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E. GEORGE PAYNE, Editor

**THE DEVELOPMENT
OF MODERN EDUCATION**



THE OLD AND THE NEW METHODS OF EDUCATION: ROUSSEAU'S MONUMENT AT GENEVA.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF MODERN EDUCATION

In Theory, Organization, and Practice

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DEDICATED
IN GRATEFUL MEMORY
TO
ALBERT HENRY NEWMAN

education are now available. Moreover, in recent days a large number of articles, monographs, and books have greatly enriched our knowledge of many special fields, institutions, theories, and epochs. University courses have become more and more broadly diversified in these many lines. Is it not much more valuable for the prospective teacher to study intensively the particular level on which his teaching will be done? Assuredly, much can be said in support of this contention; yet the authors feel that the general course is still of primary importance. Support for this point of view has recently come from the study of general history. In late years there has arisen a marked tendency to revive general courses that will give a broad orientation in history. Specialization has its place, but it must follow the general survey, which furnishes a perspective of the whole subject; specialization cannot be a substitute for such a survey.

The authors have no new and peculiar point of view to offer, no special thesis to propound. They prefer to explain educational movements by letting history tell its own story.

Modern education has become vastly complex. Much that is old persists alongside much that is new; not all reforms have arisen because of any one special causal factor. Our American education is not the result wholly of the French Enlightenment nor entirely of New England democracy nor yet of the Industrial Revolution. A multitude of rivulets were flowing before their confluence took place. Even now, fortunately perhaps, the streams have not been completely swallowed up in the deadening tide of uniformity. We seek to recognize many of these simple beginnings, which have played an important part in forming the system of education in America. Among them were: the Spanish beginnings in Florida, Louisiana, and the Southwest from Texas to California; the influence of the Huguenots, who took refuge in the colonies, and the later effects of the French Enlightenment; the contributions of the Dutch, Swiss, Swedes, Danes, Norwegians, Scotch, and Germans; the influence of the English aristocratic tradition and the democratic movement in Great Britain; the work of Catholic societies and orders; and the services of various Protestant groups, the Pietists, Moravians, Quakers, Lutherans, and Calvinists. Each of these has its own worthy history, which ought not to be passed over with indifference. All of them con-

tributed toward making American education, both public and private, what it is today.

This work has set out to perform definite functions, to aim at certain specific objectives:

First, it aims to be of value more specifically for professional training than for general culture. Not that the authors underestimate the cultural value of the subject. They warmly approve the position of the educator who held that the study of the history of culture is the very capstone of culture and may well be required as the completion of a liberal education. It is, however, believed that the student of educational science will find the historical method of approaching his problems to be an essential one. There are certain aspects of methods, organization, aims, curricula, and so on, which can be treated far more effectively from the historical point of view.

Again, the authors hold that the history of education is by far the best means with which prospective teachers can begin the study of professional education. There are nowadays several more popular introductory subjects, such as educational psychology, educational principles, and, more recently, a number of general orientation courses. Some of these are valuable, perhaps indispensable. However, none of them can wholly take the place of the history of education. When the student is prepared by several years of general academic training and by the ripening experiences of life to enter upon the intensive study of educational science, he will find that the historical approach is of captivating interest.

Among the values claimed for the history of education as an introductory subject are the following:

(1) It is peculiarly fitted to lead over from general culture to the professional field. It partakes of both; it is at once broadly informing, interesting, and cultural and, at the same time, imparts specific knowledge, awakens aptitudes, and raises problems of professional interest. It gives the student a generous orientation that will enable him to find his own line of deepest interest in the various possibilities of the teaching profession.

(2) From long contact with students one comes to see another important value of the subject. It is an admirable means of mental integration. More definitely than any other course that is offered, it requires the student to reflect upon

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dividual as a living organism in a complex social structure.

The accomplishment of this purpose will require a more critical examination of education as it has developed during the past; for, until we can see, clearly and in detail, the educational movement and the educational heritage, we cannot plan an adequate program for the *new education*. It is therefore imperative that we present such studies of educational history, both general and special, as will enable the new generation of schoolmen to construct out of the present school programs the new education that is to serve and not merely to follow, that is to create new social values and not merely to perpetuate outworn traditions. Consequently, while its value includes a history of what has already taken place, *The Development of Modern Education* will likewise contribute to the future study and determination of the next steps in the building of our new education.

E. GEORGE PAYNE

**THE DEVELOPMENT
OF MODERN EDUCATION**

CHAPTER I

THE EDUCATIONAL INHERITANCE FROM ANTIQUITY AND THE MIDDLE AGES

1. Reform Rooted in the Past

European school reform in the sixteenth century. During the 16th century an extraordinary change was effected in the aims, organization, courses of study, methods of instruction, and control of the schools of western Europe. At the beginning of the century, Europe was still Catholic: in the conduct of education, church schools and monastic foundations still held the commanding place that had long been theirs; and while Scholasticism had already exhausted the possibilities of its method, it was still entrenched in church and university. The universities and lower schools were, however, beginning to feel the impact of new economic, political, and intellectual forces.

Humanists were publishing sweeping criticisms of existing institutions; they were advancing constructive plans for reform, were preparing new editions of the classics, and were writing new grammars and dictionaries of the Latin language. Supported by powerful patrons, the Humanists were steadily forcing the champions of the old order in education to give ground. When, in 1653, the Council of Trent closed its final session, the Latin grammar school had reached the form it was to retain for centuries. Colet at St. Paul's in London. Sturm at Strassburg, and the Jesuits—all took leading parts in establishing the organization, curricula, and methods of teaching for the new institution. The grammars of Lily and Melanchthon, as well as the *Colloquies* of Erasmus and of Corderius, had been printed; and these texts were to bring to an end the long reign of the medieval grammarians, Donatus, Priscian, and Alexander de Villa Dei. The place of the

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school in the social order had been determined. The Middle Ages were passed, and the new era had begun.

Debt of the reformed schools to antiquity. Sweeping as were the changes which brought into existence the common elementary school and the Latin grammar school, the continuity in European culture and education was not broken so completely as many scholars have held. Since the reforms were initiated and brought about by men trained in the old institutions, the reformed schools were not so much founded as refounded.

No educational reformers have leaned more heavily upon the past than did the builders of the 16th-century schools in western Europe. From ancient Rome they took the plan and objectives of the Latin school; likewise, they borrowed the language and literature studied there, and also the excessive emphasis upon mastery of grammar. The sacred books of the reformed schools were the Old and the New Testaments, while their principal articles of faith had been formulated in the early centuries of the Christian Era. The institutional framework within which the innovators labored was an outgrowth of institutions established during the Middle Ages.

While the Latin grammar school of the 16th century grew directly out of the Renaissance, it was intimately related to the later Middle Ages and to the ancient world as well. To understand this type of school, one must bear constantly in mind the long history of scholarship and of school organization, support, control, and methods of teaching that preceded its appearance. One must remember, too, that western Europe, long neglectful even of those books which it possessed and quoted, began only late in the Middle Ages to become intensely interested in the life of the past; hence, not until that period did it turn to the writings of Plato, Xenophon, Cicero, Quintilian, and Plutarch for guidance in planning the reform of education. This debt of the reformers to the past is surveyed in the succeeding text of the present chapter.

2. Education in Ancient Greece

Athens and the beginnings of schools in Europe. Between 1500 and 900 B. C., the Greeks migrated southward,

conquered the regions lying on the northeastern shores of the Mediterranean Sea, and laid the foundation of the marvelous culture which was subsequently to flower there. After settling upon the land, the Greeks first engaged in agriculture. Later, regular trade with the Phoenicians and neighboring peoples began, and the Athenians became interested in mining and manufacturing, as well as in commerce. Coinage and written language came into use. And finally, out of ancient tribal organizations the city-state evolved.

The most important educational agency with which a Spartan or an Athenian boy came in contact was the city-state. In Sparta, the education of boys and girls was the principal concern of every citizen and the major responsibility of the magistrates. In Athens, the Council of the Areopagus watched over the children of citizens and guarded them especially against anything that would corrupt their morals. Although the city of Athens did not provide public schools of gymnastics, music, and literature, the laws of Solon recognized the responsibility of parents to educate their children in these arts. Such training of the youth from the age of sixteen to twenty was compulsory and was under the charge of the city. The laws, temples, games, gymnasia, processions, cadet corps and army, and theaters of the city combined to produce—alike in the fine arts and in law and government, letters, religion, philosophy, and social relations—a culture that has been unexcelled in the history of mankind.

Schools in the Age of Pericles. During the early part of the 5th century B. C., it was customary for boys to begin their schooling at about the age of seven. In the palaestrae they engaged in athletic exercises and contests; in the music schools they were taught to read and chant, to do simple arithmetic, and, at a later age, to play the flute and the lyre. Reading they learned by first mastering the alphabet and then repeating after a teacher the words of the Homeric poems. Great emphasis was placed upon correct pronunciation and beauty of speech. The teaching of literature served, not only to impart some knowledge of religion, history, and drama, but also to develop the pupil's power of self-expression. It was intended to train him to perceive the beauty of sound and rhythm and to speak his own language artistically. The old Athenian schools developed a vigorous body,

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refined the taste, transmitted the cultural heritage of the race, and, within limits, taught each individual to think and to act for himself.

A long time after the creation of the formal school in Athens, literary instruction remained elementary. However, the young men, as members of the ephebic corps, received in that service their final training for citizenship; mingling freely with the older men, the youths participated in gymnastic exercises and religious ceremonies, received systematic instruction in military drill, engineering, and strategy, and learned the Athenian law.

Literary curriculum at the secondary and higher levels. About the beginning of the 5th century B. C., events of great importance in the development of art, literature, and philosophy took place in Athens. The first of these was the adoption of the democratic constitution of Clisthenes, which extended the political privileges of the lower classes of citizens and placed important powers in popular juries, composed of large numbers of citizens. These reforms encouraged the development of the ability to plead before an audience—an art essential both to the politician aspiring to leadership and to the accused citizen forced to persuade the crowd in defense of his life, fortune, or good name.

Other events contributing to the golden age of Athenian civilization were connected with the victories of Greece over Persia. As a result of the Persian wars, Athens developed a large fleet and expanded her commerce and industries enormously. The city was further enriched by having at her command the treasury of the Delian League. Under the pressure of war, democracy had made great strides in Attica; hence it stimulated and brought forward men of genius. Religion, social and moral standards, science, and law—all were affected by the forces introduced into the life of the Grecian city.

While these events were transpiring in Europe, there was beginning in the Ionian cities on the coast of Asia Minor one of the most profound intellectual revolutions in human history. These cities, active in commerce and industry, secured wealth and contacts with other peoples; hence they had leisure to acquire familiarity with foreign ideas and to develop a systematic body of general knowledge. At length

a wealthy statesman named Thales, who had learned considerable mathematics and astronomy, predicted an eclipse of the sun which took place in the year 585 B. C. Many had predicted eclipses before him, but Thales' conclusions went beyond those of earlier thinkers: by his astronomical studies he was led to reject the mythological explanation of physical phenomena, and he began to think of the world as belonging to a single natural order. Other Ionians adopted this point of view; pursued the study of mathematics and astronomy far beyond the limits reached by Thales; speculated ingeniously and keenly about the origin and nature of the world; and made a beginning of Greek scholarship in geography, history, science, and philosophy. Men refused any longer to regard events as expressions of the whims and caprices of manlike gods; they attempted, rather, to deal with events as if they could actually be understood and even controlled. Interest in science and in the study of social and metaphysical problems became intense. Soon the new intellectual movement spread throughout the Greek world, and found a particularly congenial home in southern Italy, whither Pythagoras, one of the greatest of the Ionians, migrated.

The achievements of Thales and his successors were so considerable and so widely investigated that when, after the Persian wars, there arose at Athens—in addition to a strong practical demand for a type of training that would enable one to speak effectively in public, to conduct his affairs successfully, and to cultivate his character as well—a general curiosity to learn something of the new sciences, there were men who themselves offered to furnish the Athenians with the knowledge and skills they were seeking. Although these teachers, called *Sophists* (that is, wise men), were men of all grades of learning and ability, one contribution from them remains outstanding: as teachers of language, morals, government, literature, mathematics, and science, they established in Greece a curriculum that definitely disciplined and enriched the intellectual life.

Individualism in Athenian life. Because the Sophists held most diverse opinions, a unified system of doctrine can scarcely be attributed to them. Yet their teaching had two specific effects: it popularized the naturalism of the earlier philosophers, and it stimulated the growth of individualism.

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The words of Protagoras, "Man is the measure of all things," became a sort of watchword; glib fellows arraigned at the bar of reason the myths and maxims which epitomized Greek beliefs respecting moral, legal, scientific, and theological matters.

The systematic philosophers. There were many Athenians who at that time saw the traditional order changing before their eyes, and this disintegration of former social codes and civic practices caused them profound concern. Such upbringing of the young as would insure the preservation of society and the state had long been the foremost object of public discussion in Greece; now it became the motive force which inspired many of the creations of Greek genius. Most of the literature and philosophy of the grandest era of ancient history grew out of discussions of the many intricate questions which pressed that period for solution.

In the welter of social, moral, economic, and political changes, several fundamental problems took definite form: Is virtue teachable? Is it a natural endowment, a gift of God, or the result of practice and habit? Is education a function of the family? of the state? or, of both? What subjects should form the curricula of the schools? Such were the great civic problems in the focus of Athenian thought. They furnished the motive for the activities of the Sophists, the teachings of Socrates, and the epochal works of Aristophanes, Plato, Aristotle, and Plutarch.

As might be expected, there was a large and respectable party who believed that a speedy return to the old ways was desirable. Aristophanes, the celebrated writer of comedies, was a representative of this point of view. He poured unsparing ridicule upon the newly rich, the younger generation, the advocates of political rights for women, and especially upon the Sophists and the new education. The cure for current ills, he declared, was a return to the ideals and system of training which produced the men who fought at Marathon.

Socrates. This philosopher was as genuinely concerned with the problem of morals as were the conservatives. He believed sincerely in the reality of virtue and in the significance of moral principles. His most characteristic doctrines were: (1) Virtue is knowledge, and is teachable. (2) The knowledge that man especially needs is knowledge of him-

self. With Socrates, philosophy turns from nature, as the central subject of discussion, to human nature. By unreflective opinion people are hindered in securing knowledge, so Socrates believed; hence, the singular advantage which he enjoyed over others of his day consisted in his recognition of his own ignorance. He was accustomed to go about the streets engaging in discussion of ethical questions. With adroit questions he would involve his opponent in a maze of contradictory statements. Then, the errors would be made apparent, and a basis for mutual understanding reached.

The interest of Socrates in problems of ethics and politics and his neglect of the physical sciences gave direction to the speculations of various groups of his successors, several of whom founded great systems of philosophy.

Plato. This philosopher was the greatest of the followers of Socrates. He was interested in problems of ethical life and, like his teacher, he believed that virtue is knowledge. The good life is the just life; and the just life is the life ordered by wisdom. The just state, moreover, is the state ordered by the wise. Such an ideal state he described in *The Republic*, a work which has exercised an extraordinary influence upon succeeding generations.

The Republic and a later dialogue, *The Laws*, contain elaborate plans of education. However, these plans affected the course of educational development much less than did his fundamental doctrine that ideas do not arise through experience, but are preëxistent or innate. He believed that the soul is eternal, existing before the body and surviving it. In the world which it inhabits before birth, the soul is in contact with reality, and so apprehends truth. Wisdom and justice, the two supreme virtues, are not acquired by exercise and habit, as are the other virtues, courage and temperance. The exalted virtues, wisdom and justice, are attained by reflection—that is, by “a continuous discourse with one’s self.” It is in reflection, not in action, that contact is established with the world of reality. The capacity for reflective thinking, or dialectic, is possessed by few people. Learning is neither an affair of the work-a-day world nor a concern of ordinary mortals. The cloistered student, engaged in contemplation, represents scholarship and virtue at their best. The training of artisans, farmers, engineers, and people en-

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gaged in commercial pursuits received brief mention in the dialogues; but the study of mathematics, music, and dialectic was accounted the noblest of human activities.

By his system of philosophy, Plato so profoundly influenced Christian theology that one of the later Church Fathers called him the "Attic Moses." The Academy, the school of philosophy which Plato founded and endowed, survived in early Christian centuries, and found a place among the schools of the so-called "University of Athens."

Aristotle. In Aristotle's *Politics* and *Ethics*, the sections devoted to education are brief, and they contributed little to advance pedagogical theory beyond the point to which it had been brought by his predecessors. He made, however, an important contribution to the progress of education in another direction. Neither in the teachings of Plato nor in those of the Sophists and philosophers who preceded him are the various subjects of human knowledge clearly differentiated. Aristotle succeeded in separating into well-defined fields the enormous fund of knowledge at his command, in order to treat separately the physical sciences, rhetoric, aesthetics, psychology, logic, ethics, political science, and metaphysics. His works gave content and form to the courses of study in the medieval universities; and his writings on logic, politics, rhetoric, aesthetics, and metaphysics are still significant as systematic treatises. Aristotle was the founder of the school of philosophy known as the *Lycum*. Within a hundred years after his death, which took place in the year 322 B. C., two other systems of philosophy, the Stoic and the Epicurean, had appeared and obtained large followings.

Organization of the Greek school system. Following the Age of Pericles, important changes took place in the training of the youth. Elementary teachers taught their pupils longer, and rhetoricians instructed them at a younger age. Gradually the three levels of training—elementary, secondary, and higher—were formed. These stages, however, were never so sharply differentiated as they have become in our modern educational world.

Elementary education was not greatly changed. It included reading, writing, spelling, calculation, music, literature, morals, religion, and gymnastics. The only significant addition to

the traditional curricula was drawing. This training was innovated in response to the artistic needs of the times.

Secondary education formed a new unit, leading to the higher education in rhetoric, philosophy, and other interests. The secondary curriculum, called the *encyclopedia* (that is, the circle of studies), embraced grammar; literature, with criticism and composition; music; drawing; geography; arithmetic and geometry; theories of the nature philosophers; and gymnastics. This curriculum was intended as a liberal preparation for the schools of the rhetoricians and the philosophers.

Literary education everywhere became a matter of public concern. The cities and towns in all lands which came under the spell of Hellenic culture instituted schools at public expense and under civic control. The opportunities for education were available to most boys, especially those of promise and intelligence.

The University of Athens. In old Athens the young candidates for citizenship spent a large part of their time between the ages of sixteen and eighteen years in one or another of the public gymnasia, where they associated with the older men and engaged in athletic contests. At the age of eighteen, they were enrolled in the ephebic corps, and spent two years in religious, military, and social training which was to prepare them for the duties of citizenship. Shortly before Plato began to teach at the Academy, Isocrates, the most famous Athenian teacher of oratory, opened a school for special instruction in rhetoric and oratory; here, leaders in civic and national affairs were to be trained in these subjects. As rhetoric, oratory, and philosophy grew popular, the training of the epheboi was modified. Instruction in rhetoric, oratory, and philosophy became recognized as a part of the system of education offered and controlled by the city. In the 2nd century B. C., Athens came under the domination of Rome, and early in the Christian Era, the Roman emperors became patrons of Athenian culture and organized the teaching of rhetoric, oratory, and philosophy into a university. Important privileges and exemptions were granted to teachers of these higher studies, and salaries, paid out of imperial funds, were attached to certain chairs.

Spread of Greek scholarship in Asia and Africa. Late in the 4th century B. C., Alexander the Great, having suc-

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ceeded his father as King of Macedon and completed the subjugation of the Greek states, invaded Asia and Egypt. In the territory which he conquered, he established a number of Greek cities, of which Alexandria, near the mouth of the Nile, is the most famous. These cities were centers of Greek life and culture, where Greek literature, science, and philosophy continued to be studied during the prolonged period of unenlightenment in which they were lost to the western, Christian world.

The University of Alexandria. The Ptolemies, who ruled Egypt after the time of Alexander the Great, established at Alexandria a temple of the Muses, or museum of learned arts, at which lived the most famous group of scientists ever assembled in the ancient world. Professor J. H. Breasted declares that these men "formed the first scientific institution founded and supported by a government."¹ The members of this remarkable community devoted themselves to study, for which libraries and equipment were provided by liberal rulers. Here, the first dictionaries were made, the first grammar appeared; Euclid built up a complete system of geometry; research, not equalled until the Modern Age, was done in medicine and surgery; Ptolemy wrote the astronomical treatise that was for many centuries the authoritative word in astronomy; research of significant value was done in the fields of physics and other sciences; and editions of the greatest Greek literary masterpieces were prepared. While the creative writers of Alexandria never equalled those of Athens in the 5th and 4th centuries B. C., a vast labor of comparison and sifting was accomplished; and scientific and critical achievements of a high order resulted. Knowledge in many fields was reduced to a summary form in which, unchanged, it has been handed on to succeeding generations.

3. Education Among the Romans

Education in early Rome. Until well into the 3rd century B. C., the family was the principal agency at Rome for the education of children. Parents in early times, at Rome as at Athens, gave careful supervision to the speech and be-

¹ Breasted, J. H., *Ancient Times*, pp. 468-469. Boston, Ginn & Company, 1916.

havior of their children, and carefully regulated their habits and attitudes in the household. Children shared in the work of house and farm, and witnessed assemblies and religious festivals. Moreover, many children were taught at home to read. After 450 B. C., it was customary for young boys to commit to memory the Laws of the Twelve Tables. On assuming the toga at sixteen, the youths were taught the military arts by service in the army.

Thus, under rigorous discipline and by participation in the life of his group, the young Roman was prepared to take up, on reaching his majority, the duties of citizenship, the care of his property, and the governing of his household. There was in his education practically no literary cultivation.

Roman schools modeled after the Greek. Early in the 3rd century B. C., the conquests of Rome were extended to the Greek cities of southern Italy; a few decades later, Rome launched a series of foreign wars which resulted in the conquest of the chief centers of Greek culture. Livius Andronicus, a young Greek from the south of Italy, was brought captive to Rome, where he taught Greek and Latin and, about the middle of the century, translated the *Odyssey* into Latin. Spurius Carvilius, a Greek freedman, opened a grammar school. Just as the century was drawing to a close, the poet Ennius, of mixed Greek and Roman parentage, lived at Rome, where he was a teacher of Greek and Latin. Crates, a Greek grammarian, came to Rome about 169 B. C. as ambassador from Attalus. While in Rome, he broke his leg, and to relieve the tedium of his convalescence, he gave lectures on Greek grammar and literature.

Soon, schools modeled after those of the Hellenic world were established; and in spite of official opposition to them, they won a permanent place in the life of the city. During the last century before the Christian Era, it had been the fashion for prominent Romans to educate their sons in Greek schools, and many young men completed their education by residence at Athens, Rhodes, or Alexandria; before the beginning of the era, moreover, the schools of grammar and rhetoric were the recognized avenues of entrance into public life. Cicero's *De Oratore*, written in 55 B. C., marks the completion of the first stage of development of the Hellenized Latin school.

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Not all the aspects of Greek training were taken over by the Romans. Little attention was devoted to music or gymnastic training; the trumpet remained the favorite musical instrument of the Romans, and the hard work of the farm and the drill ground developed strength and endurance. Practical arts, like agriculture, architecture, engineering, and mechanics—subjects neglected by the ancient Greek schools—received much attention. The tastes of the Romans in philosophy were strongly tempered by professional and practical interests: physicians inclined to Epicureanism because of its scientific elements, and statesmen tended to Stoicism, a system congenial to the ethical and legal standards of the Roman aristocracy.

It is not to be supposed, however, that the Romans wholly neglected the liberal arts. Grammar, rhetoric, dialectic, arithmetic, astronomy, music, history, and literature were taught in their schools. Grammar, indeed, held a fundamental position in the Roman system of education. About 90 B. C., it is said, a Greek grammarian, called Dionysius Thrax, wrote, for the benefit of his Roman pupils, the first formal grammar of the Greek language. As noted earlier, Greek grammar schools flourished at Rome in the last century B. C. Now, Roman teachers began to formulate the grammar of the Latin language and, by 90 A. D., had given it virtually its final form. In the 4th century of the Christian Era, Donatus wrote his *Ars Minor*, an introduction to Latin grammar; and about a hundred years later, Priscian wrote an extended treatise on the subject. During the Middle Ages, the work of Donatus was the most universally used introduction to grammar, while Priscian's bulky compendium was the standard Latin grammar until long after the Renaissance. Medieval grammarians made no real advance on the work of these men.

Complete organization of the Roman schools. By 100 A. D., Rome had developed a complete system of schools: elementary, secondary, higher, and professional. In the elementary school, reading, penmanship, and elementary arithmetic were taught by the *literator*, or *ludimagister*. In a few of these schools, the boys began the study of the Greek language. The next school was that of the *grammaticus*, or *litteratus*. The subject most emphasized in this school was grammar; and the students were introduced to the elements of all

of the *Seven Liberal Arts*,² which were, however, not as yet known by this name.

The grammar school received during the 1st Christian century much the same organization and course of study that it was to retain in Europe for more than fifteen hundred years; for the institution survived in attenuated form all through the Middle Ages and, because it reflected the views of Quintilian, served as a model for the Renaissance secondary school. Higher than the grammar schools and not differentiated clearly from them or from the professional schools, were the schools of the *rhetors*. These schools offered to young men destined for public life, instruction in rhetoric, literature, philosophy, history, and dialectic. Libraries and professional schools of law, medicine, and engineering were also established.

Imperial patronage of higher education. Julius Caesar and Augustus Caesar showed special favor to teachers of grammar and rhetoric. Claudius, in 54 A. D., founded a new museum at Alexandria. Vespasian established a library at Rome, out of which grew the Atheneum; and he set a precedent—followed by his successors—of paying out of imperial funds the salaries of a number of higher teachers. In time, teachers came to enjoy the rights and exemptions of the equestrian and senatorial orders. Late in the 4th century, salaries were provided for teachers in all the great cities of the Roman Empire. As the imperial government extended its appropriations to schools, it extended its control over them, until, in 425 A. D., the authority to establish schools was declared to belong to the emperor alone.

4. Early Christian Education

Hebrew background of Christianity. Three lines of influence converged to form the schools of medieval Europe: one, through the Greeks; a second, through Rome; and a third, through Christianity. Behind Christianity, as behind Athens and Rome, lay centuries of cultural achievement; but so profoundly did the Greeks, the Romans, and the early Christians alter their respective inheritances, and so germinal

² The Seven Liberal Arts included the *trivium*: grammar, rhetoric, and dialectic; and the *quadrivium*: arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, and music.

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were the contributions which they made to feeling, thought, and action, that one may, with much justification, say that the foundations of our present western civilization were laid, between 700 B. C. and 350 A. D., in Athens, Rome, and Palestine.

The founder of Christianity, born about the twenty-seventh year of the reign of Augustus Caesar, was reared in a middle class Hebrew home and had apparently little contact with the culture and learning of other peoples. His immediate followers were Hebrews, and from the founding of the church the Hebrew Scriptures were the sacred literature of all Christians.

The Scriptures teach that God is one, and that His supreme requirements of those who worship Him are mercy, justice, integrity, and humility. The moral code of the Old Testament emphasizes the qualities of benevolence, personal chastity, respect for human life and property, pity, respect for parents, and, above all, reverence toward God. This code became an integral part of Christian ethics.

While the Greeks prized intellectual curiosity, magnanimity, self-assertion, and beauty, and the Romans esteemed strength, self-reliance, competence in practical affairs, and patriotism, the early church exalted the qualities of faith, brotherly love, patience, self-abnegation, and contempt of material possessions and worldly pleasures. The Greeks took the utmost pride in the care of their bodies, and both they and the Romans cultivated pleasures of the senses as important means to happiness. The Christians believed that the body should be "brought under subjection," and that the delights of this world were a snare of the Devil to destroy the soul. "Love not the world . . ." is a command expressing Christian ethics, which represented the very antithesis of the Greek and the Roman views.

Development of an elaborate system of theology and government. Because the early Christians regarded all other religions as false and pernicious, they soon came into conflict with the Roman authorities and with their non-Christian neighbors. For a time they endured bitter persecutions, but were finally tolerated within the Roman Empire in 311 A. D., and later became its masters. Their ecclesiastical machinery, which had been very simple in the 1st and 2nd centuries, was elaborated somewhat after the pattern of Roman political

institutions. As the centuries wore on, the dignity and power gradually acquired by the Bishop of Rome became comparable to that earlier exercised by the emperor. Other bishops exercised authority over areas roughly corresponding to those ruled by Roman governors, and the local clergy held in the life of the city a place analogous to that held by municipal officials in the days of the empire. Privileges enjoyed in pagan Rome by members of the senatorial and equestrian orders and those granted by the emperors to rhetoricians and grammarians, were approximated by those granted to the clergy.

The elaboration of Christian theology paralleled the development of church government. Jewish theology and Greek metaphysics furnished a background for the growth, within five centuries, of a most complex system of Christian doctrine—a system which has been ever since a subject of major interest to European students. More particularly, the theological system of St. Augustine in the 5th century formulated the orthodoxy of the Roman Catholic Church and, through more than a thousand years, was a stimulating source of intellectual and spiritual power to all who studied it.

