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Gettysburg Historical Journal 2012

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Gettysburg Historical Journal 2012

**The Gettysburg College Historical
Journal**
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Introduction

Having served on the editorial board of *The Historical Journal* since my sophomore year, it has been an honor to work as the general editor for this edition, the journal's eleventh. Since its inception in 2002, the publication has strived to present the best work from the department's variety of courses and array of dedicated students, and this year is no exception. The editorial board faced a great challenge in narrowing the fifteen papers that were submitted down to the five best that would be published. Many thanks to Mariah Wirth '15, Mallory Huard '13, Angela Badore '15, Katie Quirin '14, Lincoln Fitch '14, Allie Wards '14, Brian Johnson '14, and Katelyn Stauffer '13 for their hard work in selecting papers and working one on one with the authors during the editing process.

Now to the papers themselves, which cover a wide range of topics, span an array of time periods, and focus on a variety of continents. First is our own Mallory Huard's "*The BBC and the Shaping of British Identity from 1922 to 1945*". Mallory explores the impact of the BBC during this important period of time in world history. She methodically plots her way through these tumultuous years of history and unveils the story of the birth and growth of the BBC. Erin Richard's "*War, Gender and Dancing: Gettysburg College and the USO During World War II*" is the next piece we decided to include. In this piece, Erin begins with a brief history of the USO, also known as the United Services Organization. She then continues in detail to the impact the USO and World War II had at Gettysburg College. This piece delves deep into the history of Gettysburg College. The third piece is written by Dallas Grubbs and entitled "*She Shall be Saved in Childbearing: Submission, Contemplation of Conception and Annunciated Imagery in the Books of Hours of Two Late Medieval Noblewomen*". Through his description and detailed explanation of the lives of two women and their Books of Hours, Dallas recreates the worlds of Jeanne d'Evreax and a possible relative to Picard Buves. Through this recreation he demonstrates the importance of Christianity in medical noblewomen and provides superb background information throughout. Sarah Hayes' "*Hidden in Plain Sight: Remembering the Upbeat*" is another piece relating to the rich and interesting history of Gettysburg College. In the piece, Sarah investigates the history and legacy of Reverend Doctor Parker B. Wagnild, one of Gettysburg's own professors. She explains the legacy, importance, and brilliance, of Professor Wagnild's life. The last submission chosen has two authors, John Nelson and Joshua Poorman, and is entitled "*The Minority Experience at Gettysburg College: The Hanson Years (1961-1977)*". Once again, these student authors explore and research the past of Gettysburg College. The paper explains in great detail the environment of the campus in the years between 1961 and 1977, providing background for the accomplishments of C. Arnold Hanson's term as president of Gettysburg College. It is my privilege to present the Fall 2012 edition of the *Gettysburg College Historical Journal*.

Author and Editor Biographies

Angela Badore, '14, is a double major in History and Women, Gender, and Sexuality Studies. This is her first year as an editor for the *Gettysburg Historical Journal*. She plans to study abroad in Lancaster, England, next fall, and would eventually like to pursue a career in law.

Lincoln M. Fitch, '14, is a double major in History and Political Science Major, and a Civil War Era Studies minor. He is from Woodbury, CT. He is interested in teaching History or perusing a career in youth ministry after graduation from Gettysburg College. This is his first year with the *Gettysburg Historical Journal* and he is excited about continuing to work with the publication.

Mallory Huard, '13, is a History major and French minor. She is from Stonington, CT. She loves to travel and recently spent a semester abroad in Nantes, France. On campus, Mallory has been involved in Habitat for Humanity and this semester she was a participant in the Women in Leadership Program with the Eisenhower Institute. Mallory's plans for the future include a year or two of volunteer service before hopefully attending either law school or graduate school.

Brian Johnson, '14, is a History major with minors in Business and Political Science. This is his first time editing for the *Gettysburg Historical Journal*, an experience that he has thoroughly enjoyed and hopes to have again in the future.

Katelyn Quirin, '14, is a double major in History and English. She is a tutor at the writing center, and has been an editorial assistant to Professor Temma Berg for the past semester. She has been involved with *The Mercury* since her freshman year and will be the Co-Production Editor next year. She will also tutor at Biglerville Elementary School and she is a member of Sigma Sigma Sigma National Sorority.

Katlin Reed, '13, is a double major in History and Spanish Literature. She is from Lancaster, Pennsylvania. She is interested in teaching English as a second language or continuing her studies at a 5 higher level after her career at Gettysburg College. This is her first year with the *Gettysburg Historical Journal* and she is looking forward to her future work with the publication.

Katelyn Stauffer, '13, is a double major in History and Political Science, with minors in Educational Studies and Civil War Era Studies. Katelyn studied abroad in Copenhagen last spring where she studied children with special needs. Katelyn currently serves as Vice President of the Class of 2013, President of Pi Sigma Alpha, and Vice-President of Phi Alpha Theta and Omicron Delta Kappa. After graduation Katelyn plans to attend graduate school for Political Science.

Allie Ward, '14, is a double major in History and Philosophy. She is from Severna Park MD. She will be studying abroad in the Fall of 2012 in Berlin. Apart from classes Allie is a Civil War Institute Fellow, a Residence Life staff member and works for the Women, Gender, and Sexuality Studies department. Allie is also a member of the service fraternity, Alpha Phi Omega, on campus.

Mariah Wirth, '14, is a major in English with a concentration in writing. She is from Atlanta, Georgia and loves travelling, reading, and hanging with friends in her spare time- especially if those three things can be combined.

“The BBC and the Shaping of British Identity from 1922 to 1945”

Mallory Huard

There are few institutions in British history that have had such a massive role in shaping the daily lives of British citizens as the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC). Although the BBC is only about eighty years old, an infant compared to an institution like the British monarchy, its contributions to national identity are practically unparalleled in the twentieth century. The scope of the Corporation in terms of its influence on British life is hard to imagine in a United States with multiple competing and politically-aimed networks. Robin Aitkin, a former BBC reporter and journalist says, “For many it is an ever-present companion: from breakfast-time to bedtime, from childhood through to old age, there it is telling us about ourselves and the wider world, amusing and entertaining us.”¹ Aitkin captures the dual nature of the BBC in that it both reflects the conditions and needs of the time while also exercising influence over the future of British society. The BBC’s ability to educate, inform, and entertain from its beginnings in 1922 to the end of the Second World War in 1945 is of special interest because these pivotal years helped redefine what it means to be British in modern society.

In 1922, six leading wireless manufacturers and several smaller companies in Great Britain merged to form the British Broadcasting Company (also BBC). With governmental protection from foreign competition, it was, though not explicitly, a monopoly. John Reith, a WWI veteran and Scottish engineer, applied for and accepted the position of general manager of the BBC without even fully understanding what broadcasting was.² From the beginning Reith

¹ Robin Aitkin, *Can We Trust the BBC?* (New York: Cromwell Press, 2007), 1.

² Andrew Crisell, *An Introductory History to British Broadcasting* (New York: Routledge, 1997), 13-14.

saw broadcasting as a form of public service, believing in its value for showing the “best” variety the nation had to offer. Classical music was played frequently along with educational programs for both children and adults. With the unemployment rate near eighteen percent in 1921 and never falling below ten percent in the 1920s, the radio became a cheap source of entertainment for jobless citizens who lacked activity in their daily lives.³ One way to entertain was to bring the theatre to the radio through the reading of plays. Although George Bernard Shaw, the Irish playwright, contested that his play *Man and Superman* was broadcasted without his permission on December 1, 1923, he grew to have a long relationship with the BBC. He read his one-act play *O, Flaherty V.C.* less than a year later on the network.⁴ Then, in May 1926, the BBC proved its broadcasting abilities during the General Strike. The Trades Union Congress (TUC) called on industrial and transportation workers to strike in support the miners who demanded better conditions and wages. With many of the country’s services facing limited mobility, the BBC was able to report the strike while many print sources were sidelined.⁵ In order to gain the support of the people while balancing its attitude towards the government, the BBC needed to remain neutral as well as universal. For this reason, the BBC stressed a varied yet balanced broadcasting schedule. By appealing to all segments of British society, Reith argued, the BBC would create one audience, rather than one that appealed solely to specific groups.⁶ The BBC became an institution of trust. While some still believed that the company was a biased news source, the radio itself became appreciated for its ability to transmit information with great speed. Although

³ Unemployment statistics from: Ellis Wasson, *A History of Modern Britain: 1714 to the Present* (Malden, MA: Wiley Blackwell, 2010), 256.

⁴ L.W. Conolly, *Bernard Shaw and the BBC* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, Inc., 2009), 3-4.

⁵ Crisell, *An Introductory History to British Broadcasting*, 18.

⁶ Adrian Johns, *Death of a Pirate: British Radio and the Making of the Information Age* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, Inc., 2011), 28.

the great majority of broadcasts were made from London, the widespread listenership throughout the nation meant a culture based increasingly on similar experiences.

On January 1, 1927, the British Broadcasting Company became the British Broadcasting Corporation and under a Royal Charter, Sir John Reith (he was knighted in December of 1926) was the director-general working with a board of governors. While the goals of the BBC remained mostly the same, its broadcasting came under the regulations of the government. During the next five years the Corporation underwent swift expansion, moving its headquarters to the Broadcasting House in Portland Place, an affluent street in central London. The move was representative of the Corporation's establishment as a national institution.⁷ A company that started out with 31 employees grew to have 773, a number that would climb into the thousands during the 1930s.⁸ Although the BBC strived to represent that which was British, some criticized the Corporation as being undemocratic and elitist. These accusations were complicated. In terms of being democratic, the BBC did its best to provide all its listeners with what they wanted, but in catering to the needs of everyone, it was confronted with the various preferences of its listeners. To appeal simply to the majority, however, would be also undemocratic because minorities would be ignored. It was impossible to please all listeners at all times. Accusations of elitist tendencies sprung from attempting to broadcast the "best," because the definition of the "best" varied among listeners and class. This debate is best seen through the clash between classical and popular music.

Technological developments and a challenging economy in the interwar period led to dramatic changes in the way music was produced, marketed, and consumed. New musical styles created divisions within society by categorizing the music into high brow, middle brow, and low

⁷ Crisell, *An Introductory History to British Broadcasting*, 22.; and Jennifer Doctor, *The BBC and Ultra-Modern Music: 1922-1936: Shaping a Nation's Tastes* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 20.

⁸ Doctor, *The BBC and Ultra-Modern Music*, 19.

brow.⁹ Assigning types of music to social hierarchy was a complicated issue that forced the BBC to consider and occasionally defend its musical selections. The majority of the music that the BBC played was classical, with composers like Bach and Beethoven, because it was what the Corporation considered “best.” However, fans of popular music claimed that the BBC played that type of music because it was what the upper-levels of society listened to. In a circular argument, the BBC defended its practice by saying that the highest levels of society enjoyed this music *because* it was the best. Furthermore, the BBC and Reith believed that by offering the “best” music to all classes, it was performing its duty as a public service because it allowed the lower classes an opportunity to hear music (and other cultural programs) that they might not otherwise be exposed to because of socioeconomic limitations.¹⁰ Reith wrote in his book that “...it is better to over-estimate the mentality of the public than to under-estimate it.”¹¹ Despite accusations of elitism and Reith’s dedication to “the best,” the BBC did respond to popular tastes. For example, W.W. Burnham, a member of the Board of Directors moved to adopt a policy that between 8pm and 10pm that the broadcasts were free of talking and oriented towards a mass audience.¹² Although his suggestion for lighter entertainment was rejected during the early years of the BBC, by the 1930s radios were entering more and more homes and pressure for this type of entertainment increased. The BBC not only reflected society by showcasing class tensions through the debate between elitism and democracy, it also influenced the British people by providing a unified experience due to the sheer number of citizens listening to the radio.

The BBC served a greater purpose than to inform and entertain because it also played a role in remedying social problems. Michael Bailey uses the term “enforced leisure” to describe

⁹ *Ibid.*, 16.

¹⁰ Crisell, *An Introductory History to British Broadcasting*, 29.

¹¹ Excerpt from John Reith’s *Broadcast over Britain* quoted in: Doctor, *The BBC and Ultra-Modern Music*, 28.

¹² Doctor, *The BBC and Ultra-Modern Music*, 29.

the influence of broadcasting on the unemployed, who had an excess of spare time. The General Strike, mentioned previously, did little to ameliorate the rampant unemployment in Britain during the 1920s. Although this “leisure” time was not a choice, there was a choice in how this time was approached and spent. Dedicated to public improvement, the BBC saw this problem as one that needed a plan of action.¹³ The first step was to establish “listening groups” in which the unemployed would gather to listen to radio sets financed by the Radio Manufacturer’s Association and the Carnegie Trust among other groups. The BBC also worked with other groups in the adult education movement like the British Institute of Adult Education and the Workers’ Education Association. The goal of these programs was to teach the unemployed how to think about their condition by encouraging exemplary and productive behavior during their time of leisure.¹⁴ Talks on unemployment were also common during the 1930s. The BBC reported on efforts to relieve unemployment and tried to stimulate further advances to help the unemployed. “Compassionate talks” about dealing with the stresses of unemployment were also common. S.P.B. Mais, a public schoolmaster and writer, was the broadcaster for a weekly series called *SOS* that described volunteer efforts to aid the unemployed and discouraged ostracizing them from mainstream society.¹⁵ The simultaneous effort to encourage middle classes in volunteerism and the unemployed in productive recreation had the further goal of bringing British people closer together in “a tie of human sympathy.”¹⁶ The government was better able to assess the needs of the public and operate more effectively because of this dialog between the classes and the powers in charge. The BBC facilitated the discussion that allowed previously silenced voices to be heard.

¹³ Michael Bailey, "Broadcasting and the Problem of Enforced Leisure during the 1930s," *Leisure Studies* 26, no. 4 (October 2007): 463-477, *Academic Search Premier*, EBSCOhost, (accessed April 14, 2011), 467.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 468.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 469.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 470.

In addition to bringing the people together in times of crisis, the BBC brought the British together in times of mourning as well. As King George V's health was failing, the Corporation was able to update the public immediately, unlike newspapers. Upon the King's death in 1936, John Reith himself delivered the news and the broadcast of the royal funeral that followed. When the new king, Edward VIII, abdicated less than a year later the BBC was there to broadcast his statement.¹⁷ From unemployment to royalty, the BBC truly addressed every corner of British society.

In the first half of the twentieth century, the British Isles were not all that defined Britishness. The British Empire was still a crucial part of the British economy, politics, and culture during the interwar period and the BBC broadcasts reflected this. In December of 1932, the BBC launched the Empire Service program aimed towards white Britons throughout the nation's territories and dominions. The goal was to garner sentiment for the Mother Country and prevent the propaganda of rising European totalitarian states from permeating Britain's support system.¹⁸ Radio was perhaps the strongest medium of international propaganda at the time. The BBC's Empire Service worked to establish a sense of Britishness outside the national borders, particularly among ex-patriots living in the dominions. Global communication was difficult and complex especially when dealing with varied time zones and different wireless capabilities. Early in the years of the Service, broadcasts were largely nostalgic portrayals of a strong Britain dominated by its capital city. For example, the Empire Service would broadcast programs focused on the bustling streets of London for settlers in New Zealand who missed their former

¹⁷ Crisell, *An Introductory History to British Broadcasting*, 27.

¹⁸ Emma Robertson, "'I Get a Real Kick Out of Big Ben': BBC Versions of Britishness on the Empire and General Overseas Service, 1932-1948." *Historical Journal of Film, Radio & Television* 28, no. 4 (October 2008): 459-473. *Academic Search Premier*, EBSCOhost (accessed April 13, 2011), 459-60.

home. The chimes of Big Ben were in high demand.¹⁹ By 1935, the Empire Service was broadcasting in several languages, partially to combat the propaganda of Hitler and Mussolini.²⁰ The broadcasts also became increasingly decentralized, moving away from a London-dominated society. This reflected the diverse nature of British identity.

The effectiveness of the BBC's strategies is debatable considering the changing relationships between Britain and her white dominions. Simon Potter argues that the Service had relatively little success in drawing together the British diaspora as indicated by the relatively indifferent responses in Canada, New Zealand, and Australia. In spite of the feat of broadcasting over thousands of miles, the overseas reception of British broadcasts was sometimes less than enthusiastic. In 1932 the Canadian Radio Broadcasting Commission (CRBC) was established and modeled to a degree after the BBC, but relations between the two were sometimes tense.²¹ The Empire Service was often received in poor quality and the two struggled to come to an agreement on how to improve the broadcasts. In 1936 the CRBC became the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation and saw itself as increasingly independent, so it separated from the BBC. The CBC desired broadcasts geared towards its own interests, rather than the typical London-oriented representation of Britishness. Companies in Australia and New Zealand also expressed different interests and more serious problems with the quality of reception. The failure of the BBC to understand the real interests of its overseas listeners combined with a lack of resources led to disagreements.²² Increasing political and economic autonomy of the dominions also strained the relations with the British Broadcasting Corporation's efforts in the 1930s. It

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 463.

²⁰ Andrew Crisell, *An Introductory History to British Broadcasting* (New York: Routledge, 1997), 23.

²¹ Simon J. Potter, "Who Listened when London called? Reactions to the BBC Empire Service in Canada, Australia and New Zealand, 1932-1939," *Historical Journal of Film, Radio & Television* 28, no. 4 (October 2008): 475-487, *Academic Search Premier*, EBSCOhost (accessed April 13, 2011), 476.

²² *Ibid.*, 483.

appeared that Great Britain's influence on its empire was not as dominant as it had once been. While the experimentation of the Empire Service was a developmental step towards an international audience, the BBC fell short of its goals in the 1930s. The next decade would tell a different story.

