Durham University

Durham E-Theses

Martin Luther as an educator: appendices a selection of Luther's educational writings

Martin Luther

How to cite:

Luther, Martin (1949) Martin Luther as an educator: appendices a selection of Luther's educational writings. Masters thesis, Durham University.

Use policy

The full-text may be used and/or reproduced, and given to third parties in any format or medium, without prior permission or charge, for personal research or study, educational, or not-for-profit purposes provided that:

- a full bibliographic reference is made to the original source
- a https://etheses.durham.ac.uk/id/eprint/9593/ is made to the metadata record in Durham E-Theses
- the full-text is not changed in any way

The full-text must not be sold in any format or medium without the formal permission of the copyright holders.

Please consult the full Durham E-Theses policy for further details.

Academic Support Office, The Palatine Centre, Durham University, Stockton Road, Durham, DH1 3LE
e-mail: e-theses.admin@durham.ac.uk Tel: +44 0191 334 6107
https://etheses.durham.ac.uk

MARTIN LUTHER

AS AN

EDUCATOR

SUBMITTED BY G. E. BELL, (ST. JOHN'S)

FOR THE DEGREE OF M.ED.,

TO THE UNIVERSITY OF DURHAM.

FEBRUARY, 1949.

CONTENTS.

Page

PREFACE. . . . . i-viii

PART ONE.

INTRODUCTORY MATERIAL.

CHAPTER 1. BACKGROUND TO THE REFORMATION IN GERMANY. 2

1. Political Conditions. 3

2. Social and Economic Conditions.
   (a) Economic Changes. 14
   (b) Introduction of Roman Law. 18
   (c) The Peasantry. 21

3. The Ecclesiastical System. 23

CHAPTER 2. MARTIN LUTHER AND THE COURSE OF REFORMATION.

1. 1483 - 1521. To the Edict of Worms. 30

2. 1522 - 1531. To the League of Schmalkalden. 42

3. 1531 - 1546. To the Death of Luther. 51

4. NOTES.

CHAPTER 3. THE MEDIEVAL EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM IN GERMANY. 60

1. Medieval Organization of Education. 62

2. Medieval Schools. 64
   (a) Monastic Schools. 65
   (b) Song and Parish Schools. 65
   (c) Chantry Schools. 66
   (d) Cathedral and Grammar Schools. 67

3. Medieval Universities. 70
   (a) Formation. 70
   (b) Organization. 73
   (c) The University Course. 74

4. Scholasticism. 78

5. The City Schools. 84

6. Summary. 87

Page

CHAPTER 4. THE EFFECTS OF THE RENAISSANCE ON EDUCATION IN GERMANY. 92

1. The Revival of Learning. 93
2. The Northern Renaissance. 97
3. The Influence of Humanism on the Schools. 101
4. The Influence of Humanism on the Universities. 109
5. Summary. 112

PART TWO.

LUTHER'S EDUCATIONAL WORK AND THOUGHT. 114

CHAPTER 5. THE FORMATIVE YEARS. 115

1. Luther's Home. 116
2. Luther's Schooling. 119
3. Luther's University Training. 125
4. In the Monastery. 130
5. Luther and the University of Wittenberg. 136
6. Luther and the Humanists. 143
7. Luther as Scholar. 147
8. NOTES. 153

CHAPTER 6. THE MAIN COURSE OF LUTHER'S EDUCATIONAL WORK AND REFORMS. 162

1. Luther's Demand for Educational Reform. 163
2. Disruption of the Medieval System of Education. 171
3. Luther's Fight for Reconstruction and Reform of Education: 1522 - 1530. 181
   (a) The Leisnig Experiment. 184
   (b) The Call to the Free Cities. 188
   (c) The Eisleben and Nuremberg Ordnungen. 203
   (d) The Call to the Princes. 212
   (e) The Call to Parents. 232
4. The Re-growth of Education in Protestant Germany.
   (a) Luther's Later Educational Work. 247
   (b) Melanchthon. 254
5. NOTES. 266

		Page
CHAPTER 7.	LUTHER AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF GERMAN POPULAR EDUCATION.	283
1.	Luther and the Vernacular.	284
2.	The Effect of Luther's Preaching.	290
3.	Luther's Translation of the Bible.	296
4.	Luther's Catechisms.	310
5.	Luther's Hymns.	324
6.	The Work of Bugenhagen.	335
7.	Summary.	346
8.	NOTES.	349
CHAPTER 8.	THE EDUCATIONAL DERIVATIVES OF LUTHER'S THEOLOGY.	361
1.	The Nature of Luther's Reforming Work.	362
2.	Pure Doctrine.	368
3.	The Law and the Ordinances of God.	375
4.	Luther and Vocation.	381
5.	Luther and Reason.	389
6.	Luther and the Study of History.	403
7.	Luther and the Natural World.	412
8.	The Word of God.	426
9.	Summary.	437
10.	NOTES.	440

		Page
CHAPTER 9.	THE ORDINANCES OF GOD.	451
1.	Luther and the Purpose of Education.	452
2.	Luther and the Media of Education.	459
3.	The Home and Education.	461
(a)	The Office of Parent.	461
(b)	The Discipline of the Home.	464
(c)	Instruction in the Home.	472
(d)	Sending Children to School.	483
(e)	The Office of Child.	489
4.	The State and Education.	493
(a)	Luther's Conception of the 'State'.	493
(b)	The Responsibility of the Government for Education.	495
(c)	The Office of Prince.	500
5.	The Church and Education.	510
(a)	The Task of the Pastor.	513
(b)	The Office of Teacher.	517
6.	NOTES.	524
CHAPTER 10.	RÉSUMÉ AND CONCLUSION.	536
1.	Luther's Educational Thought.	537
2.	Luther's Practical Achievement in Education.	541
3.	Luther's Relevance to Modern Education.	544
BIBLIOGRAPHY.		547
BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES.		555

MAPS.

1.	German States and Cities: 1500	7
2.	Saxony in 1500	10
3.	The League of Schmalkalden: 1531.	52

PREFACE.

Whoever writes on Martin Luther inevitably enters the field of controversy, an old battle-ground which has been fought over constantly since the 16th. century.

The materials upon which this prolonged, and unfinished, debate has been fed are varied and abundant.

First, there is the character of Luther himself, many--faceted, and touching the life of his age in nearly all its aspects.

Then there are deep spiritual and intellectual allegiances involved, for the work and character of Luther do not admit of detached study in academic abstraction.

Finally, the primary and secondary materials upon which disputation may be based are prolific - the Weimar edition of Luther's works, still incomplete, occupies about one hundred quarto volumes, the Enders edition of his letters includes almost four thousand numbers, while the Catalogue of the British Museum, published in 1894 and now considerably augmented, contained more than two hundred folio pages, averaging about thirty-five articles to the page, written either by or about him.

It may be argued from this that everything that can be said about Luther, must have been said. But this, surprisingly, is not the case, and there are several adequate reasons

for writing again on Luther's educational work.

The first develops from a statement made by P. S. Watson, in a recent book on Luther. He writes : "Modern research has led to a new understanding and appreciation of Luther, and shown a need for a thorough revision, not only of non-Lutheran, but also of traditional Lutheran conceptions of his reforming work." (Watson, "Let God be God" vii.) This is as true of Luther's educational work, as of his theology, for his educational work was a central, and not a peripheral, aspect of his achievement as a reformer. In reading works on the history of education published, or introduced into this country since the beginning of the present century, one is struck by the comparative neglect of consideration afforded to Luther's educational work. Even those writers who do give him any space, almost invariably allot the main credit for the re-establishment of education in Germany during the Reformation to Melanchthon.

(vi)

The general tone is set by Paulsen, who in standard works on German education, can make such misleading statements on Luther as, "His esteem for education..was very moderate indeed.."; and again, "Nor did he cherish any strong desire for learning and education; these things were far removed from his main interest." +*This depreciation of Luther is used by the same writer to throw into high

+* (Paulsen "German Education", 47-48. He follows Janssen "Hist. of German People" Vol.iii; and is in line with Grisar "Luther", Vol.vi. pp. 9-10)

relief Melanchthon, in the role of saviour of German education. Other writers have followed Paulsen. Thus, in a recent book entitled "Pioneers of Religious Education", Kinloch gives good measure to Erasmus, quotes Paulsen on Melanchthon, and disposes of Luther and the Small Catechism in half a page !

It seems, therefore, that a study and a revaluation of Luther's educational work is overdue in this country. The second reason which seems adequate for a further discussion of his work in this field has particular application to the present state of education in England, characterized, as it is, by a flurry of activity but a basic uncertainty of purpose, arising from the spiritual chaos of our time. One of our greatest needs is to look beyond the mechanism of education to its ultimate purpose; for what is the use of constructing a perfect education system, or devising better instructional methods, if the purposes for which these are to be used are in serious doubt, or unknown?

Though Luther as an educator had a great concern for methods in education, his present relevance arises from the fact that he was concerned with the basic principles and ultimate objectives of education, and because of this, though four hundred years separate him from us, he still speaks to our age.

In attempting such a revaluation in this essay, I have tried to keep constantly in mind the principle that Luther can be properly understood and estimated only when he is allowed to speak for himself. Furthermore, in all cases of quotation I have kept his words in context, for one of the chief reasons for misunderstanding of Luther has been faulty quotation, wrenched from its context, and repeated from one secondary source to another.

(viii) In general plan, the essay falls into two parts. The first four brief chapters are largely introductory, and present a background only to the main section of the work. I have not annotated these introductory chapters, except where I have quoted directly from another book. In the main part of the essay, Chapters 5 to 7 contain a historical survey of the course of Luther's educational activities and influence; Chapters 8 and 9 deal with the source of Luther's educational ideas, attempt to discover the reasons for his conceptions and attitudes, and endeavour to demonstrate his continued relevance in our educational problems.

The Appendices, containing a selection of translations of Luther's chief educational writings, are included, like the introductory chapters, for the sake of completeness.

PART ONE.

INTRODUCTORY MATERIAL.

CHAPTER 1.

BACKGROUND TO THE REFORMATION IN GERMANY.

1. Political Conditions in Germany at the Close of the 15th. Century.

2. Economic and Social Conditions.

   (a) Economic Changes.

   (b) The Introduction of Roman Law into Germany.

   (c) The Condition of the Peasantry.

3. The Ecclesiastical System.

BACKGROUND TO THE REFORMATION IN GERMANY.

Before proceeding to a detailed consideration of any particular aspect of the revolution of which Martin Luther was the dynamic centre, it is necessary to have some clear conception of the background against which his reforming task was accomplished. To gain this understanding, there is no alternative but to review briefly the conditions of life and thought in Germany and Northern Europe during the late 15th and early 16th centuries, and to select from this survey those features which have a special relevance to the main study with which this essay is concerned.

It is to such a preliminary survey of political, social, and cultural conditions, that these early chapters are devoted.

1. POLITICAL CONDITIONS IN GERMANY AT THE CLOSE OF THE 15th CENTURY.

A glance at the political map of Europe at the close of the 15th century reveals the striking contrast that existed between the comparative condition of unity of the nations to the west of the Rhine, and the tangled patchwork of small states which constituted Germany and North Italy, the two chief parts of the Holy Roman Empire.

The reasons for this lack of national unity, which other Western nations were in an advanced stage of achieving,

lay in the struggle for supremacy which had been waged between successive Popes and Emperors throughout the Middle Ages. By the 6th. century A.D., the Bishop of Rome had become recognized as the supreme bishop in Europe, and was, in fact, Pope in the accepted sense. This process of ascendancy had continued, until, in the 11th. century, the ecclesiastical power of the Papacy had become firmly established, and not only that, but its political supremacy over temporal rulers had been successfully asserted. Thereafter, though much depended on the personality of individual Popes, in the main the political power of the Papacy had continued to expand until the close of the 13th. century, after which, for a variety of reasons, it entered upon a period of decline.

The Empire, considerably smaller than the ancient Roman Empire of which it was the successor, had always been regarded as the head of the European state system, since the coronation of Charlemagne by the Pope in 800 A.D. On the death of Charlemagne, his empire split into three parts, corresponding roughly to France, Germany and Italy, and was only in part revived when Otto of Germany conquered Italy, and was crowned Emperor of the Romans by the Pope in 962 A.D. It was this Empire which became known as the Holy Roman Empire.

Subsequent kings of Germany also became Emperors and kings of Italy, but the claim to this last title often involved

costly wars, and protracted disputes with the Papacy. These wars were adroitly used by the feudal princes of Germany to weaken the political power of the Pope and the Emperor, and, as a consequence they had enhanced their own power and had made themselves practically independent. The power of the princes was increased, when, after three successive Imperial dynasties had died out, they became electors to the Imperial crown. From 1356, the number of princely electors was limited to seven, three ecclesiastic and four laymen. These seven Electors were the Archbishops of Mainz, Trier, and Cologne; the Count Palatine of the Rhine, the King of Bohemia, the Elector of Saxony, and the Margrave of Brandenburg.

Formerly, wealthy territories in Germany and Italy were acquired by the Emperor on his election, but by the end of the 15th century all of these had been lost by former Emperors. The territories on the Rhine had been sacrificed to the three Archbishop Electors to secure electoral votes and political support; the Imperial lands in Italy had either been lost in war, or ceded for support to Italian nobles and cities.

Thus, Maximilian of Hapsburg, elected Emperor in 1493, possessed no territories in Germany in virtue of his title, and his power had been reduced to that of a mere feudal headship, nominal only, and without reality inside Germany.

Internally Germany was of all the modern nations farthest from having achieved national unity.

The political map of the country at the close of the 15th. century shows an incoherent tangle of small and large secular states, a great number of ecclesiastical provinces, and innumerable free cities, with large dominating territories in the great Electorates. (Refer to Map 1. p. 7)

Nearly one-sixth of the country was divided among the ecclesiastical states, all of which to some degree reflected the features of states of the Church under the Pope.

5.

In all of them, the head of the state - Archbishop, bishop, or abbot - directed the affairs of the Church, performed the duties of the priestly office, and at the same time acted as a secular ruler, gathering revenue, raising troops, and administering government. In theory, these states owed allegiance to the Emperor and acknowledged the supreme authority of the Pope; but, in reality, their rulers pursued worldly and political ambitions in much the same way as any secular prince. Three of the rulers of ecclesiastical states were Electors, and held controlling positions on the Rhine.

Politically the most striking factor in the life of Germany in this period was the growth in power of the large secular princes. In the absence of any Imperial control, authority and land had been gained increasingly by the large princes at the expense of the lesser nobility and the cities.

ELECTORATES.

1 COLOGNE.
2 TRIER.
3 MAINZ.
4 RHENISH PALATINATE.
5 BOHEMIA.
6 SAXONY (ERNESTINE).
7 BRANDENBURG.

These important princes were practically independent sovereigns. Their power had been consolidated by the introduction of the Roman code of law in place of the traditional German law, and everywhere their administrative agents were replacing the former feudal authorities.

Four of the great princes were Electors, and three of these deserve rather particular attention, since they enter so closely into history of the Reformation.

The Electorate of Brandenburg lay on and between the Elbe and the Oder, and had formed the territory of the important Hohenzollern family since the early 15th century.

In addition, a member of this same family was head of the Teutonic Order which ruled over the Prussians to the east of the Vistula.

Bavaria, with its commanding position on the upper Danube valley, was the strongest power in South Germany, and had for long been the territory of the Wittelsbach family.

Closely related to the house of Bavaria, the Elector Palatine was the strongest of the German princes, and by virtue of his commanding position on the border between France and Germany, played an important part in the relationships between the two.

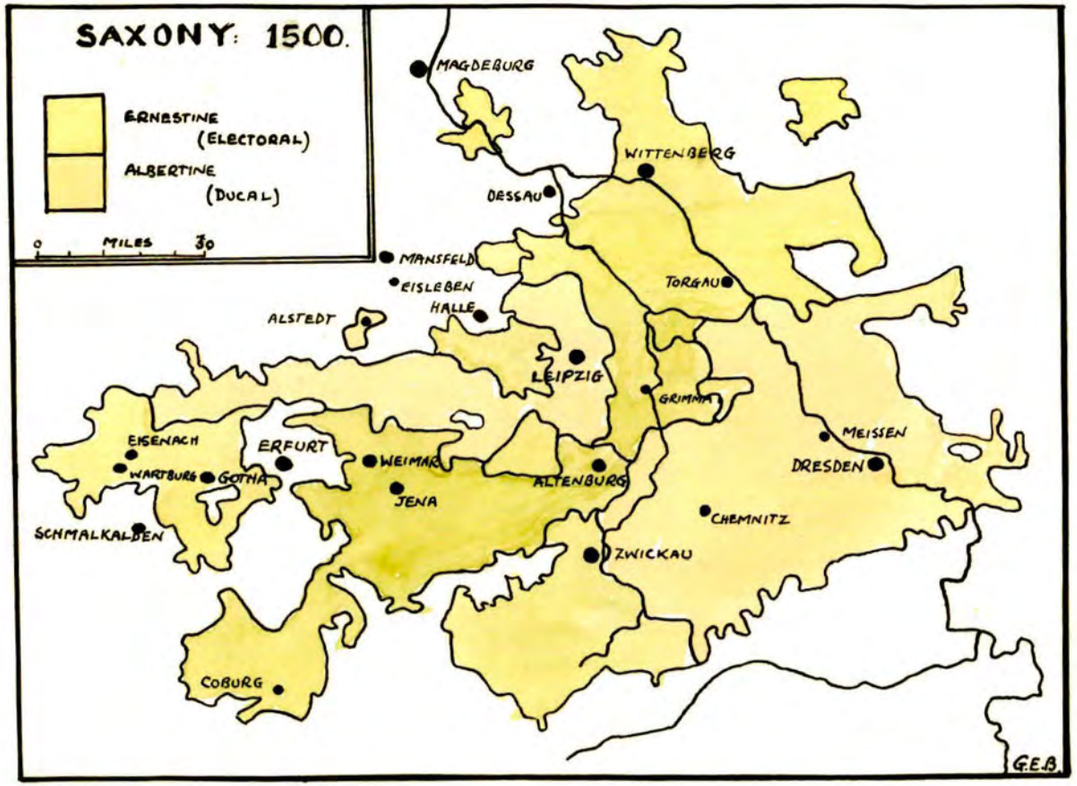
In the south centre of Germany, with Bohemia on its southern border and lying astride the central Elbe valley, was Saxony. This state had gained the Electoral title in 1423, but rather more than sixty years later, the territory was

divided between the two brothers, Albert and Ernest. (Map 2. p. 10.) The Electoral title went with the Ernestine line, and the Albertine princes were left with the ambitious hope that they might succeed in transferring this power to their own branch of the family. Frederick the Wise was the Elector form 1486 to 1525, while George was Duke of Albertine Saxony from 1500 to 1539. The former was Luther's constant guardian during his lifetime, while the Duke was the Reformer's most determined opponent from 1519 to 1539. Owing to the weakness of the Emperor and the general internal confusion in Germany, many Leagues of smaller states and cities had formed.

In the North, the trading cities formed the Hanseatic League. In the North-West, the seventeen states of the Netherlands, of which the majority were within the Empire, were ruled over by the Dukes of Burgundy.

In the South, the Helvetic Confederation, theoretically acknowledging allegiance to the Emperor, had established an independence in the mountains and on the plateau of Switzerland.

In 1488, the states lying between Bavaria and the Rhine in the South-West, united to form the Swabian League, largely as a means to prevent threatened absorption into Bavaria. Its leading figure was Count Eberhard of Wurtemberg, but it also comprised the territories and resources of the nobility and twenty-one towns of the region.


SAXONY: 1500.
ERNESTINE (ELECTORAL)
ALBERTINE (DUCAL)
0 MILES 30
MAGDEBURG
WITTENBERG
DESSAU
MANSFELD
EISLEBEN
HALLE
TORGAU
ALSTEDT
LEIPZIG
GRIMMA
MEISSEN
DRESDEN
EISENACH
ERFURT
WEIMAR
WARTBURG
GOTHA
JENA
ALTENBURG
CHEMNITZ
SCHMALKALDEN
ZWICKAU
COBURG
G.E.B.

Beneath the greater ecclesiastical and secular princes stood the mass of feudal lords, the so-called Imperial Knights. Socially, they were a survival of feudalism, and were a class of small-land-owners who lived in a state of chronic petty war, and contributed more than any other class to the internal disorder of Germany. The German law of inheritance, whereby the lands of a feudal lord were divided among his sons at his death, had resulted in the partition of large areas of Germany into a large and ever--increasing number of petty lordships. The majority of these lords were poor, yet proud and independent, resisting all attempts of the powers above them to control them. They lived a wild, undisciplined life, in peace devoting themselves to the chase, and, in their frequent feuds, often raiding their neighbours, and attacking merchants and towns. Finally, besides the princes and the petty nobility, the internal political confusion was augmented by the existence of free cities and towns, which were to be found throughout the length and breadth of the land. In theory, these communities owed allegiance to the Emperor; in fact, the absence of central Imperial authority made them self--governing and independent. In order to preserve their identity, many of these cities had grouped themselves into leagues, sometimes in association with the local prince and knights.

By the end of the Middle Ages, the Empire was studded with

some three thousand towns and cities.

They conformed, in general, to two types. First, there were the metropolitan towns, like the bigger seaports and the regional capitals, which enjoyed long distance relations, served an area larger than the immediate locality, and had their own manufactures. In the second place, and by far the more numerous, there were the market towns, which had a population comparable to the larger villages of today, and served only their restricted localities.

The local sphere of influence varied from West to East Germany. In the West, the towns had an area of influence of about fifty square miles; while in the East, where town development was less advanced and population relatively low, the sphere of influence varies from one hundred to one hundred and seventy square miles in extent.

Each urban community was, in effect, a little free state, self-governed like a small republic, fortified, well stored with wealth, and often with a year's food and fuel laid up against a possible siege. Though numerous, wealthy, and sometimes important, the intense local patriotism of the towns often narrowed their interest to the small locality of which they were the centre, and their parochialism was frequently as intense as that of their enemies, the lesser nobility.

Thus, at the close of the 15th century, Germany was an amazing political confusion, without central authority, and with no power capable of bringing peace and order to it.

There was, however, one institution which was supposed to be concerned with the affairs of the whole Empire. This was the Diet, which consisted of three chambers, the first comprised of the seven Electors; the second of the princes; and the third, since 1489, of the Imperial towns. The Diet was a feudal, not a representative, parliament, and its constitution was curiously doubtful and undefined. It met and voted in separate colleges, and the Electors and princes only had the power to carry a decision, which was then submitted to the College of Cities. When finally a decision had been reached, the wishes of the Diet were transmitted to the Emperor by the Archbishop of Mainz, who was also the Chancellor of the Diet. There then followed negotiations between the Emperor and Diet, and the result reached was like a treaty between independent powers. There had been attempts to reform this cumbrous instrument of government, the leading figure in this movement being Berthold, Archbishop of Mainz. His plan provided for the establishment of public peace, enforced by an Imperial Court of Justice (the Reichskammergericht), supported by a general Imperial tax, out of which a permanent army was to be maintained. The administration of all this was to be the task of a Council of Government (the Reichsregiment). This was to consist of twenty members, of whom three only were to be nominated by the Emperor, the remainder consisting of the Electors, and the representatives of princes, cities,

and the administrative Circles (Kreise) into which Germany was to be divided.

Several features of the plan, which was naturally opposed by the Emperor since it removed the control of the Empire out of his hands, were, nevertheless, accepted by Maximilian in 1500, but were ineffective because there was no public opinion to support a new constitution. In 1505, a scheme was brought forward by Maximilian, in which the Reichsregiment was not to be an anti-Imperial instrument, but this was rejected by the princes. In 1507, Germany was divided into ten Circles for administrative purposes, but this, though plausible on paper, had little effect because the Diets had no powers to enforce their decrees. The final conclusion was that, on the eve of the Reformation, the one real power in Germany was that of the greater princes, each of whom moved along the course set by his own ambition, at the expense of knights, cities, and leagues.

2. ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL CONDITIONS IN GERMANY ON THE EVE OF THE REFORMATION.

(i) Economic Changes.

Despite the chaotic political state of Germany, and the failure of constructive reforms in government, it would be a mistake to suppose that the economic life of the country reflected the political immaturity. Rather the reverse, for Germany was standing on the threshold of marked economic

development. It was, indeed, the opinion of competent observers that Germany had never been richer or more prosperous, and this statement may be accepted, with one qualification: the increase of wealth was not shared by all classes of German society.

The reasons for this growth of prosperity are not far to seek. In the first place, the discovery by Portuguese and Spanish navigators of new trade routes to the East, and of new lands to the West, had resulted in the creation of a world market, in place of the petty inter-town trade of the Middle Ages. In the second place, the centre of trade had shifted from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic, and Venice and Genoa were replaced by Lisbon and Antwerp as the chief centres of European commerce.

Germany's position between the Hanseatic trading cities of the North, and Italy and Portugal on the South, led to a considerable augmentation of her trade and a vast increase in her imports.

The earlier centres of trade, like the cities of the Rhine, Nuremberg, Ulm, Regensberg, Stuttgart, Leipzig, Magdeburg, and other which had grown to prosperity from the trade over the Alpine passes from Italy, now began to establish their warehouses and agents at Antwerp and Lisbon, to buy up goods brought from the East by the Portuguese. In exchange for spices and cloth, Germany sent her precious metals, mined

on an increasing scale in the mountains of Thuringia, and Bohemia. The rise of a world market had made possible for the first time the productive use of capital, and out of this there grew up a class of financial specialists and bankers.

Augsburg became the headquarters of the Fuggers and Welsers, controllers of German finance, and consequently the city also prospered as the distributing centre for all goods received from Portugal, Italy, and the Netherlands.

The activities of the great bankers were universal and varied. The Fuggers were the direct agents of the Curia in Germany for the sale of indulgences, out of which they drew half the profits; they controlled banking and commercial business in Antwerp; they owned mercury and silver mines in Spain; and they farmed the receipts drawn by the Spanish Crown from its estates. By judicious loans to the Emperor Maximilian, they acquired enormous concessions of mineral property in Hungary, Tyrol, Carinthia, and Thuringia; they advanced the money by which Albrecht of Brandenburg bribed his way to the Archbishopric of Mainz; their advances enabled Charles v. to bribe his way to the Imperial crown; and they found the funds by which Charles raised troops to fight the Protestants.

The enterprises of the Welsers were almost as varied and remunerative. They invested in the Portuguese voyage to the East Indies in 1505, financed an expedition to

Venezuela, owned large establishments in Lisbon, Antwerp, and the principal cities of Italy, Switzerland and Germany. They had a controlling interest in the import of spices, and were partners in silver and copper mines in Hungary and the Tyrol.

Other financial families - the Hochstetters, Haugs, Meutigs and Imhofs - had similar careers and engaged in corresponding speculations.

There were very important social consequences arising from this commercial revolution.

Since this German enterprise necessitated the establishment of distant trading depots at such places as Antwerp and Lisbon, the formation of trading companies and associations of wealthier merchants was almost inevitable, since such long-range commerce brought the need for larger capital. This had the consequence of the growth of trade monopolies, and the crushing out of the smaller merchants.

These monopolies first captured the Eastern trade in spices, but soon, too, internal domestic trade fell under the control of the companies, who were able to force down buying prices by purchasing vast quantities of goods at a time. Foodstuffs and crops in the stalk were often bought up from the peasants by the advance of ready money, and these were re-sold at large profits. The total consequence of this process was an enormous rise in prices inside Germany in the first quarter of the 15th. century.

The main cause for this was the growth of monopolies, which were rightly blamed. In 1522, the whole question of trade and monopoly came up before the Diet of Nuremberg, after a great debate with the Councils of Ulm, Frankfort, and Augsburg. A series of laws was passed designed to lessen the disorganizing power of monopoly, but the activities and speculations of the great merchants and financiers were not seriously interfered with, and the decrees of the Diet soon became a dead letter.

(ii) The Introduction of Roman Law into Germany.

The great economic changes, together with the concentration of power in the hands of the great German princes, led to far-reaching modifications in the legal system of Germany. The old Teutonic Law, devised for the needs of an agrarian society, was suddenly confronted by a multitude of problems connected with credits, obligations, and contracts, which were far beyond its range. The old Law was a vast array of uncodified local laws and traditional customs, varying from one part of Germany to another, and lacking a common legal basis which would hold good everywhere. It was rightly named the 'jus incertum'.

The new money economy required a legal precision which was lacking in the traditional law. This precision and comprehensiveness was admirably answered in the Roman Law. The political situation, in which the power of the greater

princes was growing at the expense of every other section of the community, also hastened the adoption of the foreign code. These independent rulers introduced the Roman Law and Roman jurists to legalize what they had gained ... unlawfully and by force. The lawyers upheld the claims of their patrons, and freely applied the familiar dictum of Roman Law : "Quod princeps placuit, legis habet vigorem". At first the Roman jurists acted as notaries, secretaries, counsellors, and ambassadors for the princes, displacing the clergy in these tasks. Later they were often called upon to decide in disputes between princes and cities, but by the end of the 15th. century, all the upper Imperial Courts and the territorial courts were filled with men trained in the new code.

In the town courts the introduction of lawyers was carried through very swiftly. The first stage was the appointment of a jurist to advise the judge, and eventually this official, expert in the Roman Law, displaced the judge and absorbed the powers of the court.

The lower courts which directly affected the mass of the people, were not invaded by Roman Law until the beginning of the 16th. century. From this time, however, they were brought into conformity with the upper courts, and, despite protests, jurists were introduced. This had a profound effect.

Under the old law, the lower court was a jury court, called

the Schöffen, composed of the free inhabitants of the district. These courts were only called at irregular intervals, were reformed each time they met, and lawyers played little part in their procedure. Under the new system, the lord appointed a jurist to advise the Schöffen. Eventually the jurist became the presiding officer, and finally absorbed the powers of the jury court which was relegated to an advisory function. These jurists refused to recognize the old German law, replaced it by the Roman code, and so became the sole arbiters of the lower courts. In addition to this official, the lord brought in two other officials, a steward who kept a record of services and dues owed by the peasants, and a sheriff.

In this way the independence of the village community was reduced or taken away, and local powers were placed in the hands of the agents of the lord.

The introduction of the Roman Law led everywhere to a deterioration in the lot of the peasants in particular, and there grew up in all classes of German society a hatred of Roman jurists.

But despite denunciations, protests of diets, and promises of princes, the jurists continued to be employed, for their services were far too valuable to those in authority to permit a serious attempt to expel them.

(iii) The Condition of the Peasantry.

While Germany was increasing her trade and commerce, the condition of the peasants was declining.

There were very few independent peasant proprietors with representation in the local diets, and the backbone of the peasantry were the Horige, who were free themselves, but were liable to services and held land which was subject to dues. These lived in semi-independent communities adjoining their lord's estate.

The lowest class of peasants were serfs, the Leibeigener, whose dues and services were unlimited and indefinite. This class was largely limited to Pomerania.

The dues demanded from the Hörige were extensive. First, a definite proportion of their produce, of field, garden, forest, and stock, was expected twice a year, at spring and harvest. Secondly, they were required to give bodily services, the number of days varying with the locality, but including unrewarded work in the chase, in fishing, and on the lord's personal estate. In the third place, the peasant paid three Church Tithes of about one-tenth yearly -- the Great Tithe on corn, the Small Tithe on fruit, vegetables, rye, oats, and wine, and the Flesh Tithe on domestic animals. Finally, every event in the peasant's life was made an occasion for extra dues. The most drastic of these was the Todfall, whereby, on the death of the head of the family, the most valuable possession of the peasant

family passed into the lord's hands. This was eventually converted into a death duty, varying from five to fifteen percent of the whole estate.

The most serious attack on peasant independence, such as it was, came through the attempts of the princes and lesser nobility to set up regulations which limited the use of the commons by the peasants. This process had been gathering strength from the middle of the 15th. century, and with the introduction of the Roman Law had been so hastened, that by the first decades of the 16th. century, the control of the common lands had passed into the hands of the lords, and the once independent village community had become part of the manorial estate.

The last stage of this progressive decline came when the peasant, in order to pay his dues, mortgaged his land at large rates of interest. Foreclosure of mortgage became so common, that as Luther said, 'Anyone who has a hundred gulden to invest could gobble up a peasant a year with no more danger to his life and property than there is in sitting near a stove and roasting apples'.*

By the first decades of the 16th. century, there had been many attempts at peasant revolt, particularly in South-West Germany, but all had proved abortive.

* cf. WORKS OF MARTIN LUTHER (HOLMAN) IV. ON TRADING AND USURY; ON USURY. } 1519-1520 pp. 29; 67.

3. THE ECCLESIASTICAL SYSTEM.

At the close of the 15th century, the portion of Christendom of which Rome was the ecclesiastical capital, consisted only of the western half of the peninsula of Europe. To the east and south of this territory lay the Ottoman Empire, separated from Italy itself only by the Adriatic, and including the Balkan Peninsula and the lands of the central Danube basin. Over Western Christendom the Pope was the acknowledged spiritual head, and the ecclesiastical organization of the West found its focus in the Roman Curia. Europe was divided into ecclesiastical provinces at the head of each of which was an archbishop. Each province was sub-divided into dioceses under bishops, and each diocese into parishes under parish priests.

This great ecclesiastical system kept itself as free as possible from the civil government, and the Papacy asserted its spiritual authority above secular sovereigns and princes. In addition, the clergy sought to maintain an independence from civil law by the establishment of separate ecclesiastical laws and courts, in which the final appeal was to the Pope. The authority of the Papacy on this tremendous scale was based on the Canon Law, which consisted of the collected decrees of Church Councils and declarations of the Popes, and embodied in legal form the theory of Papal absolutism. The controlling power of this system over the life of the

people of Germany was immense. In the first place, the clergy alone conducted those services which were regarded as essential to eternal salvation - the sacraments, as they taught, of baptism, the Eucharist, marriage, penance, confirmation, and extreme unction. If men disputed their claims, they had the power to withhold these services and to hand them over to the civil authoritees, who acted in submission to their teaching. For their services, they took the three tithes already mentioned from their parishioners, and levied very considerable fees for every call made upon them. In this, they were augmented by the many orders of friars and monks. The mendicant orders of the rival Dominicans and Franciscans, originally bound to poverty and service, swarmed everywhere. These orders had become wealthy and corrupt, for often on their death-beds rich men had made over to them great possessions and lands, in return for their prayers and masses.

The extent to which the Church battened on the very life of the people was well illustrated in the great numbers of abbeys, churches, monasteries, convents and foundations throughout Germany, and the large proportion of the population which entered the clerical estate. Boehmer* gives the following figures for some of the cities. In Cologne, in 1532, there were 19 parish churches, 22 greater monasteries, 11 foundations, over 100 chapels, 76 convents, 106 houses of Beguines, and 12 hospitals. Mainz, with a

* Boehmer "Luther in the Light of Modern Research", pp. 315ff.

population of about 7050 in 1450, had 19 foundations, 8 monasteries, 7 nunneries, and 3 establishments of the spiritual orders of knights. Worms, in 1500, with 7000 inhabitants, had 5 foundations, 9 monasteries, 5 nunneries, 8 parish churches, and 2 establishments of the spiritual orders. In the two latter cities, members of the clerical estate totalled a quarter of the population.

The numbers were not so large for towns which were not episcopal sees, but they were still comparatively great. Wittenberg, for example, with under 3000 inhabitants in 1517, had 1 foundation, 2 convents, 1 parish church, and 3 chapels. But to the foundation alone, 53 clergy were attached.

A great number of the priests were Mass stipendaries, who did nothing but read masses, while the members of the cloisters, in the main, belonged to the contemplative orders who did no work other than singing and praying.

The possessions of the Church were very great, and included about a third of the land in Germany. The upkeep of this vast host of clerical idlers, augmented by the mendicant orders, was an immense drain upon the laity, and the case was aggravated by the fact that the clergy claimed exemption from normal taxation.

Whatever the merits of individual priests and bishops, the ecclesiastical system of the Roman Church, as a whole, at the close of the 15th. century was shot through and through by

corruption, for which the Curia was notorious on all sides. In the first place, a succession of Italian Popes, of whom Alexander vi. (1492 - 1503), Julius ii. (1504 - 1513), and Leo x. (1513 - 1522) were the modern representatives, had turned their attention to the establishment and maintenance of secular sovereignty in Italy, even basing their claims in this matter on forged documents.

To meet the expenditure involved in these secular ambitions, the Curia resorted to various methods of raising money which brought hatred upon it from the lesser clergy and the laity of Germany.

In the first place, clerical opposition was raised by the practice of the Curia of demanding a tithe of all ecclesiastical revenues, whenever money was needed, under the pretext of carrying on war against the Turk.

Another practice was the sale of benefices to the highest bidder, which filled the parishes with men who neglected the priestly office and who sought to recoup themselves at the expense of their parishioners. In addition, exactions were levied on benefices in the form of annates, whereby a portion of about one-half of the estimated revenue of of the benefice was collected on every change of incumbent.

An even more lucrative business was the creation of new cardinals by the Popes. In 1500, Alexander vi. created twelve, and in 1503, nine more. Out of this he reaped a tremendous profit. In 1517, Leo x. went further and

increased the membership of the Sacred College by thirty--one, at an enormous personal profit. There is little need to say that the new cardinals hoped to recompense themselves out of the income of their livings. In many cases lucrative livings were held as pluralities, the most famous example being that of Julius ii, who, before he bribed his way to the Papacy, held one archbishopric, seven bishoprics, and two abbacies.

In addition to these matters of levying funds, the Holy See made great profits out of the exercise of the administration of justice. The Papacy had succeeded in concentrating in itself supreme jurisdiction in all questions concerning the Church, and heavy services were made upon all those who had to make use of its services. The officials employed by the Curia were men who had bought their office, and they resorted to every device to make expenses as heavy as possible to those who came for a just settlement of claims and disputes.

Finally, a great source of revenue came from the sale of indulgences and of dispensations for every kind of breach of the moral or Canon law. The common man was led to believe that by paying a sum of money to the Pope, ostensibly for Christian purposes, he could gain a share in the merits of Christ and the saints which would cover his sins and excuse him the pains of purgatory after death. This was such a lucrative and extensive business that it

was established on a firm commercial basis in 1500, when the Fuggers of Augsburg became agents of the Curia for the sale of indulgences in Germany. In 1514, these bankers took over the organization of the whole business in return for half the profits.

Through these, and many other, corrupt practices, the Papacy came to be hated throughout Germany, and, for more than a century, many voices, clerical and lay, had been raised in protest and in demands for reform. The literature of the period was full of references to the corruption of the Papacy, the immorality and rapacity of the clergy, and of hatred for Italy. Criticism found expression in the satire of the Vagantes, who amused or excited their hearers with their gibes against the greedy prelates :-

> I saw King Money celebrate the Holy Mass:
> King Money sang, and King Money responded.
> I saw him shedding tears, while he delivered the sermon,
> And laughing in his sleeve, while he cheated the people. (**)

Before Luther's Reformation treatises of 1520, the vices of Pope and priest had been pilloried in Germany by Erasmus in his PRAISE OF FOLLY, in Brandt's SHIP OF FOOLS, in the LETTERS OF OBSCURE MEN, in the preaching of such men as Thomas Mürner, and in the indictment sent to the Pope by Ulrich von Hutten.

These and other attacks brought to the threshold of conscious thought of all sorts and conditions of men in Germany the burning need for reform. The time was, indeed, ripe for Luther.

(** Ulrich "Educ. Thought", p.105)

CHAPTER 2.

MARTIN LUTHER AND THE COURSE OF THE REFORMATION IN GERMANY.

1. 1483 - 1521. To the Edict of Worms.

2. 1522 - 1531. To the League of Schmalkalden.

3. 1531 - 1546. To the Death of Luther.

4. NOTES 1 - 14.

MARTIN LUTHER AND THE COURSE OF THE REFORMATION IN GERMANY.

1. 1483 - 1521 TO THE DIET OF WORMS.

Martin Luther was born in 1483 of modest peasant stock, in the small town of Eisleben on the edge of the Thuringian Forest in Saxony. In the spring of 1484, his father moved to Mansfeld to work in the copper mines there. The boy was later sent to schools at Mansfeld, Magdeburg, and Eisenach, where he showed outstanding ability. Meantime his father's business had prospered, and he decided to send his clever son to the University of Erfurt in 1501. By 1505 Martin had graduated as Master of Arts, and having chosen to enter the Faculty of Law, his career as a lawyer appeared to be set out before him.

But in the same year, to the surprised disappointment of his friends, and the extreme anger of his father, he abandoned his university course and entered a monastery at Erfurt, with the intention of becoming a member of the Order of the Augustinian Eremites, who were noted for the cultivation of the ascetic ideal.

He became noted within the monastery for his devout observance of the rules of the Order, and for the intensity with which he pursued the quest for which he had abandoned his former life - the salvation of his soul.

In pursuit of this objective he practiced asceticism, studied the mystics and scholastic theologians, read deeply in the

Fathers, particularly Augustine, and, above all, sought to understand the Bible.

He was known as a man of vigorous character and intellect, and in 1508 he was selected to go to the University of Wittenberg, newly-founded by Frederick, Elector of Saxony, to occupy one of the two lecturerships which his Order was required to fill. He was assigned to the Faculty of Arts, where he lectured on Aristotle, meanwhile continuing his own studies in the Faculty of Theology.

Late in 1509 he was recalled to Erfurt, where he remained three semesters lecturing on the SENTENCES of Peter Lombard.

In the winter of 1510 - 1511, he was sent to Rome as a representative of his Order in the settlement of a domestic dispute, and on his return was transferred back to Wittenberg, where he became a Doctor in the Faculty of Theology in 1512.

Luther's own summary of these early years was brief enough:-

> I was born at Eisleben, and baptized in the Church of St. Peter there. I do not remember this, but I believe my friends and compatriots. My parents had migrated there from Eisenach hard by. Eisenach has almost all my relatives, and there I am recognized and known to all of them, since I studied there four years, nor does any city know me better.....
> The rest of my life I spent at the University and monastery of Erfurt, until I came to Wittenberg, except one year, my fourteenth, when I was at Magdeburg... (1.)

Luther was appointed Professor of Theology at Wittenberg in 1512, at the early age of twenty-nine.

The years immediately following were the most decisive in

his life. Discussion of the development of his ideas will be deferred to the following chapters; it is sufficient to say here that by the beginning of 1514, Luther had found the answer to his quest for salvation, and the form which this answer took became the motif of all his subsequent thought and work.

In 1516, he was elected District Vicar of his Order, and his personal influence inside and outside of the university had considerably widened. His thought, too, was maturing, and by 1517 he had reached a position on the central doctrines of the Christian faith which was, in many ways, diametrically opposed to that of the Roman Church.

This found expression in the publication of the NINETY--SEVEN THESES AGAINST SCHOLASTIC THEOLOGY of September 1517. These theses caused little discussion, and the beginning of Luther's public breach with the Papacy came two months later.

The occasion was the appearance of the Dominican friar, Tetzel, in the neighbourhood of Wittenberg, engaged in the sale of indulgences for Albrecht, Archbishop of Mainz. The history of the indulgence practice has been dealt with in great detail in many standard works, and is not a real concern of the present chapter. It is sufficient to say that, in 1517, it was the view of the ordinary man, a view encouraged by the Papacy, that the remission of sins could

be bought for a price, not only for the living but also for the dead.

The theological justification of the sale of indulgences, had been incorporated into Canon Law in 1343, long after the commencement of the practice by the Papacy. The argument went that the Church, as heir of Christ, possessed a treasury of good works - the merits of Christ and the saints - which it could distribute among its members, by means of indulgences.

The practice of the sale of indulgences - the "holy trade" as it was called - had been thoroughly commercialized by the Papacy, and the extension of the practice revealed the narrowing of the Curia to a particularist, financial power, and the ever-increasing corruption of the Roman Church.

The history of the indulgence of 1517 was outstandingly discreditable. In 1515, Pope Leo x. had declared an indulgence for the Archbishoprics of Mainz, Magdeburg, and all the Brandenburg territories, to run for eight years. Ostensibly the indulgence was for the benefit of St. Peter's in Rome, but its real object was to enable Albrecht, Archbishop of Mainz, and Primate of Germany, to pay off the colossal debt owed to the Papacy and the Fuggers for money borrowed to bribe his way to his high positions in the Church. The sale of the indulgence, which he had to administer, was his pledge. This was a thankless task, for it was opposed by many of the German princes.

The indulgence was a plenary indulgence. It promised to the buyer, or to the person in whose name it was made out, complete remission of the penance for all sins; the promise of divine grace, and deliverance from purgatory; the right to confess to any priest; participation in the general merits of the Church; and to souls already in purgatory, full remission of the sins they had committed in their life-time.

The agents of the Fuggers accompanied the indulgence--preachers, received and checked the moneys collected, and took half of the proceeds.

A contemporary description of the activities of Tetzel, illustrates the corruption and superstition involved in the sale :-

> He (Tetzel) gained by his preaching in Germany an immense sum of money, all of which he sent to Rome; and especially at the new mining works of St. Annaberg, where I, Frederick Mecum, heard him for two years, a large sum of money was collected.
> It is incredible what this ignorant and impudent friar gave out.
> He said that if a Christian slept with his mother, and placed a sum of money in the Pope's indulgence chest, the Pope had power in heaven and earth to forgive the sin, and, if he forgave it, God must do so also.
> Item, if they contributed readily and bought grace and indulgence, all the hills of St. Annaberg would become pure massive silver.
> Item, so soon as the coin rang in the chest, the soul for whom the money was paid would go straightway to heaven.
> The indulgence was so highly prized, that when the commissary entered the city, the Bull was borne on a satin or gold--embroidered cushion, and all the priests and monks, the town-council, schoolmaster, scholars, men, women, maidens,

and children, went out to meet him with banners and tapers, with songs and procession.
Then all the bells were rung, all the organs played; he was conducted into the church, and the Pope's banner displayed; in short, God Himself could not have been welcomed and entertained with greater honour. (2)

The action taken by Luther, who had preached against the indulgence already in 1516 and 1517, belonged in form to the ordinary academic proceedings of the Middle Ages.
He decided to bring the question of the abuse, and all the theological implications in it, to the open discussion of public debate, and drew up ninety-five propositions, or theses, which he was prepared to defend in open disputation.
These he affixed to the door of the Castle Church in Wittenberg, on the 31st. October 1517.
On the same day he sent a copy of the theses to the Archbishop of Mainz, and a letter requesting the suppression of the traffic.
Interest in the controversy mounted with amazing rapidity. The Theses were printed at Wittenberg, Nuremberg, and Basle, both in Latin and German, and widely disseminated through Germany. That there was a vast amount of half-conscious public opinion in the country ready to welcome and support any attack on the power and doctrines of the Papacy was shown by the acclamation of Luther's work from all sides. Luther himself was astonished at the effect, and felt obliged to write a defence of the Theses, which was dedicated to the Pope and published in 1518.

Long before this, however, energetic steps had been taken against Luther in Rome. First, Luther's writings were sent by the Archbishop of Mainz to the Pope, in December 1517. The General of the Augustinians was ordered 'to quiet that man, for newly-kindled flames are easily quenched.' (3) The matter was brought before the general Chapter of the Saxon province, where Luther was ordered to recant, refused, and resigned his office.

Next the Dominicans took proceedings against Luther 'for suspicion of heresy', and one of their Order, Prieras, attacked the Theses in a memorial in which he asserted the doctrine of Papal supremacy. Luther was not disturbed.

The Papacy now altered its tactics. In August 1518. the Pope called on Cardinal Catejan, the Papal Legate in Germany, to secure Luther's recantation, or, failing that, to send him bound to Rome, or to put him under the ban. Luther had three interviews with Catejan, but despite pressure, flattery, and cajolery, refused to recant. Catejan then called on the Elector of Saxony to arrest Luther and send him to Rome, but the prince, though by no means in full sympathy with Luther's theology, diplomatically refused to surrender his subject to trial in Italy.

The Papacy now made a declaration on the subject of indulgences, defined its views, and condemned the errors of certain monks. Luther could not now be in doubt on the official view.

The Pope next sent a special nuncio, Charles von Miltitz, to Germany to arrange Luther's arrest, but this plan failed and no settlement was reached.

In January 1519, the Emperor Maximilian died, and the interests in the Papacy in the election of a new Emperor, and the consequent need for cautious procedure with the Elector of Saxony, temporally overshadowed the ecclesiastical and theological dispute.

Despite this, the whole controversy, which now centred on the authority of the Papacy, was given an immense publicity throughout Europe by a public disputation between Luther and John Eck, held at the University of Leipzig. During this, Luther admitted the similarity between his views and those of John Huss, who had been condemned by the Council of Constance as a heretic.

It was apparent that there could be no reconciliation of the views of Luther and those of the Roman Church. This was realized on both sides.

Luther's words had brought him under suspicion of heresy and his writings of 1520 made that view inevitable.

In that year he produced the three great Reformation treatises: AN OPEN LETTER TO THE CHRISTIAN NOBILITY OF THE GERMAN NATION; A PRELUDE ON THE BABYLONIAN CAPTIVITY OF THE CHURCH; and A TREATISE ON CHRISTIAN LIBERTY.

The first of these was a call to his countrymen to right the wrongs and abuses under which Germany was suffering

as the result of Papal corruption; the second was a critical examination of the sacramental system of the Roman Church; and the last was an extension of his doctrine of justification by faith. He prefaced this last with an appeal to Leo x. to rid himself of the evil men who surrounded him, but did not abate one jot of his view of the Roman Curia.

The break was now complete, for the Papal Bull of excommunication was prepared before the publication of these treatises. This was issued in Rome 1520, but did not appear in Wittenberg until October. Orders were given that Luther's books should be burned, and that he should recant his opinions within sixty days of the posting of the Bull in Germany, on pain of being declared a heretic. The Bull arrived in Germany in August, with Eck in charge of its posting, but was received in many places with great hostility.

The Papacy now sought to secure Luther's condemnation through the Empire. The new Emperor, Charles v., was due in Germany from Spain for his coronation in October 1520, and purposed to hold his first Diet at Worms early in 1521. The Pope, therefore, despatched two nuncios, Aleander and Carra ciola, to Charles in Germany, to ensure the condemnation of the heretic and his removal to Rome. After negotiations by the nuncios, and an appeal from

Luther to the Emperor for the hearing of his doctrines before a tribunal of impartial theologians, the Emperor took the unusual step of summoning the monk before the representatives of the nation at the Diet at Worms.

Meanwhile the time given to Luther to recant had expired at the end of November 1520, but instead of doing so, he took a characteristic and symbolic step. At Wittenberg on December 10th., he had Melanchthon post a notice on the door of the parish church, with the following invitation:-

> Let whosoever adheres to the truth of the Gospel be present at nine o'clock at the Church of the Holy Cross outside the walls, where the impious books of papal decrees and scholastic theology will be burned according to ancient and apostolic usage, inasmuch as the enemies of the Gospel have waxed so great that they daily burn the evangelic books of Luther. Come pious and zealous youth, to this pious and religious spectacle, for perchance now is the time when the Antichrist must be revealed ! (4)

The ceremony which followed included the public burning by Luther of the three large volumes of the Canon Law, the writings of Eck and Emser, and a copy of the Papal Bull. No retreat was now possible for Luther, and nothing remained for the Church to do but to excommunicate the rebel and heretic.

The ban to this effect was signed in Rome in January 1521, and despatched to Aleander for publication in Germany. Aleander received the document at the Diet of Worms, but wisely, in view of the state of feeling in Germany, sent it back for modification. He described the situation

in 1521, in a letter to Cardinal de' Medici :-

....But now the whole of Germany is in full revolt; nine-tenths raise the war-cry, "Luther ! " while the watchword of the other one-tenth who are indifferent to Luther is "Death to the Roman Curia ! ".
All of them have written on their banners a demand for a council to be held in Germany, even those who are favourable to us, or rather to themselves. Some are moved by fear, some by hope, and some by their private interests. Indeed some sign should be given at Rome to show that the danger is not underestimated .... (5)

Luther came to Worms with a safe-conduct from the Emperor, which was honourably observed. He had already been condemned by the Roman Church before his arrival, and the papalists protested against any further trial or hearing. The Emperor, however, decided that he must be given a fair chance of repudiating books and opinions attributed to him.

Luther appeared twice before the Diet. He was called upon to repudiate his books and the opinions contained in them, but refused to do so. His final answer before the Diet was marked by a decisive courage :-

Since your Majesty and your Lordships ask for a plain answer, I will give you one without horns or teeth. Unless I am convicted by Scripture, or by right reason (for I trust neither in Popes nor in Councils, since they have often erred and contradicted themselves) - unless I am thus convinced, I am bound by the texts of the Bible, my conscience is captive to the Word of God, I neither can nor will recant anything, since it is neither right nor safe to act against conscience. (6)

Then he added, speaking in German :- God help me. Amen.

The Emperor declared his policy on the following day, in language which reflected his indignation :-

My predecessors, the most Catholic Emperors of German race, the Austrian archdukes and dukes of Burgundy, were until death the truest sons of the Catholic Church, defending and extending their belief to the glory of God, the propagation of the faith, the salvation of their souls. They have left behind the holy Catholic rites that I should live and die therein, and so until now with God's aid I have lived, as becomes a Christian Emperor.
What my forefathers established at Constance and other Councils, it is my privilege to uphold.
A single monk, led astray by private judgment, has set himself against the faith held by all Christians for a thousand years and more, and impudently concludes that all Christians up till now have erred.
I have therefore resolved to stake upon this cause all my dominions, my friends, my body and my blood, my life and soul.
For myself and you, sprung from the holy German nation, appointed by peculiar privilege defenders of the faith, it would be a grievous disgrace, an eternal stain upon ourselves and our posterity, if, in this our day, not only heresy, but its very suspicion, were due to our neglect.
After Luther's stiffnecked reply in my presence yesterday, I now repent that I have so long delayed proceedings against him and his false doctrines. I have resolved never again,under any circumstances, to hear him.
Under protection of his safe-conduct he shall be escorted home, but forbidden to preach and to seduce men with his evil doctrines, and incite them to rebellion.
I warn you to give witness to your opinion as good Christians and in accordance with your vows. (7)

Luther left Worms on the 26th. April 1521, and went off with his friends in the direction of Wittenberg.

On the way, his party was "attacked" by a body of horsemen, and Luther was carried off in the direction ~~in the direction~~ of Eisenach by the masked riders.

He disappeared from the scene for nine months, and many wild rumours were current throughout Germany and Europe, to the great dismay of all those who had his cause at heart.

In reality, Luther had been carried off into protective custody by Frederick, Elector of Saxony, under whose orders he was hidden in the Wartburg, a great castle near to Eisenach, on the edge of the Thuringian Forest.
In the meantime, at Worms, Charles had drafted an Edict, which he signed on the 26th. May. In this, Luther was denounced as a manifest and stubborn heretic, and the originator of schism in the Church. The Edict also called upon all to refuse him support and shelter, and, on the expiration of his safe-conduct, to facilitate his arrest and delivery to the Papal authorities.
The proclamation was said to have the approval and unanimous consent of the Electors and all Orders of the Empire.
In reality, it was signed by four Electors and a few remaining members of the Diet, after the departure of the Elector of Saxony and other supporters of the reformer.

2. 1522 - 1531. TO THE LEAGUE OF SCHMALKALDEN.

For Luther, the ensuing year of seclusion was one of intense thought and of great literary activity. The latter comprised a voluminous correspondence with Spalatin, Melanchthon, and friends at Wittenberg and elsewhere; the composition of Postils, or homilies on the Gospel and epistle for each Sunday of the year; the important and influential treatise ON MONASTIC VOWS; and, above all, the

translation of the New Testament from Greek into German. In Wittenberg and district, the winter of 1521 - 1522 saw the development of two conflicting aspects in the reform movement, one in accord with Luther's proposals in the OPEN LETTER, and the other in the direction of popular tumult. The first found its expression in constructive reforms in social affairs, care of the poor, and in education; the second in the violent disruption of the monasteries, attacks on images and pictures in churches, and the radical reform of the sacraments and liturgy.

The Wittenberg leaders, including Melanchthon, were helpless in this situation, which attracted the attention of the neighbouring princes, particularly George, Duke of Albertine Saxony, who wrote strongly to the Elector and laid a complaint before the Imperial Executive Council at Nuremberg.

The return of Luther to Wittenberg was imperative, and despite the wishes of the Elector, he set out for the city alone. En route, he wrote to Frederick to say that he must return, even without the Elector's protection :-

> ...I have written this to your Grace to inform you that I am going to Wittenberg under a far higher protection than that of the Elector.
> I do not intend to ask your Grace's protection. Indeed I think I shall protect you rather than you me.... (8)

Luther's return produced immediate results. In decisive fashion he dealt with the radical leaders, quietened the city,

and pacified the surrounding district. The restoration of order prevented the civil war that had been threatening. Luther now devoted his immense energies to the practical problems that faced the communities which had accepted his call for reform. In the ensuing years, he substituted the weekly for the daily Mass, introduced the popular election of pastors in place of episcopal ordination, brought in financial autonomy and independence in place of the former papal control, and revised the liturgy, translating it into German. He commenced the immense task of translating the Old Testament into German, and began the reconstruction of the educational system from elementary schools to universities.

Up to this time there had been a certain unity in Germany, in opposition to the tyrannies of Rome, and, in a very true sense, Luther had symbolized to all the resistance groups the promise of the fulfilment of their hopes.

Thus, it seemed to the peasants and working classes that Luther's action and words must lead on to their release from their great burdens, and to freedom from the tyranny of their masters. To the knights, Luther spelled German nationalism and the regeneration of their Order.

To many of the German princes Luther symbolized opposition to the demands of Italian potentates. To the humanists, he was an ally in their warfare on medieval thought and

custom. To many Christians, he was the promise of the regeneration of the apostolic Christian faith.

Of this unifying influence wielded by Luther, Harnack wrote :-

> For a period - if only for a few years - it seemed as if Luther's spirit would attract to itself and mould into a wonderful unity all that the time had of living vigour in it; as if to him, as to no one before, the power had been given to make his personality the spiritual centre of the nation, and to summon his century into the lists armed with every weapon. (9)

It was the hope of all these groups that Luther might be used to further their own particular aspirations. Since the majority of them misunderstood his motives, many of them were destined to bitter disappointment, and a considerable number of them turned away from him in the following years. The first of these groups to move towards revolt was that of the Imperial knights. In August 1522, these impoverished gentry tried to throw off the control of the German princes. The rising was crushed mercilessly by the princes, and the power of the knights was broken for ever.

Meanwhile the effects of Luther's publications, his preaching, the influence of his students and the large numbers of adherents which he had gained from the released members of the cloister, had carried the reformation teaching throughout large parts of Germany. This had found acceptance particularly in the cities of North and South Germany, and by 1524 Lutheran communities had been established in the chief cities from the border of Switzerland to the Baltic coasts.

Among the princes and higher nobility, there was support, but, as yet, not a wide response.

The progress of reform was tragically checked by the unhappy events of 1524 - 1525, when, as the culmination of a series of previous uprisings, the Peasants' Revolt broke upon Germany. The leaders of the revolt included religious fanatics, idealists, and political opportunists, and the rebels included artisans as well as peasants. The demands of the insurgents were incorporated in the TWELVE ARTICLES, in which an appeal was made to the Gospel as the ground for their demands. These included the free election by each parish of its pastor, reduction of taxation, the abolition of serfdom, the abolition of the heriot, and the abolition of the traditional German Law.

The revolt began in the Black Forest, spread in strength to the upper valleys of the Rhine and Danube, east to the Tyrol and Carinthia, then north to Thuringia and Saxony. The peasant bands attacked monasteries and castles, and were ruthless in their hour of success.

In this critical situation, Luther tried to bring both sides together in a peaceful settlement, by publishing in 1525, AN EXHORTATION TO PEACE. In this he called upon the princes to cease from tyranny, and urged the peasants to patience. Both sides were exhorted to lay down their arms, and to come to an understanding worthy of Christian men.

But the revolt had gone too far to be dealt with in this

manner. Urged on by fanatical preachers and temporary sucess, the rebel bands continued their violence, while in their trail followed anarchy.

In these circumstances, Luther called for the suppression of the revolt with the utmost dispatch, urging the princes and all loyal citizens to ruthless action for the achievement of this end. This call was contained in a treatise entitled AGAINST THE THIEVING AND MURDEROUS BANDS OF PEASANTS, and has been ever since the basis of the strongest criticism made against Luther.

The revolt was finally crushed with the utmost severity, and by the end of 1525, the situation was quiet again. Two outstanding results accrued out of these tragic events. The first was that Luther's name suffered great damage, and that the Lutheran movement lost the support of great numbers of the peasantry on one hand, and of the humanists, dismayed by violence, on the other.

The second result was that the control of power inside Germany was consolidated in the hands of the princes. These were divided into two groups. Alarmed by the recent revolt, which they attributed to the influence of Luther, the Catholic princes, headed by the Duke of Saxony, Albert of Mainz, and Joachim of Brandenburg, united to suppress the Lutheran movement. The Lutheran princes, headed by the new Elector, John, of Saxony, and Philip of Hesse,

formed an alliance, for self-preservation. This league included the Duke of Brunswick-Grübenhagen, the Dukes of Brunswick-Lüneburg, the Duke of Mecklenburg-Schwerin, the Prince of Anhalt-Köthen, the Counts of Mansfeld, and the city of Magdeburg.

The Catholic League, having secured the support of the Emperor to extirpate the Lutheran heresy, hoped to achieve this end. However, at the Diet of Speyer in 1526, to which both groups were summoned, Charles found himself faced with war against France, and the rapid advance of the Turk. Nothing was done at the Diet, apart from a temporary arrangement by which the states were given the right to regulate their own religious affairs, until a General Council could be held to deal with reforms in Germany.

In the respite afforded during the next four years, the Lutheran states went ahead rapidly with the process of reform and reorganization. During this period, Luther produced his chief liturgical works, prepared the two Catechisms, completed the greater part of the translation of the Bible, organized the visitation of parishes, and continued the drive towards the reconstruction of education. These four years saw further accessions to Lutheranism, including East Prussia and Brandenburg-Anspach.

Thus, when in 1529, a new Diet of Speyer was summoned, the Lutheran leaders attended with consolidated aims which they had not possessed previously.

The Catholic princes were in the majority, and consequently there was strong support for the Emperor's propositions. These were stated plainly. He still hoped to restore religious unity in Germany, but until a General Council met to achieve this, he ordered that there were to be no more religious innovations. The Recess of the previous Diet was revoked, and the Edict of Worms, therefore, was still operative. Finally, while Lutheran churches were to be allowed to remain, celebration of the Mass in the old form was to be permitted in Lutheran states, and confiscation of church property was forbidden.

These wishes of the Emperor were adopted by the Diet and incorporated in a Resolution. The Lutheran minority of six princes and the representatives of fourteen cities made a formal protest :-

...Our great and urgent needs require us openly to protest against the said resolution...as being, in view of the late Recess, null and void, and, so far as we ourselves and our people, one and all, are concerned, not binding...(1o)

From the registration of this protest, the Lutherans acquired the name of Protestants.

In the following year, Charles, during a respite in his war with France, came in person to Germany, to settle the religious question at the Diet which he summoned to Augsburg. Luther himself was under the Imperial ban, and accompanied the Elector's party as far as Coburg, where from the Castle

he directed the activities of Melanchthon, upon whom the task of presenting the Protestant case devolved.

A statement of Lutheran belief and doctrine was drawn up by Melanchthon, and approved by Luther before presentation to the Diet. This was the famous Confessio Augustana, signed by seven princes and two cities of the Protestant party. Despite the moderation of the document, the Emperor accepted an alleged refutation of the Confession, drawn up by the Papal Legate, Campeggio, and on the basis of this he demanded submission from the Lutherans.

After a period of attempted compromise and negotiation became futile, and Luther called upon Melanchthon to cease trying to compromise :-

> If we yield a single one of their conditions, be it that on the Canon or on private masses, we deny our whole doctrine and confirm theirs...I would not yield an inch to these proud men, seeing how they play upon our weakness... Pray break off all transactions at once and return hither. They have our Confession, and they have the Gospel; if they wish, let them hear those witnesses; if not, let them depart to their own place. If war follows, it will follow; we have prayed and done enough. (11)

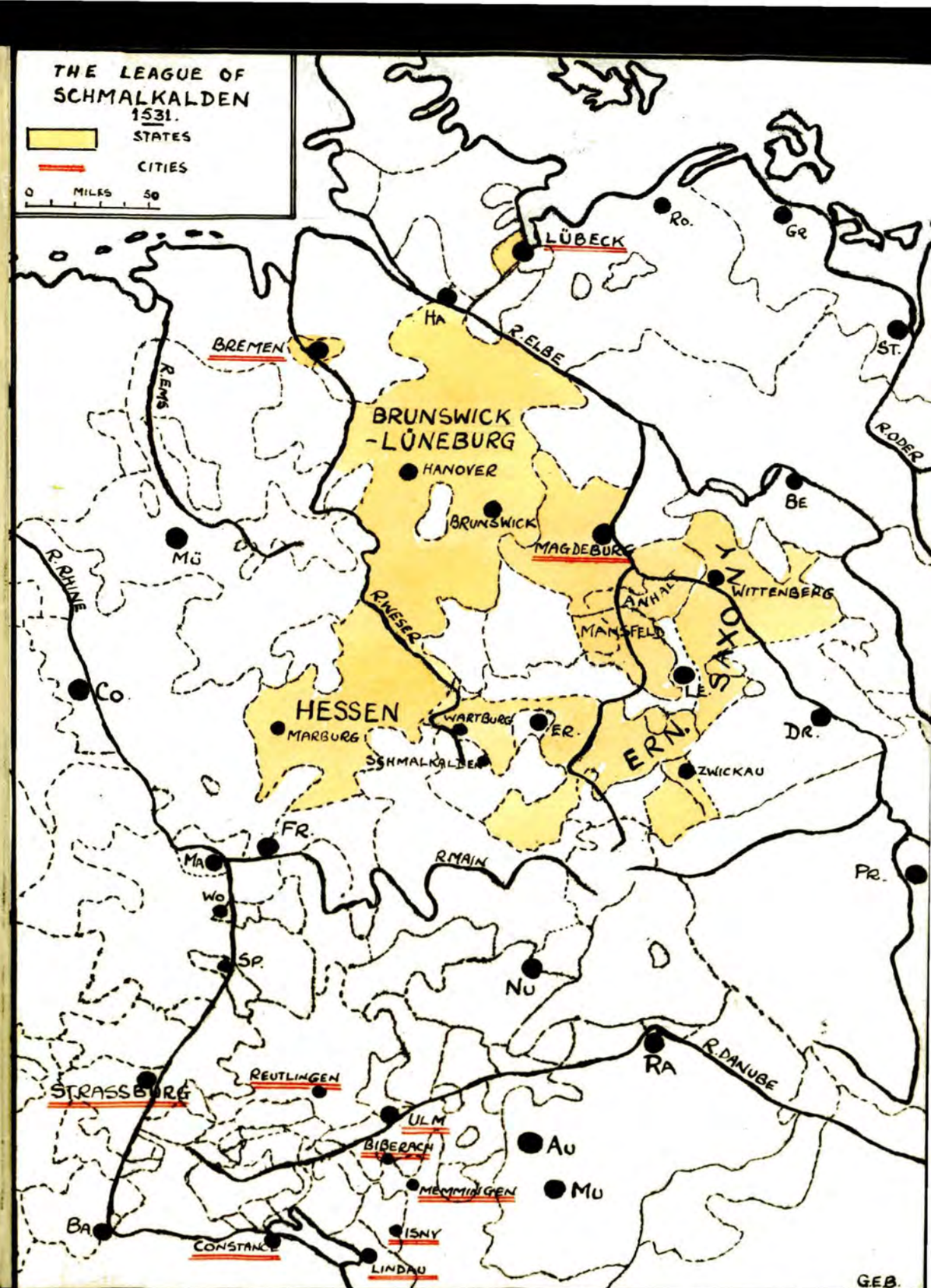
The Recess of the Diet, published in an Imperial Edict of November 1530, brought war nearer. It demanded that the Protestants should recant before the following April, that bishops should be restored to their former authority, and the cessation of reforms. Shortly after the promulgation of the Edict, the Emperor summoned the Electors to Cologne, for the purpose of electing his brother, Ferdinand, as King of the Romans - the title of the Emperor's designated successor.

(3) 1531 - 1546. To the Death of Luther.

Under the threat of coercion by force of arms, the Protestant princes and representatives of the cities met, in December 1530, at Schmalkalden, a small town just beyond the border of Electoral Saxony, to consider measures for cooperation and self-preservation. In February 1531, a formal alliance of Protestant states and cities was concluded and signed. The terms of the agreement were set out in simple language:-

We, John, by the grace of God, Archmarshal and Elector of the Holy Roman Empire and John Frederick, father and son, Dukes of Saxony; Philip, Otto, and the brothers Ernest and Francis, all Dukes of Brunswick and Luneburg; Philip, Landgrave of Hesse; Wolfgang, Prince of Anhalt; the brothers Gebhard and Albert, Counts of Mansfeld; and the Burgomaster and Council of the undermentioned cities of Upper Germany, Saxony, and the Sea, viz., Strassburg, Ulm, Constance, Reutlingen, Memmingen, Lindau, Biberach, Isny, Lubeck, Magdeburg and Bremen, do all men to wit :-
Whereas it is altogether likely that those who have the pure Word of God preached in their territory, and thereby have abolished many abuses, are to be prevented by force from continuing this service so pleasing to God;
And whereas it is the duty of every Christian government not only to have the Word of God preached to its subjects but also, as far as is possible, to prevent their being compelled to fall away from it;
Now we, solely for the sake of our defence and deliverance, which both by human and divine right is permitted to everyone, have agreed that whenever any one of us is attacked on account of the Word of God and the doctrine of the Gospel, or anything connected therewith, all the others shall immediately come to his assistance, as best they can, and help to deliver him... (12)

The importance of this alliance lay less in the names of the contracting states, and more in the fact that it contained representatives of states and cities, North and South, Lutherans and adherents of Zwingli. It was the nucleus out of which Protestant Germany grew. (Map 3. p. 52)


THE LEAGUE OF SCHMALKALDEN
1531.
STATES
CITIES
0 MILES 50
LÜBECK
Ro.
GR
HA
R. ELBE
BREMEN
ST.
R. EMS
BRUNSWICK -LÜNEBURG
HANOVER
BRUNSWICK
MAGDEBURG
BE
RODER
MÜ
R. RHINE
R. WESER
ANHALT
WITTENBERG
MANSFELD
SAXONY
CO
HESSEN
MARBURG
WARTBURG
ER.
LE.
DR.
SCHMALKALDEN
ZWICKAU
FR.
MA
R. MAIN
PR.
WO
SP.
NU
RA
R. DANUBE
REUTLINGEN
STRASSBURG
ULM
BIBERACH
AU
MEMMINGEN
MU
BA
CONSTANCE
ISNY
LINDAU
GEB.

Despite the fact of the election of Ferdinand, the internal war did not materialize. The Turks advanced rapidly westward, and in these circumstances of increasing danger the Emperor was unable to press the terms of the Edict of Augsburg. Rather was he concerned to conciliate the Protestants. In 1532, therefore, a Diet was called to Nuremberg, and a treaty between the two parties, Catholic and Protestant, was agreed. All war for the sake of religion was foresworn within the Empire, the Turk was declared to be the common enemy of all sections of Christendom, and all proceedings against the Schmalkaldic League were abandoned. This truce - the so-called Religious Peace of Nuremberg - was made binding on both parties until a general council could be called to deal with the religious question. In reality, the truce was a diplomatic victory for the Protestants, and provided the most favourable conditions for the spread of Luther's teaching and Lutheran practice.

The Protestants now had a defined faith, a church polity, a political organization, and a recognized legal status within the Empire. In these circumstances, the spread of Lutheranism was rapid, and many adherents were gained. In 1532, the three princes of Anhalt-Dessau called for the services of Nicholas Hausmann, and the country had become officially Protestant by 1534. In the same year Lutheranism triumphed in Nassau. The cities of Augsburg, Frankfort -am -

- Main and Hanover, also became Protestant in 1534.
More important gains were those of the states of Wurtemberg and Pomerania in the same year. During the next few years further notable adhesions to the Protestant camp followed.
In 1539, Duke George of Albertine Saxony, Luther's inveterate enemy, died, and his brother and successor, Henry, introduced reformation, which was carried through with characteristic vigour by his son, Maurice, who succeeded to the Duchy in 1541.
Between 1538 and 1540, Electoral Brandenburg, despite its earlier close connections with the Roman Church, followed the same course; while Mecklenburg-Schwerin and Brunswick--Calenberg became Lutheran by 1540.
In the same period, Lutheranism spread beyond the borders of Germany to effect reformation in Denmark, Norway, and Iceland.
These years were years of continuous toil for Luther, who, despite almost continuous ill-health, remained the guiding personality of the Reformation movement. He was called upon to deal with numerous tangled situations, not of his own creation, often beyond his complete control, and frequently incapable of final solution.
In the field of the Reformation movement, he had to face the problems arising out of relationships with Zwingli and the Swiss Protestants, the Anabaptist movement, internal

dissension among his close followers, and the relationship of the Lutheran movement to the Roman Church.

In the sphere of politics and social affairs, he was in constant demand by princes and cities, asking for advice in the conduct of their affairs, as they sought to apply reorganization of church, school, and state, in accordance with the evagelical faith.

In the course of literary activity, Luther maintained a ceaseless industry and an immense output. His greatest achievement was the completion of the translation and revision of the German Bible, but correspondence, pamphlets, sermons, doctrinal statements, and devotional literature came from his pen.

Meanwhile the general political situation was deteriorating, for the gulf which existed between the two parties in Germany was widening. The Emperor was still anxious to find a solution to the religious problem, and succeeded in persuading the Pope to summon a General Council in 1539, butthis was soon adjourned indefinitely without result. Later conferences called by the Emperor at Hagenau in 1540, and at Worms and Ratisbon in 1541, were equally abortive. There was no desire for compromise on either side.

The internal affairs of the Schmalkaldic League and of the new Church were sadly affected in 1540, by a scandal arising out of the domestic affairs of Philip of Hesse, in which both Luther and Melanchthon were involved. Out of this

complication resulted the secession of Philip from the Protestant league, and his signing of a treaty with the Emperor in 1541. In this same pact was included Maurice, Duke of Saxony, who had succeeded to the Dukedom in 1541, an unscrupulous but capable prince, whose subsequent career was a persistent attempt to realize great personal ambitions out of the difficulties of the time.

Thus the political situation was extremely gloomy, pointing unmistakeably to war. On the Protestant side, now so firmly established, there was, under Luther's direction, no question of compromise with those whom they considered to be propagandists of false and dangerous doctrine.

On the Roman side, there was equal determination to suppress what was regarded as heresy. The temper of the Papacy was expressed by the recognition of the militant 'Company of Jesus', of which Ignatius Loyola became the first General in 1541.

From 1545, the Emperor prepared steadily for war, with support inside Germany from the Catholic princes, and two new allies in Maurice of Saxony and William of Bavaria; and externally with complete support from the Pope.

It was in these conditions that Luther died in February 1546, and with his passing the last obstacle to war was removed. Late in the same year, the impending disaster broke upon Germany.

The news of Luther's death reached Melanchthon at Wittenberg

while he was lecturing to students at the University :-

Alas .' we have lost the man who has guided the destinies of the Church through this last epoch of the world's history. He was at once the charioteer and the chariot of Israel. For 'twas not the cunning of men that did discover the doctrine of the forgiveness of sins, and of faith in the Son of God, but God Himself that revealed it through this man, whom He also awakened before our very eyes.
Let us, therefore, remember him with affection and gratitude, and strive to preserve the doctrine as he delivered it to us. (13)

In the funeral oration, delivered before the University of Wittenberg, four days after Luther's death, Melanchthon spoke of his leader and friend in the following words :-

In this hour of grief and mourning which we share with all the churches, and with all holy and humble men of heart, I find it hard to speak of mine own sorrow.
Yet because it is my duty to say something in the presence of this Christian assembly, I will eschew the wont of the heathen of old, and merely sing the praises of the departed. Rather will I remind this honourable assembly of the wondrous way God ruleth His Church, and the manifold dangers wherewith which she has at all times to contend. 'Tis thus my hope that Christian hearts may the more diligently take note of such things, and ponder upon what it is they do strive after, and what they ought the more to desire from God. Likewise it is my wish that they should consider what manner of example they should set before their eyes for them to follow, and to direct their whole life towards the same... Religious and God-fearing men ought ever to be certain that the blessed Martin Luther did loyally teach and expound the true, pure, necessary and saving doctrine in the Church of God; that God is at all times highly to be praised, for that He hath raised up this man, that his work and diligence, faithfulness and constancy, which he showed throughout his life are rightly to be praised and extolled, and that all God-fearing men should honour his memory.
He hath also taught the right kind of good works as are pleasing to God, and hath so adorned, praised and defended the common Christian life of the secular order, the office of government, and all other functions and estates, that the like is not to be seen in any other writings....
Neither is there, as some wiseacres do have it, nought therein but controversies, and all to no purpose..nor hath

there, as some do say in derision, been such ~~such~~ doctrine disseminated in the churches to cause nothing but quarrels and disputes..... Neither is this doctrine a dark obscure riddle that none can understand...

For although God hath willed to reveal and make Himself known through the mouth of His holy apostles and prophets and by their writings, we are not therefore to suppose that such words and writings be vague like the dark riddles of the Sybil.

But some there be, even among men of good will, which do complain that Doctor Martin Luther had a somewhat harsh and rugged style of writing.

This I will not deny, neither excusing nor praising him for it, but rather be content with the answer Erasmus hath often given upon this matter : "In these latter days, when great and grievous infection have been rife, it hath pleased God to give to this world a drastic physician."..... (14)

4. NOTES.

(1) Smith and Jacobs "Luther's Correspondence", i., 217
Enders ii., 292.
Luther to Spalatin, 14th. Jan., 1520.

(2) Kidd "Docs. of the Continental Ref.", No. 9, p. 19.

(3) Smith and Jacobs, i., p.106.

(4) Smith "Life and Letters", pp. 100-101.

(5) Smith and Jacobs i., No. 394.
Aleander to Cardinal de' Medici, 8th.Feb., 1521.

(6) Boehmer "The Young Luther", p. 415.

(7) Kidd, op. cit., No. 43., pp. 85-86.

(8) Smith and Jacobs, ii., No 529. Luther to the Elector Frederick of Saxony, 5th. March. 1522.

(9) Quoted from Smithe "Life and Letters", p. 69.

(10) Kidd, op.cit., No. 107, pp.243-244.

(11) Smith "Life and Letters", pp. 261-262.

(12) Kidd, op. cit., No. 124, p. 301.

(13) "Luther Speaks" - Essays by Lutheran Pastors. pp.179f.

(14) Ibid., pp. 180-182.

CHAPTER 3.

THE MEDIEVAL EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM IN GERMANY.

1. Medieval Organization of Education.

2. The Medieval Schools.
   - (a) Monastic Schools.
   - (b) Song and Parish Schools.
   - (c) Chantry Schools.
   - (d) Cathedral and Grammar Schools.

3. The Medieval Universities.
   - (a) Formation.
   - (b) Organization.
   - (c) The University Course.

4. Scholasticism.

5. Summary.

THE MEDIEVAL EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM IN GERMANY.

At the beginning of the 16th. century, there were co-existent in Germany three types of education and educational institution, each at a distinct and separate stage of development.

The first of these was embodied in the medieval schools and universities. These were everywhere undergoing invasion and transformation by the introduction of the so-called New Learning, or humanist culture, though the process was by no means complete.

The second type of education, therefore, found expression in these new humanist schools, and wherever the universities had accepted the new culture.

Side by side with these two dominant types, a third form of educational institution was in the earlier stages of growth. Since the beginning of the 13th. century, medieval towns had been increasing in numbers, size and importance. With the rise of the towns a new social class had come into being. This was represented by merchants, bankers, tradesmen, craftsmen, and artisans, who in the course of time demanded rights and some form of education suitable for their children. By the 16th. century there had, thus, evolved a third type of educational institution

- the city school - which met the needs of the children of the new mercantile society.

In the present chapter, a short survey will be made of the first and third of these educational developments, and in the following chapter the influence of humanist culture on the medieval educational system in Germany will be described.

1. MEDIEVAL ORGANIZATION OF EDUCATION.

The dominant factor in the educational system in the Middle Ages was the controlling influence of the Church. Education was of an exclusively religious and ecclesiastical character, by the Church and for the Church. The aim of education was nothing less than to bring young people into the Church - preferably into complete service in monastery or convent - so that they might prepare themselves for the realization of their highest end as citizens in the eternal Kingdom of God. A sharp-cut distinction was made in medieval Catholicism between the so-called spiritual life and normal earthly existence, and education was essentially considered a preparation for the former and not for the latter. In view of this, the clergy were the only class provided with facilities and institutions for educational training, and the only education available was that given by and for the clergy.

Until the late Middle Ages, lay people were more or less completely dependent on the clerical schools for their education, and had, therefore, to accept the type of teaching and curriculum provided by the clergy.

The organization of education was closely related to the structure of medieval society.

In this there were two main divisions. First, there were the clergy, both regulars and seculars. Then there were the laity, sub-divided in order of decreasing importance into the ruling military class, the middle class of free citizens, and last of all the peasantry.

For each of these classes there was a fixed station in society, and to a degree the educational system was framed to meet the needs of each.

The clergy were recognized leaders in social life, and unchallenged directors in the intellectual realm.

Their office required a specific professional training, for they were required both to care for the souls and form the minds of their people.

The basic elements of learning which had to be covered by such training included a knowledge of reading, writing and calculation; sufficient Latin to be able to read the Scriptures; an understanding of Holy Writ and its interpretation, in conformity with Church doctrine; and a knowledge of music for the maintenance of Church liturgy.

To attain the purpose of this clerical training, monastery, cathedral and collegiate schools were established.
The nobility were not considered to require this kind of education. Their professional training in the arts of war and government was acquired from childhood by practical experience, and they could always rely on the clergy if they needed chancellors and secretaries. The younger sons of the aristocracy, intended for the Church, entered the Chapters of collegiate schools in boyhood.
The peasantry and new merchant classes were regarded as requiring even less formal education than the nobility. The peasant boy got his training in practical skills at home and by continual practice. The sons of merchants and artisans acquired the knowledge necessary to trade and craft through apprenticeship to a master in business or workshop.

2. MEDIEVAL SCHOOLS AND THEIR METHODS.

It is very easy to see the medieval schools, as they were represented in the early 16th. century, solely through the eyes of their humanist critics, and to neglect to consider their achievements in the preceding centuries.
It is well to remember that whatever their defects in the 16th. century, these schools and their ancestors had been the instruments by which civilization had been restored to the Western world, after the tide of barbarism and anarchy of the 6th. century had begun to recede.

By the 10th century, monasteries and convents had been founded all over Europe, and a variety of schools connected with these and other establishments of the Church had come into being. The kinds of schools which were established were of the following types.

(a) The Monastic Schools.

These gave elementary instruction and catered for those who intended to take monastic vows, and also for those who had no such intention. The former were taught inside the monastery, while the externi usually had a school building outside of the main monastic buildings. The same arrangement obtained in the convents.

The instruction given consisted of the veriest elements of learning - reading, writing, simple calculation, religious observances, and rules of conduct. Great attention was given to Latin and its pronunciation, for outside of the Church and its schools Latin had ceased to be the common language. Owing to the need for the maintenance of the services of the Church, much time was devoted to singing and music, and usually the Latin Psalter was committed to memory.

Discipline in the schools was very strict, and instruction proceeded with the aid of much corporal punishment.

(b) Song and Parish Schools.

To ensure a steady flow of boys into the choirs of the

the cathedrals and large non-cathedral churches, these great churches established song schools.

The basic instruction in these was much the same as that in the monastic schools, but much greater attention was given to musical training. A schoolmaster was appointed to deal with literary teaching, but the boys were under the charge of the precentor of the cathedral or church.

Attendance at song schools was not limited to boys who were proceeding to higher instruction, and many small children received their only formal education in these establishments.

With the growth of parish churches, choir boys were also required for their services, and parish schools of the same type as the song schools were organized in connection with the churches.

(c) Chantry Schools.

This type of school arose out of the custom of leaving endowments to churches to delegate a priest to say masses for the soul of the patron after his death. As the duties of such a priest were very limited, he often felt the desire to commence, on a voluntary basis, the training of a few boys in the elements of religion and learning, in order to occupy his time usefully.

As time went on this became so frequent, that people leaving endowments often included a clause in their bequest requiring the priest appointed to say mass to conduct a small school as well.

On this basis, a number of elementary schools were founded, where children were taught the medieval catechism, some Psalms, and perhaps to read and write Latin, though not necessarily to understand it.

(d) Cathedral and Grammar Schools for Advanced Education.

The increase and development of song schools, together with the improvement of organization, eventually led to the liberation of the cathedral and large monastic schools from the task of giving elementary instruction, and enabled them to develop more advanced teaching.

By the late Middle Ages, every cathedral church was required by Canon Law to have a grammar school attached to it in which Latin was taught, and this was the general practice.

Entrance to the grammar schools could only be gained by boys who had had some preliminary teaching in the song or other elementary schools. These grammar schools were quite truly the gateway through which any boy who wished to enter a profession must pass, for they held the key to all current learning in the teaching of Latin grammar.