Recruited for the most part from the poor and uneducated classes of the Graeco-Roman world, and living in conflict with the culture of the age, the early Christians had little sympathy with pagan schools. The New Testament makes it clear that, from the beginning, teaching was recognized as an essential function of the Christian home and church. Instruction was concerned with morality, religious mysteries, knowledge of the Scriptures, and the conduct of worship. Out of this instruction, given in home and church, there soon developed regular classes for the guidance of persons seeking baptism. These classes were conducted more particularly for inquirers, or *catechumens*—converted pagans who were ignorant of the first principles of Christian theology and morals. For this reason the gatherings were called *catechumenal* schools. They are significant in the history of education because they indicate that early Christians recognized the importance of instruction for the maintenance of the new faith; they realized that, unless these attitudes and doctrines were *taught* to the people, the church could not continue to exist. The catechumenal school, as such, lasted for several centuries, and has con-

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tinued, although in altered form, among the ceremonials of the church.

Meanwhile there was instituted in the cathedral churches, which formed the seats of the bishops, another means of instruction destined to grow into extraordinary significance. After the apostolic age, the custom of taking into the household of a bishop those boys and young men who were to be trained for the Christian ministry, became a common practice. These candidates were given instruction in theology and trained for the priesthood in the cathedral churches. Such was the origin of the *bishops' schools*.

During the 2nd century many individuals educated in the Hellenistic learning were converted to Christianity. In Egypt, particularly, there were a number of converts who were trained in Greek philosophy, grammar, and rhetoric. Subsequently, in an effort to employ Greek scholarship to counteract scepticism, paganism, and the views of opposing sects, schools were established, under Christian auspices, to permit these men to further the education of Christian leaders. These institutions, called *catechetical schools*, offered instruction in literature, in all of the sciences then studied, and in all of the systems of philosophy except the Epicurean. Instruction in the Scriptures and in theology comprised the major courses of study. The first of the great catechetical schools, that at Alexandria, is known to have been in a flourishing condition late in the 2nd and in the first quarter of the 3rd century. This type of institution reached its greatest development in the eastern branch of the Roman Empire, where it persisted for several centuries.

5. Schools in the Middle Ages

Cathedral schools. While the schools of western Europe were influenced by both catechumenal and catechetical schools, the line of educational development does not lie through them, but is probably to be traced through the bishops' schools, which superseded the schools of the Roman Empire. By the first half of the 6th century, cathedral churches were centers of instruction; and for centuries after that, the bishops retained direction of all education outside the monasteries. In the early days of the cathedral schools, some of the bishops

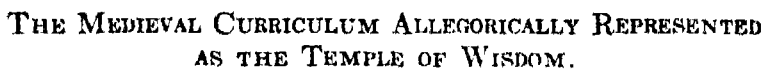
themselves taught and wrote texts. In the 6th century, Isidore of Seville wrote a famous encyclopedia. Somewhat later, Theodore of Tarsus, Archbishop of Canterbury, became famous as a teacher, as did some of his pupils, who themselves became bishops and abbots. After this period, it was customary to have in every chapter, a schoolmaster who was known as the *scholasticus*, *magister scholarum*, or *archischola*. Instruction was offered in theology; in the Seven Liberal Arts, which served as a basis for the study of theology; and in choral music, which was needed for the elaborate ritual of the church services.

Monasteries and convents in medieval education. Quite early in the history of Christianity, it became common, for persons desiring to live an especially holy life, to withdraw from general society and to devote themselves to religious exercises and meditation. Because such persons lived alone, they were called *monks*. The name was retained later as the appellation for all persons who devoted themselves to a religious life apart from the world, even though the practice became usual for such persons to reside in communities (called *monasteries*) made up of members vowed to live under rules. The institution grew in favor and, consequently, in organization. During the 6th century, St. Benedict formulated for monastic communities rules that have ever since been approved and followed by religious authorities. Education was promoted by those sections of the rules which required monks to devote a part of each day to reading and copying manuscripts; and the religious exercises, the discipline, and even the manual labor which other sections prescribed have a certain educative character.

Since the monasteries afforded support and facilities for writers and copyists, most of the literary work of the Middle Ages was done in them. Charlemagne required grammar schools to be established in every monastery and cathedral church, and ordered other steps taken to improve the scholarship of the clergy. The monasteries fostered many of the fine arts—such as, architecture, music, manuscript illumination—and, in truth, may be said to have introduced among the barbarian tribes of northern Europe the arts of civilization.

Contacts of western culture with Greek science and literature. It has been pointed out that in the eastern branch

of the Roman Empire the catechetical schools, which were essentially Christian colleges or similar Christian institutions, supplanted the pagan schools. Although these institutions were harassed at times, they maintained an unbroken tradition of scholarship during the very period in which western Europe knew least of Greek science and literature. The at-



THE MEDIEVAL CURRICULUM ALLEGORICALLY REPRESENTED
AS THE TEMPLE OF WISDOM.

tempt to Latinize Greek lands, which had reached its highest point when Justinian closed the schools at Athens in 529 A. D., had spent itself by the 7th century. Greek became the tongue of the Eastern Empire, and a university was established at Constantinople. Byzantine scholarship was fairly launched.

But the work of the catechetical schools was not yet completed. Some of them survived the pagan attacks and were preserved among the Nestorian Christians, who, with Bishop



A MONASTIC SCRIPTORIUM.

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Nestorius, had been driven out of Constantinople and had taken refuge in Syria. Hence, at Byzantium and in the Nestorian schools of Syria, the ancient Greek learning was continued long after it had disappeared in the western schools.

For centuries following the Mohammedan conquest of western Asia, Jewish and Christian scholars were protected by the caliphs, and a remarkable body of learned and imaginative literature was produced in Moslem lands. At the Nestorian school at Nisibis, many of the writings of Aristotle were translated into Arabic. The Moors in Spain introduced into western Europe not only these works of Aristotle but also much other Greek science and literature that had been quite generally forgotten in western Europe.

There were other agencies also which, long before the Renaissance, kept up the contact between Greek scholarship and western civilization. Theodore of Tarsus, made Archbishop of Canterbury in 669, initiated in England a real tradition of Greek scholarship. Greek merchants had long assumed control of the trade between Europe and the Levant; and when the Italian cities took over this profitable business, contact with western Asia continued unbroken. The influx of Greek monks into Italy in the 9th century was so heavy as definitely to influence the character of western monasticism. During the Crusades, contacts between the Levant and western Europe multiplied and probably served to stimulate the intellectual quickening of the 11th and 12th centuries.

Rise of the universities and development of Scholasticism. The terms *collegē* and *university* are of Latin origin. There early developed among the Romans certain associations of individuals for the discharge of definite social, religious, political, or economic functions. These groups, which were essentially corporations—with functions, rights, and duties recognized by the state authorities and by the general public—were called *colleges*. To illustrate, there were in early Rome colleges of augurs, of praetors, and of tribunes; while under the empire the term came to be applied also to the various guilds: those of the merchants, metal workers, carpenters, and so on. Members of colleges were called *colleagues*; that is, persons "bound together." It is important to notice that membership in a college involved special rights, duties, and privileges that might be assumed or won only within one's

social class. In the Middle Ages, corporations held an exceedingly important place in the social structure, and the evolution of educational institutions was profoundly affected by them.

The Christian church adapted the organization of the college to its use, and gradually developed the chapters known as *canons* and *collegiate churches*. As time went on, schools were founded at collegiate churches, and livings and endowed residences for priests and students were established in connection with them; then, in a few instances, out of these beginnings great universities grew. At length the term *college* came to mean an institution devoted to secondary and higher education.

The earliest universities—Bologna, Paris, and Oxford—can scarcely be said to have been founded; they simply grew out of existing schools. When a center became famous for its teachers of theology, law, medicine, or the liberal arts, and students from all parts of Christendom resorted to it, the center was called a *studium generale*. Students and teachers at such establishments formed themselves into guilds, and adopted the medieval term for a guild, or corporate body, *universitas*. Because popes, emperors, kings, and municipalities conferred upon the universities various rights and privileges, membership in a university became a road to social and economic benefit. Universities proved of such advantage to civil and ecclesiastical authorities that, in the 13th, 14th, and 15th centuries, many similar institutions were founded by princes of church and state.

The medieval universities are so deeply rooted in the life of their age that no complete analysis of the forces which contributed to their rise can be attempted here. Briefly, they were affected by the Crusades and by the economic and industrial advances which were made in the later Middle Ages. They were also influenced greatly by the growing power of the papacy and the increased unity of the Roman Catholic Church. Most important, however, of all the forces contributing to their growth was the increase in human knowledge between 1100 and 1350.

It will be recalled that the great monuments of Greek literature and science were never wholly lost, although for centuries the majority of western scholars had no acquaintance with

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these works save in the form of epitomes. In the 10th and 11th centuries, Moslem scholars carried Greek learning, the "Arabic notation," and algebra to Spain, where western scholars came into contact with these subjects. Many Arabic works—including Avicenna's *Canon*, a medical work; Ptolemy's *Almagest*; and the works of Aristotle—were translated into Latin. A system of medicine, based on the works of Hippocrates and Galen, had in the 11th century established itself as a subject of study at Salerno. Early in the 12th century, Irnerius won fame as a teacher of law at Bologna, and Abelard stirred the mind of western Europe with his new method of teaching logic and theology. Before the century was half gone, Gratian had made canon law a subject of university study; and Burgundio of Pisa had translated into Latin the *Pandects* of Justinian and the great work of eastern Scholasticism, *The Fountain of Knowledge*, written by John of Damascus.

Aristotle was especially admired. His three philosophies—Natural, Moral, and Rational—together with the Seven Liberal Arts, made up the curriculum of the Faculty of Arts, which was the basic faculty in medieval universities. The professional subjects—theology, law, and medicine—were cast in a mold furnished by his system of logic as adapted by medieval scholars. The method employed by medieval university students is known as the *scholastic* method, and has given the name *Scholasticism* to the intellectual movement which dominated European thought from about 1100 A. D. until the 16th century.

Training of social and political leaders among the laymen. Medieval society was divided into many classes. Members of the lowest class were virtually without instruction, and laws were actually passed in some countries to prevent their attending schools. The clergy possessed a monopoly of the monastic and cathedral schools, as well as of the universities. With the rise of chivalry, schools were established in the palaces of great nobles, where many of the gentry received an education in which the intellectual element was subordinated to a training especially adapted to fit them for the duties belonging to their stations, as warriors, rulers, diplomats, and masters of landed estates. This instruction was called *chivalric*, or *courtly*, education.

Chivalric education reached its highest development in the 13th century, during which its greatest manual, *De Regimine Principum*, was produced by Egidio Colonna. Although the origins of chivalric education are obscure, it is clear enough that, like chivalry itself, this form of education developed, along with the medieval manor and court, out of ancient Roman and northern European institutions.

Just as the Roman *familia* was an important agency of education for boys of high social station, so, as feudal life grew more complex and as courts became more splendid, the training of high-born children developed into a system no less complete than that offered by grammar school and university combined. Religion; the German, French, and English tongues, the customs of great houses, courts, and armies; heraldry, the use of arms, dancing, music, chess, and field sports—all had to be mastered by the lad in training for knightly rank. Nor were the Seven Liberal Arts, history, law, or practical economics wholly neglected. Girls of noble families, likewise, received training appropriate to their station. The daughter of a noble house was usually placed at an early age in a convent, and there trained until adolescence, when she was sent to the “bower” of some noble lady. Here, her education in courtesy was completed, and she was afforded opportunity to meet young men of marriageable age and suitable rank. The education of the young gentleman culminated in an impressive ceremony whereby he was dubbed a knight. Chivalric education cultivated both morale and refinement of manners; these characteristics constitute its greatest contributions to western civilization. It did little, however, to advance liberal culture.

Laws and courts in the Middle Ages. The Roman government developed through the centuries of its existence a large body of laws. At the beginning of the Middle Ages the Emperor Justinian ordered jurists to codify the imperial edicts and the rulings of the Roman lawyers, and to prepare a textbook, later known as *The Institutes of Justinian*. About this time the barbarians who had established kingdoms in western Europe reduced their laws to writing. But the feudal anarchy that engulfed Europe after the death of Charlemagne rendered such systems of law virtually inoperative.

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In the 11th century, with its great expansion of commerce, a revival of Roman law began in Italy; its most famous teacher was Irnerius of Bologna. This revival spread to all parts of Europe, and various countries developed systems of law that were essentially Roman in structure and content. In France, Roman law virtually reconstituted the monarchy. England developed a different system, but it was, nevertheless, profoundly affected by Roman law. Oxford and Cambridge taught the Roman law; however, the laws of England were taught in the Inns of the Court and of Chancery. The languages employed by English law were Latin, Norman French, and English. This use of English in the teaching of law is the first instance of its employment in higher education. Late in the Middle Ages the old feudal laws were supplanted in German lands by Roman law, when it swept the country in what German jurists call *the Reception*. The transformation wrought in Germany by the Roman law unquestionably contributed to the Reformation.

Parallel to the use of Roman civil law and English law there developed a body of ecclesiastical, or canon, law. A large collection of these laws, known as *The Decretals*, was made in the 12th century by Gratian. This canon law was used in the church courts, which claimed sole jurisdiction in matters affecting the clergy, and in all matters affecting moral conduct and religious belief. The church authorities extended the jurisdiction of such courts to cover almost all acts and relations of men. Accordingly, civil disputes and matters involving marriages, inheritances, contracts, schools, and criminal actions were carried to the ecclesiastical courts. This practice led to various abuses, and secular governments attempted to subject ecclesiastical courts to civil authorities, and thus to curb priestly power. A famous instance of such attempts to check the power of ecclesiastical courts was the publication of the Constitutions of Clarendon—one article of which decreed that the courts of the King of England should decide, in cases of disputed jurisdiction, whether suits should be tried in church courts or in the king's courts.

Effects of the establishment of systems of law. The development of civil law had important effects upon education: (1) The various legal systems were the outcome of intellectual efforts of a high order, necessitated by the increasing complex-

ity of human relations. In their effect upon the human spirit, these efforts are worthy to be ranked with the contributions in natural science, humane letters, and the fine arts. (2) These systems of law contributed to the development of western political institutions, which in turn conditioned the development of schools. (3) The feudal courts, the ecclesiastical courts, and the king's courts served as checks on one another, and, hence, indirectly assisted in the establishment of free institutions. (4) Lawyers constituted a powerful secular group, who on numerous occasions opposed the claims of the clergy but who, nevertheless, were often bitterly hated by the common people.

Education in the towns during the later Middle Ages. In the later Middle Ages, manufacturing and commerce grew rapidly, and the growth of cities kept pace with this development. For purposes of government as well as mutual help, craftsmen and merchants organized by occupations and by communities into guilds, or corporations. Municipal corporations governed the cities, and in most cases established local schools.

6. The Renaissance

The Renaissance in Italy. The intellectual history of Europe is marked by a number of periods in which, for a short space of time, all fine and liberal arts flourished. One of the most notable of these periods occurred at the close of the Middle Ages. It is called the *Renaissance*, or rebirth, for scholars feel that the period witnessed the rebirth of human culture.

Characteristic developments in the intellectual life of the period were: the revival of the historical method of study, and the subsequent close of the reign of Scholasticism; the revival of the study of the Greek and Hebrew languages; a quickened interest in the study of the life and literature of antiquity; splendid creative work in the fine arts and in vernacular literatures; and rapid growth both of individualism and of national feeling. The quickened interest in antiquity and the revival of Greek studies seem to have been the most significant movements of this period. In the 14th century, Dante, Petrarch, Boccaccio, and Chaucer all lived and wrote. Boccaccio learned Greek, and, as the century drew to a

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close, there was established at Florence the first modern chair of Greek to be set up in the western world. Princes and bankers were patrons of the new movements, and provided support for artists, writers, and critical scholars. Libraries were established, while Europe was ransacked for books. Modern textual and historical criticism was developed.

Humanism north of the Alps. The rebirth of scholarship, literature, and the fine arts was not long confined to Italy. It quickly made its way to the Netherlands, France, Spain, Germany, and England, where it became established in the 15th century. A chief feature of the new learning in Germany, Holland, and England was the great interest in Biblical scholarship. A new religious order of the Catholic Church, known as the *Brethren of the Common Life*, or the *Hieronymians*, was established in Holland in 1384. Its leading scholars in the 15th century were Humanists, who were especially interested in the study of the Old Testament in Hebrew, and the New Testament in Greek. The greatest of the students trained by the Hieronymians was Erasmus, who became the most celebrated author, editor, critical scholar, and lecturer on the New Testament. His edition of the New Testament in Greek and his work on the Greek language were of untold value to the 16th-century translators of the Bible.

Influence of the Renaissance on schools. The principal effect that the Renaissance had upon schools was to establish the ancient Latin and Greek languages and literatures as the principal subjects of study in secondary and higher schools of western Europe. Quintilian was the author most widely consulted and quoted on education, and the school of the *grammaticus* was the model on which Renaissance educators organized their schools. The declaration of Guarino of Verona that "no man who lacks Greek can be called educated" is indicative of the trend at that time.

Renaissance scholars were interested in Greek and Latin antiquity, since it reflected human achievements, and thus furnished guidance for secular rulers. The classics, moreover, because they dealt with human problems and creations, were referred to as the *humanities*; and the scholars devoted to them, as indicated in the preceding section, came to be called *Humanists*.

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CHAPTER II

THE NORDIC REVOLT AND RECONSTRUCTION

1. General Causes of the Revolution

The revolution of the 16th century, usually termed the *Reformation*, was the most far-reaching, many-sided, and profound awakening in the history of the western world. To think of the Reformation merely as a reform of church organization or religious doctrine, important as these were, is to misinterpret its deeper significance for human progress; no aspect of man's personality was untouched by it. The Reformation involved political, economic, religious, moral, philosophical, literary, and institutional changes of the most sweeping character; it was, in fact, a Nordic revolt and reconstruction.

For almost a thousand years the Teutonic races had been trained in the institutionalism, and subjected to the domination, of the Roman world. They had received their religious practices, their culture and their books, the very language of their learning, their laws—in fact, all the conventionalities of civilization—from the south. Whatever indigenous contributions may have sprung from their own soil had been transformed and consecrated by an ever-watchful mother church. There were now, however, not a few evidences that this period of tutelage was drawing to an end.

Endued with unusual vigor of body, these northern peoples united therewith a commensurate alertness and vigor of mind, and a growing sense of individual worth. They found in the free spirit of the Renaissance the stimulus they needed to develop and grow. Thrilling inventions and amazing discoveries added much to life and, at the same time, imparted to these peoples a new sense of power and control.

Everywhere in western Europe, changes of a momentous

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order were impending. The question was: Just what direction would evolution take? and where and how far would the readjustment go?

Discovery and invention. That the busy mind of man was preparing for a vast renovation of ideas and institutions is evidenced by the startling discoveries and inventions which distinguished the period just prior to the 16th century. Successive explorers had pushed back the limits of the geographical environment, and enormously increased man's knowledge of the world. Columbus discovered the new hemisphere, and Magellan circumnavigated the globe. Not only did man suddenly realize that many of his cherished concepts were discredited and false; but, what was even more important, he experienced the awakening of his imagination and the challenging of his powers to highest achievement. He began to suspect that his information concerning other spheres of knowledge, with their presuppositions, prejudices, and dogmatic assumptions, might be equally erroneous. The shell of medievalism, which had long enclosed and encumbered the human mind, was cracking; soon it was to be completely shattered, and a modern civilization was subsequently to emerge.

Of greatest importance for human progress were the process of making paper, discovered in the 13th century, and the invention of movable type, by Gutenberg in Mainz in 1438. For centuries, vellum and parchment had been used for records, but these materials were very expensive, and the supply was uncertain. Paper made from rags was cheaper, and it was also fairly easy to secure. The invention of printing vastly increased the supply of books and pamphlets, and greatly assisted, not only in bringing about a profound mental awakening, but also in imparting a powerful desire for culture. Soon presses were set up in France, Italy, Spain, and England. Germany and Switzerland, however, were the most active centers of publication. Mainz had five printing establishments; Ulm, six; Basle, sixteen; Augsburg, twenty; Cologne, twenty-one; and Nuremberg, twenty-five. In Italy and France, publishers were interested especially in printing the works of ancient classical authors; in Germany, books of piety and the Scriptures were the chief works issued from the press.

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The most revolutionizing discovery of the age was still to be made. About the middle of the 16th century, Copernicus gave to the world his astounding theory of heliocentricity, the doctrine that the earth revolves about the sun and is not the center of the universe. The human mind had never been confronted with an idea more incredible or subversive. The effects of this theory in discrediting conceptions of the past cannot be overemphasized. But as Mr. J. A. Symonds has well said:¹

It is not necessary to add anything to the plain statement; for, in contact with facts of such momentous import, to avoid what seems like commonplace reflection would be difficult.

The same year in which Copernicus finally published his revolutionizing theory, 1543, also brought forth another work of far-reaching importance. This was *On the Structure of the Human Body*, by Andreas Vesalius (1514-1564), an anatomist born and educated in the Netherlands. Two years after the publication of these significant works, Jerome Cardan, an Italian professor of mathematics, published the first scientific work on algebra, which he entitled *The Great Art*. This book helped to bring about the synthesis of mathematical knowledge and astronomy that was to produce most profound changes in human thinking.

Protestants and Catholics alike opposed all such scientific development and enlightenment; the one attacked and ridiculed them, the other placed these works on the index. In the end, however, Protestant theology suffered less than Catholic doctrine, which was directly based on medieval cosmology.

Ethics, law, and government. Human relationships have, from earliest times, formed the chief subject of man's reflection and education. In this general field are found the study of ethics, or morals, and of law and government, and in each of these important changes were taking place which affected the fundamental basis of the schools of Europe during this era.

The moral sensibilities of western Europe reached their lowest ebb during the period of the Renaissance in Italy. A

¹ Symonds, J. A., *The Renaissance in Italy; The Revival of Learning*, p. 15. Henry Holt & Company, New York, 1883.

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reaction was soon to follow in the Reformation in the north. So far as the formal study of ethics was concerned, Aristotle's work was taught in the universities and accepted everywhere as authority. Luther rejected this work because, he claimed, it represented a pagan view of life, and was not in accord with the Christian ideals set forth in the Scriptures. Little or no change was made, however, in the study of the subject in the universities.

In connection with law, highly significant developments took place. During the Middle Ages, two distinct systems of law were in vogue: the civil law of the secular states; and the canon, or ecclesiastical, law of the church. The two not only overlapped but were actually in conflict in many ways. It will be recalled that the church exercised temporal authority over large portions of Europe. Within these territories, canon law was the accepted law for civilians as well as for the clergy. In all the secular states, priests and other members of religious orders were subject only to canon law and, consequently, could not be tried in the civil courts. Moreover, in many cases, even laymen elected to be tried by ecclesiastical courts, in order thus to evade the severer penalties of the civil courts. At first both civil and canon law were studied by the clergy, but in 1254 Pope Innocent IV prohibited the clergy from teaching the civil law. As a consequence of this measure, civilians became masters of common law and of the civil statutes, and the two types of law grew further and further apart. Civilian lawyers became powerful and were frequently aligned with the state in opposing clerical claims.

In theory, civil law applied to crimes, and canon law, to sins; in the eyes of the church, however, all crimes were likewise sins and could, accordingly, be judged by the church courts. Canon law became a powerful instrument in the hands of the unscrupulous. It was employed frequently to advance the policies and interests of the church, to favor the priesthood, and to collect funds from the ignorant masses.

Civil law, also, was often administered in a tyrannical fashion to further the interests of the ruling class. By its means the common people were cheated and oppressed. At the beginning of the 16th century, lawyers were greatly disliked because of their sharp and oppressive practices. The

recovery of the Justinian Code, and its substitution for canon law during the Reformation period, constituted one of the most momentous changes in an era of striking revolutions. In England, where both forms of jurisdiction were decidedly oppressive, Henry VIII established at the universities professorships of Roman law, and forbade the teaching of canon law. The same changes occurred in the German institutions. Such modifications deprived the church of all jurisdiction over civil issues in Protestant lands, and subjected priests and members of religious orders everywhere to the civil courts. Finally only a few matters of a purely religious nature were left to be adjudicated by the church.

Civilization thus took one of its longest strides, for it now safeguarded the individual against oppression from the priesthood, and made for freedom and order in human relationships. The Nordic revolt resulted in the establishment of secular government as the supreme power in every Protestant country and made all courts subject to civil control. The suppression of canon law effected the transition from an ecclesiastical, or clerical, to a civilian civilization. The translation of the law into vernacular languages was a powerful influence for emphasis on the rights and dignity of the common individual. By this means the sense of individual worth and the importance of personality were deepened.

This period was marked by further significant developments in civil government and its relation to schools. For the first time in centuries, new theories of government were elaborated and put into operation. Previously, national concerns had been subordinate to ecclesiastical interests; although the church and the empire did not always live in harmonious relationship, no one seriously called in question their vital connection or the preëminence of the papal hierarchy. The church was centuries old when national governments arose, and emperors and kings acknowledged the overlordship of the papacy and were eager to be crowned by the Pope at Rome. Under this medieval form of organization of the church and state, education was purely a function of the church.

In his break with papal authority, Luther found it advisable to subject the church to the secular powers. As a consequence, in Protestant Germany each state obtained control

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over the church within its boundaries, and the individual man was obliged to assume the religious doctrine and confession of his sovereign. *Cujus regio, ejus religio* (Whose territory, his religion) was the Latin formula which expressed this new policy. Under Luther's plan, the church became one of the agencies of the civil government, which, in turn, supported and controlled it. Pastors were virtually civil servants. At birth every infant became at once a member of the church and a subject of the state. Education, which had always been a function of the church, now likewise came under the control of the secular power.

John Calvin, the reformer from Geneva, had the opportunity, as no other man had had, to make the relation of the church and state conform to a unitary point of view. He was one of the first to formulate a theory of government which he based upon the theocracy of the ancient Hebrews. According to his view, church and state have the same objective—namely, to carry out the Will of God. They have, however, different but complementary functions. They operate as two organs which form a unitary organism. The church interprets the Will of God and also sets the moral standard, and the state endeavors to realize both in the conduct of the members of the community. This point of view was adopted by the Huguenots in France, the Reformed Church people in Holland, the Presbyterians in Scotland, and the Puritans in England. The school according to the Calvinistic theory is the offspring of both church and state. This conception dominated education in the American colonies and wherever Calvinists held sway.

In addition to the ancient Catholic, the Lutheran, and the Calvinistic views, a fourth main position was held by the Anabaptists of central Europe. Scattered in diverse societies or groups, they united in an intense opposition to any and every form of union of church and state. They declined to bear arms, to pay taxes for war, to act in civil office, to swear by oath, and to go to law. They also refused to persecute anyone for his religious beliefs. These peoples advanced the cause of religious freedom, and later played an important part in bringing about the complete separation of church and state in America. This step led in turn to the secularization of the public school system in the United States.

Social and institutional conditions and changes. The opening of the 16th century marked the termination of one social era and the beginning of another. Never has so short a space of time witnessed such rapid and extensive social and institutional changes. Many institutions and customs, hoary with the age of centuries, ceased entirely; and all the others were altered more or less completely. Since the most profound ideas and aspirations of human personality were affected, institutions and habits of life had to be readjusted in harmony.

Up to this time, medieval thought had divided the world into two grand divisions: the spiritual and the temporal, the sacred and the secular, the realm of grace and the realm of nature. Human individuals belonged either to the religious or to the secular division, the one being looked upon as a more holy condition than the other. In each division a number of strata, or classes—tier upon tier and rather sharply marked off from each other—formed human society. At the top were the nobility: the Pope and the princes of the church, in the one order; the rulers and the secular princes, in the other. The religious classes ranged from prelates, bishops, and abbots to parish priests and ordinary monks. The laity likewise ranked from the imperial family, electoral princes, minor nobility, knights, and citizens of the free cities to the peasants and the serfs.

Society had been organized into various institutions in and through which the individual lived his life. As yet, it must be remembered, the idea of ethical personality and of individual rights and property was by no means so sharply accentuated as at the present time.

Medieval institutionalism, which had evolved from ecclesiastical and feudal practices, was no longer adequate to express the new ideas and aspirations of the Nordic peoples. Individual personality demanded freedom and recognition. The cities and towns were the seed plots of this new growth.

Before turning to the evolution of the towns, however, it is necessary first to discuss the passing of some of the older institutions.

The passing of knighthood. The knightly class formed a highly active and, on the whole, a rather important element of medieval society. The free knights within the empire owed allegiance directly to the emperor, and formed a fighting force

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which could be readily mobilized for the incessant wars of the period. They nursed a special grievance against the free cities, the growth of which appeared to them as a degeneration from the "good old times," the golden age of chivalry. The knights generally became free lances, attaching themselves as occasion offered to any cause; they plundered the peasantry of their produce, and took toll of commerce as it moved along the highways of trade.

The invention of gunpowder was the chief cause of the passing of knight errantry. The arrogant knight in coat of mail was no match for even the despised peasant when armed with a shotgun; his moated castle was no longer a defense when his enemy could employ a cannon to batter down his stronghold. Thus the knight witnessed the passing of his order, even as a ready fighting force. Armed with guns, the common soldiers when organized into infantry were much more effective.