While the BBC flourished during the first two decades of its existence within Europe, it was not until World War II (1939-45) that it really took hold in the British Empire and the world beyond. The nature of this success was multi-dimensional. The role of the BBC expanded after the outbreak of war due to the necessity of broadcasting war news and generating morale and patriotism among the people. Between 1939 and 1945 employment at the BBC increased from 4,000 to 11,000.²³ Because WWII was a battle between ideologies as well as a physical battle, promoting the British cause was crucial and radio was able to do it in a way that print could not. The portrayal of the strength of the Empire was important in generating pro-British sentiment. By praising the loyalty of the Empire, audiences at home felt greater assurance. *Dominion Commentary* was a program that featured various speakers from throughout the dominions discussing the war effort. Programs like *Palm and Pine* and *In It Together* took a slightly less formal tone but also demonstrated their dedication to the cause.²⁴ The BBC also demonstrated an ability to react and adjust its policies. For example, when the United States entered the war in 1941, the BBC worked to create a balanced opinion about the American forces. The Corporation emphasized that this new ally would be the key to victory, but was careful not to downplay the power of the British Empire. American popular culture was becoming increasingly available in England and it was important to separate America from the Empire because, while it was an ally,

²³ Crisell, *An Introductory History to British Broadcasting*, 54.

²⁴ Thomas Hajkowski, "The BBC, the Empire, and the Second World War, 1939-1945," *Historical Journal of Film, Radio & Television* 22, no. 2 (June 2002): 135-155, *Academic Search Premier*, EBSCOhost (accessed April 13, 2011), 140.

it was also foreign. To avoid Americanization, the BBC focused programs on the Imperial efforts because they believed that the Empire still represented “the best in British character.”²⁵ These programs reasserted the power of Great Britain in order to muster the support of its citizens and distinguish itself among its allies.

British radio played an important part in resistance movements throughout Europe, especially in France. It was through the BBC that Charles de Gaulle made one of the most famous and important speeches in French history in his “Appel aux Français” on June 18, 1940 as the French fell under German occupation. De Gaulle’s goal in this speech, and one made four days later, was to instill a sense of pride and hope in the French people and to mount a French Resistance. His dazzling speech was also practical, encouraging workers of all types to join him in Britain.²⁶ Soldiers and sailors were among the first to join him in the movement that became known as the Free French. While there were different groups of London French with opinions about the Vichy Regime in France, it is de Gaulle who is remembered today as the leader of the French Resistance. The French Resistance played a dangerous, yet critical role during WWII and by giving voice to De Gaulle, the BBC facilitated the necessary communication between the movement’s leader and the people. The BBC was an essential medium in international resistance to the Axis powers as the conflict devoured the globe.

As the war progressed and the BBC expanded, it sent correspondents into the middle of the action with the formation of the War Reporting Unit (WRU).²⁷ The war correspondent was a new position and the selection of these individuals for the dangerous profession was important.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 143.

²⁶ Michael Stenton, *Radio London and Resistance in Occupied Europe: British Political Warfare 1939-1943* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 125.

²⁷ Brian P.D. Hannon, “Creating The Correspondent: How The BBC Reached The Frontline In The Second World War,” *Historical Journal of Film, Radio & Television* 28, no. 2 (June 2008): 175-194, *Academic Search Premier*, EBSCOhost (accessed April 14, 2011), 175.

The need to place men throughout two war fronts led to the recruitment of new and able-bodied reporters. These people needed the skill to report what was happening as it was happening. It was not as simple as reading a script, like the broadcasters of the '20s and '30s.²⁸ They were sent to the frontlines to record the sounds of war. They gave an honest portrayal of the war; not one consumed by nationalistic propaganda. The war broadcasts required testing and training not only for the correspondents but also for the new technologies and techniques. Thus, the BBC engaged and connected the home front with the battle lines during the war through several innovations in the world of broadcasting. It demonstrated its ability to adapt to the needs of the time and of the people.

The pressures of total war also led to the BBC's recognition of the working class's importance to the war effort. It was these classes that worked in factories which produced materials vital to British success in the war.²⁹ The war effort was about a nation working together and the BBC both reflected and encouraged a unity, despite the diversity of British experiences during World War II. Few people can forget the determined spirit of Winston Churchill when he proclaimed that the Battle of Britain would be the "finest hour" of the British Empire and Commonwealth.³⁰ It was a turning point in history when the voice of a country's leader could enter the homes of the average family on a massive scale. Although the British continued to be concerned with hierarchy and class, the radio helped to narrow social gaps and to create a Britain based on universal experiences. The support of the British people of all classes was integral to the success in war, and victory in WWII defined Britain's position in the world in the years to follow.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 179.

²⁹ Hajkowski, "The BBC, the Empire, and the Second World War, 1939–1945," 144.

³⁰ Ellis Wasson, *A History of Modern Britain: 1714 to the Present*. (Malden, MA: Wiley Blackwell, 2010), 274.

The British Broadcasting Corporation was at the center of the most important events in British history from its creation in 1922 to the end of World War II in 1945. It reflected and projected British identity in the twentieth century and continued to do so after 1945 as well. The impressive rate at which the BBC became an established national institution derives from by its crucial role in British society during its formative years. From domestic issues and national events to the role of the Empire and the traumatic experience of WWII, the BBC covered nearly every aspect of British culture. In Robert Coll's book *The Identity of England*, he claims that the BBC is a member of the "national family."³¹ Although the BBC reports throughout the world through multiple media, it is a uniquely British institution.

³¹ Robert Colls, *The Identity of England* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 60.

*“War Gender and Dancing:
Gettysburg College and the USO During World War II”*
Erin Richards

Made up of women and the men who could not join the military, the home front was more than just victory gardens and factory jobs. Although factory work was seen as a way for women both to help the war effort and at the same time gain some independence outside the home, not every woman was ready to hang up her dress and start donning pants full time. There was a middle ground where women were able to break traditional feminine roles yet still keep their dresses and serve the servicemen fighting the war between victory gardens and factory jobs; a balance was found in volunteer organizations designed to serve the military. The largest and most well-known organization on the home front was the United Services Organization, more commonly referred to as the USO. After the outbreak of World War II, USO canteens start to appear everywhere across the United States in towns and cities alike. Gettysburg, Pennsylvania was one of many towns with their own USO branch. The Gettysburg branch was supported by the female students at Gettysburg College and the Army Air Corps detachment stationed on campus which provided an opportunity for local young women to explore new social roles while supporting the war effort.

Posters of Rosie the Riveter hung all over the country encouraging women to step into the roles left by the men going off to war; it was often considered a woman’s patriotic duty to get a job outside of the house. Rosie the Riveter, a working woman who showed off her strength by tying her hair back and rolling up her sleeves as she shouted to the world, “We can do it!” encouraged many women to break free of pre-war restraints tying them to the household and get a job. There were challenges aplenty along the way as the women who followed Rosie the

Riveter's path found that safety required them to cut their hair, don pants and leave their children in the care of another while they worked long hours to bring in enough money to keep the family in food and clothing. These women faced harassment from the men at home who resented the influx of women into their sphere of influence.³² While many women faced and overcame these challenges, others were not comfortable breaking so many social boundaries, but still wanted to do their part for the war effort. The USO was able to provide such an opportunity for these women.

The USO was founded in New York City in February 1941 when six different service organizations united to support America's troops. The six organizations were: the Salvation Army, the Young Man's Christian Association (YMCA), the Young Woman's Christian Association (YWCA), the National Catholic Community Services, the National Jewish Welfare Board, and the National Travelers Aid Association.³³ Each USO operated a little differently, some in a permanent location, some in temporary spaces provided by private citizens until something more appropriate could be found or constructed. The USO fundraised for the war effort and held scrap drives, but is most well known for its canteens and entertainment. The goal of the canteens was to provide a "home away from home" for the soldiers; offering a place they could grab a bite to eat, write home or simply relax. Wherever there were soldiers away from home within the states, USO workers and volunteers gave out coffee, tea, hot cocoa, and often a baked good or two, always with a smile.³⁴ The canteens also provided a safe social atmosphere for the soldiers to dance and have fun; often local women and girls became volunteer hostesses,

³² Margaret Regis, *When Our Mothers Went to War: An Illustrated History of Women in World War II* (Seattle: Navpublishing, 2008), 62-63.

³³ Metropolitan New York USO, "History of the USO," <http://www.usonyc.org/AboutUs/OurHistory/tabid/70/Default.aspx> [accessed September 29, 2011].

³⁴ Gary L. Bloomfield and Stacie L. Shain, with Arlen C. Davidson, *Duty, Honor, Applause: America's Entertainers in World War II* (Guilford, Connecticut: The Lyons Press, 2004), p 185.

providing dance partners for the soldiers or just a listening ear those missing families and sweethearts.³⁵ Almost every town with military stationed nearby had a USO canteen and Gettysburg was no different; serving the Army Air Corps cadets training at Gettysburg College, and local military home on leave, the Gettysburg USO worked closely with the college. Although the main facility was in town, there was a small office on campus to help plan and organize any interaction between the college and the USO.³⁶ The USO dances were often held in the campus gymnasium, Plank Gym, with female students as hostesses.³⁷

Gettysburg College's role in the local USO was small, but significant to keeping the USO open. Although the USO occasionally brought in visitors from other local bases, the primary focus of the USO's attention was on the Army Air Corps, who happened to be stationed on campus. This was not the college's only contribution. Like other colleges at the time, Gettysburg College became practically an all-girls school due to the war. For those female students who enrolled after the male students left to fight, a majority female college was all they ever knew. Students who had been on campus before the start of the war experienced a significant change. Perhaps the most significant event for these young ladies was the morning the ROTC contingent left campus in April of 1943. Although most male students who were fit to serve in the military had already left, there remained behind a fairly large contingent of between 200-300 ROTC students. Since they had to catch the train in Baltimore to travel to Harrisburg, the boys got an early start, and left campus around 6AM. Elly Horn a Gettysburg College class of 1944, and what she remembers as most of the college, all turned out early to see the ROTC boys off,

³⁵ Frank Coffey, *Always Home: 50 Years of the USO, the Official Photographic History* (Washington: Brassey's Inc., 1991), 5.

³⁶ Beverly Littlauer, telephone interview by author, November 15 2011. Angeline Haines, telephone interview by author, November 11, 2011.

³⁷ "Group Lists USO Dance," *Gettysburgian*, April 15, 1943, Gettysburg College Archives.

wishing them well as they left to join the war.³⁸ This caused considerable changes for the college and the young ladies left behind. The lack of students on campus made certain classes unavailable because there were not enough students enrolled to warrant teaching the classes. Mildred Barrick, Gettysburg College class of 1945, was on track to graduate with a degree that would enable her to become a physician after graduation. However, in her senior year there were not enough students on campus to teach Bacteriology, a necessary course for her major, and she was forced to graduate with a Chemistry degree instead. Mrs. Barrick insisted that she had received a “good education” despite the necessary change in curriculum.³⁹

Another significant change after the ROTC left campus was the Army Air Corps College Training Detachment arriving on campus. The College Training Detachment program was a federal program in which colleges could volunteer campus space for the Army Air Corps to train. Gettysburg College was one of many colleges across the nation which had the honor of hosting the Army Air Corps while they trained. One problem with their presence on campus was housing. The college at that time had very few male dormitories, so the Army Air Corps was forced to take over some of the girls’ dormitories, thus restricting the number of dorms available for female students. In response the sororities were moved into the recently emptied fraternity houses, providing everyone with a room to live in. The girls also gave up their cafeteria to the Army Air Corps, because it was in the same building as the dormitories. As a result, the girls in sororities were assigned a time and a fraternity to go to for meals.⁴⁰

Though the Army Air Corps was on campus and had taken over the dorms, they had their own classes and were not actually enrolled at the college. There was a possibility that other than

³⁸ Elly Horn, telephone interview by author, November 9, 2011.

³⁹ Mildred Barrick, telephone interview by author, November 15, 2011.

⁴⁰ Joanne Miller, telephone interview by author, November 15, 2011. Jane Orlando, telephone interview by author, November 15, 2011.

the mandatory 'Gettysburg Hello' a Gettysburg student would not have to interact with the soldiers, although many of the girls on campus did.⁴¹ Since there was no rule against dating the soldiers, many did date the Army Air Corps men. However, the girls did have a curfew, of 10PM on weeknights and a little later of the weekends. According to Joanne Miller, "there was a lot of kissing down in the bushes by the entrance to the fraternity houses just before 10pm on weeknights."⁴²

The presence of the Air Corps men allowed the USO in Gettysburg to remain open. Without troops to serve on a regular basis, the USO would shut down. The USO, though federally recognized, was completely funded by donation. No one would donate to an organization that was not serving a purpose. The Gettysburg USO had run into this problem previously . The town had a USO branch in the Hotel Eberhart at the outbreak of the war which had to close when there were no soldiers to visit the USO.⁴³ In 1943, when the Army Air Corps came to the college campus, there was once again a need and the USO re-opened in the building which had formally been Hill's Coffee Shop on Chambersburg Street.⁴⁴ It is uncertain when exactly the new canteen opened, but sometime between August and October of 1943 the new facility was available for use. The first USO in town had no connection with the college, it was after the second USO opened that the college started to support the USO.

On campus, the USO was affiliated with the Student Christian Association, or SCA. During World War II what is now Weidensall Hall was the SCA building where the USO

⁴¹ It was a freshman tradition in the 1940's of greeting everyone on campus with a 'hello' followed by their name. This tradition was a way for the students to show each other, and their professors, respect. 1941. G-book, Mussleman Library, Gettysburg College Special Collections, Gettysburg, PA.; "Why Not Say Hello," *Gettysburgian*, October 5, 1944, Gettysburg College Archives.

⁴² Joanne Miller, telephone interview by author, November 15, 2011.

⁴³ "USO Drive, Adams County Quota=\$5,000," *Star & Sentinel*, June 6, 1942, Adams County Historical Society.

⁴⁴ "USO Opens New Room for Services," *Gettysburgian*, October 1, 1943, Gettysburg College Archives.

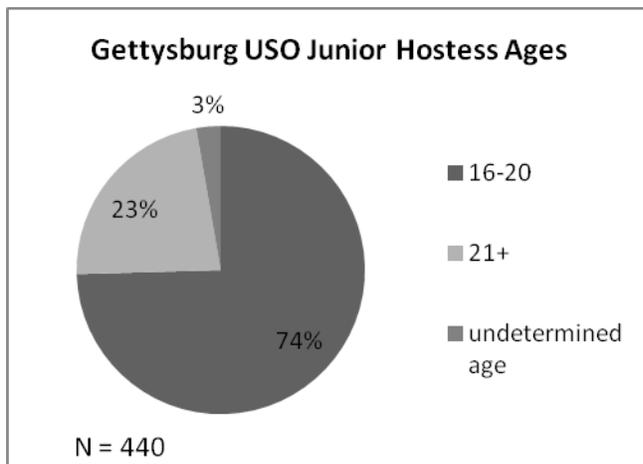
campus office was located. According to *The Gettysburgian*, “the SCA building [was] open to the aircrew during [the lunch period] for playing ping-pong, checkers, listening to the radio and playing records.”⁴⁵ From that office, the girls who volunteered with the USO found out what they could do to help that day. One of the most common tasks that the young ladies were asked to perform was mailing letters or picking up stamps and cards. Writing material was provided at almost every USO branch for the soldiers, and the Gettysburg branch was no different. When the USO ran low on writing supplies, the ladies volunteering were sent into town to stop by one of the stores and purchase cards and stamps.⁴⁶

Every USO across the country was run by volunteers, but not everyone qualified to volunteer. The USO had an image that they wanted to project, and that image was one of a comfortable home setting. They felt that the perfect junior hostess was a white, middle-class woman in her early twenties. Although the experience was different in every town, most USO branches required some sort of recommendation in order to volunteer to be a junior hostess. The recommendations let the organizers of the USO branch know what character of each young woman, and allowed them to determine if she would be a good fit for their establishment. Anyone of questionable morals and values was not allowed to become a junior hostess; the ideal presented by the USO of a ‘home away from home’ was an image of comfort and leisure, not one of fast romance. In order to maintain this feeling, organizers had to ensure that the girls who would be interacting with the soldiers were “chaste and respectable.”⁴⁷ USO organizers were looking for traits of sexual responsibility and femininity when they chose junior hostesses. This gave respectable girls who were not ready to give up their dresses in exchange for pants an

⁴⁵ “USO Details Still Doubtful, Keith Reveals Cadets Will Use SCA for Entertainment during Stay,” *Gettysburgian*, February 25, 1943, Gettysburg College Archives.

⁴⁶ Angeline Haines, telephone interview by author, November 11, 2011.

⁴⁷ Meghan K. Winchell, *Good Girls, Good Food, Good Fun: The Story of USO Hostesses during World War II* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2008), 51.



opportunity to serve their country. This was especially important for the young women at Gettysburg College who wanted to support the war effort and continue their education at the same time.

The Gettysburg USO had all junior

hostess applicants fill out an index size card, providing their name, age, address, telephone number and church affiliation. These cards also required a sponsor signature and a parental consent signature.⁴⁸ By providing all this information, the organizers of the USO were able to determine those best suited to volunteer at the Gettysburg USO. Even the girls from the college needed a sponsor to vouch for their values and behaviors. College students often made up a large percentage of junior hostesses. In her book on USO hostesses, Meghan Winchell makes the point that “female college students...were the appropriate age for USO hostesses and usually had free time to volunteer.”⁴⁹ Even in Gettysburg it held true, that the majority of junior hostess applicants were between the ages of 16 and 20 years old, as is seen in the graph to the left.⁵⁰ Gettysburg College provided 109 out of 440 junior hostess applications.

