promise. A person's salvation rests in his or her ability to have faith in the promise of baptism, and Luther does not think this point has been ingrained in the minds of Christians. "The people ought to have been taught this message, and this promise should have been constantly

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[11] Luke 23:46 (NIV).

[12] Luther, *The Babylonian Captivity of the Church*, 292.

[13] Luther, *The Babylonian Captivity of the Church*, 293.

[14] Luther, *The Babylonian Captivity of the Church*, 307.

[15] Luther, *The Babylonian Captivity of the Church*, 308.

[16] Mark 16:16 (KJV).

recalled, and faith should have been constantly aroused and cultivated."[17] Once the promise has been accepted, nothing can take away the salvation that follows. This places faith in this promise at the front line in the fight for salvation. Luther even goes so far to say that no sins can damn a man, but only disbelief in God's promise. Therefore, when sins are repented and people regain their faith, they are only returning to their baptism. Luther says this quite beautifully, "For the truth of the promise, once made, abides us forever, ready with outstretched arms to receive us when we return."[18] He warns humanity to be careful where they place their trust, for only faith in the promise can save them, while it is clearly human nature to be distracted from God's path.

As said before, in order for Baptism to be a sacrament it needs to be scriptural and instituted by Christ. The reason Baptism passes this second test for Luther is in the wording of the Baptismal rite. "The words themselves bear this out: 'I baptize you in the name of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit, Amen.' The minister does not say: 'I baptize you in my name.' he says, as it were: 'This which I am doing, I am not doing by my own authority, but in the stead and in the name of God; and what you receive is just the same as if the Lord Himself had given it visibly.'"[19] Baptism is not performed by human hands but through them. The priest is an agent performing a rite in the name of the Holy Trinity. Thus Luther argues that the benefit of Baptism lies more in the faith of the recipient than the practice of the administrator.[20]

The second major point for Luther about baptism is the immersion into water. Catholicism states that the sacraments themselves are efficacious and believe there is a spiritual virtue in both word and water, but Luther believes it cannot convey grace without faith. The faith of the promise is the most important thing to Luther, but he still believes a baptism should be a full immersion, a representation of death and resurrection. "For this reason I would that those who are to be baptized were wholly submerged in the water, as the term implies and the mystery signifies; not that I consider it necessary to do so, but that I consider it to be a beautiful act to give to the sign of Baptism as fully and completely as possible."[21] Christ was washed of His mortality when He died and rose again, and that is what baptism does for sinners; to die completely and to rise to eternal life in Christ. Hence, as Christ was submerged by John the Baptist (though probably not entirely so), Luther believes humans should be submerged as well even though his is not required. Moreover, the sacrament of Baptism may only happen once, but it bathes the recipient in grace for a lifetime. "How pernicious is the error of supposing that the power of baptism is annulled by sin," Luther argued.[22] "The sacrament of baptism, even as a sign, is not a momentary action, but something permanent."[23] Every day people face the temptation to sin and to act in sinful ways, but the faith in baptism allows for this 'resurrection' to happen every time a person 'dies' and leads them closer to eternity with Christ.

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[17] Luther, *The Babylonian Captivity of the Church*, 293.

[18] Luther, *The Babylonian Captivity of the Church*, 293-294.

[19] Luther, *The Babylonian Captivity of the Church*, 297.

[20] Luther, *The Babylonian Captivity of the Church*, 298.

[21] Luther, *The Babylonian Captivity of the Church*, 302.

[22] Luther, *The Babylonian Captivity of the Church*, 295.

[23] Luther, *The Babylonian Captivity of the Church*, 302.

Although Baptism and the Lord's Supper are the only sacraments Luther recognizes, throughout the focus of this treatise he continues to write on the rest of the Catholic sacraments. His main points that denounce the other five sacraments mostly address the authority the papacy has over Christians and the duties of the clergy. The first is that confession of secret sins can be said to any brother of the faith.[24] As long as a sinner is confessing his sins and genuinely asking for God's mercy, it should not matter to whom s/he confesses, but the clergy have reserved this act for themselves. Luther sees this as another way of oppressing and extorting faithful people. Accordingly, anyone can go to God without need of the intercession of a priest. This idea for penance leads to Luther's claim that all Christians are priests and Holy Orders are not a sacrament either. He already absolved the need for a priest when he denounced transubstantiation but he does recognize their responsibility to preach and baptize. Luther writes, "The whole world is full of priests, bishops, cardinals, and clergy, not one of whom, as far as his official responsibilities go, is a preacher unless apart from the sacrament of ordination, he is called upon to preach by virtue of some other requirement different from that of ordination."[25] He urges men to refuse ordination unless they believe themselves above the laity just because they have been given the "sacrament" of ordination.[26] The last point he makes about the clergy is the right for them to marry, for if everyone is a priest and the real calling is to be a preacher, then why would he not be allowed to marry? It is no different than if a believer whose job is a blacksmith has the right to be married. By denouncing a divine promise in ordination, Luther thus opens the door for clerical marriage. All three of these points run together, and it is easy to understand Luther's logic, especially as a priest who would like to take a wife or a German man who wishes to confess his sins to a close friend instead of an Italian-appointed priest.

As can be imagined, the large and powerful Catholic Church did not take this treatise well and the Pope excommunicated Luther on January 3, 1521.[27] The bull of the previous year, *Exsurge Domine*, had already condemned Martin Luther in no uncertain terms: "In virtue of our pastoral office committed to us by the divine favor we can under no circumstances tolerate or overlook any longer the pernicious poison of the above errors without disgrace to the Christian religion and injury to orthodox faith."[28] But even the threat of excommunication could not change Luther's mind. For Baptism and the Lord's Supper have a divine promise and have been commanded by Christ himself, where the other sacraments have not. As Roland Bainton observed, "The most radical of these [treatises] in the eyes of contemporaries was the one dealing with the sacraments, entitled *The Babylonian Captivity*, with reference to the enslavement of the sacraments by the Church."[29] These fundamental fissures sit at the heart of the schism known today as the Protestant Reformation.

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[24] Luther, *The Babylonian Captivity of the Church*, 319.

[25] Luther, *The Babylonian Captivity of the Church*, 346.

[26] Luther, *The Babylonian Captivity of the Church*, 348.

[27] *Decet Romanum Pontificem*, January 3, 1521, *Papal Encyclicals Online*, http://www.papalencyclicals.net/Leo10/l10decet.htm (accessed October 21, 2017).

[28] Pope Leo X, *Exsurge Domine* (June 15, 1520), *Papal Encyclicals Online*, http://www.papalencyclicals.net/Leo10/l10exdom.htm (accessed October 21, 2017).

[29] Bainton, *Here I Stand*, 105.

Calling to the German Nobility:
Why the Church Needs Reforming
Rebecca Thorpe

On October 31, 1517, Martin Luther posted his *95 Theses* to the door of the Castle Church in Wittenberg, Germany, thus, ushering in the first step of the Protestant Reformation. Three years later, in 1520, having abandoned hope of reform by the clergy, he penned *An Appeal to the Ruling Class of German Nationality as to the Amelioration of the State of Christendom* as a means by which to try to reform the Catholic Church with the help of the nobility of Germany. From 1517 to 1520 was an important time: Luther was summoned to appeal to the pope, the Holy Roman Emperor Maximillian died and Charles V was elected in his stead, Luther debated with Eck in Leipzig, and then Luther was excommunicated from the church. Because the nobility of Germany had more influence than Luther did in the church he penned his *Appeal* to explain to them why the reformation needed to happen and how it would benefit them and the country. He had tried to do this through the clergy before, but they seen him as a heretic. In taking such radical action, Luther is concerned not only for his own soul, but those of his parishioners as well. He believes that the Catholic church is not looking out for them because it has become corrupted. Luther also needs the help of the nobles so that Germany will not end in financial ruin. Through his strong belief in God and his understanding and interpretation of the scripture, and understanding of the business of the church, Luther tries to convince the nobles to stand up and push for reform.

Luther begins telling the nobles, "All classes in Christendom, particularly in Germany, are now oppressed by distress and affliction, and this has stirred not only me but everyman to cry out anxiously for help."[1] This had come to light three years prior when Pope Leo X and Albrecht of Mainz decided to sell indulgences to pay for St. Peters' Basilica at Rome in the archdiocese of Mag-de-burg. According to Luther, these indulgences were fake. "The pope has neither the will nor the power to remit any penalties beyond those imposed either at his own discretion or by cannon law."[2] Thus he began to look into the dealings of the church and ultimately called for reform. In *The Clash of Ideas in World Politics*, John M. Owen observes, "The Church was a major landholder and her princes (i.e., bishops), including the Pope, held temporal power over specified territories. The Church was not under the authority of secular princes and resisted, usually successfully, attempts by the latter to tax them."[3] Luther hints at this when he explains, "It came to pass in former times that good princes, Emperors Frederick I and II, and many other German emperors, were shamelessly trodden underfoot and oppressed by the popes whom all the

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[1] Martin Luther, *An Appeal to the Ruling Class of German Nationality as to the Amelioration of the State of Christendom*, in *Martin Luther: Selections from His Writings*, ed. John Dillenberger (New York: Anchor Books, 1962) 403-485 at 405.

[2] Luther, *An Appeal to the Ruling Class of the German Nationality*, 490.

[3] John M. Owen, "Church and State 1500-1700," in *The Clash of Ideas in World Politics: Transnational Networks, States, and Regime Change, 1510-2010*, by John M. Owen IV (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2010), 79-121 at 89.

world feared."[4] The nobility of Germany created and enforced the law, and under canon law any member of the clergy was exempt from all secular laws and taxes imposed by the German nobility. Luther asks, "What is the purpose of Romanist writers who make laws by which they exempt themselves from the secular Christian authorities?"[5] By appealing to the power struggles held between the clergy and the nobility Luther attempts to convince the nobles to call for reform, both in how the church is run and also of its teachings.

In his *An Appeal to the Ruling Class of German Nationality*, Luther identifies three "walls" the Romanists have instilled to protect them from reform. The first wall he brings to light the idea that the clergy call themselves the religious class, while all others, including royals are members of the secular class. Owen reinforces this when he calls the bishops and cardinals princes of the church. Luther, though, insists that "all Christians whatsoever really and truly belong to the religious class." He also argues that all Christians are equally priests as well.[6] Thus, he implies that the nobility should have the same authority and power as members of the clergy and papacy. Roland Bainton, in his book entitled, *Here I Stand: A Life of Martin Luther*, interoperates that the first wall puts "spiritual power above the temporal" and thus the church should not have the political power that it was exercising in Luther's day.[7] He goes on to give an example that if a member of the clergy murdered someone, they would typically be absolved and go unpunished, while if a peasant did this they would be punished to the full extent of the secular law. Thus, the argument was made, why should only members of the clergy be exempt when all Christians are priests? Or why should the clergy be exempt at all since their status is no different from the laity?

