

LUTHER AS AN EDUCATOR.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS.

(Page No.)

Bibliography.	
I. Sources	I
II. Secondary Works	II
Preface	1
I. Luther's Education.	
Introduction	3
I. Luther's Parentage	4
II. Luther's Schöbling at Mansfeld	8
III. Luther's Schooling at Magdeburg	10
IV. Luther's Education at Eisenach	17
V. Luther's Education at the University of Erfurt	20
VI. Luther's Education in the Augustinian Cloister at Erfurt	31
VII. Luther's Pilgrimage to Rome	46
VIII. Luther Made a Doctor of Theology	54
II. Luther's Educational Activities.	
I. Luther's Educational Activities as a Professor	58
II. Luther's Educational Activity as a Preacher	87
III. Luther's Educational Activities as a District Vicar of the Augustinian Order	91
IV. Luther's Educational Activities as a Catechete	93
V. Luther's Educational Activity as a Father	99
VI. Luther's Educational Activities as a Writer	112
III. Luther's Strictures on Contemporaneous Education	117
IV. Luther's Principles of Education.	
His Concept of Education	130
I. Luther's What of Education	132
II. Luther's Why of Education	136
1. Religious life and Education	137
2. Civic life and Education	142
3. Health and Education	144
4. Family life and Education	147
5. The Economic life and Education	152
6. The Recreational or Cultural life and Education	156
III. Luther's Who of Education	162
IV. Luther's Whom of Education	170
V. Luther's When of Education	172
VI. Luther's Where of Education	178
VII. Luther's How of Education	189
Conclusion	223

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PREFACE

The year of Our Lord nineteen hundred and twenty-nine is an anniversary year in Lutheran circles. This year Lutherans celebrate the four hundredth anniversary of the publication of Luther's catechisms, the "Large Catechism" and the "Small Catechism." Luther's "Small Catechism" has had wide spread and lasting influence upon Christians especially and upon the world in general.

Partly motivated by the fact that this is quadricentennial of this influential booklet of the great Reformer, and partly from a desire to become better acquainted with his writings in general, I selected the topic: "Luther As An Educator", for my thesis. Now that I have finished my pleasant task, I feel greatly repaid for the labor bestowed upon the subject.

I have grouped the materials of the general head under four subtitles. I, Luther's Education. II, Luther's Activities As An Educator. III, Luther's Strictures on Contemporaneous Education. IV, Luther's Principles of Education.

It has been my endeavor to show how Luther, through the influence of the Bible, and the broadening experience of educational responsibilities, was led to criticise the educational theory and practice of his times, especially in so far as they had affected his own education, and offered to the world an educational concept in which the abiding of the traditional was preserved, the permanent of the contemporary

was used, some things original added, and all blended together by a new educational viewpoint. How far I have been successful, I leave to the reader to judge.

In the preparation of the thesis, I have not neglected to follow the advise embodied in the saying of one of our former theological professors: "Our students steal like the ravens! God bless them!" Nor the advise of another: "Get your flour wherever you can procure it, but bake your own bread." I have honestly striven to give the sources of my "flour" and I have earnestly tried to bake my own loaf.

Owing to illness in my family, I have had to do some of my reading at Topeka, in the library of my old friend and pastor, Rev. P. D. Mueller. This explains the references to Walch's edition of Luther instead of to the Weimar. In not a few cases, I have given the references to the Weimar for what I found in Walch.

I am greatly indebted to F. V. N. Painter's book, "Luther On Education", for the translations of Luther's two educational treatises, "The Letter to the Mayors and Aldermen," and, "A Sermon on the Duty of Sending Children to School," which I have quoted in preference to making translations of my own from these books. I have compared his translations with the original, and find them very satisfactory, though as usual with translations, much of the raciness of the original has been lost in the process.

For other works I have used, I consider the bibliography sufficient acknowledgement.

PART ONE.

LUTHER'S EDUCATION.

INTRODUCTION.

Rightly to appreciate the man's activities and principles, it is necessary to know the boy. Rightly to evaluate an educator's activities and principles, a knowledge of his education is almost essential. Since we have set out to appraise Luther as an educator, which involves a judgment upon his educational activities and principles, we dare not neglect to review his early biography, stressing especially his education.

Education includes all changes in a man's habits, skills, attitudes and ideals, taking place from his birth to his death, and brought about by the play of a multitude of factors upon a person in school and out, and within and without his own personality. Since, however, to note all or even the most of these changes is humanly impossible, we will not attempt the impossible, but limit our discussion in this first part of our treatise to a review of the more significant and obvious factors brought to bear upon Luther from the time of his birth to the time of his taking the doctor's degree, noting wherever possible the more obvious changes that took place in him during this time under the influence of such factors. The bulk of the discussion naturally concerns itself with Luther's formal education in the classroom. Most of the data concerns itself with this

phase of his education. But we have not neglected also to show how significant extra curricular forces were brought to bear upon him and had no little influence in determining his career. Especially have we sought to bring the discussion of his education into relation to the discussion of his strictures and principles in the last part of this thesis, by indicating possible starting points for the principles advocated after 1520.

I.

LUTHER'S PARENTAGE.

From time immemorial Mochra had been the home of the Luthers. As a village Mochra was insignificant. It was affiliated with a neighboring parish and it had a little chapel, yet it was without a priest. The villagers were mostly independent peasants who owned their own homes and farms, while others worked in mines. They were a hardy, sturdy, and, of necessity, hard working race and lived frugal but honest lives. Their customs were plain and vigorous. They were ever ready to defend their rights with their fists, yet withal, Christians, as Christians went in those days. Time and again the youngest sons had taken over their father's homes and farms, while the older brothers sought their fortunes in other occupations and other places.

Here it was that Hans Luther, Martin Luther's father, had grown to manhood and had married Margareta Ziegler or Lindemann. However, as a local legal custom in regard to

inheritance deprived him of the hope of some day taking over the paternal homestead, Hans with his young wife emigrated to Eisleben, in the county of Mansfeld. Here he hoped go find work in the copper mines. In the miner's quarters at Eisleben on the tenth of November, 1482, their first child was born to the young couple and baptized in St. Peter's Church on the following day. He was named Martin, in honor of the saint of that day, Martin of Tours.

Martin's father seems not to have realized his expectations of steady¹ gainful employment in the mines of this place; for when Martin was but six months old, he moved to Mansfeld, six miles away. Here he found employment in the mines. "I am the son of a peasant. My father, grandfather and forbears were true peasants. Afterwards my father moved to Mansfeld and became a miner."²

When the Luthers first arrived in Mansfeld in 1484, they were very poor. Luther's mother often had to carry home firewood on her back and otherwise work hard in helping Hans to support the family. But in Mansfeld after some time, Hans was able to lease two smelting furnaces from the Count of that place, and owned his own home in the main street of the town.³

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1. Four Hundred Years (St. Louis 1917) pp. 13-14; M. Johann Mathesius: Historien D. Martin Luther's, Güstrow bei Johann Heinrich Russvarm, 1715. pp. 6-7; Philip Melanchthon: Historie oder kurze Bericht vom Leben und Reformation des seel. Lutheri, Güstrow bei Johann Heinrich Russvarm, p. 600.
 2. Luther: Table Talk, Weimar; Vol. IV, 5362.
 3. Mathesius, p. 7; Luther: Table Talk, Weimar; Vol. III, 2888.

Luther's father bore a good reputation with his townsmen and especially with the Count of Mansfeld. On his death bed it was Hans Luther that must be at the Count's bedside according to the Count's desire. In 1491 Hans was a member of the town magistracy. Melanchthon, who later met Luther's parents, describes his father as a man who by the purity of his character and conduct won for himself universal affection and esteem. The mother, he says, was a worthy woman, distinguished for her modesty, her fear of God and constant communion with God in prayer.⁴

Both parents trained their first-born and the other children in the fear of God and good works. Martin's father often prayed aloud and earnestly at his child's bedside. As an example to his children and as a lover of piety and learning, Hans always showed great reverence for pious pastors and teachers.⁵ Of the priests and monks in general, however, he entertained a healthy suspicion of their sincerity. This, however, made no difference in his loyal attitude toward the doctrines of the Church. Hans and his good wife taught their children the simple hymns and prayers they themselves had been taught. Christ was represented to their children as an angry judge, who had to be appeased by the intercession of the saints. In brief,

4. Melanchthon, p. 500.

5. C. A. W. Krauss: Lebensbilder aus der Geschichte der Christlichen Kirche (St. Louis 1911) p. 315.

his religious training at home consisted mainly in the doctrine of repentance, as then taught, involving contritio cordis, confessio aris, and satisfactio operum.⁶

Home discipline was very strict, even severe. Luther relates that his father once punished him so severely that he fled and bore a grudge against him, which his father only gradually could overcome. His mother once drew blood, chastizing him on account of a trifling nut. He also mentions that it was her earnest and puritanic life that in part influenced his entry into the cloister. Such was the nature of Luther's early home training.⁷

Would we not on the basis of this portion of his biography, expect him later to sponsor a religious instruction, emphasizing works and virtue as a means to salvation. Would he not have grown up to apply the same severe discipline, in home and school, with which he had become acquainted? And do we not find in his father's attitude toward pious clergy the germ of the large evaluation of the teacher's and pastor's office, which he evidenced in all his writings? And coming from the common people, would it not be natural for him later on as an educator to favor schools also for the common people? To be sure, the principle of the universal priesthood of all believers and the right of private judgement, which he later taught,

6. Four Hundred Years, p. 15.

7. Krauss p. 316; Luther: Table Talk, Weimar: Vol. III, No. 3556; *ibid.* Vol. II, No. 1559.

do imply the right of an education, at least the ability to read the Word of God on the part of all, but one could arrive at the principle of universal education also on purely natural grounds.

II.

LUTHER'S SCHOOLING AT MANSFELD.

Luther's powers of comprehension must have developed rather early. When Martin was but five years old, his father sent him to the Latin school of the town. For one still so small it must have been as much a boon as a lark, to ride to school astride the brawny neck of McOemler, a neighbor.⁸

In this Latin school of the town he diligently and quickly learned the ten commandments, the creed, and the Lord's Prayer. Writing and reading were also included in the course. Here he learned the rudiments of Latin grammar, from Donatus, an elementary grammar, and Cicio Janus, a Calendar. Hymns were also taught.⁹

Who his teachers were is not known. That Luther does not mention them is probably due to the tendency to suppress any name calling up unpleasant associations. The discipline in the school was very severe. Luther's reminiscences of his school days at this period remind one of the refrain

8. Mathesius, p.7; Melancthon, p.601.

9. Mathesius, p.7; Melancthon, p. 6.

of the popular song that appeared in our own country some twenty years ago, running, "School days, dear old golden rule days. Readin' and 'ritin', and 'rithmetic, taught to the tune of a hickory stick."¹⁰ On Fridays the so-called slips of the wolves were produced on which certain monitors called wolves had noted, which of the pupils had talked German in class during the week. Such scholars received the rod.¹¹ This may account for a large part of the fifteen beatings Luther is supposed to have received once in one day, while the remainder may probably be explained as punishments for "cleaning up" on the monitors.¹² On Thursday, Donatus was reviewed, i. e., the pupils had to recite the exact place in Donatus, where the form given by the schoolmaster was defined.¹³

Though Luther memorized the ten commandments, the creed and the Lord's Prayer, this cannot be taken as evidence sufficient to prove that all was well with religious education in the Catholic Church before the Reformation. Luther's actual religious education was but an extension course of what he had received at home; for he says that from his childhood he had been accustomed to think of Christ as an angry judge worse than Moses, and his face

10. Krauss, p. 316.

11. Luther: Table Talk, Weimar: Vol. III, No. 3566A.

12. Arthur Cushman McGiffert: Martin Luther, The Man and His Work, p. 8.

13. Luther; Table Talk, Weimar: Vol. III, No. 3753; ibid., Vol. IV, No. 5571.

blanched with fear even at the mention of Christ's name. He was taught to look to his own merits and the intercession of the Saints for Salvation, especially to Mary and St. Ann, her mother.¹⁴

For his program of education, we gather here, Reading, writing, Latin, grammar, and singing as subjects: Donatus and Cicero Janus as text books; the ten commandments, the creed and the Lord's Prayer, as basis for religious instruction. Had no later modification taken place, according to the adage, "qualis rex talis grex," his later pupils would have had to suffer some of the "hell and purgatory" he suffered in school at the hand of his teachers.

III

LUTHER AT SCHOOL IN MAGDEBURG.

Luther attended the school at Mansfeld till 1497. He finished his course. But his father wished him to go on. The Latin schools in Saxony were in fairly good repute at that time. Thus Martin, then fourteen, under the guardianship of John Reineck, afterwards a life long friend, was sent to Magdeburg to attend the Latin school, conducted by the Nullbrueder.¹⁵

These Nullbrueder were associated with the Brethren of the Common Life, who by the middle of the fifteenth century, under the able leadership of such men as Hegius,

14. Krauss, p. 317.

15. Mathesius, p. 7; Melancthon, p. 601; Four Hundred Years, p. 329.

Agricola, Renclin and others (Erasmus and Wimpeling were also connected with them) conducted schools to the number of one hundred and fifty, scattered throughout Flanders, France, and Germany. They were represented by their teaching members in many others schools. Opposition to Scholasticism, interest in the vernacular, the new spirit in grammatical studies, devotion to literature, especially to Bible study in the original Greek and Hebrew were characteristic of the order.¹⁶

Thus, though data are meagre for his school life at this place, it is safe to assume that Martin's course included some humanistic studies besides the beginnings of the trivium, continued at Eisenach the next year. One authority assumes instruction in Aesop's fables in a Latin translation.¹⁷ Thus in Magdeburg, it seems, Luther came in contact with the new learning and methods for the first time. Doubtless, he here also experienced a milder diciplin

There occurred in Magdeburg several incidents worth recording, because of the impression they made upon Martin at the time and their influence upon his later career. He was attacked with a severe fever. Water was refused him during the high temperature. But Martin, when all the inmates of his lodging-place had gone to church, crawled to the kitchen on hands and knees, grabbed up a vessel of

16.- Paul Monroe: A Textbook in the History of Education, p. 390.

17. Four Hundred Years; p. 255.

fresh water, drank deeply of it, crept back to bed much weakened, sank into a deep sleep, and awoke to find the fever gone. He later remarked that he had once heard a learned physician say, that in cases of high fever, a good drink of cold water served to reduce the temperature, acting much the same as water poured upon a flaming fire. This speaks well for his powers of observation and ability to apply knowledge of the right sort, even at so early an age. 18

The other incident was a concrete lesson in the church's tenet of salvation by works and of the superiority of the spiritual estate. He saw at the age of fourteen, a prince of Anhalt, brother of Bishop Adolf of Merseburg, wandering through the broad byways, in mendicant costume, begging for bread, lugging his bread sack over his shoulders bowed down by his load, like an overburdened ass. At his side walked a brother monk all unencumbered so that the pious prince alone might impress the world with this holiest example of shaven pated piety. The prince looked like a skeleton, all skin and bones, from his many vigils and castigations. All who saw him were deeply affected by his example, were overcome with awe and reverence, and were very much ashamed of their secular station. 19

Also it was in a church window at Magdeburg that Luther

18. Krauss, p. 318.

19. *ibid.*, pp. 318-319.

saw the picture, portraying the Church as a ship on its way to heaven, with Pope Cardinals and bishops fore, the Holy Spirit aft, and the priests and monks on both sides acting as rowers. In the ship, no layman was to be seen, not even kings and princes. The laymen were all in the water, some drowning, some swimming about the ship, others clinging to ropes thrown them by the Holy fathers (this representing their works of supererogation) so that they might not drown, but clinging and clutching the sides of the ship, might also enter heaven.

20

With the remembrance of the fever still clear in his mind, suggesting vividly the hereafter, and this fresh impression of the church's idea of proper preparation for it, it need not surprise us that the lad could not appreciate his father's enthusiasm over Graf Guenther's last will and testament. This incident took place while Luther was home after his year at Magdeburg, and before his going to Eisenach. The dying nobleman had summoned the elder Luther to his bedside, where he remained until the old gentleman died. Returning home he began to praise the testament of the dying lord, the tenor of which was that he died commending his soul to Christ alone and trusting only in Christ's passion and death for salvation. Martin was not impressed, but thought at the time that the count would have done much better, had he bequeathed something substantial to the

20. Encyclopedia Brittanica: Cf. Luther; Krauss, p.320

parish church for the improvement of public worship or to some monastery.²¹

There are certain writers who are inclined to represent the pre-Reformation period as a time in which the gospel had entirely ceased to be preached. This is, of course, not true, as is illustrated by the careers of such men as Bernard of Clairvoux, Thomas a Kempis, John Tanler and others, whom Luther recognized as witnesses for the truth, not to mention such reformers as Wyclif and Wus. The gospel could not have been more beautifully set forth than Bernard has done in his hymn: "Oh Bleeding Head and Wounded," and in his sermons. John Tanler's sermons, Luther recommends to others, saying that he follows the doctrine of Tanler and his book and teaches that man should trust in nothing else but Christ Jesus, not in the merits of prayers and deeds, since not by his conduct, but by God's mercy man is saved.²² Then one must not forget that the old pericopies were read on Sundays and other holidays, which contain gospel material, so much, in fact, that Luther retained them in the services, when other of the reformers set them aside. These are the same gospels and epistles still read in Lutheran Churches, even down to the present. In addition we must not overlook the fact that the catechism was taught at home and in school, the creed of which embodies the

21. Krauss; p.320.

22. *ibid.*, p. 312.

main facts pertaining to the order of salvation. These catechism gospel truths also found expression in many hymns, sung in school and at home, such as "Ein Kindelein so löblich," sung at Christmas time, and "Christ the Lord is Risen Again," sung at Easter time.

Thus also the incident of Graf Guenther's testament is a witness that the gospel was still heard in the medieval church and many grasped the merits of God's Son, as their righteousness, and clung to Him by faith in their dying hour.²⁵ The question, however, as to whether the doctrine of justification by faith was given prominence in pre-Reformation times, must be answered in the negative. To show how the gospel was crowded out we cite Mathesius as a witness:

"The children under Papacy were correctly baptized and received the Covenant of a good conscience by the Blood of Christ. Just as the Son of God as by a miracle preserved His baptized under Papacy, so also did he preserve them some fragments of the catechism in the houses and in the schools. For parents and school masters taught their children the ten commandments, the creed and the Lord's Prayer, even as I learned these portions in the schools in my childhood, and according to the custom of the schools often recited them to the other children.

"But the impious devil smuggled into the old A. B. C.

25. Krauss; p. 311.

Book, the Adjutorium, leavened with Papistic doctrine for the purpose of making of the baptized children ministers to serve at the altar in connection with the Papal Mass, as he also interpolated the idolatrous 'Solve Regina' into this school book to the detriment of Jesus Christ the only Mediator and Advocate."

Though Mathesius himself had been under this system up to his twenty-fifth year, he could not recall ever having heard in his youth the ten commandments, the creed and the Lord's Prayer from the pulpit. During Lent the doctrines of penance and of one form of the sacrament were read in the schools, but of absolution and the consolation that one receives by the use of Christ's body and blood, he cannot remember ever having heard a discourse either in church or in the schools before coming to Wittenberg. Nor can he recall any printed or written exposition of the catechism under the old church system, though from his youth and especially during a whole year at Munich, in his master's large German library he had read through many legends and prayer books.²⁴

Luther spent only one year at Magdeburg (1497-98). Though the data available for this period are meagre, it seems to fore cast an educational ideal strongly tinged with papal and monkish religion with its strictly ecclesiastical and other worldly aims yet not unmodified by the liberal tendencies of humanistic culture.

24. Mathesius; p. 166.

IV

LUTHER'S EDUCATION AT EISENACH.

After spending but a year at Magdeburg, Martin, at the behest of his parents hied himself in 1498 to Eisenach. The reason for this shift to Eisenach was that Luther's mother had relatives at this place, and hoped that Luther would be better cared for while attending school, especially from the financial viewpoint. But those early days and months at Eisenach were hard ones for Luther. The support he expected to receive from his relatives was not forthcoming, and Luther had again to take to the streets, as he had done at Magdeburg, and sing for his bread, and often to go hungry, when the burghers, at whose doors he and his companions sang, proved less generous than usual.²⁵ The situation was helped a little by what he could earn as chairboy. But these hardships so disheartened the boy that he could not apply himself properly to his studies, and, thinking that he would fail, he was on the verge of returning home to Mansfeld, when a sudden amelioration of his finances took place, as also of his lot in general.²⁶

One day, while out singing their "panem propter deum" from house to house, after several rude rebuffs, the singing students, among them Luther, came to the house of Conrad Cotta, a wealthy burgher. Here the boys were kindly

25. Mathesius, p. 8; Melancthon, p. 602.

26. Krauss, p. 322.

received, invited into the house, regaled with victuals and drink. A few days later Ursula Cotta, wife of Conrad, who had taken an interest in Martin for some time past, because of his earnest singing and praying in church, received Martin into her home, where he remained until his departure for Erfurt.²⁷ Luther requited this kindness later, by receiving her son Henry into his home, when he came to Wittenberg to study.²⁸

With his initial worries concerning his living gone, Luther could devote his whole time and energy to his studies in the school at Eisenach, to which we also may now turn our attention. Luther attended the Latin school connected with the Church of St. George. The rector or principal of the school was John Trebonius, a noted poet and grammarian. He seems to have been a teacher of unusual ability. By his humanistic methods he not only expedited Luther's education greatly, so that he was enabled to enter the University at Erfurt at eighteen, and take his bachelor's degree within a year, but also by his example had a lasting influence upon Martin. When he entered the classroom he was wont to remove his scholar's cap, until he had seated himself. He insisted that the other teachers do likewise, for, said he, "Among these young lads is sitting many a respectable burgomaster, chancellor, learned doctor or ruler in embryo, whom we do

27. Mathesius, p. 194.

28. Krauss, p. 322.

not now know, yet should nevertheless honor."