The language was in a very true sense international, and was used by scholars and merchants over the whole of Europe. Consequently, an adequate knowledge of it was needed by anyone who had ambitions beyond the limits of his own locality.

Along with grammar, rhetoric and logic were taught, these

three subjects comprising the Trivium, and constituting the first part of the Seven Liberal Arts. The remaining four subjects, the Quadrivium, were arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, and music.

Not all of these subjects were taught in every grammar school. Indeed, most of the schools only taught grammar and a little of the subjects beyond. Others taught the Trivium, while the few which taught the full range were regarded as the great schools of the time.

The textbooks which were used in propagating this system of knowledge were very limited, and generally inadequate in content and supply.

The grammar textbooks in general use were based on Priscian's GRAMMAR of eighteen books, or on Donatus' DE PARTIBUS ORATIONIS. The most frequently used textbook was the ARS MINOR, an abridgement of Donatus, short enough to be memorized. The more advanced instruction was based on the DOCTRINALE PUERORUM of Alexander of Villa Dei, partly taken from Priscian, and partly the invention of the author. This grammar was a metrical composition, covering the three parts of etymology, syntax and prosody. The book was used as an adjunct to Donatus, and though its explanations often bordered on the fantastic, because of the ease with which it could be memorized, the DOCTRINALE became the standard

grammar of the Middle Ages, and successfully resisted all attempts to displace it. At the beginning of the 16th. century, it was still in universal use in German grammar schools, together with the ubiquitous Donatus.

As soon as the elements of grammar had been mastered, simple textbooks like Aesop's Fables, the Distichs of Cato, and the Eclogues of Theodulus, were read. These were followed by some readings from classical authors like Vergil, Ovid and Horace; or some Christian writer like Prudentius and Juvencus.

Much of the work proceeded by memorizing, and attempts were made to enforce the speaking of Latin at all times.

In the larger grammar schools the subjects of the Quadrivium were introduced in the upper forms, and in a few very exceptional schools, students might be taught the elements of Euclid, a little law and theology, and might even encounter Aristotle.

All the types of schools which have been described originated in the early Middle Ages, and with some developments but with surprisingly few great changes continued into the early 16th. century in Germany.

The 13th. century saw the commencement of new features of immense importance in the sphere of education.

These new factors, which had far-reaching effects on the life of Germany, were the rise of the universities, the development of scholasticism, and the growth of city schools. Since Luther's work in the early 16th. century was concerned with all of these, a brief consideration of each is necessary.

3. THE MEDIEVAL UNIVERSITIES OF GERMANY.

(a) FORMATION

During the 11th. and 12th. centuries, certain cathedral schools began to develop into much more than local teaching establishments, and to acquire fame for some particular specialization. Paris, for example, had become a noted centre for the study of the liberal arts and theology; St. Gall had gained a similar reputation for musical study; and Bologna in Italy had acquired renown for the study of law.

Gradually these centres, and others, became known as studia publica, or studia generalia, - recognized places where lectures were open to anyone. Travelling students from all parts of Europe began to come to these cities to hear the famous teachers of the day read and comment on the standard and authorized textbooks of the time. The movement of students became so general that, in the 12th. century, the Emperor Frederick i made a proclamation, granting privileges and protection to wandering students and teachers within the Empire.

In the following century, students and teachers became so numerous at various places of study in Western Europe, that they began to organize themselves into associations, and to petition from the Pope, or sometimes the king, a charter of rights and privileges. In the acquisition of such a charter, they sought a guarantee of protection, freedom for study and disputation, and guild rights to organize their courses of study as a system passing through the stages of apprenticeship, journeyman, to mastership and the licence to teach, by approved examinations.

From these guilds grew the European universities. Paris, the first of these in Western Europe, established in the 12th. century, was the model upon which the German universities of the 14th. and 15th. centuries were founded. The University of Bol9gna, also established in the 12th. century, had some influence on the German foundations.

The first of these were instituted at Prague and Vienna, the former founded by the house of Luxemburg in 1348, and the latter by the house of Hapsburg in 1356. Both were located towards the eastern frontiers of German lands. Later in the century, three more universities were founded in Western and Middle Germany - at Heidelberg (1385), Cologne (1388), and Erfurt (1392).

The last two were municipal foundations. The establishment of these three universities was in part due to the breaking up of the Theological Faculty at Paris during the great ecclesiastical schism.

Of these new German universities, Cologne had long been famous for theology, numbering Albertus Magnus, Thomas Aquinas, and Duns Scotus among its great teachers of the past. Similarly, Erfurt had had an organized school long before its acquisition of university rights.

During the Hussite disorders in Bohemia, Prague was lost to Germany as a centre of learning, and in 1409, the Dukes of Saxony established a university at Leipzig for the teachers and students who had migrated there from Prague. With the institution of the university at Rostock, in 1419, the last of the German medieval universities was founded.

A second foundation period began with the rise of the humanist movement, which will be briefly surveyed in Chapter 3. Suffice to say at this stage that nine more universities were established at Greifswald (1456), Basle (1460), Freiburg (1460), Ingoldstadt (1472), Trèves (1472), Mainz (1477), Tübingen (1477), Wittenberg (1502), and Frankfort-am-Oder (1506).

With the exception of those at Basle and Greifswald, all of these were government foundations, established by German princes for their particular provinces.

(b) The Organization of the Medieval Universities in Germany.

One significant point of difference between the German universities and the French and Italian institutions, was that, whereas the latter were of spontaneous origin, the former were the result of the collaboration between the ecclesiastical and civil authorities in a definite plan of establishment.

The actual founders were either princes, or the city authorities, who called the university into being, supplied buildings and finance, and granted it university legal rights and privileges. After this, sanction was sought from the Pope for authorization to hold examinations, confer degrees, and licence to teach.

The oldest of the German universities, modelled on Paris, were divided into four faculties for teaching purposes, and into 'nations', to which students were allocated by nationality, for administration. This organization soon became obsolete in Germany, and the faculties took over the task of administration in addition to teaching.

The four faculties were those of theology, law, medicine, and arts, the last-named being the lowest, and standing half-way between the grammar schools and the higher professional faculties.

Naturally the lowest faculty had by far the greatest number of students and teachers. The older lecturers had a small fixed salary, but the remainder were dependent on tuition and examination fees paid to them by their students. The three higher faculties had fewer students and lecturers, the latter numbering two to four in the theological faculty, three to six in the law faculty, and one to three medical men.

The theologians and jurists were generally holders of ecclesiastical benefices, which had been absorbed into the finances of the university.

(c) The University Course.

The would-be student came to the university from his grammar school at the age of fifteen or sixteen, was matriculated, and applied for admission to the lectures of one of the Masters in the faculty of arts. After this, assuming that he was adequately grounded in Latin, he attended the prescribed lectures and exercises in the faculty. After a course of study lasting about two years, devoted chiefly to dialectic and physics, the student was ready for the first examination. If he could show that he had attended the necessary lectures, taken part in the required number of disputations, and had gathered an adequate store of knowledge from these, he received publicly

the degree of baccalarius. After several further years devoted to the study of physics, metaphysics, ethics and politics, chiefly on the basis of the Aristotelian texts, the second examination took place, and if successful, the scholar was promoted to the degree of Magister artium. Usually the Magister had then to pledge himself to lecture for a period of two years in the faculty of arts. This was for two reasons. In the first place, it ensured a constant supply of lecturers in the faculty, which was something of a problem since no salaries were paid. Secondly, it enabled the scholar to mature. Often during this period, a Magister in the arts faculty combined his lecturing with study in one of the higher faculties.

The majority of the students who came to the universities did not progress so far; indeed, the greater proportion did not even graduate at all. The status of baccalarius was not necessary to gain appointment to an ecclesiastical office, and at the close of the 15th. century a very considerable proportion of the clergy had never been to a university. It gradually became essential, however, for the higher clergy to have attended a university, and preferably to have graduated in theology.

The content of instruction in these mediewal universities was definitely fixed, and the task of the lecturers was

was simply to hand down this fixed sum of knowledge to to his successors.

In the theological faculty, the Holy Scriptures were both the source and authority of knowledge, but since the Scriptures were only to be understood according to the interpretation of the Church, the great theological systems of the Middle Ages which purported to give this explanation became, in fact, the chief element in theological teaching. Similarly in the faculties of law and medicine, the collections of Roman and Canon Law, and the writings of Galen and Hippocrates, were the sources of authoritative knowledge.

In the faculty of arts, instruction was based on canonical textbooks, in particular on those books of Aristotle which were available, and on Euclid and Ptolemy.

In the higher faculties it was the rule for the lecturer to adhere to certain specified books. In the faculty of arts, however, every master could lecture, if he wished, on any classical text, and at the beginning of each term the set books were allocated by lot, or according to roster, among those who had announced themselves as lecturers for the year.

In lecturing, no one was expected to add to the knowledge contained in the authorized text from his own observation or learning.

Teaching proceeded by two complementary means, the lecture and the disputation.

The purpose of the lecture was to expound the textbook in the hands of the student, by commentary and summary.

The object of the disputation was to practice using the knowledge acquired in the lectures, by debate on controversial problems. Disputation was considered to be of equal importance with the lecture.

At the weekly disputation, the arts faculty assembled in the university hall. The presiding officer - one of the masters - proposed certain statements, or theses, which he was prepared to defend, while the other masters in turn attacked these with logically arranged arguments. The bachelors assisted by defending the theses of their master, while the scholars listened to the debate.

Other disputations, in which the students participated, were arranged by masters and bachelors to give practice to their own scholars.

The greatest value was placed upon these exercises in logical argument, and the number which it was necessary for masters, bachelors, and students to attend was fixed.

It is not difficult to appreciate the importance which the medieval universities attached to the disputation, for it was a first-class method by which to develop quick, logical thinking, and by which to assist the assimilation of knowledge and ideas.

4. SCHOLASTICISM.

In the medieval universities the principal study was theology, and all work in the arts faculty was considered as being preparation for this.

In medieval theology, as well as in the studies pursued in the faculty of arts, the dominant influence was that of Aristotle. Some amplification of this fact is necessary, if the attitude of Luther to university reform is to be appreciated.

In the main, up to the 11th century, Western Europe had accepted the Christian doctrine of the Church, based as it was on the Scriptures and the Fathers, without elaboration. But as the cathedral schools developed as teaching institutions, several of them - York, Canterbury, Paris, and Chartres - acquired fame for the quality of instruction given by some outstanding scholar of the Church.

Of this calibre were such men as Anselm of Canterbury, and Abelard of Paris, who were the forefunners of a succession of theological scholars, to whom the name of Schoolmen has been given.

Abelard, in particular, began an elaboration of theology, by raising for debate many questions on Church teaching, and by seeking to apply logical analysis to Christian doctrine.

This process was extended by a succession of Schoolmen in the following centuries.

The elaboration of a system of theological knowledge on these lines was immensely stimulated by the introduction into Western Europe of translations into Latin of many of the works of Aristotle. The earlier Schoolmen had had but a very imperfect knowledge of the Greek philosopher from translations of a few of his works on logic made by Boethius in the 5th. and 6th. centuries. By 1150 all of the ORGANON was known, and by 1300 A. D., twenty-one books of Aristotle's works had been translated, and for the next three centuries remained the authoritative textbooks of the arts faculties of the universities.

Much of this increase of philosophical knowledge was due to the work of Arabian scholars, especially of Averroes, who in the 12th. century continued at Cordova in Spain the study of Aristotle, to which Avicenna and other famous Arabian scholars had given an impulse at Baghdad. Translations of Aristotle from the original Greek into Arabic were made from the 9th. century onwards. During the 13th. century, translations of the METAPHYSICS and the ETHICS from Greek into Latin, were made available as a result of the intercourse with the Eastern Empire through the crusades.

It was in this indirect fashion, through the translation of his works into Latin, that Aristotle became the most influential force in medieval thought, and came to dominate

the theological systems of the Schoolmen for nearly four centuries, for it was on the basis of the philosophy of Aristotle that the scholastic theologians systematized and restated the doctrines of the Christian religion. After Abelard, Peter the Lombard (1100 - 1160) completely redirected the study of theology with the publication of his BOOK OF SENTENCES, in which he set out logical answers to the questions on Christian doctrine raised by Abelard. As a systematizer he was followed by Albertus Magnus (1193--1280), who first stated the philosophy of Aristotle in the form of a system, and gave a great impetus to the establishment of the SENTENCES in the centre of theological study. The greatest and most influential of the Schoolmen was Thomas Aquinas (c.1225 - 1274), who after a period in Italy, studied at Paris and Cologne under Albertus Magnus. Later he became a famous teacher of philosophy and theology in Italy.

His work provided the most complete expression of Christian doctrine in terms of Aristotelian philosophy. His SUMMA THEOLOGIAE subsequently became the authoritative statement of the doctrines of the Roman Church, though immediately after his death his teaching met with great opposition. A modern Finnish scholar, Olavi Castren, has shown that 75% of the SUMMA of Aquinas goes back to Aristotle, and the remainder is derived from the NewTestament, but from the

the New Testament as seen through the eyes of Aristotle. After St. Thomas, scholasticism began gradually to lose prestige. The reason for the decline was twofold. In the first place, there arose disagreements among the Schoolmen themselves. Secondly, the method by which their theological system had been constructed was defective. In the 14th century, there arose a struggle between the Franciscans, who held to St. Augustine, and the Dominicans who followed St. Thomas, who emphasized the place of reason in the discovery of truth.. Out of this contest, grew a movement which was based on a fundamental criticism of the scholastic method. The most noted names in this criticism were Duns Scotus (d. 1308) and William of Ockham (d. 1347), both Franciscan opponents of Aquinas. The first-named asserted that the dogma of the Church could not be demonstrated by human reason, thus attacking the very basis of scholastic theology as developed by the earlier Schoolmen.

Ockham carried this attack to the stage of contending that thought could only deal with abstract terms, of which men can have no idea of their relationship to reality. He maintained that without revelation the mind has no knowledge of supersensible things and cannot demonstrate their existence. Not only the attributes of God, but

also His existence were not strictly demonstrable by reason. Ockham, therefore, held that in theology, revelation was the only source of knowledge, and that the Church's doctrines were to be received in implicit faith solely on the authority of this revelation. Ockham's teaching had a wide influence, and a consequent disruptive effect inside the realm of scholasticism. The second reason for the decay of scholasticism was the basic defect in its method. The Schoolmen were not independent thinkers. They were curiously satisfied with the sum of knowledge which had been handed down to them, and seemed to assume that all the necessary pieces were in their hands. All that was required from them was the arrangement of this knowledge into a coherent system. They assigned complete authority to the Scriptures, to the teaching of the Church, and to the writings of the great teachers of the past. It was for this reason that Aristotle, the greatest organizing mind of the classical past, came to dominate their thinking. Because they placed so much emphasis on the authority of the past, they neglected observation, developed a complete blindness to the natural world, and came to regard it as an inferior realm as compared with the so-called spiritual sphere - the world of ideas. The result of this divorce, was that the logical subtleties of the Schoolmen were

increasingly spun out regardless of fact, and theories were developed which eventually took on the shape of fantasy. The love of disputation for its own sake began to supersede all else, and provided ample material for the attacks of contemptuous humanists in the late 15th. and early 16th. centuries.

In view of this state of decay which preceded the Reformation, it is very easy to accept the contempt and condemnation of the Schoolmen made by the humanists at their face value, and to forget their earlier achievement. This may be said to have consisted first in the presentation to the world of their time of a unified outlook, based on a systematic harmonization of available knowledge. It has been said of them, in view of this that ' For generations the Schoolmen represented the central march of European thought; others merely wandered in the bye-ways.' (*+)

In the second place, their method, despite its defects, was a first-class training for the intellect and for the process of continuous logical thinking. Luther, trained in a medieval university in scholastic fashion, found this education in logical thinking a fine weapon in his attack on scholastic theology.

(*+ Binns 'Decline and Fall of the Medieval Papacy' p. 84.)

5. THE CITY SCHOOLS.

The later Middle Ages, as has been already shown, saw a great development of commerce, and a corresponding increase in the number, size, and importance of towns and cities throughout Europe.

In these towns, a new mercantile class arose, which in the course of time demanded rights and initiated new forms of organization.

In the 13th. and 14th. century, there began to develop urban schools for the education of the children of the new commercial society. These city schools provided an extension of the guild or apprenticeship education which had begun earlier in the medieval towns.

As the merchant classes increased their activities, working through guilds or trading companies, they became wealthy and and powerful. The next stage saw the alliance of towns in trading confederations, of which the Hanseatic League of Northern Germany was an outstanding example. In time, these powerful guilds and corporations elbowed their way into political affairs, and took over, to a great degree, the city government. This happened in the case of the Hanseatic League, in important cities in the Rhineland, and particularly in South-West Germany.

The important new feature of the schools in these cities, was not so much the content or method of instruction, but rather the fact that they marked a stage in the emancipation of education from complete ecclesiastical control.

The administration of these schools was in the hands of the municipal authorities, and sometimes there was conflict with the local Church authorities over the matter of control. Wherever the civil authorities gained control, they engaged and dismissed schoolmasters, carried out inspection, provided buildings, and contributed to the salary of the schoolmaster. In the main, however, the latter depended on fees paid by the pupils.

As the numbers of universities increased, a greater supply of teachers became available, and the wealthier towns engaged graduate schoolmasters.

The instruction in the average town school was much the same as in the parish schools, and provided the elements of learning and a little Latin. In the great trading cities, as in Nuremberg, Augsburg, Ulm, and Hagenau, the larger schools taught the subjects of the Trivium, and even the elements of the Quadrivium. This depended on the ability of the schoolmaster, and the liberality of the city. These city schools had often had their origin in the local parish school, which had increased its numbers of pupils as the town had grown in wealth and population.

This often brought the added interest of the civic community in the welfare of the school, and grants of money to the salary of the schoolmaster and the provision of buildings followed. In this way the town established a patronage over the school. Often the extension of the power of the municipal authorities in this way led to a struggle with the local Church dignitaries, probably as represented by scholastic of some cathedral or collegiate school who thought that his rights had been overruled. The higher Church authorities usually sided with the city authorities, and by the beginning of the 16th century the town council was generally recognized as the authority responsible for the administration of education.

Two other educational developments were also taking place in the towns.

First, private schools which tried to cater for elementary instruction in the vernacular, instead of Latin, were by no means infrequent. Occasionally the municipal authority issued regulations for these schools.

In the second place, the craft guilds provided a large educational service for the children of small merchants and artisans. Each of the numerous city guilds laid down rules for the numbers and training of apprentices in their particular trade or craft, and often made endowments of lands and money for the establishment of chantry schools,

which later evolved into regular schools.

Inside the guild, the apprentice learned the technique of trade or craft.

As labour came to be sub-divided and new trades evolved, the craft-guild idea was extended, and rural labour coming into the towns was absorbed by the guilds and given technical education.

At the beginning of the 16th. century, this type of guild education was almost the only kind of formal training received by large numbers of artisans.

6. GENERAL SUMMARY.

While it is easy to make generalized statements about the character of medieval education, there is not sufficient information for large areas to be able to give accurated details about the numbers of schools, pupils and teachers. Authorities on the history of education in Germany express a wide divergence of opinion, particularly those with strong Catholic or Protestant sympathies.

Janssen sets the tone for Catholic writers by painting a glowing picture of pre-Reformation education:-

The period of German reform, which began in the middle of the 15th. century, produced the most splendid intellectual results. It was a time when culture penetrated to all classes of society, spreading its ramifications deep and wide, a time of extraordinary activity in art and

learning by catechetical teaching, by sermons, by translations of the Holy Scriptures, by instructional and devotional publications of all sorts. Religious knowledge was zealously diffused and the development of the religious life abundantly fostered. In the lower elementary schools and the advanced middle schools a sound basis of popular education was established. The universities attained a height of excellence and distinction undreamt of before and became the burning centres of all intellectual activity.....
("Hist. of the German People", ii., 287)

Janssen also contends that the education of girls was well catered for, and that the Bible was widely studied in the Latin schools and universities. (Ibid., iii., 82)

Janssen is followed, though in more sober vein, by other Catholic writers, and by several non-Catholic historians, notably Paulsen and Monroe, who use him as an authority. Paulsen states the following opinion on the number of schools :-

There is little doubt that towards the end of the 15th. century nearly every city had a school of its own, and that even in small market towns and villages schools were by no means rare..... (German Education., p. 29)

Paulsen also estimates a figure of 6000 for the student population of the German universities in 1500 A. D., and, assuming that the average time spent at a university was two years, calculates that in twenty years 60,000 men must have gained some university education.

Monroe, who also follows Janssen, says :-

The later Middle Ages were well supplied with schools, not all of which were dominated by the Church. For a century before the Reformation it is probable that

Schools?

were as numerous and that as wide an opportunity for study existed as for a century afterwards. Monastic schools never recovered their importance after the Renaissance of the 13th. century. Cathedral schools that grew into new prominence in the early University period were insufficient for the demand. Not only secondary but elementary education was provided in the 14th. and 15th. centuries in a much more general way than ever before..... (Textbook in the Hist. of Education., p.337)

Painter, on the other side, presents a very different picture of the situation :-

No general effort was made to reach and elevate the common people by education. The ecclesiastical schools were designated chiefly for candidates for the priest-hood; the parochial schools fitted the young for church membership; the burgher schools were intended for commercial and artisan classes of the cities; knightly education gave av training for chivalry.
Thus the labouring classes were allowed to toil on in ignorance and want. They remained in a dependant and servile condition, their lives unillumined by intellectual pleasures. If here and there, popular schools were established, they were too few in numbers and too weak in influence to deserve more than a passing mention.....
("Luther on Education", p.87)

Despite these conflicting opinions there are certain features of medieval education in Germany that can be accepted as established fact:-

1. All education, whether secular or religious, with the exception of some of the city schools, was under the control of the Church and was carried on for its own purposes. The 'State' had no interest or part in the system.

2. While there was some elementary education, through the media of song and chantry schools, this was very limited in its scope and content, and there was no such thing as general popular education. The education of girls, which Janssen claims to have been extensive, was limited to the nunneries, to the daughters of the

nobility, and to a few burgher schools in large cities like Nuremberg and Lübeck.

3. Secondary education, which was almost entirely concerned with the preparation of men for clerial duties, was limited in its scope in the monastic schools to the Trivium, and in the cathedral and collegiate schools to the Trivium and part of the Quadrivium.

4. In nearly all schools, secondary and elementary, methods of instruction consisted of reading and dictation of one of the ancient texts by the teacher, and copying and memorizing by the pupils.
This process was aided by harsh discipline and much flogging.

5. In the universities, the content of instruction was fixed, and teaching was often incompetent. There was no selection of students, and the age of the latter was very young indeed.
Of this Rashdall has written :-

In the older universities of Northern Europe there is the want of selection and consequent incompetency of teachers, and the excessive youth of the students in arts.
In the higher faculties we have encountered the constant effort on the part of the doctors to evade the obligation of teaching without surrendering its emoluments, while the real teaching devolved upon half-trained bachelors.. ...There is considerable reason to believe that in the Middle Ages a larger proportion than at the present day of the nominal students derived exceedingly little benefit from their University education....
A man was allowed year after year to sit through lectures of which he might not understand one word.....
("The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages")
(Vol. ii., Part ii., from pp. 703-712)

6. Religious instruction and a knowledge of the Holy Scriptures were not so 'zealously diffused' in the schools and universities, as Janssen asserts. Rashdall states :-

Until the time (of the Counter-Reformation), the (Roman) Church provided as little professional education for the future priest as it did 'religious instruction' for the ordinary layman..... Even the highly educated secular priest was not a theologian, or at least a canonist, was not supposed to know anything of the Bible but what was contained in his Missal and his Breviary... (Ibid. pp. 701-702)

The later Middle Ages, however, saw the rise of various movements which, in their impact on the cultural, social, and religious life of Germany, brought new life to the schools and universities.

To a brief survey of these changes the next chapter is devoted.

- - - - -

CHAPTER 4.

THE EFFECTS OF THE RENAISSANCE ON EDUCATION IN GERMANY.

1. The Revival of Learning.

2. The Northern Renaissance.

3. The Influence of Humanism on the Schools.

4. The Influence of Humanism on the Universities.

5. Summary.

THE EFFECTS OF THE RENAISSANCE ON EDUCATION IN GERMANY.

The Renaissance was in no way so sudden an event as its name seems to imply. It was rather a gradual and cumulative movement leading away from the medieval outlook, developing out of a number of changes which had been coming slowly to maturity from the 13th century onwards.

In the political sphere, the Papacy as a temporal power had begun to decline after the 13th century, a process hastened by increasing internal corruption. In place of the decaying Empire, independent states began to evolve in Western Europe. In these a new spirit of nationalism came into being, and national languages were born.

Trade and industry began to increase in all countries, and a new social class, independent of the Church, arose in the expanding towns and cities.

In the field of learning and culture, the changes were equally great. Scholasticism began to be subject to searching criticism, with the weapons which had been forged by the Schoolmen themselves; the newly-awakened interest in national language and culture, particularly in Northern Italy, led towards a revival of the study of Roman, and then Greek, literatures and institutions.

Other factors contributed to the acceleration of change, not least the introduction of paper manufacture from the

East, and the invention of printing in Europe in the early 15th. century, which made possible the production and dissemination of books on a scale beyond the dreams of earlier centuries.

Finally, the great geographical discoveries of the 15th. century had their repercussions in both the material and intellectual fields, transforming the economy of Europe, and revolutionizing the conceptions and imagination of men.

Out of these changes was born the new outlook of the men of the 14th. and 15th. centuries, characterized by a reorientation of the view of man's place in the universe. The medieval outlook was essentially expressed in the words of Hugh of St. Victor :-

> A man attached to his fatherland is weak. A strong man is one who can feel at home in any country. Perfect is one who regards the whole world as a place of exile. (**)

In contrast, the new outlook saw the earth as the home of man, and man as the measure of all things.

This outlook found its expression in a new vitality and aggressiveness in human society.

1. THE REVIVAL OF LEARNING.

The growth of the new outlook began earlier in Italy than in other parts of Western Europe. This happened for a number of reasons, but on its cultural side it found its roots in a revival of the native culture, Latin, and

(** Ulrich "Hist. of Educ. Thought",103)

possibly, Etruscan. In Italy, the cultural connection with ancient Rome had never been completely interrupted, and with the development of an extremely vigorous and wealthy social life in the competing cities of Northern Italy, there revived the consciousness of direct descent from Imperial Rome.

From the time of Petrarch (1304 - 74) at the beginning of the 14th century, there arose in Italy a new appreciation of the language, literature, and political institutions of the classical period.

This differed in two respects from the attitude of reverence for the past shown during the Middle Ages. In the first place, a new emphasis was placed on the excellence of literary style found in the great writers of Latin classical literature. In the second place, and more important, ancient literature was welcomed for its disclosure of a different conception of life; an outlook considered to be freer, more comprehensive, more rational, and more joyous than the medieval. In this outlook a much greater scope was allotted to the play of human emotions, to the sense of beauty, and to the activity of the intellect.

The renewal of passionate interest in the classical past also found expression in the desire to bring political and social institutions into conformity with those of the Augustan period.

One of the most important effects of this idealization of the classical past lay in the widespread search for, and recovery of, Latin literature and manuscripts, and the reconstruction of Latin history. This required the technique involved in collecting, comparing, criticizing, correcting, and editing classical texts, and in itself marked a break with the scholastic approach and the inception of the methods of the modern scholar.

A natural consequence, though a later one, of this consuming interest in Latin literature, was the revival of the study of Greek, which had, to a great extent, become extinct in the West during the Middle Ages. It was natural, too, that this revival should commence in Italy, for Southern Italy had retained connections with Greece since classical times. The restoration of Greek studies began before the Fall of Constantinople (1453), and was initiated at Florence in 1396 by Chrysoloras, a Byzantine scholar.

Subsequently a passion for Greek learning swept the Italian universities and learned circles, and by the time of the disintegration of the Byzantine Empire in 1453, Greek studies were already flourishing at Florence, Padua, Perugia, Ferrara, and Milan. The stream of exiles from Constantinople augmented the forces of Hellenism in the West, and the same enthusiasm which had been shown already for the collection of Latin manuscripts and classics now

extended to the recovery of Greek literature.

Financial support for the movement came from Church authorities, the great merchants, and the nobility, and out of all this effort the famous libraries of Venice, Florence, Urbino, and Rome were established.

2. THE NORTHERN RENAISSANCE.

Up to about 1450, the Revival of Learning was almost confined to Italy, and the movement had flowered there many decades before its cultural influence had penetrated countries north of the Alps.

From the first quarter of the 15th. century, scholars from other countries began to visit Italy to study the 'litterae humanae', and Greek in particular. On the completion of their studies, they usually returned to their own countries as pioneer missionaries of humanism.

The first German of whom there is record of having studied in Italy was Peter Luder (c.1415 - 1474), who returned to the North in 1456, and lectured on the New Learning at the Universities of Heidelberg, Erfurt, and Leipzig, without awakening response.

He was followed in 1470 by Johann Wesel, and in 1476 by Rudolph Agricola, two famous Dutch scholars.

Agricola may be truly regarded as the father of humanism in Germany, and was regarded in this light by all German humanists of the 16th. century.

Though his writings were few, his reputation, both during and after his life-time, was immense.

After his return from Ferrara in Italy, he was persuaded to come to Heidelberg, under the patronage of Dalberg, Bishop of Worms, one of his former pupils and an ardent humanist. At Heidelberg, Agricola taught after the independent fashion of the Italian humanists, and was only loosely attached to the University. A letter from Agricola to one of his friends in 1484, often referred to under the title of DE FORMANDO STUDIO, contained an outline of his approach to education. He began by excluding completely from the new education the entire discipline of the medievalists. He regarded with contempt the ingenious verbal subtleties, which constituted the dialectical exercise, but led nowhere, except to the corruption of the use of language.

In place of the medieval mental discipline, Agricola set up philosophy as the end of all education, but he gave a new content to the term. He made it to consist of three divisions - the art of conduct, the study of the liberal arts, and the art of expressing ideas.

The first of these three, he regarded as the most important of all. Indeed, it was the end to which all else in education must lead. He related conduct to the study of Letters, by stating that character was moulded and strengthened by the study of the example and words of the wise men of the classical past. Not only the moralists - Aristotle,

Cicero, and Seneca - but also the poets, historians and orators, must be regarded as guides to conduct. Therefore, Agricola contended that the finest method of ensuring that the rising generation would be able to grapple successfully with the practical problems of the world, was to ensure that education was based on the close study of the great writers of antiquity. For these writers not only provided instruction and encouragement to right action, individual and social, but also offered a wealth of knowledge of history, geography, science, politics, philosophy, literature, medicine, and the fine arts.

97.

Hence the classical authors were placed in a special position of authority by Agricola. They were to be read essentially because they were infallible in every branch of secular knowledge, and because of their beneficent influence on character and conduct. Agricola's outlook was revealed in his dictum :-

> Regard as suspect all that you have been taught hitherto; ban and cast away as an imposture any thing and everything that professes to be knowledge, unless its title can be vouched for by the evidence of the great writers of old. (*)

Agricola's third ingredient in philosophy was the art of expressing truth. As a humanist, he asserted that truth must be defined in exact terms, and was useless to men unless recorded and communicated. The process of successful transmission required three things - intelligibility in the speaker, reason in the subject-matter, and receptivity

(* from Woodward "Educ. during the Renaissance", p.101)

in the hearer. Agricola contended that the attainment of the first of these was achieved by teaching grammar; training in logic led to the second; and the third was ensured by instruction in rhetoric.

He amplified these views of the function of grammar, logic and rhetoric in a small book, DE INVENTIONE DIALECTICA, which had a most important influence on scholars and teachers in Germany. One further aspect of education, emphasized by Agricola, was the study of architecture, painting, and modelling.

Agricola, thus, passed on to Northern Europe a conception of the function and media of education which was completely different from the medieval view.

But humanism in Germany did not make the easy conquest which it had accomplished in Italy. In the first place, the appeal of the New Learning could not proceed along the patriotic channel, as in Italy. Secondly, Scholasticism had been the creation of the North, and the greatest of the Schoolmen had been born and trained in France and Germany, at Paris and Cologne. Hence, north of the Alps, the Church and the universities together, regarded the new movement with suspicion, and offered it strong resistance. The result was that humanism made but slow advances, but because each victory had to be fought for strenuously, the final conquest, in almost every case, was strongly consolidated.

As a result of these differences, the spirit of the Renaissance in the North was markedly unlike that in Italy. There the movement had been chiefly concerned with culture, and little with religion, and in some ways had led to a recrudescence of paganism

In the North, however, humanism was as much concerned with the development of character and man's spiritual ~~nat~~ nature, as with the stimulation of his intellect and emotions. Some writers, indeed, find the difference in outlook so distinctive, as to conclude that the Renaissance in the North constituted a separate movement, owing little to Italy. Dr Whitney has emphasized the character of the Northern revival when he writes :-

> In the Netherlands, and not in Italy, is to be sought the true birthplace of the German Renaissance, which was not artistic, was certainly not pagan, but was from first to last practical and educational in its aims.
> (Eng. Hist. Rev., xxxv., p.3.)

3. THE INFLUENCE OF HUMANISM ON THE SCHOOLS OF GERMANY.

Among the schools most strongly influenced by the humanism of Agricola, were those organized by the Brethren of the Common Life. These schools owed their origin to Geert Groot of Deventer (1340-84), who, in the 14th century founded a Brotherhood of pious men, dedicated to teaching and learning. During the 15th century, the fraternity houses of the Brethren were planted throughout Holland, the Rhineland, and S. W. Germany.

In all cases, schools were connected with the houses of the Brethren, and these enjoyed an increasing reputation during the century.

Before 1500, the schools at Zwolle and Liège had grown to foundations of about 800 pupils, and about ten others in large towns were almost equally esteemed.

These schools were of the Trivial type, and until the second half of the 15th century had not been influenced to any degree by the humanist spirit.

The relationship of the schools to the houses of the Brethren varied in different parts of Germany. Paulsen has summarized the position as follows :-

> The Frater-house was not a school; the brothers were not a body of teachers in the sense that the Jesuits afterwards were; certainly they were not humanist teachers.
> From humanism, indeed, the earlier Brethren of the time of Groot, or even of Kempis, were far removed. These men were ascetic and devout, and not concerned with mundane knowledge.
> The relations of the brothers to the school of any town where they had set up a House consisted chiefly in this; that they received as boarders into their House pupils attending as day boys the civic or parish Latin schools, watching over them spiritually and morally, and no doubt aiding them in their studies.
> Only in a few cases is it known that the Brethren themselves taught in schools. On the other hand, there were some amongst the masters of secular or ecclesiastical schools who were in sympathy with the Brothers, without being members of their Order. (***) (Quoted from Woodward, op.cit. p.83)

Many of the schools, in which the Brethren had an interest, were attached to large churches, just as in England may be part of a minster or cathedral. In many places there is evidence of a closer association of the Brethren with the schools, than that outlined by Paulsen.

The humanism of Agricola was passed into the schools of the Brethren through the work and influence of Alexander Hegius, who became the Rector of the important school at Deventer. Hegius was not himself one of the Brethren, but was very closely associated with them. His proud boast was that he had been, as a man, a pupil of Agricola:-

> Although a man of forty, a Master of Arts, I was but a novice up to the day when I fell in with my youthful teacher, Agricola..... From him I learnt all I know, or what men suppose me to know. (***) (Woodward, op.cit.84)

This stimulating contact was made in 1474, and under the influence of the great humanist Hegius commenced the study of Greek, in which he was self-taught. On his appointment to Deventer, he introduced Greek studies into the higher classes of the school, and commenced a reform of the methods of Latin teaching throughout the establishment.

Before his death in 1498, Deventer was regarded as belonging to the very first rank of schools for German-speaking boys. Hegius was the first schoolmaster to incorporate Greek into the curriculum of German schools, and in his treatise DE UTILITATE LINGUAE GRAECAE, demonstrated its indispensable value in theological studies and the acquisition of sound learning. In the teaching of Latin, his aim was to make the study of grammar an aid to the appreciation of classical literature.

Hegius was an inspiring teacher, and a great succession of his pupils became humanist teachers throughout the schools of Northern Europe.

In his later years at Deventer, the school population numbered about two thousand and was graded into eight classes. Hegius himself taught the higher forms, reading Latin poets, and giving moral instruction based on Cicero and Plutarch. It would be a mistake, however, to paint the changes the changes initiated by Hegius in too-glowing colours. The classes in the school were enormous, textbooks were few, the texts themselves were inadequate, and even the improvement of Latin teaching merely meant that the DOCTRINALE of Alexander of Ville Dieu had been introduced into the school.

Through the fame of the school, the town of Deventer became noted as a centre of humanist learning for Holland and North-West Germany, with its own printing press, worked and owned by Richard Paffraet and Jacobus of Breda. Many of the books produced were used in the school.

The school at Liège was founded by the Brethren in 1496, with its organization based on that at Deventer. It had eight classes, with a graded course of instruction in the classics, Greek being introduced in the fifth class. Woodward has said that ' probably no university in Germany in 1500, afforded so advanced a course in Letters as is implied in the curriculum of the two upper classes of the school at Liège.' (***) (op.cit. p.87)

John Sturm, who was later to become the Rector of the famous Strassburg school which became the proto-type of

of the German gymnasium, was a pupil in the school at Liège, and in some ways the organization and curriculum of the Strassburg gymnasium were developments of the Deventer and Liège plans.

Thus, one direct stream of humanist influence can be traced from Agricola to Hegius and Sturm, and so to the pattern of the German classical secondary school.

In South-West Germany, the humanist school founded at Schlettstadt had a similar influence to that of Deventer, drawing large numbersof students from South and West Germany.

An even greater fertilizing influence, directly connected with the main humanist stream, was that of Erasmus, the greatest of the Northern humanists. Erasmus attended the school at Deventer from 1475, and though he never reached the classes directly taught by Hegius, and in later life even spoke slightingly of the school, he was strongly influenced by the humanist Rector. In 1483, Agricola visited Deventer, and,with Hegius, remained a personality to whom Erasmus looked back with reverence.

Erasmus himself became the foremost humanist scholar of Europe, and as such wielded a great formative influence on educational thought and practice.

The definitive work on Erasmus as educator has been written,

and it would be an impertinence to attempt to write at length on him here. Suffice to say that his influence was shown in four main directions.

In the first place, he was a constant opponent of scholasticism and all forms of medieval obscurantism. In place of the older outlook, he presented one which was completely humanistic. He contended that 'within the two literatures of Greece and Rome are contained all the knowledge that we recognize as vital to mankind.' (***) Like Agricola he constantly emphasized the intimate relationship between sound learning and moral behaviour.

In the second place, his influence was exerted by his writings on education. He wrote textbooks like DE OCTO PARTIUM ORATIONIS CONSTRUCTIONE, DE COPIA, and the COLLOQUIA, which aimed at a more enlightened method of teaching. He outlined a reform of the school curriculum in the DE RATIONE, and dealt with the theory of education in the DE PUERIS INSTITUENDIS. He wrote books for specific educational ends like INSTITUTIO PRINCIPIS CHRISTIANI, DE CIVILITATE MORUM PUERILIUM, and MATRIMONII CHRISTIANI INSTITUTIO, in the last of which he discoursed on the education of girls.

A third aspect of his work and influence for education came through his scholarship, especially through his Greek version of the New Testament, his editions of the Church

(*** Quoted from Woodward, op. cit. p. 114)

Fathers, and his publication of carefully edited classical texts.

Last of all, his impact was extended in effect by the many disciples in a number of countries of Western Europe who regarded him as their leader in the dissemination of humane Letters. Among those who regarded him in this light was Melanchthon, who, as will be discussed in later chapters, played such an important part in the eventual reorganization of education in Protestant Germany.

The defects of Erasmus' influence in the field of education were those of the humanists in general. By his insistence on the overwhelming importance of Greek and Latin studies he was led to neglect consideration of the vernacular and developing national languages and cultures. Concentration on the classics as authoritative for all knowledge had the same result as the verbal ingenuities of the scholastics - prevention of the study of the natural world and of observation. The educational programme, which in his theoretical works he advocated, was essentially aristocratic, in that it was limited to the few, and offered little in the way of educational hope to the ordinary people.

In summary, it can be said that by the first decades of the 16th century, humanism had begun a peaceful penetration of the schools of Germany. The schools connected with the Brethren of the Common Life spread into most of the

large towns and cities, trebling their numbers from the time of the introduction of the New Learning into the Netherlands. Among the outstanding teachers and educationists influenced by the Brethren must be counted Agricola, Hegius, Sturm, and Erasmus; but many other lesser men were produced in their schools, who carried the new methods and outlook into the town schools of Germany.

Two features were characteristic of these humanist schools. First, they had a uniformity of organization and curriculum which did not obtain in the humanist schools of Italy, where individual schools tended to be a law to themselves. Secondly, the emphasis was on the production of the pure, classical Latin. In the North, where this emphasis had not the sanction of patriotism and history, the classics formed an alien culture, running in competition with the vernacular and the national culture.

Thus, though the humanist culture penetrated the medieval schools and achieved a peaceful conquest, its triumph was incomplete for two reasons. First, it had nothing to offer in the form of a popular education. Secondly, it failed to capture the support of the new merchant classes, so that in many of the large German towns the new schools were a comparative failure.

Many of the humanists in the second and third decades of the 16th century, blamed the decline of the humanist schools

on the baleful influence of Luther. A truer assessment of the failure of humanism during the period is that it was running against the tide of the commercial spirit of the age, and the new merchant classes failed to see the value of humanist education for their sons.

4. THE INFLUENCE OF HUMANISM IN THE UNIVERSITIES.

The conquest of the German universities by the new learning was accomplished during the first two decades of the 16th century, after a struggle which had been coming to a climax from the mid-15th century. During this whole period there was a bitter contest between the old and the new.

The entire traditional university curriculum, especially as represented in the faculties of arts and theology, was attacked with extreme vigour, even violence, by the representatives of humanism.

The foremost figures in this battle on the humanist side were Agricola, Erasmus, and Reuchlin, but behind these stood the products of the new schools, and several groups of scholars (sodalitates literariae).

The two most famous of these groups were the Danubuana, founded by Conrad Celtes in imitation of the Roman Academy of Pomponius Laetus, whom he had met in Italy; and the Rhenana, led by Johannes Trithemius.

In addition to these individuals and groups, the humanist

movement was given great support by the nobility and some of the wealthy merchants. Besides the patronage of great princes like the Emperor Maximillian, Eberhard of Wurtemberg, Frederick of Saxony, and Albrecht of Mainz, prosperous merchants, with ample resources became patrons of artists and men of letters.

Strassburg, from its nearness to France, took the lead in such matters under the direction of Jacob Wimpheling (1450-1528). Another famous Strassburger was Sebastian Brandt, the author of the NARRENSCHIFF. In Augsburg, the home of Holbein, the leading humanist was Conrad Peutiger (1465--1528), a friend of Erasmus. At Nuremberg, Willibald Pirckheimer (1470 - 1528) was the central figure, both as humanist author and patron of the arts and learning.

At Erfurt, Mutianus Rufus (1471-1526) gathered round him a group which included Eobanus Hess, Ulrich von Hutten, and Crotus Rubeanus.

There were similar groups at Basle, Heidelberg, Tubingen, and Leipzig.

But the new learning met with fierce opposition in Germany. The Churchmen and the universities stood together against the invader, and the Dominicans, in particular, were ardent defenders of the theology of St. Thomas Aquinas.

On the other side, the humanists denounced with contempt what they considered to be the obscurantism of the scholastics, completely forgetful of the contribution to

learning made by the great Schoolmen.

Such writings as the EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRORUM, which originated about 1516 in the circle of humanists gathered about Mutianus at Erfurt, and Erasmus' MORIAE ENCOMION and COLLOQUIORUM FORMULAE, held up to ridicule the scholastic philosophers, and expressed scorn and hatred for the whole medieval system. Erasmus himself always refused to accept a University Chair, and regarded it as his mission everywhere to awaken a taste for finer culture, and to redirect men's thought from the scholastic system of theology to the study of the original sources and literature of the early Christian Church.

The battle between humanism and scholasticism was exemplified in the famous case of Johann Reuchlin. The latter was a protagonist of the study of Hebrew and Greek, and taught at both Heidelberg and Tübingen. He was accused of heresy by the Dominicans of Cologne, because he opposed a scheme for the burning of all Hebrew books, except the Old Testament, put forward by a converted Jew. His trial, which was protracted from 1510 to 1516, excited the interest of the whole of Europe. Sides were taken, with monks, obscurantists and inquisitors ranged against the humanists, and a great literary battle ensued, the climax of which was reached in the publication of the EPISTOLAE OBSCURORUM VIRORUM. Despite the power of the Dominicans who intimidated the Pope,

Leo x., the struggle issued in the release of Reuchlin and the triumph of the humanists. The attempt to silence their champion had failed, and great publicity had been given to humanist studies.

This same period of struggle saw the growth of nine more universities, at Greifswald, Basle, Freiburg, Ingoldstadt, Trèves, Mainz, Tübingen, Wittenberg, and Frankfort - am - -Oder. Among the older universities Vienna, Heidelberg, Erfurt and Leipzig were foremost in introducing the new studies, and of the newer ones, Tübingen and Wittenberg were quick to adopt humanist ideas.

As a result of this conquest, three things happened in the university curriculum, though at first the new entered alongside the old. In the first place, classical Latin superseded the old scholastic Latin of medieval usage, and the old Latin translations of Aristotle were replaced by newer versions by humanist scholars. Secondly, Greek studies were established, and Chairs and lectureships in Greek language and literature began to be endowed. In the third place, classical Greek and Roman authors, particularly poets and orators, were included in the courses, essentially with the purpose of leading scholars to literary imitation.

5. SUMMARY.

When the Reformation movement broke on Germany, humanism had achieved a peaceful penetration of the schools, and

everywhere there existed side by side with the older medieval schools new humanist schools, which had acquired an ascendancy of reputation over the old.

On the other hand, these new schools, with their stress on literary education, did not cater for either the bulk of the people, or for the new merchant and business classes which had developed in the towns and cities.

In the universities, humanism had taken root after a prolonged struggle with scholasticism. In the older and larger foundations, the reformed curriculum had either superseded, or was in the process of replacing the medieval, while the universities of recent foundation had been largely based on the new learning from their inception.

It was upon this state of affairs that the Reformation 'fell like a thunderbolt from a clear sky.' (**)

- - - - - -

** Creighton "History of the Papacy during the Period of the Reformation" vi.,p.3.)

PART TWO.

LUTHER'S EDUCATIONAL WORK AND THOUGHT.

CHAPTER 5.

THE FORMATIVE YEARS.

1. Luther's Home.
2. Luther's Schooling.
3. Luther's University Training.
4. In the Monastery.
5. Luther and the University of Wittenberg.
6. Luther and the Humanists.
7. Luther as Scholar.
8. NOTES 1 - 70.

THE FORMATIVE YEARS.

A consideration of Luther's educational proposals and reforms might begin with a study of the relevant portions of the great OPEN LETTER TO THE CHRISTIAN NOBILITY OF THE GERMAN NATION of 1520, but to understand the view-point which Luther had reached at the age of thirty-six, it is very necessary to weigh the earlier influences which had brought him to that position.

Before the proclamation of the programme of reforms contained in the OPEN LETTER, Luther himself had been brought up as a member of a family, had attended three schools, had experienced monastic life from inside the cloister, and, as a student and professor, had been a member of two universities. In short, by 1520 he had made ample contact with all those institutions, which are dwelt upon so extensively and thoroughly in his writings as the media of education, the home, the school, the university, and the Church. It will, therefore, repay to study carefully those educational institutions through which Luther passed, and to attempt an assessment of their contribution to the outlook of Luther, the reformer.

1. LUTHER'S HOME

On Luther's home and parents there is not a large store of information, though a certain amount of speculation has been

indulged in to fill the gap. (1) The boy was a member of a large family, and during his childhood, his parents Hans and Margaret Luther, had to struggle to make their way and support their family. Nevertheless, Hans Luther, by steady and careful work, succeeded in raising himself from the position of labourer in the Mansfeld mines in 1484, to part-owner of six shafts and two foundries by 1511, (2) and as early as 1491 had been elected as one of the so-called Vierherren, who looked after the interests of the community in the Town Council of Mansfeld. (3) There is no reason to suppose that Luther's parents were pious in any other way than that they conscientiously observed the precepts and traditions of the traditional religion, and Luther never suggested that either of them tried to exert any religious influence on him as a child. On the other hand, like their neighbours, they believed firmly in the details of popular superstition, and equally firmly they adhered to the rites prescribed by the Church and tradition for the averting of evil. (4) At least one memory of his childhood days remained with Luther, the man, a memory upon which he had thought to some purpose. This centred on the discipline by which his parents governed their children. He later recorded:-

My parents brought me up very strictly, so that I became very shy. My mother once whipped me on account of a miserable nut so that the blood flowed; and their

excessive seriousness and strict manner of living, which they caused me to follow, caused me afterwards to run into a monastery and become a monk. (5)

Luther came to understand that his parents 'had the best of intentions' in their strict discipline, but he saw that very often 'children bear a (life-long) grudge against their parents because of harsh punishments'. He himself recognized firm control of children as one of the duties of parents, and saw that punishment was sometimes necessary. But when this was the case 'the apple should lie close to the rod.' Such discipline could be adhered to without the child losing the knowledge and sense of the love of its parents. In the case of his own parents, he saw that while they meant very well by him, 'they could not distinguish the attitudes of mind, according to which punishments are to be tempered'. (6) They treated all misdemeanours alike, and did not allow for the individual make-up of their children.
Luther himself did not react against his parents, despite his criticism of their discipline. His letters to them, as a man, show that he continued to love and respect them, and record his gratitude to them for their care in his upbringing. In June 1530 he wrote to Melanchthon:-

Hans Reinecke writes that my beloved father, Hans Luther, died at one on Sabbath morning. This death has cast me into deep grief, not only because he was my father, but because it was through his deep love to me that my Creator endowed me with all I am and have, and although consoled to learn that he fell asleep softly in Christ Jesus,

strong in faith, yet his loss has caused a deep wound in my heart. (7)

2. LUTHER'S SCHOOLING

Luther began his school-days at the age of five, when he was sent to the town school of Mansfeld, which he attended for the next eight years. In this school, typical of the later Middle Ages, there were properly speaking only four things that a child could learn - reading, writing, Latin, and singing. Here the boy would learn to read from a Latin primer, and to write from Latin texts. At the same time he would memorize several Latin words every day, and occasionally longer passages from the primer, such as the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, the Ave Maria, and the Ten Commandments. Owing to the fact that the higher classes were also at the same time in the same room, the schoolmaster could devote little time for primarians, and had to content himself with a mechanical hammering of the venerable passages into the little ones' heads, and with a brief explanation of the Latin vocabulary appearing in the text. It was hardly likely that young Luther received much religious or intellectual stimulation from this dreary course of teaching.
When a child was able to read and write in Latin, he passed into the second class, where he learned to conjugate and decline from Donatus and if he passed that stage, he

was initiated into the mysteries of Latin syntax by way of the DOCTRINALE of Alexander de Ville Dieu. It is almost certain that Luther never got beyond the second class at Mansfeld. For on account of the mechanical method of teaching, even bright pupils spent years learning to read and write, and even longer over Donatus. (8)

This period of drilling remained in Luther's memory as a man, and one of his strongest criticisms of medieval education was directed against this type of teaching method. In 1524 Luther wrote, in urging the setting up of new schools:-

> It is not in the least my intention to have such schools established as we had heretofore, in which a boy sat over his Donatus and Alexander for twenty or thirty years and yet learned nothing. (9)

The whole course of education was bent to the end of producing an educated clergy, hence the emphasis on Latin, and the introduction of singing, necessary for the continuance of the many services of the medieval Church. Beyond these things, the children had to memorize the meaningless mnemonic verses of the so-called "Cisiojanus", by which the days of the Church Calendar were reckoned. One of Luther's regrets in after-life was the absence of history and poetry in the school curriculum of his boyhood:-

> How I regret now that I did not read more poetry and historians and that no one taught me them! (10)

The value of an educational system is not only determined by the content of instruction, but also by the method of teaching. As far as the latter was concerned little praise can be given to the school attended by Luther in Mansfeld. Dull drilling aided by a good deal of thrashing, went on there, as in all schools of its type. This again remained as a permanent memory with Luther. Speaking of his own experience of school in after years he said:-

> It is a miserable thing when pupils become the enemies of their teachers because of harsh punishments. For many clumsy schoolmasters spoil fine minds with their blustering, storming, whipping and beating, when they do not deal other wise with their children than an executioner or jailer deals with a thief .... I was once whipped in school fifteen times after another, and that before noon. (11)

In 1524, in his outline of proposals for new schools he was able to rejoice - perhaps too optimistically - that:-

> the kind of schools we attended are a thing of the past - that hell and purgatory which we were tormented with cases and tenses, and yet learned less than nothing with all the flogging, trembling, anguish and misery. (12)

There is a certain living quality of memory in that utterance. In consideration of all this, it is easy enough to understand why Luther passed such unfavourable comment on the schools 'under the Papacy'. But it would be incorrect to assume that he himself learned nothing at Mansfeld. He certainly began there to acquire a thorough training in Latin (the 'corrupt' Latin so criticized by

the humanists); and his love for and talent in music were awakened. In addition to these, he also received some introduction to and some instruction in, a few of the poets.

In all probability these were the three commonly used text-books of Pseudo-Cato, Aesop and Terence. Because they were so few, he learned them so thoroughly that he came to love them, despite the fact that they were made the basis for practicing declension, conjugation, and the rules of Latin syntax. Boehmer says:-

> Even as an older man he could quote these writers, and continued to treasure the moral maxims of Cato (which he had studied as a primer boy), and the Fables of Aesop (studied in the second class), so much so, that he called them the best books next to the Bible itself. With regard to Terence, whom he liked particularly, he later expressed the opinion that one page of his comedies was worthy more than all the dialogues and colloquies of Erasmus. (13)

Even more surprising is the fact that Luther was afterwards appreciative of Donatus and Alexander, and retained these textbooks in the Lutheran schools (though perhaps as much from necessity, as from choice). From this, it is evident that despite the dreary and brutal methods of teaching, Luther developed a taste for these dry-as-dust authors in his schooldays. But few boys were of his ability, and his later comments on the medieval schools stand as a legitimate criticism of this type of education. In the spring of 1496, Hans Luther sent his son to school at

Magdeburg, to accompany there the son of a Mansfeld foundry-master. This school was one of those under the control of the Brethren of the Common Life, and had acquired a good local reputation. There is no evidence, however, that the boy was strongly influenced either by the Brethren, or the schools, and, in any case, his time there was limited to one year (14) About Easter 1497, for some reason not known, the boy returned to Mansfeld, and was sent to the school at Eisenach, where the sexton of St. Nicholas' Church and his wife were relatives of the Luthers. They, however, could not furnish him with free quarters, so he probably lodged at first in one of the hospices, or in a school, for these places often provided quarters for poor students. Here, too, as in Magdeburg, he continued to earn the extras needed, as a singing student. He recorded this aspect of his schooling in his great educational writing of 1530:-

I, too, was a Partekenhengst, and got bread at the house-doors, especially at Eisenach, my dear town. (15)

Luther was very pleased with the parish school of St. George, which he attended. This was a trivial school, untouched by humanist influences. In later years he spoke of John Trebonius, the headmaster as a gifted man; and a friendship which he formed with one of the assistant masters,

Wiegand Guldennapf, lasted long after his student years. (16) Later, during his time im Eisenach, Luther was befriended by the wife of a well-to-do merchant, Henry Schalbe, who supplied his board. In the Schalbe household the boy came into contact with a group of pious people, composed of the members and friends of the family. Among the latter were the Franciscans of the Wartburg, and John Braum, vicar of St. Mary's. As far as is known, it was in this circle that Luther first encountered a group of people for whom religion was the foremost matter in life. There is little doubt that the boy was strongly influenced by this contact, and it may be from this time that the development of those views that eventually led him to monastic life must be dated.

At the school itself, Luther had abundant opportunity, as a student of the highest class, to practice the speaking, reading, writing, and versification of Latin, and he threw himself into his studies with such eagerness that, as Melanchthon afterwards recorded, he soon left all his fellow-students far behind. (17)

It appears, therefore, that despite his criticism of the medieval schools in the matters of mechanical teaching and harsh discipline, Luther derived for himself from his schooling a certain mental and emotional stimulation, an

exceedingly thorough grounding in Latin, the art of speaking, and the art of logical argument.

3. LUTHER'S UNIVERSITY TRAINING

During these years Luther's father had prospered and decided to send his gifted son to a university for further training. Erfurt, though not the nearest university town to Mansfeld, was the establishment chosen, as it enjoyed a very high reputation in Saxony and Thuringia. Luther entered the Faculty of Arts in April 1501.

The method of progress through a medieval university has been described in detail already (18), and, therefore, without repetition, a consideration of the question ~~as to~~ of what ideas and outlook Luther acquired at Erfurt must be our line of enquiry. According to the practice of all students in the Arts Faculty Luther first satisfied the requirements for the Bachelor's degree attendance at lectures in language, logic and philosophy.

He passed this examination at the earliest time permitted, on St. Michael's Day, 1502, and immediately entered the course leading to the Master's examination, which he took with high distinction in January 1505.

It is interesting to notice what Luther came to value out of this academic course. He placed the greatest value on the effectiveness with which the students were trained in

methodical thinking, above all by the weekly disputations, which he regarded as the best method for the development of the logical faculties. Even in 1533, when Luther and his colleagues initiated a reform of the curriculum of the Theological Faculty at Wittenberg, under Luther's direction the disputation, which had fallen into disuse, was revived. (19) The chief criticisms which Luther made of Erfurt were not levelled at the form and method of teaching there, but at the content of the instruction presented. Erfurt was a noted centre of Scholasticism, and was dominated by the philosophy of Aristotle and the theology of the English Franciscan, William of Occam. There was no academic freedom in the university, for the professors were bound by oath to expound the works of Aristotle in their lectures, and obliged to interpret the Greek philosopher according to the so-called 'modernist' teaching of Occam. The Occamists denied that human reason could attain certain knowledge of the supersensuous realities of faith. But they denied this only to emphasize more forcibly that in its dogma the Church possessed an absolutely infallible knowledge of these realities, and hence, that it was necessary, on religious and scientific grounds, to accept the dogma, no matter how it appeared to conflict with reason. As for the world of sensuous and inner experience, the Occamists did not dispute its accessibility to the human faculty of perception. (20) As far as Aristotle

was concerned, they used his writings as a basis for the teaching of natural science, but improved on him to the extent of trying to bring his teaching into harmony with the dogma of the Church, and were not so bound to him as not to add to his teaching the results of further observation in the natural realm.

Thus at Erfurt, Luther would learn the proofs for the spherical shape of the earth, and the evidence for the causation of tides by the moon's influence; that storms were the result of natural forces; and that both alchemy and astrology were questionable sciences. In a word, at Erfurt he was taught the scientific knowledge of the day, and it is quite wrong to suppose that Luther never outgrew the so-called naive conception of the universe of pre-scientific times. (21) Scientific lectures occupied the largest place in the last three years before the Master's examination.

The modernists of the university also used the books of Aristotle as guides for ethics and politics, though they only accepted him as of value in the sphere of earthly and natural human activity. In the field of theology, the Occamists held that there were unlimited potentialities in the human will for the fulfilment of God's requirements from men.

As a result of his training at Erfurt, therefore, Luther received a wide introduction to what might be called

general culture, a thorough training in logic and the science of thinking, a good grounding in the scientific knowledge of the time, and an extensive acquaintance with Aristotle and scholastic philosophy and theology. (22)

Fifteen years later Luther could claim, in his condemnation of scholasticism:-

> Let no one accuse me of exaggeration, or of condemning what I do not understand! I know my Aristotle as well as you, or the likes of you. I have lectured on him, and have heard lectures on him, and I understand him better than do St. Thomas and Scotus. This I can say without pride, and if necessary I can prove it. (23)

At the time of his membership of the University of Erfurt, there is no marked sign of criticism of scholasticism on the part of Luther, but these things were still to pass through the mills of his mind, and already by the close of his career at Erfurt in 1505, there is evidence that he was testing the things that he had been taught there. At Erfurt, too, Luther made a rather superficial contact with the new learning, or humanist studies. His teachers, Trutvetter and Usingen, were responsible for drawing his attention to the 'Poets' for these modernists were modern also in that they had made the acquaintance of the humanistic culture of their days. So Luther read the so-called new Vergil, (Battista Spagnuolo) and some Ovid, Vergil, Plautus, and perhaps

Horace and Juvenal also. (24) This contact was not without some significance for Luther, in that he was stimulated to read some of the Latin classics which had not been familiar to him before, in the enrichment of his knowledge, and in the refinement of his linguistic skills. Beyond this he was not affected by humanism. There is no detailed record of Luther's inner development while at Erfurt, but there are several small pointers to the direction of his mind. For instance, Luther later said that it was only when he was twenty years old, in 1503, while in the university library, that he happened upon a complete Bible for the first time in his life. He recorded that he opened the volume at the story of Hannah, the mother of Samuel, but had to close it again shortly when the bell called him to a lecture. Then he thought to himself, "How fortunate I would be if I owned such a book", and soon after he bought himself a Postil, or book of sermons. He averred also that hitherto he had only known the Sunday Gospels, and was astonished to find such unfamiliar stories in the Bible. It has been said that Luther could not possibly have reached his twentieth year without having seen a Bible. But as he asserts this positively, and as the Bible did not figure either in his school or university curriculum to this time, there is no reason for doubting his statement. (25) In 1505, Luther having attained the status of Magister

and being bound to serve the University for two more years as a lecturer in the Faculty of Arts, it was taken for granted that he would occupy these years in pursuing further study in one of the so-called higher Faculties. Luther decided to enter the Faculty of Law.
But his plan did not come to fruition, for though he commenced legal studies im July 1505, to the anger of his father and dismay of his friends, he abandoned the course he had laid out for himself and entered the convent of the Augustinian Eremites at Erfurt, with the intention of becoming a member of that Order. This monastery was commonly considered the foremost centre in Erfurt for the cultivation of the ascetic ideal, and had enjoyed for many years the greatest prestige on that account.

4. IN THE MONASTERY

The course of events which led to this apparently sudden decision on the part of Luther is not the concern of this study, but it is necessary to understand the motive which drove him to this course of action. His reason was quite plain. Luther entered the monastary in pursuit of the salvation of his soul. His motive is not to be construed in base terms. He was filled with an overwhelming sense of the need for a personal relationship to God. He was looking for an inner assurance of God's goodwill towards

him, and as far as he understood, the most certain means of attaining the goal of his quest lay in the taking of the monastic vow. To quote Watson:-

> By following the evangelical 'counsels of perfection', by ascetic discipline, prayer, and meditation, he would foster that perfect love toward God and man which God's commandment required from him, and without which it was impossible for him to be pleasing to God. (25)

Another nine years were to pass before Luther found the answer to this quest, during which time he devoted himself almost entirely to the solution of the problem which beset him, trying all the methods prescribed in Medieval Catholicism. (26)

At first he tried by way of ascetic discipline, prayer and meditation, to cultivate love to God and man, but instead of these he was always aware of the presence in his life of self-love, pride, self-will, anger - all those sins which he grouped together as 'concupiscentia'.

He followed strictly and urgently all the advice and teaching of the scholastics, but his situation was only made worse, and his problem more acute. Now was he helped to a solution through the confession: he did not find his penance transformed into love for God and men.

Then he tried the way of mysticism, and sought, by following the advice of Dionysius and Bonaventura, to experience the union of his soul with God. Desperately he followed the way of Bernard endeavouring to lose

himself by meditation on the Passion of Christ; but all in vain. Finally, after much wise advice from Staupitz, his superior, Luther found his way to the study of the Bible, and it was this, and in particular the study of the Epistle to the Romans, that brought him eventually to the solution of his problem.

In 1545, in a preface to the edition of his works, he described the course of his quest, and the answer he received:-

A strange yearning had certainly taken hold upon me. I longed to understand St. Paul and what he did say in the Epistle to the Romans. But the chief obstacle was not the coldness of my heart, but just one word in the first chapter of that Epistle: "For therein is the righteousness of God revealed" (Ro.i.17). For I hated this term "righteousness of God", the which after the use and wont of all the Doctors of the Church I had been taught to understand after the manner of philosophy in the sense of the so-called "formal" or "active" righteousness, wherewith God Himself is righteousness and doth punish unrighteous sinners. But though as a monk I lived blameless I was troubled in conscience, and did feel I was a sinner before God, neither could I be confidently assured that my works of satisfaction were sufficient to appease Him. And withal I did not love God, nay rather did I hate Him for that he was righteous and did punish sinners, and even if I blasphemed not, I did secretly with loud murmurings resist God's will saying "As though 'twere not enough that poor sinners, who are eternally damned on account of original sin, should be overwhelmed by all manner of ill through the law of the Ten Commandments, God must needs add woe upon woe through the Gospel, and through the Gospel turn his righteousness and His wrath against us."
Thus furiously did I rage with downcast heart, and yet undaunted did knock undaunted at the text of Paul, thirsting sorely to know what he did mean thereby.
Finally, through God's mercy, after pondering night and day thereon, I stumbled upon the connection of the words, namely:- "Therein is the righteousness of God revealed ..... as it is written, the just shall live by faith."
Forthwith it dawned upon me that this righteousness of God

was that whereby the righteous receiveth life from God; that is, "from faith", and the meaning is that the righteousness of God is revealed through the Gospel, namely, that righteousness is that passive kind, wherewith God in His mercy maketh us righteous through faith, as it is written "the just shall live by faith". At this I felt quite a new-born man, as if I had entered the gates of paradise itself. At once I found the Bible lit up for me with a new meaning. Whereupon I traced the whole course of the Scriptures, as far as I could remember them, and did find other terms of like import, as opus dei, the work that God performeth in us: virtus dei, the power wherewith He strengtheneth us; sapientia dei, the wisdom wherewith He maketh us wise: fortitudo dei, salus dei, gloria dei.
The hatred wherewith I had hitherto hated the expression "righteousness of God" was not equalled by the love I now cherished for the same. How sweet were those words now become! Thus in very truth this verse of Paul's became for me the gate to paradise. (27)

The date of this experience, which transformed his whole life, and was decisive in all his subsequent thought and action, seems on the evidence to be late in 1513.(28) The implications of his discovery will be discussed in more detail in Chapter viii, but it will suffice to say at this stage that the experience meant for him the lifting of the oppression which had weighed for so long on his soul. From now onwards the stream of his ideas began to flow forth unhindered and onward in a constantly rising flood.

At this point it is necessary to review the course and content of Luther's study during these years in the monastery. He had devoted himself intensely to the study of the Bible, the SENTENCES of Peter Lombard, the works of the scholastics, Occam, Biel, d'Ailly, and

possibly Scotus and Aquinas. In addition, he had read the various devotional books from the monastery library, such as the VITAE PATRUM, and the DIALOGUES of Virgilius of Thapsus, and the COLLATIONS of Cassian of Marseilles. In 1508, he was sent to Wittenberg to lecture in moral philosophy at the university which had been founded there in 1502. He lectured on the PHYSICS and NICHOMACHEAN ETHICS of Aristole, and at the same time continued his own studies in the Faculty of Theology, in which he was made 'baccalareus biblicus' in March 1509. He completed his theological studies in the autumn of the same year, when he passed his examination on the SENTENCES of Peter Lombard (30) On his recall to Erfurt he continued to lecture on the SENTENCES, and made an intensive and critical study of the writings of Augustine. Already he had started to learn Greek and Hebrew. (31) His marginal notes on Augustine and the SENTENCES (the copies of the books he used are still extant) show the detailed analysis to which he subjected these writers. During these years Luther had also attained prominence within his Order, and was chosen with one other to go to Rome in October 1510, to represent the monastery in the settlement of a domestic controversy. On his return to Germany in 1511, once again he was called to Wittenberg to lecture in the Faculty of Theology. The following year he attained the status of

Doctor of Theology, and in October, at the early age of twenty-nine, he was appointed to the Chair of Theology. Prior to this he had obtained promotion in his Order, and with the oversight of convents to concern him, Luther had both to teach and to preach (32) Thus by the time of his enlightenment Luther was already a considerable scholar and had borne onerous responsibilities both in the monastery and university.

From the time of his regenerating experience, the tempo of Luther's development as a scholar and thinker increased. He still had before him three full years in which to mature, without yet suspecting what his destiny was to be. What he then proclaimed to the world, was almost entirely the fruit of those three quiet years in which he was able to extend and deepen his new insight. The result of this is seen in his writings, im particular his Commentaries on the Psalms, the Epistle to the Romans, and the Epistle to the Galatians. On another side it is seen in the development of his preaching. On a third, it is evident in his deepening interest and understanding of social and national affairs. On yet a fourth side, it is to be noted in his growing influence in the affairs of the University of Wittenberg. It is this fourth aspect of the growth of Luther which will be discussed in this present chapter, since it was within this field that his ideas on the redirection of higher education began

to develop.

5. LUTHER AND THE UNIVERSITY OF WITTENBERG

In the summer of 1514, the Benedictine, Paul Lange, visited the universities of eastern Germany to gather material for a new editiom of Trittenheim's dictionary of authors. It is an interesting comment on Luther's status in the University of Wittenberg, which Lange visited, that the latter overlooked Luther. This, despite the fact that the visitor was prepared to include in his definitiom of a celebrity many an insignificant professor. (33)

Evidently in 1514 Luther was still an unknown quantity, even in Wittenberg.

By 1515, however, according to one, John Oldecop, who matriculated at the University in that year, Luther "already had many auditors". Oldecop enjoyed Luther's lectures, especially because he "put every Latin word into such stout German" - in other words, he often used German in his lectures to help his hearers to understand. Indeed, by 1515 some students were coming to Wittenberg especially to hear Luther. (34) More important than this was the fact that Luther's influence on his colleagues was growing, and that he had found a patron at the Electoral court, who shared his views and hopes. This was the Elector's librarian, secretary, and court preacher, George Burkhardt, of Spalt, who was called

Spalatin. As early as 1513, Spalatin had written of Luther as "an excellent man and scholar, whose judgment I value very highly". By March 1515, Spalatin was writing to Luther's friend, John Lang, in the following terms:-

.... Please commend me to Doctor Martin. For I think so much of him as a most learned and upright man, and, what is extremely rare, one of such acumen in judging, that I wish to be entirely his friend, as well as yours ... (35)

In May of the same year, Lang wrote to one of his friends Mutianus Rufus to say that 'our Spalatin venerates and consults him (Luther) like Apollo ....' (36)

From this time onwards, whenever Spalatin was asked for advice from the Elector, he seldom failed to ask for Luther's opinion beforehand, either orally or by letter. Similarly, he acted as an intermediary between Luther and the Elector. Spalatin was evidently one who had the rare gift of guiding his lord's intentions by submission and gentleness, into the channels he wished himself. (37) Through him Luther later exerted a strong influence on the direction of the University of Wittenberg. At first Spalatin used Luther as a literary adviser, (38) but as he was the Elector's right-hand man in the affairs of the University, Spalatin naturally began to consult Luther on all University questions, too. As a result without seeking it, Luther gained an opportunity to create sentiment at the Electoral court for a reform of

the University according to his own ideas. The goals Luther had in mind concerned the reform of the Theological Faculty in particular. His intention was to see the abolition of the dominant influence of Aristotle and Scholasticism in the Faculties of Theology and Arts. In addition he wished to see the founding of regular Chairs in Greek and Hebrew. By the beginning of 1517, Luther's teaching had gained the upper hand in the Theological Faculty. The occasion for this triumph was a disputation of September 1516, in which Luther's pupil, Batholemew Bernhardi, sharply attacked the Occamist teaching that man can fulfil the commandments of God by his own reason and strength. The argument was based on the writings of Augustine on the human will, and the theses, which were drawn up with the help of Luther, were opposed by Professors Carlstadt and Lupinus of the Faculty of Theology. Lupinus submitted when he was set right by Luther from Augustine's writings, but Carlstadt made a special journey to Leipzig in January 1517, in order to buy an edition of Augustine's works to refute Luther. After studying these, he took a public stand for the new teaching (39)

In May 1517, Luther wrote to John Lang on the triumph of the new Theology at Wittenberg:-

Our theology and that of St. Augustine, by the grace of God is making rapid progress in our University. Aristotle is continuing to fall from his throne, and his end is only

a matter of time: and all object to hearing lectures on the text-books of the SENTENCES, and no one need expect an audience who does not lecture on the theology of the Bible or of St. Augustine, or of some other of the honoured Church teachers ... (40)

Luther's implacable enmity to the dominant place of Aristotle in the so-called Christian teaching of his day was seen in his letter to Lang of July 1517, in which he wrote:-

I am preparing six or seven candidates for the master's examination, of whom one, Adrian, is preparing theses to shame Aristotle, for whom I want to make as many enemies and as quickly as I can .... (41)

Luther now felt that it was necessary to make a public declaration of his position. This purpose was served by the NINETY-SEVEN THESES AGAINST SCHOLASTIC THEOLOGY, which formed the basis for a disputation undertaken by his student, Francis Gunther of Nordhausen, in September 1517. Luther had these theses printed and sent to Erfurt and Nuremberg. (42) They contained an almost complete outline of his new theology, but they were accepted by the world of scholars without much stir. (43) It was the NINETY-FIVE THESES of November of the same year which, contrary to Luther's expectations, started the movement towards reformation.

In addition to the fruition of his attack on Scholasticism and Aristotle inside the University, Luther's plans bore fruit in another direction. In 1518 Melanchthon was appointed to the newly established Chair of Greek at

Wittenberg, and in September of that year Luther wrote, rejoicing in the fact, to John Lang:-

> The most learned and perfect Grecian Philip Melanchthon is teaching Greek here. He is a mere boy in years, but one of us in various knowledge, including that almost all books. He is not only master of Greek and Latin, but of all the learning to which they are the keys ... (44)

Similarly, the teaching of Hebrew also commenced, and in a eulogy on the progress of the University, Spalatin wrote to Guy Bild of Augsburg in December 1518:-

> That most holy, true, and German theology not fouled by the drags of metaphysics and dialectic, not polluted by human tradition, not burdened by old wives' tales, but such as the primitive theologians knew, praised and extolled to heaven, this theology, I say, it is taught (praise be to God) in the University of my Elector at Wittenberg with such success that those learned doctors of theology, Martin Luther and Carlstadt, have full lecture rooms and disciples not only eager to learn, but already proficient, who do not fear even the greatest of the sophists. (scholastic theologians) Philip Melanchthon teaches Greek there to about four hunded pupils. There are also a few scholars of Dr. John Bosschenstein, who teaches Hebrew. In short, the best studies are so successfully taught at Wittenberg that you would call it another Athens. (45)

Throughout the critical period which followed the publication of the NINETY-FIVE THESES, and the time of increasing personal danger, Luther, now with the assistance of Melanchthon, continued to strive for the reform of the Theological Faculty at Wittenberg, without deflection from his purpose. The course of his achievement in this field can be traced in various items of correspondence of the years 1519 and 1520. In the first place he

continued the process of ridding the Faculties of Arts and Theology of the influence of Aristotle. In February 1519, he, at the head of a committee, requested the Elector to change the course of studies, by curtailing the lectures on Aristotle's PHYSICS and LOGIC and to devote the salaries paid for these courses partly to increasing Melanchthon's salary, and partly to paying a professor to lecture on Ovid's METAMORPHOSES. Luther wrote to Spalatin on the matter:-

> You desire to know who were the men who requested the Elector to change the course of studies. They were the Rector, Carlstadt, Armsdorf and I. The protest does not please many .... for they consider not the profit of the students, but the salaries of the professors .... Here we must consider proper studies alone ... I hope that the illustrious Elector will take good advice in the matter. (46)

The following month, he wrote again to Spalatin, on his plan for cutting out Aristotle from the curriculum:-

> It will be beyond Melanchthon's powers, dear Spalatin, to give so many extra lectures, when he has already more than enough to do .... Moreover, Aristotle's PHYSICS are completely useless to every age .... His RHETORIC is of no use either, unless one wished to become an expert in rhetoric. ... I know the book inside out, having expounded it twice to my brothers ... In short we have decided to allow these lectures to continue only for a short time ... as Aristotle has not even an understanding of natural phenomena. Of like quality are his books on METAPHYSICS and ON THE SOUL.... (47)

Luther also continued to press for the establishment of the teaching of Hebrew, with the aid of Melanchthon, who wrote on the subject to Spalatin in May 1519:-

> Yesterday there was with us a certain Hebrew scholar,

moderately learned, who studied the grammar at Heidelberg, and taught it afterwards, and now expects to lecture at Leipzig, but will come to us if the Elector wishes. I conferred with Luther about him, and we both thought him moderately good, and likely to improve with practice.. (48)

Later in 1519, about November, Luther urged on Spalatin the substitution of Pliny and Quintilian for Aristotle in the teaching of science and rhetoric:-

If both Quintilian and Aristotle cannot be read on natural history, it is better to omit Aristotle, especially as Pliny will easily supply his place ... For myself, I prefer Quintilian to almost all authors, because while instructing, he also teaches eloquence ....(49)

As evidence of the developments at Wittenberg, the establishment of a printing press must be quoted.

In December 1519 Luther was able to report to Lang:-

Lotther of Leipzig is founding a printing establishment, with Greek, Latin, and German types at Wittenberg. Study goes on space, especially in theology. (50)

That the life of the University was flourishing and that Luther's influence had had the most stimulating effects on academic study, was shown clearly in the increasing numbers of students who came to Wittenberg. Writing to Spalatin in May 1520, Luther comments on this:-

The number of students increases daily, so that the little city cannot receive them all, and many are forced to return..(51)

Enough has been said to show conclusively that, when in June 1520 Luther composed his OPEN LETTER TO THE CHRISTIAN NOBILITY OF THE GERMAN NATION, the proposals, which he made for the reformation of the German universities

were in no way theoretical, but based firmly on four years successful effort at reconstruction in the University of Wittenberg. In this reorganization, Luther was both the driving force and, almost entirely, the originator of the new ideas which were put into practice. (52)

6. LUTHER AND THE HUMANISTS

The course of Luther's revolt from Scholasticism has been outlined. There remain to be discussed his relationship and reaction to humanism. Since the humanists and Luther were both opposed to Scholasticism, it was inevitable that the success of Luther's attacks and reforms would bring him support from the humanist side. But Luther himself remained completely independent of humanism. It is noticeable that when he did begin to exchange letters with humanists abroad, the initiative was never taken by Luther, but always by the humanists. The reason for Luther's attitude is not difficult to understand. While the objectives of both the reformer and the humanists appeared to coincide at a number of points, the underlying motifs of their thought were in essential conflict. In the main, both scholasticism and humanism were anthropocentric at their core. (53) Luther, on the other hand, derived his thought and action

from a theocentric motif. Thus, while a temporary alliance might have been expected, and actually did come about, it was inevitable that Luther and the humanists should part company with the development of events. One of the earliest aspects of this temporary alliance was seen in the support Luther gave to Reuchlin in his fight against the Cologne Dominicans. This, however, was not because Luther accepted the humanist viewpoint, but rather because he saw that Reuchlin was in the right, and the inquisitors in the wrong. Writing to Spalatin early in 1514, and speaking about an enquiry from Lang on his own views in the matter Luther wrote:-

.... Reuchlin has often protested his innocence (of the charge of heresy) and solemnly asserts that he is only preparing questions for debate, not laying down articles of faith, which alone, in my opinion, absolves him, so that had he the dregs of all known heresies in his memorial, I should believe him sound and pure of faith. For if such protests are not freed from danger, we must needs fear that these inquisitors ... should at their own pleasure pronounce the orthodox heretics. (54)

Luther soon perceived the difference between his own outlook, and that of the greatest of the humanists, Erasmus.

In 1516, he asked Spalatin to bring to the notice of Erasmus points on wnich he disagreed with the humanist's NOTES ON THE NEW TESTAMENT, which had appeared with the Greek edition about March 1516:-

What displeases me in Erasmus, though a learned man, is

that in interpreting the apostle (Paul) on the righteousness of works, or of the Law, or our own righteousness... he understands only those figurative and ceremonial observances. Moreover, he will not have the apostle speak of original sin ... If he reads Augustine's book ... he will see how little he follows not only Augustine's opinion, but that of Cyprian Nazianzen, Rheticus, Irenaeus, Hilary, Olympius, Innocent and Ambrose. Perhaps then he will not only understand the apostle aright, but will think Augustine deserving a higher opinion than he does now. I have no hesitation in disagreeing with Erasmus, because in interpreting the Scriptures I consider Jerome as much inferior to Augustine, as Erasmus thinks him superior ... (55)

In March 1517, the divergence in outlook which underlay the earlier criticism, had become even more clear to Luther, as he writes to John Lang :-

I am reading our Erasmus, and my opinion of him becomes daily worse. He pleases me, indeed, for boldly and learnedly convicting and condemning monks and priest of inveterate ignorance, but I fear that he does not sufficiently advance the cause of Christ, and God's grace, in which he is much more ignorant than d'Etaples, for human considerations weigh with him more than divine ... No one is truly wise in the Christian sense simply because he knows Greek and Hebrew. Despite his five languages, Jerome was not the equal of St. Augustine, who knew but one. Erasmus has quite a different opinion of this. But the opinion of him who attributes significance (in salvation) to man's will (Erasmus) is far different from the opinion of him who knows nothing but grace (Luther) (56)

Nevertheless, Luther had not yet given up hope that Erasmus might change his opinion, and, at this stage, did not consider it wise to express this opinion of differences openly, in case he might strengthen the enemies of Erasmus Only for a short period did Luther adopt a few of the little externals of the humanistic style, signing some of

his letters to close humanist friends 'Eleutherius' (57) and occasionally allowing a Greek word or phrase to slip in. Both of these concessions to humanism ceased by 1519.

Despite these fundamental divergences of outlook between Luther and Erasmus, various humanist groups had established contact with the former. The Nuremberg circle had established ties with him by March 1517. The Heidelbergers drew close to him in the spring, the Baselers not later than the summer, and the Augsburgers in October of 1518. (58) The Leipzigers, Peter Mosellanus (59) and his associates, were also in touch with him from the beginning of 1519. These men felt the need of establishing personal contact between Luther and Erasmus and finally prevailed upon the former to write to the great humanist, in March 1519. Erasmus' reply was not enthusiastic, though he expressed admiration for some of Luther's works. He advised Luther to proceed cautiously, and complained somewhat that he had been accused by some of assisting Luther to write his books, and that this had brought some discredit on the fair name of the arts. (60) But Erasmus' students and followers at this time, considered that their leader's intentions were the same as Luther's, even if he were not so outspoken, and consequently did not perceive that in espousing Luther's cause, as many of them did, they had passed into an

entirely different channel. By the beginning of 1519 the most talented among them - Melanchthon, Bucer, Oecolampadius - were more under the influence of Luther than of Erasmus. Despite this, it cannot be too strongly emphasized that there was a fundamental divergence between Luther's theology and humanism, even if this was not perceived by so ardent a lieutenant of Luther's as Melanchthon became. (61)

7. LUTHER AS SCHOLAR

Though little doubt on the matter should now remain, it might be as well at this stage to dispel completely any lingering misgivings that have survived as to Luther's ability to deal soundly with educational and cultural matters in the proposals for reformation which he made in June 1520. It is necessary to do this for at least two good reasons.

In the first place, credit for the educational changes that came out of the Reformation has almost invariably been assigned to Melanchthon, while in cultural matters Luther has usually been compared unfavourably both with his colleague, and with Erasmus. And in the second place, a legend has been, and still is, current, that Luther either was a "crass ignoramus", or just a "simple Northerner". The latter view comes from humanist sources, and the former has a Roman Catholic origin. (62)

The facts, however, favour neither opinion.

An examination of Luther's academic equipment reveals the following. First, that he had an exact knowledge of the Latin authors in favour at the time - Vergil, Terence, Ovid, Aesop, Cicero, Seneca, Catullus, Juvenal, Silius, Statius, Lucan, Suetonius, Sallust, Quintilian, Varro, Pomponius Mela, the elder and the younger Pliny, Tacitus, and, of course, the universally admired neo-Latins, Baptista Mantuanus, and Filelfo. He was certainly not very familiar with the Greek poets and prose-writers, though his knowledge of Greek was sound and extensive. (63)

In an age when the study of history was not widespread in the universities, he himself was very well read in history and was one of the earliest and strongest advocates of the inclusiom of historical studies in the university and high school curricula. (64)

In the field of theology his knowledge was profound. He knew the scholastic writers through and through. He had read Peter Lombard, Bernard of Clairvaux, Bonaventura, Occam, Scotus, Gregory of Rimini, d'Ailly, Gerson, Biel, and possibly Aquinas (65)

In addition, he had read practically all of Augustine, and much of Irenaeus, Cyprian, Eusebius, Athanasius, Ambrose, Gregory of Nazianzus, Jerome, Dionysius Areopagitica, Cassiodorus, Gregory the Great, and

Anselm. He had studied closely the literature of mysticism in Tauler, Gerhard Zerbolt, and Jean Memboir. He had delved into the humanistic theology of Lefèvre, Erasmus, and Pico della Mirandola. Beyond these he knew the canon law, Aristotle in his scientific and philosophical aspect, Porphyrius, and medieval philosophy. Finally, in this field, he was one of the first German professors to learn Greek and Hebrew, and, in connection with the latter, he strove successfully to achieve a knowledge of Rabbinistic literature and exegesis. (66)

There were certain directions in which he was inferior to Melanchthon. He was always conscious of the fact that the latter could better reduce his thoughts to a short formula, and arrange them more systematically, and that his own Latin was not so stylish as his younger colleague's. Nevertheless, there should be no doubt that Luther's less close-knit style, and closer approach to the idiom of the common people, was often an advantage, and much more persuasive for the purpose in hand, than the more perfect, and colder, language of Melanchthon. But in the matter of critical perceptiveness, Luther was at least the equal of Erasmus, and considerably the superior of Melanchthon. Even as a young professor he ventured to pronounce five words handed down under the name of Augustine as false,

basing his evidence on philological grounds and on the substance of his writings.