Luther believes that the office of the clergy is to preach the word of God and officiate sacraments while that of the seculars is to protect the righteous and punish evildoers. The clergy should have no more power than those of the secular class. The clergy play a different role, but they are not exempt from the laws and punishments created by the seculars. This is also where Luther states his doctrine of the priesthood of the believer: "our baptism consecrates us all without exception, and makes us all priests."[8] To Luther everyone was deemed a priest because "our baptism consecrates us all without exception and makes us all priests."[9] In the first days of the Catholic Church the laymen would choose who among them would become priests and bishops. Thus, if they were to be removed from their position they went back to be a layman, whereas now they remained a priest or bishop for life. To Luther no one should put themselves on a higher pedestal based on their religious standing.

The second wall for Luther is that "the Romanists profess to be the only interpreters of scripture, even though they never learn anything contained in it their lives long."[10] They claim

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[4] Luther, *An Appeal to the Ruling Class of the German Nationality*, 405.
[5] Luther, *An Appeal to the Ruling Class of the German Nationality*, 410
[6] Luther, *An Appeal to the Ruling Class of the German Nationality*, 407.
[7] Roland H. Bainton, *Here I Stand: A Life of Martin Luther* (New York: Meridian, 1995), 119.
[8] Luther, *An Appeal to the Ruling Class of the German Nationality*, 408.
[9] Luther, *An Appeal to the Ruling Class of the German Nationality*, 408.
[10] Luther, *An Appeal to the Ruling Class of the German Nationality*, 412.

powers awarded to the pope and insist that as pope he cannot err, but they never use scripture to back up their claims. Luther asks the question, "Who could enlighten Christian people if the Pope erred?" His answer is that everyone should be able to do so, for all Christians are priests and thus can interpret the scripture.[11] He says the reason they could not trust the pope's interpretation is because he did not have true faith like other, good Christians. Thus, he asks, "why then should we not distinguish what accords or does not accord with the faith quite as well as an unbelieving Pope?"[12] In other words, he asks the nobility, why should you not be allowed to interpret scripture? You are just as knowledgeable. He ends by saying, "Hence it is the duty of every Christian to accept the implications of the faith, understand and defend it, and denounce everything false." To date the princes either have not understood this as their responsibility or they have been prevented from doing so by the papacy and canon law.[13]

The third wall according to Luther is that the pope is the only one who can summon a church council. Luther argues that according to scripture this is not how it is supposed to be, for St. Peter was not one to call the first council of the church but the apostles and elders; this is backed up by the Bible in Acts 15:22 which states, "Then the apostles and elders, with the whole church, decided to choose delegates from among themselves to send to Antioch with Paul and Barnabas."[14] The council was not selected by St. Peter but by the church, and so Luther makes the point that the pope does not have the authority to be the only one to hold a council, and that if the nobles want a reformation in the church they should push for a council to be convened. Bainton states, "Here again the priesthood of all believers gave the right to anyone in an emergency, but peculiarly to the civil power because of its strategic position."[15] Luther also recalls how the council of Nicaea was not called by the pope, but by the Emperor Constantine. He urges the German nobility, "No one is able to do this as the secular authorities, especially since they are also fellow Christians, fellow priests, similarly religious, and of similar authority in all respects," so they must act quickly on calling for reform.[16] Luther notes as well that the church at present is much like a town on fire. Are we going to stand aside and let it burn, he asks, because we do not have the mayor's authority to put it out? Or are we going to act right away and put it out before it gets worse? Before he goes to speak on what needs to be brought up at the council he tells the reader, "The church has no authority except to promote the greater good. Hence if the Pope should exercise his authority to prevent a free council, and so hinder the reform of the church, we ought to pay no regard to him or his authority."[17] Thus the pope and his minions collectively are the antichrist and share nothing in common with Jesus except in name. Indeed, "if an authority does anything against Christ, it is due to the power of the antichrist and of the devil, even if that authority makes it rain and hail miracles and plagues."[18]

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[11] Luther, *An Appeal to the Ruling Class of the German Nationality*, 413.

[12] Luther, *An Appeal to the Ruling Class of the German Nationality*, 414.

[13] Luther, *An Appeal to the Ruling Class of the German Nationality*, 414-415.

[14] Acts15:22 (NJB).

[15] Bainton, *Here I Stand*, 119.

[16] Luther, *An Appeal to the Ruling Class of the German Nationality*, 416.

[17] Luther, *An Appeal to the Ruling Class of the German Nationality*, 416.

[18] Luther, *An Appeal to the Ruling Class of the German Nationality*, 417.

Next Luther creates a list of the things that need to be reformed in the church. The first is that the pope should not call himself the Vicar of Christ. He says that the pope acts and lives like he is the King of Kings and not a humble servant, and that the Romanists "declare him Lord of the earth."[19] This is not who the pope should be; he should be Christ-like, not Christ. If the pope continues in this way, then soon Germans will be forced to bow down to him and treat him like royalty. The second point Luther makes is that the papacy is gaining control of monasteries, parishes, institutions and benefices by creating new cardinals to oversee their properties and incomes. He says that, because of this, Italy is distraught and now the pope is bringing this to Germany. He believes this could possibly be the ruin of Germany because the monasteries are going bankrupt trying to keep the cardinals in Rome. According to Luther the Cardinals believe that "the drunken Germans will not understand what the game is, till not a single bishopric . . . not a cent or farthing, is left for them."[20] Luther suggests that the best way to deal with this problem is to create far fewer cardinals and award them fixed incomes; if the pope insists on doing otherwise, he should pay the cardinals from his own resources. Instead of acting as wealthy property owners, the clergy should be missionaries of God, doing what is best for the people and the church. By knowingly allowing these organizations to pay a majority of their income to Rome and to the cardinals overseeing them, thus preventing them from growing and serving their community, the clergy is deemed guilty then of misplaced priorities.

The third thing that must be changed is that the pope employs too many people in all throughout Europe. Luther estimates that pope employs around 3,000 secretaries along with countless other employees. Along with this the papacy is taxing Germany heavily: "some estimate that more than 300,000 guilders go annually from Germany to Rome" while Germany receives nothing good in return.[21] Years prior the German nobility gave the pope permission to take half of the first year's income of any bishop, to help pay for the war against the Turks. This though got abused and now is the full year's income and is considered a tax paid to Rome. The Romanists believe that the Germans are fools and will never catch on to their scheming plans. Luther states that the Germans must protect their country. Indeed, "the German bishops and princes ought not to allow their country and people to be so pitiably harassed and impoverished without any regard for justice"; instead, they should make a law stating that annates are either suspended or abolished since Rome has no right to them.[22] The Germans must stand up for themselves and not allow Rome to control them.

Rome takes property and benefices in other ways as well. The first is "if anyone possessing a "free" living [i.e., an unattached benefice] should die in Rome or on his way there, that living [by default] becomes the property in perpetuity of the Romish . . . papacy."[23] This would be beneficial to Rome because the journey there is long and potentially dangerous. Death would be common on this journey and thus Rome could gain the property easily. Secondly, if

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[19] Luther, *An Appeal to the Ruling Class of the German Nationality*, 419.

[20] Luther, *An Appeal to the Ruling Class of the German Nationality*, 419.

[21] Luther, *An Appeal to the Ruling Class of the German Nationality*, 421.

[22] Luther, *An Appeal to the Ruling Class of the German Nationality*, 422.

[23] Luther, *An Appeal to the Ruling Class of the German Nationality*, 423.

anyone works for a cardinal or the pope and has a benefice, or anyone who has a benefice and then decides to go work for the pope or a cardinal, the benefice goes to the pope. This Luther states encompasses thousands of people, including many who do not live in Rome. The pope could place someone working for him anywhere the church was found, at this time spread throughout Europe. The third way is that when a dispute is made in Rome over a priest's benefice, the benefice eventually will belong to Rome. Bainton states that "litigation in church courts involving Germans should [have been] . . . tried in Germany under a German primate" not all the way in Rome under a Roman primate.[24] Luther says this explains why bishops were now required take an oath to the pope and that this had been Rome's "objective when the Romanists imposed the oath and explains why the very richest bishoprics fall into debt and ruin."[25] Thus, when a vacancy occurs in a monastery, but an incumbent still resides, the papacy takes steps to make sure they get the most out of it. First, the pope presents the incumbent with an assistant who then sends the incumbent to Rome; thus the income from the monastery now comes to Rome through the assistant. The second way is when the pope gives a cardinal a well-off monastery or abbey. The cardinal then "drive(s) out the incumbent, take(s) possessions of the properties, and income or install(s) some apostate monk, a truant from the monastery."[26] The way this would happen would be the monasteries would close off and spend their time selling trinkets to pilgrims on their way towards Rome. The third and final way is that the pope combines parishes so that one man may oversee them. Under canon law, one person cannot oversee more than one parish at a time. This can also be done Luther says when a parish or bishopric gains an abbey or monastery under the bishops control. Another way Luther states that Rome controls this is by selling or disposing of an abbey or monastery, but then under the terms of sale or disposition ownership or control of the income from the property reverts to the papacy when the new owner dies. The final way is by selling benefices. Luther states that a benefice can be given to one person but when "another applicant who either offers to purchase the same benefice, or makes his claim in consideration of services rendered to the pope," then the pope gives the benefice to the new person.[27] This happens so much Luther states that the pope has a building set up just for this and sells the benefices for high fees. This goes a step further in that "one can pay to legally charge interests on loans of any sort. You can get a legal right to goods you have stolen or seized. Here vows are annulled; here monks receive liberty or leave their orders; here marriage is for sale to the clergy; here bastards become legitimate, and any form of dishonor and shame can achieve dignity." Luther thus proves that Rome is not the holy place it claims to be, and that the church is anything but holy and just.[28]

Lastly Luther lists 27 proposals for improving Christendom. Luther begins, "Firstly, I suggest that every prince, peer, and city should strictly forbid their subjects to pay the annates to

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[24] Bainton, *Here I Stand*, 119.

[25] Luther, *An Appeal to the Ruling Class of the German Nationality*, 425.

[26] Luther, *An Appeal to the Ruling Class of the German Nationality*, 426.

[27] Luther, *An Appeal to the Ruling Class of the German Nationality*, 428.

[28] Luther, *An Appeal to the Ruling Class of the German Nationality*, 429.

Rome, and should do away with them entirely."[29] As previously mentioned, annates were paid to Rome in return for papal appointments. Next, he believes that bishops should not travel to Rome for his or another's confirmation or pallium. According to the council of Nicaea, a bishop could be confirmed by two of the closets bishops or an archbishop to his diocese. But during this time bishops were going all the way to Rome to be consecrated. If they did not travel, this process would be much quicker and a lot less expensive to the diocese. Also, Luther believes that secular matters should be resolved in the country of origin, namely, Germany, rather than being tried at Rome. This way they can be resolved quicker and under local law rather than in ecclesiastical courts.

