

THE
HANOVER
HISTORICAL
REVIEW



Volume 16

2021

GUIDELINES FOR SUBMISSION OF MANUSCRIPTS

The *HHR* Editorial Board welcomes submissions of essays, document transcriptions and translations, and book reviews of a historical nature from any discipline.

Manuscripts must be prepared in conformity with *The Chicago Manual of Style*, 17th edition, in 12-point Times Roman font, double-spaced (including footnotes) and with pages numbered.

Submissions should be submitted by email attachment as a Microsoft Word document to Professor Michael Raley (raleym@hanover.edu) or Professor Anthony Miller (millera@hanover.edu). Because all submitted manuscripts will be evaluated anonymously, the author's name should appear only on the title page. There should be no identifying markers (including headers and hidden texts) within the body of the paper.

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.

THE HANOVER HISTORICAL REVIEW

Volume 16

June 2021

Senior Editor

Emma Kate McMurtry

Junior Editors

Addie Harris, Jordan Kennedy, and Katarina Rexing

Secretary

Jordan Kennedy

Editorial Board

Bradley Hancock

Addie Harris

Jordan Kennedy

Eliza Malott

Emma Kate McMurtry

James Moll

Katarina Rexing

Lauren Rippy

Maddy Shelton

Mary Isola

Faculty Advisors and Managing Editors

J. Michael Raley, Professor of History

Anthony Miller, Assistant Professor of History

Financial Support

Department of History and Hanover College

Printing

Carol Persinger, Mailroom Services

The *HANOVER HISTORICAL REVIEW* is dedicated to the promotion of excellence in undergraduate scholarship and writing.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Forewordv
J. Michael Raley and Anthony Miller, Managing Editors

Freshman History Essays

Spartan Military Dominance: Helot Suppression and the Integration of
Children into a Militaristic Society 3
Josh Jones

Popular Sovereignty and Political Unrest: The Instability of Power and
Leadership during the French Revolution 1789–17999
Rachel Pinnick

Student Essays

The Pilgrimage of Grace: A Crusade for the One True Faith of England17
James Moll

“Hail Mary, Full of Grace”: The Mother of the Messiah’s Role
in the Tudor Reformation27
Katarina Rexing

Elizabeth I’s Power and Influence Perpetuated by her Speech37
Mary Isola

From Reviled to Revered: *The U.S. Constitution*45
Bradley Hancock

Tzedakah: The Indianapolis Jewish Community and Civil Rights Movement51
Maddy Shelton

Senior History Thesis (Abridged)

The Early History of the Civil Rights Movement (1900–1950)59
Terry Hart

A Record of the COVID-19 Pandemic of 2020–21

A Day in the Life of Hanover College Students, Faculty, and Staff
During the COVID-19 Pandemic of 2020–21 87

FOREWORD

In the fall of 1992, supported by colleagues and enthusiastic students, Professor Frank Luttmmer 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 Luttmmer 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 Luttmmer'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 with their successors in 2020–2021, has turned out to be a great joy for us as faculty mentors.

Throughout the 2020 fall semester, the *HHR* Editorial Board met virtually every other week on Tuesday evenings at 8 p.m. to discuss the 2021 *HHR* Call for Papers and Submission Guidelines. During these meetings, the *HHR* Editorial Board also conducted training sessions for new members and reviews for current members in areas such as grammar, formatting, academic citations, and proofreading. The result of their diligent efforts may be found within the covers of this latest volume of the *HHR*.

The 2021 *HHR* contains, first and foremost, essays on historical themes written and submitted by Hanover College students. Some of these were written by freshmen, while others were authored by upper-class men and women. An abridgement of a senior thesis is also published here. All submissions must conform to *The Chicago Manual of Style*. Only Professors Raley and Miller knew the identity of the authors until the essays had been twice reviewed by the *HHR* Board of Editors. This double-blind anonymity 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 their own essays for consideration, and to ensure impartiality here Professors Raley and Miller distributed these, minus their authors' names, to other members of the board for anonymous peer review.

Seven specific criteria guide the Editorial Board's review of submissions:

1. Does the essay's introduction effectively set up and present a clear, original thesis?
2. Is the thesis supported with an ample supply of primary and secondary sources, critically interpreted for the reader?
3. Has the author brought forward a fresh interpretation of the evidence that advances current scholarship?

4. Is the thesis restated clearly in the conclusion to the essay? Does the author also add further implications of his/her findings?
5. Are the footnotes/endnotes and works cited page(s) formatted correctly in Chicago Style?
6. Is the writing style clear, fluid, and logical? Does the essay employ strong transition sentences along with connecting phrases and clauses?
7. What specific revisions or additions does the author need to 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/works cited pages); or (3) reject for publication. Some authors, of course, chose not to revise and resubmit their work. Those who did revise and resubmit their essays 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. In the final editing process, the Board of Editors of the *HHR* met on Tuesday evenings for several weeks for about two and one-half hours each evening, carefully reading aloud and editing for clarity and uniformity each essay. Professors Raley and Miller oversaw the final compiling of the journal, which is being published both digitally and in hard copy on campus by Carol Persinger and will henceforth be available on the Hanover College History Department website at: <https://history.hanover.edu/hhrintro.php>.

The 2020–21 academic year proved particularly difficult for students and faculty alike because of the outbreak of the COVID-19 virus in the spring of 2020, which resulted in the temporary closing of the Hanover College campus, the completion of the winter 2020 semester online, and the cancellation of the 2020 May Term. Included here was also the closing of the Duggan Library, so any final additions of research material to essays completed at this time had to be digitally available. The abrupt transition to online and virtual classes and the sending of students home created a considerable amount of stress and greatly increased the workload for both the students and the professors. This continued into the fall of 2020 as Hanover College incorporated a mixture of in-person, hybrid, and online courses and the Duggan Library had limited access.

Despite the difficulties of the past few months, what we as faculty members have found refreshing has been the seriousness and dedication with which these student editors and also the authors of the articles appearing in this volume have approached their tasks. At the beginning of the 2020–21 academic year, we offered the Board members the option of taking a year hiatus, but they unanimously voted to continue with the solicitation and editing of essays for publication in 2021. 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, part-time employment, and, finally, digital assignments while working online at home, 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 no doubt also learned a great deal in the process. They also decided to include as a permanent record, at the end of this volume, some select reflections that Hanover students, faculty, and staff provided on November 15, 2020, at the request of Professor Sarah Vosmeier and Archivist Jennifer Duplaga in which they reflected upon the many ways in which the pandemic had affected their lives and study during this difficult year.

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

J. Michael Raley and Anthony Miller
Managing Editors, June 2021

Freshman History Essays

Spartan Military Dominance: Helot Suppression and the Integration of Children into a Militaristic Society

Josh Jones

Ancient Greece, although connected through trade networks, religion, and alliances, developed into independent city-states with competing governments, lifestyles, and social structures. The independence of each city-state allowed for high cultural diversity across the region; however, certain city-states, such as Sparta, became recognized for their military attraction, strict training regimen, and glorified victories with external enemies. These features, identified through written records and archeological evidence, defined their city-state, allowing historians to understand more clearly the human activities within each Greek city-state. The written records of early historians such as Herodotus, Thucydides, Xenophon, and Plutarch, retrospectively, who were not native Spartans, captured the Spartans' warlike tendencies.¹ From these historical accounts, Spartan warriors became prominent figures, symbolizing strength, obedience, and discipline. Spartan children assimilated into this militaristic society without any choice, entering hardships that were unprecedented for other Greek city-states. Spartans brutally trained their children, via the *agôgê*, a mandatory training regimen for boys, to ensure that fierce soldiers were created for the establishment of a strong military society.² Spartan soldiers and military strategies did not develop suddenly; instead, the aggressive nature of the Spartans developed over time. The initiation of this military culture began after the early Spartan tribes conquered Messenia and Laconia, displacing the native peoples. The Spartan military suppressed these people, known as helots, to a lower status, depriving them of private property, political rights, and many freedoms enjoyed by the *Spartiates*, or warriors.³ Because the helots largely outnumbered the Spartans, it became necessary

¹Herodotus, *The History of Herodotus* (ca. 415 B.C.E.), *Project Gutenberg*, <https://www.gutenberg.org/files/2707/2707-h/2707-h.htm> (accessed November 2, 2020); Thucydides, *The History of the Peloponnesian War* (ca. 431 B.C.E.), *Project Gutenberg*, <https://www.gutenberg.org/files/7142/7142-h/7142-h.htm> (accessed March 4, 2021); Xenophon, "The Laws and Customs of the Spartans," in *Classics of Western Thought*, Vol. 1: *The Ancient World*, ed. Donald S. Gochberg, 4th ed. (San Diego: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich College Publishers, 1992), 160–172; Plutarch, *Life of Lycurgus* (ca. 100 C.E.), in *The Parallel Lives by Plutarch*, Loeb Classical Library edition, vol. 1 (1914), http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Roman/Texts/Plutarch/Lives/Lycurgus*.html (accessed November 3, 2020).

² Xenophon, "The Laws and Customs of the Spartans," 163.

³ Humphrey Mitchell, *Sparta: to Krypton tēs Politeias tōn lakedeimoniōn* (1952; rep. ed., Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1985), 75.

for Sparta to mandate military training for children to ensure the strength of the society.⁴ Spartan children, through the utilization of artificial selection and the *agôgê*, initially served as great warriors not to assert dominance over the region, but instead to suppress the helots, thus rendering Sparta as a heavily militaristic society and promoting conformity.

The quality of training originating in Sparta no doubt resulted in the peak performance of warriors; however, modern scholars analyzed the cause of such a well-trained society. Modern historians have different interpretations to explain the causes of Spartan military ascension. Political economist Humphrey Mitchell argues that Spartans developed their lifestyle partially to suppress the helots, but also to prevent an external invasion. Although Mitchell acknowledges that the helots played an important role in indirectly creating the Spartan military, he also asserts that the reason for a disciplined military originated as a means “to suppress sedition within the State or repel invasion from without.”⁵ Similarly, University of Edinburgh historian Nic Fields agrees that the *agôgê* and its “code” played a central role in ensuring “their military supremacy over the subordinate population.”⁶ Fields emphasizes the importance of military training within the society to prevent potential revolts posed by helots. British historian Michael Whitby has compared the helots to “a potentially active human volcano,” indicating the dangers of suppressing an eventually overwhelmingly large lower class.⁷ Although he recognizes the dangers of invasion by foreign enemies, he attributes the origins of the strong Spartan military to “the refusal of the Messenians [i.e., helots] to submit quietly,” forcing the *Spartiates* “to organize themselves as a community of professional soldiers, dedicated not (like many militaristic peoples) to foreign conquest . . . but above all to maintaining strict internal discipline and harmony.”⁸ Here Whitby identifies the helots as the primary cause for fear and potential revolts within the Spartan society. While Whitby distinguishes the helots as a catalyst to the development of military training, Gina Salapata suggests an alternative reasoning for heroic actions centered around culture and religion. After deciphering terra-cotta plaques of Agamemnon and Cassandra, Salapata argues that heroes served as “an intermediate” between gods and humans.⁹ Salapata neither wholly accepts nor rejects the key points presented by Whitby and Fields, but instead suggests that the cultural and religious aspects of a “hero” possessed greater value for Spartans. Whitby, Fields, and Mitchell all recognize

⁴ Peter Hunt, “Helots at the Battle of Platea,” *Historia: Zeitschrift für alte Geschichte* 46, no. 2 (1997): 129-44 at 129-30.

⁵ Mitchell, *Sparta*, 165.

⁶ Nic Fields, *The Spartan Way* (South Yorkshire, England: Pen and Sword Books Ltd, 2013).

⁷ G. E. M. De Ste Croix, “The Helot Threat,” In *Sparta*, edited by Whitby Michael, 190-95, (Edinburgh, Scotland: Edinburgh University Press, 2002).

⁸ G. E. M. De Ste Croix, “The Helot Threat,” 190–195 at 192.

⁹ Gina Salapata, *Heroic offerings: The Terracotta Plaques from the Spartan Sanctuary of Agamemnon and Cassandra* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2014), 3.

the threat that the helots posed to the Spartan military, but Mitchell alone denies that the helots experienced the poor treatment that other modern historians have suggested, and that protection of their homeland held equal importance to the suppression of revolts.¹⁰ The various insights provided by these modern scholars, although quite different in some senses, revolve around the similar conviction that Sparta required a well-qualified army of highly-trained warriors.

The purpose of highly-sophisticated military tactics primarily stems from the necessity to maintain control over the helots, which indicates a direct correlation between the threat of helot uprisings and the amount of effort dedicated to military superiority. Military supremacy over the helots depended on the quality of soldiers, as the helots drastically outnumbered the Spartan warriors. In fact, Herodotus, in *Histories*, claims that, at the time of the Battle of Plataea, Sparta contained a “ratio of seven helots to each Spartan.”¹¹ The dramatic difference between the number of helots and Spartan warriors caused the Spartans to live in constant fear of uncontrollable rebellions, motivating them to maintain their physical and military superiority. Sparta understood the importance of genetically favorable traits. The newborn had to possess what “the elders of the tribes” deemed to be “well-built and sturdy”; however, if the infant ultimately exemplified signs that it might be “ill-born and deformed,” then it was considered to have “no advantage either to itself or the state,” and thus murder of the child ensued.¹² To determine the potential strength of the baby, the elders would utilize “wine,” which “was reputed to induce convulsions in weak babies, while tempering the strength of healthy ones.”¹³ The complex understanding and, ultimately, the brutal reality that Spartans enforced signifies their dedication and sacrifices to the strength of their society. Sparta decided to exterminate society of these weaker links at an early age to maintain their powerful positioning over the helots. The continuation of this practice promoted stronger individuals as favorable genetic capabilities passed from generation to generation, allowing for much stronger warriors to be bred. Ultimately, the function of artificial selection enabled the Spartans to overpower the much larger helot population.

Spartan warriors did not develop rapidly; instead, it took ample time, training, and discipline to produce high-quality Spartan warriors. The difficulty of education and training for these young Spartans exemplifies the necessity for protection against the overwhelming population of helots. The continuous need for military dominance over this slave class has been demonstrated through the amalgamation of evidence surrounding Spartan military strategy, education, and training into the lifestyle of Spartan children. The military training for boys, by modern standards, was intentionally abusive. Within these training programs, boys were forced to walk barefoot, no matter the time of year, to ensure that their feet would “harden”, so that “they would go up steep

¹⁰ Mitchell, *Sparta*, 165.

¹¹ Peter Hunt, “Helots at the Battle of Platea,” 129–44 at 129–130.

¹² Plutarch, *Life of Lycurgus*, at chap. 16.1.

¹³ Fields, *The Spartan Way*.

places with far greater ease.” Shoes, although essential today, to these Spartan warriors, implied weakness to those who trained. Another brutal reality was that older boys, deemed “whip-carriers,” would “inflict whatever chastisement was necessary,” not only signifying the brutality of these training programs, but also demonstrating the strict military culture throughout the Spartan society.¹⁴ The culmination of the aggressive and violent actions of the Spartan training camps resonated in the treatment of the helots, as Spartan warriors beat, and many times, killed this lower class. Just after the graduation from the *agôgê*, young men, around eighteen years of age, “set out at the dead of night with the minimum of clothing and supplies to ruthlessly hunt down and eliminate helots, particularly the few individuals, we can suppose, who were judged capable of becoming nuclei of discontent.”¹⁵ Thus, the *Spartiates* justified their position within the society and, at the same time, attempted to prevent potential helot revolts. The *agôgês* combined teaching and violence and encouraged stealing. Spartans believed that young soldiers stealing from helots forced the creation of stealthier adolescents, ultimately making “the boys craftier.”¹⁶ Not only did the boys become educated on stealth, but they “also cultivated their warlike instincts,” while attempting to avoid capture.¹⁷ These hostile impulses, engrained in young Spartans’ minds, signify the dedication to the development and prosperity of their militaristic society. The encouragement of stealing taught the trainees about problem-solving in intense scenarios, as well as developing individualized military strategies. The clever military tactics and the ability to go unseen became significant in their attacks against the helots at a later age. By developing this system of educational training, the young men demonstrated great strength and thus could move on to the next stage in their lives: becoming a Spartan soldier.

The accumulation of evidence, through the perspective of the development of boys and young men, indicates the importance of the military within Spartan culture; however, the reasoning for this military may not be as apparent. Although some may argue that the military dominance of the region established the necessity for a militaristic society, the more prominent justification for the increased military state was due to the need to suppress the helots. The helots outnumbered the Spartans seven to one, thus suggesting that the development of a strong military to suppress this slave class became warranted. The helots feigned great loyalty to the Spartans warriors, perhaps in fear of the repercussions of disobeying their masters; however, uprisings performed by the helots still occurred. Helot graves at the site of the Battle of Plataea (479 B.C.E.), reveal that at least some

¹⁴ Xenophon, “The Laws and Customs of the Spartans,” 163.

¹⁵ Fields, *The Spartan Way*.

¹⁶ Xenophon, *The Polity of the Athenians and the Lacedaemonians* (ca. 400 B.C.E), *Project Gutenberg*, https://www.gutenberg.org/files/1178/1178-h/1178-h.htm#link2H_4_0002 (accessed October 28, 2020).

¹⁶ Xenophon, *The Polity of the Athenians and the Lacedaemonians*.

helots fought alongside and were willing to die for their masters.¹⁸ The level of loyalty exhibited by the helots suggests, however, that it was instigated by fear. Plutarch describes the relationship between Spartans and helots as “harsh and cruel,” indicating that “ephors, as soon as they came into office, made a formal declaration of war upon the helots.”¹⁹ Furthermore, the establishment of dominance over the helots as a means for training and military power implies that the Spartans developed a fear of the sheer number of slaves that they controlled. The Spartan warriors exerted their power over the slaves frequently, killing the strongest of the workers, thus forcing the helots into submission. The conformity of the helots within the Spartan kingdom, primarily out of fear, allowed the Spartans to remain in power, ultimately promoting a stable society and allowing for expansion. The conquests of Sciritis and Tegea served more as an alliance, as the Spartans knew that “they had too many helots on their hands,” and it would be “easier to turn the conquered Tegeans into allies than into slaves.”²⁰ By recognizing the threat that the helots posed, the expansion efforts transformed from pure dominance to hegemony.

Through artificial selection and intense training programs, Sparta society developed great warriors to suppress the helots, thus enabling a strong militaristic society to be built. Sparta developed into a militaristic society through its efficient system of creating warriors from young men. This gave rise to the training programs and military capacity of Sparta. The strong military system enabled Sparta to reign dominant around the region; however, the development of a strong military initially served to repress the helots. Ultimately, the dedication to military forces exhibited by Spartan civilians, regardless of the enemy, surrounding territories, or helots, should be recognized as one of the greatest throughout the course of history. In a quote written by Plutarch, the renowned dedication of the Spartan warriors to their homeland can be exemplified, as Spartan women told their husbands and sons going into war, “come back with your shield – or on it.”²¹

¹⁸ Peter Hunt, “Helots at the Battle of Platea,” 129–44 at 129–130.

¹⁹ Plutarch, *Life of Lycurgus*, at chap. 28.4.

²⁰ Mitchell, *Sparta*, 29.

²¹ Plutarch, *Moralia* (ca. 100 C.E.), *Public Broadcasting Service (PBS)*, https://www.pbs.org/empires/thegreeks/background/8c_p1.html#:~:text=Asked%20what%20was%20the%20greatest,of%20mothers%20to%20their%20sons (accessed November 6, 2020).

WORKS CITED

PRIMARY SOURCES

- Herodotus. *The History of Herodotus* (ca. 415 B.C.E). Project Gutenberg, <https://www.gutenberg.org/files/2707/2707-h/2707-h.htm> (accessed November 2, 2020).
- Plutarch. *Moralia* (ca. 100 C.E.). Public Broadcasting Station (PBS), https://www.pbs.org/empires/thegreeks/background/8c_p1.html#:~:text=Asked%20what%20was%20the%20greatest,of%20mothers%20to%20their%20sons (accessed November 6, 2020).
- Plutarch. *Life of Lycurgus* (ca. 100 C.E.). In *The Parallel Lives by Plutarch*, Loeb Classical Library edition, vol. 1 (1914), http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Roman/Texts/Plutarch/Lives/Lycurgus*.html (accessed November 3, 2020).
- Xenophon. "The Laws and Customs of the Spartans." In *Classics of Western Thought*. Vol. 1: *The Ancient World*, ed. Donald S. Gochberg, 4th ed., 160–172. San Diego: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich College Publishers, 1992.
- Xenophon. *The Polity of the Athenians and the Lacedaemonians* (ca. 400 B.C.E). Project Gutenberg, https://www.gutenberg.org/files/1178/1178-h/1178-h.htm#link2H_4_0002 (accessed October 28, 2020).

SECONDARY SOURCES

- De Ste Croix, G.E.M. "The Helot Threat." In *Sparta*, ed. by Whitby Michael, 190-95. Edinburgh, Scotland: Edinburgh University Press, 2002.
- Fields, Nic. *The Spartan Way*. Barnsley, South Yorkshire, England: Pen & Sword Military, 2013.
- Hunt, Peter. "Helots at the Battle of Plataea." *Historia: Zeitschrift für alte Geschichte* 46, no. 2 (1997): 129-44.
- Mitchell, Humfrey. *Sparta: to Krypton tēs Politeias tōn lakedeimoniōn*. London, England: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1952; rep. ed. Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1985.
- Salapata, Gina. *Heroic Offerings: The Terracotta Plaques from the Spartan Sanctuary of Agamemnon and Cassandra*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2014.

**Popular Sovereignty and Political Unrest:
The Instability of Power and Leadership during the French Revolution 1789–1799**

Rachel Pinnick

The French Revolution (1789–1799) was a time of great political and civil unrest in France. Many citizens were unhappy with the way King Louis XVI was leading the country, and they wanted change. There were many different views about the approaches to the way in which change should be accomplished as evidenced by personal narratives from this time period. For some, the driving values at the beginning of the Revolution seemed to contradict the values that were present at the end of it. Why did power appear to shift so easily throughout the French Revolution? Evidence shows that power was so fluid because the “people,” not one specific group or person, controlled the French Revolution. The conflicting nature of the French Revolution exemplifies the ease with which those in power can lose control of the people over whom they preside.

Before the Revolution began, King Louis XVI had a tenuous grasp over the country. His authority was weakening by the day as people from the Third Estate cried out for change. The Third Estate was comprised of many different peoples, including the lower classes, but the middle class, known as the *bourgeoisie*, were one of the main drivers of the French Revolution. The bourgeoisie were tired of the King and the First and Second Estates arguing over what to do rather than actually doing something. As George Lefebvre claims in his book, *The French Revolution from 1793 to 1799*, “the bourgeoisie put an end to the contradiction by seizing the state themselves.”¹ The bourgeoisie wanted results, and the only way they believed this could be achieved was by changing who held the power. This seizure marked the beginning of the Revolution and the decline and eventual loss of power of King Louis XVI. The bourgeoisie were tired of inaction, so they took matters into their own hands and set the Revolution on a path of continual attempts to gain control of the movement.

Despite continual efforts to control the Revolution, according to Lefebvre, the bourgeoisie “did not succeed in establishing a true government.”² This speaks to the lack of authority that would preside over the Revolution for the next ten years. Attempts were made to establish some semblance of government, which can be seen in the creation of the *Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen* (1789). According to Kevin Reilly in *World’s History*, “the source of all sovereignty resides essentially in the nation; no group, no individual may exercise authority not emanating expressly therefrom.”³ The Revolution’s leading document has a provision which

¹ Georges Lefebvre, *The French Revolution from 1793 to 1799*, trans. John Hall Stewart and James Friguglietti (New York: Columbia University Press, 1964), 269.

² Lefebvre, *The French Revolution from 1793 to 1799*, trans. Stewart and Friguglietti, 271.

³ Kevin Reilly, “The French Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen, 1789,” in *World’s History*, ed. Kevin Reilly, vol. 2: *Since 1400*, 7th ed. (Boston: Bedford/St. Martin’s, 2020), 680.

explicitly states that control over the people cannot occur without the people's consent.⁴ This makes it difficult for a leading group to take control of the Revolution because they would have to acquire the permission and support of the public to do so. Some people were able to gain power for a time, such as the Marquis de Lafayette, who advocated heavily for the people. Even at the beginning of its conception, people realized the important impacts the declaration would have on society; this was evidenced by observers who claimed "we were in time to hear La Fayette [sic] make the motion for a declaration of rights, which will probably be considered one of the most prominent events in this revolution."⁵ People realized the weight that such a document would carry and that its purpose was to protect their rights. Popular sovereignty empowers people to feel like they have control over their own country, though this can have explosive consequences. Everyone wants to be heard and taken seriously. In the French Revolution, the idea of popular sovereignty led to constant shifts in power. No one person was ever able to take charge.

During the Revolution, two main political groups emerged: the Jacobins and the Girondins. In the beginning, these two groups believed in the same thing, freedom for France. As Madame Roland (1754–1793), a leader of the Girondin movement, stated in her memoirs while she was in prison awaiting execution, "I was passionate for the Revolution. I thought that the Constitution, whatever its faults, must be made to work."⁶ This illustrates how, in the beginning, the Girondins believed in the Revolution's goals and were convinced that it would be successful. They helped create, along with the Jacobins, a temporary political system under which the Revolution could function. According to Jeremy Popkin in his book *A Short History of the French Revolution*, as the Revolution became more bloody and violent, "membership in the Jacobins was opened up to poorer citizens, the club network supported increasingly radical policies."⁷ These radical policies ultimately drove a wedge between the Girondins and the Jacobins, foreshadowing the bloody, violent events that would come to define the Revolution's Reign of Terror.

As the Revolution increasingly took on a more radical character, the divide between the Girondins and Jacobins increased and became more hostile. The conflict between these two groups was felt by people in France. For example, an anonymous source in J. M. Thompson's collection, *English Witnesses of the French Revolution*, stated, "the Girondins have to-day all the power of

⁴ Marquis de Lafayette, "The French Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen, 1789," in *World's History*, ed. Reilly, 680.

⁵ Edward Rigby, "Crisis at Versailles" from *English Witnesses of the French Revolution*, ed. by J. M. Thompson (New York: Kennikat Press, 1970), 47.

