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The Martha and Robert G. Hartje Award is presented annually to a senior in the spring semester. The History Department determines the four finalists who write a 600 to 800 word narrative essay dealing with a historical event or figure. The finalists must have at least a 2.7 grade point average and have completed at least six history courses. The winner is awarded \$500 at a spring semester History Department colloquium and the winning paper is included in the *History Journal*. This year's Hartje Paper award was presented to Gretchen Diehm.

The 2004-2005 edition of the Wittenberg History Journal is dedicated to Dr. Darlene Brooks Hedstrom in recognition of her enthusiastic approach to teaching and dedication to both history and her students. Additionally, the editorial staff would like to congratulate her on the birth of her son Silas William on December 28, 2004 and extend this dedication to include the new addition to her family.

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The Little Rock Warrior: The Story of Melba Pattillo Beals

Gretchen Diehm

The burning sun is beating hard upon the city on this hot August day in 1957.¹ Melba Pattillo strides down the streets of Cincinnati, Ohio with her head held high. Her happy steps scurry down the sidewalk with the possibility of adventure and new experiences. A day of sightseeing, shopping and dining has lifted her spirits. "What a heavenly place", she thinks to herself as she lets the cold water from the fountain hit her lips, "I never want to go home". However, a few hours later the car door slammed on Melba's dream as her mother drove the family home; all the way down to little Rock, Arkansas. For most people, a hot, Cincinnati afternoon seems far from heaven. But Melba's eyes were opened at the prospect of a world where she could go to a theatre with a white friend, eat in a "normal" restaurant, and choose her favorite seat on the bus, no matter its location. The Cincinnati experience propelled Melba into the world of civil rights. She had now seen life as it should be, and it was her turn to make a difference.

Upon the families return to Little Rock, Melba was notified that she was chosen as one of the students chosen to attend the all-white Central High School in the fall. Melba's strong conviction toward integration made her the ideal candidate for this rare opportunity. The eight other black students were also chosen for their hard working ethics and strength. The "Little Rock Nine" as they would be called, were set to enroll in the fall of 1957.² Melba knew the task would be a trying ordeal, but no one foresaw the level of abuse that the children would undergo. When word got out that nine black children would be attending the public school, the community erupted with ugly racism. On the first day of class Melba and her activist counterparts could not even reach the door of the school with the police escorts they were given. Racial slurs and broken bottles flew through the air, beating down the innocent students as they stood stunned in a sea of white.³ The press scrutiny, lynch mobs and constant cruelty proved an almost insurmountable task for the brave teens that school year. "My eight friends and I paid for the integration of Central High with our innocence. During those years when we desperately needed approval from our peers, we were the victims of the most harsh rejection imaginable. The physical and psychological punishment we endured profoundly affected our lives. It transformed us into warriors who dared not cry even when we suffered intolerable pain."⁴ Melba's words paint a painful portrait of the devastating effects of racial hatred, but also the strength that can result from becoming a civil rights warrior. The searing acid sprayed into Melba's eyes by angry segregationists merely weakened her body; her passion grew stronger with every move they made.⁵

After the first few traumatizing years of integration were over, Melba proceeded with her conviction in the struggle for civil justice. She has since become a renowned author, speaker and role model. Melba once wrote, "Black folks aren't born expecting segregation, prepared from day one to follow its confining rules. No one presents you with a handbook when you are teething and says, 'here is how you must behave as a second-class citizen.' Instead the humiliating expectation and traditions of segregation creep over you, slowly stealing a teaspoon of your self-esteem each day."¹ Melba has devoted her entire life to the struggle of civil rights. Making sure no one has to experience the degradation of segregation as she once did.

Historically, Melba Pattillo Beals' personal journey is a unique account of a widespread phenomenon. Millions of people experienced legalized segregation in the South during the first half of the twentieth century. Melba, however, professes her story with such vigor and heart-wrenching reality that it has made an impact nearly fifty years after the event. She acts as a voice to the many who experienced the same hardships, and an inspiration to those who have not.

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¹ Women's History- Melba Pattillo Beals, <http://teacher.scholastic.com/researchtools/articlearchives/womhst/melba.htm>, Scholastic, Inc. 2005.

² Melba Patillo Beals, *Warriors Don't Cry* (New York, NY: Pocket Book, 1994), 3.

³ Ibid., 3.

⁴ Ibid., 2.

⁵ Melba Beals, www.melbabeals.com/aboutmelba.html, Melcon Communications.

⁶ Melba Pattillo Beals, *Warriors Don't Cry* (New York, NY: Pocket Book, 1994), 6.

Medieval Queens as Holy Mothers: Sanctity in the Image of Mary, Queen of Heaven

Jenny Burns

The history of medieval women is, at times, patchy for the contemporary historian even though, as discussed later, this field has progressed by leaps and bounds in revealing the women of the past, discovering the societies and cultures of which they were a part, and from there, drawing connections between the sources that do survive in an effort to create a coherent illustration of the past. For this reason, it is essential that the historian utilize what sources that do survive concerning medieval women, in order to construct a valid argument about an aspect of their lives or the world in which they lived. The *vitae*¹ are, as discussed below, a prolific source concerning women, which promotes their status in the history of medieval women. Furthermore, through the lives of exceptional women, those chosen to be deemed "saints" by their contemporaries, aid the historian in understanding the ideals medieval people had concerning women, for the Church was at the center of European life in the Middle Ages, and its perceptions of women would have been, to a great deal, those of the masses.

In this study, the sanctity of queens is the focus, more specifically, queens of the tenth and eleventh centuries. Their sanctification is particularly interesting due to their status as laypersons, living in the state of conjugal matrimony and fulfilling roles as mothers, when most female saints of this period were nuns or other religious, who lived their lives in cloisters and were either virgins or chaste widows. Even earlier sainted queens, had renounced their married lives and children to live out their lives as abbesses due to their high value of chastity as a qualification for piety and holiness. What made queens such as Mathilda² and Adelheid³ saintly if they did not obey the long-accepted and idolized virtue of virginity, or at the very least chastity? As powerful queens and as regents for their sons or grandsons, these women made themselves an active part of the monarchy. Do they represent a new type of both queenship and female sanctity? Perhaps, it is their role as queen that provides them with an opportunity that common women would not have been able to aspire to; they were the wives and mothers of kings, a position believed to be ordained by God himself. Their elevated status, the dependence on an heir to the throne, as well as their ruling status as intercessors with the king begin to serve to link the queen's status with that of the Mary, mother of God. Furthermore, the elevation of Mary herself, to the throne as the Queen of Heaven, a phenomenon that evolved beginning in fifth century Rome due to Byzantine influence and culminated in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, provides a further link to the sanctity of earthly queens such as Mathilda and Adelheid in the tenth century, and even more closely to the aspired sanctity of Queen Emma of England in the eleventh century. Does their holiness and or power stem

from their motherhood.⁴ It is their status as queens that allows them to emulate the Mary as mothers and intermediaries, whereas other saintly women were still restricted by the ideal of virginity and could seek to emulate Mary and Christ through that avenue alone.

It is evident, in a study of sanctity in general, that the characteristics that qualify individuals for elevation to sanctity stem from emulation of Christ and/or the Virgin Mary. For medieval women, the path to sanctity in the image of Christ and Mary focused almost exclusively on the preservation of chastity, for in living a chaste life they could eliminate their sexualized nature, the source of their oppression within the eyes of the Church. In the image of Mary, the woman whose virginity broke the curse of Eve and the Fall, women were able to find a positive female role model.⁴ Nuns became brides of Christ, virgins, as Mary was at the Annunciation, dedicated to a spiritual marriage. This specifically introduces the emulation that religious women undertook, not of Christ, but more specifically, Mary, the mother of God. This connection is further promoted as Mary's status within the Catholic Church solidified and is present in much Mariological religious literature. In such works, there is "a consistent parallel between the Virgin Mary and nuns as brides of Christ... The text gives us a Virgin Mary who functions as a model for the pious soul; nuns are exhorted to seek to become like her, daughters of God, mothers of Christ, and brides of the Holy Spirit."⁵ However, although Mary's importance does stem from her virginity in regards to the Immaculate Conception, more importantly is her motherhood of Christ, who is known as the King of Kings. The icon of Mary, as an image which women could emulate was quite contradictory for the average woman because she is praised for her motherhood and her virginity, while at the same time there is the emphasis of the virgin ideal in medieval women's religious imagery. Most women of the middle ages could not aspire to sainthood in direct emulation of Mary because of the necessity of marriage and sexual relations to become mothers, so instead they chose the virginal aspect of Mary as their role model, attempting to find motherhood qualities through charity and a mystical marriage to Christ.

Furthermore, because virginity or celibacy later in life was, for the most part, a requirement for sanctity, virtually all laywomen, living within and concerned with the secular world, were excluded from sainthood, as is discussed later in examination of the ideal of virginity versus the married life. However, the queen was an exceptional person, for she could not remain a virgin, yet as is quite evident in medieval hagiography, a good number of saints were queens. As will be discussed throughout this study, the sainted queen was exceptional because as the mother and wife of God-ordained kings, her participation in conjugal relations with her husband and her sexuality, which was virtually eliminated from the records, were no hindrance to her achievement of sanctity, rather her motherhood and partnership with her husband become an emphasis in the lives of Queen Mathilda and Queen Adelheid. The queen's avenue to sanctity lay in the idea that she could better emulate Mary than any other woman because not only could she be praised for her role as intercessor for the Church and poor, as well as her private devotion through modesty and humility, she could be praised, as Mary was, for her motherhood of the king. It is this connection between female sanctity, more specifically that of tenth and eleventh century queens, and Mary which is the focus of this study. To examine this fully, it is first essential

that the reader understand the ideal of virginity in medieval women's sanctity and how this conflicted with marriage and the typical secular lives that women were expected to live, and after this basis has been established on female sanctity the evolving images of queenly sanctity can be further examined in their relationship to Mary and her evolving iconization as the Queen of Heaven.

It was the ideal of virginity that dominated western medieval conceptions of female sanctity. It spawned from the dichotomy between Eve and Mary, the two most important women in the Christian ideology. Eve, although she was the mother of the human race, was the evil temptress who, in her carnal knowledge, caused her and Adam to fall from grace, whereas Mary, the virgin mother, is idolized for giving birth to Christ, the world's salvation. Both were mothers, yet Eve's very fault lies in her sexuality, something of which Mary remains pure due to her virginity. This is the idea, along with the assumed virginity of Christ, that promoted Catholic ideals of virginity and celibacy in the Middle Ages. Furthermore, because of the sin of the Fall was seen to be on Eve's shoulders, women were especially demeaned for their sexuality, which in turn, increased the desirability of preserving their virginity as a requirement for living a religious life.⁶ From here, it was the Church's belief that because celibacy and virginity were superior to conjugal relations between a man and a woman, those persons who could retain their virginity, or at least live celibate lives, were on an higher plane of spirituality than the rest of the world; thus, they were closer to God and therefore able to aspire to sainthood. Heffernan explains, "The argument was made that sexual intercourse, even within the bounds of a legally contracted Christian marriage for the purpose of procreation, was an impediment to spiritual growth and, as Aquinas had argued, to greater rationality."⁷ However, the contradiction lay in the fact that marriage and procreation were essential as well. Nevertheless, those who lived the married life could not, for the most part, aspire to sainthood. It is stated in the Bible that, "I [Paul the Apostle] say therefore to the unmarried and widows, It is good for them if they abide even as I [with chastity]. But if they cannot contain, let them marry: for it is better to marry than to burn. There is difference also between a wife and a virgin. The unmarried woman careth for the things of the Lord, that she may be holy both in body and in spirit: but she that is married careth for the things of the world, how she may please her husband."⁸ It is at this juncture that the elevation of the queen, above all other laywomen, allows her to aspire to sanctity even within the bonds of marriage and earthly motherhood, while nearly all other female saints of the time were either virgins or consecrated widows who had renounced their secular lives as mothers and wives, due to her status as the wife and mother the King, who was the highest earthly "Lord."

Andre Vauchez states, in regards to sanctification of the laity in the Middle Ages, that the fact that the only laypersons to achieve sanctity prior to the Beguines of the thirteenth century were kings and queens lies in their extremely superior status in the secular world; "...the king was an exceptional person, a kind of mediator between the spheres of the profane and the holy. Thus the historian is entitled to set apart those who exercised kingly power, since the holy kings of the eleventh and twelfth centuries are not typical representatives of the laity."⁹ This concept also applies to the person of the queen. However, perhaps royalty was not simply a "mediator" between the religious sphere and the secular sphere; rather, one's royal status, believed to be

ordained by God, enabled kings, and even more so, queens to emulate Christ and Mary, respectively, through other means than virginity and charity alone. Furthermore, as the very existence of dynasties depended on sexual relations between the persons of the king and queen to produce a royal heir, the married state could not feasibly prove to be a barrier to sanctity for royalty. It is also interesting to examine the icon of Mary herself in this discussion of queenly sanctity because, as Heffernan explains, "The celebration of Mary's virginity, her espousal to Christ, her maternity, and her figure as the emblem of the church presents us with an enormously complicated icon."¹⁰ It is this combination of roles that are ascribed to Mary which both allow queens to emulate her as well as encompassing the ambiguity of the holiness of such queens. As the focus here revolves around the person and sanctity of tenth and eleventh century queens, it is essential that the relationship between the earthly queens and Mary be examined closely.

Of primary importance in queenly sanctity in the image of Mary is the development of images depicting Mary as a queen herself, the Queen of Heaven. Though this is most often attributed to later images and descriptions of Mary in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries when the image flourished, the introduction of this idea and the development of a relationship between Mary Regina and earthly queens occur much earlier.¹¹ In fact, the first images that place imperial and royal status upon Mary occur under Byzantine influence¹² in the area surrounding Rome in the early fifth century.¹³ This phenomenon is further promoted in the first images that name her Maria Regina, the earliest one being a fresco from Santa Maria Antiqua that was created between 772 and 775 in which she is enthroned with the infant Christ.¹⁴ However, as the Frankish influence during the Carolingian period replaced that of Byzantium in Rome and thus Western Christianity, the image of Mary Regina lost significance. Many historians are of the belief that this image of Mary as queen then did not reemerge until the twelfth century, when a great deal of imagery of Mary in this role was created. Although her imagery in many areas may have receded, it is evident that the strong Ottonian queens Mathilda and Adelheid used Mary as a queenly role model two centuries earlier, and Mary's importance in late tenth- and early eleventh-century Saxon and English culture, which establishes her, as will be discussed later, as a strong iconographic model for Queen Emma of England, also occurs before the commonly assumed resurgence of Marian imagery portraying Mary as Queen of Heaven.¹⁵ It is at this time that Mary is even presented in a unique English image, which transforms the traditional Trinity of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit into a Quintity, which included Mary and the infant Christ in her arms (fig. 3).¹⁶ Here, before the most often proposed resurgence of queenly imagery associated with Mary, she is crowned, and her ties to the heavenly body of the king (God, Christ, the Holy Spirit, and Infant Christ), which, in their various stages that are depicted, emphasize Mary's connection as mother, wife, and daughter of God. If Christ had two natures, a belief growing in popularity at the time, that of the infant son of Mary and of her later husband and king of Heaven, Mary's role is emphasized in relation to both natures, the human and divine. This provides a heavenly parallel to the increasingly popular idea of the two bodies of the king.¹⁷ As Ernst Kantorowicz argues, this began to occur around the year 1000 or earlier in England and Europe in general.¹⁸ The king was seen to have a "magisterial, undying body of kingship, and the body of a human male."¹⁹

Therefore, Mary's relationship as both wife and mother of Christ can be emulated by earthly queens in that they were the wives and mothers of both the human and divine bodies of the king. John Carmi Parsons takes Kantorowicz's concept of the two bodies of kingship even further and argues that the same phenomenon existed for the body of the queen. He supports his argument with examples of royal burials and the preservation of the official bodies of royalty through a study on their tombs. Parsons states, "Her [the queen's] 'official' body was exalted by unction and coronation; to become a model of proper female regal behaviour, however, that body, like that of any woman, was impugned as a site of sin and pollution and, in the queen's case, feared especially as a means whereby she might sway her husband. Her reproductive function was of crucial importance to the realm, but that aspect of her maternity was secreted and its nurturing side emphasized by association with her intercession."²⁰ In respect to the idea that marriage and sexual relations were an impediment to female sanctity, they could not only be downplayed in the reasons for sanctity among queens, they could be seen as non-existent as long as it was the queen in her relationship as wife and mother to the undying and holy body of kingship, and not the human male, which was lauded in her vita. However, it is important to note that Mary and earthly queens are also alike in the fact that they were nothing without their close relationship to Christ and the king, respectively, which is why most images of Mary and queens depict them with their sons or husbands. Therefore Mary as Regina is a model for secular queens, whereas Mary as the Virgin is the only image that women of lower status could attempt to emulate in their religious aspirations.

However, what qualities made sanctity an option for the Ottonian queens of the tenth-century? Though there is no strong emphasis of Mary as Queen of Heaven here yet, Mathilda and Adelheid achieve sanctity very much in the image of Mary through the ideas presented above. Perhaps they provide an early source for the later emphasis on Mary as regina; this would not be unlikely due to the saintly qualities which are praised in Mathilda's *vitae* and Adelheid's epitaph. The *vitae* of both Mathilda and Adelheid focus on two possible avenues to sanctity; their charity toward the church and poor is highly praised, in conformity to the *Lives* of earlier holy queens, yet then their *Lives* diverge from earlier models of queenly sanctity in that their motherhood and marriage are at the center of the praise they receive as well. Mathilda is praised for her marriage and influence on King Henry in a passage from the "Later Life" that states, "O blessed ones [Mathilda and Henry], not only joined together in the flesh but of one soul and one spirit, always ready to perform every good work! In them lived on love for Christ, a shared sense of goodness, one will pleasing to God, and a singular capacity for righteousness; they were the same in their love for their neighbors and their compassion for their subjects."²¹ Additionally, her motherhood is praised in the "Older Life"; "...the esteemed mother and queen, Mathilda, pleased with the great leaders she had borne, was received in honor first by the emperor [Otto I], then by all of her offspring. She joyfully embraced and looked upon each of her grandchildren, rejoicing and offering special thanks to God..."²² While these passages praise Mathilda, there are likewise many of the same referring to Adelheid, such as a section of verse in her Epitaph which praises her, deeming that "No one before her / So helped the republic; / Obstinate Germany / And fruitful Italy—/ These and their princes/ She put under Rome's power./ She set noble King Otto / Over Rome as its Caesar; / And bore

him a son / Fit for rule supreme."²³ Or another passage states, "Her children have risen up and called her blessed, and her husband has praised her."²⁴ It seems, then, that it is the combination of their charity and mercy, more common ways in which saintly and religious women emulated Mary and Christ, along with their motherhood, something that to most women was a hindrance to sanctity, which together elevated them to sainthood.

Mathilda and Adelheid, represent the beginnings of a transformation of queenly sanctity that would embrace the motherhood of the queen as one of her most valuable and holy qualities. Terms such as *sancta mater*²⁵ (holy mother) and "mother of the dynasty"²⁶ are ascribed to Mathilda; likewise, Adelheid is known as the "mother of all kingdoms."²⁷ Similar epithets attached to Mary such as *regina mundi* and *regina coeli et terrae* present her as the queen of the world; there is a strong connection between the praise that Mathilda and Adelheid receive in these references as mothers of the kingdoms and the image of Mary as both a mother of the king and the queen of the world.²⁸ It is at this point where a new and vital connection to Mary is established through which the sanctity of queens like Mathilda and Adelheid rests on the idea that they lived more in the image of Mary than earlier female saints, who prided themselves in their virginity, because they were both wives and mothers of kings, just as Mary was both the bride and mother of Christ, the heavenly king.

That Mathilda and Adelheid are some of the first western medieval queens to achieve a sanctity that praised their roles as wives and mothers is not simply a transformation that appeared out of thin air; rather church reformers of the Carolingian ninth century including the Cluniacs, of which Adeheid's biographer, Odilo of Cluny was a member, and the Gregorians sought to alter the concept of female sanctity towards a model that emphasized domesticity and motherhood, something which the queen could especially embody on a saintly level.²⁹ Furthermore, in Germanic areas at this time, due to pagan influence, there was a high value placed upon motherhood and family ties.³⁰ This is quite evident in a passage from Mathilda's "Later Life" which paints a very motherly and domestic picture of the queen. "As the venerable Mathilda seated herself at the royal banquet table next to Queen Adelheid, the young ones ran about nearby, absorbed in their childish games. Then Henry, who was particularly beloved by God's holy one, approached the royal table, and gazing lovingly at his illustrious grandmother crawled into her lap in hopes of a kiss from her. The venerable queen happily picked him up and hugged him close..."³¹ This illustrates the value of motherly domesticity in a Mathilda's *vita*, which is not present in earlier Lives that lauded the ascetic, virginal, and manly woman. Furthermore, few queens were sanctified in the Carolingian ninth century; instead, the ideal queen was "consors regni, the consort, the queen who shared the power of the emperor to whom she was bound."³² While the growing emphasis on the secular qualities of the queen during the Carolingian period is important, it is the Saxon revival of saintly queenship in the tenth century that transforms the concept of queenly sanctity.³³ The Ottonian empresses Mathilda and Adelheid are unique in that they emerge from the two changes concerning female sanctity and queenship that occurred in the Carolingian period, one representing an increased focus on more feminine attributes to sanctity, and the other explaining what new form of queenship was beginning to be valued. Both culminate in the transformation of queenly sanctity that is evident in the Lives of Mathilda

and Adelheid, sainted queens who were both valued for their motherhood and their secular roles as consors regni. Thus, the virtuous life was adapted to the public and secular roles that queens played, making possible their elevation to sainthood, while also dictating that the proper role for the queen would be in emulation of Mary and this new type of sanctity that Mathilda and Adelheid represented. To better understand this phenomenon of queenly sanctity one must understand the secular and religious roles that the queen played, and from there examine how those actions proved saintly and in the image of Mary.