Proposals five through eight deals with how the church should have less power. According to Luther, "The Romanists ought to be severely punished for blasphemous misuse of excommunication and of God's name in support of their robberies."[30] The papacy was using excommunication as a means to get rid of anyone who threatened their power. We know this because within the next year the Papal Bull *Exsurge Domine* excommunicated Luther from the church. Luther also asserts that the pope does not have the power to absolve reserved cases for great sins such as counterfeiting papal bulls. In most cases this can be done by any priest. Selling offices in the church should also be abolished, and the pope should pay these officials from his own income. To Luther all these posts are unneeded and cause a hindrance to worship. Finally, Luther states that bishops should not take an oath to the pope because it imprisons them. "This example of oppression and robbery hinders the bishop from exercising his proper authority and is harmful to the needy souls" if the bishop must follow the popes every order then how can he help his parishioners?"[31]

The next grouping of proposals regard the pope as a king of kings. Luther notes that Christ washed his disciple's feet and was a servant to everyone on earth. The pope, though, does just the opposite. The Holy Roman Emperor is a servant to the pope. He is obligated to help the pope mount his horse and kisses his feet, just like a servant. The pope needs to become like a servant once again humbling himself and doing what is best for the church. Luther also believes that monasteries should be brought back to their former glory as in the days of the medieval Church. They should return to being schools that teach the bible.

To Luther every Christian is a priest, so we should not be denied confession. He says, "If your superior will not allow you [a member of the monastery] to confess your secret sins to someone of your own choice, nevertheless take them . . . to the brother or sister to whom you prefer."[32] Because all Christians are priests, the clergy should also be allowed to marry. Masses celebrated for the dead need to end, as most priests only do them for the money they receive. Instead monasteries and parishes should reserve one day a year to celebrate one mass for the dead. The majority of church celebrations should also be abolished. Luther concedes, "but, if it is preferred to keep the festivals of Our Lady and of the greater saints, they should all be

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[29] Luther, *An Appeal to the Ruling Class of the German Nationality*, 432.

[30] Luther, *An Appeal to the Ruling Class of the German Nationality*, 436.

[31] Luther, *An Appeal to the Ruling Class of the German Nationality*, 438.

[32] Luther, *An Appeal to the Ruling Class of the German Nationality*, 452.

transferred to Sundays, or observed only at morning Mass, after which the whole day should be a working day."[33] This is because festival days are full of sin in the form drinking, gambling and idleness. Churches created just for pilgrimages should be abolished. To Luther these places are fake, he believes that Bishops only had saints in their region canonized to enlarge its number of pilgrims each year. Luther brings forth the idea of a welfare system in the towns as well. He says, "an overseer or guardian . . . would know all the poor, and would inform the town council or the pastor what they needed" because the Christian way is to help those in need.[34] The power to grant dispensations should be destroyed. This relates back to the priesthood of the Christian, in that if the pope can grant these dispensations then so should priest be allowed to. The role of a papal legate should be abolished as well for they "make unrighteousness righteous, dissolve vows, oaths, and agreements, thereby destroying and teaching us to destroy faithfulness and faith."[35]

Next Luther believes they should unite with the Bohemian Hussites. This is because they also have been wronged by the church when John Huss was burned in Constantine. Like Luther, Huss was condemned wrongly. Next the emperor should send an embassy of religious bishops and scholars, none of whom work directly under the pope, to see if there is a way peacefully to unite the different sects of their religion. Then they should be allowed to choose a bishop or archbishop, but not have to pay Rome for the position.

Next, he says that universities need to teach more on the scripture and writing by Aristotle on physics, the soul and ethics be disregarded. If a university does not put the Scripture as its most important subject, then to Luther they are doomed to fail. Luther states that he believes we should live more humble lives: no more fancy clothes or foreign spices and jewels that take money away from Germany. Finally, if you wish to join the clerical life you should not join before you are thirty in order to reduce the doubt that this is not your life calling. If you wish to join the ministry, your whole heart should be in it and your love and concern should be for yours and other souls.

Through this letter, Luther has urged the nobles of Germany finally to take a stand against the papacy and call for reform. The Catholic Church has been slowly gaining full control over Germany much as it has done in Italy, according to Luther. Because of this, Germany is on its way to ruin. Luther lists all the means by which the church has taken power and holds more authority than even the emperor. First, he states that they call themselves the religious and every other Christian is of the laity, and second, that the pontiffs are the only ones allowed to interpret scripture. Thirdly, he refutes canon law, according to which only the pope can call a church council. Next, he goes into what needs to be reformed in the Church. The pope needs to become humbler and not live like the king of kings on earth, for in his vows he claims to be the servant of servants, and he must stop proclaiming he is the vicar of Christ. The pope employs too many people and confirms too many cardinals each year, all out of greed and a quest for more power. This should end or the pope should pay all of these people out of his own pocket. Finally, Luther

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[33] Luther, *An Appeal to the Ruling Class of the German Nationality*, 454.
[34] Luther, *An Appeal to the Ruling Class of the German Nationality*, 460.
[35] Luther, *An Appeal to the Ruling Class of the German Nationality*, 463.

asserts that the pope has too much control of property and beneficiaries. He places his employees under monasteries and abbeys so that the property automatically becomes property of Rome, he makes clergymen pay their first year's salary to him, and he sells beneficiaries to people with the highest bid along with many other things that go against the church. Luther calls for action with the nobles because if things don't change, soon they will find their lives controlled by the pope, and they will be left with nothing, while their misguided subjects will be doomed to eternal damnation.

Martin Luther on Secular Authority:
The Powers of Princes versus the Obligations of Subjects
Nick Vaughn

In 1523, Martin Luther drafted his treatise, *Secular Authority: To What Extent Should It Be Obeyed*, in which he presented what scholars have dubbed "The Two Kingdoms Doctrine" because of Luther's interpretation of how God rules over the world in two different ways. Luther published the treatise on secular authority just three years after his *Address to the German Nobility* (1520), in which, following canon law, he had issued an appeal to the German nobility to initiate ecclesiastical reform because the religious establishment had failed to heed Luther's calls to do so and now had forfeited its right to be obeyed. In doing so, he argued that the two powers were separate but equal by recognizing secular authority as divinely ordained while rebuking papal overreach in secular matters. He also put forth the doctrine of the priesthood of the believer, which in essence made secular princes the spiritual equals of ecclesiastical authorities. Not only is the pope not the sole interpreter of Scripture; he also should not be the only one who could summon a church council to initiate reform.

Luther's 1523 treatise on secular authority builds upon the arguments in his *Address to the German Nobility*. In Luther's evolving thinking, God rules His earthly kingdom by means of secular and churchly governance; thus the role of secular authority is to protect the righteous and punish the wicked, including church leaders, through positive law and by compulsion from the sword. As explained by Baylor University Professor David Whitford,[1] "God has given the secular prince the power of the sword for the maintenance of order and justice. That calling itself is a high and worthy office. The magistrate—whether king, duke, burgher, or father—should devote himself to that calling and leave the proclamation of the Word and the disposition of souls to God and the church."[2] Meanwhile, God rules His Heavenly Kingdom through gospel and grace. Thus the absolute sovereignty of God remained at the core of Luther's understanding of both kingdoms.

One of the main points of Luther's argument in the Two Kingdoms Doctrine is the belief that in an ideal Christian world, secular, worldly government would not be necessary. In his treatise on *Secular Authority*, Luther observed, "[T]hese people [that is, the people of the kingdom of God] need no secular sword or law. And if all the world were composed of real Christians, that is, true believers, no prince, no king, lord, sword, or law would be needed. For what would be the use of them, since Christians have in their hearts the Holy Spirit who instructs them and causes them to wrong no one . . . "[3] Nonetheless, the reality of his day was quite

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[1] David Whitford is a Religion Professor at Baylor University and the editor of the *Sixteenth Century Journal*. He has published several works, including *Tyranny and Resistance: The Magdeburg Confession and the Lutheran Tradition.*

[2] David M. Whitford, *Tyranny and Resistance: The Magdeburg Confession and the Lutheran Tradition* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 2001), 33.

[3] Martin Luther, *Secular Authority: To What Extent Should It Be Followed*, trans. C. M. Jacobs, in *Works of Martin Luther*, vol. 3 (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1930), 225-273 at 241.

different. Thus Luther wrote, "Here the other proposition applies, that you [as a Christian] are under obligation to serve and further the sword by whatever means you can, with body, soul, honor or goods. For it [meaning government] is nothing that you need, but something quite useful and profitable for the whole world and for your neighbor."[4]

Again, in *The Table Talk of Martin Luther*, a collection of notes and essays compiled by students of Luther during dinners at his home (which took place from 1531-1544), we find a conversation recorded that seems to contradict the idea that secular government is not necessary. Here Luther is reported to have asserted, "The magistracy is a necessary state in the world, and to be held in honour . . . . Temporal government is preserved not only by laws and rights, but by divine authority . . . ."[5] Again, as he stated during another dinnertime conversation, secular authority was necessary, given the warlike nature of humanity: "Government is a sign of divine grace, of the mercy of God, who has no pleasure in murdering, killing, and strangling. If God left all things to go which way they would, as among the Turks and other nations, without good government, we should quickly despatch [dispatch] one another out of this world."[6] Clearly, then, Luther believed that following a strong secular government and its laws were in the best interest of his fellow Christians and that their participation in a sovereign state helped them carry out the teachings of the Apostle Paul by protecting Christians.

At the core, then, despite what theoretically might have been possible, Luther believed that secular government was in fact necessary, and that secular authorities and religious authorities should not co-mingle with each other. While secular authorities, as priests before God, might have the right to reform the church as much as a religious leader, it was especially crucial that the secular authority not interfere with Christian practices of their subjects by commanding violations of godly law. Luther wanted the separation of the spiritual and worldly estate and believed that the Pope's issuances of edicts that the German Princes were compelled to follow did not fit with his idea of the divinely-ordained structure of government.

The distinction of the separate estates (or Kingdoms) is so important to Luther because not everyone on earth or even under the rule of one prince or Lord or emperor is Christian. Secular government, to Luther, made it easier for Christians and non-Christians to intermingle (or not). Some are not even "true believers [these were those in the Lutheran camp]"[7] according to Luther. As Luther said, if everyone were a true believer, there would be no need for government, but because there are non-Christians and non-true believers, there is a need for secular government. ". . . God has provided a different government for non-Christians, outside the Christian estate and God's kingdom. He has subjected them to the sword so that, even though they would do so, they cannot practice their wickedness; and if they do they may not do it without fear."[8] This all may seem frivolous, but to Luther this was the difference between those

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[4] Luther, *Secular Authority: To What Extent Should It Be Followed*, 235.

[5] William Hazlitt, ed. and trans., *The Table Talk of Martin Luther* (London: George Bell and Sons, 1884), 309.

[6] Hazlitt, *The Table Talk of Martin Luther*, 308.

[7] Hazlitt, *The Table Talk of Martin Luther*, 308.