Later research proved the truth of his contention, which was extremely unpopular at the time (67)

A reading of his brief introductory comments on the Biblical books shows the same critical ability, as he deals with the style, origin and historical value of each book. It is true that he adhered in many points to the judgment of elder Christian scholars like Eusebius of Caesarea, and Jerome, but he added many balanced observations and penetrating speculations of his own, drawing correct conclusions from the critical examination. As a commentator on the Bible, he was an innovator, too. He was one of the first professors who made a principle of following the original text in the preparation of his commentaries. Further, as early as 1520, he firmly discredited the medieval methods of interpretation, and adopted the "natural, grammatical, historical" methods. For these achievements alone, Luther must claim an established place in the history of learning. (68)

As an extension of this critical perceptiveness, his achievment in the field of translation was an astonishing revelation of his genius as philologist and expositor. There is one further indication of Luther's mental abilities which must be stressed. Not only did he move with ease and mastery in the theological and philosophical

realm, but he mastered, too, the intricate details of political, legal, social, and economic problems of his times, and all this despite the constant strains, and exacting stresses to which he was subjected in an amazingly filled life. (69)

Sufficient then has been said to sweep aside the two theories of Luther, the crass ignoramus, and Luther, the simple, rugged Northerner, and to demonstrate conclusively that both opinions are complete travesties of the truth.

There should, thus, be no uncertainty about the mental stature of the Luther, who, in June 1520, issued the powerful and comprehensive OPEN LETTER TO THE CHRISTIAN NOBILITY OF THE GERMAN NATION CONCERNING THE REFORM OF THE CHRISTIAN ESTATE. To express it conservatively, he was a man of outstanding intellectual equipment. Indeed, Boehmer, after a survey of the evidence, would go so far as to say that 'even regarded purely as an intellectual character, Luther was a phenomenon that has no equal.' (70)

Be that as it may, his intellectual equipment, the width and depth of his scholarship, the variety of his experience in affairs, and in the fields of education and culture, were sufficient guarantee that the proposals for educational reform contained in the OPEN LETTER and subsequent educational treatises were most firmly grounded

in knowledge and experience, and worthy of the most serious consideration both by Luther's contemporaries, and by modern educators.

NOTES

(1) Boehmer. "The young Luther." pp. viii - xi.
'On the basis of contemporary events, we can trace Luther's development only from his thirtieth year. ... As far as his antecedents on the paternal and maternal sides are concerned, we are informed in regard to his father alone, and then only to a degree. But after all, how little we know even of him. As for his mother, of whom, according to Spalatin, he was supposed to have been "the spit and image", we have only a shadowy conception.'

(2) Boehmer. Op.cit. pp. 5-6.
Smith. "Life and Letters of Martin Luther". p.2.

(3) Boehmer. p. 13.

(4) Ibid. pp. 15 - 16. Smith op. cit. p.3.

(5) Kretzmann. "Luther on Education in the Christian Home and School." p.54. Translated from Table Talk. St. Louis Edition. xxii. 1194.

Smith. op. cit. p.2. writes :- 'Both parents were strict, even harsh. "My father," Luther said many years later, "once whipped me so severely that I fled from him, and it was hard for him to win me back."

(6) Kretzmann. op. cit. p.54.

(7) Currie. "The Letters of Martin Luther." p.217. ccxvii. Letter to Melanchthon. 5th. June 1530.
See also A SERMON ON KEEPING CHILDREN IN SCHOOL. WML. iv.p.172 :-
My dear father lovingly and faithfully kept me at the University of Erfurt, and by his sweat and labour helped me to what I have become.."
The sincerity of Luther's regard and love for his father is shown also in other correspondence. Writing to Wenzel Link on the 5th. June. 1530, Luther said :-
".. Now I am sorrowful for I have received tidings of the death of my father, that dear and gentle old man whose name I bear ... For under God I owe my life and upbringing to him."
In a letter of the 19th June 1530, Veit Dietrich, Luther's young companion in the Castle of Coburg, wrote to Luther's wife :-
" ... When he read Reinecke's letter he said

to me, "My father is dead." And then he took his Psalter and went to his room, and wept so much that for two days he could not work ..."

Compare also Luther's letters to his mother. Currie pp. 265 - 266.

(8) Boehmer pp. 6 - 10. Compare the case of Erasmus, who did not advance beyond the third class at Deventer.

(9) TO THE COUNCILMEN OF ALL CITIES IN GERMANY. WML.iv.p.126

(10) Ibid. p. 123.

(11) Kretzmann op. cit. p.54. St. Louis Edition xxii. 1194.

Smith "Life and Letters" p.3 quotes another recollection of Luther's :- "Ah! what a time we had with the lupus and Donatus! My teachers made us parse everything, and made obscene jokes. The examination was like a trial for murder."

Woodward "Erasmus concerning Education" quotes the great humanist in the same strain:- "A poor master .. relies almost wholly upon fear of punishment as the motive to work. To frighten one entire class is easier than to teach one boy properly; for the latter is, and almost must be, a task as serious as it is honourable. .... Do school-masters consider how many earnest, studious natures have by treatment of this type - the hangman type - crushed into indifference?"

Woodward p.205. Ulich "History of Educational Thought." p.145.

(12) WML. iv. pp. 122 - 123

(13) Boehmer op. cit. p. 10.

(14) Ibid. p. 17. Luther himself records one incident, however, which made a deep impression on him. Thirty-five years later he wrote:- "When, in my fourteenth year, I went to school at Magdeburg, I saw with mine own eyes a prince of Anhalt ... who went in a friar's cowl on the highways to beg bread, and carried a sack like a donkey, so heavy that he bent under it .... He had so fasted, watched and mortified his flesh that he looked like a death's head, mere skin and bones .... Whoever looked at

him had to gasp for pity and must needs be ashamed of his own worldly position." Smith. op. cit. p.4.

(15) WML. iv. p. 172.

(16) Enders i. 48. To John Lang at Erfurt. Aug. 30th. 1516.
Trans. Smith and Jacobs "Luther's Correspondence" Vol.i. p.38.
Currie op. cit. p. 151. Letter cxxxiv. To John Frederick of Saxony. May 14th. 1526. In this letter Luther begs the Elector to intervene in a financial matter to the benefit of his old schoolmaster, now retired.

(17) Boehmer. op. cit. p.20.

(18) Refer back to pp.

(19) Mackinnon "Luther and the Reformation" Vol. iv. pp. 107 - 8.
Currie op. cit. cccxxxxi. pp. 317 - 318.

(20) Mackinnon "The Origins of the Reformation" p. 348.
Smith op. cit. pp. 5 - 6.
Boehmer op. cit. pp.22 - 28.

(21) Boehmer op. cit. p. 26.
Boehmer "Luther in the Light of Modern Research" p.164.

(22) For discussion of Luther's knowledge of Aristotle refer to Mackinnon "Origins" pp. 342 - 343.
Refer back also to pp.79 ff. where medieval knowledge of Aristotle is surveyed briefly.

(23) WML.ii. OPEN LETTER p. 146.

(24) Boehmer "The Young Luther" p. 28.
Smith op. cit. p.6.

(25) Boehmer "The Young Luther" pp. 30 - 31.

(26) Watson "Let God be God!" p.15. The most illuminating discussion of Luther's monastic life and conversion is to be read in this book, pp. 15 - 22.
Refer also to Smith op. cit. pp. 9 - 15.

(27) Quoted from "Luther Speaks" - a series of essays by Lutheran pastors. Postscript by Ehrenberg pp. 178 - 179.
For fuller discussion see Watson op. cit. pp. 20 - 22.

(28) Ibid. p. 31. note 27.

(29) Frederick the Wise, became Elector of Ernestine Saxony in 1486. He chose Wittenberg as a kind of capital of his northern territory, while he himself usually resided at Altenburg in the south.
In 1502 he founded a university at Wittenberg, so that his subjects might not have to go to Leipzig, which fell under the jurisdiction of the Elector of Mainz. In order to avoid making heavy drafts on his own purse, twelve of the twenty-two professorships were combined with the benefices of the Chapter of All Saints. He added three more chairs by charging the two Wittenberg monasteries with the responsibility of providing and maintaining three professorships. As a result of this arrangement, the Elector had to provide only for seven chairs.

(30) On his return to Erfurt from Wittenberg, the theological Faculty refused to recognize his Wittenberg examinations and grant him the degree of Sententiarius. This decision was finally revoked, and Luther lectured three or four times a week until October 1510, exclusively on the SENTENCES to a group of student monks.

(31) Smith "Life and Letters" pp. 26 and 27.
Kretzmann "The German Bible" p. 37.
Luther started learning Hebrew in 1506 from Reuchlin's DE RUDIMENTIS HEBRAECIS, a grammar and dictionary combined. His knowledge of Greek was extended by his friendship with John Lang, who was a member of the Wittenberg faculty from 1513 to 1516.

(32) From the autumn of 1511 Luther was preacher in the monastery and from about the end of 1514 he occupied the pulpit of the parish church in Wittenberg.
From May 1512 he was sub-prior and regent of the school connected with the monastery.
From May 1515, he was made District Vicar - overseer of ten, and later eleven, monasteries of the Saxon Congregation in Meissen and Thuringia.
For full discussion see Boehmer "The Young Luther" p. 119 ff.

(33) Ibid. p. 156.

(34) The first man reported to have come for this reason was Gregory Heyns, father of the Wittenberg pastor, Simon Heyns, and of Gregory Bruck, later chancellor of the Elector.

It was the religious content of Luther's lectures that attracted new students to his lectures.

(35) Smith and Jacob's "Luther's Correspondence" Vol.i., 9.
Spalatin to John Lang. 3rd March 1515.

(36) Ibid. 10. Enders, i. 36. John Lang to Mutianus Rufus, 2nd. May 1515.

(37) Boehmer "The Young Luther" p. 158 :-
"Never in his life did Frederick the Wise exchange a word with the reformer. Hence it was of the greatest importance for Luther to have a friend and ally at the Electoral court ... in such a way that Luther's wishes were usually taken into account, at least to some extent. Frederick never succeeded in coming to a real understanding of the teachings of the Reformation, and never had any interest, beyond the customary measure of princely benevolence, in the personality of the Reformer, despite the fact that he was pleased with the glory which the bold monk brought to his obscure university."

(38) Smith and Jacobs op. cit. Nos. 19, 21, 23, 24, 46.
Enders i. 61: 62; 72; 26; 135.
These letters all contain matters concerning literary problems and answers.

(39) Boehmer "The Young Luther" pp. 161 - 162.
Smith and Jacobs op. cit. No.20. Enders i. 54.
Luther to John Lang. October 1516.

(40) Currie op. cit. xiii. Luther to John Lang, 18th. May 1517.

(41) Smith and Jacobs op. cit. No. 37. Enders i. 101.
Luther to John Lang. 16th. July 1517.

(42) Ibid. Nos 39; 40. Luther to John Lang. 4th Sept. 1517.
Luther to Christopher at Nuremberg. 11th. Sept. 1517.

(43) Ibid. No. 41. Christopher Scheurl to Luther. 30th. Sept. 1517.
Luther waited for an echo from the learned world on his NINETY-SEVEN THESES, but the total result was a certain amount of disapproval in Erfurt, and some commendation from humanist circles in Nuremberg.

(44) Smith and Jacobs op. cit. No. 81. Enders. i. 236.
Luther to John Lang. 16th Sept. 1518.

(45) Ibid. No. 103a. Spalatin to Guy Bild at Augsburg. 10th. Dec. 1518.

(46) Ibid. No. 133. Enders 1. 446. Luther to Spalatin. 13th March 1519.

(47) Ibid. No. 135. Enders i. 448. Luther to Spalatin. 13th March 1519.

(48) Ibid. No. 150. Corpus Reformatorum, i.80. Melanchthon to Spalatin. 21st. May 1519.

(49) Ibid. No. 200. Enders ii. 265. Luther to Spalatin about 29th. Nov. 1519.

(50) Ibid. No. 207. Enders ii. 280. Luther to John Lang 18th Dec. 1519.

(51) Ibid. No. 252. Enders ii. 395. Luther to Spalatin. 1st May 1520.

(52) Boehmer "The Young Luther" pp. 268 - 269:-
"By December 1518 the little town (Wittenberg) resembled a swarming ant-hill .... The number of students coming from South Germany was particularly large. Since the summer of 1518, Swiss students were also beginning to appear. Then in the Easter season of 1519, Tyrolese, Steiermarkians, Alsatians, and Walloons appeared for the first time, and in the autumn Scots and Czechs came too ... In a scant year and a half this provincial university had almost overtaken the two largest German universities, Cologne and Leipzig ...
This upward swing can be accounted for only and alone by Luther... This was well known at the electoral court, and for this reason even more allowance than before was made for his wishes in the management of university affairs. The thoroughgoing reform of the Arts Faculty in 1518 - including the call of Melanchthon and the founding of a regular chair of the Hebrew language - is an example of this ..."

(53) For full, documented discussion of this see Nygren "Agape and Eros" - trans. Watson. Part ii., Vol.ii. Chapters 4 and 5.

(54) Smith and Jacobs op. cit. No. 6. Enders i. 14.
Luther to Spalatin. Jan. or Feb. 1514.

(55) Smith and Jacobs. No.21. Enders i. 62.
Luther to Spalatin. 19th. Oct. 1516.

(56) Smith and Jacobs. No. 30. Enders i. 87.
Luther to John Lang. 1st. Mar. 1517.

(57) The name is derived from the Greek word meaning 'free'. Luther used this name from about the time of the publication of the NINETY-FIVE THESES in October 1517, to about the beginning of 1519. It was used only in letters to close friends - Spalatin, Melanchthon, Lang and Staupitz.

(58) Refer to following letters in Smith and Jacobs:-
Nos. 10; 13; concerning Mutianus Rufus.
No. 27 from Christopher Scheurl of Nuremberg.
Nos. 49; 78; concerning Wolfgang Capito of Basle.
No. 57 from Martin Bucer of Heidelberg.
No. 81a. from Guy Bild of Augsburg.

(59) Ibid. No. 157. Mosellanus to John Lang at Erfurt. 30th. May 1519. The letter begins :- "Our Martin..."

(60) For Luther's letter to Erasmus see Smith "Life and Letters" pp. 200 - 201. 28th March 1519.
Erasmus' reply is found in Smith and Jacobs op. cit. No. 155, and Enders ii. 64.

(61) Boehmer "The Young Luther" p. 268 :- "The most talented among the young humanists - Melanchthon, Zwingli, Bucer, Oecolampadius - were already more Lutheran than Erasmian by the beginning of 1519, and most of the younger men with humanistic interests subsequently went the same way."

For discussion of the friendship of Luther and Melanchthon see Hildebrant "Melanchthon" xv. - xxvii.

(62) Boehmer "Luther in the Light of Modern Research" p. 158.
The chief protagonist of the theory of Luther as 'crass ignoramus' is Denifle, who has been followed by many other Roman Catholic writers.
The line taken usually by adherents of the second theory is to compare to his detriment Luther with Melanchthon, or Calvin, or, more frequently, with Erasmus.

(63) For full discussion see Boehmer "Luther in the Light of Modern Research", Chapter iv.

(64) See my Chapter 8; Part 6. pp. 403ff
Refer to Mackinmon "Luther and the Reformation" iv. pp. 101 - 2.

(65) Watson op. cit. comments on Luther's possible knowledge of Aquinas as follows:- "Loofs says that Luther never appears really to have become acquainted with Aquinas, and comments that many contemporary Catholic theologians would be in the same position. Holl quotes Luther's modern Catholic critic, Denifle, to the effect that a large proportion of the Doctors of Divinity contemporary with Luther in Germany 'knew no other theology than the Scotist-Nominalist. Holmquist thinks that Luther's theological studies included Aquinas 'to some extent'." Watson. p. 29. Note 27.

(66) See Kretzmann "The German Bible" p. 49. fn. and 52. See my quotation p.304, which shows Luther's method of consulting Jewish scholars for correct translation of the Old Testament.
Refer Mackinnon op. cit. p. 288.

(67) Smith and Jacobs op. cit. No. 20. Enders i. 54. Luther wrote to Lang in October 1516 :-
" .... I offended all very much by denying that the book on true and false penitence was Augustine's. It is bungling and inept, nothing if not different from Augustine's opinion and learning. I knew, indeed, that Gratian and the Master of the Sentences had taken a good deal from it ... But I offended them implacably, especially Carlstadt, because, knowing this, I dared to deny the authenticity of the book..."
Another case of Luther's extreme critical perceptiveness was his casting of doubt on the gemuiness of the works of Dionysius the Areopagite, which had enjoyed almost canonical authority for a thousand years because of their supposed origin from one of Paul's disciples. Final proof of their spurious nature, in which assertion Luther was in agreement with Erasmus and Valla, was finally established in 1895. Refer to Nygren op. cit. p. 358 fn.

(68) Refer to Boehmer "The Young Luther" pp. 124 - 126; Boehmer "Luther in the Light of Modern Research" pp. 161 - 2;

Richardson "Christian Apologetics" pp. 183 - 188; and Mackinnon iv. pp. 290 ff.

(69) If genius consists, as has been said in working ten times harder than anyone else, then Luther's claim to be called a genius is incontestable. Reference to his list of writings shows at how many points he wielded strong influence on thought, politics, economics, and social questions. Boehmer discusses this in detail in his Chapter vi, in "Luther in the Light of Modern Research".

(70) Quoted from Boehmer op. cit. p. 162.

CHAPTER 6.

THE MAIN COURSE OF LUTHER'S EDUCATIONAL WORK AND REFORMS.

1. Luther's Demand for Educational Reform.

2. The Disruption of the Medieval System of Education.

3. Luther's Fight for the Reconstruction and Reform of Education: 1522 - 1532.

   (a) The Leisnig Experiment

   (b) The Call to the Free Cities.

   (c) The Eisleben and Nuremberg Ordnungen.

   (d) The Call to the Princes.

   (d) The Call to Parents.

4. The Re-Growth of Education in Protestant Germany.

   (a) Luther's Later Educational Work.

   (b) Melanchthon.

5. NOTES 1 - 160.

THE MAIN COURSE OF LUTHER'S EDUCATIONAL WORK AND REFORMS.

1. LUTHER'S DEMAND FOR EDUCATIONAL REFORM

By the middle of 1520, Luther recognized that his breach with the Papacy was complete, and probably permanent.

In June he had published a full statement of his teaching on the nature of the Christian Church, under the title of THE PAPACY AT ROME. In the same month he had received a copy of Prieras' EPITOME OF A REPLY TO MARTIN LUTHER, which contained the strongest possible assertion of that theory of papal authority which he had so trenchantly attacked. (1)

Luther had the EPITOME reprinted, and issued with a preface of his own. In this he bade farewell to Rome:-

> Farewell, unhappy, hopeless, blasphemous Rome! The wrath of God hath come upon thee as thou hast deserved! We have cared for Babylon, and she is not healed; let us then leave her, that she may be the habitation of dragons, spectres, and witches, and, true to the name of Babel, an everlasting confusion, a new pantheon of wickedness ... (2)

Meanwhile on the 15th. June, Leo X had signed the Bull of excommunication.

Earlier in June, in a letter to Spalatin, Luther had written:-

> I have the intention of issuing a broadside to Charles and the whole German nobility, against the tyranny and wickedness of the Roman court ... (3)

In August, this intention was fulfilled in the publication

of the great OPEN LETTER TO THE CHRISTIAN NOBILITY OF THE GERMAN NATION CONCERNING THE REFORM OF THE CHRISTIAN ESTATE. The first edition of four thousand copies came off the press of Melchior Lotther in Wittenberg before the 18th. August 1520, and in less than a week, a second edition, enlarged and revised, was in course of preparation. (4)

The contents of this great treatise ranged through doctrine, ethics, history, politics, education, economics, and social affairs, and revealed the immense sweep of Luther's thought and interests.

The Letter shows, as does no other work of the Reformation, the variety of motives, which led men, inside and outside of Germany to espouse the cause of reform.

In it men saw the expression of their own thoughts, often in single and particular aspects of the wrongs which Luther proclaimed to be in need of righting. For a brief period Luther's call for reform served to bind together the heterogeneous elements of the German nation, which were destined to split apart again in the not distant future. But for this brief space of time, the interests and objectives of princes, knights, peasants, humanists, and churchmen, seemed to crystallize into a unity in the words of Luther. In his introductory letter, Luther, quoting from Ecclesiastes, declared

that 'the time to keep silence has passed, and the time to speak has come.'

The LETTER itself was addressed to the Emperor Charles V., the princes and the knights, 'in the hope that God may deign to help His Church through the efforts of the laity, since the clergy, to whom this task most properly belongs, have grown indifferent.' (5)

The Letter contained the first full statement from Luther on the comprehensive reforms which he considered necessary in the universities and schools of Germany.

Many of these proposals were not untried ideas, but expressed reforms and new emphases which Luther had already put into practice in the University of Wittenberg, and in his dealings with children and adults as a preacher and teacher.

The first demand made by him was for the thorough reform of the universities. These he saw, in their existing state, as part of the organization of the Papacy which was 'directed only towards the increase of sin and error.' He declared the basic fault of these institutions to lie in the fact that:-

> The Holy Scriptures and the Christian Faith are little taught, and the blind heathen master, Aristotle, rules alone, even more than Christ ...(6)

Luther then turned to each of the Faculties in turn and made sweeping proposals for reform and redirection.

First in the Faculty of Arts he demanded that:-

Aristotle's PHYSICS, METAPHYSICS, ON THE SOUL, and ETHICS ... should be altogether discarded, together with the rest of his books which boast of treating the things of nature ..

His attack on Aristotle, however, was not indiscriminate, for he declared:-

I should be glad to see Aristotle's books on LOGIC, RHETORIC, and POETICS retained, or used in an abridged form for the profitable training of young people in speaking and preaching. But the commentaries and notes should be abolished, and, as Cicero's RHETORIC is read without commentaries and notes, Aristotle's LOGIC should be read as it is. (7)

In place of Aristotle, Luther proposed the introduction of new subjects in the Arts curriculum :-

... the languages, Latin, Greek, and Hebrew; the mathematical disciplines and history ...

He then dealt with the higher Faculties. Leaving medicine to be reformed by the specialists, he made his proposals for the Faculty of Law. First he demanded the abolition of the study of Canon Law :-

... It would be well if the Canon Law, from the first letter to the last, and especially the decretals, were utterly blotted out ..
The Pope has taken the whole Canon Law captive, so that the study of it is a waste of time. At present the Canon Law is not what is in the books, but what is in the will of the Pope and his flatterers.

Then he called for a simplification of the civil law -

'God help us! what a wilderness it has become!'

As a general principle, he said that:-

... the territorial laws and territorial customs, should take precedence over the general imperial laws, and the imperial laws should only be used in case of necessity ..

He declared the Roman Law, which was in the process of superceding the old Teutonic law, to be 'a burden to the people, which hinders causes more than it helps them.' (8)

Finally, Luther devoted his attention to reforms needed in theological studies. His first proposition involved a reversal of current practice :-

> The SENTENCES of Peter Lombard should be the first study of young students in theology, and the Bible ought to be the study for Doctors.

In the second place, he called for simplification of the curriculum :-

> The number of theological books must be lessened, and a selection made of the best of them. For it is not many books, or much reading which makes men learned; but good things read often.

In the rearrangement of the course, he proposed that the reading of the Church Fathers should lead on to the study of the Scriptures. Under the existing practice, where all the emphasis was on the Fathers and the SENTENCES, Luther considered that theologians were 'like men who study the signposts, and never travel the road.' (9)

Having considered the needs of the universities, Luther turned to the schools.

His first demand was for a change of curriculum, so that the schools might indeed become Christian schools :-

The foremost and general subject in both higher and lower schools should be the Scriptures, and for the young boys the Gospel.

He then called for the establishment of schools for girls:-

Would to God that every town had a girls' school also, in which for an hour a day the girls were taught the Gospel, either in German or Latin.

Christian instruction, he asserted to be the basis of all true education, and ought to be given from the earliest years of life:-

A seamstress teaches her daughter the trade in her early years; and ought not every Christian at his (her) ninth or tenth year to know the entire Holy Gospel from which he (she) derives his (her) name (of Christian) and life? (10)

In view of this basic task of education, Luther was appalled at the neglect of young people :-

How unjustly do we deal with these poor young folk who are committed to us for direction and instruction ... Even now in the midst of Christendom, the young people languish and perish miserably for want of the Gospel, in which we ought to be giving them constant instruction and training.

The next reform which Luther called for, dealt with the passage from school to university, an aspect of the medieval educational system which was extremely haphazard. As a result, the universities were cluttered with entrants who had no possibility of completing the course. (11)

Luther advised both control and selection by the authorities:-

We should not send everybody there (to the university), but only the best qualified students, who have been previously well grounded and trained in the lower schools.

This matter required organization, and Luther urged that 'a prince or city council ought to see to this, and permit only the well-qualified to be sent.' (12)
Finally, Luther warned men against sending their sons to universities where 'the Holy Scriptures do not rule. Everyone not unceasingly busy with the Word of God must become corrupt.' (13)
In summary, Luther called for the establishment of a system of education comprising schools and universities, basically grounded on instruction in the Christian Faith. Such a system included elementary schools for boys and girls, secondary schools preparing students for higher education at the universities. The organization of this educational ladder could not be unregulated, but needed the control that could only be given by the central authority of the prince or city council.
Finally, a reorientation of school and university studies was imperative, involving Bible teaching in the schools, the overthrow of the dominance of Aristotle and the widening of the curriculum in the Arts Faculty of the university. Other university reforms involved the abolition of the study of Canon Law, and the bringing of the study of the Bible into the central position in the Theological Faculty. It should be noted that in these proposals, Luther was waging war on the doctrine of the Papacy. He was seeking to destroy one system of thought

which was propagated by existing schools and universities. In place of that, he proposed to erect an educational system which would propagate Christian thought, and produce Christian men and women.

Two features of his plan were new, arising out of his theology. First, he called for universal education, for boys and for girls. Secondly, he asserted that education demanded organization by the so-called secular authorities.

Events in the life of Luther now moved swiftly to the climax of the Diet of Worms, the pronouncement of the Imperial ban, and his disappearance from the scene of the revolution which he had created, under the secret protection of the Elector of Saxony, to the safety of the Wartburg, the great castle, near to Eisenach. (14)

But the Open Letter, and Luther's attacks on the Papacy and its doctrinal system in other reformation treatises, had shaken the very foundation of men's thinking in Germany and Europe. This is shown in the correspondence of the times of which the following letter from John Kotter in Freiburg to Boniface Amerbach in Avignon, might serve as an example :-

... Dr. Martin Luther has published a book TO THE CHRISTIAN NOBILITY OF THE GERMAN NATION ... I have never read or heard the like. All men wonder at it; some thinks the devil speaks out of him, some the Holy Ghost.
He shakes the ground in a way that the Holy Father and the

Romans won't find to their taste ...
There must be a reformation ... (15)

On the matters brought to the light by Luther the whole of Germany and a great part of Europe were taking sides, and moving into opposing camps.

2. THE DISRUPTION OF THE OLD SYSTEM OF EDUCATION

As far as education in Germany was concerned, two factors tended to effect the complete disruption of the existing system of schools and universities.

The first of these arose from the teaching and writings of Luther himself. (16)

In his reformation treatises, and particularly in those of 1520, Luther had attacked the very foundations upon which the Roman ecclesiastical system, the priestly function, and monasticism rested. (17) He had proclaimed the priesthood of all believers, (18), and the consequent abolition in Christian society of the medieval distinction between so-called "spirituals" and seculars." (18)

In his treatise of 1520, ON THE BABYLONISH CAPTIVITY OF THE CHURCH, Luther had attacked the sacramental system of the Roman Church, and in doing so, had destroyed the former authority of the priestly class and the basis of the priestly function in the medieval conception. (19)

Since the medieval system of education was aimed primarily at the production of men for the priestly office, Luther's

attacks on the latter removed at the same time the very objective of the existing educational organization. Therefore, that system which was represented by the cathedral, monastic, and parish schools, and the medieval universities, began to fall apart in those parts of Germany where Luther's teaching was accepted. The old support and the former aim of education began to disappear together.

The second factor which contributed to the same result, lay in the rise of groups of mistaken enthusiasts inside the Lutheran camp itself, who held that learning was no longer necessary for Christian men, but that all they required was reliance on the inspiration of the Spirit of God. It was men of this viewpoint who began to dominate the scene in Wittenberg in Luther's absence, under the leadership of Luther's colleagues, Carlstadt and Zwilling.

It was natural that Wittenberg should be the first city to put into practice social and ecclesiastical reforms made by Luther.

These reforms were incorporated in two city Ordinances, the first of November 1521, and the second of January 1522. The ideas and the first draft of the former came from Luther himself. It provided primarily for the establishment of "a common purse" out of which the deserving poor should be supported. Funds for this

were to be obtained from voluntary gifts contributed to the parish church. At the same time begging was prohibited in Wittenberg.

The second Ordinance was an extension of the first on more radical lines, due to the activities of Carlstadt and Zwilling, who altered the form of the Mass, incited the people to the destruction of the images in the churches, and started a campaign against the monastic life in which monks from the Wittenberg and Erfurt monasteries were compelled to leave the cloister. From a denial of any distinction between clergy and laity, the enthusiasts proceeded to the condemnation of all scholarship and learning as unnecessary for the understanding of the Holy Scriptures, since such understanding was given directly from above. The length to which Carlstadt, Zwilling and others went, under the influence of this idea, was given by a writer of 1565:-

> These three men (Carlstadt, Zwilling, and Mohr, the schoolmaster) give out that no one should study or keep school, for Christ has forbidden all this in Matthew xxiii ... In consequence of all this many men of talent about this time left this place and forsook their studies, who might have been useful to their country and countrymen. Dr. Carlstadt went round the houses of the townsmen, and asked them how they understood this or that passage in this or that prophet. And when the simple townsmen wondered at this question and said to him, 'Sir Doctor, how comes it that you learned men and doctors in Holy Scripture thus ask us poor, illiterate, unlearned folk such questions? Ye should rather tell us the meaning', then Carlstadt answered them that God had hidden it from them, as the Lord Jesus Himself says in Matthew xi. v. 25...

> Besides, these three began not only to storm against schools, but also against churches and images in churches, that they would cast these images out of the churches. And they gave out that no learned man should be allowed as preacher or priest in the churches, but laymen and handicraftsmen, who were only able to read, as I have known many such persons who wished to be called and chosen to this office ... (20)

To add to the confusion, in December 1521 the "Zwickau Prophets", Nicholas Storch, Thomas Drechsel, weavers by trade, and Marcus Stübner, a former student at the University, arrived in Wittenberg. These men claimed to be prophets possessing direct divine inspiration, and preached the overthrow of obtaining conditions. (21)

The result of the fiery preaching of the 'enthusiasts' was the creation of civil disorder, the sudden abandonment of the monastic life by the inhabitants of the monasteries, (22), and the alienation of a section of the student population from their studies. (23)

In an attempt to restore order, the city council, in close agreement with a commission of the University, adopted in January a "Worthy Ordinance for the Princely City of Wittenberg."

It provided that to the common fund should be added the income from the property of the twenty-one resident brotherhoods, and especially from endowed masses. The expenses of this common treasury were also extended. Orphans were to be cared for, students at schools and universities were to be assisted, and workmen were to be

loaned capital.

The laws against begging were re-enacted, and supervision of public morals and the suppression of brothels were instituted. Finally a new order of public service was introduced, in which the sacrament was to be administered in both kinds, the authorities undertook to see that ministers only preached the pure Gospel, and altars and pictures were to be destroyed. All the provisions of the Ordinance, except those on public worship, were based on the teaching of Luther.

The riots which accompanied these changes, the loss of students from the University, the helplessness of men like Melanchthon to control the activities of the radical reformers, and the spread of disorder throughout the surrounding country, made the return of Luther an absolute necessity. In December 1521, after a short secret visit to the city, he had sent Spalatin the manuscript of an address entitled AN EARNEST EXHORTATION FOR ALL CHRISTIANS WARNING THEM AGAINST INSURRECTION AND REVOLT, and this had been published early in 1522. (24) In March 1522, in complete disregard of his personal safety, and in disobedience to the orders of the Elector, Luther came back to Wittenberg. (25) Immediately on his return, he preached eight sermons on successive days in the parish church, dealing with the matters which had given rise to the unrest. (26)

This course of action, and Luther's presence, produced immediate results. Carlstadt was silenced, Zwilling confessed that he had been in error, and the 'prophets' left the city, to disseminate their radical teaching among the peasants and the artisans of the countryside and cities of Southern Germany. (27)

Luther now visited Weimar, Erfurt, and other neighbouring places, preaching against fanaticism and sedition, and producing peace again.

But though the district was pacified and order restored, the damage to education and learning initiated by the outburst continued. The religious excitement, which had resulted in student riots in Wittenberg and Erfurt, led to decreases in the numbers of students at both universities. The radical devotees of the new Gospel spread abroad the idea that men could not only dispense with scholasticism, but with literary education also, so that there was a tendency to divorce the evangelical faith from education and culture.

Farther south in the cities of Nuremburg, Basle, and Augsburg, the new antagonism to learning found expression in sermons and pamphlets, to the great distress of Luther, Melanchthon, Eobanus Hess, and other humanists who had espoused the evangelical cause.

Melanchthon likened the depreciation of classical studies to an infectious disease that was spreading over the

countryside, (28), Hess expressed his alarm in a poem entitled CAPTIVA, (29), but to Luther the state of affairs appeared as critical, for the dissemination of the Gospel, and its understanding, and indeed the very continuance of the war against the doctrine of the Papacy, depended on the reform and expansion of education.

As in the past, so now but with greater urgency, the reformation, reorganization, and expansion of education assumed a central place in the activities of Luther. First he made his position quite clear, and in a letter to Eobanus Hess of March 1523, he wrote reassuringly to remove his fears about the antagonism of the reformation movement towards cultural and humanist studies:-

.... Do not be disturbed by the fears which you express, that our theology will make us Germans more barbarous in letters than ever we have been; some people often have their fears where there is nothing to fear.
I am persuaded that without knowledge of literature pure theology cannot at all endure, just as heretofore, when letters have declined and lain prostrate, theology, too has wretchedly fallen and lain prostrate; nay, I see that there never has been a great revelation of the Word of God unless He has first prepared the way by the rise and prosperity of languages and letters, as though they were John the Baptists.
There is, indeed, nothing less wished to see done against our young people than that they should omit to study poetry and rhetoric. Certainly it is my desire that there shall be as many poets and rhetoricians as possible, because I see that by these studies, as by no other means, people are wonderfully fitted for the grasping of sacred truth, and for handling it skilfully and happily ... Therefore, I beg of you at my request (if that has any weight) you will urge your young people to be diligent in the study of poetry and rhetoric.

> As Christ lives, I am often angry with myself that my age and my manner of life do not leave me any time to busy myself with the poets and orators .... (30)

A most distressing feature of the situation was the decline in the numbers of students attending the universities. At Wittenberg in 1520 there were 579 students matriculating, but by 1521 the number had fallen to 245, with a further decline to 171 in 1525. At Leipzig from 1521 to 1525, the number of matriculations fell from 339 to 102; at Cologne from 251 to 120; and at Freiburg, from 171 to 22. In the north, only 9 students matriculated at Rostock in 1525, while at Greifswald teaching was suspended between 1524 and 1539, for lack of students. At neighbouring Erfurt the average number of students between 1526 and 1530 was only 44.

There is no doubt that in the neighbourhood of Wittenberg, during the initial stages of the Reformation, numbers of students left the local universities under the mistaken belief that, having accepted what they understood to be the new theology, they could dispense with learning. But this was only a temporary phase, and it would be erroneous to lay the blame for the decline on the shoulders of the 'enthusiasts', or to attribute it entirely to the inevitable disturbances which accompanied the acceptance of Luther's ideas.

The decline was too general and too widespread to be attributed only to these two causes. (31)

There was an economic factor at work, which was far beyond the control of Luther. Reference has already been made to the rapidly changing economic conditions of the age.

An expanding commerce was offering an alluring prospect of material advancement to enterprising men, and young people had become much more attracted to the quest for wealth than for the acquisition of literary education, offered by humanist schools and universities.

A materialistic spirit was abroad in towns and cities, and wealthy citizens and burghers sent their sons to Venice and Antwerp, to Switzerland and England, to learn the great commercial languages and new methods of business, in order that they might be fitted to take their place in the new world. (32)

The average burgher, too, no longer wished to send his son to schools for ten years to acquire a humanist education. Instead he preferred to put him to trade at the age of fourteen.

That this was the case is evident in the correspondence of the times, exclusive of the writings of Luther.

Thus the humanist, Bucer, deplored the commercial spirit of the times :-

> Noone will learn anything nowadays except what brings them money. All the world is running after those trades and occupations which give the least work to do and bring the most gain, without any concern for their neighbours, or for honest and good report. The study

of the arts and sciences is set aside for manual work ... All the clever heads which have been endowed by God for the nobler studies are engrossed by commerce ..(33)

Another writer in the same strain complained that:-

.. things have become so deplorable in the last few years, that no Christian mother can any more send her children to the schools, which either have been abolished, or are despised; so all the young folk are turned into tradespeople, and the children of the poor who are especially God-forsaken, become petty craftsmen in towns and villages, without much knowledge of these trades.
Most of them have become small shopkeepers, pedlars, hawkers, all of which varieties abound in excess ... (34)

Other factors which aided the decline were derived from Luther's reform proposals.

Begging, formerly recognized as a legitimate means of subsistence for students, as well as for the itinerant Orders, had been attacked and discredited by Luther in the OPEN LETTER and in his writings on Usury, (35), and had been abolished in the city Ordinances subsequently adopted at Wittenberg and elsewhere.

Again, the prospects of obtaining a living in the form of an ecclesiastical prebend, as a result of an educational course, had no longer any attraction for those who had foresworn the Pope and all his works. (36)

Lastly, the beginning of the secularization of ecclesiastical property had dried up the sources of income for needy scholars.

3. LUTHER'S FIGHT FOR THE RECONSTRUCTION OF EDUCATION. 1522 - 1530.

The problem of the restoration of education, as it faced Luther from 1522 onwards, was extremely complicated. The acceptance of his teaching in Saxony and elsewhere, together with the general economic changes which were overtaking Western Europe, had led to the disruption of the medieval system of education over parts of Germany, to the abandonment of schools and monasteries, and to the decrease in the number of children and students in the remaining institutions of education.

Luther was well aware of the decline in numbers. (37) In so far as the schools which lay abandoned, and the universities which had lost numbers, had been instruments of the doctrinal system of the Papacy, Luther had no regrets, for he had declared in 1520 that the universities were often 'wide gates of hell', and had advised parents not to send their sons to educational institutions where the 'Holy Scriptures (did) not reign'. (38)

This attack was part of his mission to destroy the doctrine of the Papacy. (39)

But Luther's purpose was not simply destructive. In place of the teaching of the Roman Church he intended to restore the Christian Faith.

This involved both the reformation of the teaching of the Church, and

the restoration of the educational system on a foundation of Christian teaching.

For the proper reconstruction of the schools, certain needs were evident and would have to be met:-

1. In place of the discredited ecclesiastical authority, a new, adequate authority must take responsibility for organization, administration and supervision of the schools.

2. Adequate financial support for the schools would have to be ensured.

3. Schools would have to provide Christian instruction in accord with the tenets of the evangelical faith.

4. An adequate supply of talented boys would have to be drawn into the schools and passed on to the universities, to ensure a future supply of leaders in the Church and in the civil community.

5. All people would have to be given such education as would enable them to participate intelligently in the services of the Church, to learn such things as were necessary to their eternal welfare and to service in daily life as useful members of the community.

6. As an extension of 4., an adequate supply of pastors and teachers would be necessary.

The continuance of the Reformation movement literally depended upon the restoration of a system of education which would meet this composite need.

It is, therefore, not a matter for wonder that the re-establishment of the educational system became an absolutely central task for Luther from 1522 onwards.

To achieve the overthrow of the corrupt doctrinal system of the Papacy, the restoration of schools on a Christian basis, and the reformation of the universities

on the same basis were primary requirements.

It was in the light of this that Luther wrote to Strauss at Eisenach in April 1524:-

> ... I beg you to do your utmost in the cause of the training of youth. For I am convinced that the neglect of education will bring the greatest ruin to the Gospel. This matter is the most important of all ... (40)

Nor is it a matter for surprise, or criticism, that Luther did not immediately solve the problem of finding an adequate authority to undertake responsibility for education.

In the unsettled state of affairs which followed the initiation of reformation, this task entailed the persuading of groups of people, or civic authorities, or princes, to undertake a new task, the importance of which was not necessarily urgent to them.

Luther had no powers of coercion, even if he had been willing to use them to accomplish the task. All depended upon his powers of persuasion, and the willing cooperation of other people.

In 1522 and 1523, he was limited in this task to those comparatively small areas and few towns which had accepted the principles of reformation. Here he tried to establish a model of a new organization on a congregational basis, with the hope that this pattern might be followed by others.

By 1524, however, the Reformation had spread to many of the Free Cities, so that he was able to make his

urgent appeal on a larger scale.

By 1526, the evangelical faith had been accepted by a number of the larger territorities of Germany, and then Luther turned his attention to the establishment of a new system of education on a territorial basis.

(a) The Leisnig Experiment.

The first problem which Luther attempted to solve was that of organizing and financing new schools in such places as accepted the necessity of reformation.

The first town to act on Luther's proposals was, of course, Wittenberg. Here the town council and university authorities had promulgated Ordinances establishing a "common chest" into which voluntary gifts and the revenues from the closed monasteries had been placed. Out of the common fund the deserving poor had been supported, capable boys were maintained at school so that they might become pastors or well-trained servants of the community, and other children were assisted to become craftsmen. (41) This Ordinance was important as representing the first attempt of a civic authority to act on Luther's proposals, and in particular to secularize ecclesiastical revenues for the common benefit, and for educational purposes.

That such funds should be devoted to the benefit of the community had been urged by Luther already in his attack on begging (42), and in the OPEN LETTER of 1520

he had urged that:-

To my way of thinking, it would be a necessary measure .. that all foundations and monasteries should be re-established as they were at the first ... For what were the foundations and monasteries except Christian schools, in which the Scriptures and Christian living were taught. (43)

Since Luther's attack on monasticism and celibacy in his treatise of 1521 ON MONASTIC VOWS, many monks had abandoned the cloister, so that buildings and endowments were beginning to become available for other purposes. The abolition of begging, and the attack on the mendicant Orders, had also resulted in the vacating of mendicant houses, and smaller demands on the people for charity. Luther urged the reversion of these funds and property to their original purpose of Christian education. Under the influence of Wittenberg, and by consultation with Luther himself, there was drawn up in 1523, in the Saxon town of Leisnig on the River Mulde, an Ordinance of a Common Chest, which was sent to Luther for his approval. He was so pleased with it that he wrote a Preface for it, and had it published about Whitsuntide 1523, as a model for other communities to follow.

The following summary shows the purpose for which the Common Chest was to be administered:-

The nobles, council, guildmaster, elders and commons of the town of Leisnig and vicinity solemnly agree, in the matter of choosing their pastors, to exercise their Christian liberty in accordance with Holy Scripture. Every householder is obligated, with his family and

servants, faithfully to hear and learn at the appointed times, the Word of God. All are pledged to put down blasphemy, immoderate drinking, immorality, and all other crying sins and vices. The parish has the right and the duty, with the aid of the civil authorities, to bring flagrant offenders to book.

There followed elaborate provisions for the maintenance and administration of the Common Chest, into which all churchly incomes were to flow:-

Over it ten wardens shall be appointed, two each from the nobles and the town council, and three each from the citizens and the peasantry. Three times a year a parish meeting shall be held to hear the report of the wardens, transact necessary business and elect new wardens. Out of the chest shall be paid all expenses incident to the salaries of pastors, sextons, schoolmasters, all repairs to property, and the support of the poor of all classes...

The ten commissioned elders shall, in the name of our parochial assembly, have power and command to call, install, and dismiss a schoolmaster for young boys, according to the advice and honest opinion of our chosen pastor and of a preacher and another man learned in the divine Scriptures, in order that a pious, morally blameless, well-qualified man be placed for the Christian, honest, and modest discipline and instruction of our youth, as in a most necessary office ..
In the same way, from the common chest, through the ten wardens, an honest, irreproachable woman of advanced age is to be supplied with an annual salary and other perquisites, in order to instruct the young girls under twelve years in true Christian discipline, and virtue ...

Tuition shall only be paid by scholars residing outside of the district ...
In case the regular income does not suffice, taxes shall be laid on all inhabitants ... (44)

This Ordinance was of importance in the development of the new system of schools, in that it gave body to Luther's call for elementary education for boys and girls, that a method of financing education was shown, and that an adequate authority, the town council,

accepted responsibility for the schools, payment of teachers, and laid down principles for the selection of teachers.

Luther's Preface gave general approval to the Ordinance, and discussed, in particular, what disposition should be made of the possessions of the declining monasteries, and the use that might be made of the mendicant houses in the towns. In regard to the remaining, or aged, members of the monastic houses, Luther was scrupulously fair :-

> I advise the temporal authorities to take over the possessions of the monasteries, and to provide out of them for such persons as remain, until their death, and to provide for them more amply and generously than was done before, in order that men may realize that it is not a case of greed opposing the spiritual possessions, but of Christian faith opposing the monasteries ...

A second use of funds he proposed, was to provide those who left the monastery with sufficient money to find a position, and make a new start in civil life. The remaining money should be devoted to the Common Chest. As for the disused buildings, Luther proposed that:-

> ... Mendicant houses within cities might be converted into good schools for boys and girls. The other monasteries could be converted into dwelling-houses... (45)

Luther's hopes that this Ordnung might become a model for other communities were not entirely fulfilled, though there was much in this early plan which found place in later Ordnungen.

In Leisnig the experiment failed, partly because the town council and the church disagreed over the disposal of the monastic revenues, and partly because of lack of proper persons to carry out the plan.

Here, as in so many other situations connected with organization, Luther had to bow to stubborn facts, and having met failure in one direction, had to turn to other means to achieve his ends.

(b) Luther's Appeal to the Councilmen of All Cities in Germany.

Luther's tremendous literary activity, by treatise, pamphlet, letters, and translation of the New Testament into German, during the period from 1521 to 1524, had made a powerful impression in Germany; so much so that his teaching was carried out of the confines of the universities into the cottage, the tavern, and the market-place.

The demand for his writings was tremendous, and what he had to say, or chose to write, carried more weight for many of his fellow-countrymen than the word of the Pope or Emperor. The testimony of the Emperor's secretary, Valdes, was conclusive evidence for the fact:-

> I see that the minds of the Germans are generally exasperated against the Roman See, and they do not seem to attach great importance to the Emperor's edicts, for since their publication Lutheran books are sold with impunity at every step and corner of the streets and in the market places ... (46)

The result was that the Lutheran movement was spreading with great rapidity inside Germany.

In addition to the titanic activity of Luther himself, the dissemination of evangelical teaching and reformist ideas owed much to Luther's colleagues at Wittenberg, and to his adherents and friends at other universities and centres of enlightenment.

Beside these, and extremely potent in their influence, were the students who were attracted to Wittenberg by Luther's teaching, and who returned with the evangelical doctrine to various parts of the Empire, and to other countries as well.

Finally, there were the large numbers of adherents which Luther gained from the monastic Orders, and from the secular clergy. These men became, in many cases, evangelical preachers, pastors, and teachers, by whose missionary effort reformed communities were established all over the Empire, and especially in the Free Cities of the south and the north. (47)

The Free Cities were disposed to open their doors to the Lutheran preachers for a number of reasons. There had often been friction between the civic and ecclesiastical authorities; there was impatience at corruption and abuses which interfered with the interests of the burghers; to some extent these cities in the south had been influenced by the Hussites and the Waldensians;

and last, the spread of humanist culture in such cities as Augsburg and Nuremberg prepared the way for those who attacked the medieval system of thought.

Hence, Luther's preachers had remarkable success in a very short time. Zell, Bucer, and Capito in Strassburg, Blarer at Constance, Urbanus Rhegius and Frosch at Augsburg, Eberlin and Ketterbach at Ulm, Amsdorf and Mirisch at Magdeburg, Kempe at Hamburg, Oecolampadius at Basle, Henry of Zutphen and Probst at Bremen, Hess at Breslau, Erhard Schnepf at Wimpffen, Stiefel at Eislingen, Brenz at Schwabisch Hall, Myconius at Gotha, Bessler, Bohmer, Volprecht and Osiander at Nuremberg, brought those towns and cities under the Lutheran influence. Reform was accepted by the decision of the citizens in 1523 at Frankfurt on the Main, Schwabish Hall, and Magdeburg; and in 1524 at Ulm, Strassburg, Bremen, and Nuremberg. (48)

Luther's influence also spread to the far north-east, where on the request of the Bishop of Samland, he sent Brissmann and Speratus to evangelize in Königsberg and elsewhere in Prussia. In the same region, Albrecht of Brandenburg, who had come under the influence of Osiander and Spengler, Lutheran leaders in Nuremberg, turned in June 1523 to Luther for advice on the reformation of the Order of Teutonic Knights of which he was the Grand Master. (49)

Thus, in the period from 1521 - 1524, Luther's evangelical

movement had found corporate embodiment in a large number of reformed communities in the most important centres of civic and commercial life, from Switzerland to East Prussia on the Baltic.

It was in these circumstances that Luther, in 1524, launched his greatest treatise on education. This was aimed at rousing the authorities of all those cities which had accepted reform, or had come under Lutheran influence, to reform the old schools and to build new schools.

The writing was given the title TO THE COUNCILMEN OF ALL CITIES IN GERMANY THAT THEY ESTABLISH AND MAINTAIN CHRISTIAN SCHOOLS. (50)

The spread of the Reform movement into the Free Cities had provided Luther with an adequate authority for the organization, financing, and maintenance of the schools he wished to see established, if only that authority could be persuaded to undertake its Christian responsibility.

Hence, the work was addressed to the councilmen; not as a body, but in personal terms. The appeal was made in moving and simple language, and shows Luther's complete understanding of the viewpoint of the ordinary man on educational matters. Throughout the work he anticipated this viewpoint in its objections, which he dealt with in the thorough manner of the trained

schoolman.

At the commencement of his appeal, Luther put the whole of his emphasis on a Christian approach to the matter:-

I am not seeking my own interest, but the interest of all Germany ... I declare to you frankly and confidently that if you hear me, you hear not me but Christ; and if you heed me not, you despise not me but Christ.

He then pointed to the condition of decline in schools and universities in Germany :-

We see today throughout Germany how schools are everywhere allowed to go to wrack and ruin; universities are growing weak, and monasteries are declining.

For this state of affairs Luther allocated blame to the irresponsibility of parents :-

Because selfish parents see that they can no longer place their children on 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? They had better learn such things as will enable them to earn a living."

Luther contended that the parents, if they thought as Christians, ought to say to themselves :-

"Show us another way to educate our children, that will be pleasing to God and profitable to them; we certainly wish not only to provide for the bellies of our dear children, but also for their souls ..." (51)

He then drew attention to the favourable conditions which existed in Germany for the establishment of a new kind of educational system. First, the question of finance:-

Formerly every citizen was obliged to give up so much money and property for indulgences, masses, vigils .. mendicants, brotherhoods, pilgrimages, and such like humbug. Now that he is rid of all that giving and

robbing, he ought, out of gratitude to God and for His glory, to give a part of that amount for schools in which to train the poor children.

Then there was an excellent potential supply of teachers available, owing to the improved methods of teaching in the humanist schools and universities :-

At the present time we have learned young men, adorned with languages and arts, who could be of much service if we made use of them as instructors of the young. Is it not well known that we are now able to prepare a boy in three years, so that at the age of fifteen or eighteen he knows more than all the universities and monasteries heretofore? (52)

Luther then added a solemn warning about the folly of failing to make use of the time of opportunity which had been offered to Germany by God :-

Now that God has so richly blessed us ... we ought not to despise His Grace, nor suffer Him to knock in vain. If we let Him pass by, who will bring Him back? .. Buy, dear Germans while the fair is at your door; gather in the harvest while there is sunshine and fair weather... For know this, God's Word and grace is a passing shower, which does not return where it has once been. It came to the Jews but it passed over; now they have nothing. Paul brought it to the Greeks, but it passed over; now they have the Turk. Rome and the Latins had it too; now they have the Pope. And you Germans must not think that you will have it forever; for ingratitude and contempt will not suffer it to remain.
Take and hold fast then, whoever can; idle hands cannot but have a lean year .. (53)

In this matter of using the favourable opportunity, he stressed the primary responsibility of parents to God. He declared the training and education of children to be:-

... the command of God. For what other purpose do we older folk exist than to care for, instruct and bring up the young? Inexperienced children cannot possibly

instruct or defend themselves; God has entrusted them to us who are old, and know by experience what is good for them, and He will compel us to render a strict account.

Luther then underlined his statement of parental responsibility in the strongest terms :-

I believe that among outward sins none so heavily burdens the world in the sight of God ... as the sin we commit against our children by not giving them an education. (54)

This statement led Luther into his main argument. Although education was a matter initially for parents, the stubborn fact faced the community that parents often failed to shoulder their responsibility. What then? :-

"Ah", you say, "but all this is addressed to parents; what business is it of councilmen and magistrates?" Very true; but if the parents neglect it, who is to see to it? Shall it on that account remain undone, and the children neglected?
In that case, how will the magistrates and councilmen excuse themselves by saying that it is no business of theirs? (55)

He then proceeded to point out three very good reasons why responsibility for education must also be taken by the city councillors:-

(In the first place, parents sometimes completely neglect their children) .... but these same children must live among us in the same city. How then can reason and Christian love allow them to grow up untrained, to poison and pollute other children, until at last the whole city perish?..
(in the second place) .... the great majority of parents are unqualified for it (i.e., the task of educating their children).
(Finally) .... parents have neither the time nor the opportunity for the task.. (56)

Since the welfare of the city was the responsibility of the councilmen, Luther asserted :-

> It therefore become the business of the councilmen and magistrates to devote the greatest care and attention to the young .... For a city's best and highest welfare consists in its having many able, wise, honourable and well-bred citizens ..(57)

From this assertion, Luther demonstrated that the continuance of civil government depended absolutely on a steady supply of the right kind of educated men, of which the times showed such a great shortage. This was not an accident, but the fault of the responsible authorities:-

> Since, then, a city should and must have men, and there is everywhere a lack of such men ... we dare not wait until they grow up of their own accord; and since God will work no miracles so long as men can solve their problems by means of the other gifts He has granted them: therefore we must do our part and spare no labour or expense to train and produce such men.
> Whose fault is it that there at present in all cities so few capable men, but the fault of the authorities who have left the young to grow up like saplings in the forest and have given no thought to their instruction and training! (58)

Having thus, established the responsibility of the councilmen in the matter, and having proved that the very welfare of the community depended on the production of educated people, Luther assumed that his argument had been accepted. Immediately, he anticipated the next question :-

> "But", you say again, "granted that we must have schools what is the use of teaching Latin, Greek, Hebrew, and the other liberal arts? We can teach the Bible in German, which is sufficient for our salvation." ...

There were two causes for this question. First, it arose from the influence of the 'enthusiasts' in the cities of Southern Germany. Secondly, it was the natural question of the burgher who saw little use in humanist education, but wanted to get his son established in business. Luther answered the question in detail.

In the first place the learning of these languages was vitally necessary for the preservation, interpretation, and propagatiom of the Gospel. This was no academic attitude on the part of Luther, for he held and constantly declared that only through the Word of God could men know their destiny, understand the course of history, and govern their human communities aright. If the Word of God was lost, or obscured, then men were literally in darkness in every aspect of life. So he declared in this case:-

> In proportion, then, as we prize the Gospel, let us guard the languages ...
> Let us be sure of this; we shall not long preserve the Gospel without the languages. The languages are the sheath in which the sword of the Spirit is contained. (59)

He then warned his readers against two mistakes made by the 'enthusiasts' who thought that learning was not needed by Christians. In the first place, unless a study of the Scriptures was made from the original languages, often misinterpretation must result. (60)

In the second place, ill-equipped Christians could not possibly propagate the Christian Gospel and 'be useful to other nations.' (61)

Leaving this aspect of the question, Luther next considered it as it arose from the materialistic-minded burgher.

He said that it was not necessary for him to state fully again that the 'temporal government is a divine order', as he had done so in detail elsewhere. (62)

Even considering the matter purely from a materialistic viewpoint, the very best education that could possibly be devised was necessary to equip men and women for the tasks of worldly government:-

> Even if there were no soul, and if there were no need at all of schools for the sake of the Scriptures and of God, this one consideration (maintenance of civil government) should suffice everywhere to establish the very best schools for boys and girls.
> The world must have good, skilled men and women, so that the former may rule well over the land, and the latter may keep house, and train children and servants aright.

Here Luther concluded his argument, by placing the responsibility for the establishment and maintenance of schools for these two main purposes - the retention of the Gospel in Germany, and the continuance of good government - firmly on the shoulders of the city councilmen. There was, he declared, no other authority capable of undertaking the task :-

> The ordinary man is not qualified for this task; he cannot, he will not, he does not know how.

> Princes and lords ought to do it ... but they are burdened with high and important business in cellar, kitchen, and bedroom.
> It rests, therefore, dear councilmen, altogether with you; you have more opportunity for doing it than princes and lords. (63)

Having dealt so thoroughly with the question of the responsible authority for education in the cities, Luther considered the practical question of the type of school which he wished to see founded.

First he delineated a new kind of school in which discipline was humane, and the curriculum altogether widened in its scope :-

> If children were instructed and trained in schools where there was learned and well-trained schoolmasters and schoolmistresses to teach languages, the other arts, and history, they would learn the happenings and sayings of all the world ....
> As a result of this knowledge they could form their own opinions and adapt themselves to the course of this outward life in the fear of God, draw from history knowledge and understand .... and become able by this standard to assist and direct others ....

Luther demanded to know why such schools should not be set up in place of the old schools, where little was learned with all the flogging and misery :-

> Since the young must have something to do that gives them pleasure, and since this should not be forbidden, why should we not furnish them with such schools and lay before them such studies?
> By the grace it has now become possible for children to study with pleasure and in play languages, the other arts or history ....
> For my part, if I had children and could accomplish it, they should study not only languages and history, but singing, instrumental music, and all of mathematics .... (64)

Again, he anticipated the inevitable question:-

Now you say, "But who can spare his children for so long a time, and train them all to be young gentlemen?"

This was the problem which troubled the burgher, who wished to see his son in business. Luther, in reply, outlined a graded course, covering elementary and technical education for the average boy and girl, but leading on to higher education for the highly intelligent children :-

It is not in the least my intention to have such schools established as we had before, in which a boy sat over his Donatus and Alexander for twenty or thirty years and yet learned nothing.
We are living in a new world today, and things are being done differently.
My idea is to let boys go to such a school for one or two hours a day, and spend the remainder of the time at home learning a trade ... so that study and work might go hand in hand while they are young and able to do both.
In like manner a girl can surely find time enough to go to school one hour a day, and still attend to all her duties at home ... (65)

From the elementary school a selection of promising pupils should be made:-

But the exceptional pupils, who give promise of becoming skilled teachers, preachers, and holders of other spiritual offices, should be kept at school longer or altogether dedicated to a life of study...
There is great need for such advanced study, for the shaven crowd is dwindling fast ...
We must certainly have men to administer God's Word and Sacraments, and to do pastoral work among the people.
But where shall we get them if we let our schools decline and do not replace them with others that are Christian? (66)

Luther, then concluded this section of his treatise, with a call to the councilmen to take their task seriously,

because upon them rested so high a responsibility :-

> Therefore, dear sirs, take seriously this work, which God so urgently requires of you, which your office lays upon you, which is so necessary for the young, and without which neither the temporal nor the spiritual realm can exist. (67)

Passing from the question of schools, Luther drew attention to another matter which was vitally necessary to the establishment of education - the setting up of city libraries. He urged that these should be founded 'especially in the larger cities.' His reason for holding this enlightened view was that 'if the Bible and all the arts are to be preserved, they must be contained and held fast in books and writings.' He pointed to good precedents in the past, and proceeded to give advice about the collection, ordering, and selection of books for such libraries :-

> Gather only the best. There is no need to collect all the commentaries of all the jurists, of all the theologians, the questions of all the philosophers, and the sermons of all monks.

He advised 'consulting with scholars as to choice', and strongly urged that the following should be collected to form a basic library :-

> First of all there should be in it the Holy Scriptures in Latin, Greek, Hebrew, and German, and in whatever other languages they might be had.
> Then the best, and, if to be found, the most ancient commentaries in Greek, Hebrew and Latin.
> Then .. books of the liberal arts, and all other arts.
> Then books that aid us in acquiring languages, .. the poets and orators, whether heathen or Christian, Greek or Latin. Lastly, books of law and of medicine, though here too a careful choice should be made.
> Among the chief books should be chronicles and histories

.... in whatever language they may be had ... (68)

Luther concluded with an appeal for action :-

Therefore I beseech you, my dear sirs, to let this my sincerity and zeal bear fruit among you ...

The sweep of this writing was, in many directions, greater than anything put forward by any other educationist up to this time, and in many ways far ahead of the age.

Luther had still the unspoiled hope of the achievement of a completely new educational system, to replace that which was decaying. In summary, Luther had enunciated ideas delineating a new type of school, with an enlightened discipline, a widened curriculum, open to both sexes. From this boys and girls were to receive elementary education, combined with home training in a craft and domestic duties.

The intelligent pupils, selected by their ability, were then to pass on to higher education, in order that they might afterwards serve in the Church or in the civil community. Libraries were to be founded in the larger cities to aid education. These were to consist of the best books, and all scholastic rubbish was to be excluded.

The responsible authority for the establishment, financing, and maintenance of these schools was placed squarely on the shoulders of the city council, the

governing body which carried onus for the welfare of the community.

Behind this allocation of responsibility, and behind the purpose for the new schools which Luther called for, lay a 'philosophy of education' deriving from Luther's theology. On the one hand, Luther's proposals swept on one side the medieval view of education. On a second side, they were much more universal in outlook, yet as humane, as any of the educational conceptions of humanist educators, without their limitation to higher education. On a third side, they were relentlessly opposed to the narrow obscurantist views of the 'enthusiasts'.

The appeal, in short, was no extempore effort on the part of Luther. It was borne out of his deepest religious convictions, a wise reading of the historical situation in Germany, and long experience of medieval educational institutions.

Though so far in advance of the times in conception, Luther's call did not go without response, for it initiated a programme of establishing Lutheran schools in towns and cities in German lands, which continued throughout the century. (69)

The immediate response lay in the establishment of reformed schools at Magdeburg, Nordhausen, Halberstadt, Gotha, Eisleben, and Nuremberg within a year of its

publication.

Not all of these new schools could be said to conform to the text or the spirit of Luther's proposals, for in many cases the Ordnungen under which the new schools were established were prepared by other men than Luther himself. The most important of these educational reorganizers was Luther's younger colleague, Melanchthon.

(c) Eisleben and Nuremberg.

The new school established at Eisleben, was founded in accordance with the wish of Count Mansfeld. The town, which was close to Wittenberg was early influenced by Luther, and the Count was one of Luther's first supporters among the nobility.

A letter from Luther to Spalatin in April 1525 mentions the preparation for the opening of the new school, along with news on other educational activities :-

.... I am just setting out with Philip and Master Agricola for Eisleben, whither we have been summoned to establish a Christian school ....
I am beginning to hope and to make some efforts that Philip may begin a similar school at Nuremberg.
The Magdeburgers have called Caspar Creutziger, the Danzigers Master Arnold .... (70)

The interest in the organization of this school lies in the fact that Melanchthon took part in the preparation of the Ordnung, which, though approved by Luther, showed already divergence in important respects from the ideas expressed in the appeal TO THE COUNCILMEN.

The organization of the school was that of the ordinary

trivial school, with the important addition of a higher section to the upper class, in which Greek was taught.

The school was divided into three classes, to provide for grading of ability and attainment, and for the due testing of progress.

The first class took in the entrants, who came to the school without any previous experience of education. They read books like Melanchthon's primer, Enchiridion elementorum puerilium, and acquired the rudiments of Latin, proceeding from the vernacular. Such a primer would contain short sentences, prayers, and psalms, in German and Latin. When they had passed this stage Aesop's Fables, the Disticha Moralia of Cato, and the Paedologia of Mosellanus, were used to learn more Latin. The boys would learn these by heart, and would be given incidental explanations by the master. In this class Latin grammar was taught only as far as it was needed to construe and compose simple sentences. There was much memorizing of sentence forms and vocabulary at this stage.

As soon as a boy was ready for a more rigorous type of instruction, he was moved into the second class, which was concerned almost exclusively with the thorough acquisition of Latin grammar. With the grammar were read Terence, Vergil, and the Bucolica of Baptista Mantuanus. These authors were read as illustrations of grammatical rules, and as aids to poetical vocabulary. At this stage too, the composition of simple narrative, of letters, and of short pieces of verse, upon themes supplied by the master, were expected from the class. Thus, a boy who entered the third class, was thoroughly grounded in accidence, syntax, and prosody. At this point in the third class, he was put on to the rudiments of logic, and the principles of rhetoric. Conversation and correspondence in Latin of high standard was now required. Historical writers were read for content - in particular Livy and Sallust, with select orations and moral treatises by Cicero. Boys were now grouped inside the class according to attainment and ability. Such boys as showed marked ability were set to Greek, and a few boys were encouraged to start Hebrew. In this class, also, mathematics were introduced, but this was delayed because a mastery of languages was first necessary, for no mathematical literature was available in German. (71)

One hour each day was devoted to music and singing for

the whole school.

On Sundays the whole school was assembled for religious instruction. The headmaster was required to expound a Gospel, an epistle, or a chapter of Proverbs, with simplicity and without controversy, so that the children might gain a knowledge of true and sincere religion. In addition, boys were required to learn by heart the Lord's Prayer, the Apostles' Creed, and the Ten Commandments, together with approved portions of Scripture which were to be repeated each Sunday. (72)

While this school plan was approved by Luther, and contained much that was in accord with the proposals for the new schools in the APPEAL TO THE COUNCILMEN, - the teaching of Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, some history, mathematics, music and instruction in the elements of the Christian Faith - there is evidence that the plan had passed through another mind before formulation. That mind was Melanchthon's and the detailed instruction on methods of language teaching in the scheme show his hand.

Melanchthon conceived it to be his mission to fuse together humanism and the evangelical faith, and consequently his emphasis in education was inevitably different from that given by Luther.

The former, as became a a humanist, was exclusively interested in higher education in the classical languages.

Luther, on the other hand, in both of his works on the reform of education, had envisaged a system of schools grounded on a basis of popular education. Besides high schools he had called for elementary schools for boys and girls. Luther's aims included the production of a literate people, able to read the Scriptures in German, their own tongue. Melanchthon's aims were in the direction of the production of a highly cultured minority, who would be the literary and moral leaders of the nation.

Their objectives coincided on the level of linguistic training because of the burning need for the production of educated pastors, teachers, and civil servants.

In fact, Luther's and Melanchthon's tremendous interest in education arose from different thought foundations.

Woodward has written of the attitude of Melanchthon :-

> Melanchthon the humanist was never lost in Melanchthon the theologian. He believed sincerely in the efficacy of Letters as a force making for progress, and, in particular held antiquity to be the fountainhead of wisdom, both secular and religious. To apply this to the training of the young generation of German-speaking folk, and to the national form of the Christian Faith was the two-fold aspect of his life's aim. (73)

It is of more than passing interest to note that this divergence in basic thought between Luther and Melanchthon was shown in theological matters, too.

Watson has commented on this, as follows:-

> Although Melanchthon ranks as the systematic theologian of the Lutheran Reformation, there are points of divergence between his outlook and Luther's which were often unnoticed by either of them, but which have had considerable influence on the subsequent development of Lutheranism - not least because Luther's writings have often been interpreted from a Melanchthonian standpoint. (74)

The truth of this statement has been amply proved by Hildebrandt. (75)

This divergence was of great importance, for a major part in the Lutheran reconstruction of education, during the lifetime and after the death of Luther, fell to the lot of Melanchthon.

Inevitably his "concessions to humanism" in this field of activity led away from the universal outlook of Luther on the tasks and media of education, to the narrower aspect of higher education.

The important city of Nuremberg, which for long had been a centre of humanist culture, and had in 1524 accepted the Reformation, also responded to Luther's Appeal to the Councilmen. In the letter previously quoted, Luther had expressed the hope that a new school might be opened in this city also. This came about in May 1526. The Ordnung for the new high school was entrusted to Melanchthon, and he advised on the selection of teachers, and the details of the curriculum, also.

The background history of this school is given by Woodward. (76)

Nuremberg had for more than thirty years concerned itself with education, though it was without a high school or university. In 1496, a humanist, Grüninger, was engaged to teach in the city, but this scheme was a failure, and the new school which had been started was merged with two existing lower schools, to which higher classes were added for the teaching of "the new grammar and poetry".

The new high school, opened by Melanchthon in 1526, was a resurrection of the 1496 project.

In May 1526, Melanchthon went to Nuremberg to deliver the inaugural address - "declamtio in laudem novae scholae". The speech reveals very clearly Melanchthon's approximation to the viewpoint of Luther, and yet the unmistakeable attitude of the humanist.

Melanchthon said:-

The purpose of Providence that children should be brought up to be virtuous and religious is evident to all, but the obligation is not limited to this or that citizen; it extends to the entire youth of the state whose training demands corporate provision. For the ultimate end which confronts us is not private virtue alone but the interest of the public weal.
The truths of religion and moral duty cannot be rightly perceived except by minds soundly prepared by a training based upon the practice of past ages. The school which we are now about to open will provide liberal discipline on which the professional arts of medicine, law and preaching must rest.
Upon the parents, therefore, and upon the community falls the common obligation of the education of the youth of your city. In the first place they must take care that religion be rightly taught and this implies as a necessary condition sound instruction in Letters. In the next place social security and respect for the laws

demand like training. The civic council of Nuremberg has had regard to both in their new foundation. Grammar schools already exist for teaching the elements of Latin, and will be modified to serve for the preparatory training of pupils destined to pass to the high school. The distinction between the two grades of school has been determined, in order that pupils shall not pass to more advanced subjects until they are fit for them. A secure mastery of grammar, and that alone, qualifies the pupil for conversation, construing and composition in the Latin tongue. The Latin school however, will not ignore approved authors amongst whom Erasmus (the COLLOQUIES), Terence, Plautus, and the easier parts of Vergil will find place. In these schools also, music will be taught daily, and religion will occupy one day in every week.
The high school itself is organized by classes for due ordering of studies. The lowest class, into which pass the boys who come up from the Latin school, is in charge of the master (with the title of the Professor) of rhetoric and dialectic. His text-books will be the DE COPIA of Erasmus, an oration of Cicero, used as illustration of dialectical and rhetorical methods, and at a later stage, portions of Quintilian. This class will also be exercised in disputations, in order to apply the rules of logical argument. (The master will, for example, take a question from history: Was Brutus right or wrong in murdering Caesar? or, was Manilius right or wrong in slaying his son for accepting the challenge of the Samnite chief?)
The second class will be under the Latin master, who will be chiefly concerned in reading poetical authors, and in teaching verse composition in which subject he must be strong.
The third class will devote itself to mathematics.
The fourth, or senior class, will be under the master of Greek.

Melanchthon spoke briefly on composition, the requirement of weekly exercises, and insisted that verse composition was essential to the attainment of a proper appreciation of a prose style.

The address closed on a note of eulogy on the zeal of Nuremberg in the sphere of culture. (76)

In the elements of the school curriculum, in the stress laid on the duties of parents and councillors, in the aim of education expressed, in the emphasis on religious instruction, Melanchthon shows a close agreement with the earlier proposals made by Luther. When, however, he states that the apprehension of religious truths depends on sound classical training, he shows his humanist ancestry, and one major point of departure from the viewpoint of Luther.

These two Ordnungen, and the schools based on them, were prototypes of the later Lutheran Schulordnungen and high schools. The establishment of such schools became increasingly the work of Melanchthon, and, as time went on, the results of this divergence in emphasis already noted between the viewpoint of the latter and that of Luther became increasingly marked.

(d) The Call to the Princes

Meanwhile the political situation inside Germany had changed considerably. (77)

By the time of the Diet of Speyer of June 1526, the Imperial Knights had disappeared as a political power in Germany, the Peasants' Revolt had been severely suppressed, and the German princes held that almost exclusive political power, to which they had been moving from a time long before the birth of Luther.

The German princes had moved into two opposing camps. The first was the powerful group of Catholic princes, who, under the menace of the Peasants' Revolt, had united at Dessau in 1525 to 'extirpate the root of this disturbance, the damned Lutheran sect.'

Menaced in this way by the powerful Catholic combination which had been promised the assistance of the Emperor to complete its purpose, the Lutheran adherents drew together in alliance im February and June 1526. They comprised the Elector of Saxony, the Landgrave of Hesse, the Duke of Brunswick-Grubenhagen, the three Dukes of Brunswick-Lüneburg, the Duke of Mecklenburg-Schwerin, the Prince of Anhalt-Köthen, the two Counts of Mansfeld, and the city of Magdeburg.

The two leagues attended the Diet of Speyer, but as a means of crushing the Lutherans it was quite ineffective. The Emperor was involved in war with the Turk, and at

variance with the Pope, so that while he had the will, he lacked the immediate effective power to extirpate the Lutheran movement. The Diet deferred action, and adopted a temporary policy of territorialism, by which each state was free to act independently in matters of religion, until a General Council or National Assembly could meet to find a solution for the problem. (78) The breathing space thus afforded was extremely favourable to Luther and the Lutheran states.

In Saxony, Frederick the Wise died in May 1525, during the tumult and confusion caused by the Peasants' Revolt.

His diplomatic policy, which he had followed with consummate ability, had helped to preserve Luther and the evangelical movement during the early critical years, but Frederick himself had been too prudent to flaunt his support of Lutheranism. He was succeeded by his brother, John, who was a convinced, and open, Lutheran.

Luther, therefore, had a wider field in which to work, and a new authority to whom he could appeal to undertake responsibility for the organization, maintenance and financing of schools and universities. Again, it should be stressed that Luther's turning to princely authority was not a change of attitude on his part, or an act of opportunism in the changing political situation. As will be shown in Chapters 8 and 9,

Luther's theology led him to the belief that the power of the prince, like that of parents and magistrates, was bestowed by God, to whom the recipient was responsible for its right use. Luther held that such princely power was given so that the prince might do good for his subjects. In short, Luther, having gained the support of John of Saxony, called upon him to obey the vocation of God in his 'office' of prince.

For some time before the death of the old Elector, Luther had been gravely concerned by the decline in numbers of the students at Wittenberg, and the weakening of the Theological Faculty through the acceptance of its teaching staff of calls to other fields of evangelical activity.

Immediately upon the accession of John, Luther wrote to him (the letter has been lost) urging the immediate strengthening of the university. He followed this letter by another to the new Elector's son, John Frederick, who was an even more ardent Lutheran than his father:-

> I have written your Grace's father and lord, my gracious Lord, that he shall set the university in order and secure a man who will undertake the task. It is true that your Grace has much else to do in these troublous times, but in this matter, too, delay is dangerous, for things have been hanging in the air long enough, and everything is upset.
> Besides, men are moving away and being called away every day. It will not be easy to bring them together

again ...
Necessity, therefore, demands that if we are to continue to have a university here, we must take prompt action. It were a pity if such a school, from which the Gospel has gone out into all the world, were to go down, and if, when men are needed everywhere, nothing were done to educate them. If, then, your Grace is willing to do something, it is my humble request that he will help this cause along, and close his ears when certain court-sponges speak contemptuously of writers.
For your Grace sees that the world cannot be ruled by force alone, but must have men of learning ...
If there were no preachers and teachers the temporal government would not long endure, not to speak of the Kingdom of God, which would be taken from us ... (79)

Apparently nothing was done immediately, so Luther wrote again to the Elector in September 1525 :-

Although I have entire confidence in your Electoral Grace's gracious promise regarding the University ... I humbly beg you to send either Doltzig ... or give directions in writing that the matter be enquired into - for many classes have gone down, while others are unpaid - the teachers having gone away, so that it will soon be impossible to keep those going that remain. For the treasury is empty, hence longer delay will be fatal ... (80)

This persistence brought the required result, the financial basis of the university was stabilized, and further decline was averted.

Luther now proceeded to ensure an ordered system of church organization and education within Saxony through the cooperation of the Elector. This required legislation, which could only be promulgated by the prince. Prior to the issue of any regulations governing the organization of churches and schools, three things were necessary:-

1. To persuade the Elector of the vital necessity of the task for the well-being of the Church and community.

2. When his cooperation had been gained, to organize a visitation of the parishes in the Electoral territory, to ascertain the needs of the situation.

3. To draw up suitable regulations to meet those needs, and to have these promulgated with the authority of the Elector.

The difficulties and delays with which Luther dealt before the matter was brought to the stage of regulations for the organization of parishes, churches, and schools, are to be seen im his persistent correspondence with the Elector.

In October 1525, he wrote to John, apologizing for his persistence over the affair of the university finances, reminding him of having discussed the need for parish visitations in the past, and putting forward proposals for the financing of churches and schools and a survey of conditions in the electoral territory:-

> Therefore, gracious Lord, now that the University is set in order ... there remain two things which demand the attention and disposition of your Grace, as our temporal lord.
> The first thing is that the parishes everywhere are in such miserable condition. No one gives, or pays for anything; the mass fees are abolished, and either there are no taxes at all, or else they are too small; the common man does not think of the priests and preachers, and unless your Grace makes a strict law and undertakes to give strict support to the parishes and preaching places, there will soon be no parsonages, or schools, or pupils, and thus God's Word and Christian worship will

be destroyed.
... There are enough monasteries, foundations, benefices, charitable endowments and the like, if only your Grace will interest himself sufficiently to command that they be inspected, reckoned up, and organized....
The second thing is the matter of which I spoke once with your Grace here at Wittenberg. Your Grace ought to order an inspection of the temporal government also, and ascertain how the city councils and all other officials conduct their government and preside over the common weal. For there is great complaint on all sides of bad government, both in the cities and in the country, and it is your Grace's duty, as the ruler of the land to look into it. Perhaps the petitions and appeals and complaints to the court would become fewer, if the state were to institute such an inspection and some good regulation ...(81)

The Elector replied a week later, in a gracious letter. He agreed with Luther's proposals about parish taxation, and the use of benefices, and asked his advice about the preparation of an ordinance to cover the case of needy pastors. He also promised an inspection of the province as soon as the opportunity arose:-

.... If we were to provide for the parishes and preaching places out of our own income, it would be hard for us, as you can understand.
We hold, however, that it would be altogether proper for the citizens, in the cities and also in the country, to contribute something to this purpose, either out of their own property, or out of the ecclesiastical benefices that are at their disposal ...
It is our gracious request that you will give us your opinion what sort of ordinance you think ought to be made out to cover the cases in which the needs and support of the pastors and preachers are not provided for ...
As regards the visitation of the temporal government, of which you spoke with us before at Wittenberg, ... we should have been inclined some time ago to investigate all our offices and towns to learn how their government has been proceeding, but owing to the uprising it has remained for the time merely an intention ...
But by the help of God, at some other time, as the opportunity is given, we will undertake to do what may serve to God's praise, and the free spread of His

Holy Word, and the common weal ...(82)

At the end of the same month, in November 1525, Luther sent the Elector the advice he asked for :-

.... It is not my idea that all the pastors should be paid out of your Grace's treasure, but because your Grace asks my judgment about how the matter shall be undertaken, I give it as my humble opinion that you should cause all the parishes in the principality to be inspected, and if it is found that the people desire evangelical preachers and the parish funds are insufficient for their support, then your Grace should command that the community must pay a certain sum annually, either through the town council or otherwise. Such a visitation might be conducted in this way. Your Grace might divide his dominions into four or five parts, and send into each part two men, chosen from the nobles perhaps, or the officials, who would inform themselves about these parishes and their income, and learn what the pastor needs, and then lay upon the parishes your Grace's command regarding the annual tax ... (83)

The visitation was now further delayed by the Diet of Speyer, after which Luther wrote again to the Elector, urging the most vital necessity for visitation and inspection of the parishes, and the reorganization of churches and schools. He asserted that it was the Christian duty of the prince to use compulsion, if necessary, for the common welfare :-

.... For a long time I have brought no supplications to your Grace, and they have now accumulated. I hope your Grace will be patient ....
In the first place ... the complaints of the pastors almost everywhere are immeasurably great .... There is no fear of God, and no discipline any longer, for the Papal ban is abolished and everyone does what he will. But because all of us, and especially the rulers, are commanded to care for the poor children ... and to keep them in the fear of God and under discipline, we must have schools, and pastors, and preachers.

If the older folk do not want them, they may go to the devil; but if the young people are neglected and not trained, it is the fault of the rulers, and the land will be filled with wild, loose-living people.
Thus, not only God's command, but our own necessity, compels us to find some way out of the difficulty.
But now the enforced rule of the Pope and the clergy is at an end in your Grace's dominions, and all the monasteries and all the foundations fall into your Grace's hands as the ruler, the duty and the difficulty of setting these things in order comes with them.
Therefore, it will be necessary for your Grace, as the person whom God has called to this work and entrusted with the remedy, to have the land visited as quickly as possible by four persons; two whose speciality is taxes and property, and two who are competent to pass on doctrine and character.
These men, at your Grace's command, ought to have the schools and parishes set in order and provided for, where it is necessary.
If there is a town or 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 ... then your Grace is the supreme guardian of the youth and all who need his guardianship, and ought to hold them to it by force, so that they do it. It is just like compelling them by force to contribute and to work for the building of bridges and roads, or any other of the country's needs.
What the country needs and must have ought to be given and helped along by those who use and enjoy the country.
Now there is no more necessary thing than the education of the people who are to come after us and be the rulers.
But if they cannot do it and are overburdened with other things, there are the monastic properties which were established chiefly for the purpose of relieving the common man, and ought still be used for that purpose. Your Grace can easily think that in the end there would be an evil rumour, and one that could not be answered, if the schools and parishes went down and the nobles were to appropriate the monastic properties for themselves.
This charge is already made, and some of them are doing it. Since these properties are of no benefit to your Grace's treasury, and were given in the first place for purposes of worship, they ought rightly to serve this purpose first of all ...(84)

In this letter Luther clearly affirmed his view that the 'state' was responsible for the maintenance of

education, if necessary by the compulsion of its members to the performance of this duty for the common welfare. In the years which ensued he constantly pressed this policy.

The Elector responded to this urgent letter by appointing four visitors in February 1524, two of whom he nominated himself, and two nominated by the University. His own nominees were his councillors, Planitz and Haubitz, while the Wittenberg members were Melanchthon and Schurf. (85)

For the direction of the visitors, the Elector had drawn up in June 1527 and "Instruction and Command". With the Elector's authority, they were directed to investigate the preaching and teaching of pastors, preachers, and schoolmasters, to ensure conformity with Lutheran doctrine and worship. They were further instructed to make an inventory of all ecclesiastical revenues, to provide for the maintenance of clergy, and, if necessary, to arrange a yearly tax for this purpose from the parishioners.

They were also authorized to take measures for poor relief, to appoint a district superintendent over the clergy, and to ensure uniformity of worship. (86)

In July 1527, Luther, writing to his friend Hausmann,

was able to give the news that 'the visitation has begun. A week ago Sir Hero and Master Philip set out upon that work..' (87)

The investigation began in Thuringia, where a preliminary survey revealed the absolute necessity of a more searching enquiry and a thorough organization of churches and schools.

On the Elector's request, Melanchthon drew up a Kirchenordnung with the title INSTRUCTIONS FOR THE VISITORS TO PASTORS, laying down suggested regulations for a thorough and practical organization of churches and schools throughout the Elector's territory.

This was sent to Luther and Bugenhagen for revision by the Elector. Luther's reply to the Elector said :-

> Our pastor, John Bugenhagen, and I have read over the Visitation Acts, and have changed but few things in them ... For the whole thing pleases us greatly, because it is put in the simplest possible way for the common people ... (88)

The INSTRUCTIONS were published early in 1528, with Luther's Preface. They comprised, in effect, a statement of doctrine, a directory on public worship, and a scheme of educational reform.