Many of these hostesses from the college volunteered their time of their own decision, and a few were told to volunteer their time as part of freshman activities. Beverly Littlauer, class of 1947, reminisced about her involvement in the USO saying, “we were told where to go and we did what we were told.”⁵¹ Mrs. Littlauer explained that her first experience with the USO was when an upper-class girl brought her a college beanie to wear and told her to go over the SCA

⁴⁸ USO ID Cards, 190E Adams County in WWII: General, Adams County Historical Society, Gettysburg, PA.

⁴⁹ Winchell, *Good Girls, Good Food, Good Fun*, 47.

⁵⁰ The pie chart is compiled using the ages off the USO ID Cards found at the Adams County Historical Society. A total of 440 Gettysburg USO ID cards were sampled.

⁵¹ Beverly Littlauer, telephone interview by author, November 15, 2011.

building to dance with the military trainees for a short time. She did what she was told and went to dance with the Army Air Corps boys for two hours and continued to do so once a week throughout the year.⁵²

Holding USO dances on campus was a big part of Gettysburg College's contribution to the organization. The college hosted the dances in Plank Gymnasium, where there was plenty of room for all those invited. Sometimes the dances were for local military units, and sometimes for visiting military units, but they were all welcomed to Gettysburg College for the dances and ensured a dancing partner. Dances were a characteristic trait in USO entertainment throughout the entire country. Many of the organizers felt that if the soldiers were provided with good, "wholesome" entertainment, then they would be less likely to engage in socially unacceptable behavior with women of looser morals and values.⁵³ By handpicking the junior hostesses, the organizers were able to keep the USO dances innocent. It was a time for the military to think a little less about the war and how much they missed home and family and enjoy talking with other people their age. As Mrs. Littlauer phrased it in her interview, "there was nothing sexual about [the dances]."⁵⁴ Everyone was just there to have a little fun.

The dances at Gettysburg were typical of USO dances. Invitations would be sent out ahead of time to a group of soldiers in order to ensure that there would be enough hostesses to dance with all the soldiers. Because there were not always the same numbers of soldiers attending, not every junior hostess would be invited to every dance. The organizers rotated through the list of hostesses, inviting only the number they would need to have a dance partner

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ Winchell, *Good Girls, Good Food, Good Fun*, 51.

⁵⁴ Beverly Littlauer, telephone interview by author, November 15, 2011.

for each soldier. The dances for the Army Air Corps in particular were done in a series, so there were plenty of opportunities for the young ladies to attend.⁵⁵

When 100 soldiers from Indiantown Gap were invited to Gettysburg for a dance, Gettysburg College and the USO put together a whole weekend of activities for the soldiers. There was a dance held in Plank Gymnasium, socials held in the SCA building and the Women's Division building, a pot-luck lunch held in town, and a battlefield tour.⁵⁶ On another occasion, twenty-five young men from the naval reserve unit at Mount Saint Mary's were invited to be guests of the college for an evening of, "dancing, ping-pong, checkers, card playing and other diversions."⁵⁷

Gettysburg College was also involved in the USO activities that did not relate directly with the college. For example, the college donated to various USO fundraisers and helped with the book drive as well. The Victory Book Campaign was a USO drive to provide libraries to their canteens and other places where military personnel spent a large amount of time. It was a particularly important cause for many schools and colleges, to provide the opportunity for further education to those who were unable to be in school due to current circumstances. Colleges and universities also collected books to show their opposition to the Nazis who burned books and harassed academics.⁵⁸ Because the USO did not receive federal money and relied on donations, it held fundraisers to remain in operation. Each county or section of the state would have a set monetary goal, so that funds were proportionally divided throughout the state based on how

⁵⁵ "140 Hostesses for USO Dance," *Gettysburg Times*, April 28, 1943, Adams County Historical Society.

⁵⁶ "100 Indiantown Gap Soldiers Being Sponsored by Gettysburg USO Up-coming Weekend," *Gettysburg Times*, April 23, 1942, Adams County Historical Society.

⁵⁷ "Women Plan Open House," *Gettysburgian*, February 4, 1943, Gettysburg College Archives.

⁵⁸ Mary Weaks-Baxter, Christine Bruun and Catherine Forslund, *We are a College at War: Women Working for Victory in World War II*, (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 2010), 106-107.

many soldiers they typically served.⁵⁹ Gettysburg College supported the War Fund throughout the war, donating \$712 to support the USO in 1944 in particular.⁶⁰

As the war drew to a close and soldiers returned, changes that had gradually occurred over the duration of the war suddenly became noticeable, making it clear that not everything would be the same. As the young men who had been off fighting in the war came back to Gettysburg College to complete their education, changes were abundant. Many of the soldiers had gotten married, and it became common to see baby carriages on campus. Classes were suddenly much larger than during the war. Class sizes were even up from pre-war sizes because the GI Bill allowed many soldiers who were not previously enrolled in college to get a higher education. Although with the presence of the Army Air Corps there had always been a male presence on campus, this presence had been limited, allowing the female students to step into roles they had previously been excluded from, such as editor of *The Gettysburgian*. The young ladies who had held these positions did not want to lose them once the soldiers came back. Those who had been USO hostesses on campus suddenly lost any position they held when the USO in town closed. The USO in Gettysburg closed at the end of 1944 for lack of need, but the organization stayed active until President Truman gave it an honorable discharge in January 1948.⁶¹ The USO and Gettysburg College had an important relationship during World War II. The USO provided opportunities for female college students to support the war effort while still continuing their education, yet unintentionally giving them opportunities they would use after the war to gain more independence outside of the home.

⁵⁹ "Name Leaders for USO Drive," *Star & Sentinel*, June 17, 1944, Adams County Historical Society.

⁶⁰ Adams County War Fund 1944 collection totals, World War II Files, Adams County Historical Society, Gettysburg, PA.; Arthur E. Braun to Henry W.A. Hanson, February 4, 1943, Box 29, Office of the President of Gettysburg College; Henry W.A. Hanson 1923-1952, Mussleman Library Special Collections, Gettysburg, PA.

⁶¹ USO Center Register Gettysburg, PA, Adams County Historical Society, Gettysburg, PA.; "USO is Awarded Honorable Discharge," *Gettysburg Times*, January 9, 1948 Adams County Historical Society.

*“She Shall Be Saved in Childbearing: Submission,
Contemplation of Conception, and Annunciation Imagery in the
Books of Hours of Two Late Medieval Noblewomen”*

Dallas Grubbs

The role of the Book of Hours in female lay devotional life during the late Middle Ages has been investigated and analyzed by many scholars and art historians over the course of the past century. The general consensus has been that semi-literate medieval women valued these books greatly as instructional manuals on how to attain salvation, using the images contained within as spiritual aids meant to encourage individual contemplation and pious recitation. Prayers for mediation, protection, and guidance featured prominently within these books and many historians of both genders have come to the conclusion that Books of Hours were a source of comfort and spiritual nourishment for women living in a male-dominated and male-oriented world.

In this piece, I suggest that such books were also constructed with the intention of instilling certain virtues within the young and newly-married woman—namely, submission and a humble desire for motherhood. In addition to encouraging the owner to pray for divine aid and intercession, the Book of Hours was at times crafted in order to encourage the pious female reader to open the manual and be moved to make a humble and earnest supplication for pregnancy. The husbands of medieval women required heirs to continue their legacy and secure the family’s lineage; this was particularly true of titled noblemen. An analysis of three images of the Annunciation from two French Books of Hours—one from the first quarter of fourteenth century and another from the middle of the fifteenth century—commissioned for noblewomen by their husbands on the occasion of their weddings suggests that the gender of the book owner

influenced the visual programme to accomplish these ends. Using certain visuals included in the Book of Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux (54. 1.2) in the Cloisters Museum, New York City, and the Buves Book of Hours in the Walters Museum, Baltimore (W. 267), as evidence, I argue that a key function of the medieval Book of Hours was to provide young women with a model of humility, submission, and motherhood to direct their thoughts towards the continuation of the family line and the importance of producing a son.

Books of Hours were considered both a symbol of piety and status in late medieval Europe, making them essential items for the aristocracy and the emerging bourgeoisie. In the case of the landed gentry, it was customary for the gentleman to present a specially-commissioned book to his new wife at the time of marriage. Susan G. Bell correctly points out that, "Because of their inferior status in medieval Christian thought and their exclusion from scholarship and clerical life, women had an even greater need for the mental and spiritual nourishment offered by books than men did."⁶² In addition to their subaltern status in society, women undoubtedly found themselves isolated and alone within the foreign household of their husbands. One can easily sympathize with the upper-class young medieval bride. It was not uncommon to be engaged by the age of twelve, married and living with her husband by the age of fourteen, and producing children by the age of fifteen.⁶³

Once separated from her family and transplanted within her husband's estate, the young woman was typically required to live a quiet and domestic life in which the Christian virtues of devotion, humility, and obedience were stressed. Sandra Penketh, in her piece on women and

1. Susan G. Bell, "Medieval Women Book Owners: Arbiters of Lay Piety and Ambassadors of Culture," *Signs* 7 (1982): 743.

2. For a brief and readable summary of medieval marriage laws and customs among the nobility, see: Noël James Menuge, "Female Wards and Marriage in Romance and Law: A Question of Consent," in *Young Medieval Women*, ed. Katherine J. Lewis, Noël James Menuge, and Kim M. Phillips (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999), 153-71.

Books of Hours, asserts that, “It would be too obtuse to claim that books of hours were brought by men to give their future wives as ‘code books of behavior’; they were, after all, religious devotional texts.”⁶⁴ One cannot dispute that Books of Hours commissioned by husbands for wives in late medieval Europe were, first and foremost, Christian works intended to promote religious values. But I contest Penketh’s assertion that these books were created with purely pious intentions and I do not at all believe that it would be “too obtuse” to consider the possibility that they were at times commissioned and illuminated with a more secular and domestic purpose in mind. An analysis of the visual programmes of both the Book of Hours of Jeanne d’Evreux and the Buves Book of Hours, considered within their historical context, suggests that these books were used to induce much more than pious recitations of prescribed prayers and quiet meditations upon the *vitae* of Christ and His saints.

Firstly, one must consider the importance of the Annunciation as a devotional motif and the significance of placing the book owner within the action of the scene. In the three images selected for scrutiny in this piece, the women are painted into the physical space and engage either directly or indirectly with the text and imagery of the Annunciation. In each image, the woman is depicted in the *prie-dieu*, or the act of praying. The scenes all fall within the Little Office of the Blessed Virgin Mary, or the Hours of the Virgin, a series of prayers that were considered the centerpiece of these books. Roger S. Wieck notes that Books of Hours had evolved from earlier Marian devotional works, stating, “As the cult of the Virgin developed during the thirteenth century, this set of prayers, extracted from the breviary, grew in importance as it was embellished with other prayers and texts.”⁶⁵ The embellishment Wieck refers to would

3. Sandra Penketh, “Women and Books of Hours,” in *Women and the Book: Assessing the Visual Evidence*, ed. Jane Taylor and Lesley Smith (London, UK: The British Library and University of Toronto Press, 1997), 275.

4. Roger S. Wieck, *Time Sanctified: The Book of Hours in Medieval Art and Life* (New York: George Braziller, 1988), 60.

reach its height during the late Middle Ages. Its evolution is traced in order to show that images from the life of the Virgin and the purpose and design of these books were inextricably linked.

The book owner was, of course, not painted into any random excerpt from Mary's life portrayed in the Hours of the Virgin. Their inclusion in the Annunciation scene was carefully considered and certainly meant to reinforce traditional gender roles of women. This pivotal point in the history of Christianity typically accompanies the beginning of Matins, the heart of the devotional corpus, and is recorded in Luke 1:28: "And the angel came in unto her, and said, Hail Mary, full of Grace, the Lord is with thee: blessed art thou among women."⁶⁶ This Biblical excerpt forms the basis of the Hail Mary, an important series of prayers which commences with the words spoken by the Angel Gabriel: *Ave Maria, Gratia Plena*. Each of the prescribed Hours begins with the Hail Mary, a prayer that reinforces the central Christian doctrine of Mary as the Theotokos, the mother of the incarnate of God. The position of Mary and the Angel Gabriel in scenes of the Annunciation included in Books of Hours and many other devotional pieces from the Middle Ages follow a definite pattern. In fourteenth-century western European works of art, Mary is shown standing while the angel kneels before her with an emblazoned scroll (*Fig. A*).

In the later Middle Ages, this typical visual programme of the Annunciation was altered to include a seated, literate Mary. She sits before a desk or lectern, reading from a Bible or Breviary, and is interrupted in her pious meditations by a kneeling Gabriel who emerges, scroll unraveled, from the opposite side of the image (*Fig. C*). Scholars theorize that the Biblical passage she is reading at the time of the angelic arrival is Isaiah chapter 11, the Old Testament prophecy of a virginal birth.⁶⁷ David M. Robb notes quite correctly that the angel and the Virgin

5. Unless otherwise specified all biblical citations are from the King James Version. Luke 1.28.

6. Eamon Duffy, *Marking the Hours* (London, UK: Yale University Press, 2006), 36.

are typically separated by some impediment, usually a column, a lectern, or a large vase.⁶⁸ This suggests that the Angel Gabriel inhabits a sacred heavenly space that is separated from the earthly and ephemeral world of Mary. In some images of the Angelic Salutation in which the book owner is painted into the scene, the patroness is shown occupying the *espace sacré* typically reserved for the Angel Gabriel in Annunciation iconography. The significance of this will be explored later. Firstly, one must consider how the Christian church of Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages interpreted the event described in Luke 1:28.

The Early Church Fathers all affirmed that the Annunciation was the divine recognition of Mary as the paragon of womanhood. Athanasius of Alexandria, one of the earliest of the great Church Fathers, wrote in his early fourth-century *Oratio de incarnatione Verbi*,

He, the Mighty One, the Artificer of all, Himself prepared this body in the virgin as a temple for Himself, and took it for His very own, as the instrument through which He was known and in which He dwelt. Thus, taking a body like our own, because all our bodies were liable to the corruption of death, He surrendered His body to death instead of all, and offered it to the Father.⁶⁹

In this passage, Athanasius suggests that the words spoken by Gabriel at the Annunciation heralded the beginning of Mary's pregnancy and, consequently, man's salvation through the vehicle of the Incarnation. The Annunciation was thus of profound importance to all Christians.

Penketh and Marina Warner, in their respective works on medieval women, also posit the theory that through both Patristic commentaries upon and artistic renditions of the Angelic

7. David M. Robb, "The Iconography of the Annunciation in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries," *The Art Bulletin* 18, no. 4 (December 1936): 488-9.

8. Athanasius of Alexandria, *Oratio de Incarnatione Verbi* [On the Incarnation of the Word] (Grand Rapids, MI: Christian Classics Ethereal Library), 2:8, <http://www.ccel.org/ccel/athanasius/incarnation.iii.html> (accessed May 1, 2011).

Salutation, the Church belief in the subaltern status of women was reinforced.⁷⁰ During the period of the Middle Ages, the sociopolitical and religious landscapes were inextricably entwined. Both spheres of influence were dominated by misogynistic attitudes and came equipped with an arsenal of biblical passages which reinforced their views of women. Verses such as, “Wives, submit yourselves unto your own husbands, as unto the Lord”⁷¹ and “Let the woman learn in silence with all subjection. But I suffer not a woman to teach, nor to usurp authority over the man, but to be in silence... she shall be saved in childbearing, if they continue in faith and charity and holiness with sobriety”⁷² are two of the most powerful examples. Images of the Annunciation depict Mary as the perfect woman—a humble, attentive, and submissive future mother. Warner writes that, “In Christian theology Mary’s consent to the Incarnation, her *Fiat*, exemplifies the most sublime fusion of man’s free will in the divine plan... but this lofty view of Mary’s act of acceptance came to epitomize a restricted moral notion quite unworthy of the term: that of feminine submissiveness.”⁷³ One can therefore speculate that, of all the scenes from which to choose, the young and newly-married female book owner’s likeness was incorporated into the Annunciation in an attempt to reinforce the “Christian” ideal of the perfect woman.

At this time, a thorough analysis of the visual programmes and the historical contexts of the three images under consideration is appropriate. The first illuminations to be examined are those included within the Book of Hours of Jeanne d’Evreux, but before launching into a study of the imagery, it is essential that we say a few words about the young bride—her time, place, and position in fourteenth-century France. Jeanne d’Evreux was no ordinary French noblewoman; between the years 1325 and 1328, she was the queen of France

9. Marina Warner, *Alone of All Her Sex: The Myth and Cult of the Virgin Mary* (London, UK: Littlehampton Book Services, 1976), 177.

10. Ephesians 5.22.

11. 1 Timothy 2.11-15.

12. Warner, *Alone of All Her Sex*, 177.

and the wife of King Charles IV. Upon her death in 1371, she bequeathed to her godson, King Charles V, a “very small little book of prayers that Charles [IV], God keep his soul, had made for Madame, which Pucelle illuminated.”⁷⁴ This is almost certainly the Book of Hours from the atelier of Jean Pucelle that resides in the Cloisters Museum today and from which our images are taken. While most medieval women are resigned to historical obscurity, Jeanne’s elevated status merited a fair amount of contemporary documentation from which her life may be pieced together.