[8] Luther, *Secular Authority: To What Extent Should It Be Followed*, 232.

who had the authority to rule over him and those who he "must resist them at least with words."[9] Luther believed that those in government who did not interfere with his beliefs and that those who did not support the Pope as Romanists had the right and divine authority to rule absolutely over him and the people collectively.

Some might expect that Luther would not be too fond of secular rulers based upon his *Open Letter to the Christian Nobility*, but this is simply not the case. However, Luther was an opportunist and held some princes in quite high regard. In fact, in *The Table Talk of Martin Luther* there is a recounting of a dinner where Prince Ernest of Luneburg and Prince William of Mecklenburg ate at the home of Martin Luther. "I invited to dinner, at my house at Wittenberg, prince Ernest of Luneburg, and prince William of Mecklenburg, who much complained of the immeasurable swilling and drinking kind of life at courts; and yet they will all be good Christians."[10] This recount shows a friendly but political dinner between Luther and the princes and should dispel any thoughts that Luther did not hold some secular rulers, especially Lutheran princes, in the highest regard. The rulers with whom Luther took the most issue with were those who sought to suppress his beliefs or overstepped their legitimate authority such as the Papacy as well as those Luther felt were not sufficiently courageous. In his *Table Talk*, Luther is said to have stated that "Governors should be wise, of courageous spirit, and should know how to rule alone without their counsellors."[11] This is a crucial sentence in understanding a second layer of discontent for those Luther referred to as Romanists. Luther's belief that governors (that is, those who govern) should be wise and of courageous spirit also may be found in his *Open Letter to the Christian Nobility*, where he issues a call for the German princes to act prudently and through petitions for God's help. "Let us act wisely, therefore, and in the fear of God. . . . The popes and the Romans have hitherto been able, by the devil's help, to set kings at odds with one another, and they may well be able to do it again, if we proceed by our own might and cunning, without God's help."[12] The lack of courage of the German nobility to stand up to the overreaching Papacy to date is in part what had prompted Luther to write the *Open Letter* in the first place. Beyond this, however, Luther needed the support of at least some of the German princes to protect him and promote his reform movement. In 1520, Luther had been declared a heretic by Pope Leo X, and the following year he had been placed under imperial ban by Charles V. Thus he desperately needed protection. And Luther also needed the support of secular leaders to further his Reformation in Germany and beyond.

Robert Kolb, professor emeritus at Concordia Seminary in St. Louis, has pointed out another aspect of Luther's thoughts on government by discussing Luther's thinking in the years leading up to the Peasants' War. "Luther's fears of public disorder, coupled with his eschatological convictions that Satan was using rebellious peasants to disrupt the spread of the

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[9] Luther, *Secular Authority: To What Extent Should It Be Followed*, 229.

[10] Hazlitt, *The Table Talk of Martin Luther*, 312.

[11] Hazlitt, *The Table Talk of Martin Luther*, 309.

[12] Martin Luther, *Open Letter to the Christian Nobility of the German Nation Concerning the Reform of the Christian Estate*, trans. by C.M. Jacobs, in *Works of Martin Luther*, vol. 2 (Philadelphia: A. J. Holman Company, 1915), 61-164 at 64-65.

Gospel, led him to fierce opposition to peasant revolts in 1524–6."[13] As revolt began spreading across Germany, Luther quickly began to realize that peasants were misinterpreting what the Bible, or at least not interpreting the Bible in the way that believed they should do. Not only were the peasants misinterpreting the Bible, in Luther's view, but they also were misinterpreting the ideas espoused by Luther in his treatises *On the Freedom of the Christian* (1520), in which Luther, following St. Paul, had written about spiritual freedom in Christ (but not freedom from the earthly obligations due to their secular lords), and *On Secular Authority*, in which Luther argued that, since secular authority is divinely ordained, one should never rise up in revolt against his overlord or prince, but at most passively disobey a command to violate godly law.

Thus in his treatise, *Against the Robbing and Murdering Hordes of Peasants*, Luther wrote, "Since, then, these peasants and wretched folk have let themselves be led astray, and do otherwise than they have promised, I too must write of them otherwise than I have written, and begin by setting their sin before them, as God commands Isaiah and Ezekiel, on the chance that some of them may learn to know themselves. Then I must instruct the rulers how they are to conduct themselves in these circumstances."[14] Tom Scott writes that "in the summer of 1524 on the southern fringes of the Black Forest near the River Rhine and the border with the Swiss Confederation, according to contemporary accounts, the Peasants' War, which was to convulse the whole of southern and central Germany and the Austrian lands over the following two years, broke out."[15] The Peasants' War showed Luther that the way peasants had been interpreting the Bible was completely wrong and he began to make concessions in his beliefs that everyone should have access to the Bible. The uprising also allowed Luther to realize that the German nobility were his allies and that he needed them in order to continue to preach his reformation. Luther needed their protection, support, and sometimes even their funds. Luther also began speaking highly of those in the German nobility who helped swiftly end the Peasants' War and lowly of the peasants, as recorded in his *Table Talk*. "To the business of government appertain, not common, illiterate people, or servants, but champions; understanding, wise, and courageous men, who are to be trusted, and who aim at the common good and prosperity, not seeking their own gain and profit, or following their own desires, pleasures, and delights . . . "[16] This commentary also shows that Luther wanted to legitimize the princes and nobles in the eyes of the people. His position here, however, cast a long, dark shadow upon his reputation as a Reformer and advocate for the common man.

Luther also began making friends among the princes, the most famous of such friends was Frederick, Prince Elector of Saxony. Kolb observes that ". . . the process of indigenizing reform had been advancing at court and in the German countryside during the 1520s. [Thus]

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[13] Robert Kolb, "Martin Luther and the German Nation," in *A Companion to the Reformation World* ed. R. Po-chia Hsia (Oxford, U.K.: Blackwell Publishing, 2004), 39-55.

[14] Martin Luther, *Against the Robbing and Murdering Hordes of Peasants*, 1525, in *Martin Luther (Documents of Modern History)*, ed. and trans. by E. G. Rupp and Benjamin Drewery (London: Edward Arnold, 1970), 121-6 at 123.

[15] Tom Scott, "The Peasant's War," in *A Companion to the Reformation World* ed. R. Po-chia Hsia (Oxford, U.K.: Blackwell Publishing, 2004), 56-69.

[16] Hazlitt, *The Table Talk of Martin Luther*, 310.

Elector Frederick hid Luther after his stand at Worms in his castle, the Wartburg."[17] Luther could thank his prince for protection from his enemies, and this no doubt caused him to gain further respect for other German princes who seemed inclined to support his reforms.

Although he supported Luther and appears to have been supportive of his reforms, Elector Frederick did not see eye-to-eye with Luther on every aspect of religion. Elector Frederick kept a large, prized collection of religious relics while Luther railed against the emphasis that the Pope and other Catholics placed on relics. Opportunism was mainly the cause for Luther's newfound dependence on secular rulers as he also indirectly challenged Elector Frederick's reliance upon relics. In the eyes of Luther, Elector Frederick was courageous, wise, and self-controlled. As he reportedly stated in a dinner conversation, "I could well wish that Scipio, that much-honoured champion, were in heaven; he was able to govern and overcome himself, and to curb his mind, the highest and most laudable victory. Frederick, prince elector of Saxony, was another such prince; he could curb himself, though by nature of an angry mood." [18] These were high praises from Luther who likened Elector Frederick to the resourceful general Scipio Africanus, who had commanded the Roman army in the defeat of Hannibal and the Carthaginian Army at the Battle of Zama in 202 BCE.

Aside from his need for protection and support of his reforms, why did Luther side with the princes against the peasants? Just what was at stake in the Peasant's War? For Luther, the Peasant's War clearly jeopardized nearly everything he had achieved in his quest to reform the Catholic Church. Luther rejected the claims that the peasants were making all things are free and common. As Luther explains in *Against the Robbing and Murdering Hordes of Peasants*, "It does not help the peasants, when they pretend that, according to Genesis 1 and 2, all things were created free and common, and that all of us alike have been baptized. For under the New Testament Moses does not count; for there stands our Master, Christ, and subjects us, with our bodies and our property, to the emperor and the law of this world, when he says, 'Render to Caesar the things that are Caesar's.'"[19] Secular authority had been sanctioned by Christ! Luther understood that, in order to preserve his reformation, he needed to honor Christ's command and thereby preserve the order that stemmed from secular rulers.

Thousands of peasants were killed in the end as a result of the Peasant's War, and Luther sanctioned these killings. He wrote, "I will not oppose a ruler who, even though he does not tolerate the Gospel, will smite and punish these peasants without offering to submit the case to judgement. For he is within his rights, since the peasants are not contending any longer for the Gospel . . . ."[20] Because the peasants were no longer "true believers," Luther argued they should feel the wrath of the sword like other religious dissident. Beyond anything else, Luther knew that order bred a viable environment for his reformation and that with the Peasant's War, that reformation had been placed in a vulnerable position. Thus, beyond his personal stance on

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[17] Kolb, "Martin Luther and the German Nation," 46.

[18] Hazlitt, *The Table Talk of Martin Luther*, 310.

[19] Luther, *Against the Robbing and Murdering Hordes of Peasants*, 123.

[20] Luther, *Against the Robbing and Murdering Hordes of Peasants*, 124.

secular authority, Luther reluctantly called for the deaths of the peasants in order to maintain order and breed a favorable environment for his reformation to continue.

Even still, Luther was not beyond criticizing princes when he saw fit. "Princes, now-a-days, have no order in the administration of their household. Four imperial towns spend more in luxuries and junksettings in one day, than Solomon spent, throughout all his kingdom, in a month. They are poor creatures, these princes, well entitled to our compassion."[21] Aside from princes who decided to interfere in the religious beliefs of their people (whom Luther disavowed), Luther also believed that any ruler was susceptible to corruption and that the people should pray for their rulers. "The magistracy is a necessary state in the world . . . ; therefore we ought to pray for magistrates, who may easily be corrupted and spoiled."[22] Luther still recognized, at least in private, that those governing were corruptible. "Honours alter a man's manners, and seldom for the better. The prince who governs without laws, according to his own brain, is a monster, worse than a wild beast; but he who governs according to the prescribed laws and rights, like unto God, who is an erector and founder of laws and rights."[23] Kolb has further unpacked Luther's point here: "He [Luther] affirmed that God effects everything in the realm of faith, the realm which involves the relationship between God and human creatures, while human love acts in the earthly realm, in required obedience to God when sin does not interfere."[24]

Furthermore, because the separation of the two kingdoms was the driving force behind Luther's core belief that a government which stays out of the people's religious affairs is a good government, at least to a certain extent. This assumes, of course, that religious leaders are doing their jobs properly and that the people are following them as well as their secular leaders. As seen during the Peasant's War and also earlier in his *Address to the German Nobility*, however, Luther did see the need for secular government to become involved in religious affairs whenever it came to protecting the "true believers" and quelling an essentially heretical as well as anarchical uprising from the peasants. But the Two Kingdoms argument makes it a little harder to understand where Luther sees the role of God in secular government. Of course, as a devout Christian, Luther wants God at the center, although initially it seems as though he advocates for a complete separation of the two kingdoms. A passage from Luther's treatise on temporal authority helps settle the waters, though:

> It is to be noted first that the two classes of Adam's children—the one in the God's kingdom under Christ and the other in the kingdom of the world under the governing authority, as was said above—have two kinds of law. For every kingdom must have its own laws and statutes; without law no kingdom or government can survive, as everyday experience amply shows. The temporal government has laws which extend no further than to life and property and external affairs on earth, for God cannot and will not permit anyone but himself to rule over the soul. Therefore, where temporal authority presumes

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[21] Hazlitt, *The Table Talk of Martin Luther*, 313.