Luther here applied himself to two of the three studies of the trivium, grammar and rhetoric, and also ^{to} poetry. Quick to grasp essentials, he soon outdistanced his classmates in composition and oration, both declamation, and extempore speaking. He also took up music and learned to play the flute.

Do we not find in his bitter experiences with respect to his support while studying, a possible starting point for a later plea for tax-supported public schools and stipends for indigent students? In Trebonius have we not the dynamic, not only for the introduction of humanistic studies into the curriculum, and the advanced methods in the class room, but also for the proper attitude of the teacher towards his pupils? The four years under this teacher would have modified any tendency toward a too rigorous discipline carried over from former experiences, and moved Luther to sponsor humaneness in the school, as a matter of expediency in advancing the pupils more rapidly in their studies, if for no deeper reason. This period gives also grammar, rhetoric, poetry and music for a future construction of a syllabus.

29. Krauss, p. 321: Melancthon, p. 602.

V

LUTHER'S EDUCATION AT THE UNIVERSITY OF ERFURT.

By 1501 Trebonius and his teachers had Martin well enough prepared to recommend his taking up University work, and Hans Luther's finances had so improved that he thought with some care he could put his son through. Thus on July 17, 1501, at the age of eighteen, Luther enrolled at Erfurt.

The University, founded in 1391, had had a prosperous past and when Luther entered, had the reputation of being the best in Germany. There was a saying current, that he who would study rightly must go to Erfurt. Luther says that the university had so great a reputation, that other schools were looked down upon as mere kindergartens in comparison.³⁰ The reputation of the university, which drew students from all parts of Europe, was due, not to the great athletes, but teachers there at the time, and the school's tradition of learning. Here the noted scholar, John of Wesel, had taught, and daring to attack the evils of the Papacy, was tried on a charge of heresy, convicted and cast into prison where he died two years later, in 1481, just two years before Luther's birth. In Luther's time, John of Wesel's writings were still held in esteem at Erfurt. Luther says: "John Wesalia

30. McGiffert, p. 12; Krauss, p. 322; Luther: Table Talk, Weimar: Vol. II, 2788.

governed the University at Erfurt with his writings." ³¹

Both the old scholastic learning, governed by Aristotle, and the new learning of the Renaissance, had their illustrious representatives on the faculty. ³² Of Martin's teachers, Jodokus Trutvetter was perhaps the most famous. He occupied the chair of Aristotelian philosophy. Luther refers to him as a theologian and philosopher of the first rank and a very dear teacher and father. Though he taught this philosophy, he seems not to have made it the paramount issue in life, for from him the Reformer first learned that one should believe absolutely only the Cononical Books of the Bible, but subject all others to a critical examination.

Another of his teachers was John Greffenstein, a learned and pious man. From him also Luther received instruction not exactly included in the traditional curriculum. For example it was not in conformity with an exact interpretation of his doctor's oath to give his opinion that Hns. had been condemned by a set of ignorant tyrants, unlawfully, and unconvicted. Others at whose feet Luther sat as a student were Usingen, his later enemy, John Wiegand, Gerhard Wecker,--who later accepted the Reformation doctrines, and probably Maternus, the great humanist. ³³

31. Krauss, p. 322.

32. McGiffert, p. 12.

33. Krauss, p. 323; McGiffert, p. 12.

At Erfurt, Luther continued his studies of the trivium, grammar, rhetoric, dialectic, and the quadrivium, arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, and music. In 1502, he received the elementary degree of bachelor of arts. From 1502 to 1505 Luther's most severe studies dealt with Aristotle's philosophy. Aristotle's main tenet is that all things are substances, natural, supernatural and human. Aristotelianism intervenes between ancient Platonism, the metaphysical doctrine that all things are supernatural-forms, gods, souls, and Idealism, which came after the metaphysical doctrine that all things are mind and states of mind.

Luther first devoted himself to the study of the Stagirite's "Logic" and "Dialectic" and thereupon to his "Ethics" and "Physics." Aristotle's philosophy was one of the great influences brought to bear upon Luther while pursuing his academic education.³⁴

As inextricably bound up with this pursuit Luther had to acquire some scholastic lore. For Albertus Magnus at Cologne, and still more his famous disciple Thomas Aquinas, both of the Dominican Order incorporated certain elements of Aristotelian metaphysics, and all his dialectic works, a considerable portion of his "De Anima", and other doctrines in their own presentation of Christian verity or

34. Four Hundred Years, p. 256.

philosophical theology.³⁵

Luther thoroughly imbibed this philosophy. He says: "Aristotle's Physical Theory, Metaphysics, and De Anima, which are the best books, these I know, I understand perfectly. His Metaphysics deals with Being, his doctrine of Nature with Becoming. In these two is contained all the achievements of Aristotle."³⁶ Of Dialectic he says: "Dialectic is a contrivance applied to other branches of learning. I learned it thoroughly in my early manhood."³⁷ Of the Thomists and schoolmen he says: "I had to learn the lore of the Sophists just as Daniel learned Chaldean and Joseph, Egyptian."³⁸ Of his studies in Thomas, he remarks, "When I was a young theologian and had to make nine corollaries out of a single question, I received (as my task) these two words: 'God created'. Then Thomas gave me probably one hundred questions on top of all this."³⁹ We bring just one more quotation on Aristotle's "Ethics": "Between the ethics of Aristotle and of Ecclesiastes there is this difference, that Aristotle measures morality by reason's prescribing the best course, but Ecclesiastes by the heeding of the commandments of God."⁴⁰ Thus abundant evidence could be gathered to show that Luther was an apt pupil of Aristotle. The students at Erfurt were exercised

35. Four Hundred Years, pp. 255-256.

36. Luther: Table Talk, Weimar: Vol. I., No. 135.

37. *ibid.*, No. 143.

38. Four Hundred Years, p. 257.

39. Luther: Table Talk, Weimar: Vol. I., No. 280.

40. *ibid.*, No. 168.

in disputations and debating. Luther became a skilled disputant and was known by his companions as the "Philosopher." This recognition of his attainment extended early also to his teachers.⁴¹

Luther devoted some time at Erfurt to the study of the classics. He says: "Baptista Mantuanus was the first poet I read. Later I read the Heroides of Ovid. Afterward I stumbled on Virgil. Besides these I read nothing in the poets" that is, at Erfurt.⁴² He said his time was taken up with scholastic theology. His writings reveal a pretty intimate acquaintance with Cicero, Virgil, Livy, Plautus, Quintilian, upon whom rhetoric was based in that age, Ovid, Horace, Terence. With some of these he became acquainted in the classroom, with others, through the extra curricular activities of the poet's club, of which he was a member.⁴³

As Latin was the language of the classroom, that is, a living language in those days, Luther did not have to waste his time on the mechanics of the classics, but could devote his attention to the contents, the principles of these writers. He read the Latin classics not as something

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41. McGiffert, p. 15; Melancthon, p. 603; Mathesius, pp8-9.
 42. Four Hundred Years, p. 262; Luther: Table Talk, Weimar: Vol. I. No. 256.
 43. Four Hundred Years: the whole article on "Luther and the Classics" by Prof. E. G. Sihler, pp. 255-267; Melancthon, p. 603; McGiffert, p. 13.

that must be suffered as a stepping stone to credits, but with intelligence, as a mirror of human life. With his excellent memory, he was able to retain much of what he read and paint a discussion with an apt quotation from the classics, when occasion called for it. In fact, his Latin was fairly up to standard, for even Erasmus, a master of the language, was not offended by crudities of speech enough to keep him from enjoying Luther's writings, when the contents were to the liking of his mind, and Luther in his writings even ventured to adapt lines from Virgil to Erasmus.

Greek, Luther did not take up at Erfurt, but later.⁴⁴ His work in Aristotle was all done through the medium of the Latin language.⁴⁵

The one profitable lesson Luther mastered by his connection with the humanistic learning at Erfurt, was to go to the source, whether it be sacred learning or in secular learning and letters.

Though Luther, both as a boy and man, was jolly and fun looking by nature, he began each morning's studies with prayer and chapel. His maxim was: Diligent prayer is the half of study. He neither neglected classes by oversleeping in the morning nor did he sleep in class, nor is he known to have "cut" class. He plied his teachers

44. McGiffert, p. 14.

45. Four Hundred Years, p. 265.

with questions, discussed with them with proper decorum the problems he met, reviewed often with his companions, and during free periods spent his time in the University Library, there to study as well as to become acquainted with the good books.⁴⁶

The one book which became to him the all important book in his life, Luther saw for the first time in the Erfurt library. Mathesius, to whose innate secretarial bent, we owe in part the knowledge of many facts of Luther's biography, and in part the volume of Luther's Table Talk, relates: "Once when Luther was in the University library, browsing to find out the really good books, he came upon a Latin version of the Bible(Jerome's Bible)⁴⁷ which he now saw for the first time, at the age of twenty. To his great astonishment, he noticed that it contained more texts, Epistles and Gospels than was the custom to be included in the postils of the day and to be read in church from the pulpit. While he was paging about in the Old Testament, he happened upon the story of Samuel and his mother, Hanna. He rapidly read it through with great interest and pleasure. Since this was all new to him he began with all his heart to long for such a book and wish that God might make a gift to him of a Book all his own, some day."⁴⁸

46. Mathesius, p. 9.

47. Four Hundred Years, p. 261.

48. Mathesius, pp. 9-10; Luther: Table Talk, Weimar: Vol. I. No. 116.

Noteworthy, also, is Luther's remark: "As a young man, I heard learned men, and good grammarians dispute with their adversaries and say, 'When we read the Prophetic and Apostolic Writings, we find in them a far different doctrine from what you priests set before us.'"⁴⁹

There are two incidents of significance for later developments of Luther's career that we must take account of in this period. Shortly after taking his first degree, he was overcome with an illness of so great a severity, that he despaired of his life. During this illness an old priest, while visiting him, consoled him with the words: "Be of good cheer, bachelor, Thou wilt not die yet. God will yet make a great man of thee, who will console many people. For whom God loves and of whom he intends to make something worthwhile he burdens with his Holy Cross, for a time, in which cross school, patient people learn much."⁵⁰

The other incident was a serious mishap that befell him while on his way home during the Easter holidays. He carried a sword, after the manner of students in those days. About a half-mile from Erfurt, with but one companion, he accidentally stumbled against his scabbard. -Out shot the sword and cut a main artery. The blood came out

49. Krauss, p. 324.

50. Mathesius, p. 10; Luther: Table Talk, Weimar: Vol. I, No. 223.

in spurts, and though Luther lay on his back, leg in the air, with his finger compressing the wound, the blood would not be stanchèd. Finally a surgeon from Erfurt, summoned by his companion presumably, bound the wound and arrested the stream of blood. In the fear of death, however, Luther had called upon Mary for help. When in the night, the wound broke open afresh, Mary was again and again importunated for help. Luther remarked later: "At that time I would have died, trusting in Mary!" ⁵¹

Early in 1505, Luther received his degree of magister artium, these arts being those of the trivium and the quadrivium mentioned before. His thesis and disputation must have dealt with some phase of John Wesalis's doctrine, for Luther says: "John Wesalia governed the University at Erfurt with his writings from which I also received my master's degree." ⁵²

At the time of his becoming bachelor, it is said that he was thirtieth in a class of fifty seven. ⁵³ He stood second in a class of seventeen when he took his major degree. ⁵⁴ Luther recalls with approval the celebrations and great ceremony, the torch light processions, and elaborate costuming, connected with the creation of masters and ⁵⁵ doctors at Erfurt.

51. Krauss, p. 324.

52. *ibid.*, p. 322.

53. McGiffert, p. 16.

54. Krauss, p. 324.

55. *ibid.*, p. 322.

Luther at once began to lecture on Aristotle's "Physics" and "Ethics". But this did not end his formal education. He felt that, "Now for the very reason that he had become a master, his studying dared not be set aside, if he were not to bring shame down upon the German Masters."⁵⁶ Moreover, his father now wished him to take up the study of law. For this purpose, his father bought "his magister" many books and the "Corpus Juris", particularly. He hoped that his son would one day bring honor to him in some high secular profession; for he was opposed to his son's becoming either monk or priest. Luther had already enrolled as a student of law, when his career, both as lecturer on Aristotle, in which he had already excited the admiration of the whole university, and as a law student, came to an abrupt end by his entering the cloister.⁵⁷

Before Hans Luther hears of his son's entry into a cloister, and begins alternately to stalk and storm up and down the room in his great chagrin at his son's becoming a monk, let us use the lull in an overview of this portion of Luther's biography to gain material to construct his stand on education later. Would not our prognosis on the basis of this period be about as follows?

As to content, we would find all the studies embraced in the trivium and quadrivium with a special emphasis on

56. Krauss, p. 324.

57. *ibid.*, p. 324; Melanchthon, p. 604; Mathesius, p. 11.

Aristotle. Then we would expect to meet the Latin Classics with a special emphasis upon classic Latin as medium of instruction. Especially could we be sure of Bible studies being included in the syllabus, these, based upon the whole Bible. He would favor libraries with shelves of good books. As to methods, he would sponsor source-work, and encourage critical investigation of all material, whether secondary works or primary. He would sound a note of warning against taking human judgment as final. And do we not in this period find the germ of his later stand of making the Bible the soul arbiter of matters spiritual, of matters pertaining to faith and morals? The fact that he later on recalled Trutvetter's statement on the Bible's authoritative position, would seem to me to point to this period as the time when that seed first took root.

But in regard to his concept of religious education, we glean as the fact, that the traditional Catholic theology was still his ideal. For, when in danger, he looked to the saints for deliverance. The theology of the Schoolmen was his ideal. In a reminiscence of his Erfurt period, recorded in August 1532, he said: "While I was a papist, I was ashamed to name Christ. I thought: Jesus is a womanish name. But Aristotle and Bonaventurā, these were great in my estimation." 58

Thus we see that Aristotle was his guiding star in

philosophy as well as religion, but even now another star began casting its beams above the horizon, still dim indeed, but ultimately to rise and outshine all other stars and planets, and especially to reduce Aristotle to a star of the second, third, and even less magnitude, and finally to crowd him out of the heavens altogether. But for Luther the darkness must first become deep gloom, in order that he might the more appreciate the glory of the Day Star from on high, and see all else in proper relation to it.

VI

LUTHER'S EDUCATION IN THE AUGUSTINIAN CLOISTER AT ERFURT .

Luther's biography is filled with dramatic incidents. Perhaps the most startling and unexpected was his entry into the cloister at Erfurt. At first glance it seems to run counter to his entire training, his nature and his circumstances at the time. His father was opposed to his taking up a spiritual calling, and gave his son an education leading up to some secular office. His studies especially his humanistic subjects should have created in him, according to the ordinary run of things, the same aversion to the spiritual office that we find in Erasmus and Ulrich von Hutten. His teachers, as we have seen, often sponsored views, that should have had an opposite influence. Furthermore, Luther's nature did not seem at all compatible with drab monasticism, fun-loving, prankish, and frolicsome as he was. Men often entered the monastery for the

release from toil and to obtain the creature comforts it offered. But the first was not compatible with Luther's energetic nature, and with his position as lecturer at the University secure, and an official position after finishing law in prospect, Luther could have had creature comforts outside the monastery as well as within. Moreover, he entered the monastery just when his fame as a lecturer was being heralded abroad. Nor did he have to enter the Cloister in order to gain an opportunity for meditation and study, for facilities for this were offered him abundantly at the University.

Paradoxical though it may seem, we find Luther's motivation for entering the monastery also in his training, nature, and circumstances at the time. His religious training from the beginning was one based on fear. In his time he had been taught to look upon Christ as an angry judge whom he would one day have to meet face to face. This angry judge was to be appeased by the intercession of the Saints and his own piety. As a layman the best that he could hope for was to enter heaven via purgatory and this, only after many years, and many masses. Besides this, there were his parents to be considered. Their time in purgatory should be reduced by all means. This precarious condition that he was in, was often brought to his mind throughout his student days. The severe chastisements of his early training could serve but to augment this fear. At the university, frequent reminders of the coming

Judgment were given the students in an attempt to preserve piety.

Then we have noted several sieges of illness through which Luther passed and which well-nigh brought him face to face with the angry judge awaiting him. Twice at Erfurt, Luther had made a vow to become pious and make a pilgrimage to Rome.⁵⁹ The year that Luther entered the monastery, two incidents occurred which impressed upon him the necessity of speedier methods than mere personal piety and vows of probable pilgrimages to appease God's anger, and haste to begin, if he was to begin at all. One of his friends, Alexius by name, was stabbed to death at night. Then, on his way home in the summer of 1505, he was overtaken by a severe thunder storm between Erfurt and Stotterheim. Lightning struck in his immediate proximity, followed by a loud clap of thunder. He fell to the ground, dazed with fright, and made a vow to become a monk at once, should St. Anna preserve him.⁶⁰ Thus, Luther's motive in entering the monastery was fear. He wished to appease an angry God with the alleged superior piety of monasticism, and thus gain for himself and his relatives, salvation.

During the summer at home he said nothing to his

59. Krauss; p. 325; Luther: Table Talk, Vol. IV.
No. 5375.

60. Mathesius, pp., 11-12.

parents concerning his plans. Upon his return to Erfurt he got in touch with the monks of the Augustinian Cloister, and acquainted them with his intention in accordance with his vow. He had in mind to inform his parents beforehand, but was dissuaded by the monks, who proved to him from Jerome's writings that he should disregard his parents and make haste to creep to the Cross of Christ. They also cited the Words of Christ to him, concerning the unworthiness of eternal life of one who, after laying his hands on the plough, withdrew.

After preliminary arrangements necessary for his entry, Luther sold his books, including the "Corpus Juris", invited his friends to a farewell meal, disclosed his intentions to them, and in spite of their vigorous protests, entered the monastery the night of the same day, July 12, 1505, taking with him of all his books, only Virgil and Plautus. The following day, Martin sent his lay clothes home, together with his master's ring.⁶¹ His parents were not pleased with the step their son had taken. In fact, Hans was so wrath that for a long time he would have nothing to do with Martin. All efforts at reconciliation by friends were fruitless.⁶² After the fashion of the monasteries, Luther changed his name to Frater Augustinus.⁶³

61. Krauss, p. 325; Melancthon, p. 604.

62. McGiffert, p. 25; Luther: Table Talk, Weimar: Vol. I, No. 881.

63. Krauss, p. 326; Mathesius, p. 12; Melancthon, pp. 606-7.

It is significant that Luther, upon entering his seclusion, at once asked for, and was given, a Bible. Already, true religion in his mind had come to be associated with this Book. In it he hoped to find what he had not found in Aristotle and the schoolmen, an answer to the question: "What must I do to be saved?" He read the Bible with such avidity, that he could soon locate as to book and chapter almost any passage. At times he would meditate an entire day upon some important passage. He also committed to memory many passages from the prophets.⁶⁴

In connection with the Bible, he also read the Church Fathers. He studied especially the writing of the patron saint of the order St. Augustine.

Here he became acquainted with the doctors called the Sententiarii. Gabriel and Cameracensis he knew almost word for word. He also studied Occam, and esteemed him higher than he did Thomas Aquinas or Dan Scotus, because of his acute reasoning. He became familiar with Gerson and Albertus Magnus.⁶⁵ Student that he was, Luther found this side of his cloistered life very congenial.

There was, however, another side of monastic life, which did not appeal to him, though he never shirked. As a monk it was also his duty to sweep out cells, clean the toilets, and perform other menial tasks. The one duty, that he perhaps did feel inclined to shirk was that of

64. Luther: Table Talk, Weimar: Vol. IV, No. 5346.

65. Melancthon, p. 605.

begging in the streets, with a sack over his shoulders. But other monks, not so intellectually inclined, helped him to walk the path of rectitude in this particular, when he showed any inclination to neglect this vital function in favor of his studies. They would interrupt his meditations with the reminder that the monastery was built up not by studies but begging, and order him: "saccum per naccum et per civitatem." But through the kind offices of Johann von Staupitz, the district vicar of the Augustinian Order, himself a scholar and a great friend of Bible study, and the interference of the University, who felt the disgrace of one of their magisters going begging, Luther was soon released from these irksome duties, and given full opportunity to pursue his studies.⁶⁶

In the spring of 1507, Luther was ordained priest and celebrated his first mass, May 2. One regulation with respect to the celebration of the mass, was that the priest dare not leave the altar while reading mass, without direct necessity on pain of excommunication. Luther came close to falling prey to excommunication much sooner than he did. For hardly had he uttered the first few words of the Mass formula, when he became so frightened at his temerity in addressing God in so familiar a manner, that

66. Mathesius, pp. 12-13; Luther: Table Talk, Weimar: Vol. IV, No. 5375.

he was on the verge of a precipitate flight from the Altar. Only the admonition of his proceptor saved him.⁶⁷

When Luther celebrated his first mass, a banquet in his honor was given in the monastery to which his friends, and his father were invited. Over table the fledgeling priest began gently to elude his father on account of his past and possible present lingering opposition to his course. Martin did not get from his father what he hoped for, a confession of error, but he, the B. A. the M. A., the monk, the priest of God, got one of the best instructions in the catechism he had ever received in his life and one he never could forget. For Hans, the miner, arose before the august assembly of doctors, masters and other noted guests of the University and City of Erfurt, and toasted his son in the following manner: "Have you never considered the fourth of the ten commandments, which commands you to honor your parents? Contrary to this command you have deserted me and your dear mother in our old age, just when we thought to have your consolation and support, because of the great labor and expense I went to for your studies, and entered the monastery, contrary to our will." Not bad, that, for a miner. Sounds like Worms in miniature. When Martin thought to justify himself by showing the great advantages accruing from his being in a position to serve

67. Krauss, p. 530.

them by his intercessions and other worship, impossible in a secular calling, his father replied, in skeptic and laconic fashion, "Would to God it were so!" It was only due to the fact that a partial reconciliation had been effected by Hans' heart having been softened by the death of two of his children, in rapid succession, and his report that Martin was also dead, that the father was present at all. And even now he gave it as his opinion that he was present by necessity, but would rather be elsewhere.⁶⁸

When Luther became priest his Bible was taken from him and he had to apply himself to scholastic theology. But as often as he could he returned to the monastery library, and read his beloved Book surreptitiously.⁶⁹

Luther had entered the monastery not in order to lead a life of ease, but to gain salvation and God's grace by his own monkish merits and deeds. With his usual energy he thought to do the thing thoroughly and storm heaven, as it were, by a barrage of vigils, prayers, singing, fasting, studying, sleeping in uncomfortable positions, freezing, sighing and groaning. In the preoccupation of study, he would often neglect his "horas canonicas." Then to satisfy his conscience and the papal rules of his order, he would lock himself in his cell without food or drink for many days, to catch up with his works of piety.