During the Reformation period, men like Götz von Berlichingen and Franz von Sickingen endeavored to arrest the decline of the knightly order. But all their efforts were vain; the whole feudal order was passing, and a new social structure was taking its place.

Monasteries. This is another of the important institutions of the Middle Ages which was doomed to extinction so far at least as the Protestant world was concerned. Beginning in the 4th century, monasticism did not reach its climax until the 9th. By that time it had made its most vital contribution to western civilization; and as the later centuries passed, it became less and less a true expression of the aspirations of men.

The enormous wealth of the monasteries, as well as the livelihood they provided, still attracted many aspirants. The destruction of these institutions at the time of the Reformation created a great disturbance in society, especially because it affected large numbers of children who would otherwise have entered those institutions for their education and livelihood. This disturbing condition involved all of the northern portion of Europe where the monasteries were overthrown and their property and wealth seized by secular princes or barons.

Ecclesiastical estates and the priestly class. As mentioned previously, the church had large territories over which its

beneficiaries were appointed or elected rulers. These ecclesiastical principalities were now abolished in Protestant countries, and became secular states. Similarly, the great foundations by which numerous priests were supported passed into other hands. The entire order of the priesthood, from the parish priests to the bishops, cardinals, and other dignitaries, was overthrown.

Mendicancy and charity. "Go sell all that thou hast and give to the poor, and thou shalt have treasure in heaven," was an injunction which received a much more literal interpretation by medieval Christianity than it does today. Charity was a means of grace most highly exalted by the church; the high esteem in which it was held gave rise to mendicant orders, but it likewise so encouraged general begging that Europe was overrun with, and impoverished by, beggars of all kinds. Relief from mendicancy became a pressing economic problem in all countries. Among the reforms demanded by Luther in 1520 was "the urgent necessity of abolishing all begging in Christendom." Moreover, he placed the church, the school, and poor relief together under civil rather than ecclesiastical authority.

It was the people of the Netherlands, however, who first reached a practical scheme for the relief of the poor and the suppression of mendicancy. They saw the true relation of poverty to education: that it is cheaper to prevent pauperism by means of the school than to support it by charity. In 1525 the Council of Ypres formulated with perfect clarity the fundamental principles of public assistance. The council centralized in a common treasury the revenues for all local charitable institutions. Public begging was forbidden. A committee collected all alms, held regular weekly conferences, and visited the poor in their homes. The council finally stipulated that the children assisted should be either sent to school or placed in apprenticeship. In 1531 a law was made extending the most important features of this system to all the towns and villages of the Netherlands. Municipalities were required to open schools in which poor children could be taught to care for themselves, and trained for some manual vocation or for domestic service. The subject of poor relief found its most representative discussion in the work of the great educational reformer Juan Luis Vives, *On the Support*

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of the Poor (De Subventionem Pauperum), published at Bruges in 1526. This book was widely read throughout northern Europe and exerted a powerful influence. It seems clear, moreover, that the practice of poor relief in the Netherlands influenced the Puritans in New England a century later.

Free towns as centers of progress. The early free towns of northern Europe must be looked upon as the true nurseries of progress; they were, furthermore, the chief factor in the creation of popular schools. The first of these towns grew up where the conditions afforded a sheltered harbor either on the sea or on a navigable river. Following the Crusades, manufacturing and commerce greatly increased the population in these ports. Among the important towns in northern Europe which grew up in this way were the following seaports: Bruges, Antwerp, and Ghent, in the Netherlands; and Hamburg and Lübeck, in Germany. On the navigable rivers were Paris, London, Cologne, Mainz, and Strassburg.

The cities of the Netherlands throbbed with aggressive energy and became models for other towns to emulate. With their manufacturing and trade, these cities rapidly amassed great wealth and far outstripped other places. A virtual monopoly of woolen, silk, and linen manufacturing belonged to their weaving guilds. Their tapestries, brocades, and cloths of all kinds became famous everywhere. Pottery, iron, steel, agricultural products, furs, and fish formed industrial sources of increasing wealth. Moreover, the extraordinary manual skill of these peoples, combined with a genius for invention, produced many new articles which were soon to become the common essentials of civilization.

The population of these cities was sober, intelligent, industrious, and thrifty—the type that creates and conserves wealth and makes for progress. About the beginning of the 16th century there were in the Netherlands approximately 3,500,000 persons, about the same number as in England; but in wealth, technical skill, and culture, the Netherlands were much in advance of neighboring lands. Concerning their social and industrial condition, we are reliably informed:²

² Griffis, William E., *The Influence of the Netherlands in the Making of the English Commonwealth and the American Republic*, pp. 4-5. Boston, De Wolfe, Fiske & Co., 1891.

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In the sixteenth century, the common people of the Netherlands, owing to their great mechanical, agricultural, and nautical skill, their intelligence and their diversified industries, were the best fed, the best clothed, the best educated, and the most religious in the world.

The primary cause for this extraordinary prosperity must unquestionably be sought in the large measure of liberty and autonomy which was enjoyed by these towns. An indomitable spirit of individualism formed the innate character of their inhabitants. Following the example of the progressive Italian cities, these towns had early broken away from the exacting rule of their overlords, and obtained important rights and privileges. Their security, independence and power were greatly enhanced by the formation of the Hanseatic League, organized to protect commerce against pirates on the sea, and marauding barons and knights on the land.

Some of the provinces had never submitted to any oppressor, for special circumstances had favored the growth of an independent spirit. First, it will be noted that monastic life and ecclesiastical organization had never become so dominant in the Netherlands as in neighboring territories. Again, by virtue of knowledge and skillful seamanship, these peoples had never been subjected to the same degree of feudal servitude that had blighted the early development of civilization elsewhere. Furthermore, rights and privileges which could not be otherwise obtained were often readily obtainable for gold. Thus, liberty provided a favorable environment for the expression of the creative powers and intelligence of these peoples.

Growth of culture. The restless energies of these centers of the crafts and trades soon turned attention to the higher arts. Not only was there closest intercourse with the Italian cities, where culture was revived to the highest degree, but also large numbers of Italian artisans and men of culture settled in the cities of the Netherlands. During the 14th and 15th centuries the peoples of these lands developed architecture, goldsmithing, weaving of artistic tapestries, wood carving, and other fine arts. If the earliest—that is, the first so far as Europe is concerned—printing from movable type did not take place in the Netherlands, as some have claimed, at least the use of wooden blocks which led to printing was first

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practiced there. Moreover, printing found its most favorable quarters and highest development in these centers.

Other arts involving similar manual skills were practiced. Of supreme significance was the sudden and surprising development of painting and music in Flanders and Holland. The Flemish led the world in musical creation. Their painters rivaled those of Italy at its best. The Flemish school of painting was founded by Jan van Eyck (c. 1385–1441). He was the first artist to use oil in painting. It has been said that his "imitation of reality has never been surpassed." To the same school belong, at a later period, the great Rubens (1577–1640) and Van Dyck (1599–1641). The Dutch school also furnished such remarkable figures as Lucas van Leyden (1494–1533), Frans Hals (1581–1666), and Rembrandt (1606–1669).

It would indeed seem strange if this high degree of achievement in arts and crafts could be attained unaccompanied by an advancement in learning. While monasteries and churches were not altogether absent, they did not monopolize life as they did in less progressive centers. Hence these people, free from such dominating influences, turned their energies into new channels. Commerce, the trades and crafts, and even self-government, necessitated the diffusion of writing, reading, and calculation. The towns consequently radiated culture in all directions. If one were to draw a map representing the spreading of the new culture and arts, the mouth of the Rhine would be the center from which it was carried to all points of the compass.

The condition of the peasants. Everywhere outside the cities and towns during the later Middle Ages, the lot of the peasantry had grown deplorably harder. This was especially the case in Germany, England, and France. The common man was oppressed by overlords and plundered by knightly marauders; and because of dense ignorance and gross superstition, he fell an easy prey to extortions of the priesthood.

In central Europe, local revolts frequently took place, but since the peasants, were unaccustomed to unity of action and lacked leadership, their uprisings were quickly suppressed. The romantic success of the Swiss peasantry in defeating their tyrannical oppressors instilled fresh hope in the hearts of the German peasants. Here and there arose zealous but

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ignorant preachers who aroused a burning desire for social justice. Moreover, the spread of a knowledge of the Scriptures led to a general belief that the millennium was close at hand and that universal Christian brotherhood and goodwill would shortly ensue. Some even looked for the coming of a Messianic deliverer to rescue them from oppression. Luther's doctrine of individual Christian liberty also greatly exalted their hopes.

In consequence of these provocative conditions, the long-smouldering fire broke into conflagration in the Peasants' War of 1524-1525. An alliance among the nobility quickly put an end to the revolt. As a result of the struggle the lot of the peasants in Germany became even worse than it had been. They sank to a condition of virtual serfdom, and their emancipation was delayed at least two centuries.

The political factor in the Protestant revolution. In large measure the Nordic revolution came about because of oppressive political and economic conditions. From the time when civilization began in northern lands, three main factors led the way and tended to unify the scattered social elements which constituted, at first, the tribal and, later, the feudal systems.

(1) First of all was the papal church, which had long exercised universal sway in all matters of religion and culture. But not only in the spiritual sphere did the church govern; as the centuries passed, in accordance with its unswerving policy the papacy had enormously increased the areas over which it exercised temporal sovereignty. Furthermore, as previously mentioned, the church had extended its jurisdiction over the civil and personal affairs of every individual.

(2) Secondly, in the political sphere the Holy Roman Empire constituted the most extensive sovereignty in existence. For a time it was all-powerful; but as centuries passed, the real power of the imperial throne gradually diminished until practically only a shadow of its former authority remained. Nevertheless it continued to influence civilization in many ways.

(3) The third factor in the political evolution of this period was the process by which the feudal system concentrated more and more power in the hands of the princely houses. By

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inheritance, intermarriage, warfare, and other means the numerous petty estates had been combined into a comparatively small number of principalities, and, by combining these, the kingdoms of western Europe were gradually formed.

Owing to the greater extent of territory involved and the stabilizing power of the imperial throne, this process of political integration had not gone so far in Germany as it had in France, England, and the Scandinavian lands. At the beginning of the 16th century, the Teutonic people were still divided into more than a hundred petty dukedoms, principalities, and electoral states, each asserting more or less independence and self-determination within the limits of imperial sovereignty. Scattered among these hereditary holdings were over one hundred free imperial cities, which jealously guarded their rights and exerted a strong influence in all political and economic affairs. Furthermore, a large number of ecclesiastical states existed alongside the domains of the secular princes. At the time of the Reformation, more than one-fourth of the total area of Germany had come under the temporal sovereignty of the church. These ecclesiastical states were ruled by the princes of the church, who were either elected or appointed to their positions and who ranked in power with the hereditary nobility. As a consequence of the distribution of power, throughout the Continent successive popes, cardinals, emperors, electoral princes, ecclesiastical princes, and the various orders of lesser nobility engaged in interminable intrigues, alliances, rivalries, and armed conflicts, in which each struggled to wrest greater power, wealth, and territory for himself.

These political developments paved the way for the great northern revolt. The Church of Rome had come to be looked upon not only as a tyrannical, but, what was worse in the eyes of the people, as a foreign power. Yet, had it not been for the protection and active sympathy which some of the electoral princes, the free cities, and the minor nobility extended to Luther, he would probably have fared no better than other noted heretics before him: he would have been burned at the stake, and his doctrines stamped out.

Similar causes paved the way for revolt in other countries. Because of conditions in England, Henry VIII was able to overthrow the Roman Church largely by his own power. In

Scotland, John Knox was successful in his reform movement because of the support of the barons. In Scandinavia, it was the reigning sovereigns who put down Catholicism and accepted the Lutheran faith. In Switzerland and the Netherlands, the people themselves were more actively concerned in the revolt, but even in these lands the revolution was a political as well as a spiritual upheaval. Everywhere the civil powers became active in destroying the monasteries, in abolishing the temporal sovereignty of the Roman Curia, and in suppressing canon law and the ecclesiastical courts.

Economic revolt. Economic dissatisfaction played a decisive part in the revolution. Gradually through the centuries, wealth had been accumulating into the control of the churches, the numerous monasteries, and other ecclesiastical foundations. The conditions that caused this concentration of wealth were, in large measure, peculiar to the social and religious life of the age. The doctrines that salvation is due to charitable works, that absolution for sins can be purchased, and that purgatory can be shortened by endowing a living for a priest to celebrate mass, were some of the most effective causes. Thus, gifts, endowments, indulgence money, and numerous forms of tithe had increased the treasuries of the churches, the monasteries, and other institutions, until, it has been estimated, two-thirds of the entire wealth of Germany had passed into the hands of these ecclesiastical foundations. Added to this was the yearly economic drain that went directly to the papal court at Rome. As Beard says, Germany was "the milch cow of the Papacy, which it at once despised and drained dry."²

Similar, or even worse, conditions were to be found elsewhere. In Scandinavian lands, it is calculated that two-thirds of Sweden was in the hands of the church, and the remaining one-third belonged almost entirely to the secular nobility. This state of affairs largely explains the rapid conquest of Sweden by Lutheranism. In the Netherlands, as in other parts of Europe, the Church of Rome held vast estates amounting, it has been estimated, to one-fifth of the entire property of the country.

² Beard, Charles, *Martin Luther and the Reformation in Germany*, p. 33. London, K. Paul, Trench & Co., 1889.

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There arose everywhere in these northern lands an irresistible patriotic response to the outcry of the reformers against the exactions of the church, which had come to be looked upon as a foreign and malevolent power. Financial corruption, and crass materialism abounded. Much of the funds received from the people of northern Europe went directly to Rome to increase the glory of the papal court, and to aid in oppressing the very people from whom they had been obtained.

The economic situation was aggravated because, a short time before, money had been introduced to replace bartering, a change which added greatly to the increasing cost of living. Moreover, interest rates were so high that they amounted to usury. These desperate economic conditions, together with the widespread moral degeneracy of the day, aroused the righteous disgust and wrath of the northern races.

2. The Religious and Ecclesiastical Revolt

Pre-Reformation reformers. The religious aspect of the revolution was by no means a sudden or unexpected outburst. Following in the wake of the Crusades, or as early as the 11th century, not a few raised their voices in protest against the growing domination of the papal hierarchy, the increasing corruption within and without the church, and the corresponding laxity of spiritual life. The people who thus refused to conform to the doctrines and religious practices of Rome for some time formed only loosely organized groups. They were generally treated as heretics and subjected to persecution by Roman Catholic authorities. From century to century the number of their adherents grew, until they finally developed into many sects, with different names according to the part of Europe in which they lived. In Italy and elsewhere were the Cathari (the pure); and the Arnoldists, followers of Arnold of Brescia. In France were the Petrobrusians, named after Peter of Bruys; and the Albigenses. In Lombardy were the Waldenses, so called after Peter Waldo. In Germany and the Netherlands were the Beghards, who begged bread on the streets for the poor. In England were the Lollards and the Wycliffites; and in Bohemia, the Hussites and the Taborites.

Little, if any, unity existed among these sects, although a number of them on the Continent used the same catechism. They all, however, vigorously opposed the evils which tainted the papal church, and on occasion their protests flamed out with fanatical zeal. Persecution, torture, and even martyrdom tended only to inflame rather than to diminish or allay the bitterness of their opposition to the Roman Catholic hierarchy.

The dissatisfaction was not confined to those holding doctrines accounted heretical; it was shared by large numbers who would not align themselves with any schismatic party, but remained within the fold of the mother church.

In the region of the Rhine there appeared during the 14th century the semi-monastic order known as the *Brethren of the Common Life*, founded by Gerard Groote. The Brethren were men of the most admirable piety. Beard, in writing of them, says: *

All these men, though not willing to be accounted heretics, stand on the verge of heresy. They asserted the sole authority of the Scriptures in the matters of faith. They attacked indulgences from both the doctrinal and practical sides. Wessell preached a doctrine of justification by faith, though always faith that worked by love.

One of their number advocated the use of hymns and prayers in the vernacular tongue—a reform that prepared the way for an understanding piety and, incidentally, a new intellectual awakening. It was this group, also, which introduced the humanistic movement into northern Europe. An account of their educational activities is given later in this chapter.

The evils against which all these sects complained were not unrecognized by the church itself. Numerous efforts were made, by ecclesiastical councils and by high authorities, to effect reform. However, the degeneracy was too firmly entrenched to yield to half measures. Only a cataclysmic change that would engulf the entire civilization, destroy outgrown institutions, and reorganize European life in harmony with new ideals could bring about success. Such a transformation was at hand.

* *Ibid.*, p. 48.

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Religious excitability. At the beginning of the 16th century the people of the Continent—especially in Germany—were in a psychological state of great religious excitability. Though generally held in control, this condition was ready, at the appropriate stimulus, to burst forth into universal delirium. For decades, pilgrimages, usually of adults but sometimes of children, had been made to distant shrines. Fear, especially the dread of a Turkish invasion, played a large part in determining the popular state of mind. Disease, famine, and superstition added to the general hysteria of the age. Expectation of some great, impending religious phenomenon was widely prevalent; here and there fanatical preachers, appealing to the people, caused deep emotional awakenings. Meanwhile, the general attitude of the masses toward the priests was that of intense hatred, which grew out of a sense of distrust and betrayal.

Reading of the Scriptures and religious literature. Undoubtedly, printing was the most powerful assistant to the religious reformers, and the chief means of intellectual awakening. It is significant that the Latin Bible, known generally as the *Vulgate*, was the first complete book issued from the press. Four years were required to accomplish the task of printing it—an undertaking completed in 1456. Before the year 1500, no less than 92 editions of this Latin version were published, while during the following century the astounding number of 438 editions came from the presses of Europe.

Between the years 1457 and 1517 . . . it is computed that over four hundred different editions of the Bible, or parts of it, had been printed in France.⁵

Of greater importance, however, was the publication of the Scriptures in the vernacular tongues of Germany, France, Italy, Bohemia, and the Netherlands. In the Netherlands, as early as 1477 the Bible had been translated into the vernacular, and there were no other peoples so saturated with Scriptural knowledge. Prior to 1518, no less than 14 editions were printed in High-German dialects, and at least three in Low-German. Between 1513 and 1531, as many as 25 translations

⁵ Barnard, H. C., *The French Tradition in Education*, p. 74. Cambridge (England). Cambridge University Press, 1922.

of the Bible or the New Testament appeared in Dutch, Flemish, and French. Nor was this the whole story: many portions of the Scriptures were published separately. Before 1509 there had appeared 22 editions of the Psalter; and 25 editions of the Gospels and the Epistles, before 1518. A large number of books of devotion also figured among the publica-



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tions at this time. The leading centers of publication were: Strassburg, Augsburg, Nuremberg, Wittenberg, Basle, Paris, and Venice.⁶

The Bible printed in English. Tyndale (c. 1492–1536) brought from the press in 1526 the first edition of the New Testament to be printed in English. Other editions of the New Testament followed, as did imprints of the Pentateuch and various parts of the Old Testament. Because Tyndale's version was issued under Lutheran auspices but without license from any civil or ecclesiastical authority in England, the reading, as well as the sale, of the New Testament was prohibited in the realm. Copies were, however, smuggled in and read widely. Tyndale's version, an excellent one, served

⁶ Beard, Charles. *op cit*, p. 143.

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as a basis of later translations, including the well-known version authorized by James I and published in 1611. Within fifteen years of the time Tyndale's translations went to press, various editions of the entire Bible were issued, some of which received royal license, and one of which was prepared by express command of the king. These translations were, in the main, excellent, and they played no small part in fixing the standard of English prose.

The veneration in which Christians held the Scriptures induced ministers and civil authorities to encourage the establishment of schools in which children might learn to read, so that everyone might know the Bible for himself. The influence of the Bible was far-reaching; it was read by persons of every rank in society, and its words and ideas became the common possession and spiritual standard of the people generally. The facts about the early publication of the Scriptures point to the universal interest in the reading of the Bible at that time. Lindsay declares: ⁷

The "common man," especially the artisan of the towns, knew a great deal about the Bible. It was the one book he read, re-read and pondered over.

In his *Short History of the English People*, Green writes: ⁸

England became the people of a book and that book was the Bible. It was as yet the one English book which was familiar to every Englishman; it was read at churches and read at home, and everywhere its words, as they fell on ears which custom had not deadened, kindled a startling enthusiasm. . . . The popularity of the Bible was owing to other causes besides that of religion. . . . Sunday after Sunday, day after day, the crowds that gathered round Bonner's Bible in the nave of St. Paul's, or the family group that hung on the words of the Geneva Bible in the devotional exercises at home, were leavened with a new literature.

Next in importance to the Scriptures must be placed the profound influence of St. Augustine, the Church Father of the

⁷ Lindsay Thomas M., *A History of the Reformation*, Vol. II, p. 439. New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1906-1907.

⁸ Green, J. R., *Short History of the English People*, pp. 460-461. New York, American Book Company, 1916.

5th century. He was one of the chief founders of the Roman Church and, more than any other man, the one who formulated the doctrines of Christianity for the western world. His doctrines exerted a powerful influence upon the Brethren of the Common Life, a still greater influence upon Luther and Calvin, and were later reproduced as the foundation of the work of the Port Royalists in France. Whenever and wherever the works of St. Augustine were studied, there began a movement for a deepening piety and a reform of education.

Between the year 1467 and the end of the fifteenth century, no fewer than twenty editions were called for, that is to say, a fresh edition every eighteen months.*

Another of the great devotional religious works of this age—held by some to be, next to the Scriptures themselves, the most widely used religious work—was *The Imitation of Christ* (*De Imitatione Christi*). Over 2,000 editions of this work issued from the press.

Doctrines. Many of the most profound doctrines of the Christian faith were involved in the controversies of the Protestant Reformation. Among the chief issues were: the doctrine of salvation, the worship of images, and the ultimate authority in religion. The Roman Church taught the doctrine of salvation by good works; Luther and other Protestants believed salvation came by faith and the Grace of God in Christ. The Roman Church, contending that the final authority was the Roman Curia, based its doctrines upon the Scriptures as interpreted by the Pope and the rulings of the church councils. Luther and Calvin lodged ultimate authority in the literal word of the Scriptures; the Anabaptists held that the ultimate authority was the New Testament, together with the Christian conscience illumined by the Holy Spirit through the new birth. The Roman Church claimed that the priest was the mediator between God and man, and held the power to pardon sins. The Protestants contended that the only mediator was Christ himself and that every man had direct and immediate access to God. The Lord's Supper and

* Schaff, Philip, *A Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church*, Vol. II. Translator's Preface by Rev. Marcus Dods, p. xiii. New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1907.

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the granting of indulgences were further subjects of profound and prolonged, as well as bitter, controversy. All of these raging controversies helped to intensify the widening breach in the church, and they finally determined the Nordic world to form a new civilization.

3. The Renaissance and Humanism North of the Alps

As previously indicated, the Renaissance began in Italy among the aristocracy of church and state. The period, running the usual course of great human interests, passed through three stages. The beginning was the stage of passionate enthusiasm for ancient Latin and Greek literature and of desire for artistic creation. During the second stage, Italian scholars engaged in a systematic study of the ancient world and its languages and literature. The final stage was that of formalism: the worship of Cicero, the effort to reproduce his exact form of expression, a straining after pure Latin as he used it. Unfortunately for northern culture, it was Humanism, in this third stage, which exerted the greatest influence upon the readjustment of the schools.

The introduction of the new learning into northern Europe must be credited directly to the Brethren of the Common Life. The first of these Brethren to teach classical Latin was John Wessel (1420-1489); and among his students was Rudolf Agricola (1443-1485), who became the apostle of Humanism in Germany. Wessel and Agricola were the first northern Humanists to study in Italy, the source of the new enthusiasm for pure Latin. A follower of Agricola, John Reuchlin (1455-1522) was the first to take up the study of Hebrew. As early as 1470 a professorship of Greek was established at the University of Paris; however, formidable antagonism from the traditionalists kept humanistic culture for a long time in the background at Paris. Not until Francis I (r. 1515-1547), through the influence of Budaeus (1468-1540), founded the College of France in 1530 with special chairs of Greek and Latin, did the promotion of humanistic culture meet with success at Paris.

Just as the 16th century was opening, Linacre, Grocyn, and Colet, building upon the foundation laid by William Gray and Duke Humphrey, established Humanism upon a firm basis in

England. In 1509 these men, with Erasmus, Elyot, and others, met at the house of Sir Thomas More to form the first English center of the humanistic movement. Infused with the historical spirit, the new learning was strongly opposed to Scholasticism. The universities were divided between the camps of the "Greeks," champions of the study of Greek, and the "Trojans," champions of medievalism.

It would be a great mistake to assume that the new learning was welcomed by all the scholars and authorities in charge of the schools and universities; on the contrary, a very bitter struggle ensued. The chief defenders of medieval Latin and scholastic theology were the powerful Dominican and Franciscan Orders, which were interested in controlling educational institutions. Strange to say, the final combat centered, not upon the teaching of pure Latin and the classical authors, but on the study of Hebrew. In Germany and the Netherlands, the antagonism came to a head in the struggle between John Reuchlin and Jacob Hochstraten, an inquisitor who proposed to destroy all Jewish literature. But behind these combatants ranged, respectively, the humanistic scholars and the leading conservatives of northern Europe. Hochstraten lost his case, and Humanism was triumphant.

Humanism and the Reformation. Humanistic culture had scarcely been introduced into the schools when the Reformation began; henceforth in northern Europe the two movements became closely associated, though not identical. They were like two great rivers which flow together but are never completely united, in the center of the stream they are individually indistinguishable, but on the sides each retains its identity virtually unchanged. No slight difficulty presents itself when one attempts to understand the varied relationships in which these two movements stood toward each other. They presented a unified attack upon a common enemy, and agreed generally upon the organization, aim, and curriculum of the schools. But in other respects they were quite antagonistic.

The relation of Humanism and the Reformation is so important that their points of difference and harmony may well be further surveyed. Among the most significant points of agreement were the following:

(1) Both Humanism and the Reformation opposed Scholasticism and the scholastic method. They agreed in their

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contempt for the formalism and futility of Aristotelian logic, and for the degeneracy of monastic life.

(2) Both believed in the emancipation of the individual from the limitations of institutionalism, uniformity, and conventionality of conduct. Humanism tended to stimulate the expression of individuality in personality, in literary and artistic creation and appreciation, and even in intellectual activity. The Reformation cut more deeply and liberated the individual conscience from the bondage of traditionalism, externalism, and ritualistic formalism.

(3) Humanism and the Reformation were interested alike in the classical languages. To the one, Latin and Greek were the gateways to the ancient classical literatures of Rome and Greece, the most sublime treasures of human expression, thought, and knowledge. For the other, these same languages unlocked the treasures of the original Scriptures and the writings of the Fathers of the early Christian church.

(4) Classicism revealed a state of culture not only transcending that of the time, but also antedating the very existence of the church. Such learning tended to free the mind from bondage to the ecclesiastical ideas of the Middle Ages. Students read Aristotle in the original Greek and found that he actually contradicted what they had found in their round-about translations from the Mohammedans. The religious reformers, on the other hand, found that the original church of the New Testament was quite different from the Roman Church that they knew.

(5) Humanism was, moreover, an aristocratic and monarchical movement; its literature dealing with the education and duties of secular princes and rulers is most extensive. While not essentially anti-clerical, the movement unquestionably contributed to extending the secular power at the expense of the church.

(6) By promoting Biblical scholarship, the new learning made its most important contribution to the Reformation. Dictionaries and grammars of the Hebrew, Greek, and Latin languages, as well as critical editions of the Scriptures, enabled Luther, Melancthon, Tyndale, Coverdale, Calvin, and Beza to do their work. Erasmus desired, as had the Brethren of the Common Life before him, to place the Scriptures in the hands of every person.

But there were likewise great differences between the two movements:

(1) They were unlike in origin. Humanism began in Italy; the Reformation not merely was northern in origin, but it continued to be confined to Germanic lands and represented peculiarly the emergence of Nordic races into the forefront of civilization.

(2) Humanism was aristocratic or patrician, and was fostered especially by the rich, by the princes, and by men of great intellectual power and artistic sensibilities. The Reformation originated in the lower and middle strata of human society, and appealed more particularly to the masses and those evangelically inclined.

(3) Humanism was predominantly intellectual, aesthetic, and literary. The Reformation, on the other hand, was emotional and religious. The former emphasized human or worldly interests; the latter, the spiritual.

(4) So far as the schools were concerned, the two movements worked in harmony. Humanism largely dictated the aim of learned education, together with the general curriculum and the methods which were to be employed. Protestantism became the religion of the schools, furnished their spirit, and added to the curriculum catechetical instruction, the reading of the Scriptures, and Protestant church music. However, Protestantism was interested in popular education, while Humanism was not. A more detailed account of the new schools will be given after the following consideration of the effects of the revolution upon the schools.

Attacks upon Scholasticism and the schools. The attacks upon traditional culture assumed varied aspects. They included: (1) sarcasm for the barbarous Latin used by the monks and scholars; (2) contempt for scholastic doctrines and for Aristotle, whose works furnished the foundation of the system; (3) criticism of the monasteries and the methods of instruction employed in the universities and lower schools.