Having initiated visitations in Saxony after so long a struggle, a more extensive visitation was begun by Luther, commencing in October 1528, on the basis of the new INSTRUCTIONS TO VISITORS. Six different commissions visited the Electoral territory in six districts,

Luther himself, Spalatin, Melanchthon, Jonas, and Myconius taking part. The visitors went into every parish, and made a careful investigation of preaching, the administration of the sacraments, catechetical instruction, the instruction of the young, and the care of the poor. They held conferences with parish priests, interviewed the heads of families, and conferred with local councils. From this a comprehensive picture of those things which needed reorganization in Saxony was obtained, on the basis of which the regulations in the INSTRUCTIONS might be applied. The results of the visitation were of a very mixed quality for Luther. In the first place, the absence of Luther and Melanchthon from Wittenberg in late 1528 caused such a serious decline in the student population at the university that Luther was instructed by the Elector to remain at home in 1529. In the second place, while much successful organization was achieved in some area, (89) Luther's own part in the visitation revealed to him the dire conditions which obtained in the country parishes, the lack of interest in and knowledge of the Christian Faith, and the desperate shortage of pastors and teachers. Writing to Spalatin, in January 1529, he described the conditions in the parishes which he had visited :-

... The condition of the churches everywhere is most

> miserable. The peasants learn nothing, know nothing, pray nothing, do nothing except abuse their liberty. They go neither to confession, nor to communion, as though they had been liberated from the duties of religion. (90)

This opinion found its amplification in the Prefaces to the Large and Small Catechisms, which, in the face of this situation, Luther completed and published early in 1529. The place of these in Luther's educational work will be discussed in Chapters 7 and 9. (91)

The INSTRUCTIONS TO VISITORS laid down a plan for a type of school, which was to be established in the parishes of Saxony. This plan, prepared by Melanchthon, but approved by Luther whose ideas are interwoven into scheme, recalls the Eisleben Ordnung of 1525, except that it is considerably simplified.(91a) This was probably because advanced study was not practicable in the average parish school, owing to the dearth of highly-trained teachers. (92)

The scheme began with an introduction, dealing with aims and general instructions.

First the aim of education was stated:-

> Pastors shall urge people to send their children to school, so that there they may be brought up able to teach in the Church, and to take part in the affairs of government.

To fulfil this aim, it was stated that education in German was not sufficient :-

He who is to teach others ... must have wide experience and outstanding ability ...
For the art of teaching and instructing others is not an easy one, natural to uneducated people.

Next the responsibility of parents was stressed :-

Parents should send their children to school, for God's sake, and should dedicate them to Him, that He may use them for the benefit of others.

From this view of purpose and responsibility, the instructions next dealt with methods of teaching, and dealt with current mistakes which were being made in the schools :-

First of all, teachers should confine themselves to teaching children Latin only, and not German, Hebrew, and Greek .. confusing the poor children with such a variety, that has proved not only a waste of time, but harmful ...
In the second place, they shall not bewilder the children with a mass of books ... Avoid confusion.
In the third place it is necessary to divide the children into three classes. (93)

Each class was now dealt with in turn :-

The first class are the children who are learning to read.

They were to start on the children's small handbook, which contained the alphabet, the Lord's Prayer, and the Creed. After this they were to proceed to simple Latin, with the aid of Donatus and Cato. Much of this elementary work was to proceed by memorizing short sentences, explained by the teacher during the lesson, as a means to increasing vocabulary. In this way they were to be trained until they could read well. They

were also to be taught to write, and encouraged to show their writing to the teacher each day. A small amount of work was to be given them to do at night at home, but particular emphasis was laid on the avoidance of the forcing along of children of lesser ability.

Each day these beginners were to join with the whole school for an hour devoted to singing and music.

The second class are the children who are able to read and shall proceed to learn grammar.

The textbooks in this class were to include Aesop's Fables, the Pedalogia of Mosellanus, and the decent portions of the Colloquia of Erasmus. For home work the children were to be given a saying from one of the poets to memorize for repetition.

As soon as the children have learned regular constructions they should learn to construe ...

This was to be regarded as a valuable exercise, and a method of teaching grammar which few made use of. When the simpler books had been mastered, Terence and Plautus were to be introduced into the course, and an hour each day was to be allotted to grammar; first etymologies; then syntax; then prosody. This was to be thoroughly impressed on the class, and if the teacher was not capable of giving them a grounding in grammar, then he should be replaced by another :-

For no greater harm can ensue for all the arts, than

when children are not proficient in grammar. (94)

As in the previous class, one hour was to be given to music with the whole school.

The third class was to be selected from the most capable students of the second. The course was to consist of more advanced study of Vergil, Ovid, and Cicero. The composition of Latin verse was to be encouraged :-

> For this exercise is very valuable for the understanding of the writing of others, and enriches the vocabulary, and enhances the skill.

From grammar, the class was to proceed to rhetoric and logic.

Exercises were to be set each week in verse writing, and the composition of letters for the second and third classes. In this class, Latin conversation was to be adhered to at all times:-

> The children shall be urged to speak only in Latin, and in order to make this customary, the teacher shall speak with them as frequently as possible in Latin.

The details concerning religious instruction throughout the school were given very fully:-

> One day each week, Wednesday or Saturday, shall be devoted to giving the children Christian instruction ... the following procedure shall be followed. The teacher shall hear the whole class, one after the other, repeat the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and the Ten Commandments.

As this was likely to take up more time than was allotted in one week, the work was to be spread over several weeks. But parrot-like repetition was not

sufficient. The teacher must give a simple explanation of these things:-

> On one occasion the teacher shall expound the Lord's Prayer; on another day the Creed: and at a third time the Ten Commandments.
> These ... he should thoroughly impress upon the children.

All avoidance of sectarian controversy was to be avoided:-

> The teacher shall not talk of quarrels, and should not accustom the children to revile monks and other persons.

Additional memory work was to be given in the form of suitable Psalms, which were to be expounded in simple language to the children.

Other books to be included in the course were St. Matthew for the younger boys, and Paul's letters to Timothy, the first letter of John, and the Proverbs, for those who were older.

A strict warning was given against confusing young minds with difficult books. (95)

The chief features of this plan, which has been outlined in some detail because it formed the basis for so many later Schulordnungen, was that it was confined to secondary education only with no mention of vernacular instruction for boys and girls. The language of instruction was exclusively Latin, and the whole course was concerned with a thorough grounding in Latin grammar. This feature derived from Melanchthon. The emphasis on religious instruction and the method and

content of that part of the course derived from Luther, as did the daily meeting of the whole school for music. It might be wondered why such a limitation was acceptable to Luther.

There is no suggestion that he had forgotten the need for popular education for boys and girls, (96) but, in the face of an appalling dearth of pastors, teachers, and men trained for various branches of government, he was most concerned to get talented boys into school and on to the universities. Even in face of such a shortage as existed, Luther was still convinced that pastor, teacher, and civil servant must be trained in Latin, the other languages, and the liberal arts. It was not sufficient just to be able to speak and read German. For Luther, the situation demanded this particular emphasis, inside his altogether wider conception of the tasks of education. The stress he gave to higher classical education in the present circumstances did not exclude the view that education must also proceed in the vernacular for both boys and girls.

With Melanchthon, however, this latter view did not enter into consideration.

In the Preface which he wrote for the INSTRUCTIONS TO VISITORS, Luther had expressed the hope that the example

of the Saxony visitations might be followed by other German princes :-

> God grant that it may be a blessed example, and that it may bear fruit among all the German princes, so that they imitate it ...

This, in fact, did happen.

The first state, outside of Saxony, to attempt reorganization of churches and schools was Hesse. In October 1526, the Landgrave Philip had an Ordnung drawn up by Lambert, a pupil of Luther's, in which plans for a reorganization on a congregational basis were elaborated. In characteristic fashion, Philip wished to compel the adoption of the Ordinance throughout his territory. He submitted the regulations to Luther for approval, however, before doing this. Luther replied in January 1527, advising moderation, and suggesting that it would be better to proceed first by oral instruction, paying particular attention to providing pastors and teachers and schools, before making sudden and radical changes. The letter must rank among his most statesmanlike efforts :-

> ... To the request which your Grace makes for an opinion of your Ordinance .... I humbly and faithfully advise you not to allow it to be printed at this time, for I have never had, and have not now, sufficient courage to pass so many radical laws at once. In my opinion we should act as did Moses, who only wrote down his laws after they had been put into practice among the people. Your Grace should provide schools with good teachers, and the parishes with good pastors, and begin by oral command and private instruction, and let the innovations

be gradual and prodeed farther when things get started and going of themselves. Then the Ordinance could be published and all pastors commanded to obey it: I know well that laws passed prematurely are seldom well obeyed, as the people are not used to them nor ready for them.
Making laws and enforcing them are vastly different things. By this Ordinance you would change much arbitrarily. But when some of the reforms have been put already into practice it will be easy to pass the law ...(97)

The advice was taken by Philip. He proceeded to establish a University at Marburg for his territory in 1527, on the pattern of the University of Wittenberg and with the aid of Luther and Melanchthon.

Then, in 1528, the plan for reorganization laid down in the Saxony INSTRUCTION TO VISITORS was adopted for Hesse. Other states and cities followed in the wake of Saxony. (98)

In Brandenburg - Ansbach, reformation proceeded in very conservative fashion for a time after the Diet of Speyer, but in March 1528, the Margrave George, following the example of Saxony, established a visitation of his territories, and promulgated the Visitionsordnung des Markgrafen Georg von Brandenburg. The Margrave wrote to Luther, asking his advice on the establishment of schools and the introduction of forms of evangelical worship into the monasteries. Luther replied in the following terms in July 1529 :-

... In the first place, we think it well that the monasteries and foundations should be left as they are

until they die out, for so long as the old inmates still live there is little hope that there will be any peace if they are forced either to introduce, or put up with such innovations ... (evangelical forms of worship) ... but whatever of the old, good order of worship it is desired to reintroduce is best put into the schools and parish churches, where the common man, too, can be present and be touched by it, as we do here in Wittenberg and in other cities.

In the second place, it would be good if in your Grace's principality your Grace would establish one or two universities where not only the Holy Scriptures, but law and all the sciences could be taught. From these schools, learned men could be got as preachers, pastors, secretaries, councillors, for the whole principality. To this purpose the income of the monasteries and the foundations could be applied, so that scholars could be maintained in the schools at proper salaries, viz., two theologians, two jurists, one professor of medicine, one mathematician, and for logic, rhetoric, etc., four or five men.

For if studying is to be good, you must have not empty cloisters and deserted monasteries and endowed churches, but a city in which many people come together and practice on one another and stir each other up, and drive each other on. Solitary studies do not accomplish this, but common studies do, for where many are together one gives another incentive and example.

In the third place, 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 were fit for the universities, out of which men could then be taken who are to serve your land and people.

If the towns or their citizens cannot do this, then it would be well to establish new stipends for the support of a few bright fellows in the deserted monasteries, so that every town might have one or two students.

In the course of time, when the common people see that their sons can become pastors and preachers, and get other offices, many of those who now think that a scholar cannot get a living will again keep their sons in school.

If some of the scholars who are trained in these schools take service and hold office in the dominions of other princes, and the objection is made that you are training people for other lords, it must be remembered that this does no harm, for, beyond a doubt, these men will promote the founding and endowment of schools in the lands of other princes and people ...(99)

(e) The Call to Parents

For Luther, the immediate practical task of education had resolved itself to the production of an adequate supply of pastors, teachers, and public servants, so that the work begun in the spread of the evangelical faith might continue. This can be read as the basic idea, expressed in his letter to the Margrave of Brandenburg.

To ensure this, a much greater number of talented boys was needed in the schools.

There were two legitimate means open to him to gain this end.

The first was the 'driving home' to parents of their responsibility for the education of their children for the service of God and man, and not purely for economic rewards.

The second means was to persuade the authorities - the 'state' to accept responsibility for the maintenance of education, and, if parents failed in their duty, to apply compulsion on its members to send and keep their children in school. This, Luther considered, was one of the 'commands' of God on the 'state'.

Luther had already directed the attention of parents to their part in the education of their children by placing in their hands his two Catechisms, with detailed instruction as to how they were to be used. (100)

In the same year, 1529, he wrote a Preface for a book published by his friend, Justus Menius, under the title of OECONOMIA CHRISTIANA (Christian Housekeeping), dealing with the duty of married people and the Christian training of children. In this Preface, Luther underlined the responsibility of both parents and 'state' for keeping children at school, and promised a more detailed treatment of the matter in the near future:-

Nowadays no one wants to educate children in any other way, but for cleverness and ways of making a living; they simply have no other thought but that they are free and that it rests with them to train children as they please; just as if there were no God who commanded them differently, but they themselves are gods and lords over their children. If there were a strong well-ordered government ... and such people were found who would refuse to educate their children differently ... then the government ought to punish such people in body and goods. For such people are the most harmful people on earth .....

.... My dear fellow, if you have a child that is fit for learning you are not at liberty to bring it up as you please, nor is it a matter of your discretion to deal with it as you choose, but you are to mark that you owe it to God to further His two forms of rule, and to serve Him therein. God is in need of a pastor, preacher, schoolmaster in his spiritual kingdom. Now you are in a position to give it to Him and you refuse to do so: behold, you thereby do not rob a poor man of his coat, but you snatch many thousand souls out of the Kingdom of God and thrust them into hell, so far as you are concerned, for you take away the person who might be capable of helping such souls ....

.... Thus also in temporal government you can serve your lord or your city more with the training of your children than by building castles and cities and by collecting the treasures of the whole world. For what is the use of all this if we do not have learned, wise, pious people ? ....

I shall give an exhortation on this subject another time in a separate book, God willing! and write against the shameful, dangerous, damned parents, who are not parents but shameful hogs and poisonous beasts, who devour their own children. (101)

That this matter was uppermost in his mind was seen by the fact that he included a comment on it in another work which was produced late in 1528, and published in early 1529 - ON WAR AGAINST THE TURK. The serious threat of Turkish invasion was causing alarm and rumour throughout Germany, but even in writing on such a critical matter, Luther could not omit mention of a situation equally critical, and arising from the same root cause - a lack of a sense of responsibility :-

For I think (so far as I have observed the matter in our diets) that neither emperor nor princes believe themselves that they are emperor and princes. For they act as though it lay within their own judgment and pleasure whether they would rescue and protect their subjects from the power of the Turk or not: and the princes neither think nor care that they are bound and obligated before God to counsel and help the emperor in this matter with body and goods.
Everyone of them lets it go as though it were no affair of his, and as though he were forced neither by command or necessity, but it were left to his own free choice to do it or leave it. They are just like the common people who do not think it their duty to God and the world, when they have bright sons, to put them to school and have them study: but everyone thinks that he has free power to raise his son as he pleases, no matter what God's word and ordinance are. Nay, the councilmen in all the cities and almost all the rulers act in the same way, and let the schools go to nothing, as though they had no responsibility for them, and had an indulgence besides. No one remembers that God earnestly commands, and will have it so that bright children shall be raised to His praise and for His work, which cannot be done without the schools. On the contrary everyone is in

a hurry to have his children making a living, as though God and Christendom needed no pastors, preachers carers for souls, and the worldly rulers no chancellors, counsellors, or secretaries. But of this another time.. (102)

The writing of a longer work on this theme, promised in these two treatises of 1529, was carried out by Luther during the summer of 1530, when the Diet of Augsburg was in progress.

Luther himself was banned from attendance, and remained nearby in the Castle of Coburg, where he was at hand to advise, encourage, and exhort Melanchthon upon whose shoulders the responsibility of defining the principles of the Protestant Faith at the Diet had fallen. (103) It is an indication of the importance which Luther attached to the question of education, that at this extremely critical period, he produced his lengthy SERMON ON KEEPING CHILDREN IN SCHOOL.

The SERMON was intended to provide preachers with arguments that could be used to persuade people to provide their sons with an education for the service of God and the community, but the material grew into a small book as he developed it. (104)

The dedicatory letter was to Lazarus Spengler, the town clerk of Nuremberg.

This city, one of the wealthiest commercial cities in Germany, typified the circumstances with which Luther was contending in his fight for education. Although

Nuremberg possessed some of the best schools in Germany, these were not flourishing. Since the foundation of the high school in 1526, the numbers attending had remained small, for the wealthy burghers continued to send their sons abroad to the great commercial cities of Italy and North Western Europe to embark on a career in commerce. The average citizen preferred to put his son to a trade at an early age, rather than leave him at school to acquire what he considered an expensive and useless education.

In his introduction, Luther explained why he had directed his dedication to a representative of Nuremberg:-

> It can scarcely be possible that, in so great a city with so many citizens, the devil will not try his arts, and tempt some to despise the Word of God and the schools. This is the case particularly because there are many things there, especially commerce and business, to turn the children from the schools to the service of Mammon. If the devil could cause the Word and the schools to be despised in Nuremberg, his attack would have had no small measure of success, for he would have set an example that would have mighty importance throughout Germany, and he would, in truth, deal all the schools in other cities a hard blow. For Nuremberg truly shines throughout Germany ... and what is practiced there has a powerful influence on other cities. (105)

From this he asserted that a great city cannot exist by business alone :-

> Every community must have more people in it than merchants, and other people who can do more than keep accounts and read German books. German books are made especially for the common man to read at home.
> But for preaching, and governing, and administering

justice, all the knowledge and all the languages in the world are too little ...
The idolators (worshippers of Mammon) think nothing about governing, and do not realize that without preachers and the rulers they could not serve their idol for a single hour. (106)

A second introductory letter was addressed generally to pastors and preachers, showing them the importance of their task in persuading parents to keep their children at school:-

If the Scriptures and learning disappear, what will remain in Germany but a disorderly and wild crowd of Tartars or Turks, or perhaps a pigsty and a mob of wild beasts?
As pastors it is part of the duty of our office to be on guard against this. (107)

In the SERMON proper, Luther first gave his reasons for his subject:-

I see that the common people are indifferent to the maintenance of schools, and are taking their children away from learning, and are turning them only to the making of a living and to the care of their bellies. (108)

He then proceeded to the first argument, that the whole of life depends on the maintenance of the spiritual estate, which God has instituted for the guidance, salvation and blessing of mankind:-

The spiritual estate has been established by God ... that in the whole world man should have this office of preaching, baptizing, loosing, binding, giving the Sacrament, comforting, warning, exhorting, with God's Word. This office not only helps to further and maintain this temporal life ... but it also delivers from sin and death. (109)

Next he pointed out clearly the separate vocations through which the spiritual office is exercised and

maintained:-

It includes the work of pastors, teachers, preachers, lectors, chaplains, sacristans, and school-teachers. (110)

From this he proceeded to affirm that the duty of the maintenance of these separate vocations which constitute the spiritual office must necessarily fall upon those with children, and solemnly warned his hearers and readers of the consequence of failure in this duty.

Now if it is true that God has established and instituted the spiritual estate ... it is easy to conclude that he will not suffer it to be destroyed or to cease. But by whom shall it be maintained? ... We men shall have to do it ... But where shall we get men for it except from those who have children? .... You have been earnestly commanded to raise them for God's service or be completely rooted out, with your children and everything else. (111)

After this warning, Luther asked for a consideration of the benefits that come to men through the work of pastors, and through a son given to the spiritual office:-

First reckon for yourself the profit which the preaching office and the care of souls produce. So many souls are daily taught by him, converted, baptized, and brought to Christ and saved, redeemed from sins, death, hell, and the devil, and through him come to everlasting righteousness, to everlasting life and heaven. (112)

But this is not the only blessing such a son brings to men. He also brings untold benefits in the secular world:-

For the world, too, he does great and mighty works. He instructs and informs all classes how they are to conduct

themselves, in their offices and ranks, so that they may do what is right before God. He can comfort and advise those who are troubled, compose difficulties, relieve troubled consciences, help to maintain peace and remove differences. For a preacher confirms and strengthens and helps to maintain government, and temporal peace. (113)

Having outlined the benefits which would come through allowing a son to become a pastor or teacher, Luther asked his readers to think about the results of withholding a likely boy from education to this end:-

You ought also to know the harm you are doing if you take the opposite course ... You are depriving God of a servant and .. a saviour and comforter of men in body and soul (114)

Luther went on to add, that, of course, not all boys must or need become pastors, preachers, and schoolmasters; God does not only require Doctors of Divinity! :-

We must have ordinary pastors ... and sacristans. Even though a boy who had studied Latin afterwards learns a trade, and becomes a burgher we have him in reserve .. His knowledge does not hurt him in the earning of a living: on the contrary, he can rule his house all the better because of it. (115)

Assuming that his argument had been accepted so far, Luther, with his usual ability of understanding the viewpoint of the common man, anticipated the next, and inevitable, question. What about the financial side of the matter? Will a pastor get a living? In answer, Luther pointed to the state of affairs in Germany, and in one of the most forceful passages in the sermon, demonstrated conclusively that there was nothing to worry about in finding a vacancy for pastor or teacher,

at the close of a course of training :-

Count for yourself, how many parishes, preaching places, schools and sacristanships there are. Most of them are sufficiently provided for (by endowments), and vacancies are occurring every day. What does that mean except that God has provided kitchen and cellar for your son, so that his living is ready for him before he needs it? When I was a young student, I heard it said that in Saxony there were (if I remember rightly) about eighteen hundred parishes, and every parish required at least two persons, a pastor and a sacristan (except that in the cities there are preachers, chaplains, schoolteachers, assistants and helpers), then in this one principality there are needed about four thousand educated persons, of whom one-third die off every ten years. I would wager that in half of Germany there are not four thousand pupils in the schools. I estimate that there are scarcely eight hundred parishes in Saxony: how many will that make for the whole of Germany? I would like to know where we are going to get pastors, schoolteachers and sacristans three years from now. If we do nothing about this, and if the princes especially do not try to see that the boys schools and the Universities are properly provided for, there will be such a scarcity of men that we shall have to give three or four towns to one pastor and ten villages to one chaplain, if we can even get that many men.
The Universities of Erfurt, Leipzig, and elsewhere are ruined, and so are the boys' schools here and there, so that it is distressing to see them, and little Wittenberg now has to do better than any of them.
..... Let your boy go on with his studying, then, and do not worry. (116)

Having dealt at some length with the spiritual order,

Luther then turned to the question of civil government,

which, he asserted, was likewise an ordinance of God :-

God has established it ... and will have it maintained, as something men cannot do without. If there were no worldly government, no man could live because of other men; one would devour the other as brute beasts do ... Therefore, it is easy to understand that God has instituted it (worldly government) and ... will have it maintained. (117)

As in the case of the spiritual office, Luther asked the

question (as to) who was to maintain government.

But who are the men who can maintain it?
Assuredly not only those men who rule with the fist...
for if the fist is to rule alone, things will surely come
to such a condition as exists among the beasts.
It is not the law of the fist, but the law of the head
that must rule: not force, but wisdom or reason, among
the wicked as among the good. (118)

Having established this point, he emphasized the need for lawyers and scholars in the law. - 'including chancellors, secretaries, judges, advocates, notaries, and all who have to do with the legal side of government'. Again he showed the blessings which come to men from a son given to this duty:-

He (a son) maintains and helps to further ... the whole
worldly government - emperor, princes, lords, cities, land
and people for all these must be preserved by wisdom and
law. (119)

And yet again he underlined the disasters which follow the denial of education to a son suitable for this duty:-

You are taking away from empire, land, city, a saviour
cornerstone, helpers, and as far as you are concerned the
emperor might lost sword and crown, and the land lose
protection and peace, and you ... become the reason why
men are to become mere beasts, and devour one another
in the end. (120)

Answering the inevitable question of livelihood for a son given education for the legal profession, Luther demonstrated that there were such a dearth of men, and so many vacancies to fill, that worry on this score was quite unnecessary:-

Emperors and kings must have chancellors, and secretaries counsellors, jurists, and scholars; there is no prince who does not need to have the same. All the counts, lords, cities and castles, must have syndics, secretaries, and other scholars: there is not a noble but must have a secretary; and to speak of men of ordinary education there are also the miners, the merchants, and the traders. Three years from now, where shall we be getting the men, when the scarcity is beginning here and there? (121)

At this stage, Luther amplified and concluded this part of his argument, by saying that it was from the ranks of the common people that God must always find men for the maintenance of his two orders of government, upon which the continuance of all else depends:-

Therefore have your son study, and do not hesitate about it ... It must continue to be a fact that your son and my son - that is, the sons of common folk, must rule the world both in the spiritual and the worldly ranks, and do not be disturbed because the common miser despises knowledge so deeply, and says, "Ha, if my son can read and write German and do sums he can do enough. I am going to make a business man of him". For the business man will not be a business man long, if preaching and law shall fail: this I know for sure. (122)

As for pastoral work, preaching, and civil government, Luther then asserted the absolute need for medical men, and scholars in the liberal arts, and for teaching, particularly emphasizing the incalculable value to society of the work of a good schoolmaster:-

A diligent and pious schoolmaster, or whoever it is that faithfully trains and teaches boys can never be sufficiently rewarded, or repaid with any money ... Nevertheless this office is as shamefully despised among us as though it were nothing at all. I myself, if I could leave the preaching office and other things

would not be so glad to have any other work as that of schoolmaster, or teacher of boys, for I know that his is the most useful, the greatest and the best, next to the work of preaching. Indeed I scarcely know which of the two is better; for it is hard to make old dogs obedient and old rascals pious, and that is the work at which the preacher must labour, often in vain. But young trees can be better bent and trained, though some of them break in the process. Let it be one of the greatest virtues on earth faithfully to train other people's children; very few people, almost none do this for their own. (123)

Likewise the office of a doctor:-

They are a class that is useful to the world, a comforting and wholesome class, and their work is a service acceptable to God, and made and founded by him .... (124)

Having thus firmly established his argument, Luther rounded on the basic ingratitude to God of denying children education for these God-ordained duties, which bring such inestimable blessing to men:-

I will let everything rest here, for it has been my purpose faithfully to exhort and urge everyone who can help in this cause. Only think for yourself how many good things God has given you freely, and is daily giving, namely, body and soul, house and home, wife and child, the services and use of all his creatures in heaven and earth; beside all this, the Gospel and the office of preaching, baptism, the Sacrament, and the whole treasure of His Son and His Spirit, not only without your merit, but also without cost or trouble to you, for you do not now have to support either schools or parishes (because they are supported by endowments). And you are such an ungrateful wretch that you will not give a son to be trained to preserve these gifts of God. You have everything free; and you show not a particle of gratitude, but you let God's kingdom and men's souls' salvation go to ruin, and help to cast it down to the ground. (125)

Luther then proceeded to the conclusion, that if parents would not fulfil the duties of their office, the government of the country must exercise its duties, and compel

parents to do what they ought to do - to send and keep the children in school :-

But I hold that it is the duty of the government to compel its subjects to keep their children in school, especially those children who were mentioned above. For it is truly its duty to maintain the offices and classes that have been mentioned, so that preachers, jurists, pastors, writers, physicians, schoolmasters, and the like may continue, for we cannot do without them.
If it can compel its subjects who are fitted for the work to carry pike and musket, man the walls, and do other kind of work, when war is necessary, how much more can it, and ought it, compel its subjects to keep their children in school, because here there is a worse war on, a war with the very devil, who goes about to suck out secretly the strength of cities and princedoms, and empty them of able persons, until he has bored out the pith, and left an empty shell of useless folk, with whom he can play and juggle as he will. That is, indeed, starving out a city; it destroys itself without battle, before one is aware of it. The Turk acts differently. He takes every third child in his whole empire, and trains it for what he will. How much more ought our lords take some boys for schooling, since that does not take the child away from its parents, but is for their own good, too: and it trains him for usefulness to the community, and for an office in which enough is given him. (126)

Not only had the government the responsibility laid upon it for keeping children at school, but, he maintained, it had also the additional duty of ensuring that able children should be aided financially to stay there, if there parents were poor. For this Christian purpose he urged people to make out their wills containing bequests to this end :-

Therefore, let everyone be on his guard who can Let the government when it sees a promising boy, have him kept in school; if the father is poor, let it help him with church property.

> Let the rich make their wills with this end in view, as some have done who have endowed stipends; this is the right way to bequeath money to the Church. This way ... by maintaining God's offices, you help the living and those who are not yet born. That would be a praise-worthy Christian testament, and God would have delight and pleasure in it ...(127)

The SERMON may well be regarded as a complement to the earlier appeal TO THE COUNCILMEN, for together they hold not only a practical scheme for the organization of a system of education, but also a 'philosophy of education.' In the SERMON Luther demonstrated that the life of the community depended first of all on the continuance of preaching and teaching on the Word of God. If this ceased the life of the community would be plunged into darkness and inevitable disaster. Again, civil life cannot exist on the level of commerce only. It must be based on law, and this demands education and scholarship.

In concrete terms, the continuance of life and its blessings depended on the production of pastors, preachers, teachers, lawyers, chancellors, magistrates, scholars, writers, physicians. These could only come from talented and educated boys, and it was, therefore, parental responsibility to God and the community, to see to it that children were educated for these essential 'offices', for which there was such a dearth of trained men.

Finally, he declared that if parents did not do this, then it was the duty of the government to compel

attendance at school. Not only so, but it was the duty of the government to support and maintain suitable boys at school and university free of charge to their parents, if the latter were poor.

As will be shown in Chapters 8 and 9, these ideas of Luther's did not arise from the pressure of political circumstances, but found their roots in his theocentric theology.

In the SERMON, too, there is a marked change in the spirit in which Luther wrote. The early, unspoilt hopes that the evangelical faith with all its liberating energies in the life of the churches and the 'secular estate' might be gladly accepted everywhere, had been dimmed by the hard realities of the situation in Germany. In only a few places could he see the results that he had hoped for. Over a wide field, owing to circumstances far beyond the control of one man, even one so powerful in persuasion as Luther, the decline in education, the shortage of pupils in schools and students in universities, the ignorance in the parishes, the dearth of pastors, teachers, and trained men, and the general apathy of the people, appeared to be the dominant factors of the situation inside Germany.

As one who loved his country, and who saw the Christian Gospel as the light of both the spiritual and secular affairs of men, it was to him a matter of deepest

distress to see the widespread indifference to education, upon which all else depended. Might not it also happen in Germany that God's Word and grace would become but 'a passing shower?'

This depression lies deeply on the SERMON :-

> Some persecute this office (the spiritual office), and condemn and slander it, and wish it to the devil; while others keep hands off, support neither pastor nor preacher, and give nothing to their maintenance. Besides this they turn their children away from this office, so that it will soon go down to destruction ... And yet they go their ways undisturbed, have no qualms of conscience, no repentance and no sorrow ... I pray that God will graciously let me die and take me hence, that I may not see the misery that must come over Germany ... God grant that in this matter I am a false prophet .. (128)

4. THE RE-GROWTH OF EDUCATION IN PROTESTANT GERMANY

(a) Luther's Later Educational Work.

Nevertheless, to anyone viewing the situation from the vantage point of a later century, it can be seen that, by 1530, Luther's persistent teaching and tireless efforts in the field of education, had already begun to bear fruit, and that the tide had been turned from that state of educational chaos which the Reformation had initially, and inevitably, helped to create.

This recovery, now in its early stages, must be almost entirely credited to Luther, as the driving force and the source of ideas.

The main aspects of Luther's work which had laid the

foundation of this restoration of the educational system are the following :-

(i) By his persistent pressure on the Elector of Saxony, and by his rousing exhortation to the Free Cities, Luther had laid the foundations for the administration of a new school system. He had laid upon the representatives of government, responsibility for the founding and maintenance of schools, and for the education of children.

(ii) By his pressure on the Elector of Saxony, he had brought about the visitation of the Electoral territory, out of which regulations had been drawn up in the INSTRUCTIONS TO VISITORS. It is true that the writing of these was the work of Melanchthon, but they had been examined, corrected, and approved by Luther, and issued with his Preface. The regulations were based on Luther's teaching, which was inextricably interwoven into the scheme.

The INSTRUCTIONS, included the School Plan contained in them, became the basis for the ordering of churches and schools in Saxony, in the first place. After that they served as the basis for a series of Ordnungen, first of all in Hesse in 1528, then partly of the Brunswick Kirchenordnung of 1528 (which in turn was the basis of a very large group

of regulations), (129), and partly the Mecklenburg Kirchenordnung of 1552.

Following the example of visitations in Saxony, the Margrave of Brandenburg promulgated a Visitationsordnung in 1528, which became the basis of further Ordnungen in Brandenburg (1533, 1540, and 1553), Nuremburg (1533), Mecklenburg (1540), Würtemberg (1536), Neumark (1538), Cologne (1543), Schweinfurt (1543), and Waldeck (1556). All of these Ordnungen contained plans for schools based on Luther's teaching, so that without being directly responsible for authorship, his educational proposals found some embodiment in numerous ordinances throughout Protestant Germany during the 16th. century. (130)

(iii) As a result of Luther's work, two types of schools, German and Latin, had found their place in the new educational plans of the Reformed states. The former type was in its embryonic form of development, and was a complete innovation, in that boys' schools and girls' schools, giving elementary instruction in German, had been established for the first time.

(iv) Luther's work in the reorganization of the University of Wittenberg had created a pattern upon which other universities had been modelled and reformed.

Already Marburg, the first of the new Protestant universities had been founded, and others were to follow quite rapidly during the century - Königsberg, Jena, Helmstadt, and Altdorf.

(v) In addition to the material gains in the matter of educational institutions and organization which had come as a result of Luther's tireless efforts, there were others, non-material, but more powerful. Luther had started on their course a series of new conceptions of the tasks and media of education - ideas which possessed immense fertilizing power in the life of Western Europe.

First of all, he had broken the monopoly which the medieval Roman Church had exerted over education, and had made it a task which involved the 'home', the 'state' and the Church, and for which parents, princes, councillors, schoolmasters, and pastors were all responsible. In the second place, he had shown that the purpose of education was ultimately concerned with the service of God and men.

In the third place, he had swept on one side the limiting barrier, behind which the humanist educators had catered only for the education of a limited section of the community, with his demand for education for all, boys and girls, in their own tongue.

All these things were the result of Luther's fight for the re-establishment of education during the decade from 1521.

Though Luther's major writings on education, as such, came to an end with the SERMON of 1530, he continued to press for the changes which he advocated, and despite increasing ill-health, and multitudinous duties, concerned himself with further reforms im Saxony, the editing of school-books, and the reorganization of the University of Wittenberg.

In 1532, the original INSTRUCTIONS TO VISITORS was revised by Luther and his colleagues, on the direction of the Elector, and a new visitation of the Elector's territories on the basis of this revision was carried through in 1533.

On Luther's advice the old ecclesiastical revenues were applied to the maintenance of pastors, schools, hospitals, and the poor. During the same visitation the schools of Wittenberg, and the Theological Faculty were reorganized in important respects. (131)

This marked a major step on the way to the complete revision of the University Faculties, which Luther had advocated in 1520, and for which he had worked since 1514.

The earlier course of this reformation has been outlined already, but the following summary will serve to draw

the salient points together. Chairs of Greek and Hebrew had been established between 1518 and 1521, largely through the influence Luther was able to bring to bear on the Elector through Spalatin. (132)

In 1522 Camerarius (133) was summoned to lecture on Quintilian, a year after Aurogallus came to the Chair of Hebrew. Courses were given on the Natural History of Pliny. Teachers of mathematics were brought to the University, the teaching of medicine was ordered to be based on the study of Galen and Hippocrates; the study of theology was based on the Bible and Augustine, and canon law ceased to be taught. In a word practically all those proposals which Luther made in the OPEN LETTER of 1520 were realized. At the same time Luther continually pressed the two Electors, Frederick through the offices of Spalatin, and John by direct correspondence, for the firm financial foundation of all Chairs and teachers in the University. (134) By 1553 the Theological Faculty had been thoroughly reformed in all studies. It is interesting to note that here Luther reintroduced the disputation to enhance the prestige of academic degrees. (135)

In 1536 the reformed curriculum of the whole university was embodied in University statutes. The Faculty of Law had four endowed professors; the Philosphical Faculty (the old Faculty of Arts) had ten independent

teachers, one each for Greek, Hebrew, classical poetry, grammar (specifically required to lecture on Terence), senior and junior mathematics, logic, rhetoric, physics, and ethics. (136)

High stipends were paid, especially to the professors in the three professional faculties, and Melanchthon now received as high a salary as any teacher in Europe. (137) By the fourth decade of the century Wittenberg had become the most popular of the German universities. To it students came from all over Germany and Europe. (138)

During these later years two smaller writings demonstrated Luther's activity in the realm of the school curriculum. The first of these was a new edition of the FABLES of Aesop for use in schools. In the INSTRUCTIONS TO VISITORS of 1528, Aesop had been included as one of the books for the second class. For the FABLES Luther had retained a most affectionate regard from his schooldays, for their practical wisdom strongly appealed to him. Of them he could say:-

> There is assuredly in Aesop more instruction than in the whole of Jerome.

And again :-

> It is by the providence of God that the writings of Cato and Aesop have remained in the schools. Next to the Bible, they are, in my judgment, the best: better than those of all the philosophers and jurists. (139)

Before Luther's revision, the edition used in schools

was that published by Steinhöwel in the last quarter of the 15th century. This consisted of a Latin text and a German translation, and, besides, contained a number of indecent tales selected from the FACETIAE of Poggio and Alfonsus. The inclusion of this doubtful material in a schoolbook aroused Luther's indignation, and during the Diet of Augsburg, from which he was banned, he used some of his enforced leisure in the Castle of Coburg to revise the earlier edition. He did not make a new translation, but revised Steinhöwel's German, expurgating the bawdy stories of Poggio. His translation, which unfortunately only contained about a dozen fables, bore the stamp of his linguistic genius, but was not published until a decade after his death. (140) The second writing, which shows his continued preoccupation with the content of education was his preface of 1538 to Link's translation of Capella's HISTORICAL COMMENTARIES ON THE RECENT HISTORY OF ITALY , which contained his view of the importance of the teaching of history. This will be referred to in detail in Chapter 8. (141)

(b) Melanchthon.

Owing to the pressure of other undertakings, the constant calls made upon him from various parts of Europe, the dependence of so many on his advice and counsel, and constant and increasing ill-health, (142) Luther was

increasingly compelled to devolve the task of educational reorganization upon his colleagues, Melanchthon and Bugenhagen, the former particularly in Southern Germany, the latter in Northern Germany.

It was because of the unremitting work which Melanchthon devoted to the reconstruction of education, that he has usually been given the main credit for the form which it took and followed in Germany during the succeeding centuries. (143)

Luther had urged, in his many pronouncements on education, a universal system of schooling, passing from the elementary stage to the university, in which the 'state' compelled the citizen to ensure the attendance of his children, and if necessary, supported them; he had strongly suggested the selection of suitable boys for higher education, so that the desperate shortage of professional men, pastors, teachers, lawyers, and civil servants might be met; he had shown the lines along which the schools might be made more humane in discipline, and methods, and altogether more liberal in the scope of their curricula; above all he had afforded a national stimulus to the elementary education of the common people in their own tongue. In so far as it fell to the responsibility of Melanchthon to organize the schools and universities, it is a profitable enquiry to ask how far he succeeded in binding these new

conceptions of the place and tasks of education into a 'state' system of education.

It has been shown that there is strong evidence that, while Melanchthon and Luther were agreed upon some of the objectives which it was necessary to reach from educational reform, because of underlying differences in their thought-foundation, their essential views were divergent. Luther's theology inevitably led him towards popular education, through which men might be prepared to read and understand the Word of God in their own tongue. It was because of the needs of the situation that he laid such stress on higher education for the production of trained men for Church and state. Melanchthon on the other hand took the humanist approach to education, and was therefore interested only in higher education and the production of a cultured class, inevitably a minority, inside the state. (144)

In his emphasis, then, on higher education based on the classical languages, Melanchthon, despite his tremendous achievements in the field of education, drew the course of educational reform away from the universal outlook which is to be found in Luther.

While this difference between the two reformers is of the greatest importance as an explanation of the course taken by German education after Luther, Melanchthon's achievement was an immensely great one, and a brief survey of his work must be given.

His educational interests lay in two directions - in the high schools, and in the universities. He was not concerned with popular, elementary education for boys and girls in German.

His influence in German education was felt in many directions, and long after his death in 1560.

In the first place, Melanchthon was the author, in whole or in part, of at least nine Ordnungen. He was responsible for those of Nuremberg (1526), Saxony (1528), Herzeberg (1538), and Wittenberg (1545). In addition he was partly responsible for those of Eisleben (1525), Cologne (1543), Mecklenburg (1552), the Palatinate (1556), and Pfalz-Zweibruck (1557). (145)

Some of these Ordinances became models for others, and, in particular, the INSTRUCTIONS TO VISITORS of 1528 had a large family.

Melanchthon's influence was also extended throughout Germany through the great number of students who came to Wittenberg during his lengthy career there (1518 - 1560). There were very few schools in Germany in which his influence was not felt. (146)

The line of development of these Latin high schools is interesting.

From 1543, two different kinds of Latin secondary schools had come into being in Protestant Germany - City schools

(Stadt-Schulen) and State schools (Staats-Schulen). The former were founded by the city and administered by its council, which appointed and paid teachers, maintained school inspection, and issued regulations, usually with the aid of the clergy. On this basis old schools were reorganized and new ones were founded. (147)

The State schools, on the other hand, were an innovation which had come out of the Reformation. Founded by the territorial prince (and thus also named Fursten-Schulen), they were administered and superintended by his officials. The object of these schools was to train talented boys from all parts of the territory at the public expense. These schools were, in fact, a response to the demands which Luther had made to the 'state' to undertake responsibility in the field of education, though the degree of 'state' control was not that which he had envisaged. The way was led by the ambitious Maurice of Saxony, who, in 1543, founded the three famous Fursten-Schulen of Saxony at Pforta, Meissen, and Grimma, endowing them with the buildings and other property of the secularized monasteries and convents.

They were to receive 230 boys, of which one hundred vacancies were to be filled by the territorial cities, seventy-six by the nobility, and fifty-four by the Elector himself. After a course of studies lasting

five or six years, arrangements were made for the continuance of their education at public expense at the Universities of Leipzig and Wittenberg.

In return the students engaged themselves to serve the 'state' in after life, either in the Church or civil service. (148)

This example set by Saxony was followed by other states, in particular by Würtemberg in 1559, Ansbach in 1582, Pomerania and Brandenburg in 1543, Coburg in 1605, and Joachimathal in 1607.

These schools served as a model to which all subsequent high schools strove to conform. (149)

The first German state to organize a complete system of education on the Lutheran pattern was Würtemberg in 1559. This plan provided a few elementary schools, teaching in German, for boys and girls, in the villages; Latin secondary schools with five or six classes; and the higher educational institutions of Stuttgart and the University of Tübingen. (150)

The influence of Melanchthon was felt in three ways in the secondary schools.

First, the course of instruction was based on the lines laid down in the INSTRUCTIONS TO VISITORS of 1528, though wherever the numbers of pupils was large, the number of classes was increased and the course extended. (151)

In the second place, the main subject of instruction was Latin, while great emphasis was also laid on teaching

the elements of the evangelical faith.

The Latin teaching aimed at a full mastery of the language on lines laid down by Melanchthon, for comprehension of the classics, for conversation, and for literary use.

Melanchthon's insistence on rigorous training in grammar led increasingly towards the formal imitation of the classical writers and consequent lack of interest in the content of their works. (152)

The same tendency towards formalism in religious instruction also developed in the high schools, where the teaching aimed at producing conformity with the articles of faith expressed in the general Lutheran Confession. Here again the influence of Melanchthon was dominant, since he had been the author of the accepted statement of the Reformed Faith. Since this, in important respects, represented a departure from Luther, the religious instruction in the high schools also moved in the same direction. (153)

In a third direction, the growing educational system of high schools moved away from Luther. The latter had constantly stressed the responsibility of the 'state' for education, but because he saw the 'state' as the servant of God, and this as part of its essential service. Melanchthon, on the other hand, was willing to make many more concessions to the power of the

'state', and much less opposition to the increasing domination of the Church and the institutions of education by secular authorities for their own purpose. (154)

Melanchthon's second, and major, interest was in the reform of the universities, which, in their philosophical faculties, came to bear his stamp.

He assisted in the foundation of the University of Marburg in 1527; in that of Königsberg in 1544; and of Jena in 1558. These were modelled on the pattern of Wittenberg, which after the death of Luther in 1546 was dominated by Melanchthon. On the same pattern, the Universities of Tübingen and Leipzig were reorganized. These were but the first of a number of foundations which grew out of the Reformation, during the next century. In 1576, a well-equipped university was established at Helmstadt for the Duchy of Brunswick. Out of the gymnasium of Nuremberg, which removed to Altdorf in 1573, grew the university of that name in 1622. In the same way, the gymnasium of Strassburg acquired university status in 1621. Other foundations of the same period, and bearing the same stamp, were those of Giessen (1607), Rinteln (1621), Duisburg (1655), and Kiel (1665). (155)

All of these to some degree were influenced by the methods, textbooks, and organization of Melanchthon.

The dominant features of these foundations was the combination of Lutheran theological studies, as interpreted by Melanchthon, and humanist studies in the Faculty of Philosophy. As before, and despite Luther, the Aristotelian texts continued to be the essential basis of instruction. The lectures were either based on the Greek Texts, or upon books which contained these in a revised form, a practice for which Melanchthon supplied the model in his compendiums. (156) The interpretative lectures on the classics were accompanied by exercises in poetical and oratorical imitation, as originally laid down by Melanchthon. As the 17th century passed on its way, these philosophical and philological studies, increasingly departing from reality became more and more a subject for contempt. (157)

In the realm of administration, a new feature found expression in these university foundations. The chief impetus towards their establishment lay in the accentuation of the principle of territorial sovereignty, from both the ecclesiastical and political point of view. The consequence was that the universities began to be the instruments of the secular government, as professional schools for the production of its ecclesiastical and secular officials. Each individual government tried to secure its own university, in order to make sure of

teaching in conformity with the standards of the established church, and to retain the training of its secular officials in its own hands. (158)

This domination of the 'state' over church and education was far removed from the viewpoint of Luther.

Thus, under the influence of Melanchthon, the re-growth of education in Germany, assumed a form which represented a movement away from the proposals and guiding ideas, expressed or implicit in the teaching of Luther.

In the first place, the movement towards an educational system based on schools for all, boys and girls, was narrowed down to a system of high schools giving instruction in the classics. As a result, Latin became the mark of the educated man, while German was relegated to the status of an inferior tongue.

In the second place, the broadening of the curriculum in the high schools and universities, called for by Luther, was not realized, and instruction proceeded on increasingly formal lines, with a continuous departure from the real.

Lastly, the domination of the secular authorities over schools and universities increased, until both became training grounds for boys and men for the continued maintenance of that domination.

One of the inevitable results in the social life of Germany of this divergence from Luther's educational conceptions has been expressed by Paulsen in the

following comment:-

As to the practical achievements of this system of education of the 16th. century, there can hardly be room for any doubt that the object which before all others it had at heart, i.e., Latin composition, was on the whole attained. Classical Latin was generally adopted by the world of learning as its own language and handled with some fluency and ease, not seldom even with elegance.
Nor can it be doubtful that the taste for literary form, and the interest in aesthetic culture in general was considerably raised and increased by contact with the Classics. It must be added at once, however, that neither the German language nor the masses of the German people benefited by this improvement of aesthetic and literary culture. On the contrary, the German language declined and decayed during this ascendancy of classical Latin.
It was not until then that the great separation arose in the nation between the "educated" and "uneducated" classes, which divided it into a thin layer of scholars who had studied the classics on the one hand, and on the other the great masses of the people, who understood only German and, in consequence, found themselves debarred from literature and learning. (159)

Body has summarized the effects of the work of Melanchthon in the following statement :-

The great achievement of Melanchthon was the effective combination of humanism and Protestantism in the education of Northern Europe.
Yet the union of the two great movements was not brought about without some loss to both.
On the side of Protestantism, it involved a certain narrowing of the educational ideals of the reformers. The very excellence of Melanchthon's scholarship made him somewhat indifferent to the need for the popular education on which Luther had rightly insisted as an essential condition of a religious faith resting on personal belief, and led him to omit any provision for instruction in the vernacular in the high schools.
One consequence of this omission was the fixing of the idea that a humanistic culture must depend on a thorough knowledge of the great writings of Greece and Rome.

In the ordinary course, the principle that the whole spiritual life of man must be based on first-hand experience, which was explicitly enunciated by the reformers in the case of religion might have been expected to lead to recognition of the fundamental place of the national religion and literature in any adequate scheme of education. The triumph of humanism through the effort of Melanchthon and his disciples prevented this obvious extension of the ideals of the Reformation, and made the study of an alien culture the central interest of the higher schools for more than three hundred years. (160)

NOTES

(1) THE PAPACY AT ROME. WML. i. pp. 327 ff. For brief discussion see Smith "Life and Letters" p.47.

(2) WML ii. p. 58.

(3) Smith and Jacobs "Luther's Correspondence" Vol.i. No.266. Enders ii. 413. Luther to Spalatin, about 8th. June 1520.

(4) OPEN LETTER. WML. ii. pp. 58-59. Smith op. cit. p.79. Luther found much material for the OPEN LETTER in the writings of Hutten, Crotus Rubeanus, Erasmus, private letters and personal conversations with friends who had been in Rome. Another very important source was the GRIEVANCES OF THE GERMAN NATION presented at the Diet of Augsburg in 1518. But all of this material was used by Luther in his own distinctive fashion, and fused into a whole to make his greatest Reformation treatise.

(5) WML. ii. pp. 61 - 62.

(6) WML. ii. p. 146. Refer to Appendix No. 1 p. 2.

(7) WML. ii. p. 147. Appendix No. 1 p. 4.

(8) WML. ii. pp. 149 - 150. For discussion of background upon which this proposal was based refer back to my pp. ?

(9) WML. ii. 150. Appendix No. 1 p.9.

(10) WML. ii. p. 152. Luther means here that every child by the age of ten should know by heart what he eventually compounded into the SMALL CATECHISM - the Ten Commandments, the Apostles' Creed, and the Lord's Prayer. These he considered contained all basic Christian knowledge.

(11) WML. ii. p. 152. This proposal of Luther's was of great importance, for if acted upon it would have been a highly necessary step towards the regularization of the educational step from school to university. In a period when educational standards on entry

to a university were not fixed, many inferior students, who failed to complete the university course, were admitted to higher courses from which they could not possibly profit.
Paulsen "The German Universities" p. 21, writes :-
"It must not be supposed that it was the rule for students to complete the course in arts. Much less was this true of the courses offered by the higher faculties. Most of the students left the university without even obtaining the lowest degree of baccalarius artium..."

(12) WML. ii. 152. This is the first reference in Luther's educational writings to the responsibility of the 'state' and civic authorities for education.

(13) Luther's assertion means that in the Holy Scriptures is given the light by which men know God, their own nature and destiny, the Gospel and the Law of God. Unless men and communities live in this light, they cease to know the requirements of God, and pass into ignorance and inevitable corruption. In one form or another, this is affirmed over and over again by Luther.

(14) Refer to my Chapter 2., pp.38 - 42.

(15) Smith and Jacobs op. cit. Vol. i., No.317. John Kotter to Boniface Amerbach in Avignon. 22nd. October 1520.

(16) Especially the following :-
Treatise on Good Works (1520); The Papacy at Rome (1520); Open Letter to the Christian Nobility (1520); The Babylonish Captivity of the Church (1520).

(17) Refer to the Open Letter in WML. ii. pp.65 - 79, in which Luther 'overthrows the three walls of the Romanists', i.e., destroys the teaching upon which the authority of the Papacy is based.
The Babylonian Captivity is a long treatise (WML.ii. pp. 170-296), but a brief summary is given in Smith "Life and Letters", pp. 88-91.

(18) Relevant passages from the Open Letter, given below, give the kernel of Luther's teaching in the matter:-
'It is a pure invention that pope, bishops,

155

priests and monks are to be called the "spiritual estate"; princes, lords, artisans, farmers the "temporal estate".
That is a fine bit of lying and hypocrisy. Yet no one should be frightened by it: and for this reason - that all Christians are truly of the "spiritual estate", and there is among them no difference but that of office ....
To make it still clearer. If a little group of pious Christian laymen were taken captive and set down in a wilderness, and had among them no priest consecrated by a bishop, and if there in the wilderness they were to agree in choosing one of themselves, married or unmarried, and were to charge him with the office of baptizing, saying mass, absolving and preaching, such a man would be as truly a priest as though all bishops and popes had consecrated him ...'
WML. ii. pp. 66-67

(19) Refer to the Introduction to the work in WML. ii. pp. 167-169, by A.T.W. Steinhaeuser.

(20) Kidd "Documents of the Continental Reformation", pp. 103 - 104.
The extract is quoted from Fröschel's Preface to his Tractat vom Priesterthum (1565).

(21) Smith "Life and Letters". pp. 137-138. Thomas Münzer had formed a sect in Zwickau, fired by the desire to overthrow existing conditions in Church and 'state', by direct action. Driven out of Zwickau, Munzer escaped to Bohemia, while three of his followers, Storch, Stübner and Drechsel made their way to Wittenberg. They proclaimed themselves prophets with direct inspiration from God, and thoroughly impressed many of the leading followers of Luther, including Melanchthon.

(22) The disorders in Wittenberg were the result of mob violence, stirred up by fanatical spirits like Carlstadt and the Zwickau 'prophets'. Among the results was the tumultuous exit from the cloister of monks and nuns, of which Luther thoroughly disapproved, though he himself had written against monasticism. Refer to Smith op. cit. Ch. xii.
See Smith and Jacobs, Vol. ii., No. 518.
Luther wrote to John Lang on the 18th. December 1521:-

"I do not approve of that tumultuous exodus from the cloister, for the monks should have separated peaceably and in charity ...."

(23) Refer to Mackinnon iii. pp. 212-213. The figures given for students matriculating at Wittenberg are 579 for 1520, and 245 for 1521, with a further decrease to 171 in 1525. These figures are taken from Eilenburg "Jahrbucher fur National-ôconomie", Bd. 13 (1877).
Refer also to Kidd op. cit. p.103. No. 53.

(24) WML. iii. pp. 201-222. The manuscript was sent to Spalatin in December 1521, but the printing was diplomatically deferred for another three months.

(25) Refer to Smith and Jacobs ii. Letters Nos. 529; 530; 532, of March 5th., 7th., and 12th. 1522. Also Smith "Life and Letters", p. 146.

(26) WML. ii. 387 - 428. A brief summary is given by Smith op. cit. pp. 147-148.

(27) The fanatics left the Wittenberg district, but started to spread their doctrines elsewhere. The most important agitator, Münzer, visited Bohemia and then settled in the small Saxon town of Allstedt, where he soon won a following. He raised the feeling of the peasants to the verge of revolution by the violence of his fanatical preaching.

(28) Mackinnon iii. p. 212. Corp. Ref. xi. 50f.

(29) Smith and Jacobs No.580. Luther to Eoban Hess, 29th. March, 1523. 'Captiva' was a poem of 428 verses, which was sent to Melanchthon at Wittenberg.

(30) Smith and Jacobs ii. No. 580. Luther to Eobanus Hess. 29th. March 1523.

(31) The rise of commerce, with its offer of material advancement drew away boys and men from schools and universities all over Western Europe.
For example, the Colloquies of Cordier, written during the same period, as a school book for French boys makes frequent reference to the burgher who has little use for literary education.
Refer to Woodward "Education during the Renaissance", p.163.
See also Woodward's comments on the failure of the

rigidly humanist schools. pp. 226-227.
In view of this it is incorrect to ascribe the decline in Germany completely to Luther, as did Erasmus. Decline would have occurred even if Luther had never lived. The fact that the Lutheran Reformation was so much the outstanding event of the period led men to ascribe to it effects which arose, at least in part, from other causes.

(32) For background, refer to my Chapter 1., pp. 14ff.

(33) Janssen "History of the German People", iv. pp. 162-3.

(34) Mackinnon "Luther and the Reformation" iii. pp. 214 - 215, quotes the writer of the "Clag eines einfaltigen Klosterbruders".

(35) The Open Letter, WML. ii. pp. 134f. :-
'One of our greatest necessities is the abolition of all begging throughout Christendom. Among Christians no one ought to go begging! It would also be easy to make a law, if only we had the courage and the serious intention, to the effect that every city should provide for its own poor and admit no foreign beggars by whatever name they might be called, whether pilgrims or mendicant monks ....'
Treatise on Usury (1520). WML. iv. p.49.
'It ought to be established and decreed, either by their own mandate or in a general council, that every town and village should build its own churches and care for its own poor, so that beggary should cease entirely, or at least that it would not be done in such a way that any place should beg for its churches and its poor in all other cities, according to the present unhappy custom ...

(36) The tremendous effects in the social life of Germany of Luther's teaching on the abolition of begging, and the monastic vow, is discussed in some detail in Boehmer "Luther in the Light of Modern Research", pp. 314-318.

(37) WML. iv. p. 104.

(38) WML. ii. p. 153.

(39) Refer to Watson "Let God be God!" pp. 9-15.
See my Chapter 8. pp. 362-368

(40) Currie "Letters of Martin Luther" civ., p. 125. Luther to Jacob Strauss. 25th April 1524.

(41) Mackinnon iii. pp. 68f. Smith op. cit. pp. 135f.

(42) WML. iv. pp. 49-51. WML. ii. pp. 115-116.

(43) WML. ii. pp. 117-118.

(44) Preface to an Ordinance to a Common Chest. WML.iv. 89-90. Also Kretzmann "Luther on Education in the Christian Home", p. 107.

(45) Preface to an Ordinance to a common Chest. WML.iv. pp. 94-97.
Luther was very concerned that the inhabitants of the monasteries should be given the greatest consideration and, if old and unable to adapt themselves to life outside the cloister, should be supported during their lifetime.
Compare Luther's letter to the Margrave of Brandenburg, of the 18th July, 1529. Smith and Jacobs ii. No. 840. given in this present Chapter p.

(46) Lindsay "History of the Reformation" i. p. 299.

(47) Luther's adherents from the friars, monks, and secular clergy, provided him with the following preachers:-

1. From the four Orders of friars.
   - (a) Augustinians — Lang at Erfurt. Link at Altenburg. Guttel at Eisleben. Stiefel at Esslingen.
   - (b) Franciscans. — Eberlin and Kettenbach at Ulm. Kempe at Hamburg. Briesmann at Cotbus and Königsberg. Myconius at Gotha.
   - (c) Dominicans. — Bucer at Strassburg.
   - (d) Carmelites. — Urbanus Regius at Augsburg.
2. Monks.
   - (a) Benedictines. — Blaurer at Constance. Oecolampadius at Augsburg and Basle.
3. Canons Regular
   - (a) Premonstratensians. — Bugenhagen in Wittenberg.
4. Secular Clergy. — Osiander at Nuremberg.

4. Secular Clergy. (Continued)
Brenz at Swabisch Hall.
Speratus at Königsberg.
Amandus at Königsberg.
Amsdorf at Magdeburg.
Sahm at Ulm.

Kidd op. cit. p. 164.

(48) Mackinnon iii. pp. 143 - 147.
Kidd. p. 165.

(49) WML. iii. Introduction to Luther's treatise to the Knights of the Teutonic Order. pp. 406 - 408.

(50) WML. iv. pp. 101 - 141. See Appendix No.2 pp.12-51.

(51) Ibid. p. 105.

(52) Ibid. p. 107. Luther is referring to the effects of humanist schooling.

(53) Ibid. p. 108.

(54) Ibid. p. 109.

(55) Ibid. pp. 110 - 111.

(56) Ibid. pp. 110 - 111.

(57) Ibid. pp. 111.

(58) Ibid. p. 112.

(59) Ibid. p. 114.

(60) Luther quotes the case of the Church Fathers, like Augustine and Hilary, whose exposition of Scripture was sometimes gravely at fault because of a lack of training in the original languages :-
' ... The expositions of all the early fathers who treated the Scriptures without languages are of such a nature, even when their teaching is not wrong, that they use uncertain, inconsistent language. They grope like a blind man along a wall ....' WML. iv. p.116.

(61) Luther was referring to the Waldensians, who taught that a knowledge of the Biblical languages was not necessary for exposition of the Scriptures.

(62) Ibid. p. 121. Luther had already dealt at length

with this in his treatise of 1523 - Secular Authority; To what Extent it should be obeyed, of which Schindel has written :- "It is the first ethical defence of government over against the current form of Roman Catholic conception, which traces all authority to the Church.
It gave the world a new theory of the state, separated state from Church, and made the function of the state the service of its people.'
WML. iii. pp. 223 - 273.

(63) WML. iv. p. 121.

(64) Ibid. pp. 122 - 123. Luther has just compared this new type of school which he envisages, with the old medieval schools which he attended as a boy. Refer to Chapter 5. pp. 119 - 121.

(65) WML. iv. p. 123.

(66) Ibid. p. 124.

(67) Ibid. p. 125.

(68) Ibid. pp. 128 - 129. This exhortation of Luther's brought definite results. Refer to Robbins "Teachers in Germany in the 16th. Century" p. 43. Special provision for the establishment of libraries were made in the Ordnungen for Hamburg (1529); Soest (1532); Bremen (1534); Pomerania (1535); Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel (1543); Augsburg (1576). Some of these were for the use of pastors and teachers.

(69) The total number of Latin schools listed by the authority, Mertz, was 342, which included all those founded or reformed during the 16th century. Robbins. op. cit. p. 25.
Steinhaeuser gives a figure of at least 300 city and town schools, as the number established in German lands up to 1600 A.D. WML. iv. p. 102.

(70) Smith and Jacobs ii. No. 672. Enders v. 157. Caspar Cruciger had been called to become head of the Magdeburg, where he remained until 1528.

(71) Woodward "Education during the Renaissance" pp. 222, 240. In 1525, Albert Durer's manual of applied geometry was published in German. Commercial arithmetic was taught in the Hanse towns and in South Germany, but the humanists did not regard it as a liberal subject.

(72) For more detailed discussion of the Eisleben school see Woodward op. cit. pp. 219-222. Also Boyd "History of Western Education" p.192

(73) Woodward p. p. 213. The difference between Luther and Melanchthon's approach to language study was very marked, the former sitting lightly to formal grammar, the latter requiring very rigorous treatment.

(74) Watson "Let God be God!" p. 28., Note 7.

(75) Hildebrandt "Melanchthon; Alien or Ally?"

(76) Woodward pp. 224 - 225.

(77) Refer to my Chapter 2. pp. 45-48.

(78) Kidd "Documents of the Reformation" pp. 181f.

(79) Smith and Jacobs. ii. no. 684. Luther to the Duke John Frederick of Electoral Saxony. 15th. May. 1525.

(80) Currie "Letters of Luther". No. cxxiv. Luther to the Elector John of Saxony. 15th. Sept. 1525.

(81) Smith and Jacobs ii. No. 709. Luther to the Elector John of Saxony. 31st. October, 1525.

(82) Ibid. No. 714. Enders v. 268. The Elector John of Saxony to Luther. 7th. November, 1525.

(83) Smith and Jacobs ii. No. 716. Luther to the Elector John of Saxony. 30th. November, 1525.

(84) Ibid. No. 743. Luther to the Elector John of Saxony. 22nd. November, 1526.

(85) Mackinnon iii. 291 - 292. Enders v. 407 - 410. 26th November, 1526.

(86) For summary of powers of the four visitors, see summary Mackinnon iii. pp. 292 - 293.

(87) Smith and Jacobs. ii. No. 767. Enders vi. 69. Luther to Hausmann 13th. July, 1527. 'Sir Hero' was von Planitz.

(88) Smith and Jacobs ii. No. 776. Luther to the Elector of Saxony. 12th. October, 1527.

(88) (Continued)
Ibid. No. 774. Enders vi. 95., gives details about revision of Melanchthon's draft.

(89) Smith and Jacobs ii. No. 809. Enders vii. 1.
Luther to Spalatin gives news of commencement of visitation. (20th. October, 1528).
Six different commissions conducted the visitations in as many districts of the Electoral territories in 1528 - 29.
From the Zwickau district, where the visitation was headed by Spalatin, Luther received a good report from Hausmann, Refer to Smith and Jacobs ii. No. 819., in which Luther wrote :-
"I am wonderfully delighted that the visitations of your churches has passed off so well ..."
This, however, was not the general experience.

(90) Smith and Jacobs ii. No. 816. Enders vii. 44.
Luther to Spalatin. About 15th. January, 1529.

(91) See my Chapter 7., pp. 310-324 Refer also to Appendices Nos. 4; 5. pp. 62 - 105

(91a) Bruce, following a German authority, Raumer, expresses the opinion that the Saxony School Plan of 1528 was probably based on an earlier School Plan prepared by Luther in 1524. This was referred to by Luther in a letter to Spalatin of Oct. 17th., 1524 :-
"..I am sending you back your booklet, dear Spalatin, and also the School Plan, which should be presented to the princes, not with any great hope, but an attempt should be made in the name of the Lord..."
Bruce, op. cit., p. 209.

'Grammar is the source and foundation of the liberal arts.'
Refer to Cubberley "Readings in the History of Education" p. 106.

(95) For translation of this section of the INSTRUCTIONS refer to Appendix No. 3 pp. 52-61.
A translation which omits details of religious instruction is given im Cubberley "Readings in the History of Education" pp. 247 ff.

(96) Apart from his concern shown in the preparation of the Catechisms, Luther had established a girls' school in Wittenberg, for which he had tried to obtain a schoolmistress, in the person of Elsa von Canitz, in 1527. He was also concerned

(96) (Continued)
in the appointment of Magdalene von Staupitz as the schoolmistress at Grimma in 1529. Both of these women were previously in the convent near Torgau, from which they escaped in 1523. Refer to Smith and Jacobs ii. Nos. 179. 772.

(97) Smith and Jacobs ii. No. 743. Luther to Philip of Hesse. 7th. January, 1527.
Refer for short summary to Smith "Life and Letters" pp. 236 - 237.

(98) Kidd op. cit. p. 187; and extract No. 98., p.222f.

(99) Smith and Jacobs ii. No. 840. Luther to the Margrave George of Brandenburg. 18th. July, 1529.
For the influence of the Brandenburg Visitation-sordnung on subsequent regulations for church and school refer forward in present Chapter to pp; Note 130.

(100) Refer to my Chapter 9. pp. 477-480.

(101) WML. iv. p. 133. Kretzmann "Luther on Education in the Christian Home", pp. 28-29; 7-9.

(102) On War Against the Turks. WML. v. pp. 105-6.

(103) Refer to Smith "Life and Letters" pp. 246 - 272.
See also my pp. 49-50

(104) In his introductory letter, and in other letters to Melanchthon on the SERMON, Luther commented on what he considered his failing of verbosity.
WML. iv. p.
Currie "Letters" ccxliii. To Melanchthon, August 24th. 1530 :- ' ... I enclose the treatise on the schools - a real Lutheran document, whose prolixity even its author cannot deny. It is my nature...'

(105) WML. iv. pp. 135 - 136.

(106) Ibid. p. 137.

(107) Ibid. pp. 139 - 140.

(108) Ibid. p. 142.

(109) Ibid. pp. 142 - 143.

(110) Ibid. p. 143.

(111) Ibid. pp. 144 - 145.

(112) Ibid. p. 146.

(113) Ibid. p. 148.

(114) Ibid. p. 151.

(115) Ibid. pp. 153 - 154.

(116) Ibid. pp. 155 - 156. The average number of students at Wittenberg between 1526 and 1530 was 250; at Leipzig 145; and at Erfurt 44. Refer to Weimar Ed. Bd. p. 550. n.2. The shortage of schools and teachers was not exaggerated by Luther. The total number of teachers was well below the number of clergy. practically every parish had its ordained minister, but only the larger towns in each district had schoolmasters. In the Visitations carried out in the Electorate of Saxony during 1528 - 1529 there were only 21 schools mentioned in 146 parishes. In general the reports of the Visitors showed the presence of pastor and sexton, but made only occasional mention of a schoolmaster. Refer to Robbins "Teachers in Germany in the 16th. Century."

(117) WML. iv. pp. 158 - 159.

(118) WML. iv. pp. 159 - 160.

(119) WML. iv. pp. 161 - 162.

(120) Ibid. pp. 163 - 164.

(121) Ibid. pp. 164 - 165. Luther does not hesitate to play on the question of rewards which can come to an educated man. Men are despising learning because they think that a business career will bring their sons greater material recompense. Luther counters by asserting that, in the dearth of scholars, learning will bring wealth and honour:- "I hold that there never was a better time to study than now ... because of the great wealth and honour that must follow knowledge. Those who study in these times will become expensive folk, for two princes and three cities will yet compete for one scholar .."

(122) WML. iv. p. 172.

(123) Ibid. pp. 173 - 174. For expansion of this evalu-

(123) (Continued)
ation of the schoolmaster's office, see my pp.

(124) Ibid. p. 174.

(125) Ibid. p. 175.

(126) Ibid. pp. 177 - 178.

(127) Ibid. p. 178.

(128) Ibid. p. 177.

(129) Robbins "Teachers im Germany in the 16th. Century" pp. 16-17.

(130) Ibid. p. 17.

(131) Mackinnon iv. pp. 80 - 82.

(132) Refer to my Chapter 5. pp. 136-143.
See also Boehmer "The Young Luther" pp. 157-159; 269.

(133) Camerarius (1500-74) was the best pupil of Melanchthon as a Greek scholar. He studied at Leipzig and Erfurt before coming to Wittenberg, where he formed a life-long friendship with Melanchthon. He took an important part in the Reformation at Nuremberg. He was responsible for the reformed University Statutes of Leipzig of 1558.
Paulsen "German Education" pp. 63 - 64.

(134) See Smith and Jacobs ii. Nos. 684; 709; 725; Luther to the Elector John of Saxony.

(135) Mackinnon iv. pp. 107 - 108.

(136) Paulsen "German Education" pp. 63 - 64.
Aristotle was studied in Greek as a basis for dialectic, physics and ethics. The texts were adaptations made by Melanchthon.
The divergence in the attitude of Melanchthon to that maintained by Luther, regarding the place of Aristotle in theology, is discussed by Hildebrandt "Melanchthon" pp. 2 - 3.

(137) Paulsen "The German Universities" p. 33.
Woodward op. cit. pp. 231 - 232.
Melanchthon's salary had always been the concern of

(137) (Continued)
Luther, and the University of Wittenberg might well have lost the famous Greek scholar to other universities if Luther had not been concerned in this matter.

(138) Paulsen "The German Universities" p. 33.

(139) Smith "Life and Letters" pp. 345 - 346.
Mackinnon iv. p. 102.
The quotations are from the Tischreden i. p. 194; iii. p. 353.
Luther's critical perceptiveness is illustrated in his opinion that the Fables were 'not composed by one man, but by many men in different ages..'

(140) Mackinnon iv. p. 103. Weimar Edt. Bd. 1. p.437.

(141) Refer to my Chapter 8. pp. 403-412.
For the complete Preface see the translation in Appendix No. 7 pp. 169-174

(142) Luther's productivity, tremendous powers of work, and constant activity were almost miraculous when one considers his frequent ill-health.
Smith "Life and Letters" summarizes the matter:-
'Luther's constant good spirits and joyousness are remarkable when it is considered that he was prey to several torturing diseases.
Indigestion with painful complications had set in at Wartburg, and occasionally returned.
In 1523 he first experienced that nervous disease which throughout his life made him suffer from dizziness, ringing in his ears and sleeplessness.
Stone, at that time a very common disease of the kidneys and bladder, began in 1526 and became continually worse until the almost fatal attack in 1537.
Gout, sciatica, rheumatism, abscesses of the ears, ulcers, toothache, and palpitation of the heart added their pains to make his life a constant agony. He obtained little relief from physicians.
It is no wonder that irritability and world-weariness grew on the afflicted man ...
A more detailed discussion of this is given in Boehmer "Luther in the Light of Modern Research" pp. 186 - 189.

(143) Thus Paulsen, commenting on the decline of education in the early stages of the Reformation:-

(143) (Continued)
'But things took another turn. The man had already stepped forth into the arena of public life, to whom the thanks of the German nation are due for the rescue of its whole educational system from this catastrophe. This man was Philip Melanchthon'
The impression is gained that Paulsen has not read either the OPEN LETTER or TO THE COUNCILMEN!

(144) Refer to brief summary in Cubberley "History of Education" pp. 314 - 317.

(145) Robbins op. cit. pp. 15 - 16.

(146) Ibid. p. 40 :- "There being no special schools for the training of teachers, the civil and ecclesiastical authorities seem to have been content to make use of such institutions as existed already under their control. Such a university as Wittenberg became the centre of an influence hardly less in education than in religion. The extent to which teachers availed themselves of the opportunity to gain the benefit of the instruction of such a man as Melanchthon is shown by the fact that there was hardly a Latin school in Protestant Germany which did not have one or more of his students among its teachers .." Paulsen "The German Universities" p. 33 :- Where Melanchthon died there was probably not a city in Protestant Germany in which some grateful student did not mourn the loss of the Praeceptor Germaniae And long after his death he controlled, through his method and textbooks, the instruction in the Protestant schools and universities ..."

(147) Paulsen "Education im Germany" pp. 65 - 66.

(148) Ibid. pp. 66 - 67. Robbins op. cit. p. 41.

(149) Paulsen "German Education" pp. 66 - 67.

(150) For summary see Cubberley op. cit. pp. 316 - 318. Also Cubberley "Readings in the History of Education", Reading 162, pp. 249 - 251, gives an outline of the Würtemberg Plan.

(151) Robbins. op. cit. p. 24. In electoral Saxony at the time of the Visitation of 1578 - 79., there were thirty-nine schools with one teacher of Latim (probably in a three-class type of school); thirty-two with two teachers; fourteen schools with three teachers; ten with four teachers; three (Chemnitz, Neustadt, and Sängerhausen.) with five each; four (Dresden, Freiburg, Annaberg, and Zwickau) with six each; and one at Leipzig with seven.
Other Ordnungen provided for schools with larger numbers of classes and teachers. That of Stralsund of 1525 stated that each school should have at least three teachers; the Brunswick-Wolfbüttel Ordnung of 1543 and the Brandenburg Schulordnung of 1564 laid down four classes; Hamburg (1529), Würtemberg (1582) and Ascherleben (1589), all prescribe six classes; Augsburg (1576) and Sturm's Plan at Strassburg (1565) laid down a scheme for nine and ten classes respectively.
The most ambitious of these enlarged schools was the Strassburg school. Details of this are given in Cubberley "Readings in the History of Education" pp. 210ff.

(152) For fuller discussion of this degeneration into formalism, see Boyd "History of Western Education" pp. 195 - 197.
Also Woodward "Education during the Renaissance" pp. 234 - 240.
Paulsen "German Education" pp. 68 - 70.
Boyd comments :- 'Melanchthon did not actually attach any importance to grammar for its own sake, but the sharp demarcation of grammatical from literary study was fraught with dangerous possibilities in educational practice. For its successful application it presupposed such an interest in the ancients as animated Melanchthon himself. When that interest was lacking, as it often was among his successors, the inevitable result was the formal treatment of language as an end in itself in divorce from the actualities of life ..."
Compare with Luther's conception of the true method of teaching language - my Chapter 8., pp.430 - 432

(153) Hildebrandt "Melanchthon", discusses this matter in detail. Refer in particular to the section "Pure Doctrine" pp. 27ff.
See also Robbins. pp. 93 - 94.
The test of ortnodoxy was applied frequently in

(153) (Continued)
the appointment of schoolmasters. See instances quoted by Robbins pp. 44ff. Note, especially the requirements for appointment in Würtemberg. p. 49 :-
' ... If then he is found to be qualified in grammar, he shall be examined in regard to his piety upon the catechism of our Kirchenordnung; this is to be done diligently and thoroughly. If he is found to be of pure religion according to the Augsburg confession and suited to the work, he shall in our name be appointed.'
See also Mackinnon iv. 224 - 225.

(154) Hildebrandt op. cit. Ch. iv. "Concessions to Power".

(155) Paulsen "German Universities" p. 35.
Giessen was detached from Marburg in 1607, when the latter went over to Calvinism.
Kiel was founded to serve the duchies of Schleswig-Holstein.

(156) Paulsen "German Education" pp. 63 - 64.
Paulsen "German Universities" pp. 37, 40.
Note Paulsen's comment on the instruction in the Theological faculties :- "Protestantism relapsed from its original devotion to a Biblical theology into scholastic dogmatics. The Bible, it would seem, did not supply the system of ideas and those doctrinal formulae which were necessary for the control of the human mind and the subjection of opponents ...."

(157) Paulsen "German Universities" pp. 42 - 44.

(158) Ibid. pp. 36 - 37.
Cubberley "History of Education" pp. 318 - 319.

(159) Paulsen "German Education" pp. 86 - 87. The complete section pp. 86 - 89 dealing with the deterioration of German literature after Luther, and until the 18th. Century should be read.

(160) Boyd op. cit. pp. 193 - 194.

CHAPTER 7.

LUTHER AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF GERMAN POPULAR EDUCATION.

1. Luther and the Vernacular.
2. The Effects of Luther's Preaching.
3. Luther's Translation of the Bible.
4. Luther's Catechisms.
5. Luther's Hymns.
6. The Work of Bugenhagen.
7. Summary.
8. NOTES 1 - 120.

1. LUTHER AND THE VERNACULAR.

There were three main reasons for the concentration of educational reforms in protestant Germany in the direction of higher education and the relegation of popular primary education in the vernacular to a subsidiary role.

The first of these was the absolute necessity of replacing the educated class of the medieval clergy, which to a large degree was disrupted during the Reformation period, by a new class of Lutheran pastors, teachers, and civil servants.

This, to Luther, was the task of primary importance; the key-stone to the whole programme of reconstruction. If this failed, then all else would collapse, and eventually disappear. (1)

The second reason for the inferior place allotted to elementary popular education was due, as has been stressed in the previous chapter, to the dominant part in the re-organization of the educational system taken by Melanchthon. His sympathies were essentially humanist, and his own wealth of experience naturally led him in the direction of the institutes of higher education, from which he omitted any provision for vernacular instruction.

Lastly, there was the attitude of Luther himself.

In all his proposals for educational reform, he had implied, rather than stated explicitly, that the basis

from which education was to start must be instruction in the vernacular in the primary school. This lack of detail on instruction in the native tongue, in Luther's proposals, arose from two causes. In the first place, in its early stages the Reformation movement had had among its most devoted adherents many whose interests were purely patriotic and nationalistic, (2) and Luther had sought to avoid the identification of his reforming work with German nationalism. This patriotic fervour had been fostered during the period of the Northern Renaissance by the antagonism of German writers to the assumption of superiority which for long had been adopted by Italy and its inhabitants. (3) Indeed, Luther himself had appealed to that same German patriotism in his OPEN LETTER TO THE CHRISTIAN NOBILITY OF THE GERMAN NATION OF 1520, and his trenchant denunciation of the greed and corruption of Italian Church dignitaries. (4)

At this time, there was a real danger of the canalizing of the whole Reformation movement into the channel of German nationalism.

In the second place, there were those among his supporters on the religious question who held that it was sufficient for a man - even a pastor or teacher - to know German, and that higher education was completely unnecessary for

a Christian. To this cramping and limiting outlook Luther was relentlessly opposed. (5)

In the preface to THE GERMAN MASS AND ORDER OF SERVICE of 1526, he wrote:-

I am not at all in sympathy with those who cling to one language, and despise all others. I would rather train the youth and folk who could also be of service to Christ in foreign lands, and able to converse with the natives there, in order to avoid the experience of the Waldesians in Bohemia who confined their faith to one language so completely that they cannot speak correctly and intelligently with anyone, unless he first learn their language. This was not the method of the Holy Spirit at the beginning. He did not tarry till all the world came to Jerusalem and studied Hebrew, but gave manifold tongues for the office of the ministry, so that the apostles could preach wherever they went. I would rather follow this example. It is proper that the youth should be trained in many languages, for who knows how God may use them in time to come. For this our schools have been established. (6)

Luther's view was that of the missionary, and he envisaged the spread of the Reformed faith beyond the boundaries of German states. Latin then, in particular, as an international language, and not German, of which there was no one accepted form as yet, was the language which he wished to be taught in the Lutheran schools. Even in the preparation of a new form of Church service for the people, Luther went so far as to say :-

I would in no wise banish the Latin tongue from the (German) service, for the youth is my chiefest concern. If I could bring it to pass, and Greek and Hebrew were as familiar to us as the Latin, and offered as much good music and song, we would hold Mass, sing and read on successive Sundays in all four languages, German, Latin

Greek and Hebrew. (7)

Such instances of admonitions against attempting to confine instruction and the medium of education to the vernacular could be multiplied, but Luther's position is clear enough. The Gospel is universal, and cannot be confined in the bonds of a nationalist spirit, or the limitations of one language.

From this, on the other hand, it would be completely wrong to suppose that Luther had no deep regard for the German language. On the contrary, even outside of theological matters, he was anxious to build up the resources of national literature; and in education, he had advanced views on the method best suited to learning German.

Thus, during a period of illness in 1536, he wrote to Wenzel Link, asking him to send to him as many German publications as he could collect:-

.... As it is some hundreds of years since I either spoke or wrote Latin, I almost fear I have forgotten what I knew, and probably you are in the same condition: so I hope such fears will justify any mistakes I make, without any good or evil works, for you are a gracious lord towards such offenders, even as you desire similar sins to be leniently treated by your friends.

As you are seated amid gold and silver streams, send me not poetical dreams but songs, which will give me great pleasure. You understand. I wish to talk German ... if it be not too difficult or too tiresome, too high flown or too deep. I beg of you to ask a boy to collect German pictures, rhymes, songs, books, etc., which have been printed by your German poets and printers this year, for

I have reason for asking this. We can make Latin books here ourselves, but we are busy learning to write German books, which we hope to make so good that everyone shall be pleased with them. (8)

His words about the teaching and learning of a living language were illuminating, and show quite clearly why he devoted small space to the teaching of German in the schools:-

Every one learns German or other languages much better from talking at home, at the market, or in the church, than from books. Printed words are dead, spoken words are living. On the printed page they are not so forcible as when uttered by the soul of man through the mouth. Tell me, where has there ever been a language that one could learn to speak properly from the grammar? Is it not true that even the languages that have the most clearly defined rules, as the Latin and the Greek, can be better learned from practice and habit than from rules? (9)

Therefore, while Luther laid great emphasis on the learning of Latin in the schools, it must not be assumed that he held German to be inferior, and worthy of only scant treatment. Rather, he took it for granted that in the home, in the market-place, and at church, children and adults were acquiring a living knowledge of their own language which could not be imparted formally in school. Despite the emphasis placed by Luther, and more so by Melanchthon for their differing reasons on higher education, the development of popular education in the national tongue, was the true corollary of Luther's theology, and the establishment of the foundation of a German culture was a major, if not the major, outcome of

Luther's work.

The irresistible impetus behind this development, lay less in those more formal pronouncements of Luther's on education which have been discussed in Chapter 6, but rather arose from the impact of Luther's preaching, his translation of the Bible into German, the production and dissemination of his Catechisms, and his introduction of German hymns for congregational use into the Reformed Church services. In case it should be objected that none of these factors fall within the limits of formal education, Luther's view should first be clearly appreciated. He held that the objectives of education were religious; that the whole purpose of schools and universities was exactly the same as that of the home and the church, namely, to bring men to a saving knowledge of God, and to fit them to fulfil the law of God in the myriad relationships of common life. Therefore, for him, education did not end at the close of a university course, nor was it a process confined to schools and universities, nor again was it a matter which concerned children only, or boys rather than girls. His translation of the Bible, his German Catechisms and hymns, his preaching, and the German forms of the Church liturgy, were, in the light of his objective, instruments of education.

To a consideration of these it is therefore necessary to turn, to understand fully the range and effect of Luther's educational achievement.

2. THE EFFECT OF LUTHER'S PREACHING

Luther's conception of the Word of God, (10), found its expression in a new type of preaching. Since the autumn of 1511 Luther had been a preacher in the monastery, and from the end of 1514 he also occupied the pulpit of the parish church of Wittenburg - all together about 170 times each year. At first he adopted the conventional method of delivering learned theological disquisitions in Latin, and in the traditional scholastic form. (11) As he discarded the latter, and the implications of his theocentric theology clarified and developed, he abandoned, too, the use of Latin in preaching in the parish church, and gradually became the master of the spoken German word, in the delivery of a new type of evangelical preaching to the people. (12)
Luther held, that in preaching, it was not the preacher who was heard, but 'Christ (the Word of God) speaking in him and the Word which he brings and preaches.' (13) Luther regarded the Scriptures as 'the swaddling clothes and manger in which Christ was wrapped and laid' (14) and hence saw the task of the Christian preacher as two-fold. First, his office demanded of him that

he should expound the Scriptures so that Christ was heard, and second, that he should speak in the language of the hearer, directly and simply to him. (15) It was this that Luther did, and in contrast to medieval preaching, his work was completely new and arresting. (16) An interesting letter from Luther to Kunzelt, pastor at Eilenburg, dated June 1520, gives a brief account of his method.