68. Luther: Table Talk, Weimar: Vol. I. 881; McGiffert, p.26.

69. Mathesius, p. 13; Luther: Table Talk, Weimar: Vol. IV, 5346.

Simply to obey the rules of the order was not enough for him. He invented other works of piety besides and added them to his tasks. By such rigorous discipline, he so emaciated himself, that he once could not sleep for five weeks, and almost lost his mental balance.⁷⁰ But with all his masses, prayers, vigils, fasting, and celibacy, he could say, "Now I am sure that God is gracious to me. Now I have tried and experienced that my orders and ascetic life have benefited me, and brought me to heaven."

Luther tired his confessors with his daily confessions. He tried conscientiously to enumerate all his sins, but without success. His confessors referred him to purgatory for the purgation of his remaining sins. But this was but poor consolation, for no one could tell him whether he would ever get out, as each mortal sin called for seven years residence. Indulgences and masses of course were supposed to help some in this direction. But no one could tell him how many masses were necessary to redeem a soul from purgatory.⁷¹ Surely if anybody had reached heaven by monkish piety, Luther would have. His reputation for piety spread even beyond the walls of the Erfurt Monastery.⁷² But he had subjected the papal doctrine of repentance to the acid test, and had failed to satisfy its

70. McGiffert, p. 27; Krauss, p. 331.

71. Krauss, p. 332; Luther: Walch XXII, p. 1604.

72. McGiffert, p. 27.

requirements even for his own salvation, let alone piling up works of supererogation for his parents and others. Had Luther not learned in the selfsame monastery a doctrine at variance with that of the Church, he would, no doubt, have ended, as did the prince of Anhalt, at Eisenach, in an early grave.

It was especially John Staupitz, the Vicar of the Order, that Bible friend, who was able to help Luther in his spiritual distress. On one occasion, when Luther had revealed his spiritual struggles to Staupitz, the Vicar said: "I, myself, have never felt nor experienced such troubles. But so much I understand and note. They are more necessary to you than meat and drink."⁷³

Luther went to other confessors, but they began to avoid the ordeal, and no one wanted him. Luther then concluded that no one but he had these visitations. He became as pale as a corpse. Staupitz, meeting him at the table noticed his moroseness, and asked, "Brother Martin, why so downcast?" Luther replied, "To whom should I turn?" Staupitz then said: "You do not know how salutary and necessary such visitations are to you. Without them you would never be anything worthwhile. God sends them, not in vain. You shall see, God will yet use you for great things!" This Luther received as a consolation and the voice of the Holy Spirit.⁷⁴

73. Krauss, pp. 323-324; Luther: Walch, Vol. XII, p. 1603.

74. Krauss, p. 334; Luther: Walch, Vol. XXII, p. 1604.

Luther once remarked to Staupitz: "Dear Doctor, the Lord God treats the people most abominably. Who can serve Him, if He knocks about Himself in such a fashion?"

Staupitz's answer was: "Friend, learn to look at God from a different angle. If he did not do so, how could he restrain the hard heads. He must tap the tall trees, to keep them from growing into heaven. God strikes to cure, to rescue and redeem us, who would otherwise be overrun."⁷⁵

Luther often wrote to Staupitz about his spiritual dejection, and in one letter, broke forth in the wail: "Oh! my sin, sin, sin!" Staupitz came back with: "You desire to be rid of sin and yet have no real sin. Christ is the forgiveness of real sins, as patricide, public blasphemy, despising God, adultery and the like. Those are real sins. You should have a register inscribed with real sins, if Christ is to help you. Don't plague yourself with such trumpery and puppet sins, and don't make a sin of every 'bombart'."

When on another occasion the pall of morbid reflections had fallen upon the hounded monk, Staupitz chided him: "Do you then wish to be only a bogus sinner, and have only a counterfeit Savior? Accustom yourself to conceive of Christ as a real Savior and of yourself as a real sinner. God is not playing at silouettes and jesting, when he sends

75. Luther: Table Talk, Weimar: Vol. I, No. 94.

us his Son, and sacrifices Him for us!"

On Corpus Christi day, Luther once became so terror stricken at the sight of the Eucharist, carried in procession by Doctor Staupitz, that he broke forth in a cold sweat and thought he would pass away from fright. When, after the procession, he confessed, Staupitz assured him: "Your thoughts are not Christ, for Christ does not frighten, but only consoles."⁷⁶

Perhaps the greatest spiritual struggles that Luther passed through was concerning the question of his predestination to eternal salvation. He, of course, again went to Staupitz, and made known his agony to him. The Vicar General was equal to the task of offering him consolation in this, his deepest trial. "In the wounds of Christ and nowhere else," said he, "is predestination understood, and to be found. For it is written: 'Him ye shall hear'. The Father is too exalted; he therefore says: "I will make a way upon which one can come to me, namely, Christ. Believe on Him and cleave to Him, and in time it will become apparent, who I am'. For God is incomprehensible, and we can neither understand nor fathom what He is, much less, how He is affectioned toward us. And He will not be comprehended, and simply does not wish to be comprehended outside of Christ. If one intends to carry on a disputation about election, one must begin at Christ's

76. Krauss, p. 334; Luther: Table Talk, Weimar, Vol. II, No. 2318; Luther: Walch, Vol. XXII, p. 735.

wounds, and all doubtful argumentation with regard to pre-destination will at once cease, and drop away. Therefore, cling to the Word, in which God has revealed Himself, and remain with it. Then you have the true way of your salvation and bliss, if you will only believe Him. However, if one follow his own opinion and reasons, one forgets God; then 'laudate' ceases and 'blasphemate' begins; for in Christ are hidden all treasures, but without Him these are tightly locked away. Therefore, get a good impression of Christ, and predestination is well under way, and you are already foreordained. For God foreknew and ordained, that His Son should die, not for the sake of the righteous, but for the sake of the sinners. He that believes shall be His child. Hence, in this article one should reason thus: God is faithful, and does not lie or deceive, this I know. He gave me His only begotten Son with all His gifts. He gave me holy baptism and the sacrament of the true body and blood of His Son, with manifold gifts, temporal and eternal. When I thus consider the great and inexplicable benefits that God, my Heavenly Father, has given me for Christ's sake, out of pure grace and mercy, without any merit, good deeds and worthiness of mine, as His Word testifies, and stick to it, predestination becomes beautiful and consoling, and remains firm and steadfast, particularly since I know that God Himself in His Word and through His ministers speaks to me."⁷⁷

77. Krauss, pp. 524-524: Luther: Table Talk, Weimar, Vol. II, No. 1820.

There were others who offered Luther consolation in his spiritual affliction. One bluff old confessor once told him: "You're a fool: God is not angry with you; it is you who are angry with God." Upon another occasion, when he, like David, was in anguish about the sins of his youth, and weepingly disclosed the fact to one of his teachers, he was pulled up short with the words, "Son, what are you doing? Do you not know that our Lord has commanded us to hope and believe?" This brought home to him his folly of thinking the words of absolution were spoken to him in vain, since he, by his foolish thoughts, hindered their efficaciousness.

There are two more incidents that must be related in conclusion, because of their significance in showing how Luther was more and more allowing the Bible to become his guide in spiritual matters, and how he was more and more approaching its heart and core, its doctrine of justification by faith alone.

When the conversation once veered to the discussion of repentance, Staupitz remarked: "Only that is true repentance, which flows from love toward God and his righteousness." This remark stuck in Luther's heart like the dart of a strong man. He searched further in Scripture and experienced the joy of finding that all passages corroborated the vicar's viewpoint. This changed the word

repentance for Luther from gall to honey.⁷⁸

By far the most momentous find Luther made in the monastery was the correct exegesis of the passage Rom. 3, 20-21, and this he got from an old weather-beaten fellow monk. When Luther spoke to him of his spiritual afflictions, this monk told him much concerning faith and the article concerning the forgiveness of sins in the Apostle's Creed. This passage the good old monk expounded to him, telling him it was not sufficient to believe in general that God forgives sins to many; for the devils also believe that the sins of Peter or David are forgiven. But this was God's Command, that each one particularly should believe that God had remitted just his sins. This interpretation the ancient proved by a passage of St. Bernard and by one of the Gospels. The monk then concluded: "This you too must believe, namely, that your sins are remitted unto you. That is the witness of the Holy Spirit in your heart, when he says, 'Your sins are forgiven'. For the Apostle has it thus: 'Man is justified without merit by faith, Rom. 3.'" This, Luther says, not only consoled him, but put him on the right track of the true interpretation of this passage.⁷⁹ This new theological viewpoint did not, however, affect his outward

78. Krauss, pp. 335-336.

79. Melancthon, p. 606; Mathesius, pp. 13-14.

course of life materially. He continued his studies in scholastic theology with especial emphasis on the Sentences of Lombard. In fact, he seems to have mislaid his key to Scripture for a time, and it took a severe illness to cause him to search for it again.

Thus we have seen that a great deal was added to Luther's education during his stay of four years in the Augustinian Cloister at Erfurt, especially on the spiritual side. So much we can augur from this part of Luther's biography, that in any probably proposals on education in the future, the Bible, that book which at first caused him so much anguish, but had already become his abundant comfort, will play the leading role, and justification by faith will be the touchstone for all educational activities.

VII.

LUTHER'S PILGRIMAGE TO ROME.

The University of Travel calls for certain prerequisites for one to be able to make full use of its educational facilities. Travel ought to result in a broadening of our sympathies and appreciations. The extreme nationalist who tours Europe, or any other country, for that matter, gages worth in creature comforts, and devoid of the historical background, is likely to return home more provincial, more bigoted, than when he set out. In such cases, travel has no educational value, but is, rather, detrimental.

Luther's trip to Rome was educative, only to a certain

extent. To be sure, he had an acquaintance with the history of Rome, both from his religious and humanistic training, and here he shows a lively appreciation of all that he sees. But he lacked the proper interpretation of the historical events in the time of Christ, and therefore became guilty of many wrong evaluations, which he later corrected.

It was in the autumn of 1511, that Luther, together with an older companion, for the purpose of transacting some business of the Order with the Curia, set out upon his Italian journey.⁸⁰ It took five months to complete the round trip. Four full weeks of the month of December, were spent in Rome, itself. There is no connected account of the journey extant. But from observations here and there in Luther's writings, we can gain some knowledge of how Luther profited by the journey.

Luther found Southern Germans more obliging and hospitable than his own Saxons. In Switzerland he noticed the countless herds of cattle, the industry and frugality of the people, and the good roads that made travel easy. In Switzerland, he remarks, they have the shortest miles.⁸¹

80. Mathesius gives the time of this pilgrimage as 1510, p. 16; Melancthon mentions that Luther was called to Wittenberg in 1508, and then says: "After three years he made a journey to Rome, because of a division among the monks." Melancthon, p. 608-609. This would make the year of the Roman journey 1511. Later investigators follow Melancthon. Four Hundred Years, pp. 328-329.

81. McGiffert, pp. 37-38. Luther: Table Talk, Weimar: Vol. III, No. 3473.

In Italy he was astounded at the wealth and luxury of the people, who had more delicious things to eat on fast days than the Germans, on feast days. He was pleased with their style of dress, and later made very disparaging criticisms on the work of German tailors. He was struck with the fruitfulness of the land, and had much to say of its high state of cultivation and the superior methods of agriculture. The Po he calls a prince of rivers, a merry water with the Alps and openings on either side. He, however, also experienced the treacherousness of the Italian climate.

Although delighted with the mellifluous flow of the Italian language, he thought the inhabitants rather careless in speaking it. He was especially displeased with the way the Italian monks manhandled Latin. ⁸²

Luther showed a high appreciation of the hospitals and charitable institutions of Italy. "In Italy," he says, "the hospitals are very well fitted out and excellently built. The food and drink are good, the servants diligent, the physicians learned, the beds and clothing beautifully clean, and the rooms finely painted. As soon as a patient is brought in, his garments are removed and an accurate record of them made by a notary and they are kept for him carefully until he has recovered. He is clothed in a white frock and laid in a beautiful, wellmade

82. McGiffert, pp. 38-39. Luther: Table Talk, Weimar; Vol. II, No. 1327.

bed with clean sheets. Soon two physicians are called, and attendants appear with food and drink in clean dishes and glasses, which they do not touch even with the tips of their fingers. Women of good birth are also on hand, carefully veiled, that they may not be recognized, who spend several days in turn caring for the sick and then return home. All this I saw in Florence, so well kept were the hospitals there. The foundling asylums are also similarly managed. Children are nourished, trained, and educated in the best possible fashion, and are well clothed and most carefully watched over."

Some students regret the absence in Luther's writings of any reference to the beauties of the Alpine scenery, but does not this truly appreciative observation on Italy's humane and scientific efforts to palliate the suffering of mankind more than compensate for this seeming lack of an appreciation of nature, especially since we know that Luther was not blind to nature's grandeur otherwise? Observing closely the character and manners of people whom he met, Luther found the Italians much more temperate than his own countrymen, but tricky, cunning, suspicious, nervous, and excitable. The overweening pride of the people and their disdain of Germans, because of their lack of culture annoyed him.⁸³

83. McGiffert, pp. 39-40; Luther: Walch, XXII, p. 1006

His humanistic training naturally led him to inspect the ruins of what was once the grandeur of Rome. "Rome," he says, "is like a dead carcass compared with its former estate, for houses now stand where were roofs in other days, so deep is the debris. This can be clearly seen on the banks of the Tiber, which are piled two spears lengths high with rubbish." Two weeks he spent in sight seeing. The Pantheon, the Colosseum, the baths of Diocletian and the aqueducts spanning the Campagna, with their giant arches, interested him most. He wondered that the ancients were able to accomplish so much and to attain so high a degree of civilization without a knowledge of the true God. The transformation of the Pantheon into a Christian Church gave him congenial food for moralizing reflection.⁸⁴

Devout monk and priest that he was, the spiritual traditions of Rome meant most to him. As he approached Rome, he prostrated himself on the ground, then held his arms aloft, exclaiming: "Hail, Holy Rome, thrice holy by the blood of the martyrs shed here!" He visited the various sacred places and churches. He read mass several times, crept up the Scala Sancta of Pilate at St. Peter's, on hands and knees, examined many relics of saints, the skull of St. Peter and Paul, the Veronica, and in short, made the most of his opportunity with respect to indulgences attached

84. McGiffert, pp. 42-43; Luther: Table Talk, Weimar: Vol. III, No. 3478 and 3478.

to these various visits and performances. He was very sorry, he says, that his father and mother were still living, and thus deprived him of the opportunity of rescuing them from the pangs of purgatory by his masses and other precious performances and prayers. Perhaps, it was a bit inconsiderate of old Hans not to have died earlier, but then, we know, he was always a bit hard headed and obstinate, at least according to some biographers.

The lack of sincerity of the Italian clergy in the performance of their religious functions offended Luther not a little. When celebrating mass on one occasion, his companion, who went through the performance with a "bang", shocked him by bawling over to him, who had hardly begun: "Fratello, passa, passa, (which being Americanized might read, 'Shake a leg, big boy!') send Our Lady's Son home soon!" On another occasion he was shocked to hear it related over table, that some members of the papal Curia changed the words of consecration to: "Panis es, panis manebis, vinum es, vinum manebis," thus mocking the Church's doctrine of Transubstantiation, and making sport of religious matters generally.

In one of the side streets leading to St. Peter's, he saw a statue of a woman bearing all the insignia of the papal dignity and holding a child in her arm. This was a warning memorial of the medieval legend, according to which a woman had been smuggled into the papal chair by a crafty cardinal, but was exposed by the birth of a

child in that side street.⁸⁵

After the business pertaining to the Order had been disposed of, Luther and his companion turned their steps homeward. Enroute, at Bologna, Luther fell ill with a headache and ear trouble so severe, that he thought his end was nigh. In his meditations, his thoughts turned to the Epistle of Paul to the Romans, of which he had been making a special study, since taking his degree of bachelor of divinity, at Wittenberg, where he had taught Aristotles philosophy from 1508 to 1509. Suddenly the true meaning of the passage: "The just shall live by faith" dawned upon him afresh, and he was revived and refreshed as by a heavenly ray of light. Luther relates that at last the beauty and the glory of the passage stood revealed in his soul, never to be lost or dimmed again. Now he knew with divine clarity and assurance, that the term "dikaiosune theou" so often used by St. Paul, was the righteousness of Christ, which by God's grace is imputed to faith.⁸⁶

Returned to Wittenberg, he took up his studies with alacrity and pursued an investigation of just this particular point in his exegetical studies. He was rewarded with the infinite joy of discovering that his newly found nugget was pure gold. Rapidly running through all the passages of the Old and the New Testament, he found his

85. Krauss, p. 338; Luther: Walch, Vol. XXII, p. 1660.

86. Krauss, p. 340.

new interpretations everywhere corroborated.

He himself can best describe his exaltation and ecstasy. He writes:

"By this discovery, the entire Holy Scripture and Heaven itself was opened to me. I, at once felt as though I had been born anew. It seemed to me as though I had found the wide-open door of Paradise. The dear Holy Scripture appeared to me now in a far different light than before. I, therefore, soon ran through the whole Bible, and so far as my memory served, made comparisons and found with even greater assurance that God's Righteousness, meant that which he wrought in us; God's Power, that with which He made us strong; God's Wisdom, that with which He made us wise, and thus also the other expressions, -God's Strength, God's Salvation, God's Glory and the like. And now to the degree that I hated the word, 'God's Righteousness' formerly, I began to prize and esteem it as my dearest and most comforting word. And that passage in St. Paul was now in truth, the gateway of Paradise to me." He found this same doctrine corroborated by St. Augustine's Writings. ⁸⁷

Luther now believed that he had found the fount of fountains of all true knowledge, the Bible. He had found the gem of gems of all Scriptural knowledge, Justification by Grace alone, for Christ's sake alone, through faith alone, worked in man by Scripture alone without human merit or

87. Krauss, p. 341; Melancthon, p. 607.

worthiness. This doctrine, therefore, will fill the main inset of every cycle of education, whether primary, secondary or higher, that he would undertake to espouse.

Having acquired at last, as he believed, this quint-essence of all spiritual knowledge, having grasped, at last, securely, this dynamic of all true religious fervor and morality, Luther was ready to embark upon his educational career in dead earnest. There lacked only that final public recognition of his fitness to be a spiritual leader, and that commissioning to the public responsibility for the proper discharge of his office, to force Luther into the widest possible scope for the application of his Gospel and the educational principles flowing from it, as occasion offered.

VIII

LUTHER MADE A DOCTOR OF THEOLOGY.

In 1508, Luther had been transferred from the monastery at Erfurt to Wittenberg University, to teach Aristotle's philosophy.⁸⁸ While in Wittenberg, Luther enrolled as a student of theology and received his B. D. in 1509.⁸⁹ In 1510, we again find him in Erfurt, lecturing on the "Sentences" of Lombard,⁹⁰ Thus, sometime before he must have taken the degree of Sententiarius. Now when Luther returned from

88. Four Hundred Years, p. 329; Melancthon, p. 609.

"At first he taught Dialectics and Physics from Aristotle."

89. Krauss, p. 337.

90. Four Hundred Years, p. 329.

Rome, Staupitz pressed him to take the degree of doctor of theology. This was the natural thing for a Sententiarius to do. But Luther showed very great reluctance to take the step, involving so great a responsibility. When Staupitz disclosed to him the resolution of his own and that of the whole convent, that he should become a doctor, Luther pleaded weakness, and poor health, begging Staupitz to seek out another brother better fitted and in better health than he, for he had not a long time to live. Staupitz brushed aside all his objections by an appeal to his authority, saying:

"There are indications that God will soon have a great piece of work to do, both in heaven and on earth, which will require the service of many and industrious doctors, through whom to carry out his projects. Whether you live, therefore, or whether you die, the Lord has need of you in his counsel. Therefore, obey the orders of your Convent, as you are in duty bound to obey it and me, according to your vow. As to the expenses, our gracious Elector, Duke Frederick, has graciously promised to extend from his storeroom, whatever is necessary for God and the welfare of this University and monastery."

The Elector did not fail Staupitz. But Luther, who had to go to Leipzig to get this contribution towards his doctorate, became so impatient with the great amount of "red tape" connected with the matter, that he almost returned home empty handed.⁹¹

91. Mathesius, pp. 17-18; Luther: Table Talk, Weimar, Vol. II, No. 2255.

On October 18, 1512, at one o'clock in the afternoon, Luther was made a licentiate of theology, by Doctor Andreas Radenstein Carlstadt, at that time Dean and Archdeacon of the Church of All Saints, in the presence of many members of the University, and other residents of Wittenberg, and elsewhere.⁹² The next day, the same assembly of the university fathers and guests were summoned together, by the great bell of the Church, this time to see Luther created a doctor of theology.⁹³ Mathesius says of the doctor's oath:

"Luther took a public oath upon the Holy Scripture, and promised to study and preach it his life long, and to defend the Christian faith with disputations and writings against all heretics, so help him God." Luther himself says: "I, doctor Martinus, was called and forced to become a doctor, without my urging, purely out of obedience. I was obliged to accept the doctorate, and swear and offer in my most precious Bible, that I would preach it faithfully and sincerely." This oath was a great consolation to Luther, later in his battle to free education and the church in general from the control of the Papacy.