⁶ Madame Roland, "First Term of Office," in *The Memoirs of Madame Roland: A Heroine of the French Revolution*, trans. and ed. by Evelyn Shuckburgh (New York: Moyer Bell Limited, 1990), 89.

⁷ Jeremy D. Popkin, *A Short History of the French Revolution*, 3rd ed. (New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 2002), 55.

the Convention in their hands, but Paris, with its sections and Jacobins, will in the end triumph. Blood and massacre will be the result of their success.”⁸ This demonstrates the fact that the Jacobin movement often took on more violent characteristics, which was in direct contradiction to the Girondin’s call for more conservative measures. The Girondins, who were once seen as the leading group in the Revolution, lost their power over the people whose actions were becoming increasingly violent. This again exemplifies the importance of the people’s support for those who want to control the political power.

Even when it seemed that the Jacobins would now be the leaders of the Revolution, their power over the people was never solidified. The Jacobins may have seized power in the Assembly, but according to Popkin, “the violence that had resulted in the lynching of the Bastille’s commander . . . showed that the revolutionary process could easily get out of the assembly’s control.”⁹ The Jacobins were at the mercy of the people of France. They only had power so long as they answered to the people’s will. The people were gaining a heightened sense of agency though; they were realizing that they had the power to choose who they wanted to represent them. This led to the people deciding when the power would change hands. For example, the people believed in the Jacobin movement and its leaders, one of which was Maximilien Robespierre, in the beginning. Robespierre was “*in his heart* Republican . . . upon this principle he acts, and the public voice is decidedly in favour of this system.”¹⁰ Robespierre was seen as reflecting the will of the people, which is what kept him in power, but as soon as he deviated from the people’s wishes, he lost his power and eventually his life to the guillotine. The people decided his fate in the end. According to Robert Strayer and Eric Nelson in *Ways of the World*, the French Revolution was “a profound social upheaval” in which people as a whole led the Revolution, not just a specific group.¹¹ This highlights the true essence of the Revolution, which put the people at its heart. According to J. M. Thompson, it was a Revolution brought on by the people in their entirety, “without the people being led on by any leader, or by any party, but merely by the general diffusion of reason and philosophy.”¹² It is hard for a group to establish dominance over a people who are used to getting actions accomplished without someone telling them what to do or how to act.

⁸ “The Fall of the Girondins,” in *English Witnesses of the French Revolution*, ed. J. M. Thompson (New York: Kennikat Press, 1970), 239.

⁹ Popkin, *A Short History of the French Revolution*, 37.

¹⁰ W. A. Miles, “Robespierre,” in *English Witnesses of the French Revolution*, ed. Thompson, 106.

¹¹ Robert Strayer and Eric Nelson, “The French Revolution, 1789–1815,” in *Ways of the World*, vol. 2: *Since the Fifteenth Century*, 4th ed. (Boston: Bedford/St. Martin’s, 2019), 699.

¹² “A Bloodless Revolution,” in *English Witnesses of the French Revolution*, ed. Thompson, 61.

Furthermore, it was the people's independent will, along with a Jacobin-led assembly, that led to the change in the Revolution from its moderate course with minimal bloodshed towards a violent path. The French Minister of Justice, Étienne-Louis-Hector Dejoly, claimed that Paris "presented the horrible spectacle of a city taken by assault."¹³ People were using violence in order to try to protect the Revolution and keep Paris under their control. Peaceful measures were seen as ineffective since violence seemed to create results much quicker. Paris was the main stage for this violence, but it was not the only part of the country plagued by violence. According to Paul Hanson, the "revolutionary politics touched the countryside as well" and led to peasant revolts.¹⁴ This shows that even though the majority of the violence was contained to the city, no part of the country was exempt from the consequences of the Revolution. No single group could maintain control over that radical turn.

The French Revolution was a time of great social unrest combined with violent tendencies. Groups were constantly trying to gain control of the movement. The power that people gained was tenuous and could easily shift with the people's will. The bourgeoisie were not set in the way they wanted to achieve change; this led to both periods of violence and tranquility. Both Popkin and Hanson noted the way the Revolution took on more violent characteristics once the power had changed hands. As this shift occurred, the way in which those leaders ruled changed as well; some sought the use of violence while others attempted more peaceful methods. King Louis XVI lost power when the bourgeoisie no longer deemed him capable of leading the country. The Girondins lost power when the Jacobins, who seemed to reflect the Revolutionaries' more violent tendencies, were backed by the bourgeoisie. The Jacobins lost power when they lost the favor of the bourgeoisie. The French Revolution was time and time again shown as a movement where the power of those in charge was easily lost when the bourgeoisie decided change was necessary. Because the French Revolution was marked with episodes of turmoil and unpredictability, the instability of power and leadership was its one constant, defining feature.

¹³ Etienne-Louis-Hector Dejoly, "The Narrative by the Minister of Justice," in *The French Revolution*, ed. Philip Dawson (New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1967), 118.

¹⁴ Paul R Hanson, "Political History of the French Revolution since 1989," *Journal of Social History*, vol. 52, no. 3 (2019): 584–592.

WORKS CITED

PRIMARY SOURCES

- Anonymous. "The Fall of the Girondins." In *English Witnesses of the French Revolution*, ed. J. M. Thompson, 239. New York: Kennikat Press, 1970.
- Dejoly, Etienne-Louis-Hector. "The Narrative by the Minister of Justice." In *The French Revolution*, ed. Philip Dawson, 118. New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1967.
- Marquis de Lafayette. "The French Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen, 1789." In *World's History. Vol. 2: Since 1400*, by Kevin Reilly, 680. 7th ed. Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's, 2020.
- Rigby, Edwards. "Crisis at Versailles." In *English Witnesses of the French Revolution*, ed. J. M. Thompson, 47. New York: Kennikat Press, 1970.
- Roland, Madame. "First Term of Office." In *The Memoirs of Madame Roland: A Heroine of the French Revolution*, trans. and ed. Evelyn Shuckburgh, 89. New York: Moyer Bell, 1990.

SECONDARY SOURCES

- Hanson, Paul R. "Political History of the French Revolution since 1989." *Journal of Social History*. Vol. 52, no. 3 (2019): 584–92.
- Lefebvre, Georges. *The French Revolution from 1793 to 1799*. Trans. John Hall Stewart and James Friguglietti. New York: Columbia University Press, 1964.
- Miles, W. A. "Robespierre." In *English Witnesses of the French Revolution*, ed. J. M. Thompson, 106. New York: Kennikat Press, 1970.
- Popkin, Jeremy D. *A Short History of the French Revolution*. 3rd ed. New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 2002.
- Strayer, Robert and Eric Nelson. "The French Revolution, 1789–1815." In *Ways of the World. Vol. 2: Since the Fifteenth Century*, by Robert Strayer and Eric Nelson, 689. 4th ed. Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's, 2019.
- Thompson, J. M. "A Bloodless Revolution." In *English Witnesses of the French Revolution*, ed. J. M. Thompson, 61. New York: Kennikat Press, 1970.

Student Essays

The Pilgrimage of Grace: A Crusade for the One True Faith of England

James Moll

In 1536, King Henry VIII and Chief Secretary Thomas Cromwell attempted to pass legislation that dissolved monasteries and abbeys across the countryside of England. This proposed legislature upset many of the commoners in the parishes. Despite the plethora of Protestant movements, the population of England was still predominantly Catholic. Nobility, Gentry, and commoners alike were concerned about the consequences that would follow a dissolution of the monasteries and abbeys. These organizations did much for the parishioners, including charity for the poor and other such public affairs. Robert Aske, a gentry lawyer in Yorkshire during the 16th century, eventually would become the face for a series of uprisings that incited fear in the royalty and created stir among the commoners. Aske's crusade against the Crown's decisions on religion would forever be remembered as a threat to the King's throne. He traveled across Northern England collecting followers for his crusade. Aske and the people he met during the crusade made a list of what they wanted changed, and much of it revolves around religion. While socio-economic problems were still important, the passion of the people's religious beliefs kick started the uprisings across Northern England, and it continued to fuel said uprisings into the next year. The Pilgrimage of Grace was a crusade primarily focused on retaining the One True Faith of England by restoring the monasteries, getting rid of corrupt ecclesiastical elites, and confirming the succession of Princess Mary.

Lord Cromwell began the dissolution of the monasteries in 1532 by having the House of Commons come up with a list of crimes the clergy had committed. The Commons did as such, charging the clergy of mishandling money, making themselves seem above the King, and other like offenses. At first, the clergy denied such accusations, writing that they "repute and take [their] authority of making of laws to be grounded upon the Scripture of God and the determination of Holy Church."¹ Approved Church doctrine held that canon law must be based upon Scripture. However, since Henry and the pope were at odds, the King was furious that the Church was making laws for his people without him. Henry got angry and eventually the clergy submitted to him out of fear, hoping to spare their lives and livelihood.² Cromwell was not satisfied with the Clergy's cry for forgiveness, and, on June 8, 1536, Parliament passed the Act for abolishing the bishop of

¹ "Answer of the Ordinaries (1532)," London, in *Sources and Debates in English History: Second Edition*, by Newton Key and Robert Bucholz, (West Sussex, United Kingdom: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009), 59–60.

² "Submission of the Clergy (May 15, 1532)," London, in *Sources and Debates in English History: Second Edition*, by Newton Key and Robert Bucholz, (West Sussex, United Kingdom: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009), 60.

Rome's usurped authority.³ Parliament also planned to dissolve the monasteries and abbeys in this same year, confiscating their lands for the Crown.

The dissolution of the monasteries began with those monasteries and abbeys that made £200 or less a year.⁴ At first, the set standards put quite a few monks and nuns without work or housing, because the poorer areas could not keep up with the demands of the Crown. Many of these monks and nuns would proceed to wander the countryside, for they had nowhere else to go. This angered many commoners in the parishes and certain people in the government, especially Catholics. Eustace Chapuys, the Spanish Ambassador to England and also a representative of the pope, observed, "It is a lamentable thing to see a legion of monks and nuns who have been chased from their monasteries wandering miserably hither and thither seeking means to live . . . there were over 20,000 who knew not how to live."⁵ While Chapuys had little leverage with Cromwell, he did have influence in other European countries, which made his opinion somewhat important to Henry VIII. Chapuys relayed the affairs of the English Kingdom back to his superior, Holy Roman Emperor Charles V, who was also king of Spain. Fear of King Henry prevented such a direct complaint, at least from an onlooker like Eustace Chapuys. The monks, on the other hand, did not give in. At least two of the monasteries contested their decided worth, which led to small outbreaks of violence.⁶ These outbreaks were insignificant and promptly overshadowed by the more serious Pilgrimage of Grace.

In October of 1536, Robert Aske began mustering civilian soldiers in Lincolnshire for a crusade against the removal of the abbeys and monasteries and the restoration of Catholicism as the One True Faith. Not much is recorded about Aske before he went up against the Crown. The commoners willing to fight with Aske were in surplus; they felt their lives were being uprooted, all the way down to the church they went to on Sunday morning. The commoners joined mostly for ecclesiastical reasons, hoping to restore their preferred way of life.⁷ After gathering a stable number of soldiers and leaders, Aske traveled to York where he gathered more supporters. Eventually, Aske took over most of northern England, collecting a list of important grievances

³ "House of Lords Journal Volume 1: Note of acts," in *Journal of the House of Lords: Volume 1, 1509-1577*, *British History Online*, 102, <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/lords-jrnl/vol1/p102>, (accessed November 22, 2020).

⁴ Martin Heale, *The Abbots and Priors of Late Medieval and Reformation England* (Oxford Scholarship Online, October 2016), 317.

⁵ "Henry VIII: July 1536, 6-10," *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII, Volume 11, July-December 1536*, 19-20, *British History Online*, <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/letters-papers-hen8/vol11/pp19-29> (accessed November 24, 2020), 42.

⁶ Heale, *Abbots and Priors*, 317.

⁷ C. S. L. Davies, "The Pilgrimage of Grace Reconsidered," *Past & Present*, no. 41 (1968): 54-76 at 69.

along the way, including: “To have redress of the abbeys suppressed” and “Punishment of divers [sic] bishops, especially the bp. of Lincoln.”⁸ Not only did Aske and the commoners want the abbeys and monasteries back, but they wanted rid of the “corrupt” Catholic bishops that plagued the ecclesiastical hierarchy. While his endgame was unclear, Aske took Pomfret Castle, and eventually delivered the grievances to the duke of Norfolk.⁹ Norfolk proceeded to deliver said grievances to the King. First, however, Robert Aske was going to need the support of the Commons and the monasteries.

Arguably the most important assets of the Pilgrimage of Grace were the monasteries and convents and the ecclesiastical clergy who lived within them. Their support was obtained either by force of the leaders of the Pilgrimage of Grace or the Commons, or self-obligation. Many monastic superiors agreed to help the crusade through self-obligation or through obligation enforced by the Commons (some monasteries were threatened to be burned down by the Commons). These monasteries delivered food and provided what help they could from the comfort of their front door. Some superiors needed extra incentive to help the rebels in the form of threats and violence. However, the rebels wanted more than just help. One of the leaders, Sir Nicholas Fairfax, asserted that “the priours and abbotes and other men of the chirche shuld not only sende ayde unto theym but also goo forth in their owne persons.”¹⁰ Sir Fairfax figures that since this is a crusade against the dissolution of the monasteries, the monastic superiors should play a more physical role, taking up arms with the thousands of rebels. This was a tall order, however, and everyone involved settled for some of the monks and nuns traveling with this army, but not necessarily bearing arms. The monasteries served God in many ways, but were also important to the cause because of their supply of money, food, drink, and other provisions, as admitted by Robert Aske himself.¹¹

Henry VIII felt threatened by the insurrection in the North, and from the moment he learned about it he attempted to end its existence. As aforementioned, Henry was able to quell two insurrections already, one in Hexham and the other in Norton, but those were just the beginning of the Lincolnshire rebellions and the Pilgrimage of Grace. Henry was on them from the beginning, giving orders and sending troops. The rebels dispersed, and Henry thought he had won. Days later, however, he received a new message about the uprisings. Determined to reach their goal and now

⁸ “Henry VIII: January 1536, 1-5,” *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII, Volume 12 Part 1, January-May 1537*, 1-16, *British History Online*, <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/letters-papers-hen8/vol12/no1/pp1-16> (accessed November 24, 2020), 6.

⁹ “Henry VIII: January 1536, 1-5,” 6.

¹⁰ Heale, *Abbots and Priors*, 317.

¹¹ “the suppression of the abbeys was the greatest cause of the said insurrection... [they] gave great alms to poor men and laudably served God.” G.W. Bernard, “The Dissolution of the Monasteries,” *History*, vol. 96, no. 4. (Wiley-Blackwell: Oct. 2004), 402.

numbering 30,000 to 50,000 soldiers, the Pilgrimage of Grace was unrelenting.¹² The king countered this by asking for “at least 100,000 men.”¹³ To one who is merely looking on, it might seem that the King was going overboard. The rebels’ defense of the monasteries, however, was a direct attack on the King’s and Cromwell’s plans to do away with papal power and Catholicism. After the King finished taking care of the Pilgrimage of Grace, he went after monks and monasteries individually, and eventually all monasteries in the realm.¹⁴ He finished dealing with this insurrection by early December 1536, with the help of the Duke of Norfolk.

The Duke of Norfolk was himself a Catholic, so his assignment to fight off the Catholic crusade, the Pilgrimage of Grace, was ill-fated. Norfolk met the rebels at Doncaster Bridge in Yorkshire in December of 1536, grossly outnumbered.¹⁵ He made a deal with them and took to the King what is now known as the Pontefract Articles. The rebels requested a full pardon as well, which was a common request of insurgents during this time.¹⁶ The Pontefract Articles, angrily dismissed by the King, directly addressed the main grievances of Robert Aske’s crusade. Beginning with the crusades’ most important grievances, the articles requested that “the supreme head of the Church. . . [should] be restored unto the see of Rome as before it was accustomed. . . to have the abbeys suppressed to be restored unto their houses, land, and goods. . . [and that] the Lady Mary may be made legitimate.”¹⁷ The crusade’s request to restore papal power in the ecclesiastical life of the commoners promoted Catholicism and thus threatened the authority of the Protestant King. If the pope were restored as a superior figure in England, a power struggle between King Henry VIII and the pope would ensue. Aske wanted the abbeys and monasteries reinstated for the good of the people as well as those who were once residents of these religious buildings. The restoration of jobs and the charities provided by the abbeys and monasteries were greatly needed by the people of England, and those a part of the crusade voiced as much.¹⁸ In regard to the restoration of Catholicism, Aske and his crusade requested that Princess Mary, a

¹² “Henry VIII: October 1536, 11-15,” *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII, Volume 11, July-December 1536*, 257-284, *British History Online*, <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/letters-papers-hen8/vol11/pp257-284> (accessed November 24, 2020), 698.

¹³ “Henry VIII: October 1536, 11-15,” 700.

¹⁴ G.W. Bernard, “The Dissolution of the Monasteries,” 403.

¹⁵ Robert Bucholz and Newton Key, *Early Modern England 1485–1714: Second Edition*, A Narrative History (West Sussex, United Kingdom: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009), 83.

¹⁶ G.W. Bernard, “The Dissolution of the Monasteries,” 401.

¹⁷ “Pontefract Articles (December 2–4, 1536),” London, in *Sources and Debates in English History: Second Edition*, by Newton Key and Robert Bucholz, (West Sussex, United Kingdom: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009), 61.

¹⁸ G.W. Bernard, “The Dissolution of the Monasteries,” 390.

devout Catholic, regain her legitimacy as heir to the throne. This would, in turn, ensure that Catholicism would stay in popularity and status across England.

Not only did the crusade demand the restoration of Catholicism in England, but they also wanted to be certain that their work would not be undone. Aske ensures the safety of the One True Faith in the Pontefract Articles, specifically in articles seven and eight, which request “to have the heretics, bishops and temporal, and their sect to have condign punishment by fire or such other, or else to try their quarrel with us [the crusaders] and our party takers in battle. . . [and] to have the Lord Cromwell, the Lord Chancellor, and Sir Richard Riche knight to have condign punishment.”¹⁹ Aske knew the best way to protect the future of Catholicism was to evict the corrupt from their offices. If accepted, these two articles would effectively remove the corrupt elite from their positions of power and subsequently sentence them to death. The crusaders knew that their faith and religion could not be intertwined with greed, which is why they singled out Cromwell and Riche. Lord Cromwell was the man who advised King Henry VIII to dissolve the monasteries and the abbeys, and Riche was singled out because of his position on the Privy Council.²⁰ Aske describes the men as “the subverters of the good laws of this realm and maintainers of the false sect of those heretics and the first inventors and bringing in of them.”²¹ This not only described Cromwell and Riche, but also the other corrupt elites in their circle.

The Pilgrimage of Grace was an armed rebellion dedicated to the restoration of the abbeys and the One True Faith, and even the daily life of the crusaders portrayed the dedication to their religion and their cause. Robert Aske took correct measures in making certain his crusade resembled a religious pilgrimage. Ethan Shagan describes one such procession in his *Popular Politics and the English Reformation*: “[Aske] processed through the city gates at the head of several thousand horsemen. . . by prior arrangement, [there was] another procession issued from York Minster consisting of all the Clerics of the cathedral in full vestments. . . he ‘made his oblation’. . . Aske nailed to the Minster door an order announcing the return of all regular clergy to their monasteries.”²² When he came to York, Aske staged the ending of an actual pilgrimage, something that the government had recently declared superstitious, thereby illegal. However, he did not raise a typical insurrection. Aske armed his followers, solidifying their position as crusaders; crusaders have long been defenders of the Catholic faith, which explains why Aske wanted them for the Pilgrimage of Grace. Aske’s religious display did not stop at his grand entrances and, in fact, moved inside the camps of the Pilgrimage itself. The oath taken by all who joined reads as follows:

¹⁹ “Pontefract Articles,” 61.

²⁰ Ethan H. Shagan, Anthony Fletcher, and John Guy, *Popular Politics and the English Reformation*, (Cambridge University Press, Oct. 2002), 99–100.

²¹ “Pontefract Articles,” 61.

²² Shagan, Fletcher, and Guy, *Popular Politics and the English Reformation*, 92.

Ye shall not enter to this our pilgrimage of Grace for the common wealth, but only for the maintenance of God's Faith and Church militant, preservation of the King's person and issue, and purifying the nobility of all villains' blood and evil counsellors; to the restitution of Christ's Church and suppression of heretics' opinions, by the holy contents of this book.²³

This oath makes certain of each individual that their purpose is to bring back the One True Faith and the Holy see of Rome to England, and that those corrupted and heretical leaders be condemned. This oath also confirmed their faith as Catholic—no Protestants would be joining the crusade unless they be insincere.

Aske made sure that his followers felt heard by their superiors, which is always important when running a government or mounting a rebellion. When he would go into a town for the purpose of mustering, he would call assembly in the marketplace and go over the articles as they were written to date. The people would then input their opinions on what needed to be changed within the articles and thus the articles would be reviewed and “the advice of the commons was given its due.”²⁴ This was much different and more agreeable than the King’s government, which did what it wanted when it wanted, despite the desires of the people. This liberating mechanic of the crusade thrilled “the commons”; given the stark contrast, however it was not the only mechanic that was different. The justice system within the camps of the Pilgrimage of Grace differed greatly from that of the King. In the camps, justice was built on mercy. This was so because it aligned with the Christian faith to be merciful and forgiving. When two men from the ranks of the crusade looted the surrounding countryside, they were arrested and made to think they were to die. The leaders “assigned a friar to them. . . advising them to make clean to God.”²⁵ However when it came down to the “execution,” it was a brief waterboarding for one man and the other “was ‘suffered to go unpunished.’”²⁶ Both men were subsequently banished from the premises and were not allowed to return to the Pilgrimage. The mercy shown by the leaders was not often shown by the King, but forgiveness came freely from God.

When looked upon from outside views, the Pilgrimage of Grace relays that religious core even still. Ambassadors from both Spain and Venice sent word back to their countries about the

²³ “Henry VIII: October 1536, 11-15,” 705.

²⁴ Shagan, Fletcher, and Guy, *Popular Politics and the English Reformation*, 96.

²⁵ Shagan, Fletcher, and Guy, *Popular Politics and the English Reformation*, 96.

²⁶ Shagan, Fletcher, and Guy, *Popular Politics and the English Reformation*, 96–97. This is not in the traditional sense of waterboarding with a rag and a water jug. This punishment is described in Shagan’s book, where the man punished “was tied by the middle with a rope to the end of the boat, and so held over the water and at several times put down with the oar over [his] head.”

insurgency of the northern counties of England, emphasizing the religious backing that it had.²⁷ When Eustace Chapuys first learned of the rebellion, he sent his nephew to relay the information to Isabella of Portugal, the wife of Spanish King and Holy Roman Emperor Charles V. He knew as early as October 15th, sending a letter with more information on November 5, 1536.²⁸ In this letter he goes into great detail, most importantly stating that he believes Norfolk will try to cut a deal with the rebels because “all of them [are] good Christians.”²⁹ This is a useful point to make by Chapuys, so that if the Queen of Spain wanted to help a certain side of the rebellion and restore Princess Mary to the line of succession, she had sufficient information. Chapuys was not the only Spaniard to write to the Queen on this matter, though Dr. Ortiz was not nearly as tactful as Chapuys. Dr. Ortiz told the Empress how he really felt, stating in his letter that “The English king’s sin must already have reached their full measure, since God Almighty is now pouring down his ire on him and inciting his subjects to rebellion.”³⁰ Dr. Ortiz believed that the insurrection took place because King Henry VIII had forsaken God and the One True Faith, and he had it coming to him all along.

Word of insurrection made it to Venice as well as to Spain; however, the reaction was different. Chapuys kept the Empress up to date on the whereabouts of Princess Mary as well as all the details of the Catholic rebellion, however the Venetian ambassador, Lorenzo Bragadino, sent only a few letters to the Signory. The first letter merely described the situation and said that the pope excommunicated those who were in allegiance with the king of England. The Signory was then told that the rebels were more powerful than the Royal Army. It was not until December 29, 1536, that the pope decided that the papacy would support Scotland who “offers to march against the King of England with all his forces in favour of the Church”³¹ This helped offset the second round of uprisings in 1537, but it was not enough. King Henry VIII refused to be

²⁷ Keep in mind both of these countries (Spain and Italy) are traditionally Catholic, and Spain has an extra bias because of Queen Catherine. However, due to Henry VIII’s poor international relations, many countries do not have records of the goings on of England in 1536.

²⁸ “Spain: October 1536, 1-31,” *Calendar of State Papers, Spain, Volume 5 Part 2, 1536-1538*, 262-279, *British History Online*, <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/spain/vol5/no2/pp262-279> (accessed November 24, 2020), 111.

²⁹ “Spain: November 1536, 1-20,” *Calendar of State Papers, Spain, Volume 5 Part 2, 1536-1538*, 279-294, *British History Online*, <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/spain/vol5/no2/pp279-294> (accessed November 24, 2020), 114.

³⁰ “Spain: November 1536, 1–20,” 115.

³¹ “Venice: December 1536,” *Calendar of State Papers Relating to English Affairs in the Archives of Venice, Volume 5, 1534-1554*, 51-52, *British History Online*, <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/venice/vol5/pp51-52> (accessed November 24, 2020), 131.

embarrassed and threatened again, squashing the rebellions and finally executing Robert Aske on July 12, 1537.

The Pilgrimage of Grace was a religious crusade focused on restoring the abbeys, monasteries, and the One True Faith to England, by removing the corrupt elites from power and confirming the succession of Princess Mary. Some historians argue that this view is narrow and short sighted, saying that while the religious aspect was essential, it was only surface level.³² Others claim still that the central piece is unknown. This brings about a need for continued research into the mystery of the Pilgrimage of Grace. While the first eight requests of the Pontefract Articles and the oath said by the crusaders provide considerable evidence, the current financial strife of the Commons and the remaining Pontefract Articles also warrant examination. It is important to continue this research because, with further knowledge, historians may be able to gain further insight into the mind of these commoners with regard to their religious affiliations, feelings towards the sovereign, and actions taken whenever their daily lives were threatened by new laws, and look past the actions of the kings of England. These actions could consist of keeping their true beliefs a secret or fueling a crusade to restore what they believe is right.

³² C. S. L. Davies, "The Pilgrimage of Grace Reconsidered," 74.