Most common in the sanctity of all medieval queens is the roles they played as intercessors between their husbands and the Church. With the Christianization of Europe through the early Middle Ages, the queen came to represent an intercessor between the Church and the King; it became their queenly and often saintly duty, to bestow generous charity upon the poor and the Church in order to act as a sort of alter ego to the militant and conquering king.³⁴ McNamara explains, "Secular lords of the sixth and seventh centuries could not risk compromising their warlike qualities. Women, on the other side, used the saintly role to participate in the dialectic of taking and giving. In this way, they became innovators of a new brand of lay sanctity..."³⁵ This new brand of sanctity that she discusses, while dealing with saintly queens, still relies on the rejection of wifely and motherly roles for a religious life, often that of an abbess, to achieve sanctity. It is for this reason that these earlier saintly queens are not the focus of this study due to their renunciation of motherhood and conjugal love, which they chose in conformity to the saintly ideal of chastity. Nevertheless, the role the queen played as an intercessor is one that remained at the very center of her power, evolving to fit the needs of the kingdom. The queen's role as intercessor on behalf of the Church was sanctioned through her role as the wife or mother of the king influencing them to either convert to Christianity, in which lay the reasons for the sanctity of earlier Merovingian queens, or to become patrons of the Church, a focus that developed in the tenth century.³⁶ As an intercessor, the queen was also an important advisor to the king due to the strong influence the Church had over even the most secular aspects of medieval government and life. An example of the queen playing the role of advisor is present in the vitae of Mathilda. Mathilda's husband King Henry, on his deathbed, praised her for her guidance saying, "We give thanks to Christ that you, who always have been most faithful and with good reason most beloved to us, will survive after us....We are grateful that you diligently tempered our wrath, gave us sound counsel in every situation, frequently drew us away from iniquity and towards justice, and diligently urged us to have mercy upon the oppressed."³⁷ In his complements to his wife and queen, Henry depicts Mathilda as not only an intercessor, but as something more; rather, she, as queen, was important to the governance and order of the realm.

In addition to her power as an intercessor the queen's status and power within the kingdom was rooted in her role as both wife and mother of kings; which was further solidified by the increasingly accepted and practice of anointing the king's wife as queen, rather than relegating her relationship to the king for her fertility alone, which created a formalized role of the queen. Pauline Stafford states, "The more formal role of a West Saxon/English queen developed in the tenth century and in the late tenth century especially. By the end of that century, an English queen was

anointed and not merely anointed to be the occupant of the royal bed...³⁸ Especially in Ottonian and Saxon kingdoms, there was a balance of power between the queen and the king, one which helped the queen to attain the status of *regina* (queen) rather than simply "wife of the king." The term *consors regni*, which placed her as "fellow of the lordship" with the king, elevated her status even higher.³⁹ "In the Christianized Germany of the tenth century, the dynamics of the couple had clearly changed from the confrontational quality of Merovingian marriage...the royal Saxon and Salian couples formed a tight consortium."⁴⁰ Therefore, a further link is established between the tenth-century Ottonian queens and the later increase in Mary's importance as she is elevated to the title of Queen of Heaven. Perhaps as Mathilda and Adelheid, along with several Saxon queens, established more formal and regal roles for the queen, as well as their saintly qualities, this title became something that should be ascribed to the most virtuous woman in the medieval point of view, Mary herself. Furthermore, "A queen was accepted as commander in circumstances of crisis if she could gain the trust of the military commanders. She also was accepted as regent following the capture or death of her husband if her child had been named as his successor."⁴¹ In this case the queen assumed the role of *domina dux*, or queen-regent for her minor son.⁴²

It is essential to note here that the queen's power, even if she ruled as regent, was strongly rooted in her connection to the king as either wife or mother. Stafford emphasizes the fact that, "With these early queens we are dealing not with female kingship, but with queenship. Queen or empress in their case is not a female king; she is the wife or mother of one. Her position derives from an intimate relationship with the king's body, a body which itself can be twofold, a physical and an official body, king and kingship."⁴³ This is further exemplified in her title as *domina*, which though it placed her above everyone else in the palace, she was still subordinate to the *dominus*, her husband the king.⁴⁴ This idea also coincides with the status of Mary as the mother of God, yet never a deity on her own. Furthermore, is the contradiction between the powers that the queen had, while still subject to subordination to her husband that further propelled queens to use their saintly qualities to solidify an alternate avenue through which they could exercise power and influence. However, because at this time it was common for the queen to outlive the king by many years, as did both Mathilda and Adelheid, queens then played another important role in the governance of the kingdom; they ruled as regents for their young sons.

Because succession to the throne was such a central concern for the monarchy, the queen's role as mother of the future king placed her at the very nucleus of the royal dynasty, for it was she who raised and protected the heir and stability of the kingdom; in this, the very existence of the kingdom depended upon her in this way, affording her a great deal of power as a mother. Her motherhood is even accredited to be the sole entity on which the destiny of the dynasty, kingdom, and people depended.⁴⁵ In this status as mother and nurturer of the king, sainted queens are further existing in the image of Mary, who was the protector and nurturer of Christ until he reached maturity. Additionally, it can even be said that the queen exercised more power and received greater praise for her role as the queen dowager rather than her role as queen while her husband lived, for though her motherhood was still praise highly as it was during the King's life, the Church and hagiographers alike could further elevate her to sanctity as a widow/mother because she was now a desexualized mother as

was Mary. Andre Poulet touches on this idea of the emphasis on motherhood and de-emphasis of what one did to become a mother. He states, "Trust in the mother, distrust of the wife—an ideal close to the contradictory theological image of femininity that opposed Mary to Eve..."⁴⁶ Furthermore, it was the queen's role to shelter and protect the young king from the dangers of the world, which she was trusted with because she was the closest to her son in both blood-ties and rank; it was the queen who educated her son and nurtured him to be a just king.⁴⁷

Mathilda and Adelheid's roles as regents for their sons, later their influence over their mature sons, and even later as regents for their grandsons, are lauded in their biographies. Much of their praise is received during their time as regent for their minor sons or as queen dowager, along with praise specifically to their motherly qualities, while specific passages are also dedicated to their desexualization after their husband's death. Several passages from the *Lives of Mathilda* illustrate this quite well. In the "Later Life": "Her every word and deed was marked by praiseworthy seriousness and admirable dignity, and she behaved with such complete modesty that many people would have thought she was a maiden, had they not seen the great multitude of her offspring."⁴⁸ Furthermore, "After the death of the venerable King Henry, when his eldest son Otto occupied the royal throne, the queen proved to be such a virtuous widow that few members of either sex could hope to imitate her. She was wise in her counsel, exceedingly gentle to the good and harsh to the arrogant, generous in her almsgiving, single-minded in her prayers, pious to all the needy, and 'mild in her speech; her love of for God and neighbor as well as her chastity remained unsullied.'⁴⁹ Though in most cases the queen's power as regent ended with the maturity of her son, Mathilda is called back to the palace after a falling out with her sons because of her holiness and God's wrath on Otto I, taking the form of the depressed condition of the kingdom, for exiling her for her overzealous charity to the church and poor. As Otto's first wife Edith tells him, "you have been scourged by God for driving your esteemed mother from the kingdom as if she were a stranger. Therefore, this most holy woman must be asked back and, as is only fitting, she must occupy the first place in the kingdom."⁵⁰ At this point Mathilda, though her son is mature and married to Queen Edith (and later to Adelheid), reassumes an important role in the royal family, again guiding her son to be a just and pious king.⁵¹ In Adelheid's Epitaph it is noted that "After the most august Otto went the way of all flesh, the empress together with her son long and auspiciously oversaw the rule of the Roman empire."⁵² Thus, the queen's role as both regent and queen dowager provide her with yet another form of power and, as will be examined further, another path to sanctity in the image of Mary.

The transformation of queenly sanctity in the *vitae* of Mathilda and Adelheid set a model for future queens; it promoted their status as virtuous wives, pious and modest women, advocates of the Church, generous to the poor, and above all, as holy mothers of kings. Vauchez, in his study of the sanctity of the laity, identifies an aspect of the reasoning behind this transformation in that many of the religious writers of the Carolingian and Ottonian periods elevated the royal laity to sainthood to provide tangible images of sanctity and more closely related personages for future kings and queens to model themselves after.⁵³ Specifically, the *vitae* of Mathilda and Adelheid, commissioned by their descendants, target their posterity in that their aim is to remind future generations of their piety and just rule. Imitation of Mathilda is directly

advocated in a passage that refers to her as, "...Mathilda, the renowned queen, whose splendid life ought rightly to be imitated and whose virtue is all the more praiseworthy in light of the fragility of her sex."⁵⁴ It is also later stated that she lived a noble life and left a good example for her descendants.⁵⁵ The emphasis in Adelheid's Epitaph places even greater importance on establishing her as a model for future queens. Odilo of Cluny specifically explains that he recorded her life "so that eminent deeds expressed in even more eminent words might resound in the ears of empresses and queens. In turn, when they have heard great accounts of great things, eagerly following her of whom we speak on the path of integrity, then domestic administration shall flourish through them, just as the republic prospered far and wide through her."⁵⁶ From this purpose behind the hagiography that records the Lives of Mathilda and Adelheid, one can surmise that their Lives, as well as those of other similarly sainted queens of their time, did in fact become models that later queens actively attempted to emulate. In particular, Queen Emma of England, an early eleventh-century queen, makes direct and conscious attempts to both place herself in the company of other sainted queens and link herself, as queen of England, closely to Mary, Queen of Heaven. She even goes so far as to commission a work now known as the *Encomium Emmae Reginae* as a secular biography that praised her and her accomplishments as queen in such a way that they seem to imitate the hagiography of the times.⁵⁷ It is this source, as well as two very interesting surviving images of Emma, which further expound upon the argument that queens of the tenth and eleventh aspired to sanctity in the image of Mary as she was a natural role model for the queen.

Though Emma, as far as the historian can determine from surviving sources, never achieved sainthood or an established cult, she is still essential to this study in light of her attempts to do so, as well as the direct visual links between her and Mary that exist. Emma's queenship very much follows that of Adelheid and Mathilda. Emma, a queen in both of her two marriages (first to Aethelred, then to Cnut), was very much so a *consors regni*. Furthermore, she ruled for a time as a co-regent with her sons Harthacnut and Edward (The Confessor).⁵⁸ The *Encomium Emmae Reginae* exists as both a biography and a justification for her political power in the secular world, which exists largely in the succession dispute that occurred after Cnut's death.⁵⁹ At this point it is interesting to analyze her commissioning of the *Encomium Emmae Reginae*, a source that closely emulates aspects of the traditional saints' vita, as an endeavor to justify her attempt to further elevate the power of the queen. At times it appears that she does so through the likeness of the *Encomium* to a saint's Life, which would link her reign to those of earlier sainted queens. In correlation with this idea, the prologues of vitae and that of the *Encomium*, both open with praise of the subject. The *Encomium* states, "May our Lord Jesus Christ preserve you, O Queen, who excel all those of your sex in the admirability of your way of life."⁶⁰ The prologue also falls in the pattern of a saints' Life in that the author demeans his work, avows its accuracy, and further praises the status of the queen.⁶¹ This parallels earlier queens' disguise of real power in their advocacy of the Church and in their saintly attributes and actions. Emma seeks to establish her motherly role of the king to enable her to partake actively in rulership of the kingdom with her sons, something that is explicitly stated in the final section of the *Encomium*. In a passage describing the joint rulership between Harthacnut and Edward and herself the author writes, "Here there is loyalty

among sharers of rule, here the bond of motherly and brotherly love if of strength indestructible.⁶³ It is important then to further consider Emma in her ties to queenly sanctity through the role of *mater Regis*, or king's mother, because even though she never attained sainthood, she is still eligible, as a queen, to draw tangible connections between Mary and herself, and these strongly documented attempts are vividly present in the two images of her that survive.

The first image of Emma that survives depicts her alongside her second husband, King Cnut, on the frontispiece to the *Liber Vitae* of New Minster Abbey in Winchester (fig. 4). Here she is identified by the name *Aelfifu* which she took when she married her first husband, King *Aelthered*, who Cnut had conquered.⁶⁴ Emma is depicted as a married woman and is just as prominent in the illustration as is King Cnut. Size was significant in emphasizing the more important people in medieval art; because Emma is of the same proportion as her husband and no less prominent, the image leads one to believe that there was a relatively equal partnership between her and the king. Stafford, in her analysis of this image of Emma and Cnut, also focuses on the title of *regina* bestowed upon Emma. She links this title to the emphasis of Emma's queenly, and thus sacred, position in the kingdom.⁶⁵ Furthermore, above Emma and Cnut are Mary and St. Peter, respectively.⁶⁶ Emma and Mary are depicted gesturing in similar ways, in addition to being directly related in their placement within the image. These characteristics of the imagery linking Emma to Mary argue strongly that she indeed sought to draw a parallel between herself and Mary. Furthermore, as Mary gestures toward Christ, Emma gestures toward the cross, a representation of the Church. Perhaps this represents both Mary's power as an intercessor with Christ and Emma's role as an intercessor for the Church, the worldly representation of Christ. This is additionally reinforced in the placement of Mary and Emma on the right-hand side of Christ and the cross, respectively.⁶⁷ The idea of the queen as an intercessor in the image of Mary further solidifies the relationships discussed earlier between Mathilda and Adelheid and their qualities for queenly sanctity. Whereas this image does draw strong ties between Mary and Emma and establishes the role of the queen as important in the reign of Cnut, in it there are no discernable links to imagery of Mary as Queen of Heaven; Emma is a queen likening herself to Mary, but Mary is not necessarily a queen herself to begin with. Further emphasis of Emma as a queen, which is depicted in the second image, brings up an interesting concept concerning the evolution of Mary as Queen of Heaven in later years.

The second image of Emma is, in fact, the frontispiece of the *Encomium*, which depicts the importance of Emma in the co-regency between herself and her two sons (fig. 5). At this time her son Harthacnut is king, yet, his size, along with that of his half-brother Edward, and placement are minor when compared to the emphasis on Emma. Emma herself commissioned the *Encomium*, which could be a primary reason for her importance in this image. While her sons, smaller in proportion to Emma, peek in from the side, Emma is crowned and enthroned. These two factors are extremely important because, as Stafford explains, the laity were rarely enthroned in visual images from eleventh-century England, this honor being reserved for Christ or other important heavenly personages.⁶⁸ Furthermore, that a queen assumes the importance of enthronement at a time when the king is just beginning to be depicted thusly, speaks volumes for the importance that Emma is claiming for herself. Although

her queenship and individual power are emphasized here, Emma's power is still in relationship to her status as the mother of the king. Her sons may be depicted with minor importance, but they are still there; Emma's attempt at power would have had no chance without her role as mother. This is congruent with the imagery of Mary discussed earlier, due to the visual relationship that is nearly always present between herself and Christ (fig. 1 and 3). Therefore this image, as Stafford explains, "is an image of power, of a patroness, of a mother, powerful in crowned and enthroned maternity...Mother and sons, bound by family affection, rule together in a trinity of power which comes close to being compared with that of the Trinity itself. Here, then, is Emma as a crowned queen, but powerful especially as a mother, and as a mother of the king, *mater Regis*."⁸⁸ This image is especially important because Emma is depicted enthroned and crowned before many of the images of Mary enthroned as the Queen of Heaven were created. As the ties that Emma sought to place between herself and Mary in the earlier image, the historian must infer at this impasse that the same relationship is emphasized here, yet here Emma enthrones herself, as is only common in images of Christ. Perhaps, in her assertion of the throne and in her emulation of Mary, Emma provides a secular precursor to the resurgence in Mary's importance and her own enthronement as the Queen of Heaven, which began to occur in the twelfth century.

This study has, in part, examined the evolution of queenship in the tenth and eleventh centuries, in that it was closely tied to the evolving ideals of sanctity that were ascribed to the queen. As discussed earlier, it was her saintly characteristics that allowed the queen an acceptable avenue of power, through her combined roles as pious intercessor, *consors regni*, and as a holy mother of kings. Furthermore, the complex combination of roles which the queen fulfilled, and were, as is described in the *vitae* of Mathilda and Adelheid, the very things that made her holy, brings into play a strong relationship between sainted queens and Mary herself. In the tenth and eleventh centuries motherhood and domesticity were emphasized as saintly qualities of the queen, not impediments to spiritual growth as they had been for earlier female saints, and even earlier sainted queens. This is evident in the *vitae* of Mathilda and Adelheid, in which the two women are consistently praised for their roles as good wives, good mothers, and as family matriarchs. This transformation of queenly sanctity parallels, and even predates slightly, the evolution of the iconography of Mary as the Queen of Heaven.

As discussed earlier, there was always a strong tie between female sanctity and emulation of Mary, present in the idealization of virginity; however, as I have argued, the elevated status of the queen as the wife and mother of kings allowed her to more completely emulate Mary through motherhood. Conjugal relations between the king and queen could not be a barrier to her sanctity because the kingdom depended on an heir, and the necessity of intercourse could even be ignored almost completely if one only recognized her desexualized relationship as mother to her son. These queens, Mathilda, Adelheid, and Emma, are important to a discussion on both the transformation of queenship and queenly sanctity; however, they also provide valuable insight on the evolution of the iconography of Mary as Queen of Heaven. They are sainted for their motherhood of kings, linking them to Mary, and Mary is later strongly reestablished as a queen perhaps because of the importance that these women ascribed

to that role. These women ruled with their husbands and sons over earthly kingdoms and they gave birth to sons who were kings. Twelfth-century writers, emphasizing Mary as a queen, provide earthly reasons for the heavenly crowning of Mary. One such author, Odo of Morimond, deemed Mary a queen because Christ, her son, was a king at birth.⁶⁶ Mary Stroll, in her examination of *Maria Regina*, explains Mary that, "The idea of a 'regni consortium' evolved in which Mary, the queen of the world, sits as the right side of her son, and reigns with him in heaven."⁶⁷ Here is yet another tie to the roles that Mathilda, Adelheid, and Emma played as regents with their sons. Whether or not these earthly queens were the models for the later emphasis of Mary as Queen of Heaven, it is evident that their sanctity, or aspired sanctity in Emma's case, was indeed in the image of Mary. They were pious women, merciful intercessors, generous philanthropists, and most importantly holy vessels in their motherhood of royal sons; these queens and the new form of sanctity they embodied provided positive feminine images of female sanctity that would become models for later queens and perhaps even the evolution of Mary's role as Queen of Heaven.



Figure 1. Madonna della Clemenza, early 8th century. (Photograph: Bibliotheca Hertziana, Rome)

Reprinted from Mary Stroll, "Maria Regina: Papal Symbol," in *Queens and Queenship in Medieval Europe*, ed. Anne J. Duggan (Woodbridge, Suffolk, Great Britain: The Boydell Press, 1997), 193.



Figure 2. Chapel of John VII, St Peter's Rome: Vatican Library, MS Vat. Lat. 6439, fols 260-1.

Reprinted from Mary Stroll, "Maria Regina: Papal Symbol," in *Queens and Queenship in Medieval Europe*, ed. Anne J. Duggan (Woodbridge, Suffolk, Great Britain: The Boydell Press, 1997), 194.



Figure 3. The so-called Quintity, from the prayer book of Aelfwine, abbot of the New Minster, London, British Library, Cotton Titus D xxvii, fol. 75v.

Reprinted from Pauline Stafford, "Emma: The Powers of the Queen in the Eleventh Century," in *Queens and Queenship in Medieval Europe*, ed. Anne J. Duggan (Woodbridge, Suffolk, Great Britain: The Boydell Press,



Figure 4. *Emma (Ælfgifu) and Cnut, from the Liber Vitae of New Minster Abbey, Winchester, British Library, Stowe MS 944, fol. 6*

Reprinted from Pauline Stafford, "Emma: The Powers of the Queen in the Eleventh Century," in *Queens and Queenship in Medieval Europe*, ed. Anne J. Duggan (Woodbridge, Suffolk, Great Britain: The Boydell Press, 1997), 24.



ditional MS 33244, fol. 1v

Reprinted from Pauline Stafford, "Emma: The Powers of the Queen in the Eleventh Century," in *Queens and Queenship in Medieval Europe*, ed. Anne J. Duggan (Woodbridge, Suffolk, Great Britain: The Boydell Press, 1997), 25.

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Endnotes

- ¹ *Vita* (plural form: *vitae*) is Latin for life. The term pertains to a saints' Life, which is synonymous with the term saints' *vita*.
- ² Queen Mathilda (c. 895-968) was the wife of King Henry and the mother of King Otto I, Holy Roman Emperor. Her Life survives in two versions known as The "Older Life" and the "Later Life" of Queen Mathilda, both Lives are anonymous.
- ³ Queen Adelheid (c. 930-999) was the wife of Otto I. She was crowned Holy Roman Empress and was the mother of King Otto II. She was one of the first canonized saints, canonized in 1097 by Pope Urban II, and her Life survives in Odilo of Cluny's *Epitaph* and in other versions that reflect strong reference to the *Epitaph*.
- ⁴ Franca Ela Consolino, "Female Asceticism and Monasticism in Italy from the Fourth to the Eighth Centuries," in *Women and Faith: Catholic Religious Life in Italy from Late Antiquity to the Present*, eds. Lucetta Scaraffia and Gabriella Zarri (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1999), 20.
- ⁵ E. Ann Matter, "Mystical Marriage," in *Women and Faith: Catholic Religious Life in Italy from Late Antiquity to the Present*, eds. Lucetta Scaraffia and Gabriella Zarri (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1999), 35.
- ⁶ "By the latter half of the fourth century, a proliferation of writings, in both East and West, exhorted virgins and widows to take vows of chastity....Because sexual attraction was a consequence of the Fall, a virginal life, which imitated that of the angels, offered those who practiced it a privileged position, an earthly anticipation of the joys of paradise. The woman who chose to dedicate herself to God overcame the weakness of her own sex and became a *mulier virilis*, capable of competing in virtue with men. Marriage, by contrast, established to populate the world, was no longer necessary now that the goal had been achieved. Refusing a physical maternity, therefore, not only freed virgins from the risks of pregnancy but also offered them a rich spiritual maternity with a view to the afterlife." (Consolino, 11.)
- ⁷ Heffernan, 250.
- ⁸ 1 Cor. 7:8-9, 34 KJB (King James Bible).
- ⁹ Vauchez, *Lay People's Sanctity in Western Europe*, 25.
- ¹⁰ Heffernan, 260.
- ¹¹ Giulia Barone, "Society and Women's Religiosity, 750-1450," in *Women and Faith: Catholic Religious Life in Italy from Late Antiquity to the Present*, eds. Lucetta Scaraffia and Gabriella Zarri (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1999), 55.
- ¹² Mary as a queen was emphasized in Byzantium through the cult of Theotokos. Mosaics that survive from that period depict Mary enthroned and crowned with the Christ child due to this Eastern influence. Figure 1 depicts the Madonna della Clemenza enthroned and crowned with the infant Christ. A further early illustration of Mary as queen was created under the papacy of John VII between 705 and 707; a mosaic in the oratory of St. Peter's, represented here (fig. 2) in a watercolor reproduction by Giacomo Grimaldi, depicts Mary crowned, an inscription that names her the genetrix of God, and Pope John VII as her servant. (Mary Stroll, "Maria Regina: Papal Symbol," in *Queens and Queenship in Medieval Europe*, ed. Anne J. Duggan [Woodbridge, Suffolk, Great Britain: The Boydell Press, 1997], 176-177.)
- ¹³ *Ibid.*, 175.
- ¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 177.