[22] Hazlitt, *The Table Talk of Martin Luther*, 309.

[23] Hazlitt, *The Table Talk of Martin Luther*, 309.

[24] Kolb, "Martin Luther and the German Nation," 47.

to prescribe laws for the soul, it encroaches upon God's government and only misleads souls and destroys them.[25]

Luther was putting forth a nuanced train of thought. In Luther's mind, secular government plays a vital role, but always takes a back seat to the larger picture involving God's Kingdom. God created the earth and everything therein, including secular government. This means that God's laws govern everything, including government. But some rights are reserved only for God so that he may properly rule over the soul of men. Here Luther was arguing against governments' enacting laws that might limit God's ability to rule over the soul and thus in turn affect a person's religious faith. "When a man-made law is imposed upon the soul to make it believe this or that as its human author may prescribe, there is certainly no word of God for it."[26] God is the ultimate spiritual authority and yet he is also the reason for secular law. No government should restrict him by imposing laws on the human soul, and no government should be without God's words in mind and heart when writing, enacting, and enforcing them.

Martin Luther was a controversial figure in his time; he pushed for religious reformation against a Catholic Church that he felt had lost touch with God's will. Luther was not just a religious figure; he was much more in the eyes of the commoner who helped Luther craft his mantra of being a man of the people, even when he was not advocating for the best interests of the commoners. Over the years, Luther's outlook on secular government changed from something that was important, but at least theoretically was not absolutely necessary, to something that he deemed absolutely essential and critical for the protection of God's people here on earth and the expansion of religious reform. The events that took place leading up to and during the Peasants' War of 1525 made Luther realize that he needed sovereign princes and nobles on his side in order to further his goals of church and religious reform.[27] In the end, however, in typical Luther fashion, he left everything up to God: "God deals with great potentates, kings, and princes, even as children with playing cards. While they have good cards, they hold them in their hands; when they have bad, get weary of them, and throw them under the chair; just so does God with great potentates: while they are governing well, he holds them for good; bus so soon as they exceed, and govern ill, he throws them down from their seat . . . "[28] Thus the absolute sovereignty of God remained at the core of Luther's understanding of the Two Kingdoms.

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[25] Martin Luther, *Temporal Authority: To What Extent It Should Be Obeyed*, trans. J. J. Schindel, rev. Walter I. Brandt, in *Luther's Works*, vol. 45, ed. and trans. Walter I. Brandt and Helmut T. Lehman (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1962), 81-129, at 105.

[26] Luther, *Temporal Authority: To What Extent It Should Be Obeyed*, 105.

[27] Hazlitt, *The Table Talk of Martin Luther*, 312.

[28] Hazlitt, *The Table Talk of Martin Luther*, 314.

The First World War Era Letters of
the Rogers Family

INTRODUCTION
Jennifer Duplaga and Sarah McNair Vosmeier

In 1916, Henry Martyn Rogers and his wife, Alma Smith Rogers, moved their family to Hanover, Indiana, so that their three youngest children could attend Hanover College. Their home, lovingly nicknamed Bird Haven for the abundance of birds that frequently visited, became a focal point for family, friends and the local community. In 2016, the Rogers celebrated the one-hundredth anniversary of the family's continued ownership of Bird Haven. During the celebrations, the family generously donated their family papers, including letters, photographs, and postcards, to the Hanover College Archives for future generations to study. The Rogers Family Papers are a remarkable look at the history of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century from the perspective of a single family living in the rural Midwest.

The collection primarily focuses on four individuals: Henry Martyn Rogers and Alma Smith Rogers, their son, Henry Carter Rogers, and his wife, Elizabeth (Bettie) Cray Warr Rogers. Henry Martyn Rogers (1852-1930) was born in Rockville, Indiana. After graduating from the Danville Theological Seminary in 1880, he served as a Presbyterian minister throughout Indiana, Ohio, Missouri and Oklahoma before finally settling in Hanover. Alma Smith (1858-1939) was born in Kentucky. After marrying Henry Martyn Rogers, she worked alongside him, assisting in his ministry; she was also an active member in the temperance movement. The couple had seven children, including Henry Carter Rogers (1899-1976). He began his undergraduate studies at Hanover College in 1916 but was drafted into the army during World War I. After completing his service, he graduated from Hanover in 1920. He later studied at the McCormick Theological Seminary and became a minister in the Presbyterian Church in 1923. He served in Tennessee, Indiana, and Ohio. He married Elizabeth (Bettie) Cray Warr Rogers (1901-1997) in 1923.

The materials in the Rogers Family Papers collection provide a glimpse into the thoughts and actions of various correspondents and convey their reactions to the sweeping cultural changes of the period. The content of the letters is broad, encompassing temperance, woman's suffrage, politics, religion, education, college life, and changing social attitudes. They cover major world events such as both World Wars, the Spanish flu outbreak of 1918, the Great Depression, and the assassination of John F. Kennedy, as well as technological innovations such as the invention of the automobile. Through the continued generous support of the Rogers family, the papers are available to the students and the public.

In the fall semester of 2017, Hanover students in "Search for Order, 1877-1945" used the letters to study Americans' experience of World War I. They transcribed letters that concerned the war, and the history department made those transcriptions available online (at https://history.hanover.edu/texts/hc/rogers.php). Later, they used some of the transcribed letters to write essays on the way ordinary Americans experienced World War I. In winter 2018, students in "American Women's History" pursued a similar project, transcribing letters from the

collection written by college-aged women, which the history department also made available online through the same URL. Later they used some of the transcribed letters to write essays about the experiences of college-aged women in the early twentieth century.

What follows is a sampling of letters from among all those transcribed this year. Archivist Jennifer Duplaga, Professor Sarah McNair Vosmeier, and students Caroline Brunner, Elizabeth Donaway, and Eric Woodruff selected the letters and contributed additional research. Sarah McNair Vosmeier wrote the editorial comments, drawing on this research as well as readings and research done for the classes.

Agnes Westfall, Letter to Henry Carter Rogers, 4 November 1916

H.C. (Carter) Rogers received this letter from his friend Agnes Westfall not long after his family moved to Hanover (town) and he started classes at Hanover College. In sharing news of their mutual friends, she reveals to us how ordinary young people reacted to the woman suffrage movement and to politics more generally.

Rogers and Westfall had gotten to know each other through a pen pal correspondence that started as a high school assignment. She was also his "first date" in high school, though the relationship did not go beyond that one date.[1]

Westfall wrote this letter on the Saturday before Election Day (which was November 7 in 1916). The 1916 presidential election was between the incumbent Democrat, Woodrow Wilson, and the Republican Charles E. Hughes. Westfall's father, Abraham J. Westfall, a Democratic Representative to Indiana's General Assembly, was also running for re-election.[2]

Westfall refers in this letter to her brother, Morris, who was away from home taking a course to prepare for entering the U.S. Naval Academy. Like many other rural Hoosiers, working on the family farm had previously been more important than schooling – at the time of the 1910 census, Agnes was the only school-age Westfall child who was in school. [3]

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Vincennes, Ind.
Nov. 4, 1916

Dear Carter,

Did I tell you that I would write again soon? Was it to you that I wrote a very short letter? I wrote someone a short letter and promised to write again soon but, for my soul, I have forgotten who it was.

I wrote Morris a letter, of eight pages, Thursday night. He answers so promptly that I have to write to him about twice a week.

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[1] Henry Carter Rogers, "A Journey into Indian Summer," 1974, p. 109, SC44, Archives of Hanover College, Duggan Library, Hanover College (Hanover, Ind.).

[2] Abraham J. Westfall was first elected to the General Assembly in 1914: "Knox," *Indianapolis Star*, 4 Nov. 1914, p. 12; W.H. Blodgett, "Around the Legislature's Edges," *Indianapolis News*, 11 Jan. 1915, p. 15.

[3] On Morris Westfall, see *Register of the Commissioned and Warrant Officers of the United States Navy* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1918), 271; Agnes Westfall, letter to H.C. Rogers, 20 June 1917, Folder 5, box 9, Rogers Family Collection. On the Westfall children in school, see 1910 United States Census, Johnson, Knox County, Indiana, digital image s.v. "Morris Westfall," *Ancestry.com.*

What do you know concerning politics? I feel very much that I would like to have some one disagree with me. I don't know what your politics is but I am sure you are not a Democrat. We girls had a great deal of fun at school the other day. Helen, Eva Mae, Ruth Alexander are Republicans and Ruby, Dora and I are, of course, strictly Democrats. We tried to quarrel (just in fun) but we finally "gave up" and desided that politics is all around rather crazy. There's nothing to it.

Father said that if he went back to Legislature this year he positively would vote against woman suffrage. Sad isn't it! Do you still think a Women's place is at home performing her domestic duties? That is the first thing every man or boy will say in opposition to woman suffrage. That's a rather new question but I'll leave it for the time being.

Several of us girls here made a resulution the other day concerning those long dresses. We are not going to wear our dresses longer than to our shoe tips if every body in Vincennes has them longer. A few years ago I wanted to wear long dresses fix my hair up on my head and be a lady. Now I want short dresses have my hair down and wear large ribbons.

How do you like college life by this time? You know I am taking book-keeping this year. I just love it. One of my main delights is to mess around with a lot of papers and junk, consequently I sometimes wish I could work all day on it. I wouldn't want to be a book-keeper but I like the work at school. Book-keepers are always tired looking. The work is very tedious.

A credit is given, this year for Bible work. It may be taken with or without a tutor. There are four examinations to be conducted the same as teacher's examinations, two on the old Testament and two on the new Testament, and a student who passes all examinations is given one credit. I think this something great. I don't think I will be able to take these examinations this term but I hope to do so sometime soon.

Did you know that Miss Cora is teaching in South Dakota this year? She says she just likes every thing fine. She boards five miles from school and rides back and forth on horse-back. Typical Western fashion! She sent Oscar a picture of herself. She was on horse back with her hair in two braids hanging over her shoulders and an old ugly hat almost like those the cow-boys wear. I think the picture is a "sight". She doesn't look like a dignified school teacher but rather like a course, uncultured western girl. She is sixty-five miles from the nearest railway station. She goes with one of the western boys. They have grand dances out there. Said she was the most awkward dancer on the floor. That's one accomplishment.