She was the oldest daughter of Louis de France, Count of Evreux, and Marguerite d’Artois, the daughter of a Norman lord, making Jeanne the first cousin of Charles IV and her family part of the Valois ruling elite. When Charles ascended to the throne of France in 1322, he inherited a dynasty in very dire straits. His two brothers, Louis X and Philip V, had held the crown for relatively short periods of time. When Louis X, the Headstrong (*le Hutin*), died in 1316 he left behind a pregnant wife and his son did not live a week. His brother, Philip V, the Tall (*le Long*), reigned for six years and during his uneventful tenure failed to produce any male issue. The third brother, Charles IV, had married Blanche de Bourgogne, but she had provided no heirs and was accused—probably justly—of having an adulterous affair in 1314.⁷⁵ The marriage was dissolved and Blanche retreated to a nunnery until the end of her days. Charles therefore assumed power under these fickle circumstances and undoubtedly understood the gravity of producing an heir.

Sir Jean Froissart (d. 1405), the famous French chronicler of the Hundred Years’ War, writing roughly three decades after the death of Charles IV, records, “When the kingdom of

13. “Un bien petit livret d’oroisons que le roy Charles, dont Diex ait l’âme, avoit fait faire pour Madame, que Pucelle enlumina,” Joan A. Holladay, “The Education of Jeanne d’Evreux: Personal Piety and Dynastic Salvation in Her Book of Hours at the Cloisters,” *Art History* 17 (1994), 585.

14. The circumstances surrounding the queen’s supposed affair and the subsequent adultery hearings make for a fascinating additional case study of the role of noblewomen in medieval France. Unfortunately, for the purpose of this piece, a more thorough investigation is omitted. For a more in-depth discussion, see: Robert Fawtier, *The Capetian Kings of France* (London, UK: Macmillan & Co., 1960), 53-54.

France devolved upon him, he was crowned by the twelve peers of France and all the barons, who were not willing that such a kingdom should be deprived of male heirs; they therefore strongly recommended his marrying again, with which he complied.”⁷⁶ Pressured by the barons and driven by an intense personal desire to establish a dynasty, the twenty-eight year-old king wed his second wife, [Marie de Luxembourg](#), in 1322. She and a potential heir both perished in childbirth two years later. The senescent king then frantically sought a third wife and settled for his nubile young cousin Jeanne d’Evreux. After papal dispensation for the marriage was secured, the fourteen year-old noblewoman wed her royal relative and became the queen of France in 1325.⁷⁷ Madeline A. Caviness has pointed out quite perceptively that, “In the fraught atmosphere of a failing dynasty, betrayed by female lasciviousness and punished by a lack of male heirs, more than lessons of conventional piety had to be directed at the girl-bride who was supposed to become the chaste mother of indubitably male children.”⁷⁸ The future of the Capetian line now rested upon the impressionable shoulders of a fourteen year-old girl. Charles IV, betrayed by one wife and denied an heir through the death of another, understood the urgency of inculcating his new bride with a desire for virtue, fidelity, and pregnancy. The years between 1325 and 1328 (the year Charles died) would be defined by a relentless quest for a son to continue the Capetian dynasty. Given the circumstances, one can assume that Charles would use any means at his disposal—including the visual arts—to remind his wife of her duty to continue their shared royal bloodline.

Jeanne d’Evreux’s pedigree, however, was not only a stemma of kings but also the line of

15. Sir Jean Froissart, *Chronicles of England, France, Spain, and the Adjoining Countries*, trans. Thomas Johnes, Esq. vol. 1 (London, UK: Bradbury and Evans, 1849), 29.

16. For biographical information, see: Holladay, “The Education of Jeanne d’Evreux”, 603-4, Elizabeth M. Hallam, *Capetian France, 987-1328* (NY: Longman, 1980), 283-285, and John Harthan, *Books of Hours and their Owners* (Singapore: Thames & Hudson, 1988), 41-44.

17. Madeline H. Caviness, “Patron or Matron? A Capetian Bride and a Vade Mecum for Her Marriage Bed,” *Speculum* 68 (1993), 338.

a saint. King Louis IX, the most famous of the Valois kings, ruled France between the years 1226 and 1270 and was canonised by Pope Boniface VIII in 1297. Louis was an exceptionally pious monarch hailed as the perfect Christian king. An avid relic collector, church-builder, and Crusader, he kept within his monumental chapel of [Sainte-Chapelle](#) in Paris a fragment of Christ's Crown of Thorns and a segment of the True Cross. He died whilst on Crusade at the age of fifty-six and almost immediately after the translation of his relics to Saint-Denis the *cultus* of Saint Louis emerged. As the great-grandfather of both Charles IV and his wife Jeanne, Louis was a dynastic saint whose descendants were duty-bound to continue his blessed line. Joan Holladay notes that, "Charles's interest in his forebear was motivated by both devotion and politics: Louis provided a role model for both ideal kingship and moral behaviour, raised the status of his descendants, and legitimized the accession of the Valois dynasty, in only its third generation on the throne."⁷⁹ The Hours of Saint Louis in Jeanne's Book of Hours are a unique feature of the volume and depict a series of scenes from the life of the saint which emphasize his acts of mercy and charity—feeding the leprous, washing the feet of the poor, and collecting the decomposing remains of fallen Crusaders with his bare hands. If Holladay is correct in stating that such images of Louis were intended to offer the queen a mirror of "moral behaviour," then perhaps they were included to inspire the young queen to live a devout existence, gaining God's favour in the process. This divine favour would hopefully manifest itself in the way that it had manifested itself in Mary, with the conception of a son. The comparison of Jeanne with the Virgin Mary is quite appropriate, for both are given the charge of carrying on a very holy bloodline.

In the first image contained in the Little Office of the Blessed Virgin Mary in the Book of Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux (*Fig. A*), the likeness of the owner is painted in a historiated initial

18. Joan A. Holladay, "Fourteenth-century French Queens as Collectors and Readers of Books: Jeanne d'Evreux and Her Contemporaries," *Journal of Medieval History* 32 (2006), 96.

beneath the Annunciation scene. Complete with crown, she appears in the *prie-dieu*, cueing herself from the very book in which the image is painted. Accompanying the image is the text of versicles and beneath these lines, marginal female figures engage in merriment; Jonathan Harthan claims that the game they play is “hot cockles,” a form of tag.⁸⁰ The Latin script is the first line of a series of verses and responses that accompany the opening of Matins—*Domine labia mea aperies*, or “Lord, open my lips.” This plea marks the beginning of the prayer, the rest of which is included in the book’s subsequent folios. It is transcribed here, with “V” introducing the versicles and “R” marking the responses: (V) Lord, open my lips. (R) And my mouth shall sing thy praise. (V) God, come to my aid. (R) Lord, hasten to help me.⁸¹ Roger S. Wieck adds that, “This plea, with its almost breathless cadence, sets the tone and states two themes that run throughout the Office, praise of God and a request for aid.”⁸² Jeanne d’Evreux’s place within the Annunciation scene is thus that of a suppliant. She is shown, Book of Hours in hand, praying earnestly for divine intercession.

In her role as the pious and humble petitioner, Jeanne does not engage directly with the scene of the Angelic Salutation; on the contrary, she is detached from the action. Joan A. Holladay notes that, “Although she is directly associated with the text of the prayers she is supposed to utter, she is clearly isolated from the scene that occurs like a vision above her head. She is supposed to picture the scene, but she is not part of it.”⁸³ Holladay’s assessment of this image and Jeanne’s placement within it is sensible yet calls for a deeper re-examination. The meeting between Mary and the Angel Gabriel indeed appears to materialize like a holy

19. Harthan, *Books of Hours and their Owners*, 41.

20. Translation provided by the author. See: New York City, The Cloisters Museum, *The Book of Hours of Jeanne d’Evreux*, fols. 16r-18v.

21. Roger S. Wieck, *Painted Prayers: The Book of Hours in Medieval and Renaissance Art* (New York: George Braziller, 1997), 52.

22. Holladay, “The Education of Jeanne d’Evreux”, 599.

apparition above the patroness' head. The entire scene, exempting the protrusion of the angel's right wing, is framed within a floating Gothic structure which is supported by Jeanne's head on the left extremity and an angel on the right. Gabriel's cloak drapes down from the lower left-hand corner of the stage, making contact with the historiated initial in which she prays and linking the worldly monarch to her celestial contemplation. The position of the figures thus gives the impression that the pious queen is contemplating the Annunciation and the divinely-instigated conception of the Virgin Mary. One must allow for the possibility that, contrary to Holladay's aforementioned assessment, Jeanne is in fact incorporated—albeit indirectly—into the action of the scene. The queen's crimson background in her initial complements the red halo around Mary's head and the breviary in the Virgin's hand, suggesting a connection between Jeanne, her Book of Hours, and the Mother of God. Although not a key player in the action of the Annunciation, she envisions the scene and accordingly links herself with Mary in the mystical devotional tradition. As such, she is, contrary to Holladay's assertion, a part of the scene.

Jeanne d'Evreux's likeness is included in the book in only two distinct folios, making the illuminations contained on these pages worthy of careful consideration. In the frontispiece image of Matins, Jeanne is inserted directly into the scene and is an active participant (*Fig. B*). She kneels before the tomb of her great-grandfather in Saint-Denis while, on the opposite folio, Saint Louis is chastised by his confessor. The artist Jean Pucelle recreates the tomb and sarcophagus of the saint, offering the historian a general idea of the shrine's appearance in 1324. Flanking the sarcophagus are two mendicants whose purpose is unclear. Some sources speculate that the two figures are monks charged with guarding the saint's remains. Others claim that this is an allusion to a fourteenth-century thaumaturgic account in which two blind beggars were miraculously

restored to sight after praying before the great king's relics.⁸⁴ The spirit of Saint Louis appears atop his tomb, crowned in a saintly halo and gesturing to his royal descendant. He reaches out to her, perhaps offering his guidance and counsel. At first glance, the scene on the opposite folio of the saint being flogged by his confessor seems out of place. Louis is depicted in the same *prie-dieu* position that Jeanne's likeness assumes in the Annunciation scene, performing his prescribed penance within the confines of his chamber whilst a steward to the left of the image guards the entrance. The two illustrations, however, communicate the same themes—humility and submission. Jeanne humbly offers herself before the relics of her holy ancestor while Louis submits to the caustic cords of his confessor. The juxtaposition of the images thus served the dual purpose of emphasizing Jeanne's wifely duty to submit to her husband while reinforcing her ancestral connection with Saint Louis.

One aspect of this particular image that has gone overlooked by scholars is its correspondence with traditional medieval Annunciation imagery. When the scene of the Angelic Salutation at the beginning of the Little Office of the Blessed Virgin Mary (*Fig. A*) is compared side-by-side with the representation of Jeanne at the tomb of Saint Louis (*Fig. B*), one sees that the basic arrangement of the scene and the characters within it bear close resemblance. In both instances, the action is framed within hovering ecclesiastical structures that dominate the central register. The drapery conventions of the figures are identical, as are the postures of the two key players. In a scene that takes place within the Cathédrale royale de Saint-Denis, the traditional burial site of French monarchs, Jeanne assumes the position of Gabriel in the sacred space on the left whilst Louis assumes the position of Mary in the Annunciation scheme; he is even depicted with a matching disc-shaped halo. The young queen is placed in the spot traditionally occupied

23. Both of these views are outlined in: Jeffrey M. Hoffeld, "An Image of St. Louis and the Structuring of Devotion," [*The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*](#) 29 (1971), 264.

by the angel but this does not suggest that the space she inhabits is holy. In this case, the spheres are reversed and the hallowed area is enlarged to accommodate the saint, his tomb, and the two figures who have already received his blessing. From her position on the left, Jeanne prays to her sainted ancestor and patiently awaits her turn to gain a portion of his divine grace. Just as the Virgin Mary was blessed with a miraculous pregnancy at the exact moment of the Annunciation, so the queen prays for a similar miracle in a devotional image patterned after the pivotal event. Assuming that she used the book in the prescribed manner and uttered the Hours daily, she would certainly have made this connection between the two illuminations. Thus, the arrangement of the Annunciation scenes and the position of the characters contained therein was carefully considered and potentially designed with the purpose of generating contemplations of conception and maternity. If one looks closely at Jeanne's likeness in this image (*Fig. B*), one can discern a slight bulge in the abdomen. Perhaps this is a visual expression of the commissioner of the book's hope that the Capetian line's patron saint will respond to his and his wife's entreaties for an heir.⁸⁵

A second Book of Hours, also housed in an American museum, is the Buves Hours at the Walters in Baltimore. Historians have been unable to determine the original female owner of this volume but it is possible that it was produced for a woman of the Picard Buves family. The unknown patroness appears in the Annunciation scene on folio 13v (verso, *Fig. C*). The book dates to circa 1450 and is believed to be of Franco-Flemish origin; Ann van Dijk points to the

24. Although Caviness makes limited mention of this folio in her piece, she does offer a very good analysis of the marginal figures littered throughout the book. She is particularly perceptive in pointing out the abundance of rabbits in the margins and theorizes that these creatures, "connoting fertility, would remind Jeanne of her duty to produce an heir, and might enhance her desire for offspring...no doubt because of their frequency of copulation and conception." Caviness, "Patron or Matron?", 344.

25. Ann van Dijk, "The Angelic Salutation in Early Byzantine and Medieval Annunciation Imagery," *The Art Bulletin* 81, no. 3 (September 1999): 422-3.

Hainaut province in southern Belgium.⁸⁶ The action of the scene is set in a small domestic chapel or household and framed in intricate flora. In this illustration more than any of the others we have considered, the likeness of the unknown book owner emerges a key figure in the Annunciation. Immediately beneath her an unusually detailed and complete rendition of the Hail Mary is etched—*Ave Maria gratia plena Dominus tecum: Benedicta tu in mulieribus et benedictus fructus ventris tui Iesus*, translated, “Hail Mary, full of grace, the Lord is with thee; blessed art thou amongst women, and blessed is the fruit of thy womb, Jesus.” The position of the patroness, coupled with these verses, has led scholars to conclude that the text and image were arranged to encourage the book owner to imagine herself in the role of Gabriel at the time of the Annunciation.⁸⁷ But, as has already been noted in our assessment of the Hours of Jeanne d’Evreux (*Fig. B*), the book owner’s assumption of the space typically occupied by the archangel does not suggest a usurpation of his role. Although there is much evidence for the presumption that the female book owner supplants the position of the messenger, one must not forget that her primary role is that of suppliant and not of angelic intercessor. In her devotions, she would be expected to visualize herself present at the Annunciation, taking advantage of this closeness to the Virgin to ask the Blessed Mother for guidance and, perhaps, a favour.

In the image, the kneeling patroness and the Virgin are painted along the same plane and kneel at ornamented desks, with Mary slightly taller than the book owner. Both women have their respective books opened to the appropriate page. On the verso, Gabriel places his right hand on the petitioner’s shoulder, encouraging her in her devotions and nudging her closer towards the Mother of God, her exemplar of womanhood. He clutches his customary scroll. With his left arm thrust forward, he offers his words to the patroness, a gesture which supports the owner-as-angel

26. See: van Dijk, “Angelic Salutation”, 423, and Duffy, *Marking the Hours*, 37-8.

thesis. On the recto, Mary is depicted as the embodiment of piety, submission, and humility. The Virgin appears with her devotional book displayed, encouraging the young noblewomen to open her respective Book of Hours and join her in her devotions. While the book owner's hands are placed together in prayer and supplication, Mary's arms are folded in a gesture of acquiescence and humility. In an aperture in the upper left-hand corner of the scene on folio 13r—the right-hand page—God dispatches the Holy Spirit in the form of a dove to impregnate the elected Mother of Christ. Subliminally, the submission of the wife to the seed of her husband is thus emphasized. The patroness, depicted alongside the Angel Gabriel and along the same visual plane as the Virgin, is supposed to imagine herself present at the Annunciation. She would picture herself in the role of Gabriel but also—perhaps more so—in the role of Mary. Thus, the visual programme of folios 13v-14r in the Buves Book of Hours is intended to encourage the unknown French noblewoman to submit her prayer to the Blessed Mother of God whilst contemplating conception.

Sadly, next to nothing is known about the female who owned the Buves Book of Hours. The inclusion of her likeness within the tome suggests that her husband, the probable commissioner, was a rich nobleman who could afford a personalized devotional book for his wife. Unlike the Book of Hours of the French queen Jeanne d'Evreux, this remarkable little volume leaves behind a limited trail for the historian to follow. It is fitting at this point in our examination to take a retrospective look at these two Books of Hours, gleaning from their imagery their relevance to history. The Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux was commissioned in 1324 and the Franco-Flemish manuscript known as the Buves Book of Hours is dated to circa 1450. More than one hundred years separate the two volumes yet certain folios and illustrations within them communicate the same message. On the surface, there is one pivotal aspect of medieval

devotional imagery that divides them—the extent to which the likeness of the book owner engages with the Annunciation scene. Both of these Books of Hours are exceptional in that the patroness is painted into the action of the Salutation and communicates directly with the person who possesses the power to grant her request. The *vita* of St. Gertrude of Ostend, written sometime after the saint’s death in 1358, records an instance in which Gertrude’s mystical contemplations of the Virgin Mary’s immaculate conception and Christ’s infancy caused her “breasts...to swell and fill with milk.”⁸⁸ It was believed that there existed a divine power behind these images, a force that could reward pious meditations of motherhood with very real and physical manifestations. Whether they are contemplating the conception of the Virgin Mary or beseeching their sainted ancestor for a child to continue the blessed bloodline, scenes of the Annunciation are crucial to understanding lay female devotional piety in the Books of Hours commissioned for and used by noblewomen in the late Middle Ages.