- ¹⁵ Pauline Stafford, "Emma: The Powers of the Queen in the Eleventh Century," in *Queens and Queenship in Medieval Europe*, eds. Anne J. Duggan (Woodbridge, Suffolk: The Boydell Press, 1997), 13.
- ¹⁶ Ibid.
- ¹⁷ Ibid., 17.
- ¹⁸ Ibid., 22.
- ¹⁹ Ibid.
- ²⁰ John Carmi Parsons, "'Never was a body buried in England with such solemnity and honour': The Burials and Posthumous Commemorations of English Queens to 1500," in *Queens and Queenship in Medieval Europe*, ed. Anne J. Duggan (Woodbridge, Suffolk, Great Britain: The Boydell Press, 1997), 333.
- ²¹ Sean Gilsdorf, trans., "The 'Later Life' of Queen Mathilda," in *Queenship and Sanctity: The Lives of Mathilda and the Epitaph of Adelheid*, trans. and intro. Sean Gilsdorf (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 2004), 96-97.
- ²² Sean Gilsdorf, trans., "The 'Older Life' of Queen Mathilda," in *Queenship and Sanctity: The Lives of Mathilda and the Epitaph of Adelheid*, trans. and intro. Sean Gilsdorf (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 2004), 83.
- ²³ Odilo of Cluny, "The Epitaph of Adelheid," in *Queenship and Sanctity: The Lives of Mathilda and the Epitaph of Adelheid*, trans. and intro. Sean Gilsdorf (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 2004), 131.
- ²⁴ Ibid., 132.
- ²⁵ Heinrich Fichtenau, *Living in the Tenth Century: Mentalities and Social Orders*, trans. Patrick J. Geary (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1991), 92.
- ²⁶ Pauline Stafford, "The Portrayal of Royal Women in England, Mid-Tenth to Mid-Twelfth Centuries," in *Medieval Queenship*, ed. John Carmi Parsons (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1993), 152.
- ²⁷ Fichtenau, 180.
- ²⁸ Stroll, *Maria Regina*, 177-178.
- ²⁹ Jane Tibbetts Schulenburg, "Female Sanctity: Public and Private Roles," in *Women and Power in the Middle Ages*, eds. Mary Erler and Maryanne Kowaleski (Athens, Georgia: The University Press of Georgia, 1988), 117.
- ³⁰ Jane Tibbetts Schulenburg, "'Golden Wombs': Motherhood and Sanctity," in *Forgetful of Their Sex: Female Sanctity and Society, ca. 500-1100* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1998), 218.
- ³¹ Gilsdorf, trans., *The "Later Life" of Queen Mathilda*, 115.
- ³² Barone, 48.
- ³³ McNamara, *Imitatio Helenae*, 69.
- ³⁴ McNamara, *The Need to Give*, 200.
- ³⁵ Ibid., 201.

- ³⁶ Stafford, *The Portrayal of Royal Women in England*, 146-147.
- ³⁷ Gilsdorf, trans., *The "Later Life" of Queen Mathilda*, 98.
- ³⁸ Stafford, *Emma*, 13.
- ³⁹ Fichtenau, 176.
- ⁴⁰ McNamara, *Imitatio Helenae*, 70.
- ⁴¹ Fichtenau, 179.
- ⁴² *Ibid.*, 175.
- ⁴³ Stafford, *Emma*, 10.
- ⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 18.
- ⁴⁵ Andre Poulet, "Capetian Women and the Regency: The Genesis of a Vocation," in *Medieval Queenship*, ed. John Carmi Parsons (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1993), 106.
- ⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 111.
- ⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 106.
- ⁴⁸ Gilsdorf, trans., *The "Later Life" of Queen Mathilda*, 101.
- ⁴⁹ Gilsdorf, trans., *The "Older Life" of Queen Mathilda*, 77.
- ⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 78.
- ⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 79.
- ⁵² Odilo of Cluny, 132.
- ⁵³ Vauchez, *Lay Peoples' Sanctity in Western Europe*, 22.
- ⁵⁴ Gilsdorf, trans., *The "Later Life" of Queen Mathilda*, 88.
- ⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 127.
- ⁵⁶ Odilo of Cluny, 128.
- ⁵⁷ McNamara, *Imitatio Helenae*, 73.
- ⁵⁸ Stafford, *Emma*, 7.
- ⁵⁹ Stafford, *The Portrayal of Royal Women in England*, 163.
- ⁶⁰ Alistair Campbell, Alistair, ed., *Encomium Emmae Reginae*, intro. Simon Keynes (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 5.
- ⁶¹ *Ibid.*
- ⁶² *Ibid.*, 53.
- ⁶³ Stafford, *Emma*, 4.
- ⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

⁶⁵ Anne J. Duggan, ed., *Queens and Queenship in Medieval Europe* (Woodbridge, Suffolk, Great Britain: The Boydell Press, 1997), xvi.

⁶⁶ Stafford, *Emma*, 4.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 5.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

⁶⁹ Stroll, 178.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

The Revival College: Westward Expansion, Spiritual Awakening, and Wittenberg College

Mark Huber

Introduction

Wittenberg College was founded at a time when tradition and heritage were fighting with popular American spirituality for survival. Revivalism at Wittenberg served as a unifying force between the old the new. The institution was firmly rooted in tradition, yet expressed its spirituality through a product of contemporary America. The endurance of tradition, however, outlasted the religious trends which were essential to the foundation of Wittenberg, and revivalism no longer had a place in the college.

Despite the free use of the idea of American spirituality in the nineteenth century to refer to popular religious life, no clear definition of the phrase presented itself. America built its religious identity on the values and religious beliefs of a vast array of immigrants, which resulted in an ever-changing and easily adapted religious culture. The unique individuality of the founding fathers and their successors resulted in a country largely shaped by religious pluralism, where the noblest duty of all was to uphold freedom, and as a result religious distinctiveness. The outcome of maintaining so many distinct religious cultures was the ever-changing fluidity of the term American spirituality.

In the middle of the nineteenth century the words revivalism or pietism might have sufficed to define the general religious nature of America. Still enduring the lasting effects of the Second Great Awakening, popular religion was strongly rooted in conversion and confession, and revivals allowed for both in an intimate way. Not only did they appeal to ideas of personal piety, but they also "revived" a large number of souls into a new religious life. In a society where the individual largely defined what constituted religious orthodoxy, revivals were theologically accepted by a large number of denominations as an effective and legitimate means of securing a person's salvation.

Despite the general acceptance of revivals as an expression of spirituality in America, many denominations struggled with the place these contemporary manifestations of religion held in their traditions. The Lutheran church was one of these denominations. Composed primarily of two distinct factions, those who had lived in America for some time and those who had more recently immigrated, the Lutheran church struggled to unite people from two very different situations and ethnic backgrounds. People who had lived in America for some time felt connected to a broader sense of American spirituality, and wished to incorporate larger religious trends into their denominational life. Those who had more recently immigrated,

however, were more attached to the tradition from which both factions derived and saw any deviation from that tradition as unacceptable.

From these disagreements came two distinct theological positions among Lutherans in America. The Americanist Lutheran position allowed for those aspects of American spirituality which agreed with historic Lutheran theology and doctrine to be incorporated into the daily life of the church. It also attempted to limit the importance of some historic confessions, on the claim that they were a deviation from the original intent of the reformation and that of Luther.¹ The Americanists also saw the need for preaching in English and believed immigrants should learn and incorporate the language into their new lives in America. The Confessional position, as typically defended by more recent German immigrants, held that all the confessions of the contemporary Lutheran church were true and necessary to the continuation of the church. They also lifted up the German heritage of the church, and believed all preaching should be done in German.²

These differences in theology had a profound affect on the Lutheran church in Ohio because of the importance it held for educating pastors for the west. The Lutheran seminary at Gettysburg had served as the primary location for educating pastors; however, the opening of a new seminary in Columbus by the German-speaking Confessionalist branch of the Lutheran church in Ohio, recognized the fact that the church was gradually expanding westward. This in turn led to the consideration, and ultimately the chartering, of a literary and theological institution for the English-speaking Lutheran church in Ohio. The institution was deliberately structured so as to compliment the American Lutheran stronghold at Gettysburg, and aid in the expansion of the church. Wittenberg College was founded as a seminary and preparatory school for the Lutheran church in the west. It was an institution founded to uphold the theology of American Lutheranism, and to educate English speaking pastors for the ever expanding church.

It was entirely natural that the new institution became a champion of American Lutheranism in the West. With a faculty heavily influenced, and in most cases educated, by Gettysburg seminary, it was no surprise that broader religious trends were incorporated into the curriculum and religious life of the institution. Within ten years of its existence Wittenberg College became known to the local community as the "Revival College."³ The religious life of the school upheld American spirituality and revivalism, sure indications of a prosperous Americanist Lutheran institution.

The Early 19th Century Frontier

Willard Dow Albeck, a professor at Wittenberg from 1939 to 1967, commented in his book on the history of the theology of the school, "it has sometimes been said that frontier life was productive of a liberal spirit. Anti-theological movements, new sects, and church practices that broke with the past flourished there."⁴ While this was generally the case in the early nineteenth century, there were a few exceptions. The Lutheran church offers one example of a deviation from the norm. The church in the west, like that of the east, experienced a split between traditionalists and those willing to modify that tradition. Even those who were more liberal struggled with the tension between tradition and innovation.

Pietism came to America on the boat. Ideas of individual spirituality, prayer, fellowship, missionizing, and social outreach played integral roles in Protestant theology throughout Europe. These notions were expounded upon, and became more popular, as a result of Philipp Jacob Spener's publication of *The Piety We Desire* in 1675. When Henry Melchior Muhlenberg, one of the early leaders of colonial Lutheranism, crossed over the ocean to America he brought these concepts of pietism with him as part of his understanding of traditional Lutheran theology.⁵

Half a century after Muhlenberg arrived in America, the religious life of the country had changed dramatically. As a result of the religious pluralism so pervasive in America, ideas from various strands of immigrants began to mix and form more American versions of their European counterparts. For example, immigrants from a Presbyterian background often incorporated that tradition's legacy of extended meetings surrounding the Lord's Supper, or "communion seasons," into their identity in America. This practice, however, evolved into an important fixture of popular religion in America beyond Presbyterian tradition. The "mainstay of American revivalism" during the early part of the nineteenth century was "in many cases a direct descendant of these early communion seasons."⁶ Religious ideas were combining and changing along with the people that brought them to America. The various religious traditions were adapting themselves to coexist in a pluralistic environment, and as a result ideas which were formerly held only by a specific tradition were being freely used by any who could justifiably apply them.

Revivalism in America illustrates a widespread trend that evolved from the pietistic traditions of Germans, the "communion seasons" of the Presbyterians, and many other sources to become a common way of evangelizing in the new continent. It addressed the pietistic notion that prayer, fellowship, and missionizing were important. It also incorporated the traditions of protracted meetings, and public repentance and forgiveness which were important aspects of many denominational theologies found in America during this time. Revivals were seen as successful tools for evangelizing because the end result often included numerous conversions. They were also supported by the contemporary American theology that "God had bestowed on all people the ability to come to Christ."⁷ The theology created and defended during the period known as the Second Great Awakening "arose from a widespread desire for a theology of action that could encourage and justify the expanding of revivals of Christianity."⁸ Revivalism offered a way to actively evangelize and stir up excitement for religion.

Revivals were often seen as a sign of spiritual health across the denominational frontier of America, despite the problem that the role and scope of such events often came in question. In the Lutheran church, to offer a specific example, revivals were seen as vital in some congregations, appalling in others, and more often than not some sort of mix between the two. The struggle over revivalism in the Lutheran church brought up specific questions of how often and to what extent revivals should occur. The cultural popularity of revivalism was enough to make many leery of their routine incorporation into the tradition. Others were primarily concerned as to how far a congregation might go in order to revive souls, and that the church's Lutheran heritage might be sacrificed as a result. The underlying theology found in revivals of people seeking God presented a direct contradiction to the Lutheran notion that God seeks

people; however, Lutherans who supported both tradition and revivalism argued that the practice could be separated from the theology typically associated with it. One writer for the *Lutheran Observer*, a widely circulated newspaper for members of the Lutheran church, illustrates just how prevalent various degrees of revivalism were, and offers some insight into what might have been an acceptable Lutheran response to these issues:

MEANS AND METHOD OF REVIVAL. Said a member of the church to his pastor – “What can be done to promote a revival of religion among us?” To this question, doubtless, different answers would have been given by different persons, and by few probably would have been given the answer of the pastor in question. Some would have said – we must have a protracted meeting, and send for Mr., and Dr., to come and preach in their rousing style. Others would have said – we must make more effort, and multiply means and meetings until we wake up slumbering Christians and stupid sinners. Others would have said – we must have something new to excite curiosity and bring people out, and to fix their attention when they are out; we must have anxious seats, and call sinners to come forward to be prayed for, we must induce them to make a promise that they will attend to the subject, or something of that sort. The old means and measures are worn out and become stale, and sinners will sleep on the road to ruin unless they are aroused by some new measure. But none of these was the answer given by the pastor referred to; he said – we must have an increase of personal piety – we must each one begin at home in his own heart, and cultivate more eminently the spirit of humility of penitence, of faith, of self-denial, of devotedness, of prayer; and then these little streams all running together will make a revival, and sinners around taking knowledge of the followers of Christ, that they have been with him, will, like the jailor of Philippi, when he heard Paul and Silas sing praises to God at midnight be awakened and constrained to ask of revived Christians – “Sirs, what must we do to be saved?”

This cautious approach to revivalism taken by many Lutherans in America rooted itself in the traditional pietistic notions of the church, and made the justification of revivals all the more important.

When examined through the lens of Lutheran theology, revivals appeared to have numerous flaws. Spiritual pride, a false sense of devotion, and less than sincere conversions were just a few of the problems that revivals were seen to foster. Those who supported these events had the job of making sure these difficult problems were dealt with effectively and that they lifted up the respected pietistic traditions that could be manifested through revivals. Revivalism served as a legitimate practice of the church when enlightened by pietism, because the extreme aspects of revivalism were restrained by traditionally accepted theology. By “leading each one to consider religion as primarily a transaction between his soul and the heart searching God,” Lutherans could successfully carry out a revival without infringing into the dangerous areas mentioned above.¹⁰ Despite the popularity of revivals in religious institutions, students were also concerned with many of the issues raised by the larger church. A student writing in the *Lutheran Observer* stated that “the spirit of revivals at the present time renders it important to discriminate the true from the false, the chaff from the wheat.”¹¹ This illustrates that the concerns of the larger church body also resonated

with those who more popularly supported such action, but that revivals were still seen among many as a means to bring about "the early and latter rains of divine grace."

The debate surrounding revivalism among members of the Lutheran church did not quickly reach a resolution. The *Lutheran Observer* had an entire section denoted as "The Revival Department," which ran articles ranging from descriptions of revivals to the broader historical context for such events.¹² The latter was seen as especially important to supporters of revivals as a way refute the notion that revivals harmed tradition. Instead, they argued that "revivals of religion to a greater or lesser extent have at times prevailed ever since that church has existed."¹³ Those who defended this argument cited evidence from both the Old and New Testaments and stated that "there were various seasons of refreshing from the presence of the Lord in the first centuries of the Christian church."¹⁴ The presence of revivals in educational institutions added to the importance of their place in the church. Those who saw revivals as a positive and necessary occurrence encouraged their practice in schools, while those who did not hold revivals in such high esteem feared that their presence in these institutions would corrupt the future leaders of the church. "The awakening of many young men to a realizing sense of their sins" would have been an encouraged phenomenon in any situation; however, the use of revivals as a means to this end caused much debate.¹⁵

The expanding church needed to provide pastors for its parishioners moving farther and farther west, but the debate over the role of revivals in the church complicated matters. The church was sharply divided over the revival issue, and the matter of including or prohibiting their presence in the institutions of the west could not be easily resolved. Lutherans only composed a small portion of those in the west, and in many places their identity was far from clear. One piece from the *Lutheran Observer* illustrates how vague their presence appeared in some parts of the new frontier:

A gentleman just from McKean County informs us, that this 'new sect' is a company of Germans who have stock at a stipulated sum per share on which they are making an experiment as to this life. With regard to their religion he knows nothing. They can scarcely be regarded as a religious sect, much less a 'new' one — Their association is for secular, not spiritual gain. They are understood to be in the county, Lutherans.¹⁶

In an attempt to clarify their identity, the Lutheran church framed its tradition and heritage in terms of its contemporary situation. One example of this can be seen in the way in which Dr. Merle D'Augibne's history of the reformation describes Luther. Aspects of his story which seem to promote and support revivalism are clearly put to the forefront, uplifting his "repentance and conversion" and describing the influence of scripture as "refreshing to my wounded spirit."¹⁷ The confessionalists saw the application of revivalistic prose to historical events such as these as beginning the process of questioning the historical theology of the church in light of contemporary practice.

The Americanist Lutheran school consisted of strong leaders from the prominent theological institution of the time: Gettysburg Seminary. They argued that only the basic confessions of the church were necessary, and that the numerous other confessions historically part of the Lutheran tradition harmed unity in a contemporary

setting. The length of the historic Lutheran confessions led them to also argue that they greatly limited scholarly interpretation. Freedom and individualism, rather than enforced consensus, were the values uplifted by this school. They asserted that the reformers were constantly tweaking, which translated into an obligation to address contemporary thought as it arose.

Debates concerning revivals persisted as a consistent feature of Lutheran discourse through much of the early nineteenth century.¹⁸ Even so, the tradition and historic theology of Lutheranism held a place of unquestioned importance to the majority of Lutherans in America. Pietism was influential to the acceptance of revivals by Americanist Lutherans, yet it was equally influential in the decision to remain strict adherents to tradition as the Confessionalists chose to do. Lutherans in America struggled with their place in and among these trends, and as one person stated in regards to the other side, "consequently as regards their influence, you can neither lose nor gain much."

A Literary and Theological Institution

Westward expansion was still in its infancy at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Many saw Ohio as a western state on the frontier, and Indiana, Illinois, and Kentucky were also part of the "west." The Lutheran church struggled to keep pace with these ever-expanding boundaries. Even in Ohio, where the state was relatively settled, there were not enough pastors to go around. The ever changing population that composed the church desperately needed an institution which could sustain and encourage its growth. The Lutherans in Ohio, united in a body known as the Ohio Synod, attempted to address this need by establishing their own seminary in Columbus in 1830.¹⁹

There was a great division in ideals among the Lutherans in Ohio, however, similar to that of the rest of the country. Those with an Americanist Lutheran ideology became increasingly concerned with the absence of English in the formal curriculum of the new institution. On the other hand, confessionalist members of the Ohio Synod wished to maintain German language as the primary language for preaching and education. The Americanists saw the conversion from German language to English as essential for all immigrants as a way to adapt to their new surroundings, and the continuation of German preaching as never leading to the type of evangelism that the gospel called the church to do. Eventually this division in principle led to the split of the Ohio Synod into two separate governing bodies: the English Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Ohio and the Joint Synod of Ohio, which was predominately German.

The tension between the two synods grew, and their animosity towards each other with it. At one point the English Synod passed the following resolution which illustrates just how edgy their relationship with the Germans had become:

Resolved, That inasmuch as the German Joint Synods of Ohio, treated our worthy delegate, Rev. Dr. Hamilton, with contempt, we, the members of the English Ev. Luth. Synod of Ohio, cannot condescend to have any further intercourse with that Synod, until a suitable apology be made to this Synod. Unless this is done, we cannot send or receive any delegate, or any Minutes, to or from that Synod.²⁰

The incorporation of revivalism into the tradition also heightened these already present tensions between the two Lutheran synods. In that same resolution, the English Evangelical Lutheran Synod "resolved that this Synod recommend to all its members the importance of conforming, as much as possible, where practicable, to the customs, manners, forms and usages, of our fathers, without injuring the cause of vital Godliness," affirming that American spirituality should be included to the greatest extent possible.²¹ The thought of conforming to popular American ideas appalled the German Joint Synods, which wished above all else to stay true to tradition, heritage, and language. The English synod voted to "recommend uniformity in worship – and that in conducting revivals of religion, [they should] be careful to obey the injunction of the apostle: - 'Let all things be done decently, and in order.'"²² The German synod no doubt saw the maintenance of order as a concern during revivals of religion; however, since they were opposed to the very concept of adapting these American ideas to their tradition, no amount of caution by the English synod could result in a compromise. The language used by the English synod in its resolution also seems carefully chosen to antagonize its German counterpart. The statement that "we highly approve of extraordinary efforts to awaken sinners, and bring them to the knowledge of truth, as it is in Christ," left no room for compromise with the Joint Synod, and pushed many of the issues over which the two groups disagreed.²³

As a result of these irreconcilable differences, the English synod felt that the importance of educating English speaking pastors for the west fell to them. The inability to reach a compromise with the seminary in Columbus already had an effect on members of the church throughout Ohio and the west. In one case a member in Van Wert County, Ohio wrote that "there is a great call for a faithful Lutheran minister here, able to preach in both English and German languages."²⁴ Without a formal agreement to teach both English and German at the Columbus seminary, English was neglected entirely after 1839, when the bilingual professor Wilhelm Schmidt, died.²⁵ This situation proved unacceptable to many of the Lutherans in Ohio and, as a result, the English synod soon resolved that in "humble reliance upon the Lord Jesus Christ, and alone for his glory and honor, we, now in Synod assembled, do ordain and establish a Literary and Theological institution."²⁶ They had heard the call of many to provide pastors to lead the ever-expanding church, and to lift up the American Lutheran ideas which they championed.