WORKS CITED

PRIMARY SOURCES

- “Answer of the Ordinaries (1532).” In *Sources and Debates in English History: Second Edition*, by Newton Key and Robert Bucholz, page 59–60. West Sussex, United Kingdom: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009.
- "Henry VIII: January 1537, 1-5." London. Ed. James Gairdner, *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII, January-May 1537* Vol. 12 Part 1(1890): 1-16. Available on *British History Online*, <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/letters-papers-hen8/vol12/no1/pp1-16> (accessed September 8, 2020).
- “Henry VIII: July 1536, 6-10.” London. Ed. James Gairdner, *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII, July-December 1536* Vol. 11 (1888): 19-20. Available on *British History Online*, <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/letters-papers-hen8/vol11/pp19-29> (accessed November 24, 2020).
- "Henry VIII: October 1536, 11-15." London. Ed. James Gairdner, *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII, July-December 1536* Vol. 11(1888): 257-284. Available on *British History Online*, <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/letters-papers-hen8/vol11/pp284-314> (accessed September 8, 2020).
- "House of Lords Journal Volume 1: Note of acts." London: His Majesty's Stationery Office. In *Journal of the House of Lords* Vol. 1 (1767-1830): 102. Available on *British History Online*, <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/lords-jrnl/vol1/p102> (accessed November 22, 2020).
- “Pontefract Articles (December 2–4, 1536).” In *Sources and Debates in English History: Second Edition*, by Newton Key and Robert Bucholz, page 61–62. West Sussex, United Kingdom: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009.
- “Spain: November 1536, 1-20.” London. Ed. Pascual de Gayangos, *Calendar of State Papers, Spain, 1536-1538* Vol. 5 Part 2 (1888): 279-294. Available on *British History Online*, <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/spain/vol5/no2/pp279-294> (accessed November 24, 2020).
- “Spain: October 1536, 1-31.” London. Ed. Pascual de Gayangos, *Calendar of State Papers, Spain, 1536-1538* Vol. 5 Part 2 (1888): 262-279. Available on *British History Online*, <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/spain/vol5/no2/pp262-279> (accessed November 24, 2020).
- “Submission of the Clergy (May 15, 1532).” In *Sources and Debates in English History: Second Edition*, by Newton Key and Robert Bucholz, page 60. West Sussex, United Kingdom: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009.

"Venice: December 1536." London. Ed. Rawdon Brown, *Calendar of State Papers Relating to English Affairs in the Archives of Venice, 1534–1554* Vol. 5 (1873): 51–52. Available on *British History Online*, <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/venice/vol5/pp51-52> (accessed November 24, 2020).

"Venice: November 1536." London. Ed. Rawdon Brown, *Calendar of State Papers Relating to English Affairs in the Archives of Venice, 1534–1554* Vol. 5 (1873): 50–51. Available on *British History Online*, <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/venice/vol5/pp50-51> (accessed November 24, 2020).

SECONDARY SOURCES

Bernard, G. W. *History*. "The Dissolution of the Monasteries." Vol. 96, No. 4. (Wiley-Blackwell: Oct. 2004): 390–409.

Bucholz, Robert and Newton Key. *Early Modern England 1485–1714: Second Edition. A Narrative History*. West Sussex, United Kingdom: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009.

Davies, C. S. L. "The Pilgrimage of Grace Reconsidered." *Past & Present*, no. 41 (1968): 54–76.

Heale, Martin. *The Abbots and Priors of Late Medieval and Reformation England*. Oxford Scholarship Online, October 2016.

Shagan, Ethan H., Anthony Fletcher, and John Guy. *Popular Politics and the English Reformation*. Cambridge University Press, Oct. 2002.

**“Hail Mary, Full of Grace”:
The Mother of the Messiah’s Role in the Tudor Reformation**

Katarina Rexing

“Hail, favored one! The Lord is with you. . . . Most blessed are you among women, and blessed is the fruit of your womb.”¹ These words are some of the most striking in the New Testament and provided foundational belief for generations of medieval Roman Catholics on the Virgin Mary and what her purpose was for the faithful. Eventually, these statements became the Hail Mary prayer in the fifteenth century, which is still a staple for modern Roman Catholics.² However, due to disapproval from the Reformation’s founder, Martin Luther, this prayer was no longer acceptable for many of those who belonged to newly formed Protestant groups.³ While Luther set the stage for dramatic changes in Marian belief amongst Protestants, such ideology differed according to the individual reformer or budding denomination. In England, King Henry VIII’s creation of the Anglican Church forced all the country’s citizens to change many of their core religious beliefs. The Hail Mary was eventually included in these changes when King Edward VI, Henry’s son, forbid it through his royal injunction, *The Injunctions of 1547*.⁴ Nevertheless, the Hail Mary was only one small aspect of the many religious changes during the Tudor Dynasty. In particular, England had an interesting relationship with the Virgin Mother during the Reformation. Anglican Church doctrine bounced back and forth between primarily Catholic beliefs and predominantly Protestant theology only to settle somewhere in the middle of these two traditions. Overall, as the English monarchy drifted towards Protestantism, the Anglican Church de-emphasized Mary’s role as the Queen of Heaven; instead, she simply represented the ideal saint and woman. During the reign of Henry VIII, the Virgin Mary’s role remained mostly stagnant, but the Church under Edward VI stripped her of many distinctions to become merely the quintessential example of an honorable saint; after eradicating the reinstated Catholic Marian doctrine of her late sister Queen Mary I, Protestant Queen Elizabeth I secularized and imitated the Virgin’s role.

Protestant thought on the Virgin Mary differed significantly according to the time period and the individual reformer, but never again would Mary be held to the same esteem she received from the Roman Catholic Church. Sarah Jane Boss, Director of the Institute for Marian Studies at the University of Cambridge, stated, “In the late Middle Ages there was in Western Europe a whole range of popular expressions of devotion to Mary (among other saints), warmly supported by the

¹ Luke 1:28, 42, NABRE.

² Sarah Jane Boss, *Mary: The Complete Resource* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 390.

³ Chris Maunder, *The Oxford Handbook of Mary* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), 447.

⁴ Eamon Duffy, *The Voices of Morebath: Reformation and Rebellion in an English Village* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2001), 118.

Roman Catholic Church. Liturgy, private prayer, the calendar, pilgrimage, iconography, imaginative lives of Mary, lyrical poetry and music were all interwoven in Marian devotion."⁵ Many of these practices would be gradually stripped away by Protestants. As the founder of the Reformation, Martin Luther's theological writings set the stage for Protestant thought, including his teachings on the Mother of God in his 1521 commentary on *The Magnificat* compiled for Duke John Frederick of Saxony. Luther's text proclaims, "The tender mother of Christ . . . teaches us, with her words and by the example of her experience, how to know, love, and praise God. . . . she finds herself the Mother of God, exalted above all mortals."⁶ Here, Luther still regarded Mary as holding the revered position as the Mother of God and believed she had a special position amongst humanity. He also accepted Mary's perpetual virginity, the belief Mary remained a virgin throughout her entire life. Luther defended Matthew 12:46, explaining the mentioned brothers of Jesus were actually his cousins.⁷ Despite this admiration and his preservation of some Marian characteristics, Luther forewarned against those who revered her too highly:

Hence all those who heap such great praise and honor upon her head are not far from making an idol of her, as though she were concerned that men should honor her and look to her for good things, when in truth she thrusts this from her and would have us honor God in her and come through her to a good confidence in His grace. Whoever, therefore, would show her the proper honor must not regard her alone and by herself, but set her in the presence of God and far beneath Him⁸

Hence, Luther cautioned people against exalting Mary, an idea that grew considerably into the Protestant critique that Roman Catholics worship Mary.

Years after writing *The Magnificat*, Luther's opinion towards Mary, considered a saint, changed. In 1537 Luther warned against idolatrous practices, including those which involve Mary, in the *The Smalcald Articles*:

The invocation of saints is also one of the abuses of Antichrist conflicting with the chief article, and destroys the knowledge of Christ. . . . it does not follow thence that we should invoke and adore the angels and saints, and fast, hold festivals, celebrate Mass in their honor, make offerings, and establish churches, altars, divine worship, and in still other ways serve them, and regard them as helpers in need (as patrons and intercessors), and

⁵ Boss, *Mary: The Complete Resource*, 314.

⁶ Martin Luther, *The Magnificat*, translated by A.T.W. Stienhaeuser, in *Luther's Works*, vol. 21: *The Sermon on the Mount (Sermons) and The Magnificat*, ed. Jaroslav Pelikan (Saint Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1956), 295–355 at 301, 308.

⁷ Maunder, *The Oxford Handbook of Mary*, 450.

⁸ Luther, *The Magnificat*, 322.

Rexing

divide among them all kinds of help, and ascribe to each one a particular form of assistance, as the Papists teach and do. For this is idolatry, and such honor belongs alone to God.⁹

Here, Luther appeared to no longer support praying to the Mother of God regarding such as idolatrous and harmful to one's relationship with Christ. Nonetheless, Luther did not reject or even extensively question Marian doctrine, but rather disagreed with focusing on her instead of on Jesus.¹⁰ Luther may have started the Protestant Reformation, but his ideas were much more moderate towards the Virgin Mary than those of the later theologians he inspired.

Mary's honors continued to be stripped away by later Protestant reformers such as John Calvin, who taught more radical teachings on the Mother of God. Like Luther, he argued against praying to the Virgin.¹¹ He also argued against calling Mary the Mother of God, one of her defining roles. In a letter of 1552 addressed the French Church in London, he argued, ". . . speaking of the Virgin Mary as the mother of God . . . I cannot conceal that title being commonly attributed to the Virgin in sermons is disapproved, and, for my own part, I cannot think such language either right, or becoming, or suitable. . . . to call the Virgin Mary the mother of God, can only serve to confirm the ignorant in their superstitions."¹² According to Catholicism, this removed Mary from one of her critical functions. To certain Protestant theologians and their followers, she was abolished as an interceder and was no longer even called the Mother of God. Chris Maunder, a theologian specializing in the Virgin Mary and a senior lecturer at York St. John University, explained, "Protestantism ultimately attempted to retrieve a Chalcedonian image of the Virgin and evangelicals therefore stripped away those things identified as accretions. As a result, Mary no longer had any special prerogatives on account of her relation to Christ. . . . the Virgin was available as a paradigm of godliness for both sexes."¹³ In the Council of Chalcedon in 451, Mary received no mention as an intercessor or figure deserving prayer, but rather focus remained on her

⁹ Martin Luther, "Of the Mass," in *The Smalcald Articles* (1537), trans. F. Bente and W.H.T. Dau, in *Triglot Concordia: The Symbolical Books of the Evangelical Lutheran Church*. (St. Louis, Concordia Publishing House, 1921), *Project Gutenberg*, <https://www.gutenberg.org/files/273/273-h/273-h.htm> (accessed December 13, 2020).

¹⁰ Boss, *Mary: The Complete Resource*, 316.

¹¹ Maunder, *The Oxford Handbook of Mary*, 309.

¹² John Calvin, "Letter CCC.—To the French Church in London" (September 27, 1552), in *Letters of John Calvin: Compiled from the Original Manuscripts and Edited with Historical Notes*, ed. and trans. Jules Bonnet (Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication, 1858), 360-363 at 362, *Project Gutenberg*, <https://www.gutenberg.org/files/45463/45463-h/45463-h.htm> (accessed December 13, 2020).

¹³ Maunder, *The Oxford Handbook of Mary*, 415.

role in the Incarnation and as a good and chaste example for women.¹⁴ Protestants hoped to return to the early church's ideology, which emphasized the role of Mary much less than the medieval Roman Catholic Church. Protestant thought and teaching gradually reduced the Virgin Mary's importance to little more than a saintly example who aided in the Messiah's existence.

The English Reformation's ideology came from both a mix of Catholic doctrine and newly formed Protestant theology. The Church of England, upon its creation, did not significantly follow Protestant ideals but rather retained much Catholic doctrine. King Henry VIII of England had ironically been a Catholic for the majority of his life, even writing a treatise *Assertio Septem Sacramentorum (In Defense of the Seven Sacraments)*, in 1521, which resulted in Pope Leo X rewarding him as *Defensor Fidei (Defender of the Faith)*.¹⁵ Yet, after Henry's *Act in the Restraint of Appeals* (1533) and *Act of Supremacy* (1534), the Church of England broke with Roman Catholicism and, most notably to Henry, separated from the pope.¹⁶ Henry's creation of the separate Church of England and his declaration as the Supreme Head of the Church of England was for political reasons more so than religious ones. Throughout his life, Henry drifted back and forth between Catholic beliefs and more Protestant doctrine. Nevertheless, even with his break from the Roman Church, Henry never deferred significantly on the Virgin Mary. *The Ten Articles of 1536* were the Church of England's first official doctrine.¹⁷ The document talks about images, including those of Mary in "Article Six" and praying to saints in "Article Eight":

And as for censing of them [images], and kneeling and offering unto them, with other like worshippings, although the same hath entered by devotion, and fallen to custom; yet the people ought to be diligently taught that they in no wise do it, nor think it meet to be done the same images, but only to be done to God, and in his honour, although it be done before the images, whether it be of Christ, of the cross, of Our Lady, or of any other saint beside. . . . yet it is very laudable to pray to saints in heaven everlastingly living, whose charity is ever permanent, to be intercessors, and to pray for us and with us, unto Almighty God . . . and in this manner we may pray to Our Blessed Lady . . . so that it be done without any vain superstition.¹⁸

¹⁴ Maunder, *The Oxford Handbook of Mary*, 75.

¹⁵ Robert Bucholz and Newton Key, *Early Modern England, 1485–1714: A Narrative History*, 2nd ed. (Oxford, U.K.: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009), 54.

¹⁶ Bucholz and Key, *Early Modern England, 1485–1714*, 79.

¹⁷ Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England, 1400–1580*, 2nd ed. (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1992), 392.

¹⁸ The Church of England, *The Ten Articles*, in *Religion and Society in Early Modern England: A Sourcebook*, ed. Cressy, David, and Lori Anne Ferrell (Florence: Taylor & Francis Group, 2005), 19–25 at 23–24.

Rexing

While these articles are cautious in their approach to the Virgin Mary, her role did not change from these rules or any other doctrine from Henry's reign.

Mary's role remained stagnant during Henry's lifetime, as shown by *The Institution of a Christen Man* (1537). The work is considered to be written by the Church of England with heavy influence from King Henry VIII. The source discusses Mary extensively in the section "The Ave Maria," proclaiming, "callynge her full of grace. This is nowe her newe name. [A]nd this is the highest name, that cant be in any creature . . . for she conceyved and bare hym [Jesus], that is the auctour of all grace, and this is the singular grace by whiche she is called, not onely the mother of man, but also the mother of [G]od."¹⁹ Therefore, Mary maintained her status as the Mother of Jesus, filled with grace and the greatest of all God's human creation. Additionally, in Henry VIII's *The King's Book* (1543), it is said, "Lauds, praise and thanks are in this Ave Maria [*sic*] principally given and yielded . . . therewithal the virgin lacketh not her lauds, praise, and thanks for her excellent and singular virtues, and chiefly for that she believed and humbly consented . . ."²⁰ Once again, Henry VIII's reign was shown to accept prayer to Mary. Noteworthy change on the Virgin Mary never officially appeared in Henry VIII's Anglican Church.

However, this changed with Henry's son, King Edward VI, who implemented the most extreme changes on the Virgin Mary. When Henry died, he appointed his son Protestant inclined advisors and tutors, which resulted in the Anglican Church leaning significantly towards Protestantism during the boy king's rule.²¹ The young King Edward and his ministers implemented strict Protestant doctrine. The 1548 *Royal Injunctions for Lincoln Minister* proclaims, "They shall from henceforth sing or say no anthems of our Lady."²² The King required the *Book of Common Prayer* to be in every parish church; the first version came out in 1549. The text mentions the Virgin Mary in the context of the biblical narratives; nevertheless, she does not have an essential role outside this. Previously, during King Henry VIII's reign, Protestant-leaning theologians had already begun the process of stripping the Mother of God of her various honors, including her sinlessness. These men, such as Hugh Latimer, gained influence and importance with Henry's Protestant predecessor. Latimer, who served as the king's chaplain, stated in 1533 (during the reign

¹⁹ The Church of England, *The Institution of a Christen Man* . . . (1537) (London: Thomas Bertheletus, 1537), 94, *Archive.org*, <https://archive.org/details/institutionofchr00chur/page/n9/mode/2up> (accessed September 8, 2020), 202.

²⁰ Henry VIII, "The Salutation of the Angle to the Blessed Virgin Mary," in *A Necessary Doctrine and Erudition for Any Christian Man* (1543) (London: R. Browning, 1895), 134–38, *Project Canterbury*, <http://anglicanhistory.org/henry/book/> (accessed September 8, 2020).

²¹ Bucholz and Key, *Early Modern England, 1485–1714*, 101.

²² The Church of England, *Royal Injunctions for Lincoln Minister (1548)*, in *Visitation Articles and Injunctions of the Period of the Reformation*, vol. II: 1536–1558, ed. W.H. Frere and William McClure Kennedy (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1910), 166–170 at 168.

of Henry VIII): "To make a pernicious and a damnable he, to have our lady no sinner, is neither honour nor yet pleasure to our lady; but great sin, to the dishonour and displeasure both of God and our lady."²³ Although it was written during the reign of Henry VIII and did not become Anglican Church doctrine, this statement shows how radically different the Church of England was from the Roman Catholic Church. Latimer became highly influential to the boy king and the Church of England. His ability to write this statement and escape the church burning him as a heretic during Henry or Edward's reign – he was executed by the Catholic Queen Mary I in 1555 – shows the radical changes in belief surrounding the Mother of God.

Despite King Edward VI's radical changes to the Church of England, they did not last long. Edward died at the age of fifteen, and Queen Mary I ascended the throne and reigned from 1553 to 1558. Queen Mary reimplemented Catholicism as she believed it was her destiny to save her people's souls by returning them to the "true" faith.²⁴ Therefore, the Roman Catholic woman restored belief and doctrine on the Virgin Mary. Many English appeared to be happy about the return to Catholicism. Ruth Vanita, professor of liberal studies at the University of Montana, explained, ". . . many parishioners who bought images, vestments, and other church property auctioned under Henry [VIII] and Edward VI, preserved and restored them to churches in Mary Tudor's reign."²⁵ Thus, a secret Catholic piety is illuminated, which survived through the reigns of Henry VIII and Edward VI. Fidelity to the Virgin Mary and her traditional Catholic roles also survived these Protestant periods. Late Jesuit priest and theology professor at Fordham University William Wizeman noted, ". . . devotion to the Virgin Mary in Marian England was not an abiding causality of the preceding reformation Most Marian theologians . . . emphasised Mary as the sinless virgin, Mother of God, unique in creation yet approachable as a powerful intercessor for sinners, and as model and companion in the Christian life."²⁶ Hence, Queen Mary people reinstated the Virgin Mary's honors which many formerly Anglican English seemingly restored in their faith. The return of Catholicism with the resulting joy and contrasting despair of different English people, this reappearance of Catholic doctrine, including that of the Virgin Mary, did not last long. Once Queen Mary I's unfortunate five-year reign came to a quick end in 1558, England's religion changed yet again.

²³ Hugh Latimer, *Articles Untruly, Unjustly, Falsely, Uncharitably Imputed to Me [Hugh Latimer] by Dr. Powell of Salisbury (1533)*, in *Sermons and Remains of Hugh Latimer*, ed. Rev. George Elwes Corrie (Cambridge: The Cambridge University Press, 1845), 228.

²⁴ Bucholz and Key, *Early Modern England, 1485–1714*, 109.

²⁵ Ruth Vanita, "Mariological Memory in 'The Winter's Tale' and 'Henry VIII,'" *Studies in English Literature, 1500–1900*, vol. 40, no. 2 (2000): 311–37 at 320.

²⁶ William Wizeman, "The Virgin Mary in the Reign of Mary Tudor," in *The Church and Mary: Papers Read at the 2001 Summer Meeting and the 2002 Winter Meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society*, ed. R. N. Swanson (The Boydell Press, 2004), 239–248 at 247.

The reign of Elizabeth I, from 1558 to 1603, settled the religious turmoil, something the people of England were quite ready for after the seemingly constant change in their state-sanctioned faith. With each of these four monarchs' reigns, there existed differing Catholic and Protestant doctrine in the country. *The Act of Supremacy (1559)* declared Elizabeth I the Head of the Church of England, and *The Act of Uniformity (1559)* acted as a compromise between Protestantism and Catholicism.²⁷ However, the Virgin Mary was not a topic discussed in *The Act of Uniformity*. The 1559 version of *The Book of Common Prayer* has slightly more detail on the Virgin Mary than the previous 1549 edition. The section "Proper Prefaces: Upon Christmas Day, and Seven Days After," states, "Because thou didst give Jesus Christ, thine only Son, to be born as this day for us who by the operation of the Holy Ghost, was made very man of the substance of the Virgin Mary his mother, and that without a spot of sin, to make us clean from all sin."²⁸ Thus, Mary was still the Mother of God, and she made her son man. Still, the document makes no mention of whether Mary herself is sinless. Images of Mary and other forms of iconoclasm were viewed by the church quite negatively. Elizabethan historian Susan Doran believes that during the reign of Elizabeth I: "Protestant sermons imbued ordinary men and women with deep anti-papism, a strong iconophobia (hatred of images) . . . [there occurred] a decisive shift from belief in the Holy Virgin and the 'holy company of saints' to a 'personal faith in the mediation of Christ and redemption through Him.'"²⁹ During this time, England's people arguably started to become comfortable in their Anglican faith, as Elizabeth's reign ended the chaotic religious change of the past. Conversely, there is evidence that individuals defied the law and kept their "idolatrous images" and Catholic items. Vanita also notes, "despite strict orders to deface and destroy all images, altars, and pictures, especially those of the Assumption of the Virgin, 'and all other superstitious and dangerous monuments', and the imposition of severe penalties for their preservation, many recusants did preserve these objects and some were discovered as late as the nineteenth century."³⁰ When it was much safer for the parishioners to burn such objects, their preservation shows there were still remnants of faithful Catholic groups or individuals who held onto Catholic-leaning beliefs. The resurgence of these Catholic objects in the nineteenth century shows that England, throughout the entirety of Elizabeth's reign, was not safe enough for the people to uncover these objects. The parishioners had to keep the pieces hidden for so long, they likely forgot about the items. England under Elizabeth I was not the ideal place for veneration of the Virgin Mary, as she had been reduced to the saintly Mother of God and hardly anything more.

²⁷ Bucholz and Key, *Early Modern England, 1485–1714*, 122.

²⁸ The Church of England, *The Book of Common Prayer 1559: The Elizabethan Prayer Book*, ed. John E. Booty, (Washington: Folger Books, 1976), 260.

²⁹ Susan Doran, *Elizabeth I and Religion, 1558–1603* (Florence: Taylor & Francis Group, 1993), 66.

³⁰ Vanita, "Mariological Memory in 'The Winter's Tale' and 'Henry VIII,'" 320.

An unexpected turn in Marian belief was Elizabeth I's portrayal as a parallel to the Virgin Mother. Scholars and her people portrayed Elizabeth during her lifetime as The Virgin Queen. Jaroslav Pelikan, late professor of Christian theology at Yale University, asserted, "A particularly fascinating aspect of the relation between the Protestant Reformation and the cult of the Mary as Virgin and Queen was the cult of Elizabeth I as Virgin and Queen, as Gloriana. . . . there are at least some indications that Elizabeth consciously invoked the parallel."³¹ The English replacement of the Virgin Mary with Queen Elizabeth as "The Virgin Queen," shows how far dethroned the Mother of God had become in Anglican England. Roman Catholics would never have compared the Queen of Heaven to a "sinful" human in such a way; it likely would have been considered heretical. The comparison of these two illuminates how the Virgin Mary changed from the figure with numerous titles and honors to simply a saintly example that any person could imitate; in the case of Elizabeth I, one could virtually replace the Mother of God.

The Church of England under the Tudor monarchs varied on Protestant and Catholic doctrinal teachings; however, it is clear that the characteristics of the Virgin Mary drifted up and down erratically to settle on the Mother of God as a saintly example for women, including through imitation by the Queen of England. Sarah Jane Boss stated, "The English Reformers of the sixteenth century reacted strongly against what they saw as the excesses of Marian piety, supported by the Roman Catholic Church, and sought to prune away devotions which obscured the central place of Jesus Christ in Christian belief and practice."³² These individuals were undoubtedly successful in their endeavor, as Mary lost many of her honors during the Tudor dynasty. King Henry VIII changed little on the Virgin, but Edward VI made radical changes, only for them to be entirely defaced by his Catholic sister Mary I. The most contemporarily recognizable Anglican Church is that of Queen Elizabeth I, which compromised between Catholicism and Protestantism. Yet, this doctrine on the Mother of God was not completely balanced, instead it greatly reflected Protestant ideals. For modern-day Protestants, despite its many different traditions, Mary remains a positive and holy figure. Still, she also causes great apprehension and disapproval when referred to with doctrine from the Catholic devotion to Mary, which still exists today.

³¹ Jaroslav Pelikan, *Mary Through the Centuries: Her Place in the History of Culture* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1998), 161.

³² Boss, *Mary: The Complete Resource*, 314.