The visual programmes of the books provide an abundance of information concerning medieval relationships between many parties—husbands and wives, ancestors and the living, and the church and the laywoman. In these three instances, the images appear to support the church-sanctioned belief in the inferiority of women and suggest that a woman’s goal in this life should be the conception—and successful birthing—of a child. *The Book of Vices and Virtues*, a late thirteenth-century handbook written in France and used by the clergy as a tool of religious instruction, contained a section entitled “The Blessings of Marriage” which was read before assembled parishioners. The homily proclaims that, “The state of marriage is so holy and so honest that the deed that was previously deadly sin outside of marriage is without sin in marriage, and not only without sin, but in many cases greatly approved by God.” As such, “if the

27. David Herlihy, *Women, Family, and Society in Medieval Europe: Historical Essays, 1978-1991* (Oxford, UK: Berghahn Books, 1995), 150.

one refuses the other and will not allow him to have his right when it is asked or prayed... she that refuses the other that bids, is sinning.”⁸⁹ The anonymous cleric who penned these lines is claiming the spouse’s right over his partner’s body, emphasizing that the wife will please God by submitting to her husband’s sexual desires. This view, brilliantly laid out in this sermon, is reflected in these pages from two Books of Hours. Whether it be the position of the Virgin’s arms or the resignation of a saintly ancestor to the whip of his confessor, submission and humility emerge as central themes in all of the images considered. The placement of the book owner within these scenes and her general role as suppliant encourages the noble wife to “submit to [her] husband,” her lord on Earth, whilst praying ceaselessly for an heir to continue the family line. This is particularly the case with Jeanne d’Evreux, the young queen who at age fourteen found herself entrusted with the charge of saving a dynasty that had been plagued by treacherous wives and an overall lack of male issue. The bloodline she was expected to preserve had been blessed by God and the young noblewomen must have been distressed and confused to find herself condemned to barrenness.

The church’s dictum that women “shall be saved in childbearing, if they continue in faith and charity and holiness with sobriety” was at the forefront of the minds of medieval noblewomen and their titled husbands. Images contained within these volumes thus pointed not only to personal redemption but also to dynastic and familial salvation. Historians do not know whether or not the mysterious owner of the Buves Book of Hours succeeded in her wifely duties. Jeanne d’Evreux managed to produce a daughter, Blanche, Duchess of Orléans, who was ineligible for the French throne under Salic Law. Christine de Pizan, the famous female writer and biographer of Charles IV’s successor, Charles V, records that Jeanne withdrew from court

28. “The Book of Vices and Virtues: Blessings of Marriage,” in *Women's Lives in Medieval Europe: A Sourcebook*, ed. Emilie Amt (New York: Routledge, 1993), 89-90.

after her husband's death and lived the rest of her days "according to such goodness and wisdom that [she] may always be [an example] of good and wise living to those women who come later."⁹⁰ We can thus conclude that the Book of Hours was a unique devotional manual, prompting noblewomen to lead good, pious, and obedient lives in the hopes of attaining many different modes of salvation.

29. Christine de Pizan, *The Treasure of the City of Ladies*, trans. Sarah Lawson (London, UK: Penguin Classics, 1985), 84.

*“Hidden in Plain Sight:
Remembering the Upbeat”*

Sarah Hayes

“He would tell us we were like a fat lady on a stool hanging over!” According to Barbara Tuceling, Gettysburg College Class of 1970, that was what Professor Parker B. Wagnild would say to the Gettysburg College Choir when they did not stop singing on his cue.⁹¹ It was one of many sayings that Professor Wagnild, affectionately known as “Wags,” used with the Choir. He founded the College’s premiere vocal ensemble in 1935 and directed it for forty-one years.⁹² During his long tenure, he also founded the Music Department and earned the respect of scores of students. His impact on campus was so significant that he was memorialized in October of 2010 with a bronze statue outside of Schmucker Hall. Though many people dislike or are indifferent to the statue, Wagnild earned the right to be memorialized because of his founding of the Choir and the Music Department, the reputation and prestige of the Choir under his direction, and the impact he had on the lives of his students.

The statue that stands outside of Schmucker Hall pays tribute to Professor Wagnild’s accomplishments and portrays him as he would have appeared while conducting the Choir. His hands are positioned as if he is about to give the first beat in a measure. He wears a tuxedo with tails. Each side of the statue’s foundation is inscribed with one of his accomplishments with the date of its occurrence on the base. Walking counterclockwise around the statue, the sides read

⁹¹ Barbara Tuceling, email interview by author, September 20, 2011.

⁹² Charles H. Glatfelter, *A Salutary Influence: Gettysburg College, 1832-1985* (Mechanicsburg, PA: W & M Printing, Inc., 1987), 2: 632.

“Rev. Dr. Parker B. Wagnild,” “1935 Founder of the Gettysburg College Choir,” “2010 With Loving Memories The Shagena and Wagnild families,” and “1946 Founder of the Gettysburg College Music Department.” Wagnild beckons many people into Schmucker Hall with a benevolent expression.

Of seven current Gettysburg College students interviewed about the statue, only those involved in College Choir knew of Wagnild and his contributions to the school. The opinions of those who were not knowledgeable ranged from vague interest to disagreement over whether a professor deserves such a memorial. Kevin Psolka-Green and Alan Heise, both current Choir members, knew exactly who Wagnild was and agreed that he absolutely deserved to be honored in such a unique way. For them, the statue had more meaning than much of the other art on campus.⁹³ Though not a member of the Choir, Amanda Jackiewicz, a junior Health Sciences and former Music major, had a vague idea who Wagnild was and also supported the statue.⁹⁴ Her involvement with the Music Department had allowed her to learn about him, whereas students outside of the Music Department had no idea who Wagnild was. Chelsea Endzel, a senior English and Political Science double major remarked, “It’s cool that he’s doing what he was known for,” after learning of the statue’s background. However, when asked if Wagnild deserved to have a statue she felt that it was unfair that other professors who have made significant contributions to campus have not been honored in this fashion. She felt that the statue added to campus.⁹⁵ This general acceptance of the statue might be turned into approval if the students of the College took the time to learn more about Wagnild and the impact he had on campus.

⁹³ Alan Heise, interview by author, Gettysburg, PA, October 3, 2011; Kevin Psolka-Green, interview by the author, Gettysburg, PA, October 3, 2011.

⁹⁴ Amanda Jackiewicz, interview by author, Gettysburg, PA, September 28, 2011.

⁹⁵ Chelsea Endzel, interview by author, Gettysburg, PA, September 28, 2011.

Parker Wagnild was born on October 29th, 1906 in Jackson, Minnesota. His family moved to Outlook, Saskatchewan, Canada while he was a young boy, but returned to Minnesota in 1921 to settle in Northfield.⁹⁶ One of Wagnild's earlier exposures to music was when his father, a Lutheran minister, took him and his brothers to churches where hymns were sung.⁹⁷ His love of singing grew in 1923 when he first heard the St. Olaf's College Choir. Determined to join, he enrolled in St. Olaf's following his graduation from high school, but failed to successfully audition for the choir until his sophomore year.⁹⁸ After graduating with a Bachelor of Arts in Music in 1930, he got a job as a choir director at a Lutheran church in Eau Claire, Wisconsin. It was here that he met and fell in love with Helen Duerst. They were married on July 9th, 1932 and moved to New York City, where Wagnild earned his Master's degree of Sacred Music.⁹⁹ The Wagnilds first came to Gettysburg, Pennsylvania when he began studies at the Lutheran Theological Seminary.¹⁰⁰ Shortly after their move, the news of his talents reached the ears of those interested in starting choirs.

The College Choir began in a humble way that was not indicative of the renowned institution that it would become under Wagnild's direction. During his years at the Seminary, Wagnild started a choir at the request of the Seminary's president, Dr. John Aberly. It was

⁹⁶ Sara Jane Sheffer, "The Amazing Story of Parker B. Wagnild," *The Mercury* 13, no. 3 (December 1940): 10.

⁹⁷ Signe Wagnild Shagena, email interview by author, September 24, 28 and October 2, 2011.

⁹⁸ Edward Palmer, "Tribute to Dr. Parker B. Wagnild at the Dedication of a Statue in His Honor," speech, October 2, 2010, Vertical File Wagnild, Prof. Parker B., Gettysburg College Special Collections, Gettysburg, PA.

⁹⁹ Shagena, email interview.

¹⁰⁰ Glatfelter, *A Salutary Influence*, 632.

Aberly's idea for Wagnild to propose the founding of a coed choir to Gettysburg College's Music Committee in 1935.¹⁰¹ Met with enthusiastic approval, Wagnild called auditions in October, but while enough men came, hardly any girls tried out.¹⁰² Not to be discouraged by their shyness, he went to the women's dorm and held auditions in the common room at 10:30 at night. The girls sang for him with their curlers and face masks on. Some sang well enough to be accepted into the first College Choir.¹⁰³ The Choir's first performance was on Christmas 1935 and in March of 1937, they embarked on their first tour, an event that would become an honored tradition at the College.¹⁰⁴ Initially fifty members, the Choir grew to around seventy at the time of Wagnild's retirement in 1976.¹⁰⁵ This growth can be credited to Wagnild's qualities as a director.

By all accounts Wagnild was a beloved, but demanding man who was a talented musician in his own right. Robert Zellner, Director of Bands and a professor in the Music Department for thirty years, said Wagnild was "always a gentleman."¹⁰⁶ Barbara Tuceling described him as "warm, loving and funny." His amiable nature, however, was tempered by an indomitable will. Norman Nunamaker, a music professor from 1963 to 1996, described him as "stubborn at times.

¹⁰¹ Parker B. Wagnild, letter to Charles Glatfelter, July 12, 1988, Vertical File Miller, Rev. Raymond Class of 1935, Gettysburg College Special Collections, Gettysburg, PA.

¹⁰² Glatfelter, *A Salutary Influence*, 632; Sheffer, "The Amazing Story," 18.

¹⁰³ Sheffer, "The Amazing Story," 18.

¹⁰⁴ Glatfelter, *A Salutary Influence*, 632-633.

¹⁰⁵ "Final Concert by Wagnild in Christ Chapel on Sunday," *Gettysburg Times*, May 26, 1976, Accessed Vertical File Wagnild, Prof. Parker B., Gettysburg College Special Collections, Gettysburg, PA.

¹⁰⁶ Robert Zellner, telephone interview by author, September 23, 2011.

He wanted to do things his way. It was his way or the highway.”¹⁰⁷ Despite his toughness, it was Wagnild’s charisma, combined with his musicianship that made him such a successful director. According to Wagnild family lore, Wagnild was “a musician from the day he was born As a young man his life dream was to direct a college choir.”¹⁰⁸ He had perfect pitch and his ear was exceptionally good. Barbara Tuceling recalled that his sense of pitch was good enough to pinpoint exactly which seats needed to be fixed when something was not quite right during full rehearsal.¹⁰⁹ Through his musicianship, Wagnild was able to create a sound that became a trademark of the Choir.

Wagnild achieved the uniquely beautiful sound of the Choir through practice, emphasis on tone, and a distinctive conducting style. According to his daughter, Signe Wagnild Shagena, “Choir practices were held Monday through Friday for one hour each day. There was an additional hour each week for sectional rehearsals: Sopranos, Altos, Tenors, and Basses. Also each member had to take voice lessons.”¹¹⁰ This rigorous schedule made involvement in other extracurriculars difficult. Barbara Tuceling described it best when she said that, “I don't think Wags minded other activities, as long as they didn't interfere with choir!”¹¹¹ Choir was expected to be a top priority. The extra practice allowed choir members to develop their distinctive tone, known as the “St. Olaf’s sound.” Influenced by Wagnild’s alma mater, it emphasized the lower

¹⁰⁷ Norman Nunamaker, telephone interview by author, September 26, 2011.

¹⁰⁸ Shagena, email interview.

¹⁰⁹ Tuceling, email interview.

¹¹⁰ Shagena, email interview.

¹¹¹ Tuceling, email interview.

voices to create a dark, heavy, and dense sound.¹¹² Borrowing more of St. Olaf's method, Wagnild had a unique way of conducting the Choir. In most musical ensembles, a conductor will indicate the first beat in the measure by bringing the hand in a downward motion. Even if a musician gets lost, he or she will always know where the measure begins because the first, or down beat, is always indicated in that particular way. Wagnild, however, conducted by "throw[ing] the down beat up."¹¹³ Choir members were so disciplined that they responded to Wagnild's every direction. Perfection was the ultimate goal.¹¹⁴ "I can't even describe how precise and clear they were, like a machine," Michael Matsinko, a piano professor at the College for thirty years, recalled.¹¹⁵ These techniques and styles were then applied to the Choir's signature musical selections.

In an effort to combine his Lutheran religion with his passion for music, Wagnild constructed the Choir's repertoire from sacred music that recalled his time at St. Olaf's. The songs that appeared most often in Choir concerts were "Beautiful Savoir" and "O Day Full of Grace" by F. Melius Christiansen and "Salvation is Created" by P. Tchesnokov. "Beautiful Savior" continues to be sung by the Choir under the direction of Dr. Robert Natter and "O Day Full of Grace" was sung in Wagnild's honor at his memorial service and at each Choir

¹¹² Michael Matsinko, telephone interview by author, September 24, 2011.

¹¹³ Matsinko, telephone interview. Matsinko attributed Wagnild's style to his time at St. Olaf's, but Joyce Elsner felt that he developed this trait on his own and doubted he picked it while in college. I have chosen to use Matsinko's perspective as he was a colleague and evidence suggests that Wagnild did his best to model the College Choir on the St. Olaf's model. Joyce Elsner, telephone interview by the author, September 27, 2011.

¹¹⁴ Tuceling, email interview.

¹¹⁵ Matsinko, telephone interview.

reunion.¹¹⁶ Christiansen was a popular composer because of he was the conductor of the St. Olaf's Choir during Wagnild's time as a member in the 1920s.¹¹⁷ The Choir displayed great variety within the genre of sacred music, singing in a number of styles, including spirituals, and in different languages.¹¹⁸

Wagnild's reputation as the Choir director became a stepping stone for his role in the creation of the Music Department. The movement to institute the department began with the donation of \$50,000 by the Gettysburg College Women's League in 1945. Wagnild was asked to be the founding chairperson in 1946 upon approval for the development of a Music Department by the College Board of Trustees.¹¹⁹ In 1948, after two years of work, the department officially began operations with Wagnild as its only full time professor.¹²⁰ Under his direction, the department was able to grow into the institution it is today. With the financial help of the Women's League, classrooms and practice rooms were added to Brua Chapel to transform it into the College's performing arts center in 1958. Wagnild also oversaw the creation of the Bachelor of Arts in Music and Bachelor of Science in Music Education, crafting the curriculum to meet state requirements.¹²¹ Joyce Elsner, a member of the very first Music Education class in 1958, developed a deep respect for him as Music Department Chair. Although she was never a member of the Choir, she recalled that "Everything I did was through him. I lived in that [Brua Chapel]

¹¹⁶ Shagena, email interview.

¹¹⁷ Edward Palmer, email interview by author, September 21, 2011.

¹¹⁸ Tuceling, email interview.

¹¹⁹ Glatfelter, *A Salutory Influence*, 969; Signe Wagnild Shagena, telephone interview by the author, October 4, 2011.

¹²⁰ Office of the Dean of the College Information Card Parker B. Wagnild, Vertical File Wagnild, Prof. Parker B., Gettysburg College Special Collections, Gettysburg, PA; Shagena, telephone interview.

¹²¹ Shagena, email interview.

building.” She currently spearheads many efforts to remember him on campus.¹²² Under Wagnild, one of the Music Department’s most valuable recruiting tools was the College Choir, bringing its sound to venues all over Pennsylvania and beyond.

Word of the College Choir’s exceptional sound began to grow and the choir started to embark on tours that spread the name of Gettysburg College throughout the nation, and the world. What began as smaller trips to familiar places such as York and Harrisburg, became visits to some of the country’s largest cities such as New York and Chicago.¹²³ Soon the Choir was flying overseas, performing as only one of two American Choirs at the Congress of the Lutheran World Federation in Finland and at the International Layman’s Religious Festival in Germany in 1963. Dignitaries such as Indira Gandhi, President Richard Nixon, and Crown Prince Olaf of Norway asked the Choir to sing at important functions.¹²⁴ Venues such as the White House, US Embassies, and St. Mark’s Basilica in Venice heard their songs. Topping them all though was the World Tour in 1967. With stops in Japan, Thailand, Iran, Greece, and Austria, the Choir went around the world in 47 days and sang 27 concerts.¹²⁵ Lauded by newspapers such as the New York Times, the tours enhanced the reputation of both the Choir and the College.¹²⁶

Through their tours and glowing national reviews, the Choir drew people to Gettysburg College, who would not otherwise have considered the school. Barbara Tuceling went so far as

¹²² Joyce Elsner, telephone interview.

¹²³ Back of “Benedictus Qui Venit” LP Recording of the Gettysburg College Choir, 1974, Gettysburg College Special Collections, Gettysburg, PA.

¹²⁴ Office of the Dean of the College Information Card; Palmer, “Tribute to Dr. Parker B. Wagnild,” speech.

¹²⁵ Office of the Dean of the College Information Card.

¹²⁶ Matsinko, telephone interview.

to say “I think we probably carried the name of G-burg to more potential students than any other single activity, even the team sports.”¹²⁷ Edward Palmer, Class of 1960, said that he attended Gettysburg because of the Choir.¹²⁸ In a 2005 interview, Robert Zellner told Joseph Strausbaugh that he applied for a job at the College after attending a Choir concert. It was Wagnild who told him about an open position when Zellner approached to say how impressed he had been with the Choir’s performance.¹²⁹ Joyce Elsner agreed by saying that if many people “hadn’t heard the Choir in the churches and towns, they wouldn’t have even considered Gettysburg.”¹³⁰ It was the sound of the Choir that brought the College such good publicity, something that would not have been possible without the inspiration Wagnild gave his students.