With the establishment of a literary and theological institution decided, the English Synod needed to shape its vague statement of intent into a clear vision. The newly elected board of directors met in Wooster in June of 1843 to discuss concrete plans for the new institution. They decided to locate the school in Wooster and to seek help from those in the East for finding an appropriate professor for the school.²⁷ They commented that "the destitution of our church is alarmingly great, and as the time has arrived when the calls for an able and efficient ministry are great, we hope nothing will be left undone to get into immediate operation, this school of the Prophets."²⁸ Prophets challenge people to live in God's image using contemporary methods, such as revivals, to convey their message, and revivals were just the type of religious experience the board had in mind when it began to plan for the institution. Revivals were contemporary and yet ultimately connected people with tradition. The board did not, however, focus solely on promoting revivals and new measures

of religion. It also voted to establish a book depository for "the Hymn books and Catechisms of our Church" illustrating the early commitment of the board to the traditional writings of the Lutheran church.²⁹

The man whom the board chose to tie together tradition and Americanism was Ezra Keller. Called as the first professor of theology for the institution, Keller exerted a large influence on the shape of the school, and was largely responsible for the prominent role revivals played in the new institution. A product of a revivalistic conversion himself, he was well aware of the ways in which revivals could be used to evangelize. The story of his conversion, as quoted by Michael Diehl, is as follows:

After the opening exercises were concluded, an elderly man arose, who preached with much simplicity and pathos. The subject discussed was, 'The Christian life and its blessed reward.' An arrow was thrust into my heart and fastened there... I saw myself as a condemned sinner; I felt that to continue in that state would be intolerable. I left the house, and retired to my father's barn. There, upon bended knees, I solemnly consecrated myself to the service of God. From that moment my feelings were changed.³⁰

Having been so influenced by conversion and contemporary American Protestantism, it is understandable that he wished to teach these things to his students. On the other hand, he was also a scholar of the Lutheran tradition and had great respect for the heritage and confessions that it encompassed. It is also interesting to note that during Keller's college years the church was "visited with remarkable outpourings of the Holy Ghost, whereby hundreds of sinners were in all human judgment converted, while at the same time believers were revived and strengthened, and stimulated to press forward toward the heavenly prize with renewed vigor and delight."³¹ As a student at Gettysburg, Keller was deeply involved in this "glorious epoch in the annals of American Lutheranism" which resulted in "the augmented number of candidates for the ministry," Keller himself among them.³² As a minister in the Lutheran church Keller quickly rose to join the American Lutheran cause and become a prominent young leader.³³

Keller also had experience working in the west. Shortly after graduation from seminary he was sent by the Missionary Society of the Theological Seminary at Gettysburg to travel westward, assessing the state of the western church as he went. He became especially interested during his travels to take note of a church in Ohio which had "lately had the Augsburg Confession translated into English, and also an English Liturgy prepared."³⁴ He did not focus solely on the English speaking congregations in Ohio, but also noticed the seminary of the then still unified Ohio Synod, which he evaluated as having "already been the means of sending out some efficient laborers into this part of the Lord's vineyard."³⁵ He mentioned that the seminary had been "much embarrassed in its operations by a want of funds," which could explain why he quickly worked on the endowment of Wittenberg College after being called to that institution. His Americanist leanings can be seen in much of his correspondence from his trip through the west. In one letter he commented, "it is to be regretted that those men, who have charge of the German Congregations, cannot preach in the English language; if they could, they might whilst they are tending to and supported by the German, also gradually raise English congregations."³⁶ He maintained the hope seen here that German and English speaking bodies could be unified even

after his call to the English oriented institution in Ohio. He attempted several times to establish a stronger relationship between the confessionalists and the Americanists, but after repeated failure he devoted his full attention to the English speaking Americanist Lutheran school.

There is no doubt that the Lutherans he met on his travels through the west influenced his later decision to aid the new theological institution. He spoke of some as being "very anxious to have a minister," and noted that they were "able and willing to contribute to his support."³⁷ The necessity then, was to train the pastors to send to these people. Writing back to the Missionary Society he said:

The greatest hardship I must endure, and the only one of which I am disposed to complain, arises from the spiritual destitution of our members in the West. To see settlements of from 15 to 30 families entirely destitute of preaching, adult persons become reckless about the precepts of the gospel and the salvation of their souls, and the children growing under the destructive influence of bad example without any religious instruction, - to hear pious mothers complain with tears that they have no one to take care of the souls of their children - to hear the petitions of hungry souls who have no one to break unto them the bread of life stately - to preach to such people awhile, ascertain their wants and then leave them, as sheep without a shepherd, is a trial which my spirit can scarcely endure.³⁸

In the west he saw the piety needed for successful ministry, and when the opportunity arose for him to take an influential lead in forming leaders for the west, he most likely remembered the people he met on his first journey to that area.

In addition to his participation in revivals growing up, Keller also strongly supported revivals as a minister. The effectiveness of Keller's presence at revivals became well known in the Maryland Synod in which he served his first pastoral call. One pastor wrote in the *Lutheran Observer*, "Rev. brethren F.W. Conrad and E. Keller assisted me part of the time, and labored with much zeal and success," in reference to a revival held at his congregation. F.W. Conrad was another graduate of Gettysburg Seminary, who later succeeded Keller in his congregations in Maryland and Springfield, served as editor of the *Lutheran Observer*, and taught at Wittenberg for a short period.³⁹ Keller and Conrad also aided a revival at their alma mater during his time in Maryland. While they felt revivals were a good way to convert souls, they were also very clear to state that "at these meetings, there was the most perfect order and the deepest solemnity."⁴⁰ Keller emphasized that "revivals of religion are not necessarily attended with noise, disorder, and confusion," as were seen in some denomination's practices.⁴¹ The confessionalists commonly complained of these things, and said they were a danger to those who wished to uphold the traditions of the Lutheran church. Keller illustrates one of the ultimate struggles of the Americanist Lutheran theology, that of balance with tradition. He also stated that the "spiritual interest of the youth who resort to these institutions, are by no means neglected by their instructors," and felt that this needed to be emphasized more by the Americanists.⁴² Revivals were a popular Americanized way to spiritually connect with a younger generation, and Keller believed that they also needed to follow up these conversions and experiences with the traditional catechismal methods of the Lutheran church. In the words of Keller, revivals "will furnish the church with many talented, learned and pious members

and ministers," and he was thankful for the revivals his own congregation enjoyed as well.⁴³

Regardless of his own theological and ideological leanings, Keller never gave up hope of a collaborative effort for the emerging literary and theological institution. He first turned to the German Joint Synod as another group which saw the need for theological education for the west. Despite his best attempts, the issue of language was never solved, and the thought of a joint effort with that group failed.⁴⁴ Next Keller turned towards the Synod of the West. This body contained congregations in Kentucky, Indiana, and Illinois, and truly sat on the edge of westward expansion. In addition to being the very receptacle in which pastors for the west were to be placed, the Synod of the West agreed with the English synod in Ohio on basic theological terms. Both supported American Lutheranism and revivalism, and both wished to uphold tradition through the use of contemporary means. In 1842, before Keller's direct involvement with the establishment effort, the Synod of the West sent a letter to the English synod in Ohio stating that they were willing and able to aid in the sustaining of an institution for the west.⁴⁵ A debate existed, however, as to whether the institution should be located in Ohio or farther west. When Keller arrived on the scene several years after this initial discussion the debate over the location of one institution still prevailed. He defended the notion that the church in the west needed a theological institution besides the Columbus seminary, but he struggled in uniting the Ohioans and the already fracturing church farther west.⁴⁶ He attempted to determine "whether the church in the west could be concentrated in the establishment of one institution, in order to grow as rapidly, as she should, in extent, respectability, intelligence, and efficiency," or whether, because of ideological differences as to location, an agreement with the Synod of the West would never be reached.⁴⁷

Part of the problem was the lack of a cohesive identity for the Synod of the West. The Synod was physically large, the membership fairly small, although growing rapidly, and problems similar to those the Ohio Synod had faced years before were beginning to appear. Keller complained on one occasion that "a small minority opposed [a joint institution] because 'they feared' that the doctrines of [S.S. Schmucker's] Popular Theology, and the General Synod would be taught in it."⁴⁸ This fear boiled down once again to the debate over American Lutheranism and German confessionalism. Some in the Synod of the West saw the revival supporting Keller as too liberal, and his leadership provided one of the stumbling blocks to a collaborative effort. This was, as Keller stated, a small minority; however, their influence prevented a resolution from being reached, and ultimately resulted in the division of the Synod of the West.

The literary and theological institution was established regardless, and the English Lutheran Synod of Ohio ultimately bore all the responsibility. The shaping of the school fell directly on Keller, who had been handpicked by the English synod for the job. As a result, he only answered to those who already had confidence in his abilities, which gave him much freer reign over the school. Soon after this became apparent Keller began to exercise the leadership for which the board chose him. He challenged the Board of Director's original decision, and recommended the reestablishment of the institution at Springfield, a location farther west which offered geographic and financial benefits.⁴⁹ The board accepted his idea, and reestablished

Wittenberg College there in 1845 to stand as an American Lutheran outpost in the west.

The Revival College

As a leader and educator Keller brought a passion to the newly established literary and theological institution which manifested itself in the school's identity and spirituality. He worked diligently not only as a college professor, but also as a community leader and spiritual guide. Already in his first year "he visited six pastoral districts, some weeks preached seven times, and obtained about four thousand dollars for the endowment of a professorship."³⁰ Additionally, he was highly regarded in the Springfield community and founder of a new Lutheran church there.³¹ Keller also appealed to the New England Society for the Promotion of Collegiate Education in the West and obtained an annual appropriation for the school.³² This is significant because the society looked at all aspects of the school in determining its eligibility, including spiritual life. Revivalism and other forms of American spirituality would have been seen as favorable qualities in deciding whether to appropriate money to Wittenberg, and Keller probably painted a picture of the school for the society that highlighted its American spirituality. He continued to aid congregations in their various attempts at revivals, recruiting for Wittenberg in the process. He also continued his involvement with revivals, and in one letter to the editor Keller wrote that he "spent Easter in a delightful communion season" and concluded that "truly we need ministers, good, pious, industrious, wise, self-denying men... Who will come?"³³

Keller also based the curriculum and religious life of the newly founded institution on Americanist Lutheran theology. He taught the subject of revivals and used *The Church's Best State* by Rev. S.W. Harkey as the text, a work known for its support of Americanist ideas.³⁴ The academic strength of the institution established itself early on, and the students were generally seen as studious and well-educated. One account mentions "the general correctness and expansiveness of views exhibited by the students, and their thorough acquaintance with the subject."³⁵ Academics, however, provided only one part of the atmosphere at Wittenberg; the other part was the religious life of the school. Keller wrote:

I consider it due to those who are interested in our institution to give an account of the means of grace which are enjoyed by our students. No doubt every pious parent who thinks of sending his son away to an institution of learning, is deeply concerned about the influences which will be exerted on him during the course of his education... Every pious member of the church also, if properly informed, is concerned about the kind and amount of mean used at the institution where our rising ministry is trained to imbue the students deeply with a spirit of vital, ardent piety.³⁶

That "vital, ardent piety" expressed itself at Wittenberg through a variety of coordinated religious exercises. Prayer meetings were held at the College every Sunday, with a mandatory attendance policy for all the theological students. The students at the college also attended the Lutheran church and participated in the Sunday School program there. The faculty required attendance at two sermons every

Sunday, and the students were held accountable for their attendance the next day. Scripture and prayer opened and closed every day of the classes, and every Wednesday night religious instruction occurred in the church for the congregation and students at the college. "On Saturday evening the week is closed with a conference meeting, in which a subject connected with experimental and practical piety, selected the previous evening, is discussed by the students and instructors."⁵⁷ This allowed for students to become familiar with different expressions of piety, uplifted the idea of constant questioning and reform of tradition, and allowed revivalism an opportunity to manifest itself.⁵⁸ Keller longed for a revival of religion in the early days of the school as a sign of spiritual health, and commented that "no where do revivals of religion [do] so much good as in institutions of learning."⁵⁹

Soon Keller received his wish, and the school experienced its first revival. A letter from Keller describes it best:

This letter leaves us in *the very midst* of a season of revival. During the recess between Christmas and New Year we held a protracted meeting, and had preaching every morning and evening. . . . The church was very much revived and edified, but apparently only two, out of the church, became anxious about their salvation. But last week, unexpectedly to us, the operations of the Spirit manifested themselves among the students in the College.⁶⁰

In fact, the work of the revival prevailed to such an extent that the faculty "were obliged to suspend the regular exercises of the institution, and attend to the spiritual interest of [their] pupils."⁶¹ By the end of the week seven students had been converted, and preaching and other spiritual exercises continued on for quite some time. Keller wrote:

Never did I see a work more purely that of the divine Spirit than this. We stood amazed as we approached the College several times, to hear the cry of distressed souls, and the exultations of the converted, and to see students, who a few days ago were indifferent and hardhearted, now leaning upon their fellow students speaking with joy of the love of Christ, and begging the impenitent to submit to God! Never since I have been engaged in this difficult enterprise, have I received a more striking token of God's favor than this, and for which I would be more unfeignedly thankful.⁶²

The effects produced by this revival continued to prevail at the college long after the revival had concluded and, in addition to the spiritual life of the college, the academic and social aspects of the school were impacted.

With the first revival at Wittenberg, however, came many of the issues associated with revivalism in the Lutheran church. Keller stated, in the same letter as the revival announcement, his own stance on the means and method of an acceptable revival and also the position of the school. During a time in which revivalism meant many different things, it became important for Wittenberg to make a clear statement as to what was acceptable and what was not. Largely influenced by Keller and his own notions of revivalism, Wittenberg followed his liberal lead and supported a fairly broad definition of revivalism. A revival in the Wittenberg community offered a means to awaken sinners to the Good News, and that required an active engagement of people through whatever means necessary. The use of the "anxious bench" by Keller during

the first revival is a good example of this philosophy. The "anxious bench" was a tool used to single out members of the community who were feeling stirred by the spirit to come to Christ, and to move them to a seat in the front of the room. They were then closer to the message and the altar, and therefore more likely to come to the altar and accept Christ into their hearts when the time came. Those who opposed the use of the "anxious bench" argued that it forced conversion, and pressured people into accepting Christ without actually meaning it. This highlighted a grey area in which even those who strongly supported revivalism in the church were unsure as to how far one could push conversion. Keller and Wittenberg, however, argued that revivals were meant to revive the church and awaken sinners to the Good News of Christ no matter what it took. Keller believed that "if all ministers would make themselves more busy in *direct efforts* to convert souls, the controversy about measures would soon be settled."⁶³

The controversy did not conclude so easily, and Keller soon faced harsh criticism from the Columbus seminary regarding the revival at Wittenberg. In an editorial in the *Lutheran Standard*, a paper published by the confessionalists in Columbus, someone wrote "we venture to say, that his present course is the result of a deviation from the fundamental principles of our Church ... that so soon as we depart from those, strange practices and a stranger spirit make their appearance."⁶⁴ They went so far as to claim "if such be the spirit of modern Wittenberg it has no affinity to the Wittenberg of the Reformation, unless by way of association with the famous Dr. Carlstadt." Keller's supporters rose to his defense in the face of such disapproval, likening him not to a radical like Carlstadt, but rather to a reformer like Luther. Solomon Ritz, an early president of the Board of Directors of Wittenberg College, wrote a response:

The *Standard* supposes that Prof. Keller is not what he promised to be – 'conservative.' Well if he is not *conservative*, his is *preservative*, and that is what we got him out here for. We want him to *preserve* true Lutheranism and the holy religion of the Bible in our *Wittenberg Conservatory*. No doubt when Prof. Keller came to the West, he intended to take a middle course; but finding us 'boys' right in the middle of truth, Lutheranism, and Bible religion, he went with us, and of course he is right.⁶⁵

While this does not support the notion that Keller held a generally liberal view of revivalism, one must also keep in mind that Ritz was a strong revivalist himself. The Columbus seminary and those in the German Joint Synod were not impressed or encouraged by Wittenberg's first revival as those in the English Evangelical Lutheran Synod were, and the controversy over the role of revivalism between these two groups continued to exist in a very confrontational way.

The first revival at Wittenberg served its purpose, and the religious life at the college indeed revived after this experience. The academic life of the school also began to flourish. A Wittenberg student published an impressive thirteen part series in the *Lutheran Observer* on missions, a topic of much discussion after the revival, and the scholarship of the school began to surface on a regular basis.⁶⁶ Shortly after the series on the importance of missions and missionaries another collection of articles followed about the college itself.⁶⁷ Keller explained these writings as the lasting effects of the revival. In addition to the published works by Wittenberg students in the

Lutheran Observer, the tangible works of the students increased also. One student at the seminary began to travel thirty two miles every three weeks to visit a congregation without a pastor in Bellefontaine.⁶⁸ Others formed a group to pray for missionaries, and increased the amount of discussion on the subject of missions.⁶⁹ Keller's experience as a missionary to the west shortly after college no doubt influenced his encouragement of missionary work for the students at Wittenberg. All these things added to the religious life of the school in very tangible ways, but the revival also left the school aware of the work of the spirit in its midst. One student at Wittenberg wrote, "what praying father would not feel encouraged in having his unconverted son at an institution where the influence of the divine Spirit is almost constantly enjoyed in some measure, and occasionally fills the place so that the ungodly tremble and are led heartily to seek the Lord!"⁷⁰

Keller saw the presence of a revival as a sign of spiritual health, and he was not alone in his assessment. The Society for Aiding Western Colleges noticed the school shortly after the revival, and offered an annual appropriation based on the "evangelical character" of the institution.⁷¹ The number of students at Wittenberg also increased to an all time high of one hundred and thirty eight.⁷² A letter from Solomon Ritz, acting as president of the Board of Directors, asked that "God may give another precious revival of pure religion to Wittenberg, during the coming session."⁷³

Another revival of religion came, but something unexpected accompanied it. The new session of classes brought many new students to Wittenberg who "arrived evidently indifferent to religion."⁷⁴ Keller had instilled a sense of revivalism in the school, however, which had already manifested itself once and many who were present for the first revival saw the need for another to address these new souls. The students themselves held meetings and promoted a sense of spiritual fervor on campus in which they lifted up "holy boldness and Christian courage" as the means through which they could address this need on their own.⁷⁵ They had to meet this need on their own, because Keller had fallen ill a few weeks earlier and had yet to recover. Indeed, he never recovered from his illness, and on December 29, 1848 Keller passed away. Michael Diehl, a contemporary biographer of Keller, wrote shortly after his death that a doctor believed his illness to be typhoid fever.⁷⁶ It is ironic that the revivalist died in the midst of a revival at his school, and that while he lay on his death bed, his students were in the middle of a protracted meeting. Keller had barely begun Wittenberg before his death, and yet he deeply shaped the school during his brief tenure there. His unexpected death left the Springfield community without a pastor, Wittenberg without a scholar and president, and a family without a father.

With Keller no longer leading, Wittenberg lost its central pillar. Keller served as the primary educator and administrator for the institution, and his death meant the ship had no captain and a greatly diminished crew. Those who had begun to aid him with the teaching load, however, were able to maintain the institution to a certain degree until the next President, Samuel Sprecher, was called.⁷⁷ Sprecher also graduated from Gettysburg seminary, and believed in Americanist Lutheran theology. Much like Keller, he also experienced conversion through a revival and that experience led him to enter the ministry.⁷⁸ The similarities no doubt aided in the decision to call Sprecher as Keller's successor, and his support of revivalism made him an especially worthy candidate for the position.⁷⁹

Shortly after coming to Wittenberg, Sprecher became deeply involved in the overall state of the institution. The religious life of the school was something of immediate concern. Keller departed during a season of revival, but the religious fervor of the school had once again calmed down. "There is not that fervent devotion and punctual attendance which we could wish. The exercises are varied; frequently they consist in relating each other's religious experience and encouraging one another in the path of duty."⁸⁰ Keller had promoted more than mere duty though, and Sprecher also saw the importance of the renewal and revival of spiritual life on a regular basis. Even so, contrary to the claims of the opponents of revivalism, a revival could not be forced upon the students, and Sprecher diverted his attention to other matters. He did so by following Keller's lead in the construction of a college building. Unlike Keller, Sprecher did not present himself very often as a public face for the college, and the construction of the first building provided no exception. Sprecher wrote very little to the *Observer* on behalf of Wittenberg, and in comparison to Keller he did little to inform the East of the state of the school. With the construction of the first building then, he turned toward the local community, rather than solicit more broadly as Keller had done, for the endowment of the school. The women of Springfield were asked to furnish rooms in the new building, and the building project proceeded at a rapid pace.⁸¹

Despite the physical progress of the college grounds, the state of religion remained low. Sprecher and Hezekiah Geiger, a professor at the institution, reported to the Board of Directors in August of 1850 that "there has been a lamentably low state of religion among us: and though there have been instances of religious inquiry and one very decided conversion, there has been no general revival in the Institution."⁸² In addition to the already low state of religion a student died, which furthered the low state of the college.⁸³ The regular religious exercises of the campus carried on, and the college catalogue continued to highlight the various religious exercises Wittenberg had to offer:

RELIGIOUS EXERCISES

Prayers are attended in the College Chapel every morning and evening, and the reading of Scriptures; at which all the students rooming in the College are required to be present.

Parents and guardians who send pupils to the Institution are requested to inform the Faculty where they shall attend worship. In the absence of such direction they will be required to worship at the College Church.

Strict attention is paid to the *health, manners, and morals* of students. No profane, obscene, or reproachful language is allowed to be used. Students are required to ventilate their rooms thoroughly, to keep them in a clean and orderly condition, and to observe regular hours for meals, sleep, study and exercise.⁸⁴

The same statement appeared in the college catalogue until 1876, and provided comfort to all the parents sending their children off to school. However, the real religious influence Wittenberg could offer to its students would be through a revival. Not only were revivals generally accepted as a sign of spiritual health, they also were very practical for a several reasons. For one, they instilled confidence in the supporters of the school that it had not become stagnant in its religious life. They also converted

many people to Christianity, some of whom went on to study and become clergy. This provided students for the seminary and kept the institution profitable. Perhaps an added benefit from a revival, from the Wittenberg perspective, would have been the commotion the thought caused among the students and faculty at the Columbus seminary.