I am just beginning to think about the high cost of living. I am, as I said, a Democrat but if the election of Hughes can reduce the cost of, at least clothes, I am for his election. I want some clothes. I got a few the other day, but everything is so high that I will soon be entering the county house if something doesn't change. I don't see what real poor people are going to do this winter

in order to live.

I must close and study my Sunday school lesson.

Sinceraly Yours,

Agnes.

P.S. Here's hoping you'll answer sooner than I did.

[Agnes P.?]

<p align="center">***</p>

Days after Agnes Westfall sent this letter, her father won re-election to the Indiana General Assembly. The following February, the Maston-McKinley Partial Suffrage Act came before the General Assembly, proposing to grant Hoosier women the right to vote in most elections. Perhaps Agnes spent the intervening weeks lobbying her father on behalf of woman's suffrage. Despite telling her in November that he "positively would vote against woman suffrage," he voted for it in February.[4]

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[4]"Vote May Tie Up Indiana Senate," *Indianapolis Star*, 10 Nov. 1916, p. 3; Indiana House of Representatives, *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Indiana during the Seventieth Session of the General Assembly* (Fort Wayne: Fort Wayne Printing Company, 1917), 536.

Agnes Westfall, Letter to Henry Carter Rogers, 20 June 1917

Carter Rogers received this letter from Agnes Westfall at the end of the 1916-1917 school year and only a few weeks after the United States entered World War I. In replying to his letter (no longer extant) and sharing news of their friends, Westfall reveals a bit about life at Hanover at that time, as well as young people's reaction to the World War.

Rogers had sent her copies of Hanover's school newspaper, the Triangle. *He also seems to have participated in the college's annual oratorical contest, held on June 9 that year.[1]*

Westfall refers to her brother, Morris, who had just joined the Naval Academy. About twenty years old, he was two years her senior. Her sister, Ruby (also mentioned) was two years younger than she.[2]

The Miss Doup whom Westfall asks after must have been Hazel Doup, whose letters are included in the Rogers Family Papers. She was "the girl I went with the most in college," Rogers remembered later, and she remained a friend of the family for years.[3]

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June 20, 1917

Dear Carter,

I have been so busy lately that I haven't written to anyone. You know I haven't even acknowledged your "Triangles." In spite of that, I enjoyed them very much.

I wish I could have heard your oration. I know it was just great.

You do certainly have an opportunity worth while. When do you go? I wish you would tell me more about it, (your trip), after you have gone, will you?

Morris is now in the U.S. Naval Academy. You know when he got the appointment he took a five months preparatory course for the examination. After he passed the mental exam, he came home and was here for about four months. He just went back to Annapolis the fifth of this month; passed the physical exam; was "sworn in" at the Academy and is now preparing to help Uncle Sam. I feel very proud of him. (I don't mean to be boastful.) It may not be so great after all

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[1]On the oratorical contest, see Hanover College, *Hanover College Bulletin, 1916-1917.*

[2]On Morris, Agnes, and Ruby Westfall's ages, see 1910 United States Census, Johnson, Knox County, Indiana, digital image s.v. "Morris Westfall," *Ancestry.com.*

[3]Henry Carter Rogers, "A Journey into Indian Summer," 140.

if he is needed in the war. Of course even there he'll have an honorable place. Fancy, Morris as a naval officer! I can't imagine him in that position.

Isn't the war terrible! When I stop and think about it I don't know what to do. The only thing I can do is to pray. That's noble even if it doesn't seem great. We women may have a chance to show our ability if the war continues. (I still have ideas of suffrage!)

Did you know? Miss Cora is engaged to a wealthy rancher from South Dakota. She has a beautiful ring. You know, she still talks a great deal, so she has told us all about him. His name is Peter Lenard [Monseru?], I don't know how to spell his last name but we girls laughed when she told us because it sounded so much like mushroom. It is a common thing to hear her speak of "Pete". He is coming in July, then Miss Cora is going away with him.

What is going on in Hanover? Things here stay just the same of course. I went to a patriotic party at Bonnie's last Friday night. Had a fairly good time. Had more fun coming home. Ruby and I went together. Well, unfortunately or fortunately however it was two fellows wanted to take us home. We insisted that we couldn't go because we had to take Old Dobin and the Sha [shay?] home. They said they were sure they could lead our horse. We had never tried anything like that and were rather doubtful but at last we decided to try it. My friend and I were in front, then our bugy and following Ruby and Ray. All, went well until we got about half way home and some way, heavens knows how, the line by which we were leading our horse broke. That tried we went ahead and had a tremendous time getting through our gate. Finally we reached our old post, very happy indeed. Next morning Ruby and I were about half scared stiff that father would say, "How did you break the line?" Nobody noticed it all day. About three o'clock I sliped out and patched it up. It has never been noticed and no one ever imagines that we had such a dreadful time. We learned that such performances won't work. Wasn't that thrilling!

Really, I must close for this time. I'm sorry. I waited so long to answer that, as before, I was almost ashamed to write.

When you write again tell me about your girl friends. Have you had any further associations with Miss Carson? Miss Doup? Such details make your letter more realistic.

Very sincerely yours,

Agnes.

<div align="center">***</div>

Westfall's optimism about the war's effect on the suffrage movement probably concerned national efforts to ratify the Nineteenth Amendment. If her father shared the intricacies of

Indiana politics with her, she might have been less optimistic about suffrage in Indiana. At the time of her letter, the state supreme court was evaluating the new suffrage law passed the previous February, and by fall they had declared it unconstitutional. Women would not vote in Indiana until the amendment was ratified. Fortunately, the war shifted opinion as Westfall expected. In September, Woodrow Wilson finally made a public statement in support of the Nineteenth Amendment, calling it "vital to winning the war."[4]

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[4]Peggy Seigel, "Winning the Vote in Fort Wayne, Indiana: The Long Cautious Journey in a German American City," *Indiana Magazine of History* 102, no. 3 (Sept. 2006), 251-54; Michael McGerr, *A Fierce Discontent: The Rise and Fall of the Progressive Movement in America* (New York: Free Press, 2003), 296.

Dorothy Kitchen, Letter to Henry Carter Rogers, 11 January 1918

Carter Rogers received this letter from Dorothy Kitchen at the beginning of his second semester as a sophomore at Hanover College. In describing her activities, Kitchen reveals the ways girls could participate in the war effort.

Kitchen was about fifteen years old at the time of this letter, and her brother, James, was about nine.[1] It's not clear how she and Rogers knew each other.

Kitchen mentions "Hazel," who was probably Hazel Doup, whom Westfall also mentioned. "Miss O'Brien" was Dorothy O'Brien, whose letters are also included in the Rogers Family Papers. She and Rogers dated in high school, and he was the best man when she eventually married his college friend and seminary roommate.[2]

***

Carter Rogers

626 Pearl Street
Columbus, Ind.

Jan. 11, 1918.

Dear Carter:

I was so glad to hear from you and to know that you still remembered me.

I hardly saw Hazel while she was here Christmas vacation, so I missed a great deal of the Hanover news. However Martha tells me some of it and it was Betty Tech who told me about the watch party. She said it certainly was early -- in the morning -- when the party broke up. You must have had a fine time. I, also, had a good time New Years Eve. Mother, James, and I went to the late picture show which lasted until after the New Year had come in. Of course we had a wild time.

You are not alone in the misery of making low grades. I made a [illegible: 0?] in algebra last six weeks and a very weak E in History. I was disappointed but I don't worry so much as I used to.

During the holidays I led a most frivolous life and I even dared to keep it up during the first week

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[1] 1910 United States Census, Columbus, Bartholomew County, Indiana, digital image s.v. "Dorothy Kitchen," *Ancestry.com.*

[2] Henry Carter Rogers, "A Journey into Indian Summer," 140, 120-21.

of school. I am dreadfully ashamed to say that I went to the picture show every night for a week – in war-times. But so long as someone asks you to go, you might as well go. Sergeant Duncan, a friend of mine and the local recruiting officer, took me part of time and the rest of the time I went with some of the girls.

Last Friday night the basket ball team here played the Franklin team. Everyone was excited for up to that time, neither of the teams had been defeated and Franklin had a very strong team. C.H.S. won, of course, though. We have some team. Tonight is to be the game at Seymor and quite a bunch is going down there. I would like to go but I won't get to this time.

Do you wear a uniform? If you do I would like to see you for I am sure you would look fine in one. I belong to an auxiliary to the Red Cross and we girls have military training every two weeks. I think it is very interesting and since Serg. Duncan drills us and he and I usually go to the show or some place else after drill, it makes it more interesting.

Last night the Sergeant brought me home from a meeting and stayed till almost eleven o'clock. That left very little time for me to get my lessons and this morning I had to rake up an excuse for not having my Latin lesson.

I think I'll have to tell him about it. Sunday afternoon we are going to Mildred Davisons to spend the afternoon and hope to have a good time

Please tell Hazel that I will write to her soon.

I have such a nice new girl friend – that is, I've seen her since school began. She is a dandy girl from Pennsylvania and we are certainly close friends.

Later -- I am in the post office now trying to finish this letter, I wrote the rest in school. Virginia, my friend, is with me.

How are you and Miss O'Brien? I suppose you are just as good friends as ever.

Well, I must go down town and get home before dark. You know I'm afraid of the dark.

Sincerely yours,

Dorothy Kitchen

Byers Burlingame, Letter to Alma Rogers, 10 August 1918

Alma Rogers received this letter from Byers Burlingame, a close family friend, in the summer of 1918; by then, Burlingame and both her sons were in the military. His letter reveals the huge effort needed to train and organize the fighting force headed for Europe.

Burlingame had become friends with Carter Rogers when they were both in high school. Orphaned before he was a teenager and in the care of his uncle and grandmother, he became almost a member of the Rogers family. He moved in with them for the 1917-1918 school year so that he could attend Hanover College, but after war was declared, he left Hanover to join the Navy.[1]

He was writing from Camp Paul Jones within the Great Lakes Naval Training Station, north of Chicago. This center was accommodating a huge influx of new sailors. Before the war, it had housed about a thousand recruits, but by the time of Burlingame's letter, it held 68,000. As the men arrived, their first stop was a three week "detention" to begin their training and to quarantine any of them who might be contagious. Part of the men's training responsibilities included building camps and infrastructure to accommodate even more men to come. Those (like Burlingame) who qualified went to "special schools" for advanced training.[2]

Among the amenities at the training station were what Burlingame described as "really fine" YMCA buildings, which provided recreational space for the men, as well as writing space and supplies. Burlingame's letter is on YMCA stationery. At the top of each sheet is an American flag, the YMCA symbol, and "Army and Navy Young Men's Christian Association, 'With the Colors.'" At the bottom of each sheet is "To the writer: Save by writing on both sides of this paper. To the folks at home: Save food, buy Liberty Bonds and War Savings Stamps."