The fact that Luther took his doctor's degree at Wittenberg instead of Erfurt was not at all relished by his alma mater. They accused him of violating his master's oath, which forbade his taking degrees elsewhere, as they

92. Krauss, p. 341; Luther: Table Talk, Weimar, Vol. IV, No. 5371.

93. Mathesius, p. 18.

said. Quite a correspondance grew out of the altercation. In all of his letters, Luther shows a uniformly respectful attitude towards the Erfurt authorities. He admits that it would have been the proper thing to take his degree at Erfurt, he begs the University's kind indulgence, and asks them to pardon his seeming affront, though none had been intended. Yet he urges in his own defense, that he had not taken the initiative in the matter, and stresses particularly that he could not recall ever having given such an oath at Erfurt, either at the time of taking his Masters degree or any other. After some time the matter was ironed out and Luther was granted a dispensation by his old alma mater, recognizing his Wittenberg doctorate.⁹⁴

Luther had thus gained enough titles to stamp him as an educator of no mean ability, if titles alone made the educator. His B. A. had opened the way for him to lecture on certain phases of philosophy. His M. A. recognized him as qualified to teach Aristotle. His B. D. "ad biblia" sanctioned his lecturing on certain books of the Bible. His L. S. granted him the right to hold forth on the Sentences of Lombard. His L. Th. conferred upon him the permission to lecture on all aspects of theology, and now his D. D. made it his duty to expound and defend the whole Bible.

But Luther had gained more than academic titles from his education. Step by step he had been forming an educational concept, ideal, and program. These he applied and developed further in his activities as an educator.

94. McGiffert, p. 48; Luther: Walch, Vol. XXa, pp. 12-15.

PART TWO

LUTHER'S EDUCATIONAL ACTIVITIES

I

LUTHER'S EDUCATIONAL ACTIVITIES AS A PROFESSOR.

The best way to get an education is to have the duties and responsibilities of an educator placed upon one's shoulders. The first and most important lesson one learns, even by a trial at it, is how really ignorant and unfitted one is for the duties after all. It has been the realization experienced by all truly great educators and one will find them as a class truly humble men. Another wholesome effect the duty of guiding the youth has upon the incumbent of that office, is to force him into a reevaluation of what he himself has learned. He then finds that much that he once prized highly is nothing more than pithless, sapless cane, yielding nought to sweeten life and take away its bitterness. He finds also that within those things, that are of value, there is a difference of great and small, important and less important, essential and auxiliary. For after all, the multiplication table, though valuable, has never served to cure the rickets, and rhetoric has never persuaded death to give up even one victim, and Latin in itself has never consoled a dying sinner. A final happy result of the press of an educator's responsibilities is to drive him to search for an ever better understanding of himself, of his clients, of his subject, of related subjects, in short to drive him

to seek the truth in an ever widening and deepening cycle of subjects, and to cast about for ever better methods of bringing that truth home to an ever increasing circle of students.

Such was Luther's experience from the very first in the educational arena. His right to begin an educational career, came with his securing the first academic degree of bachelor of arts. This degree entitled him to teach certain phases of philosophy.¹ It seems, however, that he did not at once make use of his newly earned privilege.

When he received his master's degree, however, he at once boldly launched out into educational work. He offered a course in Aristotelian Physics and Ethics. These first strokes were well applauded by students and faculty alike. Fortunately, this acclaim did not incline him to rest upon his oars, as back-patting, come too early, frequently does. May it be said to his credit, that his first short trial as an educator drove him, -as it should-into a deeper study of his subject, aye, and more deeply into an examination of himself, which resulted in a wholly unlooked for turn in his career. He, like Macbeth, threw physics to the dogs, and would have none of it. He sought a more abiding wisdom in a cloister, as we have heard, and found a diamond in what he afterwards was inclined to call a spiritual pigstye.

His next appearance as an educator was at Wittenberg,

1. Krauss, p. 324.

which city merits a brief description because of the fact that it was Luther's home during a large part of his life. Wittenberg's history dates back to the year 1180. It was at that time a frontier fortress, erected for the protection of the German settlers against the depredations of the surrounding remnants of the former Slavonic inhabitants.² Strange parallel, indeed, that three hundred years later it should become again a bulward, but this time against attacks of a spiritual nature, and of vastly wider compass. It received its name from the white sand hill upon which it stood.

In 1486, Frederick III of Saxony became a member of the Electoral College, made Wittenberg the Capital of his northern territory and began to beautify the town with a number of imposing buildings. But even this could not hide the fact that the flat country round about was poor in soil, and in/^{drab}contrast to the beautiful hills and fertile doles of Eisenach and the golden meadows of Erfurt. It seemed on the very borders of civilization.

Wittenberg, in 1511, was a fortified town surrounded by a wall of earth and brick and a very wide and deep moat. The wall had a thickness of sixty feet, and was pierced by three gates. Did the sight of these massive walls suggest to Luther the imagery of the three great walls behind which

2. Four Hundred Years. Essay by Koepchen, W., p. 172. For this description of Wittenberg, I drew freely upon this essay--rearranging, condensing, editing, commenting, as I saw fit.

the papacy was entrenched, in his address to the German nobility? The castle gate was at the western end, the Elster gate, at the eastern, and the Elbe gate at the southern end of the town. Nearby flowed the broad and winding Elbe.³

Wittenberg was not a small town, as towns went in those days. It numbered about three thousand inhabitants. The citizens were mostly farmers, artisans, and tradesmen, and their homes were small buildings of wood and clay, thatched with straw. The streets were narrow and unimproved, and the many cows, pigs, geese, and chickens kept by the inhabitants, only helped to make matters worse, and incidently seem to have furnished Luther with many comparisons and epithets to describe the characteristics of his enemies. The streets had names like Kollegien Strasse, that is, "Faculty Row", Schlosz Buergermeister, Juristenstrasse. The houses were not numbered. No streets were lighted. After dusk, pedestrians found their way by the light of a lantern. Two brooks, Languid and Speedy, and a number of wells, public and private, furnished the town's water supply, and, since uncovered, its periodical visitations of the plague. For fire protection, each citizen held ready by law, a pail, made of leather, an ax, and a ladder, besides a barrel filled with water next to his house.⁴

The City of Wittenberg enjoyed many privileges. It

3. Four Hundred Years, p. 175.

4. *ibid.*, pp. 174-175.

had its own court, coined its own money, and collected the fee for the stands of the public markets held thrice a year. It was almost entirely independent of the jurisdiction of the castle bailiff. It owned several villages and their incomes, and had exclusive control of the wine trade within the city walls.

In 1516, the city erected a new hospital, just outside the Elster gate, the old hospital having been torn down to make way for the "Black Cloister" of the Augustians. When reading Luther's glowing tribute to the hospitals of Florence, one wonders how much he influenced this project.

The Augustinians are said to have had a monastery in Wittenberg since 1365. Their buildings were so time worn that Frederick resolved to renew them and began with rebuilding the dormitory, which was finished in 1504. This "Black Cloister" as it was called by the inhabitants of Wittenberg, was a handsome three-story-and-attic brick building, with ample room to accommodate forty monks. It was in the main thoroughfare of the town, called College Street, from which it was separated by a lawn, the former cemetery of the monks. This lawn was enclosed by a brick wall, and contained a number of trees, among these the famous pear tree, under which Stanpitz insisted upon Luther's taking the doctor's

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Besides the Augustinians, the Franciscans had a monastery and a chapel at Wittenberg. At Luther's request,

this latter cloister was later turned into a home for the poor. Outside the Elster Gate was the cemetery, more than two hundred year's old, when Luther later buried his tiny Elisabeth there.⁶

A short distance from the city Church is the Market Square with its many booths, public scale, and the City Hall. A new City Hall was begun in 1523, and completed in 1540.

The City council consisted of three distinct groups of councillors, each group changing about every three years. There were burgen masters, three judges, and three divisions of councilmen, with six in each group.⁷ Wittenberg had several important trade guilds, bakers, butchers, tailors, shoemakers, and tanners. They took a very important and active part in the political, religious, and social life of the city. These guilds proved a great obstacle later to the Reformation. The largest and best furnished private dwelling was the Cranach House.⁸ Besides Cranach, Wittenberg had other printers, Johann Grueneberg, Melchiar Lothar, and Hans Lufft.

In addition to the Church of St. Mary's, the Castle Church was another center of religious life. It was erected in 1449. It was dedicated to the Virgin Mary and All Saints, and was a favorite place of pilgrimage. Large indulgence

6. Four Hundred Years, p. 18D.

7. *ibid.*, 183.

8. *ibid.*, 184.

was obtained both from the sight of its holy relics and from contributions towards its support. The Castle Church was named so for the Castle adjoining it, erected by Frederick during the years of 1493-1499. The door of the Castle Church served as a bulletin board for university announcements.⁹

The pride of Wittenberg, however, and source of great revenue for its citizens, was its university, the Collegium Fridericianum, opened October 18, 1502, with an enrollment of 416. This school owed its origin to Emperor Maximilian I, who, in 1495 suggested to the princes that they found universities. Frederick took up this suggestion with enthusiasm. Among the reasons for establishing the University at so unpromising a place as Wittenberg, was a hint from the emperor that Wittenberg and vicinity were sadly in need of such an institution. And there was, indeed, an appalling ignorance among the citizens of this border town.¹⁰

The University owed its charter to the emperor. Later on, June 20, 1507, the elector received from pope Julius II a special bull, granting to the University all the privileges and advantages enjoyed by the most ancient schools of Europe.

As long as the University was in its formative state, it drew upon the Chapterhouse of the Castle Church and the Augustinian Cloister at the Elster Gate for teachers.¹¹ The department of Theology had four professorships. Three of

9. Four Hundred Years, p. 185.

10. *ibid.*, p. 175.

11. *ibid.*, p. 176.

these were filled by monks from the Chapter-house and the fourth by John von Stanpitz from the Cloister. Stanpitz was a man of high scholarly attainments, and since 1503 was vicar-general of the Augustinian order. He had taken part in the founding of the university, in calling its first professors, and had now provided for future professors by appointing the most prominent young scholars among the Augustinians under his jurisdiction.

In the department of law, there were five professorships. These were filled by the noted Italian jurist Peter of Ravena, and five monks from the chapter-house. Later we find Jerome Schurf, and after him Wenning Goeden, the leader among the jurists of his time, on the faculty.

The department of medicine had three professorships. Its first dean was Martin Pollich, the elector's physician, who with Stanpitz advised the Elector in the founding of the University. Later, he was first dean of the University.

The department of philosophy had ten professorships: Oratory, Poetry, Greek, Hebrew and other Oriental languages, Logic and Metaphysics, Physics, lower and higher Mathematics, Practical Philosophy and History. Among the members of this faculty, we find Luther's former professor, Trutvetter.¹²

The buildings of the University, containing lecture-halls and lodging rooms for the students, were erected by the elector. It was financed from the revenues of the Castle Church

12. Four Hundred Years, p. 177.

after 1506. Christopher Echeurl was elected rector of the University in 1507. He was a strict disciplinarian and insisted upon faithful study. The number of instructors and lecturers in 1507 rose to thirty-eight. The elector ruled the university by a Board of Supervisors, consisting of four members of the faculties. They were responsible to the elector. The deans of the different faculties were responsible to this board for the promptness and efficiency of the teachers in their departments.¹³

It was to this university, then, that Luther came with six other monks at the behest of Stanpitz, 1508. He came to lecture on Aristotelian Dialectic and Physics and at the same time to enroll as student in its theological department.¹⁴ But Luther did not find his subject congenial. He taught it because he had the necessary degree in it. He could, even at this time, have taught Biblical theology better than some on the faculty, Stanpitz, perhaps, excepted, because it was at that time not the vogue to teach theology from the Bible, but from the Dogmaticians. Before being permitted to teach theology, Luther first must study Thomas Aquinas, and other scholastics. Meanwhile, he taught what he was permitted to teach, but his heart was elsewhere. He wished, as he said, to place before his students the more wholesome repast he had partaken of while in the cloister, instead of the husks of Aristotelian philosophy. He wrote to his friend

13. Four Hundred Years, p. 178.

14. Mathesius, pp. 14-15. Melancthon, pp. 608-609.

Braun at Erfurt, that he preferred to teach that theology, which investigated "the kernal of the nut, the heart of the wheat, and the marrow of the bone."¹⁵

Thanks to his industry and powers of concentration, he had not long to wait. On March 9, 1509, at the age of twenty-six, he had so far proceeded in his theological studies, that he could be granted the elementary degree of bachelor of divinity, with the specific stipulation "ad biblia." This gave Luther the permission to expound certain of the Biblical books.¹⁶ With joy he made the transfer to the theological department. He based all his lectures, henceforth upon the Bible, which he esteemed higher, more profound, and surer than all the learning of the sophists and the schoolmen.¹⁷

He began now to dispute also the principles of the theology of the sophists.¹⁸ What had formerly been but distaste, now develops into open antagonism. This young theologian in his attacks, spared neither Thomas Aquinas, nor Duns Scotus, nor Albertus, nor Gabriel, nor Occam. So bold had he been made by Scripture, that he arrays himself against the greatest dogmaticians of the Church. This looks as though the principle of freedom of speech and the right of individual judgment were breaking their fetters. Of course, Luther was not the first to attack Scholastic

15. Luther: Walch, XXIa, p. 5.

16. Krauss, p. 337.

17. Mathesius, p. 15.

18. *ibid.*, p. 15.

theology. In fact, due to the New Learning, Humanism, it was becoming rather the fashion to attack the Schoolmen. But these attacks were more on the form and method of Scholasticism, than on the matter of the schoolmen. Luther began, unconsciously, of course, to tread the ground of Wicliff and Hus, which had proved so dangerous to these men. His attack upon the schoolmen was mainly religious even at this time. The principles that he attacked were, such as: 1, Only a spark of love is necessary to gain salvation, 2, If a man but do as much as in him lies, or as much as he can, God will surely grant him His Grace, 3, The natural powers of man are unimpaired in spiritual matters, 4, The Sophists propensity to argue "a divisionis ad conjuncta", to cite Scripture in mutilated form, or wrest its words, so as to support their position.¹⁹

These attacks of course, caused quite a stir in the educational world of Germany. Many learned men were in sympathy with his efforts. Doctor Mellerstadt, rector of the university at that time, remarked approvingly: "That monk will confound all the doctors, bring forth a new doctrine, and reform the whole Roman Church, for he plants himself upon the writings of the Prophets and the Apostles, and takes his stand upon the Word of Jesus Christ. That, no one can assail and overthrow either with philosophy or

19. Weimar: Vol. I, pp. 224-225; Walch, I. 194; I, 2006; Vol. VIII, 1918; VIII, 1916.

Sophistry, whether with Albertistry, Thomastry or the whole Tardaret."²⁰ There were many others who supported Luther in those early days, but later deserted him when they saw the full implication of his stand and its dangers. Luther himself did not at this time, or for some time after the full logical consequences of his position.

The year 1510 found Luther back again at Erfurt, in the monastery lecturing on the Sentences of Lombard.²¹ The reason for this return to Erfurt and the change of subjects is somewhat obscure. Neither Mathesius nor Melancthon mention this move. My conjecture is that Stanpitz already had in mind to make of Luther a doctor of theology. A necessary step for this degree was that Luther take the degree of Sententiarius. Thus Luther was sent back to his old alma mater to get this degree and when he had it, or while he was getting it, lectured on the Sentences of Lombard to prepare other monks for Wittenberg professorships. He remained in Erfurt from autumn to the summer of the following year, 1511, when he returned to Wittenberg to lecture on the Bible.²²

His professorial work, however, was interrupted by his Italian journey.

Luther's real educational career began with his acceptance of the responsibility of the doctorate, after his return from Rome. He took up his work in dead earnest.

20. Mathesius, pp. 15-16.

21. Four Hundred Years, p. 329.

22. *ibid.*, p. 329.

He learned Hebrew and Greek, the languages of the sacred Writings in order to get at the intended and exact meaning of the text.²³ His discovery of the true meaning of "dikaiosune theou" found immediate application in his lectures.

He began by expounding the Epistle of Paul to the Romans, his favorite book, since his enlightenment through it. Thereupon, he expounded the Psalms.²⁴ After the Psalms, he lectured on the Epistle to the Galatians. He also gave an exposition of the first twenty-five chapters of Isaiah. There were many other books of the New Testament and Old that he interpreted either in the classroom or from the pulpit, such as the Gospel according to St. John, and the Epistles of St. Peter. The last ten years of his life were spent on his greatest work "An Exposition of Genesis".²⁵ Most of what he lectured on appeared also in print. These expository works of Luther, as also his other writings, are a vast storehouse of spiritual knowledge.

In his excursus in the class room, Luther avoided the all too common obstrusities and occasional absurdities of the schoolmen and dealt with practical doctrines. He showed the difference between Law and Gospel and attempted to refute the prevalent notion that one could merit for works

23. Melancthon, p. 612. Luther began his studies of Greek while at Erfurt under his friend Lang. He was, no doubt, also very much indebted to Melancthon for his continuation studies. Aurogallus helped him acquire Hebrew.

24. Melancthon, p. 610.

25. Krauss, p. 400.

and virtue. Over against it, he held up the doctrine of justification by faith. This doctrine was the main theme of his lectures and his norm for interpreting Scripture. All other doctrines were treated in their relation to it.²⁶ It is essential to keep in mind, his central doctrine of forgiveness of sin, not by man's works, but by God's Grace alone, for Christ's sake alone, through faith alone, wrought in man by the Holy Spirit, through the means of Grace, Scripture and the Sacraments alone; for this doctrine dominated his whole educational career. All obstacles in its way must go.

The first and main barrier that Luther found in the way of his doctrine in the university was, that "damned heathen", Aristotle, and his disciples, the schoolmen. With the instinct of true generalship, Luther made his onslaught upon Aristotle. If this presiding genius of scholasticism could be brought to fall, then scholasticism would come down of itself.

Against the historical Aristotle, of course, Luther's attacks were not directed. As a historical personage, he was guiltless of the evils in the university. Him, Luther could pity, for one who never had known the true God. For him he has praise as a philosopher, who soared high, with only human reason to help him. As a thinker, Aristotle occupies a high place with Luther, even above his favorite Cicero. "Aristotle", he says "was a man of great acumen,

26. Melancthon, p. 611.

so great that I hold he greatly excelled Cicero and was above him in mentality."²⁷ He, however, criticizes Aristotle for not having taken up the more important things in life, such as "What is God"? "Does He concern Himself about man?", as Cicero did, considering that because of his leisure he had more time to do so.²⁸

Luther did not desire that Aristotle's works be entirely banished from the university curriculum, for he later urged that his "Logic," "Dialectic," and "Poetics" be retained in the curriculum. He was willing that his purely secular writings be used and studied. This shows his conservatism, even in his zeal. Though he considered the bath water unfit, he was not inclined to throw out the child with the bath in his zeal for purity.

What aroused Luther was the fact that through the activities of the schoolmen, especially Aquinas and Albertus, the heathen Aristotle had become a teacher in the Christian Church, and had crowded out Christ and His Word. "In the universities," he says, "the Bible and the Christian faith are little taught and only that blind heathen Aristotle reigns." It pained him greatly that "The damnable, proud, cunning heathen had lead astray and fooled so many of the best Christians with false words."²⁹

Luther was not satisfied with Aristotle's theology, and to have him as a teacher in the Christian Church with his

27. Luther: Walch, Vol. III, p. 1028.

28. Luther: Walch, XXII, 2282.

29. Luther: Weimar, Vol. VI, p. 458.

heathen theology was an abomination. He says: "Aristotle holds that God contemplates nothing beyond Himself. But, this removing Him from all concern for human misery, sin, and sorrow, would in effect, be a denial of His providence, nay, of His essence or being."³⁰ He rejected Aristotle's definition of the soul. He is dissatisfied with Aristotle's Ethics: "Between the ethics of Aristotle and of Ecclesiastes there is this difference, that Aristotle measures morality by reason's prescribing the best course, but Ecclesiastes by the heeding of the Commandments of God!"³¹ But what offended him most was the way Thomas Aquinas proved doctrines by Aristotle. "Furthermore, this is the way Thomas proceeds: First he receives propositions from Paul, Peter, John, Isaiah, etc, then he concludes, 'But Aristotle says so and so' and it is in accordance with Aristotle that he interprets the Scriptures."³²

Over against the pagan philosophy of Aristotle and the Aristotelian principle in the Universities, Luther placed the doctrine of justification by faith and the Bible principle, establishing the thesis that true faith necessary for a holy life and a blessed death must be learned from the Bible and not from Aristotle. He established his thesis

³³
thus: A Christian is baptized in the name of Christ.
On this occasion he vows and promises to remain a member of

30. Luther: Table Talk, Weimar: Vol. I. No. 168.

31. *ibid.*, No. 364.

32. *ibid.*, No. 280.

33. Mathesius, p. 23.

the universal church to his end, in his heart, and publicly by joyful confession. This universal Christendom is built up and founded upon the Writings of the Prophets and the Apostles. This is established by the Nicene Creed, sung in all churches. For this Creed, in explaining the Apostle's Creed's statement: 'I believe in holy or universal Christian Church' testified definitely that the Holy Spirit, whom Christ had won for and given to us, spoke by the Prophets and the Apostles, for which reason, also the Church or people of Christ was called the Apostolic Church."