(1) *Medieval Latin ridiculed.* Erasmus, everywhere revered as the greatest scholar of the age and the master of pure Latin, attacked medieval culture in a biting satire, *The Praise of Folly (Moriae Encomium)*, published in 1509. But even more effective was the work *Letters of Obscure Men (Epistolae Obscurorum Virorum)*, written from 1515 to 1519.

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In these letters—which, for bitter sarcasm and stinging wit, are unequalled in all literature—the monkish culture was held up to scorn and ridicule until it became a universal laughing-stock. These letters were written by a small group of which Ulrich von Hutten, the brilliant knight and humanistic scholar, was the center. Satirizing the barbarities of medieval Latin and scholastic learning with their own crude terms, this untranslatable work caused all European students to jeer at medievalism. No work was more effective in making the monks and scholastics ashamed of their uncouth and barbarous learning.

(2) *Foundations of Scholasticism attacked.* The struggle against medievalism was without a full measure of success so long as the real stronghold remained intact; that bulwark was the logic and philosophy of Aristotle. The history of Aristotelianism was, for more than three centuries, the story of human thought. Someone has suggested that God had created man, but that he had left it to Aristotle to make him rational.

During the first part of the Middle Ages, western scholars knew nothing of Aristotle's works except several chapters from his *Logic*. During the first half of the 13th century, translations of his treatises on ethics, physics, metaphysics, and other subjects were made, not from his original works but from the Arabic translations of the Nestorian Christians. At first the church was hostile and burned some of these treatises in public condemnation of their heresy. Later the attitude was completely reversed, and the Stagirite was exalted as the official philosopher of the Christian religion. He was the *Predecessor of Christ in the Realm of Nature, just as John the Baptist was in the Realm of Grace* (*Precursor Christi in rebus naturalibus, sicut Joannes Baptista in rebus gratuitis*).

Thus Aristotle became the infallible and authoritative source of all scientific truth, and his logic was the supreme method of thought. Upon his philosophy and logic the entire structure of scholastic theology and science was constructed. But, unfortunately, this foundation was itself all too fragile.

At the close of the 15th century, Theodore of Gaza and John of Trebizond—both ardent Peripatetics—translated a number of the works of Aristotle from the original Greek. It was soon discovered that this genuine Aristotle differed

essentially from the Aristotle of the Schoolmen, especially upon points vital to Christian doctrine. In fact, the true Aristotle sharply contradicted not only the theology of the church but the new discoveries of science as well. Although Luther looked upon him as a "damnable heathen," yet he hesitated to reject all of his writings. Peter Ramus, however, graduating in 1536 from the University of Paris, defended as his thesis the proposition: "All that Aristotle has said is false." No proposition could have been more audacious, for every university of Europe, as well as the Roman Church, looked upon Aristotelianism as the repository of all truth in philosophy and science. A few years later, Ramus renewed his attack by two epoch-making works on logic: *Institutions of Dialectic* and *Animadversions on Aristotle*. The logic of Ramus was based upon actual experience and usage. It attained a widespread influence, and aided materially in bringing in the realistic era of the 17th century. The downfall of Aristotelianism carried with it the immediate decline of the scholastic method and doctrine.

(3) *Scholastic methods of instruction criticized.* The power of the Roman Church, scholastic theology, and the existing practices in the schools were all so closely bound together that one could not be destroyed without affecting another. The struggle against medieval methods of instruction and training was led by Luther, in Germany; Erasmus and Vives, in the Netherlands and England; and Rabelais and Ramus, in France. Luther most violently assailed the schools, the subjects which were taught, and the texts used. Oftentimes in criticizing the objects of his dislike, he was not overparticular as to meety of language. He termed the schools "hells, purgatories where a boy was forever tormented with cases and tenses, and where he learned nothing, by reason of ceaseless flogging, trembling, woe and anguish." In the same spirit he continued:¹⁰

Was it not a burning shame that formerly a boy must needs study twenty years or longer only to learn a jargon of bad Latin, and then to turn priest and say mass? And he, who finally arrived at this pinnacle of his hopes, was

¹⁰ Barnard, Henry, *German Teachers and Educators*, p. 149. Hartford, Brown & Gross, 1878.

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accounted happy. . . . But, for all this, he remained a poor illiterate man all his days, and was neither good to cluck nor to lay eggs. Such are the teachers and guides that we have had to put up with, who knew nothing themselves, and accordingly were unable to teach anything that was either good or true. Yea! they did not even know how to learn, any more than they did how to teach. And, why was this so? It was because there were no other books accessible, save the barbarous productions of the monks and sophists.

Luther's attack upon the Roman Church and upon the schools, together with his new doctrine of individual religious liberty, played a very large part in causing a sudden decline of the existing institutions in Germany. The collapse of the schools and the inner causes of their downfall will be considered later.

Vives, undoubtedly the most scientific student of education in that day, criticized the methods of instruction employed in the schools. He was the first to point out, from the standpoint of psychology, the function of sense impressions, and to insist upon inductive thinking as opposed to the memoriter and authoritarian teaching which was universally employed. He also opposed the use of disputation, the chief method of advanced training in university and secondary instruction. Of this he said: ¹¹

When a boy is brought to school, on the very first day, immediately he is taught to wrangle, though as yet unable to talk. The same practice is followed in grammar, in the poets, in history, in dialectic and rhetoric, in every subject. Nothing is so clear that some bit of a question cannot be raised about it, and, even as a wind, be stirred into action. Beginners are accustomed never to be silent, lest at any time they should seem to have ceased speaking. At breakfast they wrangle; after breakfast they wrangle; at supper they wrangle; after supper they wrangle. At meals, at the bath, in the sweating room, in the temple, in the city, in the country, in public, in private, in every place, at every time, they are wrangling.

¹¹ Watson, Foster, *Luis Vives*, pp. 18-19. Oxford University Press, 1922.

This method of disputation had many beneficial effects upon young scholars but had sadly degenerated into a contest of wits and bombast. Instead of leading the young to the love of truth and to more accurate methods of research, it had become so overemphasized that it was having precisely the opposite effect. Moreover, this exaggerated use of disputation was turning many against the university system.

Rabelais and the old education. Satire is frequently a more successful instrument in discrediting outworn forms and institutions than is serious censure. This means had been effectively used some years before by Erasmus in *The Praise of Folly*, and also by the Humanists who wrote *Letters of Obscure Men*. Rabelais, a French monk and physician, in a grotesque and ribald allegory made Frenchmen laugh at the old education. He portrayed a giant youth, Gargantua,¹² brought up according to the medieval custom. In the first place, he was taught by a wonderful master of Sophism, called Holofernes,

" . . . who taught him his A. B. C.'s so well, that he could say it by heart backwards; and this took him five years and three months. Then he read to him *Donat, le Facet, Theodolet*, and *Alanus in Parabolis*.¹³ These took him thirteen years, six months and two weeks. But you must remember that in the meantime he did learn to write in Gothic characters, and that he wrote all his books; for the art of printing was not then in use. . . .¹⁴ After that was read unto him *De Modis Significandi* and . . . a rabble of others; and herein he spent more than eighteen years and eleven months, and was so well versed therein that in school disputes with his fellow-students, he would recite it by heart, backwards; and he did sometimes prove on his fin-

¹² Rabelais, F., *The Works of Rabelais*, pp. 33-34. London, Chatto and Windus.

¹³ Donatus, a Roman rhetorician, wrote his *Ars Grammatica* in the 4th century; the text was in universal use for over a thousand years, probably the most successful textbook ever written. The author's name came to be used as a synonym for grammar. *Le Facet* was a work on morals. *Theodolet* was an allegory against paganism. *Alanus in Parabolis* comprised the writings of Alain de Lille.

¹⁴ This remark indicates how slowly old methods of education yield to progress.⁶ The art of printing had been known for eighty years when this satire was written.

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gers' ends to his mother that *De Modis Significandi* was not scientific. Then was read to him the *Compost* on which he spent sixteen years and two months.¹⁵ And at that very time, his preceptor died of the pox.

There was then placed over him an old cougher who read to him . . . [a number of treatises]¹⁶ by the reading whereof he became as wise as any we ever since baked in an oven.

Thus Rabelais ridiculed the length of time taken in teaching the young and the utter foolishness of what was taught. In the end, Gargantua, placed alongside a young fellow trained in the new education for "only two years," appeared to be nothing but "a fool, a sot, a dolt, and blockhead."

4. Schools at the Beginning of the Nordic Revolution

If one should wish to know in a detailed way the school facilities which existed immediately before the Reformation or the percentage of children who received any education, he would be disappointed, since there could be given to his question no definite answer such as that now furnished by statistics in every modern state. But it is known that many different kinds of schools were in existence, especially for boys. Girls were not so well provided for. Just what school, if any, a boy would attend depended somewhat upon the circumstances of birth, parentage, class in society, intelligence, native country, and his future aim in life. The following types of schools were pretty generally found in northern European lands:

(1) **Monastic or cloister schools.** Although the monastic movement had reached its climax long before this time, it was still vigorous and the numerous orders of monks recruited their ranks by receiving young lads whom they trained to take the vows and spend their lives under monastic rule. These institutions had grown immensely wealthy and, in consequence, offered their inmates a more secure and permanent living than could be found in any secular calling. Such monastic establishments were found everywhere throughout

¹⁵ *De Modis Significandi* involved methods of interpretation. The *Compost* was a treatise on calculating the calendar.

¹⁶ Rabelais mentions the treatises in detail.

Christendom, though in some countries they were not so rich, powerful, and extensive as in other lands.

(2) **Cathedral schools.** These schools had been growing for centuries. They trained the priests, and prepared boys who looked forward to a higher training and position in church or state or in commercial activities. Every cathedral provided such a school. Of a similar character were the *chantry* schools, which were conducted by priests who received their living from endowments provided both for the celebration of mass for the soul of the donors and for the instruction of poor youths. Similarly, the collegiate churches taught youths free of charge. In many of the larger towns, in addition to such schools as those mentioned above, a second or third school would be established in another church of the parish, but it would still be under the control of the scholasticus of the cathedral church school. All of these types were church schools, and instruction was conducted in the Latin language.

(3) **Burgh schools.** Next in order may be listed the *burgh* Latin grammar schools, and the vernacular schools under the management of the towns. A fuller explanation of these schools is necessary for an understanding of the evolution in the next era. In fact, it may be quite positively asserted that the most vital and significant feature of education during the 15th and 16th centuries was the establishment of schools fostered by the Hanseatic towns of northwestern Europe.

Civil control of schools. In all the Hanseatic towns, schools were established under municipal auspices; hence, in many such places the church authorities opposed this movement vigorously. Nowhere, however, did the schools appear earlier than in the busy towns of the Netherlands, and nowhere was there less opposition to their establishment. As already discovered, these towns enjoyed a greater measure of autonomy than those in other lands. The church was largely overshadowed, and the nobility were favorable to the schools, especially when education assisted the commercial activities in which they were interested. According to Douma, a well-known authority on Dutch education:¹⁷

¹⁷ Douma, H., *Geschiedenis van het Lager Onderwijs en de School-opvoeding in Nederland*, pp. 34-35. Purmerend, J. Muusses, 1900.

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In the fourteenth century the town was already in control of education, and would never again surrender it. The civil authorities appointed the teachers, paid their salaries and provided for the building and all the furnishings. . . . Instruction was a monopoly of the municipal authorities.

In most instances, the schools were supported in part by tuition fees, which were collected by the town authorities and not paid directly to the teachers. In some cases, the schools were actually free, however, and in them all children were welcomed.

Beginning of lay control and support of schools in England, and Scotland. During the early Middle Ages the church encountered but little opposition in exercising control over the schools of England and Scotland. It is true that ecclesiastical control was resisted in secular courts, and that King Edward III expressly asserted that pleas respecting patronage of grammar schools were to be referred to the King's courts; but church control of the schools was rarely disputed. In the later Middle Ages, however, British freemen, below the rank of the gentry, greatly increased in wealth, power, and prestige. Religious, craft, and merchant guilds were chartered, as were municipal guilds; and in Scotland there was actually a league of burghs. Through these chartered bodies, members of the middle class engaged in various governmental, religious, and social activities. Many guilds supported and controlled schools; a famous example of this type of guild school was the grammar school of Stratford-on-Avon, owned and controlled by the Guild of the Holy Cross. In some cases, wealthy laymen endowed schools and placed them under the control of chartered bodies of laymen. In other instances, municipal corporations supported schools which were controlled by officials of the church; but many schools supported by town governments were, certainly before the end of the 15th century, taken under the full control of the town governments.¹⁸ There were many such burgh, or town, schools in Scotland.

¹⁸ De Montmorency, J. E. G., *State Intervention in English Education*, pp. 23, 24, 33-36. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1902. Grant, James, *Burgh Schools of Scotland*, pp. 30-34, 94-109. London, W. Collins, Sons and Company, 1876.

Two grades of schools. Private or hedge schools, such as sprang up in other Germanic lands at this time, were not permitted in the towns of the Netherlands. In public institutions, full provision was made for all classes of students. Two types of schools were prevalent: first, the *common* schools; and second, the *learned* schools.

In the common schools, reading and writing were taught in the vernacular. As these institutions were established for the great middle class—in other words, for the artisans and small-business people—arithmetic was also an important subject of instruction. As early as the 13th century, French likewise was taught in many of these schools, for this language was well-nigh indispensable in business. Frenchmen were often employed to teach bookkeeping. In the 14th century, French was regarded in some of the provinces of the Netherlands as the final requisite of a good education. It was the language of the court, of the official class, and of business. Since it was favored by the democratic element, even in the small schools of the towns the children of the common people were taught to read and write French.

Such elementary schools were looked upon as practical, while the learned schools, or the Latin schools, were considered theoretical or purely cultural. The Latin schools were likewise, however, under municipal control. They met the needs of the higher commercial classes and of all those who sought to enter professional life.

Extent of cultural opportunity. All authorities agree that learning was more widely diffused in the Netherlands than in any other country. Guicciardini, an Italian historian, testified that "even the peasants in Holland could read and write well."¹⁹ Motley, the chief historian of the Netherlands, paints a remarkable picture of the learning and culture of these peoples. He tells us:²⁰

It was a land where every child went to school, where almost every individual inhabitant could read and write,

¹⁹ Davies, C. M., *History of Holland and the Dutch People*, Vol. I, p. 487. Quoted by Campbell, Douglas, *The Puritan in Holland, England, and America*, Vol. II, p. 340. New York, Harper & Brothers, 1893.

²⁰ Motley, John Lothrop, *The United Netherlands*, Vol. IV, p. 432, and pp. 566-567. New York, Harper & Brothers, 1867.

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where even the middle classes were proficient in mathematics and the classics, and could speak two or more modern languages. . . .

An excellent reason why the people were so well governed, so productive, and so enterprising, was the simple fact that they were an educated people. There was hardly a Netherlander—man, woman, or child—that could not read and write. The school was the common property of the people, paid for among the municipal expenses. In the cities, as well as in the rural districts, there were not only common schools but classical schools.

In the burgher families it was rare to find boys who had not been taught Latin, or girls unacquainted with French. Capacity to write and speak several modern languages was very common, and there were many individuals in every city, neither professors nor pedants who had made remarkable progress in science and classical literature. The position, too, of women in the commonwealth proved a high degree of civilization. They are described, as virtuous, well-educated, energetic, sovereigns in their households, and accustomed to direct all the business at home.

Undoubtedly the inhabitants of the Netherlands were the most highly educated and progressive people in the modern world at that time. They were also the wealthiest and the most artistic.

The culture of the Netherlands spread along the Rhine and over into Germany. As Janssen states: ²¹

One is guilty of no historical inaccuracy in inferring, roundly, that from the fourteenth century onward every market town, or, at any rate, every bigger town in the Upper Palatinate had its own school.

Frankfort on the Main had three collegiate schools, which in 1478 totaled 318 pupils. Brunswick had two municipal Latin schools. In 1490, Zwickau had, in a two-story building, a school of four classes with 900 students. This school was supported by an endowment. In 1491, Görlitz had six teachers employed and from 500 to 600 pupils. Emmerich,

²¹ Janssen, Johannes, *History of the German People at the Close of the Middle Ages*, Vol. XIII, p. 30, note 1. London, K. Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., 1905.

on the lower Rhine, in 1503 had a school of six classes; in 1510 there were 450 pupils; and eleven years later the number had risen to 1500. Schlettstadt, in Alsace, in 1517 had 900 pupils. Nuremberg, one of the wealthiest and most aggressive commercial towns, had four Latin schools.

(4) **Brethren of the Common Life.** One of the most interesting factors in pre-Reformation education was the far-reaching work of the Brethren of the Common Life. This organization was not a monastic order in the usual sense of the term, for the members took no vows, did not separate themselves from ordinary human affairs, and did not live, as the friars did, by begging. They dwelt together in "houses," labored at all sorts of tasks, practiced communism, and helped the poor. Their primary purpose was the cultivation of that simple, spiritual living which had produced the admirable example of piety and devotion. Thomas à Kempis, reputed author of *The Imitation of Christ* (*De Imitatione Christi*). Religiously they were related to the Wycliffe movement in England, and the Hussite in Bohemia. They preached the Gospel in the vernacular to the common people, and translated the Scriptures and circulated copies widely among the poor. The order received the approval of the Pope, but its activities helped to lay the foundation for the Protestant revolution.

Education was apparently not within the original intent of the aims of the Brethren. But they soon began to utilize the schools as the most effective instrument for realizing their purposes; and this became the chief source of their fame. In general they did not establish schools, but connected themselves with the public schools of the various towns. They furnished hospices for poor boys, and employed them at various kinds of work by means of which they could earn a living, for example, by copying the Scriptures and textbooks for the schools. In an age when there was practically no discipline among schoolboys, the Brethren introduced control, in addition to a number of other reforms. The Brethren were the first to appreciate the new learning of the Renaissance and to urge the teaching of the classical authors. Eloquence was cultivated in connection with the revival of interest in preaching. Their greatest service was in thus uniting true Christian piety with genuine appreciation of humanistic learning. Their work prepared for the Reformation.

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By the beginning of the Reformation, all northwest Europe was permeated with the influence of these men. One of their leaders, Busch, listed fifty schools under their charge by 1470. Later, as many more were added; moreover, through the scholars they trained, the influence of the Brethren penetrated everywhere. Their original center was in Deventer, Holland; but from the Netherlands their school activity spread up the Rhine to Switzerland, then into Germany on the one side, and to France on the other. Their schools furnished the models for the reorganization and reform of all the large schools of western Germany. John Wessel was said to be the "second founder" of the University of Paris; Erasmus, though far from enthusiastic as to the efficiency of the order, carried their influence to England as well as to continental lands. Some of their schools became quite famous and enrolled several thousand students at one time. The school of John Sturm, at Strassburg, was a continuation of their work, and even the Jesuits owed much to their practices. Their chief contribution was a new conception of orderliness and discipline in school work.

Most of the great continental scholars of this period were the products of their schools or were in some way directly under their influence. Among these were: Johann Busch (1399-1479), John Wessel (1420-1489), Rudolf Agricola (1443-1485), Alexander Hegius (1433-1498), Louis Dringenberg (1430-1490), Wimpheling (1450-1528), John Reuchlin (1455-1522), Desiderius Erasmus (1465-1536), John Sturm (1507-1589), and Martin Luther (1483-1546).

Still another way in which the Brethren influenced culture was through their printing establishments. During the 14th and 15th centuries, the multiplication of all kinds of books, especially texts for students, had grown to large proportions and a considerable book trade had come into existence. This work involved copying books by hand—a slow, laborious, and, withal, costly process. Quite early the Brethren of the Common Life set up in their houses *scriptoria*, where poor boys were employed in this work of copying, and thus earned their own support and at the same time received an education. When the art of printing was introduced, the Brethren were quick to replace the *scriptoria* by printing presses. "In 1490, there were no less than sixty different printing establishments

carried on under the supervision of the Brethren."²² The celebrated schoolmaster, John Sturm, after studying for some years in the Liège School of the Brethren, attended the University of Louvain, where he set up a press; later at Paris he issued many editions of the Latin authors.

The general character of the works published by the Brethren was predominantly religious; the materials included the Scriptures, books of devotion, and texts used in the schools and universities. While the Brethren did not give these publications away, as did the monks, the books were sold at very low prices so that even the poor might possess them. Unlike many of the commercial publishers of the time, the Brethren aimed to meet the needs of the great middle and lower classes of people; accordingly, many of their works were printed in the vernacular tongues.

Instruction among the evangelical sects. The educational activities of the many evangelical sects scattered throughout central Europe have uniformly been ignored by educational historians. The importance of their contribution to the evolution of popular culture can no longer be overlooked. According to a recent authority, literacy was widespread among them:²³

All children could read and write; important passages of Scriptures were given as copy for writing, and also learned by rote. Portions of the Gospels were possessed not merely by their preachers, but also by the well-to-do and the more zealous. Every member was taught the Gospels especially, so that their inquisitors and the priests were amazed.

Not only men, but women too, frequently learned the Gospels by heart, and in one instance a common countryman could repeat from memory the entire book of Job. The meeting places of these peoples were sometimes called schools (*scholae*). It was notorious that even the less learned among them knew the Scriptures more thoroughly than the scholarly doctors.

²² Putnam, George Haven, *Books and Their Makers During the Middle Ages*, Vol. I, p. 400. New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1896-1897.

²³ Thudichum, Friedrich, *Papsttum und Reformation im Mittelalter*, p. 11. Leipzig, Eduard Schmidt, 1903.

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In general they knew only the Scriptures, but their leaders usually acquired a more extended knowledge. The catechism of the Waldensians was used extensively among many of these sects. The training of the leaders of the evangelicals was generally confined to the vernacular, though individuals were often familiar with the Greek and Latin languages, as well as the writings of Church Fathers. Before Luther's Reformation, the Bohemian Brethren, or Hussites, had printed the Scriptures in the vernacular, and they possessed a good system of schools and a celebrated university.

The point of greatest significance in all these efforts—of the evangelical Catholics, like the Brethren of the Common Life who inhabited the Rhine Valley, and likewise of the heretical sects, like the Hussites and the Waldensians—lies in their keen interest in diffusing a knowledge of reading so that every individual might know the Scriptures for himself. This missionizing impulse may well be considered the vital principle of any common-school education, but these peoples failed to establish a true system of education, for their training was confined to religion alone and to their own adherents exclusively.

Downfall of medieval schools. The new wine of Humanism and Protestantism could no longer be contained in the old schools of Catholic medievalism. None of the other institutions of the time showed a more immediate and decisive reaction to the reform movement. The greatest effect upon the schools was felt in Germany, and followed closely Luther's attack upon the abuses of the Roman Church. The new religious doctrines circulated everywhere with incredible speed, and aroused the highest pitch of popular enthusiasm. The downfall of the monasteries and cloisters put an end to the educational work which they had fostered for so many centuries. The cathedral and other church schools went down before the same attack. A similar fate overtook the town Latin schools, and also the German reading and writing schools. The latter, however, were not so completely deserted as were the schools that trained for the monkish life and the priesthood.

The universities were affected as seriously as were the lower schools. The University of Cologne, which had 370 students in 1516, found its enrollment decreased to 251 in 1521, and

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three years later matriculated only 54. Erfurt, the foremost seat of humanistic learning in Germany, enrolled 311 during the academic year 1520-1521. The following year only 120 matriculated; the next year, 72; and by 1527 the number had declined as low as 14.²⁴ The celebrated University of Vienna enrolled 661 new matriculants in 1519; the next year, only 569; and during the succeeding years the numbers continued to decrease. In 1525 the disputations at the university were given up for want of students, and by 1532 only 12 students enrolled. Rostock, the leading educational center in northern Germany, which had usually enjoyed an attendance of about 300, in 1521 matriculated 123; in 1524, 38; in 1525, 15; the next year, only 5; and in 1529, none.²⁵ In 1521 Leipzig had enrolled 340, and in 1526, only 81.

Wittenberg, where Luther, Melancthon, and Bugenhagen were teaching—the arsenal of the Lutheran revolt—experienced a peculiar fortune. For several years the number of students rose to phenomenal heights; then suddenly the enrollment fell to such a condition of depletion that Luther despaired and felt obliged to appeal to the Elector John Frederick of Saxony to rescue the institution. According to Janssen, who is not an unfair critic, there were 245 students in 1521; 285, the next year; and only 73, in 1527. In Heidelberg there were as many professors as students. The same disheartening decline took place among the Swiss universities. From Basle, the most flourishing center of printing, the wail arose in 1524: "The University is as though dead and buried. Empty are the chairs of the teachers, and empty the benches of the learners." In 1522, only 29 new students were matriculated at the University of Basle; and four years later, only 5.²⁶ Several institutions—among them, Erfurt—never recovered from their disastrous experience, but passed out of existence.

Reasons for the decline. What were the reasons for this wholesale desertion of both the higher and the lower schools at a time when Europe was seething with new intellectual energy? Erasmus, the most celebrated scholar of the period,

²⁴ Janssen, Johannes, *op. cit.*, Vol. XIII, p. 258.

²⁵ Paulsen, F., *Geschichte des gelehrten Unterrichts*, Vol. I, pp. 184-195. Leipzig, Veit & Co., 1896

²⁶ Janssen, Johannes, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, pp. 359-360.

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placed the blame squarely upon Luther: "Wherever Lutheranism prevails, there learning disappears," he charged in 1528. Even earlier than this, Luther had himself become profoundly distressed at the desertion of the schools. He blamed, in turn, the town authorities, the parents of the children, and the Devil. In 1529 he wrote: ²⁷

The members of town councils, and nearly all the municipal authorities let the schools go to ruin, as though they had had absolution from all responsibilities. Nobody seems to think that God earnestly wills that the children He sends us should be brought up to his praise and for His service; but everybody nowadays is in a hurry and scurry for his children to be earning temporal sustenance.

(1) The first cause for this decline of the schools was the violent denunciation by humanistic scholars, and more especially by Luther himself. He termed the universities "great gates of Hell"; he condemned the monasteries; and he called Aristotle a "damnable heathen," and human reason the "Devil's mistress." But it must not be overlooked that even before this time the monasteries and other ecclesiastical schools had come into disrepute and popular aversion. The monastic life contributed not a little to the bitter disfavor in which these institutions were generally held.

(2) Another cause lay in the attitude of the common people toward the products of the schools. Through the years preceding the Reformation, people generally had conceived an intense hatred and distrust of all higher learning and learned men. They felt that the priests, who were the chief representatives of learning, had purposely duped and led them astray from the simple truth of the Gospel, and that the lawyers were using their knowledge of law to deceive and cheat the people out of their rights. They believed that worldly learning and dissoluteness, intellectual pride and chicanery were inherently and always associated. Now that they had the Scriptures in the vernacular to teach them the truth of the Gospel and how to live simple and good lives, they saw no need of the ancient languages and the learning of the schools.

(3) A third cause for the decline of the schools lay in the relation which an educational system bears to the securing of

²⁷ Janssen, Johannes, *op. cit.*, Vol. XIII, p. 18.

a livelihood. Parents had sent their children to school to prepare them to secure positions which would afford a living. Up to this time the largest number of the most comfortable and desirable livings were in the gift of the church. Prebends, abbacies, benefices, bishoprics, cardinalates, curacies, bursaries, chancellorships, endowed priesthoods, and various other clerical positions and livings abounded. Generally speaking, the poor entered the monasteries or cloisters where a living was assured. The rich and ambitious entered the secular services of the church because of numerous preferments. But any boy might rise to a position of great power, wealth, and celebrity. "A butcher's son might become a cardinal; a fisherman's boy fill the chair of Saint Peter."²⁸ Girls had two choices of support: first, to marry and have a family and home; or second, to enter a convent, where a satisfactory living was assured.

The vast number of such ecclesiastical livings can be guessed from a single example. In the old Hanse free city of Lübeck there were five parishes, each with its large parish church and numerous chapels. The city itself had a population between 30,000 and 50,000 people. At the time of the Reformation, the cathedral supported sixty-six priests and another church had sixty-eight, while the total number of priests in the city was about eight hundred. This number meant a priest for every ten or twelve families in the town. In addition to these offices, monasteries and convents, as well as brotherhoods, existed in abundance.²⁹

Down to the time of the Reformation, education had trained the young directly for the kind of living and type of position expected of the individual. During the age of chivalry, the future knight practiced from boyhood the seven knightly arts; he received his training as a page in some noble house and, later, served as a squire to some knight. The future artisan was first apprenticed to a master, in whose house he resided to learn everything necessary for his station and calling. He then became a journeyman and, finally, a master craftsman. The future monk entered the monastery as a

²⁸ Beard, Charles, *op. cit.*, p. 14

²⁹ Ruccius, Walter M., *John Bugenhagen Pomeranus*, p. 75. Philadelphia, United Lutheran Publishing House, 1924.

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child; served a novitiate, practicing the rules of the order, and the manual crafts of the monkish life; and, when finally prepared, took the vows of the chosen order. Priests were trained, first of all, in the cathedral schools, where they acquired Latin, the language of the Catholic religion; later, the higher order of priests acquired, in the universities, a knowledge of the liberal arts, scholastic philosophy, canon law, and the more profound doctrines of the faith. Liberal education as we know it today did not appear before the humanistic revival.