WORKS CITED

PRIMARY SOURCES

- Calvin, John. "Letter CCC.—To the French Church in London" (September 27, 1552). In *Letters of John Calvin: Compiled from the Original Manuscripts and Edited with Historical Notes*, ed. and trans. Jules Bonnet, 360-363 (Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication, 1858). *Project Gutenberg*, <https://www.gutenberg.org/files/45463/45463-h/45463-h.htm> (accessed December 13, 2020).
- Henry VIII. "The Salutation of the Angle to the Blessed Virgin Mary." in *A Necessary Doctrine and Erudition for Any Christian Man* (1543), 134–38. London: R. Browning, 1895. *Project Canterbury*, <http://anglicanhistory.org/henry/book/> (accessed September 8, 2020).
- Latimer, Hugh. *Articles Untruly, Unjustly, Falsely, Uncharitably Imputed to me [Hugh Latimer] by Dr. Powell of Salisbury* (1533). In *Sermons and Remains of Hugh Latimer*. Ed. Rev. George Elwes Corrie. Cambridge: The Cambridge University Press, 1845.
- Luther, Martin. *The Magnificat*. Translated by A.T.W. Stienhaeuser. In *Luther's Works*. Vol. 21: *The Sermon on the Mount (Sermons) and The Magnificat*, 295–355. Saint Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1956.
- Luther, Martin. *The Smalcald Articles* (1537). Trans. F. Bente and W. H. T. Dau. In *Triglot Concordia: The Symbolical Books of the Evangelical Lutheran Church*. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1921. *Project Gutenberg*, <https://www.gutenberg.org/files/273/273-h/273-h.htm> (accessed December 13, 2020).
- The Church of England. *The Book of Common Prayer 1559: The Elizabethan Prayer Book*. Ed. John E. Booty. Washington: Folger Books, 1976.
- The Church of England. *The Institution of a Christen Man* (1537). London: Thomas Bertheletus, 1537. *Archive.org*, <https://archive.org/details/institutionofchr00chur/page/n9/mode/2up> (accessed September 8, 2020).
- The Church of England. *Royal Injunctions for Lincoln Minister (1548)*. In *Visitation Articles and Injunctions of the Period of the Reformation*. Vol II: 1536–1558. Ed. W.H. Frere and William McClure Kennedy. London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1910.
- The Church of England. *The Ten Articles, 1536*. In *Religion and Society in Early Modern England: A Sourcebook*, 19–25. Ed. Cressy, David, and Lori Anne Ferrell. Florence: Taylor & Francis Group, 2005.

SECONDARY SOURCES

- Boss, Sarah Jane. *Mary: The Complete Resource*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007.

- Bucholz, Robert, and Newton Key. *Early Modern England, 1485–1714: A Narrative History*. 2nd ed. Oxford, U.K.: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009.
- Doran, Susan. *Elizabeth I and Religion, 1558–1603*. Florence: Taylor & Francis Group, 1993.
- Duffy, Eamon. *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England, 1400–1580*, 2nd ed. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1992.
- Duffy, Eamon. *The Voices of Morebath: Reformation and Rebellion in an English Village*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2001.
- Maunder, Chris. *The Oxford Handbook of Mary*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019.
- Pelikan, Jaroslav. *Mary Through the Centuries: Her Place in the History of Culture*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1998.
- Vanita, Ruth. "Mariological Memory in 'The Winter's Tale' and 'Henry VIII'." *Studies in English Literature, 1500–1900*, vol. 40, no. 2 (2000): 311–37.
- William Wizeman. "The Virgin Mary in the Reign of Mary Tudor." In *The Church and Mary: Papers Read at the 2001 Summer Meeting and the 2002 Winter Meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society*, ed. R. N. Swanson, 239–248. The Boydell Press, 2004.

Elizabeth I's Power and Influence Perpetuated by her Speech

Mary Isola

The English Queen Elizabeth I (r. 1558–1603) is arguably one of the world's most recognized and beloved monarchs. She helped to finance famous artists such as William Shakespeare and ushered in a time of prosperity and relative peace for the English people.¹ She was popular among her people because of her many accomplishments and long reign. Robert Bucholz and Newton Key, authors of *Early Modern England 1485–1714: A Narrative History*, described her as “highly intelligent, witty, hardworking, and well educated She wrote poetry and could speak effectively when she chose to do so.”² When she did speak, she captured the minds and hearts of her people, while reminding the world outside of England of her power. Queen Elizabeth's speeches helped raise the English people's opinion of her while keeping foreign powers at bay. Her speeches were both a sword and a shield, helping her gain power and respect within her own country while ensuring she could also protect it. She would rouse troops before a battle and put foreign dignitaries in their place with her words. Unlike any woman in authority before her, Queen Elizabeth took advantage of her sovereignty through proficient speeches which served to increase the respect of her people, her troops, and foreign dignitaries.

Specifically, Queen Elizabeth I did not come into power with a particularly loyal England. When her sister, Queen Mary, died the country became filled with lots of doubt towards a second female leader. At the time, England had an active Catholic population, with Elizabeth herself having close ties to Catholicism since her father and sister were devout Catholics at one time.³ Mary persecuted thousands of Protestants and sent many to their deaths, as recorded during Queen Elizabeth's reign in John Foxe's *Act and Monuments* in 1563.⁴ This book was the second most popular book in England for several hundred years, only passed up by the Bible itself.⁵ During Mary's reign, many feared that England might fall back under papal authority, an outcome that even the pope thought was only averted by her death.⁶ In addition, people were scared Queen Elizabeth would marry a king from a rival country like her sister, but “[Elizabeth] was . . .

¹ Robert Bucholz and Newton Key, *Early Modern England 1485–1714: A Narrative History* (Oxford, U.K.: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009), 116.

² Bucholz and Key, *Early Modern England 1485–1714: A Narrative History*, 116.

³ Ted W. Booth, “Elizabeth I and Pope Paul IV: Reticence and Reformation,” *Church History and Religious Culture*, vol. 94, no. 3 (2014): 316–336 at 317.

⁴ John Foxe, *The Unabridged Acts and Monuments Online* or TAMO (1563 Edition), *The Digital Humanities Institute*, <https://www.dhi.ac.uk/foxe/index.php?realm=text&edition=1563&gototype=> (accessed November 18, 2020).

⁵ Bucholz and Key, *Early Modern England 1485–1714: A Narrative History*, 112.

⁶ Booth, “Elizabeth I and Pope Paul IV: Reticence and Reformation,” 317.

determined not to make the same mistakes her sister had in forcing an unpopular religious settlement or marrying a hated foreigner.”⁷ Queen Elizabeth also became monarch at a time when women rulers were disliked by the male hierarchy, but it became even worse after Queen Mary’s reign.

This was because Queen Elizabeth came into power during a time when the idea of a woman ruling was abhorrent. John Knox, a Scottish reformer, had published his *First Blast of the Trumpet Against the Monstrous Regiment of Women* in 1558, just a few months before Queen Elizabeth took the throne.⁸ The aforementioned stirred up trouble as “Protestant Reformers John Calvin and Heinrich Bullinger join in opposition to the right of female rulers.”⁹ While John Calvin and Heinrich Bullinger accepted female rulers in urgent situations, John Knox did not agree. He disliked the idea of women ruling at all, calling back to the Bible and the superiority of men. Thus few held high hopes for Queen Elizabeth. As Reformation historian Ted Booth explains, “from the very beginning as well as throughout her reign, Elizabeth had to deal with those who questioned her authority to rule either due to her sex or her right as a secular ruler to make decisions in religion.”¹⁰ Elizabeth’s politics and religious policies were uncertain, which created considerable anxiety as she ascended the throne. However, through her speeches and her writing, Queen Elizabeth would show parliament just how different she was from her siblings.

What set Queen Elizabeth apart from Queen Mary and her other predecessors, was her eloquence. She knew exactly what to say and when to say it in order to gain the favor of both her subjects and those beyond the English borders. Her right to rule under God, however, was called to question in John Knox’s *First Blast of the Trumpet Against the Monstrous Regiment of Women* as he said, “I am assured that God has revealed to some in this our age, that it is more than a monster in nature that a woman shall reign and have empire above man.”¹¹ Here he states that women ruling would be offensive in the eyes of God. People would question whether Queen Elizabeth was the rightful monarch under the Great Chain of Being. Any question against her right to rule was extremely dangerous, especially early on in her reign. Elizabeth fought back against this by adding scripture to a great deal of her public speeches. In one public procession through London, she made a great impact upon the crowd when she said, “I acknowledge that Thou hast

⁷ Carole Levin, *The Heart and Stomach of a King: Elizabeth I and the Politics of Sex and Power* (Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1995), 8.

⁸ John Knox, *First Blast of the Trumpet Against the Monstrous Regiment of Women* (1558), *Presbyterian Heritage Publications*, <http://www.swrb.com/newslett/actualNLS/firblast.htm> (accessed November 19, 2020).

⁹ Ted Booth, *A Body Politic to Govern: The Political Humanism of Elizabeth I* (Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge Scholars Publisher, 2013), 45.

¹⁰ Booth, *A Body Politic to Govern: The Political Humanism of Elizabeth I*, 46.

¹¹ Knox, *First Blast of the Trumpet Against the Monstrous Regiment of Women*.

dealt as wonderfully and as mercifully with me as Thou didst with Thy true and faithful servant Daniel, Thy prophet, whom Thou delivered out of the den from the cruelty of the greedy and raging lions.”¹² Elizabeth made a great impression upon the crowd, as Richard Mulcaster, a well renowned headmaster at several different English Institutions, said, “Now, therefore, all English hearts and her natural people must needs praise God’s mercy, which hath sent them so worthy a prince [Queen Elizabeth], and pray for her grace’s long continuance amongst us.”¹³ Her comparison of herself to biblical figures in her speeches helped to cement her as God’s chosen monarch and left little doubt to feel otherwise. Her use of scripture captured the love and respect of her subjects, despite the fact that she was a woman. Ted Booth said that, “They projected Elizabeth’s chosen image of a ruler who had been uniquely chosen and favored by God and saved through all adversity.”¹⁴ The aforementioned speech had been held just before her coronation and helped to put any doubts about her right to rule aside. Thus, her speech helped influence her subjects and allowed for her reign to be a stable and steady one.

Queen Elizabeth I was one of the first female authority figures to gain what was considered a man’s power in the Western world. Her speeches and writings only helped to cement this. Ted Booth described her as “a public figure whose literary output and records of government are well-chronicled and preserved.”¹⁵ Part of that is how revolutionary she was; while women did not normally receive a formal education in early modern England, Elizabeth I was an exception. Because she was a princess, she was given a well-rounded humanist education. However, many would not tolerate a woman having a formal education, and the acceptance of female scholars was slow.¹⁶ She became fluent in several different languages such as Latin and Spanish and was well versed in Catholic and Protestant doctrines like her sister Mary. However, she was set far apart from Mary, and the rest of the Tudor monarchs, very early on; Henry VIII rarely addressed Parliament, and Edward VI, Mary I, and Mary Stewart never themselves addressed Parliament.¹⁷ In this way, Elizabeth set herself apart from her predecessors, and set the standard for English royalty. Unlike former rulers, she spoke to Parliament on equal terms, speaking to them how they

¹² Richard Mulcaster, “Richard Mulcaster’s Account of Queen Elizabeth’s Speech and Prayer During Her Passage Through London to Westminster the Day Before Her Coronation, January 14, 1559,” in *Elizabeth I: Collected Works*, ed. Leah S. Marcus, Janel Mueller, and Mary Beth Rose (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), 55.

¹³ Mulcaster, *Richard Mulcaster’s Account of Queen Elizabeth’s Speech and Prayer During Her Passage Through London to Westminster the Day Before Her Coronation, January 14, 1559*, 55.

¹⁴ Booth, *A Body Politic to Govern: The Political Humanism of Elizabeth I*, 47.

¹⁵ Booth, *A Body Politic to Govern: The Political Humanism of Elizabeth I*, 2.

¹⁶ Booth, *A Body Politic to Govern: The Political Humanism of Elizabeth I*, 6.

¹⁷ Booth, *A Body Politic to Govern: The Political Humanism of Elizabeth I*, 49.

would speak to each other. Queen Elizabeth knew that in order to rule, she would have to speak the same “language” as members of Parliament. Relying on her education, she developed speeches that reflected the same tone and language that Parliament used in their regular meetings. This “language” that Parliament had was largely influenced by the writings of Cicero and Seneca.¹⁸ Elizabeth called and addressed the first Parliament of her reign in 1559 in order to authorize her rule.¹⁹ Here she responded to the lower house’s concern about marriage, “I may say unto you that from my years of understanding, sith I first had consideration of myself to be a servitor of almighty God, I happily chose this king of life in which I yet live, which I assure you for mine own part hath hitherto best contented myself and I trust hath been most acceptable to God.”²⁰ In the prior, she responded to the lower house’s questioning in a well-handled manner. God is called into her explanation, once again showing her position on the Great Chain of Being as God’s chosen monarch. This is used to uphold her argument that she chose not to be married at that time, and because she chose so, and because she is God’s chosen Queen, she cannot be married. Her ability to subvert expectations, at a time when Parliament expected her to wed soon, left an imprint on that body. She also chose suitable language in her speech, which caused Parliament to see her not only as a woman, but as the ruling Queen of England, and one who knew what she was doing.

Not only was Queen Elizabeth able to capture the attention of Parliament, but she also caused her subjects to respect her through her speeches and writings. During the war between Spain and England, she made a speech to her troops as they prepared for a naval battle, which would later be known as the Battle of Tilbury (1588). This was not just any battle, but the future victory of England against the Spanish Armada. Queen Elizabeth knew how important this battle would be, as Spain seemingly had the upper hand, as they had a larger number of ships and finances that were needed to win the war. The men fighting must have been fearful, so an in-person speech from her royal majesty could either make or break the upcoming battle. That is why this speech by Queen Elizabeth is so important, there she said. “Let tyrants fear; I have always so behaved myself that, under God, I have placed my chiefest strength and safeguard in the loyal hearts and goodwill of my subjects. And therefore, I am come amongst you at this time . . . in the midst and heat of the battle . . . I myself will take up arms; I myself will be your general, judge, and rewarder of every one of your virtues in the field.”²¹ Here Queen Elizabeth dedicated herself to fight with the soldiers. While it is obvious that she does not mean physically, but rather supporting her soldiers with

¹⁸ Booth, *A Body Politic to Govern: The Political Humanism of Elizabeth I*, 52.

¹⁹ Bell Iona, *Elizabeth I: Voice of a Monarch* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 45.

²⁰ Elizabeth I, “Queen Elizabeth’s First Speech Before Parliament, February 10, 1559,” in *Elizabeth I: Collected Works*, ed. Marcus, Mueller, and Rose, 56.

²¹ Elizabeth I, *Elizabeth’s Tilbury Speech* (1588), *British Library: Learning Timelines: Sources from History*, <http://www.bl.uk/learning/timeline/item102878.html> (accessed November 18, 2020).

everything she can as the monarch. Queen Elizabeth, once again, showed how similar she was to her predecessors, such as her grandfather Henry VII who would make speeches upon the battlefield. She shows how she is not just a woman, but the commander of England. Queen Elizabeth did make this speech later in her career in 1588, so she already had the people's hearts. She did not have to make such a speech, yet she did. She commanded attention and respect while spurring on her soldiers for battle. The speech was effective in boosting morale and acted as a contributing factor to the English victory that was forever imprinted on the hearts of the English people. The queen's spirited and successful defense of her kingdom against such an ominous threat only increased the esteem with which her subjects held her and increased the sense of pride and nationalism among the English people. Not only did Elizabeth lift her soldiers' morale, but she also created a source of pride that the English people had not had in quite a while: a victory against Spain.²²

Although Queen Elizabeth was beloved by her subjects for most of her reign, by the end of her life she began to receive harsh criticism. Queen Elizabeth was beloved by her subjects for most of her reign. She was witty, educated, savvy in economics, and had an ability to capture the hearts of the English people with her speeches. Moreover, she also impacted foreign dignitaries. By the end of her reign, however, she began to draw criticism. She was aging and had been on the throne for long time.²³ Thus, certain foreign dignitaries may have chosen to take more leniency in approaching Queen Elizabeth I. The Queen, while advancing in age, was not at all feeble-minded. In fact, one of the things that the English people adored about her was her rhetorical skills, which had not faded with her age. She demonstrated this on July 25, 1597, as the Polish ambassador Paul De Jaline complained to the Queen quite loudly and rudely in Latin in front of her court.²⁴ Within a beat, she responded in perfect Latin, "O how have I been deceived! I expected an embassy, but you have brought to me a complaint; I was certified by letters that you were an ambassador, but I have found you a herald."²⁵ While he was an ambassador, she insulted him by calling him a herald, which was a lower position that made declarations such as a declaration of war.²⁶ Here, it one sees what happens when someone tries to go up against her Majesty. The reaction from the

²² Introduction to *Elizabeth's Tilbury Speech* (1588), *British Library: Learning Timelines: Sources from History*, <http://www.bl.uk/learning/timeline/item102878.html> (accessed November 18, 2020).

²³ Janet M. Green, "Queen Elizabeth I's Latin Reply to the Polish Ambassador," *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, vol. 31, no. 4 (Winter 2000): 987–1008 at 987.

²⁴ Green, "Queen Elizabeth I's Latin Reply to the Polish Ambassador," 987–88.

²⁵ Elizabeth I, "Queen Elizabeth's Latin Rebuke to the Polish Ambassador, Paul De Jaline, July 25, 1597," in *Elizabeth I: Collected Works*, ed. Marcus, Mueller, and Rose, 332.

²⁶ Queen Elizabeth, *Queen Elizabeth's Latin Rebuke to the Polish Ambassador, Paul De Jaline, July 25, 1597*, 333.

court was enormous, with many writing praises over her response. This included secretary of state Sir Robert Cecil, who to the Earl of Essex, stated, “To this I swear by the living God, that her majestie made one of the best aunswers, ex tempore, in Latin, that ever I heard, being much moved to be so challenged in publick, especially so much against her expectation.”²⁷ Cecil’s remarks shows how much love and respect that the people still held for Queen Elizabeth, and how their admiration grew with every speech and remark she gave.

To sum up, Queen Elizabeth held a power that no woman ruler had truly taken advantage of before, and she did this through her speeches. With her intellect and wit, she could turn an insult against her into power with a single response. She was able to turn around the opinions over female rulers and become one of England’s most beloved monarchs ever to rule, despite her gender. Her education in foreign languages and rhetoric gave her the ability to outsmart most men in the room and stand toe to toe with Parliament. These abilities won her the hearts of the English people, even though she neither married nor had children. She perpetuated her power and rule through her speeches, and with that, she became one of the most well-known female rulers in world history. Speeches by Queen Elizabeth have been studied for so long that they may no longer seem important. However, because Queen Elizabeth was truly the first example of a leading woman in the Western world, her speeches show a true insight into who she was as a person—how she spoke to her people, and what she thought of others. While it may seem like an over studied subject, this is the reason why new emerging historians, especially women who have an idea of what she may have gone through, need to study this. The major problem that exists within the study of Elizabeth’s speeches is the lack of female thoughts and opinions on the matter. Thus, it is important for people to understand just how influential and powerful Queen Elizabeth I was, and she was able to hold that influence and power through her speeches.

²⁷Green, “Queen Elizabeth I’s Latin Reply to the Polish Ambassador,” 989–991.

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

PRIMARY SOURCES

- Bucholz, Robert, and Newton Key. *Sources and Debates in English History 1485–1714*. Ed. and trans. Newton Key and Robert Bucholz. Oxford, U.K.: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009.
- Elizabeth I. *Elizabeth I: Collected Works*. Ed. Leah Marcus, Janel Mueller, Queen and Mary Beth Rose. London and Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2000.
- Elizabeth I. *Elizabeth's Tilbury Speech* (ca. 1588). *British Library: Learning Timelines: Sources from History*, <http://www.bl.uk/learning/timeline/item102878.html> (accessed November 18, 2020).
- Elizabeth I. *Proclamation Against Excess* (1577). *British Library: Learning Timelines: Sources from History*, <http://www.bl.uk/learning/timeline/item102766.html> (accessed September 8, 2020).
- Foxe, John. *The Unabridged Acts and Monuments Online* or TAMO (1563 Edition). *The Digital Humanities Institute*, <https://www.dhi.ac.uk/foxe/index.php?realm=text&edition=1563&gototype=> (accessed November 18, 2020).
- Green, Janet. "Queen Elizabeth I's Latin Reply to the Polish Ambassador." *The Sixteenth Century Journal*. Vol. 35, No. 4 (2000): 987–1008.
- Knox, John. *First Blast of the Trumpet Against the Monstrous Regiment of Women* (1558). *Presbyterian Heritage Publications*, <http://www.swrb.com/newslett/actualNLS/firblast.htm> (accessed November 19, 2020).

SECONDARY SOURCES

Articles:

- Booth, Ted W. "Elizabeth I and Pope Paul IV: Reticence and Reformation." *Church History and Religious Culture*, vol. 94, no. 3 (2014): 316–336.
- Howey, Catherine. "Dressing a Virgin Queen: Court Women, Dress, and Fashioning the Image of England's Queen Elizabeth I." In *Early Modern Women*. Vol. 4: 201–208. Arizona: Arizona State University Press, 2009.
- Kolkovich, Elizabeth. "Lady Russell, Elizabeth I, and Female Political Alliances through Performance." In *English Literary Renaissance*. Vol. 39: No. 2., 290–314. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2009.
- LeBlanc, Lacy. "By some kind of Jewish practice": a case study of doctor Roderigo Lopez and the Early Modern New Christian experience. Towson: Towson University, 2012.

Martin, Christopher. "The Breast and Belly of a Queen: Elizabeth After Tilbury." In *Early Modern Women*. Vol. 2: 5-28. Arizona: Arizona State University, 2009.

Williams, Deanne. "Dido, Queen of England." In *ELH*. Vol. 73: No. 1., 31-59. Baltimore, Maryland: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006.

Books:

Archer, Jayne, Elizabeth Goldring, and Sara Knight. *The Progresses, Pageants, and Entertainments of Queen Elizabeth I*. Oxford: OUP Oxford, 2007.

Levin, Carole. "*The Heart and Stomach of a King*" *Elizabeth I and the Politics of Sex and Power*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1994.

McLaren, A.N. *Political culture in the reign of Elizabeth I : Queen and Commonwealth, 1558-1585*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999.

From Reviled to Revered: *The U.S. Constitution*

Bradley Hancock

The course of world history was greatly altered, when, in 1776, a congress of representatives from Great Britain’s colonial holdings in the New World declared that the colonies were “Absolved from all Allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain, is and ought to be totally dissolved.”¹ Originally, when Thomas Jefferson penned these words, American colonists were anything *but* unified on the question of American independence. Yet, through the bloodshed and violence of the Revolution, the new United States was born, and the question on its citizens’ minds shifted from “Should we establish a new, independent, American state?” to “How can we maintain our newly found independence?” For years, Americans quarreled with each other on the role of the federal government and its relationship to the states. Finally, in 1787, a constitutional convention was held in an effort to revise the *Articles of Confederation*, which left the U.S. operating as a confederacy. It quickly became clear that a replacement, not an edit, was desired from the majority of convention attendees. However, as the new *U.S. Constitution* was sent from the convention to the states for ratification, Americans all throughout the states were as deeply divided on the choice of constitution as they were nine years earlier on the question of independence. Today, depictions of the constitutional debates of 1787–1788 tend to be viewed with rose tinted glasses, oftentimes neglecting to recognize the stark division that the country had over ratification. Instead, a large segment of the American population in the 1780s was deeply skeptical of the new constitution because it revoked some state powers, created a standing army, and lacked a firm bill of rights.

Before all the debates and political discord of 1788–1789, the United States operated under a constitution primarily designed to keep the states’ powers intact. This constitution, entitled the *Articles of Confederation*, was both approved and ratified during the Revolution—in 1777 and 1781, respectively. In it, key clauses established a system of government in which the federal arm was severely limited, and, in some cases, subservient to the interests of state governments. For instance, under the *Articles of Confederation*, the federal government was nearly powerless to collect taxes from the states, because “The taxes for paying that proportion (of which is owed to the federal government) shall be laid and levied by the authority and direction of the legislatures of the several states.”² This meant the federal government under the *Articles* was powerless to enforce any means of collecting money to carry out its operations, essentially crippling its ability to provide even basic governmental functions.

¹ Thomas Jefferson, *The Declaration of Independence* (1776), National Archives, <https://www.archives.gov/founding-docs/declaration-transcript> (accessed October 10, 2020).

² John Dickinson, *The Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union* (1777), National Archives and Records Administration, <https://www.ourdocuments.gov/doc.php?flash=false&doc=3&page=transcript#> (accessed October 10, 2020).

Furthermore, not only did the *Articles* prevent the federal government from collecting revenue, but it also lacked an executive position, instead relying on the slow response from congress for emergency situations.³ In 1787, disillusioned veterans from the Revolution (led by a Massachusetts farmer named Daniel Shays) exposed the powerless federal government when they raided the federal armory at Springfield, MA. Due to the raid, the federal government was shown to be far too weak to be effective, as assistance from the Massachusetts State Militia was required to put down the insurrection. Thus, Shays's Rebellion ignited national debates questioning the effectiveness of the *Articles of Confederation*, which directly led to the Constitutional Convention of 1787, a watershed event in American history.⁴

In calling for a constitutional convention, the intended purpose was to make edits to the original *Articles of Confederation*. At this convention were delegates sent from all of the states (with the exception of Rhode Island) to Philadelphia, where, in the same hall where the *Declaration of Independence* was signed, delegates listened to a plan by James Madison. In his plan, Madison proposed to scrap the *Articles* and reform the country by adopting a new constitution. Much to the dismay of those who favored maintaining a confederacy, Madison (along with many delegates who shared his sentiments) proposed a constitution that called for the creation of a strong central government, which was to be strengthened in the areas where the *Articles* fell short. Eventually, delegates at the convention compromised to create a new proposed constitution which joined the states together in a perpetual union under a central government strengthened by a chief executive, a bicameral legislature, and a supreme court which acted as a mediator in state disputes. However, not all were privy to this compromise, as many representatives from rural areas dissented, creating a nation-wide Anti-Federalist movement. In the movement, serious concerns over the contents of the proposed constitution arose.

Opponents to the ratified new constitution raised the objection, "all that is reserved for the individual states must very soon be annihilated, except so far as they are barely necessary to the organization of the general government."⁵ Essentially, large numbers of Americans were concerned that the ratification of the *Constitution* would equate to the death of their state government. Specifically, Anti-Federalists across the country feared what the *Constitution* would do to their state's revenue. "Brutus," a popular Anti-Federalist writer, wrote: "The situation of the states will be deplorable. By this system, they will surrender to the general government, all the means of raising money, and at the same time, will subject themselves to suits at law, for the

³ Dickinson, *The Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union* (1777).

⁴ Rahul Tilva, "Shays' Rebellion," in *The Digital Encyclopedia of George Washington*, ed. James P. Ambuske ([Alexandria, VA]: Mount Vernon Ladies' Association 2012), <https://www.mountvernon.org/library/digitalhistory/digital-encyclopedia/article/shays-rebellion/> (accessed October 15, 2020).