By this argument Luther proved that the Bible alone was the only valid source and norm of doctrines, of faith and life in the Church. He, however, adduces a second argument for its being the source and norm of doctrine and life, also in the universities established by the Church, especially in the department of Theology. "Upon the Word of the Prophets, which, by inspiration of the Holy Spirit had been written for our instruction and upon the utterances of Jesus Christ, which He had brought forth from the Father's heart as the eternal Interpreter and Rhetor, revealed and gave to his dear friends the apostles, called today the Holy and Divine Scripture, he had solemnly taken a precious public regular and divine oath that he would adhere to the blessed and sure Scripture. Thus it was meet that in matters pertaining to faith and conscience, one should search the divine Scriptures, and adhere to what, through the Eternal and Essential Word and Rhetor,

is brought forth from the Father's heart, and through the Holy Spirit was testified to and confirmed from the beginning of the World by the Patriarchs, the Prophets, the Kings, the Apostles, sainted bishops, and ancient symbols and the blood of many holy martyrs, and was known to all pious Christians, fallen asleep in bliss."³⁴

These repeated onslaughts of Luther, coupled with the attacks on scholastic methods, a necessary concomitant of the humanistic studies, especially with their motto: "Go to the source" soon had Aristotle tottering in his saddle, and it was not long until he was unseated entirely. In February, 1517, Luther sent his friend Lang, from whom he had learned Greek and Hebrew, while in Erfurt, and whom he had known and loved before, a paper "full of blasphemies and curses against Aristotle, Porphyry, and the dogmatic theologians," asking him to show it to his old friend and teacher, Trutvelter, and others.³⁵ This was when the battle was in full swing. Already in May, 1517, he could write, "Our theology and that of St. Augustine, by the grace of God, are making excellent progress and gaining control in our university. Aristotle is gradually descending from his throne, and will soon tumble over, perhaps, forever. The courses on the Sententiarum are in great disrepute, and no one can count on auditors, who does not lecture on the

34. Mathesius, pp. 23-24.

35. Luther: Walch, Vol. XVIII, p. 16.

Bible or St. Augustine or some other real Church Father."³⁶

Thus Aristotle and his followers were about to be swept out of Wittenberg, upon a great tidal wave of Biblical instruction. Also, beyond Wittenberg in many places, his authority was already shaken and his influence beginning to recede. Under Luther's direction, in 1517, a number of theses denouncing Aristotle's influence in theology were defended by one of his students in a disputation for a master's degree. Upon reading them, Christopher Scheurl, then residing in Nuremberg, wrote that a great change in theological studies was in prospect, and soon one would be able to become a theologian without either Aristotle or Plato. In this he was but voicing the opinion shared by many acquaintances. The University of Erfurt, however, was not at all pleased to see its alumnus attacking Aristotle in this fashion, and took pains to let him know.³⁷

But there were other obstacles blocking the road of Luther's doctrine of salvation by grace, and these, too, must be cleared by his Bible principle. There was one particularly entrenched in the theological department, and that was the doctrine of indulgences, which involved a host of other doctrines, and here again it was the schoolmen, who had to be attacked.

Through the Schoolmen, according to Luther, the Bible doctrine of repentance had become perverted. According to

36. Luther: Walch, Vol. XVIII. p. 1969.

37. McGiffert, pp. 64-65.

Scripture true repentance is nothing else than contrition and fear because of one's sins, coupled with faith that God, for Christ's sake forgives sins. This the schoolmen neither believed nor taught. On the contrary, they imagined that repentance must be, 1) a complete crushing of the heart, 2) a complete confession of the mouth, and, 3) a complete satisfaction through works. Now if there were anything lacking, especially with respect to the last, the Church could help out. Christ and the Virgin, as well as many saints, gone to their reward, had in their life time here on earth, done and suffered more, than was required. By this a treasure store of merits had accumulated over which the Church, especially the Pope, exercised control. Thus, indulgence could be obtained as a gift or by purchase from the Church.

Moreover, any believer, who had not repented enough or had not received indulgences enough in this life, had to suffer, so many years or decades or centuries in purgatory, in order to purge his soul sufficiently to enter heaven. Albeit, one could come to the rescue of the souls suffering in purgatory by intercessions and masses offered by the Church for a consideration. Thus of the Lord's Supper, the schoolmen made a sacrifice, offered by the priest for the sins of the living and the dead. How much one such sacrifice or mass benefited towards release from the pangs of purgatory, no one could determine. This was in dispute. That it benefited all agreed. And who could doubt it, since according to the doctrine of Transubstantiation first

advanced by Paschasius Radbertus in 831, and perfected later by the schoolmen, the priest by pronouncing the words of institution converted the elements into Christ's true body and blood, which were then offered as the bloodless sacrifice of the mass! ³⁸

It was with this doctrine held by the theological faculty that Luther next came in conflict. Though through the force of circumstances, the "indulgence episode" in its effects, went far beyond the confines of the Wittenberg University walls, ultimately resulting in the establishment of the Protestant churches, as well as a reformation within the Catholic Church itself, in its incipient stages, the controversy was, and was intended to be by Luther, a purely academical matter. The whole doctrine and system of indulgences was in the final analysis, based upon the assumption of man's ability to save himself. This fundamental assumption, as we have seen, Luther had already attacked in his fight against the supremacy of Aristotle.

Moreover, when the matter of indulgences became a burning question with Luther in his congregational work, he did not at once rush into the pulpit with denunciations of Tetzel and his traffic as we should have expected him to do. After he himself had diligently studied the matter and had found that not only the abuses attached to indulgences, but also the doctrine and system itself was wrong, he sought

38. Krauss, p. 309; C. J. H. Hays, Political and Social History of Modern Europe, Vol. I. pp. 118-119, 131.

first of all to convince his colleagues at the universities of this fact, thus bringing about a reformation of the head, first, before trying to change the members. Thus it came about that Luther posted his famous Ninety-Five Theses on the door of the Castle Church, the bulletin board for the university, with the following announcement: "In the desire, and with the purpose, of elucidating the truth, a disputation will be held on the subjoined propositions at Wittenberg, under the presidency of the Reverend Father Martin Luther, Augustinian monk, master of arts and of sacred theology, and ordinary lecturer upon the same in that place. He, therefore, asks those who cannot be present and discuss the subject orally to do so by letter in their absence."³⁹

That Luther intended his theses to be academical, is further seen from the fact that they were written in Latin and cast in the form of a theological disputation. Moreover, in the spring of 1518 he wrote to Christopher Scheurl, at Nuremberg: "You wonder that I did not send them to you, but it was not my plan or my wish to have them get into general circulation. I intended first to discuss them with a few in this neighborhood, that if condemned by the judgment of others they might be suppressed, or, if approved, might be published."⁴⁰

It would carry us too far afield to note all the

39. McGiffert, p. 89.

40. Luther: Walch, Vol. XXa, p. 90.

consequences of the promulgation of his theses, which made him in a sense, "praeceptor Europae". We shall only call attention to some of his more significant arguments against indulgences and the mass, note two significant academical events in connection with the theses, and point out the results of an education.

In his theses on indulgences, Luther again opposes his doctrine of Justification, and his Bible principle to work righteousness and human authority in spiritual matters. The first thesis ran: "When our Lord and Master, Jesus Christ spake: 'Repent', etc., he intended that the whold life of his believers on earth should be one continuous, incessant, repentance." Thus, in the very first thesis, Luther urged the Scripture principle. In his thirty-sixth and thrity-seventh, he opposed his doctrine of Justification by faith to the current doctrine of satisfactions: "Every Christian who feels true compunction has of right plenary remission of punishment and guilt without letters of indulgences," and "Every true Christian, whether living or dead, had part in all benefits of Christ and the Church, as a gift of God."⁴¹ Later on, Luther attacked both indulgences and the mass in a much more vigorous manner than he did in his theses. Of the Mass he says: "Of the Mass in papacy (we hold) that it must be the greatest and most horrible abomination as it directly and powerfully conflicts with this chief article,

41. Luther: Weiman, Vol. I. pp. 233-235.

namely, Justification by faith." Again, "But since the Mass is nothing else and can be nothing else, than a work of men, by which one attempts to reconcile himself and others to God, and to obtain and merit the remission of sins and grace, (for thus the Mass is observed when it is observed at the very best; otherwise what purpose would it serve) for this very reason it must and should be condemned and rejected. For this directly conflicts with the chief article, which says that it is not a wicked or godly hireling of the Mass with his own work, but the Lamb of God and the Son of God, that taketh away our sins."⁴²

The result for Wittenberg University of Luther's attack on indulgences, was that the entire theological faculty, in fact the whole university, was won over to Luther's viewpoint, and the Bible became paramount as the source and norm of all doctrine and life. Indulgences, the Mass, and all other doctrines contrary to the Bible, in Luther's opinion, and especially to the Article of Justification, were rejected. This changed the whole curriculum and teaching of the theological department and permeated all studies and discipline with an Evangelical spirit. The schoolmen were entirely overthrown.

But the university was still subject to the restrictions of papal authority. This remained, together with the Scripture principle. But it could not do so for any length

42. Luther: Weimar, Vol. 50, p. 200.

of time. Through his Theses, Luther came into conflict with the pope, who had authority over the university by virtue of its papal recognition. He was ordered to Rome to recant. Luther invited the whole university to the Elster gate and there burned the provisional papal bull of excommunication and his decretals, (1520), thus breaking through Rome's restrictions on the right of free discussion and inquiry.⁴³

Another academic event, the Leipzig debate, was significant in that Luther, during it, refused to allow the right of individual judgement to be restricted by Church councils, as well as by the pope. (1519). At Worms, in 1521, Luther maintained the right of free inquiry, discussion, and individual judgment, over against church and state. Thus as a result of the "Indulgence Issue", Luther maintained in the interest of education, the doctrine of Justification as its main tenet, and aim, -the Bible as its main source and norm, and the inviolability of the right of free discussion and inquiry, and of private judgment.

Having discussed Luther's main educational reforms, let us turn our attention to his methods of teaching in the class room. He was original and unconventional. He was continually referring to the events of the day and viewing them in the light of the particular writer he was interpreting. He drew largely upon the everyday experiences of his students for illustrative material. Latin was the regular language of the class room, but he did not hesitate,

43. Mathesius, pp. 41, 44, 45, 65-68.

unacademic as it was, to use German words and phrases, when they served to make the Bible text or doctrine more vivid and expressive. It was his purpose to bring home to his students the doctrines of the Bible in all their purity. He insisted upon their going to the source, via the Greek and Hebrew languages. When in 1516 Erasmus' edition of the New Testament in Greek appeared, he made it the basis of his lectures. He was as much interested in getting at the original meaning of his text as he was in making it religiously valuable to his students.⁴⁴ He exposed what he called the false doctrines of the schoolmen. He carried their methods of making wrong inferences from their texts to support their doctrines. We cite his criticism of the Bishop of Meissen as a sample: "The finest piece in the Bishop's proclamation is, that the parsons are to teach the laymen, that in communion in one kind, there is present the entire Jesus Christ, the Son of God, God and Man, also His body and blood, and is eaten and drunk by the lay-communicants. This view is established by concomitance, which means about the following: Since the body of Christ is not without blood, it follows that his blood is not without his soul; from this follows that His soul is not without His divinity; from this follows that His divinity is not without the Father and the Holy Ghost; from this it follows that in the Sacrament, even

44. McGiffert, pp. 60-61.

when administered in one kind, there is the soul of Christ, and the Holy Trinity is eaten and drunk with the body and blood of Christ; from this it follows that in every mass the mass-priest offers up twice and sells the Holy Trinity: Now since the Deity is not without the creatures, it follows from the foregoing premises, that heaven and earth is also present in the sacrament; from this it follows that the devil and hell are also in the sacrament; from this it follows that any person receiving communion also in one kind, devours the Bishop of Meissen with his mandate and proclamation; from this it follows that every priest at Meissen in each mass eats and drinks his bishop twice; from this it follows that the Bishop of Meissen must have a larger body than heaven and earth. And who could enumerate what all does follow! But ultimately this also follows that such drawers of inferences are asses, fools, blind, insane, mad, raving, etc; this inference is certain."

As to discipline, Luther was firm but loving. He sometimes joined the boys in their pranks and practical jokes. But over against anything mean or sinful, he was firm. When certain students had broken into the houses of some of the citizens, Luther was very strong in his condemnation, saying that if any one broke into his house, he would kill the person. He was continually warning the boys against visiting brothels. He could not tolerate a lazy student, and called such to order roundly.⁴⁵

45. Luther: Weimar, Vol. VI, 152.

We close this section on Luther's activities as a professor with a brief reference to his colleague, Melanchthon. Other of Luther's colleagues were mentioned as members of the different faculties. But with none of them was Luther on so intimate terms as Melanchthon. Melanchthon came to Wittenberg from the University of Tübingen. By applying his knowledge of Greek to the sacred text and interpreting it to the students of theology, Melanchthon simply carried out Luther's principle that all sound knowledge of Scripture, and of all sound theology must be based upon a thorough study of the sacred text in its original tongue. His fame as "praeceptor Germaniae" was won by the wisdom and judgment with which he carried out Luther's ideas on popular and higher education, laid down in his "Appeal to the Aldermen of all the German Cities in Behalf of Christian Schools." The new thing in Melanchthon's scheme of higher education was the utilization of humanistic learning for the purposes of Lutheran thought and education. Melanchthon did his work so well that the courses of study prescribed by him for the higher schools remained unaltered in the main until the beginning of the nineteenth century.

In other ways Melanchthon shows himself an assistant, ~~he~~ was the grand nephew of the humanist and Hebraist, John Reuchlin, whose cause Luther had espoused, when the Dominicans sought his condemnation for the opinion he had

rendered regarding the destruction of Hebrew books.⁴⁶ In spite of his youth, Melanchthon was already an accomplished scholar and a humanist of considerable repute. He came to Wittenberg to teach Greek. He afterwards taught theology. One of the greatest scholars and teachers of the century, Melanchthon immensely enhanced the fame of the university, and his class room was thronged with students of many nationalities.⁴⁷ His title "praeceptor Germaniae", was fairly won, for he did more than any other man besides Luther, to reform the educational system of the country. I say, "besides Luther" advisedly, for Melanchthon but carried out the principles of education that Luther enunciated. If Melanchthon was "praeceptor Germaniae", Luther was "praeceptor Melanchthonis".

Melanchthon wrote the first systematic presentation of Lutheran doctrine in his "Loci Communes". He was author of the Augsburg Confession and of the Apology. He took part in all the great colloquies of the day.

Luther valued Melanchthon highly both as a friend and as a scholar. He said: "Philip has only the humble title of Master, but he excels all the doctors. There is no-one living adorned with such gifts." On another occasion he wrote: "This little Greek surpasses me even in theology." Herein, of course, Luther was mistaken, though Melanchthon did surpass him in Greek.⁴⁸

46. Luther: Walch, Vol. XXIa, p. 8.

47. McGiffert, pp. 109-110.

48. Four Hundred Years, pp. 190-191. Luther: Weimar, Vol. IV No. 5646.

II

LUTHER'S EDUCATIONAL ACTIVITY AS A PREACHER.

Luther's activities as an educator were not confined to the class room. His scope was widened by being called to the pulpit. In the pulpit he became one of the greatest popular preachers of all times.

After Luther had taken his B. D. in 1509, Staupitz urged him very much to practice preaching. Since Luther, however, thought it not a small matter to speak in the place of God, Staupitz had a very hard time to persuade him to take it up. He used fifteen different excuses to get around being called upon to take over the office of preaching. But Staupitz was not a mean persuader. Finally Luther said to Staupitz: "Doctor, you're killing me. I'll never be able to hold out a quarter of a year!" Nothing loath, Staupitz replied. "Alright then, let it be so! What else is to be done? The Lord God has great business on hand and needs learned men also above." To this Luther could find no answer, and yielded.⁴⁹

He began his preaching career in a large room of the monastery before his fellow monks, then later before the congregation. It was not without great trepidation that Luther mounted the pulpit for the first time. He afterwards consoles a theologian who found preaching a burden,

49. Luther: Walch, Vol. XX. p. 1250.

by relating to him his fears when first appearing before the people and seeing so many heads bobbing before him. In another place, he confesses, that even as a seasoned warrior, he had not entirely overcome his clerical stage fright. He felt free only after he had entered the pulpit. That hour, then, that he spent in the pulpit, was always the most precious of his life routine.⁵⁰

The town council of Wittenberg called Luther, in 1514, as an assistant in the parish church. He was assistant at first, to Nicolaus Fabri, of Grueneberg, then to Simon Heinsius, who remained until 1523, and thereafter to Bugenhagen.⁵¹ This parish, or city Church, stood in the middle of the town, and is still a conspicuous landmark. It was dedicated to the Virgin Mary. It was incorporated with the Castle Church in 1567. In 1515, Luther received from the town council a regular call to supply appointments in the church.

It was in this Church that Luther preached hundreds of sermons through his life time. Luther preached much. Sometimes he preached four sermons on a Sunday and two or three during the week. He was much in demand as a preacher. The people heard him, gladly. A large number of his sermons have been handed down to us. He was not in the habit of writing his sermons, -- they were written down by colleagues and students, as they were being preached. The large

50. Luther: Walch, Vol. IV, p. 2190; Vol. XXII, p. 1021.

51. Four Hundred Years, p. 132.

amount of work he had probably kept him from it. His sermons were, however, more or less carefully revised before publication.⁵²

Luther had rare gifts for his task as a preacher, a thorough knowledge of the Bible, a good acquaintance with the writings of the Church fathers, and the Classics, and a fund of information on/^{history and} many other subjects. He knew human nature, and had an abundant store of personal experiences. He knew the conditions of his time. He was at ease in addressing all classes of men. He knew the language of the people.⁵³

Luther's own ideas of preaching can be seen from the many statements on the subject in his writings: "The great subject of preaching is the glory of God in Jesus Christ. We preach always Him, the true God and man who died for our sins and rose again for our justification." "Not that is a Christian sermon which preaches the historical Christ..... You should teach and testify that the Gospel of Christ is given unto us who believe for righteousness and salvation."⁵⁴ As to the basis of the sermon, he says: "If any one has a Bible text given, and he be not able to make a sermon, he ought not to be a preacher."⁵⁶ As to the manner of preaching, he says: "He is a foolish preacher who thinks he must say all that comes into his mind. A preacher should stick

52. Four Hundred Years, p. 203.

53. *ibid.*, p. 202.

54. Luther: Walch, Vol. XIX, p. 1220.

55. *ibid.*, Vol. VI, p. 553.

56. *ibid.*, Vol. XXII, p. 1060.

to the main point of his text."⁵⁷ "Preaching to people, we should let white be white and black be black, and speak to them in simple clear language, so that they can understand."⁵⁸ "A preacher must speak with boldness." He calls it foolishness for a preacher to use many words and say nothing. He favored short sermons. "It speaks well for a preacher to hear the people say, when he has finished his sermon, that they fain would have heard him preach longer."⁵⁹ Luther, however, transgressed his own maxim often.

As a rule, Luther based his sermons on a certain text of Scripture. Most of his sermons are on the traditional texts of the pericopies. During the week he would preach on whole books of the Bible.

Luther paid very little attention to the outward form of the sermon. His introduction is usually short. His themes state concisely the main thought of the text, but were not stereotype. His sermons were strictly textual. His leading thoughts were always faith and charity, justification and sanctification, giving each its proper place and its due emphasis. His language is clear, simple, and forceful. He preached the Law with all its severity, and the Gospel in all its suavity. Luther was very humble as a preacher. He said: "I have often felt like spitting on myself, when I came from the pulpit."⁶⁰

57. Luther: Welch, Vol. XXII, p. 995.

58. *ibid.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 2178.

59. *ibid.*, Vol. XXII, p. 995.

60. Luther: Table Talk, Weimar, Vol. I, No. 868.

III

LUTHER'S EDUCATIONAL ACTIVITIES AS DISTRICT VICAR OF THE
AUGUSTINIAN ORDER.

Besides his university work, and his preaching, Luther's educational activities received a wider scope by his increasing influence in the Augustinian order. In the summer of 1512, he was made subprior of the Wittenberg cloister and not long afterward placed in full charge of the theological instruction in it. His success as a teacher was very great. The convent became so crowded with pupil monks that Luther had to protest against any more being sent. In 1515 he was appointed district vicar of the Order for a term of three years and had to look after the affairs of eleven monasteries.⁶¹

Instructed by Staupitz, Luther had to visit forty Augustian convents between 1516 and 1517. Thus commissioned, he made the circuit in Meissen and Thuringia, establishing schools, admonishing the monks to read the Bible and lead a holy, peaceful and decent life.

As a district vicar, Luther was a strict disciplinarian. In a letter to a provost of a monastery of another order, he advised life imprisonment, or capital punishment for a serious crime committed by a monk. Should the rules not provide this extreme punishment, then the monk should receive the severest penalty allowed by the rules of the order, as an example to other evil doers. Nor should the provost

61. McGiffert, p. 50.

be dissuaded by the fact that he himself was a sinner from inflicting the punishment, for it is not he, but justice and law whose minister he was, that punished. He should, of course, preserve due humility and gentleness of heart toward the offender but treat him rigorously, for power was not his, but God's, while humility ought not to be God's, but his.