Burlingame describes being filmed for a movie, which was released as America's Answer. *It was the second feature-length "official United States war picture." Burlingame expected the film to be released in Europe first, reflecting the "educational" purposes the government intended for it and its requirement that foreign film distributors include such films when they distributed commercial films.[3]Burlingame asked to be remembered to Jane and Sallie – the Rogers daughters, who were still living at home. "Francis" may have been one of Jane's sorority friends, who treated the Rogers's house as a "second home."[4]*

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[1]Henry Carter Rogers, "A Journey into Indian Summer," 105-8, 139.

[2]Francis Buzzell, *The Great Lakes Naval Training Station: A History* (Boston: Small, Maynard, 1919), 4-5, 90.

[3]*America's Answer*, movie poster, 1918, reproduced by the Library of Congress, http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/93517440/ (accessed 23 Apr. 2018); David M. Kennedy, *Over Here: The First World War and American Society* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980), 353.

Note that a version of the film without the shot Burlingame describes was screened even before he wrote this letter; see "'America's Answer' Stirs War Spirit," *New York Times*, 30 July 1918, p. 9.

[4]Henry Carter Rogers, "A Journey into Indian Summer," 134-35, 141.

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Camp Paul Jones

Aug. 10, 1918

Dear Mother Rogers,

I received your letter about a week ago and was certainly glad to hear from you. I saw Carter the Sunday afternoon after he came and we had a nice chat for about an hour or two. I haven't seen him since then as each of us I think have liberty only once a week and we never happen to see each other.

Wens, afternoon I had some visitors from home, Lula Catt, Edna Bell and Mrs. Willhiatt are on a two weeks trip so they stoped off to see me.

I have been here nine weeks tonight but it don't seem near that long to me. Almost every day since detention has been a busy one and have failed to do a great deal of writing but from now on will do better for you. You must know it is rather hard since detention to find time to write or if we do have time it sometimes happens am to tired to do so.

After spending my 3 weeks detention in Decatur I moved to Dewey for another week. These two have been sure good camps but since then the others I have been in are entirely different. From Dewey I went to New Aviation 1 wk then to Out Going Detention for 10 days and now nearly three wks in Camp Paul Jones. During this time we have worked seven days a week and instead of 12 hrs liberty a week and getting 12 noon sat. they made us work sat. afternoon's till 4:00 and then we could clean up and go on liberty. We all sure thot it was the limit the first wk, but each week we became more used to it and although our company should have gone to school some time ago we haven't given up but are sticking. The only reason we have been put here is to help make the new camps and a big athletic field and coming out of detention at the right time they took us. Others have gone to school ahead of us because after getting used to the labor they kept us rather than let us go to school and break in another bunch. I have quit working in the field (on the firing line we call it) the last week as have been appointed a regimental guard and guard nights.

There are now 11 camps on the station holding 68,000 men and work will be started at once on 4 more. Their aim is to have this a training camp of 100,000 in a short time. I like the place fine and I surely will get to school in the next week as their are only 160 radio men outside of the school left. One way this camp is different from army is because [by?] volunteer men are always coming and going while in the army camp for the most part one bunch is in training together.

They have been receiving recruits on this station nearly all summer at the rate of 2,000 a day which means they send out nearly as large a bunch each day. Although it is so large and handles the men so rapidly it is the most sanitary camp in the U.S. but everything that is done here is with the one purpose of making it the largest and best station army or navy.

We jacks are now posing before the movie camera each morning until all the flags of the allied nations have been formed. It certainly will be some wonderful pictures and I will be anxious to see them but they are to be shown in England and France before being shown in the U.S. The other morning, 40,000 posed for "America's Answer" 8,000 in white forming the letters and 32,000 in blue making the field. In the morning another is to be formed (I don't know which yet) and our bunch will be in whites but there won't be nearly so many as in the one big one.

Every Wens. afternoon is review day and 21 Battalions pass in review. After review they have drill exercise under arms and also sing for visitors in battalion square formation. We have 16 complete bands of about 70 pieces each besides one complete band battalion of over 300 pieces. They all are usually playing from early until late so we have plenty of good music. Another feature for the visitors is to watch the hydroplanes in practice flight. The people here surely deserve credit for they [do] everything in the world for us and never tire in it. On Wens. reviews from 20,000 on up to 50,000 people attend and instead of decreasing the crowds increase so you can well imagine the intrest of the people.

The YMCA has some really fine buildings here and is establishing more and it is easily taking care of the men and doing fine work. Especially so in the detention camps where the fellows must get used to camp life. They have entertainments every night and usually it is the cleanest and best. Even people in nearbye towns try to come to some because great actors come here for practically nothing to entertain us which civilians would pay pay $5 dollars and up for same things.

If I ever get through school will get a 10 day leave and if I do I want to get back to Hanover and see you all. I would like to be back with you all again and go to school this winter but as that cannot be I will live in hopes I can in a very few winters. I like it very well the life, but am anxious to get to radio school so can leave for sea, and do something active in the war for up here so far and in some forms of work we feel like it isn't helping very much to end the war. Everything is so different in our new life that I feel even now that it will have a tendency to change us all.

I feel like I have strung out quite a lot in this letter so had better stop. Give my love to all, Jane, Sallie, Francis (likely she doesn't remember me) Mr. Rogers and yourself.
Sincerely
Byers

Will be more than glad to hear from any of you quite often.
Byers A Burlingame
USN RF LER
Co 27 7 Batt 12 Reg
Camp Paul Jones
Great Lakes, Ill

<p style="text-align:center">***</p>

Burlingame survived the war but did not come back to Hanover. Instead, he returned to live with his family and worked in a nearby factory for a while before moving to Detroit and working for the Studebaker Corporation. He eventually became its president.[5]

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[5]Henry Carter Rogers, "A Journey into Indian Summer," 139; 1920 United States Census, Petersburg, Pike County, Indiana, digital image s.v. "Byars A Burlingame," *Ancestry.com;* 1940 United States Census, Detroit, Wayne County, Michigan, digital image s.v. "Byers Burlingame," *Ancestry.com.*

Irene Rogers, Letters to Alma Rogers, 25 and 27 August 1918

Alma Rogers received this letter, from her daughter-in-law, Irene (Russell) Rogers shortly after the one from Burlingame. Irene Rogers's letter reveals the stress and heartbreak of the war for soldiers' loved ones.

James Speed Rogers, who went by "Speed," was the oldest son of the family. He studied at Hanover for three years, but transferred to the University of Michigan to complete his education. After teaching for a year at Guilford College in North Carolina, he returned to Ann Arbor to marry Irene Russell on April 22, 1918. He joined the army shortly after that and was overseas by August, working as a chemist in an army hospital.[1]

Meanwhile, Irene's brother, Edward Harris Russell, who had joined the army in June of the previous year, was already in Europe.[2]

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Ann Arbor, Mich.,
August 25, 1918.

My dear Mother:
This is a beautiful Sunday morning and if I could go to church without crying all over everything, I would surely go. I have thought of you all in your preparations for the morning. We are very depressed and anxious over Brother; an official telegram came yesterday, telling of his being wounded severely. That happened August 3 and we are only now being notified -- it is hard to explain the delay. At times we think he is in the Base Hospital and out of danger and then again we fear he is not getting along well or they would not notify us now. Several others were hurt -- one Lt. lost his foot, another Corporal his hand -- but we do not know the nature of Harris' wound. We are still hopeful and trusting, and Mother is particularly brave.

I received two letters from Speed yesterday -- none, the day before, so that accounts for the two -- He is very restless because of the delay and absence from work but he realizes how much worse off he could be and doesn't complain.

Your letter for me came last week with the card enclosed. You see every soldier is compelled to make an allotment to some of his people; if he doesn't do it the government takes some of his pay and keeps it until the war is over. The privates who get $30 a month, allot $15 to their wives or mothers or others; if to a wife, the government puts an additional $15 with it and sends it all to

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[1]"Michigan, Marriage Records, 1867-1952," digital image s.v. Irene Russell (22 Apr. 1918), *Ancestry.com.* Henry Carter Rogers, "A Journey into Indian Summer," 105, 205.

[2]"U.S., Department of Veterans Affairs BIRLS Death File, 1850-2010," s.v. "Edward Russell" (1896-1981), *Ancestry.com.*

the wife. As a soldier's pay increases he can make larger allotments. This card that came to me merely explains the delay in the payment of this money; the draft should come along soon & it will also be send to Hanover. Speed gave my address as Hanover, as my own address at the time was not steady. I will write to the Treas. Dept. to have the address changed as you do not want the bother of forwarded that letter to me every month. Speed and I are planning on saving this money. i.e. I will save and it will be a start toward our home, when he comes back. I can live very nicely on what I receive from the University and all of this gov't money can be kept. Speed has probably told you who will get some of it. We think some of it goes to you.

Aug. 22 -- my fourth anniversary of Apr. 22 -- I received a lovely gift from Aunt Bessie -- Aunt Beet I believe you all call her -- and her daughter, Sara Goodloe. She said she wanted to give me something I wouldn't get for myself and she certainly did -- a flower basket of silver is about the last thing I would get for myself but it is so acceptable as a gift. I love to look at it and think of the message which preceded it -- "that as I filled it with flowers to remember it was already filled to overflowing with love. You have all been so kind to me, I would have to love you, even if I hadn't before I knew you.

One year ago next week I began my school in Owasso; it is good not to think of leaving my happy home again this year especially when conditions are so uncertain with our loved ones. I like my new work so well & it keeps me in touch with Speed & his work -- it seems the working out of Divine Will that I can be hired. And soon things will be better for the war cannot last many years longer and then our boys will be back.

Did I understand you to say that Carter was to go? He sent a card to me to tell me he would write later so maybe I will hear directly from him. His summer training is almost over, now and you can have him with you for a while anyway. You will enjoy having just your own family once again.

= It is 8:30 Sunday evening now and I have only a few minutes before the mail goes out. We have had company all day but I have been very lonesome -- the more company the "lonesome-er" I am because when so many are talking I can't keep with those I want to be with.

No further word has been received from Brother but when we do hear from him I will write to you. It is a great comfort for me to think of you and your faith and you all are a help in this time of anxiety even tho you, perhaps, do not realize it. We do not need to worry about Speed just yet and I do hope he can be spared the suffering that some experience. He is a very brave, noble man and will do his best, I am sure; it is hard to think of your loved ones suffering -- that's why we at home must keep brave and well in order not to add to the worries of the boys --

Goodnight to all with all love from

Irene

Aug 27 -- 1918

Dear Alma, All those letters came today. Mr Lawson will bring you from Lexington for $2.00
Rained again today [Heavy?]

<div align="center">***</div>

Harris Russell survived the war, returning home to live with his parents and to work as a stenographer in the zoology department at the University of Michigan.[3]

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[3]1920 United States Census, Ann Arbor, Washtenaw County, Michigan, digital image s.v. "Edward H. Russell," *Ancestry.com.*

H. C. Rogers, Letter to Alma Rogers, 12 October 1918

Alma Rogers received this letter from her son Carter only a day after he joined the army as a second lieutenant in the Student Army Training Corps. In describing his circumstances, he reveals the toll the Influenza Epidemic of 1918 took on the army as well as how newly commissioned officers experienced military service.