The overthrow of the Roman Church, with all the monastic institutions and ecclesiastical foundations, threw civilization into wild disorder. All the offices, livings, and appointments within the gift of the ecclesiastical order were threatened with extinction. Furthermore, for some centuries there had been no more admirable feature of medieval civilization than the phenomenal flow of charity which furnished support to poor students. Among the innovations which the Reformation introduced was the doctrine that good works are not essential to salvation. As a result, the new movement dried up at its source the generous stream of charity which had nourished countless institutions and organizations of Christian benevolence, and had furnished livings for numberless scholars. In various lands the nobility plundered the monasteries, churches, and foundations, and appropriated the endowments to their own use.

As a consequence of the changed order of things, with no certainty of future appointments to offices and livings, parents lost all incentive to educate their children. Luther belabored the mercenary attitude of those parents who preferred rather to train their children for manual and commercial vocations than to send them to the learned school to become pastors, teachers, and civil servants. A new civilization was in process of formation, involving a new order of vocational life. Until these new livings had become the established order, and new schools could be organized that would train for the new posts, parents did not know definitely what training to give their children. How long the transition to the new order would take and what the new institutions would be no one could foresee.

(4) Finally, the process of readjustment was delayed by the intense and interminable theological wrangling and struggle which ensued. Throughout the 16th century, religious bigotry and bitterness hampered the schools; only when toleration became the general practice did progress become possible.

Four groups of educational reformers. The first half of the 16th century was an era of intense discussion of educational theory. The rediscovery during the previous century of the pedagogical writings of Plato, Plutarch, Quintilian, Cicero, and others of the ancient world aroused extraordinary interest in the training of the young. Moreover, the new educational views that were proposed were of the greatest significance, for they were instrumental in forming a new order of schools which was to endure down to our own day. The reformers were fully united in their contempt for medievalism in all its forms, but by no means did they see eye to eye in their plans for reorganization. In general it is virtually impossible, as well as misleading, to classify educational thinkers. There are, nevertheless, certain points of common agreement which may be observed among certain of the thinkers of that individualistic age. The lines that divided them into groups, strange to say, had little to do with the great religious schism. Staunch Catholics like More and the Jesuits were Humanists of about the same stripe as the Protestants Melancthon and Sturm. The differentiating lines were to be found in their ultimate aims and the use each made of the classical literatures.

With these dangers of classification noted, the leading thinkers of the day may be roughly divided into four groups: (1) Moralistic Humanists; (2) Religious Reformers; (3) Naturalistic Humanists; and (4) Stylists.

(1) *Moralistic Humanists.* This was the most extensive group. It included such scholars as Colet, Lily, and More, in England; Erasmus and Vives, in the Netherlands and England; Melancthon and Bucer, in Germany; and Budaeus and Ramus, in France. These men subscribed to the current slogan, *Res et verba*; but *res* (content or realities) signified to their minds truth as it is related to human life. They looked upon classical literature as the source of moral power in the formation of character. The ancient writings were

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storehouses of knowledge, especially the knowledge of man and of the art of living the best life.

The writings of Plato and Seneca were replete with the profoundest ethical wisdom and experience of the ages; their precepts, proverbs, and adages were calculated to make the youth reflect, and *Plutarch's Lives* taught them how to judge men and moral actions. Moreover, the humanistic scholars could point to numerous examples of wild young men who, caught by a powerful enthusiasm for classical literature, had become by their study sober and noble scholars. These Humanists were led to attribute to literature a moral influence and power which seems grossly exaggerated. Furthermore, many of these men, notably Erasmus, fully expected that an earnest devotion to humanistic learning would restore the Roman Church to its pristine purity and glory. They believed that the study of the ancient languages and, more particularly, of the Scriptures in the original tongues would bring back the Christianity of the New Testament. Relying on this hope, they declined to follow the doctrines of Luther, because they expected to reform the church from within.

(2) *Religious Reformers.* Among the Religious Reformers may be included: Luther, Bugenhagen, Calvin, and John Knox. Calvin was the most scholarly of the group and may be accounted the chief Humanist among them. All of these men agreed on one point: they made Latin the language of the school, and the vernacular, the language of the church. They looked upon the study of Latin and Greek as essential to the preservation of Christianity in its original purity. The revival of classical learning had been one of the chief causes which, by an exposure of the teachings and the claims of the Roman Church, led to its downfall. The growing opposition to the study of these languages was looked upon as a scheme of the Devil to plunge the world once more into degradation and corruption.

The Religious Reformers looked upon the Latin and Greek languages as the great and indispensable means for understanding the Scriptures and the writings of the Church Fathers. They were not so much interested in the classical authors as such; in fact, they felt that many ancient authors were to be shunned because of their licentiousness. Latin eloquence was to be cultivated, not for its own sake, but as

a help in preaching. The difference between these reformers and the Moralistic Humanists is not very great: the former emphasized more the religious literature of the Christian centuries; the latter placed a higher value upon the moral teachings of the pagan authors, and were more deeply influenced by the dignity and beauty of their writings.

(3) *Naturalistic Humanists*. Among the Naturalistic Humanists may be classed the Spanish-born Juan Luis Vives, the chief educational writer of the period; and Rabelais, the rollicking French satirist who rose to the height of prophecy and whose ideas are still a living force, while those of more substantial scholars have long since been forgotten. These two were interested in the ancient literatures for what they had to offer, not so much in the way of moral precepts, but rather in psychology, geography, history, and knowledge of the great world of nature. It is probable that the study of medicine may account for their profound and direct interest in nature. While both recognized the evils of the church, neither gave great attention to theology.

(4) *Stylists*. This name has been given to all those practical Schoolmen who followed the aims and used the methods of John Sturm of Strassburg. These scholars received their inspiration from the Italian Renaissance of that final period when formalism had become dominant. Their goal was to train the student in the idiom, phraseology, and manner of speech of Cicero. The entire course of study from childhood on had as its objective the attainment of Ciceronian eloquence. This same objective was set up by the Jesuits for the students of their colleges.

Erasmus. It may well be doubted whether any scholar was ever more revered and worshipped by his contemporaries. Born in Rotterdam in 1465 and educated chiefly under Alexander Hegius at Deventer, Erasmus might be considered the most celebrated product, at once, of Dutch and humanistic culture. He did not, however, enjoy his early schooling under the Brethren of the Common Life, and in later years he harshly criticized their methods.

For higher training he went to the University of Paris, which was still, after a lapse of almost three centuries, the foremost center of learning outside of Italy. The university was at this time taking on the new learning. Here Erasmus

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taught Latin and took up the study of Greek. He made several prolonged visits to England, where he lectured briefly at one time at Oxford and later at Cambridge, but where he mainly engaged in learned intercourse with Colet, More, and



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others who were introducing the new learning. By nature rather timid and averse to conflict, he declined to join the Protestant cause. Nevertheless, he deplored as deeply as anyone the degeneracy of the Roman Church, and labored industriously to reinstate Christianity in its original purity and simplicity. He held that reform could be more effectively brought about from within the church than it could by schismatic and revolutionary measures.

The aims of his life may be stated, broadly, as follows: to refine taste, to purify morals, to promote the unity and peace of Europe, to reform ecclesiastic abuses, and to correct theological errors. The means by which this vast program could be effected was free and exact scholarship. The knowledge needed was contained in the Scriptures, in patristic literature, in the classical authors, and in the interpretations of the church. Erasmus hoped for one universal language for all scholars, the living Latin tongue; for an undivided Catholic Christianity; and for a single culture for a united Europe, a culture rooted in the life of Athens and Rome, but vitalized and refined by ancient classical literature and the Scriptures.

The most significant contributions of Erasmus to the education of his day may be summarized under three headings: (1) Service to exact scholarship; (2) Discussion of educational problems; and (3) Textbooks.

(1) *Service to exact scholarship.* Erasmus was everywhere revered as the incomparable and most erudite scholar of the day. He spoke and wrote Latin with meticulous purity and beauty of diction; likewise, among all the scholars of northern Europe, he had the best command of the Greek language. His knowledge and appreciation of the classical and patristic writers was comprehensive and exact. He did more than any other man of his day to edit accurate texts of a number of classical authors. His edition of the Greek New Testament was a work of extraordinary merit; it had no little effect upon the religious revival of the time, and may even be said to have anticipated the critical textual scholarship of our day. All in all, no man in northern Europe contributed so much as did Erasmus toward the restoration of the exact languages and learning of the ancient Latin and Hellenic worlds.

(2) *Discussion of educational problems.* In an age when crude medieval training was rapidly being driven out by the enthusiasm for new learning, questions of educational practice necessarily demanded attention. The principles and the procedure of humanistic pedagogy had to be worked out. Just what should be the aims of Humanism had also to be settled.

There was general agreement that the foundation of an education must be the complete mastery of speaking and writing Latin, together with a thorough knowledge of Greek:

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but there was considerable variation of opinion in regard to working out the details. What practice should be adopted for the introduction to the Latin language? Should it be the grammatical method, or the conversational? How should grammar be taught: as a series of rules, or, according to the inductive method, through a study of usage as found in the best authors? There also existed a wide difference of view as to the authors which should be read.

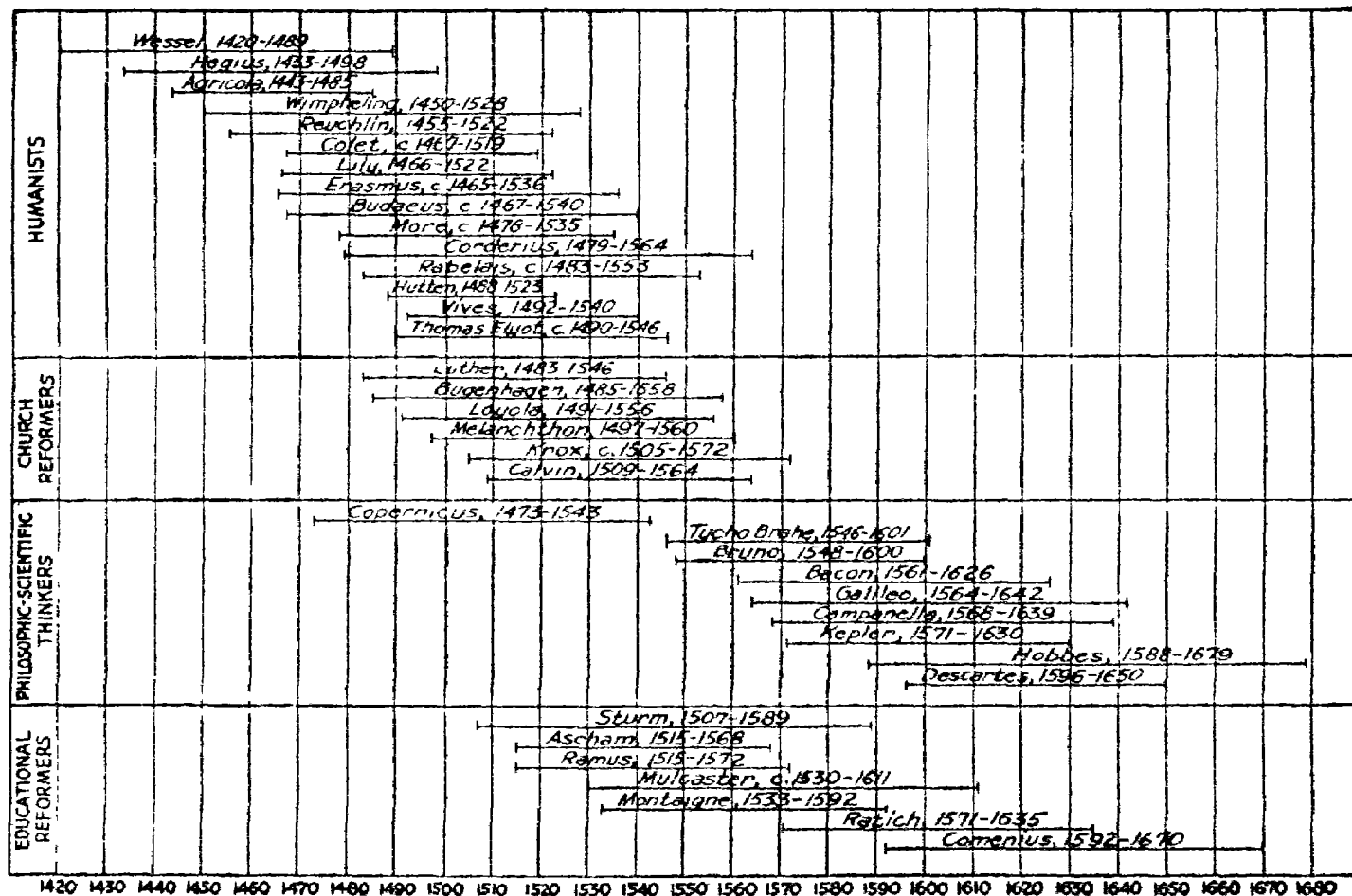
Again, the question of the best type of school was discussed. Should it be private tutoring in the home, and should such groups be confined to a selected number of students? Or, should the child be sent to one of the masters who kept a private school in the town? Or, was the public town-school the best? These, as well as numerous other problems, were discussed by the thinkers in education, Erasmus among them.³⁰

The educational doctrines of Erasmus form a remarkable compilation of principles culled from ancient writers generally and of shrewd observations made as pupil and teacher. The main sources were naturally Quintilian and Plutarch. The aim of education was, according to Erasmus, the "good man" who had been refined and informed by the study of classical literature. Latin was not considered an end in itself, as it was by the stylistic Humanists, Sturm and his followers. Against this extreme and limited purpose of humanistic study, Erasmus wrote the *Ciceronianus*, in which he severely criticized the silly imitation of Ciceronian style. For him, although language was of vital importance, it was, after all,

³⁰ The chief writings in which Erasmus expressed his views on education are as follows:

1. *De Ratione Studii*: a treatise on the right method of instruction. 1511
2. *Dialogus Ciceronianus*: a dialogue on the best style of speaking. 1528.
3. *De Pueris statim ac Liberaliter Instituendis*: a work dealing with the constant and liberal instruction of youth. 1529.
4. *De Civilitate Morum Puerilium Libellus*: a book of good manners for children.

Several of these works will be found translated in Woodward, W. H., *Desiderius Erasmus*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1904.



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only the instrument by which moral values were to be attained. The supreme effort of ancient thought had been directed toward the "art of living," and the results of such effort were expressed in the classical literature, laws, religion, and institutions. All of this culture was included in Humanism, and the study of it was believed, according to Erasmus, to be the best means of producing the wise and happy life.

(3) *Textbooks*. To accomplish his purposes, Erasmus wrote a number of textbooks that were printed in every country of Europe and continued to be used for several centuries. Several of these books are of the same style; they contain short sentences embodying quaint conceits, proverbs, maxims, witty utterances, or pithy sayings such as in ancient times were the current coin of philosophy. *The Colloquies* comprised the most popular text. In them Erasmus made an effort to teach boys to speak Latin by talking about the common objects of life.

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CHAPTER III

PROTESTANT SCHOOL REFORM

Luther and Other German Reformers

1. LUTHER

Life. Although there were many urgent reasons for the great Nordic revolt, the central driving force in Germany was the irresistible demand for a religious and moral reformation. This was chiefly due to the intense conviction, the contagious faith and piety, and the elemental courage of Martin Luther. He did more than any other individual to provoke the storm and to unite and direct the energies of the great social, economic, and cultural revolution.

Luther was born at Eisleben, Saxony, in 1483, and spent his childhood at Mansfield. His father was a poor miner. In spite of poverty, the boy secured the usual sort of education in the schools of Magdeburg and Eisenach. Later he attended the University of Erfurt, just when it was becoming interested in the humanistic movement. After his university course Luther became an Augustinian monk. He was called to the faculty of the newly formed University of Wittenberg, from which he carried on his work of reform. It was here that he was converted through reading the Scriptures, and reached the conviction that salvation comes by faith and not as a result of good works. Henceforth this conviction became the dominant motive of everything he did. In 1517, when he nailed his ninety-five theses to the door of the university chapel, he took the first decisive step in his career as a reformer.

Educational efforts. For Luther, the reform of the schools was an essential factor in the renovation of the church. He approached the educational situation, not as a Humanist nor yet as a practical schoolmaster, but rather as a religious reformer and statesman. He had more to say about the need

for reorganization of the schools than any of his contemporaries, but he dealt chiefly with broad general principles; the details he left for others to work out. His educational views and reforms grew directly out of his contacts with the rapidly changing conditions that characterized the decade from 1520 to 1530.



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During these years he frequently discussed education, especially in his addresses, sermons, table talks, letters, commentaries, and other writings. The most important of these discussions are as follows: (1) *Address to the Christian Nobility of the German Nation respecting the Reformation of the Christian Estate* (1520), (2) *Letter to the Mayors and Aldermen of all the Cities of Germany in Behalf of Christian Schools* (1524), and (3) *Sermon on the Duty of Sending Children to School* (1530).

Contradictory views of Luther's services. Luther's educational services have been extolled in superlative terms by some, and as greatly berated by others. One controversy centers about his relation to the rise of the state common school; another finds its focal point in his attitude toward higher learning, particularly humanistic culture.

A sharp conflict as to Luther's significance for popular education divides educational historians, as well as other writers. Dr. F. V. N. Painter characterizes the *Letter to the Mayors and Aldermen* as "the most important educational treatise ever written." He concludes his study of Luther as an educator by declaring: ¹

Luther deserves henceforth to be recognized as the greatest, not only of religious, but of educational reformers.

A still later American writer adopts the same point of view: ²

Luther, therefore, stands forth as the greatest educator of his age, and in the very front rank of the world's greatest educators.

Dr. T. M. Lindsay, a Scotch historian of the Reformation, reaches a similar conclusion: ³

It is to Luther that Germany owes its splendid educational system in its roots and in its conception. For he was the first to plead for a universal education—for an education

¹ Painter, F. V. N., *Luther on Education*, p. 168. St. Louis, Mo., Concordia Publishing House, 1928.

² Bruce, G. M., *Luther as an Educator*, p. 299. Minneapolis, Augsburg Publishing House, 1928.

³ Lindsay, T. M., *Luther and the German Reformation*, p. 238. New York, Scribner, 1900.

of the whole people, without regard to class or special life-work.

Many other writers of general history, church history, and educational history have expressed the same high appraisal of Luther's contribution to popular education.

On the opposite side range numerous Catholic and a few non-sectarian authorities. Janssen, in his voluminous *History of the German People*,⁴ is especially critical of Luther and the effects of his new doctrines upon the schools. Paulsen, the German philosopher and educational historian, treats the question with more discrimination but does not attribute the origin of popular education to the credit of the "Great Reformer."⁵

This extreme diversity of view is occasioned not so much by bigotry or religious prejudice as by more inherent causes. The contradictory attitudes which Luther himself expressed at different periods of his experience, together with a certain general indefiniteness of view, are largely responsible for the varied opinions. A change occurred in Luther's attitude toward the common people during the period from 1525 to 1530, when three new experiences profoundly affected his judgment and altered his views. These events were the Peasants' War in 1524-1525, the church-school survey in 1527-1528, and the spread of the Anabaptist doctrines. To appreciate both Luther's contribution to education and his change of view, it is essential to reconstruct, in part, the drama of his life from 1520 to 1530.

Religious and educational reform. In 1520, Luther published in rapid succession three of his most powerful and epochal works. The first was the *Address to the Christian Nobility*, in which he pleaded with the German princes to undertake the reform of the church. He urged that the university curriculum be revised, and he suggested elementary schools for boys and also for girls in which "the chief and most common lesson should be the Scriptures."

⁴ Janssen, Johannes, *History of the German People at the Close of the Middle Ages*, Vols I, III, and XIII. London: K. Paul, Trench, Trubner, and Company, 1905.

⁵ Paulsen, F., *German Education, Past and Present*, pp. 76-77. London, T. F. Unwin, 1908.

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The second treatise was entitled *The Freedom of a Christian Man*. In this dynamic work Luther gave expression to the growing sense of individual independence and judgment which was springing up everywhere in the Teutonic breast. The treatise added vitally to the budding self-respect of the lower classes, and encouraged the peasantry to question the galling tyranny of their petty feudal overlords and to lay claim in a humble way to the most ordinary rights of common humanity.

The third treatise, which issued red-hot from Luther's soul, was *On the Babylonish Captivity of the Church*. This scathing denunciation of the doctrines and practices of the papacy marked his complete determination to break with the Roman hierarchy.

These three publications threw the German world into a state of religious and educational chaos. The following year Luther was cited before the judgment seat of the papal church at the Diet of Worms and condemned as a heretic. But this condemnation did not turn the mounting tide of revolution. The monasteries were soon emptied of their inmates; the universities lost their students as if a terrible plague had come upon them; students deserted the Latin grammar schools; and the churches began to suffer. Just what was going to happen by way of reorganization was uncertain.

New problems. Among the serious practical problems which now confronted Luther was that of finding pastors for the churches. In former times the innumerable benefices, prebends, and similar livings had taken care of poor boys and young men who were studying for the priesthood and for other professions. But these livings were swept away in the revolution which was now taking place. Moreover, when once appointed, a priest had formerly been assured a good living; under the new order there was as yet no certainty that the pastoral office would provide a livelihood. Parents refused to have their sons study for a vocation so uncertain. As a result of these conditions the universities were deserted,^o and Germany faced the utter collapse of all culture and learning.

What made matters still worse was the attitude of the common people toward the study of the learned languages. Having obtained the Scriptures in German, the people saw

^o See pages 66-67 of this text.

no reason why their sons should spend years in the study of the forgotten tongues in which they were originally written. As Luther rather savagely put it: ⁷

But, you say again, if we shall and must have schools, what is the use to teach Latin, Greek, Hebrew, and the other liberal arts? Is it not enough to teach the Scriptures, which are necessary to salvation, in the mother tongue? To which I answer: I know, alas! that we Germans must always remain irrational brutes, as we are deservedly called by surrounding nations

This obscurantist attitude on the part of the people toward the study of learned languages aroused Luther's passionate opposition. He regarded such a point of view as a "malicious trick of Satan"; for he believed it was the return of the classical languages which had been of the most vital service to mankind: (1) The greatest service of the Renaissance had been a recovery of the Scriptures through a knowledge of these languages; (2) it had also led to an unmasking of the false claims and evils of the papacy; and (3) it had brought back all the learning of the ancient world.

Furthermore, Luther foresaw that in the great struggle with the Roman Catholic hierarchy Protestant pastors would need to know Latin, Greek, and Hebrew. This view has been well stated by Dr. E. Nohle: ⁸

As the reformatory movement, at least among the leaders, had started from a scientific dispute over the foundations of church doctrines, so the future existence of the new church was dependent upon the possession of scientific weapons in the battle for the right creed, and for this purpose knowledge of the three ancient languages was absolutely necessary.

Luther felt so strongly about the matter that he pronounced the neglect of the languages "a disgrace and a sin." For, as he declared, "we cannot preserve the Gospel without the ancient languages. They are the sheath wherein is contained

⁷ Painter, F. V. N., *op. cit.*, p. 183. See also Eby, Frederick, *Early Protestant Educators*, p. 57. New York, McGraw-Hill, 1931.

⁸ Nohle, E., "History of the German School System," in *Report of the United States Commissioner of Education (1897-1898)*, Vol. I, p. 30.

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the sword of the spirit: they are the shrine that holds the jewel."

Luther's plan for reconstruction. Confronted with the sudden and rapidly spreading decline of educational interests, Luther took immediate and energetic measures to bring about reorganization. First of all, in the year 1524 he issued a stirring appeal to the mayors and aldermen of the cities of Germany to revive their municipal schools. There were well over one hundred wealthy and powerful municipalities which, independent of the princes and nobles, were free members of the Holy Roman Empire. For several centuries these free towns had conducted burgh Latin schools and also some vernacular reading and writing schools. Now that Luther had definitely decided to overthrow the authority of the Roman Catholic Church—which, as the mother of schools, had always asserted a proprietary right over all education—the first and, in fact, the most natural step, under the circumstances, was to urge the city authorities to promote new schools in harmony with the Protestant view. Luther appealed to these towns for the following reasons: (1) They had for several centuries been asserting the right to establish schools independent of the authority of the Roman Church. (2) These free towns were more independent of church influence than the individual princes. (3) At this time the people of the towns were generally in enthusiastic accord with Luther's break with the authority at Rome. (4) The towns had it within their power to utilize the wealth of the churches and of the cloisters for the support of the new schools.

Luther favored Latin schools. What kind of schools did Luther urge the towns to set up? The new schools were to be Latin grammar schools which would lay the foundation for professional study; first, to train for the ministry; second, to train for the other learned professions; and third, to train for the various civil positions in town and state. The schools must offer the boys a thorough knowledge of Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, with which they might clearly understand the Scriptures and the writings of the Church Fathers. Whether or not the students would become pastors did not matter greatly, for the study of these languages would help them to be better men. Religion and church music, also, were to form a large and important element in the curriculum of the new schools.

First school survey. Of far-reaching significance was Luther's appeal for a church-school visitation, or survey, of the principalities of Germany, in order to secure exact information in regard to conditions. In 1527, Luther himself took part in one of the first of these inspection tours, and he was profoundly moved by the dense ignorance and indifference, gross immorality and spiritual destitution which prevailed everywhere.

Causes of Luther's reaction. Meanwhile two other experiences aroused his deepest and bitterest antagonism. The first of these was the Peasants' War in 1524-1525, and the second was the Anabaptist movement.

It is an error to believe, as some writers have asserted, that Luther's emphasis several years earlier upon the doctrine of individual competency in spiritual matters, caused the revolt of the peasants. Popular discontent had been accumulating for a long time. There can be no doubt, however, that Luther's writings, so avidly devoured by the leaders of the lower classes in Germany, gave them renewed hope and confidence. Their long smouldering grievances burst into a bloody war in 1524. The demands of the peasants were modest indeed, and they were couched in such terms of Christian humility that even Luther was inclined to grant the justice of their claims. But the resort to armed conflict touched another spring of deep passion in the reformer, his immeasurable respect for civil authority. Passing by chance directly through the scene of conflict, he was aroused to the highest pitch of indignation and at once denounced the peasants in the fiercest manner.

Then another terror began to receive his censorious attention; this was the rise and rapid spread of Anabaptist doctrines. In Luther's eyes this heresy was even more wicked, and less to be tolerated, than the evils of the Roman Church. The more interesting is the whole situation when one recalls that these people were attempting to carry to their logical conclusion the very principles of individual liberty in religious affairs—as well as the right of everyone to interpret the Scriptures for himself—which Luther had espoused so enthusiastically a few years before.

These several experiences evidently produced a crisis in Luther's educational and religious views. He now turned quite positively to a confessional, or institutional, religion, and away

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from a simple reliance upon that experimental faith which had made him the courageous reformer of a few years earlier. Some quite positive alterations in his views on education came out of this crisis:

(1) Formerly he had demanded the free use of the Scriptures by everyone, young and old. "Should not every Christian," he cried, "be expected by his ninth or tenth year to know all the Holy Gospels containing as they do his very name and life?" This was written in 1520. After his contact with the Peasants' War and the Anabaptist movement, he came to believe that the free circulation of the Scriptures among the common people was a dangerous practice. He concluded that the masses were not capable of arriving at truth by the light of the Scriptures alone. Religious instruction must be definitely controlled by the church. To this end he wrote, in 1528-1529, the *Short Catechism* and the *Longer Catechism*, and required their use in place of the Scriptures. "The Catechism," he now declared, "is the right Bible of the laity; wherein is contained the whole sum of Christian doctrine necessary to be known of every Christian to salvation."⁹ Henceforth, Luther confined the religious instruction of the common people and of children in the schools to the catechisms. Moreover, they were to be taught precept upon precept, line upon line, without the liberty of individual interpretation.

(2) In his earlier period Luther had proclaimed the thesis: "A Christian man is the most free lord of all, and subject to none." Later he adopted the view that every child must be taught the Lutheran confession only, and at least outwardly every man must conform to and profess the religion of his prince. *Whose territory, his religion* (*Cujus regio, ejus religio*) was the future policy. Though Luther was more tolerant than most reformers and Catholics of that bloodthirsty era, he never reached an attitude of genuine religious toleration.

(3) Another alteration of his views may be seen in his attitude toward the vernacular tongue. Before the change, Luther had advocated the use of German and the study of Latin, Greek, and Hebrew. After this period he restricted the use of German to home reading and to religious instruction. In

⁹ Eby, Frederick, *op. cit.*, p. 97.

the school plan of Saxony, written in 1528 by Melancthon, the schools were specifically limited to teaching only in the Latin language. German and Greek were prohibited in no uncertain terms. Having assisted in its revision, Luther approved this plan. In his last great educational tractate, *On the Duty of Sending Children to School* (1530), he severely rebuked parents for sending their boys to the vernacular schools rather than to the classical schools, charging them with low, materialistic motives.