> You enquire, venerable Father, as to my practice in beginning and ending a sermon; my usage is not the common one. Omitting wordy prologues I briefly say: "Invoke the divine grace, and say an inward Ave Maris or Paternoster, that the word of God may be fruitful to us and accept us." Then I read the text without announcing the topic. Then I explain or propound doctrines from it. At the end I say: "Enough of this", or "More another time," or "Having said this, we will pray God for His grace to enable us to do it," or, "God help us to do it." Then most briefly: "Let us commend to God the spiritual and temporal estates, particularly so and so, for whom and for all, as we ought, we will recite the Lord's prayer in common." After this as all rise: "The blessing of God the Father etc. Amen." This is my manner of preaching ...(17)

His approach was reflected in later statements which he made about his conception of the duty of a preacher:-

> The real preacher ought to have respect in Church to the youths and servant girls, who stand most in need of instruction. He ought to accommodate himself to them as a mother suckling her child. (18)

And speaking of his own practice, he said:

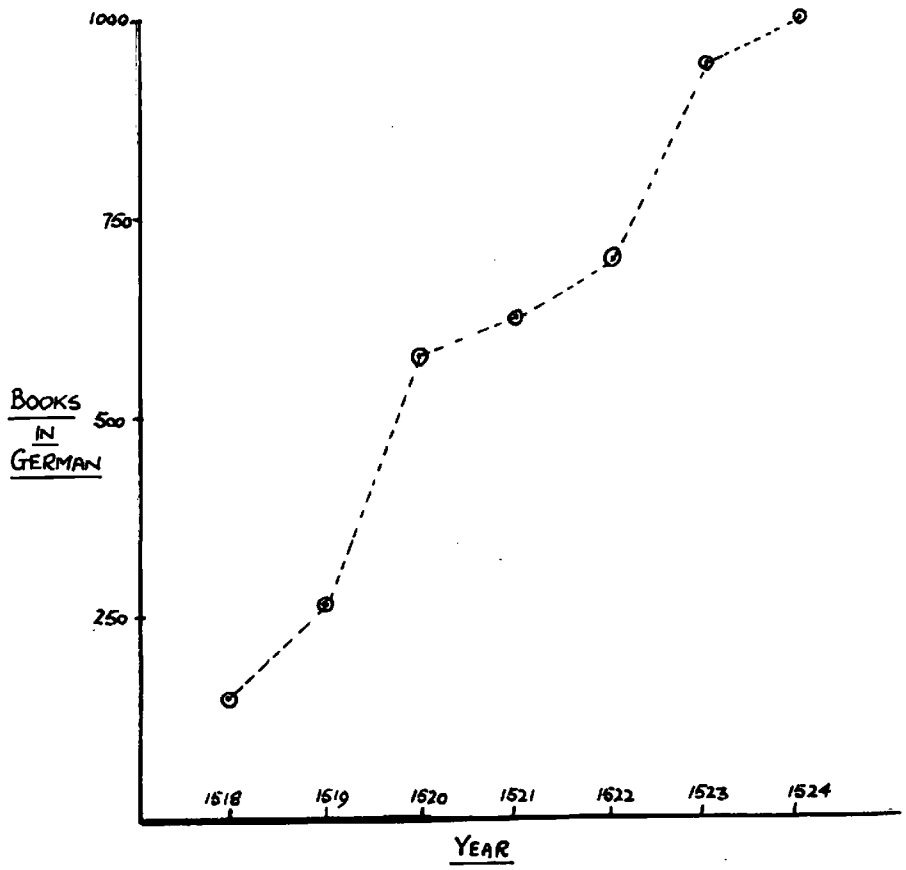
> When I ascend the pulpit, I think only of preaching to the workmen and servant maids, not to Jonas or Philip and the university men. They can study the subject in the Scriptures. If we preach only to them, the poor people sit and stare at us like cows. (19)

Giving a general rule to be followed by preachers, he declared:-

> I would not have preachers in their sermons use Hebrew, Greek, or foreign languages, for in the church, we ought to speak as we used to do at home, the plain mother tongue, which everyone is acquainted with ... (20)

The combination of natural gifts, the content of the sermons, simplicity and sincerity and prophetic fire, made Luther's preaching a mighty force and influence far beyond the borders of Germany. He continued this task to the time of his death, sometimes publishing his sermons, and sometimes allowing them to be noted down by various friends. (21) Mackinnon says of him:- 'Judged by the effects of his preaching, Luther was assuredly the greatest of preachers since the Apostle Paul.' (22)

The impact of Luther's vernacular preaching and publications on the production of books in German was astounding. Boehmer gives figures from the year 1518, when Luther first published his sermons in German. In that year only 150 books appeared in the German language. By 1519 the number had leapt to 260; and in the following six years the increase continued to 570 in 1520; 620 in 1521; 680 in 1522; 935 in 1523; and to 990 in 1524. (23)



It was not so much the style and form of Luther's preaching and writing, but rather the content of his publications, which so powerfully increased the demand for books in German. (24)

The great majority of the books produced in these years dealt with aspects of the religious question and its implications, and it was these matters which interested everyone; and it was to make these matters relevant to ordinary people that Luther preached and wrote in German. The influence and dissemination of Luther's books were reflected in the letters of various correspondents of the time.

John Froben wrote to Luther in February 1519:-

Blasius Salmonius, a printer to Leipsic, gave me some of your books, which he had bought at the last Frankfort Fair, which, as they were approved by all the learned, I immediately reprinted. We have sent six hundred copies to France, and Spain; they are sold at Paris, and even read and approved by the doctors of the Sorbonne... Francis Calvus, also a bookseller of Paris, ... has taken a good part of your books to Italy to distribute them among all the cities ... We have exported your books to Brabant and England ...
We have sold all your books except ten copies, and never remember to have sold any more quickly (25)

Erasmus writing to Wolsey in May 1519, reported his alarm at the spread of Luther's writings in German and the common Latin:

... First there appeared quite a number of theses on Indulgences: two pamphlets, on confession and on penitence, followed hard upon them: when I heard that some printers (Froben) were going to publish them, I tried hard to dissuade them lest they might thereby hurt sound learning ... Then followed a whole swarm of tracts ...(26)

In the following year Henry Glarean writing from Paris to Zwingli at Zurich sends further news of Luther's influence:-

No one's books are bought more eagerly. A certain bookseller told me that at the last Frankfort Fair, he had sold fourteen hundred copies of Luther's works, which had never happened before with any other author. (27)

In February of 1521 Aleander wrote from Worms to Cardinal de' Medici:-

.... A shower of Lutheran writings in German and Latin comes out daily. There is even a press maintained here, where hitherto this art has been unknown. Nothing else is bought here except Luther's books, even in the Imperial court ... (28)

An interesting letter from the City Council of Leipsic to Duke George of Saxony in 1524, reported a crisis in the

printing trade in a state where Luther's books were banned.

... The printers, too, have made many strong complaints against us, both now and many times before, saying that their business has gone to pieces completely; and if things continue long in their present condition, they will lose house, home, and living, because they are not allowed to print and sell the new things that are produced at Wittenberg and elsewhere. The books that are in demand and that people want to buy they are not allowed to have in their possession or sell; but these of which they have large stocks no one wants, even if they were willing to give them away. They have so far obediently observed your Grace's command, but other people print these books at Wittenberg, Zwickau, Grimma, Eilenburg, Jena and other places in the neighbourhood, and they are then smuggled among the people .... For this reason the printers, type-setters and their employees, a great many of whom have heretofore made a living here at this trade, are ruined and their children are in want, so that some of them have been compelled to work on the walls as day-labourers, and in this way the book trade is being diverted from here altogether ... (29)

Luther's influence was felt far away from Wittenberg, and his doctrines discussed in out-of-the-way parts of Central Europe. Thus Mark Spavento wrote in 1525 from Lyons after a journey through Switzerland:-

Had a very dangerous passage across the Alps. In the Grisons and Switzerland the greater part of the people are Lutherans ... During our two days' stay in Coir every person we spoke to was a Lutheran, and so well acquainted with Luther's doctrine as to defy exaggeration. The boys and girls from eight to ten years of age, in support of their tenets, answer you by evangelical precepts better than many doctors of divinity could do in favour of the Catholic faith ....(30

In view of these conditions, it was not surprising that many scholars and humanists who had previously written in Latin - men like Carlstadt and Hutten - now began to write in German. (31) Thus the literary struggle which

the preaching and writing of Luther had generated was now pursued in German, eagerly and universally followed by both scholars and the common people.

The cumulative effect of this upon popular education and German culture is not easy to assess, but undoubtedly a great stimulus had been given to the desire of ordinary people to be able to read in their own language, from which would grow, if properly fostered, a system of education for the common people, based on the mother-tongue.

Because of his desire to make available to everyman the Word of God, it became imperative to Luther to translate the Bible into German, and to provide a Church liturgy in German in which even children and simple people could participate with understanding.

3. LUTHER'S TRANSLATION OF THE BIBLE.

It would be an error to suppose that Luther's translation of the Bible into German was the first rendering of the Scriptures into the language. The surprising fact is that there were already many versions available.

Wilhelm Walther writes :-

> Of printed editions of the whole Bible at the end of the Middle Ages, there were eighteen in High German, five in Low German. (32)

Between 1466 and 1521, eighteen impressions of complete German Bibles were issued, of which fourteen were in

High German. According to Walther, these fell into three groups, as follows :-

Group A. 1. Strassburg, Mentel, ca. 1466. 2. Strassburg, Eggestein, 1470. 3. Augsburg, Pflanzmann, 1473.

Group B. 4. Augsburg, Zainer, 1473. 5. Swiss, 1474. 6. Augsburg, Zainer, 1477. 7. Augsburg, Sorg, 1477. 8. Augsburg, Sorg, 1480.

Group C. 9. Nuremberg, Koburger, 1483. 10. Strassburg, Grueninger, 1485. 11. Augsburg, Schoensperger, 1487. 12. Augsburg, Schoensperger, 1490. 13. Augsburg. H. Otmar, 1507. (14) Augsburg, S. Otmar, 1518. (33)

The Low-German Bibles included the Old Testament of Delft (1477) without Psalms, the famous picture Bible of Cologne, and the edition of Ludwig Trutebul of Halberstadt. To these may be added the Low-German Bible of Münster, which was very much like that of Delft.

Of the versions in High-German, on the available evidence it is now assumed that that printed in 1466 by Mentel of Strassburg was the oldest of the entire group. This version was followed by those of Eggestein and Pflanzmann, without much change. That of Zainer, however, was based entirely on the Vulgate. All the versions of Group were either reprints of Zainer, or very closely dependent on him. The Koburger edition introduced a number of innovations, and the printer boasted that the edition was clear and correct, and besides was prepared 'with high and great diligence with comparison with the Latin text, provided with clear punctuation marks, with

headings of most chapters and psalms, indicating their content and object; and with fine figures explaining the stories'. (34)

The work of Koburger was so well done that it established itself as the basis of the remaining editions.

As Luther was entering upon the critical stage of his fight with the Papacy in 1518, Sylvanus Otmar of Augsburg printed the last version of the Bible in High-German. Before this date, however, Luther had commenced those studies which provided the basis for his own translation. From 1512 he had been lecturing on the Bible in the Theological Faculty of Wittenberg. From 1516 his friend Johannes Lang had also been a member of the Wittenberg faculty, and Luther had not hesitated to make use of the former's knowledge of Greek in order to promote his own study of the New Testament. (35)

As soon as the first edition of Erasmus' Greek New Testament was published in 1516, Luther made use of it in his exposition of the Epistle to the Romans. Luther's progress in Hebrew was also remarkable after he had mastered the rudiments from Reuchlin's grammar-dictionary. Thereafter, he read rapidly and copiously, without paying great attention to grammatical detail, until he had caught the spirit of the language. (36)

Luther's attainments in the Biblical languages were commented upon by his friend Peter Mosellanus in a letter

to Julius Pflug, one of his pupils, in December 1519. He described the scene at the Leipzig debate between Eck and Luther, and then proceeded to deliniate Luther :-

Martin is of middle height with slender body worn out both by study and care, so that you can almost count his bones. He is in the vigour of manhood; his voice is strong and clear. He is so wonderfully learned in the Bible that he has almost all the texts in memory. He has learned enough Greek and Hebrew to form a judgment of the translations. He has no lack of matter in speaking, for an immense stock of ideas and words are at his command. Perhaps you might miss in him judgment and method in using his stores. In daily life and manners he is cultivated and affable, having nothing of the stoic and nothing supercilious about him; rather he plays the man at all seasons. He is jovial in society, vivacious and sure, always with a happy face no matter how hard his enemies press him.... (37)

Luther's own comments on the Biblical languages were characteristic and show his approach to translation :-

The Hebrew tongue is altogether despised because of impiety, or perhaps because people despair of learning it ... Without this language there can be no understanding of Scripture; for the New Testament, although written in Greek is full of Hebraisms. It is rightly said that the Hebrews drink from the fountains, the Greeks from the streams, and the Latins from the pools. I am no Hebrew grammarian, nor do I wish to be, for I cannot bear to be hampered by rules; but I am quite at ease in the language, for whoever has the gift of tongues, even though he cannot forthwith turn anything into another language, or interpret it, has a wonderful gift of God. The translators of the Septuagint were unskilled in Hebrew, and their version is therefore extremely poor, even though literal. We prefer it to the version of Jerome, even though we confess that he who reviled Jerome as a good Jew was mistaken and did him wrong. But he has this excuse, that after the Babylonian Captivity the language was so corrupted that it could not be restored...(38)

And again:-

Without the Hebrew language it is not possible to understand the Scriptures, especially the Prophets, in a number of

passages. (39)

The major difference of approach which Luther made in his translations as compared with previous High-German versions, was that he went to the original Hebrew and Greek as a basis for his work, whereas others had been content to render the Vulgate Latin into German. These earlier versions were written in a curious Latinized German, and most of them were unattractive and sometimes almost unintelligible.

The task which Luther undertook occupied him in translation and revision to the end of his life. Briefly, the translation of the New Testament was completed in the amazingly short time of nine months, occupying Luther's sojourn in the Wartburg. This time included translation, revision and the printing of the first edition. It was a demonstration of Luther's immense energy, working ability, and linguistic genius. Before the second edition of the New Testament was out in December 1522, Luther had commenced to work on the Old Testament, translating from the Hebrew with the assistance of his Wittenberg colleagues. He was constantly interrupted by other burdensome duties, and finally had to change his plans, resolving to issue the translation in three instalments - first the Pentateuch, second the historical books from Joshua

to Esther, and last, the Prophets and other writings. (40)

The first part appeared in 1523; the second, and part of the third, in 1524; and the remainder, including part of the Apochrypha, over the following eight years. Finally the complete translation of the whole Bible appeared in 1534. Before publication, Luther had revised it with the aid of a committee of his colleagues, consisting of Melanchthon, Bugenhagen, Jonas, Cruciger, Aurogallus, and the professional reader, Rörer, who met for the purpose in his house. He himself revised the New Testament in its various editions from 1522 onwards.

Luther was not yet satisfied, and despite illness and the pressure of his multitudinous duties, he and his committee worked at a new revision of the whole Bible during the period 1539 to 1541. The edition issued in 1541 was intended to be final, but nevertheless Luther made changes and corrections in the subsequent editions of 1543, 1544, 1545, and 1546. Thus to quote Professor Mackinnon :-

> The German Bible in its final form is a monument of the unremitting and painstaking toil of nearly a quarter of a century. (41)

In this colossal undertaking, it was the Old Testament which presented the greatest problems to Luther, not

because of any lack of Hebrew on his part, but because of rendering it in the vernacular intelligibly and appropriately; to convey the idiom and thought of the Hebrew writer to the German reader. As in the case of his preaching, Luther aimed at presenting the Word of God in the living language of the common people; in making the Hebrew and Greek writers 'speak German'. Therefore he sought the sense of the passage, rather than adhered to a literal translation. In his OPEN LETTER ON TRANSLATING of 1530, he explained his method, with illustrations of actual problems. Luther had been accused of tampering with the original version of Ro. iii.28 (translated in our Authorized Version as 'Therefore we conclude that a man is justified by faith without the deeds of the law.'), by inserting the word 'allein' in order to conform with his own theology. In reply he writes :-

Here, in Romans 3., I know right well that the word "solum" was not in the Greek or Latin text, and had no need of the papists to teach me that. It is a fact that these four letters s-o-l-a- are not there, and at these letters the asses-heads stare, like a cow at a gate. At the same time they do not see that sense of them is there, and that the word belongs there if the translation is to be clear and strong. I wanted to speak German, not Latin or Greek, since I had undertaken to speak German in the translation. But it is the nature of our German language that in speaking of two things, one of which is admitted and the other denied, we use the word "only" along with the word "not", or "no". So we say "The farmer brings only grain and no money"; "No I have no money now, but only grain"; "I have only eaten, and not drunk"; "Did you only write it, and read it over?" There are innumerable cases of this kind

in daily use. In all these phrases it is the German usage, even though it is not Latin and Greek usage ... We must not ask the Latin letters how we are to speak German; but we must ask the mother in the home, the children on the street, the common man in the market-place about this, and look them in the mouth to see how they speak, and afterwards do our translating. That way they understand it, and mark that one is speaking to them .... (42)

Luther's own letter and writings describe his aims and difficulties in translating. Writing to Link on June 14th., 1528, he literally groaned over the task :-

We are sweating over the work of putting the Prophets into German. God, how much there is of it, and how hard it is to make these Hebrew writers talk German. They resist us and do not want to leave their Hebrew and imitate our German barbarisms. It is like making a nightingale leave her own sweet song and imitate the monotonous voice of the cuckoo, which she detests. Farewell, and pray for us .....
I have constantly tried, in translating, to produce a pure and clear German; and it has often happened that for two or three or four weeks we have sought and asked for a single word, and sometimes have not found it even then. (43)

He described the difficulties presented by the Book of Job :-

In working on the Book of Job, Master Philip, Aurogallus and I could sometimes scarcely finish three lines in four days. Now that it is translated and complete, anyone can read and criticize it, and one runs his eyes over three or four pages and does not stumble once. But he is not aware of the humps and lumps that there were, where he now slips along as over a planed board, while we had to sweat and toil to get the humps and lumps out of the way so that one could slide over it so finely .... (44)

He comments humourously on the same difficulties in a letter to Spalatin on 23rd. February 1524 :-

All is well with us. We have so much trouble in translating Job, on account of the grandeur of his sublime style, that he seems to be more impatient of our efforts to turn him into German, than he was of the consolation of his friends. Either he always wishes to sit on his dung-hill, or else he is jealous of the translator who would share with him the credit of writing his book .... (45)

An earlier letter to Spalatin in 1522, showed Luther in search of correct technical terms for a section of Old Testament translation :-

Please do us the favour of describing the following animals and giving us their names according to their species. **(There follows a list of reptiles, birds of prey, and game-animals)** .... In Hebrew and Latin and Greek these things are all so confused that we have to guess at them from the genera and species of the animals. Therefore I wish, if possible, to learn in German the names, the species and the nature of all the birds of prey, and game animals and the venomous reptiles ... (46)

The following passage from Malthesius described the committee at work, and the lengths to which Luther was prepared to go to get correct German expressions :-

When the entire German Bible had gone out for the first time, and one day with its tribulations taught the other, Doctor Luther takes the Bible and revises it from the beginning with great diligence, earnestness and prayer; and since the Son of God has promised to be present where several would come together in His name, Doctor Luther immediately orders a sanhedrin of his own of the best people who were then available, who came together weekly several hours before supper in the monastery of the doctor, namely: Doctor Johann Bugenhagen, Doctor Justus Jonas, Magister Philip, Doctor Cruciger, Matthaeus Aurogallus, with whom was also Magister Georg Roerer, who was the the corrector; often also other strange doctors and learned men came to this important work, as Doctor Bernhard Ziegler, Doctor Forstemius .....
When, now, the Doctor had previously gone over the Bible as issued and had taken instruction from Jews and outside philologists, also had addressed questions to older Germans concerning proper words (just as he had several

sheep slaughtered in order that a German butcher might tell him the names of each part of the sheep), then Doctor Luther came into the council with his old Latin and new German Bible, together with which he constantly had also the Hebrew text; Master Philip brought his Greek text, Doctor Cruciger, beside the Hebrew, the Chaldaic Bible; the professors had also their rabbinical commentaries, Doctor Pommer also had a Latin text before him, in which he was well versed. Every one had prepared himself in advance for the text which was up for discussion, and had looked over the Greek and Latin, besides the Jewish commentators. Thereupon this chairman proposed a text and called upon everyone's vote, hearing what everyone had to say on the passage according to the peculiarity of the language, or the exposition of the ancient doctors ..... After this preliminary admonition every one brought what he knew from the grammar and the context, as it was agreed with the preceding and the following, or sought to bring proof of learned men, until finally, in 1542, the work, by the grace of God, was completed; although afterwards, when Doctor Luther wrote against the Jews, the understanding grew from day to day and many passages were rendered in a clearer fashion, which after the decease of the Doctor, with the knowledge and council of the learned men of Wittenberg were entered into the last editions of the Bible by Master Georg Roerer ..... (47)

The importance of Luther's achievement lies in the German into which he translated the Hebrew and Greek. A correct German idiom was unknown among the learned of his time, (48) and he had largely to mould the language into an adequate medium of Hebrew thought and idiom. The actual place of Luther in the history of German language has been hotly debated by supporters and antagonists. There are those who held that by his translation of the Bible, Luther created a new German, (49) while others oppose this view, and assert that the crystallization of New High-German

began a century and a half before Luther in the Chancery of the Kings of Bohemia. (50)

Luther himself rejected the notion that he was the creator of a new German:-

I have no definite, especial speech of my own in German, but use the common German speech, that both Highlanders and Lowlanders may understand me. I speak after the manner of the Saxon Chancery, which all the kings and princes of Germany follow. All the Imperial cities and princely courts write according to the chanceries of Saxony and our sovereign. For that reason it is the commonest German language. (51)

Boehmer explains this statement in the following summary:-

All that is certain is that at the beginning of the 16th. Century the Imperial and Saxon Chanceries, and also those of the larger cities of Upper Saxony followed essentially the same rules of phonology. That is certainly a very important fact. Nevertheless we must not overestimate its importance. What the Imperial and Saxon Chanceries were aiming at, and what they partially achieved, was uniformity in phonology, in orthography, and perhaps in inflection. Vocabulary was of less importance to them, since they moved always in a very limited circle of concepts and thoughts, and in syntax they were entirely governed by the peculiar taste which has made the expression "official style" a term of opprobrium. (52)

Again, it is not very certain that this 'official' German exerted any influence outside of the Chanceries. The writers of the period followed both in phonology and inflection not the Chancery, but the usage of their native speech. Boehmer continues his argument :-

At the time of Luther's appearance there was in reality no German language, written or spoken. There was, on the contrary such a multitude of dialects that often people could not be understood thirty miles from home ... Furthemore, the Chancery language was itself by no means

a definite and constant language. The clerks still followed their individual taste, even in spelling ... (53)

Luther's attitude to the Chancery German was a general adherence to its usage in phonology, orthography, and inflection, but he was completely independent - and this was the important matter - in vocabulary.

Boehmer's general conclusion is :-

> Not only did he establish for the first time a kind of orthography; unconsciously he gave in his writings the model of a German syntax, derived not from the Chancery style, but from the living spoken word; and lastly, he laid the foundation for the common German vocabulary of the modern literary language. (54)

This achievement of Luther's has no parallel in the history of language. (55) Not only had the Bible been made to speak to the common people in their own language, which was Luther's purpose, but, because Luther was the highest authority in Germany in matters of faith and personal conduct, he became also the authority among Germans in matters of language. Henceforth, and until the 18th century, Germans learned to read and write and speak the common German at Luther's school.

In summary, it is undoubtedly true to say that Luther, by his conception of the office of the preacher as one through whom men should hear, in the exposition of the Word of God, God speaking personally and directly to them, created an immense desire for books and the

ability to be able to read in German; and then gave to Germans a translation of the Scriptures in a living language, and by the very excellence of this, augmented by his authoritative position, laid the foundation of a common language for the people. How the educative effects of this tremendous achievement are to be assessed, is difficult to determine. In two ways, in the German Bible itself, and in the fact of the stimulus of a common language, new life had entered into Germany with incalculable results. That Luther's translation was eagerly bought, and that it found its way into the very life of the people, was proved by the number of editions which were required to satisfy the demand for it. Commenting on this, Cochlaeus declared :-

> Luther's New Testament was multiplied to such an extent by the printers, that even tailors and shoemakers, women and every simpleton who had turned Lutheran and had learned to read a little German, turned to it with the utmost eagerness as to the fountain of all truth. Many carried it about in their bosom, and sought to commit it to memory .....(56)

Even in non-Lutheran parts of Germany, Luther's common language penetrated, though his translation was banned there. In Ducal Saxony, for instance, not only is there evidence of the smuggling in of Luther's writings and translation, (57), but the Duke himself induced his secretary, Emser, to produce a rival translation of

the New Testament. This was issued in 1527.

The outstanding feature of this translation of the New Testament was its plagiarism, since Emser did not hesitate to copy entire sections of Luther's translation, changing the text only in the interest of his theological position. Wherever he himself translated from the Vulgate, the inferiority of his version showed itself. Luther's ironic comments on this unintended compliment were interesting :-

> I should really like to see the papist who might excel in this respect in translating an epistle of Paul, or a prophet into German, provided he did not use Luther's German and his translation. For we have seen the Scribbler of Dresden (Emser), who mastered my New Testament .... He confesses that my German is sweet and good, and he noted well that he could not do better, and yet he wanted to bring shame upon it; therefore he proceeded to copy my New Testament almost word for word, as I made it ....(58)

Luther condemned the plagiarism but rejoiced that the New Testament has gone into enemy territory under the patronage of Duke George. Emser's New Testament had such a wide circulation that the wish for the full translation by a Roman translator was expressed. This was undertaken by Johann Dietenberger, Inquisitor-General at Mainz. In the main, this version, which went into a number of editions, reproduced the New Testament according to Emser, and the Old Testament according to Luther's translation. (59)

It is, therefore, true to say that Luther's German

Bible was circulated through non-Lutheran Germany in disguise, propagating both evangelical piety and the new common language.

As to Luther's own work, despite the comparatively high price of one and a half gulden (Bugenhagen's salary at the University was forty gulden per annum!) a second edition of the New Testament was called for in a few weeks; and in little more than two years fourteen editions were issued from Wittenberg. Of the whole Bible, and selections from it, up to 1546, the year of Luther's death, three hundred and seventy-seven editions were issued, or more than a million copies, excluding the Low-German versions. (60)

4. LUTHER'S CATECHISMS.

There was present in Luther's mind, from the very commencement of his opposition to the Papacy, the intention of remodelling the media of Christian instruction, not only at the high level of the theological faculty, but at the simplest level of the children and the uneducated adult. (61) He saw in the example of Christ's preaching and teaching method, the model upon which all Christian preaching must proceed, and set himself the novel and profound task of translating the doctrines of the Christian faith into

terms which children and simple people could understand. (62)

From the very beginning of this undertaking, Luther had also in mind the preparation of a simple catechism, which would comprehend in itself the very essence of Christian teaching. Therefore from the pulpit he began the exposition of the essential parts of such a handbook - the Ten Commandments, the Apostle's Creed, and the Lord's Prayer. In March 1519 he wrote in a letter to Spalatin :-

I am too busy to translate my exposition of the Lord's Prayer into Latin. I daily expound to the children and the simple the Ten Commandments and the Lord's Prayer ... (63)

He had long before this preached on the Ten Commandments from the pulpit of the Wittenberg pastor, Heins, in 1516, and during the Passiontide of 1517 had explained the Lord's Prayer from the pulpit.

In the same year he wrote a very brief exposition of the Ten Commandments, which was republished in 1518, along with yet another explanation in German and Latin, entitled BRIEF EXPLANATION. (64)

This was followed by a new exposition of the Lord's Prayer, and in the same year, 1519, he published A SHORT FORM TO UNDERSTAND AND PRAY THE LORD'S PRAYER. (65).

In all this he was seeking for simplification, while

preserving the essence of his faith. His intention of producing a catechism was in itself no innovation, for such booklets had been in use during the Middle Ages. Through these, some instruction was probably given by the clergy in the meaning of the Creed and the Lord's Prayer, and indeed, there were resolutions of Councils which had made such instruction obligatory in the later Middle Ages. After the invention of printing, large placards or posters, were printed on heavy cardboard, and placed in the porches of churches, so that children and the common people on their way to Mass might become more familiar with the text of the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Decalogue. (66)

But in Luther's hands the material of the medieval catechism began to assume a new form, and a different emphasis. In the medieval form, the exposition of the Commandments had served mainly as instruction to penitents, and had occupied a very subsidiary position in the catechism itself. As expounded by Luther, the Decalogue was given a permanent place in Christian instruction, side by side with the Lord's Prayer and Creed. In 1520, he produced and published his BRIEF EXPLANATION OF TEN COMMANDMENTS, THE CREED, AND THE LORD'S PRAYER. This was intended as a manual for penitents, and, as such, shows its medieval origin, but in it Luther simplified the instruction, and

arranged the parts in beautiful and novel fashion. His brief preface explains his approach, and shows what he considered the essential elements of Christian instruction to be. He wrote:-

> The ordinary Christian, who cannot read the Scriptures, is required to learn and know the Ten Commandments, the Creed, and the Lord's Prayer; and this has not come to pass without God's special ordering. For these three contain fully and completely everything that is in the Scriptures, everything that should ever be preached, and everything that a Christian needs to know, all put so briefly and so plainly that no one can make complaint or excuse, saying that what he needs for his salvation is too long or too hard to remember.
> Three things a man needs to know in order to be saved. First, he must know what he ought to do, and what he ought not to do. Second, when he finds that by his own strength he can neither do the things he ought, nor leave undone the things he ought not to do, he must know where to seek and find and get the strength he needs. Third, he must know how to seek and find and get this strength ... The Commandments teach a man to know his illness, so that he feels and sees what he can do and what he cannot do, what he can and cannot leave undone, and thus knows himself to be a sinner and a wicked man. After that the Creed shows him and teaches him where he may find the remedy, - the grace which helps him to become a good man and to keep the Commandments; it shows him God, and the mercy which he has revealed and offered in Christ. In the third place, the Lord's Prayer teaches him how to ask for this grace, and get it, and take it to himself, by habitual, humble, comforting prayer; then grace is given, and by the fulfilment of God's commandments he is saved.
> These are the three chief things in all the Scriptures ..... (67)

In this SHORT FORM of 1520 Luther had collected together the results of all his previous catechetical work, and for nine years it remained the chief handbook of religious instruction. But, not yet satisfied, Luther continued to work at the material. In 1522 he republished

the SHORT FORM, with some changes and additions under the title of BETBUCHLEIN. (68) Yet his aim in all this work was foreshadowed in his declaration on the need for the systematic religious instruction of boys and girls in his OPEN LETTER TO THE GERMAN NOBILITY of 1520, when he wrote:-

> Ought not every Christian at his (her) ninth or tenth year to know the entire Holy Gospel from which he derives his name and his life? (69)

By this he undoubtedly meant that all children should know by heart at an early age, in their own language, and with the beginning of understanding, the Ten Commandments, the Creed, and the Lord's Prayer.
The BETBUCHLEIN had not been written with that end specifically in view, and his letters showed his great concern to accomplish the simplification and brevity necessary for children.
Overwhelmed as he was by pressing duties in the critical period of reconstruction, he finally despaired of completing the task himself, and in February 1525 he commissioned Justus Jonas and Agricola with the preparation of a catechism for children. (70)
This did not, however, come to fruition, and once again Luther had to undertake the writing.
In 1526 in his PREFACE TO THE GERMAN MASS AND ORDER OF

SERVICE, he stressed once more the urgent need for such a booklet, and outlined the uses to which it could be put in church and home. The catechism which he had in mind, was not an outline to be learned by children in parrot fashion, but one in which instruction would proceed by question and answer:-

> Let us do it in God's Name. First, the German Service needs an easily understood, plain, simple catechism. I know not how to put in a clearer or better way than has been done since the beginning of Christendom and retained to our own day, namely in these three, the Ten Commandments, the Creed, and the Lord's Prayer. These three contain, simply and briefly, about everything a Christian needs to know. This instruction must be given, as long as there is no special congregation, from the pulpit at stated times, or daily as may be needed, and repeated or read aloud evenings and mornings in the homes for the children and the servants, if we want to train them as Christians. They should not merely learn to say the words by heart, as heretofore, but with each part they should be asked questions and give answer, what each part means and how they understand it. If everything cannot be covered at once, one part should be taken up and the next day another .... (71)

The visitation of the churches and Lutheran communities which began in 1527, revealed to Luther and his colleagues the profound ignorance which existed not only among the people, but also among pastors and teachers, particularly on matters of the Christian faith.

In view of this appalling state of affairs, Luther could not defer the preparation of the Catechism which he outlined, any longer. It had become perhaps the

most important of all the tasks on his hands.

He worked steadily through the winter of 1528 - 1529, on the Small and Large Catechisms, the former intended for the instruction of children and beginners in the Christian faith, and the latter as a continuation of more detailed Christian teaching for adults. Both were published about the same time, in the early part of 1529.

In the Prefaces to each, Luther described the appalling state of ignorance in the parishes, which had impelled him to their composition, despite the constant pressure of other great and important matters.

Introducing the SMALL CATECHISM, he wrote:-

> In setting forth this Catechism ... in such a simple concise, and easy form, I have been compelled and driven by the wretched and lamentable state of affairs, which I discovered lately when I acted as Visitor. Merciful God, what misery I have seen, the common people knowing nothing at all of Christian teaching, especially in the villages, and, alas, many pastors are altogether incapable and incompetent to teach (so much so that one is ashamed to speak of it). Nevertheless all maintain that they are Christians, have been baptized, and receive the Holy Sacraments. Yet they do not understand, and cannot even recite either the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, or the Ten Commandments; they live like poor cattle and senseless swine, though, now that the Gospel has come, they have learned well enough how they may abuse their liberty.
> O ye bishops, how will you ever answer for it to Christ, that ye have so shamefully neglected the people, and never for a moment discharged your office. Ye forbid the Sacrament in one kind, and insist on your Human laws, but never enquire whether they know the Lord's

Prayer, the Creed, the Ten Commandments, or any of the words of God. (72)

His description of the state of affairs, in the Preface to the Large Catechism, was almost identical. He wrote :-

This Sermon is designed and undertaken, that it might be an instruction for children and the simple-minded. For I well remember the time - even now it is a daily occurrence - that one finds rude, old people who knew nothing, and still know nothing, of these things, and who, nevertheless go to Baptism, and the Lord's Supper and use everything belonging to Christians, notwithstanding that those who come to the Lord's Supper ought to know more and have a fuller understanding of Christian doctrine than children and new scholars. (73)

In publishing the SMALL CATECHISM, Luther conformed to the medieval practice already mentioned, and issued the material not in book form, but as a number of posters, or placards, so that, fixed upon the wall in the house or school, they might be seen and read by all, at all times. Roerer, writing to a friend, in January 1529, said that the CATECHISM as a book had not appeared - 'yet while writing this, I glance at the wall of my dwelling, and, fixed there, I see tables embracing in shortest and simplest form Luther's CATECHISM for children and the household, and .... send them to you as a sample .....(74)

In this poster edition, the Five Chief Parts of the CATECHISM - the Decalogue, the Creed, the Lord's Prayer,

Baptism, and the Lord's Supper, were completed by March 16th. 1529, but the exact date of Luther's addition of the Table of Duties is not known. Both the LARGE CATECHISM and the SMALL CATECHISM were on the market in book form by about the beginning of May 1529. (75)

The task that had occupied Luther's mind since the beginning of the Reformation movement was thus completed, and in addition to the German New Testament and the parts of the Bible already translated there were now available and current in Germany, in homes, schools, and churches, two handbooks of instruction in the elements of the Christian faith and life, in the language of the people. The SMALL CATECHISM falls into six parts, and initial responsibility for the instruction on the basis of the book was placed on pastors and on the head of each household.

The book was beautifully arranged, each Part being an answer to a question. Part 1 answered the question "What shall I do?" and was an exposition of the Ten Commandments. Part 2 dealt with the Creed, and answered the question, "What shall I believe?". Part 3 expounded the Lord's Prayer in answer to the question "How shall I pray and be sure that God will answer my prayer?" Parts 4, 5, 6, dealing with baptism, confession, and the sacrament

gave answers to the question "How will God nourish my spiritual life?" Each Part was treated internally by question and answer, given in the simplest language, yet without in any way diminishing the value of the instruction.

To this Luther added an appendix, including simple evening and morning prayers, and grace at meals.

A further addition was the Table of Duties, in which Luther applied the principles of Christian duty to the everyday life of rulers, state servants, pastors, teachers, citizens, husbands, wives, parents, children, employees, masters, young people, widows, and Christians in general. (76)

The method of instruction which Luther outlined in his Preface will be dealt with later.

Next to Luther's translation of the Bible this small book must be accounted his greatest literary achievement, and his most influential work. Even in translation, the simplicity and gravity of the language, allied to the wonderful balance and symmetry of the arrangement, leave a lasting impression on the reader.

Writing to Wolfgang Capito in June 1537, Luther said:-

I am quite unconcerned about the fate of my books. Sometimes I am so disgusted with them that I am willing

to acknowledge a few of them as truly my own, namely, the book on the FREEDOM OF THE WILL, and the CATECHISM. (77)

The influence of this small book, like that of Luther's Bible, is incalculable, but some of its effects may be described. It quickly found its way into homes and schools, where it provided education of the most basic kind for children and adults, the simple and the intelligent. It quickly passed into translation, and exerted the same educative influence in countries far from its place of origin. It is the only handbook of instruction, published four hundred years ago, which is still in regular use in schools.

The first edition of the SMALL CATECHISM in book form was a translation into Low German, printed in April 1529, while the High German CATECHISM was still in poster form. (78) Other editions in the same dialect quickly followed, showing the great demand for the book in North Germany. It was translated into Dutch for the provinces of the Lower Rhine, into a Friesian dialect for the benefit of the islanders, into the dialects of settlers in various parts of Germany from Russia, Poland, Lithuania and other East European countries. Among many of these tongues the SMALL CATECHISM was the first book ever published. (79) In other words, the beginnings of popular education

and culture in many parts of Germany were due simply to the introduction of Luther's small book.
In other countries of Europe, while this full claim cannot be made for its influence, its translation and introduction into the country was most closely interwoven with the beginning of the education of the people in their own language. This was true of Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Iceland, Finland, Austria, Hungary, parts of Poland and the Baltic States. (80) Its influence can also be traced in England, and perhaps more strongly in North America. (81)
In Germany itself, it is not too much to say that out of the dissemination of the CATECHISM developed the popular school system of the country. All church constitutions after 1529 charged the pastor with the duty of teaching the CATECHISM during the Sunday afternoon service, both in the central town of the parish and in the outlying villages.
Owing to the great shortage of pastors - one of Luther's greatest problems - the sexton or verger often had to substitute for the pastor in the task of catechizing in the remoter villages. This was found to work so satisfactorily that the services of the sexton were generally engaged on week-days in the schools for the same purpose. One thing led to another. In order to

be able to study the CATECHISM, children had to be able to read. Hence it became the sexton's first duty to teach the art of reading and writing in German, and the sexton had become village school-master. (82)

In exactly the same fashion instruction in the elements of learning devolved upon the village sexton in Denmark and Sweden after the introduction of the SMALL CATECHISM. (83)

The development of German schools, however, was a much slower process than that of the Latin secondary schools. Though the various Kirchenordnungen made provision for German schools in which the rudiments of formal instruction in German should be given, the 16th. century saw comparatively few such institutions. (84) More generally the task of teaching was left to the village sextons. (85)

The initial requirement for the teacher was the ability to take the children through Luther's Catechism. The original Saxony Visitation Articles, upon which so many later Ordnungen were based, made no provision whatever for instruction in the vernacular, though presumably some was given incidentally through the religious instruction laid down in the Plan. In the regulations of 1556, the sextons were definitely charged with the duty of giving instruction in the

catechism. Finally in 1580, Saxony revised its school organization after the pattern of that of Wurtemburg, and made provision for the proper establishment of German schools. In between 1528 and 1580, the work of elementary instruction was undoubtedly in the hands of the village sextons. (86)

What happened in Saxony was a probable indication of the course of development in the leading Protestant states and cities, and by the end of the century some kind of arrangement for the German schools had been made throughout Protestant Germany. The German schools were not regarded as equal in status with the Latin schools, and the teachers in the former were likewise regarded as inferior to those in the high schools. Nevertheless, with all its defects, the beginning had been made upon which a universal elementary educational system was built in a later century.

It is no exaggeration to say that the popular system of elementary education in Germany came out of the course of instruction which Luther laid down in his Small Catechism.

The dissemination of the book was remarkable, and found its way into the majority of homes and schools where it formed the basis of instruction in the Christian faith for children and adults. Malthesius writing in 1566

declared :-

> There have now been printed of the Catechism more than a hundred thousand copies .. which are being used in all academies and public schools. (87)

Thus popular education in the mother tongue, which would appear to be the inevitable consequence of Luther's conception of the Word of God was established in Germany, despite the tendency of the reformers to concentrate on higher education, as a direct consequence of Luther's preaching, translation of the Bible and, perhaps even more directly by the dissemination of the SMALL CATECHISM. Paulsen's comments, in an otherwise cool appreciation of Luther's part in German education, are illuminating:-

> It is not likely that Luther's earnestness in urging, as he did, his preface to his SMALL CATECHISM, that it was the duty of pastors and fathers of families to give instruction to children and servants, should have been without its due effects. No doubt such teaching was limited in its simplest form, to making their pupils repeat after them the Commandments, the Creed, and the Lord's Prayer, until they knew everything by heart. But this was bound sooner or later to lead to some instruction in reading. My own mother taught me to read many years before I was sent to a school, and I have reason to think that this practice was far from exceptional in Protestant farmhouses, and must be referred back for its origin to the age of the Reformation. In the same way the Pastors were the teachers, not only of their grown-up parishioners, but also of their children. (88)

5. LUTHER'S HYMNS

In yet another direction Luther placed an indelible

stamp on popular culture, and gave both impetus and direction to it.

In 1528 radical changes had been made in the celebration of the Mass and in the form of church services, by the activities of Carlstadt in Wittenberg, and Münzer elsewhere. Such changes revealed the danger that unless these matters were met by those in a position to advise and control, the result would be a riot of individualism, with great injury to the Reformed Church.

Luther, both by force of circumstances, and on the urgent request of his friend, Hausmann, pastor at Zwickau, (89), situated right in the centre of the Münzer movement, began the preparation of a new form of Mass and liturgy for church services, which would comprehend the principles of the Reformation without disrupting the true elements of traditional Christian worship. On December 4th, 1523, to Hausmann's relief and great satisfaction, Luther sent him the FORMULAE MISSAE, his first attempt at an evangelical liturgy. (90)

In this liturgy, Luther revived and expanded one aspect of worship, which had suffered under medieval practice. This new aspect was the inclusion of congregational hymns in the vernacular. In the preface to

the liturgy , Luther wrote :-

I also wish as many songs as possible to be in the vernacular, which the people shall sing during Mass, either immediately after the Gradual, and immediately after the Sanctus and Agnus Dei. For who doubts that once upon a time all the people sang these, which now only the choir sings, or responds when the bishop is consecrating. But these songs may be ordered in this manner, they may be sung right after the Latin songs, or on alternate days, now Latin, now the vernacular, until the entire Mass shall be made vernacular. But poets are wanting among us, - or they are not known as yet, - who can put together pleasingly pious and spiritual songs which are worthy to be used by all the people in the Church of God ....
I say this, so that if there are any German poets, they may be moved to and work out, pious poems for us ... (91)

As this passage indicates, Luther had begun to look for poets to write hymns in German for use in the Church services. Luther, however, was not satisfied with mere translation of the Latin Service into German. He required the continuance of the historic Service itself, with the abuses removed, and its finest features preserved, but in a form fully consonant with the genius of the German language and the German people.

It must have 'eine recht deutsche Art!' This included both music and text, for again Luther was not in sympathy with such efforts as produced the first German Service at Strassburg, which for a time was held only at side-altars, without music. He expressed his opinion of this in no uncertain terms :-

I do not forbid that one should translate the Latin text into German and retain the Latin music, but it does not work out artistically or properly. Both, - text and notes, accent, neumes, and form, - must proceed from mother

tongue and voice; all else is mere imitation like the apes. (92)

Luther, then, was in no overwhelming haste in this task, and regarded it as one which would take many years, and many translators, poets, and musicians.

His letter to Spalatin in January 1524, revealed him at work on this project, urging his friends to co-operate in the task, in which he had already given a lead in the writing of several hymns :-

There is a plan afoot to follow the example of the prophets of the early Church and compose for the common German people German psalms, that is spiritual songs, so that the Word of God may remain among the people in the form of song also. We are seeking everywhere for poets, and since you are gifted with such knowledge of the German language and command so elegant a style, cultivated by much use, I beg that you will work with us in this matter, and try to translate some one of the psalms into a hymn, like the sample of my own which you have here. But I wish that you will leave out all new words and words that are only used at court. In order to be understood by the people, only the simplest and commonest words should be sung, but they should also be pure and apt and should give a clear sense, as near as possible to that of the Psalter. The translation, therefore, must be free, keeping the sense, but letting the words go, and rendering them by other appropriate words. I lack the gift to do what I wish to see done, and so I shall try you to see if you are a Heman, or an Asaph, or a Jeduthun. I would make the same request of John von Dolzig, whose German is also rich and elegant, but only in case you both have leisure ... You have my Seven Penitential Psalms and the commentaries on them, from which you can get the sense of the psalm. .... I have already translated the De Profundis, and the Misere Mei has been assigned .... (93)

In the following year several hymn-books were published, all of which contains hymns written by Luther. The first of these was printed in Wittenberg, under the direction of Luther, and with his Preface. This was the GEYSTLICHE

GESANGK BUCHLEYN, commonly spoken of as "The Walther Choir Book", because Luther enlisted the assistance of his friend Johann Walther, cantor at the palace of the Elector Frederick, at Torgau, in the preparation of the settings for congregational singing. The book contained twenty-four of Luther's own hymns, and it was his desire to have these taught first of all to the children in school, so that they might be able to lead the congregational singing, and enable the older people to learn them more quickly. (94) In his brief preface Luther explained his purpose, wrote on the settings of the hymns, and denounced the 'enthusiasts' who would deprive the Church of the service of the arts, especially the arts of music :-

That the singing of spiritual hymns is a goodly thing and pleasing to God, I do not think is hidden from any Christian since everyone is aware not only of the example of the Kings and Prophets, in the Old Testament, (who praised God with singing and playing, with poesy and all manner of string music), but also of the universality of this custom in Christendom from the beginning ..... Therefore, together with some others, I, too, have collected some spiritual songs as a fair beginning and to offer this as an example and an incentive to those who are better able to do this .... And these songs are arranged in four parts for no other reason than that I greatly desire the youth, who certainly should and must be trained in music and other proper and useful arts, to have something whereby they may be weaned away and freed from the love ballads and other worldly songs, and instead of these learn something wholesome and beneficial, and take up good things with enthusiasm as is proper for youth. Furthermore I am not of the opinion that all arts are to be cast down and destroyed on account of the Gospel, as some fanatics protest; on the contrary I would gladly see all the arts, especially

> music, in the service of Him who has given and created them. I therefore pray that every pious Christian may be pleased with this, and if God has given him greater or equal gifts in such things, help (this good cause)..... (95)

Of the other two books appearing in 1524, one was probably printed in Nuremberg, and contained four of Luther's hymns. The third book was produced in Erfurt, and contained eighteen of Luther's compositions. The unknown writer of the preface to this hymnal stated that the book was issued so that the common people might have the means of making themselves familiar with the songs sung in church. The book, evidently, was intended primarily for the use of the household and private devotions. (96)

From this, the conclusion can be drawn that the stimulus given by Luther was bringing results, and the demand for books with German hymns was shown in the number of editions that these early hymnals went through.

In 1529, Luther prepared and published a second hymn-book, the KLUG GESANGBUCH, which contained fifty-four hymns, of which Luther himself wrote twenty-eight. In his preface he explained the issue of this second publication as necessitated by the issue of "improved" editions of the original hymnal, by plagiarists, who were thus putting into circulation inferior material. The 1529 edition was therefore definitive, and Luther added the names of the composers of the hymns in this edition. (97)

Thirteen years later, another hymn-book was published by the Klug press, under Luther's name and with his preface. This did not contain any new hymns, but its purpose, to provide hymns for the Burial Service, was unique. The preface is interesting, in that it shows Luther's devotion to music, his appreciation of beauty, and in this case, his particular desire to preserve and propagate the fine musical settings of medieval composers. These he had wedded to new words :-

> As a good example we have chosen fine musical settings or songs which are used in the papacy at vigils, masses for the dead, and funerals. Some of these we have had printed in this little book, and purpose in the future to choose more of them.... The songs and notes are precious; it would be a shame and loss if they were to disappear: but the words are unchristian ... these should perish. In the same way they (the Papists) far outstrip us in all other directions; they have the most beautiful services, beautiful, splendid cathedrals and cloisters ... but the teaching and preaching which they practice serve the devil.. They also possess many admirable, beautiful musical compositions or songs, especially in the cathedral and parish churches, but they have "beautified" them with many idolatrous texts. Therefore we have removed (these) texts, separating them from the noble music, and in their stead we have set the living, holy Word of God, to sing, to praise, to glorify with the same, so that this beautiful ornament, music, may serve her dear Creator and His Christians, so that He be praised thereby, but we, through the Holy Word united with sweet songs, may be confirmed and strengthened in faith .... (98)

The last authorized Luther hymnal was published in 1545 under the title of GEYSTLICHE LIEDER. This was a beautifully produced book, illustrated with wood cuts, and introduced by Luther's preface. (99) Out of its one hundred and twenty-nine hymns, thirty-six were by

Luther himself. Many of these were free versions of Psalms or old Latin hymns, to which he imparted a striking originality of content and expression. His own compositions showed a fine range of subject and treatment, from EIN FESTE BURG to VON HIMMEL HOCH. But it was not so much his actual achievement in this field of composition, valuable though it was, but rather the impetus he gave to the spread of good music into the life of the common people that must be emphasized. The desire to do this sprang initially from Luther's own love of music. This led him not only to the incorporation of music for the people in the Reformed Services of the Church, and the careful preservation of the valuable musical heritage of the Middle Ages, but also to the stress which he laid on the place of music in the curriculum of schools and universities of the Reformed States. More detailed consideration of his proposals has been given in the previous chapter, but a brief review of Luther's conception of the value and place of music will show why he was so careful to ensure the status of music in school and Church. In the first place he regarded music as one of the finest gifts of God to mankind:-

> Music is an excellent gift of God, and nearest to theology, I would not exchange the little music I know for anything great, and young people must be trained in this art, since it produces fine and skilled people ... Whoever, like the enthusiasts, despises music, with those I am in disagreement, For music is a gift and donation of God, not a gift of men ..

After theology I give to music the highest place and the greatest honour. (100)

The same opinion, that music was not so much a human creation, but rather of divine origin was expressed in a letter of October, 1530, to Ludwig Senfel :-

For I judge freely, and do not shun to declare, that next to theology there is no art which can be placed on a level with music, for it alone, next to theology, can bring about what otherwise theology succeeds in producing, namely a quiet and joyful mind. (101)

It is evident that Luther himself was most strongly affected by the power of music to cure depression, to relax the mind, to bring solace in sorrow and in times of strain. Not only this, but he ascribed to music the power to affect and change the character and disposition :-

This one thing we may mention here, namely that experience bears witness to the fact that it is only music which according to the Word of God, should rightfully be praised as the mistress and empress of human affections .... by which men are ruled as by their lords and often are carried away. We cannot conceive of a greater praise of music than this. For if you desire to comfort the sorrowing or terrify the joyful, encourage those who are in despair, subdue the proud, quiet those who rave, and appease the malicious - and who is able to enumerate all these lords of the human heart, and the impulses or spirits which incite to all virtues and vices? - what more effective vehicle can you find than just music?
Even the Holy Spirit honours it as an instrument of His office, since ... by means of music His gifts come upon the Prophets, that is, the stimulus to all virtues ... On the other hand by it the devil is expelled, namely he who incites to all vices, as is shown in the case of Saul, King of Israel .....(102)

It is, then, not a matter for surprise to find Luther insisting that music must be a basic subject in school, and that one of the qualifications of the schoolmaster - and

the village pastor - must be some musical ability :-

> Music must be retained in schools on a basis of needs. A schoolmaster must be able to sing, otherwise I have no use for him. Nor should one commission young fellows for the ministry, unless they have first received their testing and training in school .... (103)

Luther's objective was music in the home, in the schools, and in the Church, and because he had such an authority in Protestant Germany in matters of faith, and because of his practical reforms in the liturgy of the Church, he established, on a firm basis, a musical tradition throughout the Reformed states. It is this aspect of his educational work that requires emphasis here, rather than Luther's own ability and love of music.

Boehmer, discussing Luther's influence on the musical tradition in Protestant Germany, summarizes the position as follows :-

> We can only do justice to Luther the musician if we consider what he did for the church services. He was not, indeed, the first to introduce congregational singing, but he was the first to give it a secure place in the services. Further in spite of many dissuasive voices, he not only left the Kunstmusik its former position in the service, but assigned it new tasks which assured it a tremendous further development. From the German chorale, which according to his arrangement was to be sung before the Gospel, there evolved in the sixteenth century the anthem; from the anthem, which with its alternating texts attracted all the interest of musicians, the musical sermon or cantata. All the marvellous evolution of Lutheran church music, from Johann Walther to Johann Sebastian Bach, would thus have been impossible had not Luther himself been an artist. (104)

It is certainly not fanciful to see a very close connection

between Martin Luther, educated in Eisenach at the close of the 15th century, and Johann Sebastian Bach, born in Eisenach towards the close of the 17th century.
It was from the tradition which Luther largely created in the home, school, and church, that the great composer found the inspiration and material for his music. (105) And while he was the finest flower of the Lutheran musical tradition there must have been countless humble people who had reason to thank Luther for pleasure, delight and achievement in an art which he had made part of the common culture. (106)

- - - - - - - -

Thus, despite the triumph of humanism and an alien culture in the high schools and universities of Germany, powerful forces were liberated by Luther's vernacular preaching, his translation of the Bible, the dissemination of his Small Catechism, and his establishment of a Lutheran musical tradition in home, school and church, which permeated the life of the common people. It is less easy to estimate the educative effects of this cultural stream than it is to describe the growth of high schools and universities, but this should not lead to the assumption that the latter were more influential in the life of the country. For though the majority of the common people were untouched by the alien classical culture of the institutions of higher

education, in the home, in the village, school and in the village church, general education in piety and in the elements of learning was fostered in the language of the people. It was from this soil, in which the seed grew slowly, quietly, and in many ways unobserved, that eventually and belatedly, a system of universal popular education and a national culture grew. These things were the real fruit of Luther's educational work.

6. THE WORK OF BUGENHAGEN

It would be false to give the impression that the aspects of Luther's educational work that have just been discussed, did not find any organized form, to correspond with that system which Melanchthon gave to Luther's proposals for higher education. To accept this view one would have to ignore the work of Bugenhagen.

Johannes Bugenhagen, the 'Pommeranus', or 'Pommer' of Luther's letters, was one of the inner circle of close friends, who collected around and followed the leadership of Luther at Wittenberg, and assisted in the carrying out of the reforms delineated by him. Bugenhagen was born in Pomerania in 1485, studied at the University of Greifswalf, and, like Luther, entered a monastery, from which he was won to Luther's cause by reading Luther's treatise on THE BABYLONIAN CAPTIVITY OF THE CHURCH. (107) He came to Wittenberg in 1521, and quickly became a

lecturer at the University, though without official appointment. He became the pastor of the Stadt Kirche in 1523, and received a regular professorship in 1535. Bugenhagen had a closer understanding of Luther's theology than had Melanchthon, and like the latter had great organizing ability, so that from his early association with Luther he collaborated with him in the reorganization of the Lutheran communities, with their churches, and schools.

From 1525 to 1543 he was frequently absent from Wittenberg under special commission to organize evangelical churches and Lutheran schools, particularly in Northern Germany and farther east, where his knowledge of the dialect was especially useful.

Wherever he went he made good provision for the establishment of Lutheran parish schools, in connection with each of the churches he reorganized. The general practice he followed was to convert the old cathedral and other large church schools into Latin secondary schools (of the type envisaged in the Visitation Articles of 1528), while the song, chantry, and other types of elementary schools were transformed into vernacular schools.

The details of Bugenhagen's movements and activities were outlined in Luther's letters. Early requests for his services were made from Danzig, but this visit did

not materialize. (108) His first commission was in Brunswick, the city council of which asked for him in March 1528. Luther's letter to Zwilling of the 7th March, 1528 contained the entry :-

Brunswick, too, has received the word, and the city council and the people have written asking for our Bugenhagen. (109)

On May 12th, Luther reported that 'Bugenhagen is going to Brunswick today to serve Christ there for a while.' (110) He stayed there until October 1528, during which time he drew up a Kirchenordnung, largely based on the INSTRUCTIONS TO VISITORS for Saxony, and commenced the reorganization of the churches and schools. This Ordinance was issued by the council with the approval of the citizens. Bugenhagen's Kirchenordnung was of great importance for it provided the model for numerous subsequent Ordinances promulgated in North Germany. Some of the details of this reconstruction as laid down in the Ordnung were as follows :-

.... Before all things, it is necessary to provide for three things; first to set up good schools for the children; next, to appoint preachers who shall deliver God's Word pure to the people, and to secure the teaching of Latin and the exposition of Holy Scripture for the learned; thirdly, to furnish Common Chests with the Church goods, and other offerings from which the service of the church may be kept up and the needs of the poor may be relieved ....
How necessary these first three things are, to set up schools, to ordain preachers, and to maintain both them and the poor out of the Common Chests is hereinafter set forth ....

(Details followed on the organization of the Common and

Church Chests, and their use and administration.)

..... For these Church Chests four deacons shall be appointed by the Council and the members of the Commune, who shall collect and demand all that is ordered, answer for everything, etc... These deacons shall pay the stipends to the pastors of their churches every quarter, as also to the sacristans and the organists.
They shall also provide and maintain a dwelling near the church for their preachers, and, where they are willing and able to do so, for their schoolmaster who is appointed in their church to sing with the children, in case he wishes to marry and keep house .... (111)

The Ordnung, besides laying down instructions for the Latin schools, provided for the establishment of German schools for boys and girls. The instruction regarding the appointment of the schoolmistress stated :-

The honourable council shall secure schoolmistresses who have an understanding of the Gospel and are of good reputation. (112)

The salary of such a schoolmistress was not, however, fixed.

The Ordnung specified 'gifts', and fees from the parents - liberality being especially praised without being defined. (113)

The Latin schools established were attached to St.Martin's and St. Catherine's, with four and three teachers respectively. (114)

From Brunswick, Bugenhagen went on to Hamburg. Luther's letter to Wenzel Link on the 20th. June, 1528, gave an account of this new call, along with other details of the adoption of visitation by the Margrave of Brandenburg :-

... I rejoice that Nuremburg and the Margrave George of

> Brandenburg have adopted our system of church visitation .. Hamburg has adopted the evangelical faith, following the example of Brunswick, and has called Bugenhagen. We have hopes of Lubeck, for many citizens favour it and the town council opposes it less strenuously than before ... (115)

'Pommer's' stay in Hamburg was extended to June 1529, after permission had been obtained from the Elector of Saxony by Luther. (116)

During this period he drew up a Kirchenordnung on the basis of that for Brunswick and the Saxony Visitation Articles, which dealt in extensive fashion with complete reformation of churches and schools. This was issued with the authority of the council and citizens. The comprehensive nature of this Ordnung is shown in the following list of items with which it dealt :-

1. Of schools. 2. On the sifting of pupils by the teacher. 3. On the permanence of schools. 4. Public lectures. 5. The library. 6. German writing schools. 7. Girls' schools. 8. Students. 9. Pastors, chaplains and other clergymen. 10. The superintendent and his assistant. 11. Selection of teachers and predicants. 12. The reception of such persons into the work of the church. 13. The work of predicants. 14. Sermons on Sundays and feast days. 15. Preaching on Saturdays and Mondays. 16. Preaching on other weekdays. 17. Special times for instruction in the Catechism. 18. The paschal season. 19. Sacred stories at other seasons. 20. On preaching in Lent. 21. Confession and sacrament. 22. Visitation of sick and poor. 23. Matrimony. 24. The bans. 25. Consecration. 26. Visitation of criminals. 27. Children baptized at home. 28. Baptism of children according to our "use". 29. Support of predicants. 30. Sextons. 31. Organists. 32. Midwives. 33. Pictures and images. 34. Ringing the call to prayer for peace. 35. Festivals. 36. Business to be avoided on the afternoon of the holy day. 37. Singing and reading by pupils in the parish church. 38. The Mass. 39. Administration of the Mass. 40. The "Common Chest" and the deacon in charge of it. 41. Administration of funds for the poor. 42. Administration of funds. 43. The deacon in

charge of the funds. 44. The four councillors.
45. General accounting of the stewards. 46. Stewards.
47. Of stewards in general. 48. Miscellaneous.
49. Conclusion. (117)

In the case of the Latin schools the Ordnung called for seven teachers in a five-class school, (118) a variation from the Ordnung of Brunswick. Once again provision was made for German schools for boys and girls. After a short return to Wittenberg, Bugenhagen was asked for in Lübeck, where he went in October 1529. His stay in the city was prolonged until 1532, until he was called back to Wittenberg by Luther, who was overwhelmed by work. (119)

In 1531, Bugenhagen produced regulations for reorganization of churches and schools in Lübeck, on similar lines to those for Hamburg and Brunswick.

Two years after his return to Wittenberg in 1532, Bugenhagen carried out a series of visitations in his native Pomerania, where again he produced an Ordnung for the reform of churches and schools, and compiled a Confession of Faith in the Low German dialect. (120) The bases of the Ordnung were again those of the Brunswick Kirchenordnung and the Saxony Visitation Articles.

Meanwhile, events were coming to a head in Denmark and Sweden, which eventually brought the Reformed Faith to the Scandinavian countries. From 1520 to 1525, Denmark and Sweden had been ruled by Christian ii., who

tried to establish an absolute monarchy, and whose reign was marked by tyranny and bloodshed. Finally, both countries rebelled, dethroned the king, and then went their several ways.

In Denmark, Christian ii was succeeded by Frederick i, Duke of Holstein, and leader of the revolt. In his reign Luther's ideas began to penetrate the country through the agency of Tausen, who had come under Luther's influence at Wittenberg. (121)

Frederick's son, who succeeded him as Christian iii was a declared Lutheran, and his accession was resisted by the clergy and ecclesiastical power. After a period of civil war, Christian iii regained control, and established Protestantism as the official faith of Denmark and Norway. It was in these circumstances that Bugenhagen was invited to Copenhagen in 1536 by the King of Denmark, to undertake the reorganization of the Church, university and schools, Bugenhagen's work in Denmark saw the firm establishment of Lutheran churches and schools in the country, the elementary schools in the villages teaching reading, writing, and the Catechism to boys and girls in their own language, as in German villages, under the direction of the parish sexton. (122)

Luther's letters contained comments on the progress of reformation in Denmark. In December 1536, in a letter to the King of Denmark, he rejoiced in the King's acceptance

of the Reformed Faith, and pleaded for his especial concern for schools in the villages, and financial provision for teachers and pastors. He warned him, from experience, about those who will seek to fill their own pockets out of the disruption of the medieval system :-

> Grace and peace in Christ our Lord, and my poor pater-noster, most gracious King! I have received your Majesty's letter and am much pleased that you have extirpated the Bishops (who are always persecuting God's Word, and intriguing in worldly matters), and I shall reply to your Majesty's epistle to the best of my ability. But I most humbly beg your Majesty to reserve sufficient funds out of the Church property belonging to the Crown for the benefit of the churches and the pastors. For if everything be dispersed how are the preachers to be maintained?
> Perhaps this admonition is not necessary, for doubtless your Majesty will act in a Christian manner, but there are so many among us who would wish to grasp everything, and if God had not given us such pious princes, who conscientiously see to the welfare of their subjects, many churches and parishes would lie waste .... (123)

The following year, in a letter to Martin Bucer of December 1537, Luther reported on Bugenhagen's activities :-

> Pommer is still in Denmark, and by the blessing of God is progessing favourably with his undertaking. He has crowned the King and Queen like a real bishop. He has also established a school, etc. ... (124)

Meanwhile reformation of the Church and schools had begun in Sweden where Gustavus Vasa, leader of the opposition to Christian ii., had been elected king. Lutheranism had already found its way into Sweden through the preaching and teaching of Olaus Petri, who had graduated at Wittenberg, and had been fired by the teaching of Luther. (125) His greatest helper was Laurentius Andreae,

who for some time was the Chancellor and friend of the King. The New Testament, and finally the complete Bible, were translated into Swedish, and the evangelical faith made considerable advances. In April of 1539, Luther wrote to Gustavus i, introducing two tutors for the young prince, and, as in the case of Denmark, urging the establishment of schools for the training of pastors and teachers:-

Grace and Peace, Most Serene Lord and King! Herr Nicholas your Majesty's excellent ambassador, tells me he had received orders to provide a good tutor for your Majesty's young Prince. This was a great joy to me, for I thereby perceived God had endued your Majesty with a great love of piety and learning, fitting you to set an example to others... May Christ cause your Majesty's work to permeate the whole realm, especially the cathedrals, so that schools may be opened for training young people for the ministry and service of the Church in connection with them. For this is the chief and highest duty devolving upon kings who love the Gospel ....
By the grace of God, most capable instructors have been selected for the Prince. Herr Norman is a man of blameless life, modest, upright and learned, fully fitted to be the Prince's instructor, and I warmly commend him to your Majesty. Michael Agricola accompanies him as travelling companion. He was born in your Majesty's dominion, and although young in years is very learned and sensible, and of pleasing manners, and may achieve much good in your Majesty's lands. I pray that Christ may have much fruit through this man, whom I hope your Majesty will appoint to an office. May God through His Holy Spirit richly bless all your Royal Highness's deliberations and undertakings. Amen. Your Majesty's devoted Martin Luther. (126)

Bugenhagen's work, however, was not confined to those cities and states for which he produced Kirchen - and Schule - Ordnungen. His regulations and methods became models, which, with local variations, were adopted by

other authorities. The Brunswick Ordnung of 1528 became the progenitor of the following series :- Minden (1530), Göttingen (1530), Soest (1532), Wittenberg (1533), Bremen (1534), Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel (1543), Osnabrück (1543), Bergedorf (1544), and probably others.

In turn, the Wittenberg regulations of 1533 became the basis of the Halle Ordnung of 1541. Likewise the plan for Pomerania made in 1535 was the foundation of the Ordnung for the same state in 1563. The ordinance for Schleswig-Holstein of 1542 was the model for that of Hadeln (1544), while that of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel of 1543 served as a pattern for the Hildesheim Ordnung of 1544. (127)

All of these, and others deriving from the same parent, made provisions for popular education in German for boys and girls, and despite the gap that often existed between the Ordnung and actual practice, and the inferior status which attached to such education, Luther's demands for universal education had produced the first seedlings out of which popular universal education was destined to grow at a later period.

As has been already shown, the growth and development of such schools was a very slow business in the 16th. century. The schools began first for catechetical instruction. These were the first outcome of Luther's proposals of 1520 and 1524:

> The foremost and most general subject of study, both in the higher and lower schools, should be the Holy Scriptures, and for the young boys the Gospel. And would to God that every town had a girls' school also, in which girls were taught the Gospel for an hour each day, either in German or Latin .... (128)

> My idea is to let boys go to such a school for one or two hours a day, and spend the remainder of the time working at home, learning a trade ..... In like manner, a girl can surely find time enough to go to school one hour a day and still attend to all her duties at home .... (129)

The catechetical school slowly developed to the stage where other instruction was given also in German of a more advanced nature. The Würtemburg Ordnung of 1559 designated Modistenschulen, which were schools to give special preparation to boys who did not wish to study Latin, so that they might enter public service as clerks and secretaries. These apparently were an advance on the deutsche Schulen, and were probably the forerunners of the Realschulen. (130) The numbers of these vernacular schools for boys and girls remained small during the century, and in many places the instruction remained part of the sexton's task, who taught the Catechism, reading, and writing only. (131) Reports from various parts of Germany during the century seem to indicate that there were more of these vernacular schools in Northern than in central and South Germany. (132)

Nevertheless, provision, however inadequate, was made in a very large number of Ordnungen during the century for

such schools for boys and girls, so that the need for them was recognized and accepted. As such, they were the first-fruits of Luther's demand for universal education.

7. SUMMARY

Before Luther's death, two distinct movements in the field of education, deriving from his teaching, had taken root in Germany.

The first was that movement which resulted in the re-birth of the high schools and universities, out of the decay and disruption of the equivalent medieval institutions.

This was the aspect of Luther's work, which was developed by Melanchthon, and, receiving thereby a humanist and exclusively higher educational bias, imposed an alien culture on Germany for the next three hundred years, and led away from the universal outlook of Luther himself. The second movement was that which grew out of the efforts of Luther to make the Word of God plain and understandable to to common people. The media of this task were Luther's vernacular preaching, His German Bible, the Small Catechism, and the Reformed Church liturgy, all of which led towards instruction in German in elementary schools, in the home, and in the village churches. Here the average child began his education in the simple elements of learning and, more important, in the elements of the Christian Faith, by which his life and conduct were shaped.

The chief protagonist of this aspect of Luther's teaching was Bugenhagen, through whose continuous labour popular education took root, and was given an organized framework in North Germany, and was enabled to spread into the Scandinavian countries, where eventually it flowered more quickly than in Germany itself.

Nevertheless, because it proceeded by the vernacular, this elementary, popular education was generally regarded as inferior, and its incorporation into a unified system along with higher education was a very slow process. (120) Inside Germany for many years, the two types of schools remained in their parallel, or even divergent streams, the high schools producing pastors, teachers, and civil servants, educated in Latin and the classics, and the village schools, touching the life of the common people, and teaching in the 'inferior' German.

The result was a division between a minority "educated" class, and the mass of the people.

This separation cannot be blamed on Luther. It is true that he laid an emphasis on the need for the production of pastors, teachers, and civil servants, and also on the teaching of other languages besides German, but this was only one side of his view of the objectives of education. The circumstances in which he was placed demanded that he should give stress in this direction. But this was balanced by his constant demand and

persistent practical labour for the extension of popular education, necessary, in his view, for the dissemination of the Evangelical Faith, and the attainment of those ends which he regarded as God's purpose for men and human communities.

NOTES

(1) WML iv. p. 124. From the treatise to the Councilmen of 1524. Luther wrote :- "Where shall we get them (pastors, teachers, etc.) if we let our schools decline and do not replace them with others that are Christian? For the schools that have been maintained hitherto, even if they were not to pass away, can produce nothing but lost and pernicious deceivers. It is highly necessary, therefore, that we take up this matter in all seriousness and without loss of time, not only for the sake of the young, but in order to preserve both our spiritual and our temporal estate. If we miss this opportunity, we may perhaps find our hands tied later on when we would gladly attend to it, and may be compelled in vain to suffer, in addition to the loss, the pangs of remorse for ever ...."
In 1530, in the Sermon to Parents, Luther wrote:- "When I was a young student, I heard it said that in Saxony there were about eighteen hundred parishes. If that were true, and every parish required at least two persons, a pastor and a sexton (except that in the cities there are preachers, chaplains, assistants, schoolteachers, and helpers), then in this one principality there are needed about four thousand educated persons, of whom about one-third die off every ten years. I would wager that in half of Germany there are not four thousand pupils in the schools ... ... I would like to know where we are going to get pastors, schoolteachers, and sextons three years from now. If we do nothing about this, and if the princes especially do not try to see that the boys' schools and the universities are properly provided for, there will be such a scarcity of men that we shall have to give three or four towns to one pastor and ten villages to one chaplain, if we can get even that many men...."

(2) The leaders of German nationalism were the knights, Ulrich von Hutten, and Franz von Sickingen. Their policy was the restoration of German national prestige under the leadership of the order of knights.
Beyond this movement inside Germany, however, there was a strong feeling against an Italian assumption of superiority over northerners, which had existed from the early years of the Italian Renaissance.
The German reaction expressed itself among humanists

in writings extolling the glorious past of Germany. For details see Allen "The Age of Erasmus" pp. 265 - 274.
For an expression of the attitude of von Hutten, read Smith and Jacobs i., Nos. 291 and 430. von Hutten to all Germans; von Hutten to the Emperor Charles v.

(3) Full discussion in Allen op. cit. pp. 264 - 275.

(4) The OPEN LETTER, WML. ii. pp. 80 - 99. In this section Luther demonstrates the rapacity of the Papacy at the expense of the German people.

(5) Refer to WML. iv. pp. 112ff. (To the Councilmen) where Luther discusses this in detail.

(6) Preface to the German Mass and Order of Service. WML. vi. p. 172.

(7) Ibid. WML. vi. p. 172.

(8) Currie "Letters of Martin Luther", cccxl. Luther to Wenzel Link. 20th. March 1536.

(9) Kretzmann "Luther on Education in the Christian Home" pp. 80 - 81.

(10) Refer to Chapter 8 pp.426f. For full exposition see Watson "Let God be God!" pp. 149 ff.

(11) For discussion of Luther's early preaching see Boehmer "The Young Luther" pp. 120 - 121. One of the very earliest sermons preached by Luther is still extant in his own handwriting. His text was "Moab is the cookpot of my hope". The exposition of this was typically medieval. The cookpot is the world. The three legs of the pot are the three evil lusts of the flesh, the eyes, and worldly pride. The meat in the pot represents the martyrs. Christ constantly stirs the fire, etc., etc. This sermon belongs to a period long before Christmas 1514. The development of Luther as a preacher is discussed in an interesting passage in Smith "Life and Letters" pp. 27 - 28.

(12) Luther put the sermon in the centre of public worship, and in this and the mode of his preaching was completely original. He had no model upon which to base himself among his contemporaries. For a most illuminating account of Luther's preaching see Mackinnon iv. pp. 304 - 318.

(13) Commentary on Galatians - Luther. ed. Middleton. pp. 60f.

(14) Introduction to the Old Testament. WML. p. 367f. Luther wrote :- "Let your own thoughts and feelings go, and think of the Scriptures as the loftiest and noblest of holy things, as the richest of mines that can never be worked out, so that you may find the wisdom of God that He lays before you in such foolish and simple guise, in order that He may quench all pride. Here you will find the swaddling clothes and mangers in which Christ lies ..."

(15) Refer to Watson op. cit. p. 179, note 31. A full exposition of this conception of the task of the Christian preacher is given in Farmer "The Servant of the Word".

(16) Luther gives examples of the practices of contemporary preachers in his Table Talk, which are given in Mackinnon iv. pp. 309 - 310.

(17) Smith and Jacobs i. No. 270. Enders ii. 418. Luther to George Knnzelt, pastor at Eilenburg.

(18) Tischreden iii. 427. Mackinnon iv. 310 - 311.

(19) Tischreden vi. 196 - 197. Mackinnon iv. p. 311.

(20) Quoted from "Luther Speaks" (Essays by Lutheran Pastors), Ch. 5., "Luther as Preacher" - V. Jensen, p. 55.

(21) For details see Mackinnon iv. pp. 304 - 308.

(22) Mackinnon iv. p. 317.

(23) Boehmer "Luther in the Light of Modern Research" p. 341.

(24) Ibid. pp. 341 - 342.

(25) Smith and Jacobs i. No. 125. Enders i. 420. John Froben to Martin Luther. 14th. February 1519.

(26) Smith and Jacobs i. No. 149. Erasmus to Thomas Wolsey, Cardinal Archbishop of York. 18th. May 1519.

(27) Ibid. No. 324. Corpus Reformatorum xciv. 360. Henry Glarean to Ulrich Zwingli at Zurich. 1st. November 1520.

(28) Smith and Jacobs i. No. 394. Aleander to Cardinal de' Medici. 8th February, 1521.

(29) Smith and Jacobs ii. No. 618. The City Council of Leipsic to Duke George of Saxony. 7th. April 1524.

(30) Ibid. No. 680. Mark Spavento to Leonard Giustinian 8th. May 1525.

(31) Boehmer "Luther in the light of Modern Research" p. 341.

(32) Reu "The German Bible" p. 34.

(33) Ibid. pp. 34 - 35.

(34) Ibid. p. 35.

(35) Refer to Smith and Jacobs i. No.10. Lang to Mutianus. 2nd. May 1515. This refers to the close cooperation between Lang and Luther in their studies at Erfurt.

(36) Luther says in the Table Talk:- "I have learned more Hebrew in my own reading by comparing words and passages in the original than by going merely by the rules of grammar ... I am no Hebraist according to the grammar. I do not allow myself to be cramped by its rules, but go freely through the passage." See Mackinnon iv. p. 275.

(37) Smith and Jacobs i. No. 204. Peter Mosellanus to Julius Pflug. 7th. December 1519.

(38) Quoted from Reu op. cit. p. 37.

(39) Ibid. p. 37.

(40) See Luther's letter to Spalatin. 3rd. November 1522. Smith and Jacobs ii. No. 557. Enders iv. 22. Mackinnon iv. p. 273.

(41) Mackinnon iv. p. 274.

(42) ON TRANSLATING (1530) WML. v. p. 15.

(43) Smith and Jacobs ii. No. 798. Enders vi. 289. Luther to Wenzel Link. 14th. June 1528.

(44) ON TRANSLATING. WML. v. p. 14.

(45) Smith and Jacobs ii. No. 613. Enders iv. 298.

(45) Continued.
Luther to Spalatin. 23rd. February 1524.

(46) Smith and Jacobs ii. No. 560. Enders iv.
Luther to Spalatin. 12th December 1522.

(47) Quoted from Reu op. cit. pp. 52 - 53.

(48) Walther "Luther's Deutsche Bibel" p. 46.
In his Preface to the Old Testament Luther wrote about the German language and the difficulties of translation:-
"I thought I was a scholar ... but now I see that I cannot handle even my own native German tongue. Nor have I read, up to this time, a book or letter which contained the real German language. No one thinks of speaking German rightly, especially the people in the chancelleries and the miserable preachers and wretched writers, who think they have the right to change the German tongue and invent new words for us every day ..."
WML.vi. p. 381.

(49) As did the founder of German philology, Jacob Grimm.
Refer to Boehmer "Luther in the Light of Modern Research" p. 332.
See also Reu op. cit. pp. 56 - 57.

(50) Refer to Boehmer op. cit. pp. 333 - 334.
Mackinnon iv. p. 278.

(51) Quoted from Boehmer op. cit. p. 334.

(52) Ibid. p. 335.

(53) Ibid. p. 336.

(54) Ibid. p. 336.

(55) Ibid. p. 339. The whole of Boehmer's argument and conclusion should be read. pp. 332 - 341.

(56) Quoted from Mackinnon iv. p. 283.

(57) Refer to Smith and Jacobs. No. 618. Refer back in present chapter to extract (29).
" .... other people print these books at Wittenberg, Zwickau, Grimma, Eilenburg, Jena, and other places in the neighbourhood, and they

(57) Continued.
are then smuggled among the people ..."

(58) ON TRANSLATING. WML. vi. pp. 12 - 13.
Note also Luther's comment:- ".. I have had to laugh at the great wisdom that so terribly slandered and condemned and forbade my New Testament, because it was published under my name, but said that it must be read when it was published under another's name ..."

(59) Reu op. cit. p. 63. Luther's translation also stimulated other productions. John Eck, for example, made a German translation from the Vulgate, without reference to the original languages. The German was so clumsy and difficult that the translation, issued in 1537, came to an end in a second edition in 1550.
Other translations which incorporated or made use of parts of Luther's translation were the so-called Anabaptist Bible of 1529, the Zurich Bible of 1529, the Strassburg Bible of 1530, and the Frankfort edition of 1534.
Details of these are given by Reu, pp. 63 - 64.

(60) Mackinnon iv. p. 283.

(61) Refer back to my extract in this chapter No. (18)

(62) Talking of the necessity of being intelligible to even the simplest minds, Luther said :- We preachers should accommodate ourselves to our hearers, and this is a failing of nearly all preachers that they so preach that the common folk learn very little from them. To preach simply is a great art. Christ understood and practiced it. He speaks only of the ploughed field, of the mustard seed, and uses only common rustic similitudes." Quoted by Mackinnon iv. pp. 311 - 312 from Tischreden, iv. p. 447.

(63) Smith and Jacobs i. No. 135. Enders i. 448. Luther to Spalatin. 13th March 1519.

(64) Graebner "The Catechism" p. 19.

(65) Of this, the humanist, Beatus Rhenanus, wrote to Zwingli that it ought to be spread through all Switzerland, in all cities, hamlets, villages,

(65) Continued.
indeed in all houses. The booklet was frequently reprinted and appeared a year later in Latin and Bohemian versions, and as late as 1844 was translated into English.
See Graebner op. cit. pp. 19 - 20.

(66) Graebner op. cit. p. 11.

(67) Preface to A Brief Explanation (1520).
WML. ii. pp. 354 - 355.

(68) WML. ii. pp. 352 - 353. It is interesting to note that this devotional handbook of Luther's was translated into English, without acknowledgment, by Marshall in 1534, under the title of Goodly Primer.

(69) WML. ii. p. 152.

(70) Graebner op. cit. pp. 26 - 27.
Smith and Jacobs

(71) Luther's Preface to the German Mass (1526).
WML.VI pp. 174-175.

(72) Kidd "Documents of the Continental Reformation", Extract No. 97. Preface to Luther's Small Catechism. pp. 205 - 206.

(73) Luther's Primary Works - edt. Wace and Buchheim. p. 30.
Refer to Appendix No. 4 p. 62-78

(74) Graebner op. cit. p. 47.

(75) Ibid. pp. 48 - 49.

(76) Refer to Appendix No. 5 pp. 79-106

(77) Smith "Life and Letters" p. 236.
Graebner op. cit. p. 130. Compare this letter with Luther's general attitude to his own works, in his Prefaces of 1539, and 1545. WML. i. pp. 7-11.

(78) Graebner op. cit. p. 94.

(79) Ibid. pp. 94 - 95. Luther's Catechism is the oldest monument in the language of the ancient Wends, as also in that of the ancient Prussians.

(80) Graebner op. cit. pp. 95 - 98.

(81) Cranmer's Catechism, published in 1548, was a translation of Luther's Small Catechism. Refer to Graebner pp. 114 - 120.

Graebner pp. 120 - 123.

(82) Graebner pp. 92 - 93.
Cubberley "History of Education" p. 312.

(83) Cubberley op. cit. p. 315.

(84) Robbins "Teachers in Germany in the 16th. Century" pp. 25 - 26 gives some details. He comments first on the general dearth of teachers of any kind, many parishes having only the pastor and sexton. He quotes Fischer "Geschichte des deutschen Volkschullehrerstandes" as saying that in 1556 there were only seven German schools in all the villages of lower Saxony.

(85) Robbins op. cit. p. 26. In Würtemberg in 1537 German schools were given little attention, though Latin schools were flourishing. In Urach the schoolmaster was forbidden to burden himself with the boys who wanted instruction in German. They were to be left to the sexton.

(86) Robbins op. cit. pp. 114 - 115.

(87) Graebner op. cit. p. 93.

(88) Paulsen "German Education" p. 78 - 79.

(89) Luther's Formula Missae et Communionis (1523). WML. vi. pp. 67 - 68. Introduction by Strodach.

(90) Smith and Jacobs ii. No. 606. Enders iv. 261. Luther to Nicholas Hausmann. 4th. December 1523.

(91) WML. vi. p. 98.

(92) Luther's Deutsche Messe (1526). Introduction. WML. vi. p. 154.

(93) Smith and Jacobs ii. No. 608. Enders iv. 273. Luther to Spalatin. c. 14th. January 1524.

(94) Introduction to Luther's German Litany. Strodach. WML. vi. p. 244.

(95) Preface to the Geystliche Gesangk Buchleyn (1524).
WML. vi. pp. 283 - 284.

(96) Introduction to Luther's Hymn Book Prefaces - Strodach.
WML. vi. pp. 279 - 280

(97) Ibid. p. 280.

(98) Preface to Christian Songs, Latin and German, for use at Funerals. WML. vi. pp. 289 - 290.

(99) WML. vi. p. 281.

(100) Smith "Life and Letters" p. 347.
Luther's Table Talk, St. Louis Edt. xxii. 1538ff.

(101) Smith "Life and Letters" pp. 346 - 347. Luther to Lewis Senfel. 4th. October 1530.
Kretzmann "Luther on Education in the Christian Home" p. 86., from the St. Louis Edt. xxia. 1575.

(102) From Luther's Preface to the Hymns on the Passion of Christ. St. Louis Edt., xiv, 429f. Given in Kretzmann op. cit. pp. 85 - 86.

(103) Luther's Table Talk. St. Louis edt. xxii. 1538ff. Given in Kretzmann. p. 86.
The ability of a schoolmaster to sing was often a requirement before appointment (Refer to Robbins p.49). In view of his frequently inadequate remuneration, this ability served him well in the collection of extra fees for singing at weddings, funerals, and on the Church festivals.

(104) Boehmer "Luther in the Light of Modern Research" p. 172. See also pp. 330 - 331.

(105) Refer to the short survey of Bach's life and music in E.M. and S.Grew "Bach". See the catalogue of Liturgical works and Church Cantatas to see how involved the Composer was in the liturgy and music of the Lutheran Church, and affected by the German Bible. pp. 216 - 213. Refer also to the chapter on the 'Catechism' preludes, p. 137 ff.

(106) Refer to Grew, Ch.1. pp. 1 - 4. On the general musical ability of Bach's choir-boys, see pp. 104 - 105.

(107) Boehmer "The Young Luther" pp. 324 - 325.

(108) Smith and Jacobs ii. No. 660. Enders v. 132. Luther to Spalatin. 25th. February 1525. No. 678. 5th. May 1525. Letter to the City Council of Danzig.

(109) Smith and Jacobs ii. 790. Enders vi. 222. Luther to Gabriel Zwilling. 7th. March 1528.

(110) Smith and Jacobs. ii. No. 797. Enders vi. 263. Luther to Wenzel Link. 12th. May 1528.