In any case the need for a revival at Wittenberg still remained, and F.W. Conrad fulfilled that need. Conrad came to Springfield in 1851 in an effort to relieve Sprecher from the many duties he had undertaken since his arrival. He had concurrently taken on the roles of college president, professor of theology, and pastor for the Lutheran congregation in Springfield. Conrad took over Sprecher's pastorate upon his arrival, in an attempt to give Sprecher more time to devote to the ever-expanding school. After his arrival religious meetings were held each night, and religious interest increased considerably at both the church and college. Conrad's sermons were described as "usually eloquent and powerful" and eventually he held a protracted meeting "which continued for more than three weeks, and was attended by a general outpouring of the Spirit upon the Church and the College."⁸⁵ The number of candidates for the ministry, as well as the membership of the church grew considerably from this revival. By the end of the revival over fifty people had been converted, with thirty requesting membership in the Lutheran church. In fact the revival of religion at the college became so intense that the regular exercises of the institution had to be suspended for an entire week. Ten students committed to study at the seminary after graduation, and only thirteen students at the college remained unconverted.⁸⁶ The dramatic influence this single event had in the church and college is apparent both in the numbers of people affected and the growth in the congregation and seminary. The importance of revivals stretched beyond just serving as a sign of spiritual health to actually aiding in the maintenance of the institutions in which they occurred. The positive affects of this particular revival at Wittenberg continued to last far after the event concluded.

The American Lutheran theology that allowed for the occurrence of this revival, and many after it, became more deeply imbedded in the students as a result of their experiences. A few months after the revival occurred several of the students and faculty at Wittenberg aided another congregation with its own revival.⁸⁷ This acted as an experiential way in which Lutheran revivalism could be taught to the students of the seminary, as well as a way to strengthen the English Evangelical Synod against its confessionalist counterpart. The Lutherans in Springfield also tried further the influence of the Americanists by resolving to publish their own church paper, separate from the widely circulated *Lutheran Observer* and the *Lutheran Standard* published by the faculty at the Columbus seminary.⁸⁸ The *Evangelical Lutheran* resulted from this resolution, and began to circulate around Ohio and points further west in response to the lack of information about the west appearing in the *Observer*.

The publication of the *Evangelical Lutheran* marked a turning point for the college. It had firmly established itself as the stronghold of American Lutheranism in the west, and proved not to be shy about asserting a sense of independence from the church in the East. The winter of 1852 saw four students graduate from the seminary and go into the full time practice of ministry, and a steady stream of theological graduates began to flow from the school. One graduate mentioned the importance of revivalism

and conversion in reference to his new duties as a pastor when he proclaimed, "we hear of conversions from all parts ... we had the pleasure of receiving three, near the close of last year, into our little flock."⁸⁸ The revivalism taught at Wittenberg spread through its graduates into the overall ministry of the Lutheran church in the west, and the influence of the school began to be felt in the wider church. A supporter of the mission of the college wrote in the *Evangelical Lutheran*, "they are not theorists, but practical men, applying the truth to the conscience, heart and life. The students imbibe the spirit of the faculty."⁸⁹ Sprecher's baccalaureate address in 1853 underlined this claim through his message about the "proper regulation and use of ideals" in which he discussed ideals as "those completed and vivid conceptions or images of things, which we carry in and which are the patterns after which we, consciously or unconsciously, mould our characters, and shape our conduct."⁹⁰ The enrollment at the school also suggested that the ideals it upheld helped to broaden its influence:

The fall session of Wittenberg College opened last week under the most favorable auspices. Over thirty new students have already reported themselves, and others are still arriving. The number now in attendance is greater than that of any previous session in the history of the institution, and gives the most encouraging evidence of the fact, that the ability and efficiency of its Faculty of Instructors are becoming more widely known, and more generally appreciated by a discerning public.⁹¹

Despite the increased independence the school had gained, it still remained closely linked to Gettysburg in the east. Sprecher advised S.S. Schmucker, then president at Gettysburg, in the writing of the *Definite Synodical Platform*, a major Americanist work aimed at the churches of the General Synod.⁹² This document rescinded portions of the Augsburg Confession, the primary doctrinal symbol of the church, which many liberal members of the Americanist movement believed harmed unity with other Protestants.⁹³ The *Definite Synodical Platform* was not well received by the entire General Synod, but the synods surrounding and directly supporting Wittenberg all adapted the platform.⁹⁴

While the College had established itself as a strong institution of American Lutheranism, it was not alone in its stance toward revivalism in education. During Keller's tenure at Wittenberg a revival occurred at nearby Antioch College which he lifted up as a glorious event.⁹⁵ Revivals at other colleges were also common during Sprecher's time at Wittenberg, and in 1853 the *Evangelical Lutheran* published a report from the Western College Society which stated: "There had also been some cases of conversion in Knox, Beloit and Wittenberg Colleges; and Wabash College, though not blessed with a revival during the year had yet enjoyed no less than *nine* such seasons in the lapse of fourteen years."⁹⁶ Revivals commonly occurred at colleges, and were supported because of the positive affects they had on those institutions. An article supporting revivalism used a college revival as a typical example "because of the prominent position which students occupy, the salutatory influence which a work of grace exerts among them, and its powerful bearing on the interests of the Church and the world."⁹⁷ Revivals occurred at many different schools, regardless of denominational affiliation, and their presence said more about a school's acceptance of popular American spirituality than about its theology. This explains why Wittenberg

could support them and the Columbus seminary could vehemently reject them, yet both lay claim to basic Lutheran theology and dogma.

In the midst of the controversy in the Lutheran church over the role of revivals, and their support in the American college community as important expressions of spirituality, Wittenberg had yet another major revival. The death of a student at the school raised the religious interest of the student body, which eventually resulted in "several most interesting conversions."⁹⁹ Wittenberg became known in the local community as the "Revival College" because of the many prolonged revivals experienced at the college since its foundation.¹⁰⁰ A report submitted to the English Evangelical Lutheran Synod stated that Wittenberg had "enjoyed a refreshing season every year of its existence," and claimed that the school was second to none in its support of revivals. However, board reports indicated there were years in which a "lamentably low state of religion" existed.¹⁰¹ These years were not visited by formal revivals, which makes the claim of "a refreshing season every year" seem like an exaggeration to encourage further support by the church. Nevertheless, Wittenberg maintained a strong tradition of revivalism and people had good reason to refer to it as the "Revival College."

A New Wittenberg

Despite Wittenberg's status as the "Revival College," it still paid attention to the incorporation of less extravagant expressions of religion in the daily life of the college. Through these religious practices Wittenberg connected itself with its Lutheran heritage and tradition in a way that revivalism could not. Revivalism served as a popular American way to promote evangelism and bolster numbers, but it failed to directly connect a congregation, or college, with the Lutheran tradition. To make that connection, Wittenberg incorporated Lutheran theology and doctrine into the curriculum and daily religious life of the school. Even so, the tension between Lutheran tradition and American revivalism is apparent through the many debates between the confessionalists and the Americanists. At Wittenberg the same tension existed within the school. While Wittenberg under Keller's and Sprecher's presidencies maintained strong support for revivalism, the school still had to find a balance between its Lutheran heritage and contemporary American spirituality. In the search for this balance the spiritual life of the school fluctuated a great deal.

Regular prayer meetings were held for the purpose of lifting up "our institutions of learning, as the only hope of the country and the world, and as the only means of supplying the great want of laborers in the Church and the ministry."¹⁰² These events did not take place for the express purpose of promoting religious awakening or revival, but rather to raise up in prayer the concerns of colleges at that time. Prayer meetings also connected the college with the Lutheran church in a way that was different from a revival. A revival brought people into the church, but the more intimate interaction of prayer and worship instilled them with a sense of Lutheran theology, common mission, and shared belief. Even so, the ultimate hope for these meetings would be for God to "grant that the work may be spread, and that we may soon hear of refreshing seasons in every college in the land!"¹⁰³

At Wittenberg revivals were seen as such an effective and popular tool for evangelism that it would have been a death blow to the early college to abandon

them completely. If a revival was not occurring one was longed for and if one was not longed for the school must have already been in the midst of a refreshing season. The yearly reports from the faculty to the Board of Directors always included a section on the spiritual state of the school, and in these reports the faculty discussed the institution's spiritual state with a kind of candor that is not seen elsewhere. The following excerpt was submitted by Sprecher in 1855:

Our Spiritual state has been very similar to that of the preceding year. While there have been some cases of inquiry among the unconverted and some seasons of Special interest among professors, there has been no extensive revival of Religion. The attendance at the weekly prayer meeting, there has been much encouragement, the students having attended more generally and regularly than usual.¹⁰⁴

While the daily religious life of the school provided a source of encouragement, the lack of a revival brought the spiritual health of the school into question. The success revivals had in bringing souls to Christ proved itself in colleges throughout America, and their appearance at Wittenberg would allow them to successfully contend with the competition. Sprecher himself stated, "there is no congregation of young men more susceptible to the claims of the Gospel when faithfully preached, than that composed of college students."¹⁰⁵ Wittenberg also existed to provide pastors for the ever expanding and needy church, but the majority of the students at the school were not involved with the theological program. Revivals provided a way in which students could be encouraged to pursue a religious vocation. This approach had been successful when Keller and Sprecher were at Gettysburg, and those men proceeded to implement these means at Wittenberg. They believed that "a young man comes to College to qualify himself for some high post of honor and usefulness in the world; and now the Savior meets him, in the midst of that career, and wins him for his cause."¹⁰⁶

The Lutheran heritage of the school did not disappear when a season of divine grace gripped the institution. While notions of "conversion" and prolonged religious exercises might not seem very Lutheran to those in that tradition today, they were not all that unusual in the nineteenth century. Revivalism had been such a popular aspect of contemporary American spirituality, that many of the means in which revivals were carried out had become fairly orthodox for the more liberal members of the Lutheran church. The teachings of the Lutheran church were also held up during revivals at Wittenberg in a way that informed those who were being converted of the tradition in which they were already involved. When the Board of Directors founded Wittenberg they made it a depository for the "Catechisms of our Church" and the teaching of the catechism to newly converted souls served as an important follow up to conversion at a revival.¹⁰⁷

A revival at Wittenberg in 1856 ended the long period of spiritual destitution that Sprecher had frequently lamented.¹⁰⁸ "All except three or four professed a change of heart" and the faculty noted that they had not dealt with a single discipline problem as a result of the renewed religious commitments of the students.¹⁰⁹ Yet again the claim that "Wittenberg has enjoyed a season of religious influence every year of its existence" surfaced in the board report to the synod, and the spiritual health of the school could no longer be questioned.¹¹⁰ In 1858 another revival occurred which solidified the fact that "Wittenberg [was] still a revival College."¹¹¹ The board claimed the same the

following year, when yet another large revival gripped the college.¹¹² In the report to the East Ohio Synod the board said, "We feel like exclaiming with the multitude, who escorted the Savior into Jerusalem: 'Hosanna to the Son of David' for his great goodness toward us, manifested by the establishment and perpetuation of a revival College in this beautiful valley of the Mississippi!"¹¹³

Despite the honored place of revivalism at Wittenberg, such intense spiritual renewal could not be maintained forever. War changed the demeanor of the institution. In 1861 Sprecher reported to the board:

The Spirit of Patriotic devotion which prevails in the Institution led some of the students to feel, that in obedience to their countries [sic] call, they ought to enlist in the war. Some of our most pious and promising young men are consequently in the Army.¹¹⁴

He followed this by discussing the lack of a special religious interest at the school. War had not only claimed many students, but it had brought a sense of somber reflection to the institution which briefly quieted the desire for religious revival. The winter of 1862, however, brought a "blessed visitation of divine grace among the students" and the theological program was again bolstered in numbers.¹¹⁵ Revivals continued to occur during the war but not as extensively or successfully as the numerous manifestations of the spirit beforehand.¹¹⁶ Even so, it was not until after the war ended that the revivalistic trends that were so essential to the foundation and success of Wittenberg College began to come to an end.

In 1866 the pastor of the Lutheran church in Springfield recognized the need for a renewal of spiritual commitment in his congregation and the college. The following account marks the first recorded time in which a revival of religion did not occur once the seed had been planted:

The pastor of the church connected with the College has made special efforts for the revival of religion, and efforts of a similar kind were made in the Institution itself: followed by a special prayer meeting every morning at 8 o'clock for more than four months: but attended by no marked results either in the reviving of professors or the conversion of the impenitent. These meetings, with all the effort that was made, were attended only by a comparatively small number of the students.

From some cause or causes the state of morals has also deteriorated. Doubtless the influence of war upon morals, in general, and especially upon the character of returned unconverted soldiers to the institution and the immense proportion of the students not belonging to our church, have contributed much to the lamentable state of things. But whatever may be the causes, we feel more than ever the necessity of using the most decided measures to bring about a better state of things.¹¹⁷

These "most decided measures," for the first time ever, did not necessarily include a revival. The inability to revive the college after such a long period of preparation had never occurred in the past, and this first failure had a significant impact on the continuation of revivalism at Wittenberg. Keller did not believe in revivalism as the only way to reach out and convert sinners who had yet to repent. He believed it served as a tool for evangelism that had proven successful during his time as a

pastor and educator. Sprecher also believed this and, despite being deeply moved himself by a revival, he recognized that many tools must eventually make way for newer improved models. Revivalism also served many functions during the first years of Wittenberg's existence, such as providing a way to keep discipline issues to a minimum and increasing the number of students enrolled at the seminary. With the first failure of a revival it became apparent that they could not necessarily be counted on to do these same things in the future.

Revivalism appeared as a product of contemporary American religion, and proved to be a useful method of evangelism and conversion. Revivals flourished in a college setting because their methods and results aided in the achievement of many of the goals of the faculty, in addition to serving as an attractive form of spirituality for the students. Wittenberg proved to be no exception, but the Lutheran heritage of the institution provided a unique foundation on which to base the school's religious life. Any use of American spirituality needed to compliment and be justified by the Lutheran tradition. Wittenberg's place among the ongoing debates in the Lutheran church regarding American spirituality and the maintenance of tradition aided in its defiant use of revivalism, but did not force the school to maintain the practice regardless of circumstances. The failure of revivalism left room for new measures to take its place, and the school naturally fell back to its underlying tradition and heritage. However, this transition did not occur instantaneously. This resulted in part because revivals did not cease altogether after the first failure. In fact, in 1867 a "very general revival of religion" occurred which influenced the religious life of the campus for the next two years in significant ways.¹¹⁸

Even so, this proved to be the last occurrence of revivalism at Wittenberg. "During the winter session [of 1870] protracted efforts were made for the revival of religion" but ultimately "the results were not so great as we had anticipated."¹¹⁹ Revivals were neither documented nor mentioned after this entry in the journal of the Board of Directors. This disappearance would be mysterious if revivalism had served as the primary basis for the existence of the school up to this point. However, if revivalism is seen as Keller and Sprecher saw it, as a popular and successful tool for evangelism, its sudden absence in the religious life of the college makes sense. New measures were needed which could connect and impact students and no reason existed to maintain a practice that had failed to serve its function. Weekly prayer meetings replaced the reflective and self-searching aspects of revivalism. In line with current trends in colleges, a "Young Men's Christian Association" formed in 1871 helped to fill some of the needs for social accountability and institutional order that had been previously filled by revivals.¹²⁰ Sprecher recognized the need for new means of connecting with the students, and he fully supported these new religious expressions.¹²¹ Of the YMCA in particular he commented, "this organization promises to be instrumental in much good among the students."¹²²

The Americanists in Ohio founded Wittenberg on the traditions and heritage of the Lutheran church. These initial beliefs were never abandoned for culturally popular spirituality, as many critics of revivalism argued. Instead the founders of the college saw revivalism as something that could be drawn upon and modified to add to the work of the church in the world. By incorporating a contemporary American religious trend as a method of spreading the heritage of the Lutheran church, Wittenberg

united tradition and popular culture in a way that enabled both to use each other for a common purpose. Tradition used the popularity of revivalism to spread a historic message in a fresh new way, and popular culture used tradition as a way to justify an old message in a new day. Despite the unarguable success of this marriage for many years, popular culture changes quickly while tradition and heritage evolve at a much slower pace. When the success and popularity of revivalism faded at Wittenberg, the underlying foundation of the institution's Lutheran heritage provided a centering point for new forms of spiritual expressions. Without revivalism early Wittenberg might not have survived as a college, or might have had a radically different start. Revivalism influenced Wittenberg's early leaders, bolstered the numbers of students in the seminary, and provided the necessary interest to aid in the survival of the school during its formative years. Even so, Lutheran tradition proved to be the true underlying foundation of the college and when popular trends shifted, Wittenberg returned to that foundation to shape the next way in which it would express its religious identity.

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- ¹⁷ D'Aubigne, Merle, "Luther's Conversion," *Lutheran Observer*, 17 July 1840, p.1.
- ¹⁸ See *Lutheran Observer*, 14 April 1843, 18 August 1843, 9 August 1844, 11 August 1843 and *Lutheran Standard*, 7 December 1842 for some typical examples of the debate over revivals.
- ¹⁹ For a detailed account of the founding of the Seminary in Columbus see Donald L. Huber, *Educating Lutheran Pastors in Ohio* (Lewiston, NY: E. Mellen Press, 1989), 17-21.
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- ⁷⁸ P.G. Bell, *A Portraiture of the Life of Samuel Sprecher, D.D., LL.D.: Pastor, President of Wittenberg College and Seminary, and Author* (Philadelphia, PA: For the Author by the Lutheran Publication Society, 1907), 9-10.
- ⁷⁹ Harold H. Lentz, *A History of Wittenberg College (1845-1945)* (Springfield, OH: The Wittenberg Press, 1946), 56.
- ⁸⁰ Andrew, "Wittenberg College No. 3: Religious privileges and their influence.," *Lutheran Observer*, 20 July 1849, p.1.

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- ⁸³ A.S. Kissell, Untitled Editorial, *Lutheran Observer*, 1 November 1850, p.1.
- ⁸⁴ *Catalogue of the Officers and Students in Wittenberg College for the Third Academic Year, 1847-8* (Springfield, OH: Halsey and Emerson, Printers, 1848), 14-15 J.B. Helwig, *Historical Sketch of Wittenberg College* (Springfield, OH: privately printed, 1876), 11. The first catalogue of the college begins with a similar statement on religious exercises, which omits the section on "health, manners, and morals." The catalogue for 1848, following Keller's premature death, lists the version printed above, and this version appears in the catalogue until 1876. At that point "the reading of Scriptures" is changed to "with singing and the reading of Scriptures." This version remains unchanged until 1881 when the description of religious exercises begins to vary from year to year.
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- ⁹⁰ H.B., "Wittenberg College," *Evangelical Lutheran*, 14 July, 1853, p.3.
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- ⁹² Anonymous, "Wittenberg College," *Evangelical Lutheran*, 23 September 1853, p.2.
- ⁹³ David A. Gustafson, *Lutherans In Crisis: The Question of Identity in the American Republic* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1998), 126-137. Gustafson argues that Schmucker wrote the actual text of the document, but consulted with Sprecher regarding content throughout the document's creation.
- ⁹⁴ Specifically the document addressed the following aspects of the Augsburg confession that were seen as erroneous by the Americanists: 1. The approval of the ceremonies of the Mass. 2. Private Confession and Absolution. 3. Denial of the Divine obligation of the Christian Sabbath. 4. Baptismal Regeneration. 5. The Real Presence of the Body and Blood of the Savior in the Eucharist. *Definite Platform, Doctrinal and Disciplinary, for Evangelical Lutheran District Synods; Constructed with the Principles of the General Synod* (Philadelphia: Miller and Burlock, 1855), 5.
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- ¹⁰⁵ Samuel Sprecher, "Endowment of Wittenberg College No.2," *Evangelical Lutheran*, 30 November 1855, p.2.
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- ¹⁰⁷ Board of Directors of Wittenberg College, *First Journal of the Board of Directors*, 25.
- ¹⁰⁸ Ibid., 227.
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- ¹¹⁸ East Ohio Synod, *Proceedings of the Thirty-Second Annual Convention of the East Ohio Synod of the Evangelical Lutheran Church* (New Philadelphia, OH: M'Ilvaine & Pittenger, Book and Job Printers, 1868), 11. Board of Directors of Wittenberg College, *Second Journal of the Board of Directors*, 111, 183.
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Peace in the Midst of Hell: The Evolution of Truces During the First World War

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"Every night the picks and shovels of 300 or 400 men could be heard merrily at work with the inevitable undercurrent of conversation...every morning a new length of enormous breastwork invited shells which never came. On such occasions the thought arose that we must be taking part in the most expensive farce in the history of the world."¹ This British officer puts into context one of the Great War's most ironic occurrences, peace in the middle of battle. Many historians assert that such truces were extremely rare and nonexistent following the well-documented and celebrated 1914 Christmas Truce. This renowned truce is often portrayed as an isolated event that spontaneously occurred during December of that year. However, truces occurred throughout the War and were more widespread than in any previous European engagement. Beginning in 1914, truces on both the Eastern and Western Fronts evolved from acts of chivalry conducted by upper levels of command, to new, sustained, and peaceful truces organized by the common soldier until war ended in 1918. These sustained periods of peace were able to develop as a result of soldiers' changing perception of the war and the nature of trench warfare.

From the onset of war in 1914, a particular form of truces was an accepted part of the war experience. Most often, they were conducted because of war's uncontrollable conditions. During the first few months of the war, such lulls in fighting developed during meal times on the Western Front. One soldier describes his reactions to such an occurrence: "The quartermaster used to bring the rations up to the bank of our river each night after dark; they were laid out, and parties came from the front line to fetch them. I suppose the enemy were occupied in the same way, so things were quiet at that hour for a couple of nights, and the ration parties became careless because of it, and laughed and talked on the way back to their parties."² These respectful truces often were formed out of convenience and respect for the enemy. Early truces also involved opposing armies allowing temporary truces for the retrieval and burial of troops in the middle of No Man's Land.³ Such truces were carried out of reverence for the dead and conducted by the commanding officers.