(4) Before the period of change, Luther had considered the church an independent organism, separate from the state and founded upon the Scriptures. Hereafter the church was more and more completely subordinated to the civil power. Luther regarded civil rulers as divinely commissioned to rule, not only in temporal, but in ecclesiastical affairs as well.

(5) Formerly Luther had desired every child to receive an education. Later his chief aim came to be to select the children of ability who might become leaders in church and state. All children were to receive religious instruction, but only the brighter ones were to go to the Latin schools.

State control and support of the schools. Luther's most significant innovation so far as Germany was concerned, lay in placing both the schools and the church under the immediate guardianship of the state, and in holding the civil authorities responsible for their establishment and support. Up to this time the Roman Church had clung to its authority over education with a mother's jealous care. Having reached the conclusion that the papal church was a usurper of power, Luther's profound reverence for authority led him to invest civil offices with all the sacred prerogatives and jurisdictions of divine sovereignty. In beginning the task of reforming the great abuses in the church, he had appealed to the princes and electors of Germany; it was their response and protection that saved him from repeating the tragedies of the earlier reformers, who were sent to the stake because of their efforts. He appealed to the princes on the ground that they derived their power and authority from God and were His representatives on earth. Furthermore, he held that they were as much responsible for the preservation of spiritual and cultural values as they were for the maintenance of order and security of life and property within their kingdoms. But his appeal involved

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the surrender of the ancient independence of the church and its subjection to civil authority. He thus debased religion to a subordinate position, and the pastors to the status of civil servants. Statecraft superseded priestcraft in the management of man, and the vast estates of church and monastery passed to the control of the secular princes.

In appealing to the authorities of the free towns, Luther followed the practice of the past; the independent cities of Italy had fostered academies, and practically all the Hanseatic towns of northern Europe had instituted both Latin and vernacular schools. Since the towns were more directly interested in the promotion of schools, they soon began their reorganization. The principalities, however, had to await a time of greater enlightenment and a deeper sense of paternalism on the part of the princes. In any case, Luther's action in giving the civil authorities the control of the schools was one of the momentous steps of this period. In doing so, he laid the foundation of state and national control of education throughout Germany.

Compulsory school attendance. Luther must be recognized as the first modern reformer to advocate compulsory school attendance. This idea he owed partly to the Old Testament and partly to the practice of the Turks. He insisted that it was the duty of municipal authorities and princes to establish schools or to require the people to do so; and he went so far as to demand that, for the sake of the state, the city, and the church, parents should be compelled to send their children to school.

He reached this conclusion as early as 1526, as the following letter to the Elector John of Saxony shows:¹⁰

If there is a town or a village which can do it, your Grace has the power to compel it to support schools, preaching places, and parishes. If they are unwilling to do this or to consider it for their own salvation's sake, then your Grace is the supreme guardian of the youth and of all who need your guardianship, and ought to hold them to it by force, so that they must do it. It is just like compelling them by

¹⁰ Smith, Preserved, and Jacobs, Charles M., *Luther's Correspondence and Other Contemporary Letters*, Vol. II, p. 384. Philadelphia, The Lutheran Publication Society, 1918. See also Eby, Frederick, *op. cit.*, p. 85.

force to contribute and to work for the building of bridges and roads, or any other of the country's needs.

Similarly, in the *Sermon* (1530), he was even more emphatically in favor of compulsory education:¹¹

I maintain that the civil authorities are under obligation to compel the people to send their children to school, especially such as are promising. . . . For our rulers are certainly bound to maintain the spiritual and secular offices and callings, so that there may always be preachers, jurists, pastors, scribes, schoolmasters, and the like. . . . If the government can compel such citizens as are fit for military service to bear spear and rifle, to mount ramparts, and perform other martial duties in time of war; how much more has it a right to compel the people to send their children to school, because in this case we are warring with the Devil. . . . The Turk does differently, and takes every third child in his Empire to educate for whatever he pleases. How much more should our rulers require children to be sent to school, who, however, are not taken from their parents, but are educated for their own and the general good, in an office where they have an adequate support?

This demand for compulsory education was based upon the public welfare. Educated children would make better civil servants, judges, doctors, preachers, and subjects. Naturally Luther could not have had in view the modern concept of enlightened voters. Yet, in holding up the ideal of the commonweal, he was leading the way to important future developments.

Home discipline. Luther received his views of education, as well as his views of doctrine, chiefly from the Scriptures, especially the Old Testament. He considered the Fourth Commandment, "Honor thy father and thy mother," as the foundation of all social order. He held that home training and obedience produced sound family life, and that good households were the foundation of good government in city, principality, and empire. In vigorous language he censured laxity in parental control and faulty methods of training. On the

¹¹ Painter, F. V. N., *op. cit.*, pp. 269-270; also Eby, Frederick, *op. cit.*, pp. 149-150.

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other hand, he frowned upon undue severity. In his childhood home he had suffered deeply from the harshness of his parents, yet, he held them in the highest respect and veneration through all his days. He loved his own children tenderly, and a more natural, happy family relationship can scarcely be imagined. There was nothing of the aloofness and frigidity of the Calvinistic home. The practice of home supervision by the church authorities, which Calvin instituted, was never suggested by Luther. Nevertheless, he regarded home discipline as the foundation of all institutional and social existence.

Vocational training. In his letter to the authorities of the cities in 1524, Luther wrote of trade and vocational training as follows:¹²

My idea is that boys should spend an hour or two a day in school, and the rest of the time work at home, learn some trade, and do whatever is desired.

Some writers find in this statement the origin of industrial training. A careful study of its significance does not warrant such a broad conclusion. All through the Middle Ages, children learned trades and crafts in the fashion that Luther advocated here. The revulsion of feeling against monastic and clerical life, combined with the passing away of charity and innumerable livings, had necessitated new means of earning a livelihood. The class of people who had formerly sent their children to school to fit them to secure these livings in religious vocations now turned their attention to practical arts and means of livelihood. It was notorious how few wished their sons to look forward to the uncertainties of life as pastors, teachers, or professional men.

In the *Letter to the Mayors and Aldermen of all the Cities of Germany*, Luther wrote:¹³

Because selfish parents see that they can no longer place their children upon the bounty of monasteries and cathedrals, they refuse to educate them. "Why should we educate our children," they say, "if they are not to become priests, monks, and nuns, and thus earn a support?"

¹² Painter, F. V. N., *op. cit.*, p. 199.

¹³ Painter, F. V. N., *op. cit.*, p. 171; also Eby, Frederick, *op. cit.* pp. 47-48.

This was written in 1524. Six years later he grew still more vehement. He ascribed the neglect of the schools to a new craftiness and cunning of the Devil. He berated parents who said "a knowledge of arithmetic and reading is enough, since we now have German books," and withdrew their children from the Latin school. He declared that "the common people are placing themselves in opposition to the schools, and wish to bring up their children without instruction other than that pertaining to their bodily wants." He thundered against these parents as "worshippers of Mammon," and as "Idolators," and charged that Satan was deluding them in order to keep people in ignorance.

Under the apprenticeship system, the practical arts were learned in the home. This movement for practical training came into conflict with the re-establishment of the learned schools. In his statement on learning a trade, Luther merely tried to show that school work need not necessarily interfere with this practical training in the home. There is no evidence that Luther was looking toward the combination of learning and manual labor that was usual in monastic discipline, nor yet toward the introduction of arts and handicrafts into the schools, as in the movement which was just beginning in some of the progressive schools of the Netherlands. Luther merely tolerated industrial training at home, but objected when it interfered with sending boys to the Latin school.

Schools for girls. Luther strongly encouraged the education of girls, especially along religious lines. In 1520 he declared ¹⁴

Would to God each town had also a girls' school, in which girls might be taught the Gospel for an hour daily, either in German or Latin! In truth, schools, monasteries, and convents were founded for this purpose, and with good Christian intentions.

Similarly, in 1524 he wrote ¹⁵

In like manner, a girl has time to go to school an hour a day, and yet attend to her work at home; for she sleeps, dances, and plays away more than that.

¹⁴ Eby, Frederick, *op cit*, p. 41.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 71.

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It is easy to presume that in this reform Luther was advancing far beyond his contemporaries. Such, however, was not the case. Unquestionably, Luther accorded woman a higher status than she had previously occupied in civilization, but the education of girls of the upper classes had long been in vogue. As he himself stated, the convents had been established for that very purpose. Moreover, some few schools for girls had long been in operation in the larger towns.

Subjects of instruction. What was to be taught in the elementary schools that Luther desired to establish? Primarily, religion, but a number of other subjects as well. His elementary curriculum is summed up in the following sentence:¹⁶

I would have them learn not only the languages and history, but also singing, instrumental music, and the whole course of mathematics.

Religion. At first Luther was emphatic in a demand for the use of the Scriptures themselves, as his *Address to the Nobility* (1520) declares:¹⁷

Above all, in schools of all kinds the chief and most common lesson should be the Scriptures, and for young boys the Gospels. . . . Should not every Christian be expected by his ninth or tenth year to know all the Holy Gospels, containing as they do his very name and life?

Where the Holy Scriptures are not the rule, I advise no one to send his child. Everything must perish where God's Word is not studied unceasingly.

Again, four years later he wrote:¹⁸

It behoves Christians at all times to use the Bible as their only book.

But his insistence upon the Scriptures did not continue; later he prescribed the use of the catechisms. For moral instruction he translated Aesop's fables, which he considered next to the Scriptures in importance. Religious instruction, which

¹⁶ Painter, F. V. N., *op. cit.*, p. 198; also Eby, Frederick, *op. cit.*, p. 70

¹⁷ Eby, Frederick, *op. cit.*, pp. 41-43.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 65.

was chiefly in the vernacular tongue, included preaching, prayers, catechism, reading of the Scriptures, and music.

Latin. Instruction other than religion was to be in the Latin language. Luther considered the study of this language in the elementary schools as absolutely indispensable. All boys, regardless of their future needs, were to study Latin in order to secure the elements of culture.

History. It was natural in this age, when men had rediscovered the ancient world with its literary and other treasures, that the study of history should be emphasized. To the Protestant reformers, the study of history was of great significance in combatting the claims of the Roman hierarchy; but it was as a means of understanding human nature, morals, and the growth of institutions that Luther recognized history's greatest value. "Historians," he declared, "are the most useful of men, and the best teachers." At another time he said: "How I regret that I did not read more poetry and history and that no one taught me in these branches."

Music. No educator since Plato had ascribed a higher educational value to music than did Luther. Before the Reformation all church music was in the Latin language. One of Luther's first movements for reform was the creation of a vernacular hymnology, so that the people might participate in the service of the church in a language they could understand. He wrote a number of hymns in the German tongue, and urged his friends who had poetic talent to do likewise. The first German hymnal was printed under his direction in 1524. Religious music henceforth became one of the chief interests of all German schools; for several centuries the school provided the choir for all church services. In his exalted love of music and his desire for its inclusion in the school curriculum, Luther was superior to the other reformers. To him may be attributed the fact that German education has been famous for producing a people with a universal passion for music.

Reform of higher instruction. Luther has been severely condemned by some as an obscurantist opposed to the highest culture, but he has been as greatly extolled by others as an advocate of learning. His contemporary, the prince of all European Humanists, Erasmus, made the charge: "Wherever Lutheranism prevails, culture and learning perish." Many later authorities both Catholic and Protestant, have

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taken the same¹⁹ critical attitude.¹⁹ Among the more recent, Janssen elaborates the charge at length. Luther denounced the universities as "dens of murderers," "temples of Moloch," and "synagogues of corruption." In a sermon preached in the year 1521 he actually declared:²⁰

The Universities were only worthy of being reduced to dust; nothing more hellish or devilish had ever appeared on the earth from the beginning of things, or ever would appear.

Never before or since have higher institutions of learning been so reviled. Nor was that all; Luther went further and even attacked the rational nature of man which produced the need for universities. No words were too scathing to denounce natural reason and its representatives, Aristotle and the Scholastics who had cruelly duped and misled the people to their spiritual ruin.

The cause of Luther's extreme bitterness against rationalism may be readily explained. For years he had sought inner peace of soul by the study of rationalistic theology and scholastic science taught in the schools; but all was in vain. Finally, through reading the Scriptures, he reached a sense of divine forgiveness and peace. Here, then, was his first great grievance: Reason had been a false guide. Again, the employment of reason by certain sects in their interpretation of the Scriptures intensified his distrust. Hence he called reason, "the Devil's bride or harlot," who "should be trampled underfoot or have dirt thrown in her face to make her the more hateful."

Though he regarded the universities as "Schools of Satan," he did not agree with the large body of common people who wished to abolish the universities entirely. On the contrary, Luther exerted every effort to reform their discipline and courses of study; for, in spite of his violent denunciation, he felt that the universities had an important service to perform.

University studies. To the higher schools he would send "only the aptest pupils." Here, scholars were to "train men

¹⁹ Among such critics may be cited: John I. von Dollinger, *Die Reformation*, Vol. I, p. 422, Regensburg, Manz, 1851; and F. Paulsen *Geschichte des gelehrten Unterrichts*, Vol. I, pp. 182-184, Leipzig, Veit and Company, 1896-1897.

²⁰ Janssen, Johannes, *op cit*, Vol. III, p. 355.

of good understanding in the Scriptures, who wish to become bishops and priests, and to stand at our head against heretics and the Devil and all the world."

As in other matters, so in his attitude toward the various learned studies, he was positive and he expressed his views in vigorous terms. Most of the works of Aristotle and those on scholastic philosophy he vehemently rejected as "Satanic filth." He was tolerant only of Aristotle's logic, rhetoric, and poetry. He differed from Melancthon, who believed in astrology, but he denounced canon law and called for its complete abolition. He concluded that the study of civil law should be reformed. The theological courses were to be drastically changed. At one time he called for a decrease in theological literature, and said: "Teach the Scriptures and nothing else." He never expressed an interest in humanistic literature, and, even as a student at Erfurt, the German center of the movement, he did not belong to the circle of the new learning. Nevertheless he strongly advocated the study of the ancient languages: Latin, Greek, and Hebrew; but only for the aid they might contribute to an understanding of the Scriptures. Like all the reformers, he agreed that these languages were indispensable for the exposition of the Scriptures. No one who could not read the Scriptures in the original tongues could qualify for the pastoral office. Conceptions either of free enlightenment or of preparation for independent thinking he never entertained.

After his attack upon the papal hierarchy Luther soon found the churches without pastors and teachers, and few students preparing for the duties of civil life. To train people for these positions was his supreme aim for the Latin schools and the universities. On the whole, however, Luther was not a scholarly influence so far as the progress of secular culture and science was concerned.

Popular vernacular education. A critical investigation reveals little evidence that Luther desired popular elementary education as one understands the term today. In all his arguments for education his chief point was to establish the necessity of the Latin school as *the* institution of learning, in opposition to the vernacular common school. He dwelt exhaustively upon the value of the learned languages. He called upon the civil authorities to suppress the vernacular private schools. He subscribed to the Saxon school ordinance of 1528,

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which prohibited the teaching of German and Greek. He pleaded that all boys be compelled to attend the Latin schools, in order that Germany might be provided with a sufficient supply of learned men. Even the boys who proved less promising were to learn at least to understand, read, and write Latin. For this he gave a rather lame excuse: ²¹

If such a boy who has learned Latin afterwards works at a trade, you will have him in reserve, to labor as a pastor in case of need; and such knowledge will not interfere with his gaining a livelihood and will enable him to govern his house all the better.

Luther proposed that the gifted youth be selected for advanced education. In writing to the Margrave George of Brandenburg, he suggested: ²²

It is well that in all towns and villages good primary schools should be established out of which could be picked and chosen those who are more fit for the universities, out of which the men can then be taken who are to serve your land and people.

Subsequent events were in line with Luther's proposals. Throughout the later decades of the 16th century, the vernacular common school was often suppressed, on the contention that it took boys away from the Latin schools. Sometimes it was tolerated, but it always remained strictly subordinate to the classical school. Had Luther been a strong advocate of popular vernacular education, one is constrained to believe conditions would have developed quite differently in Germany.

It must be recognized, however, that indirectly Luther made weighty contributions to the cause of popular enlightenment.

(1) He included all children in his plans for vernacular religious instruction—rich and poor, high-born and low, girls and boys—although he had in view the training of the young only in obedience to constituted authority and in conventional religious and moral precepts. The children were to be taught

²¹ Painter, F. V. N., *op. cit.*, p. 235; also Eby, Frederick, *op. cit.*, p. 122.

²² Smith, Preserved, and Jacobs, Charles M., *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 487 Eby, Frederick, *op. cit.*, p. 99.

a formulated system of instruction embodied in the catechisms.

(2) While the Elector Frederick sheltered him temporarily, in Wartburg Castle, to save him from his enemies, Luther began the translation of the Scriptures into the High German dialect. This task continued for a number of years until it was finally completed. No other thing which Luther ever did contributed so profoundly to the real education of the German people. His was not the first translation, but it was a translation in which not merely the sense, but something of the beauty and force of the original Scriptures was transferred to the German. By this work he raised High German from a mere dialect into a permanent language of power and classical beauty, and gave the German peoples a unifying bond. (3) Furthermore, his translation of Aesop's fables had a remarkable influence. But next to his translation of the Scriptures, nothing he did had so profound an influence on German education as his catechisms. (4) In his break with Rome he had assumed a stand which favored popular emancipation and enlightenment. Even in his reactionary role he could not dam the tide that, as a liberal reformer, he had set in motion; and this flood was soon beyond his control. The liberalizing forces found other advocates, and, though driven to shelter temporarily, they were to emerge in later decades and under more favorable circumstances.

It is, therefore, a misinterpretation to credit Luther with the creation of popular elementary schools, as some writers have done. His contribution was substantial, to be sure; but the vernacular common school had its real origin elsewhere, among people of broader, deeper, and more tolerant sympathies. As a matter of fact, both among the Moravians and in the Netherlands, vernacular elementary education in Luther's day had progressed far beyond his conception of it.

Summary of Luther's educational contributions. In a brief summary of Luther's services, the following points are to be noted:

(1) He was the first educator in Germany to advocate universal education: for the poor as well as the rich, the low-born as well as the noble-born.

(2) He advocated the education of girls as well as boys, so far as elementary and religious training were concerned.

(3) He believed in schools organized, supported, and con-

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trolled by the state. This was a new conception so far as Germany was concerned.

(4) He emphasized anew parental obligation in training, and showed the relation of home discipline to civil and social order.

(5) He recognized physical training as a part of general education.

(6) He advocated that pleasant methods of instruction supersede the harsh and cruel methods of the past.

(7) He insisted that religious training be recognized as the basis of popular education. This program was to include music, the catechisms, and church attendance; and religious instruction was always to be in the vernacular language.

(8) His greatest services in other lines were: (a) the translation of the Bible for the common people; (b) the compilation of the catechisms and the translation of Aesop's fables; (c) the instigation of school inspections, which took place everywhere in Germany and produced numerous school ordinances.

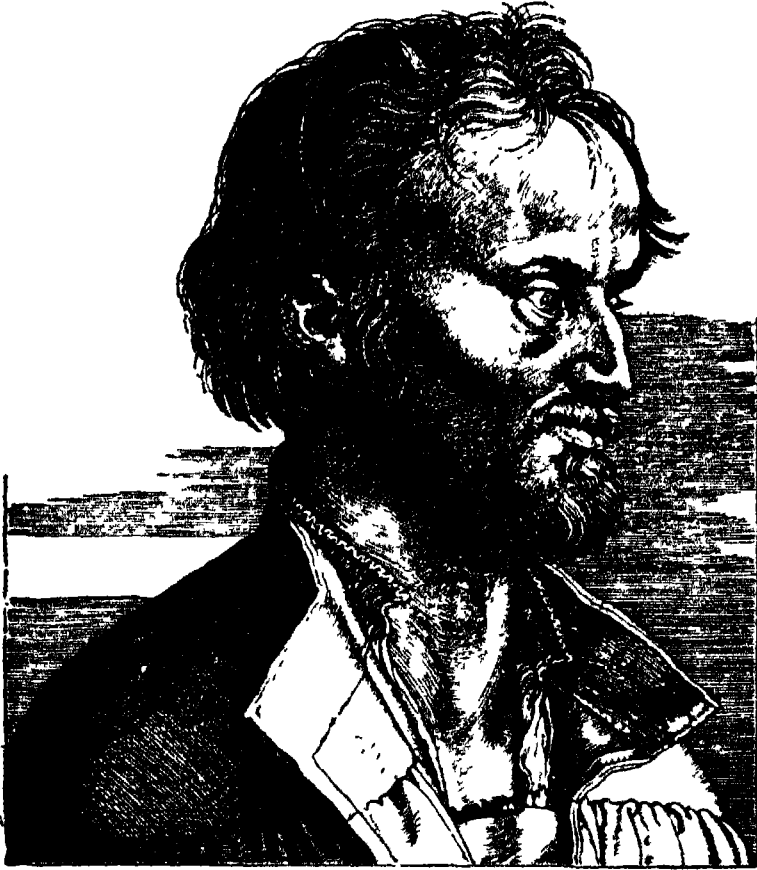
2. MELANCHTHON

Life and training. Philip Melanchthon was the ranking scholar of the Reformation period in Germany. On the Continent, in breadth of erudition he was second to Erasmus, prince of Humanists. His vast attainments and profound influence on German culture won for him the immortal title of *Praeceptor Germaniae*.

Melanchthon was born in 1497 at Bretten, near Pforzheim. His family was intelligent; he counted John Reuchlin, the renowned Hebrew scholar, as his maternal uncle. Philip was extremely precocious, taking his bachelor's degree at Heidelberg at the age of fifteen. After a short period at the University of Tübingen, he was invited to become a professor at the University of Wittenberg, where Luther was just beginning his efforts for reform of the church. The two became intimate associates and labored together for the reform of church and school until Luther's death.

In actual learning, in command of languages, and in knowledge of theology and of school curriculum and organization, Melanchthon surpassed the great reformer; he was lacking, however, in Luther's originality, profound conviction, indomi-

table courage, and capacity for leadership. Melanchthon was, rather, the erudite, retiring scholar, with a strong tendency toward pedantry. His fame rests upon the five outstanding contributions which he made to the reconstruction of education on a Protestant foundation.



PHILIP MELANCHTHON

1. Plan for the establishment of a school system. Melanchthon took a foremost part in the church-school survey, or inspection, during 1527–1528, in Thuringia and Saxony. As a result of this investigation, he wrote the Saxon church-school ordinance, or code, which was the first of many such ordinances issued in German cities and states throughout the 16th century. The Saxon plan was revised and approved by Luther, and was also published with his works. According to this plan, the obligation to establish and maintain schools was squarely placed upon the civil authorities. Such a policy

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reversed the Catholic practice of control by the church, but it was in accord with successful school organization in the Netherlands and Italy.

As stated by this ordinance, the chief purpose of the schools was to prepare men for ecclesiastical and civil offices. Melanchthon felt nothing but contempt for the popular vernacular schools. He regarded Latin as the only language suitable for instruction and learning; in fact, German was expressly forbidden by this ordinance. Greek, too, was excluded from the elementary or preparatory school, though it was to be studied in the university. The ordinance states emphatically: ²³

Schoolmasters shall look to it diligently that children learn only Latin, and not German, Greek, or Hebrew. So many languages at once are not merely useless but detrimental.

According to this plan the schools which were to be established in every town would consist of three grades or groups of pupils. The first group was for beginners, who were to learn to read Latin. Their first instruction consisted of the alphabet; then *Donatus*, a simple grammar, was used; and later, Cato's *Disticha de Moribus*, a collection of wise sayings. The teacher read one or two verses from this last book daily and explained in Latin the meaning of the words. The pupils were required to memorize lists of words and sentences, in order to secure a large vocabulary as quickly as possible. This method of teaching the unknown by the incomprehensible was considered very superior. In addition to such grammatical and moral instruction, religion also was taught in Latin and learned by heart. Singing in Latin by the entire group formed a most important part of the daily program. Religion and music were continued throughout the entire course of the school.

²³ Melanchthon was particularly fond of Greek, and the Greek grammar which he wrote when only sixteen years of age was long used. His exclusion of all languages except Latin was probably due to the lack of success in teaching all these languages in the new gymnasium at Nuremberg, with the founding of which he had most to do. For the text of the Saxon school ordinance, consult: Barnard, Henry, *German Teachers and Educators*, pp. 169-171, Hartford, Brown and Gross, 1878; also Eby, Frederick, *op. cit.*, pp. 180-187.

In the second class, or group, which like the first was planned to extend over several years, Latin grammar was exhaustively studied. Aesop's fables, *The Colloquies* of Erasmus, the comedies of Terence and Plautus, and similar works were read and explained in minute grammatical detail, and practically every one of them was memorized.

The third group, or class, took up more advanced linguistic studies. By this time, though still a child, the boy was expected to be fairly well able to speak, read, and write Latin. Now he was to acquire a more classical vocabulary and become thoroughly versed in the Latin tongue and literature. Virgil, Ovid, and Cicero were the chief authors, and they were to be acquired in detail. Exercises in rhetoric, in addition to some study of logic, were also required.

This Saxon plan was not entirely original with Melanchthon, but his great influence led to its general adoption throughout Germany.

2. Adviser on school reorganization. Melanchthon was frequently called upon by town authorities for advice in the reorganization of their schools. Nuremberg called him in 1526 to become rector of its new gymnasium, a position which he declined. Two men whom he recommended were appointed to the faculty. In other instances also, when he declined important educational appointments, he helped institutions to find teachers. In the early period of Protestant reconstruction, no man was so much sought after as Melanchthon, to guide in the refounding of the municipal Latin schools.

3. Prolific writer of textbooks. In 1513, while still a boy himself, Melanchthon wrote a Greek grammar for other boys. In 1525 he wrote a Latin grammar which, during the following ten years, was printed fifty-one times, and was adopted in Catholic as well as in Protestant schools. In 1519 he wrote a text on rhetoric, and in 1520, one on dialectic—both of which were widely used. He wrote not only on these subjects, which composed the trivium of the Middle Ages, but also, though not so exhaustively, on the quadrivium: arithmetic, geometry, music, and astronomy. The great merit of these various texts was, not the originality of their materials, but rather their better order and treatment. Melanchthon was preëminently a schoolmaster with singular clarity of mind, and this faculty

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enabled him to bring these subjects down to the comprehension of young boys.

4. Influence on higher education. Melanchthon labored most of his life at the University of Wittenberg, where at one time or another he was called upon to teach almost every subject. His profound and extensive learning made him the leader in the transition from the methods and curriculum of Scholasticism to the newer methods and curriculum of Protestantism. While the most extensive changes took place in the field of theological study, it is well to remember that law and philosophy also underwent profound alterations. The Protestant universities of Germany were all more or less transformed by the work of this quiet scholar.

5. Influence of his scholarship. The influence of Melanchthon was spread throughout Germany by the students whom he taught. He was extremely popular as a lecturer, and deeply beloved. The most illustrious of his pupils was Michael Neander (1525–1595), who conducted the famous cloister school at Ilfeld, in Thuringia, for forty-five years. A second was Valentin Trotzendorf (1490–1556), who for twenty-three years was rector of the school at Goldberg, in Silesia. These two are the most renowned of his followers, but the list ran into the thousands.

Paulsen sums up the greatness of Melanchthon's services to Germany in the following statement:²⁴

When Melanchthon died there was probably not a city in Protestant Germany in which some grateful student did not mourn the loss of the *Præceptor Germaniae*. And long after his death he controlled, through his method and text-books, the instruction in the Protestant schools and Universities. It was primarily due to him that the Protestant half of Germany won the ascendancy over Catholicism in the realm of education and culture. There can be no doubt whatever about the final outcome: German philosophy and science, German literature and culture grew up in the soil of Protestantism, and they may be described as the result, although perhaps remote, of that spirit of freedom and independence of thought which the Reformation called into being.

²⁴ Paulsen, F., *The German Universities and University Study*, p. 33. Translated by Frank Thilly and William W. Elwang. New York, Scribner, 1906.

3. BUGHENHAGEN

The movement for the reorganization of schools in Protestant Germany was promoted by two other notable educational leaders, Johannes Bugenhagen (1485-1558) and John Sturm. Each of these men must be credited with making a special contribution to the progress of education.



JOHANNES BUGHENHAGEN.

Bughenhagen was at once town preacher and university professor at Wittenberg. He came from northern Germany, and it was in the northern towns and principalities that he exerted the greatest influence. He is honored chiefly as the practical

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reformer of the Lutheran Church, possessing, as he did, a larger capacity for organization than his more renowned colleagues, Luther and Melanchthon. In 1528 he formulated the church and school ordinance for the town of Brunswick; this was followed by similar ordinances for a number of the other northern towns—such as Hamburg, Lübeck, Bremen—and also for the leading principalities of northern Germany and the Kingdom of Denmark.

The opening words of this Brunswick school ordinance indicate Bugenhagen's deep interest in education: ²⁵

Above all, three things are deemed necessary. First, to establish good schools for children. Second, to engage preachers who will proclaim God's Word in its purity and who are able to lecture and explain the Scriptures in Latin. Third, to organize charity.

Such, in his view, were the principal functions of the reformed Christian church.