Wagnild’s most important attribute was his ability to inspire his students to strive for the highest level of musical accomplishment. He cared deeply about his students, not just as members of his beloved Choir, but as individuals, special in their own way. By guiding them to find this uniqueness in themselves, they were able to produce excellent music.¹³¹ Edward Palmer described how it felt when they sang just as the conductor wanted: “Through humor, dedication, and his depth of commitment and expertise, he instilled in us the desire to reach higher, to work harder. We wanted to do anything we could to ‘jar his grandmother’s preserves’ and to hear him

¹²⁷ Tuceling, email interview.

¹²⁸ Palmer, email interview.

¹²⁹ Robert Zellner, interview by Joseph Strausbaugh, Gettysburg, PA, August 22, 200, History of Gettysburg College Oral Histories T-Z, Gettysburg College Special Collections, Gettysburg, PA.

¹³⁰ Joyce Elsner, telephone interview.

¹³¹ Palmer, “Tribute to Dr. Parker B. Wagnild,” speech.

quietly after we had just sung a piece beautifully say in his own classic way, ‘Gee Whiz.’”¹³² As only the best teachers can, he showed them how good they could be. He genuinely cared about the songs the Choir was performing reading the lyrics of them during rehearsal, infusing them with meaning so that his students would be able to convey the essence of what they were singing more effectively.¹³³ His students knew how much having an excellent choir meant to him and did their best to impress and improve for him.

Not only did Wagnild inspire his students in the realm of music, he also touched their personal lives as well. When Barbara Tuceling’s mother became seriously ill, Wagnild and his wife Helen offered her a place in their home should she ever need one. They stayed in touch after her graduation and Wagnild helped officiate her wedding.¹³⁴ The fatherly role he played for Tuceling was shared by many others including Edward Palmer, who went to him for advice about a future career in music. Wagnild told him to make music his hobby instead of dealing with the difficulties of having music as a career. Palmer took his advice and now is the head of the Psychology Department at Davidson College, while still staying involved in musical activities.¹³⁵ As Joyce Elsner said, “If you knew him, you tried to exemplify his life. He was just such a different person. He had a very deep effect on your life.”¹³⁶ Not only did his students like him as a teacher, but they also saw him as a mentor and father figure, something not achieved by every educator.

¹³² Palmer, email interview.

¹³³ Tuceling, email interview.

¹³⁴ Ibid.

¹³⁵ Palmer, email interview.

¹³⁶ Joyce Elsner, telephone interview.

His student's love for Wagnild and his memory can be best seen in the money they have raised in his honor and the highly attended Choir reunions. Long before his retirement, alumni raised \$3,500 in 1960 to begin the "Wagnild Music Scholarship Fund" to provide financial aid to students in the music department. 125 alumni returned that year for the 25th reunion and those numbers continued to grow.¹³⁷ Upon his retirement in 1976, 325 former choir members sang at the farewell concert.¹³⁸ Under more somber circumstances in 1992, they sang at Wagnild's memorial service, which Barbara Tuceling described as, "one of the most difficult things I've ever done."¹³⁹ Today alumni are developing the Parker and Helen Wagnild Endowment Fund, a project begun in honor of the 75th anniversary of the founding of the choir. Their goal is to raise \$500,000 for future choir tours. They are currently at \$411,000 after soliciting funds from former choir members for just two years. Beth Howlett, Class of 1968, summarized the feelings of the alumni when she said, "Just from the amount of money that has been contributed to the fund, you must realize how much we loved this man, not only as a choral conductor, but also as a positive role model for success in life."¹⁴⁰

With the 75th Choir Reunion approaching, it was felt by choir alumni that Wagnild needed to be honored in a tangible way on campus. The committee that was set up for the creation of the Endowment Fund, chaired by Joyce Elsner, included her husband Bert, Beth

¹³⁷ "\$3,500 Given Prof. Wagnild for Music Aid," *Gettysburg Times*, June 6, 1960, Accessed Vertical File Wagnild, Prof. Parker B., Gettysburg College Special Collections, Gettysburg, PA.

¹³⁸ "Final Concert by Wagnild."

¹³⁹ Shagena, email interview; Tuceling, email interview.

¹⁴⁰ Bert Elsner, telephone interview by author, September 22, 2011; Beth Howlett, email interview by author, September 21, 2011.

Howlett, Signe Wagnild Shagena and her husband, Jon Wagnild, and Barbara Tuceling. They discussed ideas for almost nine months.¹⁴¹ Previous suggestions had been made to dedicate a choir rehearsal room in Schmucker Hall in his honor, but future College plans for the modification of Schmucker would not allow it.¹⁴² The committee eventually settled on erecting a statue of Wagnild and brought the project to College President Janet Morgan Riggs in the spring of 2009.¹⁴³ President Riggs formally accepted the gift on behalf of the College in a meeting on August 11th between the Elsners, Shagenas, and Ashlyn Sowell of the Gettysburg College Development Office.¹⁴⁴ A formal letter of commitment by Sowell accepting the statue was received in time for the committee's meeting on September 22nd. It was also agreed that the statue would be funded by Wagnild's children, Signe Wagnild Shagena, Jon Wagnild and their families and not choir alumni.¹⁴⁵ With College approval in hand, plans moved forward for the statue's creation.

The sculpting and attention to detail of Wagnild's statue aspired to represent him in as lifelike a way as possible. It was Beth Howlett's idea to use the Charles Parks studio in Wilmington, Delaware. A contract for designing the statue was signed in November of 2009. Due to his ill health, it was not Charles Park who sculpted the statue, but Brad Vanneman.¹⁴⁶ The Elsners and Shagenas visited Wilmington frequently during the two months in which Vanneman

¹⁴¹ Bert Elsner, telephone interview; Joyce Elsner, telephone interview.

¹⁴² Joyce Elsner, telephone interview.

¹⁴³ Ashlyn Sowell, email interview by author, October 4, 2011.

¹⁴⁴ Sowell, email interview; Shagena, email interview.

¹⁴⁵ Shagena, email interview.

¹⁴⁶ Howlett, email interview; Shagena, email interview.

created the statue with clay in order to guide the image and look of the statue.¹⁴⁷ They sought to have an image of Wagnild as he actually would have appeared while conducting the Choir by focusing on small details such as the tuxedo he wore to every concert and the position of his hands conducting his distinctive upbeat.¹⁴⁸ Vanneman was provided with pictures, measurements, and CDs of the Choir and was receptive of any suggestions that the benefactors had. When Vanneman had finished the statue in clay, it was brought to Laran Bronze Incorporated in Chester, Pennsylvania where it was cast into bronze. The Shagenas continued to visit the foundry as it was cast and the statue was finished shortly before the dedication on October 2nd, 2010.¹⁴⁹ The day before the dedication, the statue was installed on the already prepared foundation with hidden screws and covered for the unveiling. However, in a moment of Friday night college revelry, the covering was stolen and had to be replaced by the Department of Public Safety. That same night, it was revealed to the committee that it was Wagnild's children who had donated the money, a fact kept secret until that time.¹⁵⁰ All was ready for the official dedication on homecoming weekend.

The dedication of the statue on October 2nd, 2010 was an important and moving moment in the 75th Choir Reunion for both alumni and the Wagnild family. Janet Morgan Riggs spoke, as did the President of the College Board of Trustees, Bob Duelks, and Edward Palmer.¹⁵¹ Palmer, at the beset of Signe Shagena and Jon Wagnild, delivered the same speech that he had given at Wagnild's memorial service almost 20 years before.¹⁵² He said of the occasion that he "felt

¹⁴⁷ Bert Elsner, telephone interview.

¹⁴⁸ Shagena, email interview; Bert Elsner, telephone interview; Joyce Elsner, telephone interview.

¹⁴⁹ Shagena, email interview.

¹⁵⁰ Bert Elsner, telephone interview.

¹⁵¹ Bert Elsner, telephone interview.

¹⁵² Shagena, email interview.

honored to be introduced by President Riggs and the request to render the statue dedication tribute to ‘Wags.’ It was a beautiful October day, there was excitement when the statue was unveiled, and there was a marvelous thread of joy and appreciation that accompanied the occasion as large numbers of choir members past and present gathered around the statue.”¹⁵³ Wagnild relatives came from all over the country as well as 200 choir alumni and despite the near interruption of the marching band on its way back from a football game, Signe Shagena described the event as, “a very rewarding and happy time for us as we remembered Dad and talked to so many previous choir students who were also reminiscing of the ‘olden days’”¹⁵⁴ It was perhaps a moment of perfection that Wagnild would have been proud of.

With current student’s apathy for Wagnild’s statue, it would be easy to ignore it when discussing campus, yet a statue is appropriate because of his lasting impact on the musical life of the College and his own students. Barbara Tuceling argues two reasons for its presence: “First, the length of his tenure at the college. Then, the number of students he taught or conducted or influenced over those years, both inside and outside the music department. Next, the enduring tradition of the choir and music department.”¹⁵⁵ Not only did Wagnild touch his students’ lives, but he did it over a period of forty-one years while perpetuating what became one of the college’s most beloved institutions. Robert Zellner maintains that he deserves a statue because of the reputation of the Choir under Wagnild and the positive publicity that it brought the college.¹⁵⁶ Signe Wagnild Shagena believes that her father should be memorialized in bronze

¹⁵³ Palmer, email interview.

¹⁵⁴ Shagena, email interview.

¹⁵⁵ Tuceling, email interview.

¹⁵⁶ Zellner, telephone interview.

because other individuals who have made an impact on College history have buildings and other memorializing items named after them.

Perhaps it was most simply put by Michael Matsinko when he advised students to, “Think about your band director and think about how much you are influenced by that person. Think about how many years he [Wagnild] directed and the alumni he influenced, the network.”¹⁵⁷ Camaraderie exists between a director and his musical ensemble that is not there in an academic setting. When a director of any group is so revered and teaches as long and as well as Wagnild, that bond is intensified. If one looks at this in combination with the institutions that Wagnild helped to found, it is absolutely appropriate that a statue should have been erected in his honor. Wagnild is a distinctive upbeat in College history that should always be remembered.

¹⁵⁷ Matsinko, telephone interview.

*“The Minority Experience at Gettysburg College:
The Hanson Years (1961-1977)”*
Josh Poorman and Johnny Nelson

The years of C. Arnold Hanson’s term as president at Gettysburg College were years of turbulence, change, and challenge. Rising to the position of president in 1961, in the dawning of a dynamic era of modern American history, C. A. Hanson served well into the middle of the next decade, during which time he helped guide Gettysburg College through some of its most trying and vital changes. This was the era of the hippie and the free thinker, the era of the Women’s and Civil Rights Movements, the era of Vietnam and anti-war protests, the era that shaped modern American society and culture. During this period, one of the areas in which the most dramatic changes occurred was in the sphere of Civil Rights; Gettysburg was far from the forefront in dealing with bigotry, but it did confront the race issue. As this occurred on the national scale, efforts were made at Gettysburg to follow suit. Sadly, this was often difficult and unsuccessful, occurring “in fits and starts.”¹⁵⁸ During C. A. Hanson’s tenure as president, minorities experienced discrimination as they pursued equal opportunities in education, faculty and administrators struggled to construct a successful strategy for integration, students brought down racial barriers through interaction, and above all, many African Americans demonstrated extraordinary strength of character in their fight for equality and acceptance into the Gettysburg College community.

During the Hanson era, diversity on campus was virtually nonexistent. According to Salvatore Ciolino, who arrived in 1971 as part of the financial aid department, “It was white, real

¹⁵⁸ Kenneth Mott, interview by Johnny Nelson, Gettysburg, PA, April 28, 2011.

white.”¹⁵⁹ In the early 1970’s, the percentage of non-whites on campus was between 3% and 4%; this group comprised all minorities, including African Americans, Asians, Latinos, and so forth.¹⁶⁰ Thus, the number of African Americans on campus would have been even less than what these percentages reflect. Gwendolyn King, an African American student who graduated in 1975 with degrees in Biology and Religion, remembered an overwhelming experience she had because of this lack of diversity: “I looked to my left, I looked to my right, and all around me was a sea of white.”¹⁶¹ Other idioms capturing the lack of diversity on campus were “snow-white,” and “lily white.”¹⁶² Michael Ayers, another 1975 alumnus who obtained a degree in Business Administration, said there were between “fifteen and twenty [African American students] at most” during his four years at Gettysburg College.¹⁶³ Kirby Scott, a 1977 graduate who earned a degree in Health and Physical Education, estimated even lower numbers—between eleven and twelve African American students on campus; there were four other black students who graduated with him in his class.¹⁶⁴

This infinitesimal number of minorities on campus in the 1970’s however, pales in comparison to the lack of diversity in the 1960’s, when only eight African Americans graduated in the entire decade.¹⁶⁵ One of these eight, John Wilkerson, who was a Political Science major with a minor in history, recalled there being four blacks on campus when he graduated in 1962—one in each class.¹⁶⁶ Another of these eight, Bruce Gordon, recalls his arrival on campus in 1964

¹⁵⁹ Salvatore Ciolino, interview by Skye Montgomery, November 7, 2007, Oral History Collection, Gettysburg College Archives [hereafter referred to as GCA].

¹⁶⁰ Salvatore Ciolino, interview by Josh Poorman and Johnny Nelson, Gettysburg, PA, April 29, 2011.

¹⁶¹ Gwendolyn King, phone interview by Johnny Nelson, May 2, 2011.

¹⁶² Jim Pickering, interview by David Hedrick and Michael Birkner, March 13, 1995, Oral History Collection, GCA; Kenneth Mott, interview by Adele Walker, September 29, 1990, Oral History Collection, GCA.

¹⁶³ Michael Ayers, phone interview by Josh Poorman, May 1, 2011.

¹⁶⁴ Kirby Scott, phone interview by Josh Poorman, April 29, 2011.

¹⁶⁵ Bruce Gordon, interview in *Legacy: The Black Experience at Gettysburg*, film, GCA.

¹⁶⁶ John Wilkerson, phone interview by Josh Poorman, April 29, 2011.

as being particularly memorable. After walking into the Student Union building for registration, a person from admissions approached and greeted him, saying, “Hello Bruce Gordon, how was your trip from New Jersey?” At the time, Mr. Gordon wondered how the man had known his name. His friend Leland, who had accompanied him on the trip, enlightened him, saying, “My brother, you are in serious trouble now.” At that moment, it dawned on him that he was the only African American in his class.¹⁶⁷

When C.A. Hanson began his presidency in 1961, diversity must not have been a contentious issue, because there was none whatsoever.¹⁶⁸ Gettysburg College was a white campus. While the Hanson era progressed, the sheer lack of minorities on campus never surpassed 3 to 4%. What resulted from this was a severe challenge for minority students which the white majority would never fully understand.

One of the chief characteristics of an almost entirely white campus was students’ lack of empathy for their African American contemporaries. The lack of diversity on campus created a sense of ignorance and insensitivity to many issues concerning the minority experience. Essentially, the large part of the student body “was a cocoon,” isolated from many of the issues blacks had to deal with on a day to day basis. In spite of efforts to raise awareness about minorities with programs like the Knoxville Exchange in the 1960s and events hosted by the Black Student Union in the 1970s, “the majority just didn’t know and were apathetic.”¹⁶⁹ Much of this had to do with the similar demographics of many students on campus during the Hanson era; because almost everyone came from a similar background of white, middle or upper class,

¹⁶⁷ Bruce Gordon, *Legacy*.

¹⁶⁸ This is, in fact, exactly what Frank Williams says about diversity in the 1960s in an oral history conducted years later. For the exact quote, see Frank Williams, interview by Robert W. Johnston, November 3, 1993, Oral History Collection, GCA.

¹⁶⁹ Michael Biehn, interview by Tracy Schaal, October 30, 1993, Oral History Collection, GCA.

almost everyone shared similar viewpoints. As a result, people would argue about “shades of blue,” rather than arguing about “whether or not blue was a good color.”¹⁷⁰

Donald Tannenbaum noted that the *Brown vs. Board of Education* decision in 1954 had taken a “long time to implement,” and as a result, many white students back then had come from “effectively segregated schools.”¹⁷¹ While the effectiveness of segregation in high schools diminished as the years went on, the fact that white students were not accustomed to living among, and interacting with black students is crucial to understanding the ignorance and insensitivity with which a large part of the campus community treated the minorities—those whose numbers were so small in the early years of the Hanson era they could be counted “on one hand.”¹⁷² In other words, it is not that the majority of white students were overt racists, but rather, they were naïve, insensitive, and often simply ignorant regarding the African Americans on campus. Having so few minority students on campus at any given time did not alleviate this high level of unawareness and insensitivity.

This lack of understanding and ignorance regarding the African American experience surfaced in many notable anecdotes of alumni. Kirby Scott, in an economics course on the first day of classes, recalled his professor asking him, “What are you?” Mr. Scott, who is half African American and half Native American, realized this professor was naïve and insensitive to what his words signified. It was not that this professor was purposely trying to be discriminative and racist towards Mr. Scott, but rather he lacked the understanding concerning his ethnicity and color, and the proper ways to approach the subject, because he had had so little experience and interactions with minority students on campus. In another instance, during a two-a-day football

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁷¹ Donald Tannenbaum, interview by Edward Young, October 2, 1990, Oral History Collection, GCA.

¹⁷² Frank Williams, interview by Robert W. Johnston.

practice, Mr. Scott noticed a fellow teammate staring at him. After a little while, the teammate said to him, “You are the first black person I’ve ever met personally.”¹⁷³ Bruce Gordon, in a similar instance, recalled white students wanting to “touch [his] skin” and feel what his hair was like, because they had never seen a black person before.¹⁷⁴ Stories like these involving Kirby Scott and Bruce Gordon, who were very involved and active within the campus community, illustrate the severe level of ignorance on campus regarding African Americans.