While these periods of peace were surprising to many new soldiers, their existence was by no means new. Suspending battle for mealtimes, tending to the injured and dead, and observing holidays were common practices in previous European engagements. One British General, Sir John French, indicates his strong feelings to the proper conduction of war: "I have always attached the utmost importance to the maintenance of that chivalry in war which has almost invariably

characterised every campaign of modern times in which this country has been engaged.³ Thus the occurrence of temporary "chivalrous" truces was expected by those who had experience in European warfare. The commanding officers usually initiated such truces. During the Boer War, General French reported how he oversaw a Christmas Truce, where he ordered fighting between the two sides to stop for the day, and gave permission for both sides to bury the dead.⁴ As Christmas approached in 1914, many commanders anticipated some form of a peace similar to previous treaties to honor the day. However, few could imagine the extent to which Christmas along the front would be celebrated.

As the sun rose on the twenty-fifth of December, soldiers awoke to a peace for the first time in months. The deafening sound of shelling and explosions that often filled the morning air was curiously absent. Bruce Bairnsfather describes the mood as he woke up that day: "Everything looked merry and bright that morning—the discomforts seemed to be less, somehow; they seemed to have epitomized themselves in intense, frosty cold. It was just the sort of day for Peace to be declared. I should like to have suddenly heard an immense siren blowing...[and the appearance] of a small figure running across the frozen mud waiving something... 'war off, return home, --George, R.I.'"⁵ While his dreams of a sudden, lasting peace never occurred, unprecedented amounts of fraternization did.

Many stories indicate that common German soldiers initiated the day's festivities by caroling to songs such as "Auld Lang Syne" and often invited the Allies into their trenches. Skeptical soldiers insisted that No Man's Land become the neutral meeting ground, fearing a possible attack. Once out in the field varieties of food, alcohol, cigarettes, and clothing were exchanged, family pictures were proudly produced, and personal war experiences were shared.⁶ For the first time in the war, opposing sides interacted with each other without the intent to kill. The friendly atmosphere even caused a British soldier, a barber in his civilian life, to take out his clippers and cut the long hair of a German soldier.⁷ The events of Christmas 1914 were remarkable, and as night set in the soldiers marched back to their respective trenches having developed a new respect for the enemy.

As upper levels of command learned of the events that took place that day, quick action was taken to ensure it would never occur again. An infuriated British Commander charged in a letter: "friendly intercourse with the enemy, unofficial armistice (e.g. we don't fire if you don't' etc.) and the exchange of tobacco and other comforts, however tempting and occasionally amusing they may be, are absolutely prohibited."⁸ Such angry responses to the truce cannot be considered surprising. As one officer who broke up a celebration indicated, the soldiers were there to "kill the Hun, not make friends with him."⁹ Governments feared that that interaction with the enemy would lessen a soldier's desire to fight. To combat this, much effort and time was devoted to portraying the enemy as a savage beast through various forms of propaganda. However, the experiences of soldiers on Christmas day contradicted many of these negative stereotypes. The struggle soldiers faced to rationalize the events is evident in one soldier's account of the actions of Christmas day, "These devils, I could see, all wanted to be friendly; but none of them possessed the open, frank geniality of our men. However, everyone was talking and laughing, and souvenir hunting."¹⁰ Despite referring to the Germans as devils and claiming to see through

their outward friendly appearance, the soldier would soon be immersing himself in the celebration that he had just criticized. Other soldiers were more accepting of these actions and enjoyed the other's company. Hearing carols had a particular effect on British soldier Bertie Felstead, who explained: "You couldn't hear each other sing like that without it affecting your feelings for the other side."¹¹ Upper levels of command would put in place new measures to ensure no such fraternization would ever occur, however, the groundwork for a new and unexpected type of truce had already been laid.

While the nature of the 1914 Christmas Truce could be considered chivalrous by its origins, the manner in which it was conducted cannot be. A day of peace was customary; celebration with the enemy was not. Like many other war traditions, chivalrous treaties seemed to dissipate as the war progressed. However, the desire for peace still existed, and the common soldier now mostly conducted truces. Thus, the Christmas Truce of 1914 could be seen as a transition to the type of sustained truces that were to develop later on in the war. While open fraternization comparable to that on Christmas would no longer occur, soldiers found new ways to sustain peace during the war. Often referred to as "live and let live," these truces were formed not out of respect toward the enemy, but rather a decision against fighting. Disillusionment with the conditions was often a reason.¹² One soldier explains an interaction with a German on Christmas day: "One of the enemy told me that he was longing to get back to London: I assured him that 'So was I.' He said that he was sick of the war, and I told him that when the truce was ended, any of his friends would be welcome in our trenches, and would be well-received, fed and give a free passage to the Isle of Man!"¹³ Determination not to fight was profound at the time, but would increase in regularity as the war went on.

It is important to assess the mood that developed as the war progressed which led to the new live and let live attitude towards the war. As the war advanced through 1914, optimism that it would end by Christmas had diminished. Old methods of attack had proved useless in the face of the modern warfare. Because of this, millions of men were dying and the front lines had barely advanced. Large offensives like the Somme had failed to produce the much-anticipated breakthrough that would win the war. The brutal European weather was especially taxing on the soldiers who lived in the trenches. Often times their biggest enemy was fighting the ever-rising flood of water in the trenches. All these factors contributed to the low morale experienced by many low-ranking soldiers, whose visions of war far differed from what they experienced. As the war progressed, the desire to continue to fight had often lessened and a desire for survival prevailed. Rather than volunteering to participate in attacks and putting themselves in a potentially harmful situation, soldiers did what they could initially to protect themselves.¹⁴

While the common soldier became increasingly disillusioned with the war, he became more sympathetic with the enemy. For those who did not experience the 1914 Christmas Truce, a desire for live and let live prevailed through the close distances separating the trenches. Unlike previous wars, where great distances separated units, some soldiers in the First World War were only separated by two to three hundred yards in dug out trenches.¹⁵ Such close distances often allowed the soldiers to see and hear the activities of the opposing army. Austrian soldier Fritz

Kreisler recognized the difference of fighting in trench warfare at the beginning of the war: "One fights fiercely and passionately, mass against mass, but as soon as the mass crystallizes itself into human individuals whose features one actually can recognize, hatred almost ceases."¹⁶

Proximity also allowed the troops to identify with each other. The soldiers often participated in the same acts and were troubled by the same conditions. By staying in the same trenches for long periods, troops were able to hear and see the others' rituals and realize how similar the opposition really was. The personalization of war was a new phenomenon that had never existed in war. Persistent fighting, and the desire to kill and hurt the enemy often eroded over time and resulted in a soldier's resolve to not fight. As one French Soldier later wrote, "One day as he watched the enemy from a loophole, without any thought of firing at him, he thought that that tiny silhouette was a soldier like himself, carrying out the same service, but wearing a different uniform. Both ran the same dangers, suffered the same bad weather, laboured at the same fatigues."¹⁷ Thus animosity did not grow as a result of the military stalemate, and often opposing soldiers developed a unique bond. When attacks were issued soldiers could no longer find the desire to kill. One soldier describes this effect: "I saw a young German coming towards me and at that moment, I just could not murder him and lowered my gun, he saw me do so and he followed suit, shouting 'what the h--- do you want to kill me for, I don't [sic] want to kill you.'"¹⁸ The combination of growing disillusionment to the war and identification with the enemy explains a soldier's personal decision to not fight an enemy but does not explain what allowed such truces to be developed along the lines and be sustained.

The initiation of truces was again a result of the proximity of the trenches. This allowed those desiring peace to communicate directly with the opposition, creating peaceful fronts. The majority of time, such instigators shouted across No Man's Land to initiate a truce. Lord Reith describes one such occurrence of this: "The enemy throws some shells at our trench. We've got your range accurately you see. No monkey tricks. Home battery replied. We've got yours; trench line and battery position -- both. No more nonsense. Live and Let Live."¹⁹ Close proximity also allowed for situations that could be interpreted as attacks to be quickly diffused. Once, when a bomb suprisingly hit the British trenches, tension on a quiet front grew as soldiers attempted to rationalize what had happened. A British officer described the confusing scene: "Naturally both sides got down and our men started swearing at the Germans, when all at once a brave German got on to his parapet and shouted out 'We are very sorry about that; we hope no one was hurt. It is not our fault, it is that damned Prussian artillery.'"²⁰ This soldier's strong desire for maintaining peace is evident, as he endangered his life so that the agreed truce could be maintained.

Unlike the chivalrous truces that occurred at the beginning of the war, the longevity of sustained truces lay in the control of those soldiers participating. The complex nature of the truces made it difficult for the upper levels of command to identify the instigators of the acts.²¹ Soldiers participated in attacks as they were commanded, but often would purposely miss their targets. One such example, known as "morning hate," involved soldiers intensely firing for ten to forty-five minutes across No Man's Land with the intent of missing the opposing trenches.²² Such an act not only depleted ammunition for the rest of the day but also made it appear as if actual

fighting was occurring, appeasing the chains of command. When circumstances forced soldiers to be discrete, other ways were developed to maintain their relative peace.

Some of the most ingenious forms of communication between trenches involved quick improvisation and elaborate schemes. When the Liverpool Scottish fighters developed a sustained truce with the Germans in 1915, a whistle across No Man's Land would indicate a safe time to leave the trenches and exchange food without the knowledge of the colonel.²³ Such clever manipulations of the circumstances occurred throughout the war. Soldiers often threw objects ranging from rocks to dead grenades into opposing trenches for information regarding the war or upcoming truces. When Germans were forced to attack an opposing trench, they threw a stone across a No Man's Land into the opposing trenches. Attached to the stone was a letter from the Germans indicating that they were forced to launch a forty-pound bomb, and regretted having to do so. In an attempt to give the troops time to prepare, a whistle would be blown before the bomb was to be launched.²⁴ Acts such as these reiterate the identification with the enemy and the desire not to hurt the members of the opposing trench. These sustained truces would occur throughout the rest of the war. The end of the war in 1918 greatly differed from the war that began four years earlier. Just as the tactics of war evolved, the same can be said of its truces. In the beginning, the truces were driven by an honorable military tradition that respected the enemy. However, by the end of the war, truces were often initiated by the opposing soldiers in an attempt to procure peace in the midst of battle. Truces were no longer conducted by the war-decorated generals, but discretely produced by its demoralized soldiers attempting to control a war that was far out of their reach. When considering the historical circumstances of war, the Great War would be the only opportunity for such truces to occur. Before 1914, most wars were fought in a different manner. Soldiers generally marched out into lines, fought across an open field, and were under the direct command of a general. After the war, technology improved and tactics became more effective, significantly increasing the pace and destruction of war, making stable and quiet fronts difficult to sustain. With the advent of modern warfare, the First World War stood at a crossroads in military history, and for one period of time allowed the common soldier control over his condition, and at times he choose peace.

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Endnotes

- ¹ C.R.M.F. Crutwell, *The War Service of the 4th Berkshire Regiment* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1922), 16. quoted in Tony Ashworth *Trench Warfare: The Live and Let Live System* (New York: Holms & Meier, 1980), 138-9.
- ² Fritz Kreisler, *Four Weeks in the Trenches* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1915), 72.
- ³ Viscount French of Ypres, *1914* (London: Constable and Company Ltd., 1919), 338.
- ⁴ *Ibid.*, 339.
- ⁵ Bruce Bairnsfather, *Bullets and Billets* (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1917), 74.
- ⁶ The description of the Christmas Truce is a collection of different stories from different parts of the front that day. The events listed include the most reoccurring themes that soldiers participated in. For More Information see: Captain JC Dunn, *The War the Infantry Knew: 1914-1919* (London: Jane's, 1987), 101-103.; Bairnsfather, *Bullets and Billets*, 81.
- ⁷ Bairnsfather, *Bullets and Billets*, 81.
- ⁸ "The Christmas Truce." *First World War.com*. 2001. <http://firstworldwar.com/features/christmastruce.htm> (15 March 2004).
- ⁹ Diana Condell, "Last Survivor of a famous First World Christmas Truce: Bertie Felstead" *The Guardian*, 3 August 2001. featured in *Aftermath World War One*, 2001, <<http://www.aftermathww1.com/felstead.asp>> (17 March 2004).
- ¹⁰ Bairnsfather, *Bullets and Billets*, 79-80.
- ¹¹ Condell, *Last Survivor*.

- ¹² "Live and let live" is a strategy referred to by many historians, but stressed as a particular concept in *Trench Warfare 1914-1918: The Live and Let Live System* by Tony Ashworth.
- ¹³ Captain Sir Edward Hulse, *Letters* (privately printed: 1916), 54, quoted in Andy Simpson, *Hot Blood and Cold Steel*, (London: Tom Donovan, 1993), 163. The Isle of Man held the internment camps for Germans in Britain.
- ¹⁴ Eric Leed, *No Man's Land: Combat and Identity in World War One* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 89.
- ¹⁵ While the distance varied depending on the front, the average distance was 200-300 yards. Some trenches were as close as a few yards, while others had 500 yards of cushioning between them. John Ellis, *Eye Deep in Hell: Trench Warfare in World War I* (New York, 1976), 24.
- ¹⁶ Kreisler, *Four Weeks*, 69.
- ¹⁷ Stephanie Audoin-Rouzeau ed., *Men at War 1914-1918* (New York: Holms & Meier Publishers, 1980), 171.
- ¹⁸ Cecil Cox, 'A few Experiences of the First World War.' quoted in Joanna Bourke, *An Intimate History of Killing: Face to Face Killing in 20th Century Warfare*. (New York: Basic Books, 1999), 136.
- ¹⁹ John Reith, *Wearing Spurs* (London: Hutchinson, 1966) quoted in Denis Winter *Death's Men: Soldiers of the Great War* (New York: Penguin, 1978), 218.
- ²⁰ Owen Rutter, *The History of the Seventh (Service) Battalion, the royal Sussex Regiment, 1914-1919*. (London: Times, 1934) quoted in Ashworth, *Trench Warfare*, 146.
- ²¹ Ashworth, *Trench Warfare*, 47.
- ²² Allan Lloyd, *The War in the Trenches* New York: McKay, 1976), 38-40.
- ²³ Graham Seton Hutchison, *Footslogger: An Autobiography* (London: Hutchinson, 1931) quoted in Winter *Death's Men*, 218.
- ²⁴ E. Blunden, *Undertones of War* (London: Cobden-Sanderson, 1930) quoted in Ashcroft, *Trench Warfare*, 35.

Blaine Hoover and the Restructuring of the Japanese Civil Service During the Allied Occupation

James Hoover

In a unique period of time after World War II, the Allied forces occupied the nation of Japan. Although referred to as the Allied occupation, a majority of the occupation was allied only in title. The United States forces led by the Supreme Commander of Allied Forces (SCAP), General Douglas MacArthur, controlled almost every aspect of the occupation. The occupation forces consisted of both civilian and military officials working together to form a democratic government in place of the previous fascist regime. This paper will attempt to describe the role of one man, Blaine Hoover, in the occupation and restructuring of Japan. It will also seek to examine legislation he was drafted by Hoover's commission and attempt to find any long term changes that may have taken place as a result of Hoover's time in Japan during the Allied occupation.

During the relatively short study of the Allied Occupation of Japan, many shifts in perspective have occurred; moving from the study of great men to the study of the defeated individuals role and reactions to the Allied activities. The earliest studies of Occupied Japan came from the Americans who lived through and played a role in the restructuring. Most of these accounts come from people like Brigadier General Courtney Whitney, one of MacArthur's top assistants during the occupation years, who wrote a biography of General MacArthur from his first hand experiences.¹ Many of these first hand accounts and recollections are now considered to be primary sources and not history. As time has progressed, historians have changed the ways in which they study World War II and the occupation.

One of the first defining historical works on the Occupation was written in 1960 by Kazuo Kawai. His book, *Japan's American Interlude*, is a political history of the Occupation. Kawai attempts to deal only with selected "controversial aspects of the Japanese reaction to the American influence during the Occupation period."² As a Japanese writer Kawai assesses the Occupation through a Japanese lens as well as a politically pro-American one. He opened a field of discussion that examines how the Japanese government responded to a foreign force attempting to restructure the country.

Kawai offers several explanations of why the Japanese were so cooperative during the Occupation period. Kawai provides the reader with the belief that the Japanese people saw that it was best to cooperate with the Allied forces.³ This is an interesting perspective on the subject because many of the justifications of the Japanese cooperation that Kawai cites as unreliable, like the belief that the Japanese officials

cooperated because of an urging from the Emperor, are currently widely accepted theories on the post war attitude of Japanese by scholars like Justin Williams, a former occupation turned historian.

Kawai also examines the Constitution that the Allied forces designed, but the Japanese people were subject to, the role of the Emperor, who was still a major symbol in post-war Japan, and Economic and Labor reforms, which would typify the American battle against communism. This is an important work on the reconstruction because of the shift from personal accounts toward writing true history that is started by Kawai. He makes the first major move toward an objective look at the Occupation through the eyes of a historian, not a participant.

Although Kawai moved the study of the Occupation away from the personal accounts of the men who shaped post war Japan, like MacArthur and Whitney, in the late 1960's one of those men placed his name back into history. Justin Williams, the former chief of the Government Section's Legislative Division who turned his career toward international affairs, wrote on the relationship between the Japanese government and the Allied legislators⁴. Unlike Kawai, Williams looks at the effects of the Japanese submission and different levels of control that the Japanese Diet was given. This study on Japanese submission is important because it analyzes the process of passing legislation and how the Allied forces has the ability to make and essentially push legislation through with almost no contest. Unlike Kawai, Williams writes about the power of the Allied staff and how their views of the Japanese changed during the "Crucial Phase of the Occupation" from 1947 to 1952.

Williams states that the Japanese cooperated with the Allied proposals because of a request from the Emperor to do so and because of the unfamiliarity "with Western democratic principles and practices, all levels of the Japanese bureaucracy looked to their GHQ [General Headquarters] counterparts for guidance."⁵ This appears to be William's version of Kawai's ideas on how the two sides came to cooperate so well. Williams places himself in the study of the Occupation in two ways: once as a participant and once as a historian. This work contains an important perspective on the two cultures; unfortunately the perspective is extremely one sided due to William's close association with the occupation and its policies.

In 1983, Japanese historian Takemae Eiji, a professor of political science at Tokyo Kenzai University, wrote a book entitled *Inside GHQ: The Allied Occupation of Japan and its Legacy*. This book, after translation, is almost 700 pages of work on the GHQ (General Headquarters). This comprehensive study on the GHQ was originally published in 1983, but translated into English in 2002 when the world began to look at the war on terror, and the Japanese role in the new world.⁶ This book is an outstanding overall study of the function of MacArthur's Occupation headquarters. It is an in depth study of the parts of the GHQ and their specific functions and the people involved. Takemae is another Japanese author, like Kawai, who has made an extensive study of the American components of the occupation.

Another important historian in the study of the Allied Occupation of Japan is John Owen Haley, who is currently a professor at Washington University in St. Louis and one of the leading experts on Japanese Law. Haley has made his contribution to the field through the study of Japanese legal issues during the Occupation. In 1991, Haley wrote a book entitled *Authority Without Power*. In this book, Haley looks at the

historic Japanese struggle to maintain a government that had legitimacy among the people. In *Authority Without Power*, Haley examined a legal framework has led to a government where, in certain situations, "coercion is required."⁷ Through legal history in the early 1990's, John Owen Haley has moved the field of Japanese legal history forward. In another more recent work, "Japan's Postwar Civil Service," Haley writes on the legal issues that surround the Civil Service in the post war years. By focusing on the legal construction, Haley analyzes a technical aspect of the Occupation and how it contributed to the economic prosperity that Japan would later experience.⁸ One interesting item that Haley adds to the historical context of the Occupation is his crediting of the Japanese input to the legal aspect of the civil service. Haley states that the Japanese contributions should be emphasized because they significantly affected the Occupation reforms.⁹ Although Kawai hints at how both the American and Japanese sides were surprised by how well they were able to interact and work together, he does not credit the Japanese as much as Haley does in the drafting of legislation.¹⁰ Through his studies of the legal agenda, Haley's work on the Occupation years is an invaluable, analytical work on the legal developments of that period and how they affected Japan.

Recently, the Japanese Occupation has appeared frequently in popular culture discussion. Historian and Massachusetts Institute of Technology professor John W. Dower's 1999 Pulitzer Prize winning work entitled *Embracing Defeat: Japan in the Wake of World War II* has become invaluable in the survey of writings on the Japanese Occupation. In *Embracing Defeat*, Dower adopts the perspective of Kawai, and digs into it. Dower leaves the governmental focus that Kawai had and, instead, tries to "capture what it meant to start over in a ruined world by recovering the voices of people at all levels of society."¹¹

Dower moved away from the traditional studies of diplomatic history and took the field into social history. *Embracing Defeat* is an attempt not only to understand how the Japanese citizen was affected by the Occupation, but also how they, in turn, affected the Occupation. Dower's work here provides a voice for those who have been referenced in the study of the Occupation, but rarely, if ever, focused on.

With the addition of Dower's social history on the Occupation years, the study of the "American Interlude" in Japanese has taken another step. In studying the Occupation, one can find numerous works on the government structure, the relationships between the Japanese and Allied/American leaders and many other great men, great moment types of histories. Dower takes the field of study and brings out the important role of the unmentioned people in history.

Although there has been a large number of works written on great men of the Occupation, some men have not been studied. This work on Blaine Hoover will seek to fill in one small area of that study and respond to Dower's work on the occupation by looking briefly at the life of Hoover, and then at his role and impact during the Occupation, this paper will link one man, who played a smaller role, to the greater context of the Occupation and Japanese history. It will seek an American perspective from a member of the occupation force who served for only a brief period of time and took over his job with only a minimal knowledge of Japan, its people and civil service structure that he was intended to evaluate and restructure.

The prewar Japanese Civil Service system has roots in the latter half of the nineteenth century. During the Tokugawa period of Japanese history, which lasted from 1600 until 1868, the country was run and controlled under a feudal system. This system relied on a military rule to control smaller domains of the country.¹² These individual domains were staffed by samurai who were loyal to the Shogun. This system of governance was a successful one for Japan, evidenced by the fact that it lasted for over 250 years.