The educational provisions of these codes, or ordinances, emphasized the Latin schools and religious instruction; some of them, however, also made provision for public libraries and courses of public lectures. Bugenhagen went further than his colleagues in placing great stress upon elementary reading and writing schools in the vernacular tongue. Moreover, his plans of organization always included separate schools for girls.

Bugenhagen's schools were in reality only reorganizations of the reading and writing schools which had been set up in the Hanseatic towns long before this. Down to this time they had been schools of a purely practical character, designed to furnish boys of the commercial class with the tools of learning. Formerly the church had exercised a certain degree of authority over them, in the employment of teachers. They were now reestablished by the town councils, and the teachers were appointed by the councils which controlled them. These schools were to be supported from fees paid by the parents. The new feature of great importance, however, was that the teachers were to receive, from the general municipal treasury, a present or bonus for teaching catechism, religion, and church

²⁵ Ruccius, Walter M., *John Bugenhagen Pomeranus*, pp. 61-62. Philadelphia, The United Lutheran Publication House, 1916.

music. In this manner the old community school, sanctioned by the town authorities, was now linked up with religious instruction, and was on its way as the elementary school of the common people. However, everywhere throughout Germany, and especially by most of the Reformation leaders, this elementary town school was considered an unimportant venture—a makeshift wholly subordinated to the Latin school. One must look elsewhere for the influences which were finally to elevate this elementary town school to the state common school system of the present day. Yet, notwithstanding the attitude of his contemporaries, Bugenhagen nevertheless deserves the credit for taking one of the most significant steps in this evolution of the vernacular school.

4. JOHN STURM: FOUNDER OF THE CLASSICAL GYMNASIUM

John Sturm was the organizing genius of Humanism in northern Europe. Of all the educators of his time, he visual-



JOHN STURM

ized most clearly the precise aim of classical instruction, firmly grasped its methods and curriculum, and understood the form of organization which gave promise of achieving the results desired by the new age. Of all the schoolmasters beyond the Alps, Sturm was most infatuated with the Ciceronian ideal, which was dominant in Italy at this time. More than any

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other of the educational reformers, he established the standard for the new classical gymnasium for Protestants, just as the Jesuits did for Catholics.

Life and training. John Sturm came into the world at Schleiden, a village near Cologne, in the year 1507. His father was steward to Count Manderscheid, and Sturm's early training was received in the home with the sons of the count. For several years after he was fourteen, he attended the famous school of the Brethren of the Common Life at Liège, Belgium. It was probably his experience in this institution which furnished the educational principles and form of organization that he later embodied in his famous gymnasium at Strassburg. Leaving Liège, he studied at the celebrated University of Louvain in the Trilingual College, established by Erasmus. It was through the inspiration he received from the professor of Latin here that Sturm acquired the ideal of Latin eloquence which was to form the dominant feature of his educational program. Here, too, he taught Latin for some time and, following the practice of the Brethren, set up a printing press from which Latin and Greek texts were issued for the students in the university.

In the year 1529, Sturm went to the University of Paris to sell his books, but remained to study and to teach. As fate would have it, he reached Paris about the time that the French King was establishing the College of France, designed especially for the promotion of the study of Latin and Greek. Sturm became an instructor in this institution and also began to publish editions of classical authors. Among his pupils was young Peter Ramus, who years later declared: ²⁶

It was in the lessons of this great master that I first learned the use of logic and then taught it to the youth in quite a different spirit from the sophists, relegating to them their furor for disputation.

Having embraced Protestantism through his friendship with Martin Bucer, who combined in a rare manner evangelical fervor and humanistic culture, Sturm was led to accept a call to Strassburg in 1537. The following year he was made rector

²⁶ Graves, F. P., *Peter Ramus and the Educational Reformation of the Sixteenth Century*, p. 17. New York, Macmillan, 1912.

of the newly founded gymnasium. Here, for over forty years, he was the most renowned schoolmaster of the time.

Aim of education. No educator has conceived a more clear-cut aim for education than that set up by Sturm for his pupils; and none has excelled him in skillful adaptation of the means for the realization of his purpose. A man of iron will, he knew exactly what he wanted and the way to get it. He wrote: ²⁷

The end to be accomplished by teaching is three-fold; embracing piety, knowledge and the art of speaking. . . .

Knowledge and purity and elegance of diction, should become the aim of scholarship, and toward its attainment both teachers and pupils should sedulously bend their every effort.

So far as piety is concerned, that should belong to every man; but eloquence should be the distinguishing acquirement of the cultured man. True eloquence, furthermore, is possible only in the Latin tongue and must accord with the Ciceronian manner, verbiage, and phraseology. Sturm was deeply grieved that children did not learn Latin as their mother tongue, and he bewailed the handicap which was thus placed upon them. He bitterly lamented the situation: ²⁸

Cicero was but twenty years old when he delivered his speeches in behalf of P. Quintius and Sextius Roscius; but, in these latter days, where is the man, of fourscore even, who could bequeath to the world such masterpieces of eloquence? And yet, there are books enough, and there is intellect enough. What, then, do we need further? I reply, the Latin language, and a correct method of teaching. Both these we must have, before we can arrive at the summit of eloquence.

To supply these two deficiencies, Sturm used every resource and all the industry at his command.

The gymnasium.²⁹ The town council of Strassburg maintained in the different sections of the town three inefficient,

²⁷ Barnard, Henry, *op. cit.*, p. 195.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 197

²⁹ The use of this term for the classical school did not originate with Sturm; it had been in vogue in Italy and the Netherlands long before this time, but the dominating influence of Sturm's school stamped its use upon German education.

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struggling Latin schools, with 140, 80, and 56 pupils, respectively. Invited in 1537 to make a survey, Sturm recommended that these separate schools be united into one consolidated institution. Up to this time the reorganization of German schools had largely followed the ineffectual plan proposed by Melanchthon. Pupils had been divided into three groups, with a teacher for each; and every individual within the group was permitted to advance at his own pace. For this loose arrangement Sturm substituted the plan of Liège, where each class had its own teacher and carefully graded instruction. This reform was deeply significant; it was similar to the change, made in later days in America, from the ungraded to the graded school.

Ten classes were originally projected, but for many years the school had only eight classes in operation. There followed this preparatory work a college or university course of five years. Boys entered the school usually in their sixth year; but if they were exceptionally bright, they could enter a year earlier. Each class had a definite objective, and the work to be accomplished during the year was set down with the detail of a modern course of study. Similarly, the instructional methods and devices to be followed were definitely formulated for each teacher in the institution. In fact, Sturm discussed in a masterly way questions of practical pedagogy in the management of a school, and also wrote texts for some of the classes.

Curriculum. The course of study for the gymnasium was as narrow as his aim was definite. It included religion, the Greek and Latin languages and literatures, and logic; but all these subjects were in one way or another merely contributory to the supreme end, which was the acquisition of a genuine Latin eloquence.

Religion. The elementary classes were to learn Luther's catechisms by rote. This was almost the sole recognition of the vernacular tongue. In the middle grades, the catechisms were translated into Latin, and some works of piety were read. In the upper classes, the Epistles of Paul were read and explained in Greek and Latin, and then translated from the one language into the other. All this instruction was confined to Saturdays and Sundays; throughout the week singing of the psalms in Latin or Greek was the only recognition of

religion. One must conclude from these facts that religion was not greatly esteemed by Sturm, but was utilized chiefly as a help to the study of Latin.

Curriculum in outline. In 1565, Sturm set forth the details of instruction in his *Classic Letters (Epistolae Classicae)*, written for the guidance of his teachers. By this time the school was divided into ten classes, and the course of study, in outline, was as follows:

Tenth Class. The alphabet, reading and writing simple Latin; Latin declension and conjugation; the German catechism.

Ninth Class. The pupil committed to memory a few Latin words each day, so as to acquire a vocabulary. This was to be done systematically: each pupil was to make a small dictionary of related words. He was also to be thoroughly grounded in declining and conjugating Latin nouns and verbs.

Eighth Class. Vocabularies of words in common use were enlarged as in the former class. Pupils were grounded in the eight parts of speech. They read the selected letters of Cicero, with constant study of the grammatical construction of the language. Exercises in style now began to take the place of the vocabulary exercises.

Seventh Class. Latin syntax as exemplified in the daily reading of Cicero's letters; exercises in style. On Sundays, translation of the catechism into classical Latin.

Sixth Class. The longer letters of Cicero were translated into German; Greek was commenced. A greater elegance in Latin style was sought. Saturday and Sunday the catechism and pious literature were translated into Latin.

Fifth Class. Poetry was studied; scansion, varieties of metre and verse; mythology; Cicero's *Cato* and *Laelius*, and the *Eclogues* of Virgil. Their encyclopedias of Latin words were completed; Greek was continued; style was more thoroughly cultivated, and versification begun. Passages of great elegance were translated into German and then back into Latin, extempore; the Epistles of Paul were translated in this manner on Saturday and Sunday.

Fourth Class. The study of Latin and Greek grammar was now completed; the pupils could speak these languages; Cicero's *Oration against Verres* and Horace were studied,

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and Greek was continued. Daily practice in style, reviews, and Paul's Epistles.

Third Class. Rhetoric was begun—based, in Latin, on Cicero's speech for Cluentius; and, in Greek, on Demosthenes. The first book of the *Iliad*, and that of the *Odyssey*. Greek orations were translated into Latin, and from Latin into Greek. The odes of Pindar and Horace were changed into a different metre. The comedies of Plautus and Terence were acted. Style was incessantly practiced and improved.

Second Class. The scholars themselves now interpreted Greek poets and orators; the same was done for Latin authors. Logic and rhetoric were studied. This latter subject was illustrated by passages from Demosthenes and Cicero. Daily exercises in style and the writing of short dissertations were given. Plays of Aristophanes, Euripides, or Sophocles were studied and acted.

First Class. Logic and rhetoric were further studied, and their rules applied to Demosthenes and Cicero. Virgil and Homer were to be completed. Thucydides and Sallust were to be translated in writing.

In evaluating this curriculum, it is essential to note what it omitted. There was little or no mention of mathematics, geography, history, natural philosophy, or astronomy. German was used only slightly in the earlier grades, but no systematic instruction whatever was given; nor was any other modern language studied. Attention was never focused upon what was said, but only upon the manner of saying it. Even Greek, religion, the dramatization of plays—in fact, the entire round of school work—were utilized for the realization of one supreme end—the acquisition of pure, fluent Ciceronian eloquence.

Sturm's historical importance. The success of Sturm's school was phenomenal. Its enrollment reached several thousand students, for all northern Europe sent boys for him to train. The nobility were amply represented. At one time, two hundred noblemen, twenty-four counts and barons, and three princes were enrolled. But the historical importance of Sturm's efforts was even more striking. His advice in the reorganization of schools was widely sought. Princes and kings as well as celebrated scholars paid him honor. His former pupils were among the "men of mark" throughout

northern Europe. They carried his ideas far and wide; one of them drew up the Württemberg school ordinance of 1559, and this was copied in Saxony and elsewhere. The English schoolmaster Ascham corresponded regularly with him, and paid a high tribute to him in *The Schoolmaster*. For several years John Calvin lectured in the Strassburg college along with Sturm, and considerable similarity can be found between Calvin's gymnasium, established in Geneva in 1559, and the Strassburg institution. Because of the great similarity of organization and curriculum, it has been held that the Jesuits borrowed their school plans from their Protestant fellow-humanist. It is more probable, however, that both drew ideas from the same source, the schools of Liège and Louvain.

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CHAPTER IV

PROTESTANT SCHOOL REFORM (*Continued*)

School Reorganization in Western Europe

National and sectarian differences. During the Middle Ages, education was substantially the same everywhere in western Europe. With the Nordic revolt, sectarian as well as national differences appeared, and it is now necessary to consider the development of education for the various groups and countries separately.

The schools of the Netherlands did not suffer any violent transition, for they had long been under the control of the city authorities and the change to Protestant education was easily effected. In Germany, on the other hand, when the old system of schools, controlled entirely by the church, suddenly declined, a radical reconstruction was necessary through the initiative of the city and state governments. In England, neither the church nor the state took the initiative in educational reform, and progress, dependent on private enterprise, was necessarily slow. The Scottish Church, in accordance with its Calvinistic policies, early set in motion plans for the reorganization of schools, but for some time it did not have the full coöperation of Parliament. France—except for the Calvinistic Huguenots—and other Catholic lands came under the control of the newly established Society of Jesus. Switzerland was largely influenced by the school which Sturm established at Strassburg. A more detailed review of the progress of schools in each of these countries will now be given.

1. REORGANIZATION IN GERMANY

Early reorganization of the municipal schools. Humanism had begun to gain an entrance into a few of the town

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schools of Germany during the first decades of the 16th century. But the onset of the revolution produced an actual disorganization of schools everywhere. The first efforts at reconstruction came in response to Luther's appeal to the mayors and aldermen of the cities in 1524. In that very year Magdeburg consolidated several parish schools into a new Protestant institution. Several other cities at once took similar action. Eisleben and Nuremberg followed the next year. In most of these cities, Melancthon was invited to direct the plans for reorganization, and in harmony with his views all of the new foundations were Latin grammar schools. A decided advance was effected by the publication of the Saxon school plan in 1528. It will be recalled that this plan came as the result of the church-school survey which had been made the previous year. That same year Bugenhagen reorganized the schools of the towns of Brunswick and Hamburg. Then followed Lübeck in 1530-1532, and Copenhagen, Denmark, in 1536-1537. Meanwhile Wittenberg, the headquarters of the Lutheran movement, took action in 1533.

The cities reorganized by Bugenhagen followed in most details the Saxon school plan of 1528. There were, however, important differences. (1) The curriculum was not restricted to Latin, for the elements of Greek and Hebrew were to be learned after the students had acquired some proficiency in Latin. (2) Furthermore, in all these towns, German reading and writing schools for boys were to be established, and the private schools—that is, the *hedge* schools (*Winkelschulen*)—were to be suppressed. Similarly, vernacular schools for girls were also to be conducted. (3) Another interesting feature was the *lectorium*, a sort of preliminary or popular university course where lectures on theology, law, and medicine were given free to everybody who desired to attend.

In western Germany the religious reformers were likewise interested in the reorganization of education. In 1524, Martin Bucer, the most noted reformer of Strassburg, approached the magistrates with a plan for a system of free schools. The money for their support was to be derived from the revenues of the former religious orders, for Bucer believed that by right these revenues should be used for the aid and education of the poor and not for the expenditures of the town government. Several Latin schools were organized, as well as elementary

schools in which reading and writing of German, catechism, and music were taught. From these efforts there was destined soon to arise a most renowned institution which, because of its extensive influence, was treated in detail in the preceding chapter.

The Strassburg gymnasium. Strassburg, the famous city of Alsace, became the leading center of educational progress in the 16th century. The geographical crossroad between Germany, France, Switzerland, and the Netherlands, Alsace has always been the cockpit of Franco-Prussian conflicts. At this time the tolerant spirit of the authorities and the irenic Bucer made Strassburg not only the chief refuge for exiles of all groups, but also the center of cultural progress. In 1535 a preliminary survey of the schools showed three inefficient public Latin schools with only a small enrollment in each.¹ As a result of a resurvey, a consolidation of the schools was proposed; the resulting institution, which was established by the celebrated John Sturm, became the chief model for Latin schools everywhere.

Municipal support and control of schools. One of the foremost facts about the early Protestant schools was that they were established and controlled by municipal authority. In the accomplishment of this purpose, in many instances the city councils took over the property of the church. In this way buildings were provided and, to some extent, means of support were furnished. For example, in 1525 the property of the church in Weimar was placed under the control of the city council, and revenues therefrom were used to pay the teachers. Such action became general throughout the towns of Saxony. The teachers in the Latin schools were paid out of the city treasury. Generally, a small fee for tuition was charged and collected by the city officers. Special efforts were made, however, to provide free instruction, and often the entire living was supplied for poor boys who had exceptional ability in learning. Nothing was more admirable throughout the history of early Protestant education than the frequent and insistent emphasis upon the discovery of gifted youths, and provision for their free education.

¹ Paulsen, F., *Geschichte des gelehrten Unterrichts*, Vol. I, p. 282. Leipzig, Veit and Company, 1896-1897.

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Vernacular town schools. In some towns, higher fees were to be charged in the new German reading and writing schools. The teachers were not paid a regular salary by the council; rather, in addition to the fees which they received, they were to be given a bonus from the council in return for which they obligated themselves to teach the catechism, Christian doctrine, and religious music. This alliance of the practical studies with Protestant religious instruction, under the town council, must be considered the origin of the German *Volkschule*.

This type of school was, however, not regarded throughout the 16th century as an important institution; it was tolerated but not encouraged, for it was considered inferior in value to the Latin school. As a matter of fact, the learning of German by a student before he studied Latin was considered injurious to scholarship. The great schoolmaster Melancthon had expressed this fear. In 1546, Duke Ulrich of Würtemberg abolished all German schools in towns where there were Latin schools, "because they drew scholars from the Latin schools, and also because Latin pupils would write Latin with German script and read with German accent."² Some few years later, however, his successor, Duke Christopher, reinstated the vernacular schools.

State school control. So far the discussion has been confined to the schools of the free towns, which enjoyed independent jurisdiction over their own affairs. Now the states or principalities, which were under the rule of German electors and princes, will be considered. The first of these princely domains to project schools was Schleswig-Holstein, on the border between Germany and Denmark. The school ordinance for this principality was written by Bugenhagen, and followed the plans laid down for the towns of Brunswick and Hamburg. The next developments on the part of the principalities were the Saxony church-school order of 1528 and the Pomeranian ordinance in 1535.

By the fifth decade of the century, Protestantism had become so securely established that the nobility felt sufficiently

² Nohle, E., "History of the German School System," in *Report of the United States Commissioner of Education (1897-1898)*, Vol. I, p. 36.

confident to form state-churches and schools. It is to be noted especially that the temporal rulers had secured control over the wealth of the church foundations and monasteries, and that the general willingness of the rulers of the German states to utilize these endowments and buildings for the educational purpose for which they were established gave Germany a superior advantage over several other European countries at this time. In many places the monasteries or cloisters were converted into state schools.

For example, in 1543 Duke Moritz of Saxony founded three Latin schools supported and controlled by the state at Pforta, Meissen, and Grimma. These institutions were run in semi-monastic fashion in the cloister buildings, the students living in the dormitories. Since a large number of other schools were established after these models, the Saxon effort must be considered an important development.

The third step in the evolution of state education in Germany took place in the principality of Würtemberg in 1559. At this time Duke Christopher, deeply concerned about the training of spiritual leaders for the church and of learned men for the secular professions, undertook the establishment of what may be considered the first complete school system in the German states. He provided for local schools in every town and village, with either one or more instructors. Above these two types of schools he planned: (1) the *Pädagogium* and (2) the *Cloister schools*. These institutions were preparatory schools to equip students who were expecting to enter the university. The curriculum was practically the same in both, but there was some distinction in regard to function. The *Pädagogium* trained more particularly those boys who intended to enter the learned professions, law, medicine, and higher civil offices. The *Cloister schools* were especially for those who were destined for the ministry or teaching. Not only were these pupils furnished with free tuition, but those who were accepted, upon examination of their character and fitness, were given free support as well. The regimen at all these schools was quite monastic. The capstone of the whole system was the University of Tübingen, which had been founded as early as 1477. It had early shown humanistic leanings, and now became one of the leading Protestant semi-

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naries for the study of theology—a distinction which it retained for three hundred years.

As an addition to this system of classical or learned schools, some provision for vernacular schools, both for boys and girls, was also made in Würtemberg. A number of rules were laid down to be observed in the operation of these schools, but especially was emphasis placed upon religious instruction and church music. However, these vernacular schools were more tolerated than fostered. There is no evidence that anything but reading, writing, catechism, religion, and music were taught in them.

The school ordinance of Saxony, in 1580, copied the Würtemberg school system in considerable detail.

Church program of elementary training. In Germany the Reformation did not foster a deep interest in popular education along secular lines; it sought rather to improve the character of religious training. More than this, even Luther did not require. To impart such training, instruction in the catechism became well-nigh universal.

Catechismal instruction. From the earliest Christian centuries, the church had utilized catechetical instruction for the indoctrination of the young. During the later Middle Ages, the sexton of the parish church taught the Lord's Prayer, the Ave Maria, the rosary, the Ten Commandments, and the Apostles' Creed. As Protestant sects emerged, each in turn composed a catechism which expressed its fundamental religious tenets. The Waldensians had such a work, which was very widely used by other dissentient sects. The Bohemian Brethren published a catechism in 1505. Luther required the use of the short and the longer catechisms, which he wrote in 1529. Similarly, Calvin wrote a catechism which was used extensively. The Heidelberg catechism, published in 1563, became the most widely used among the Reformed Churches.

These catechisms have played a significant role in Protestant religious instruction down even to our own day. In 1527, all pastors were required by the Saxon Church Inspection Board to instruct their people, especially the children of the parishes, on Sunday afternoon in religious doctrine and church music. As it was quite impossible for the pastors to find time for this work, the duty of teaching the young was imposed upon the church sextons. In 1533, the church ordinance of

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Meissen required the pastors in the villages to give such instruction, not alone on Sunday, but on one afternoon also during the week. The church ordinance of the principality of Lippe in 1538 stated: ³

The sexton in the villages, where there are no schools, at noon on Sunday shall assemble the children and youth who are capable of instruction, and read to them slowly and constantly the smaller catechism of Luther so that the youth be not neglected.

The general church ordinance of Saxony in 1557 demanded: ⁴

The Sacristans of the villages are obliged every Sunday at noon and on a particular day in the week diligently and clearly to teach the children the catechism and Christian hymns in German and later to review and to examine them on these materials.

Thus practically everywhere in Germany the evangelical church-school ordinances during the 16th century made such provisions for the teaching of the catechism. Similarly, in western Germany where Calvinism had a powerful grip, the Synod of Heidelberg passed an order "that only such clergy were to be appointed as were capable of teaching the catechism to the children."

Similarly, the rigorous discipline of the Calvinistic church—which was accepted in Protestant France, the Palatinate, Switzerland, Holland, Scotland, and in Puritan England—required the parents to teach the catechism in the home; the teachers, to teach it in the schools; and the pastors, to teach and explain it in the churches.

Other elementary subjects. German Protestantism was not long content with purely religious instruction. There soon came the feeling that, in order to preserve itself, it was imperative for the new religious movement to provide for the teaching of reading and writing. Furthermore, the state, which had attained a new position of dignity, power, and responsibility, took an interest in education for its own preservation.

³ Weber, Adalbert, *Die Geschichte der Volksschulpädagogik und der Kleinkindererziehung*, p. 59. Eisenach, J. Bachmeister, 1877.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 59

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Accordingly, in 1559 Duke Christopher of Württemberg, in his Grand Ecclesiastical Ordinance, broadened the scope of the German schools. The sexton was still the teacher; but, in addition to the catechism and church music, reading and writing in the German language were added. The teachers were required to pass an examination and were subject to supervision. Of greatest significance, however, was the provision for compulsory attendance at the lessons in catechism. Parents were punished for the absence of their children from *catechism school*. During the next two decades similar laws were passed in other states. In such instruction one finds the origin of the *Volksschule* throughout the states of Germany. But just as in the towns, so also in the villages, the vernacular school remained throughout the 16th century a weak and relatively unimportant institution.

The Protestant revolt and the universities. The revolt of the 16th century in northern Europe had its origin, in large measure, in the universities. This was particularly true of Germany, where the leaders of the new learning and of church reform were all, directly or indirectly, connected with the higher institutions of learning. It was inevitable that these institutions, as the strongholds of scholastic theology, should themselves suffer from the strife. "Our universities," boldly asserted Luther, "need a thorough purging; let whoever will be offended." As the storm centers of ecclesiastical revolution, the German universities suffered most acutely. Practically all of these institutions of higher learning were deserted, some of them never to recover. In none of the other countries was the reaction quite so sudden or destructive. However, the necessity of training young men for the pastoral office made an irresistible appeal to the reformers, who held that the youth must be rescued from the falsehood and drudgery of scholastic theology, and must be brought to understand the grounds of Christian truth as found in the Scriptures. Only in this way could the counterattacks of the Roman Church be met and the young pastors become true guides of Protestant congregations.

Every religious movement must sooner or later face the issue of its future growth, and must undertake to insure its perpetuity by the founding of higher institutions of learning. For this reason a number of new Protestant universities were

now established, and the existing institutions were reformed, in accordance with Protestant views. Hence, wherever Protestantism gained a dominant hold, it set about in a determined manner to transform higher education for its own ends.

Among the older universities which were reformed along Protestant lines were: in central Germany, Wittenberg, the home of the German Reformation, 1533; Tübingen, in Würtemberg, 1535; Leipzig, in Saxony, 1539 to 1559; Frankfort on the Oder, 1538; and in northern Germany, Greifswald, 1539, and Rostock, 1563. Heidelberg, which had come under Calvinistic influence, was reformed during this same period.

The first of the new foundations to be established in support of the Protestant cause was the University of Marburg, in 1527. It was planned by Melanchthon and established by the Landgrave Philip of Hesse, one of the first ardent supporters of the Reformation. The university was designed to teach all sciences according to the pure word of God; theology; law; medicine; the liberal arts; and languages. It had the slogan, "Let him be accursed, whoever teaches anything contrary to the Scriptures." Under similar circumstances, the University of Königsberg, in East Prussia, was established in 1544; Jena, in Saxony, 1558; and Helmstedt, in north Germany, 1576. During the next century some six other institutions were founded in Germany; the most important of them were: Giessen, 1607; and Strassburg, which grew out of the college founded by Sturm, 1621.

The German universities, which were all organized after the same model, invariably included four departments: theology, law, medicine, and philosophy. The faculties of theology were the first to reform their courses, by repudiating scholastic theology and offering Biblical exegesis in its place. Because of their new function in the training of pastors, these theological faculties now became of first importance in the universities. They were responsible for the orthodoxy of evangelical doctrine, the adjudication of all theological controversies, and the training and examining of candidates for the ministry.

The other faculties were more or less deeply affected by the reform spirit. The abandonment of canon law and the ecclesiastical courts gave a new impetus to the pursuit of civil jurisprudence. The philosophic faculties also expe-

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rienced great changes. The study of the ancient languages, Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, was pursued with intense interest because of their relation to the original Scriptures. Moreover, increasing interest was manifested in philosophical and scientific studies, and it naturally found expression in higher education.

2. SWITZERLAND AND THE CALVINISTS

School reorganization. Developments similar to those found in Germany soon followed in Switzerland and the Netherlands. Under the leadership of the reformer Zwingli, who took a deep interest in education, the schools in Zurich were reorganized. Another Swiss town, Basle, the center of the printing industry for all northern Europe, reestablished the university in 1532 and its other schools a year later. The leading spirit in this movement was Oecolampadius, a great scholar, reformer, and friend of Zwingli. But by far the most significant development in Switzerland took place in Geneva under the dominant influence of John Calvin.

John Calvin

No name in church history . . . has been so much loved and hated, admired and abhorred, praised and blamed, blessed and cursed, as that of John Calvin.⁵

Life and training. This truly remarkable character was the son of the secretary to the Bishop of Noyon in Picardy, France. Here Calvin was born in 1509. The father decided to make him a priest and, to this end, provided him every educational advantage by procuring for him several remunerative appointments. Needless to say, he was a precocious lad. In his tenth year he was sent to Paris to attend the *Collège de la Marche*, where he came under the instruction of Mathurin Corderius, an excellent scholar and teacher who became his life-long friend. Soon, prepared to go higher, Calvin transferred to the famous *Collège de Montaigu*, where he began the study of theology. By the peculiarity of fate,

⁵ Schaff, Philip, *History of the Christian Church*, Vol. VII, p. 270. New York, Scribner, 1903.

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only a brief time after this young man, who was to become the rigorous Protestant reformer, withdrew, the future founder of the Jesuit Order, Ignatius of Loyola, sat on the same benches and was taught by the same masters.

Not long before he died, Calvin's father incurred the displeasure of the Roman Church and, as a consequence, advised his son to turn his attention from the clerical to the legal profession. With this new purpose in view young Calvin attended the universities of Orleans and Bruges from 1528 to



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1533. However, his heart was not in the study of law, though no one could accuse him of lacking a legalistic mind. It was rather classical literature which captured his interest. When twenty-two years of age, his father having died, Calvin felt free to follow his own inclination. He thereupon returned to Paris and devoted his attention to the new learning. However, prior to this time, late in the year 1532, he took a step which was of momentous significance: he suddenly broke with the Catholic faith and became intensely evangelical. Finding France hostile to Protestantism, Calvin betook himself to Geneva, where he became a city pastor. At twenty-six years of age, he wrote the first edition of the *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, which, at a stroke, marked him as the master theologian of the day. Driven from Geneva by a reactionary element, for a short period he sought refuge in the liberal city of Strassburg, which sheltered numerous religious refugees. Here he acted as pastor of a church for French Protestants and also lectured on theology at the local college. In close articulation with this college was the celebrated classical gymnasium, recently founded by John Sturm. As this institution exerted a tremendous influence everywhere, one can readily believe it was not without effect upon Calvin also.