(111) Kidd "Documents of the Continental Reformation". Extract No. 99. pp. 230 - 233.

(112) Robbins "Teachers in Germany in the 16th. Century" p. 50.

(113) Ibid. p. 79.

(114) Ibid. p. 80.

(115) Smith and Jacobs ii. No. 800. Enders vi. 298. Luther to Wenzel Link. 14th. July 1528.

(116) Currie "Letters of Martin Luther" clxxii. Luther to Chancellor Brück. 11th. November 1528.

(117) Robbins op. cit. pp. 12 - 13.

(118) Ibid. p. 24. Details are given here of the variations in the numbers of classes and teachers in German schools. The tendency was towards one teacher per class.

(119) See Currie op. cit. cclvi. To Wenzel Link. 1st. December 1530. :- "....Pommer's work in Lübeck is most successful ....." cclxxvii. To John Bugenhagen, Visitor in Lübeck. 24th. November 1531. :- "... We expect your return as soon as your wife's health will permit. We have served the Lübeck people sufficiently, especially through you, whose absence is now becoming unbearable to us. For I am oppressed with work, and often sick, and the Church's money matters suffer, as I cannot attend to them ...."

(120) Currie P. 295. Kidd "Documents of the Continental Reformation" p. 305.

(121) Cambridge Modern History Vol. ii. "The Reformation", pp. 609 - 613.
Luther's Short Catechism was translated into Danish by Jörgen Sadolin, who had studied with Hans Tausen under Luther. The translation went through four editions between 1532 and 1538, and was issued to the clergy as a manual of instruction.
Norway received a translation of her own in 1541, Iceland in 1562, Sweden probably in 1568, and Finland about the same time, the exact date not being known.
Details of Bugenhagen's work in Denmark are given in Kidd. op. cit. pp. 322 ff.
See also Cubberley "History of Education" p. 315.

(122) Currie op. cit. cccxlviii. Luther to the King of Denmark. 2nd December 1536.

(123) Currie ccclxviii. Luther to Martin Bucer. 6th. December 1537.
Bugenhagen arrived in Copenhagen in July 1537. He crowned the King and Queen in August, consecrated seven superintendents in September, and published a new Kirchenordnung. On September 9th., he reconstituted the University of Copenhagen, appointing three professors to lecture on the Old Testament, the New Testament, Augustine's De Spiritu, Luther's Commentary on Galatians, and Melanchthon's Loci.
Schleswig-Holstein was reorganized on the basis of an Ordnung of 1542, which was one of the derivatives of Bugenhagen's Brunswick Kirchenordnung.

(124) Cambridge Modern History pp. 624 ff.
The struggle for reformation lasted longer in Sweden than in Denmark. The Jesuits gained a foothold from 1577, and banned Luther's Catechism which had been in use in the schools for several years. From 1593, however, Luther's Catechism was again made the basis of instruction in religion in churches and schools.

(125) Currie ccclxxxvii. Luther to King Gustavus i. of Sweden. 18th. April 1539.

(127) Robbins op. cit. pp. 16 - 17.

(128) The OPEN LETTER (1520). WML. ii. pp. 151 - 152.

(129) TO THE COUNCILMEN (1524). WML. iv. p. 123.

(130) Robbins op. cit. p. 21.
Paulsen "German Education" pp. xiv - xv.
The deutsche Schulen were the forerunners of the elementary schools of modern times - the Volksschulen. The Modistenschulen were probably the original ancestors of the non-Classical Modern school - the Ober-Realschule.

(131) Robbins pp. 25 - 26; 52 - 53. For summary, pp. 114 - 115.

(132) Robbins quotes the following figures from German authorities :-
Fischer states that in 1556, only seven deutsche Schulen were in existence in lower Saxony; only one sexton in Nassau in 1552 was able to read.
On the other hand it was stated by an unknown author that immediately on the introduction of the Reformation seventy elementary schools opened in the villages, though there is no statement to show how many taught reading and writing.
Pallas quotes a statement of a superintendent to the effect that there was not a school of this type in the whole electoral district.
Schneider states that in Würtemberg in 1537 German schools were given little attention, and usually turned over to the village sexton.

CHAPTER 8.

THE EDUCATIONAL DERIVATIVES OF LUTHER'S THEOLOGY.

1. The Nature of Luther's Reforming Work.
2. Pure Doctrine.
3. The Law and the Ordinances of God.
4. Luther and Vocation.
5. Luther and Human Reason.
6. Luther and the Study of History.
7. Luther and the Natural World.
8. The Word of God.
9. Summary.
10. NOTES 1 - 145.

THE EDUCATIONAL DERIVATIVES OF LUTHER'S THEOLOGY.

So far this essay has been concerned chiefly with an external survey of the course of Luther's educational reforms.

As far as organization is concerned, Luther's proposals for free, compulsory, universal education, inside a scheme comprehending primary school, secondary school, and university, have been realized long ago in the lives of many nations.

Therefore, unless there lies behind Luther's ideas a 'philosophy of education' (to use a non-Lutheran term) which has a relevance to our modern condition, then Luther's educational work must remain an interesting episode in history, in which all of value has been fulfilled and superseded.

The purpose of this and the following chapters is to outline Luther's view of life, to indicate his approach to his reforming work, to show how certain ideas which found expression in his educational writings arose, and to demonstrate his relevance to modern educational thought.

1. THE NATURE OF LUTHER'S REFORMING WORK

The first problem is to decide what approach to make to discover Luther's basic motives for his work as a reformer. In this matter, it is unwise, and profitless, to come

with the preconceived notion that the key to his thought lies necessarily in the economic or political situation, or in some peculiarity of psychology. To pose the wrong question inevitably produces the false answer.

The only course open is to go to Luther's writings and to attempt to discover there what Luther conceived his task and mission to be.

The first conclusion is that Luther conceived his own work to be a greater task than that of attacking and reforming the obvious abuses of the Papacy. There were many other men who had, and who were, doing that very thing, not least among them, Erasmus. (1)

It was because the humanists and others appreciated Luther's attacks on the abuses of Medieval Catholicism, that initially they gave him their support and allegiance, without realizing that his and their underlying motives were basically different.

But Luther saw this quite clearly, and emphasized the difference :-

> Others, who have lived before me, have attacked the Pope's evil and scandalous life; but I have attacked his doctrine ...(2)

What Luther sought to destroy was not the overgrown and partially collapsing super-structure of the Papacy, but the very foundations. He saw himself as one called to wage a relentless war on corrupt and false teaching, which

in itself was the root cause of all external abuses. In its place must be restored true Christian doctrine.

In his REPLY TO THE ANSWER OF THE LEIPZIG GOAT, (3) Luther declared that, though Emser had made an attack on his personal character, he did not propose to retaliate in the same fashion, despite the material at hand :-

> I do not want to have anything to do with your life, or anybody else's life. I am not concerned with the life but with doctrines. Evil life does no great harm, except to itself, but evil teaching is the greatest evil in the world, for it leads hosts of souls to hell. It does not concern me whether you are good or evil, but I will attack your poisonous and lying teaching that contradicts God's word, and with God's help, I will oppose it vigorously. (4)

It was in this that Luther differed from Erasmus, who attacked the corruption of the Papacy and the monastic Orders in as strong terms as ever Luther used, and who detested the scholastic theology as obscurantist and futile. (5) On the other hand, Erasmus believed that once these abuses were removed, and greater enlightenment possessed the theologians and philosophers, a peaceful reformation could be accomplished without basically disturbing the life of the Church. (6)

Luther early realized his divergence from Erasmus on matters of Christian doctrine. In October 1516, he wrote to Spalatin, asking him to bring this to the notice of the great humanist:-

> What displeases me in Erasmus, though a learned man, is that in interpreting the Apostle Paul on the righteousness of works, or of the law, or our own righteousness ... he

understands only those figurative observances. Moreover he will not have the Apostle speak of original sin ... If he reads Augustines books ... he will see how little he follows not only Augustine's opinion, but that of Cyprian, Nazianzen, Rheticus, Irenaeus, Hilary, Olympius, Innocent and Ambrose; perhaps he will not only understand the Apostle aright, but will think Augustine deserving a higher opinion than he does not.
I have no hesitation in disagreeing with Erasmus, because in interpreting the Scriptures I consider Jerome as much inferior to Augustine as Erasmus thinks he is superior. (7)

In March 1517, Luther wrote to John Lang on the same subject:-

I am reading our Erasmus, and my opinion of him becomes daily worse. He pleases me, indeed, for boldly and learnedly convicting and condemning monks and priests of inveterate ignorance, but I fear that he does not sufficiently advance the cause of Christ, and God's grace, in which he is much more ignorant than d'Etaples, for human considerations weight more with him than divine .. No one is wise in the Christian faith simply because he knows Greek and Hebrew. Despite his five languages, Jerome was not the equal of Augustine, who knew but one. Erasmus has quite a different opinion of this. But the opinion of him who attributes significance (in salvation) to man's will (Erasmus) is far different from the opinion of him who knows nothing but grace. (Luther). (8)

It is interesting to find clearly defined at this early date the subject of the disputation between Luther and Erasmus of 1524 - 25, and it is quite evident that Luther recognized the separation between himself and Erasmus, even while at this stage he had the greatest admiration for the humanist leader. Luther's insight in this matter was deeper than that of Erasmus and the humanists, from whom he differed on two matters of vital importance.
The first has already been stressed. Luther was essentially concerned with 'doctrine'.

The second was that he differed from them, as from the scholastic theologians, on the content of Christian doctrine. True Christian doctrine, Luther regarded not as the religious speculation of men, but as God's revelation of Himself and His purposes. With this men had no right to take or allow liberties.

Furthermore, because he held this view, Luther was totally unconcerned and unmoved by the accusation brought against him by humanists, of lack of charity and tolerance. Such charity and tolerance, which they called for, arose from indifference to the truth, not from love of men. Luther clearly defined his position in certain passages of exposition in his Commentary on Galatians :-

> Others of the Galatians saw no harm in deviating a trifle from the doctrine of justification and faith. When they noticed that Paul made so much ado about a matter that seemed of no particular importance to them, they raised their eye-brows and thought within themselves: "What if we do deviate a little from the doctrine of Paul? ... He ought to over look the whole matter, and not make such an issue out of it, lest the unity of the churches be disturbed! We answer with Paul ... To tolerate a trifling error inevitably leads to crass heresy. The doctrine of the Bible is not ours to take or to allow liberties with. We have no right to change even a tittle of it. When it comes to life we are ready to do, to suffer, to forgive anything our opponents demand, so long as faith and doctrine remain pure and uncorrupt. The Apostle James says, "For whosoever shall keep the whole Law and yet offend in one point, he is guilty of all". This passage supports us over against our critics who claim that we disregard all charity to the great injury of the Churches. We protest that we desire nothing more than peace with all men. If they would only permit us to keep our doctrine of faith. The pure doctrine takes precedence before charity, apostles, or an angel from heaven.
> Let others praise charity and concord to the skies; we

magnify the authority of the Word and faith. Charity may be neglected without peril, but not the Word and faith. Charity suffers all things. It gives in. Faith suffers nothing; it never yields. Charity is often deceived, but is never put out because it has nothing to lose, it continues to do well even to the ungrateful. When it comes to faith and salvation in the midst of lies and errors that parade as truth, and deceive many, charity has no voice or vote. Let us not be influenced by the popular cry for charity and unity. If we do not love God and His word, what difference does it make if we love anything at all? Paul admonishes both teachers and hearers not to esteem lightly the doctrine of faith, as if it were a toy to amuse oneself in idle hours. (9)

It is quite plain that Luther's objective as a reformer was the destruction of a system of thought - the 'corrupt doctrine' of the Papacy. This he saw as a falsification of the Christian Gospel, the content of which men had tampered with and changed. Therefore, he saw his task as the restoration of 'pure doctrine' in place of the false. It was this purpose which brought Luther to the position of educational reformer. In these circumstances, it was inevitable that he must be concerned with the instruments of education - the schools and the universities, as well as with the Church - for it was by these instruments that 'corrupt doctrine' was disseminated.

The course of his earlier work to change the content of university teaching has been described in Chapter 5, but it was in the OPEN LETTER of 1520 that Luther first put forward the demand for complete change in the content of the curricula of universities and schools. The chief reforms he called for were that the Scriptures should be made the basis for instruction of boys and girls in the

schools, and the chief study in the Theological Faculties of universities; that, in important respects, Aristotle's writings should be banned, and the study of canon law completely abolished.

All these reforms which he demanded were aimed at rooting out a system of teaching which he regarded as false, and in its place restoring Christian teaching - 'pure doctrine'.

2. PURE DOCTRINE

Since Luther conceived of his reforming task to be concerned primarily with the destruction of 'false and corrupt doctrine', and the restoration of 'pure doctrine', it is necessary to attempt to discover what he understood by 'the pure doctrine of faith' which 'takes precedence before charity, apostles, or an angel from heaven.'

To understand this, entails an examination of the implications of Luther's answer to the problem which drove him into the Black Cloister at Erfurt. The course of his quest, and his eventual enlightenment, have been outlined in a previous chapter, but the nature of Luther's discovery needs to be clearly understood in any attempt to elucidate and grasp his thought and outlook.

Luther had been taught by the Medieval Church the ways by which he might find acceptance with God.

The first way was that advocated by the scholastic theologians, Occam, d'Ailly, and Biel. This told him that he

was free, if we wished, to obey completely God's Commandments. By his own effort of will, he could leave behind all lower desires, and attain to a pure, unselfish love for God and for his fellows. If he did what he could to achieve this, God would bestow grace upon him, and he would be able to do those things which would merit his acceptance with God, eternal life, and inward blessedness. Luther tried with all his passionate energy to follow the way prescribed by these teachers, but had to confess to complete failure :-

> When I was a monk I thought I was lost forever whenever I felt any evil emotion, carnal lust, wrath, hatred, or envy. I tried to quiet my conscience in many ways, but it did not work, because concupiscence would always come back and give me no rest. I told myself; "You have permitted this and that sin, envy, impatience, and the like. Your joining this holy order has been in vain, and all your good works are good for nothing . .... I remember Dr. Staupits used to say to me 'I have promised God a thousand times that I would become a better man, but I never kept my promise. From now on I am not going to make any more vows. Experience has taught me that I cannot keep them. Unless God is merciful to me for Christ's sake, and grants unto me a blessed departure, I shall not be able to stand before him'. (10)

To this state of mind the Church now offered the Sacrament of Penance. Luther was taught that if he made full confession of his sins in complete penitence, loving God and hating evil, and received absolution from the priest, then his sins would be forgiven, and his acceptance by God would be assured. Again Luther confessed to failure.

> I have seen many work themselves down to the bones in their hungry effort to obtain peace of conscience. But the harder they tried, the more they worried .....

This holds true of the Church regulations.
When I was a monk I tried ever so hard to live up to the strict rules of my order. I used to make a list of my sins, and I was always on my way to confession, and whatever penances were enjoined upon me I performed religiously. In spite of it all, my conscience was always in a fever of doubt..... (11)

He came very close, now, to the position where he thought of himself as predestined by the arbitrary will of God to be eternally lost, for surely his inability to find the way to God through the prescribed methods could only mean that :-

But it is this which seems to give the greatest offence to common sense or natural reason - that the God, who is set forth as being so full of mercy and goodness, should of his mere will, leave men, harden them, and damn them, as though He delighted in the sins, and in the great eternal torments of the miserable. To think thus of God, seems iniquitous, cruel, and intolerable; and it is this that has given offence to so many and great men of so many ages.
And who would not be offended? I myself have been offended more than once, even unto the deepest abyss of desperation; nay, so far as even to wish that I had never been born a man .....(12)

In desperation, Luther tried yet another of the methods followed in Medieval Catholicism to gain fellowship with God - the way of mysticism, whereby, through the practice of devotional exercises he might experience the union of his soul with God, or, through meditation on the Passion of Christ, he might lost himself in the ecstacy of contemplation. But the mystic experience was also denied him, as he thought, for the reason of his extreme unworthiness.
In this situation of almost complete despair, Luther was turned, by the wise advice of his superior, John Staupitz,

to the study of the Bible, and there he found the answer which had so long eluded him, commencing with Paul's quotation of the words: "The righteous shall live by faith."

The account of this experience has already been given in his own words.

Luther had tried, and found wanting, all the ways to peace with God prescribed in Medieval Catholicism. All those methods were characterized by the same approach to the central question in religion.

They were answers to the question : "How can I obey the commandments of God, and conform so completely to His requirements as to become pleasing to Him, and be assured inwardly of His favour and blessing?" The question itself arose out of an anthropocentric conception of religion. God was being sought for man's benefit, the initiative in the quest for fellowship lay with man, and proceeded by man's rules.

But the answer which Luther received through the Scriptures was theocentric. God had freely forgiven him his inability to conform perfectly to His Law, and had accepted him, unworthy though he was, and despite his sin. The initiative for the establishment of fellowship had been taken by God, and relationship depended neither on the perfection of Luther's life, nor on the meritorious nature of his good

deeds, but entirely on the goodness and grace of God, whereby He freely forgave sin, and established a personal relationship with Luther in His imperfection.

Luther's conception of God and his dealings with men was thus radically altered. He had been reared on a theology which viewed God almost as an impersonal magistrate, who assessed men's deserts and rewarded them accordingly. He now understood Him to be a true Father, considering the needs, rather than the deserts of His children, and always seeking their good - a completely personal relationship.

This God was first of all truly worshipped by the thankful faith and trust of His children. Consequently all those acts whereby Medieval Catholicism taught men to try to win favour and fellowship with God were false and blasphemous :-

> Though you were nothing but good works from the sole of your foot to the crown of your head yet you would not be righteous, nor worship God, since God, cannot be worshipped unless you ascribe to Him the glory of truthfulness and all goodness, which is due to Him. And this cannot be done, but only by faith of the heart. But the judiciaries and merit mongers will not receive grace and everlasting life of him freely, but will deserve the same by their own works. Thus they would utterly take from Him the glory of His divinity. (13)

Fellowship with God was not achieved by the upward ascent of man to God, as the Medieval Church taught. On the contrary, the Christian Gospel declared that God had descended to seek men, and that God met men on the level

of their sinfulness and unworthiness. (14)

Luther had sought God and had not found Him. Instead, God had confronted Luther in the words of Scripture and found him.

Here was the very heart of the difference between Medieval Catholicism and Luther's Christian Faith. The former was essentially anthropocentric and egocentric, a religion in which God was sought for man's ends, by man's methods, and in answer to man's needs. In Luther's Faith, God was Sovereign, Lord of man's existence, confronting men with compelling authority. Man's relationship to this God was in no way a matter of choice, but one of imperious necessity. Here, man was moved to seek fellowship with God, and to strive to obey His Law, not for the sake of benefit to be derived, but because this was God's good pleasure, and man's unconditional obligation.

In a word, in Medieval Catholicism man was at the centre; in Luther's faith, God was at the centre. (15)

It was against this false teaching about God and 'corrupt doctrine' based on it that Luther now went to war, not because it had given him so much trouble, and taken him along dark, unhappy paths, but because it obscured the goodness and glory of God. In its place he sought to restore that Christian teaching which, revealing the true nature of God, was God-centred, and was given to men in the Word of

God. This was the essence of the 'pure doctrine of faith' by which the teaching of the Papacy was to be destroyed.

It is because of this central view-point, that an understanding of Luther's educational proposals and reforms must begin with his theology, for unless this is the approach, Luther cannot be understood.

Bishop Aulen summarizes this when he writes :-

> In Luther there is, at bottom, only one question - the question of God. Whatever has no relation to this question has no place in his Christian thinking. (16)

Luther was, from the beginning of his career as a reformer, often accused of deriving his Christian teaching from the Scriptures by the use of his own private judgment. At Worms, Charles V. accused him of this very thing :-

> A single monk, led astray by private judgment, has set himself against the faith held by all Christians for a thousand years and more, and impudently concludes that all Christians up to now have erred .... (17)

Luther himself was well aware of this great problem which arose when he dared to oppose the doctrine, the tradition, and the authority of the Medieval Church. (18) Who was one to believe, the doctrine of the Papacy, or the doctrine of Luther? Both claimed to be true, but how were human opinion, public or private, and the Word of God to be differentiated? Luther had his answer, and it was that his doctrine was not one based on his

'religious experience', or his private judgment, nor dependent on his inner feelings :-

> This is the reason that our doctrine is most sure and certain, because it carrieth us out of ourselves, that we should not lean to our own strength, our own conscience, our own feelings, our own person and our own works; but to that which is without us, that is to say, to the promise and truth of God, which cannot deceive us. (19)

He held that the doctrine of a gracious God who justifies sinners was firmly attested by the Scriptures, and that this was no human interpretation imposed on them. Indeed, Luther was convinced that no human being could invent, or imagine, or speak the Word of grace that was addressed to men in Christ. This Word needed no external authority to confirm it, for it was no other than the self-authenticated Word of God. Thus, Luther maintained that he did not teach 'the things of men', i.e., man-made, or self-made, opinions :-

> ..... whether it be Cyprian, Ambrose, Augustine, either St. Peter, Paul, or John, yea, or an angel from heaven, that teacheth otherwise, yet this I know assuredly, that I teach not the things of men, but of God: that is to say, I attribute all things to God alone, and nothing to man. My doctrine is such that it setteth forth and preacheth the glory of God alone, and in the matter of salvation, it condemneth the righteousness and wisdom of all men. In this it cannot offend, because I give to God and man that which properly and truly belongeth unto them both ... (20)

3. THE LAW AND THE ORDINANCES OF GOD.

For Luther, then, God was not one who waited to be discovered by the methods of man-made religion, or the speculation of human minds, but was the Living, Sovereign Lord, Creator and

Sustainer of all things, directing the course of history and human life, and confronting man in every circumstance of their earthly existence.

Because of this, Luther held that all men had some awareness of the God who met them in the midst of their creaturely environment, and some knowledge of His nature.

For Luther, the whole of creation held together and was ruled by the love of God. This love made its demands on men in their human life and relationships through the Law of God.

The claims of this Law of God, Luther held, were revealed in three main stages.

First, there was the Natural Law, by which men were naturally aware that they ought to worship God, and do to others as they would have others to do to them.

Beyond this was the Mosaic Law, the Decalogue, of which the First Table expressed more explicitly man's duty to God; and the Second Table, man's duty to his neighbour. Luther thought of Moses not so much as a lawgiver, but as an interpreter of the Natural Law already given, but obscured by sin.

The third stage of the revelation of the Law of God was that given in Christ, in the Gospel commandment of love to God and neighbour, and illustrated in the life and example

of Christ. But these three stages, according to the view of Luther, were all expressions of the one same Law of God, binding on the whole world. The demand of this Law on men was for nothing less than love to God and neighbour. The purpose of God's Law, Luther held, was two-fold, one 'civil' or 'political', and the other 'spiritual'. In its second aspect, the Law was a 'mirror to show a person what he is like, a sinner ...', a means of driving men to self-despair when they discover that they are unable to conform with its demands. In this state of self-despair men were in a position to turn to God and to accept the Gospel.

The Law of God was thus a 'schoolmaster to bring men to Christ'. :-

> Paul describes the spiritual purpose of the Law as, to reveal to a person his sin, blindness ... hatred and contempt of God ... his condemnation . ... The Law is a big axe.
> Accordingly the proper function of the Law is to threaten until the conscience is terrified ...
> The Law is a mirror to show a person what he is like, a sinner guilty of death and worthy of everlasting punishment. What is this bruising and beating of the Law to accomplish? This, that we may find the way to grace ... God must first take the sledge-hammer of the Law in His fists, and smash the beast of self-righteousness, and its brood of self-confidence, self-wisdom, and self-help. When the conscience has been thoroughly frightened by the Law, it welcomes the Gospel of grace, with its message of the Saviour who came into the world, not to break the bruised reed, nor to quench the smoking flax, but to preach glad tidings to the poor, to heal the broken-hearted, and to grant forgiveness of sins to all the captives. The Law is a schoolmaster to bring us to Christ. (21)

In its 'civil' or 'political' aspect, the Law was the

instrument of God for the government of the world.

For Luther, the Law of God found concrete expression in human society in all the neighbourly relationships in which all men find themselves. In these relationships, which Luther called the 'offices' or 'stations' or 'ordinances', God confronts men with His constant demand that they should love and serve their neighbour. Thus, Luther could also call these neighbourly relationships of human life, 'commands' or 'vocations'.

Luther, in consequence, could say that there was no human being who did not occupy an 'office', or who had not received a 'vocation' from God. There were certain fundamental relationships from which human beings could scarcely escape - the 'offices' or 'vocations' of husband, wife, father, mother, son, daughter, brother, sister, ruler, subject, employer, employee, and, beyond these, the manifold tasks of life, as pastor, teacher, scholar, magistrate, lawyer, farmer, merchant, tradesman, soldier, craftsman, workman, and so on.

There never could be a time when God did not call men for love and service, for this was the constant demand of all the myriad interrelationships of life.

Luther held that it was in this way that God ruled and preserved human society through his Law. The 'offices' or 'ordinances' were the 'instruments of God whereby He governeth and preserveth the world'.

In their totality these myriad interrelationships made up what Luther called 'politia', a term which has been inadequately translated 'the state'.

In the 'state', God's Law was always confronting men with its undeviating demand for neighbourly service, and, in so far as men and women were obedient to their 'vocation' in their several 'offices', the life of the community flourished, and evil and selfish purposes were restrained in the life of the 'state' :-

> The Law has a two-fold purpose. One purpose is civil. God has ordained civil laws to punish crime. Every law is given to restrain sin ... Therefore God has instituted governments, parents, laws, restrictions, and civil ordinances. This civil restraint by the Law is intended by God for the preservation of all things ...(22)

The offices instituted by God, as in the case of the Law, were both 'spiritual' and 'secular'. The spiritual offices included 'the work of pastors, preachers, teachers, lectors, chaplains, sacristans, and schoolteachers'. (23) The purpose of the spiritual offices was the maintenance of God's Word in the world, and the spread of the Christian Gospel by wnich men were brought to God. This was not only necessary for the spiritual life of man, but provided that light by which the whole of human life was illuminated in all its aspects. Luther constantly emphasized the fact that if God's Word disappeared men would pass into darkness, without knowledge of the purpose of life, and ignorant of the meaning of their offices, and

consequently the whole life of the community would become chaos :-

> (The spiritual) office not only helps to further and maintain this temporal life and all the worldly classes, but it also delivers from sin and death, which is its proper and chief work.
> Indeed the world stands and abides only because of the spiritual estate; and if it were not for this estate, it would long since have gone to destruction. (24)

In the light of this, Luther declared that a man who exercised one of these offices could be considered as 'an angel of God, a saviour of many people, and king and a prince in the Kingdom of Christ, a light of the world.' (25)

The secular offices included the work of princes, lords, chancellors, jurists, counsellors, scholars, secretaries, merchants, farmers, miners, tradesmen; indeed all those tasks which were necessary for the maintenance of the peaceful and prosperous life of the community. These offices, too, were ordained by God :-

> The government is a creation and ordinance of God, and for us men in this life it is a necessary office and rank, which we can no more do without than we can do without life itself, since without government this life cannot continue. (26)

While Luther, thus, drew a distinction between the spiritual and secular offices, it was a distinction of function, and not one of superior and inferior stations :-

> There is no real difference between laymen and priests, princes and bishops, "spirituals" and "temporals", as they call them except that of office and work, but not of "estate"; for they are all of the same estate ... though

they are not all engaged in the same work. (27)

And again :-

The temporal power has become a member of the body of Christendom, and is of the "spiritual estate", though its work is of a temporal nature. (28)

One very important aspect, therefore, of Luther's work as a reformer was to call men to be obedient to the Law of God in their several 'offices' or 'vocations'.

As will be shown in greater detail in Chapter 9, it was from this approach that Luther incorporated parents and the representatives of so-called secular government into responsibility for education of children.

It is absolutely necessary to approach Luther's two great educational treatises of 1524 and 1530 from this point of view for full understanding. They incorporate much more of significance for education than the interest of critical appeals for more education for children.

4. LUTHER AND VOCATION.

One of the first effects of Luther's teaching was the fundamental alteration of the background of men's thought in relation to their place in society.

The Medieval Church had drawn a clear-cut distinction between the 'spirituals' and the 'seculars', between clergy and laity, and had made that distinction one of value, and not merely one of function. The reason for the rise of monasticism, and of all forms of asceticism, was a belief

that the world was essential evil, and was an inferior order to the so-called spiritual realm. The quest for salvation, therefore, consisted primarily of leaving behind the things of the world, and seeking the things above. (29)

The world of men was thus divided horizontally between those who had espoused the more excellent way and had taken the monastic vow, and the remainder of mankind who were, of necessity, compelled to live the inferior life of attending to the affairs of the world, in the home and the rearing of children, in civil government, in the fields, and in all the multifarious activities of earthly life. From this came a devaluation of men's work, of marriage, and of home life.

In his treatise OF GOOD WORKS (1520), Luther wrote of this attitude of the adherents of medieval piety :-

> If you ask whether they count it a good work when men work at their trade, walk, stand, eat, drink, sleep, and do all kinds of work for the nourishment of the common welfare, and whether they believe that God takes pleasure in them because of such works, you will find that they say "NO": and they define good works so narrowly that they are made to consist only of praying in church, fasting and almsgiving. Other works they consider to be in vain, and think that God cares nothing for them.
>
> So through their damnable unbelief they curtail and lessen the service of God, who is served by all things whatsoever they are done, spoken, or thought in faith ... (30)

Luther taught, in contrast to Medieval Catholicism, that the created order was not to be set on one side in a quest

for God, for in the demands of the duties and 'offices' of worldly existence man was confronted by God. The whole created world, including the 'offices', in Luther's conception, occupied a kind of mediatorial position between God and men, and, thus, in their daily work and duties men were met at all times by God, who demanded from them love and service for their fellow-men. The tasks of earthly life, and a man's work itself, were consequently 'vocations' from God, which men must fulfil in His service, and not seek to escape. (31)

Thus, in place of the medieval "double standard", which disenfranchised the majority of men and women, Luther restored and upheld the conception of Christian vocation in daily work, and in the various stations of life, - in marriage, in the home, in the fields, in trade, in industry, in the council chamber; in the duties of princes, in the work of the schoolmaster, the verger, the lawyer, the doctor, the burgher, the farmer, the cobbler, the smith.

> A cobbler, a smith, a farmer, each has the work and office of his trade, and yet they are all alike consecrated priests and bishops, and everyone by means of his work or office must benefit and serve every other, that in this way many kinds of work may be done for the bodily and spiritual welfare of the community, even as all the members of the body serve one another. (32)

In his SMALL CATECHISM Luther included a Table of Duties, or 'certain passages of Scripture for various holy orders

and estates, whereby these are severally to be admonished as to their office and duties.'

These 'holy orders and estates' were listed by Luther as:-

Bishops, pastors, preachers, hearers, civil government, subjects, husbands, wives, parents, children, servants, hired men and employees; employers to the young in general, widows.

The general conclusion was as follows :-

To all in common. Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself. Herein are comprehended all the Commandments. And persevere in prayer for all men. (33)

From this it followed that Luther regarded people who devoted their lives to so-called spiritual exercises, the monks, the speculative theologians, the followers of the mystic way, as those who were disobedient to God, and not fulfilling their vocation. Christian life called for life in the world, not for an escape from its duties. Likewise, Luther often complained that men neglected the commands and vocations of God, in favour of pilgrimages and supposed holy works, thereby failing to take their vocations and stations seriously. Since such self-appointed means of achieving salvation bore no relationship to God's demand for neighbourly love, they were, in fact, flagrant disobedience of the Divine Will, and a neglect of Christian vocation, and, as such, were roundly denounced by Luther:-

By pilgrimages men are led away into a false conceit, and a misunderstanding of the divine commandments; for they think that this going away on pilgrimages is a precious, good

work, and this is not true. It is a very small good work, oftentimes an evil, delusive work, for God has not commanded it. But He has commanded that a man shall care for his wife and children, and look after such other duties as belong to the married state, and, besides this, to serve and help his neighbour .... (34)

He gave clear expression to this view again, in writing :-

Truly good works are not self-elected works of monastic or any other holiness, but such only as God has commanded, and as are comprehended within the bounds of one's particular calling. (35)

Luther held, that men ought, therefore, to remain in their vocations, either willingly and out of genuine love, or simply in submission to the Divine will and commandment expressed in them. By this he did not mean that men were not to change their occupation or stations. Some of the latter were unalterable, in any case, like those of father, mother, son, daughter, brother, sister; but others were not, and there were occasions when men not only might, but should change their work. His examples of such changes were interesting as comments on his general conception of Christian vocation :-

Should you see that there is a lack of hangmen, beadles, judges, lords, or princes, and find that you are qualified, you should offer your services and seek the place, that necessary government may by no means be despised, and become inefficient and perish ... (36)

Luther held that no one could do the will of God, except in a divinely ordained office and vocation, and no office was divinely ordained which did not, in one way or another, render real service to one's neighbours, for that was the requirement of God.

In giving reasons why such a change of occupation might be made, he said :-

> The reason you should do this is, that in this case you would enter entirely into the service and work of others, which benefited neigher yourself, nor your property, nor your character, but only your neighbour and others; and you would do it ... for the good of your neighbour and for the maintenance of the safety and peace of others...(37)

In the same fashion he assessed the value of the extremely worldly occupation, to all appearances, of the soldier. In a small work, entitled WHETHER SOLDIERS, TOO, CAN BE SAVED, Luther wrote :-

> In thinking of the soldier's office, we must not have regard to the slaying, etc. That is what the narrow, simple eyes of children do, when they see in the physician only the man who cuts off hands, and saws off legs, but do not see that he does it to save the whole body. So too, we must look at the office of the soldier, or the sword, with grown-up eyes, and see why it slays and acts so cruelly. Then it will prove to be, in itself, an office that is godly, as needful and useful to the world as eating, and drinking, and any other work. (38)

Luther did not mean by this, of course, that everyone who occupied an 'office' necessarily was doing God's will. In fact, he frequently complained that the offices - the 'good creatures' of God - were often occupied by evil men, who perverted them to selfish ends. (39)

In this reaffirmation of the value of the worldly duties and tasks of ordinary people, Luther, backed by the enormous prestige of his own position, began the complete reorientation of men's thoughts concerning the significance of their daily work and human relationships.

As an integral part of the same reforming task, Luther ascribed a particularly lofty significance to marriage, the home, and the rearing of the family. He came to see the forbidding of marriage and general celibacy as the final end of error in the papist attitude to life :-

> God has punished the contempt of the Gospel and Christ on the part of the papists, by turning them over to a reprobate state of mind in which they reject the Gospel, and receive with enthusiasm the abominable rules, ordinances and traditions of men, until they went so far as to forbid marriage. (39)

In place of medieval teaching, Luther proclaimed the Biblical teaching, drawing particular significance for marriage, the home, and parenthood, from the Fourth Commandment.

In his EXHORTATION TO THE KNIGHTS OF THE TEUTONIC ORDER of 1523, a treatise which was largely concerned with the questions of celibacy and marriage, he wrote :-

> God has done marriage the honour of putting it into the Fourth Commandment immediately after the honour due to Himself, and commands "Thou shalt honour father and mother". Show me an honour in heaven and earth, apart from the honour of God, that can equal this honour. Neither the secular nor the spiritual estate has been so highly honoured. And if God had given utterance to nothing more than this Fourth Commandment with reference to married life, men ought to have learned quite well from this Commandment that in God's sight there is no higher office, estate condition and work,(next to the Gospel which concerns God Himself) than the estate of marriage. (40)

In the same strain, in a sermon on St. John, Chapter 2, he addressed himself to young people especially :-

> Therefore this gospel is a fitting sermon for young people, that they may learn how one may very well serve our Lord God also in the home, and that it is not necessary to

> begin anything extraordinary ... For a house father who governs his home in the fear of God, and trains his children and servants in the fear and knowledge of God, in decency and honesty, he is in a blessed, good, holy station.
> Thus, also, a woman, who waits on her children in giving food and drink, in cleaning and bathing them, need not enquire after a holier and more God-pleasing station ... Therefore, no one should in any manner despise such living in the home in wedlock, nor, as the monks have blasphemed, regard it as a worldly luckless, station ... But God wants it to be honoured, as the Fourth Commandment, which is the highest in the Second Table, plainly shows. (41)

That such teaching might well be denied classification under the title of formal education is an obvious criticism, but under the wider conception of social education (and Luther, himself, held that more universal outlook of the function of education), this must be accounted one of the most powerful aspects of his work as an educator. For in this teaching he restored to men a sense of the value of their work and of the commonplace tasks of human life; brought a new dignity into the life of the home, and vocation into the tasks of parents. By abolishing the value distinction between the so-called spiritual and worldly realms, he brought to his times a unified view of life in which worldly duties were given a divine value, with an entirely new conception of the activity of God and the interrelationship of men.

Through his work, the mental climate of northern Europe was changed, and new horizons opened to the view of ordinary men and women.

This aspect of Luther's work as an educator cannot be overestimated, though its effects cannot be measured accurately in statistics. (42)

The impact of this teaching must have come as a revelation to thousands of thoughtful and earnest souls.

From the point of view of this enquiry it is of great importance, in that it gave a completely new significance to the home, for Luther incorporated parents into the task of the education of children, as co-partners with the school and the Church.

This will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 9.

Apart from the unchanged relevance of this to the modern world, Luther provided a vocational background to work and the necessary duties entailed in the life of society, which was absent before his time, and which, to a great extent, is absent in the modern world.

The test for Luther which made any work a 'vocation' was not that of the mental satisfaction of the worker, nor the possession of a sense of self-fulfilment which it gave, but whether it provided neighbourly love and service. Judged by this test, many unpromising tasks and menial duties became God-given vocations.

5. LUTHER AND HUMAN REASON

As against the opening up of new horizons in the social sphere, it might be argued that Luther immediately counter-

acted this liberating influence by restricting intellectual advance through his disparagement of, and enmity to, human reason. The fact that on one occasion Luther denounced reason as 'the devil's whore' has often been quoted to illustrate his obscurantism, and in many quarters this has been regarded as the most damnable statement that he ever uttered.

It is comparatively easy to compile other statements of Luther's to support this view. For example, in his TREATISE ON GOOD WORKS of 1520, he stated that 'there is nothing more perilous in us than our reason and will.' Again in his AN EXPOSITION OF THE EIGHTY-SECOND PSALM of 1530, which was chiefly concerned with government and the duties of rulers, Luther discoursed on the errors into which reason can stray :-

> Mad reason, in its shrewdness, and all the worldly-wise know not at all that a community is God's creature and His ordinance, but have no other thought about it than that it has come into being by accident, by people holding together and living side by side in the same way that murderers and robbers and other wicked bands come together to disturb the peace .... (43)

In apparently the same strain Luther expounded Galatians iii. v. 6 :-

> Let your faith supplant reason. Abraham mastered reason by faith in the Word of God. Not as though reason ever yields meekly. It put up a fight against the faith of Abraham. Reason protested that it was absurd to think that Sarah who was ninety years old and barren by nature, should give birth to a son. But faith won the victory, and routed reason, that ugly beast and enemy of God. Everyone who by faith slays reason, the world's biggest monster, renders

God a real service ... (44)

Add to such statements, Luther's implacable animosity to Aristotle, the protagonist of man as rational animal, and his ceaseless attacks on the 'sophists' - the schoolmen, with their theology built from an attempted reconciliation of the Scriptures and human reason - and the case against Luther appears complete.

Numerous Christian writers have condemned Luther for this supposed antagonism to reason. Bishop Gore writes, for instance :-

> There has appeared in the Christian Church again and again a tendency to put the supernatural in violent contrast to the natural, and in particular so to exalt revealed truth as to delight in the disparagement of reason. Impulsive individuals like Tertullian and Luther will be found guilty in this respect ... (45)

A recent writer, Canon Richardson, in dealing with the same topic, states :-

> "Luther, recoiling from the rationalism of the Schoolmen, calls reason an "evil beast", a bitter and pestilent enemy of God, and he proposes to slay the beast and offer it up as an acceptable sacrifice to Him ... But these (St. Bernard, Luther, the Barthians) are lonely figures who stand aloof from the main development of Christian thought. Most of them represent some form of reaction from an excess of rationalism in the outlook of their contemporaries and immediate predecessors. " (46)

These are criticisms by Christian writers of Protestant faith. When one turns to non-Christian authors, or Roman Catholic writings, the criticism is usually stronger, and the truth of the charge is generally assumed. (47)

Yet a deeper reading of Luther reveals contradiction - one of those apparent inconsistencies which Luther ironically declared that his opponents were so fond of collecting. (48)

Other quotations can equally be found in Luther's works to show his great sense of the worth of man's reason. He called it a 'natural light' that is kindled from the 'divine light' and affirmed that 'above all things of this natural life, it is something excellent and divine.' He declared reason to be the discoverer and governor of all arts and sciences and 'whatever of wisdom, power, virtue, and glory is possessed by man in this life.' (49) He called on men to thank God for their reason, together with all the blessings of this life, as the good gifts of God. Thus, in the SMALL CATECHISM in the explanation of the First Article of the Creed,

"I believe in God the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth". In answer to the question, "What does this mean?" Luther wrote :-

> I believe that God has made me and all creatures; that He has given me my body and soul, eyes, ears, and all my members, my reason and all my senses, and still preserves them ... (50)

On the surface, it would seem evident that Luther had contradicted himself, or had changed his views, and that one is in the presence of ample evidence for 'the fundamental irrationalism which characterizes Luther's doctrine even in its clearest statements, and which

almost becomes its hallmark and distinguishing stamp.' (51)
The contradiction, however, is only apparent, and Luther's alleged irrationalism here resolves itself into splendid evidence for the clarity of his thinking and his own use of reason, when these passages are examined in the light of his theology.

In his book "LET GOD BE GOD!", Watson gives the clearest and most comprehensive interpretation of the background to these utterances of Luther's, and a full explanation of his attitude to reason. (52)

Once again the starting point is in Luther's theocentric theology. It has already been shown that Luther held that God, veiled in his creatures and creation, confronted men in their environment, and that all men, therefore, have some awareness of God, and, even though they misinterpret it, some knowledge of His nature. This knowledge is what Luther called the 'general knowledge' of God, and he asserted that such knowledge was not the result of primitive deductive thought, but was prior to all thinking, and was given by God Himself :-

> Even the heathen have this awareness, by a natural instinct, that there is some supreme diety ... As Paul says in Romans 1, that the Gentiles knew God by nature. For this knowledge is firmly planted in the minds of all men ... even if they afterwards erred in this, who that God is, and how He wills to be worshipped. (53)

Luther's statement was a sound deduction from the universal fact of religion itself.

In his exposition of the Epistle to the Galatians, Luther asserted that, in addition to this general knowledge which men have of God, there is what he calls a 'particular knowledge' of God, too. This 'particular knowledge' was that revealed by and in Christ :-

> If all men know God, how can Paul say that the Galatians did not know God prior to the hearing of the Gospel? I answer: There is a twofold knowledge of God, general and particular. All men have the general and instinctive recognition that there is a God who created Heaven and Earth, who is just and holy and who punishes the wicked. How God feels about us, what his intentions are, what He will do for us, or how He will save us, that men cannot know instinctively. It must be revealed to them. I may know a person by sight, and still not know him, because I do not know what he feels about me. Men know instinctively that there is a God. But what His will is toward them, they do not know. (54)

From this, Luther demonstrated how idolatry arose :-

> Now what good does it do you if you know that there is a God if you do not know how he feels about you, or what He wants of you? People have done a lot of guessing. The Jew imagines he is doing the will of God if he concentrates on the Law of Moses. The Mohammedan thinks his Koran is the will of God. The monk fancies he is doing the will of God if he performs his vows. But they deceive themselves and "become vain in their imaginations", as Paul says (Ro. i.21). Instead of worshipping the true God, they worship the vain imagination of their foolish hearts. (55)

Luther, thus, asserted that men have constantly drawn erroneous conclusions from their general knowledge of God, and have consequently deduced false conceptions of His will and purpose, and thereby placed themselves in a wrong relationship to Him. Idolatry, to Luther was not only a matter of worshipping heathen idols. The latter and the

construction of speculative doctrines about the nature of God, were both expressions of the idolatrous mind. In both ways, men built up by the use of their reason from their general knowledge of God, false pictures of God. When the heathen idol and the speculative theologian's conception of God were set up to be served and worshipped, both the primitive man and the philosopher were worshipping figments of their imagination. Thus, by the use of reason, men constructed and attempted to justify their own conceptions of God.

Having constructed a conception of God in this way, men then proceeded to determine their relationship to God, and to devise rites, ceremonies, and codes, which they chose to regard as pleasing to God, and to uphold as the means whereby man could reach up to fellowship with God.

Luther taught that the whole nature of man, 'inclusive of reason and instincts' was corrupted by sin, and that though reason was by nature aware of God's Law, man was incapable of knowing the true nature of God by the use of his reason.

But Luther affirmed that in addition to the general awareness which men have of God, God is known in a particular way. The veiled and hidden God, Luther declared, has spoken to men in His Incarnate Son, 'the Word of God made flesh', and has made Himself known. This is the only way

in which God can be known.

In view of this, between Christ and reason there must be a struggle. Christ does not attack and extinguish the light of natural reason, for He also taught that men must serve God. But he does attack the ways and means devised by reason for serving and worshipping God. Reason, imagining that it knows the right way already, does not wish to be taught Christ's way :-

> It pleases the reason extraordinarily well that Christ should not be God ... (57)

In the light of this argument, Luther could well argue that all idolatry, heresy, hypocrisy, and 'corrupt doctrine', could be traced back to the self-willed opinions of natural human reason :-

> Now you see for yourselves that all those who do not at all times trust God, and do not in all the works or sufferings, life and death, trust in His favour, grace and goodwill, but seek His favour in other things or in themselves, do not keep this commandment (the First Commandment), and practice real idolatry ....(58)

From all this, it is not difficult to understand the earlier passages quoted, in which Luther designated reason as 'mad reason'; 'that ugly beast and enemy of God'; 'the devil's whore'.

The imagery of the last expression was derived by Luther from the Bible. If reason opposed Christ with the Gospel of grace, then it must be said to be allied to the cause of

Christ's adversary, the devil. Thereby reason had prostituted itself to the service of God's enemy. The harsh figure used by Luther was in the prophetic tradition, recalling the Old Testament prophets' designation of the idolatry of Israel as 'whoredoms', and of Christ's description of His own age as 'an adulterous generation'. (59)

Luther's attack on Scholasticism, that speculative system of theology of Medieval Catholicism, was based on two major issues.

In the first place, he asserted that it had given rise to a false conception of God, and a consequent false teaching as to what God required from men. By bolstering up this teaching with its powerful organization, the Medieval Church had led men and nations into idolatry and darkness, and had obscured the true knowledge of God in the Christian Gospel. Luther held, in regard to the speculations of scholasticism, that men were forgetting that there could be no unmediated knowledge of God. Even in the coming of Christ, God was 'veiled', as it were :-

> The incarnate Son of God is that veil in which the Divine Majesty with all His gifts presents Himself unto us..(60)

This was the only way in which God could be known, and the way in which God wills to make Himself known to men - only as 'deus incarnatus et humanus deus' (61)

In Luther's eyes the scholastic theologians took the

first step to total error when, in their speculations on the nature of God, they forgot the Incarnation, and went after the 'unveiled God' :-

> True Christian divinity setteth not God forth unto us in His majesty. It commandeth us not to search out the nature of God; but to know His will set out to us in Christ...
> There is nothing more dangerous than to wander with curious speculations in heaven, and there to seek out God in His incomprehensible power, wisdom, and majesty, how He created the world, and how He governeth it.
> If thou seek thus to comprehend God, without Christ the mediator, making the works a means between Him and thyself, it cannot be but thou must fall as Lucifer, did, and in horrible despair lose God and all together ....
> Wherefore, whensoever thou art occupied in the matter of thy salvation, setting aside all curious speculations of God's unsearchable majesty ... run straight to the manger, and embrace this infant, and the Virgin's little babe in thine arms, and behold Him as He was born, sucking, growing up, conversant among men, teaching, dying, rising again, ascending up above all the heavens, and having power above all things... (63)

In the second place, the premise of scholasticism by which the created world was made the ground for inferring the character of God, was held by Luther to be entirely false. How was it rational to suppose that a knowledge of God could be derived from a knowledge of other things than God? The rational basis of scholasticism was untenable, and any knowledge of God derived from its speculative "flutterings to heaven" could be no more substantial than "an invented dream and fancy."

It was for these same reasons that Luther wished to see an end put to the dominance of Aristotle in the universities, and why he waged such a relentless war to

that objective.

Aristotle had been made the basis for the rational theology of the Schoolmen. It was Aristotle, who by his philosophy bolstered up that very self-will and pride which Luther saw as the core of human sin. For Aristotle, the soul itself was Mind, and he regarded human reason, Mind immanent in men, as autonomous and divine. Man, therefore, by virtue of his reason, possessed a scintilla of the divine essence, the possession of which constituted a claim to divinity. (64)

In some measure these ideas were absorbed into medieval thought in scholasticism, and served as a so-called rational foundation for both the speculative system and the mystic way to knowledge of God.

For this reason, Luther's first work in higher education was aimed at sweeping Aristotle from his dominant position in the Arts and Theological Faculties of the University of Wittenberg, calling him :-

'the blind pagan: the damned conceited heathen who with his false words had deluded and made fools of so many of the best Christians.' (65)

But even here, Luther made a distinction between those books of Aristotle which were studied as part of the scholastic philosophy - the PHYSICS, METAPHYSICS, ETHICS, and ON THE SOUL - and those which were concerned with grammar - the LOGIC, RHETORIC, and POETICS - and declared that he would be glad to see the latter three

retained in the University curriculum. (66)

It should now be abundantly clear that when Luther denounced reason, Aristotle, and scholasticism, he was most certainly not attacking the faculty of logical thought, and that his statements on the subject of reason do not reveal inconsistency or irrationalism. Indeed, the logic of his thought on the matter, is itself ample proof of the value he attached to logical thinking. What Luther attacked was the use men made of reason in matters pertaining to God, and especially 'in the matter of Justification.' (67)

In this sphere, his attacks were only part of his warfare on the false doctrine of the Papacy, which established practices and religious conceptions which from his theocentric position could only be considered idolatrous, based as they were on an egocentric and anthropocentric viewpoints. The speculation of the scholastics signified for him the effort of man to maintain the autonomy of his reason, even to the extent of creating a God, who was but a projected image of himself. By this means man rejected his creaturehood and the Sovereignty of God, and made himself the measure of all things, including his Maker. Luther would have agreed with the statement :-

> Man's relation to God is not to be understood from the point of view of reason but reason is to be understood from the point of view of man's relation to God. (67a)

In matters, then, connected with the Christian faith, Luther regarded reason as in need of redemption, along with with other faculties and instincts of human nature. When enlightened by the Gospel it became an excellent instrument. Reason first needed enlightenment by faith, before it could become a true guide :-

> The attempt to establish or defend divine order with human reason, unless that reason has previously been established and enlightened by faith, is just as futile as if I would throw light upon the sun with a lightless lantern, or rest a rock upon a reed. For Isaiah vii. makes reason subject to faith, when he says :- "Except ye believe, ye shall not have understanding, or reason." It does not say: "Except ye have reason, ye shall not believe." (68)

Luther here stated a principle which can only be accepted as near to the truth of the matter, and which applied also to other realms of thought - that "there can be no analysis of events or of phenomena, which does not make use of some presupposition of faith as the principle of analysis or interpretation." (69)

Beyond the sphere of the Christian Faith, Luther had nothing to say which could be considered a disparagement of reason; indeed, his attitude, as has been shown already, was quite the reverse. He regarded it as in need of redemption only in matters of religion, but it was only inside that region, where reason was used to evolve and maintain what, to him, were idolatrous doctrines and rites, that he criticized its use. (70)

In relation to what he called 'the things beneath us', that is, in dealing with the affairs of this world, which fall within the governance of man, Luther held reason, properly used, to be an excellent instrument, no matter who used it. Speaking of government, and the need of good lawyers he declared :-

> Solomon says, "Wisdom is better than armour or weapons": and again, "Wisdom is better than strength". All experience proves this, and in all the histories we find that force, without reason or wisdom, has never once accomplished anything ... Briefly, then, it is not the law of the fist, but the law of the head, that must rule; not force, but wisdom or reason, among the wicked as among the good. (72)

Thus, Luther was no irrationalist, and his strong words against the misuse to which men put their reason were part of that ceaseless warfare which he waged against false doctrine, and especially against anthropocentricity in matters of religion.

In contending that reason has its definite limitations, and that, unless enlightened by faith, it is often a blind guide, Luther was maintaining a truth which has not yet been apprehended in many a sphere of human thought. To quote a modern thinker, who has recently devoted a book to the thesis :-

> The inexorable law is written over all human efforts to comprehend by reason the nature of the universe, or the purpose of life: "If ye will not believe, ye shall not understand". (73)

Luther was not an obscurantist, as has been so often argued as the result of misinterpretation of his words,

but rather a logical thinker, with a very clear-sighted view of the limitations of human reason. Rightly understood, he performed the necessary task of defining the field within which reason may be expected to serve as a true guide, and asserted a principle which, accepted by many moderns, would lead to closer rapprochement between thinkers in a number of fields, not the least important being that between the scientist and the theologian. (74)

6. LUTHER AND THE STUDY OF HISTORY

From the brief preliminary survey of Luther's conception of human society and its relationship to God, it followed that one almost inevitable consequence of his theological position must be an interest in the study of history. For if, as Luther believed, God, 'veiled' behind His works and behind the 'offices', controls the life of human society, then the record of events in history must show God at work. It was from this theological viewpoint that Luther approached the matter, and from this starting-point that he became both a serious student and great protagonist of historical study.

In this respect he differed from the Schoolmen, who sought God by leaving behind the affairs of the world; and from the humanists, who were interested in historical study chiefly as a means of edification from the great

examples of the classical past.

Luther, on the other hand, had a much more universal outlook. Nor were his interests confined to classical or Biblical history, for he had a lively curiosity on contemporary affairs, both at home and abroad. (75) From 1520 onwards his advocacy of the introduction of historical studies into schools and universities was an integral part of his proposals for the reform of education.

In that year, in the OPEN LETTER, he urged the drastic reduction of the time devoted to the study of Aristotle in the universities, and its replacement by greater concentration on the languages, Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, mathematics and history. (76)

In 1524, in the great treatise TO THE COUNCILMEN, he developed the earlier general statement, and gave more detailed instruction as to his purpose in advocating historical studies. In this treatise, he declared that he wished to see the study of history begun in the schools. He evidently wanted world history studied, in order that students might see the pattern of history, and discover the reason for successes and failures in the affairs of the world. From this, he hoped that they would gain the necessary knowledge to form their own opinions and guide their own lives; and to assist and guide other people :-

If children were instructed and trained in schools and elsewhere where there were learned and well trained schoolmasters and schoolmistresses to teach languages, and the other arts and history, they would hear the happenings and sayings of all the world, and learn how it fared with various cities, estates, kingdoms, princes, men and women; thus they could in a short time set before themselves, as in a mirror, the character, life, counsel and purpose, success and failure of the whole world from the beginning. As a result of this knowledge, they could form their own opinions and adapt themselves to the course of this outward life in the fear of God, draw from history the knowledge and understanding of what should be sought, and be able by this standard to assist and direct others. (77)

In the same treatise, as has been shown already, Luther stressed the real necessity for the founding of libraries in the large cities. He especially urged that in such libraries, the collection of histories and chronicles should form one of the major sections of essential books:-

Among the chief books, however, should be chronicles and histories, in whatever language they may be had; for they are of wondrous value for understanding and controlling the course of this world, and especially for noting the wonderful works of God. (78)

Another aspect of Luther's serious advocacy of historical study lay in his desire to see the Bible expounded correctly. He rightly insisted that certain books could not be properly understood without a knowledge of background history (and geography). In dealing, for example, with the exposition of the Prophet Isaiah, in his Prefaces to the Biblical books, he showed how necessary it was to have knowledge of the history of Assyria and Babylonia, as well as of the geography of Palestine. (79)

In an explanation of his point of view, he said :-

He who would expound Isaiah must have an understanding of two things.
In the first place, grammar, and indeed that one be solid in it and have mastered it fully ....
Yet the other knowledge, namely that of sacred history, is even more necessary. For if we had to miss one of the two, I should rather have the latter than grammar, as we also see in the case of Augustine. Although he does not understand the grammar, and for that reason often misses the understanding, yet, because he diligently follows history and has mastered that well, he remains with the analogy of faith.
We see the opposite in the case of Jerome. His knowledge of the Hebrew language was sufficiently great; but because he deals very coldly with history, he often leaves the analogy of faith.
For that reason the knowledge of history is essential ... (80)

In the case of the Prefaces, he often introduces historical information, so that his 'simple Germans' might be able to read the Bible with greater understanding.

Hence in his appreciation of the value of the study of history, both for theological and political purposes, Luther had moved away from the medieval viewpoint.

His lengthiest treatment of the value of historical studies was set out in his short Preface of 1538, to Link's translation of Capella's HISTORICAL COMMENTARIES ON THE RECENT HISTORY OF ITALY. (81)

Here, Luther first demonstrated the value of historical study, in that in the record of events, actual examples, which illuminate vividly the abstract teaching of wise men and philosophers, were 'set right before our eyes, as if we were present'. Such a living record had the power to awaken comprehension, and to stir men's hearts.

The great lesson which men could read in history was in the operation of God's Law, by which men were rewarded according to their deserts :-

> Histories are none other than the signpost, the memorial and the significant features of God's work and judgment, wherein He rules and maintains the world ... rewarding each with good or ill according to his deserts.

Luther held, that even if men did not read history in this way as evidence of the activity of God, nevertheless the events of history must come to them as a warning and a guide. With this outlook on the value of historical study, Luther could rightly proceed to aver that historians were 'the most useful of people, and the best of teachers'. Therefore it should be considered a duty of 'emperors and kings to have histories of their times written, and preserved in libraries, and none should count the cost of supporting and educating people capable of such work'.

He then discussed the writing of history. First, he pointed out, that in recording history care should be taken to select significant events, and to distinguish between matters of great and small import.

The training of a historian was not an easy matter, for the task of writing history called for special qualities - personal courage, integrity, a love of truth, and a wide outlook free from prejudice and intolerance. Because so few historians had these virtues, many so-

called histories were 'extremely undependable', and in some cases just 'idle nonsense'.

Regarding history as 'nothing less than a description of God's work', Luther urged that the essential characteristics of reliable writing should be the marks of 'industry, honesty, and truth'.

Since these ideals were seldom attained or seen, Luther warned readers that it was necessary to study histories critically, to attempt to detect, by careful assessment, the author's prejudices, and to make allowances for these when making a judgment of their own.

Luther held that the study of history was most necessary in the education of men who were to be entrusted with any of the offices of government. Theoretical study of administration was but a pale shadow beside the study of history for this purpose :-

> Therefore it would be most profitable for rulers, that they read, or have read to them, from youth on, the histories, both in sacred and in profane books, in which they would find more examples and skill in ruling than in all the books of law; as we read the kings of Persia did. (Esther vi.) For examples and histories benefit and teach more than laws and statutes: there actual experience teaches; here untried and uncertain words. (82)

Underlying this record of Luther's views on the value of historical study, was the conception, that unless human life and the myriad events connected with the interrelationship of men and nations were seen as happening

against the background of eternity, and thus deriving meaning from beyond themselves, then the writing of history would not serve its high purpose and true function. While the modern may smile at the inadequate materials on which Luther had to build up his knowledge of history, his attitude to the writing of it has survived one dominant phase - that represented by Mommsen and von Ranke, in which the piling up of "facts" came to be regarded as the task of the historian, and the writing of it, a "science" (83)

Luther believed that the understanding and writing of history, as distinct from the accumulation of facts, involved faith. (84)

His predecessors were the Old Testament prophets, and St. Augustine.

Beside his constant advocacy of history as a necessary discipline in the universities, Luther himself was an ardent student of history, and in his own specialized field was deeply read in Church history. The extent of his reading of the Fathers has been indicated already, but this was not the limit of his knowledge of the history of the Church. In 1539, he published treatise entitled ON THE COUNCILS AND THE CHURCHES, which gives some deeper insight into his reading in this field. In the course of the work repeated references were made to his historical sources. They were Eusebius'

ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY, which Luther used in Rufinus' Latin translation, with that author's supplements; Cassiodorus' HISTORIA TRIPARTITA, which consisted of translated excerpts from the histories of Theodoret, Socrates, and Sozomen, and the Canon Law. In addition to these, he used the then newly published two volumes of Peter Grabbe, published in 1538, and entitled CONCILIA OMNIA. Luther also cited, though he used it very critically, Platina's LIVES OF THE POPES, written between 1471 and 1481. The work revealed, in addition to his deep knowledge, the keenness of his historical criticism. (85)

Another piece of work which showed both his interest in history, and with width of his knowledge was the SUPPUTATIO ANNORUM MUNDI (Computation of the Years of the World). (86)

These were historical tables covering the history of the world from the supposed date of creation to the year 1541. Luther said that he compiled the tables, so that he could

'keep it before his eyes and know at a glance the dates and names of kings, generals, judges'.

He did not consider the summary to be of particular use to other people, since there were countless histories; and he resisted the idea of its publication. (87)

In this compilation, Luther followed the CHRONICA of

John Carion, though he made alterations in this, of which he gave details. The work, made no pretensions to high originality in its source material, but it did show Luther's range of historical knowledge, and his conception of history as having meaning, derived from beyond the significant events recorded.

The effect of Luther's advocacy of historical studies was not quickly evident in the new schools and the universities. Among the ten regular lectureships named in the reformed Philosophical Faculty in the University of Wittenberg in 1536, history, as such, was not mentioned: nor yet again in the Leipzig statutes of 1538. (88) Somewhat later a Chair of History was added, in most cases, but this, as a rule, was combined with some other lectureship, usually in Rhetoric or Ethics. Thus, it cannot be said that Luther's proposals for historical study found their full counterpart in the universities, remodelled and founded under the Melanchthonian reformation.

There were, however, other directions in which Luther's influence did make itself felt in historical study and research. Luther's sound criticism of the history of the Church and Papacy, his reference to the best sources and historical materials in his controversies with various representatives of the Medieval Church, and his application of critical methods to the study of Biblical

background had a deep effect. Subsequent apologists for Protestantism, as opposed to Roman Catholicism, continued the appeal to history, one-sided as their contributions admittedly were. Nevertheless, it must be held that men were in this way driven back to the establishment of facts, and the critical study and writing of history. (89)

7. LUTHER AND THE NATURAL WORLD

Though it does not inevitably follow that a theologian with Luther's conceptions would necessarily have a keen appreciation of the natural world, this was true for Luther himself. When he cast off the scholastic theology, he discarded also its teaching of an inferior natural world from which men must escape in their quest for God. This is a matter of even greater note when consideration is taken of Luther's education. He was brought up in medieval fashion on the concentrated study of certain books and was taught natural science through the pages of Aristotle.

As an adult his life was directed into the vocation of a teacher and writer - a man of the study - so that one might well have expected his attitude to Nature to be that of the bookish, indoor man.

But, despite his prolific writing and concentrated studies, Luther did not retain this attitude.

He saw that God encounters men directly, though not in unmediated fashion, in the realm of creaturely environment. So to him the world of nature was the fine handiwork of God, where, to the mind enlightened by faith, the constant creative activity of God was to be seen. Hence the natural world became for Luther a realm for observation and delight.

His letters and recollections are filled with evidence of his constant and keen observation of natural life and the phenomena of the natural world, and the sense of constant delight and wonder that he experienced in such observation.

During his enforced retreat in the Wartburg, on one occasion he went to a hunt, and later related his experience in a letter to Spalatin. His attitude to natural life is well illustrated in his account :-

> Last week I followed the chase two days to see what that bitter-sweet pleasure of heroes was like. We took two hares and a few poor partridges - a worthy occupation indeed for men with nothing to do.
> Amid the nets and dogs I pondered over theological matters, and the superficial pleasure I may have derived from the hunt was equalled by the pity and the pain which are a necessary part of it. It is an image of the devil hunting innocent little creatures, those poor believing souls, with his gins and his hounds, the impious magistrates, bishops and theologians. I deeply felt this parable of the simple and faithful soul.
> A still more cruel parable followed. With great pains I saved a little live rabbit, and rolled it up in the sleeve of my coat, but when I left it and went a little way off the dogs found the poor rabbit, and killed it by biting its right leg and throat through the cloth. Thus do the Pope and Satan rage to kill souls and are not stopped by my labour. I am sick of this kind of hunting, and prefer

to chase bears, wolves, foxes and that sort of wicked magistrate with spear and arrows ...(93)

Nine years later, in April 1530, Luther wrote to his friend Justus Jonas from the Castle of Coburg, during his enforced absence from the critical Diet of Augsburg, describing the bird life in the neighbourhood of the castle. Here, again, is expression of acute observation, humourously penned:-

Grace and peace. At last we are sitting here up amongst the clouds, in the kingdom of the birds, whose harsh tones, all screaming together, produce a very Babel, the daws or ravens having taken up their quarters before our eyes, forming a forest in front of us.
I can assure, there was a shrieking. It goes on from four in the morning to far into the night, so that I believe that there is no place where so many birds gather as here. And not one is silent for a moment, old and young, mothers with daughters, singing a song of praise.
Perhaps they sing thus sweetly to lull us to sleep, which God grant we may enjoy tonight. The daw is to my mind a most useful bird. I fancy they signify a whole army of sophists, who have assembled from the ends of the earth so that I may profit by their wisdom, enjoy their delicious song, and rejoice in their useful services in both the secular and spiritual realm.
At present the nightingale is not to be heard, although its forerunner and imitator, the cuckoo, is raising its exquisite voice .... (94)

A week later he wrote in similar strain to his wife and household. There is something rather remarkable in the writing of such a letter, completely free from any sign of anxiety and strain, during one of the most critical periods for the evangelical movement, and at a time when Luther himself was engaged on other matters which he

regarded as of outstanding importance. The letter is, in fact, not only evidence of Luther's constant interest in the natural world, but a view into his inner life.

Grace and peace, my dear Kathie, sirs, and friends. I have received all your letters telling me how you get along. I must now inform you that I, Magister Veit, and Cyriac are not to be at the Diet, although we have one here. For there is a thicket just under the window like a small forst, where the daws and crows hold their diet, and such a running to and fro, and screaming night and day, that I often wonder they are not hoarse. As yet I have not seen their emperor, but the courtiers are always prancing about dressed simply in black, with grey eyes, and all sing the same melody. They pay no heed to castle or hall; for their salon is vaulted by the beautiful canopy of heaven, while their feet rest on the broad fields with their green carpet and trees, the walls of their house reaching to the ends of the earth. They are independent of horses and carriages, for they have feathered wheels by which they escape the sportsmen's arrows. I fancy they have come together to have a mighty onslaught on corn, barley and wheat. Many a knight will win his spurs here.
So here we sit watching the gay life of song led by princes, preparatory to a vigorous attack on the grain. I always fancy it is the sophists and papists I see before me, so that I may hear their lovely voices and their sermons, and see for myself what a useful kind of people these are, who consume all the fruits of the earth and then strut about in their grand clothing to while away the time.
Today we heard the first nightingale. The weather has been splendid ..... (95)

One one occasion, Luther was concerned by his elderly and rather simple servant's destruction of the birds in his garden and the nearby woods. He drew up and presented to him, on behalf of the thrushes, blackbirds, finches and jays, a formal protest against his cruelty:

To Wolfgang Sieberger.
To our good and kind, Dr. Martin Luther, preacher in Wittenberg. We thrushes, blackbirds, linnets, goldfinches, along with other well-disposed birds, who are

spending the summer in Wittenberg, desire to let you know that we are told on good authority that your servant, Wolfgang Sieberger, out of the great hatred he bears to us, has bought some old rotten nets to set up a fowling-ground for finches, and not only for our dear friends, the finches, but in order to deprive us of the liberty of flying in the air and picking up grains of corn, and also to make an attempt upon our lives, although we have not deserved such a punishment at his hands.
Thus, we poor birds humbly beseech you to prevent him carrying out his intentions, or if that be impossible, compel him to scatter corn for us in the evening, and forbid him rising before eight in the morning to visit the fowling ground, and by doing this we shall ever be grateful to you, and it will enable us to take the route through Wittenberg. But if he continues his wicked attacks on our lives, then we shall pray God to restrain him, and to supply him with frogs, locusts, and snails instead of us, and visit him with mice, lice, fleas, and bugs in the nights, so that nothing may interfere with our freedom of flight.
Why does he not vent his wrath on the sparrows, magpies, crows, mice and rats, which inflict so much injury on men, stealing the corn from the barns which we never do, for we only pick up little fragments and single grains of corn, which we requite a hundred fold by swallowing flies, gnats and other insects.
We put our case before you in a common-sense way, to see if we are not cruelly treated in having so many snares set for us. But we trust God will allow us to escape from his foul rotten nets this autumn. Given in our celestial retreat among the trees, under our common seal and signature.
"Behold the fowls of the air: for they sow not, neither do they reap, nor gather into barns; yet your Heavenly Father feedeth them. Are ye not much better than they." (96)

Luther was also observant of weather, stars and skies, as instance this passage written from Coburg. The letter was written, for encouragement, to George Brück, Chancellor to the Elector of Saxony, during the critical proceedings of the Diet of Augsburg in August 1530.

Grace and peace in Christ. Highly esteemed lord and sir - I have written several times to you and others, as if I fancied I experience more of God's help and consolation

than was afforded to his Electoral Grace. But I was impelled to do this through the depression into which some of our friends had sunk, as if God had forgotten them. But He cannot do so unless He forget Himself first.....
Lately, I saw two wonders. First, as I looked out of the window I saw the stars shining in God's beautifully vaulted heavens, and yet there no visible pillars supporting the firmament, and still the heavens fell not. Now there are always some who search for those pillars to grasp them, and, failing in their quest, they go about in fear and trembling, as if the heavens must fall because they cannot grasp the pillars. If they could, then all would be right, they fancy.
Second, I beheld great clouds hovering over us, borne down their great weight like unto a mighty ocean, and yet I saw no foundation upon which they rested, and no shore which bounded them, and still they did not fall, but, greeting us stiffly, fled on space. But when they had vanished, a rain-bow feebly lit up earth and sky, till it too disappeared like a mist among the clouds, making us fear as much for the foundation as for the water-charged clouds above. But in very deed this almost invisible mist supported the heavily-charged clouds and protected us.
So there are some who pay more attention to, and are more afraid of the waters and the dark clouds than give heed to the tiny bow of promise. They would like to feel the fine mist, and because they cannot they fear a second flood .. (97)

Luther's observation and appreciation also extended to other aspects of the world of nature. He saw in the renewal of life in Spring a parable of death and resurrection:-

Praise be to God the Creator, who out of a dead world makes all alive again. See those shoots, how they burgeon and swell. Image of the resurrection of the dead. Winter is death; summer is the resurrection. Between them lie spring and autumn as the period of uncertainty and change. (98)

He was equally appreciative of natural beauty, especially in the marvellous perfection of flowers :-

If a man could make a single rose, we should give him an empire; yet roses and other flowers no less beautiful, are

scattered in profusion over the world, and no one regards them. (99)

This love of the natural world did not diminish in Luther as he aged. In May 1538, writing again to Jonas at Brunswick, he lamented that pressure of work still kept him out of his garden :-

..... Magister Philip and I have been overwhelmed with cares and business of every kind, so that I, a worn-out old man, would prefer wandering in the garden (which is the old man's joy) to behold God's wondrous works, as manifest in trees, shrubs, flowers, and birds. This is the recreation I most dearly love, but of which I am deprived through the sins of my youth, by being burdened with so many troublesome and fruitless occupations .... (100)

From such illuminating sayings and allusions, one gains the portrait of a man intensely observant and appreciative of the natural world outside himself. He appears not only as an observer, but as one recorded accurately the course of natural events. In this respect, Luther differed not only from the schoolmen, but also from the humanists. Agricola included natural philosophy in an adequate curriculum, but this was to be acquired from the relevant works of Theophrastus and Aristotle. (101)

A like attitude of Erasmus to natural knowledge was demonstrated in his strict adherence to the classical authorities:-

The educated man (will have at his command for conversation of for public speaking) all that varied mass of material which the curiosity of antiquity has handed down to us. To such belongs first the natural history of birds, quadrupeds, wild animals, serpents, insects, fishes: this will be derived from ancient writers with additions from our own observations. Next we shall prize the accounts of singular adventures handed down to us by trust-worthy authorities, such as the story of Arion and the dolphin, of the dragon who rescued his deliverer from danger of the lion, who returned kindness for kindness, and others,

which Pliny vouches for. There is also, in the third place, a vast body of facts concerning geographical phenomena, some of which are extraordinary, and these are of peculiar value to the scholar; though even the usual occurrences of nature are not to be passed over. These again are partly drawn from antiquity, partly are within our own experience. I refer to rivers, springs, oceans, mountains, precious stones, trees, plants, flowers: concerning all of which comparisons should be derived and stored away in memory for prompt use in description or argument. (102)

For Erasmus, the value of possessing knowledge of the natural world lay in an increase of vocabulary, and the ready ability to appreciate classical allusions in the works of the relevant authors.

One of the exceptions to adopt this attitude was Vives, a Spanish humanist, contemporary of Luther and friend of Erasmus, who eventually settled at Bruges, and wrote on education, holding views well in advance of his time. Vives, too, regarded Aristotle as the one authoritative source of scientific truth; but, on the other hand, he augmented the knowledge contained in that master, by directing the learner to Nature. What was observed there could be amplified, and reduced to system by the aid of the great classical scientists: Pliny, Columella, Varro, Aristotle and Theophrastus. (103)

Melanchthon, however, held the typical humanist attitude, regarding the ancient authorities as those who were the best guides in this field, and adopting the "verbal", rather than the "real" method of study. (104)

Luther's attitude to the natural world was, thus completely different from both that of scholastics, who regarded it as an inferior realm which might be discussed metaphysically, but should be left behind in the search for God; and from that of the humanists, who examined it through the printed book.

In a true sense Luther can be seen as a forerunner of Comenius in his recognition of the need for observation of natural things.

He himself was well aware of the fundamental difference between his own outlook, and that of schoolmen and humanists. In a prophetic utterance he declared :-

> We are at the dawn of a new era, for we are beginning to recover the knowledge of the external world that we had lost through the fall of Adam. We now observe creatures properly, and not as formerly under the Papacy. Erasmus is indifferent, and does not care to know how fruit is developed from the germ. But by the grace of God we already recognize in the most delicate flower the wonders of divine goodness and omnipotence. We see in His creatures the power of His Word. He commanded and the thing stood fast. See that force display itself in the stone of a peach. It is very hard and the germ it encloses is very tender; but, when the moment has come, the stone must open to let out the young plant which God has called into life. Erasmus passes by all that, takes no account of it, and looks upon external subjects as cows look upon a new gate. (105)

It would be an exaggeration to say that Luther had acquired the detached and objective method of later scientists. It is, however, true to say that he had shaken off the sense that the natural world was inferior to the spiritual realm - the world of ideas - and had departed completely

from the bookish method of studying it. His eyes were open to delight in, to meditate upon, to observe and describe the processes of nature and the living world which was, to him, the good creation of God.

Another interesting contrast between Luther and many of his contemporaries, in particular the humanists, developed from his theology. This was his attitude to the pseudo-science of astrology. The latter, with the Renaissance surprisingly, 'acquired a vogue which it had not had since ancient times'. (106)

According to Nygren, this was not just a recrudescence of ancient superstition, but demonstrated a religious attitude associated with that type of religion which regarded the quest for God as an upward ascent of the soul, as it rejected and left behind the world and worldly affections. (107)

It was not, therefore, out of character that Melanchthon, and other humanists, should have attached the greatest importance to the teaching of astrologers.

Luther, on the other hand, poured scorn on it, and referred to it disrespectfully as 'that scabby art astrologia'. (108)

His belief that the world was governed by God left no room for astral fatalism, and though the matter appeared to be of lesser consequence, it revealed a fundamental

difference in the religious outlook of the two reformers on the one hand, and a cleavage between Luther's evangelical faith and humanist belief on the other. Because of the great affection which he had for Melanchthon Luther regarded the latter's addiction to astrology as a comparatively harmless 'hobby', and often poked fun at him for it. (109) Melanchthon, however, took his 'hobby' seriously, as Luther's comments showed :-

Master Philip holds fast to it (astrology), but has never been able to convince me. (110)

And again:-

Neither Philip nor anybody else will ever persuade me to believe that it is a science. (111)

Likewise, Melanchthon believed in the significance of dreams, while Luther rejected the idea :-

Luther praised that dream of Philip's, and said that he had the gift of dreams, but I, he added, do not attribute any weight to it. I do not care to have dreams and visions, Certiora habeo, verbum Dei. (112)

It has been held as evidence of Luther's obscurantist attitude to scientific ideas that 'he was profoundly shocked' when he heard of Copernicus' heliocentric theory :- (113)

People give ear to an upstart astrologer who strove to show that the earth revolves, not the heavens or the firmament, the sun and the moon. Whoever wishes to appear clever must devise some new system, which of all systems is of course the best. This fool wishes to reverse the entire science of astronomy; but sacred Scripture tells us that Joshua commanded the sun to stand still, and not the earth. (114).

This is supposed to be overwhelming evidence for Luther's

inability to absorb new ideas. There are several things to be borne in mind before this judgment is accepted. The first is Luther's age. Boehmer, in relation to this matter, asks the very pertinent question :-

> What man of middle age today, in matters remote from his particular sphere of work ... can immediately grasp new ideas and theories which seem to overturn all that was handed down to him in his youth as science? (115)

The second point, which should be made clear to an age that has become used to the swiftly changing views and theories of scientists, and has even come to expect them, is that a man is not necessarily impervious to new ideas because he does not immediately accept new theories on hearsay. This may, indeed, be itself evidence of wisdom, and for that scientific attitude that tests ideas against the best available knowledge before acceptance. That Luther was capable of changing his view in this sphere, was shown in his eventual rejection of the theory of the eleven or twelve heavens, which was taught him as scientific truth at the University of Erfurt. (116)

Another aspect of Luther's interest in the natural, was his advocacy of physical exercise and gymnastics. This was in contrast to the spirit of Medieval Catholicism, where the body and its appetites were regarded as the entanglements which prevented men from realizing the true purpose of life, the culture of the soul.

The contrast is seen in high light in the different out-

look of Luther and Augustine on the question of what constituted evil. For Augustine, sin consisted in the fact that man was, so to speak, bent down to earth (curvatus). Luther too, held that sinful man was 'incurvatus', but by this he meant that man was egocentric, that his will thus bent upon itself (incurvatus in se) (117) For Augustine, therefore, salvation was to be attained by the soul directing its desire upwards toward God and the heavenly world, and away from earthly, created things. For Luther, such a quest on the part of the soul was still evidence of egocentricity.
It was this same upward tendency which characterized monasticism, mysticism, and scholastic thought. Inevitably from this attitude, there derived a contempt for the body and its activities. (118)

Luther, when he discarded the beliefs of Medieval Catholicism, acquired a new outlook on the body and its desires. This has already been shown in his attitude towards marriage and family life, and, in a less important way, it was reflected in his advocacy of the need for 'manly bodily exercises' for the preservation of health and the production of a strong, supple body :-

> It was well considered and arranged by the ancients that the people should practice gymnastics, in order that they might not fall into revelling, unchastity, gluttony, intemperance, and gaming. Therefore, these two exercises and pastimes please me best, namely music and gymnastics, of which the first drives away all care and melancholy

from the heart, and the latter produces elasticity of the body and preserves the health. But a great reason for their practice is that people may not fall into glutton, licentiousness, and gambling, as is the case, alas! at courts and in cities. Thus it goes when such honourable and manly bodily exercises are neglected. (119)

It appears evident that, just as Luther had restored a unified view of human society by his abolition of the value-distinction between the so-called spiritual and secular offices, so he had restored unity into men's outlook on the so-called spiritual and natural worlds. For him, the world of nature and the world of man were not two completely separated spheres of existence, for both were the good creation of God, and both subject to the same Divine Law. His eyes were not constantly directed away from the world, nor turned inwards on himself, nor fixed on printed pages. While he had not acquired the so-called scientific outlook, he had been liberated from that state of mind and outlook to which the natural world must for ever remain a closed book.

It is a reasonable question to ask why this different outlook of Luther's did not find some counterpart in the schools and universities of the Reformed states.

The answer seems to fall into two parts.

In the first place, as far as the schools were concerned, there was no body of authoritative results in scientific observation and enquiry on which to build a part of the school curriculum, even if Luther had advocated 'natural

history' as a new subject. In the second place, Melanchthon who was responsible for the organization of the new schools and universities, and the reform of curricula, was essentially a humanist in outlook, differing considerably from Luther in his attitude to the natural world. As a result, the new Philosophical Faculties of the universities continued to study natural philosophy on the basis of Aristotle, Pliny, and other classical authorities.

8. LUTHER AND THE WORD OF GOD.

One of the most frequently used expressions in Luther's writings is 'the Word of God'.
This appears in varying contexts, and seems to bear several different meanings.
Sometimes he uses the phrase as if to identify the Word with the Scriptures; at other times he employs it in such a way as to make it synonymous with the word of the Christian preacher; and in a third usage he equates the Word with Christ Himself. (120)
There was no contradiction in this, when Luther's doctrine of the Word is understood.
The key to Luther's thought lies in his declaration :-
Christ is Himself the Word. (121)
From this identification, Luther passed on to the statement.
In the whole of Scripture there is nothing else but Christ

either in plain words, or involved words. (122)

This, he said, applied to the Old Testament, as well as the New :-

If, then, you would interpret (the Old Testament) well and surely, set Christ before you; for He is the man to whom it all applies. (123)

In his brief INTRODUCTION TO THE OLD TESTAMENT, Luther gave the following advice to the reader :-

Therefore let your own thoughts and feelings go, and think of the Scriptures as the loftiest and holiest of noble things, as the richest of mines which can never be worked out, so that you may find the wisdom of God that He lays before you in such foolish and simple guise, in order that He may quench all pride.
Here you will find the swaddling-clothes and the manger in which Christ lies, and to which the angel points the shepherds. Simple and little are the swaddling-clothes, but dear is the treasure, Christ, that lies in them. (124)

In interpreting the Scriptures, Luther taught that the Old Testament was to be understood in the light of the New :-

We must look to the light of the Gospel ... for this illumines the darkness of the Old Testament. (125)

Luther, further, drew a distinction between the Old Testament and the New, by calling the former 'Scripture' (i.e., something written down), and the latter 'preaching'. The New Testament material was essentially something that was given by preaching :-

For what is the New Testament except an open preaching and proclamation of Christ ... (126)

In view of this Luther could say :-

Christ has two witnesses to His birth and government.

One is Scripture, or word comprised in letters; the other is the voice, or word spoken through the mouth. (127)

And again :-

In the New Testament the preaching must be done orally with the living voice publicly, and must bring forth into speech and hearing what before was hidden in the letters... Christ Himself did not write His doctrine, as Moses did, but gave it orally, also orally commanded to do it, and gave no command to write it. (128)

Luther, then, held that by the reading and exposition of Scripture (the Old Testament), and by the New Testament preaching, men were confronted by God Himself, speaking directly to them, though through the mediation of the words. Luther drew a distinction between hearing the Gospel in the Scriptures, and having a knowledge of the historical events and the teaching of Christ :-

The Gospel is nothing but the preaching about Christ, Son of God and David, true God and man, who by His death and resurrection has overcome all men's sin, and death and hell, for us who believe in Him ...
To know His works and the things that happened to Him, is not yet a knowledge of the Gospel, for if you know only these things, you do not yet know that He has overcome sin, death and the devil.
So, too, it is not yet knowledge of the Gospel, when you know these doctrines and commandments, but only when the voice comes that says, "Christ is your own, with His life, teaching, works, death, resurrection, and all that He is, has, does, and can do." (129)

The preaching of the Gospel had not ceased in the Apostolic age; it had continued through fifteen centuries to Luther's own time. The Gospel was not the record of an old event, but, in preaching (and in the Sacrament), was continually present.

Luther held and taught that when a Christian preacher

proclaimed God's down-stooping grace in the coming of Christ, then through and behind the voice and words of the preacher, God Himself was speaking directly to the hearers :-

> To me (the Christian Gospel) is not simply an old song of an event that happened fifteen hundred years ago; it is something more than an event that happened once - for it is a gift and a bestowing that endures for ever ... (130)

And again :-

> God, the Creator of heaven and earth, speaks with thee through His preachers, baptizes, catechizes, absolves thee, through the ministry of His own sacraments. These are the words of God, not of Plato or Aristotle. It is God Himself that speaks. (131)

These views, as has been shown already, led Luther to a new and revolutionary conception of preaching and the place of the sermon in the liturgy of the Church :-

> It is through the sermon that Christ cometh to you and you will be drawn to Him; for the preaching of the divine Word is not our Word but God's. (132)

For Luther, then, the 'Word of God' meant essentially Christ; and the words written in the Scriptures and spoken in Christian preaching, were the media of the Divine Word by which God spoke directly and personally to individual men and women. (133)

Some of the educational consequences of this conception of the task and 'office' of the Christian preacher have been traced in detail in Chapter 7, so that only the briefest recapitulation is necessary at this stage. First, it was from his doctrine of the Word of God that

Luther was led to the accomplishment of some of his major literary achievements, which had profound educational consequences. Since he held this view of the Scriptures as the "swaddling-clothes and manger' in which the Word of God was laid, and since it was his purpose to restore the Gospel to the German people and thus destroy the 'corrupt doctrine' of Medieval Catholicism, he made his translation of the Bible into German, composed the Small Catechism, prepared a liturgy for the Reformed Church in the mother tongue, and laid the foundations of German hymnology. All these things were done, so that men might hear the Word of God speaking directly and personally to them in their own language. The educational consequence of this was the beginning of the elementary schools for boys and girls, where children were first taught the elements of the Christian faith in German.