Since the country was run by a military based government, there was a bureaucracy in place; however it did not resemble the large bureaucracies that are found in modern day democracies. However, after the fall of the Tokugawa regime in 1868, the country faced a different set of governmental needs. The changing of the Japanese government from a feudal military government to a branched system created many problems for the Japanese.¹³ Since the overthrow of the government took away the legitimacy of power by those controlling the new government, there has to be a way to place leaders into new roles. Bernard S. Silberman, of the University of Chicago, refers to this as bureaucratic rationalization; or more directly "the consequence of political acts by those seeking to secure their incumbency to positions of power and status."¹⁴ This bureaucratic rationalization brought about the placement of samurai into governmental positions by using strategic planning. This allowed the leaders during the early parts of the Meiji period to avoid moving toward voting; an alternative that might not guarantee the controlling samurai a position of power.¹⁵

One key factor in choosing the early civil service leaders was loyalty. An essential piece of the Meiji Constitution (1889) was loyalty to the Emperor. Even though the ending of the Tokugawa period took away the need to own property to hold office there were other items of status that came with the job in the new era. By holding a government office, a person was a member of a higher social class. In emphasizing loyalty to the Emperor, there were three different methods used for the appointments; 1) direct appointment by the Emperor; 2) appointment by imperial decree; or 3) appointment stemming from a recommendation by the Prime Minister¹⁶.

In the years after the Meiji Constitution was written, the makeup of the Japanese government would change greatly. The 1880's would become the birthplace of the modern Japanese bureaucracy. The country no longer had new members to recruit from the old power sections of the Tokugawa system; instead there was a movement toward politics and political parties that would bring about many changes. One significant move that changed how party politics were used in the selection of officials was made by Prime Minister Aritomo Yamagata in 1899. Yamagata passed a revision to the earlier Civil Service Appointment Ordinance in 1899, so that the higher level civil service employees would retain the power of appointment over the lower level employees directly underneath them. This allowed members of political parties to be candidates for imperial appointment.¹⁷ The stipulation added by Yamagata forced imperial appointees to have already passed the Upper-Level Civil Service Examination and gained job experience to be eligible for appointment.¹⁸ This was a narrowing of the pool of possible candidates by Yamagata that prevented the political parties from taking control of the government and placing anyone that they chose into a position of authority.

The Civil Service Appointment Ordinance and the Upper-Level Civil Service exam would undergo many changes throughout the early part of the twentieth century. What government positions these items covered, what form the examination would take and the subjects covered by the exam were all addressed during this time and the Japanese bureaucracy grew into a complex and impressive force. All of the changes that took place during this time were a result of the ongoing power struggle between party politics and the political elite.¹⁹ However, this struggle would be minimized during World War II out of a direct need to fill positions as the numbers of potential candidates fell as the war progressed. The examination became less strict and more of a formality as the need to fill positions grew. The system moved into a period of taking "resumes, and on the basis of those resumes asking those it [the Selection Committee for Civilian Officials] thought suitable to write theses at home."²⁰ This demonstrates the regression in civil service standards during World War II. With lowered standards the civil service positions were open to be filled by less qualified candidates than ever before, a far cry from the controlled system of selection that Aritomo Yamagata attempted to structure before the turn of the twentieth century.

Around the same time in Red Cliff, Colorado a boy was born to Simeon Hoover and Carrie Lowry. James Blaine Hoover was born on January 23, 1893.²¹ Although his legal first name was James, he went by Blaine for the duration of his life. After moving around during his childhood years, Hoover would eventually begin his college career at Beloit College in Wisconsin. During a football practice at Beloit, Hoover took a hit to the face and tore his lip. After consulting his pre-law advisor, Hoover was convinced by his advisor that his mouth was going to be an essential part of his law career; he quit football shortly thereafter.²² Hoover also transferred from Beloit after three years to the University of Chicago, where he would eventually earn his degree. After graduation, Hoover held various jobs including: Midwest Sales Manager for Yale University Press, Head of Personnel for the Illinois Employment Relief Commission and the Head of Employment for the Works Progress Administration in the State of Illinois all before the start of World War II.²³ All of the work experience gained by Hoover built an impressive resume that would gain him an important role in the Occupation Forces after the war.

The reconstruction forces had begun to outline ideas for restructuring before the formal surrender of the Japanese military to the Allied powers aboard the USS Missouri ending the World War II on September 2, 1945. A necessary step in a successful occupation by the Allied forces was going to involve breaking up the current bureaucratic officeholders.²⁴ MacArthur believed that the key to this move away from the incumbent bureaucrats involved a complete restructuring. In the words of Takemae Eiji: "Only a complete reconstruction of the bureaucratic edifice itself, SCAP [Supreme Commander of Allied Powers] believed, could transform the arrogant minions of Imperial authority into humble servants of the people."²⁵ By late January 1946, there were cries from the occupation authorities for a swift change in the old guard of the bureaucracy. According to the American authorities, the bureaucratic system was inefficient and incapable of handling the control of a country moving towards a modern democracy.²⁶ The voice behind these early comments on the bureaucratic shortcomings, Lieutenant Milton J. Esman (PhD from Princeton), a leading political scientist who was added on as an advisor to the Government Section's (GS) Public

Administration Division, called for the "visit of a high-profile US civil service mission to Japan."²⁷

These calls for change by Esman and the Public Administration Division coincided with another struggle between the GS and an enemy that the United States government would become familiar with: communism. In his biography of General MacArthur, Major General Courtney Whitney (a Brigadier General at the time of the occupation) writes about the struggle against communism as the justification for needing a civil service mission to the East Asian nation.²⁸ According to Whitney, communist groups had gained great control of both the transportation and communication industries by massively infiltrating the unions that were associated with each respective sector. According to MacArthur's men, this gave the communist organizers the opportunity to cripple the Japanese way of life at will. At this point MacArthur countered the communist action by "encouraging the enactment of a law bringing all government workers within the framework of a modernized civil-service system."²⁹

This encouragement by MacArthur prompted Whitney to create a new division within the GS in order to handle the civil service issues at hand. Whitney chose Blaine Hoover to lead this newly formed mission³⁰ because of his expertise in the areas of personnel and management. Hoover's previous experience with civil service came through the heading of the Civil Service Assembly of the United States and Canada and through being a consultant to the US Civil Service Commission.³¹ This made him an obvious choice for the American dominated Allied occupation forces. Hoover would be placed in charge of a mission whose goals were to modernize the Japanese civil service.

After arriving in Japan on November 30, 1946, Hoover and the rest of the United States Personnel Advisory Mission (USPAM) to Japan, sometimes referred to as the Hoover Mission, took Sunday December 1st to rest before beginning their mission on the 2nd of December. The three other men who would comprise the Personnel Advisory Mission were Manlio F. DeAngelis, Robert S. Hare and W. Pierce MacCoy.³² The Mission had been constituted by the War Department of the United States and was there to assess "the entire personnel system of the Japanese government."³³

The first official meetings of the commission were briefings with Brigadier General Courtney Whitney and other GHQ staff (Figure 1). Whitney was the Chief of the Government Section of the GHQ under the supervision of the Supreme Commander for Allied Powers (SCAP). At this meeting, Whitney alerted the group to "occupation problems, policies and accomplishments."³⁴ These meetings consisted of lectures as well as questions and answer sessions to help orient the group of American civil service advisors in their new setting. Although experts in their field, prior to their arrival the members of the commission "possessed little knowledge of Japan."³⁵ The briefings covered many different subjects on the country of Japan and its people. The mission was informed about Japanese history, occupation policies, the organization of the local governments, political parties, the judicial system, labor issues and the "Japanese character and psychology."³⁶ This multifaceted crash course on Japan was provided for these men to allow them a small chance to become familiar with attempting to restructure parts of the government. Although this orientation process appears to be insufficient when considering the role that the mission was about to take

on, Hoover speaks very highly of the meetings and the men who "gave fully their time and knowledge as a contribution to the work of the mission."³⁷ Hoover specifically credits Dr. E.H. Norman who was the head of the Canadian Liaison Mission for his contributions and knowledge about the Japanese people. Dr. Norman's "seminal scholarship on Japan's emergence from feudalism influenced Allied thinking on the country during and immediately after the war."³⁸

Although the initial briefings were an essential reference for the mission, there was one other extremely important piece of information that came out of the first meetings. The mission found out that they would work independently from the rest of the Government Section to draft their own suggestions and legislation. This would prove to have a major affect in the mission's later policy making. Though the mission had been provided with an overview of Japan, there were still other issues that needed to be addressed. Before the arrival of the USPAM, the GHQ had been preparing for their arrival as well as learning as much as possible about the Japanese structure of government. The GHQ spent many months, before the arrival of the mission, preparing studies of the Japanese personnel practices.³⁹ From these studies, the GHQ pieced together reports on the status of the system. These reports were not comprehensive, but they did prove to be useful to the mission. The GHQ reports pointed to, what the mission would later declare, the major problems of the practices of the personnel divisions of the Japanese government. The Hoover mission had these reports as the foundation of their understandings of Japanese personnel practices and used them to formulate the strategy for approaching these problems.⁴⁰

At this point in time, the mission had a basic understanding of Japan and how personnel administration of the country worked without ever interacting with a member of the actual Japanese government. They did begin to meet with the government soon after their preliminary research was completed. In October of 1946, the Japanese government had created an Administrative Research Bureau to "conduct investigations, do research and formulate plans for the reformation of the organization, the personnel system and the administrative procedures of the Japanese Government."⁴¹ This Japanese Administrative Research Bureau had the same responsibilities as the USPAM; therefore it was not difficult to arrange conferences between the two groups. On December 24, 1946 the United States Personnel Advisory Mission and the Japanese Administrative Research Bureau had their first in a series of meetings.⁴²

The decision to meet as one body would be pivotal in the restructuring of the Japanese Civil Service. Before this first meeting, the Hoover mission had focused and refined their thoughts and beliefs on how to approach the task at hand. The mission had also developed a time table in which they planned to carry out their planned operations. However, in a subsequent meeting, the two groups decided on a new plan of action that involved merging the two groups and reassigning responsibilities.⁴³ The original two units identified specific areas of the Japanese personnel administration that were to be studied and formed new subcommittees under the supervision of individual members of USPAM and the Japanese Administrative Research Bureau. To oversee the operations of the subcommittees and receive the reports, a General Committee was formed. This was done in order to reduce overlap in the two groups and to make the process of reorganization more efficient. More specifically, the committee was

formed to: "(1) promote progress of the work of the special committees (2) coordinate work of the special committees and (3) consider major problems developed by the special committees."⁴⁴ This committee consisted of ten men; including Hoover, the three aforementioned USPAM members (DeAngelis, Hare and MacCoy), as well as six members of the Administrative Research Bureau; Kiyoshi Asai, Toshio Irie, Katsumi Maeda, Toshigoshu Miyazawa and Akiiye Yamashita.⁴⁵ Hoover and the presiding Minister of the State and President of the Administrative Research Bureau, Takao Saito, served as the chairman and co-chairman of the new committee.⁴⁶ Through their roles in the General Committee, Hoover and Saito developed a close friendship based on a mutual respect that would last through the duration of the occupation.

In the first month of their time in Japan, the Hoover mission had experienced many things. From the brief, intense study of Japan and its people, the government and the personnel system to the union with the Administrative Research Bureau and formation of the General Committee, Hoover and USPAM were about to transition into the next phase of their mission. The knowledge and structure were in place and the mission "entered the New Year having (1) informed itself as well as possible, within the limitations of time, concerning the broad aspects of the Japanese governmental system, (2) reviewed the studies reviewed the studies previously made of personnel administration in the Japanese Government, (3) established relations with the Japanese officials as a basis for work and (4) launched a series of special studies."⁴⁷ The mission had put itself into position to formulate a plan for a new strategy on personnel affairs in Japan that would fix the problems that came about through a feudalistic tradition as well as during the Second World War.

Hoover explained the situation in Japan during the first month of the mission's time there in the first section of his interim report issued to General MacArthur on April 24, 1947.⁴⁸ This report was issued just five months after the mission had entered Japan and was not a complete commentary on the mission, simply because USPAM had not completed its duty in Japan. This interim report contained a proposed piece of legislation that would greatly change the composition of the Japanese civil service and, according to Hoover, needed to be submitted immediately for a variety of reasons. Hoover saw the need to submit the report at this time because of the aforementioned fight against communism, but the main reason for the a submission at the end of April lay in its proximity to the May 3, 1947 of the new Constitution of Japan taking effect.⁴⁹ This would allow the new National Public Servants Law to have momentum and possibly legitimacy with the Japanese population.

The National Public Servants Law (NPSL) was designed and proposed by Hoover and the mission in their interim report of April 1947. The NPSL was a response to the Hoover Mission's stated purpose, which was to "plan an efficient system of personnel administration for the Japanese Government."⁵⁰ The law reflected the experiences Hoover had gathered during his years working the field of civil service administration. Hoover compared the old, feudalistic personnel system of Japan to the feudalistic systems that controlled Western Europe in the past. He used two examples within the Hoover Report to show examples of bureaucratic movements in the past. The first example is that of England, where the civil servants went from "servants of the monarch, then of the dominant political party, and finally of the people as a whole."⁵¹ According to Hoover, the development of the English civil service had helped Britain

become a flourishing democracy that served the people, much like that of the United States, his other example. Hoover briefly mentions the frustrating inefficiency of the spoils system, which involved rewarding loyal supporters, friends and political party members with appointed positions after winning a political office, which ran American politics during most of the 1800's and how that moved the civil service to the form it took in the late 1940's; where the civil servants were servants of the dominant political party of the day, but through law and administration, the civil service had become servants to the people of the United States.³² Hoover envisioned a similar transition occurring in Japan.

A transition from a bureaucracy that served political interests to one that operated in the best interests of the people would require an ideological change in making personnel decisions. The nation of Japan would need to move toward a "Merit System Administration," similar to the one that sprouted in the United States to fight the spoils system. Hoover addressed the negative connotations that were associated with a merit based ideology by stating that "government has come to recognize as an employer who must do certain things if men and women of superior ability are to be brought into and retained in the government."³³ This demonstrates Hoover's belief that the methods that businesses used, and still do use, to recruit and retain talented employees can and must be applied in modern democracies where large bureaucracies are vital.

To have an opportunity to reach the goal of planning an "efficient system of personnel administration for the Japanese Government,"³⁴ the mission believed that the civil service must start with a clean slate of leaders. In his letter to MacArthur, Hoover is writing about the main points of the National Public Servants Law when he states that "The positions in the service of Vice-Ministers, Heads and Assistant-Heads of Agencies of government, Heads and Assistant-Heads of Bureaus, Heads and Assistant-Heads of Divisions and other positions of similar organization leveling in the (civil) service as determined and identified by the (National Personnel) Authority, are hereby declared to be vacant and without incumbents."³⁵ Hoover finishes the note by stating that anyone occupying one of the stated positions after May 3, 1947, the day that the new constitution took effect, will stay in their position as a temporary appointee until they are replaced by the Authority.

One of the mission's main concerns about the bureaucracy, and the main reason that they chose to eradicate the aforementioned leadership positions, was a concern with the previous systems focus on Tokyo Imperial University graduates. The NPSL sought to provide "uniform regulation of the national civil service,"³⁶ which was seen as impossible with the current composition of the bureaucracy being dominated by Tokyo Imperial University graduates. The reasons that this disparity between graduates of the TIU and other institutions occurred because of what Hoover sarcastically refers to as the previous "so-called Higher Civil Service examination."³⁷ This reflects the changes after the conception of the Meiji Constitution that allowed for changing Civil Service Examinations that favored political parties and friends, much like that of the old American spoils system. The Civil Service Examinations that Hoover refers to with such disdain covered topics that revolved around administrative law and "operated to favor graduates of the law department of Tokyo Imperial University."³⁸ This is a piece of Japanese tradition that the mission found to

be intolerable. Favoritism of TIU graduates goes back to the beginnings of the Meiji period. In fact, "until 1893, Todai (TIU) graduates were not even required to take the higher civil service examination."⁵⁹ This form of favoritism moved itself from exclusion of the exam for graduates to favoring the graduates through the exam and the mission designed the NPSL to change this. The men that had reached the higher level positions were deep-rooted in the system. Hoover described these men as having "money, influence, legal training and little understanding of and a distaste for the democratic process."⁶⁰ The mission believed that the only way to cope with the problem at hand was to clean the bureaucratic slate.

Expelling the higher level bureaucrats might have been an important first step in fulfilling the mission's goal, but it was not the only hurdle that needed clearing. There was another main idea of the National Public Servants Law that the mission believed was central to creating a civil service that would serve the interests of the people and be efficient. The National Personnel Authority was a large portion of the interim report submitted by Hoover to the Government Section for legislation. Section III of the Hoover Report establishes the National Personnel Authority (simply referred to as the Authority in the report).⁶¹ The report lists the framework for the Authority as having three main officers; a President and two Commissioners. According to the report, the President is to be appointed by the Cabinet and serve for a term of fifteen years, the commissioners shall also be appointed by the cabinet and serve terms of fifteen years.⁶² The three serve as the overseers of the Authority, with the President serving as the interpreter, enforcer and administrator of the rules of the Authority. The eligibility requirements of the officers of the Authority mirror that of a United States President. The officer must be a citizen of Japan, at least thirty-five years of age, of "highest moral character and integrity, of demonstrated executive ability, experienced and qualified in the field of personnel administration, in known sympathy with the democratic form of government and efficient administration therein based on merit principles."⁶³ The American democratic ideals of Hoover and the other commissioners are apparent here in the requirements of "sympathy through the democratic government."

Also evident in the first few requirements of for the officers of the Authority is the determination of the mission to break the stronghold on Tokyo Imperial University graduates and fight against political motives that might impede the officers from serving the people inside the three designated offices. This trend continues into the latter part of Article 1, Part 4 of the report. The mission lists that none of the three officers may be a member of a political committee, officer of a political party, officer in the Japanese military organization, or a candidate in the last ten years for an elected public office.⁶⁴ These restrictions all follow the mission's beliefs that the bureaucracy should not be a breeding ground for political activity. The mission then goes one step further to ensure that there is no preference given on the basis of education background. The NPSL requires that of the three appointed officers, "no two members of the Authority, at any one time, shall be graduates of the same school, college or department of the same university or institution of higher learning."⁶⁵ By ensuring that the officers of the Authority are not of identical educational backgrounds, the mission believed that there would be no favoritism in the application of the NPSL.

One more position was created by the NPSL that would work closely with the three previously listed officers of the Authority. This other position was that of

Director-General of Personnel. However, unlike the President and Commissioners, the Director-General was not to be appointed by the Cabinet.⁶⁶ The Director-General of Personnel was to be chosen "from amongst the three persons having the highest scores in the examination."⁶⁷ Also, the records of the Director that involve the selection process (i.e. test scores, applications and other evaluations) were to be filed in the Authority archives and the Director must meet the same criteria as the other three appointed officers as far as age and citizenship, the Director was also given the role of temporarily replacing the President in his duties, however he was not given the right to vote as a member of the three person authority.⁶⁸

The Authority was in place to apply the rules and guidelines set forth in the NPSL. There were other powers conferred upon the Authority. These powers mainly dealt with administrative and record keeping type tasks that the Authority needed to keep track of. Such items included investigations within the personnel system,⁶⁹ regulate appointments and layoffs, keep documentation of personnel staff, to run and analyze statistics pertinent to the authority⁷⁰, after five years the authority had the right to determine the "time and sequence of applying the standards prescribed by this law,"⁷¹ and finally to make an annual report to the Cabinet that describes the Authorities activities and progress.⁷²

The remainder of the report outlines seven standards that the civil service should be based on. These seven standards follow the typical lines of belief held by the mission. The standards covered the merit based system that involves compensation on the basis of duties and responsibilities, increasing productivity from each servant, equal treatment, working in the interests of the public, having no other job than that in the service and the right to receive retirement payments after a proper time of faithful service.⁷³ According to the Hoover report, the NPSL establishes a "beach head for a modern and efficient civil service in Japan."⁷⁴ Understanding how difficult it might be to place a new Authority in charge, the mission reestablishes their role in the restructuring of the civil service and identifies the need to advise the temporary Authority and to help with logistical training and setup.⁷⁵ This entire concept provided by the report essentially breaks down the old, "feudalistic" civil service by reconstituting and reducing the prestige of the bureaucracy through providing a law that would setup a new administrative form of personnel service including a National Personnel Authority.⁷⁶ The report did not officially put the law into place, but the writing and submitting of the law to MacArthur moved the law towards its next hurdle.

The National Public Servants Law would have to be approved by the Diet to complete its course from proposed to instituted law. This was, in some respects, not as difficult of a task as it may seem. The adoption of the new Constitution had been a surprisingly unproblematic process. The Emperor had requested that the Japanese officials cooperate with the members of the GHQ. Hoover's documented experience with this came through a letter from acting Prime Minister Tetsu Katayama, which, referring to the NPSL, stated that "upon it becoming law, I [Katayama] am firmly determined to administer it strictly according to the letter and spirit of your recommendations."⁷⁷ As Justin Williams writes: "the Japanese officials obediently, if not always cheerfully, accepted both the new constitution and major responsibility for its implementation."⁷⁸ In fact, the Japanese officials, in their unfamiliarity with the

Westernized system being placed into effect in their country, often sought the advice of their equals in the GHQ section. The atmosphere of the interactions between the two parties reflected an eagerness to learn and an almost academic atmosphere. In fact, many Japanese officials showed such an eagerness for knowledge and mastery of the institutions that were going to govern their country that they traveled to the United States to study these institutions.⁷⁹ Although cooperation by Imperial ordinance is one reason for the collaboration, it is also true that since prior to August 1948, all laws, bills and ordinances required the approval of the GHQ, however after that time, it was still necessary to seek the advice of the GHQ in the decision making process.⁸⁰ This mandatory submission of legislation prior to voting by the Diet, explains Kawai's belief that since there was no other alternative, the Japanese officials at the time saw it in their best interest to cooperate with the American forces.⁸¹ With all of this taken into account, the National Public Servants law received a strong backing from the GHQ and the law was passed on October 21, 1947.

After the first NPSL was passed, there was talk of a revision. One way that the Japanese officials attempted to understand, and potentially influence, the drafting of legislation during the post war occupation was through outside meetings with the American officials. Outside meetings with Japanese officials was something that Hoover experienced during his time in Tokyo and the rest of the country (Figure 2). One meeting in particular was with a Supreme Court Justice of Japan. In a letter from the Supreme Court Justice, who name is illegible, on August 31, 1948 to Hoover, the Justice expresses his interested in meeting to "exchange views on the National Public Servants Law."⁸² Although this letter is clearly a formal type invitation, it does document how the interaction between Hoover, a drafter of legislation, and the Supreme Court Justice, who had a role in the countries future, sometimes took place outside of formal meetings.