Recalled to Geneva, in the year 1541, by his inflexible will Calvin gradually transformed the city into the "Rome of Protestantism." Moreover, from this center he exerted the power which dominated church reform in France, eastern Germany, Holland, England, Scotland, and a large part of Switzerland. He died in 1564, the most creative theologian of his day, and an important figure in education.

The academy of Geneva. For many years Calvin held steadily in view the establishment of a school which would be the capstone of the ecclesiastical organization of the city of Geneva, for the moral and spiritual discipline of all the people. Because of numerous difficulties, he was unable fully to realize his plans until 1559, when he reorganized several weak Latin schools into a consolidated gymnasium and academy. The gymnasium, a conventional preparatory Latin school, had seven classes and was under the supervision of the city but was supported by tuition fees. The curriculum was thoroughly humanistic, and resembled that of the Strassburg gym-

nasium of John Sturm. However, Calvin placed much greater emphasis on religious instruction and training. The academy was a higher institution which gave instruction in Greek, Hebrew, ethics, logic, rhetoric, oratory, poetry, physics, and mathematics. Ten professors assisted Calvin; among them was Mathurin Corderius, Calvin's former teacher in Paris, who acted as rector of the institution.

No institution of learning of that day paid stricter attention to religious instruction. Classes began each morning with special prayers, and ended with the recitation of the Lord's Prayer and the offering of thanks. From 11 to 12 was devoted to singing psalms. At 4 in the afternoon the assembly was given over to moral discipline, and the reciting of the Lord's Prayer, the confession of faith, and the Ten Commandments. On Wednesday morning, students and faculty listened to a sermon; Saturday afternoon, all studied the catechism. On Sunday, the students attended religious worship, and then spent the rest of the day in meditation on the sermon.

The success of the school and academy was amazing. During the first year nine hundred young men enrolled from all the nations of Europe. The institution was thus immediately recognized as the chief nursery of Protestant preachers and teachers for France and other lands. It was largely taken as the model for the organization of the University of Leyden in Holland, Edinburgh in Scotland, and Emmanuel College at Cambridge University, England, which in turn greatly influenced the founding of Harvard in Massachusetts. Everywhere the Calvinistic faith was carried, it aroused an extraordinary zeal for education.

View of government and civic life. One can secure an adequate conception of Calvin's educational program only by understanding his view of government and Christian life. His genius led to the welding of church, state, and family into one combined institution for the instruction, discipline, training, and control of the entire citizenship. These institutions were the individual organs of a unified organism, with a single objective, which was to realize the Will of God on earth. Calvin visualized a theocracy, conceived in accordance with the Old Testament and under the dominance of the pastors of Geneva. John Knox declared that Geneva "is the most

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perfect school of Christ that ever was in the earth since the days of the apostles.”⁶

In the home the parents were obliged to teach the children the catechism and Christian living. This work, as well as the daily conduct of parents, was strictly supervised by the *consistorium*. Every home was inspected at least once a year to see that the regulations were carried out. The church was used not only for worship, but likewise as a place of instruction in the catechism for both old and young. The state existed to make laws in accordance with the puritanic ideas of the pastors, to organize and support schools, and to see that the ecclesiastical regimen was carried out.

This rigorous Calvinistic regimen, which embraced all citizens, can be traced in the educational developments of the Huguenots in France, the Dutch Reformed Church in Holland, and the Puritans and Presbyterians in England and Scotland. Through all of these peoples, Calvinistic ideas were transferred to America, where they exercised a most profound influence upon the organization of education.

Calvin and the common school. Many have attributed the origin of the common school to Calvin. The historian George Bancroft asserted: “Calvin was the father of popular education, the inventor of the system of free schools.”⁷ The facts concerning Calvin’s attitude scarcely warrant this claim any more than do the similar facts in the case of Martin Luther.⁸ Calvin had no particular interest in elementary vernacular education. He complained to the council of Geneva that there were too many small schools, and the number was accordingly reduced to four—one for each quarter of the city. He required that only those boys who were unable to learn Latin should be allowed to attend these common schools. No provision was made for the education of girls, nor for compulsory training, except in the home. On the other hand, it must be admitted that his catechism furnished a small measure of religious instruction to everybody. This catechism was translated into many languages and used in many

⁶ McCrie, Thomas, *The Life of John Knox*, p. 129. Edinburgh, J. Ogle, 1813.

⁷ Quoted, with approval, by Philip Schaff in *History of the Christian Church*, Vol. VII, p. 522.

⁸ See pages 97–99 of this text.

lands. Moreover, so far as the vernacular language was concerned, it must be added that the pupils in the gymnasium were to learn "to read French fluently."

Moral pessimism. Educational theories and practices are determined in large measure by ethical conceptions. From St. Augustine, Calvin acquired that moral pessimism which was the fundamental motive in all his religious doctrines and plans for education. To his way of thinking, the child is inherently bad; his depravity is total; all elements of his nature, emotions, reason, and will are alike perverted; all his natural childish inclinations, appetites, and interests lead him astray. In the interest of moral and religious life, they all must be suppressed, and in their place must be engrafted good habits and pious thoughts.

This point of view explains Calvin's anxiety to organize all the institutions into one harmonious environment so as to subject the youth to a single regimen, carefully supervised by an institutional conscience. The doctrine of total depravity played a prominent role in the theories of 16th-century education, and finally led, in the philosophy of the 18th century, to a reaction which favored the declaration of the original goodness of man.

Effect of Calvin's discipline on Geneva. The effect of this regimen can be seen in the statement of a sincere reformer, the Lutheran pastor Johann Valentin Andreä, of the next century. Andreä visited Geneva in 1610 and reported as follows:²

When I was in Geneva, I made a notable discovery, the remembrance of which and longing for which will die only with my life. Not alone is there in existence an absolutely free commonwealth, but as an especial object of pride (*ornamentum*), a censorship of morals (*disciplina*), in accordance with which investigations are made each week into the morals and even into the slightest transgressions of the citizens, first by the supervisors of the wards, then by the aldermen, and finally by the magistrate, according as the case demands. As a result, all cursing, gambling, luxury, quarreling, hatred, conceit, deceit, extravagance, and the like, to say nothing of greater sins, are prevented.

² Held, Felix Emil, *Johann Valentin Andreä's Christianopolis*, p. 27. Urbana, University of Illinois, 1914.

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What a glorious adornment—such purity of morals—for the Christian religion! With our bitterest tears we must lament that this is lacking and almost neglected with us.

3. THE NETHERLANDS

School developments. In the transition to Protestantism, the Netherlands experienced the fiendish horrors of a fanatical religious war with their Spanish overlords. Many thousands of people were martyred for their faith, others died because of the war, and tens of thousands crossed the channel into the Eastern counties of England. In consequence of the devastating conflict, the southern provinces were saved for Catholicism, but the northern provinces became intensely Protestant and, in the end, set up the Dutch Republic. This transition to Protestantism in the Netherlands came later than in Germany.

In spite of these withering experiences, the culture of the Netherlands continued to flourish, and Holland shortly attained the leading role in European civilization. In commerce, manufacturing, exploration, and invention, the Dutch had no rivals. In the arts of music, painting, smithing, her craftsmen likewise set the pace. During this age of bitter religious antagonism, the Dutch began to practice toleration, and soon Holland became an asylum for religious refugees from every land. As early as 1576 the Prince of Orange proclaimed toleration of all religions, even for Catholics and Anabaptists, and set an example to all the world. The University of Leyden, which was established in 1575 as a reward for the heroic defense against the Spaniards, became the most progressive center of learning in northern Europe, and the city of Amsterdam became a rendezvous and refuge for learned men from every country. Most of the teachers in the Netherlands became Protestant; especially was this true of the Brethren of the Common Life, who were naturally inclined toward evangelical faith. Almost every man, woman, and child had learned to read in the pre-Reformation public schools. As the schools were already in the hands of the town authorities, the transfer to the new order was effected without much opposition. With the general acceptance of Protestantism, the city councils forbade the teaching of Catholic pray-

ers and religious practices, and required the substitution of the reformed catechism and doctrines.

School endowments. Another great advantage for the Netherlands was the ease with which the revenues and property of the old church were now diverted to the support of the public schools. In 1580 the state of Utrecht set apart its ecclesiastical property for the maintenance of schoolmasters. Three years later Zealand passed a similar law, on the ground that education "is the foundation of the commonwealth." In 1603 the revenues of the old church were turned over to the support of common schools in Friesland. The wealth of the church and the monasteries in Holland was not so great in proportion as in some other lands, yet it amounted to one-fifth of the wealth of the country.

The Dutch Reformed Church, in accordance with its Calvinistic doctrine of theocratic government, coöperated with the state authorities to advance the interests of education. In 1574 the Synod of Dort passed an ordinance directing "the servants of the Church" to obtain from the magistrates in every locality permission for the appointment of schoolmasters, and an order for their compensation as in the past. In 1582 the province of Friesland decreed that the inhabitants of the towns and villages should, within the space of six weeks, provide good and able reformed schoolmasters. If they neglected this order, teachers would be appointed for them. The Synod of Nimeguen in 1606 voluntarily requested the civil authorities to make education compulsory. The school order of Drente in 1638 introduced compulsory education. So far as jurisdiction over schools outside the towns was concerned, the authority lay in the hands of the states-general or the legislature.

To show the attitude of the rulers, the following letter has been quoted. Count John of Nassau wrote to his sons and nephews, among them Lewis William, Stadtholder of Friesland, urging "the necessity of establishing a system of common schools in the United Provinces."¹⁰

You must urge upon the States-General that they, according to the example of the Pope and the Jesuits, should

¹⁰ Quoted from Motley, John Lothrop, *History of the United Netherlands*, Vol. III, p. 119. New York, Harper, 1867.

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establish free schools where children of quality as well as of poor families, for a very small sum, could be well and christianly educated and brought up. This would be the greatest and most useful work, and the highest service that you could ever accomplish for God and Christianity, and especially for the Netherlands themselves. . . . *In summa*, one may jeer at this as popish trickery, and undervalue it as one will, there still remains in the work an inexpressible benefit. *Soldiers and patriots thus educated, with a true knowledge of God and a Christian conscience: item, churches and schools, good libraries, books and printing-presses are better than all armies, arsenals, armouries, munitions, alliances, and treaties that can be had or imagined in the world.* . . . Pray urge upon his Grace [Prince Maurice], in cousinly and friendly manner, that he should not shrink from nor find shame or difficulty in these things, nor cease, under invocation of Divine aid, from reflecting on them, and furthering them with earnest diligence.

Three kinds of schools. There were three grades of schools fostered in the Netherlands at this time: common schools, for the masses, the classical schools, for boys who expected to enter professional life; and the universities.

Common or public schools. The common school systems of Europe and America owe their origin, in large measure, to the town schools of the Netherlands. These schools were the outcome of three contributing factors, the first of which was the demand made by commercial life. For several centuries before the Reformation, reading and writing had been taught in town or community, as well as in private, schools. Davies asserts:¹¹

We have the testimony of the Italian Guicciardini to the fact that before the outbreak of the war with Spain even the peasants in Holland could read and write well.

The second factor was the virtual democracy of the government. The idea of training the young for the service of the church-state is found in the idea of commonwealth, or "commonweal," which was widely prevalent at this time. The third factor was the Reformation.

¹¹ Davies, C. M. *History of Holland and the Dutch People*, Vol. 1, p. 487. London, G. Willis, 1851.

During the Reformation in Holland the Calvinistic doctrines contributed significantly to the demand for popular education. The aims of the church required: (1) learning of the creed and chief dogmas as found in the catechism; (2) training in moral habits and attendance upon the services of the church; (3) reading the Scriptures; and (4) the singing of the Psalms. This much of religious instruction was to be universal. Girls as well as boys were admitted to the elementary schools.



A DUTCH SCHOOL OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

The organic unity of church and state implied, moreover, the ideas of compulsory training, service to the commonwealth, state support and control of the schools, and gratuitous instruction. In spite of its establishment as the official religion of the state, the Reformed Church did not have complete control of education in the provinces. Large numbers of the population belonged to other faiths, especially the Catholics, Arminians, and Mennonites. These peoples thwarted the ambition of the Calvinists for full control of the schools. In consequence of this division, the secular authorities kept a large measure of control over all educational affairs. All these factors assisted in realizing an effective

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system of public schools in Holland long before it was found elsewhere.

Classical schools. The classical schools, or *gymnasias*, were widely distributed in the Netherlands, and were under the control of the municipal authorities. Latin and Greek were usually taught; but many schools expanded their curricula beyond the narrow course of Sturm. French, mathematics, and philosophy were frequently included in their courses of study.

Universities. The progressive culture of the Dutch people is well exemplified in their celebrated universities. The following institutions were established: Leyden, in 1575; Franeker, in Friesland, 1585; Groningen, 1614; Amsterdam, 1630; Utrecht, 1638; and Harderwijk, 1648. In all, Holland had fourteen higher institutions of note. Among these, Leyden attained greatest celebrity. It was founded to commemorate the successful resistance of the town against the siege of the Spaniards. Rewarded by a choice of immunity from taxation or the establishment of a university, the inhabitants of Leyden chose a "free school and university." The new institution immediately became a rendezvous for French and English Protestants, as well as students from their own people. Over two thousand students of English nationality matriculated in Leyden during the 17th century. Among the many celebrated scholars connected with Leyden were Joseph Scaliger, Grotius, Arminius, Stevin, and Boerhaave.

Influence of Dutch schools. Educational historians, especially in America, have devoted entirely inadequate attention to the Dutch influence. Their advanced ideas of school organization, curricula, and methods radiated in every direction. Alsted, Ratich, and Comenius carried them to Germany and Sweden; while Milton, Petty, and others introduced them into England. Moreover, the Pilgrims and the Puritans who came to New England must certainly have received educational ideas from their fellow religionists across the North Sea.

It has been estimated that about 10,000 Englishmen took up residence in Holland during the stay of the Pilgrims; many of them attended the universities, and their children were taught in the schools. Among these were Robinson and Brewer, who played so conspicuous a role in the emigration

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to the New World. In 1609 when the Pilgrim Fathers took up their residence in Leyden, the school had become the common property of the people: ¹²

It was a land where every child went to school, where almost every individual could read and write, where even the middle classes were proficient in mathematics and the classics, and could speak two or more modern languages.

There was hardly a Netherlander—man, woman, or child that could not read and write. The school was the common property of the people, paid for among the municipal expenses. In the cities, as well as in the rural districts, there were not only common schools but classical schools. In the burgher families it was rare to find boys who had not been taught Latin, or girls unacquainted with French.

According to another writer,¹³ the leaders of the Pilgrims in Holland

... became citizens, paid their taxes, and took advantage of the common schools and the municipal privileges.

Griffis also states that between 80,000 and 100,000 persons emigrated from the Netherlands into England.¹⁴

The direct influence of these refugees on the English people was seen in this—that each foreign workman was compelled by law to take and train one English apprentice. This law sent, probably, fifty thousand English boys and young men to school, not only in industry, but in republican ideas and liberal notions. These refugees, as English historians acknowledge, achieved the industrial Revolution of England.

Again, we must not overlook the direct influence of Dutch education upon colonial America, which will be discussed later.

¹² Motley, John Lothrop, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 432

¹³ Griffis, W. Elliot, *The Influence of the Netherlands in the Making of the English Commonwealth and the American Republic*, p. 17. Boston, De Wolfe, Fisk & Co., 1891.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 10. See also De Vries, Tieman, *Dutch History, Art and Literature*, p. 37 *et seq.*

4. EDUCATION AMONG OTHER SECTS ON THE CONTINENT

The Bohemian Brethren had schools and publications prior to the Lutheran Reformation. At the beginning of the 16th century, they boasted three publishing establishments and, among other works, published a catechism and a hymnal. A Bible in the Bohemian tongue was issued in Venice. Between 1500 and 1510, some sixty new publications appeared in Europe, and fifty of them were published by the Bohemian Brethren. Throughout the 16th century, good parochial schools were to be found in every Moravian parish, and they continued until destroyed by the Thirty Years' War. In addition to these, the Brethren possessed several higher schools. It will, furthermore, be recalled that the University of Prague was the earliest in that whole section of Europe, a further evidence of Bohemian progressiveness and culture at the time.

By the end of the 16th century, education was highly developed in this part of the Continent. In 1574 there was founded at Erbenschütz a college for young noblemen. In 1575 about forty students for the ministry were studying at foreign universities. The number of schools in Bohemia and Moravia had increased.

At the beginning of the 17th century, schools began to flourish and increase in an unprecedented way. De Schweinitz, in his history of the Moravian church, draws a rather flattering picture of educational conditions:¹⁵

There was not a market town without at least one school, while larger towns had several. In Prague there were sixteen, besides two gymnasia. It was claimed these Bohemian schools were the best schools in Europe. There were parish schools, each in charge commonly of two teachers, sometimes five or six. No one was employed as an instructor unless he had attained to the degree of a Bachelor of Arts; in a majority of cases the teachers had reached the degree of Masters.

This was the golden age for Bohemian learning and literature. Prague could boast of celebrities like Tycho

¹⁵ De Schweinitz, Edmund, *The History of the Church, The Unitas Fratrum*, p. 468. Bethlehem, Pa., Moravian Publishing Office, 1885.

Brahe, the astronomer; John Kepler, the mathematician;
John Jessen, the physiologist and anatomist.

5. ENGLAND

Forces contributing to the English Reformation. The heart of the Reformation in England was an intense desire, widely diffused among all ranks of society, for a disciplined and preaching clergy and for the reform of ecclesiastical abuses. The Reformation was brought about by a series of acts of Parliament and of orders in council, enacted and issued between 1530 and 1603; thereby, the transformation of England from a feudal and clerical civilization to a civilian and commercial one was effected. The revolution was led and controlled by Henry VIII, by the Protectors who ruled England while Edward VI was king, and by Queen Elizabeth. The Tudors used movements with which they had little sympathy, but which they always directed toward the one goal, the gaining of power for the Crown of England. To attain this end, it was essential that the financial resources and the teachings of the church be controlled by the sovereign; after a long struggle, this innovation was accomplished.

Evangelicalism. Most important among the forces used by the Tudors in bringing the Church of England under the control of the secular government was evangelicalism. This movement, which was at all times closely connected with evangelical activities on the Continent, had been present since early times in England; under the name of *Lollardy* the movement had taken on serious proportions. It was strongly anticlerical, zealous for moral reform, and leveling in tendency; it appealed from the authority of the prelates to the authority of the Bible. The anticlericalism of the evangelicalists resulted in their inclining to the side of nationalism in the struggle between Parliament and the King of England on the one side and the Roman Curia on the other.

John Wycliffe (1320-1384), called "the morning star of the Reformation," developed in his writings the main tenets of evangelicalism: he taught communism, holding that righteousness alone gives title to dominion and property and that all those who belong to Christ have equal lordship over the earth. Assisted by Nicholas Hereford and John Purvey, he translated

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the Bible into English. His translation was the very life of Lollardy, and played a significant part in the development of English prose. He supported John of Gaunt in the latter's antipapal struggle. Wycliffe's decision that Parliament, despite the Pope's command, might lawfully prohibit the sending of funds from England is contained in a state paper which is still preserved. He was unsparing in his denunciation of clerical faults and vices. In his theocratic conception of national kingship, in his denunciation of papal monarchy, and in his attack on the doctrines of sacerdotal power of the clergy and of transubstantiation, he anticipated—and, in fact, assisted in bringing about—the continental revolt. Writing in scholastic Latin, Wycliffe spoke for the King and Parliament of England. His English Bible was preached and circulated among the people; and his leveling doctrines were given a form that caught the attention of the populace. John Ball, leader of the Peasant's Revolt of 1381, in his couplet

When Adam delved and Eva span,
Who was then the gentleman?

expressed the democratic tendencies of the times and appealed from lord and bishop to the Scriptures. In school and in secret meetings, the teachings of evangelicalism were spread among the people. Although Lollardy was driven under cover, its intense vitality enabled it to live through all attacks—first, in the Reformation; later, in the Puritan revolution and the Whig reforms; and still later, in the liberal and humanitarian reforms of the late 18th and early 19th centuries. Most of the principles for which it contended were established permanently in English life.

Increased importance of gentry and townsmen. As on the Continent, so also in England, the rise of a middle class of people to wealth and power necessitated changes in government. The municipal, the merchants', and the manufacturers' guilds of the later Middle Ages developed a new, and exceedingly numerous, privileged group. The sons of these people studied the liberal arts, law, medicine, and theology, and came to exert a determining influence upon the direction of culture and government.

Henry VIII, patron of Humanism. When, in 1509, Henry VIII came to the throne of England, the Humanists hailed

with joy the advent of a king who had tasted of the new learning. Henry was an enthusiastic Humanist, who was well versed in Latin, French, Italian, and Spanish, and who exercised rare judgment in the choice of scholars upon whom to bestow royal favor and bounty. Opponents of the new learning were called to Woodstock and silenced; Henry himself established a chair of Greek at Corpus Christi College, Oxford. Henry long remained the patron of Ascham, Vives, Erasmus, and More. Under his favor, Humanism spread with astonishing rapidity.

Break of the English Church with the Roman Curia. For centuries before the reign of Henry VIII, the relationship of the temporal and spiritual authorities in England had given grave concern to the leaders of the realm. One measure after another advanced the monarchical power and contributed to national unity, until, in the fourth decade of the 16th century, the English throne was ready to claim a monopoly of power within its territorial bounds and to maintain its claims against all opponents of royal supremacy. Henry's desire to have his marriage with Catherine of Aragon declared invalid precipitated a struggle with the Roman Curia, in the course of which Parliament, in 1534, passed the Act of Supremacy. This act provided that the King of England should have complete control of all matters pertaining to religion, and over all religious institutions in England. It empowered him to assume control of all church properties, and to direct the acts of his subjects in all that related to religious practice and faith.

When Henry VIII, a little later, took the title "on earth Supreme Head of the Church of England" and made Cromwell, a layman, his vicar-general, one of the most important revolutions in the history of the western world had been accomplished. Not only had the church become national, but it was, in addition, dominated by laymen. Although professing to restore the liberties of the Church of England, Henry actually made the bishop subject to himself, and the right of preaching was restricted to those priests who obtained license from the king. Topics of clerical discourses were prescribed; the bishops supervised subordinate clergy, the sheriffs watched over the bishops, and the vicar-general watched over all.

Dissolution of the monasteries; the chantry acts. Since

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the monastic and preaching orders did not fit into Cromwell's scheme for the organization of the Church of England, he made ready to use the wealth of these institutions, as well as that of shrines and chantry foundations, to advance the political and economic interests of the realm. A visitation of the monasteries was followed by a report in which they were severely arraigned. By a succession of acts in the reigns of Henry and of Edward, these institutions were suppressed and their revenues given to the Crown. Many of the grammar schools listed as "founded" during the 16th century were simply existing institutions reëndowed with monastic funds; or, if they were new institutions, they were established from the resources of earlier foundations, many of which had provided some kind of educational instruction. The refounding of schools had begun, however, before the break of the Church of England with the Roman Curia. Many of the monastic churches, likewise, were refounded as churches of secular canons. The net result of the suppression of monasteries and chantries, so far as schools were concerned, was to bring the schools under royal patronage, and to release a considerable amount of wealth for their support.

The Reformation after Henry VIII. The suppression of the monasteries and of certain shrines where trickery had been practiced was the signal for outbreaks. On the one hand, those of the extreme Protestant party began to riot and to break the images in churches; and on the other, Catholics in northern England, where Protestantism had made little headway, rose in protest. Both disturbances were put down immediately, and the Act of the Six Articles was issued. This act was directed against reformed theology and shows, moreover, how far the nation in 1539 actually was from breaking with its old faith.

To break with the Roman Curia and to make the Church of England an instrument of the government involved the work of a decade. To make England Protestant in sentiment required sixty years' time, and comprised the reigns of Edward VI, of Mary, and of Elizabeth. During the reign of Edward VI, prelates who manifested open sympathy with Protestantism received preferment; the Act of the Six Articles was repealed; and certain articles, forty-two in number, were adopted as the standards of faith of the Church of England.

These articles were Protestant and, when later reduced to thirty-nine, formed the statement of faith of the Church of England; they have remained such even to the present day. Prayer books were issued in English, and in churches Protestant practices displaced Catholic. When Mary ascended the throne, she attempted to restore the church once more to the older communion. The persecutions by which she attempted to enforce her policy enraged the people, and excited so much sympathy for the Protestants that the Reformation received general popular approval. Early in the reign of Elizabeth, Protestant standards of doctrine were reestablished; the English Book of Common Prayer was introduced; and, as priests died, they were replaced by Protestant ministers.

Elizabeth's church policy rested upon the Act of Supremacy and the Act of Uniformity. The first statute conferred upon the civil government full authority over the church; the second required of all subjects outward conformity to the faith and worship of the Established Church. The ecclesiastical commission and the successive primates, who were the instruments of the government in enforcing uniformity, were empowered to deprive non-conforming clergymen of their benefices. Schoolmasters were required to profess their faith in the doctrinal standards and to attend the services of the Established Church. Catholics and Protestant dissenters alike were forced into an outward show of conformity or were punished for their non-compliance. The vigorous measures taken by the government and the intense national spirit aroused during Elizabeth's reign completed England's transition from Catholicism to Anglicanism.

The Statute of Apprentices. The passing of the economic and social system of the Middle Ages was attended by the disintegration of the guilds, and consequently by the decay of industrial training in England. In an attempt to arrest this decay, the English Parliament passed (1562-1563) the Statute of Apprentices. This law was intended to promote instruction in agriculture and animal husbandry, and technical education in industrial and mechanical arts. Until its repeal in 1825, this statute remained the law covering the relation of masters and apprentices in England; and it was the model of legislation concerning apprenticeship in the English colonies in North America.

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Poor laws. England was confronted in the 16th century with problems of unemployment, of poor relief, and of control of the lower working classes. In an endeavor to cope with these problems the Tudor statesmen gradually developed a system of poor laws, which were codified in the famous statute of 1601. This act provided for the relief of poverty out of local taxes and for a measure of supervision of the poor. The parish was made the unit for the administration of the law: in each parish the justices of the peace were to nominate the church wardens and two or three propertied persons as a board of overseers of the poor. This parish board had power to levy taxes and to enforce this levy, to build workhouses, to put the poor to work, to place children of the poor in workhouses and to bind them out as apprentices, and to administer relief to the poor who were not living in workhouses. Until the poor law reforms of 1834, this act governed English practice in dealing with the education of the poor. Under it many children were sent to America. The act also influenced legislation affecting educational matters in the settlements of Massachusetts and also in those of Virginia.

Theory of Education in Tudor England

Nationalism and Humanism. The Anglican Reformation was influenced by the conception of national regeneration through the power of the ruling prince. Worship of the state, and the idealization of a ruling prince—strong in body, brave, magnanimous, scholarly, wise, powerful, and of awesome dignity—were the features of the new national ideal. The hopes of the people were centered in the ruler—in loving the king “no less than God,” Thomas Cromwell expressed the spirit of his age. The ruling prince was head, protector, and father of all national institutions and of his people. For the regimen which would produce the powerful personality demanded in its ruler, the 16th century relied upon the training of humanistic culture. Classical authors furnished the methods and organization, as well as the content, of the aristocratic educational system. Accordingly, the leading English schools of the 16th century had two characteristics: they were classical schools, and they were schools for the ruling class. With the

education of the poor, or the lower classes, few theorists of the century had any concern.

Sir Thomas Elyot. The theory of education which formed a part of the Tudor doctrine of royal supremacy was formulated by Sir Thomas Elyot (1490–1546) and set forth in his book *The Governour*. The son of an English lawyer who held high rank under the Crown, Elyot's active career was passed in the royal service. He was clerk to the Privy Council; he accompanied Cromwell on the first visitation to religious houses; and he made journeys to the Continent on diplomatic errands. The purposes of the first of these missions were to further Henry's divorce from Catherine of Aragon and to bring about the arrest of William Tyndale. Elyot was at once Humanist and exponent of royal supremacy: both Sir Thomas More and Thomas Cromwell were his friends.

In addition to his treatise on education, *The Boke Named the Governour*, which went through ten editions in the 16th century, Elyot compiled a Latin-English dictionary; made translations from St. Cyprian, Isocrates, and Plutarch; and wrote essays on practical conduct, education, and devotional life. He drew upon Agricola, Erasmus, and other Renaissance scholars, but leaned principally upon the writers of antiquity, making many allusions to the works of Plato, Aristotle, Livy, Plutarch, and Quintilian, and to the Bible.

The Governour, published in 1531, treats of the education in virtue and manners of the rulers of a state. In the first chapter of the book, the nature and importance of governments, or "the public weal," are discussed. Elyot was no democrat. Stable government, security, and peace, *The Governour* claims, are dependent upon the existence of "discrepance of degrees": hierarchies in the church, and superior and inferior ranks in the nation. A "public weal" can have but "one capital and sovereign governour." Under the sovereign are inferior "governours," who have their authority from him and govern in his name. Most inferior "governours" are to be chosen from among persons of "that estate of men called worshipful"—that is to say, they are to be by birth persons of rank; as being more accustomed to authority, more acceptable as magistrates to the people; and, as persons of wealth, more likely to have been properly educated. In some instances, however, men "of the base estate of the commonality" who