On the other hand, he had a deep affection for his monks, and could exercise mercy and equity when the situation allowed it. Of a certain monk he writes, to the prior in Mayence:

"I am sorry to hear that a certain brother, George Baumgartner, from our cloister in Dresden, who fled, alas, because guilty of shameful conduct, has taken refuge with you. I thank you for your faithfulness and kindness in receiving him, that the scandal might be stopped. He is my lost sheep and belongs to me; mine it is to seek him and restore the erring one, if it please the Lord Jesus. So I beg you by our common faith in Christ and by the order of St. Augustine, that, if you can, you will send him to me to Dresden or Wittenberg, or will lovingly persuade him to return of his own free will. I shall receive him with open arms if he comes. He need have no fear of my displeasure. I know, I know, that offenses must come, and it is no marvel when a man falls, but it is a miracle when he recovers himself and remains steadfast. Peter fell that he might know

that he was human. Today even the Cedars of Lebanon fall, though while they stand they reach the heavens. Yes, even an angel in heaven fell,- a wonder it was indeed,- and Adam fell in paradise. So, is it surprising the reed should bend before the storm and the smoking flax extinguished?"⁶⁴

We add in conclusion, a few extracts from a letter written to Lang in 1516, which nicely show the scope of Luther's educational activities so far.

"I almost need two secretaries, for I do hardly anything the whole day long but write letters.....I am lecturer in the cloister and reader at meals; I am daily asked to preach in the parish church; I am director of studies; I am vicar, which means being prior eleven times over. I am lecturing on Paul, and gathering material on the Psalms You write you began to lecture on the Sentences, yesterday. I shall begin to expound the Epistle to the Galatians to-morrow. ...!"⁶⁵

IV

LUTHER'S EDUCATIONAL ACTIVITIES AS A CARRICHERE.

In the year 1527, Elector John of Saxony urged by Luther, issued an order for the visitation of all the Evangelical congregations under his jurisdiction. The members selected as visitation committee: Luther, Melancthon, Bugenhagen, Justus Jonas, John Pomeranus, and others. According to instructions, the visitors were to conduct

64. McGiffert, p. 73; Luther: Walch, Vol. XXIa, p. 24.

65. *ibid.*, p. 49.

an investigation in the congregations in regard to the doctrine and the Christian life of the clergy as well as the laity.⁶⁶

Thus, we find both Luther and Melanchthon on circuit in 1528, busy with this visitation. They found conditions deplorable in the schools as well as in the congregations.

Melanchthon registers his reaction in the words:

"What can be offered in justification that these poor people have hitherto been left in such great ignorance and stupidity. My heart bleeds when I regard this misery. Often when we have completed the visitation of a place, I go to one side and pour forth my distress in tears. And, who would not mourn to see the faculties of man so utterly neglected and that his soul, which is able to learn and grasp so much, does not even know anything of its Creator and Lord?"⁶⁷

Situations that moved Melanchthon to tears as a rule made Luther righteously "mad". Thus, "Mercy, Good God! What manifold misery, I beheld. The common people, especially in the villages, have no knowledge whatever of Christian doctrine, and alas, many pastors are altogether incapable and incompetent to teach. Nevertheless, all maintain that they are Christians, have been baptized, and receive the Holy Sacraments. Yet they cannot recite either the Lord's Prayer or Creed or the Ten Commandments; they live like

66. Triglot Concordia: The Symbolical Books of the Ev. Lutheran Church, German--Latin--English. Concordia Publishing House, 1921. Historical Introduction by Prof. F. Bente, p. 67.

67. F. V. N. Painter: Luther On Education, pp., 87-88.

"dumb brutes and irrational hogs. And yet, now that the Gospel has come they have nicely learned to abuse all liberty like experts. O, ye bishops, what will ye ever answer to Christ for having so shamefully neglected the people and never for a moment discharged your office!"⁶⁸

The result of these visitations was the publication of Luther's two Catechisms in 1529, the smaller of which still serves as the basic religious text book, next to the Bible, for children and catechumens.

Though the visitation gave the impetus for the immediate formulation and publication of these Catechisms, they are not the work of a day or a year, but of many years of catechetical work. Luther's entire pastoral activity was essentially of a catechetical nature. From the very beginning he was time and again occupied with reading the text of the Catechism to the people, and then explaining it in sermons. From the end of June 1516 to Easter 1517, he preached on the Ten Commandments and the Lord's Prayer. In 1518 the explanation of the Ten Commandments appeared in print. Oecolampadius praised the work "as having taken the veil from the face of Moses."

Luther's "Explanation of the Lord's Prayer in German", appeared in print, April 15, 1519. Beatus Rhenanus said that he would like to have seen this work offered for sale throughout Switzerland. "The Brief Instruction How to Confess," published in 1519 was also essentially an

68. Luther: Weimar, Vol. XXX, Part I, p. 266.

explanation of the Commandments. "Short and Good Explanation Before Oneself and Behind Oneself", are explanations of the seven petitions, emphasizing the fact that they were addressed to God. In June, 1520, there appeared the "Brief Form of the Ten Commandments, the Creed, and the Lord's Prayer". In 1522, his "Prayer Booklet" came out. In 1525, Luther's "Sermons on Baptism, Confession and the Lord's Supper" were also included in the Prayer Booklet. In the same year, the "Booklet for Laymen and Children" came off the press. And just the year preceeding the publication of his Catechisms, Luther had, in Bugenhagens absence, delivered three series of sermons on the Catechism. Luther's two Catechisms then, were the outgrowth of at least thirteen years of intensive catechetical work.⁶⁹

Luther's Small Catechism is simply the traditional "Kinderlehre", reformed. Each Commandment is provided with an explanation, setting forth its meaning, as to what is forbidden and what commanded. God's threat and promise, attached to the Commandments, is concisely elaborated. Each article of the Creed, is also provided with an explanation, showing God's mercy, grace, and kindness to man. The introduction of the Lord's Prayer, each of the Seven Petitions, and the word "Amen" are provided with a brief explanation, setting forth the Scriptural meaning. The heart and core of Catechism is the explanation of the Second Article. It sets

69. Triglot Concordia, pp., 75-76.

forth simply, concisely, sublimely, the central doctrine of the Bible, as seen by Luther, and justification by faith. As hundreds of thousands of Christians have learned its words, we quote it here. In translation much of its pristine beauty is lost.

"I believe that Jesus Christ, true God, begotten from eternity, and also true man, born of the Virgin Mary, is my Lord, who has redeemed me, a lost and condemned creature, purchased and won me from all sins, from death, and from the power of the devil, not with gold or silver, but with His holy, precious blood and with his innocent suffering and death, in order that I may be His own, and live under Him in His kingdom, and serve Him in everlasting righteousness, innocence, and blessedness, even as He is risen from the dead, lives and reigns to all eternity. This is most certainly true."⁷⁰

Another original feature of his "Small Catechism" was the logical arrangement of the first three parts. In the traditional "Kinderlehre" the arrangement was Lord's Prayer, Creed, Ten Commandments. Luther changed it to, Ten Commandments, Creed, Lord's Prayer. To a superficial critic this may seem unimportant. However, Luther's reason for the change, was to get the doctrines in proper succession. Luther says: "The Commandments teach a man to know his disease that he may see and perceive what he can do and not do, leave and not leave, and thus perceive that he is a sinner and a wicked man. Thereupon, the Creed holds before his eyes and

Luther: Weimar, Vol. ~~XXX~~, Part I. p. 296.

teaches him where to find the medicine, the grace, which will help him become pious that he may keep the Commandments, and shows him God and His mercy as revealed and offered in Christ. The Lord's Prayer teaches him how to ask for, get and obtain it, namely, by proper, humble, and comforting prayer. These three things comprise the entire Scriptures."⁷¹

Luther's "Large Catechism" was an elaboration of the doctrines of his "Small Catechism", an exposition and application.

Some have sought to belittle Luther's work in producing his catechisms by reference to the fact that the text of the three chief parts existed long before Luther.⁷² But Luther never laid claim to being the author of the Catechism. He expressly says that these parts of Christian doctrine had come down from the Ancient Church and it was the Ancient Church that he wished to restore to its pristine purity. This he sought to do by a restoration of its pristine doctrine, the basis of which he found in the catechism. Luther's service to the catechism was fivefold:

- 1) He brought about a general revival of the instruction of the catechism;
- 2) He completed it by adding the parts treating of the sacraments and confession;
- 3) He cleared its material from all manner of papal influence, such as the "Adjutore" and "Solve Regina";
- 4) He eliminated the Roman interpretation in the interest of work righteousness;
- 5) He refilled the ancient forms with their genuine evangelical and Scriptural meaning.⁷³

71. Luther: Walch, Vol X, p. 150.

72. Hartmann Crisar: Luther, (London, Kegan Paul, Trench Trubner and Co., Ltd. 1917) Vol VI, p. 453.

73. Triglot Concordia, p. 64.

It was through his catechisms that Luther exercised, and still exercises, his widest educational influence. His catechisms celebrate the five-hundredth anniversary in this year and are more widely used than ever before. We close this discussion of Luther's activity as a visitor by remarking that his visitation has now reached the Malayalam peoples of Travancore, by a translation of his Small Catechism into the Malayalam tongue, in the work of which, I had the pleasure of taking part. It is our best Mission tract.

V.

LUTHER'S EDUCATIONAL ACTIVITY AS A FATHER.

One of the antitheses of Luther's doctrine of justification by faith, without our merit, was monasticism. Luther did not neglect to show that the monastic life, with its threefold vow of poverty, celibacy, and obedience as a way to heaven was blasphemous. He, moreover, proved from Scripture that the vow of celibacy was also contrary to nature, since in most cases it was given without regard to a person's having a gift of continence, and had produced as a result, many sins and vices. He contended that all who did not possess the gift of continency, were in duty bound to enter the estate of matrimony. The state of matrimony, he established from Scripture, was a holy estate ordained by God, to provide for a legitimate and ordered expression of sex, and to propagate, nourish, and educate the human race. As an ordinance of God, this

estate, was holy and truly spiritual, while monasticism was neither holy nor spiritual, but the devil's own invention.

In consequence of Luther's doctrine, many convents and nunneries were emptied of their inmates. The once well-filled monastery of Wittenberg, in a short time, had only two monks left to disturb the cobwebs. One was Luther.

At last he, too, decided to take "Holy Orders". The time was propitious. In consequence of his teaching against monasteries and nunneries, there came to Wittenberg, one Käthe von Bara. With her, Luther decided to establish a home, provided the lady was of the same mind. She was. Hence, their marriage was solemnized on June 13, 1525. ⁷⁴

Thus Luther entered a new phase of educational activity. Some marriages are educative, some only enlightening. Luther's was both educative and enlightening. Luther made his home what it should be, the basic educational unit in the social structure.

Luther and his wife had a family of six children. Besides, he had staying with him, many of his nephews and nieces, eleven of whom had lost their parents and were received into his home as his children. Furthermore, there were always a number of students staying with him. The visitors in his home were numerous. In short, it was fortunate that he had the old monastery for his home, for a smaller sized dwelling would never have been able to house all. ⁷⁵

Luther tried to live up to the Scripture teaching of

74. Four Hundred Years, pp. 17-18.

75. Four Hundred Years, pp. 19-20.

family life that he had set forth in his sermons and writings. We have an interesting account of Luther's educational activities in the family circle, in the so-called: "Tischreden", sayings and conversations of Luther in the family circle, especially at meals, noted down by students, who made up, in part, the family circle. Mathesius gives a most interesting account of Luther as a home educator, in which very much is embodied, which is also to be found in the "Tischreden". We feel we cannot do better than give Mathesius' observations on this topic, by a free rendition of his account, somewhat abbreviated and edited.

When, due to age and growing infirmity, Luther had to give up much of his preaching, reading, and traveling, he remained at home. He then conducted house services in which he expounded the Gospel lesson of the Sunday. These sermonettes were noted down by Veit Dieterich, and afterwards edited as Luther's "House Postil".

Though he was sick, and bothered much with dizziness and fainting spells, the reformer could give himself no rest. Morning and evening, and often during suppertime, he would say his prayers as he had been accustomed to, from his youth, in the convent. He would pray the Small Catechism, like any other first grader. He read incessantly. The Psalms were his prayerbook, the Catechism, his hand-book. From these he consoled and admonished himself. He busied himself especially with the final revision of his German translation of the Bible. He often sought help and advice in this undertaking, and often at table started a discussion on the best

way of rendering this or that Hebrew word or passage, in the vernacular.

The year before, Luther had worked out the chronology of the Bible from creation, and arranged the Bible histories in their chronological order.⁷⁶ In reference to his book on "Usury", published about that time, Luther said at the table: "My book will touch the consciences of the small usurers, who take but five or six percent, with the connivance of Government, but the big mounte banks, profiteers, and dead-beats, will only laugh in their sleeve, as a great usurer said lately: Hitherto he had considered me a wise man, but I do not show it in my book. For, I undertook to write of matters in which I had no experience. He could write something better on the subject, since he had had many dealings with great princes and Lords."⁷⁷

Luther hardly ever came to the table without some book or other. At one time he brought a book of Oecalampadius with him. As he was peering into it, he began to read in good German. "If my intentions are not sincere or if I seek anything else than God's honor and the welfare of the Church, God will visit it upon me, and suddenly remove me." "Alas", said our doctor, "you poor man. You were your own prophet. May God forgive you if it is still possible." Someone at the table remarked: "I did not know the man could write such good German." But the book was in Latin.

Very often Luther came to the table in deep thought and

77. Mathesius, p. 375.

78. *ibid.*, pp. 376-377.

76. *ibid.*, pp. 373-374.

said nothing throughout the whole meal. At other times, his conversation was delightful. When he wanted to start a conversation he usually asked: "What's the news?" The first time he asked, no answer was forth coming, as a rule. Then he would ask again, "Prelates, what's the news?" Then the older ones at the table would begin the conversation. It was usually Dr. Wolff Severus, who could find something to say, even though news was lacking.⁷⁸

Often, theological questions were asked, to which Luther gave a clear, concise answer. It sometimes happened that one or another would disagree with him. Far from being offended, Luther welcomed this, and met the objector with proper arguments. The conversation was especially edifying, when members of the university were visiting him.

On one occasion, a story was related of a bishop, who had a desire to know what Christ had done in his youth. He dreamed that he saw a boy picking up wood and blocks. When noon had come, he called his father to dinner, and said to his mother, "Should I also call that other man?" Hereupon the bishop awoke with a start! Luther said that he also believed that the dear Christ child had helped its mother about the house as an obedient child, and had often brought in water, and occasionally wine. For this reason, when wine was lacking at the wedding of Caca, she spoke to him, as had been her custom previously. But as to the book extant, concerning the youth of the Lord, it was insignificant and

78. Mathesius, pp. 376-377.

trifling and had for this reason been rightly condemned by the ancient decretals as a worthless book.

Once his dog, Tölpel, was playing around the table. Someone asked Luther whether after the destruction of the world, irrational animals would be found in the new world. "Of course," said Luther, "for the new heaven and earth will not be desolate and void, but full of beautiful creatures. Each puppy will have his golden collar set with precious stones, and on the end of each tiny hair there will be a pearl. For the jewels and ornaments of the present world will then be used by the irrational animals only, the blessed human beings will be adorned with the essential and perfect wisdom, righteousness, brightness, and glory of the Lord Christ, which till now no eye has seen, and no ear heard, nor has entered into any man's heart."⁷⁹

At another time, Luther said, the joy of heaven will be different from the descriptions given by the Jews, and the Mohammedans in their "Alcoran" or that of the hopes of the common worldlings, who also says, "A good drink and a red egg after a bath is like the least of the joys of heaven". There one will behold God in a lovely state and perfect joy, as the 16 and 17 Psalms declare.

He was asked whether we would know one another after the resurrection. "To be sure", he answered, "for if Adam knew his Eve, who had been formed of one of his ribs, while he slept, though he had never seen her before, how much

79. Mathesius, pp. 377-378.

more will we in our new righteousness and perfection be able to recognize those with whom we associated on earth, and moreover, since we as adopted children of God by communicated divineness will be like the Lord Christ, we will know also all believers from the beginning of the world. For Mary Magdalene knew the Lord Christ by his speech, which he again brought with him from the grave, and the disciples knew glorified Moses and Elijah, who on the Holy Mount appeared for Christ's consolation, as also the people recognized the saints, who on Easter day, came forth from the grave with Christ.

"I also hold that since the rich^{er} man in hell saw and knew Abraham and Lazarus, the ungodly will not only know one another, but to their great grief, will also see the believers, in heaven, whom they tortured and persecuted on earth, and will suffer remorse and anguish about it, as the godly occasionally here experience offense and impatience, when the ungodly seem to prosper so well. Psalm 37"⁸⁰

Besides this instruction in doctrinal matters, the students in Luther's home received many a good "pointer" on sermon making. For Luther often spoke of the sermon preached in church over the Sunday meal. The preachers received praise or criticism, according to their deserts. In one preacher Luther would praise his simplicity of style, in another, his apt comparisons and examples. He praised especially those who formulated their matter in a proper manner and expressed it in good German words. Any preacher, who

based his sermon on one passage, expounded intelligible the words of his text and theme, often repeated the same thought throughout the sermon for the sake of the common man, and applied it to the life of the hearer, could count on praise from Luther. He said, "Such preachers condescend and remember whom they are addressing."

On one occasion some one reported that a certain preacher had caught himself on a nail in the pulpit. Luther said, "I half-way thought he was nailed up there; for he didn't seem to be able to quit."⁸¹

Luther very often referred to the condition of schools in his conversations. The emperors of old did a great deal for schools, as for example, Charles the Great, who supported thirty doctors, at Fulda, from which he drew his material for clergy in his bishoprics, and for other offices. But the drones drove the workers from this bee hive, and the monks and choirmasters, wormed their way into the schools, and divided the income with the poor school master, like the peasant divided with Mercurius, who promising to give half to the church to what Mercurius would give him, gave the outside of the nuts, and the inside of the dates. He spoke of schools as God's temples in which a servant of the church was trained in the functions of his office.⁸²

When great jurists, courtiers, or his intimate friends came to visit him, Luther's conversation was especially

81. Mathesius, pp. 383-384.

82. *ibid.*, pp. 385.

instructive and edifying. He points out hypocrisy in many adherents of the Reformation. "I fear that many, who now hold to our doctrine, will suffer shipwreck in their faith, as I also hope that many who are now against us in dead earnest and pure papal zeal, will receive the Gospel. For much more is to be hoped of a pious papist who earnestly holds to his religion, than of those others, who out of carnal freedom and maliciousness execrate and persecute the pope, help to pull out his tail-feathers and care to hear only such preachers who decry and down abbots, choirmasters, and other adversaries. Menasse and S. Paulus were also full of zeal, as the apostle Paul bears his brethren witness, 'sed non secundum scientiam' but such people can be converted at any hour or day. But whoever holds to our religion out of hypocrisy, selfishness or to cover up envy and wickedness, will remain only so long as benefit is derived from doing so. Saul and Julianus do not abide, as experience shows."⁸³

In his conversations Luther often spoke in glowing terms of married life. "Next to God's Word, the world has no lovelier or more beautiful treasure than holy wedlock, which He Himself ordained, preserved, and adorned above all other estates, and blessed, from which not alone all emperors, kings, and saints were born, but also the eternal Son of God, though in a different, unique manner. He, therefore, who is opposed to matrimony and speaks evil of it, is surely of the devil."

83. Mathesius, p. 586-587.

Luther in his home testified against all manner of unchastity in whatever form. With great earnestness he inveighed against the wicked lives of choirmasters and the choirboys salacious jests and puns upon Scripture passages. He was very angry with Sebastian Francken, who had published a book in which he had gathered all sorts of sayings and saws of a disreputable kind, concerning marriage and the female sex. He said, "A man who speaks evil and shame of matrons, maidens, government and clergy, is dishonorable." on the same theme he says: "All honorable unions and colleges have always excluded imposters and indecent people from their association, and expelled them from their guilds. Thus God also does not want fornicators, adulterers, and bastards in his kingdom, and illegitimate in his tabernacle. However, the pope, who is an enemy of chaste marital love, as Daniel says, sponsors celibacy, and all that is begotten in it, and brought it up to his religion, for which reason the world is full of bastards and illegitimate offspring, so that the devil might expect more guests. I am determined to live and die praising the Holy state of matrimony."

On one occasion someone asked him, whether it were a true marriage if a young man married an old shriveled dame, long past her menopause, like Sarah. He answered, that in honor of the state of matrimony we must let it pass. Both parties will not have a very pleasant existence in such an arrangement. He was not in the habit of making ordinances, if he were, he would in the marriage ceremony, in such

cases, have the words, "increase and multiply", deleted. For one should not use God's name and Word in vain.⁸⁴

A woman once came to his house complaining that she could not believe. Luther asked her whether she knew the Creed. "Yes", said the woman, and recited it for him, reverently.

"Do you believe that to be true?"

"Yes!"

"Well, dear woman, if you hold and believe those words are true, as they are indeed, you have a stronger faith than mine, for I have to pray daily for an increase of faith."

The woman thanked him kindly, and went her way in peace and joy. He knew also how to console his colleagues in the ministry. Antonius Musa, pastor at Kodilitz, once complained in tears, that he could not himself believe what he preached to others. Luther answered, "God be praised and thanked, that others have the same trouble! I thought I was the only one who had that trouble!"⁸⁵

Very often his conversation turned to the main doctrine of the Bible, justification by faith. When he spoke of justification, he often made the following distinction.

"There is a *justicia passiva* and *activa*. The one we suffer, in which God imputes the obedience and righteousness of his Son to us gratis and through faith alone, as he did Abraham, and in which we do nothing but hold our hearts

84. Mathesius, pp. 388-391.

85. *ibid.*, p. 391.

open and receive it in the Word. The other is called activa, which the Holy Ghost given us in regeneration, performs; this is and remains imperfect as long as we live, and we cannot accomplish any higher than that we desire and pray that we would be pious, and lament the fact, as St. Paul, Rom. 7, does, that we cannot be pious. ⁸⁶ Vell esse justum, est summa justicia, that we can do. ⁸⁶ He often emphasized the doctrine of the Christian cross. He said, "Our God has a Hebrew language manner of dealing with us. We finally after much difficulty, understand His counsel and will."