For John Wilkerson, certain customs required of freshman were essential to the diminution of some of this insensitivity and ignorance. At the onset of their first year, students had to wear a small beanie on their heads (known as a dink) and also introduce themselves to everyone on campus. If a student wanted to be socially accepted, he or she could not afford to be shy. John Wilkerson certainly was not, and took full advantage of this freshman custom to introduce himself to everyone he could and talk with them briefly. He stressed that this not only helped him become known on a campus, where minority students could easily become isolated, but also helped assuage the fears of many white students, who were possibly encountering an African American for the first time in their lives.¹⁷⁵

On an interesting side note, this level of ignorance concerning minorities on campus surfaced in the College’s curriculum as well. John Wilkerson, while attending law school in Durham, North Carolina a few years after graduating from Gettysburg College in 1962, realized the “bias in the history teaching and books.” At that time, the history curriculum and assigned

¹⁷³ Kirby Scott, phone interview by Josh Poorman.

¹⁷⁴ Bruce Gordon, *Legacy*.

¹⁷⁵ John Wilkerson, phone interview by Josh Poorman. While students in the later years of Hanson’s presidency would have undoubtedly been accustomed to interacting with more African Americans than were present during John Wilkerson’s time on campus, the relevancy of his statement holds true throughout the whole of Hanson’s presidency. Even with more black students on campus, the fact remains that even into the seventies, many white students would not have had a lot of interactions with African Americans due to their often sheltered upbringings and lack of diversity on campus.

readings would have had little to say regarding minorities such as African Americans.¹⁷⁶

Insensitivity and marginalization of the black students on campus was expressed in many theatres, from the class rooms to social functions among students. This made it difficult, at best, to endure the typical strains of college life along with the feelings of being overlooked, pushed to the side, and dismissed as inferior.

It was not easy being an African American in Gettysburg in the 1960s and 1970s. There was still a whites-only barber shop in Gettysburg, black couples on dates were made to wait longer to be seated at local restaurants, and racial slurs were shouted from car windows at passing black students.¹⁷⁷ In one instance in 1973, Salvatore Ciolino was driving an African American student, Callon Halloway, to Carlisle, Pennsylvania for a conference, and the two stopped by for breakfast at a roadside diner in Biglerville. After twenty minutes of waiting, with no one coming to serve them or even bring them menus, Ciolino realized what was happening and ushered Halloway out of the restaurant.¹⁷⁸ Halloway did not understand why they had not been served, and wanted to wait longer, but once in the car again, Ciolino turned to him and explained “Cal, you’re black, and that’s why they’re not going to serve us.”¹⁷⁹

Despite these blatant acts of bigotry and discrimination in the outside community, discrimination on Gettysburg’s campus was more subtle, more covert, and in some cases, as

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.* This side note greatly illustrates the prominence of consensus history, or traditional history which was present well into the late 1950’s and early 1960’s. However, John Wilkerson makes a note that the law school he attended in Durham, N.C. was different and thus brought to light the bias in Gettysburg’s curriculum. This change shows the gradual rise of social history, in which people who before did not have a voice and were essentially left out of consensus history began to have a presence in history books and history teachings. Wilkerson’s experience provides a living example of this. For an interesting examination of this change in the field of history, see Part 1 of Peter Charles Hoffer’s *Past Imperfect* (New York 2007).

¹⁷⁷ Kenneth Mott, interview by Johnny Nelson; Bill Jones, interview in *Legacy: The Black Experience at Gettysburg*, film, GCA; Salvatore Ciolino, interview by Josh Poorman and Johnny Nelson, Gettysburg, PA, April 29, 2011.

¹⁷⁸ Salvatore Ciolino, interview by Josh Poorman and Johnny Nelson, Gettysburg, PA, April 12, 2011.

¹⁷⁹ Salvatore Ciolino, interview by Skye Montgomery.

described by John Wilkerson, more muted.¹⁸⁰ Gwendolyn King, offered the phrase “micro aggressions against the soul” to describe this subtle discrimination on campus at the time.¹⁸¹ Another student, Leon “Buddy” Glover, of the Class of 1971, described the negative vibe he felt on campus sometimes as one of subtle hostility: “It wasn’t that they always threw out the expletives, but it was a feeling that they didn’t really want you here—it didn’t always have to be said.”¹⁸² Confederate flags hanging from dormitory windows demonstrated this racial undertone of insensitivity and bigotry.¹⁸³ Radical Right pamphlets were also circulated at Gettysburg College in the 1960s, including publications such as *The Augusta Courier* and *White Power- The Newspaper of White Revolution*, both of which were mouthpieces for the white supremacist movement. Other materials, such as *Forty Reasons for Segregation*, and propaganda promoting neo-fascism and accusing Martin Luther King Jr. of being a communist traitor were also circulated on campus.¹⁸⁴ C. A. Hanson’s papers also take note of substantial racial discrimination in the fraternities. His administration addressed this problem in 1966 by requiring all fraternities and sororities on campus to comply with an anti-discrimination statement pledging no more “categorical discrimination against any person because of color, race or creed”¹⁸⁵ On this front, advocacy for change also came from the bottom up. In an undated letter, ten students proposed various changes concerning the future of their campus. In the proposal, they urged the college to “actively investigate any discriminatory clauses,” which may be included in the Greek organizations’ by-laws.¹⁸⁶ Such passive discriminatory practices of bigotry as radical racist

¹⁸⁰ John Wilkerson, phone interview by Josh Poorman.

¹⁸¹ Gwendolyn King, phone interview by Johnny Nelson.

¹⁸² Leon Glover, interview in *Legacy: The Black Experience at Gettysburg*, film, GCA.

¹⁸³ Frank Williams, interview by Robert W. Johnston.

¹⁸⁴ Radical Pamphlets, Box 9, Folder 5, GCA.

¹⁸⁵ “Concerning a Statement of Non-Discriminatory Practices in Fraternities and Sororities on the Gettysburg College Campus,” April 16, 1974, C. A. Hanson Papers, Box 19, Folder 25, GCA.

¹⁸⁶ “Proposal from students concerned about the future of Gettysburg College,” undated, Papers of John W. Vannorsdall, Box 1, GCA. It is also important to note that in this proposal for change, these students examined

pamphlets, insensitivity, and racially based selectivity in Greek life remained a part of the Gettysburg student atmosphere regarding minorities on campus. With that being said, the response to minorities on campus was not always negative. There were, in fact, many examples of positive interactions between white and black students as well as constructive responses of white students in the face of exterior discrimination.

During his time at Gettysburg, John Wilkerson was rushed by the Alpha Chi Rho fraternity. When the members of this fraternity showed up at his door to ask him to rush, they had not realized he was an African American student, but accepted his pledge nonetheless. After he was accepted into the program, the national chapter of Alpha Chi Rho called the Gettysburg chapter's officers to double check that they were okay with accepting a black student. The officers defended their acceptance of Mr. Wilkerson and went on with their business. He did not find out this had occurred until much later. This specific case is a prime example of what Mr. Wilkerson referred to as "muted," discrimination, in which inequalities and acts such as these were hushed and not spoken of. Regardless, the equality defended by the Alpha Chi Rho officers was commendable, as the number of blacks in fraternities at that time was few and far between. John Wilkerson, interesting enough, went on to become pledge master of his fraternity his sophomore year, Vice President his junior year, and President his senior year, thus illustrating both his fortitude and the lack of discrimination regarding his color in the fraternity.¹⁸⁷

After Mr. Wilkerson had been accepted, the Inter-Fraternity Council scheduled a dinner at the Gettysburg Hotel for all members in Greek chapters; at that time, the Gettysburg Hotel

questions concerning the recruitment of minority groups and open and non-discriminatory housing for all minority groups. The 10 students who devised this proposal were: Charles Gubb, Richard Massey, Donna Schaper, Robert Schaper, Stephen J. Nelson, Beverly Eck, Howie Cepelak, Greg Gibson, Sherrie Hartland, and Mike Hobor.

¹⁸⁷ John Wilkerson, phone interview by Josh Poorman.

refused to serve blacks. Unbeknownst to him at the time, numerous students attending this dinner signed a petition stating that if Mr. Wilkerson was not served, they would not be served either. A similar stance was taken by the Cross Country team on its return trip from a meet at Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore. After having taken their seats at a buffet and not having been served, the members of the team realized it was because of Mr. Wilkerson's color. The student-athletes promptly left the buffet, causing no incident.¹⁸⁸

Raymond Lee, a graduate of the 1966 class, ran for treasurer of his class his freshman year. The morning after he had hung up campaign posters for this post, he found KKK writings in black marker over all of his posters. This was disturbing, but the student body's response merits acknowledgement. Outraged at this hurtful and ignorant act, students elected Raymond Lee to this post by a landslide vote. Furthermore, Mr. Lee was elected class treasurer for the remainder of his time at Gettysburg.¹⁸⁹ These incidents, while showing discrimination was very active in the community, also illustrated some of the honorable actions of students who made decisions based on fairness.

As the Hanson era progressed, faculty and administration became more aware of the question concerning the minority experience. They instituted various programs and through some controversial actions attempted to alleviate peoples' concerns about diversity on campus and improve the quality of minority students' time at Gettysburg College.

The Knoxville Exchange was one of the ways in which the administration of the college sought to overcome this close-mindedness and intolerance. Through this program, groups of Gettysburg students traveled to the all-black Knoxville College in Tennessee for a week long

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁹ Raymond Lee, interview in *Legacy: The Black Experience at Gettysburg*, film, GCA.

immersion trip in the Spring semester in order to expand their views on race and encourage interracial dialogue. In turn, the partner college would send a group of its students to Gettysburg for a similar immersion experience, and even had a student come to study at Gettysburg for an entire semester.¹⁹⁰ Knoxville's Director of Development, Ralph Martin, was the first to approach Gettysburg with the suggestion of such an exchange program in November of 1967. Initially desiring the program to sponsor a trip of 25 students a semester, Ralph Martin negotiated with then Dean of the College, Basil Crapster, down to a more manageable number of seven to ten students per trip.¹⁹¹ Black students from the small school of Knoxville began travelling to Gettysburg as part of the exchange in 1968, where they stayed a week on campus.¹⁹² Dr. Kenneth Mott noted that it was a "novelty for black kids to be living down the hall" that served to promote more open-mindedness on the conservative campus.¹⁹³ President Hanson asked the young political science professor, Dr. Mott, to be the faculty advisor who would accompany the Gettysburg Students on their trip to Tennessee, and Mott recalls being "honored to be chosen to be involved with a worthwhile project" promoting diversity.¹⁹⁴ It was "designed for students to have conversation, experience, and firsthand knowledge of a black society" as noted in the *Gettysburgian* upon the return of eight students and Dr. Mott from Knoxville in the Fall of 1968.¹⁹⁵

¹⁹⁰ Miss Yolanda Andrews, of Knoxville College, spent a Spring Semester at Gettysburg College furthering her studies as a Psychology major. For a photo and memo of her commemorating her time on campus see Hanson Papers, Box 29, Folder 20, GCA.

¹⁹¹ "Letter from C.A. Hanson to Ralph Martin of Knoxville College," Nov. 16, 1967, Box 29, Folder 20, GCA.

¹⁹² For a full schedule of activities for the Knoxville Students at Gettysburg, see the Papers of John W. Vannorsdall, Box 1.

¹⁹³ Kenneth Mott, interview by Johnny Nelson.

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁵ "Eight K-ville Kids Return To G-Burg," *Gettysburgian*, November 22, 1968. The list of students who participated in this trip were also included in the article, and are: Barb Hough, Bob Carmany, Bonnie Chadwick, Pat Carr, Carol Hill, Joel Strawley, Jerry Morgart, Nancy Sellers, along with Prof. Kenneth Mott.

The program did have its drawbacks. For several semesters, concerns were voiced by faculty and administration as to the safety of the trip during the racially turbulent times of the late 1960s. The spring trip of 1969 was almost cancelled due to such concerns; the students were “forewarned of the possibility of receiving abuse, at least verbal, from black militants.”¹⁹⁶ Dr. Mott also recalled the danger of violence during the trip, learning on one venture to Knoxville of a white cab driver who had had his vehicle mobbed by black protesters and was then pulled from the cab as it was set on fire. The cab driver taking Dr. Mott from the airport to the Knoxville campus during this trip, in the winter of 1969, refused to drive onto school ground, and dropped the professor off two blocks away.¹⁹⁷ Despite these threats of danger, no problems ever materialized for the Gettysburg students, and many of the warnings seemed to be “exaggerated.”¹⁹⁸ The program only lasted for a few years and ended by 1970, as Gettysburg sought to bring diversity to the halls and dorms of its own campus instead of sending a handful of open-minded students hundreds of miles away to experience a multi-racial atmosphere.

In the 1969-1970 academic year, the administration recruited between thirty and sixty inner-city black students in attempt to enlarge the number of minorities on campus. This attempted increase was spurred by Outward Bound, a federal program which encouraged inner-city recruitment from Baltimore, Washington D.C., and New York; it was affiliated with the government’s efforts to enforce its affirmative action legislature.¹⁹⁹ Frank Williams, Dean of Students at the time, was a staunch supporter of this recruitment; however, during an informal announcement held before the start of the fall semester, it was evident many faculty members

¹⁹⁶ “K-ville Exchange Receives Positive ‘Burg Evaluations,” *Gettysburgian*, May 10, 1969.

¹⁹⁷ Kenneth Mott, interview by Johnny Nelson.

¹⁹⁸ “K-ville Exchange Receives Positive ‘Burg Evaluations,” *Gettysburgian*.

¹⁹⁹ Salvatore Ciolino, interview by Josh Poorman and Johnny Nelson, April 29; Kenneth Mott, interview by Johnny Nelson. There is some discrepancy as to the exact number of inner-city students brought to the campus. Michael Ayers believes the number to have been around forty.

were leery and skeptical of the program. Many were distressed that there was no set policy on how to deal with these students. For example, some professors were uncertain as to whether they were expected to grade these newly recruited inner-city students more lightly, in a “dual grading system,” or remain with the traditional grading style.²⁰⁰ These types of questions and ambiguity led to much confusion among faculty members and attributed to their overall unpreparedness when dealing with minority students in general.

Sadly, the large majority of these inner-city students ended up dropping out of college, as they were “not prepared,” both academically and socially.²⁰¹ Kirby Scott felt the college had “reached too far,” with this attempted recruitment, and believed “the college trying to diversify was counterproductive.” Gwendolyn King noted that “Gettysburg was not ready for black students; the support system was not in place.”²⁰² The students who came faced the “shock factor” of being in a completely foreign environment, whilst being confronted with an academic curriculum that demanded a high level of performance their high schools had not sufficiently prepared them for.²⁰³ Michael Ayers shared similar sentiments regarding this failed attempt, and believed the administration “just wanted the numbers.”²⁰⁴ The negative aspects of this failed attempt however, resonated long after these ill-prepared students left the college.

During an economics class which Michael Ayers was attending, the professor asked him if he knew how to read and write. This question caught the student off guard, and he talked to the professor after the class about it. He said that the professor had been accustomed, because of the inner-city recruitment program, to assuming black students did not know how to read and

²⁰⁰ Kenneth Mott, interview by Johnny Nelson.

²⁰¹ Salvatore Ciolino, interview with Josh Poorman and Johnny Nelson, April 29.

²⁰² Gwendolyn King, phone interview by Johnny Nelson.

²⁰³ Kirby Scott, phone interview by Josh Poorman.

²⁰⁴ Michael Ayers, phone interview by Josh Poorman.

write. Michael Ayers stresses that the professor was trying to approach this answer in the best way he thought possible, as he had assumed he was part of this program. After learning of Mr. Ayers' academic preparedness and seeing that he performed well on the first exam, he was very supportive.²⁰⁵

Gwendolyn King related a similar anecdote, in which a security officer wrongly assumed she was one of the inner-city students who relied on financial aid. In this particular story, Ms. King was helping an older black student, who was moving from his dorm to an apartment, load his car. In the early 1970's, students on financial aid were not allowed to have cars on campus. The security officer, upon witnessing the two black students loading things into the car, approached them and said, "If you know what's good for you, I wouldn't get in that car." Ms. King was angered by the fact that this officer assumed they were "scholarship token blacks." She went to Dean [Frank] Williams office to report this officer, who assured her that he would be reprimanded. However, she never received an apology. Ms. King noted that, "If [she] had been a white student, he [the officer] would have been bending over backwards, bowing to [her] in apologies."²⁰⁶ What is evident from these two stories is that the perception of black students' capabilities and backgrounds on campus was severely lowered as a result of the failure of these unprepared inner-city students. Hence, in many instances minority students were unfairly treated and associated with a system of failure that had been initiated by a poorly planned administrative effort.

Despite the shortcomings of the inner-city recruitment program, active members of the college administration continued to try to find ways to increase diversity on campus and foster an

²⁰⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁰⁶ Gwendolyn King, phone interview by Johnny Nelson.

atmosphere favorable to minority students. In the summer of 1972, the college instituted a four-week summer transition program for minority students which had been implemented before at Bucknell University and Dickinson College. This program was intended to assist “differently prepared minority students” in preparation for their freshman year by providing courses and instruction aimed at improving expressive and analytical skills in the classroom and fostering an atmosphere outside the classroom “conducive to self-development.”²⁰⁷ The program, spearheaded by Sal Ciolino and Oliver Cato, selected twelve students to participate, of which eight chose to attend. There were two courses offered, an introductory English course and an Astronomy course.²⁰⁸ There was also an emphasis placed on the students’ abilities to “effectively use information and learning resources,” such as handbooks, dictionaries, and the library. Sal Ciolino stressed this aspect, as he believed many students had been ill-prepared in high school for such specific skill sets necessary at the college level.²⁰⁹

Apart from academic preparation in the classroom, the summer transition program also offered students informal instruction through tutoring and a weekly cultural program. Two African American tutor-counselors, Herbert Clinton and Shirley Waters, resided with the students in East and West Cottages, and offered support both academically and socially. Also, some faculty and administrators, such as Elaine Jones and Jim Pickering, offered their time as tutors for this program. In an attempt to better acquaint these minority students with their

²⁰⁷ “Summer Transition Program”, Hanson Papers, Box 43, Folder 30, GCA.