It is quite true to say that Luther initiated universal popular education from his conception of the Word of God. There were other derivatives from this aspect of Luther's theology which were of great importance for education. First, there was a vast difference between Luther's view of language teaching and that of, for example, Melanchthon. In the case of the latter, who was a great expert in the classical languages, there was a marked tendency, which later had unfortunate results, towards a formal treatment of grammar, and a separation between

the latter and content in literary studies.

For Luther, on the other hand, words were real and living things. As a result he sat more lightly to grammar than Melanchthon, and laid far greater stress on the vitality and living meaning which could be expressed through language. (134)

This led him to advocate methods of language teaching which are now accepted as correct by a great number of modern language teachers. He particularly emphasized the value of practice, and drew a distinction between a knowledge of words and a knowledge of things :-

> Everyone learns German or other languages much better from talking at home, at the market, or in church, than from books. Printed words are dead, spoken words are living. On the printed page they are not so forcible as when uttered by the soul of man through the mouth.
> Tell me, where has there ever been a language that one could learn to speak properly from the grammar?
> Is it not true that even in languages which have the most clearly defined rules, as Latin and Greek, can be better learned from practice and habit than rules?
> The science of grammar shows and teaches what words are called and what they mean; but we should first of all learn the thing itself.
> Whoever is to teach and preach must know beforehand what a thing is, and what it is called: but grammar teaches only the last.
> Knowledge is of two kinds - one of words, and the other of things. Whoever has no knowledge of the things will not be helped by the knowledge of the words. It is an old proverb that 'one cannot speak well of what one does not understand'.
> Of this truth our age has furnished many examples. For many learned and eloquent men have uttered foolish and ridiculous things in speaking of what they did not understand. But whoever thoroughly understands a matter will speak wisely and reach the heart, though he may be wanting in eloquence and readiness of speech. Thus Cato surpassed Cicero when he spoke in council, though his language was

simple and unadorned.
A knowledge of words or grammar becomes easier when the subject in hand is understood. But when a knowledge of the subject is wanting, then a knowledge of words is useless. I do not wish to be understood as rejecting formal grammar; but this I say; if the subject is not studied along with the grammar, one will never become a good teacher. For, as someone has said, the teacher's or preacher's discourse should be born, not in his mouth, but in his heart. (135)

So that, even here, Luther's marked divergence from the scholastics and humanists may be noted. His stress on the 'real' in language, rather than on the 'ideal', is in line with his interest in the natural world itself, rather than in the natural world through the pages of books.
If one asks why Luther's ideas on language teaching did not find a counterpart in methods of teaching in schools and universities, the answer again must lie, at least in part, in the authoritative position as a language teacher oocupied by Melanchthon.
Luther's task of making the Word of God plain to German-speaking people never obscured from him the equal necessity for the study of the Biblical languages, Hebrew, Greek, and Latin. All of his major writings on education deal in detail with arguments for such study, as he contended with the view of those who thought German was enough for the understanding of the Bible, and those who thought the learning of ancient languages was a waste of time.
He asserted that there could be no true and full understanding of the Scriptures without a knowledge of the

Biblical languages :-

The Hebrew tongue is altogether despised because of impiety, or perhaps because people despair of learning it.. Without this language there can be no understanding of Scripture, for the New Testament, though written in Greek, is full of Hebraisms. It is rightly said that the Hebrews drink from the fountains, the Greeks from the streams, and the Latins from the pools ... (136)

He declared that neglect of the study of the Biblical languages would eventually lead to corrupt texts in modern tongues :-

In the same measure that the Gospel is dear to us, should we zealously cherish the languages, the Old Testament in Hebrew, and the New Testament in Greek ...
Let this be kept in mind, that we shall not preserve the Gospel without the languages ...
If through neglect we lose the languages, we will not only lose the Gospel, but will finally come to pass that we will lose also the ability to speak and write either Latin or German ...
It is evident that where the languages are not preserved, there the Gospel will become corrupted ... (137)

He amplified his point by showing that correct exposition of Scripture in preaching necessitated language training:-

There is a great difference between a simple preacher of the faith, and an expositor of Scripture, or a prophet ... To interpret Scripture, to treat it independently, and to dispute with those who cite it incorrectly ... cannot be done without languages ... (138)

Preaching without such training must become stale and lacking in the interest to hold the attention :-

Though the faith and the Gospel, may be proclaimed by simple preachers without the languages, such preaching is flat and tame, men grow at last weary and disgusted, and it falls to the ground.
But when the preacher is versed in the languages, his discourse, has freshness and force, the whole of Scripture is treated, and faith finds itself constantly renewed by a continual variety of words and works. (139)

Luther, too, had a wider outlook for his preachers than limitation to one language would have allowed :-

> I am not at all in sympathy with those who cling to one language and despise all others. I would rather train the youth and people who can be of service to Christ in foreign lands ...
> It is proper that the youth should be trained in many languages, for who knows how God may use them in time to come. For this our schools have been established. (140)

In the matter of language training, Luther's insistence on the correct exposition of the Word of God, led to the foundation being laid in the schools and the Protestant universities of systematic language courses for the men who were to be Lutheran pastors and teachers. Even in the face of the distressing conditions revealed in the Saxon parishes during the early visitations, and the evident need for large numbers of pastors and teachers, Luther did not lower the standard required for those who would teach and expound the Word of God.

(c) Biblical Scholarship

Finally, one major consequence which arose from Luther's conception of the Word of God, was his contribution to Biblical scholarship, an aspect of his work which in itself, to quote Boehmer, would 'assure him for all time a place in the history of learning'.

The medieval method of exposition of Scripture proceeded by the assumption of the four-fold sense of the words - the literal, the allegoric, the moral, and the spiritual.

Every text and word was expounded in these four ways, and in particular allegory was used freely to deal with difficulties and discrepancies in the text. (141)

As a monk Luther used this method of exposition (142), but from the time of his lectures on Romans he more and more abandoned the method. Finally, he discarded the medieval method, and in its place adopted the 'natural, grammatical, historical' method.

He first sought to grasp the general meaning of the text, by enquiring what it was that the writer wished to teach or show. Then he set about elucidating the grammatical and philological sense of the writing.

Next he dealt with the history and geography, in so far as they were necessary to understanding.

Finally, he tried to relate the thought of the writer to the religious life of his hearers and readers.

In place of the allegorical method of explanation, Luther, as has been shown, adopted the principle that the key to the understanding of the Bible is Christ, the Incarnate Word of God. He refers to this principle of interpretation as 'the analogy of faith'.

The Bible for him was the vehicle of the Word of God, though not all parts of it had equal value as revelation of God.

He applied his interpretative principle to the evaluation of the Biblical books, among which he gave the

highest place to the Pauline Epistles, the Gospel according to St. John, and the First Epistle of Peter.

He also applied his critical perceptiveness to the Old and New Testament, and arrived at many conclusions which in some way anticipate the much more detailed conclusions of modern Biblical criticism. For example, he doubted the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch, and showed that Moses used many sources and incorporated laws of neighbouring peoples into the legislation which he gave to Israel. He asserted that the prophetic books were later compilations by their disciples, that the Book of Kings was more reliable as history than Chronicles, that the story of Jonah was doubtful history, and that it was doubtful if Solomon wrote Ecclesiastes.

In the New Testament, Luther denied the Pauline authorship of the Epistle to the Hebrews, rejected the Epistle of Jude, and doubts the Johanine authorship of the Apocalypse.

He rejected as spurious "The Gospel of Nicodemus", and the so-called "Epistle of Paul to the Laodiceans" which were contained in the medieval Bible. (143)

Luther's criticism, in the main, was determined not by the principles which promoted later Biblical criticism, but by his conception of the Word of God.

Luther, therefore, was not the father of later critical methods, nor was he the founder of the Lutheran funda-

mentalist movement of the later 16th. and 17th. centuries, who through their literal and rigid method of Biblical interpretation turned the Holy Scriptures into 'a pope of paper'. (144)

The importance of Luther in this realm lies in two directions. The first is that he abandoned the medieval method of interpretation, and by the introduction of his method of interpretation into the University of Wittenberg prepared the way for an eventual enlightened study of the Bible. The second is that he pointed the way to the principle upon which interpretation must depend, in that he asserted that Scripture could have no intelligible meaning and no religious value unless it contained within itself a principle of interpretation. Despite the fundamentalist attitude of the 16th. and 17th. centuries, the rationalist interpretations of the 18th. and 19th. centuries, the revolution in Biblical studies of the late 19th. and 20th. centuries, Luther's insight still has a relevance, and has by no means exhausted its significance. (145)

9. SUMMARY

During the course of this chapter an attempt has been made to show that the key to Luther's concern for education, and all his educational ideas and activities, lies in his God-centred theology.

He conceived of his mission to be the destruction of the

pseudo-Christian doctrine of the Medieval Church by which the goodness of God was obscured and men were deceived. In its place he purposed to restore the Apostolic Christian faith.

This brought him to a sustained attack on Scholasticism and the dominance of Aristotle, upon which this speculative system had been built. In 1520 he demanded the complete reformation of the curriculum of universities and schools, and the establishment of schools for boys and for girls where they might learn the elements of true Christian teaching.

His view of God, Who meets His creatures behind the tasks and relationships of human society, gave him a new conception of human vocation, the meaning of the home, and the tasks of the 'state'. From this he proceeded to the prophetic duty of calling parents, civil authorities, and princely governments to obedience to their several vocations. Among the essential duties of these 'offices' was that of responsibility for the training of children for the service of God and men.

Thus, Luther incorporated the home and the 'state', alongside the Church, into responsibility for education.

Luther's doctrine of the Word of God brought him to a new conception of preaching in the language of the common people, led on to the translation of the Bible, to the writing of the Catechisms, and to the preparation of a

new German liturgy. These in turn resulted in the establishment of a common German language, and the education of boys and girls in German.

Other aspects of his educational interests and influence all develop from the same root.

His demand for educated men for the service of the Gospel and the civil community, his stress on language teaching and the method of doing it, his advancement of Biblical studies, his advocacy of the teaching of history in school and university, his fostering of music in school and church, his attacks on Aristotle and apparent enmity of human reason, his interest in the natural world, all take their rise from his conception of a 'gracious God'. It is completely true of Luther's educational thought, in all its aspects, that it is grounded in his theology.

NOTES

(1) In his THE PRAISE OF FOLLY (1511) Erasmus attacked with satire and invective the ecclesiastical abuses, the disputes of scholastic theologians, popes, cardinals, bishops, and particularly the monastic orders. Another outstanding attack on abuses and scholasticism was delivered from the humanist side by the anonymous publication Letters of Obscure Men, which originated about 1516.

(2) Quoted from Watson "Let God be God!" p. 29. Note.20. Note that Luther's Ninety-Seven Theses on Scholasticism preceded the Ninety-Five Theses of November 1517.

(3) Given in WML. iii. pp. 277ff. The 'Leipzig Goat' was Emser, an opponent of Luther's who was secretary to the Duke of Albertine Saxony. Emser's escutcheon, which he proudly placed on the title-page of his books, was a goat's head topping a helmet.

(4) WML. iii. p. 299.

(5) His classical attack is in THE PRAISE OF FOLLY.
See also FROUDE "LIFE AND LETTERS OF ERASMUS". pp 373-374

(6) The theme runs through many of the letters of Erasmus whenever he writes on the subject of the Lutheran revolt. Thus for example, his letter to Berauld of the 16th. February 1521 :- "... Everyone knows that the Church was afflicted with tyranny and with ceremonies and with laws made only for gain. Many either desired or planned a remedy, but ill-considered remedies only make things worse ... Would that that man would either abstain altogether, ... or would do it more gently and circumspectly ..."
FROUDE op. cit. p 266 for letter dated 26 JAN. 1521, which deals with same theme.

(7) Smith and Jacobs "Luther's Correspondence" Vol.i., No. 21. Enders i. 62. Luther to Spalatin. 19th. October 1516.

(8) Smith and Jacobs i. No. 30. Enders i. 87. Luther to Lang. 1st. March 1517.

(9) Luther's Commentary on Galatians (edt. Graebner), p. 207. (Ch.5., v.9.)
The importance which Luther attaches to 'doctrine' is further emphasized on p. 209 (Ch.5.v.10) :- "I cannot say it often enough, that we must carefully differentiate between doctrine and life. Doctrine is a piece of heaven; life is a piece of earth ...

There can be no comparison between doctrine and life.. The least point of doctrine is of greater importance than heaven and earth. Therefore we cannot allow the least jot of doctrine to be corrupted. We may overlook the offences and errors of life, for we daily sin much. Even the saints sin, as they themselves confess in the Lord's Prayer and Creed. But our doctrine, God be praised, is pure, because all the articles of our faith are grounded on the Holy Scripture."

(10) Galatians Ch. 5. v. 17. p. 223.

(11) Ibid. Ch. 5. v. 3. p. 199.

(12) Luther THE BONDAGE OF THE WILL (Trans. Cole) p. 243.

(12a) Refer to Chapter 5. pp.

(13) ON CHRISTIAN LIBERTY. WML. ii. p. 322.
In the Commentary on Galatians, Ch. 3.v.6., pp. 98-99 Luther writes :- "Faith in God constitutes the highest worship, the prime duty, the first obedience, and the foremost sacrifice. Without faith God forfeits His glory, wisdom, truth, and mercy in us. The first duty of man is to believe in God and honour Him with faith. Faith is truly the height of wisdom, the right kind of righteousness, the only real religion.."

(14) For a full discussion of this revolutionary conception see Nygren "Agape and Eros" - trans. Watson. Part ii., pp. 466 - 473.
Nygren says :- "The deepest difference between Catholicism and Luther can be expressed by the following formulae : in Catholicism; fellowship with God on God's own level; in Luther; fellowship with God on our level, on the basis of sin.

(15) For amplification of this see Watson op. cit. pp. 33 - 38. (Luther's Copernican Revolution)
Nygren op. cit. Part ii. pp. 463ff.

(16) Quoted from Watson "Let God be God!" p. 23.
Note also Billing's saying :- "We should be in no danger of misleading the would-be student of Luther, if we expressly gave him the rule: 'Never imagine you have rightly grasped a Lutheran idea until you have succeeded in reducing it to a simple corollary of the forgiveness of sins.'"

(17) Kidd "Documents of the Continental Reformation". Section 43, pp. 85 - 86.

(18) Read Luther's exposition in Galatians Ch.1.vv. 11-12. On Paul's words "I certify you, brethren, that the gospel which was preached of me is not after man. For I neither received it of man, neither was I taught it, but by the revelation of Jesus Christ." Galatians (Edt. Middleton) pp. 43 - 48.

(19) Galatians (Edited Middleton) Ch. iv. v. 6., p. 307.

(20) Galatians (Edited Graebner) Ch. 1. vv. 11-12. pp. 36-37.

(21) Ibid. Ch. 3. v. 19., p. 132.

(22) Ibid. Ch. 3. v. 19., p. 129.

(23) A SERMON ON KEEPING CHILDREN IN SCHOOL. WML.iv. p.143.

(24) Ibid. 142 - 143.

(25) Ibid. p. 146.

(26) Ibid. p. 159.

(27) AN OPEN LETTER TO THE CHRISTIAN NOBILITY. WML.ii. p.69.

(28) Ibid. p. 71.

(29) Refer to Nygren "Agape and Eros" Part.ii. pp. 376ff. Note particularly the account given of the work of Climacus "The Ladder of Paradise".

(30) TREATISE ON GOOD WORKS. WML. i. p. 188.

(31) Watson op. cit. pp. 113 - 114.

(32) WML. ii. p. 69.

(33) Refer to Appendix No. 5 pp. 101 - 105

(34) WML. ii. p. 114.

(35) WML. i. p. 179. Refer also to WML. I. p.270.

(36) ON SECULAR AUTHORITY. WML. iii. p. 241.

(37) Ibid. p. 241.

3/4

(38) WHETHER SOLDIERS, TOO, CAN BE SAVED. WML. v. p. 36.

(39) WML. iv. pp. 169-170. Luther writes:- "..Christians ought to learn to distinguish between God's works and men's wickedness. In all of God's offices and ranks there are many wicked men; but the rank is and remains good, no matter how much men misuse it ...."
Refer also to WML. v. p. 34.

(40) WML. iii. p. 423 - 424.

(41) Kretzmann "Luther on Education in the Christian Home" p. 13. SERMON ON JOHN 2. vv. 1 - 11.

(42) For interesting discussion of the effect of Luther's teaching in this respect, see Boehmer "Luther in the Light of Modern Research" pp. 314 ff.

(43) THE EIGHTY-SECOND PSALM. WML. iv. p. 292.

(44) Galatians (Edited Graebner) Ch. 3. v. y. p.99.

(45) Gore "The philosophy of the Good Life" p. 268. Gore suggests that Luther's case was due to exaggeration between 'supernatural' and 'natural'.

(46) Richardson "Christian Apologetics" p. 228.

(47) Thus Paulsen "German Universities" p. 32 :- "Luther was a man of deep personal, anti-rationalistic religious feeling". See also Fisher "History of Europe" p. 500, for some rather strange statements. Watson op. cit. quotes Wesley's misunderstanding of Luther on this matter. p. 86.

(48) WML i. p. 11. Luther's Preface to Edition of Works (1545).

(49) Watson op. cit. for full series of quotations. p.86.

(50) Refer to Appendix No.5 p.84

(51) Franks "Work of Christ" i. p.353. Quoted with comment by Watson p. 100. Note 65.

(52) Watson op. cit. pp. 85 - 92.

(53) Galatians (Edited Graebner) Ch. 4. vv. 8, 9. p.168.

(54) Ibid. p. 168.

(55) Ibid. p. 168 - 169.

(56) In the Sermon on Keeping Children in School, Luther discusses the training of men for the law in the following way :- ".. There is need in this office of abler people than are needed in the office of preaching, so that it is necessary to keep the best boy for this work. For in the preaching office Christ does the whole thing, by his Spirit, but in worldly government one must use reason, - for God has subjected temporal rule and bodily things to reason, and has not sent the Holy Ghost from heaven for this purpose. Therefore governing is harder, because it cannot be ruling over things that are certain, and must act in the dark.."

(57) WML v. p. 95.

(58) WML. 1. p. 195.

(59) Watson op. cit. p. 87.

(60) Quoted from Watson p. 78. For a full statement refer to Galatians (Edited Middleton) pp. 12 - 15.

(61) Nygren "Agape and Eros" Part ii., pp. 484 - 487.

(62) Weimar Edition. Bd. 37., p. 38. Given in Nygren ii. p. 485., n.3.

(63) Galatians (Edited Middleton) pp. 13. 14. Refer also to Nygren ii. p. 485., n.2.

(64) Hopper "The Crisis of Faith" pp. 199 - 200.

(65) WML. ii. p. 146.

(66) WML. ii. p. 147.

(67) Galatians (Edited Middleton) pp. 12 - 14.

(67a) Brunner quoted by Hopper op. cit. p.

(68) THE PAPACY AT ROME WML. i. p. 346

(69) For fuller discussion see Richardson op. cit. pp. 35 - 39; 92 - 104. The quotation is from Niebuhr.

(70) Luther's activity in Biblical 'criticism' is an example of the use of reason in religious matters outside of the matter of justification. Refer also to note 56.

(72) WML. liv. p. 160.

(73) Richardson op. cit. p. 36.

(74) For the lines of such a rapprochement see Richardson pp. 40ff.

(75) The attitude of Erasmus, for instance, has been expressed by Woodward as follows :- "Erasmus found in antiquity a politico-social ideal for his own age.." As far as historical study was concerned, his eyes, like those of Melanchthon, were fixed on the classical past.
Luther's attachment to the past in this sense, was much looser. For instance, his COMPUTATION OF THE YEARS OF THE WORLD covered in table form the period from the supposed time of creation up to 1541.

(76) WML. ii. p. 147.

(77) WML. iv. p. 122.

(78) WML. iv. 128 - 129.

(79) WML. vi. pp. 403 - 408. Preface to Isaiah.

(80) Kretzmann "Luther on Education in the Christian Home" pp. 77 - 78.
Introduction to Isaiah. St. Louis Edt. vi. pp. 9 - 10

(81) Refer to Translation in Appendix No. 7 pp. 169-174

(82) WML. i. 265 - 266. TREATISE ON GOOD WORKS.

(83) Refer to Richardson's discussion on the writing of history, op. cit. pp. 92 - 104.

(84) For full discussion of this important matter see Richardson Ch.4, "Theology and History".

(85) WML. vi. 131 - 300. In this lengthy work Luther examined the record of the proceedings of the Council of Jerusalem, and the four oecumenical councils of Nicaea, Constantinople, Ephesus, and Chalcedon, with a view to discovering what they actually did, what of their acts were temporary, and what had permanent value. His effort is a fine piece of historical criticism.

(86) Weimar Edt. liii. pp. 22ff. This is a lengthy work over which Luther must have spent much time and engaged in a deal of research on available histories.

(87) Ibid. p. 22. In this Introduction to the work Luther says that he is satisfied from the pleasure he derived from writing it, some people wanted him to publish it, but he did not care if it were destroyed or preserved. His attitude was that which he took to all his work, except the Bible, Catechism and the Bondage of the Will.

(88) Refer to Paulsen "German Education" pp. 63 - 64.

(89) Refer to Boehmer's brief discussion, "Luther in the Light of Modern Research" pp.

(93) Smith and Jacobs ii. No. 503. Enders iii. 217.

(94) Currie "Letters of Martin Luther". ccix. To Justus Jonas. 22nd. April 1530.

(95) Ibid. ccx. Luther to His wife and Household. 28th. April 1530.

(96) Ibid. cccxii. Luther to Wolfgang Sieberger. No date.

(97) Ibid. ccxxxviii. Luther to Chancellor Bruck. 5th. August 1530.

(98) Painter "Luther on Education" p. 103. (quoted from)

(99) Ibid. p. 104.

(100) Currie op. cit. ccclxxiv. To Justus Jonas. 8th. April 1538.

(101) Woodward "Education during the Renaissance" p. 99.

(102) Ibid. pp. 123 - 124.

(103) Ibid. pp. 202 - 203.

(104) Ibid. p. 241.

(105) Painter op. cit. p. 163. Compare with Comenius :- "Why shall we not, instead of dead books, open the living book of nature? Not the shadows of things, but the things themselves, which make an impression on the senses and imagination, are to be brought before youth. By actual observation, not by a verbal description of things, must instruction begin. From such observation develops a certain knowledge.

(105) Continued.
Men must be led as far as possible to draw their wisdom not from books, but from a consideration of heaven and earth, oaks and beeches; that is, they must know and examine things themselves, and not be simply contented with the observation and testimony of others." Quoted from Painter "History of Education". p. 209.

(106) Russell "History of Western Philosophy", p. 523. Burckhardt "Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy", Part vi. 315 - 320.

(107) Nygren "Agape and Eros" part ii. p. 452. n. 4.

(108) Boehmer "The Young Luther", p. vii.

(109) Hildebrandt "Melanchthon" p. xviii.

(110) Ibid. p. xviii.

(111) Ibid. p. xviii. For discussion of Melanchthon's interests in this direction see Boehmer "Luther in the Light of Modern Research" pp. 252 - 523. The most famous example of the influence of Melanchthon's belief in astrology lies in the attitude he took at the Augsburg Interim. April 22nd. 1548, when he saw an eclipse of the moon, from which he concluded that the Emperor would die in August. When this did not happen, he gave August 1549 as the correct date. During the interval he considered it quite safe to conciliate the Catholics.

(112) Hildebrandt op. cit. p. 18.

(113) Russell op. cit. p. 550.

(114) Ibid. p. 550. Quoted by Russell.

(115) Boehmer p. 164.

(116) Ibid. p. 164 - 165. Luther had called for the abolition of Aristotle's PHYSICS from the science course in the Universities in the Open Letter of 1520.

(117) Nygren op. cit. ii., pp. 267 - 268. n.3.

(118) Bevan "Christianity" pp. 125 - 129 discusses the medieval attitude to sex and the body.

(119) Painter "Luther on Education". p. 166.

(120) For the fullest discussion of this, refer to Watson op. cit. pp. 149 - 177.

(121) Weimar Edt. Bd. x; i. p. 158.

(122) Weimar Edt. Bd. xi. p. 223.
cf. Bondage of the Will (trans. Cole). p.26.

(123) Introduction to the Old Testament WML. vi. p.379.

(124) Ibid. p. 368.

(125) Weimar Edt. xi. p. 81.

(126) Introduction to the New Testament. WML. vi. p.367.
cf. WML i. p 321.

(127) Weimar Edt. x. i. p. 625.

(128) op. cit. p. 625.

(129) WML. vi. p. 442.

(130) Quoted from Watson op. cit. p. 151.

(131) Tischreden iv. p. 531. Another saying of Luther's which contains the same idea reads :- "The people are lacking, inasmuch as they fail to realize that the preaching office has to do with the word of our Lord God. They think it is only the parson's word as under the Papacy." Tischreden vi. p. 253.

(132)

(133) A very fine modern exposition of this conception of Christian preaching is given by Farmer "The Servant of the Word".

(134) Luther's statement on his attitude to Hebrew grammar is relevant :- "I am no Hebrew grammarian, nor do I wish to be, for I cannot bear to be hampered by rules; but I am quite at ease in the language..." Kretzmann "Luther on Education" p. 78.

(135) Quoted from Painter "Luther on Education" p. 158f.

(136) Kretzmann op. cit. p. 78. Quoted from Table Talk. St.Louis edt. xxii. 1542 f.

(137) WML. iv. pp. 114 - 115.

(138) Ibid. p. 117.

(139) Ibid. p. 119.

(140) Preface to the German Mass. WML. vi. p. 172.

(141) Refer to Mackinnon iv. for example of use. p. 290. He quotes from Smith "Essays in Biblical Interpretation" p. 57. :- "Thus the word Jerusalem is, in a literal sense, a city in Palestine; allegorically it designates the Church; morally it may mean the order of civil society; whereas analogically it points to eternal life."
An allegorical exposition by Augustine of the parable of the Good Samaritan is given by Dodd "Parables of the kingdom" pp. 11 - 12. This very exposition was followed down to the time of Archbishop Trench. Luther referred to the allegorical method as 'a merry chase, in which certain elusive meanings are the game that is hunted and caught'. WML. iii. pp. 334 - 335.

(142) He declared in his Table Talk :- "When I was a monk I was an adept at allegory. I allegorized everything. But after lecturing on Romans I came to have some knowledge of Christ ..." Tischreden i. p. 136.
For an example of one of Luther's allegorical expositions refer to my Chapter 5. note.

(143) Refer to Luther's Prefaces to the books of the Old and New Testaments WML. vi. pp. 367 - 490. See also summary given by Mackinnon iv. pp. 300 - 303.
For some examples of his judgments the following quotations are given :- "If I had to do without one or the other - either the works or the preaching of Christ - I would rather do without His works than His preaching; for the works do not help me, but His words give life, as He Himself says. Now John writes very little about the works of Christ, but very much about his preaching, while the other evangelists write much of His works and little of His preaching. Therefore John's Gospel is the one, tender, true chief Gospel, far, far to be preferred to the other three and placed high above them. So, too, the Epistles of Paul and St. Peter far surpass the other three Gospels". WML. vi. 443.
"The books of Kings are a thousand paces ahead of Chronicles and more to be believed."

(143) Continued.
For further examples see Smith "Life and Letters" pp. 267 - 270, and to references supra.

(144) For a brief summary of the course of Biblical exposition in Germany after Luther see the essay in "Luther Speaks" on the Bible in Germany by T.F.Laun. pp. 161f.

(145) Richardson op. cit. pp. 183 - 188.
The best and fullest discussion of Luther's conception of the Word of God is given by Watson op. cit. pp. 148 - 177.

CHAPTER 9.

THE ORDINANCES OF GOD.

1. Luther and the Purpose of Education.

2. Luther and the Media of Education.

3. The Home and Education.

   (a) The Office of Parent.
   (b) The Discipline of the Home.
   (c) Instruction in the Home.
   (d) Sending Children to School.
   (e) The Office of Child.

4. The Government and Education.

   (a) Luther's Conception of the State.
   (b) Government Responsibility for Education.
   (c) The Office of Prince.

5. The Church and Education.

   (a) The Educational Task of the Pastor.
   (b) The Office of Schoolmaster.

6. NOTES 1 - 137.

THE ORDINANCES OF GOD.

1. LUTHER AND THE PURPOSE OF EDUCATION.

All that Luther had to say about the aims, methods, media, and practical programme of educational reform, was grounded in a comprehensive, articulated, and unified view of human life and destiny, which arose out of his theocentric theology.

As a consequence, Luther did not allocate education to a special and limited department or period of life, nor did he consider it to be an end in itself, but rather a means to an end.

For him the purpose of education was quite clear, and had two interconnected and inseverable aspects.

The first of these, and the primary aim of all education, was that by means of it human beings might be brought to a knowledge of God in Christ, as revealed in the Christian Gospel.

From this it followed that, for Luther, education must be universal in its scope, available for boys and girls, men and women, rich and poor, the simple and the intelligent. Before the sweep of this outlook, the aristocratic restrictions of humanist education were completely broken down.

This primary aim which Luther enunciated, can be illustrated almost indefinitely from his writings. Thus in the OPEN LETTER of 1520 he wrote :-

> Above all, the foremost and most general subject of study, both in the higher and lower schools, should be the Holy Scriptures, and for the young boys the Gospel.
> And would to God that every town had a girls' school also, in which the girls were taught the Gospel for an hour each day, either in German or Latin ....
> Ought not every Christian at his ninth or tenth year to know the entire Gospel from which he derives his name and life....
> Where the Holy Scriptures do not rule, there I advise no one to send his son. Everyone not unceasingly busy with the Word of God must become corrupt.... (1)

In a SERMON ON ST. MARK, CHAPTER 8, addressed to parents and those in governmental authority, he declared :-

> The highest and greatest work and the supreme service of God that we can perform on earth is this, that we bring other people, and in particular those who are entrusted to us, to the knowledge of God and the Holy Gospel ... (2)

In the explanation of the Fourth Commandment in the LARGE CATECHISM he asserted :-

> Let everyone know, therefore, that it is his duty, on peril of losing the divine favour, to bring up his children, above all, in the fear and knowledge of God ... (3)

This might be considered as the personal and individual aspect of Luther's aim for education.

But the knowledge of God to which he wished children and adults to be led, was not a metaphysical conception of the Deity, but a direct and personal faith and trust, which issued in the obedience of a Christian life. The nature of such obedience lay in the glad acceptance of the demands of the Law of God, which called persistently and constantly for love and service of neighbours.

Luther's greatest work on this theme was the treatise of

1520 ON CHRISTIAN LIBERTY, in which he wrote of the effect of the acceptance of the Christian Gospel on the life of a man :-

> From faith flow forth love and joy in the Lord, and from love a joyful, willing and free mind that serves one's neighbour willingly, and takes no account of gratitude or ingratitude, of praise or blame, of gain or loss ... (4)

And again :-

> We conclude, therefore, that a Christian man lives not in himself, but in Christ through faith, in his neighbour through love .. (5)

Hence the second aspect of Luther's aim for education, which must be considered as the social aspect, was the production of men and women for the service of the community in every aspect of its life. For him the production of such people was of more primary importance, than the turning out of well-informed, clever persons, devoid of the spirit of public service, and ambitious only for personal advancement.

His objective in this direction was the pious, and clever, man and woman.

Again, illustrations of this aim find abundant material in all of Luther's educational treatises.

In an Exposition of Genesis, 41, 45, he wrote of the purpose of schooling as training for neighbourly service :-

> Therefore we should not lead such an idle, delicate, Epicurean life as to withdraw from all manner of government ....but from childhood become accustomed, not to serve voluptuousness, but to serve the common need in this life. For this end you go to school, learn the good arts, and are

exercised therein, in order that you may in the future serve the community, whether in the Church or in worldly government: and this requires a learned, patient, and strong man, who also possesses courage. To such virtues you must accustom your heart and arouse it thereto ... Therefore you should keep in mind that you are born and called by God to this end that you should serve your neighbour. (6)

Luther's desire to see the production by education of good and wise people was constantly declared :-

.... With regard to earthly government, thou canst serve thy ruler and thy city more with the training of children, than if thou buildest castles and cities and collectest the treasures of all the world.
For what is the use of all this if we do not have learned, wise and pious people? (7)

He asserted again and again that the wealth and security of a city or nation depended upon the outnumbering of clever rogues by wise and honourable citizens. This was strongly emphasized in the treatise TO THE COUNCILMEN :-

The welfare of a city consists not alone in gathering great treasures and providing solid walls, beautiful buildings, and a goodly supply of guns and armour. Nay, where these abound and reckless fools get control of them, the city suffers only the greater loss.
But a city's best and highest welfare, safety and strength, consist in its having many able, learned, wise, honourable and well-bred citizens; such men can readily gather treasures and all goods, protect them and put them to good use ... (8)

The highest neighbourly love that a man could show, Luther argued, must be directed to the maintenance of the 'offices' or 'ordinances' of God by which the Christian Gospel and the Law of God were propagated in the world.

This meant that men, if they wished to serve God and their fellow-men most truly, must seek to uphold and replenish the 'spiritual estate' and its offices, and the 'secular

estate' with its 'vocations'.

To do this it was necessary to ensure that children were educated and trained, so that as men they would be able to fill these offices.

Luther affirmed that if these two 'estates' were allowed to decline and disappear, then men and human society would pass into darkness and chaos :-

The task of ensuring the education of children was not a matter of option, but 'the command of God' :-

> My dear friend, if thou hast a child that shows a capacity for learning, it is not a matter of choice with thee to bring up the child as it pleases thee ... but thou art to regard thy duty to God, to further both his governments and to serve him therein. (9)

This outlook was to be of greater importance than that of personal ambition and aggrandisement :-

> If we wish to have excellent and able persons both for civil and ecclesiastical government, we must spare no diligence, time, or cost in teaching and educating our children, that they may serve God and the world, and we must not only think how we may amass money and possessions for them... If they are talented we must have them learn and study something ... and trained in a liberal education, that men may be able to have their aid in government and in whatever is necessary ... (10)

The maintenance of God's 'two governments' brought all those benefits which God Himself wished to bestow upon men; the neglect and indifference of men to the service of Church and government would inevitably bring loss and disaster. Thus any man who failed to educate his child for such service in one of the many spiritual or secular offices, was disobedient to God's demand for love of

neighbour; for such a man was quite willing to see his fellows suffer through his neglect and selfishness. Luther first demonstrated how the ruin of the 'spiritual estate' would ensue from such selfishness :-

> The spiritual estate has been instituted and established by God ... This not only helps to further and maintain this temporal life ... but it also delivers from sin and death... Indeed the world stands and abides only because of the spiritual estate; if it were not for this estate, it would long since have gone to destruction. (11)

> If God has given you a child who has the ability and talent for this office, and you do not train him for it, but look only to the belly and temporal livelihood ... then.. you are making a place for the devil, and advancing his kingdom, ... the world remains in heresy, errors, contention, war, and strife, and gets worse every day. The kingdom of God goes down, together with the Christian faith, ... and all worship of God. (12)

Similarly, by blindness and selfishness on the part of men, all the blessings of life, ensured by good government, are endangered by neglect of education :-

> Worldly government maintains temporal and transient peace and life. It is a glorious ordinance and splendid gift of God, who has established and instituted it, and will have it maintained as something men cannot do without.
> If there were no worldly government, no man could live because of other men.
> We can no more do without government than we can do without life itself, since without government this life cannot continue. (13)

> If you have a son who is gifted for learning, and you can keep him at it, and do not do so, but go your way without asking what is to become of worldly government and law and peace; then you are doing everything you can against worldly authority ... like the devil himself. For you are taking from the empire, land, city, a cornerstone, and helper; and so far as you are concerned the land might lose protection and peace; and you are the man through whose fault (so far as your power goes) no one may have securely his body, wife, child, house, home, or goods; .... and

become the reason why men are to become mere beasts .. All this you assuredly are doing, if you are knowingly keeping your son out of this office for the belly's sake .. (14)

Even if men were not moved by Luther's teaching about the requirements of God, they might be moved by self-interest to the fulfilment of the second aspect of Luther's aims for education :-

If there were no soul, and if there were no need at all of schools and languages for the sake of the Scriptures and of God, this one consideration should suffice to establish everywhere the very best schools for boys and girls, namely that in order outwardly to maintain its temporal estate, the world must have good and skilled men, so that the former may rule well over land and people, and the latter may keep house and train children aright ... (15)

Luther, in fact, proclaimed new aims for education. In place of the medieval demand for educated men for the service of the Church, Luther called for universal education for the production of Christians, 'good and skilled men and women', so that God and men might be served in the Church and throughout the so-called 'secular estate'.

His objective, therefore, had two interrelated aspects, one individual for the good of men themselves, and the other social for the good of other men.

For these purposes, in season and out of season, Luther called on parents, pastors, teachers, councillors, magistrates, citizens and princes, to ensure the establishment and maintenance of schools, universities, and churches for the education of children, young men, and

adults.

Because his objectives were so great, Luther regarded education as a life-long process, begining in the cradle, (16), and continuing to the end of life. (17)

For him there was no cleavage between the religious and secular aspects of the process. The former, continuing throughout life, was to be the light by which so-called secular knowledge, whether that of the teacher, doctor, lawyer, civil servant, farmer, tradesman, and housewife, was to be devoted to the service of the community.

2. LUTHER AND THE MEDIA OF EDUCATION.

Education for the purposes designated by Luther could not be undertaken by schools and the universities alone. It is true that Luther persistently urged the extension of these institutions, but he did not regard them as the sole media of education. In addition, the vehicles of education were the home and the Church. The process which Luther envisaged, started in the home, continued in the schools and universities, and proceeded in the Church. Without the cooperation of the home and church, the process of education could not be started properly, or completed. In the full plan, responsibility for the task of education fell within the 'offices' of parents, councillors and magistrates, princes, schoolmasters, and pastors. In order that the final product might be 'good

and skilled men and women', motivated by love of God and men, the fullest participation of all in these offices was necessary. This idea of alliance in the training and educating of children was expressed by Luther in a passage in his treatise ON THE COUNCILS AND THE CHURCHES of 1539 :-

> If we do not train pupils, we shall not long have pastors and preachers ... The school must give the Church persons who can be made apostles, evangelists, prophets, that is, preachers, pastors, rulers, besides the other kind of people that are needed throughout the world, who are to become chancellors, councillors, secretaries, and the like, and who help with worldly government ...
> If the schoolmaster is a God-fearing man, and teaches the boys to understand, and to practice God's Word and the true faith, and holds them to Christian discipline, then the schools (will) do more good than many great councils ...
> In a word, the school must be the next thing to the Church, for it is the place where young pastors and preachers are trained, and out of which they are drawn to put in the places of those who die. Next to the school comes the burgher's house out of which pupils are got. After them comes the town-hall and the castle, which must protect the burghers so that they can produce children for the schools and the schools, so that they can train children to be pastors, and then the pastors can, in turn, make churches, and children of God, whether the people be burghers, princes, or emperors. God, however, must be over all and nearest of all, to preserve this ring, or circle, against the devil and to do all, in all classes, nay in all creatures ... (18)

Part of Luther's great achievement as an educator lay in the fact that he incorporated and enlisted the home, and the 'state' into responsibility for education, in both cases proclaiming, in contrast to the teaching of Medieval Catholicism, that these were ordinances of God, ordained and empowered for that very purpose. In a very true sense Luther was the creator of these tools for the task of education. Prior to him, education was almost the

monopoly of the Church, and the home and state authorities, as represented in councilmen and princes, lay on the very fringe of this part of Church's domain.

Further, Luther shed a new light on the high calling of the schoolmaster, and constantly sought to raise his status, and to make him and other people aware of the greatness of the task with which he was entrusted.

In the remainder of this chapter, Luther's conception of the responsibilities and tasks of the home, the 'worldly government', and the Church, in the process of education will be considered in greater detail.

3. THE HOME AND EDUCATION.

(a) The 'office' of parent and its responsibilities.

Luther conceived of the home and its family relationships as the creation of God, and as the first of the 'three divine hierarchies' ordained and instituted by God for the government of the world and the salvation of men. (19) Because of this, he spoke of marriage as the most important of all estates instituted by God :-

> Next to God's Word, the world has not a more lovely and endearing treasure on earth than the holy state of matrimony, which He has Himself instituted, preserving it, having adorned and blessed it above all stations, from which not only all emperors, kings, and saints, but even the eternal Son of God, though in a supernatural way, are born. Whoever, therefore, hates the married state, and speaks evil of it, certainly is of the devil. (20)

In the home, the parents had a vocation to fulfil, an 'office' ordained by God, carrying with it authority from,

and duty to God. The 'office' of parent was, in fact, the basic 'vocation' in society, where men and women were confronted by God in His demand for love and service :-

> Married people should remember that they can perform no better and no more useful work for the glory of God, for the benefit of both Church and State, aye, for themselves and their children, than by properly bringing up their children. (21)

Luther considered that the 'office' of parents had been especially honoured by God, and frequently quoted the Fourth Commandment as evidence of this, in its demand for the honouring of father and mother. He considered that, since this was the only Commandment, apart from that which applied to God Himself, which called men to honour an office, that 'there is no greater authority on earth than that of father and mother.' (22)

He saw that this was not generally recognized, but asserted that the authority of parents was more greatly to be honoured than that of princes :-

> God communicates honour to father and mother; for which reason there is no greater dominion on earth than the dominion of father and mother. But it has become so common, that for that reason no one pays special attention to it, just as is done to all God's words and works. If He presents them to the world in rich measure, she despises them, and is soon surfeited with them. Kings, princes, and lords also have a golden crown on their head, a golden sceptre in their hands, golden chain on their necks, and one should certainly honour them. But this honour is not on the same level with that which is to be shown to father and mother. For the government of princes and lords, is not a pleasant government, but terrible, for they are the jailers, judges and hangmen of our Lord God. But father and mother are not terrible in this measure but altogether pleasant. Concerning the government, it is written Ro. 13.v.3. that it should place a restraint upon evil and

fierce people and to assist the pious; hence it collects money, tribute, and custom. But father and mother are a delicate, pleasant, and happy government; they do not receive from their children, but risk body and life, for the sake of their children place their possessions and property in jeopardy, make a stake of their neck and their body and everything that they possess. Civil government only demands; but that of the parents can only give, for the children are of their own flesh and blood. Such glory does not pertain to princes and lords, for we are not their flesh and blood. But father and mother may well boast thus. (23)

In his Large Catechism Luther began his exposition of the Fourth Commandment with the words :-

The parental estate God has especially honoured above all estates that are beneath Him, so that He not only commands us to love our parents, but also to honour them. With respect to brothers, sisters, and our neighbours in general He commands nothing higher than that we love them; so that He separates and distinguishes father and mother above all other persons upon earth, and places them next to himself. For to honour is far higher than to love, inasmuch as it comprehends not only love, but also modesty, humility, and deference as though to a majesty there hidden and requires not only that they be addressed kindly and with reverence, but most of all that both in heart with the body we so act as to show that we esteem them very highly, and that, next to God, we regard them the very highest. (24)

While the office of parent had this singular honour attached to it, in Luther's view, it had also the greatest responsibility for the fulfilment of the 'vocation' inherent in it. As had been shown earlier, Luther emphasised that here, in the home, God required his Commandments obeyed, and not in any of those ceremonies and pilgrimages which took parents away from their Christian vocation :-

Married people should know that they can perform no better and no more useful work for God, Christianity, the world,

themselves and their children, than by bringing up their children well. Pilgrimages to Rome and to Jerusalem, building churches, providing for masses, or whatever else the work may be called, is nothing in comparison with the right training of children, for that is the straight road to heaven; and it can not be more easily attained in any other way. It is the peculiar work of parents, and when they do not attend to it, there is a perversion of nature, as when fire does not burn, or water moisten. On the other hand, hell can be no more easily deserved, and no more harmful work done than by neglecting children ..... (25)

In his exposition of Exodus 20, Luther summarized his conception of the Christian home, and the tasks involved in the 'office' of father and mother :-

God commits the office to father and mother in such a way that they have charge of the children, and here we can learn and observe, as in a mirror, the attitude of God toward us, for just as the heart of the father turns towards his children, thus God's heart is turned towards you ... God makes of the home of every house-father, who has children a hospital, and places him there as the head in order that he may be in charge of his children, give them food and drink, and to direct them with good doctrine and example, that they may learn to trust in God, to believe, to fear Him, to place their hope in Him, and to honour His name ....
Behdd what great lessons these are. Behold how many good works thou hast before thee in thy house, with respect to thy children who are in need of all this ... What a blessed marriage that would be, where such married folk were together and would thus lead their children. Truly their home would be a Church, yes, a paradise. For father and mother here become like God, for they are rulers, bishops, doctor, minister, preacher, schoolmaster, judge and lord. The father has all names and the office of God over his children; and just as God cares for us, nourishes us, protects and defends, teaches and instructs us, thus also a father teaches his child, nourishes it, and cares for it. (26)

(b) <u>The Discipline of the Home</u>.

In his exposition of the constitution of society, Luther recognized the existence of the home, the 'state' and the

Church as 'the three divine governments ordained by God', and the tasks and duties involved in the maintenance of these three as the sum of man's service to God. It is noteworthy that Luther used the word 'government' in designating these three spheres, for he clearly saw that in each there was a disciplinary function. In each of these, human beings were called upon 'to be faithful in obedience.' (27)

The basic obedience was that which was to be taught and learned in the home, for upon this, quite realistically, depended peace and good government in the 'state'.

> From the Fourth Commandment, it is obvious that God attaches great importance to obedience to parents. And where that is not found, there can be neither good morals, nor good government. For where obedience is lacking in the family, no city, or principality, or kingdom can be well governed. Family government is the basis of all other government; and where the root is bad, the trunk and fruit cannot be good.
> For what is a city but a collection of houses? How then can a city be well governed, when there is no government in the separate houses, and neither child nor servant is obedient? Likewise, what is a province but a collection of cities, towns and villages? When, therefore, the families are badly controlled, how can the province be well governed? Verily there can be nothing but tyranny, witchcraft, murders, thefts, disobedience. A principality is made up of districts: a Kingdom of principalities; an empire of kingdoms; these are all composed of families. Where the father and mother rule badly, and let the children have their own way, there, neither city, town, village, district, principality, kingdom, nor empire can be well and peaceably governed. (28)

Therefore, Luther held that the primary duty of parents in educating their children was the extablishment of a sensible discipline in their home, to train the children

in right conduct, to restrain and guide, and, if necessary, to inflict punishment. Luther was no advocate of so-called 'free discipline' in the home. This was not because he himself had been brought up under severe, and even, brutal discipline, but because he saw quite clearly that if a child was allowed to develop on its own, and by its own determination it did not inevitably grow into a little paragon. This was because a child was not naturally good and unselfish, but had rather a natural tendency to self-will and self-assertiveness. He saw that often neglect in this direction by indulgent parents led to disastrous results :-

> If a child is permitted to have his will it follows that the father must bear the shame, and the mother the disgrace. That the, is the punishment for not having brought up the child well. God demands that youth shall be governed and be compelled with proper discipline; for that age is very weak and inexperienced, and is concerned only about foolish, childish and harmful things. Therefore it cannot govern itself, neither can it see what might be valuable and good for it. But on this account God has commissioned parents, who should keep an eye on young people and govern them in their life and morals, that they may do what is proper in their station, and not transgress beyond that . (29)

Luther considered failure in this duty, to be no less than a failure to obey God, because an undisciplined child eventually became a selfish citizen. Thus parents failing here, were, in fact, failing in neighbourly love :-

> It is not the will of God that the king and his subjects, parents and children, master and servants, generals and privates, have the same powers. Hence he commands the children that they should honour their parents, that is, that they should be obedient to their command. He does not give the children power to rule over their parents,

yea, He commands that parents are to restrain the mischief of their children, even by force.
Therefore parents are not only permitted to become angry if the children do not do their duty, but even to lay hands on them, and to improve them with blows. And still they do not thereby transgress the Fifth Commandment, but conduct themselves according to their calling, and they would be disobedient to God, if they acted differently. (30)

He pointed out the social consequences of such parental neglect in the strongest terms :-

Think what deadly injury you are doing if you be negligent and fail to bring up your child to usefulness and piety, and how you bring upon yourself all sin and wrath, meriting hell in your dealings with your own children, even you be otherwise ever so pious and holy. And because this is disregarded, God so fearfully punishes the world that there is no discipline, government, or peace, of which we all complain, but do not see that it is our fault, for as we train them we have spoiled and disobedient children and subjects. (31)

He showed that the neglectful and especially the indulgent, parent in allowing his child to drift along without correct and loving discipline was in reality hating his child, and doing him a deadly injury :-

It is evidence of a merciful disposition not to permit the youngsters to have their own will ...
... If punishment were to be entirely set aside and mercy put into office, the whole country would become filled with scoundrels ... It is a great lack of mercy if a father permits his child to go unpunished .... If you do not punish your son with the rod .... then you do your share to make your child a scoundrel .... (32)

The common error of parents was either excessive coddling or extreme severity :-

Parents who are excessive in their love of their children and permit them to have their own way, in the final analysis actually hate their children. They educate a rascal, whom they may sometime accompany to the gallows, and who

will bite off the noses of his parents.
Parents are commonly guilty of the ruin of their children. They usually make a mistake in two directions, either by excessive coddling and indulgence, or through excessive severity and animosity. On both sides a proper restraint must be practiced. (33)

Finally, he particularly emphasized the errors of over-indulgent parents, who, out of 'natural love', spoiled their children, and forgot their primary duty to God :-

Children should be properly instructed in the fear of God... But parents are only concerned about adorning their children, and to cause them to be seen by the world. They prepare riches for them and hang a sack of gold around their necks until they can hardly walk. Nor do parents want their children corrected. For thus natural love always has its hands in the mire ... and is therefore not at all pleased to have children punished ...
In things which pertain to God, a father should forget that he is dealing with his own child. (34)

In view of modern theories of discipline, and especially of the strong psychological case which is made out against punishment of children, it is well to remember that Luther was devotedly fond of children, and that his letters reveal him as a most affectionate husband and father. As an example of Luther's attitude to his own children, the following letter is quoted. It was written to his small son, Hans, aged four, during Luther's sojourn in the Castle of Coburg, when he was dealing with most urgent and critical business during the Diet of Augsburg :-

Grace and peace in Christ be with thee, my dear little son. I am very pleased to see you so diligent, and also praying. Continue to do so, my child, and when I return I shall bring you something from the great Fair. I know a beautiful garden, where there are many children with golden robes. They pick up the rosy-cheeked apples, pears and plums, from under the trees, sing, jump and rejoice all day long.

They have also pretty ponies with golden reins, and silver saddles. I asked whose garden it was, and to whom the children belonged. The man said, "These are the children who love to pray and learn their lessons". I then said, "Dear Sir, I also have a son, Hanschen Luther; might not he come too come into the garden and eat the beautiful fruit, and ride upon these pretty ponies, and play with those children?" "If he loves prayer, and is good", said the man, "he can, and Lippus and Jost; and they shall get whistles and drums, and all sorts of musical instruments, and dance, and shoot with little crossbows". And he showed me a lovely lawn, all ready for dancing, where whistles and flutes hung. But it was early, and the children not having breakfasted, I could not wait for the dancing, as I said to the man, "Dear Sir, I must hurry away and write all this to my dear little Hans, and tell him to pray and be good, that he may come into this garden; but he has an Aunt Lene, when he must bring also." "That he can", said the man, "write him to do so". Therefore, dear little sonny, learn your lessons and say your prayers, and tell Lippus and Jost to do so too, and then you will all get into the garden together. I commend thee to God, and give Aunt Lene a kiss from me.

Thy dear father,
Martin Luther. (35)

Other records show the same attitude to children on the part of Luther. One of the sections from the Table Talk preserves the account of the tragic occasion, when Luther's daughter, aged fourteen, died in September 1542 :-

As his daughter lay very ill, Dr. Luther said : "I love her very dearly, but dear God, if it be Thy will to take her, I submit to Thee". Then he said to her as she lay in bed: "Magdalene, my dear little daughter, would you like to stay here with your father, or would you willingly go to your Father yonder?" She answered: "Darling father, as God wills". Then said he: "Dearest child, the spirit is willing but the flesh is weak". Then he turned away and said: "I love her very much; if my flesh is so strong, what can my spirit do? God has given no bishop so great a gift in a thousand years, as He has given me in her. I am angry with myself that I cannot rejoice in heart, and be thankful as I ought. " Now as Magdalene lay in the agony of death, her father fell down before her bed on his knees and wept bitterly, and prayed that God might free her. Then she departed and fell asleep

in her father's arms ....
As they laid her in her coffin he said: "Darling Lene, you will rise and shine like a star, yea, like the sun ... I am happy in spirit, but the flesh is sorrowful and will not be content, the parting grieves me beyond measure ... I have sent a saint to heaven." (36)

Other letters and incidents reveal the consistent affection of Luther for children, so that the man who insisted on the necessity of firm parental discipline, as one of the duties laid upon parents in their office, was devotedly fond of children, and had given much thought to the matter of their upbringing. That this was so, was shown in the amount of space devoted to practical advice on parental discipline in his writings. (36a)

First, he insisted most strongly that :-

Experience teaches that love will effect more than slavish fear and force. (37)

While correction might be occasionally necessary, it was to be avoided if possible, and should never be excessive or unreasonable, otherwise the results would be very bad :-

This would be the true way to bring up children well as long as they **can** become trained with kindness and delight. For what must be enforced with rods and blows only will not develop into a good breed, and at best they will remain godly under such treatment no longer than while the rod is upon their back. But this (the first method of training) so spreads its roots in the heart that they fear God more than rods and clubs ... (38)

Luther excluded punishment of children, when the sole reason for it was only personal anger, or affront on the part of the parent. There could be only one reason for punishment, and that was for the benefit of the child

In commenting on Colossians iii. v. 21, "Fathers, provoke not your children to anger, lest they be discouraged", he discussed these two matters :-

> The injunction St. Paul here gives pertains to the mind. He forbids that parents should provoke their children to anger, and thus discourage them. This is spoken against those who use passionate violence in bringing up their children. Such discipline begets to the child's mind, which is yet tender, a state of fear and imbecility, and develops a feeling of hate towards the parents, so that it often runs away from home. What hope can we have for a child that hates and distrusts its parents? Yet St. Paul does not mean that we should not punish children, but that we should punish them from love, seeking not to cool our anger, but to make them better. (39)

He further emphasized two principles. The first of these was that, in dealing with children, it was absolutely necessary to be able to make allowances for varying temperaments, and to be able to distinguish between what was an unimportant incident and what constituted a serious offence. In the second place, in punishing a child 'the apple should lie close to the rod'. He had given much thought to this, as a result of his own upbringing; and knew from experience what the effects of harsh discipline on a child's mind were :-

> When children are wicked and cause damage and grief, they should be punished, especially when they learn to make a clever trade and steal. And yet it is necessary to observe moderation and restraint, for matters which are purely childish, such as pilfering cherries, apples, pears, nuts are not to be punished in the same degree as when they would lay hands on the gold, clothing and money-chests; then the time has come to punish very earnestly.
> My parents brought me up very strictly so that I became very shy. My mother once whipped me on account of a miserable nut so that the blood flowed, and their excessive seriousness and strict manner of living, which they caused me to follow,

caused me afterwards to run into a monastery and become a monk; but they had the best of intentions. They could not distinguish the attitudes of mind, according to which punishments are to be tempered. It follows that one should punish so that the apple is close to the rod. It is a miserable thing if children have a grudge against their parents, because of harsh punishments ... Children must be punished, yet we are to love them. (40)

He enforced the principle, with which the last statement ends, as the absolute guide in the matter of punishment of children, when it is unavoidable and necessary :-

Paul also reminds us that children are to be punished in such a way as not to be discouraged; (Col.3.v.21) that is, that they become estranged from their parents; and parents who make use of the proper restraint will commonly add pleasant words and small presents to the rod, so as to prove their love, lest the children in feeling the blows, do not get the idea that there is no room for forgiveness. (41)

In affirming this method, Luther showed that he had no rigid system of discipline to offer or impose, but that he had discovered that this method was the best, through experience and much careful thought on the matter. Nevertheless, his mind was not closed on the subject, and he was still willing to profit from the thought and experience of others :-

Parents do the same thing: when they have punished their children as they have deserved it, they then speak kindly to them again and as it were, win them back once more. And such inconstancy is not only not to be deplored, but it is praiseworthy; for it serves the children, so that, because of their fear of the rod, they do not become hostile to their parents. This solution is sufficient for me, for it incites to faith (confidence). He who has a better solution may offer it. (42)

(c) <u>Instruction in the Home</u>.

The second responsibility which Luther saw as belonging

to the 'office' of parents was that they should instruct their children. This responsibility fell into two parts. First, parents bore the onus for the religious instruction of their children (and other dependants) in the home. In the second place, they were under obligation to send and keep their children at school, when they become old enough to attend. The first duty did not end, when the second commenced.

In neither case did Luther consider that these responsibilities were dependent on the choice of the parent. They were, in fact, inherent in the 'office' of parenthood, and were God's requirements.

He expressed the case for the fulfilment of this God-ordained duty in the most forceful language, declaring that the central reason for the existence of older people and parents lay in this :-

> The third consideration is the highest of all, namely God's command which ... urges and enjoins that parents instruct their children ... Why do old people live except to care for, teach, and bring up the young? It is not possible for inexperienced children to instruct and care for themselves; and for that reason God has commended them to us who are older and know what is good for them, and he will require a strict account at our hands...
> What would it avail if we possessed and performed all else, and became perfect saints if we neglect that for which we chiefly live, namely to care for the young? In my judgment there is no other outward offence that, in the sight of God, so heavily burdens the world and deserves such heavy punishment as to neglect to educate children. (43)

In this instruction, for which parents were in Luther's view, accountable to God, the first and most important part was to

be religious instruction. The father of the house must give to his children and dependents elementary teaching in the Christian faith :-

> There is no greater authority on earth than that of father and mother; yet it comes to an end, where God's Word and work begin; for in divine matters neither father nor mother, much less a bishop or some other person, shall teach and guide, but God's Word alone ... For father and mother have the responsibility, yea, have been made father and mother for this very purpose that they should not teach their children, or lead them to God according to their own ideas, but according to the commandments of God. (44)

Therefore, it was a primary duty of parents to :-

> See to it that you first of all have your children instructed in spiritual things, giving them first to God, and afterwards to secular duties. (45)

Luther felt so strongly about the importance of this, and attached so great a significance to the 'office' of parent, that he was prepared to declare that unless a man was capable of undertaking the religious instruction of his children, he ought not to marry, or, at least, not become a father :-

> No one should become a father unless he is able to instruct his children in the Ten Commandments, and in the Gospel, so that he may bring up true Christians. But many enter the state of holy matrimony who can not say the Lord's Prayer, and knowing nothing themselves, they are utterly incompetent to instruct their children. Children should be brought up in the fear of God. If the kingdom of God is to come in power, we must begin with children and teach them from the cradle. (46)

This was a big demand, that Luther made upon parents. Was it at all reasonable to think that simple people would be capable of fulfilling such high requirements?

Luther, unlike many theorists, did not leave the matter on the level of exhortation. In the first place, as has been shown already, he prepared, out of a wealth of experience of teaching children himself, a marvel of Christian instruction - the Small Catechism.
In the second place, he gave, at various times, much practical advice about the methods to be used, and the content of instruction for various stages of childhood.
Before discussing the place of the former in the religious life of the home, it is well to see how Luther dealt with the difficulties of teaching religion to a small child. In the initial stages, he saw that teaching must come through play.
The first requirement was to get down to the level of the child, and he warned grown-ups not to be supercilious and superior in this matter :-

> Behold we might train our youth in a childlike way and playfully in the fear and honour of God, so that the First and Second Commandments might be well observed and in constant practice.
> Moreover this would be the true way to bring up children well as long as they can become trained with kindness and delight ...
> For since we are preaching to children, we must also prattle with them. (46)

He gave an example of such a play method in his Preface to THE GERMAN MASS of 1526, by which the meaning of faith and love might be impressed on a child's mind :-

> .... These questions can be taken from our Betbuchlein where the three chief parts (of the Catechism) are briefly explained... until all Christian teaching is summed up for the heart in two portions, as it were

two pouches, which are faith and love. Faith's pouch may have two purses. Into the one we put this, that through the sin of Adam we are all corrupt, and under condemnation, Romans v., Psalm li. Into the other purse we put this, that we are all saved through Jesus Christ from such corruption, sin and condemnation, Romans v., John iii. Love's pouch may also have two purses. One shall contain this, that we should serve and do good to everyone, even as Christ hath done for us, Romans. xiii. The other purse shall have this, that we should suffer and endure all kinds of evil with joy.

.... A Child should be encouraged to bring home Scripture texts from the sermons and repeat them at meal-time for the parents. Then those texts should be put into pouches or purses, just as the Pfennige, Groschen, or Gulden are put into the pockets. For instance: let faith's pouch be the golden pouch. Into the first purse this text shall go, Romans v.; "Through one man's sin all men are sinners, and have passed under condemnation". Also this one, Psalm li.; "Behold, I was shapen in iniquity, and in sin did my mother conceive me". These are two Rhenish Gulden for this purse. The Hungarian Gulden go into the other purse, as this text, "Romans iv.; "Christ was delivered up for our trespasses and was raised again for our justification". Again, John i; "Behold the Lamb of God, that beareth the sin of the world." These are two precious Hungarian Gulden for that purse. Let love's pouch be the silver pouch. Into the first purse shall go the texts concerning well-doing, such as Galatians v.; "Through love be servants one to another." Matthew xxv; "What ye have done unto the least of these my brethren, ye have done unto Me." They would two silver Groschen for that purse. Into the other purse shall go this text, Matthew v; "Blessed are ye, when men shall persecute you for My sake." Hebrews xii; "Whom the Lord loveth He chasteneth, and scourgeth every son whom He receiveth." These are two Schreckenberger for that purse. Let none think himself too wise for this, and despise such child's play. Christ, in order to train men, must needs become a man Himself. If we wish to train children, we must become children with them. Would to God such child's play were widely practiced. (47)

Similarly he gave details of a method of training a child in good habits, and in developing a sense of confidence and lack of fear. In reading the following extract, the superstition of the times should be kept in mind; that

type of gloomy old Northern mythology, full of witches and evil spirits, which had survived from heathen times in the peasant life of Germany. As a boy Luther himself had felt the surrounding influence of fear-inspiring superstitions; (48) and rightly regarded the inculcation of happy confidence in a child as a major task of religious instruction:-

> Thus it is my duty to train a child from infancy, by saying to him; "Dear child, you have your own angel: when you pray in the morning and in the evening, that angel will be with you, sit by your little bed....will keep you so that wicked one, the devil, cannot come to you." etc. In the same way, if you gladly say grace and return thanks at the table, your little angel will be with you at the table, will serve you, will watch and protect you and see that your food will be wholesome to you."
> If these things were brought home to the children, they would learn from their infancy and be used to the idea that the angels are with them; and this would serve not only to have the children depend upon the protection of the angels, but also train them in chastity, so that they would be in proper fear when they are alone, thinking "Even if my father and mother are not with me, the good angels are here; they watch over us lest the wicked spirit do us some harm."
> This may seem like a childish teaching, and yet good and necessary; and so necessary and so childish that it would serve also us older ones, for the angels are not only with the children, but also with us old folk. (49)

In preparing the SMALL CATECHISM for the use of pastors in the instruction of simple people, and for the use of fathers in the teaching of their children, Luther did not launch it upon the world without guidance as to its use. This guidance was given in his Preface to the small book.

The work had been prepared so carefully that Luther could

say to parents who had no skill in teaching :-

> Let those who cannot do better take these tables and forms and instruct in them ...word for word. (50)

His second piece of advice was that to teach children thoroughly, it was necessary to adhere to one form of wording. He first required that children should be taught to memorise the words of the Catechism, so that they could repeat them by heart.

> Beware and avoid the use of various and different texts and forms of the Commandments, Lord's Prayer, Creed, Sacrament, etc. Take one form and keep to it, and constantly teach the same, year after year. For the young and simple folk must be taught one definite text and version, else they will easily become confused, if today we teach thus and next year thus, as though we wanted to improve it, and so all our labour and toil is lost. This was clearly seen by the worthy fathers, who used the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, the Ten Commandments all in one form. Therefore we must always teach the young and simple folk in such a manner that we do not alter one syllable, ... teach according to the text, word for word, so that they may repeat them and learn them by heart. (51)

By this method, Luther considered that a child by the time he or she had reached ten years of age 'ought ... to know the entire Holy Gospel.' By this he meant that a child should know the words of the Catechism by heart. (52) But, of course, this was only the beginning of religious instruction. The next stage, that of understanding the words, was a life-long task which must begin in childhood. (53)

The arrangement of the Catechism was based upon the Socratic method of teaching by question and answer. Again

Luther insisted on the necessity of selecting one method and holding to it :-

When they know the text well, teach them next to understand it, and take once more the method of these tables, or some other short method, whichever thou wilt, and keep to it, just as we said of the text. (54)

In an earlier work he had given even more detailed information on the procedure of teaching the Catechism:

Children should not merely learn to say the words by heart, as heretofore, but with each part they should be asked questions and give answer, what each part means and how they understand it ...
They should be questioned like this: "What do you pray?" Answer: "The Lord's Prayer". What does it mean when you say "Our Father which art in Heaven?" Answer: "That God is not an earthly but a Heavenly Father who would make us rich and blessed in heaven." "What does this mean: Thy name be hallowed?" Answer: "That we should honour His name and keep it from being profaned." "How is His name dishonoured and profaned?" Answer. "When we, who should be His children, live evil lives and teach and believe what is wrong". And so on ... (55)

Since the task of unfolding the meaning of the CATECHISM could never be completed, Luther next advised that it was not wise or necessary to rush over each part. It was much more important that the child should understand a little at a time; and it was only too easy to confuse a young or simple mind :-

Take time and leisure over it. For it is not necessary to expound it all at once, but one thing after another. When they understand the First Commandment well, then take the Second, and so on, else they will be overwhelmed and retain none. (56)

When this instruction had been fully given and learned thoroughly, which was improbable before the young person had passed out of childhood, Luther advised more advanced

teaching and fuller explanation. He prepared for this by the publication of the LARGER CATECHISM, which was far more advanced instruction in the articles of Christian faith:

> Now when thou hast taught them this short Catechism, then take the Larger Catechism, and give a deeper and fuller explanation. Explain every commandment, petition, and article, with its various works and uses, its dangers and abuses, as thou wilt find them in the many little books written about them. (57)

The method of teaching here expounded by Luther, revealed his clear insight into sound method, and the structure of the simple mind. In contrast to the methods on which he himself had been educated, the principles of teaching which he enunciated were enlightened and based on wise observation of the child. In this, Luther should be ranked with such (an) educational reformers as Comenius and Pestalozzi.

There was one further principle which Luther stressed, and that was the maxim of constant repetition and application in learning the Catechism. He enjoined the head of each household to read parts of the book aloud each day to his children and servants :-

> This instruction (the Catechism) must be given, from the pulpit at stated times, or daily as may be needed, and repeated or read aloud evenings and mornings in the homes for the children and the servants, if we want to train them as Christians. (58)

In the Preface to the Large Catechism he prescribed the same procedure :-

> We must have the young learn the parts which belong to the

Catechism ... well and fluently, and diligently exercise themselves in them and keep them occupied with them. Therefore it is the duty of every father of a family to question and examine his children and servants at least once a week and to ascertain what they know of it, or are learning, and if they know it, to keep them faithfully at it ... (59)

His purpose was that, by this constant application to, and explanation of the Catechism, the words and meanings would remain bright and new in the memory.

The third point is this, what both men and wife are to do, when God gives children to them, how they may train them in the fear of God. For so God commands Deut. vi. 5.7. and xi. 19, if God gives the parents children, the latter are to teach them to love God with all their heart, and with all their soul, and with all their might, and that they are to be taught the Word of God diligently; so that they be drilled and exercised in it, lest it become rusty and dark, but rather remain always new and bright in their memory and in their actions. For the more one deals with the Word of God, the newer and brighter it becomes, and the saying properly applies: "The longer, the dearer". (60)

Luther considered that in the CATECHISM there was :-

'Simply and briefly, about everything a Christian needs to know.' (61)

As a child it was first to be learned by heart without detailed explanation; later its meaning would unfold with additional teaching and explanation, but until that time the words were held in the memory. Luther had his critics who said that this simple instruction was insufficient to occupy a life-time. His answer was as follows:-

And what also are such supercilious, presumptuous saints, who are unwilling to read and study the CATECHISM daily, doing than esteeming themselves much more learned than

God Himself, with all His saints, angels, prophets, apostles, and all Christians? For inasmuch as God is not ashamed to teach these things daily, as knowing nothing better to teach, and always keeps teaching the same thing, and does not take up anything new or different, and all saints know nothing better or different to learn, and cannot finish learning this, are we not the finest of all fellows to imagine, if we have once read or heard it, that we know it all; and have no further need to read and learn, but can finish learning in one hour what God Himself cannot finish teaching, although He is engaged in teaching it from the beginning to the end of the world, and all prophets, together with all saints, have been occupied with learning it, and have ever remained pupils, and must continue to be such?
For it must needs be that whoever knows the Ten Commandments perfectly must know all the Scriptures, so that, in all affairs and cases, he can advise, help, comfort, judge and decide both spiritual and temporal matters, and is qualified to sit in judgement upon all doctrines ....
And what indeed is the entire Psalter but thoughts and exercises upon the First Commandment? Now I know that such presumptuous spirits do not understand a single psalm, much less the entire Holy Scriptures; and yet they pretend to know and despise the CATECHISM, which is a compend and brief summary of all the Holy Scriptures ... (62)

The instruction of children by word only was not, however, in Luther's view, the end of parental duty in this realm. Luther enjoined parents to set a good example to their children. He was quite clearly that children learn by imitation more quickly than by verbal tuition. This applied particularly in the home, both for good and for ill, where the example of father and mother influenced the child so powerfully during the early formative years :-

There are those who ruin their children by setting them a bad example in word and deed ... There are people who are delighted when their sons are pugnacious and willing to fight, as if it were a great virtue for them to be afraid of no one. Such people will in the end pay dearly for their folly, when they are called to mourn the untimely death that often with justice overtakes their sons. Young

33

people are inclined to evil desires and to anger, and therefore it is necessary that parents should not excite them thereto by their example in word and deed. For when a child is accustomed to hear shameful words and oaths from its parents, what else can it learn but shameful words and oaths? (63)

(d) The Responsibility of Parents for the Schooling of Children.

In addition to their accountability to God for the discipline in their home, and for the religious instruction of the children; Luther held that parents had one further divinely-ordained duty inherent in their office. This was to ensure that their children were sent to and maintained at school. This again was not solely a matter of choice on the part of parents, but an obligation to God and one's neighbour which could only be neglected at peril of God's judgment, and disaster to society.

This view was grounded in Luther's conception of the purpose of all education as the means by which the spiritual estate and worldly government were to be maintained. If the former disappeared then men would be in total darkness, without knowledge of God and their destiny. If the latter failed, then political and social chaos would follow swiftly. Education to Luther was not primarily the means for teaching a boy a trade, though that was included in his view (64), and still less was it a vehicle for preparing men to amass wealth. It was above all else concerned with the production of men for the spiritual office, for the tasks of civil government, and of

citizens who knew their 'office', whatever it might be, to be ordained by God for the service of their fellows. Luther brought every argument which he could legitimately and honestly wield to bear on parents, in order to urge them to this duty. As has been shown already, this teaching was of vital importance in the conditions of the time, with the collapse of the medieval motives for the schooling of children, and the rise of the new commerce with its attendant materialistic outlook.

In the exposition of the meaning of the Fourth Commandment in the LARGER CATECHISM of 1529, Luther advanced a whole philosophy of parental responsibility for education :-

> In addition, it would be well to preach to parents also, and such as bear their office, as to how they should deport themselves towards those who are committed to them for their government. For although this is not expressed in the Ten Commandments, it is nevertheless abundantly enjoined in many places in the Scriptures. And God desires to have it embraced in this commandment when He speaks of father and mother. For he does not wish to have in this office and government knaves and tyrants: nor does He assign to them this honour, that is, power and authority to govern, that they should have themselves worshipped; but they consider that they are under obligations of obedience to God; and that, first of all, they should earnestly and faithfully discharge this office, not only to support and provide for the bodily necessities of their children and servants, but, most of all, to train them to the honour and praise of God. Therefore, do not think that this is left to your pleasure and arbitrary will, but that it is a strict and command and injunction of God, to whom also you give an account for it. But here again the sad plight arises that no one perceives or heeds this, and all live on as though God gave us children for our pleasure or amusement, and servants, that we should employ them like a cow or ass, only for work, or as though we were only to gratify our wantonness with our subjects, ignoring them, as though it were no concern of ours what they learn or how they live; and no one is willing to see that this is the command of the Supreme

Majesty, who will most strictly call us to account and punish us for it; nor that there is so great need to be so seriously concerned about the young.
For if we wish to have excellent and able persons both for civil and ecclesiastical government, we must spare no diligence, time, or cost in teaching and educating our children, that they may serve God and the world, and we must not think only how we many amass money and possessions for them.
For God can indeed without us support and make them rich, as He daily does. For this purpose He has given us children, and issued this command that we should train and govern them according to His will, else He would have no need of father or mother.
Let everyone know, therefore, that it is his duty, on peril of losing the divine favour to bring up his children above all things in the fear and knowledge of God, and if they are talented, have them learn and study something, that they may be employed for whatever need there is, to have them instructed and trained in a liberal education, that men may be able to have their aid in government and in whatever is necessary.
If that were done, God would also richly bless us, and give us grace to train men by whom land and people might be improved, and likewise well-educated citizens, chaste and domestic wives, who afterwards would rear godly children and servants. Here consider now what deadly injury you are doing if you be negligent and fail on your part to bring up your child to usefulness and piety, and how you will bring upon yourself all sin and wrath, thus earning hell by your own children, even though you be otherwise pious and holy.
And because this is disregarded, God so fearfully punishes the world that there is no discipline, government or peace, of which we all complain, but do not see that it is our fault; for as we train them we have spoiled and disobedient children and subjects. Let this be sufficient exhortation. (65)

Again and again Luther declared that, in the light of Christian doctrine, the education of children was not a matter of choice on the part of parents. In the Introduction which he wrote to Justus Menius' book ON CHRISTIAN HOUSEKEEPING of 1529, Luther particularly emphasized this basic demand which was laid by God upon

parents :-

My dear friend, if thou has a child which shows a capacity for learning, it is not a matter of choice with thee to bring the child up as it pleases thee, nor mayest thou follow thy caprice in dealing with the child according to thy own will, but thou art to regard thy duty toward God, to further both His governments and to serve Him therein.
God is in need of a pastor, preacher, schoolmaster in His spiritual kingdom, and thou art in a position to give Him one and yet wilt not do so; behold, thereby thou does not rob a poor person of his cloak, but many thousand souls out of the Kingdom of God, and, as much as in thee lies, thou dost thrust them into hell, for thou takest away the person who might be capable of helping such souls. On the other hand, if thou trainest thy child that he may become a pastor, thou dost not give a cloak, neither dost thou establish a cloister or a church, but thou performest a much greater work, for thou givest a saviour or servant of God, who may be able to assist many thousand souls heavenward ... Thus also with regard to earthly government, thou canst serve thy ruler or thy city more with the training of children than if thou buildest castles or cities, and collectest the treasures of all the world. For what is the use of all this, if we do not have learned, wise, and pious people? Not to mention what thou hast before God and the world by way of temporal advantage and eternal reward... (66)

In the same year in his treatise ON WAR AGAINST THE TURK, published during the second Diet of Spires, Luther admonished princes, councilmen, and parents, for their disobedience in acting as if their divinely ordained duties were simply a matter of personal choice, which they might or might not fulfil according to whim. Reference to this passage will be made more fully later in this chapter. (67)

Luther's major dissertation on the subject of parental responsibility for the schooling of children was, of course, the SERMON of 1530. In this work, every argument

which Luther could muster for the task, was utilized to drive home the accountability to God of parents for sending and keeping their children at school. In the final analysis, parents who failed to have their children educated for the task of the service of God and men, were, in Luther's view, siding with the devil, and fighting against God's Kingdom. The full force of Luther's argument can only be appreciated by reading the SERMON complete. One aspect of parental attitude, however, was particularly attacked, and since the same attitude is still common enough in the modern world, Luther's words are still relevant. This attack was directed against the entirely materialistic attitude which regarded education simply as a means to earning a living, or to 'getting a good job', where 'good' was synonymous with 'lucrative'. (68) Luther was not unconcerned with the matter of personal economics, though he himself only used his income throughout his lifetime for absolute necessities, the support of his family and dependants, and the dispensing of assistance to those in want. (69) But he insisted vehemently that the material objective was the false one, and that the primary consideration must be the service of one's fellows. It was love of neighbour which was to be the guiding motive for the schooling and education of children.

The opening words of the SERMON set the stage for what was

to follow :-

Dear friends: I see that the common people are indifferent to the maintenance of the schools, and are taking their children entirely away from learning, and are turning them only to the making of a living and the care for their bellies. Besides, they either will not or cannot think what a horrible and unchristian undertaking this is, and what great and murderous harm they are doing throughout the world, in the service of the devil.
Therefore I have undertaken to give you this exhortation, on the chance that there may still be some who believe that there is a God in heaven, and a hell prepared for unbelievers, and that they may be converted by this exhortation; though almost all the world is acting as though there were neither a God in heaven nor a devil in hell.
Therefore, I shall count up the profit and loss in this thing... (70)

In numerous other writings, Luther pressed home this teaching on the objectives which parents should keep in view to impel them to send children to school. Thus in the preface to the LARGE CATECHISM :-

If we wish to have excellent and able persons both for civil and ecclesiastical government, we must spare no diligence, time or cost in teaching and educating our children, that they may serve God and the world, and we must not think only how we may amass money and possessions for them... (71)

In another passage in the preface to Menius' book, Luther commented that :-

Nowadays no one wants to educate children in any other way but for cleverness and ways of making a living: they simply have no other thought but that they are free and that it rests with them to train children as they please; just as though there were no God who had commanded them differently ... Such people are the most poisonous and harmful people on earth. (72)

Despite the applause of men, when parents succeeded in making their children wealthy and prosperous, Luther

considered that such parents were bad parents, and had neglected their children :-

> Some (parents) incite their children with excessive ornament and furtherance in things of this world, that they may but please the world, rise high and become rich; are constantly more concerned about taking care of the body than about caring for the soul. There is no greater harm to Christendom than the neglect of children ... (73)

In his SERMON ON GOOD WORKS, Luther showed that this apparent care for children, in preparing them only for material advance, was a very subtle form of self-deception on the part of parents :-

> There is still another dishonour to parents, much more dangerous and subtle, which adorns itself and wants to be regarded as a true honour. That is this, when the child wants its own way, and the parents through natural love allow it.. This plague is very common. This is due to the fact that the parents are blinded and neither know nor honour God according to the first three commandments; hence they are not able to see, either, what the children are lacking, and how they should teach and educate them. Therefore parents train them only for worldly honours, delight, and goods that they only please men and so rise high ... Oh how dangerous it is to father and mother, where only flesh and blood rule. (74)

(e) The Office of Child.

There was one last aspect of the family relationship which Luther brought into line with his conception of the home as a divinely-ordained institution. This was the duty of children; for he considered that children, too, had their obligations to their parents, which responsibilities were inherent in their office.

As has been shown already, Luther gave special prominence to the Commandment which demanded honour to father and mother, and in this he saw the requirements of God upon children and young people. These formed the counterpart

of the responsibilities of parents to their children. All Luther's instruction to children and young people was based on the exposition of the Fourth Commandment, and the obligations which he saw there were, in his view, laid upon children during the life-time of the parents :-

In the second place, He makes use of the glorious word: "Thou shall honour thy father and mother." 'Honour' is not a mean word; it does not say: "Thou shalt love thy father and thy mother, be obedient to them, do good to them, and the like, but: "Thou shalt honour them". But honour extends father than love; for that reason God regards father and mother highly. For honour belongs to God alone. He now imparts the honour to father and mother; for that reason there is no greater rule on earth than that of parents ... The child could also not be closer to the parents. Therefore a pious child will place his confidence in no other creature in the same measure than in his parents, by which we are given a fine picture of the way in which God feels towards us and we toward Him.

For as a child expects all good things from his parents, so a Christian expects all good things from God; and, on the other hand, God conducts Himself toward a Christian as a father does toward his child, and with even greater kindness. A Christian also knows that God cares more for him than all men and creatures, yes, more than he does himself.

In order now that the children should acknowledge this with reference to their parents, God has commanded them that they should honour father and mother. They should not merely see the flesh and blood in their parents; for if they look upon this, they will not find anything precious in them and will soon despise the parents. But they should open their eyes, and lift their insight above flesh and blood, then they will find in their parents a marvellous thing ... The first honour which is to be shown to father and mother is that children are to be obedient to them. The second honour consists in this, when we have now grown up and have ourselves become man and woman, that we in case father or mother are lacking in anything, that they are poor, hungry, thirsty, naked, sick, or weak, extend a helping hand, assist them, serve them with food, drink, clothing, and provision of every kind, and regard them as the highest and most sacred thing on earth.

For honour does not consist merely in words and gestures, but in the act... those who are on a level with us, as,

when two love each other, one does not regard the other as higher than himself. But honour is shown to one who is higher, and includes a kind of fear, that we do not offend him whom we honour, and that we place ourselves under him, not on account of the punishment, but because one also loves him whom he honours. Thus we also should not merely love father and mother, but also honour them, think highly of them, and fear them as our overlords, ordained by God ...
For that reason the rule and government of parents transcends all other government ... It is the highest station, elevated far above all other stations ... yea, all other stations are derived from it. Now such honour is to be given to parents not by a mere bowing and lifting of the hat (although the latter is now rare enough), but from the whole heart. For God does not say: "Your hand, mouth, tongue, or knee is to honour father and mother, but 'you'. But who is you? 'You' includes not only hand, tongue, heart, body or soul, but all of these together with your entire being and nature, as you walk and stand, body and soul, sense and intellect, whatever is on and in you, or comes out of you. (75)

Again in his exposition of the Fourth Commandment in the LARGE CATECHISM, Luther enjoined the obligations of the office of child as follows :-

We must, therefore, impress it upon the young that they should regard their parents as in God's stead, and remember that however lowly, poor, frail, and queer, they may be, nevertheless they are father and mother given them by God. They are not to be deprived of their honour because of their conduct or their feelings. Therefore, we are not to regard their persons, how they may be, but the will of God who has thus created and ordained. In other respects we are, indeed, all alike in the eyes of God: but among us there must necessarily be such inequalities and ordered difference, and therefore God commands it to be observed that you obey me as your father, and that I have the supremacy.
Learn, therefore, first what is the honour toward parents required by this commandment, to wit, that they be held in distinction and esteem above all things, as the most precious treasure upon earth. Furthermore, that also in our words we observe modesty towards them, do not accost them roughly, haughtily and defiantly, but yield to them and be silent, even though they go too far.
Thirdly, that we show them such honour also by works, that is, with our body and possessions, that we serve them, help

them and provide for them when they are old, sick, infirm, or poor, and all that not only gladly, but with humility and reverence, as doing it before God. For he who knows how to regard them in his heart will not allow them to suffer want or hunger, but will place them above him, and at his side, and will share with them whatever he has and possesses. (76)

Only in one set of circumstances did Luther consider that there was an end to filial obedience and that was when the requirements of parents ran directly counter to those of God :-

Where parents are foolish and train their children after the fashion of the world, the children are in no way to obey them; for God, according to the first three Commandments is to be more highly regarded than the parents ... (77)

Such extracts, revealing Luther's conception of the duties of parents and children in the home, might be extended almost indefinitely, but sufficient has been said to exhibit his views.

In summary, it may be said, that first he regarded the institution of marriage as divinely ordained. In the office of parents, with their duties towards their children, he saw God confronting men and women with His demand for obedience to His Commandments of love. By divine ordinance, authority was invested in the parents by which they were responsible to God Himself for the discipline of their home; for the instruction of their children in the elements of the Christian Faith, so that they might come to know God and His requirements; and for sending and keeping their children at school, so that they might be educated

to serve God in the Church or in the 'state'.

4. THE GOVERNMENT AND EDUCATION

(a) Luther's Conception of the State.

The brief account of Luther's view of the 'state' given in Chapter 8. needs a certain amplification. (78)

It was stated there that Luther used the word 'politia' (inadequately translated as 'state') to designate the many and varied interrelationships which constitute human society.