Luther often mentioned Dr. Staupitz in grateful accent, rehearsing his virtues and greatness. "He was indeed a worthy man, who was influential not only in school and church circles as a scholar, but also as a man of affairs in secular circles, at court and with great personages."

In his life as well as his conversation, Luther sought to be a true educator to his family circle. He often went to confession and to the Lord's Supper and always remained to the end of the service. He was moderate in eating and drinking.

Once he removed the quill from Melancthon's hand saying, "One can serve God, not only with work, but also with resting and recreation, for this reason he gave us His Third Commandment and instituted the Sabbath."⁸⁷

86. Mathesius, p. 395.

87. Mathesius, pp. 400-401.

Often after meals or during an evening, Luther sang with his family, accompanying them on the guitar. On one occasion, while rocking the baby's cradle, he composed his great Christmas Carol, "Von Himmelhoch Da Komm Ich Her", and sang it for the first time with his family on the following Christmas eve, around the Christmas tree. He was an example to his household in honesty, fair dealing, charity, contentment, courage, and humility. The Reformer often played and frolicked with the little tots about the house.

In spite of his usual kindness, however, Luther could be stern, when occasion called for it. He once refused to see his son, Hans, for three days, on account of some refractoriness, saying he would rather have a dead son than a disobedient one. He once called one of the students, who was lodging with him, to order, because of his disobedience and lack of diligence, telling him he would give him a whipping if he did not improve. "For I will not", said he, "permit such an example of disobedience in my house or at my table, even though you owned a dukedom. Regulate yourself accordingly, I'll not suffer it from you or anyone else!"⁸⁸

Such were the educational activities of Luther as a father. Such they were until "school quit" in 1546.

88. Luther: Walch, Vol. XXII, No. 2228.

VI.

LUTHER'S EDUCATIONAL ACTIVITIES AS A WRITER

It was as a writer that Luther extended his influence as an educator to its widest bounds. Through his writings, Luther became in truth "praeceptor Europae", aye, praeceptor of his times, and of later times. It is as a writer that Luther is known, not only in Europe of today, but in the Americas, in Australia, in Asia, Africa, in the West, the Near East, and the Far East. After the Bible, Luther's "Small Catechism" ranks next in the number of tongues into which it has been translated and the number of countries in which it is known.⁸⁹

Luther's activity and prolizity as a writer were stupendous. The months succeeding the Leipzig disputation were very busy ones. His mental powers were at their height and he worked to the very limit of his strength. He was more active with his pen than ever, continually sending pamphlets to the press and occasionally books of considerable bulk. The titles of his publications for the year 1519 number nearly thirty, many of them, to be sure; only sermons or brief tracts, but among them two large Scripture commentaries, and a sizable book on the power of the pope. In one of his letters he complained of his inability to publish as rapidly as he wished, because of the limitations of the printing office, and a little later informed a friend that he kept three presses going all the time. It was his habit to

89. Luther: Vol. X, pp. 23-24.

send a copy to the printer day by day, and he was nearly always reading the proof of the earlier pages of a book, while writing the later. Often the preface was in type before the work itself was even begun.

Newspapers were unknown and the place they now occupy was filled by brief pamphlets. Luther became in time the most active and influential pamphleteer in Germany.

Luther had, as he once remarked, "a quick hand and a ready memory", and all he wrote flowed from his pen without effort. His speed was the despair of friends and foes alike. It is amusing to see how often, when requested by Spalatin, or the elector or some other anxious sympathizer to refrain from a publication likely to make trouble, he replied that their protests were too late, for the deed was already done.⁹⁰

For all the haste in which he often wrote, one marvels that his style is simple, clear, to the point, picturesque, rugged, sublime, grand, yet not lacking in delicate touches, especially when he is consoling cross-bearers. Some have been offended at his invective and uncouth epithets hurled at enemies of the Gospel. Yet one never finds invective without instruction and argument. And for the most part, the invectives were merely calling a spade a spade. For the most part also the particular terms he uses are but echoes from the Prophets and the Apostle's writings, often taken directly from the mouth of Christ Himself.

90. McGiffert, pp. 148-149.

After having read somewhat in the Reformer's writings, one must agree with Mathesius' judgment, when he says, "I have as long as I have been around him, heard no indecent word out of his mouth." His statements on many matters now often considered "taboo" are frank, but never banal.

Luther considered his "Catechisms" and his "De Servo Arbitria" his best writings. His "Small Catechism has been called the "Gem of the Reformation" and deservedly so. It is through this book that the Reformer is best known. His "De Servo Arbitrio" is without doubt his most carefully planned and written book. It was written in reply to Erasmus, the great humanist, who came out against Luther, in spite of Luther's asking him to refrain from doing so, in his "De Libero Arbitrio." In his reply, the Reformer defends the thesis of human reason's complete incapacity in conversion.⁹¹

His "Genesis", "Galatians", "Freedom of a Christian Man", and his book: "That the Words: This is My Body Still Stand Firm Against the Fanatics" rank well with those he selected as his best.

His greatest reformatory writings were: Address to the Christian Nobility of the German Nation On the Improvement of the Christian Estate", "On the Babylonian Captivity of the Church", and "On The Freedom of a Christian Man."⁹²

91. Luther: Weimar, Vol. XVIII.

92. Luther: Weimar, Vol. XLII; Vol. XL; Vol. XXIII; Vol VI; Vol. VII.

Perhaps the most criticized of Luther's productions is his tract "Against the Thievish and Murderous Hordes of Peasants." It is indeed very stern. But much of the criticism is beside the point, because it fails to appreciate the fact that Luther was standing for law and order, and wrote the tract only after successive attempts at arbitration and appeals for non-violence had been in vain. Luther was in sympathy with most of the demands of the peasants, but not with their violent methods. He seemed to be the only one bold enough to tell the Government what its duty was. ⁹³

Luther's greatest work as a writer was not an original product, but a translation, the Bible. The influence that this translation had upon education, and the history of Germany is too well known to need repeating. Luther's Bible remains supreme of the German translations to this day.

Luther also contributed largely to the hymnody of the Church. His best known choral is, of course, "Ein Feste Burg." Another of equal merit is his penitential hymn, "Aus Tiefer Not Schrei Ich Zu Dir." One entitled, "Nun Frent Euch Lieben Christ Gemein", treats of justification by faith. ⁹⁴

The most important writings of the Reformer for our present purpose are his epoch making treatises on education: "An Die Bürgermeister Und Radsherren Aller Stadte Deutschen Laudes, das Man Christliche Schulen Arfrichten Und Erhalten

93. Luther: Weimar, Vol. XVIII.

94. Luther: Weimar, Vol. XXXV, p. 455, 422.

Soll.", and his: "Eine Predigt, Das Man Die Kinder Zur Schule Halten Soll." ⁹⁵ Of the first, one writer says:

"If we consider its pioneer character, in connection with its statement of principles and admirable recommendations, the 'Address' must be regarded the most important educational treatise ever written." ⁹⁶

It is mainly from these writings that the materials for the third and fourth parts of this thesis have been taken.

95. Luther: Weimar, Vol. XXX. Part I and II.

96. Painter, Preface, p.III.

PART THREE.

LUTHER'S STRICTURES ON CONTEMPORANEOUS EDUCATION

Luther had been working as an educator but a short while, when he began to realize what he had suspected before. His increasing knowledge of the Bible and his progressive application of its principles to education gradually led him to see many grave errors and dangers in the educational theory and practice of his day. His criticism kept growing apace, until 1520, 1525, and 1530, they shocked the educational world into reformatory and intelligent educational activity. In these years he issued his great treatises: "Address to the Christian Nobility", "The Letter to the Mayors and Aldermen On Behalf of Christian Schools", and his "Sermon on Sending Children to School". Never had man heard such indictment of the abuses in the thought life of a people, since the time of Christ and Paul. Hardly a phase of educational life escaped without some justly merited rebuke.

Luther attacked the prevailing lack of interest in education. "O eternal woe to the world! Children are daily born and grow up among us, and there are none, alas! who feel an interest in them; and instead of being trained, they are left to themselves."¹ Especially does he score the lack of interest in education of such parents, who are so lacking in piety and uprightness that they would not educate their

1. Luther: Weimar, Vol. XV. p. 33.

children even if they could, hardening themselves against their offspring like the ostrich and doing nothing for them. He thinks it a shame and sad to see how the universities of Erfurt, Leipzig, and others, as well as preparatory schools, are deserted, so Wittenberg almost alone was doing its best. Luther thought the situation criminally unnatural. "It is indeed a sin and a shame that we must be aroused and incited to the duty of educating our children and of considering their highest interests, whereas nature itself should move us thereto, and the example of the heathen affords us varied instruction. There is no irrational animal that does not care for and instruct its young in what they should know, except the ostrich, of which God says: 'She leaveth her eggs in the earth and warmeth them in the dust, and is hardened against her young ones as though they were not hers!'"² He considered this lack of interest in education one of the most heinous crimes: "In my judgment there is no other outward offence that in the sight of God so heavily burdens the world, and deserves such heavy Chastisement, as the neglect to educate children."³

Perhaps his greatest Jeremiad on this criminal lack of interest in the educational welfare of the young, we find in his "Sermon on the Duty of Sending Children to School": "Ought not God to be angry! Ought not famine to come! Ought not pestilence, toil, the French and other plagues,

2. Luther: Weimar, Vol. XV, p. 32.

3. *ibid.*, Vol. XV, p. 33.

to find us out? Ought not savage tyrants to reign? Ought not war and strife to arise? Ought not bad government to prevail in the German States! Ought not Turks and Tartars to plunder us! Yea, it would be no wonder if God should open the doors and windows of hell, and let all the devils loose upon us, or if He should rain fire and brimstone from heaven and sink us all in the abyss of hell, as he did Sodom and Gomorrah. For if Sodom and Gomorrah had possessed, and heard, and seen as much as we have been blessed with, they would still exist at the present day. For they were ten times less guilty than Germany is now; for they did not have the Word of God and the ministry as we have them--but alas, in vain, since we act as if we wished that God, His Word, and all discipline and learning might perish."⁴ He exhorts to action, backed by live, intelligent interest. "We have, alas, lived and degenerated long enough in darkness; we have remained German brutes too long! Let us use our reason, that God may observe in us gratitude for His mercies, and that other lands may see that we are human beings, capable both of learning and of teaching, in order that through us, also, the world may be made better."⁵ All this was to awaken the disinterested and the slothful.

Luther also criticizes those who had an interest but not of the proper kind. "First of all we see how the schools are deteriorating throughout Germany. The universities are becoming weak, the monasteries are declining, and as Isaiah

4. Luther: Weimar, Vol. XXX, Part II, 582.

5. Luther: Weimar, Vol. XV, p. 48.

says: 'The grass withereth, the flower fadeth, because the Spirit of the Lord bloweth upon it, through the Gospel'. For through the Word of God, the unChristian and sensual character of these institutions is becoming known. And because selfish parents see that they can no longer place their children upon the bounties of monasteries and the cathedrals, they refuse to educate them. 'Why should we educate our children', they say, 'if they are not to become priests, monks, and nuns, and thus earn a support?' The hollow piety and selfish sins of such persons are sufficiently evident from their own confession. For if they sought anything more than the temporal welfare of their children in monasteries and the priesthood, if they were deeply in earnest to secure the salvation and blessedness of their children, they would not lose interest in education, and say, 'if the priestly office is abolished, we will not send out children to school.'⁶

The fact that such selfish motives for educating children stood revealed, was due largely to Luther's condemnation of the unChristian character of the education that had been offered. When Luther spoke of education, he meant Christian education. And this he found almost entirely lacking under papal control. "I should prefer, it is true", he says, "that our youth be ignorant and dumb rather than that the universities and convents should remain as the only sources of instruction open to them. For it is my earnest intention,

6. Luther: Weimar, Vol. 15, pp, 28-29.

prayer, and desire that these schools of Satan either be destroyed or changed into Christian schools."⁷ He says of the convent and cathedral schools, "But to them we may apply the words of Christ: 'Woe unto the world because of offenses! Whoso shall offend one of these little ones which believe in me, it were better for him that a millstone were hanged about his neck and that he were drowned in the depth of the sea'. They are nothing but destroyers of children."⁸ Hence, we must have persons qualified to dispense the Word of God and the Sacraments, and to be pastors of the people. But where will we obtain them, if schools are not established on a more Christian basis, since those hitherto maintained, even if they did not go down, can produce nothing but depraved and dangerous corrupters of the youth?⁹ I say nothing of the shameful and vicious life in those institutions by which our worthy youth have been so lamentably corrupted."¹⁰

The reason these schools were un-Christian and corrupt, Luther finds, in the curriculum, in which one vital subject is lacking almost entirely, and this applied to university education as well as the elementary schools. Of the universities he says: "The universities also require a good sound reformation. This I must say, let it vex whom it may. The fact is, whatever the papacy has ordered or instituted is only designed for the propagation of sin and error. What

7. Luther, Weimar, Vol. XV, p. 31.

8. *ibid.*, Vol. XV., p. 55.

9. *ibid.*, Vol. XV., p. 48.

10. *ibid.*, Vol. XV., p. 31.

are the universities as at present ordered, but as the 'Book of Maccabees' says: 'schools of Greek fashion and heathenish manners' full of dissolute living, where very little is taught of the Holy Scriptures and of the Christian faith. ..."¹¹

Of the elementary schools he says: "Alas, what manifold misery I beheld. The common people, especially in the villages, know nothing at all of Christian doctrine: and many pastors are quite unfit and incompetent to teach. Yet all are called Christians, have been baptized, and enjoy the use of the Sacraments, although they know neither the Lord's Prayer, nor the Creed, nor the Ten Commandments, and live like the poor brutes and irrational swine."¹²

In place of this vital subject in the curriculum had come doctrines of men. Of the universities, Luther says: "that in them, the blind, heathen teacher, Aristotle, rules even further than Christ."¹³ He would not rest satisfied until the "damned heathen" was expelled. "Now my advice would be that the books of Aristotle, the 'Physics', the 'Metaphysics', 'Of the Soul', and 'Ethics', which have hitherto been considered the best, be altogether abolished, with all others that profess to treat nature, though nothing can be learned from them, either of natural or spiritual

11. Luther: Weimar, Vol. VI, p. 457.

12. Luther: Weimar, Vol. XXX, Part I, p. 266.

13. *ibid.*, Vol. VI, p. 460.

things. Besides, no one has been able to understand his meaning and much time has been wasted, and many vexed with much useless labor, study, and expense."¹⁴

Especially did Luther attack the scholastic theology taught in the schools, which was built upon and ruled by Aristotle. We quote a few samples. "If you wish to define man correctly, take the definition and description from this text, (the imagination of man's heart is evil from his youth) and say: man is a rational animal, with reason, and has a heart that imagines. But, what does it imagine? It imagines, namely, against God, God's Commandments, and against man. Thus Holy Scripture posets in man reason that is not idle, but always imagining something. What it imagines it calls evil, and ungodly. The philosophers, however, call it good, the sophists call it incorrupted and perfect natural powers." Again, "Therefore, such clumsy and blasphemous statements are proof positive that theologia scholastica has been altogether changer into a heathenish philosophy and wisdom, which has no true understanding, which, since it does not know, knows also nothing of God, and is engulfed in darkness, just as Aristotle and Cicero, who were, admittedly the highest in this art, teaching much of morality and praising it highly, propter finem politicum, id est, because they see that it is of great value in home, and state-government, yet teaching nothing of God, as to considering His Will and Commandment

Luther: Weimar, Vol. VI, p. 457.

higher than one's own or the common good, for of such will of God, those know nothing, who have not the Word." ¹⁵

It is a great blasphemy, when the scholastics profess that the natural powers, as understanding, will, and reason of man are incorrupt. This, however, is a still greater one that they hold this also of the devils. For if the natural powers and reason are uncorrupt, what need would we have of the Lord, Christ?" ¹⁶ Such criticisms of the doctrines or teachings of the schools could be cited ad libitum. For, to Luther, these false teachings which had usurped the place of the Gospel and Bible doctrine, were the "proton pseudos" from which all other evils flowed.

On this neglect of Bible doctrine Luther lays the blame for the meagreness of learning and the general inefficiency of the schools. There were some who would have been satisfied to limit the function of the school to the teaching of the tools of knowledge. With them, Luther takes strong issue. "But it will not fail that some worshiper of Mammon will withdraw his son from school and say that, 'a knowledge of arithmetic and reading is enough' since we now have German books, etc., and thus set a bad example before pious citizens who follow him to their injury, in the opinion that he has done well." ¹⁶ He shows the short sightedness of such a narrow educational view. "For a congregation and especially a large city must have not only merchants, but also people who know more than arithmetic and reading in German books.....But for preaching, governing and directing

15. Luther: Walch, Vol. I. pp. 875, 878.

16. *ibid.*, Vol. V, p. 685.

both in the spiritual and secular sphere, all the sciences and languages of the world are insufficient let alone the German, particularly at this time, when we have to speak with more people than neighbor Jack. But these devotees of Mammon do not think of government nor consider that without preaching and ruling they would not be able to serve their idol, for an hour."¹⁷ He was altogether out of sympathy with those who slighted true culture, for material reasons, and inscribed only the dollar sign upon their educational escutcheon. "And pay no attention to the contempt which the ordinary devotee of Mammon manifests for culture, so that he says: 'Well, if my son can read, write, and cipher, that is enough; for I am going to make a merchant out of him'. Without scholars it would not be long till businessmen in their perplexity would be ready to dig a learned man out of the ground, ten yards deep, with their fingers; for the merchant will not long remain a merchant, if preaching and the administration of Justice cease."¹⁸

He also criticizes the inefficiency of the schools, which was the cause of meagreness of instruction, in fact, if not in principle. "If through neglect we lose the language (which may God forbid) we will not only lose the Gospel, but it will finally come to pass that we will lose also the ability to speak and write either Latin or German. Of this

17. Luther: Weimar, Vol. XXX, part II, p. 519.

18. *ibid.*, pp. 577-578.

let us take as proof and warning the miserable and shocking example presented in the universities and cloisters, in which not only the Gospel has been perverted, but also the Latin and German languages have been corrupted so that the wretched inmates have become like brutes, unable to speak and write German or Latin, and have almost lost their natural reason."¹⁹ He censures the schools for the time lost by their inefficiency. "Has it not been a grievous misfortune that a boy has hitherto been obliged to study twenty years or longer in order to learn enough miserable Latin to become a priest and to read mass?"²⁰ He is done with such inefficiency. "It is not my idea that we should establish schools as they have been heretofore, where a boy has studied Donatus and Alexander, twenty or thirty years, and yet has learned nothing."²¹

The fact that schools were so lacking in efficiency, he attributes to poor teachers, bad text books, wrong methods, and pervert discipline. "The tonsured crowd is rapidly decreasing, and besides, for the most part, the monks are unskilled to teach and rule, since they know nothing but to care for their stomachs, the only thing they have been taught."²² "Everywhere we have had such teachers and masters, who have known nothing themselves, who have been able to teach nothing useful, and who have been ignorant even of the right methods of learning and teaching."²³ "I was obliged

19. Luther: Weimar, Vol. XV, p. 38.

20. *ibid.*, p. 51.

21. *ibid.*, p. 46.

22. *ibid.*, p. 47.

23. *ibid.*, p. 51.

with great cost, labor, and injury, to read Satanic filth, the Aristotelian and Scholastic philosophy, so that I have enough to do to get rid of it."²⁴ "He (God) in turn, instead of the Holy Scriptures and good books, suffered Aristotle and numberless pernicious books to come into use, which only led us further from the Bible. To these were added the progeny of Satan, the monks and the phantoms of the universities, which we founded at incredible cost and many doctors, preachers, teachers, priests and monks, that is to say, great, coarse, fat asses, adorned with red and brown caps, like swine led with a golden chain and decorated with pearls; and we have burdened ourselves with them, who have taught us nothing useful, but have made us more and more blind and stupid, and as a reward have consumed all our property and filled all the cloisters, and indeed, every corner, with the dregs and filth of their unclean and noxious books, of which we can not think without horror."²⁵ Some of these books Luther mentions by name. "And instead of good books, the senseless, useless, and hurtful books of the monks, the 'Catholicon Florista', 'Graecista, Labyrinthus', 'Dormi Secure', and the like, were introduced by Satan, so that the Latin language was corrupted, and neither good schools, good instruction, nor good methods of study remained.

Of wrong methods, Luther criticized the failure to go

24. Luther: Weimar, Vol. XV., p. 46.

25. *ibid.*, pp. 50-51.

to the source as the worst, and fruitful of most evil consequences. "And since the time that the languages disappeared (he is speaking especially of Greek and Hebrew, the source languages of Scripture), not much that is noteworthy and excellent has been seen in the church; but through ignorance of the languages, very many shocking abominations have arisen." "How often is St. Augustine in error in the Psalms and in other expositions, as well as Hilary, and indeed all those who have undertaken to explain the Scriptures, without an acquaintance with the original tongues? And if perchance they have taught correct doctrine, they have not been sure of the application to be made of particular passages."²⁶ "This explains why, since the days of the apostles, the Scriptures have remained in obscurity, and no reliable and enduring expositions have anywhere been written. For even the holy fathers, as we have said, are often in error, and because they were not versed in the languages, they seldom agree."²⁷ "Hence it is foolish to attempt to learn the Scriptures through the comments of the fathers and the study of many books and glosses."²⁸ He further shows his distaste for an educational view that would make of education a taskmaster's job, which called for task master's methods. "And our schools are no longer a hell or purgatory, in which children are tortured over

26. Luther: Weimar, Vol. XV, p. 39.

27. *ibid.*, p. 40.