⁵ "Brutus," "I," in *The Complete Anti-Federalist*, ed. Herbert J. Storing and Murray Dry, 7 vols. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981), 2:363–372 at 365.

recovery of debts they have contracted in effecting the revolution.”⁶ Of course, allowing the federal government to collect revenue from the states was a remedy for the financial crises that had been unsolvable under the *Articles of Confederation*. Still, Brutus’s sentiment was shared between many citizens of various states, most of whom felt greater loyalty to their specific state rather than to the country as a whole. To these people, destruction of their state’s government would simultaneously undermine their state’s identity.

Another fear the Anti-Federalists had was that of a standing army. Patrick Henry, the author of *Common Sense* and a delegate to Virginia’s ratification convention, was a leading member of the Anti-Federalist faction across the country. Objecting to Congress’s war powers, Henry, known for being a powerful orator, summed up the Anti-Federalist perspective, saying:

To me this appears a very alarming power, when unlimited. They are not only to raise, but to support armies; and this support is to go to the utmost abilities of the United States. If Congress shall say, that the general welfare requires it, they may keep armies continually on foot. There is no control on Congress in raising or stationing them. They may billet them on the people at pleasure. This unlimited authority is a most dangerous power: Its principles are despotic. If it may be unbounded, it must lead to despotism. For the power of the people in a free Government, is supposed to be paramount to the existing power.⁷

For classical republican thinkers, such as Henry, a standing army was a tool often used by tyrants; whether those tyrants be a king, or a deluded legislative body, was irrelevant in the danger they posed. Furthermore, by opposing Congress’ power to raise a standing army, Anti-Federalists positioned themselves as remaining faithful to the ideals of the Revolution. Anti-Federalist writers, such as the “Impartial Examiner,” were quick to capitalize on this, suggesting that instead of a standing army, the best defense would come from a “well regulated [*sic*] militia, duly trained to discipline” which would be “the surest means of protection, which a free people can have when not actually engaged in war.”⁸ Here, it is easy to recognize what made the Anti-Federalist position attractive. After all, the United States had gained its independence due in large part to well-regulated militias.

Although, as historian Herbert J. Storing points out, “It would be difficult to find a single point about which *all* of the Anti-Federalists agreed,” a very common source of unity for the Anti-

⁶ “Brutus,” “XIII,” in *The Founders’ Constitution*, ed. Philip B. Kurland and Ralph Lerner, 5 vols. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 4:237–238 at 238.

⁷ Patrick Henry, “Objections to a National Army,” in *Debate on the Constitution Part Two* by Bernard Bailyn (New York: Literary Classics of the United States, 1993), 695–700 at 695.

⁸ “The Impartial Examiner,” “I,” in *The Complete Anti-Federalist*, ed. Storing and Dry, 5:173–88 at 182.

Federalists came in the desire to see a bill of rights along with the proposed constitution.⁹ Their reasoning for this request was clear: to ensure that inviolable rights were enshrined in the *U.S. Constitution*. In fact, this idea had enough weight to even merit Federalist support, leading to several states only ratifying the *Constitution* with the promise that a bill of rights would be added at a later date. Among the states to ratify in hopes of a bill of rights was Virginia, who added to the end of their resolution a request “that there be a Declaration or Bill of Rights asserting and securing from encroachment the essential and unalienable rights of the people in some such manner.”¹⁰ Yet, while some Anti-Federalists were able to compromise for a bill of rights in the future by voting to ratify, some, such as “Brutus,” were staunchly opposed to accepting the *Constitution* until it had a bill of rights. “Brutus” explained the rationale for rejecting the *Constitution* by calling it “radically defective in a fundamental principle, which ought to be found in every free government; to wit, a declaration of rights.”¹¹ Overall, the Anti-Federalist position was clear and unified: a bill of rights must be included in the *Constitution* to protect the unalienable rights of citizens from the government’s exploitation.

Despite the logic and appeal of their convictions, the Anti-Federalists failed to convince most Americans to oppose the new constitution. As is true with every political faction, Anti-Federalists had their share of miscalculations, such as failing to grasp that the *U.S. Constitution* did in fact mend real problems created by the *Articles*. Benjamin Franklin, the oldest signer of the *Constitution*, pointed out in his final speech at the Constitutional Convention that the *Constitution* ought to be accepted even with its flaws, saying:

I think a General Government necessary for us, and there is no *Form* of Government but what may be a Blessing to the People if well administered; and I believe farther that this is likely to be well administered for a Course of Years, and can only end in Despotism as other Forms have done before it, when the People shall become so corrupted as to need Despotic Government, being incapable of any other.¹²

Still, it is worth noting that not every Anti-Federalist who opposed the *Constitution* until the end should be considered uncompromising. Instead, there were plenty of Anti-Federalists who held many of the same values as their Federalist opponents, as author and professor Craig Borowiak

⁹ Herbert Storing, “Introduction,” in *The Anti-Federalist* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985), 1–5 at 3, italics original.

¹⁰ “Resolutions of Virginia,” in *Debate on the Constitution Part Two* by Bernard Bailyn (New York: Literary Classics of the United States, 1993), 557–65 at 558.

¹¹ “Brutus,” “III,” in *The Complete Anti-Federalist*, ed. Storing and Dry, 2:377–82 at 378.

¹² Benjamin Franklin, “I Agree to This Constitution, with All Its Faults,” in *Debate on the Constitution Part One* by Bernard Bailyn (New York: Literary Classics of the United States, 1993), 3–5 at 3, 4.

notes, “Like the Federalists, they [Anti-Federalists] were concerned about preventing the abuse of governmental power ... they believed that accountability to citizens was a vital precautionary mechanism in republican government.”¹³ In truth, Anti-Federalists were not the uncompromising obstructionists that they are portrayed as today. Instead, the Anti-Federalist faction, similarly to the Federalists, were comprised of concerned individuals who felt it was their duty as a citizen to ensure that the ideals of the Revolution were upheld in the founding of the new country.

In conclusion, the Anti-Federalist position was not a stubborn and uninformed one, but rather was filled with nuance and intellectualism. Through the powerful oratory of people like Patrick Henry, or the eloquent prose of writers like “Brutus,” Anti-Federalists across the country were unified in the belief that government is, and ought to be, subservient to the individual. Certainly an analysis on the positions of Anti-Federalist writers would not be complete without an inquiry into their legacy, for “these authors gave expression to both a tradition of dissent in American politics and a very basic distrust of concentrated political power.”¹⁴ These are qualities which are still revered in the modern United States, having provided generations of Americans the ability to look critically at their government, appreciating the beauty of the country while recognizing that further work is needed to maintain this republican government.

¹³ Craig Borowiak, “Accountability Debates: The Federalists, The Anti-Federalists, and Democratic Deficits,” *The Journal of Politics*, vol. 69 (2007): 998–1014 at 1006.

¹⁴ Borowiak, “Accountability Debates: The Federalists, The Anti-Federalists, and Democratic Deficits,” 1006.

WORKS CITED

PRIMARY SOURCES

- “Brutus.” “I.” In *The Complete Anti-Federalist*, ed. Herbert J. Storing and Murray Dry, 7 volumes, 2:363–72. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981.
- “Brutus.” “III.” In *The Complete Anti-Federalist*, ed. Herbert J. Storing and Murray Dry, 7 volumes, 2:377–82. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981.
- “Brutus.” “XIII.” In *The Founders' Constitution*, ed. Philip B. Kurland and Ralph Lerner, 5 volumes, 4:237–38. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987.
- Dickinson, John. *The Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union (1777)*. National Archives and Records Administration, <https://www.ourdocuments.gov/doc.php?flash=false&doc=3&page=transcript#> (accessed October 10, 2020).
- Franklin, Benjamin. “I Agree to This Constitution, with All Its Faults.” In *Debate on the Constitution Part One*, ed. Bernard Bailyn, 3–5. New York: Literary Classics of the United States, 1993.
- Henry, Patrick. “Objections to a Standing Army.” In *Debate on the Constitution Part Two*, ed. Bernard Bailyn, 695–700. New York: Literary Classics of the United States, 1993.
- “The Impartial Examiner.” “I.” In *The Complete Anti-Federalist*, ed. Herbert J. Storing and Murray Dry, 7 volumes, 5:173–88. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981.
- Jefferson, Thomas. *The Declaration of Independence (1776)*. National Archives, <https://www.archives.gov/founding-docs/declaration-transcript> (accessed October 10, 2020).
- “Resolutions of Virginia.” In *Debate on the Constitution Part Two*, by Bernard Bailyn, 557–565. New York: Literary Classics of the United States, 1993.

SECONDARY SOURCES

Monograph

Storing, Herbert. *The Anti-Federalist*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985.

Journal Articles

Borowiak, Craig. “Accountability Debates: The Federalists, The Anti-Federalists, and Democratic Deficits.” *The Journal of Politics*, vol. 69 (2007): 998–1014.

Encyclopedia Article

Tilva, Rahul. “Shays’ Rebellion.” In *The Digital Encyclopedia of George Washington*, ed. James P. Ambuske. [Alexandria, VA]: Mount Vernon Ladies’ Association, 2012. <https://www.mountvernon.org/library/digitalhistory/digital-encyclopedia/article/shays-rebellion/> (accessed October 15, 2020).

Tzedakah: The Indianapolis Jewish Community and Civil Rights Movement

Maddy Shelton

When National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) leader Wilson Head was barred entrance from a theater in Indianapolis, IN he did not know that he would begin a series of events that would fundamentally shape his community.¹ In response to the theater's discrimination, the Indianapolis chapter of NAACP filed suit against the theater manager and the owner of its parent company Canton Amusements. At this time Charles Posner, head of the Jewish Community Relations Council (JCRC), was able to mediate and resolve the case. Posner's work on behalf of the NAACP forced the theater to integrate. A local paper *The Indianapolis Recorder* wrote on the integration of the Canton Amusements theater in colorful and triumphant language. "Doors. . . this week swung open to patrons without regard to color, as the local branch NAACP scored a major victory in its fight against jimcrow policies."² From this moment on, both the NAACP and the JCRC began tandem efforts to pursue common interests in social justice. This is emblematic of the Civil Rights movements all across America in the first half of the 20th century. The success of the Civil Rights movement is due in large part to the intersectional partnerships it forged – namely in the Jewish community. The Jewish population in Indianapolis serves as a historical microcosm for other interracial and interreligious coalitions that supplemented the movement nationwide. Jewish religious covenants and general inclination towards progressive policy made the sect uniquely fit to serve as an ally for civil rights. In close collaboration with African American leaders, Indianapolis organizations like the JCRC were instrumental in both state policy advocacy and active protests. Both of these minority communities have a shared history of discrimination in both the United States and the greater western world. This shared struggle allowed bonds of kinship to be formed.

The Jewish and African American communities have been longstanding allies in the fight for mutual civil rights. Early Jewish activists were heavily involved in the creation of pro African American organizations such as the NAACP. These ties remained strong in the organization as well as other civil rights groups leading into the late 1930s.³ The onset of World War Two changed the nature of civil rights advocacy. The post-war period was an environment that cultivated especially strong advocacy for civil rights in the Jewish community. By the juxtaposition the atrocities committed by the Nazis in Europe to the social injustices on American soil, there was a

¹ Krista Kinslow, "The Road to Freedom is Long and Winding: Jewish Involvement in the Indianapolis Civil Rights Movement," *Indiana Magazine of History*, vol. 108, no. 1 (March 2012): 1–34 at 1.

² "Near Northside Theater Drops Jimcrow Policy," *The Indianapolis Recorder*, July 17, 1948.

³ Lori Harrison-Kahan, "Scholars and Knights: W. E. B. Du Bois, J. E. Spingarn, and the NAACP," *Jewish Social Studies*, vol. 18 no. 1 (2011): 63–87 at 68.

shift in Semitic civil rights rhetoric that becomes more relevant and powerful. The horrors of the Holocaust fundamentally changed both internal and external perceptions of Jewish identity. As open anti-Semitism in America began to decline, Jews forged an emotional link between the victims of the Holocaust and the oppression of African Americans in America. Politically, liberal Judaism moved into the mainstream and civil rights was a premier issue to Jewish leaders. In a 1955 essay Jewish historian and Civil Rights advocate Louis Reschemes provides an example of the parallels that Jews drew from their own victimization to that of the African American struggle:

We Jews have known in our lives and the lives of our fathers the problems which have confronted the Negro. And in our own day the lesson that men have had to relearn in every generation, that the rights of all men are interrelated, and no minority group is safe while others are the victims of persecution, has been seared into our minds and hearts through the burning flesh of six million of our brethren in Europe. ⁴

Dramatic images of the Holocaust were often used as metaphors for the oppression of African Americans. Leaders of Jewish communities would use these images to shame segregationist Jews and call liberal Jews to action. Key elements of Jewish faith were also critical in creating a revival of Jewish activism. The Jewish tenant of *Tzedakah* (Hebrew for righteousness) commands every Jew to humbly serve their community and their non-Jewish neighbors.⁵ In addition, the tensions of the rising Cold War also had a significant impact on the Jewish mobilization in defense of the Civil Rights movement. In an effort to further assimilate Jewish culture, the idea of “Americanness” was pervasive in Jewish society. As communism and democracy clashed on a world stage, Jewish communities made American values like equality and individuality a central part of their belief system. Marc Dollinger articulated the perceived connection between respectable “Americanness” and civil rights endeavors in this way. “In the North, the civil rights movement offered Jews a powerful means to identify as pluralist and civically responsible American citizens. Constitutional guarantees of legal equality, critical to the story of American Jewish social mobility, proved elusive in the black South.”⁶ By seeking to extend the fundamental American values of liberty and individualism to other minorities, Jews understood that their own group would also rise socially. The relationship between the national Jewish community and the struggle for civil rights is critical to understanding how the shared oppression and glorification of American ideals vigorously mobilized the Semitic communities of Indianapolis and other like

⁴ Quoted by Michael E. Staub in “Negros are Not Jews: Race, Holocaust Consciousness, and the Rise of Jewish Neoconservatism,” *Radical History Review*, vol. 75 (Fall 1999): 3–27 at 6.

⁵ Kinslow, “The Road to Freedom is Long and Winding,” 4.

⁶ Marc Dollinger, “Jewish Identities in 20th Century America,” *Contemporary Jewry*, vol. 24 no. 1 (October 2003): 9–28 at 18.

cities. Both the social climate and geographical location of Indianapolis made it a regional epicenter for a plethora of civil rights groups.

From 1948 forward, the joint efforts of these groups focused on two key areas of discrimination: school segregation and unfair housing practices. Much of the work of the Indianapolis Chapter of the NAACP and the JCRC focused on changing and strengthening Indiana state laws to provide more rights to African Americans. In 1949, Indiana House Bill 242 formally desegregated Indiana schools.⁷ While this was important in establishing legal precedent, in practical terms school districting policies largely maintained segregation. Because students had to attend the school district in which they lived, African Americans in poorer communities were still confined to traditionally Black schools. These conditions gave the NAACP and the JCRC their next platform for reform: affordable housing and equal opportunity home loans. As articulated in an opinion piece in a 1957 edition of the *Jewish Post*, “Housing Discrimination is at the top of the bill because it is the germ from which all other forms of discrimination spring.”⁸ Recognizing their limited mobility in the housing market, Jews and African Americans understood that this was not only an attack on their ability to attain a higher status in society, but also an attempt to degrade the family unit by making the evidence of segregation present even in their domestic life.

Housing discrimination in Indianapolis manifested via two main components. First, discrimination by realtors as well as loan providers created systemic barriers to middle and upper-class white neighborhoods. In an investigation regarding unfair housing practices in Indianapolis a lead official of the Anti-Defamation League stated, “It is my understanding that the major white real estate firms in the community are not interested in developing a reputation as an organization which conveys property to negroes.”⁹ Defying the racial status quo would have serious social and business consequences for lenders and property owners. The second component was a shortage of new development housing in African American communities. Because these communities lacked economic prosperity, the development of new homes and facilities was not thought to be possible. In response to the issue of development, the American Jewish Society for Civil Service partnered with Flanner Homes Inc. to begin a “self-help” housing development project. The program gave members of African American communities the tools and instruction to build their own homes.¹⁰ Programs like this and the efforts for legislative change show that Jewish organizations were using comprehensive strategies and religious networking to fight racism. Participation in peaceful protest and displays of public support were equally important gestures of solidarity.

⁷ Kinslow, “The Road to Freedom is Long and Winding,” 14.

⁸ Andrew W. Ramsey, “NAACP Invoices Local Needs,” *The Jewish Post*, February 23, 1957, 10.

⁹ Kinslow, “The Road to Freedom is Long and Winding: Jewish Involvement in the Indianapolis Civil Rights Movement,” 21.

¹⁰ Kinslow, “The Road to Freedom is Long and Winding,” 18.

Rabbi Maurice Davis is one of the most important characters of the Civil Rights narrative in Indianapolis. Davis's passion for equality is representative of many Jewish people in Indianapolis. Davis spent his career advocating for civil rights but an incident with his son at an Indianapolis area country club gave the meaning of prejudice a more personal meaning. The rabbi's son was denied entrance to the club's swimming pool because of anti-Semitic policies. When *the Jewish Post* published his story, Davis used the incident to call attention to larger national issues, including civil rights.¹¹ By 1962, Davis had become a leader in the greater Indianapolis community and used a regular column to discuss issues of equality. In a September issue of *the Post* Davis said: "Segregation and discrimination lead to bombing and lynching as surely as anti-Semitism leads to Auschwitz and Buchenwald. And any man who walks that path, has not the right to be amazed where it leads. We who know the end of the road, must say this openly, and believe this implicitly, and practice it publicly. And privately. And always."¹²

Sentiments such as these made Davis' dedication to equality above reproach. His willingness to serve the cause became even more clear when, in 1965 Davis and David Goldstein, Chair of the JCRC, answered Dr. Martin Luther King's call from Selma, Alabama.¹³ The Indianapolis coalition's participation in the March 7th protest was a powerful sign that many Jews were willing to support civil rights at any cost, even physical harm. Davis was able to use descriptions of his experiences in Selma to gain further support for civil rights in Indianapolis. Jewish policy advocacy and community improvement projects had an immeasurable effect on advancing civil rights for the greater part of three decades.

Mobilization and dedication on the part of religious and social justice coalitions created a powerful force for legal and societal change. Personal narratives like that of Rabbi Davis give civil rights history a critical human emotional connection. Active participation in civil rights demonstrations and the motivational context behind the demonstrates that efforts for civil rights in Indianapolis were congruent to other intersectional partnerships around the country. Communities that did their part in the national Civil Rights movement showed a dedication to improving their society that embodied classical "Americanness." Indianapolis is a prime example of these two minority groups coming together to fight discrimination both through legislation and active citizenship.

¹¹ Jill Weiss Simins, "Walking With Dr. King: The Civil Rights Legacy of Rabbi Maurice Davis," Indiana Historical Bureau of the Indiana State Library, <https://blog.history.in.gov/category/20th-century/civil-rights-movement> (accessed March 30, 2020).

¹² Maurice Davis, "We Who Know the Road Must Speak Out," *The Jewish Post*, September 27, 1963, 10.

¹³ Jill Weiss Simins, "Walking With Dr. King: The Civil Rights Legacy of Rabbi Maurice Davis."

WORKS CITED

PRIMARY SOURCES

Davis, Maurice. "We Who Know the Road Must Speak Out." *The Jewish Post*, September 27, 1963.

"Near Northside Theater Drops Jimcrow Policy." *The Indianapolis Recorder*, July 17, 1948.

Ramsey, Andrew W. "NAACP Invoices Local Needs." *The Jewish Post*, February 23, 1957.

JOURNAL ARTICLES

Dollinger, Marc. "Jewish Identities in 20th Century America." *Contemporary Jewry*, vol. 24 no. 1 (October 2003): 9–28.

Harrison-Kahan, Lori. "Scholars and Knights: W. E. B. Du Bois, J. E. Spingarn, and the NAACP." *Jewish Social Studies*, vol. 18 no. 1 (2011): 63–87.

Kinslow, Krista. "The Road to Freedom is Long and Winding: Jewish Involvement in the Indianapolis Civil Rights Movement." *Indiana Magazine of History*, vol. 108, no. 1 (March 2012): 1–34.

Staub, Michael E. "Negros are Not Jews: Race, Holocaust Consciousness, and the Rise of Jewish Neoconservatism." *Radical History Review*, vol. 75 (Fall 1999): 3–27.

Weiss Simins, Jill. "Walking With Dr. King: The Civil Rights Legacy of Rabbi Maurice Davis." Indiana Historical Bureau of the Indiana State Library, <https://blog.history.in.gov/category/20th-century/civil-rights-movement> (accessed March 30, 2020)

Senior History Thesis (Abridged)

The Early History of the Civil Rights Movement (1900–1950)

Terry Hart

NOTE TO THE READER: Mr. Hart completed his senior thesis in the winter and spring of 2020, during the early weeks of the 2020 COVID-19 viral pandemic, which resulted in the closure of the campuses of universities and colleges across the United States, including the state of Indiana and Hanover College. From early-March forward, all sources for student papers, including senior theses, could only be procured through digital access online. Interlibrary loans of hard-copy monographs and other texts ceased with the closure of the Hanover College campus and Duggan Library in early March 2020.

INTRODUCTION

The early Civil Rights Movement was an era of collaborative efforts by African Americans and other races to end segregation and racial discrimination. After the Civil War, during the reconstruction era, the U.S. Constitution had been modified by the 13th, 14th, and 15th Amendments. These Amendments impacted African Americans by extending and defending their racial and legal equality. As Aimin Zhang observed, “The 13th Amendment prohibited slavery and provided that the U.S. Congress was entitled to enact certain laws to eliminate the ‘remnants’ of the system of slavery. The 14th Amendment gave a wider interpretation and definition to such terms as ‘Due process of law’ and ‘Equal protection of the laws,’ and forbids their being denied to any citizens. The 15th Amendment gave black citizens the right to vote.”¹ These Amendments dealt with black male suffrage, racial segregation, and discrimination from higher-powered whites. They were essential because they provided a foundation upon which African Americans later mobilized the Civil Rights Movement.

However, the Civil Rights Movement did not fully take off until African Americans developed and acquired additional resources. The foundations of the Civil Rights Movement emerged through the complex interrelationships of several other twentieth-century movements and groups: Jews suffering from anti-Semitic discrimination who supported the founding of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (hereafter NAACP); the Black Social Gospel Movement; the Labor Movement; advocates of Socialism and Communism; and the Peace Movement of the 1930s–1940s. The interaction of Jews and Blacks led to the formation of the NAACP, which served as the cornerstone of the early Civil Rights Movement. The ministers of the Black Social Gospel Movement promoted social and political justice and opposed racial lynching. Socialists and Communists resisted the oppression of the African-American proletariat. The International Labor Movement fought for Labor Unions and focused on eliminating capitalistic exploitation of poor African Americans while the Peace Movement condemned the

¹ Aimin Zhang, *The Origins of the African American Civil Rights Movement, 1865–1956* (New York: Routledge, 2002), xii.

brutality of Jim Crow. Collectively, these movements coalesced and paved the way for the emergence of prominent figures such as Rosa Parks and Martin Luther King, Jr., and the Civil Rights legislation of the Lyndon B. Johnson Presidency.

EMERGENCE AND EVOLUTION OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT

Blacks' and Jews' Struggle for an Alliance

During the first half of the 20th century, anti-Semitism helped form what would become known as the Civil Rights Movement by strengthening the relationship between Jews and blacks. This partnership led to the founding and then contributed to the growth of the NAACP. The history of Jews' and blacks' relationship before the early 20th century is complex, but helped gradually transform the two groups into allies. This is vital because, as allies in the early 20th century, Northern Jews and blacks worked together to combat the inequalities that each group faced.

Before the early 20th century, African Americans envied and even resented the Jews, who often served as their landlords. However, their relationships strengthened as they both encountered prejudice and fought the struggle in the South for equal rights.² Prior to the Civil War, many Southern Jews had been slaveholders.³ This helps explain the negative relationship that initially developed between Jews and blacks before the early 20th century. Jews depended on the hardships of African-American slaves to make a name for themselves in America. For example, Jews held slaves under their control because it kept them from being at the bottom of the American social hierarchy. Also, Jews engaged in slave trading because it brought them revenue. By engaging in the slave business, Jews were able to sit at an advantage in America. And after the end of slavery, Jews were well positioned as landlords for blacks living and working in urban areas.

During these early years, African Americans struggled to gain assistance and recognition from Jewish individuals even as Jews avoided affiliation with African Americans. Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the NAACP from 1955–1977, conceded, “Some [Jews] have joined the Negro’s opposition for safety’s sake—and perhaps understandably so.”⁴ Wilkins was convinced that some Jews did not associate with blacks because they feared the consequences. Moreover, Allison Schottenstein observed, “as long as antebellum Jews were able to embrace the ideals of what it meant to be Southern and white, they could potentially fit in.” Tensions between Jews and blacks only increased over time as blacks rented housing from Jewish owners. However, “during the depression of the 1890s and after, surging anti-Semitism caused the whiteness of Southern

² Huey L. Perry and Ruth B. White, “The Post-Civil Rights Transformation of the Relationship between Blacks and Jews in the United States,” *Phylon* 47 (1986): 51–60 at 52.

³ Roberta Strauss Feuerlicht, *The Fate of the Jews: A People Torn Between Israeli Power and Jewish Ethics* (New York: Times Books, 1983), 186.

⁴ Clive Webb, *Fight against Fear: Southern Jews and Black Civil Rights* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 2001), 25.

Jews to again be questioned.”⁵ Not surprisingly, by the early 20th century Jews and blacks were drawing a parallel that would ultimately connect them both to the Civil Rights Movement. Collectively, blacks and Jews both struggled with discrimination at the hands of whites.

Booker T. Washington once commented, “In Russia, there are one-half as many Jews as there are Negroes in this country, and yet I feel sure that within a month more Jews have been persecuted and killed than the whole number of our people who have been lynched during the past forty years, but this, of course, is no excuse for lynching.”⁶ The parallels that he drew between Russian Jews and African Americans clearly did not go unnoticed as other African-American leaders compared the oppression of Russian Jews with the ill treatment of African Americans back home. An editorial in the *Nashville Globe*, entitled “Persecution of the Jews,” reminded readers “that where two races [are] living in the same country and one [is] allowed to deprecate upon the rights of the other with impunity, the dominant one has always grown bold, arrogant, tyrannical and criminal toward the other What is true of the treatment of the Jews in Russia is hardly less true of the treatment of the Negro race in America.”⁷ This was vital because many blacks felt like they were experiencing difficulties similar to those experienced by Russian Jews.