But 'politia' was not to be identified with any particular state. Rather was it the concrete expression of God's Law, demanding from men neighbourly love and service, as it found its embodiment in the 'offices' of 'the prince, the magistrate, the schoolmaster, the scholar, the father, the mother, the children, the master, the servant.' (79), and all other 'offices' which incorporated the duties and basic relationships of life. These 'offices' were, in Luther's view, the creation (or 'creatures') of God, behind which He stood 'veiled' but, in this way, confronting men in every circumstance of their earthly life with His undeviating demand for love and service. (80). It was through these 'offices', or 'ordinances', that God ruled and preserved the world (81) and by which He bestowed his good gifts on men. (82)

Luther saw that these 'offices' were often occupied by

men and women, who used the authority embodied in the 'office' for their own selfish ends or ambition, instead of the service of their fellows. Nevertheless the 'offices' themselves remained the good ordinances and 'creatures' of God :-

Christians ought to learn to distinguish between God's work and men's wickedness.
In all of God's offices and ranks there are many wicked men, but the office is, and remains, good, no matter how much men misuse it.
You find many bad women, many unfaithful maids, many wrong-doing officials and counsellors; nevertheless, the classes - wives, servants, maids - and all the offices are God's institution, work and ordinances.
The sun remains good, even though the whole world misuse it, one to rob and another to kill, one to do this kind of evil, and another that. Who could do evil, unless he had the sun to light him to it, and the earth to hold him up, and the air to keep him alive, and thus had God Himself to guard him ? ... **(83)**

Because of the danger of anarchy in human society, with its accompanying brood of disasters for men, which ambitious self-will brought about by its misuse of the ordinances of God, Luther saw that government with its coercive laws and powers was a necessity for mankind. He saw government as the creation, or 'creature', or ordinance, of God, instituted for the preservation of society and the restraint of wicked men :-

All the offices of rulership, from the least to the highest, are God's ordinance ...
This is not a matter of human will or devising, but God Himself appoints and preserves all rulership ....
All this is because it is God's will to establish and maintain peace among the children of Adam for their own good...
For where there is no rulership, there can be no peace. Where there is no peace, no one can keep his life or

anything else, in face of another's ou
Much less will there be room to teach
raise children in the fear of God and
Because then God will not have the wor
empty.. and because this cannot happen
peace; He is compelled, as a Creator,
creatures, works and ordinances, to in
rulership, and to commit to it the swo
(84)

The laws promulgated by the government
necessary for the preservation of peac
civil laws did not cancel out God's La
for love and service of one's neighbou
neighbourly love call for the enactmen
legislation in order that justice, pea
of earthly life might be ensured for o
While the law in this sense could not
could restrain selfish impulses from b
society, and in this way it accomplish
in preserving the world. (85)

Such civil laws, varying with time, pl
had, in Luther's view, no permanent va
in conformity with the Law of God, as
the two commandments of Christ. (86)

(b) Government Responsibility for Educ

Luther conceived of part of his task to
ment of men as to the meaning of the 'o
they were placed, and in recalling them
the divine 'vocation' in their offices.
He saw and taught that, in all classes

princes to the peasants, men were disobedient to God's vocation, and consequently irresponsible in their behaviour in society. Writing in 1529 on the matter of the war against the Turk, he pointed to the general neglect of obligation :-

> ... Neither emperor nor princes believe themselves that they are emperor or princes. For they act as if it lay with their own judgment or pleasure, whether they would rescue or protect their subjects or not; and the princes neither care nor think that they are bound and obligated before God to counsel or help the emperor in this matter with body and goods.
> Everyone of them lets it go as if it were no affair of his, but it were left to his own free choice to do it or leave it.
> They are just like the common people who do not think it their duty to God and the world, when they have bright sons, to put them to school and have them study; but everyone thinks that he has free choice to raise his son as he pleases, no matter what God's Word and ordinance are.
> Nay, the councilmen in all the cities and almost all the rulers act in the same way, and let the schools go to nothing as though they had no responsibility for them... No one remembers that God earnestly commands and will have it so, that bright children should be raised to His praise and for His work, which cannot be done without schools.
> On the contrary everyone is in a hurry to have his children making a living, as though God and Christendom needed no pastors, preachers, carer for souls, and the worldly rulers no chancellors, counsellors, or secretaries.... (88)

There were two reasons why Luther came to the view that the 'government' must take responsibility for education and its maintenance.

In the first place, parents, however desirous, were incapable of carrying through on their own the full objectives of education. While some, too, could afford

private tutors for their sons, the cost of this for the average man was a financial burden which he could not possibly carry. (89) Therefore, the civil government, created and empowered by God for the preservation of society, must intervene, undertake the maintenance of education, and so prevent disaster to the community.

In the second place, parents more often than not neglected the duties of their office, both in their failure to train their children at home, and in their avoidance of sending and keeping their children at school.

In this case, the civil government had three duties to perform in obedience to God. In the first place, it must maintain schools; in the second place, it must pass legislation to compel irresponsible parents to send their children to school; and thirdly, it must ensure that able children reached the universities to become leaders in Church and state afterwards, even if this meant the financial support of such children during a long course of training.

Nothing less than this was demanded by Luther from the government, embodied in his day in the magistrates and councilmen in the cities, and the princes in the territories, for by nothing less could the government as a 'divine ordinance' fulfil its vocation in the preservation of the 'spiritual' and 'secular' estates.

It was from this standpoint that Luther addressed himself

to the task of calling the civil government to be obedient to God, and to undertake its legitimate responsibility for the maintenance of education, in his great appeal TO THE COUNCILMEN in 1524. This was no opportunism, or call of despair. To be sure, the situation was critical for education, and the time was ripe for such a call in view of the political changes in Germany. But the call itself arose logically out of Luther's conception of the 'vocation' and meaning of government.

He commenced the address by speaking of the duties of parents in regard to education, and by urging them to the proper fulfilment of their 'vocation'. Then he turned into his main argument :-

"Ah", you say, "but all this is addressed to parents; what business is it of councilmen and magistrates?" Very true: but if the parents neglect it, who is to see to it? Shall it on that account remain undone and the children neglected?
In that case, how will magistrates and councilmen excuse themselves by saying that it is no business of theirs?
There are various reasons why parents neglect this duty. In the first place, there are those who lack piety and decency, even if they had the ability to do it. Like the ostrich they are hardened against their young, and are content to have cast their eggs from them, and to have brought children into the world: they will do nothing more. But these children must live among us and with us in the same city. How then can reason, and above all, Christian love, suffer them to grow up untrained and to poison and pollute other children, until at last the whole city perish.
Secondly, the great majority of parents are, alas! unfitted for this work, and do not know how children are to be taught and trained, for they themselves have learned nothing but how to provide for the belly: whereas it takes parents of exceptional ability to teach and train children aright.
Thirdly, even if parents were willing and able to do it

themselves, they have neither the time nor the opportunity for it, what with their other duties and housework. Necessity compels us, therefore, to engage public school-teachers for the children, unless everyone were willing to engage an instructor of his own.
But that would be too heavy a burden upon the common man, and many a promising boy would be neglected on account of poverty.
Besides many parents die and leave orphans, and if we do not know how these are cared for by their guardians, God Himself tells us by calling Himself the Father of orphans, as of those who are neglected by everyone else.
It therefore becomes the business of councilmen and magistrates to devote the greatest care and attention to the young. For since the property, honour and life of the whole city are committed to their faithful keeping, they would fail in their duty toward God and man if they did not seek its welfare and improvement with all their powers day and night.
Now the welfare of a city consists not alone in gathering great treasures and providing solid walls, beautiful buildings and a goodly supply of armour and guns ...
But a city's highest welfare, safety and strength, consist in its having many able, learned, wise, honourable and wellbred citizens: (90)

In this address, Luther called on the city councils to build and finance schools for all children, to see that there were 'well-trained schoolmasters and schoolmistresses' available, and that the able pupils were selected and financially aided during higher education.

He made perfectly plain why he regarded this as the duty inherent in the 'offices' of magistrates and councilmen, in contending that the continuance of the Gospel and of the ordered life of the community depended on the establishment and maintenance of education. Without this, the Gospel would pass from Germany and men would plunge into ignorance of God and human destiny, law would give place to the 'rule of the fist' and the community would move

down in chaos. Both human reason and the demands of the Law of God made it imperative for the civil government - the only adequate authority - to undertake the task of maintaining education.

(c) The Office of Prince.

From 1526 onwards Luther developed the second aspect of government responsibility for education by calling on the authorities to use compulsive legislation on their subjects to ensure financing of education by taxation and the attendance of children at school.

His call was addressed to the German Protestant princes. One of the charges frequently made against Luther is that his appeal for coercion of this kind was a matter of expediency after the disastrous Peasants' Revolt. The charge continues to assert that, by doing this, Luther took the first step which made the Lutheran Church and educational system the instruments of the secular power. In Luther's writings, however, his statements on the German princes, their authority, and its limitations, show none of the temper and spirit which would indicate such a capitulation.

Luther's opinion of the character and abilities of the princes was extremely realistic. He had no illusions on the outlook of the majority of these men. He considered that a wise or good prince was a rarety :-

From the beginning of the world a wise prince is a rare

bird indeed; still more so a pious prince. They are usually the greatest fools or the worst knaves on earth: therefore one must continually expect the worst from them and look for little good .... (91)

He saw that the majority of them were irresponsible, and in calling the city magistrates to responsibility for education, agreed that the princes should also be held to the same duty, but were engaged in onerous business elsewhere :-

Princes and lords ought to do it, but they must needs ride in sledges and drink, and take part in masquerades; they are burdened with high and important business in cellar, kitchen and bedroom... (92)

Luther saw almost an inevitability in the deterioration of the character of princes, because of the corroding effect of power and of constant flattery :-

Great possessions, glory, power and favour, as well as the flatterers no lord may be without, surround and lay siege to the heart of a prince, moving it to pride, to forgetfulness of God and neglect of the people and the common weal, to sensuality, blasphemy, arrogance and idleness... Indeed there is no castle or city that is so heavily besieged and assaulted ... (93)

For this very reason, Luther's considered opinion was in agreement with the old saying :- 'A prince, a rare bird in heaven'. (94)

Consistent with his distinction between the 'offices' and the office-holder, Luther held, together with his extremely realistic view of the princes, the opinion that the 'office' of prince was one of the good ordinances of God. Princes therefore, had a 'vocation', though the majority of them disobeyed or ignored it.

The power embodied in the office of prince was given by God for the protection of his people and the preservation of peace :-

Every lord and prince is bound to protect his people and get peace for them.
That is his office; it is for that he has the sword... (95)

Luther declared that princes were under God, and would be answerable to Him for the use to which they put their office :-

Unless a lord and ruler loves his subjects, and has for his chief concern not how to live at ease, but how to uplift and improve his people, his case is hopeless... God will require of him an account of his office and station, and will not be satisfied with aught else. (96)

Unfortunately, the majority of princes imagined that high estate was a means to achieve ambition at the expense of their subjects. Luther's opinion of this form of lordly self-deception was expressed in no uncertain terms:-

If a prince of lord does not perceive this duty and commandment, and lets himself think that he is a prince, not for his subjects sake, but because of his beautiful yellow hair, as though God had made him a prince so that he may rejoice in his power and his honour, take pleasure in these things and rely on them, - if that be the case he belongs among the heathen, nay, he is a fool. (97)

In contrast, Luther delineated the portrait and outlook of a Christian prince, obedient to his vocation :-

He who would be a Christian prince must lay aside the intention to rule (dominate) and use force. For cursed and condemned is every kind of life lived and sought for selfish profit and benefit; cursed are all works not done in love.
But they are done in love when they are directed with all one's heart, not toward selfish pleasure, profit, honour, ease, and salvation, but toward the profit, honour, and

salvation of others. (98)

Such a prince would think only of the good of his subjects:-

He must consider his subjects and rightly dispose of his heart toward them. He does this if he applies his whole mind to making himself useful and serviceable to them, and does not think, "Land and people are mine; I will do as I please"; but thus "I belong to land and people; I must do what is good and profitable for them. My concern must be, not how I rule and be haughty, but how they must be defended and protected by a good peace."
He should picture Christ to himself and say, "Behold, Christ the Chief Ruler came and served me, sought not to have power, profit and honour from me, but only considered my need, and did all he could that I might have power, profit, and honour from Him. I will do the same, not seek mine own advantage in my subjects, but their advantage, and thus serve them by mine office, protect them, give them audience and support, that they, and not I, may have the benefit and profit by it."
Thus a prince should in his heart empty himself in the need of his subjects, dealing with it as if it were his own need. Thus Christ did unto us; and these are the proper works of Christian love ... (99)

Luther had no false illusions about the frequent occurrence of Christian princes, who thought in this way :-

I do not speak because I have any hope that princes will give heed, but because there might possibly be one of them who would fain be a Christian, and would like to know what he ought to do ...
It is enought for me to point out that it is not impossible for a prince to be a Christian, though it is a rare thing and surrounded with difficulties ... (100)

In this fashion, Luther made perfectly plain to the German princes whence they derived their authority and for what purpose.

From 1525 onwards in Saxony, Luther found a prince who 'would fain be a Christian', and 'who would like to know what he ought to do'.

Since the continuance of the Gospel in Saxony, and the

preservation of the peaceful life of the community, depended on education for the purposes which Luther had already declared; and since the prince's subjects in a large measure disavowed their parental vocation, Luther told the Elector that he must make compulsive legislation for financing schools for the benefit of his people, and for the service of God :-

This obligation was inherent in the prince's office, and came as the command of God :-

> If the young people are neglected, and are not trained, it is the fault of the rulers, and the land will be filled with wild, loose-living people. Thus not only God's command, but our own necessity compels us to find some way out of the difficulty.
> But now that the enforced rule of the Pope and the clergy is at an end in your Grace's dominions, and all the foundations and monasteries fall into your Grace's hands as the ruler, the duty and difficulty of setting these things in order comes with them.
> Therefore... it will be necessary for your Grace, as the person whom God has called to this work and entrusted with the remedy, to have the land visited as quickly as possible by four persons; two, whose speciality is taxes and property, and two who are competent to pass on doctrine and character.
> These men, at your Grace's command, ought to have the schools and parishes set in order and provided for, where it is necessary.
> If there is a town or village which can do it, your Grace has the power to compel it to support schools ...
> If they are unwilling to do this or consider it for their own salvation's sake, then your Grace is the supreme guardian of the youth, and of all who need his guardianship, and ought to hold them to it by force, so that they must do it. It is just like compelling them by force to contribute and to work for the building of bridges and roads, or any other of the country's needs .... **(101)**

Luther had, thus, passed from the attempt to persuade the civil government to undertake responsibility for the

maintenance of education, to the contention that if subjects would not assist voluntarily in the upkeep of schools, the government would be disobedient to its divine purpose. if it did not compel its citizens to comply.

In 1530, Luther completed the implications of his view, by the further contention that the government ought to compel its irresponsible subjects to send and keep their children in school, before their disobedience to their vocation wrecked the life of the community :-

> I hold that it is the duty of the government to compel its subjects to keep their children in school, especially those children who were mentioned above. (boys of exceptional ability). For it is truly its duty to maintain the offices and classes that have been mentioned, so that preachers, jurists, pastors, writers, physicians, schoolmasters, and the like may continue for we cannot do without them.
> If it can compel its subjects who are fitted for the work, to carry pike and musket, man the walls, and do other kinds of work when war is necessary; how much more can it, and ought it, compel its subjects to keep their children in school, because here there is a worse war on, a war with the very devil, who goes about to suck out secretly the strength of cities and princedoms, and empty them of able persons, until he has bored out the pith, and left an empty shell of useless folk, with whom he can play and juggle as he will.
> That is, indeed, starving out a city or a land; it destroys itself without battle, before one is aware of it. (102)

There were other things, too, which Luther considered to be the responsibility of the government in this matter. He had called on the authorities, princes and city councils, to build schools, maintain them, to pass legislation for taxation of citizens for that purpose,

and to compel parents to make use of the schools by sending their children there.

He taught also, that it was the task of the government to see that the right kind of boys, in adequate numbers were given the opportunity to become leaders in the life of the community. This meant giving, wherever necessary, free education to able boys.

Luther had expressed, in part, this idea as early as 1520, in the OPEN LETTER :-

> We should not send everybody to the university... but should only send the best qualified students.
> A prince or city council ought to see this, and permit only the well-qualified to be sent...(103)

The same idea, somewhat more developed, was given in the address TO THE COUNCILMEN in 1524. (104)

In 1530, the responsibility of the government in this matter was defined more strongly :-

> The Turk .. takes every third child in his empire, and trains it for what he will.
> How much more should our lords take some boys for schooling, since that does not take the child away from its parents, but is for their own good, too; and it trains him for usefulness to the community, and for an office in which enough is given him.
> Therefore, let everyone be on his guard who can. Let the government, when it sees a promising boy, have him kept in school; if the father is poor, let it help him with church property. (105)

As has been stressed already, Luther persistently called for the production of pastors, preachers, and teachers for the maintenance of the 'spiritual estate'; for lawyers, chancellors, secretaries, doctors, scholars, and writers

for the upkeep of the 'secular estate'. He showed that no community could survive without these men, and no government could be said to be fulfilling the divine vocation if it was blind and inactive in this matter. In summary, then, Luther called on the governments of his time, as embodied in the city councils and in the prince, to maintain schools, to issue compulsive legislation on subjects for the financial support of education, to enforce the attendance of children at school, and to ensure that able boys were selected for higher education and financially aided, so that educated men might be available for key offices in Church and 'state' in the future.

This bold, and novel, programme arose from Luther's conception of the state and government.

In all of this, there is no indication of subservience to the princes on the part of Luther. On the contrary, he taught quite clearly that the power invested in the prince was not absolute. All power was delegated by God, and in so far as men wielded authority in any office, they did so only for the benefit of other men, and were accountable to God for its proper use. The prince, therefore, was subject to God, and disobeyed God's Law and vocation at his dire peril :-

He (God) keeps the upper hand over them (princes) and the right to judge them, and does not make them gods in such wise as to abolish His own Godhead and let them do as they

please, as if they were gods over God.
On the contrary, it is His will that they be subject to His Word, and either listen to it or suffer all misfortune. It is enough that they have to rule over all else; but over God's Word they are not to have it.
For God's Word appoints them and makes them gods, and subjects everything to them. Therefore, they are not to despise it, for it is their institutor and appointed; but they are to be subject to it, and allow themselves to be judged, rebuked, made and mastered by it. (106)

In the same fashion Luther was quite explicit on the derivative power of princes and all who govern, in the preface to the Larger Catechism :-

For God does not wish to have in this office (government) knaves and tyrants; nor does He assign power and authority to govern, that they should have themselves worshipped; but they should consider that they are under obedience to God... (107)

Luther, then, had no intention of handing over education to be an instrument of the government - in the person of prince, or city council - when he called on the government to finance schools, compel attendance, and see that able boys were given free higher education.
He defined in unambiguous fashion the limits of the legitimate extent of the authority of the government, as he knew it.
The government must work in partnership with the Church in its concern for education, the former responsible for legislation covering organization, finance, and the enforcement of attendance; the latter for the teaching and curriculum.
He defined the limitations of the power of the government

in the following terms :-

> Every kingdom must have its own laws and regulations, and without law no kingdom can exist.
> Worldly government has laws which extend no farther than to life and property and what is external on earth.
> For over the soul God can and will let no one rule but Himself. (108)

In the visitations in Saxony, during which the churches and schools were reorganized, Luther stated explicitly that the government as represented by the prince had no power to control the life and teaching of the churches, and the schools connected with them. The function of the Elector and his government was strictly limited to giving legal authority to the various visitation committees so that their instructions to congregations and parishes came with the necessary authority for their introduction. In his preface to the INSTRUCTIONS TO VISITORS, Luther wrote :-

> Although his Electoral Grace is not called upon to teach, or to be a spiritual ruler, he is obliged as a secular ruler to prevent discord, factions, and rebellion among his subjects; in the same way the Emperor Constantine called the bishops to Nicea, because he could not tolerate the discord among the Christians of his empire which Arius had caused. (109)

Luther's request to the Elector to undertake this aspect of his office, also defined the scope of his powers :-

> Therefore would your Electoral Grace continue to allow himself to be used by God, and to be a faithful tool (for the task of church and school reformation), because God certainly thus orders and commands you through us (Luther and the University of Wittenberg, as representatives of the Church) and through the present need. (110)

Luther apparently regarded the legislation of the Elector

for this reorganization as a temporary act, to meet the emergency situation. In no sense did it confer control of the teaching of churches and schools to the princely government. Such emergency legislation was consistent with Luther's view of law.

Luther maintained this attitude to the secular power to the end of his life (111), and resisted all attempts for the further extension of the powers of the legal members of the visitation committees over the teaching of Church and schools. Luther's view was that there was no necessary conflict between the civil government and the Church in direction of education, or in any other matter where they must necessarily both be concerned, so long as they both fulfilled the functions for which they were both ordained by God :-

> These two kingdoms (of God, and of worldly government) must be sharply distinguished, and both permitted to remain; the one to produce piety, the other to bring about external peace and prevent evil deeds; neither is sufficient in the world without the other. (112)

5. THE CHURCH AND EDUCATION

Luther divided responsibility for public education between the Church and the state, making the latter responsible for maintaining and financing the schools, and for the legislation necessary to compel attendance; and the former responsible for teaching. The function of the Church in this matter was made possible because teachers were still

a part of the ministry of the Church, and doctrinal teaching of the Christian faith was still accepted as a basic factor in the curriculum of the schools.

Apart from this direct teaching function, Luther taught that the Church had an even greater role to play in the task of education. This was part of the service which the Church rendered to the state, when, in obedience to God, it truly proclaimed the Word of God in its preaching, liturgy, and sacraments.

The Church, Luther taught, was created as an ordinance of God by the preaching of the Word, and for the purpose of proclaiming the Word. From its understanding of the Word of God, Luther held, the Church had the task of enlightening the state concerning its purpose, of denouncing wickedness, and of declaring the nature and destiny of men. (113)

This task of the Church had its definite limitations, for the Church had no commission to pronounce on the details of legislation, or of organization of social and economic affairs, beyond demanding in the name of God that these should be arranged to ensure that no man was exploited by his neighbour.

The task which the Church alone was capable of performing for education was that of enlightening men as to its purpose. Luther himself, had shown what that purpose was in the great educational writings of 1524 and 1530. He had declared, in

the light of the Word of God, that in one aspect education was part of the process by which men should be brought to faith in God; in a second aspect, it was the process by which men and women were prepared for the service of their fellows in the life of the community. (114)

Beyond this declaration of purpose, which men could not arrive at by the 'light of nature', Christian teaching had no absolute detailed instruction on educational techiques, so long as these did not conflict with the purpose which it declared for education. Luther has been said to have been lacking in organizing ability because he did not lay down regulations in tremendous detail for the structure of the Church and schools, and in this way has been compared unfavourably with such educators as Erasmus and Melanchthon, who were much more concerned with the mechanism of instruction.

It is a commentary on this criticism, that the methods and techniques upon which Erasmus and Melanchthon devoted so much thought are now part of the history of education, while the educational principles and purposes which Luther declared are still highly relevant.

Apart, then, from any direct teaching in the schools, Luther taught that among other activities of human life upon which the Church, as an ordinance of God, could throw an authoritative light as to their purpose, was education.

(a) <u>The Educational Task of the Pastor</u>

(a) The Educational Task of the Pastor.

Luther viewed the home, the school, and the church as the three interdependent vehicles of education for the two purposes which he so frequently enunciated - the bringing of individual men and women to faith in 'a gracious God' and the production of wise and good people for the service of 'God's two governments'.

He listed the vocations through which the task of the Church was to be accomplished as those of 'pastors, teachers, preachers, lectors, priests, sacristans' (115), and of these he allocated specific educational tasks to the pastor and the teacher. The importance of the educational task of the pastor in Luther's eyes was seen in the details of the training and qualification which was necessary for the new clergy :-

> One should not commission young fellows for the ministry unless they have first received their testing and training in school... (116)

And again :-

> I should prefer to have no one chosen as a minister unless he had first been a schoolmaster. Young men want to be ordained at once and avoid schoolwork. If one taught in school for ten years, he might them withdraw with a good conscience. (117)

Luther aimed at the production of a well-educated clergy, who were capable of intelligent evangelical preaching, and of teaching, besides conducting services and administering the sacraments. The lack of teaching ability in the clergy was revealed very forcibly to Luther during the Saxony visitations :-

> The common people know nothing at all of Christian doctrine, especially in the villages! and unfortunately many pastors are well nigh unskilled and incapable of teaching. (118)

One of the consequences of the visitations was that Luther addressed himself to the objective of improving the teaching abilities of the Lutheran pastors, for in the majority of parishes the task of education fell on the pastor and the sexton. The records of the visitations in Saxony during the 16th. century show that the number of schoolmasters fell considerably below the number of pastors, and in the majority of parishes there were only a pastor and sexton. (119)

It was under these circumstances that the sexton was incorporated into the task of instructing the children in the Catechism.

The first educational task which Luther gave to his pastors, and which arose directly out of the visitations of 1527 - 28, was that of teaching the Catechisms. These were issued with instructions to the pastors on how to use them in teaching children and adults :-

> Therefore I pray you for God's sake, my good masters and brethren who are pastors or preachers, to attend to your office with all your heart, to take pity on your people who are committed to your charge, and help us to introduce the Catechism among the people, especially among the young; and let those who cannot do any better take these tables and forms, and instruct the people in them word for word. (120)

The material which Luther supplied for this task was new, but he had introduced the work of catechetical teaching

from the pulpit through his Preface to the German Mass of 1526, as part of the pastor's duty, and had given details for the teaching of the Bible during weekday services for the pupils of the city schools.

The idea of teaching the Catechism was not new, for some sort of instruction of this kind had been given by the medieval Church. But Luther's use of this kind of instruction was much more systematic, and, like evangelical preaching, made much greater demands on the Lutheran pastor as compared with his Roman counterpart.

The second educational task of the Lutheran pastor was largely administrative, for nearly everywhere he was given the duty of supervising the parish school. Lutheran superintendents likewise had the oversight of all the schools in their districts.

Generally speaking this duty was to ensure that the religious instruction of the pupils was proceeding satisfactorily. In a large number of places the regulations for the conduct of the schools were part of the Kirchenordnungen, and much depended on the careful supervision of the work of the school. It was from the schools that a steady supply of trained pupils must come to replenish the offices of Church and state. (121) Furthermore, in the majority of places the selection of teachers was in the hands of the pastors and clergy, so that they were, in fact, in control of the schools and

the teaching.

Luther allotted two other tasks to the pastors which were connected with education. The first of these was the duty of urging parents to send their children to school. This found an expression in the INSTRUCTIONS TO VISITORS, in the introductory comments on the conduct of schools :-

> Pastors should urge people to send their children to school, so that they may be brought up able to teach in the Church and to take part in the affairs of government.. (122)

The SERMON of 1530 was undertaken in order to provide pastors with arguments to prosecute this very task.

In the second place, Luther considered that one of the chief educational tasks of the pastor was to teach people the nature of the divine 'vocation' of their domestic and daily duties. After all, this was not a conception on which the majority of people had been reared, and being, in a real sense, a revolutionary idea, required constant teaching for its acceptance :-

> All classes and all the works of God are to be praised as highly as ever they can be, and none of them is to be despised in favour of another...
> Especially ought preachers to impress these ideas on the people from their youth up ... so that they may well learn what classes and offices are God's and ordained of God.
> If they know this, so that they despise and mock at and speak evil of none of them, but hold them all in honour, that pleases God and serves the cause of peace and unity. (123)

This kind of instruction found a place in Luther's Small Catechism in the Table of Duties.

In these ways, Luther laid upon the Lutheran pastors definite educational tasks. He held before them the need for high personal qualifications for their duties, and urged that they should all have teaching experience before becoming pastors.

Conforming with Luther's conception of the purpose of education in its personal and social aspects, the pastor was given the task of teaching the children and adults the Catechism and the Bible; in addition, he was made responsible for supervision of this same teaching in the parish school; and finally, he had the task of re-educating his people in a new conception of society and their place in it.

(b) <u>The 'Office' of Schoolmaster.</u>

In order to accomplish the building of a new educational system to replace the old, Luther had to give a great deal of consideration to the recruitment and training of teachers. From the beginning he set himself to improve and raise the status of the school-teacher.

There is abundant evidence to show that the task of teacher was regarded as an inferior one, in which, because of poor conditions, poor remuneration, and low social status, an inferior type of person was often found.

Luther himself said of the task of the schoolmaster that 'this work is as shamefully despised among us as though it was nothing at all'. (124)

Melanchthon has left in his DE MISERIIS PAEDAGOGORUM a picture of the life of the schoolmaster of the period, dealing with backward pupils, who come to school ill-prepared, whose work is dragged out of them, who remember nothing, and whose literary efforts are meaningless and atrociously incorrect. The task of trying to straighten out this mass of ignorance leads on to the loss of ideals, and to flogging as the means to produce results. The remuneration, however, matches the degradation of the job. Schoolmasters themselves often felt equally with the observer the inferior nature of their duties. This attitude is mirrored in the words of Siber, an eminent 16th. century rector of the school at Grimma, when he calls on the schoolmaster to bear 'the burdensome fetters of toil, rejoice in scorn, black calumny, ridicule, and the laughter of raging men, in the insulting conduct of boys, in lack of every advantage, in paleness, asthma, and leanness, in trembling members, sorrow of soul, with heart continually tortured with care, robbed of every hope except that of being freed by death'. (126)

Although initially the records show that the new evangelical schools had to accept some teachers of comparatively low standards of attainment, Luther set out to improve those standards together with the moral character, salary, and general status of teachers in Protestant Germany. First he expressed the view that only children of high

ability should be trained for the task of teaching :-

... The exceptional pupils, who give promise of becoming skilled teachers... should be kept longer at school or altogether dedicated to a life of study ... (127)

The same idea in another form found a place in the INSTRUCTIONS TO VISITORS, when the training of pastors and teachers was dealt with :-

Some think that it is sufficient for a pastor to be able to read German. This is a dangerous delusion ... For he who is to teach others must himself have wide experience and outstanding ability, and to attain this he must study from childhood onwards.... For the art of teaching and instructing others in a clear and correct fashion is not an easy one, natural to uneducated people...(128)

The same high standards were emphasized in the picture Luther drew for the councilmen of the type of school which he wished to see established 'where there were learned and well-trained schoolmasters and schoolmistresses to teach languages, the other arts and history..' (129) Not only was a higher standard of intellectual ability called for by Luther, but also a high standard of character. He looked for the schoolmaster who was 'a God-fearing man', who could teach boys 'to understand and practice God's Word and the true faith' and could 'hold them to Christian discipline'. (130)

The extent to which Luther impressed these requirements on his generation was shown in the subsequent standards of qualification which were required by states and cities before the appointment of schoolmasters.

In the case of the primary schools where German was the medium of instruction various Ordnungen specify that the 'pious, God-fearing, peacable' men should be appointed. In the case of girls' schools the emphasis was similar, and the request was often for 'a respectable, mature, unblameable woman'. (131)

In these lower schools, naturally more attention was paid to character, than to intellectual attainment, for the instruction was of a simple nature, with most emphasis on the teaching of the Catechism and the elements of the Christian faith.

In the case of the Latin schools the demand was for a combination of intellectual and moral qualities. The usual type of request in the Ordnungen of 16th. century Lutheran Latin schools was for 'capable, pious, learned, and God-fearing men'. (132)

In practice there was often a gap between the standards set by Luther, and the requirements of the various Ordnungen on the one hand, and the actual intellectual and moral standards of the teachers on the other. On balance, however, the records of school visitations in Protestant Germany carry more praise than blame in regard to teachers, (133) and bear witness to the influence of Luther's high standards and regard for the profession.

Luther's highest word on the subject of teaching and schoolmasters was spoken when he taught that the task was

a 'vocation'.

Luther declared that the 'vocation' of the schoolmaster was one of the key vocations in the life of society. The schoolmaster's task was essentially a spiritual task, not only because he taught children the Catechism and the elements of the Christian faith, but because he also trained those who were to be leaders in the Church and in the secular affairs of the community. Since these were 'God's two governments', even though the schoolmaster taught subjects not immediately connected with the Christian faith, his 'vocation' was a spiritual one. Despite the inevitable gulf between practice and ideal which is always found in human affairs, no higher word has ever been spoken on the task of the schoolmaster than that spoken by Luther, a view which impressed itself on his colleagues and upon many subsequent educators of the 16th. century. (134)

Later in the century as the power of the 'state' increased there was a tendency to divorce the schoolmaster from the activity of the Church, and to make him into what was described as 'the poorly paid slightly esteemed, submissive servant of a city or a small district', but the mark Luther left on the Lutheran Church was such that the Ordnungen throughout the 16th. century constantly stressed the fact that the schoolmaster served one of the most valuable 'offices' for the continuance of the spiritual

and secular estates. (135)

In a vigorous statement on the value of the schoolmaster's task Luther said :-

Are you of the opinion that a pastor or schoolmaster have such a lowly office as not to be compared with the councils (of the Church)? If there were no pastors and bishops, how would one assemble a council? If there were no schools where would we get pastors?
I speak of such schoolmasters who not only teach children and young people the arts, but train them in Christian doctrine and faithfully impress it upon them, and of such pastors as teach God's Word faithfully and purely ...
Pastors and schoolmasters are the lowly but daily, permanent, perpetual judges who incessantly anathematize, that is, guard against the devil and his raging.
A council, since it is a great judge, must make old and great rascals good, or kill them, but it cannot produce any others.
A pastor and schoolmaster are dealing with small young rascals, and are constantly producing new people to be bishops, and, if necessary, to form councils.
A council chops the great limbs off the trees or roots the evil trees out altogether; but a pastor and a schoolmaster produce young trees and saplings in the garden.
They have a precious office and work and are the Church's finest jewels; they preserve the Church. (136)

In the SERMON of 1530, Luther declared that if he had to change his work he would become a schoolmaster :-

A diligent and pious schoolmaster, or whoever it is that faithfully trains and teaches boys, cannot be sufficiently rewarded, or repaid with any money, as even the heathen Aristotle says ...
I myself, if I could leave the preaching office and other things, or had to do so, would not be so glad to have any other work as that of schoolmaster, or teacher of boys, for I know that this is the most useful, the greatest, and the best, next to the work of preaching.
Indeed, I scarcely know which of the two is the better; for it is hard to make old dogs obedient, and old rascals pious; and that is the work at which the preacher must labour, often in vain.
But young trees can be better bent and trained, though some of them break in the process.
Let it be one of the greatest virtues on earth faithfully to train other people's children; very few people, almost

none, in fact do this for their own. (137)

NOTES

(1) OPEN LETTER (1520) WML. ii. pp. 151 - 152; 153.

(2) SERMON ON MARK 8., vv. 1 - 9. Kretzmann "Luther on Education in the Christian Home" p. 112.
Wagner "Luther als Pädagog", p. 64.
In his exposition of Genesis 10, vv. 1 - 12, Luther wrote:-
"This power (of parents) is given and instituted for this reason, that children are to be educated and taught the Word of God, to know God, to reverence Him, and to believe in Him..."

(3) Wace and Buchheim "Luther's Primary Works" p. 63.
Refer to Appendix No.4 p.77

(4) TREATISE ON CHRISTIAN LIBERTY (1520). WML. ii. p. 338.

(5) Ibid. p. 342.

(6) Exposition of Genesis 41. Kretzmann op. cit. pp. 113 - 4.

(7) Preface to Justus Menius Menius' ON CHRISTIAN HOUSE-KEEPING (1529). WML. iv. p. 133.

(8) TO THE COUNCILMEN (1524). WML. iv. p. 111.

(9) Preface to Justus Menius' book. Kretzmann. pp. 7 - 8.

(10) Wace and Buchheim. (from the Large Catechism) p. 63.

(11) SERMON ON KEEPING CHILDREN AT SCHOOL. (1530). WML. iv. pp. 142 - 143.

(12) Ibid. p. 151.

(13) Ibid. pp. 158 - 159.

(14) Ibid. p. 163.

(15) TO THE COUNCILMEN. (1524) WML. iv. p. 121.

(16) SERMON ON THE STATE OF MARRIAGE. (1519). Luther wrote:- "Children should be properly instructed in the fear of God, for if Christendom is again to gain strength, we must certainly begin the children... I should like it very well if we could begin in the cradle...

(16) Continued.
In a SERMON ON THE ANGELS (1533) Luther said:-
"... Thus it is my duty to train a child from infancy."
Refer forward in present Chapter to quotation (49).

(17) Smith "Life and Letters" gives following fragment from a conversation of Luther's :-
"I have studied diligently, but as yet I do not understand one word of the Bible. I have not yet passed out of the primary class, but I am always turning over in my mind what I know, and asking for comprehension of the Decalogue and the Creed.
It irks me not a little that I, a doctor, with all my learning should willy-nilly stay in the class with my little Hans and Magdalene and go to school with them." Smith p. 337.
Refer forward also to quotation (62) in present chapter.

(18) ON THE COUNCILS AND THE CHURCHES (1539).
WML. v. 298 - 299.

(19) Ibid. pp. 298 - 299. "These are the three hierarchies ordained by God (the house, the city, the Church)". Luther also calls these 'The three divine governments'.

(20) Painter "Luther on Education" pp. 113 - 114.
In his EXHORTATION TO THE KNIGHTS OF THE TEUTONIC ORDER (1523), Luther wrote :- "God has done marriage the honour of putting it into the Fourth Commandment immediately after the honour due to Him, and commands, "Thou shalt honour father and mother". Show me an honour in heaven or on earth, apart from the honour of God, that can equal this honour! Neither the secular nor the spiritual estate has been so highly honoured. And if God had given utterance to nothing more than this Fourth Commandment with reference to married life, men ought to have learned quite well that in God's sight there is no higher office, estate, condition, and work (next to the Gospel which concerns God Himself) than the estate of marriage."

(21) Painter op. cit. p. 117.

(22) SERMON ON JOHN 2. vv. 1 - 11. Kretzmann p. 14.

(23) Exposition of Exodus 20. Kretzmann pp. 11 - 12.

(24) Wace and Buchheim "Luther's Primary Works" pp. 51 - 52.

(25) Painter op. cit. pp. 117 - 118. SERMON OF THE MARRIED

(25) Continued.
ESTATE (1519) Kretzmann. pp. 55 - 56.
In his exposition of the Fourth Commandment in the TREATISE ON GOOD WORKS of 1520, Luther wrote:-
"On the other hand, parents cannot earn eternal punishment in any way more easily than by neglecting their own children in their own home, and not teaching them the things which have been spoken of above. Of what help is it that they kill themselves with fasting, pilgrimages, etc."

(26) SERMON ON EXODUS 20. Kretzmann p. 18.

(27) Refer to WML. v. p. 299, where Luther shows that all that God requires of men is faithful obedience in the realm of His three divine governments.

(28) Painter op. cit. pp. 114 - 115.

(29) Exposition of Genesis 34. Kretzmann p. 48.

(30) Exposition of Hosea 9. Kretzmann. p. 50.

(31) Wace and Buchheim op. cit. the Large Catechism pp. 63 - 64.

(32) SERMON ON LUKE 6., vv. 36 - 42. Kretzmann. pp. 51 - 52.
Similarly in a Sermon on 1 Peter 2., vv. 20 - 25, Luther said :- "Such office of reproving is a work of divine and Christian love. For this God has committed also to the station of father and mother, although the highest love towards their children is implanted by God into their nature; and yet, if they are pious parents and truly love their children, they may not laugh and let things go if they see their children's disobedience, but punish with words and sharp rods. These are the blows of the parental office and strokes of love which we owe our children ..."

(33) Exposition of John 2, vv. 13 - 14. Kretzmann 37 - 38.

(34) SERMON ON THE STATE OF MARRIAGE (1519) Kretzmann p. 47.

(35) Currie "Letters of Martin Luther" ccxxii. To Hans Luther. 19th. June 1530.
In his Commentary on Ps. 128, v. 4. Luther asked:- "What can surpass the love for one's children. (In marriage) children are the chief part of the divine blessing." Refer to Kretzmann p. 30.

(36) Smith "Life and Letters" p. 353. In Smith's Chapter

(36) Continued.
"The Luther Family" pp. 351 ff. he gives several letters which show Luther's great love for his children. Thus Luther, speaking of his youngest child said :-
"The youngest children are always the most loved by their parents. My little Martin is my dearest treasure. Hans and Lena can now speak and do not need so much care, therefore it is that parents always love the little infants who need their love the most. What a heart-stab it must have been for Abraham when he was commanded to kill his only son. Truly I would dispute with God if he bade me do such a thing."

(36a) For additional statements on subject of discipline see BRUCE. op.cit. p. 216-217.

(37) Exposition of 1 John 2, vv. 13, 14. The full statement reads :- "The authority of the father over the children is derived from God, of whom the whole family in heaven and earth is named.
Hence the rule of fathers here on earth is not to be stubborn and harsh. He who rules with anger makes the evil worse.. Experience teaches that love will effect more than slavish fear and force."
Kretzmann p. 37.

(38) Wace and Buchheim op. cit. The Large Catechism, p. 46.

(39) Painter op. cit. pp. 123 - 124.

(40) Table Talk. Quoted by Kretzmann pp. 53 - 54.

(41) Exposition of Psalm 126, v. 5. Kretzmann. p. 50.

(42) Exposition of Genesis 8, v. 21. Kretzmann pp. 48 - 49

(43) TO THE COUNCILMEN. WML. iv. p. 109.

(44) SERMON TO JOHN 2, vv. 1 - 11. Kretzmann p.14.

(45) Exposition of the Fourth Commandment. Kretzmann. p.6.

(46) Painter op. cit. pp. 119 - 120. It is interesting to note that in Sweden c. 1686, a law was promulgated which ordered that 'No one should enter the married state without knowing the Small Catechism of Luther by heart and having received the Sacrament.'
Refer to Cubberley "History of Education" p. 315.

(46a) Wace and Buchheim op. cit. The Large Catechism p.46.
Kretzmann pp. 46 - 47.

(47) Preface to THE GERMAN MASS 1526. WML. vi. p. 175.

(48) Smith "Life and Letters" quotes a saying of Luther's dealing with popular superstition, remembered from his boyhood :- "In my native country there is a high hill called the Pubelsberg, on top of which is a lake; if one throws a stone into the water a great tempest will arise over the whole region, for it is the habitation of captive devils. Prussia is full of them, and Lapland full of witches". Smith p. 3. For further details of popular superstitions see Boehmer "The Young Luther" pp. 14 - 15.

(49) SERMON ON THE ANGELS (1533). Kretzmann. pp. 26 - 27. In this connection note the child's prayer in the Small Catechism, to be said at bedtime. After saying the prayer, the child is told, "Then go to sleep at once and in good cheer". Kidd "Docs. of Cont. Ref." p. 219. For a particularly illuminating quotation on the same matter, see Bruce op.cit. p.217.

(50) Wace and Buchheim op. cit. Preface to the Small Catechism p. 2.

(51) Ibid. p. 2.

(52) Refer to WML. ii. p. 152; p. 354. WML. vi. p. 174.

(53) Refer forward to quotation (62).

(54) Wace and Buchheim p. 3.

(55) Preface to THE GERMAN MASS. WML. vi. p. 179.

(56) Wace and Buchheim p. 3.

(57) Ibid. p. 3.

(58) Preface to THE GERMAN MASS. WML. vi. p. 174.

(59) Wace and Buchheim. Preface to the Large Catechism. p. 30.

(60) SERMON ON HOLY MARRIAGE (1525). Kretzmann pp. 25 - 26.

(61) A BRIEF EXPLANATION. WML. ii. p. 354. Luther writes:-
For these three (Decalogue, Creed, and Lord's Prayer) contain fully and completely everything that is in the Scriptures, everything that should ever be preached, and everything that a Christian needs to know.."
See also WML. vi. p. 174.

(62) Wace and Buchheim. Preface to the Large Catechism. pp. 27 - 28. Kretzmann pp. 69 - 70.
Luther was speaking against those who said that he put too much emphasis on the daily learning of the Catechism. He said that he himself daily learned the Parts, and did not consider that he had got beyond the earliest stages of understanding :-
"But I say this for myself: I also am a doctor and preacher, as learned and experienced as any who have shown such presumption and security; yet I still do as a child who is being taught the Catechism, and I read it and repeat it word for word each morning, and whenever I have time, I read and say word for word, the Ten Commandments, the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, the Psalms. And I must still read and study daily, and yet I cannot master it as I wish, but must remain a child and pupil of the Catechism, and am glad so to remain.."

(63) Painter op. cit. p. 125. In an exposition of the Sixth Commandment, Luther wrote, in the same strain:-
"If you are about to commit a disgraceful act, take heed with all diligence lest a child be offended thereby."
Kretzmann. p. 22.

(64) TO THE COUNCILMEN. WML. iv. p. 123. Luther wrote :-
"My idea is to let boys go to such a school for one or two hours a day, and spend the remainder of the time working at home, learning a trade ..."

(65) Wace and Buchheim. The Large Catechism. pp. 64 - 65.
Kretzmann. pp. 23 - 25.

(66) Preface to Justus Menius' book. Kretzmann pp. 7 - 9.

(67) ON WAR AGAINST THE TURK (1529) WML. v. p. 105.
Refer forward in present Chapter to quotation (88).

(68) Refer to Appendix No. 6 pp. 117 - 168

(69) For details of Luther's salary, household expenses, hospitality, and generous treatment of his relatives refer to Smith "Life and Letters" pp. 363 ff.
There is an interesting comparison between the expenditure of Erasmus and Luther in Froude "Life and Letters of Erasmus". pp. See pp. 327ff.

(70) SERMON ON KEEPING CHILDREN IN SCHOOL. WML. iv. p. 142.

(71) Wace and Buchheim. The Large Catechism. p. 63. Kretzmann p.5.

(72) Preface to Justus Menius' book. Kretzmann pp. 28 - 29.

(73) TREATISE ON GOOD WORKS. (1520) WML. i. p. 253. Kretzmann. p. 56.
Luther spoke of this same matter in a sermon on Exodus 20, v. 12 :- "The commandment obtains that parents should bring up their children in the fear of God; but where are the parents who do that? This, indeed, they take care of, that according to the custom of the world they love their children and train them to fit themselves into the world ..." Kretzmann. p. 19.

(74) ON GOOD WORKS. WML. i. p. 253.

(75) Exposition of Exodus 20, v. 12. Kretzmann pp. 31 - 33. Refer also to Wace and Buchheim. The Large Catechism, pp. 51 - 53.
Luther practiced most thoroughly what he preached, in regard to his own parents.

(76) Wace and Buchheim pp. 52 - 53.

(77) ON GOOD WORKS. WML. i. p. 254.
In an exposition of Hosea 2, v. 2., Luther wrote on the same matter :- "Parents are entitled to honour, but not in such a manner that, while we honour our parents we dishonour God. For the command to serve God is in point of order the earlier one, that on parents the later."

(78) Refer back to Chapter 8., Section 3, "The Law and Ordinances of God".

(79) Commentary on Galatians (edt. Middleton) Ch. 2 v.6., pp. 69 - 70.

(80) Ibid. Ch.2. v. 6., Luther writes :- "This the natural man cannot see; but the spiritual man only discerneth the person from the word, the veil of God from God Himself. Now this veil of God is every creature. God here in this life dealeth not with us face to face, but covered and shadowed from us...
There must be persons and outward veils: God has given them, and they are His good creatures; but we must not trust in them...

(80) Continued.
So the prince, the magistrate, the preacher, the schoolmaster, the scholar, the father, the mother, the children, the master, the servant, are persons and outward veils ...

(81) Ibid. Ch.3. v. 19. p. 239.

(82) Wace and Buchheim. The Large Catechism pp. 37 - 38. In expounding the First Commandment, Luther says :- "God is an eternal source which overflows with pure goodness, and from whom all that is good, and is called good flows forth.
For though much good is done us by men, it is all really received from God, for we receive it by His command and order. For our parents and all magistrates are bidden to show us all manner of good, and everyone is bidden to treat his neighbour thus, so that we receive the good, not from them, but from God through them. For His creatures are only the hand, the channel, the instruments, the means by which God bestows all things on us ..."

(83) SERMON ON KEEPING CHILDREN IN SCHOOL. WML. iv. pp. 169 - 170.

(84) THE EIGHTY-SECOND PSALM (1530) WML. iv. pp. 290 - 291.
For discussion of this see Watson "Let God be God!" p. 114., and p. 142, notes 87, 88, 90.

(85) Commentary on Galatians (edt. Graebner) ch. 3., v.19. p. 129. Refer back to Chapter 8, quotation (22)
Also WML. iv. pp. 159 - 160.

(86) Preface to the Old Testament. WML. vi., pp. 371 - 372. Luther wrote:- "Laws are of three kinds. Some speak of temporal things, as do our imperial laws. They are established by God chiefly because of the wicked, that they may not do worse things. Such laws are for the prevention rather than for instruction ... Over and above these are the laws about faith and love, so that all other laws must and ought to be measured by the laws of faith and love; that is to say, they are to be kept where their observance does not conflict with faith and love; but where they conflict with faith and love, they are entirely void... For since all laws aim at faith and love, none of them can be valid, or be a law, if it conflicts with faith and love.."

(87) Luther impresses this duty on preachers and schoolteachers. WML. iv. p. 168. In actual fact, the SERMON of 1530, and the address TO THE COUNCILMEN of 1524, are a recall to obedience to the office of parents, rulers, and magistrates.

(88) ON WAR WITH THE TURK (1529). WML. vi p. 105.

(89) WML. iv. pp. 110 - 111: see forward to quotation (90).

(90) Ibid. pp. 110 - 111.

(91) ON SECULAR AUTHORITY. (1523). WML. iii. p. 258.

(92) WML. iv. pp. 121 - 122.

(93) THE MAGNIFICAT TRANSLATED AND EXPLAINED. (1520 - 21). WML. iii. p. 199.

(94) Ibid. p. 184.

(95) WHETHER SOLDIERS, TOO, CAN BE SAVED. (1526). WML. v. p. 59.

(96) WML. iii. p. 199.

(97) WML. v. p. 60.

(98) SECULAR AUTHORITY. WML. iii. p. 263.

(99) Ibid. pp. 264 - 265.

(100) Ibid. p. 265.

(101) Smith and Jacobs "Luther's Correspondence", ii. No.743. Luther to the Elector John of Saxony. 22nd. November 1526.

(102) SERMON ON KEEPING CHILDREN IN SCHOOL. WML. iv. pp. 178 - 179.

(103) OPEN LETTER. WML. ii. p. 152.

(104) Refer to WML. iv. pp. 121; 122; 124.

(105) WML. iv. p. 178.

(106) THE EIGHTY-SECOND PSALM. WML. iv. p. 295.

(107) Wace and Buchheim. The Large Catechism. p. 62.

(108) SECULAR AUTHORITY. WML. iii. p. 251.

(109) Preface to INSTRUCTIONS TO VISITORS. Erlangen Edt. Band. 23., p. 3.

(110) Quoted from "Luther Speaks" - Essays by Lutheran pastors. Chapter 9. "The Shaping of the Lutheran Church in Germany" by H.H.Kramm. p. 128. This chapter contains a discussion on the relationship between the state and the Lutheran Church from 1528.

(111) For fuller discussion, and quotations from Luther's writings and letters on this matter, see Mackinnon "Luther and the Reformation" iv. pp. 90 - 92. A most interesting commentary on the alledged subservience of Luther to the state is to be read in the introduction to "Luther Speaks" by Eivind Berrgrav, Bishop of Oslo. The Bishop draws something of a distinction between Luther and Lutheranism, and shows how the former was the source of inspiration in the resistance of the Norwegian Church and schools to Nazism. The introduction is evidence in the argument on Luther's alleged capitulation to the state.

(112) WML. iii. p. 237.

(113) See Luther's teaching on this aspect of the Church's duty, WML. iv. pp. 295 - 298, with its concluding words :- "A preacher is neither a courtier, nor a slave of peasants. He is God's servant and slave, and his commission is over lords and slaves ..."

(114) For fuller discussion see Watson "The State as a Servant of God", Ch. 8. ("The Church's Service to the State.")

(115) SERMON ON KEEPING CHILDREN IN SCHOOL. WML. iv. p.143.

(116) Table Talk, quoted from Kretzmann. p. 86,

(117) Smith and Gallinger "Conversations with Luther", pp. 96 - 97

(118) Wace and Buchheim. Preface to the Small Catechism. p. 1.

(119) See Robbins "German Teachers in the 16th. Century" Ch.ii. "Kinds of Teachers and Their Numbers", especially p. 25.

(120) Wace and Buchheim. p.2.

(121) Robbins op. cit. discusses this aspect of the pastor's connection with the schools in Ch.iv., pp.45ff., and Ch. vi., pp. 92 - 96.

(122) INSTRUCTIONS TO VISITORS. Erlangen Edt. Bd.23. p.64. Refer to Appendix No.3 p.52
Luther gave the same instruction in the Preface to the Small Catechism. See Wace and Buchheim. p.4.

(123) WML. iv. p. 168.

(124) WML. iv. p. 174. Luther, speaking of the great importance of schools, said :- "The work is hard and little honoured. In a city a schoolmaster has as much responsibility as a minister ... One must not regard how the world esteems it and pays it, but how God esteems it, and will glorify it on the last day."
Smith and Gallinger "Conversations with Luther", p. 96.

(125) Woodward "Education during the Renaissance", pp. 218f.

(126) Quoted from Robbins op. cit. p. 111. For other views see Robbins pp. 107 - 110.

(127) WML. iv. p. 124.

(128) INSTRUCTIONS TO VISITORS. See Appendix No. p.

(129) WML. iv. p. 122.

(130) OF THE COUNCILS AND THE CHURCHES (1539). WML. v. p. 298.

(131) For detailed requirements contained in various Ordnungen, see Robbins pp. 29 - 30.

(132) Robbins pp. 50-57.

(133) Ibid. pp. 29 - 32; 114 - 116.

(134) Luther's influence is to be seen in the expressions of regard for the teacher's vocation, made by his colleagues, and contained in the Ordnungen during the remainder of the century.
Bugenhagen said :- "Two classes of men, teachers and magistrates, are the most eminent on earth, not on account of their own persons, for they are only poor mortals like others, but on account of their office, which God has given them in His stead.

Melanchthon, similarly, praised the office of teacher:- "What is more profitable, or, I may add, more praiseworthy, than to fill the hearts of youth with the saving knowledge of God, of the nature of things, and with good morals?"
The Prussian Bischofswahl of 1568 spoke of the work of the schoolmaster in the following fashion:- "Schoolmasters are the fathers of all the prophets: for the latter have all been pupils and have learned of their teachers and schoolmasters."
For other declarations on the same level see Robbins pp. 104 - 107.

(135) Robbins pp. 91 - 92.

(136) ON THE COUNCILS AND THE CHURCHES (1539) WML. v. pp. 252; 255.

(137) WML. iv. p. 174. Luther expressed this view at other times, too :- "Were I not a preacher there is no profession on earth which I would sooner follow..."
Smith and Gallinger "Conversations with Luther" p. 96.

CHAPTER 10.

RÉSUMÉ AND CONCLUSION.

1. Luther's Educational Thought.
2. Luther's Practical Achievement.
3. Luther's Relevance to Modern Education.

RÉSUMÉ AND CONCLUSION.

1. LUTHER'S EDUCATIONAL THOUGHT.

All of Luther's educational ideas were rooted in his theocentric theology, and his entry into the realm of educational reform followed two inter-connected lines of approach.

The first of these found its beginning in Luther's attack on the 'doctrine of the Papacy', when he joined battle with scholasticism and the conception of the religious life contained in it. This brought him into conflict with Aristotle as taught in the universities, and led to his demand for a complete revision of university studies.

From his theology, Luther came to a new conception of the significance of the 'state'. He saw that God was not to be found, or served, by leaving the so-called secular world and its duties behind; but rather that God was always immanent, though veiled, in His world, confronting men in the inescapable and fundamental relationships of life, - in the home, in daily work, in the tasks of government - with His demand for the fulfilment of His Law, in neighbourly service.

Luther, thus, bridged the gulf which medieval thought had created between the so-called religious and secular aspects

of life, by his insistence that both the 'spiritual estate' and the 'secular estate' were ordinances of God, or God's 'two governments', for the preservation and blessing of mankind, and that God was served equally in these two realms.

This conception, in effect, was revolutionary. It gave a completely new significance to marriage, the home, the duties of parents, and the tasks of daily life.

Luther taught that mother and father in relationship to their home and their children, embodied the fundamental human relationship, to be honoured as the highest next to man's primary relationship to God. The parents and home were ordained by God for the training and education of children. This involved two things. First, the parents were responsible for ensuring that their children were brought to a knowledge of God. Secondly, they must see to it that the children were trained for the service of their fellow creatures.

In this task, Luther taught that two other ordinances of God were responsible for assisting the parents in their task. First, the Church was responsible for education of child and man in the Christian faith, to the end of life.

In the second place, the 'government' (embodied in city councillor or electoral prince) was responsible for providing schools, finding finance, engaging teachers, and, if necessary, for applying compulsive legislation on parents who disavowed their God-ordained duty of sending their children to school.

Luther asserted that these tasks and responsibilities of the government were not optional, for, like the duties of parents, they were designed by God for the continuance of the 'spiritual and secular estates' through which men received all the blessings of this life. To neglect to do these things was disobedience to God's demand for neighbour-ly service. In continuance of this duty, the government was also within its legitimate limits of authority in making sure that selection of able pupils was made for entrance to universities, and for supporting those who needed financial help through a long course of study. While these powers were embodied in the 'secular government' by God, the government was not autonomous but always stood under the Law of God.

The second line of approach to educational questions taken by Luther, came through his conception of the Word of God. He saw that God was not to be 'discovered' by religious exercises, or by arguments about His nature as the scholastic theologians believed, but must remain for ever unknown to men unless He chose to reveal Himself. Accepting the Christian Gospel, Luther held that God had spoken to men in His incarnate Word, Christ. It was only in this way that men could know God.

But this revelation of God was not locked up in an event of the past; it was an ever-present reality.

For when men read the Scriptures with understanding, heard a Christian preacher declare the Gospel, or partook of the Sacrament, God was speaking directly and personally to them. But to hear God speaking in these ways, it was abundantly clear to Luther that preaching, the Bible, and the liturgy must be in German for German-speaking people to understand. From this view developed a new type of preaching and all those labours of Luther by which the Bible, the Catechisms, the hymns, and the Church liturgy, were made available for the people in German.

From this same conception proceeded Luther's demand for the universal education of boys and girls, in primary schools where the elements of the Christian faith were taught in German.

It was along these two lines of approach that Luther arrived at his revolutionary conception of the scope and purpose of education.

In summary, he called for Christian education which embodied :-

1. Elementary education of boys and girls; secondary and university education for those with ability to serve in responsible 'offices' in Church and 'secular government.'

2. Compulsive legislation by the government to ensure the schooling of children; provision of schools; financial aid for children of ability who needed help to continue higher education; and a system of selection for those proceeding to universities.

3. The partnership of the home, the school, the government, and the Church, in the process of education.

4. A more liberal content to the curricula of schools and universities, better methods of teaching, more enlightened discipline in home and school, and the direction of education toward the 'real', rather than to the 'ideal'.

These conceptions of Luther's are found in part throughout a number of writings, and are most fully expressed in the two main statements TO THE COUNCILMEN of 1524 and the SERMON of 1530. Of the former, Painter has written :-

> If we consider its pioneer character, in connection with its statement of principles and admirable recommendations, the Address must be regarded as the most important educational treatise ever written. (***) (Luther on Educ. iii

An unbiased study of the ADDRESS, and a consideration of the contemporary educational thought, will make it difficult to gainsay this valuation.

When the full range of Luther's writings on education is also taken into account, it is equally difficult to deny him a unique place in the history of educational thought. He represents a new departure, the originator of a series of new educational conceptions which have found a partial fulfilment, but have not yet exhausted their significance .

2. LUTHER'S PRACTICAL ACHIEVEMENT IN EDUCATION.

The first effect of Luther's teaching by which the value-distinction between the 'spiritual' and the 'secular' was destroyed, was a social revolution, in the process of which the existing medieval system of education was disintegrated. It fell to pieces because Luther destroyed the purpose for

for which it existed.

The years from 1522 onwards witnessed the continuous efforts of Luther towards the establishment of a new system of education, on the basis of the ideas already summarized. There were, of necessity, limitations to what he could do, since he could proceed only by persuasion and example. Naturally the methods which he adopted varied with the changing Reformation scene.

At first his direct influence was limited to Wittenberg and district; later there was a large response to his teaching in the cities; last of all, some of the larger German states accepted reformation.

At first, then, Luther commenced reorganization on a congregational basis; next, he addressed himself to the cities; finally, when the scope of reform had widened, he sought to organize on a state basis, with the cooperation of the princes.

With the aid of Bugenhagen and Melanchthon, certain basic plans for the reorganization of churches, schools, and universities were established. These, embodied in Ordnungen, became models for school and university plans for Protestant Germany.

In Saxony, where Luther persuaded the Electors to under--take their responsibility for the organization of the university and schools, and for a system of visitations,

the plan was followed by other Lutheran states.

By 1530, the outline of a new educational system began to emerge in the Lutheran states, and recovery from the initial chaos inaugurated by the Reformation became more rapid.

That the results were disappointing to Luther is not to be wondered at, for new ideas are always difficult of acceptance, and the German political situation greatly augmented the obstacles.

The results of what Luther initiated, reviewed at the close of the 16th. century, included over three hundred new or reformed Latin secondary schools in the towns and cities of Protestant Germany, three new universities, and a small number of German schools for boys and girls. In the larger states of Protestant Germany, the governments had accepted responsibility for organizing state systems of education, including primary, secondary and university education.

The part played in this reconstruction by Melanchthon was of great importance, and since it was continued for almost fifteen years after the death of Luther, had a very considerable effect on the pattern of the resulting system of education in the Protestant states and cities.

The initial impetus to the regrowth of education came from Luther, and could have come from no other; Melanchthon's part consisted in systematizing and organizing the movement.

Under Melanchthon the new system reverted back in many ways to the humanist pattern, largely ignoring popular education in German, becoming more formal in its approach to learning, and more subservient to the interests of the state.

Despite the increase in the numbers of schools and universities reorganized or planned under Melanchthon's guidance, a great number of Luther's revitalizing conceptions were smoothed out and lost.

3. THE RELEVANCE OF LUTHER.

While the majority of Luther's proposals for an educational system have been fulfilled, so much so that it is difficult to grasp their originality, there are certain aspects of his educational ideas which are still highly relevant to our modern situation.

Above all, Luther presents a unified conception of education based firmly on the Christian view of life. He emphasizes constantly a two-fold objective for education, one individual, the other social, and both inseparable.

In its individual aspect, the main purpose for Luther is not personal culture, preparation for leisure, acquisition of knowledge, nor training for earning a living, but the leading of human beings to God as revealed in Christ.

In its social aspect, education was for him a preparation

for the service of one's fellow human beings.

Within the framework of this two-fold purpose, which gives meaning to all branches of learning and preserves unity for all the branches, Luther was completely liberal in his outlook. Training for work, enjoyment of leisure, acquisition of knowledge, scholarship, all find their place, without any one of them itself becoming the end of education. In this process, the home, the school, the State, and the Church are partners, each indispensible, yet none possessing absolute claims on the child or adult, for human beings belong to God.

For parents, Luther still has a high relevance in his teaching about parental status, parental duties towards the children, and his insistence on their responsibility for bringing their child to God, for the establishment of firm but loving discipline in the home, and for their ensuring of the best education so that their child might become of service to others.

For the schools, with their frequently fragmented and uncorrelated 'subjects', he points to educational purposes which can unify and give meaning to all educational work.

To the teacher, he holds up a conception of his 'vocation' which can sustain through the necessary drudgery, and can constantly direct his thought and action.

For the State, Luther defines its place as an ordinance of God, stresses its responsibilities, and de-limits its

authority.

To the Church he assigns the task of educating children and adults in the Christian faith and the meaning of their several offices; and gives the reponsibility of holding constantly before parents, schools, and the State, the purposes for which they exist.

Finally, Luther speaks to the individual about the purpose of his life, and brings him a conception of his work, relationships, and responsibilities, which gives them dignity, meaning, and the sense of vocation.

In view of the scope and originality of his educational thought, his practical educational achievement, and his present relevance, it is easy to apply superlatives to Luther, the educator.

Without quibbling about his place, let it suffice to recognize him as belonging to the very front rank of the world's greatest educators.

- - - - - -

BIBLIOGRAPHY.

A. PRIMARY SOURCES.

1. Luther's Works.

(i) Werke. Kritische Gesamtausgabe. Vols. i.ff. (Weimar, 1883ff.)
Referred to as Weimar Ed.

(ii) Sämmtliche Werke. (Erlangen, 1826 - 1857)
Referred to as Erlangen Ed.

(iii) Works of Martin Luther. 6 vols. (A.J. Holman Company, Philadelphia, Pa. 1915 - 1932)
Referred to as WML.

(iv) Luther's Primary Works. Edited Wace and Buchheim. (London, 1896)
Referred to as Wace and Buchheim.

(v) Concordia Triglotta. The Symbolical Books of the Lutheran Church, with Historical Introductions. Trans. and edited by W.H.T. Dau and F. Bente. (St. Louis, Missouri, 1921)
Referred to as Concordia Triglotta.

(vi) Luther's Commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians. Edited Erasmus Middleton. (London, 1864)
Referred to as Galatians (ed. Middleton)

(vii) Luther's Commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians. Translated by Theodore Graebner. (Grand Rapids, Michigan, U.S.A.)
Referred to as Galatians (ed. Graebner)

(viii) The Bondage of the Will. Trans. by H. Cole. (Ed. H. Atherton, London, 1931)

(ix) Dr. Martin Luther's Briefwechsel. E.L. Enders. Vols i-xv. (Frankfurt am Main, 1884 -)
Referred to as Enders.

(x) Luther's Correspondence and Other Contemporary Letters. Trans. and edited by P. Smith and C.M. Jacobs. Vols i. and ii. (Philadelphia, Pa., 1913-1918)
Referred to as Smith and Jacobs.

(xi) The Letters of Martin Luther. Selected and translated by M. A. Currie. (London, 1908)
Referred to as Currie.

(xii) The Life and Letters of Martin Luther. P. Smith. (London, 1911)
Referred to as Life and Letters.

(xiii) Luther on Education in the Christian Home and School. Selected passages compiled by P. E. Kretzmann. (Lutheran Literary Board, Burlington, Iowa, U. S. A.)
Referred to as Kretzmann.

(xiv.) Die Hauptschriften Luthers in chronologischer Reihenfolge. P. E. Kretzmann.

(xv) The Table Talk of Martin Luther. W. Hazlitt. (London, 1902)

(xva) Tischreden, Vols i - vi. Weimar Edition.
Referred to as Tischreden.

2. Luther's Chief Educational Writings.

(xvi) 1520. An den christlichen Adel deutscher Nation von des christlichen Standes Besserung.
(To the Christian Nobility of the German Nation concerning the Reform of the Christian Estate.)
Weimar Ed., vi., 381ff. WML., ii., 146ff.
Wace and Buchheim, 288ff. Appendix No. I.

(xvii) 1524. An die Ratsherren aller Städte Deutschlands, dasz sie Schulen einrichten und erhalten.
(To the Councilmen of all Cities in Germany that they establish and maintain Christian Schools.)
Weimar Ed., xv., 9ff. WML., iv., 103ff.
Painter "Luther on Education", 169ff.
Appendix No. 2.

(xviii) 1528. Unterricht der Visitatoren. (Instructions to Visitors)
Weimar Ed., xxvi. Erlangen Ed., xxiii.
Appendix No. 3.

(xix) 1529. Der Grosze Katechismus. (The Large Catechism)
Concordia Triglotta, 566ff. Wace and Buchheim 24ff. Appendix No. 4.

(xx) 1529. Der Kleine Katechismus. (The Small Catechism) Concordia Triglotta, 532ff. Wace and Buchheim, 1ff. Appendix No. 5.

(xxi) 1530.. Predigt, dasz man Kinder zur Schule halten solle. (A Sermon on Keeping Children in School)
Weimar Ed., xxx., 508ff. WML., iv., 133ff. Painter, 210ff. Appendix No. 6.

3. Other Writings which contain much Material on Education.

(xxii) 1520. Sermon von Guten Werken. (Sermon on Good Works)
Weimar Ed., iv., 196ff. WML., i., 173ff.

(xxiii) 1523. Ordnung des gemeinen Kastens zu Leisnig. (Ordinance of a Common Chest)
Weimar Ed., xii., 1ff. WML., vi., 92ff.

(xxiv) 1523. Formula Missae. (Formula of Mass)
Weimar Ed., xii., 197ff. WML., vi., 65ff.

(xxv) 1526. Deutsche Messe und Ordnung des Gottesdienstes. (The German Mass and Order of Service.)
Weimar Ed., xix., 44ff. WML., vi., 151ff.

(xxvi) 1529. Vorrede auf Justus Menius von christlicher Haushalting. (Preface to a Book on Christian Housekeeping by Justus Menius)
Weimar Ed., xxx(2)., 49ff.

(xxvii) 1538. Vorrede zu Historia Galeatii Capellae. (Preface to Link's Translation of Capella's "Historical Commentaries on the Recent History of Italy")
Weimar Ed., l., 383ff. Appendix No. 7.

(xxviii) 1539. Von den Konziliis und Kirchen. (On the Councils and the Churches)
Weimar Ed., l., 509ff. WML., v., 127ff.

4. Other Writings which bear closely on Education.

(xxix) 1520. Eine kurze Form der zehn Gebote. (A Brief Explanation of the Ten Commandments, etc.)
Weimar Ed., vii., 194ff. WML., i., 351ff.

(xxx) 1520. Von der Freiheit eines Christenmenschen. (On Christian Liberty)
WML., ii., 297ff. Wace and Buchheim, 254ff.

(xxxi) 1521. Das Magnificat. (The Magnificat, translated and explained.)
Weimar Ed., vii., 583ff. WML., iii., 119ff.

(xxxii) 1523. Von weltlicher Obrigkeit. (On Secular Authority)
Weimar Ed., xi., 229ff. WML., iii., 225ff.

(xxxiii) 1523. An die Herren deutschs Ordens. (To the Knights of the Teutonic Order.)
Weimar Ed., xii., 232ff. WML., iii., 405ff.

(xxxiv) 1524. Vorrede. Geystliche Gesangk Buchleyn. (Preface. Spiritual Hymn Booklet)
WML., vi., 283ff.

(xxxv) 1526 Ob Kriegsleute auch in seligem Stande sein können. (Whether Soldiers, too, can be saved.)
Weimar Ed., xix., 623ff. WML., v., 31ff.

(xxxvi) 1529. Vorrede. Geistliche Lieder. (Preface. Spiritual Hymns Revised)
WML., vi., 285ff.

(xxxvii) 1529. Vom Kriege wider die Türken. (On War against the Turk.)
WML., v., 75ff.

(xxxviii) 1530. Sendbrief vom Dolmetschen. (On Translating)
Weimar Ed., xxx., 632ff. WML., v., 9ff.

(xxxix) 1530. Der 82 Psalm ausgelegt. (An Exposition of the 82nd. Psalm.)
Weimar Ed., xxxi., 189ff. WML., iv., 285ff.

(xl) 1522-1545. Prefaces to the Books of the Bible.
WML., vi., 363-491.

(xli) 1541. Supputatio Annorum Mundi. (Computation of the Years of the World.)
Weimar Ed., liii., 22ff.

(xlii) 1542. Vorrede. Christliche Geseng Lateinisch und Deutsch, zum Begrebnis.
(Christian Songs, Latin and German, for Use at Funerals.)
WML., vi., 287ff.

B. SECONDARY MATERIALS.

(i) Luther.

(1) Boehmer, H. The Young Luther. Trans. Doberstein and Tappert. (Philadelphia, Pa., 1946)

(2) Boehmer, H. Luther and the Reformation in the Light of Modern Research. Trans. Potter. (London 1930)

(3) Froude, J.A. Life and Letters of Erasmus. (London 1900)

(4) Graebner, T. The Catechism. (St. Louis, Missouri, 1928)

(5) Grisar, H. Martin Luther. 6 Vols. Translated by E.M. Lamond. (London, 1913-17)

(6) Hildebrandt, F. Melanchthon, Alien and Ally ? (Cambridge, 1946.)

(7) Kőstlin, J. Life of Luther. (London, 1898)

(8) Kretzmann, P. The German Bible. (St. Louis, Mo., 1934)

(9) Lunn, B. Martin Luther. (London, 1934)

(10) Mackinnon, J. Luther and the Reformation. 4 Vols. (London 1925-30)

(11) Watson, P.S. Let God be God ! (London, 1947)

(ii) History.

(12) Bettenson, H. Documents of the Christian Church. (Oxford, 1943)

(13) Binns, L.E. The Decline and Fall of the Medieval Papacy. (London, 1934)

(13a) Burckhardt, J. The Civilization of the Renaissance. Trans. by S.G.C. Middlemore.

(14) Cambridge Modern History. Vol.i. The Renaissance. Vol.ii. The Reformation.

(14a) Creighton, M. History of the Papacy during the Period of the Reformation. 6 Vols. (London, 1887-94)

(15) Dickenson, R.E. The Development and Distribution of the German Medieval Town. (London, 1942)

(16) East, G. An Historical Geography of Europe. (London, 1935)

(17) Fisher, H.A.L. History of Europe. (London, 1936)

(18) Grant, A.J. History of Europe, 1494 - 1610. (London, 1931)

(19) Janssen, J. History of the German People since the End of the Middle Ages. Vols. ii.-iv.

(20) Kidd, B.J. Documents Illustrative of the Continental Reformation. (Oxford, 1911)

(21) Mackinnon, J. The Origins of the Reformation. (London, 1939)

(22) Pascal, R. The Social Basis of the German Reformation. (London, 1933)

(23) Pirenne, H. A History of Europe from the Invasions to the 16th. Century. Trans. by B. Miall. (London, 1939)

(24) Pounds, N.J.G. An Historical and Political Geography of Europe. (London, 1947)

(25) von Ranke History of the Reformation in Germany. Translated down to 1535 by S. Austin.

(26) Schapiro, J.S. Social Reform and the Reformation. (Columbia University Studies in History and Economics, Vol. xxxiv. 1909.)

(27) Seebohm, F. The Era of the Protestant Revolution. (London, 1936)

(28) Smith, P. The Age of the Reformation. (Oxford)

(29) Steinberg, S.H. A Short History of Germany. (New York, 1946.)

(30) Tawney, R.H. Religion and the Rise of Capitalism. (London, 1937)

(iii) Education

(31) Allen, P.S. The Age of Erasmus. (London, 1914)

(32) Bruce, G.M. Luther as an Educator. (Minneapolis, Minnesota, U.S.A. 1928)

(33) Boyd, W. The History of Western Education. (London, 1947)

(34) Cambridge Medieval History, Vol. VIII Education in the 14th. and 15th. Centuries - Potter. E.S.

(35) Cubberley, E.P. The History of Education. (Boston, Mass. 1920)

(36) Cubberley, E.P. Readings in the History of Education. (Boston, Mass. 1920)

(37) Good, H.E. The Position of Luther upon Education. ("School and Society", Vol.6., pp.511--518. New York. Nov.1917)

(38) Grew, E.M. and S.G. Bach. (London, 1947)

(39) Jeffreys, M.V.C. Education; Christian or Pagan. (London, 1946)

(40) Kinloch, T.F. Pioneers of Religious Education. (Oxford, 1939)

(41) Leeson, S. Christian Education. (London, 1947)

(42) Monroe, P. A Text-Book in the History of Education. (New York, 1906)

(43) Painter, F.V.N. Luther on Education. (St. Louis, Missouri, U.S.A., 1889)

(44) Paulsen, F. The German Universities and University Study. Trans. by F. Thilly and W.E. Elwang. (London, 1906)

(45) Paulsen, F. German Education past and present. Trans. by T. Lorenz. (London, 1908)

(46) Rashdall, H. The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages. 2 Vols. (Oxford, 1895)

(47) Robbins, C. Teachers in Germany in the 16th. Century. (Columbia University Contribs. to Education, No. 52) (New York, 1912)

(48) Ulrich, R. History of Educational Thought. (New York, 1945)

(49) Woodward, W.H. Studies in Education during the Age of the Renaissance. 1400-1600. (Cambridge, 1904)

(50) Woodward, W.H. Desiderius Erasmus concerning the Aim and Method of Education. (Cambridge, 1904)

(iv) Theology.

(51) Aquinas. Selected Writings; edited by M.C.D'Arcy. (London, 1939)

(52) Augustine. The City of God. 2 Vols. Edited by R.V.G.Tasker. (London, 1945)

(53) Bevan, E. Christianity. (London, 1932)

(54) Ehrenstrom, N. Christian Faith and the Modern State. (London, 1937)

(55) Farmer, H.H. The Servant of the Word. (London, 1941)

(56) Gore, C. The Philosophy of the Good Life. (London, 1930)

(57) Hopper, S.R. The Crisis of Faith. (London, 1947)

(58) Luther Speaks - Essays by Lutheran Pastors. (London, 1947)

(59) Nygren, A. Agape and Eros; a Study of the Christian Idea of Love. 3 Vols. (London, 1932; 1938-39)

(60) Niebuhr, R. The Nature and Destiny of Man. 2 Vols. (London, 1941, 1943)

(61) Richardson, A. Christian Apologetics. (London, 1947)

(62) Russell, B. History of Western Philosophy. (London, 1946)

(63) Watson, P.S. Let God be God! An Interpretation of the Theology of Martin Luther. (London, 1947)

(64) Watson, P.S. The State as a Servant of God. (London, 1946)

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES.

AGRICOLA, John. (1494 - 1566) Close colleague of Luther. Taught at Wittenberg and Eisleben. Present at Diets of 1526, 1529, 1530. Had violent quarrel with Luther and Melanchthon and went to Berlin in 1540.

AMSDORF, Nicholas von. (1483-1565). Luther's most devoted follower, to whom he dedicated the Open Letter of 1520, and who accompanied him to Worms in 1521. In 1524, was called to Magdeburg. In 1534, sided with Luther against Erasmus, and so came into conflict with Melanchthon and Bucer. In 1542 was consecrated evangelical Bishop of Naumburg by Luther.

AUROGALLUS, Matthew. (c.1490-1543). Came from Bohemia; taught at Schmalkalden. Appointed to Chair of Hebrew at Wittenberg in 1521. Assisted Luther in trans. of Old Testament. Published Hebrew grammar in 1535.

BEATUS RHENANUS. (Beatus Bild) (1485-1547). From 1511-26, worked at Basle as publisher and editor for Froben. From 1526 to death lived at Schlettstadt. Friend and assistant of Erasmus.

BRÜCK, Gregory. (1483-1557). Law graduate of Wittenberg. In 1520, entered service of Elector of Saxony, and rose to position of Chancellor.

BUCER, Martin. (1491- 1551) Entered Dominican Order. 1518 was attracted to Erasmus. Then became follower of Luther. 1521 left the cloister, and from 1523-49 was the leading reformer at Strassburg. Taught at Cambridge 1550-51.

CAMERARIUS, Joachim. (1500-74). Fine Greek scholar; came to Wittenberg in 1521 and formed lasting friendship with Melanchthon. From 1525 played an important part in reform-ation at Nuremberg.

COCHLAEUS. (John Dobneck) (1479-1552). Studied at Cologne, Bologna, and Ferrara. In 1528 became chaplain to George, Duke of Saxony. Wrote against Luther, including the HISTORIA DE ACTIS ET SCRIPTIS MARTINI LUTHERI (1549)

CAPITO, Wolfgang. (Köpfel) (1478?-1541). Professor of Theology at Basle. From 1512 was an admirer of Erasmus. 1523 accepted Reformation principles, and went to Strass-burg, where as Bucer's colleague, he was leading reformer.

CARLSTADT, Andrew. (Bodenstein) (c. 1480-1541). Studied at Erfurt and Cologne. Became teacher and canon at Wittenberg from 1510. Sided with Luther, and was excommunicated with him in 1520. Led revolutionary movement in Wittenberg from 1521-22; was discredited by Luther and left Saxony in 1524. Wrote against Luther, and after a period of wandering, was called as professor to Basle in 1534.

CROTUS RUBEANUS. (John Jäger) (1480 - 1539). Graduate of Erfurt. In 1515 published first series of LETTERS OF OBSCURE MEN. Until 1531 was an admirer of Luther, for patriotic reasons, but from that year broke with the Reformation movement.

DIETRICH , Veit. Luther's amanuensis. Recorded Luther's table conversations at Wittenberg from 1529-35.

DOLZIG, John von. (d. 1551). Treasurer of the Elector; in the service of Frederick of Saxony before 1500. Good friend to Luther.

ECK, John. (Maier) (I486-1543) Graduate of Tübingen and Doctor of Freiburg. Served the Fuggers from 1514-17. Attacked Erasmus in 1518; debated at Leipzig against Luther in 1519. Was responsible to the Papacy fro the publication in Germany of the Bull excommunicating Luther. Was an unrelenting opponent of Luther to his death.

EMSER, Jerome. (1477-1527) Graduate of Basle; lecturer at Erfurt and Leipzig. Was employed on various tasks by George of Saxony. Bitter opponent of Luther and Zwingli. Produced translation of New Testament (largely pilfered from Luther's version) in 1527.

EOBANUS HESS. (Koch). (1488-1540). Professor of Latin at Erfurt. Friend and admirer of Erasmus. In 1536 went to University of Marburg.

FROBEN, John. (c.1460-1527) Printer and book publisher in partnership with Amorbach of Basle. Printed many of Erasmus' and Luther's books.

HAUSMANN, Nicholas. (1479-1538). One of Luther's warmest friends and closest correspondents. In 1521 was pastor at Zwickau; was driven out in 1531. Became chaplain to the Princes of Anhalt at Dessau, and in 1538 went to Freiburg.

HUTTEN, Ulrich von. (1488-1523). Forced into monastery of Fulda, but escaped in 1505. Lived as wandering student, and visited Italy in 1515-7. In 1516 published second series of LETTERS OF OBSCURE MEN. Supported Luther as a German patriot, but was compelled to leave Germany after the Knights' Revolt, and died in exile.

JONAS, Justus. (Jodocus Koch) (1493-1555) A Doctor of Erfurt. Went with Luther to Worms, and returned to Wittenberg, where he remained as Luther's close friend and colleague. Took a prominent part in the Reformation.

LANG, John. (d. 1548) Taught at Wittenberg from 1511-1516. Greek scholar. District Vicar of Augustinians in 1518. Accepted Luther's teaching and left the cloister in 1522. Became pastor in Erfurt. Close friend of Luther.

LINK, Wenzel. (1483-1547) In 1520 was elected Vicar of the German Province of the Augustinians. Followed Luther, resigned, and became pastor of reformed church at Altenburg. In 1525, went to Nuremberg where he was prominent as a reformer. Frequent correspondent with Luther.

LOTTHER, Melchior. Printer and publisher, first at Leipzig, and from 1519 at Wittenberg. Left in 1525, returned to Leipzig, where he died in 1542.

MOSELLANUS, Peter. (Schade) (c.1493-1524). Professor at Leipzig in 1517. Supporter of Luther at the Leipzig debate.

MÜNZER, Thomas. (1490-1525). Professor at Leipzig. Radical reformer and revolutionary at Zwickau in 1520. Driven out by authorities, he went to Bohemia where he fanned revolt. Strongly opposed by Luther. One of leaders in Peasants' Revolt, after which he was captured and executed.

OECOLAMPADIUS, John. (Hussgen) (1482 -1531). Friend of Zwingli and a leader in the Swiss reformation. Friend of Melanchthon and Erasmus, whom he helped edit Greek New Testament. From 1522 was evangelical pastor in Basle.

PLANITZ, Hans von der. Studied law at Bologna, and entered service of Elector of Saxony (1513-33). Served on many confidential diplomatic missions. Took leading part in visitations in Saxony.

PRIERAS, Silvester. (1456-1523). Studied in Italy. Was made Master of the Sacred College at Rome by the Pope in 1515. Wrote against Reuchlin, and Luther, for the Papacy.

REINECKE, John. Was the son of the Mansfeld iron- master, Peter Reinecke, with whom Luther was sent to School at Magdeburg. Remained a friend of Luther until his death in 1538.

RÖRER, Georg. Luther's devoted literary assistant, who took down, with Dietrich, Luther's House-Postil, and kept minutes of the work of the revisers of the translation of the Bible.

SCHURFF, Jerome. (1481-1554) Taught law at Wittenberg, from 1502 to 1546. Warm friend of Luther. Took part in fro visitations in Saxony.

SIEBERGER, Wolfgang. Commenced as a student of theology, but was unable to complete the course, and became a janitor in the Black Cloister at Wittenberg. After the monks had left, he remained as Luther's faithful servant until his death.

SPALATIN, Georg. (Burkhardt) (1484-1545). One of Luther's best friends and his closest correspondent. About 1513 became chaplain and secretary to Frederick of Saxony until 1525. He married in that year and went as pastor to Altenburg, where he remained until his death.

SPENGLER, Lazarus. (1479-1534). Became town clerk at Nuremberg in 1507. Strong supporter of Luther, and was excommunicated in 1521. Visited Wittenberg in 1525. Luther dedicated the SERMON of 1530 to him.

STAUPITZ, John von. (d. 1524) In 15[illegible] became Vicar of the German Province of the Augustinian Eremites, and dean of the Theological Faculty at Wittenberg. Great help of the young Luther. Did not follow Luther in revolt against Rome, resigned his vicariate, and retired to Salzburg.