²⁰⁸ The two specific courses offered were English S100: Textual Analysis and Expository Writing and an astronomy course titled, “The Structure of the Universe.” By 1974, a third course, focusing on aspects of sociology and anthropology, was also offered. CITE summer transition program

²⁰⁹ “Summer Transition Program,” Hanson Papers, GCA; Salvatore Ciolino, interview by Josh Poorman and Johnny Nelson, April 29.

environment and foster lasting friendships, each week the students would “meet, discuss, and vote on the [cultural] activity they preferred to attend for the week.”²¹⁰

From the students’ point of view, the most beneficial aspect of this transitional program was the “opportunity to meet people, acquaint themselves with the campus, and better understand college life.” One particular student, in a letter written to Elaine Jones, expressed his conviction that his time in this program was “the most interesting 4 weeks of [his] life.” In this letter, the student explains his internal confliction over whether to attend Temple University to play football (and pay virtually nothing), or to attend Gettysburg College. He told Mrs. Jones that if he hadn’t been exposed to those four-weeks from July 30 to August 26, he would have attended Temple. He says that what brought him back was “the fact that people were willing to give up their time so that we would be given a head start in September.”²¹¹

By 1975, because so few African Americans were attending the college, the budget for the program was cut and it ended, having “too few to justify doing it.”²¹² However, the impact it had on the students it did affect was significant; not only did they gain much preparation academically, they gained a support system of both faculty and friends that helped bolster their fortitude throughout the transition and afterwards.

Another way in which a support system for minority students was pursued was through the concerted effort by the administration, starting in the early 1970s, to hire African Americans as staff members. One of the first African Americans to gain a post in the administration was

²¹⁰ In 1972, the four activities the students selected were horseback riding at Charnita stables, Fiddler on the Roof at Allenberry Playhouse, a picnic at the Narrows, and an all-black opera at Wolf Trap Farm. “Final Evaluation: Summer Transition Program,” Hanson Papers, Box 43, Folder 30, GCA.

²¹¹ “Letter written in September 1972 by a Summer Transition Program Student,” Hanson Papers, Box 43, Folder 30, GCA.

²¹² Salvatore Ciolino, interview by Josh Poorman and Johnny Nelson, April 29.

Preston Winkler, who served as Assistant Dean of the College. Salvatore Ciolino, one of the proponents of hiring more minority staff, was responsible for bringing another young man, Oliver Wendell Cato, onto the Gettysburg campus to join Ciolino in Admissions.

Cato fulfilled the ideal of what many felt a necessary measure of any support system for African Americans on campus. Along with his duties as an admissions counselor in the years of 1971-1973, Cato also served as an advisor to the Black Student Union²¹³ and worked with the Community Action Agency in its Housing Discrimination program.²¹⁴ Cato served as a role model and as a support to black students on campus in the transition period of the early 70s, and after serving his time at Gettysburg and going on to law school, left with the belief that “a black community could now think of taking root in Gettysburg College.” He did, however, in his letter of resignation, recommend to President Hanson the continuation of the policy to hire more African Americans on his staff, calling for “decisive moves... to hire additional black personnel.”²¹⁵

This advice was heeded, especially in the case of Elwyn Rawlings, who was hired by the college in 1974 as the Associate Chaplain. With the heartfelt request of the college chaplain, John Vannorsdall, the young black Lutheran chaplain from Howard University was recommended by the Lutheran Church of America to serve as part time counselor, chaplain and

²¹³ Oliver Wendell Cato, “Letter of Resignation,” Hanson Papers, Box 7, Folder 7, GCA.

²¹⁴ An interesting side note on this effort on the part of Oliver W. Cato is that he himself had been discriminated against when first seeking housing in Gettysburg. Salvatore Ciolino tells the story of calling up a land lady in town to inquire about an apartment up for rent, on behalf of Cato. The lady tells him that it is available to come down later to arrange everything. Upon arriving at the apartment, along with Cato and then Dean Jim Pickering, the landlady realizes that one of the men is black, at which point she asked which one of them the apartment would be for. When Cato acknowledges his intent to rent the apartment, the woman promptly informs the three men that it had just been taken by another renter. Realizing the motive of this lie, Jim Pickering became indignant at the blatant bigotry, but at Ciolino’s urging, the three let the matter rest and left. Salvatore Ciolino notes that the woman was notorious for overtly not renting to blacks.

²¹⁵ Oliver Cato, “Letter of Resignation.”

under the title of Associate of Minority Affairs at Gettysburg College, working closely with both the Chaplain's Office and the Office of the Dean of the College—at the time, it was a fellow African American administrator, Preston Winkler.²¹⁶ Reverend Vannorsdall felt that having a black chaplain and counselor on campus at least one day a week “would be a significant help to the whole campus community, and especially to our black students.”²¹⁷ Vannorsdall noted that President Hanson himself was also very “enthusiastic” about the prospects of the new hire.

All the hopes of Vannorsdall and Hanson bore fruit in Elwyn Rawlings. Serving as the unofficial liaison and counselor to the black community on campus, his presence was felt significantly by the black students. Gwendolyn King, a senior when Rawlings arrived, remembered him despite only interacting with him for one brief year. She recalled that he was “always available to have a conversation with the students,” and acknowledged that the black community on campus at the time needed that support from someone in the academic system but at the same time, one of their own—a young black man who could relate to them in their daily struggles.²¹⁸ This was a step towards the support system envisioned by administrators and personnel like Ciolino, Cato, and Vannorsdall. The strategy of hiring minority personnel in the early 1970s was one of the best executed and most rewarding measures taken in the steps toward making Gettysburg College a more agreeable atmosphere for minority students during the Hanson Era.

Early in President C. A. Hanson's tenure at the helm, a difficult situation arose which he addressed in a very progressive and enlightened way. A wealthy alumnus of the college from Baltimore, Maryland, died and left a large sum of his estate to go into a scholarship fund to be

²¹⁶ “Minority Affairs,” Hanson Papers, Box 40, Folder 6, GCA.

²¹⁷ *Ibid.*

²¹⁸ Gwendolyn King, phone interview by Johnny Nelson.

awarded to four students every year, and to be administered by the two banks in town at the time. The only qualification to receive this scholarship was that the recipients had to be white males. Faced with the offer of this large sum of money at the cost of agreeing to the terms, Hanson refused the scholarship, stating that it was discriminatory and therefore not in adherence to the principles of Gettysburg College. A court case ensued, in which the Hanson Administration tried to remove the discriminatory stipulations and receive the money. The judge of Adams County refused to hear the case on the grounds that the Civil Rights Act had not been in place at the time the man's will was written. The case was then heard in Franklin County where the judge ruled in favor of the man's right to do with his money as he pleased. Hanson refused to take the money on these terms and the funds were put into the bank until the 1970s, when the lawyer of the estate finally gave in to Hanson's wishes, gave over the money and removed the stipulations. Hanson held firm in this instance and demonstrated his resolve to make Gettysburg College a fair and open-minded liberal arts institution, dedicated to equality.²¹⁹

Awareness concerning blacks on campus gradually increased as the years of the Hanson era progressed. While only a small number of students made efforts to befriend black students on campus and engage in other activities promoting equality, these efforts did bring about positive changes throughout the community.

In 1968, the Chapel and Dean's Office combined efforts to organize a trip to Harlem, New York, where 20 students and 14 faculty members and administrators spent time over their Spring Break. One student attendee, describing the trip as a "learning experience," said it gave

²¹⁹ Salvatore Ciolino, by Josh Poorman and Johnny Nelson, April 12. The details of this case are slightly foggy, seeing that it was not in Mr. Ciolino's place to give specific names of players or banks involved, and that the whole affair was kept relatively private throughout the proceedings, for obvious reasons.

her a “sudden realization of individual responsibility,” and made her, “at least slightly more aware,” to minority problems and difficulties.²²⁰

In 1969, the Chapel sponsored a similar trip to New York which sent 12 eager students to visit places such as a Harlem prep school and the Minisink Town House.²²¹ After returning, these students wrote to the Hanson administration and promoted various aspects of change on Gettysburg’s campus concerning the minority experience. They sought to transform the “basically homogenous atmosphere,” through measures such as hiring a black recruiter, increasing black enrollment, and adding courses in various departments on Black American studies and African studies.²²²

In an effort to advocate solidarity, after Martin Luther King was killed in April 1968, 200 to 300 white students organized a silent march to the battlefield’s Peace Light in response to this atrocious act, maintaining a belief “in the ideals of equality and brotherhood for all people.”²²³ Efforts to promote an African American voice on campus were answered through the Black Awareness newsletter, which contained articles, poems, black artist songs, and other things to serve as a “social commentary” and an advocate of black culture on campus.²²⁴ There was a quasi-Islam sect on campus, known as the *5 Percenters*, which asserted black power and black

²²⁰ Robbi Weisel, “Provocative Problem,” *Gettysburgian*, April 5, 1968.

²²¹ Mark Peterson, “Group Visits New York: Explores Inner-City Life,” *Gettysburgian*, February 7, 1969.

²²² “Prospectus on Change,” Papers of John W. Vannorsdall, Box 1, GCA. It seems the suggestion concerning a black recruiter was answered in 1971, when the college hired Oliver Cato as admissions officer; the level of influence this particular group of students had remains unknown. The 12 students who attended the 1969 New York trip were: Richard M. Davidson, Kathleen M. Lynch, Carol E. McCarty, Edson E. Whitney, Robbi Weisel, Elisabeth Hoffman, Beth Wiseman, Jo Landfair, Karen Burdack, Louise Bergstresser, Mark Wiseman, and Susan Gutzat.

²²³ “Advertisement for the Silent March to the Peace Light,” Papers of John W. Vannorsdale, Box 1, GCA; Frank Williams, interview by Robert W. Johnston.

²²⁴ Ed. Buddy Glover, *Black Awareness: As Salaam Alakaim*, Student Protest Publications, Box 1, GCA.

independence in an almost “aggressive” manner.²²⁵ Michael Ayers noted that this small group gave him a hard time because he was on the football team, and thus conforming to the white society and not asserting black independence. Ayers notes he almost had as much of a problem with them as he did with other things done by white students.²²⁶

In 1970, a three-day Symposium was held at the college in which faculty, students, and numerous “liberal and radical speakers” attended to address contemporary issues and concerns regarding both the campus and in a broader sense, the nation. Frank Williams described the Symposium as a, “very, very intense several days,” which provided an “unusual experience” for Gettysburg College by illuminating issues such as minority enrollment within the campus community.²²⁷

Another way African Americans showed initiative in their interaction with the greater Gettysburg community was by creating the Black Student Union in 1972. With the goals to “create a sense of awareness to African American students on campus and to establish a more favorable climate” in mind, the founders established this group as an inter-student support group which also gave them a voice with the administration and overall campus community.²²⁸ One of the main ways the Black Student Union influenced the campus was by bringing in black entertainment and sponsoring an annual Black American Arts Festival. Entertainers like Dick Gregory, a black comedian and social critic, and the Muddy Waters Blues Band, performed at the college.²²⁹ Another way in which the Black Student Union, or BSU, was beneficial on campus was that it served as a support mechanism, a stronghold and a shelter for those African

²²⁵ Salvatore Ciolino, phone interview by Josh Poorman and Johnny Nelson, April 12.

²²⁶ Michael Ayers, phone interview by Josh Poorman.

²²⁷ “Camelot’s Not,” *Gettysburgian*, October 3, 1969; Frank Williams, interview by Jennifer Epstein, September 27, 2011, Oral History Collection, GCA.

²²⁸ Anna Jane Moyer, *To Waken Fond Memory*, (Gettysburg College, PA: 2006.) 166.

²²⁹ Michael Ayers, phone interview by Josh Poorman; Spectrum, 1973; Moyer, *Fond Memory*.

American students who felt overwhelmed in the very white atmosphere of Gettysburg College. When new students arrived on campus, the BSU threw a welcoming party to ease the transition for incoming black freshmen. When Gwendolyn King felt overwhelmed by the “sea of white” around her, it was the Black Student Union where she went to feel at ease. She recalls that it was a rare moment to be in a classroom at any time with another black student, so it was through the social setting of the BSU that young African Americans found the avenue to come together and build up one another’s resolve. King sums the feeling of fellowship and strengthening up in one sentence when she explains that although she had many white friends, sometimes, she “just needed to be with folks who looked like me.”²³⁰

This need for social interaction and fellowship was not unique to black student groups, but the importance of social and extra-curricular activities in the broader sense of the campus were also vital in the success of a minority African American student at Gettysburg College during the 1960s and 70s. Every African American alumnus interviewed talked explicitly about the importance of involvement in their conversations. John Wilkerson, Class of ’62, was involved with the Chapel Choir for two years, and ran both Track and Field and Cross Country while at Gettysburg. He was a member of Alpha Chi Rho fraternity and participated in the Air Force ROTC program, which he felt gave him “a form of camaraderie.”²³¹ He acknowledged that it was difficult being one of only a handful of blacks on campus at the time but he emphasized that it was his involvement in extra-curricular activities that enable to become a part of the college community.

²³⁰ Gwendolyn King, phone interview by Johnny Nelson.

²³¹ John Wilkerson, phone interview by Josh Poorman.

Kirby Scott, like Wilkerson, was also involved in the Air Force ROTC program and Track and Field. He was involved in Greek life on campus, becoming a brother at Tau Kappa Epsilon and also noting that although he was an African American he was welcome at Phi Delta Theta and Sigma Alpha Epsilon. He also stressed the importance of this social interaction as easing his experience at Gettysburg, saying “you needed to get involved, you were only limiting yourself more by not getting involved socially.”²³²

Michael Ayers served as the treasurer of the Black Student Union and was also a member ROTC. He found support and strength in the football team and his coach, Eugene Haas. He found acceptance on the football field, where the color of one’s skin was not as important as his abilities to play and compete.²³³ Bruce Gordon was also involved in football at Gettysburg, and an African American alumna from the early 1970s, Cheryl Walker, was captain of the Gettysburg Cheerleading Squad.²³⁴ Gwendolyn King was the treasurer of her class, in the Chapel Choir, and was one of the first African American women to pledge a sorority, joining Delta Gamma. King felt “being social helped me be known” and remembered having many white friends because of all the activities she was involved in.²³⁵ All these examples give credence to the assertion that the more involved the minority students were in social and extra-curricular activities on campus, the easier it was for them to be incorporated into the Gettysburg community.

Along with this social involvement and activism, a less tangible element was needed to get the African American students through the trials that came with being a minority on campus

²³² Kirby Scott, phone interview by Josh Poorman.

²³³ Michael Ayers, phone interview by Josh Poorman.

²³⁴ Bruce Gordon, *Legacy*; Gwendolyn King, phone interview by Johnny Nelson.

²³⁵ Gwendolyn King, phone interview by Johnny Nelson.

at that time—the qualities of courage and strength and character. It took something within the individual to push through the discrimination, the minority feeling, the subtle bigotry and the loneliness that came with being a black student at Gettysburg. Bruce Gordon found inner strength by being proud of who he was, and came to appreciate the important values of difference and diversity.²³⁶ Bill Jones, a counselor at the college, noted that “it took some people who were strong and courageous to deal with all that.”²³⁷ In a world where they were constantly surrounded by people who were not like them, where they were discriminated against on campus and exposed to racism in the outer community, it all came down to personal strength of character and determination.

Gwendolyn King found her inner strength by visiting the nearby battlefield with her bike. There, she would gaze across the fields dotted with cannon and lined with split rail fences and reflect upon the moving story of the battle, the actions of the men who fought on that hallowed ground and what relevance that had on her personally. She recalled thinking that “folks fought here and died, so that me and my ancestors could have a better way of life.”²³⁸ This was one of her ways of finding that inner strength and courage with which she could face the trials and difficulties of the college experience. She remembers her time at Gettysburg with satisfaction, saying: “I’m proud of my education at Gettysburg, but it didn’t come free. That’s for sure.”²³⁹

This pride and satisfaction was something almost universally expressed by those African Americans that strove to pursue their education at Gettysburg and graduated from the college during the Hanson Era. Though they were relatively few, and though their experiences included

²³⁶ Bruce Gordon, *Legacy*.

²³⁷ Bill Jones, *Legacy*.

²³⁸ Gwendolyn King, interview by Johnny Nelson.

²³⁹ *Ibid.*

many accounts of discrimination, maltreatment, ignorance, bigotry, and marginalization, they were able to overcome all through personal strength of character and support from their fellow students, faculty, and administrators. On a campus where the vast majority of students and faculty were white, and many were close-minded or ignorant towards minorities, as John Wilkerson noted, it “took a unique person of color” to surmount these incredible odds.²⁴⁰ Those that did were proud of their accomplishments and enjoyed their experience as they found a way into the Gettysburg community. Throughout the Hanson presidency, as the issue of Civil Rights became a real part of Gettysburg life, faculty and administration worked towards a more effective policy concerning minorities and minority growth, black and white students worked toward progress in integration even as discrimination and bigotry still plagued the college, and the individuals themselves demonstrated uncommon strength and fortitude in their pursuit for their rightful place as equal members in the community of Gettysburg College.

²⁴⁰ John Wilkerson, interview by Josh Poorman.