In the December 1910 editorial entitled “Charity Begins at Home,” however, the editors of the African-American weekly, *Atlanta Independent*, instructed their readers “not to pray for the relief of the oppressed Jews, but to wash their hands clean with duty at home before they go ten thousand miles away to demonstrate their charity.”⁸ In other words, they should begin to deal with racism at home before concerning themselves with the plights of Jews suffering in Russia. Ultimately, African Americans made it their goal to utilize events overseas to impact the beliefs and actions of Southern Jews, many of whom remained uncertain of the proper response to the oppression of blacks. As Webb noted, “Southern Jews were in reality deeply divided by the integration issue. Divisions existed between men and women, young and old, religious leaders and congregations. Small-town Jews were more restricted in their actions than city Jews. The same distinction can be made between the Jews of the Lower and Upper South.”⁹

Jews, of course, had never despised African Americans, nor had they as a rule mistreated them as Southern whites often had done. This is important because it created a window for the opportunity to form a positive relationship in the early 20th century when Jews began to collaborate with blacks and participated in the NAACP. Due to the persecution Jews faced at the hands of

⁵ Allison Schottenstein, “Jews, Race, and Southernness,” in *The New Encyclopedia of Southern Culture*, vol. 24: *Race*, ed. Thomas C. Holt, Laurie B. Green, and Wilson Charles Reagan (University of North Carolina Press, 2013), 73–77 at 74–5.

⁶ Webb, *Fight against Fear*, 35.

⁷ Webb, *Fight against Fear*, 36.

⁸ Webb, *Fight against Fear*, 36.

⁹ Webb, *Fight against Fear*, 219.

Adolf Hitler and his Nazi associates in Germany during the 1920s–1940s, as well as in the United States, Jews could empathize with blacks who, too, were suffering persecution from whites. This facilitated the building of better relationships and, in turn, led to the founding of the NAACP. As Hasia Diner observed, the benefits of this relationship could be seen “in the Jewish efforts for the NAACP’s drive for financial stability as well as in the association’s legal efforts, publicity campaigns and political programs.”¹⁰ This collaboration between Jews and African Americans strengthened the Civil Rights Movement in the North as well as in the South.

The NAACP had been formed in 1909 as a bi-racial organization whose avowed purpose was “to end racial discrimination and segregation in all public aspects of American life.”¹¹ As a result of its guidance and highly-capable leadership on both the local and the national levels, the NAACP soon became the organizational face of the Civil Rights Movement. African Americans linked with Jews and white liberals to form this organization. Gilbert Jonas noted, “As the organization emerged physically, its members accepted as their primary mission the role of advocacy, initially to publicize the evils of lynching and, thereafter, to expose each manifestation of racial injustice within American society.”¹² The NAACP’s list of concerns included: “freedom to purchase property and to live in the area of one’s choice, to travel without being segregated, to secure meals and lodgings in restaurants and hotels that are open to the general public, and to read books in libraries, sit in public parks, look at pictures in museums, and watch animals in zoos”¹³ Beyond this, the NAACP sought to end African-American disfranchisement throughout southern states and eradicate segregated transportation. “The Call” of the NAACP did not “spell out a long-term plan, [but] it did identify the critically important areas of human endeavor on which the NAACP would focus for the next half-century: voting rights, employment opportunity, equality before the law, desegregation of key civil institutions such as public schools and services, and the same property rights enjoyed by the white majority.”¹⁴ In short, the members of the NAACP sought to create an equal environment for the black minority.

African Americans had always been treated differently. When accused of breaking the law, they were always identified by race in the newspapers, unlike other races which were rarely, if ever, labeled. By the 1910s, the NAACP obtained some key victories that helped mollify references to African Americans in the press. For example, they handled a housing concern in

¹⁰ Hasia R. Diner, *In the Almost Promised Land: American Jews and Blacks 1915–1935* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1977), 124.

¹¹ Langston Hughes, *Fight for Freedom: The Story of the NAACP* (New York: Norton, 1962), 11.

¹² Gilbert Jonas, *Freedom’s Sword: The NAACP and the Struggle Against Racism in America, 1909–1969* (London: Routledge, 2004), 5.

¹³ Hughes, *Fight for Freedom*, 11–14.

¹⁴ Jonas, *Freedom’s Sword*, 11–12.

Kansas and, in 1912, they stopped the dismissal of African-American firemen when white railroad brotherhoods attempted to replace them.¹⁵ These victories were essential because they led to an expansion of branches within the NAACP. According to Langston Hughes, “By the end of 1913 the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People had 24 branches in the United States, and its budget had increased to \$16,000.”¹⁶ This was vital because the NAACP needed to be on a national level to become impactful, but their spotlight also led to heightened racial discrimination from whites. Yet this increased racial discrimination was hardly the only issue the NAACP tackled during its early years, for the organization lacked approval from the prominent Booker T. Washington. They also stood accused by the Communist Party of contributing to the wrongdoings of America. Later, the NAACP confronted “labor unions and employers in a long and frustrating campaign to open the nation’s workplace to Negroes.”¹⁷ Despite the hatred and opposition its members faced, the NAACP tackled the problem of lynching and Jim crow laws. One of their most well-known victories was their success in *Brown v. Board of Education*.

In America, at least, Jews had an easier transition than blacks. As Peter I. Rose observed, “Even the Jewish immigrants who arrived between 1880 and 1920, impoverished refugees from Czarist pogroms and general economic blight, were still better off than the black Americans who had been here for more than two centuries.”¹⁸ In contrast, African Americans were often targeted. “Between 1889 and 1918, over 2,500 blacks were lynched.”¹⁹ “During that period, [just] one Jew was lynched, Leo Frank in Georgia.”²⁰ That disparity emphasized the targets on African Americans’ backs, though Jews also faced discrimination in the job market and in social circles. Apart from this, both ethnic groups were in search of a new opportunity in America, which generated more issues. In fact, Rose stated, “Within another decade the Jews were to be rated as the most successful of all ethnic groups in the United States on a variety of measures, including

¹⁵ Hughes, *Fight for Freedom*, 26.

¹⁶ Hughes, *Fight for Freedom*, 27.

¹⁷ Hughes, *Fight for Freedom*, 6.

¹⁸ Peter I. Rose, “Blacks and Jews: The Strained Alliance,” *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 454 (1981): 55–69 at 56. A rather rosy interpretation of the plights of Jews in the U.S. by Feuerlicht, *The Fate of the Jews*, 189, and other writers was boldly challenged in the Hollywood film, *Gentleman’s Agreement*, starring Gregory Peck, Dorothy McGuire, and John Garfield (who himself was Jewish), and based upon the novel by Laura Z. Hobson.

¹⁹ Robert Weisbord and Arthur Stein, *Bittersweet Encounter: The Afro-American and the American Jew* (New York: Schocken Books, 1972), 5.

²⁰ Weisbord and Stein, *Bittersweet Encounter*, 8.

financial attainment, academic achievement, and professional status.”²¹ Meanwhile, as slaves, blacks had been taught to oppose Jews. According to Clive Webb, “slaves learned that the Jews had rejected the teachings of their Lord and had him killed.”²² There were also slave spirituals created whose lines included, “Virgin Mary had one son / The cruel Jews had him hung.”²³ These sermons and spirituals taught black slaves to become frightened or at least suspicious when encountering Jews, and this was not entirely without justification. Webb asserted, “It must be remembered that Jews are influenced in their attitude toward Negroes by the mores of the dominant group, which is the white American group.”²⁴

In fact, in both the *antebellum* and *postbellum* eras, Southern Jews were only accepted in white circles if they conformed to the norms espoused by Southern white leaders. “Not only were a disproportionate number of Jews slave owners, slave traders, and slave auctioneers but when the line was the line was drawn between the races, they were on the white side.”²⁵ Confrontation increased when the Great Black Migration took place, during which about 6 million African Americans left Southern rural areas. The North, of course, held rapidly growing industries. According to the U.S. census, “the proportion of blacks living in cities increased from 20 percent in 1890 to 27 percent in 1910.”²⁶ The more industries there were, the more opportunities existed for blacks. These opportunities, however, produced competition for housing.

Though housing for blacks became limited, it was common for a Jewish person to be a landlord of these homes or a store owner. This resulted in black and Jews having frequent contact. Such contact was by no means a purely negative issue, as many African Americans quickly became aware, for Jewish store owners were more sympathetic to their plights than most whites. Thus Clive Webb declared, “In stark contrast to the typical white retailer, Jewish merchants willingly extended credit to African Americans, allowed them to sample goods, and addressed them as ‘Mr.’ and ‘Mrs.’”²⁷ In addition to treating African Americans with dignity and respect, Jewish employers also provided longer hours and higher pay for black workers. Civil Rights activist John Lewis

²¹ Rose, “Blacks and Jews: The Strained Alliance,” 56. Also see Alice Kessler-Harris and Virginia Yans-McLaughlin, “European Immigrant Groups,” in *American Ethnic Groups*, ed. Thomas Sowell (Washington, DC: The Urban Institute, 1978), 107–37.

²² Webb, *Fight against Fear*, 26.

²³ Webb, *Fight against Fear*, 26.

²⁴ Webb, *Fight against Fear*, 30.

²⁵ Feuerlicht, *The Fate of the Jews*, 187.

²⁶ Zhang, *The Origins of African American Civil Rights Movement, 1865–1956*, 18.

²⁷ Webb, *Fight against Fear*, 29.

claimed he developed empathy for Jews as a black man in Troy, Georgia, because he could “see that their struggle was very similar to ours.”²⁸

At the same time, by 1920, this frequent contact contributed to rising anti-Semitism among some blacks who lacked employment, land, capital, and entrepreneurship. Thus as customers they believed that the Jewish store owners were over-pricing their rents. Also, few Jewish landlords implemented plans to repair the homes which blacks were renting. Jews seemed only concerned about the rent money which caused many blacks to despise them. According to James Baldwin, “The landlord treated us this way only because we were colored, and he knew that we could not move out.”²⁹ Those actions frustrated blacks, who were forced to live under poor conditions while Jews were able to collect their money and go home to a clean environment. African Americans naïvely had assumed that Jews would automatically display empathy towards them.

Other issues soon clouded the picture further. Initially, for example, Jews remained neutral during the dispute about integration versus desegregation, in part because of the need to secure their lives against violence by white supremacists. As many Jews created suspicion by marching with blacks during the Civil Rights campaign, however, hostile Evangelical fundamentalists came to see them as the cornerstone of the integration movement. Thus the desegregation upheaval reignited and inflamed prejudice against Jews. In the South, politics posed more of a threat than in other areas. Again, according to Clive Webb, “It is only in this context of extreme danger that the consequent actions or inaction of Southern Jews can be understood. Their standard of living, their social status, and their influence in civic affairs were all entirely reliant upon their relationship with a white Gentile majority sworn to the preservation of racial segregation.”³⁰ In July 1954, Robert Patterson arranged a White Citizens’ Council in Indianola, Mississippi. As Citizens’ Councils were organized in most major cities across the South, their membership quickly expanded. Jews were threatened if they refused to join the Councils. For example, “In Montgomery, Alabama, for instance, the Council began a door-to-door membership drive threatening to publish the names of all those who refused to join.”³¹

At the same time, white leaders chose not to infuse the Councils with anti-Semitic extremism because of its potential effect upon segregation. For example, ultra-segregationist Asa Carter had been dismissed for requesting that Jews be banned and for attracting anti-Semitic spokesmen. Carter created the North Alabama Citizens’ Council, which denied membership to individuals who did not believe in Christ and eventually focused on maintaining segregation. Likewise, in Louisiana the Greater New Orleans Council was overthrown by the South Louisiana

²⁸ Webb, *Fight against Fear*, 28.

²⁹ James Baldwin, “Negroes Are Anti-Semitic Because They’re Anti-White,” in *Black Anti-Semitism and Jewish Racism* by Nat Hentoff et al. (New York: Richard W. Baron, 1969), 3–14 at 3.

³⁰ Webb, *Fight against Fear*, 46.

³¹ Webb, *Fight against Fear*, 47.

Citizens' Council. Leander Perez, who was the organization's president, held Jews responsible for the crisis. Perez observed, "African Americans who were otherwise content to accept the status quo were being used as the unwitting pawns in a Zionist conspiracy to stir up hatred between the races and thereby destroy our white Christian civilization."³²

In the South, Council spokesmen linked Jews to integration and also to Communists, another group targeted by Southern whites. F. J. Shriver of the Citizens' Council in Elore, South Carolina, asserted that integration was "part of an international Communist plot made and being executed by the Jews."³³ Yet Jews were accused of far worse wrongdoings in the community. "Anti-Semites furiously peddled the idea that civil rights organizations like the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) were just a front for Jews conspiring to achieve world domination."³⁴ Thus Jews in the NAACP were linked to a supposed global Communist conspiracy. By the 1950s, a number of groups professing anti-Semitism had been established. The Ku Klux Klan, for example, also targeted Jewish businesses. In 1944, white supremacist Jesse B. Stoner attempted to get Congress to recognize "that the Jews are the children of the devil, and that, consequently, they constitute a grave menace to the United States of America."³⁵ Stoner, founder of the National States' Rights Party (NSRP) and its party chairman for many years, was linked with members of the NSRP to the 1958 bombings of Birmingham's African-American Bethel Baptist Church and the Hebrew Benevolent Temple in Atlanta.

The National State's Rights Party was challenged by the press and political leaders of the Jewish Community Council. In response, Rear Adm. John G. Crommelin went on the offensive. After the Second World War, Crommelin ran for office as a Democrat between 1950 and 1962; he seemed to be the perfect candidate for racist white men. Crommelin infamously stated, "The Negro is the malarial germ, but the Jew is the mosquito."³⁶ Crommelin here was alluding to the fact that African Americans would have been fine under segregation, but Jews got in the way. He was also outspoken about informing individuals that a Communist-Jewish conspiracy had been set in place for the Jews to control the world. His outspoken ideas led him to endorsements. Crommelin became connected with anti-Semitic extremists as the NSRP's Vice President.

These White Citizens' Councils included the most influential men in the area, such as mayors, chiefs of police, and local business leaders.³⁷ Despite the anti-Semitism of these Councils, most Southern Jews paid the membership fee because they believed it was best for their well-being and hopefully would keep these individuals and their subordinates from retaliating against them.

³² Quoted by Webb in *Fight against Fear*, 49.

³³ Webb, *Fight against Fear*, 50.

³⁴ Webb, *Fight against Fear*, 51.

³⁵ Webb, *Fight against Fear*, 53.

³⁶ Cited by Webb, *Fight against Fear*, 54.

³⁷ Webb, *Fight against Fear*, 47.

For example, David Halberstam noted that, before the arrival of the Councils, “a man who spoke up against Jim Crow merely ran the risk of being known as a radical; today he faces an organized network of groups consciously working to remove dissenters—his job and his family’s happiness may be at stake.”³⁸ This demonstrates how much power the Councils had.

Despite their personal sympathies, Southern Jews had to be very careful about their actions. If Jews refused to participate in racist political activities, Council members became suspicious, yet whenever they did so, as Clive Webb observed, “in their very support of segregation, Jews were upholding the same caste system that led to their own marginalization.”³⁹ Racist politicians such as U.S. Senator (Georgia) Herman Talmadge made it extremely difficult for minorities to be shielded. As the southern Jewish journalist Harry Golden reported, “there is no hiding place down here. No more. Each thing is a piece of the whole thing; the struggle for democracy; for human freedom; for the dignity of the human spirit.”⁴⁰ Clearly no minority was safe. Golden despised racial bigots and instead advocated equal treatment of all races, yet argued that if God wanted the races to blend, he would have created us all the same race.

Jews’ frame of mind on the race question throughout the 20th century was defined by their status and security among the whites. As Roberta Strauss Feuerlicht observed, “Like other white ethnics, Jews choose to be blind to the black experience, but Jews are the only whites who compete with blacks for the stature of suffering.”⁴¹ Often, Jews strove to fly under the social radar. Yet many Jews remained quiet during the Civil Rights Movement due to their fear of anti-Semitic persecution. Their absence during the Civil Rights era of the 1950s–1960s, in turn, contributed to blacks’ negative opinions of Jews. “A Jew can be a man on the street and a Jew at home, but a black is black wherever he goes.”⁴² Even Southern Jews did not always help blacks with their struggles. Martin Luther King, Jr., was upset by this because he believed Southern Jews were supposed to be African American’s most powerful associates. Nonetheless, Southern Jews as a whole grew more supportive towards the end of racial segregation due to their mutual persecutions. At the same time, relatively few Northern Jews were active in the Civil Rights demonstrations of the 1960s. Those Jews who did participate, however, experienced arrest, abuse, violence, and even death. This did not go unnoticed, for as King admitted, “It would be impossible to record the contribution that the Jewish people have made toward the Negro’s struggle for freedom.”⁴³ Thus the efforts of Southern and Northern Jews who helped blacks during the Civil Rights Era of the 1950s–1960s challenged those Northern Jews who opted not to get involved. Meanwhile, the

³⁸ Webb, *Fight against Fear*, 47.

³⁹ Webb, *Fight against Fear*, 45.

⁴⁰ Webb, *Fight against Fear*, 45.

⁴¹ Feuerlicht, *The Fate of the Jews*, 186.

⁴² Feuerlicht, *The Fate of the Jews*, 186.

⁴³ Webb, *Fight against Fear*, 24.

longstanding problem of Jewish ownership of urban slums in Northern cities, coupled with what was perceived by many blacks as the apathy of Northern Jews towards the plight of African Americans, clouded the views of blacks toward Jews and even led some of them to adopt anti-Semitism. Martin Luther King, Jr., summed up the complexity of the situation:

The limited degree of Negro anti-Semitism is substantially a Northern ghetto phenomenon; it virtually does not exist in the South. The urban Negro has a special and unique relationship to Jews. He meets them in two dissimilar roles. On the one hand, he is associated with Jews as some of his most committed and generous partners in the civil rights struggle. On the other hand, he meets them daily as some of his most direct exploiters in the ghetto as slum landlords and gouging shopkeepers. Jews have identified with Negroes voluntarily in the freedom movement, motivated by their religious and cultural commitment to justice. The other Jews who are engaged in commerce in the ghettos are remnants of older communities.⁴⁴

The Black Social Gospel Movement

The Black Social Gospel Movement served as another key component in the early formation of the Civil Rights Movement. The Black Social Gospel was a religious expression of faith that emphasized that Christ advocated on behalf of enslaved individuals. According to Gary Dorrien, “It emerged from the ravages of the transatlantic slave trade, the birth of African American Christianity, and the legacy of the abolitionist tradition, addressing the crisis of a new era.”⁴⁵ Many individuals involved in the Black Social Gospel Movement believed that using the Spirit of God would lead them to equality. The Black Social Gospel also used the combination of Black Nationalism, abolitionism, and Marxism in the early 20th century in support of African-American civil rights. The movement’s goal was to use religion to conquer social justice and be more aware of modern politics. Thus Gary Dorrien has defined “Black Social Gospel” as combining “an emphasis on black dignity and personhood with protest activism for racial justice, a comprehensive social justice agenda, an insistence that authentic Christian faith is incompatible with racial prejudice, an emphasis on the social ethical teaching of Jesus, and an acceptance of modern scholarship and social consciousness.”⁴⁶ The Black Social Gospel not only proclaimed a belief in social justice that later became a theme adopted by the Civil Rights Movement, but also reacted to the claims of the Progressive Era by attacking the ideas of Social Darwinism, thereby challenging racial bigotry and oppression.

⁴⁴ Clayborne Carson, ed., *The Autobiography of Martin Luther King, Jr.* (New York: IPM and Grand Central Publishing, 1998), 310.

⁴⁵ Gary Dorrien, “Achieving the Black Social Gospel,” in *Breaking White Supremacy: Martin Luther King Jr. and the Black Social Gospel* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2018), 1–23 at 2.

⁴⁶ Dorrien, “Achieving the Black Social Gospel,” 3.

The Black Social Gospel Movement differed from the White Social Gospel Movement in that the black movement incorporated the concepts of social structure and social justice into African Americans' fight for freedom even as its promoters applied Christian ethics to everyday social problems and issues related to civil rights. Again according to Gary Dorrien, "The black social gospel grew out of the abolitionist tradition, but it was a response to the challenges of a new era: the abandonment of Reconstruction, the evisceration of Constitutional rights, an upsurge of racial lynching and Jim Crow abuse, struggles for mere survival in every part of the nation, and the excruciating question of what a new abolition would require."⁴⁷ Thus the Black Social Gospel Movement was closely aligned with the Civil Rights Movement.⁴⁸ The Black Social Gospel, in sum, "combined an emphasis on black dignity and personhood with protest activism for racial justice, a comprehensive social justice agenda, an insistence that authentic Christian faith is incompatible with racial prejudice, an emphasis on the social ethical teachings of Jesus, and an acceptance of modern scholarship and social consciousness."⁴⁹ Put another way, these black Christian leaders emphasized a gospel message that put the ethical teachings of Jesus into practice to eliminate racial injustice while at the same time acknowledging the progressive scholarship and social awareness found among their white counterparts in the Social Gospel Movement such as Walter Rauschenbusch, who in *Christianity and the Social Crisis* (1907) had written, "Whoever uncouples the religious and the social life has not understood Jesus. Whoever sets any bounds for the reconstructive power of the religious life over the social relations and institutions of men, to that extent denies the faith of the Master."⁵⁰ Key figures in the Black Social Gospel Movement such as A.M.E. Bishops Reverdy C. Ransom and Richard R. Wright, Jr., along with Baptists Clayton Powell, Sr., and Nannie Burroughs, used persuasive speaking as well as their writing to achieve their goals and paved the way for protest figures who followed such as W. E. B. Dubois.

The Black Social Gospel took on tasks such as finding solutions for African Americans' racial problems. Ida B. Wells was another key figure within the Black Social Gospel organization that helped African Americans. After an increase of mob killings, Wells stepped up and spoke at as many events as she could. In 1893, she moved to Chicago to begin writing for the *Chicago Conservator*, the city's oldest African American newspaper."⁵¹ Here she studied and opposed

⁴⁷ Gary Dorrien, "Breaking White Supremacy: The Black Social Gospel as New Abolitionism," *American Journal of Theology & Philosophy*, vol. 37, no. 3 (2016): 197–216 at 199.

⁴⁸ Bill Fletcher and Fernando Gapasin, *Solidarity Divided: The Crisis in Organized Labor and a New Path Toward Social Justice* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008), 9.

⁴⁹ Dorrien, "Breaking White Supremacy," 199.

⁵⁰ Walter Rauschenbusch, *Christianity and the Social Crisis* (New York: Macmillan, 1907), 48–49.

⁵¹ Dorrien, "Achieving the Black Social Gospel," 105.

lynching which, she concluded, had occurred in three distinct phases. The first phase involved Virginia judge Charles Lynch, who beyond the authority of the law, had initiated the lynching of citizens during the Revolutionary War. The second phase was lynching used to maintain slavery in the *antebellum* South. The third phase came after the Civil War as lynching became more widespread as a racial terror tactic. Wells ensured that her supporters questioned the racial lynching that was occurring in their towns. According to Ralph E. Luker, “In 1900, Ida B. Wells-Barnett returned to her crusade as chairman of the Afro-American Council’s Anti-Lynching Bureau. ‘Our country’s national crime is lynching,’ she said.”⁵² Thus at grave risk to herself, she rejected and confronted the unwritten white law justifying the lynching of blacks.

In addition, Black Social Gospel leaders employed a combination of abolitionism, Black Nationalism, and Marxism in the early 20th century as they contributed in their own way to the formation of the Civil Rights Movement. This group opposed Booker T. Washington’s policy of black appeasement of whites. According to Paul Harvey, another strand, “identified with the founding of the NAACP and with Du Bois himself, carried on the abolitionist and egalitarian traditions of the 19th century.”⁵³ They supported abolitionism’s radical policies of racial equality and socio-economic justice.⁵⁴ This abolition ideology centered around Jesus’s embracing of the poor and meek, as well as upon Christ’s crucifixion on the cross and argued that white society could never take away blacks’ human dignity nor their belief in Jesus and assurance of salvation.

Black Nationalism and Marxism, too, formed key components of the Black Social Gospel. One strand of Black Nationalism emphasized emigration to Africa.⁵⁵ African Americans believed all people of African descent shared something as a common heritage and should be identified biologically. Many believed that they should create their own nation in Liberia. Marxism explained the oppression of a black proletariat at the hands of a white capitalist society. Again, according to Harvey, critical here was “a much smaller group [of Black Social Gospelers] actively pursuing Marxism and Socialism, seeing black American struggles as a subset of a broader worldwide movement of oppressed working people.”⁵⁶ In the end, Black Social Gospel leaders used moral suasion in their sermons, speeches, and writings to slow the rise of, and eventually abolish, Jim Crow laws by emphasizing Christian churches or political parties that stressed the Holy Spirit.

⁵² Ralph E. Luker, *The Social Gospel in Black and White American Racial Reform, 1885–1912* (Chapel Hill: University Of North Carolina Press, 1991), 195.

⁵³ Paul Harvey, “The Black Social Gospel,” *The Christian Century*, February 3, 2016, <https://www.christiancentury.org/reviews/2016-01/black-social-gospel> (accessed March 31, 2020).

⁵⁴ Dorrien, “Achieving the Black Social Gospel,” 6.

⁵⁵ Dorrien, “Achieving the Black Social Gospel,” 5.

⁵⁶ Harvey, “The Black Social Gospel.”