After months of conversation, the law came up for revision in 1948. This process proved to be highly controversial. Hoover and the mission believed that the new government trade unions had gained enough power to form significant political opposition.⁸³ Because of this, the Hoover and the mission believed that it was necessary "to restrict the rights of civil servants to bargain collectively."⁸⁴ This created much conflict within the GHQ. James S. Killen, chief of the British mission in Tokyo and chief of the Economic and Scientific Section of SCAP, believed and argued with MacArthur that "a liberal attitude towards British government workers and civil servants has hardly reduced the nation to anarchy."⁸⁵ This conflict between the two men eventually required the intervention of MacArthur, who would eventually side with Hoover. This conflict between the two sides would lead directly to the resignation of Killen.⁸⁶ Hoover later referred to Killen's philosophies in a *NY Times* article as "complete nonsense."⁸⁷ This unfortunate conflict brought out the worst in the two men. Hoover, showing the reasons that he is often criticized by historians, was supremely confident in his standing with MacArthur, but not for specific policy reasons. Hoover is quoted as saying that he would have MacArthur's vote because of his proximity to American philosophy, but even if Killen and him were on an equal political field, Hoover's "dignified bearing and impeccable attire contrasted with his cloddish manner and tawdry appearance will prejudice MacArthur against him

[Killen].⁸⁸⁸ This shows the superior American attitude that Hoover carried was not only a part of his policy making, but his personal beliefs as well.

Hoover issued a public statement in August 1948 that described and defended the Authority from criticism that he believed stemmed from a lack of understanding of the NPSL. In this statement Hoover fought back against the negative image that has been built of him through the ordeal with Killen. In addressing the need for the National Personnel Authority, Hoover comments on the relationship between the government and its employees, stating that it is a concern that "must be answered before the people of Japan can fully affect the national recovery and establish a Government which will be both efficient and democratic."⁸⁸⁹ Hoover believed that through this Authority, the damage that had been accomplished by the old system of strikes and move the country into a system that is controlled by men who are only concerned by the welfare of the Japanese state and its people. This piece of writing by Hoover could fall into a modern political campaign. The statement's concluding paragraph opens with that statement: "Citizens who believe in justice and law and order will welcome this new civil service system."⁸⁹⁰ This is another piece of Hoover's work that shows his "inimitable rhetoric"⁸⁹¹ and strong belief in the American way.

Through the remainder of his time in Japan, Hoover dealt with the implementation of the NPSL and the continued battle against communist influence in the restructured government. Hoover understood that the ideas set forth by the mission would be unpopular among the Japanese people when the revised law was passed early in December 1948, over a year after the initial version received approval from the Diet. Hoover "expected battles over the reduction in the number of public servants, over increases in their salaries and over the transfer of major control from individual agencies to new regional bureaus under the National Personnel Authority."⁸⁹² Hoover held to his belief that the people of Japan, after time for the system to integrate itself into the functions of government, would allow the people government services that were uninterrupted and featured well trained, well paid, quality civil servants, free from the influence of politics and communism.

Hoover's close ideological relationship also made him a virtual spokesperson for MacArthur on certain personnel issues. In June 1949, just over a year before his death, Hoover was in contact with the Japanese personnel who had taken over the operations of the country. Chief Cabinet Secretary Kanashichi Masuda consulted with Hoover before the Japanese government terminated 172,000 employees. This was significant enough that *The New York Times* declared that MacArthur would favor the move if Hoover favored the move.⁸⁹³ This emphasizes Hoover's strong belief in the American system of doing things. MacArthur was known for his strong American and anti-communist beliefs; Hoover's proximity to MacArthur and the implied approval of MacArthur that approval by Hoover provided articulates the strong pro-American attitudes that Hoover held.

Hoover left Japan in early 1950 to return home due to illness. He spent the remainder of his days hospitalized fighting prostate cancer that developed during the latter portion of his time in Japan. Hoover refused to inform any medical authorities about his illness while in Japan and eventually died on September 3, 1950 in the hospital at Great Lakes Naval Training Center north of Chicago.⁸⁹⁴

Hoover's return to the United States was the end of his participation in the occupation of Japan, which continued on for another few years. Hoover's role as the head of the United States Personnel Advisory Mission served an important function to MacArthur's occupation forces by following through on MacArthur and Whitney's desire to break up the Japanese bureaucracy and form it into a system that would be more efficient and able to serve the people of Japan. Hoover's goal through the National Public Servants Law was to break up the tightly woven system of favoritism in the civil service examination in favor of Tokyo Imperial University graduates. This was the reason for the creation of the National Personnel Authority. This control of the higher civil service seems to be exaggerated by Hoover when one considers the data that between 1941-43 46.7% of the Higher Civil Service employees were Tokyo Imperial University graduates (Figure 3). Whether or not this claim was an exaggeration, Hoover achieved his goal of breaking up the system and by 1966 the percentage of TIU graduates was down to 21.1% of the system, however this number continues to fluctuate and has, at times, returned to levels close to that of the WWII years (figure 3). As B.C. Koh, professor at the University of Illinois-Chicago writes, "it is reasonable to expect that the apparent erosion of the predominance of Tokyo [Imperial University] graduates in the Japanese bureaucracy will continue in the years ahead."⁹³ During his time in Japan, Blaine Hoover, with his firm belief in an American system of government and strong anti-communist sentiments, led the crafting of legislation that, with some success, was crafted to break up the monopoly and communist influence that was present in the Japanese Civil Service system.

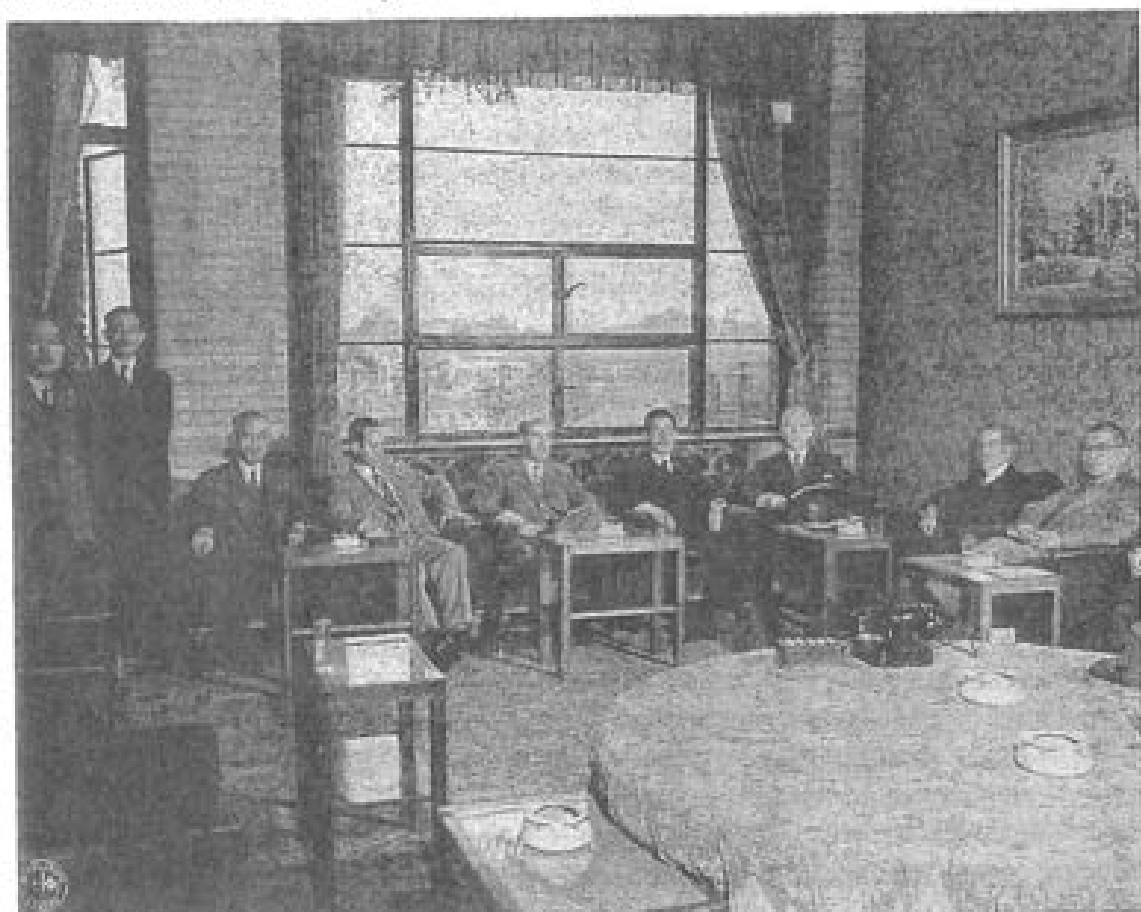


Figure 1. Hoover (the third man from the right) meeting with the GHQ staff.

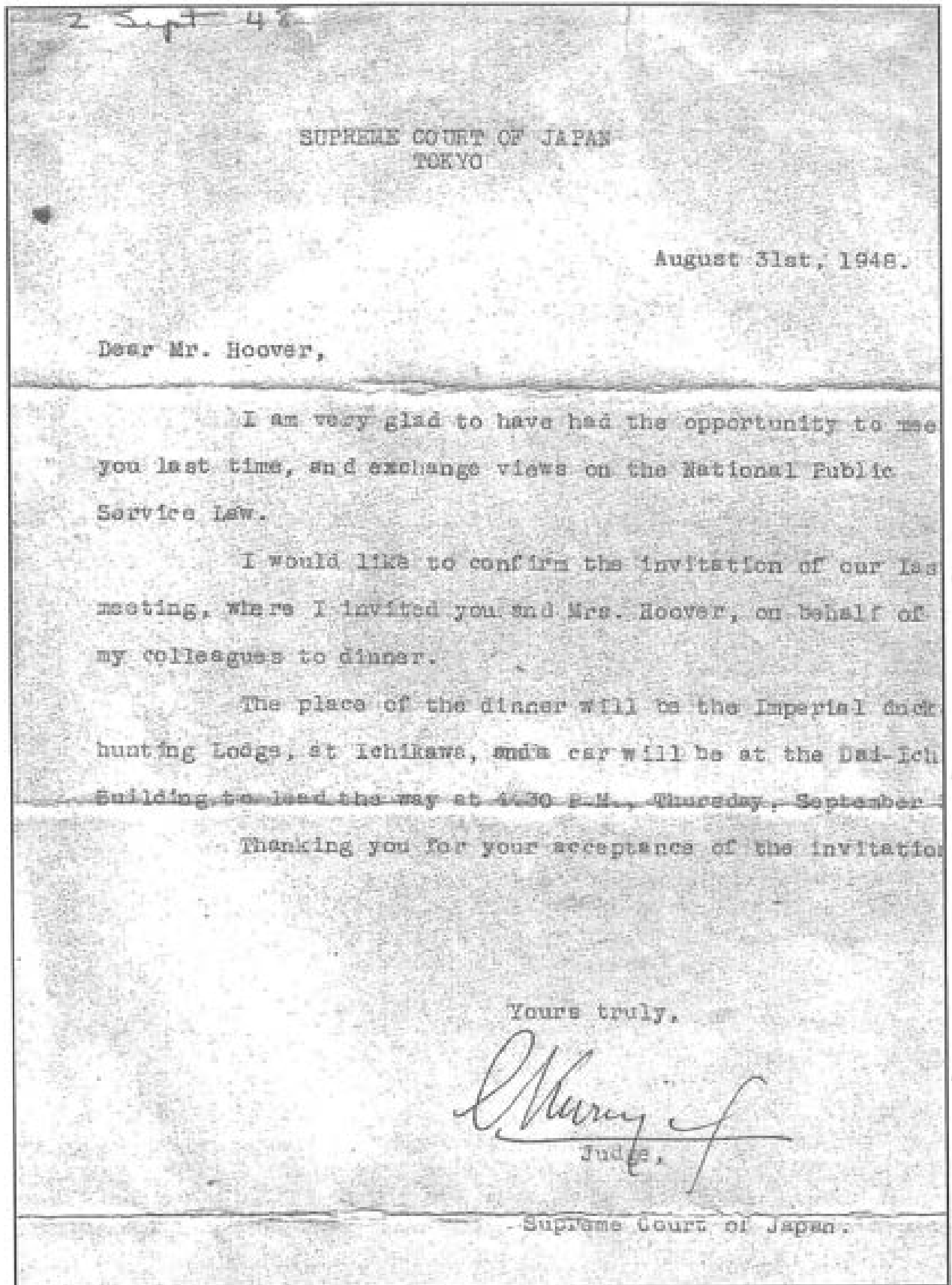


Figure 2. Letter sent to Hoover by a Judge of the Supreme Court of Japan

Year	Tokyo		University Background				Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
1941-43	547	46.7	112	9.8	512	43.7	1171	100.0
1966**	318	21.1	142	9.4	1047	69.5	1507	100.0
1967†	350	25.7	174	12.7	840	61.6	1364	100.0
1970	335	24.8	129	9.5	889	65.7	1353	100.0
1971	453	32.3	174	12.4	774	55.3	1401	100.0
1972††	266	17.9	146	9.8	1078	72.3	1490	100.0
1973	499	43.8	204	17.9	437	38.3	1140	100.0
1974‡	435	29.1	191	12.8	870	58.1	1496	100.0
1975	459	35.2	172	13.2	674	51.6	1305	100.0
1976	461	37.3	193	15.6	582	47.1	1236	100.0

* Includes those who did not attend four-year colleges. In 1967, 28 or 2 percent of the total belonged to this category.

** Success ratios (= $\frac{\text{Number of Successful Candidates}}{\text{Number of All Candidates}}$) were as follows: Tokyo, .357; Kyoto, .295; total, .066.

† Success ratios: Tokyo, .333; Kyoto, .257; total, .063.

†† Due to disruptions caused by student protests, no students were admitted to Tokyo University in 1968; hence only a small number of rōmā graduated from it in 1972, thus accounting for a sharp decline in the number of successful candidates in the higher civil service examination.

‡ The figures for 1974-76 represent the combined totals of higher civil service examinations (A) and (B), whereas those for 1966-67 encompass higher civil service examination (A) only.

Sources: The 1941-43 figures were calculated from Robert M. Spaulding, Jr., *Imperial Japan's Higher Civil Service Examinations* (Princeton, 1967), p. 269 and p. 277; the 1966-67 figures are from *Jishū Jō geppō* (Tokyo, June 1967 and July 1968); the 1970-71 figures are from Satō Tomoyuki et al., *Tōdōbatsu* (Tokyo, 1972), p. 176; remaining data are from *Asahi shinbun* (Tokyo) 22 August 1972, 9 September 1974 (evening edition), 1 November 1975 (evening edition), 26 October 1976, and *Mainichi shinbun* (Tokyo), 11 September 1973. Success ratios could not be calculated for 1970-76 because a breakdown of the applicants by university background was not available.

Figure 3. Successful Candidates in Higher Civil Service Examinations by University Background and Year.

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¹ Courtney Whitney, *MacArthur: His Rendezvous with History* (New York: Alfred E. Knopf, 1956).

² Kazuo Kawai, *Japan's American Interlude* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960), v.

³ *Ibid.*, 10.

⁴ Justin Williams, "Completing Japan's Political Reorientation, 1947-1952: Crucial Phase of the Allied Occupation," *The American Historical Review* 73, no.5 (June 1968): 1454.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 1455.

⁶ Takemae Eiji, *Inside the GHQ: The Allied Occupation of Japan and its Legacy*, trans. Robert Ricketts and Sebastian Swann (New York: Continuum 2002), xxv.

⁷ John Owen Haley, *Authority Without Power* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 160.

⁸ John Owen Haley, "Japan's Postwar Civil Service: The Legal Framework," in *The Japanese Civil Service and Economic Development*, eds. Hyung-Ki Kim et al. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 77.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 81.

¹⁰ Kawai, 1.

¹¹ John W. Dower, *Embracing Defeat: Japan in the Wake of World War II* (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1999), 25.

¹² Michio Muramatsu and T.J. Pempel, "The Evolution of the Civil Service before World War II," in *The Japanese Civil Service and Economic Development*, eds. Hyung-Ki Kim et al. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 174.

- ¹³ Bernard S. Silberman, "The Structure of Bureaucratic Rationality and Economic Development in Japan," in *The Japanese Civil Service and Economic Development*, eds. Hyung-Ki Kim et al. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 149.
- ¹⁴ Ibid., 150.
- ¹⁵ Ibid., 151.
- ¹⁶ Murumatsu and Pempel, 175.
- ¹⁷ Ibid.
- ¹⁸ Ibid.
- ¹⁹ Ibid., 176.
- ²⁰ Ibid., 177.
- ²¹ Elaine Severin, interview by author, 13 October 2004, phone interview. [Elaine Severin is the daughter of Blaine Hoover]
- ²² Jim Hoover, interview by author, 10 October 2004, phone interview. [Jim Hoover is the grandson of Blaine Hoover]
- ²³ Severin.
- ²⁴ Takemae, 305.
- ²⁵ Ibid.
- ²⁶ Ibid.
- ²⁷ Ibid.
- ²⁸ Whitney, 271.
- ²⁹ Ibid.
- ³⁰ Ibid.
- ³¹ Takemae, 306.
- ³² Blaine Hoover, "Hoover Report" (1947), at the Macarthur Memorial, Bureau of Archives, Norfolk, VA, 2.
- ³³ Ibid., 1.
- ³⁴ Ibid.
- ³⁵ Takemae, 306.
- ³⁶ Hoover, *Hoover Report*, 1.
- ³⁷ Ibid.
- ³⁸ Takemae, 152. [Takemae also describes Norman's unfortunate life after his role in the occupation. Norman's political beliefs are described as leftward leaning by Takemae and his interactions and lobbying for communist political prisoners and criticism of the occupation after 1950 resulted in him being a target of McCarthyism. Norman was accused by the United States Congress of assisting the Japanese Communist Party because

of his involvement in the Communist Party during his childhood in Japan. The pressure and continued hounding from the Senate would eventually lead Norman to commit suicide in Cairo in 1957.]

³⁹ Hoover, *Hoover Report*, 1.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ Ibid., 2.

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ Ibid. [Kiyoshi Asai was the Japanese Director of the Civil Service Division, Professor of Law, Keio University and a member of the House of Peers. Toshio Irie was the Secretary-General of the Administrative Research Bureau and the Director of the Bureau of Legislation. Katsumi Maeda was the Director of the General Affairs Division of the Administrative Research Bureau and the Secretary of the Cabinet. Okiiye Yamashita was the Director of the Management Division of the Administrative Research Bureau and a consultant to the Hadachi Manufacturing Company.]

⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ Blaine Hoover, to General MacArthur, Supreme Commander of Allied Powers, 24 April 1947, MacArthur Memorial Archives, Norfolk, VA.

⁴⁹ Hoover, *Hoover Report*, 9.

⁵⁰ Ibid., 3.

⁵¹ Ibid., 4.

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ Ibid., 5.

⁵⁴ Ibid., 3.

⁵⁵ Blaine Hoover, letter to Brigadier General Courtney Whitney, Chief, Government Section, GHQ, SCAP, 7 May, 1947, MacArthur Memorial Archives, Norfolk, VA.

⁵⁶ Edwin M. Martin, *The Allied Occupation of Japan* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Publishers, 1948), 70.

⁵⁷ Hoover, *Hoover Report*, 8.

⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁹ Hyung-Ki Kim, "The Japanese Civil Service and Economic Development: Lessons for Policymakers from Other Countries," in *The Japanese Civil Service and Economic Development* eds. Hyung-Ki Kim et al. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 526-7.

⁶⁰ Hoover, *Hoover Report*, 8.

⁶¹ Ibid., 13.

- ⁶² Ibid., 14.
- ⁶³ Ibid., 14-15.
- ⁶⁴ Ibid., 15.
- ⁶⁵ Ibid.
- ⁶⁶ Ibid., 17.
- ⁶⁷ Ibid.
- ⁶⁸ Ibid.
- ⁶⁹ Ibid., 18.
- ⁷⁰ Ibid., 20.
- ⁷¹ Ibid., 21.
- ⁷² Ibid.
- ⁷³ Ibid., 26, 30-31, 33, 35-37.
- ⁷⁴ Ibid., 40.
- ⁷⁵ Ibid., 41.
- ⁷⁶ Ibid., 45.
- ⁷⁷ Tetsu Katayama, to Blaine Hoover, 28 August 1947, Personal Archive of Edith Hoover, Northbrook, IL. [Edith Hoover is the daughter-in-law of the late Blaine Hoover, Sr.]
- ⁷⁸ Williams, 1455.
- ⁷⁹ Ibid., 1456.
- ⁸⁰ Ibid.
- ⁸¹ Kawai, 10.
- ⁸² To Blaine Hoover, 31 August, 1948, Personal Archive of Edith Hoover, Northbrook, IL.
- ⁸³ Roger Buckley, "The British Model: Institutional Reform and Occupied Japan," in *Modern Asian Studies* 16, no. 2 (1982): 243.
- ⁸⁴ Ibid.
- ⁸⁵ Ibid.
- ⁸⁶ Ibid.
- ⁸⁷ "Communists in Tokyo War Upon 'Fascism,'" *The New York Times*, 4 August 1948, 4.
- ⁸⁸ Ibid., n 36.
- ⁸⁹ Blaine Hoover, "Statement Issued By Mr. Braine Hoover, Chief of the Civil Services Division, Government Section, GHQ, SCAP, Concerning the National Personnel Authority, August 24, 1948," *Contemporary Japan* 17 (July/Dec 1948): 180. [The name "Braine" that appears in the title of the article is a typographical error. The name should read "Blaine."]

⁹⁰ Ibid., 414.

⁹¹ Takemae, 306.

⁹² "Civil Service Plan Arouses Japanese," *The New York Times*, 7 December 1948, 23.

⁹³ "'Undesirables' to go in Tokyo Payroll Cuts," *The New York Times*, 6 June 1949, 11.

⁹⁴ Severin.

⁹⁵ B.C. Koh, "Stability and Change in Japan's Higher Civil," *Comparative Politics* 11, no. 3 (April 1979): 286.