The SATC allowed college men to be drafted into a military training program within a university, where they would take both academic courses and military instruction. Byers Burlingame and Irene Rogers allude to Carter's previous summer training at the Great Lakes Naval Training Station, and there was a SATC program there, but when he signed up officially it was with the SATC on the campus of Texas A&M. With all the emotions associated with new surroundings, new responsibilities, and fears about the future, Carter would have had some confidence about graduating from Hanover. The college president had officially announced that men who were drafted or volunteered in their senior year would graduate on time, despite any classes they might miss. The student newspaper encouraged him to extend the offer to undergraduates like Carter, giving them credit for the remainder of the school year they missed; "The experience of the training camps and service would more than be equivalent in broadening influence" to those missed classes, the paper's editors argued. [1]

Like any son protecting his mother from worry, Carter seems to be painting a rosier picture than he was seeing himself. For instance, his letter does not convey the "serious housing crisis" caused by the university having to accommodate so many student-recruits, most of whom were apparently housed in tents. More seriously, he seems to have hidden from his mother just how dire the influenza epidemic was there. A Texas A&M historian reports that, taking into account students, faculty, and soldiers, "as many as five or six persons were dying each night. The local undertakers ran out of caskets and started using long wicker baskets for the dead." Although the infection rate was much lower in the Madison area than on the Texas A&M campus, public health measures instituted that month must have affected Carter's parents. For instance, if Carter's father (a Presbyterian minister) officiated at any Madison funerals they would have been much smaller than usual as the city government banned all but family members and close friends from attending funerals. [2]

The "Julia" whom Carter visited was Julia Daughty, an orphan Carter's parents had taken in

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[1] "U.S., Department of Veterans Affairs BIRLS Death File, 1850-2010," s.v. "Henry Rogers" (1899-1976), *Ancestry.com.* "U.S., Sons of the American Revolution Membership Applications, 1889-1970," p. 4, digital image s.v. "Henry Carter Rogers," *Ancestry.com;* David M. Kennedy, *Over Here: The First World War and American Society* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980), 57-59; "College Spirit," *Hanover College Triangle*, 6 Apr. 1918, p. 2. Thanks to Baylee Roach for the lead to this article.

[2] Dethloff, *Texas A&M University*, chapter II (n. p.); Will Werner-Wilson, "The Looming Spectre of Death: The Town of Madison and the Influenza Epidemic of 1918-1919," p. 62 above.

before he was born and who stayed with them for years. By the time of this letter, she was living in Oklahoma City with her husband and son (Henry Martyn Daughty), whom they had named after Carter's father. His cousin Catherine Manchester had been part of his childhood but was then living in Oklahoma City with her father and mother (Nell).[3]

"Benjie" was Carter's family nickname, a teasing allusion to the relationship between the biblical Joseph (with the coat of many colors) and his youngest brother, Benjamin.[4]

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Oct. 12th
Company Office Sat PM 1918

Dearest Mother;

Am fairly well settled now except for quarters, we are being moved around a little but hope to be settled soon. Am now in the office or a little corner set aside in the barracks for the use of the officers. Am not very busy now as quite a few of our men have the "Flu". Fifteen are in the hospital and several in bed here in the barracks. About fifty are on detail of various sorts and the rest for the most part are not in the best of shape so we are not drilling them now. I have drafted men under me and most of them are much older than I and half probably married. It seems strange for me to be ordering men around who are from twenty five to thirty and having them pay me all kinds of respect. And when this morning I went thru the quarters with the other two officers (2nd Lts) I couldn't get very fierce especially when so many of the fellows were sick. It hasn't been long enough since I was in their place. I never smiled nor even looked friendly but I couldn't "cuss 'em out". It will come I reckon though with a little experience.

All the officers mess to-gether at a little cottage called the officers Club but the mess is all there is to it. We get good grub and all the sugar we can eat. I ate bread and sugar last night for the first time since the war.

I might as well tell you that they have the "Flu" here pretty badly amonng the men though I know of only one officer who has it. You need have no fear for me though for it is so warm here we have everything open, clean quarters and sulphor water to drink, and use. It is so warm here I go around in my shirt sleeves even at night. The trees and cotton fields are green and birds sing so sweetly out on the campus. It rained quite hard yesterday but today has been beautiful.

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[3]Henry Carter Rogers, "A Journey into Indian Summer," 36, iii, 111. 1920 United States Census, Oakhoma City, Oklahoma County, Oklahoma, digital image s.v. "Catherine Manchester," *Ancestry.com*; "U.S., Social Security Applications and Claims Index, 1936-2007," s.v. "Catherine Manchester Rowe," *Ancestry.com.*

[4]Henry Carter Rogers, "A Journey into Indian Summer,"75.

I went over to Bryan or Brien last night for an hour or so. It is the nearest town boasts 4,500 and they call it a city here. Most everything in Texas is closed to soldiers but we found the drug store open though they couldn't sell us sodas or anything of the kind. In fact had I not been an officer I could not have gotten out of camp but quarrentine of soldiers doesn't effect officers, except as pertains to attendance upon public gathering. The City of Bryan is about five miles distant and one reaches it by a trolley in about fifteen minutes for so many cents. It has several drug stores three or four picture shows one or two hotel and the other stores that go to make up such a town. I couldn't see much of the town last night.

Well I must not tell to much about the place or I won't have anything to tell next time.

We took the prescribed picture at Julia's. She surely did things up in style for me. Cousin Nell and Catherine were there to dinner which was a swell one. Martyn drove us all over the city and though only there for a few hours I saw the whole works. Gee but it was great though the parting was most unpleasant. Will send the pictures when I get the prints. Will have a good picture taken when I can find time.

Nothing was said to me about being late. I just explained and no questions were asked. Officer's words good you see.

Must close now.

Lovingly,

Lt. Bengie

<div align="center">***</div>

A few days after receiving this previous letter, Alma learned firsthand the toll influenza took even on those who survived it. Byers Burlingame was recovering from it and sent a letter describing his recovery: "I was in the hospital three weeks and I have lost about 25 lbs . . . . My face is so hollow and I have lost my tan and I guess I can't get that back till next summer. I think the second week was my worst as was out of my head most of the time and the second wire they sent grandmother said [not] expected to live, but I wasn't ready to die so it seems. I said I kind of hated to come home a skeleton but . . . am sure will get along alright." [5]

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[5]Byers Burlingame, letter to Alma Rogers, 19 Oct. 1918, folder 7, box 5, Rogers Family Papers Collection, Duggan Library, Hanover College (Hanover, Ind.).

H. C. Rogers, Letter to H. M. Rogers and Alma Rogers, [December? 1918]

H.M. and Alma Rogers received this letter from their son Carter late in the year, after the war was over. In describing his recent experiences, he reveals medical practices of the time, the way the war seemed to end before it began for many recruits, and the way an individual's death can be more shocking than reported deaths of many more people.

The man whose funeral he attended was Lieut. Ralph Emerson Rollwage, of Forest City, Arkansas. Of German ancestry, he joined the war effort despite knowing that his grandparents had been German subjects and that he might be fighting against German cousins.[6]

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On the Post
Saturday

Dearest Folks,

You write to be about not writing and I haven't missed a week while! You did miss one week writing to me. You never have told me whether or not you received the seventy five dollars for the bank. I know it's a trivial sum but one must watch the little things to get along in this world.

Quite a sad thing happened here on Thanksgiving day. Lieut. Rollwage (the fellow whom you all took to be me in the company picture) died. He had not been the least bit sick but simply went over to the hospital to have his tonsils removed. The second injection of cocaine affected his heart before the operation was ever begun and he died in spite of the attention of three or four doctors. Quite sad in that it was so sudden, so uncalled for. I saw the major shortly after Rollwage died and he said when he went over to look at the body, he thought it was I. Such things make one a little more thoughtful.

We had a military funeral Fri. afternoon which was very impressive. I shall never forget the occasion, the march down to the station where the body was to be shipped. Down the military road (see picture) (The two out side lines) stood the soldiers of the post, in two batallion-front formations facing each other, at present arms, the salute for such an occassion. In front walked the band playing a military funeral march. (I made a mistake on the picture and got the dot in front of the band) after the band came the chaplin on foot followy by an army truck with the body (four soldiers standing in the truck to steady the coffin) Next the officers of the post followed in a column of two in order of rank. We marched from the building "A" to the Depot.

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[6]"Texas, Death Certificates, 1903-1982," digital image s.v. "Lieut Ralph Ennerson Rollwge," *Ancestry.com;* 1910 United States Census, Forest City, St. Francis County, Arkansas, digital image s.v. "Ralph Rollunge," *Ancestry.com.*

We were told the other day that we would begin mustering us officers out on the tenth of Dec. However I don't hope to get out before Jan. or Feb. for I have applied for the officers reserve and they will be kept in the army some longer than the ones who asked for immediate discharge. I wanted to stay in the army long enough to pay off my debt is the main reason why I asked for a place in the reserve. Of course asking for it doesnt mean I'll get it. If I don't I want to get a job some place until next fall for it wont pay me to start in school this year and I want to get that debt off my mind.

I spent a very quiet Thanksgiving here on the post. I didn't accept any of my three invitations to Colvert for various reasons. We had quite a good turkey dinner at the officers mess. To-day Lieut B.C Rogers and I ate dinner with Mr. & Mrs. Firtle (with whom we are rooming) we had a regular Thanksgiving dinner, turkey 'n everything.

Wednesday I received the candy. Thanks so much, it was fine. Also on that mail I got a box of candy from Dorothy and yesterday some from my girl friend at Calvert. All my good luck comes at once.

To-day is perfectly beautiful, warm and sunshining brightly. The last few days have been so cold. A few nights ago we had such a heavy frost it killed the sweet potato vines though the irish potatoes are still green. Will enclose a few pictures I printed. Fri. night I got my printing outfit fixed up as good as new.

From now on will be very busy helping demobilize the men here. Our orders are to have it done by the 20th Dec. It's quite a job and will keep us all pretty busy .

My board is real good for an army boarding place. You see I board at the officers mess, run by a sergeant and room about a square away at Mr. Firths; a might nice place. It won't be necessary to send the down comfort as it doesn't get so very cold here. Julia did not send me a sweater but I hardly think I'll need any more for one of my girl friends is knitting one for me.

Lovingly,
Your Bengie

P.S. Why not send some of Speeds letters or does he still write by hand?

<div align="center">***</div>

Carter's prediction was nearly right: he was released from the military on December 30, 1918. The college must have given him credit for his military experience, for he graduated on time in 1920.[7]

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[7]"U.S., Department of Veterans Affairs BIRLS Death File, 1850-2010," s.v. "Henry Rogers" (1899-1976), *Ancestry.com.*