The Communist Party and the Civil Rights Movement

The Communist Party was connected to the early formation of the Civil Rights Movement through its fight for the liberty of blacks, non-citizens, workers, unions, and foreign immigrants. The Communist Party first started off with two separate parties. According to Theodore Draper, “The Communist Party, the larger of the two, was rooted in small foreign-language federations of mostly Eastern-European working-class immigrants who predominated in the American East. The Communist Labor Party was stronger in the West and had comparatively more American-born members.”⁵⁷ These two parties arose and spread in the aftermath of World War I. During this period the United States was challenged by stagnation, inflation, and disease. There were also cultural problems occurring due to the black migration. As a result, Jennifer Ruthanne Uhlmann observed, “In April 1919, for example, the California legislature passed one of the most comprehensive criminal syndicalism laws, used on several occasions against Communists.”⁵⁸

Thus critical laws were put in place to penalize Communists. This included the Espionage Act, which prohibited individuals from spying or assaulting the government. Many American cities, too, adopted laws that placed limits upon the Communist Party. In the U.S., it was common for Communists to be targeted for maltreatment. Most maltreatment occurred to prevent Communists from encouraging cultural fairness in the South and spreading the idea of socialism. However, the efforts of Communists in the legal system helped them defend themselves politically. Thus, according to Uhlmann, “In the early 1920s, then, in response to government repression, Communists made it a priority of their legal activism to fight for their First Amendment Freedoms.”⁵⁹ Indeed, Communist Party members fought for the equality of their party leaders, activists, and non-citizens in order to keep their hopes alive as a legal political organization. Initially, they lost multiple court cases because many judges viewed Communism as a serious political threat. Even as the party faced defeat in the court system, however, the new principle of incorporation enabled a significant liberalization of the interpretation of the law in favor of individual rights at the expense of state rights.⁶⁰ This was a vital win for Communists because it allowed them to defend themselves and their party’s interests while exercising freedom of speech.

By the mid-1920s, Communists had successfully survived the initial Red Scare which allowed them to mobilize as an organization. Next, party members began to involve themselves in labor and agricultural politics. The International Labor Defense (ILD) was a key factor to the Communist Party’s contribution to politics. This defensive organization hired the most

⁵⁷ Theodore Draper, *The Roots of American Communism* (New York: Viking Press, 1957), 188.

⁵⁸ Jennifer Ruthanne Uhlmann, “The Communist Civil Rights Movement: Legal Activism in the United States, 1919–1946,” (Ph.D. thesis, UCLA, 2007), 19.

⁵⁹ Uhlmann, “The Communist Civil Rights Movement,” 92.

⁶⁰ Uhlmann, “The Communist Civil Rights Movement,” 93.

accomplished attorneys. According to Uhlmann, “Like all ‘front’ organizations, that is, organizations secretly controlled by the party but with diverse memberships, the ILD followed to main principles of command and control.”⁶¹ Communists infiltrated important positions to fill the party. Above all, the ILD labored to help Communist who had been incriminated.

In the U.S., the Communist Party’s connection with the early formation of the Civil Rights Movement came through its Marxist rejection of the oppression of the African-American proletariat, as well as by attempts to end racism and the creation of labor unions for minorities. After World War I, Socialist Party membership in the U.S. fell off due to disputes between party blocs about the “Russian Revolution of October, 1917, and the question of supporting or opposing the newly established dictatorship of the Party.”⁶² This allowed the surviving members of the Socialist party to form the new Communist Party, which set out to improve upon the failures of the Socialist Party. For example, they emphasized the African Americans’ problems, instead of ignoring them. Blacks’ keen political and social awareness attracted members of the Communist Party. According to Wilson Record, the Communist Party planned to “carry on agitation among Negro workers to unite them with all class-conscious workers.”⁶³ Thus the Communist Party believed the African Americans’ role in the Party to be critical.

Much like Martin Luther King, Jr., Communist Party leaders attempted to link lower-class African-American workers with poor white workers because they saw no fundamental difference between the two groups: both were members of an oppressed American proletariat.⁶⁴ Soon the Communist Party began to expand nationally by building a revolutionary black labor organization. In other words, additional programs and organizational branches would support the formation of the Communist Party. This forced regional committees to incorporate African-American workers into organized labor. This technique languished because the Communist Party mainly focused on urban blacks in the North due to the African Americans’ in the South lack of established agencies and resources.⁶⁵ Communists also discounted religion and the black churches in the South.

During the first half of the 20th century, the Communist Party achieved considerable success in the United States and also spread to other countries. Communists operated with

⁶¹ Uhlmann, “The Communist Civil Rights Movement,” 98.

⁶² Wilson Record, *The Negro and the Communist Party* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1951), 17.

⁶³ Communist Party Platform, *American Labor Year Book*, vol. 5 (1920): 149.

⁶⁴ Record, *The Negro and the Communist Party*, 31; Carson, ed., *The Autobiography of Martin Luther King, Jr.*, 10–11, where King observed that, while working at a factory during his late teens, he first saw the “inseparable twin of racial injustice . . . and economic injustice. . . . Here I saw economic injustice firsthand, and realized that the poor white man was exploited just as much as the Negro.”

⁶⁵ Record, *The Negro and the Communist Party*, 37.

progressive strategies in support of revisionist aims to exploit the distance between individual liberty and the progressive fight against Socialism. In the 1930s, Communists began to focus on labor unions and racial equality for citizens. According to Uhlmann, “To a Communist, Civil Rights included workers’ right to unionize, and strike, foreign immigrants’ rights to political conscience, radicals’ rights to First Amendment freedoms, African-American rights to full, integrated and equal political and civic participation, and finally, inalienable human rights.”⁶⁶ In short, the Civil Rights Movement did not focus solely on Southern blacks. Instead, all individuals were impacted. Influenced by the Great Depression and the New Deal, Communists believed they would acquire peace by aiming to enhance working individuals’ conditions worldwide.

The Communist Civil Rights Movement in the U.S. began in 1933 and lasted until 1941. According to Robbie Lieberman, “The Communist Movement, similar to numerous sects that preceded and succeeded it, satisfied real needs. Especially for young people, it provided certainty and community.”⁶⁷ During this period, Communists were able to launch a National Defense Committee and Labor Defense Council. The ILD’s legal activity assisted with many aspects of this movement and provided the movement with mass organizations that led to success. For example, the organization helped protesters who were accused of small crimes during strikes.⁶⁸ Attitudes toward Communists were shifting as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and Socialists assisted with Communist efforts, which aided with the unity of their organizations. According to Uhlmann, “They sought a federation of defense organizations that would coordinate a wide range of legal work for working-class activists, blacks, the foreign-born and victims of European fascism.”⁶⁹ However, the organization also had to maintain financial stability in order to assist with discrediting false accusations. They had to prove they supported unity, so many of the ILD organization lawyers and activists networked with liberal lawyers to unite the movement. As the national organizational secretary, Frank Spector wanted to implement a plan that involved the ILD, ACLU, League for Industrial Democracy, NAACP, National Committee for the Defense of Political Prisoners, and other groups to form a primary defense organization that would also focus on fighting for labor rights. The ILD in particular was encouraged to participate in black and white liberal organizations to help black Civil Rights.

One major event that connected the Communist Party with the Civil Rights Movement was the Scottsboro case. “In March 1931, two white prostitutes were allegedly raped by nine blacks on

⁶⁶ Uhlmann, “The Communist Civil Rights Movement,” 6.

⁶⁷ Robbie Lieberman, *“My Song is My Weapon”: People Songs, American Communism, and the Politics of Culture, 1930–1950* (Urbana and Chicago, University of Illinois Press, 1989), 16.

⁶⁸ Uhlmann, “The Communist Civil Rights Movement,” 360.

⁶⁹ Uhlmann, “The Communist Civil Rights Movement,” 361. Also see Jones, Secretariat of the Executive Committee of the IRA, “Draft letter to the ILD-USA on the Reorganization of the Work,” December 31, 1935, ILD file (microfilm) Meiklejohn Civil Liberties Library.

a freight train near Scottsboro, Alabama.”⁷⁰ This case was vital because it was a clear incident of racism and an example of a corrupt justice system. On April 2nd, it was announced that Alabama bosses had organized a “trial” that would see the nine African Americans lynched. This forced the Communist Party to publicize its anti-lynching policy. According to Hugh, “the ILD telegraphed Judge Hawkins and other Alabama officials, denouncing the trials and demanding the immediate release of the African-American boys.”⁷¹ This demonstrates the Communist Party’s willingness to take decisive action in support of the nine boys to prevent them from getting lynched. After Communists were turned down by attorneys Stephen Rodd and Clarence Darrow, they were able to retain attorney George W. Chamlee of Chattanooga, Tennessee. Also, they promoted a mass social protest to enable individuals to rally behind the Scottsboro boys. Thus an estimated 20,000 individuals protested in New York, demanding that the court release the boys. African-American groups participated by speaking on the behalf of the Scottsboro boys. According to Hugh, “these speakers informed them that the boys were innocent, the girls were prostitutes, the courts were biased, and the defense had been inadequate.”⁷² This was important because black organizations such as the NAACP, the National Urban League, and the Universal Negro Improvement Association all supported the Communist front. This led these groups to form an alliance.

The Labor Movement and the Civil Rights Movement

The Labor Movement, a defensive response to capitalism, was connected to the early formation of the Civil Rights Movement through its intersection with the NAACP.⁷³ This was important because the Labor Movement made it seem more reasonable for workers to achieve common ground with their employers, which in turn minimized conflict between employers and workers. However, there was a color line when organizing the Labor Movement. Prior to the 1930s immigrants, women and people of color were excluded from the labor unions. This exclusion forced blacks to protest. As a result, after the establishment of the NAACP in 1909, blacks decided to create their own union. The NAACP offered a platform for blacks to focus on providing a better quality life to working people by improving their conditions, offering better wages, and providing better hours. The organization also focused on giving blacks lower-class white workers facing discrimination greater opportunities in the workforce. Thus during the early 1900s, as the North

⁷⁰ Hugh T. Murray, “The NAACP versus the Communist Party,” *Phylon*, vol. 28, no. 3 (1967): 276–87 at 276.

⁷¹ Murray, “The NAACP versus the Communist Party,” 277.

⁷² Murray, “The NAACP versus the Communist Party,” 278. For a thorough discussion of both the campaign to free the Scottsboro Boys and the Communist party’s support of the demands of blacks in Harlem for greater rights and opportunities, see Mark Naison, *Communists in Harlem during the Depression* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1983), 57–94.

⁷³ Fletcher and Gapasin, *Solidarity Divided*, 9.

experienced tremendous industrial growth, black workers had an increased opportunity to apply for a job. Due to the new opportunities for employment, Labor Unions shifted their efforts toward bringing racial equality within the workforce, also a central aim of the Civil Rights Movement.

First, one main reason why Labor Unions supported black workers was because of the increase in cost of living during the First World War. They wanted blacks to have equal access to employment. According to Philip S. Foner, the “main cause of labor unrest was the continued rise in the cost of living, which had advanced inexorably throughout the war period.”⁷⁴ As a result, there was an increased number of strikers, especially in the year 1919 when 3,630 strikes were called involving 4,160,000 workers, 2,933,000 more than had been the case in 1917.⁷⁵ The workers were only able to afford the increased housing prices during the war by working overtime or earning bonus pay. What’s more, many factories manufacturing war materiel were shut down with the end of the war or at least ceased offering overtime. According to Foner, “On November 12th, within twenty-four hours of the Armistice, a directive issued jointly by the chairman of the Shipping Board and the secretaries of the Navy and War called for the immediate cessation of Sunday and overtime work under all government-supervised contracts.”⁷⁶ The shutdown was critical because it triggered a recession that seriously affected the industrial workers. Their reduced salaries at a time of inflation made it difficult for workers to survive the increased cost of living and triggered the strikes.

The Labor Union focused on the rising costs of living and the resulting need for increased income to maintain a basic standard of living. With the end of the war and inflation during the year 1919, it was no longer realistic for a worker to work an eight-hour shift, and yet, shifts of more than eight hours only were available at essential jobs. According to Florence Peterson, “demands for higher wages, shorter hours, and union recognition caused 80 percent of all the strikes.”⁷⁷ Both the American economy and its labor force were resilient, but signs of dissatisfaction were beginning to appear.

During the mid-1930s to the late 1940s, industrial unions helped modify black and white relations, civil rights, and fairness for African Americans. According to Larry Isaac and Lars Christiansen, “Major civil rights social movement organizations, including the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), the National Urban League (NUL), and the Congress for Racial Equality (CORE), were influenced by, and in turn, influenced,

⁷⁴ Philip S. Foner, *History of the Labor Movement in the United States*, vol.8: *Postwar Struggles, 1918–1920* (New York: International Publishers, 1987), 1.

⁷⁵ Florence Peterson, *Strikes in the U.S., 1880–1936*, U.S. Department of Labor, Bulletin No. 61 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Labor, 1938), 21 and 39, Table 18.

⁷⁶ Foner, *Postwar Struggles, 1918–1920*, 2.

⁷⁷ Peterson, *Strikes in the U.S., 1880–1936*, 391.

the industrial union movement.”⁷⁸ For example, there was an alliance between the CORE organization and unionists. CORE leaders were heavily involved in the industrial unions, and, as members of the unions, they attended CORE events. Also, an institution known as the Highlander School founded at Monteagle, Tennessee, was valuable because of its ability to connect the industrial unionists and Civil Rights Movement. The school focused on educating individuals about the tactics of labor and Civil Rights activists. These included, for example, “many of the tactics (sit-downs to sit-ins, boycotts, marches), and even some songs that were to play key inspirational roles in the early Southern civil rights movement.”⁷⁹ Through them members from the Labor Unions and Civil Rights Movement formed an alliance.

Thus the 1930s and 1940s were vital for African Americans in the Labor Movement. Nonetheless, according to John Oliver Killens, “from the American Knights of Labor and the American Federation of Labor to the Congress of Industrial Organizations, black men have been second, third and fourth-class citizens in the labor movement.”⁸⁰ However, when the Congress of Industrial Labor increased in power, it changed the perspective of racists. For example, again according to Killens, “Everywhere they shouted the slogans: ‘Organize the unorganized!’ ‘Black and white, unite and fight!’”⁸¹ The acceptance of black workers impacted the formation of black and white organizations, fueling blacks’ and whites’ hopes for equality in the workplace.

The Peace Movement and the Civil Rights Movement

The Peace Movement, too, was closely connected to the early formation of the Civil Rights Movement. A social movement designed to limit oppression and the number of wars in America by establishing peace, the Peace Movement can be defined as “groups that opposed Cold War policies: the arms race, military intervention in the name of anticommunism, the development of the hydrogen bomb and the large increase in the military budget, nuclear testing, and the growth of a national-security apparatus.”⁸² The Peace Movement emphasized non-violence, which meant not only antiwar, but also antiracism and anti-segregation. Many African American activists believed that there was no disconnect between peace and freedom; leaders such as Paul Robeson

⁷⁸ Larry Isaac and Lars Christiansen. “How the Civil Rights Movement Revitalized Labor Militancy,” *American Sociological Review*, vol. 67, no. 5 (2002): 722–46 at 724.

⁷⁹ Peter Levy, “The New Left and Labor: The Early Years (1960–1963),” *Labor History* 31 (1990): 294–321 at 296; Aldon Morris, *The Origins of the Civil Rights Movement: Black Communities Organizing for Change*. (New York: Free Press, 1984), 41–57.

⁸⁰ John Oliver Killens, “Black Labor and the Black Liberation Movement,” *The Black Scholar*, vol. 2, no. 2 (1970): 33–39 at 34.

⁸¹ Killens, “Black Labor and the Black Liberation Movement,” 35.

⁸² Robbie Lieberman, *The Strangest Dream: Communism, Anticommunism, and the U.S. Peace Movement, 1945–1963* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2000), 14.

and W. E. B. DuBois linked this movement of peace to freedom from oppression in the United States. Both individuals also wanted “peaceful coexistence” with the Soviet Union and opposed the U.S. Cold War policies.⁸³ As a result, both men came under attack in the press as “Communists” and suffered the revocation of their passports during the early 1950s. For several years Robeson and DuBois could not travel outside of the country, and even later, after his passport had been restored, the U.S. State Department refused to renew DuBois’s passport while he was residing abroad in Ghana so that he could no longer return to the U.S.

Another important aspect of the Peace Movement that connected it to the early formation of the Civil Rights Movement was its promotion of non-violent protests. Non-violence was the key to the Civil Rights Movement.⁸⁴ According to Samuel Eliot Morison, the Peace Movement started because it “resulted from a century of European wars culminating in the Continental struggles of the Napoleonic era and extending to the New World in the war of 1812.”⁸⁵ Between 1905 and 1917 the Peace Movement was reconstructed through a change in leadership and as the number of individuals who formerly had participated as a trustee, committee, and officer declined.⁸⁶ According to C. Roland Marchand, many peace organizations and churches “were driven by a variety of motives including, for most of them, the natural desire to exercise influence and control over events and the ultimate vision of a world untorn by violence and unscarred by war.”⁸⁷ This was vital because it connected to themes of the Civil Rights Movement.

During the 20th century, the Peace Movement became more practical. Again according to Marchand, “the peace movement became part of their efforts to prevent their ideas and programs from being eclipsed by war, and thus to gain for their political conceptions or social programs, an international ‘place in the sun.’”⁸⁸ World War I strengthened the Peace Movement through the impact of negative perspectives on the war in the media upon American citizens. According to Harry Emerson Fosdick, “In February 1937, when Americans were asked, ‘If another war like the World War develops in Europe, should America take part again?’ 95 percent answered ‘no.’”⁸⁹

⁸³ Lang and Lieberman, *Anticommunism and the African American Freedom Movement*, 21.

⁸⁴ Charles F. Howlett, *History of The American Peace Movement, 1890–2000: The Emergence of a New Scholarly Discipline* (Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press, 2005), 1.

⁸⁵ Samuel Eliot Morison, “Dissent of the War of 1812,” in Samuel Eliot Morison, et al., *Dissent in Three American Wars* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1970), 2–20 at 2.

⁸⁶ C. Roland Marchand, *The American Peace Movement and Social Reform, 1889–1918*, (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1972), 384.

⁸⁷ Marchand, *The American Peace Movement and Social Reform, 1889–1918*, 388.

⁸⁸ Marchand, *The American Peace Movement and Social Reform, 1889–1918*, 390.

⁸⁹ Harry Emerson Fosdick, *The Living of These Days: An Autobiography* (New York: Harper, 1956), 293; *New York Times*, November 18, 1931; Hadley Cantril, ed., *Public Opinion, 1935–1946*

Young men were refusing to join the military. The Peace Movement promoted absolute pacifism. Peace activists rejected limitations on liberty, the praise of violent acts, and anti-Semitic acts. According to Howlett, “The advocates of the ‘modern’ movement believed ‘that, for peace to advance in the world, reform must advance at home through the non-violent extension of justice under order . . . [I]t literally thrived on the success of other reform endeavors, like racial justice and women rights, that aimed to grant each person his or her due.”⁹⁰

According to Howlett, “the most vigorous and effective of the groups in the peace movement’s militant wing was the National Council for the Prevention of War (N.C.P.W.), founded in 1921 by the Quaker pacifist Frederick J. Libby.”⁹¹ This organization helped unite other pacifist groups. For example, it enticed farmers and labor workers to adopt ideals of peace. These members opposed fascism and the belief that war was the answer to issues. Rather than focusing upon a specific group or religion, the movement rejected war as a solution to international disputes.

Moreover, Peace Churches exerted an impact upon the Civil Rights Movement by advocating Christian Pacifism. These churches were designed to heal the damages of war. Those who participated believed that war was unethical because Christ taught peace. Thus the first major peace groups were Christian collaboratives. For example, the New York Peace Society, the Massachusetts Peace Society, and the American Peace Society all were formed. Collectively, these communities helped the Peace Movement expand.

Notably, many anti-Communists believed that the Peace Movement arose simultaneously with the rise of the Soviet Union. Robbie Lieberman stated, “Any other nations of peace were treated as suspect for aiding and abetting the expansion of our ultimate enemy, the Soviet Union.”⁹² Successful peace organizations that developed during World War I were questioned about Communism during the Cold War. By the late 1940s, during the McCarthy Era, the Peace Movement was associated with dangerous Communist ideals. Many believed that if an individual did not embrace “Americanism,” then that individual promoted Communism.

However, Communists believed that peace issues were intricately linked with political issues. Lieberman importantly noted, “For those born in the Communist movement, the issues were all linked: labor, peace, and civil rights.”⁹³ This highlights how willing Communists were to help labor unions and to protect individuals’ rights. Peace was a bigger problem than other issues due to its affiliation with foreign policy. They opposed the Cold War foreign policies because they

(New York: Harper, 1956), 986; Francis Sill Wickware, “What We Think about Foreign Affairs,” *Harper’s*, 179 (September 1939): 397–406 at 404.

⁹⁰ Charles DeBenedetti, ed., *Peace Heroes in Twentieth Century America* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986) 5–6.

⁹¹ Howlett, *History of the American Peace Movement, 1890–2000*, 123.

⁹² Lieberman, *The Strangest Dream*, xiii.

⁹³ Lieberman, *The Strangest Dream*, 5.

were worried about the long-term consequences involving the military budget and civil rights as well as the threat of nuclear war. In 1948, the presidential campaign set off a conflict against the Cold War argument that Western freedom depended on containing Communism. Against this view, Henry Wallace and the Progressive Party insisted that peaceful coexistence was both necessary and possible. Wallace and his supporters, including Paul Robeson, were denounced as being Communist sympathizers. Shortly after the Second World War, liberals, pacifists, and Communists were connected because they shared a common idea that peace would be established through collaboration between the U.S and the Soviet Union. Communists drew concerns about the atomic bomb and fascism because they believed the pair could lead to another war.⁹⁴ The reaction against pacifism was hardly new. According to Lieberman, “Many [Quaker] Friends were bound in chains for refusing to fight in the French and Indian War, and they suffered equally harsh penalties for refusing to take sides in the American Revolution and the Civil War.”⁹⁵ Pacifists were tired of going to war and instead hoped for peace. Individuals chose not to participate in war as conscientious objectors due to its brutal results and its moral consequences. The idea of peace threatened war because it undermined violent acts. And after Hiroshima, war could potentially mean the annihilation of the human species on the planet earth. And still, if an individual refused to participate in war or marched against war in protest, it was considered an “un-American” act.

To conclude, the Peace Movement contributed to the formation of the Civil Rights Movement. The Peace Movement was significant because the goal of the movement was to control disarmament. To limit disarmament, organizations were formed to control international affairs. The organizations were also outspoken when it came to determine whether war was right or wrong. The support of non-violent acts contributed to the Civil Rights Movement because it emphasized peace and justice. The hope of limiting war contributed to the rise of Pacifism. Pacifists refused to adopt any violent policies. Women also played a vital role during the Peace Movement through such groups as Women Strike for Peace (W.S.P.).

CONCLUSION

The foundations of the Civil Rights Movement came into being through complex interrelationships between anti-Semitism, the NAACP, the Black Social Gospel Movement, Socialism and Communism, the Labor Movement, and the Peace Movement. Each movement and association connected or impacted one another and, in the process, contributed to the black Civil Rights Movement. Anti-Semitism helped Jews’ and blacks’ form a mostly positive relationship which led to the creation of the NAACP. As the centerpiece, the NAACP worked to end discrimination and oppression. The NAACP, in turn, supported movements such as the Labor Movement and Peace movement. Both movements fought for minority equality. Thus the Labor Movement fought for equality in the workforce, while the Peace Movement fought for equality worldwide in its

⁹⁴ Quoted in Lieberman, *The Strangest Dream*, 35.

⁹⁵ Lieberman, *The Strangest Dream*, xiv.

determination to limit war and oppression. Many individuals who supported the Peace Movement were accused of being Communist. Communism also shared a connection with the Civil Rights Movement due to its support of labor unions for African-American workers and opposition towards certain U.S. policies. The Black Social Gospel was connected to the Peace Movement because common religion and churches created peace within the community. Advocates of the Black Social Gospel also sought racial justice. The racial discrimination African Americans experienced led them to their involvement in mass communications which included the evolution of organizations, protests, unions, black churches, and social reforms. Each advancement, organization, or movement had a connected theme which was to achieve peace and equality. Each would prove key to the formation and future success of the Civil Rights Movement.

The black migration northward in the late 19th century led to the interaction of Jews and Blacks. Their relationship started off problematic due to their fight for opportunity in the United States. Initially, Blacks were infuriated with Jews because they believed Jews took their opportunities for housing and employment; plus, they believed Jews sided with whites during their racial discrimination due to their neutrality. Most Jews were landlords and businessowners. However, both groups realized that they shared a common experience at the hands of whites. Regarding their relationship with whites, Jews suffered from anti-Semitic persecutions while blacks faced racism. The alliance of Jews and blacks led to the creation of the NAACP.

The NAACP served as the cornerstone of the early Civil Rights Movement. Jews and Blacks came together to form this interracial organization. W. E. B. DuBois was one of the main leaders of the organization. The NAACP's main goal was to use peace to achieve political, social, educational, and economical equality. Also, the NAACP wanted to eliminate discrimination in voting, employment and housing. However, in order to achieve those goals, they had to be involved with politics on a national level. This motivated the NAACP to collaborate with other organizations and movements. This later influenced the Black Social Gospel and Communism.

The Black Social Gospel used religion to connect to the ideologies of the NAACP. Specifically, the notion of Christianity was utilized to promote peace and equality. The Black Social Gospel also identified with the NAACP by applying the abolitionist concept. Abolitionists set out to eliminate the tradition of lynching and economic injustice. This theory was intended to relate to Jesus on the cross, which meant white society could not eliminate Christian beliefs of salvation. The Black Social Gospel also witnessed a significant increase in the number of black churches. These churches' goals were to achieve peace and equality by challenging individuals to become more social ethical and follow the teachings of Jesus in the Sermon on the Mount.

Undoubtedly, the rise of Communism was connected with the formation of the NAACP through the formation of the International Labor Defense (ILD). As the ILD expanded, members of the NAACP supported its efforts. Like the NAACP, the Communist Party used its platform to combat lynching. Both organizations came together to support the Scottsboro case as they established a Scottsboro defense Committee. Furthermore, the Labor movement was connected to the Communist party, for as Marxists, Communists also focused on labor unions. The Communist Party supported the lower-class African American proletariat being exploited by capitalist bosses

Hart

and attempted to create a peaceful Negro Labor organization. The Labor Movement protested to help improve workers' conditions, obtain better wages, and work fewer hours.

By all accounts, the Peace movement connected to each movement. The main goal of the Peace movement was to eliminate all wars. By eliminating all wars, the Peace movement would hint at achievement of world peace. Non-violence was critical for the rise of the Civil Rights Movement, not only in the ending of racial lynching, but also in providing a mechanism of peaceful protest. The Peace movement was able to establish groups that highlighted the importance of pacifism. This movement also contained peace churches that helped reach the goal of equality.

Again, anti-Semitism; the Black Social Gospel; the NAACP; Communism; the Labor movement; and the Peace movement all contributed to the early Civil Rights movement. Collectively, these movements coalesced and paved the way for the emergence of prominent figures such as Rosa Parks and Martin Luther King, Jr., and the Civil Rights legislation of the Lyndon B. Johnson Presidency.

WORKS CITED

PRIMARY SOURCES

Carson, Clayborne, ed. *The Autobiography of Martin Luther King, Jr.* New York: IPM and Grand Central Publishing, 1998.

Communist Party Platform, *American Labor Year Book*, vol. 5 (1920).

Rauschenbusch, Walter. *Christianity and the Social Crisis*. New York: Macmillan, 1907.

SECONDARY SOURCES

Articles:

Baldwin, James. "Negroes Are Anti-Semitic Because They're Anti-White." In *Black Anti-Semitism and Jewish Racism* by Nat Hentoff et al., 3–14. New York: Richard W. Baron, 1969.

Dorrien, Gary. "Achieving the Black Social Gospel." In *Breaking White Supremacy: Martin Luther King Jr. and the Black Social Gospel*, 1–23. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2018.

Dorrien, Gary. "Breaking White Supremacy: The Black Social Gospel as New Abolitionism." *American Journal of Theology & Philosophy*, vol. 37, no. 3 (2016): 197–216.

Harvey, Paul. "The Black Social Gospel." *The Christian Century*, February 3, 2016, <https://www.christiancentury.org/reviews/2016-01/black-social-gospel> (accessed March 31, 2020).

Hughes, Langston. *Fight for Freedom: The Story of the NAACP*. New York: Norton, 1962.

Isaac, Larry, and Lars Christiansen. "How the Civil Rights Movement Revitalized Labor Militancy." *American Sociological Review*, vol. 67, no. 5 (2002): 722–46.

Kessler-Harris, Alice, and Virginia Yans-McLaughlin. "European Immigrant Groups." In *American Ethnic Groups*, ed. Thomas Sowell, 107–37. Washington, DC: The Urban Institute, 1978.

Killens, John Oliver. "Black Labor and the Black Liberation Movement." *The Black Scholar*, vol. 2, no. 2 (1970): 33–39.

Levy, Peter. "The New Left and Labor: The Early Years (1960–1963)." *Labor History* 31 (1990): 294–321.

Morison, Samuel Eliot. "Dissent of the War of 1812." In Samuel Eliot Morison, et al., *Dissent in Three American Wars*, 2–20. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1970.

Murray, Hugh T. "The NAACP versus the Communist Party." *Phylon*, vol. 28, no. 3 (1967): 276–87.

Hart

- Perry, Huey L., and Ruth B. White. "The Post-Civil Rights Transformation of the Relationship between Blacks and Jews in the United States." *Phylon*, vol. 47 (1986): 51–60.
- Peterson, Florence. *Strikes in the U.S., 1880–1936*. U.S. Department of Labor, Bulletin No. 61. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Labor, 1938.
- Rose, Peter I. "Blacks and Jews: The Strained Alliance." *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 454 (1981): 55–69.
- Schottenstein, Allison. "Jews, Race, and Southernness." In *The New Encyclopedia of Southern Culture*, vol. 24: *Race*, ed. Thomas C. Holt, Laurie B. Green, and Wilson Charles Reagan, 73–77. University of North Carolina Press, 2013.
- Wickware, Francis Sill. "What We Think about Foreign Affairs." *Harper's* 179 (September 1939): 397–406.

Books:

- Cantril, Hadley, ed. *Public Opinion, 1935–1946*. New York: Harper, 1956.
- DeBenedetti, Charles, ed. *Peace Heroes in Twentieth Century America*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986.
- Diner, Hasia R. *In the Almost Promised Land: American Jews and Blacks 1915–1935* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1977).
- Draper, Theodore. *The Roots of American Communism*. New York: Viking Press, 1957.
- Dorrien, Gary J. *The New Abolition: W. E. B. DuBois and the Black Social Gospel*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015.
- Feuerlicht, Roberta Strauss. *The Fate of the Jews: A People Torn Between Israeli Power and Jewish Ethics*. New York: Times Books, 1983.
- Fletcher, Bill, and Fernando Gapasin. *Solidarity Divided: The Crisis in Organized Labor and a New Path Toward Social Justice*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008.
- Foner, Philip Sheldon. *History of the Labor Movement in the United States*. 7 vols. New York: International Publishers, 1947–1987.
- Fosdick, Harry Emerson. *The Living of These Days: An Autobiography*. New York: Harper, 1956.
- Howlett, Charles F. *History of the American Peace Movement, 1890–2000: The Emergence of a New Scholarly Discipline*. Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press, 2005.
- Jonas, Gilbert. *Freedom's Sword: The NAACP and the Struggle Against Racism in America, 1909–1969*. London: Routledge, 2004.
- Lang, Clarence, and Robbie Lieberman. *Anticommunism and the African American Freedom Movement: Another Side of the Story*. New York, Palgrave MacMillan, 2009.

The Early History of the Civil Rights Movement

- Lieberman, Robbie. *“My Song is My Weapon”: People Songs, American Communism, and the Politics of Culture, 1930–1950*. Urbana and Chicago, University of Illinois Press, 1989.
- Lieberman, Robbie. *The Strangest Dream: Communism, Anticommunism, and the U.S. Peace Movement, 1945–1963*. Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2000.
- Luker, Ralph E. *The Social Gospel in Black and White: American Racial Reform, 1885–1912*. Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 1991.
- Marchand, C. Roland. *The American Peace Movement and Social Reform, 1889–1918*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1972.
- Morris, Aldon. *The Origins of the Civil Rights Movement: Black Communities Organizing for Change*. New York: Free Press, 1984.
- Naison, Mark. *Communists in Harlem during the Depression*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1983.
- Record, Wilson. *The Negro and the Communist Party*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1951.
- Uhlmann, Jennifer Ruthanne. “The Communist Civil Rights Movement: Legal Activism in the United States, 1919–1946.” Ph.D. thesis, UCLA, 2007.
- Webb, Clive. *Fight against Fear: Southern Jews and Black Civil Rights*. Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 2001.
- Weisbord, Robert, and Arthur Stein. *Bittersweet Encounter: The Afro-American and the American Jew*. New York: Schocken Books, 1972.
- Zhang, Aimin. *The Origins of African American Civil Rights Movement, 1865–1956*. New York: Routledge, 2002.

A Record of the COVID-19 Pandemic of 2020–21

**A Day in the Life of Hanover College Students, Faculty, and Staff
During the COVID-19 Pandemic of 2020–21**

The following prompt was given to students, faculty, and staff of Hanover College in the fall of 2020 by Professor Sarah Vosmeier and Hanover College Archivist Jennifer Duplaga with the intent of creating primary source material for future use. The select responses shared below do not reflect the views of the *Hanover Historical Review* nor were the responses influenced by the *HHR* Board. These replies appear as they were received, without further editing by the *HHR* Board.

“The *Hanover Historical Review* and the Duggan Library Archives are collecting material to help future students understand how Hanover students, faculty, and staff are experiencing this historic year. This fall, we're asking volunteers to describe their circumstances on just one day – November 15, 2020.”

Dustin Wilson
Student
Class of 2024

What did you do today, November 15, 2020?

My last Sunday morning in 2020 on Hanover's campus was started nearly in the afternoon. My roommate and I drug ourselves out of bed after 11 to walk to the Campus Center for breakfast with the absence of the rest of our friend group, who had yet to even wake up. The scrambled eggs and chocolate milk of the Campus Center are probably the same breakfast served to the gods of Mount Olympus; so it's the only real way to start the day. The two of us walked back across a windy campus to Wiley Hall - the sky showed promise for a rainy Sunday afternoon. My roommate took off for the library to start conquering the weekend homework load while I FaceTimed my friend, who is a Marine currently stationed in San Diego. I hopped off that call and onto my homework while the sweet melodies of the late poet Lil Peep bumped in the background, as today also marks 3 years since his passing. As a History and Spanish double major, I get an afternoon full of an unfamiliar language and documents that have aged like a king's whiskey. A relatively uneventful day doesn't necessarily mean a wasted one... it just leaves you well rested for the crazy ones.

What seems to be the most significant aspect of your life in 2020?

Not to give the most generic answer, but the Coronavirus has the largest influence on my operations as a freshman on this campus. Fraternities were open for no more than a month accumulatively this semester, and that was with capacity restrictions. I have to wear a mask for absolutely any activity outside of my dorm room, and cannot have any more than four people in my dorm room. All semester, the number of people walking the sidewalks of the campus has become less and less as more and more of them have been contact traced and sent home. It is definitely a robbery of the experience, but the space we have to leave between each other is an observant, but a necessary damper on the daily functions of Hanover College.

Without invading anyone's privacy, tell us about a conversation or text exchange you've had today.

A very good friend and I had a conversation on FaceTime this morning. He is a Marine stationed in San Diego, and we made our rounds talking about pretty much the same things we do every phone call. He and I live very different lives in terms of function and coordination. And while we usually talk about that, today we talked about his possibility of getting leave for Christmas before he begins Infantry School.

Are you contributing these comments and images to the Archives?

Yes – I contribute my comments and/or images to the Archives. I consent to their being made available to library users and grant Hanover College a nonexclusive, perpetual, royalty free license

During the COVID-19 Pandemic of 2020–21

to use, duplicate, and distribute them. They may also be published in the *Hanover Historical Review*.

Jace Lichtefeld
Student
Class of 2024

What did you do today, November 15, 2020?

I woke up around 9 and I looked over to my roommate's bed expecting to see her then remembered she left for home yesterday since Hanover has gone online. I ate applesauce and mini wheats for breakfast and then I started working on school work. I edited my reflection for my FY101 class. I read over it and ran it through *Grammarly* to find all my missing commas. I forget to put commas a lot in my writing. Then I tried to work on my article presentation in my history class or my English paper but I didn't really want to work on either of them. I walked over to the Campus Center to mail some letters to my friends from high school. When I got back to my dorm, I laid down on my bed and watched some Grey's Anatomy specifically the hospital shooting episodes. I stopped with twenty minutes to go around 12 pm and walked over to the Campus Center for lunch. When I asked for scrambled eggs and hash browns that was the first time talking to another person today and at 4 pm I have only talked to three people total. Two people to ask for food and I said hi to one of my hall mates on my way back to the dorm. After lunch I went on a walk and it started raining near the end of the walk. I listened to music while on the walk and two songs stood out to me during it. "I'm just a kid" by simple plan and "Lost Boy" by Ruth B. I've not been doing the best mentally lately and the first song I connected with for how I was in high school where I felt alone and that no one cared. The second song connects to how I feel now. I feel connected and supported here at Hanover. When I got back from my walk, the sun started to break through the clouds and I smiled. I did my physical therapy exercises while listening to music and then I tried to figure out what I want to work on next. I jumped around and prepared for a couple things but I decided to work on my article presentation for history and I decided what I was going to discuss for slides 1 and two. I then watched the last 20 mins of my grays anatomy episode and then did my assigned problems for my stats class on Tuesday. After I finished those, I went to go do a brief assignment for history and found the email from Professor Vosmeier about this and decided to fill this out. My plans for the rest of the day are pretty simple. I'm going to do my brief assignment and then around 5:30 I'm going to get a burrito from the CC and eat before my Templeton Cohort meeting at 6:30. Honestly at the moment I am unsure if we are having that meeting but I do know I will be playing DnD or among us with my high school friends at 7 pm. That will likely finish around 9 pm and then I will start getting ready for bed. I'll journal before bed and then I'll turn on a PopularMMOs challenge games video on YouTube to fall asleep too. This is how I spent November 15th 2020.

What seems to be the most significant aspect of your life in 2020?

My schooling is the most significant aspect of my life in 2020. It's always changing. For 2 and 1/2 months of 2020 my senior year of high school was exactly like I expected it to be but in the middle of March that changed. We were going online for the next two weeks before spring break. I told

During the COVID-19 Pandemic of 2020–21

my friends on March 13th that this would be our last day in person at Mercy but no one believed me. For two weeks we followed our normal online school guidelines. On each day, our teachers would assign us something to do and it would be due at 3 pm, 5 pm, 10 pm, or midnight depending on the teacher. After spring break that changed and instead we got all out assignments on Monday. On Monday we had to check in to all of our classes. On Tuesday, we would have zoom meetings for 4 of our classes. On Wednesday the same four classes would have office hours and if those classes had tests they would be on Wednesday. On Thursday we had zoom meetings for our other four classes. On Friday, the same four classes would have office hours and if those classes had tests they would be on Friday. Over the summer I took a five week course offered by Hanover called Navigating the pandemic. Each week 2-3 professors discussed the pandemic from different perspectives. In August, I started my first year at Hanover. I moved in on August 19th 2020 and I did not believe I would be on campus for more than a few weeks. I was wrong about that. I'm currently taking five courses. One course is fully online and the other four where in-person till the entire school went online. Going all online is an adjustment but it is easier the second time.

Without invading anyone's privacy, tell us about a conversation or text exchange you've had today.

I've only texted one person today and I was updating a mentor about my mental health and that I have been productive this weekend and feeling better.

Are you contributing these comments and images to the Archives?

Yes – I contribute my comments and/or images to the Archives. I consent to their being made available to library users and grant Hanover College a nonexclusive, perpetual, royalty free license to use, duplicate, and distribute them. They may also be published in the *Hanover Historical Review*.

James T. Moll
Student
Class of 2022

What did you do today, November 15, 2020?

I woke up at 8 am on November 15, 2020. I rolled over and went back to sleep and woke up again at 9 am. I actually got up this time, making myself a Chai Latte from my Keurig. I sat down at my desk and began working on a paper due Friday, November 20. I was finishing up my research, realizing that I was going to be short a couple sources. We are being officially kicked off campus in a few days (the 20th) and it's hindering my paper. I need books from other libraries, but there's not enough time to get them, use them, and return them. I worked on this until maybe 11, and then went back to bed. One of my roommates woke me up knocking on my door around 12. He wanted food, so I got up and followed behind him and another roommate. We ate at the Campus center, what we all call the CC. The other roommate is leaving today. She's from Georgia, so she won't actually be home until sometime on Monday. After lunch, the roommate that woke me up went to the Point, like he's done at least once a day, everyday, since our first night on campus, September 2018. The Georgian and myself went back to the room, catching her mother (here to pick her up) on the way back and getting a ride. The temperature outside was 55 F but the wind made it feel much colder.

After we all said our goodbyes to her (we live in Ogle, so there's a total of seven of us, including the one at the Point), I went into my room and read for my history class and listened to music. The time now was roughly 1 pm, and I read about Tudor and Stuart England and Charles II until about 6. I wasn't quite done, but I was hungry and so were the other roommates. We went to dinner, my girlfriend and I leaving first so we could talk on the way, everyone else trailing behind. We ate dinner at the Ug since they close the Campus Center at 1:30 pm on the weekends. Don't be fooled, the food's no better in the Underground than in the CC. I had two day old, premade wraps, "Best By 11/14." We hung out and talked and shared funny memes and videos until almost 8 pm. Once we got back to the room, we all split into our respective rooms, minus the Point kid, he always commandeers the living room with the larger tv. I played Skyrim the rest of the night, finished my reading homework around 2 am, and then I went to bed. It was hot in our room that night, and it turned out to be a very restless night.

What seems to be the most significant aspect of your life in 2020?

The most significant part of my life in 2020 is finding my place in the world, and really working on what I value. It's an interesting world we're living in: an invisible virus, riots that are "justified," a botched presidential election, online classes for high school and college, the list goes on. I will say, as much as I despise online classes, what's affected much of my grades this semester is just subject matter. All my grades are on par except my French lit class, and this is because literature and I don't get along.

During the COVID-19 Pandemic of 2020–21

As a History major, I encourage students of all generations to do a little research, do a little reading. Much of what is happening can be directly related to a lack of education.

Without invading anyone's privacy, tell us about a conversation or text exchange you've had today.

I'll tell two, because I keep my conversations brief, and it represents something that I can explain better after I show.

I had a conversation on snapchat with a kid from home about whether or not we can swim over Christmas break. We came from the same high school team, and while it's usually not a question (our old coach always lets us come back and swim) this year it could create a problem. This problem is caused by the COVID-19 virus. We are concerned we won't get to stay in shape because our old high school won't want us in cause we are possibly infected with a virus that may or may not be super deadly. It's been 9 months since this all and that much is still uncertain.

I also texted a group chat with my best friends from home. I told them that the time is now, it's time to start a gaming channel. We have the ability, and we came up with the name two years ago (Relatively Professional), we just have to do it. And the conversation was mostly just agreement and suggestions.

I showed these specific two to give an idea of the weird requirements. We have to worry about whether or not we can swim and that's a common concern. In the same day, we have normal conversations about what we're gonna do when we get home.

Are you contributing these comments and images to the Archives?

Yes – I contribute my comments and/or images to the Archives. I consent to their being made available to library users and grant Hanover College a nonexclusive, perpetual, royalty free license to use, duplicate, and distribute them. They may also be published in the *Hanover Historical Review*.

Catherine Knott
Faculty/staff

What did you do today, November 15, 2020?

I spent the morning sewing a dress that was made from crushed velvet material, which is obnoxious to work with. I call it the Chaotic Evil of fabrics. I was sewing to evade grading, because I knew I had a big stack waiting for me. Sunday afternoons are often grading periods, and this one was no different. The weather was wet and windy, so I didn't get my usual walk along the cross country field with my dogs. I was glad for the creative expression time, and did get some essays edited/graded as I promised myself. I rewarded myself with a glass of wine from the Trader Joe's in Louisville, and then made dinner. I had some tomatoes on my windowsill that I got from a plant given by a colleague over the summer, and they actually ripened! I made preserves out of them, and then watched two episodes of *The Crown* with my spouse.

What seems to be the most significant aspect of your life in 2020?

As Chaplain who teaches, I feel like 2020 is when EVERYTHING TAKES SO MUCH MORE ENERGY. Plans can't be made more than a week in advance, and I'm literally winging it all of the time. I am doing all of the things, while simultaneously feeling like nothing is getting done. Hanover's gorgeous campus is a big part of my sanity- getting out and getting fresh air is a life saver.

Without invading anyone's privacy, tell us about a conversation or text exchange you've had today.

I sent an email to my class to remind them that attendance is in fact part of their grade. I feel like the morale has really been down these last few weeks.

Are you contributing these comments and images to the Archives?

Yes – I contribute my comments and/or images to the Archives. I consent to their being made available to library users and grant Hanover College a nonexclusive, perpetual, royalty free license to use, duplicate, and distribute them. They may also be published in the *Hanover Historical Review*.

Melissa Eden
Faculty/staff

What did you do today, November 15, 2020?

It was Sunday, so I took a day off. I took a long walk around my neighborhood, Crescent Hill, in Louisville, KY. I read a gardening magazine and daydreamed about my spring gardening plans. I checked my email but ignored anything like work. I grocery shopped at Trader Joe's and picked up a few Christmas stocking stuffers while I was there. I warmed up leftovers for meals. I played with my cats. I watched the first two episodes of Season 4 of *The Crown* on Netflix. I read a few chapters of a Louse Penny mystery and I went to bed early.

What seems to be the most significant aspect of your life in 2020?

Handling teaching with COVID--trying to balance taking care of my students and taking care of myself and my own health issues. Learning to teach online and to teach in-class and remote students simultaneously. Dealing with technology that does not always cooperate while switching my teaching mode. Fretting over the elections and wanting to get Trump out of office and end his undermining of our democracy. Worrying that while Mitch McConnell remains in office that undermining will not cease. There are still some worries there, but it feels like a huge weight is lifted now that Biden and Harris have been elected. I can breathe again since goodness is once again a value. Wondering how, after 4 years of tremendous damage, we will put our nation back together again.

Without invading anyone's privacy, tell us about a conversation or text exchange you've had today.

I was honestly quiet all day, blissfully so. As an introvert I value that quiet and use it to recharge.

Are you contributing these comments and images to the Archives?

Yes – I contribute my comments and/or images to the Archives. I consent to their being made available to library users and grant Hanover College a nonexclusive, perpetual, royalty free license to use, duplicate, and distribute them. They may also be published in the *Hanover Historical Review*.

Elizabeth Ritchie
Student
Class of 2021

What did you do today, November 15, 2020?

So November 15th is a Sunday which meant the first part of my day was eaten by sleeping in! I work four days a week at our on-campus Starbucks at 6:30 AM so I really treasure the chance to sleep in. I live in Lynn in a room that has a Jack and Jill bathroom. My roommate got up to go to work at the UG, she preps single serving food. I wished her a good time at work then rolled over. Of course. I finally got up around ten, showering and tidying the room. I'm the kind of person who must tidy constantly so every day I make my bed and cleaned my desk off. Then I did some power makeup (you know, the kind of make up that makes you feel like you can conquer stuff ie. homework). After that I texted one of the partners of one of my group projects I'm in (this semester I'm in three) about whether she had seen the lab work for the week. My adulthood and aging class (PSY346) is all online this year and is asynchronous, meaning that the professor uploads the work on Saturday for the whole week. My partner and I hopped on a Microsoft Teams call and chatted about the project a little then signed off, both of us working on our parts independently. My roommate came home for work and jumped in the shower. Then we went over to the Campus Center for brunch. Brunch is definitely the highlight of Hanover College student's weekends here on campus. Less so this year due to COVID but still fun. We sat with our friend Wyatt, who was about to leave but chatted with us some before taking food back to his partner as they weren't eating in the CC today. Right now the CC has plastic dividers up between people to limit the spread of the virus but it also unfortunately limits loudness so conversation is always a bit strained. After this, we went back to the room and tried to do some work. It was painful and I had absolutely no motivation. Usually we try to study outside the room for a couple hours a day even though classes are online because I would lose my mind to be cooped up in there all day. Because of making the mistake of going back to the room, neither of us were productive, so we ended up watching a movie for my roommate's international studies class. It was on water scarcity around the world. We both drifted off during it... embarrassingly. I continued to nap until about 5PM. My roommate just kinda played on her phone until going to call her girlfriend at 5, who is living in Paris right now going to graduate school. At 6, we went over to the UG and grabbed food, just a little stuff since we were getting more later. We focused in on school work until 8:40 then ran over to the CC to grab the food provided for late night breakfast and bingo. The email said it started getting handed out at 9 but we were wanting to beat the line. Late night breakfast and bingo is an honored tradition here at Hanover. The last Sunday before finals the professors host a breakfast for the students. More recently, the tradition of playing bingo at that time has also started. It's super fun and well attended and it's really nice to see all the professors you've had in the past. This year the food service, Parkhurst, just handed the bags of food out. :(We got breakfast burritos and hash browns. We actually got our food almost immediately, grabbed our bingo boards and headed back to the room. Then from 8:50 to 9:55 we just watched music videos and chatted. At 10, bingo began and

During the COVID-19 Pandemic of 2020–21

my roommate did the bingo boards, while I called my family through Microsoft Teams. I usually call them Sunday nights at 9, but my youngest brother (I have two) who goes to UIndy had a hall meeting at 9 so we pushed it back an hour. But he missed the meeting so it was useless anyway. He's such a freshman. My other brother, who goes to Purdue, got on right at 10 and chatted but my parents and other brother didn't get on till 10:10. All while I'm missing Bingo!! It was terrible. We talked for a bit, then I played bingo till 11. My roommate won a prize! She got cordless earbuds and a power box for a phone.

What seems to be the most significant aspect of your life in 2020?

The most significant aspect of my life currently I'd have to say, is figuring out graduate school. I know that sounds strange, but in some ways, it feels like one day someone is going to wave a wand and COVID will stop bothering us. And being in college, it's made the pandemic feel really removed. I think when I go home for the semester it'll be more real again. Because going to grad school is a long term decision and important step focusing on me, that's just where my brain has been. I am not interested in going to online grad programs (although there are more everyday with COVID happening) and I'd prefer to stay within the Midwest and I know the degree I'm interested in. But like that's it. With the internet at my disposal, I can find so many programs that fit my criteria that it's difficult to figure out how to filter through them and find ones that will actual fit with me. And unfortunately, no one has an answer other than what I'm doing. So.

Without invading anyone's privacy, tell us about a conversation or text exchange you've had today.

I texted my dad today about the March Madness tournament (the big 10 NCAA basketball tournament) coming to Indianapolis today. I'm from Indianapolis and knew he would know more about it, as he's really into current events. He saw the message then called me to talk about it. The March Madness tournament will happen in March 2021, and all the games will be in Indianapolis. This is a deviation from the norm and what was scheduled because of COVID. I was interested in it because although I'm not a big sports person, I recognize how much money is at stake here and how much revenue that is going to bring into Indianapolis. We talked about why it was happening (NCAA headquarters in Indianapolis and COVID), the logistics behind it (hotels and places to play the games), and the relationship between Indianapolis and NCAA. With Indiana moving back into Phase 4 right now and cases rising, I'll be interested to see how things play out.

Are you contributing these comments and images to the Archives?

Yes – I contribute my comments and/or images to the Archives. I consent to their being made available to library users and grant Hanover College a nonexclusive, perpetual, royalty free license to use, duplicate, and distribute them. They may also be published in the *Hanover Historical Review*.

Hunter Wolford
Student
Class of 2021

Are you contributing these comments and images to the Archives?

Unfortunately, I had been sent home earlier due to contact tracing with COVID-19 so I had worked on a few assignments, watched football, and played Xbox with friends at home. However, on a normal Sunday with no COVID keeping us from having fun my roommates and I would have been cooking out, playing cornhole, setting up multiple TVs in our living room area in order to watch as many of the games on as possible, and having friends over to enjoy the day with us.

What seems to be the most significant aspect of your life in 2020?

It is my senior year that has unfortunately been quite the opposite of what I had expected/wanted it to be. Having to switch so abruptly from in-person classes to online has not been the easiest task for the students or professors. On top of that having family issues that needed to be taken care of has made it all the more difficult to stay on top of things in the classes, especially the ones that have a new assignment every day.

Without invading anyone's privacy, tell us about a conversation or text exchange you've had today.

I have asked professors about assignments and upcoming exams, texted friends about working out, and spoke to my mother about dinner.

Are you contributing these comments and images to the Archives?

Yes – I contribute my comments and/or images to the Archives. I consent to their being made available to library users and grant Hanover College a nonexclusive, perpetual, royalty free license to use, duplicate, and distribute them. They may also be published in the *Hanover Historical Review*.