28. *ibid.*, p. 41.

cases and tenses, and in which, with much flogging, trembling, anguish, and wretchedness, they learn nothing."²⁹

This, then, was the barrage of criticism Luther turned loose on the educational theory and practice prevalent in his day. His indictment touched every phase of education in school and at home.

But Luther was no mere destructive critic. Quick to censure the evils in education, he had received, some of which still persisted, he was equally quick to acknowledge good, wherever he found it, whether with friend or foe. This is apparent from the fact that he, with grateful acknowledgement took over into his educational program much of what others, by their labors had produced or advanced. Thus in a study of his educational principles, we will find the traditional along with the original. For happily, through the exigencies of his educational labors, he was forced to relate his educational program to life, and thus to go back to a study of principles upon which true education at all times, must be based. We shall now take up these principles of education for which he stood.

29. Luther: Weimar, Vol. XV, p. 46.

PART FOUR

LUTHER'S PRINCIPLES OF EDUCATION.

HIS CONCEPT OF EDUCATION.

Luther has, nowhere, briefly formulated his educational concept, though he wrote often and much on the subject directly, and frequently alluded to it in his sermons and other writings. Owing to this lack, a modern writer on this subject seems to feel himself driven to quote definitions of education offered by other writers and have Luther decide for or against them. He writes: "Luther approached education from the practical side. He was led to this aspect of the subject both by the native bent of his mind and the urgent necessities of the Church and State. While recognizing education as a development or strengthening of our native powers, he directed his attention mostly to its character as a preparation for the various duties of life. He would have accepted Milton's definition as a clear embodiment of his views: 'I call a complete and generous education that which fits a man to perform justly, skillfully, and magnanimously all the offices, both private and public, of peace and war.' He would have made no objection to the definition of Herbert Spencer:--'Education is the preparation for complete living'--though differing from the Englishman in his conception of complete living. He would have been pleased with Niemeyer's definition: 'Education is at once the art and the science of guiding

the young and of putting them in a condition, by the aid of instruction, through the power of emulation and good example, to attain the triple end assigned to man by his religious, social, and national destination."¹

It is doubtful whether Luther would have been fully satisfied with any of these definitions, for they seem to leave God and Christ out of consideration, and say nothing of the impaired powers of man due to the fall. A better statement of Luther's educational concept can without great difficulty be abstracted from Luther's writings.

In the following, I shall treat in detail of Luther's educational concept under these heads: 1) Luther's What of Education; 2) Luther's Why of Education; 3) Luther's Who of Education; 4) Luther's Whom of Education; 5) Luther's When of Education; 6) Luther's Where of Education; 7) Luther's How of Education. From this detailed treatment of the subject we shall see that Luther's concept of education may be briefly stated thus: Education is a method of training employed by God, through duly authorized and capable representatives, who by the application of His Holy Scriptures and the accumulated race experience normated thereby, to the ignorant and inexperienced members of the fallen human race, during the time of greatest plasticity, especially at home and in schools, instruct, exercise, and discipline them in right knowledge and in the use of His manifold gifts, spiritual and temporal,

1. Painter, p. 145.

for God's glory and the welfare of mankind.

I.

LUTHER'S WHAT OF EDUCATION.

Luther conceived of education as a method of training instituted by God, as a method of training involving instruction, exercise and discipline, as a method of training in the manifold gifts of God, spiritual and temporal.

As to education being a divine institution, Luther says: "The third consideration is the highest of all, namely, God's command, which through Moses so often urges and enjoins that parents instruct their children that the seventy-eighth Psalm says: 'He established a testimony in Jacob and appointed a law in Israel which he commanded our fathers, that they should make them known to their children'. And the fourth Commandment also shows this, where He has so strictly enjoined children to obey their parents, that disobedient children were to be put to death. And why do old people live except to care for, teach and bring up the young? It is not possible for inexperienced youth 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. Therefore, Moses gives this injunction: 'Ask thy father and he will show thee; thy elders, and they will tell thee'"²

As to education being a method of training, involving,

2. Luther: Weimar, Vol. XV. p. 30.

instruction, exercise and discipline, we note the following passages from Luther: "Therefore we must have the young learn the parts which belong to the Catechism or instruction for children well and fluently, and diligently exercise themselves in them, and keep them occupied in them."³ "Children are to be taught what there is to teach and they are to be disciplined if they do not follow this teaching. For it is necessary both to teach them and to discipline them, if they will not observe it."⁴

Luther considers everything that we have and are a gift of God. "I believe that God made me and all creatures, that He has given me my body and soul, eyes and ears, and all my members, my reason and all my senses and still preserves them; also clothing and shoes, meat and drink, house and home, wife and children, field and cattle, and all my goods, that He richly and daily provides me with all that I need to support this body and life."⁵ Luther makes a distinction between spiritual and bodily gifts of God: "The gifts of God are given not only in the Spirit but also externally to the body, for God is also God of the body."

Luther brings education in direct relationship with God's temporal gifts, when he says that it is a function of education to train men for civil government, a most excellent gift of the temporal gifts. We quote: "In the first place it is true that secular authority or station

3. Luther: Weimar, Vol. XXX, Part I. p. 129.

4. Luther: Walch, Vol. III, p. 1819.

5. Luther: Weimar, Vol. XXX, Part I, p. 292.

is in no way comparable to the spiritual office of the ministry, as St. Paul calls it, for it is not so dearly purchased through the blood and death of the Son of God. . . . But it is still a beautiful and divine ordinance, an excellent gift of God, who ordained it, and who wishes to have it maintained as indispensable to human welfare, without it men could not live together in society but would devour one another like the irrational animals."⁶ "You must indeed be an insensible and ungrateful creature, fit to be ranked among the brutes, if you see that your son may become a man to help the emperor maintain his dominion, sword and crown, to help the prince govern his land, to counsel cities and states, to help to protect for every man his body, wife, child, property, and honor, and yet will not do so much as to send him to school and prepare him for his work!"⁷

The greatest of all gifts to man is God Himself. "God is a rich giver, who gives to us out of a great heart-felt love. What does He give? Not great kingdoms, not one or more worlds full of silver and gold, not heaven and earth with all that is therein, not all creation, but His Son, who is an eternal, incomprehensible gift: just as the Giver and His love are incomprehensible, which is the fountain and source of all grace, good, and benefit, yea, the very possession and ownership of eternal gifts and treasures of God. That is a love not with words, but indeed and in the

6. Luther: Weimar, Vol. XXX, Part II, p. 554.

7. *ibid.*, Vol. XXX, Part II, p. 561.

highest degree proven by the most precious gift and work, that God himself has, or can perform. What more should or can He do or give? For since He gives His Son, what does He withhold that He does not give? Yea, He gives with it, Himself entirely and altogether, as St. Paul says, Romans 8, 32: 'If He spared not His own Son, how should He not with Him give us all things?'" ⁸

Luther conceives it as the highest function of education to train by instruction, exercise, and discipline, man in the right knowledge and use of this, God's highest gift. "God has given you children and the means of their support, not that you might simply have pleasure in them and bring them up for worldly display. You are earnestly commanded to bring them up for the service of God."⁹ But children are brought up for the service of God through the office of the ministry of the Word, through which God deals with man. Hence, education had also as one of its most important functions, to train men for the discharge of the functions of the spiritual office next to God, the most important Spiritual Gift. "I trust that believers and all who wish to be called Christians understand that the ministerial office was instituted of God not with gold and silver but with the precious blood and bitter death of His only Son our Lord Jesus Christ. For from His wounds as is shown in the Epistles, truly flow the sacraments, and His blood has

8. Luther: Walch, XI, p. 1481.

9. Luther: Weimar, Vol. XXX, Part II, p. 531.

dearly purchased for mankind the blessing of the ministerial office the function of which is to preach, baptize, loose, bind, dispense the sacraments, comfort, warm, admonish with God's Word, and do whatever else pertains to the care of souls. Such an office not only promotes temporal life and every secular condition, but it also gives eternal life, releases from death, and sin, which is its peculiar and distinguished work." ¹⁰ "But how will you bring them up to the service of God, when preaching and the ministerial office have passed away? And the fault is your, since you might have helped to preserve them, if you had instructed your child.... For when you can teach your child, and it is capable and desirous of learning, and you do not aid, but hinder it (mark my words well!), you are responsible for the injury that comes to the world through the decline of the ministry and the neglect of God and His word."¹¹

Thus we see that Luther related education to the manifold gifts of God. He considered it a method of training in the right knowledge and use of them.

II

LUTHER'S WHY OF EDUCATION.

Stated generally, Luther's Why of education, his purpose, would be: The individual should be trained in the knowledge and use of God's gifts for the Glory of God and the welfare of mankind. Luther says of the purpose of God's gifts: "God gives His gifts to man not that they should there-

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 10. Luther: Weimar, Vol. XXX, Part II, p. 527.
 11. *ibid.*, Vol. XXX, Part II, p. 531.

by become haughty and proud and rave and fume against the poor and needy, but all that He gives to men, whether it be wealth or strength or beauty, He gives for the sake of His Glory and for the welfare of one's neighbor. Thus the ultimate purpose of God's gifts is not that those who have the gifts sport with them or use them for licentiousness and tyranny and selfishness, but the right use of God's gifts should tend to God's glory and the benefit and welfare of one's neighbor."¹²

There were certain gifts of God which, to Luther, were especial objects of education: 1) religion, 2) polity, 3) physique, 4) matrimony, 5) wealth, 6) arts. If we now consider these gifts in their relation to the purpose they should serve as stated above by Luther, and state Luther's Why of education in modern parlance, it will become apparent that Luther has anticipated the modern sociological stress of education by four hundred years, by insisting that education should : 1) Foster the religious life; 2) Advance the civic life; 3) Further health; 4) Promote the family life; 5) Order and humanize the economic life; 6) Enrich the cultural or recreational life. This will become more apparent as we proceed with each point in detail.

1. Religious Life and Education.

Luther was a deeply religious man. He considered religion the most important thing in life. God as man's Creator, Preserver, Governor, Saviour, Sanctifier, was to

12. Luther: Walch, Vol. III, p. 384.

him man's highest good. "Hence also, I think we Germans from ancient times call God (more elegantly and appropriately than any other language) by that name from the word 'good' as being an eternal fountain, which gushes forth abundantly nothing but what is good and from which flows forth all that is and is called good."¹³ Luther, therefore, first of all related education to this highest of all gifts, God Himself, and holds that education must first of all foster the religious life. Man should first of all be trained in the right knowledge and the right use of God and all spiritual gifts coming from Him. He says: "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."¹⁴

To Luther, religion meant Christianity in its two-fold aspect. "A Christian life consists altogether in this that we in the first place believe and trust in our Savior Christ and are absolutely sure of this, that we will never be forsaken by Him, let danger and trouble come as it may. Secondly, that every Christian take that attitude of mind toward friend and foe, that he sees Christ take, who is willing to help every one."¹⁵

In another passage, he speaks of Christianity as the acknowledging of the overlordship of Christ. "A Christian life is that we accept the invisible Christ and believe

13. Luther: Weimar, Vol. XXX, Part I, pp. 135-136.

14. Luther: Walch, Vol. XIX, p. 1209.

15. *ibid.*, Vol. XI, p. 2050.

that He is our only Lord and Savior, who has redeemed us from sin, death, devil and hell. Thereafter, when we have thus acknowledged Him as our Lord, that we also serve Him with our whole life and pay tribute to Him as our Lord saying: "Lord, heretofore, I was in the devil's power and service and misused your gifts, which I even then had in part, shamefully under the devil. But now I have learned and know positively that you alone are my God and Lord. I believe in you and therefore desire to serve you in this faith, believing with my whole heart that you are my Lord and Savior, and obeying you in my station and doing what pleases you.' That is the way to distinguish the Christian from the external life. However, both should be and remain subject to Christ, though a Christian according to the body is subject to civil government. For we should rather give up body, life, wealth, and honor, and everything, that we have, than give up Christ."¹⁶

Education must foster the religious life in these two phases. As to the first, education must take cognizance of the fact that it has to deal with members of a fallen race. God had created man in his own image and likeness, in blissful knowledge of Himself and perfect righteousness and holiness. Man knew God and His will, and had the power to live and did live in conformity with God's Law. But man tempted by Satan, became disobedient, thus losing his blissful knowledge of God and his holiness and righteousness.

16. Luther: Walch, Vol. XIII, p. 404.

He no longer shared the blissful communion with God, but by God's curse was delivered up to sin, the devil, and death, temporal and eternal. But God sent His Son, Christ, into the world, the God man, to obey God's law in man's stead and suffer the eternal punishment of man's transgression. For His sake God forgives man's sins, declared him just, and restores man to his erstwhile filial relationship with Him. Now, it is the purpose of education, the first purpose, to bring man to accept the forgiveness of sin by faith in Christ as a free gift of God. Luther, therefore says: "Children should be instructed in what pertains to God. They should be taught to know the Lord Jesus Christ and constantly to remember how He suffered for us, what He has done and what He has promised."¹⁷

This instruction in Christian, Gospel, doctrine, Luther considers absolutely necessary, for he holds that "we cannot by our own reason or strength believe in Jesus Christ or come to Him, but the Holy Ghost calls us by the Gospel, enlightens us with His gifts, sanctifies and keeps us in the true faith."¹⁸ By constant application of the Gospel, i. e., the Word concerning the forgiveness in Christ, fallen man, who has come to faith, must be trained ever more in the knowledge of Christ, and be exercised and disciplined in trust, faith, confidence, joy and consolation in Him in life and death.

17. Painter, p. 120.

18. Luther: Weimar, Vol. XXX, Part I, p. 296.

As to the second phase of Christian life, love toward our fellow men, education must motivate this love by the Gospel and guide it by the law. The convex between faith and morals, according to Luther's quotation above, is this. Since Christ has done so much for him, a believer will be filled with gratitude, and desire to please God with his whole life. Then man tells God, according to Luther's explanation of the fifth Petition of the Lord's Prayer: "Even as God has forgiven, so will he forgive gladly, and do good to those who sin against him."¹⁹ in fine, moved by gratitude the believer will begin to obey both tables of the law of God, loving God and man.

In this then does education's prime duty towards fostering religious life consist. Education must constantly apply the Gospel word to engender and nourish faith in Christ, and motivate pious conduct, and must apply the law of God both to deepen the knowledge of sin and to guide the grateful believer in his conduct toward God and man.

Education should build up in the individual, right knowledge, habits, aspirations and ideals toward God and man. It has as its goal, a Christian, fitted to use God's manifold gifts, spiritual and temporal, for God's glory and the welfare of mankind, or, still more briefly, Christian character. Since the Word, the means of education, is exercised and administered by the office of the Word,

19. Luther: Weimar, Vol. XXX, Part I, p. 306.

education has as a second goal, with respect to fostering the Christian life, training of men for the exercise of the spiritual office. The quotation was given under a former heading.²⁰

2. Civic Life and Education.

Luther held that education should advance the civic life. Luther considered the state, the relationship of ruler and subject, authority, and obedience, not only a wholesome expedient but a divine arrangement. "It is a beautiful and divine ordinance, an excellent gift of God, who ordained it and who wished to have it maintained as indispensable to human welfare; without it men could not live together in society, but would devour one another like irrational animals."²¹

The fact that Luther considers civil authority a divine institution has often been misinterpreted to mean the theory of the divine right of kings, which Luther was supposed to have sponsored. On the contrary, Luther's views on government were refreshingly democratic. He says in his "Sermon On the Duty of Sending Children to School", "God does not wish that those who are born kings, princes, lords and nobles should alone rule, but He desires also to have His beggars share in the government; otherwise they would think that noble birth alone made lords and rulers and that God had nothing to do with it."²²

20. Luther: Weimar, Vol. XXX, Part II, p. 527.

21. *ibid.*, p. 555.

22. *ibid.*, p. 576.

Again, "It will remain true that your son and mine, that is to say, the children of the common people, will rule the world, both in spiritual and secular stations, as this Psalm testifies." Luther does not advance either the theory of the divine right of kings, nor the divine right of the bourgeoisie to rule alone. He continues, "For wealthy worldlings can not and will not do it: they are the priests and monks of Mammon, upon whom they are obliged to wait day and night: princes and lords by birth cannot do it alone and especially are they unable to fill the spiritual office of the ministry. Thus must both spiritual and secular government continue on earth in the hands of the common people and their children."²³ But enough of this point.

As to the functions of civil government, Luther says: "It is the function and honor of civil government to make men out of wild animals and restrain them from degenerating into brutes. It protects everyone in body, so that he may not be injured; it protects everyone in family, so that the members may not be wronged; it protects everyone in home, lands, cattle, property, so that they may not be attacked, injured or stolen."²⁴

Now education should advance civic life in a two-fold manner, 1) by training God fearing, orderly, law abiding intelligent, progressive citizens, fitted to discharge the duties of citizenship; 2) product capable rulers from among the citizens fitted to discharge the functions of civil authority, wisely and faithfully,

23. Luther: Weimar, Vol. XXX, Part II, p. 577.

24. *ibid.*, p. 555.

In support of the first we quote: "Now the welfare of a city does not consist alone in great treasures, firm walls, beautiful houses, and abundant munitions of war; indeed, where all these are found and reckless fools come into power, the city sustains the greatest injury. But the highest welfare, safety and power of a city consists in able, learned, wise, upright, cultivated citizens, who can secure, preserve, and utilize every treasure and advantage."²⁵

"For our rulers are certainly bound to maintain the spiritual and secular offices and callings so that there may always be preachers, jurists, pastors, scribes, physicians, school masters, and the like."²⁶ "Since then a city must have well-trained people and since the greatest need, lack and lament is that such are not found, we must not wait till they grow up of themselves, neither can they be hewed out of stones nor cut out of wood, nor will God work miracles, so long as men can attain their object through means within their reach; therefore, we must see to it, and spare no trouble or expense to educate and form them ourselves."

As to training rulers, Luther says, "Yet there must be civil government. For us then to permit ignoramuses and blockheads to rule, when we can prevent it, is irrational and barbarous."²⁷

3. Health and Education.

Luther held that education should further health.

25. Luther: Weimar, Vol. XV, p. 34.

26. Luther: Weimar, Vol. XXX, Part II, p. 586.

27. Luther: Weimar, Vol. XV. p. 35.

It is surprising, indeed, to find one, who spent not a small part of his life in the ascetic surroundings of a monastery, advocating this phase of modern education.

Indirectly Luther did very much to further health education. He denounced the ascetic life of the monks, not only as a false religious practice but also as a sin against the body. "Christ is not come," says he, "to destroy either the soul or the body, but to help both. Therefore, he does not intend that a Carthusian should fast and pray himself to death. The body, of course, is subject to work, so that it do not become lazy, but exercise itself. However, man should work so that he remains well, and no harm comes to the body. Whoever does harm to the body as was done by many under the papacy in the cloisters, who by too much praying, fasting, singing, watching, castigating, reading, uncomfortable lying, ruined themselves so that they had to die before their time....., he is a murderer of himself."²⁸

In yet another way did Luther's attacks on the monasteries promote health. The celibate life of the monks was looked upon as a mark of especial spirituality. Thus many tried to be "spiritual" who were not at all capable of keeping their vow of chastity. The consequence was an unnatural sex life and often open adultery and fornication among monks, nuns, and the secular clergy. In many cases a remedy was sought in permitting the priests to have concubines. The consequence of this enforced celibate vow then upon health, was often venereal diseases, abortions,

28. Luther: Walch, Vol. XIII, p. 1785.

and other evils of the body. Now Luther showed from Scripture that the life of celibacy was no more spiritual before God than marriage, that marriage was in fact, more spiritual, since God had created the sexes to live together and not apart. He also condemned in strong terms the vow of celibacy, which led to so many immoral practices on the part of priests and monks and nuns. He pointed to matrimony as the remedy for the unnatural situation since matrimony was God's institution providing for legitimate and ordered expression of sex. In sponsoring this, Luther did much in the way of prevention of venereal and other diseases, which are associated with illegitimate sex expression.

But Luther also gave a more direct attention to health education. He held that education should develop health habits and a health conscience. In the interest of the first, Luther encouraged gymnastic and games. "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."²⁹

As to creating a health conscience, Luther explains the fifth commandment of the moral law thus: "We should so fear

29. Luther: Walch, Vol. XXII, 2280.

and love God that we should neither hurt nor harm our neighbor in his body, but help and befriend him in every bodily need."³⁰ He brings health instruction under moral instruction. Life to him is a gift of God given to us not that we might destroy, but preserve it. He makes each individual responsible before God, for his own as well as his neighbor's health.

4. Family Life and Education.

Luther held that education should promote the family life. He looked upon the family as the basic social institution and held that instruction concerning it should find an important place in education. "One should preach often on the holy state of matrimony and on the divine ordinance of the marriage state: For it is the oldest of all institutions in the world and all others have come from it."³¹ According to Luther, education should strive to establish right knowledge, habits, and ideals in the young toward the basic functions of the married state, which he considers three. "The marriage state has two ultimate purposes for which it was instituted. The first is that it should be a medicine by which unchastity is checked, the other and most important purpose is that it should be the beginning and origin of the human race, so that children be born, and the human race be propagated, or, as the jurists say, that the city be filled with citizens. From holy Scripture, however, we

30. Luther: Weimar, Vol. XXX, Part I. p. 286.

31. Luther: Walch, Vol. X., p. 693.

should add also the final purpose, that in it children be brought up in the nurture and fear of the Lord, so that they might be fitted for church and civil government."³²

As to the first function of matrimony, Luther has a great deal of instruction to offer. He would have the young understand that celibacy is not the normal thing and that in marriage the expression of sex is legitimate, and only there. Instruction of this point was highly necessary, owing to the ascetic, celibate tradition, fostered by popes, priests, monks and nuns, who urged that the celibate state was spiritual, while marriage was carnal. "When I was a boy", says Luther, "it had been inculcated upon all men and all of them also held, that he who desired to live in a holy and God pleasing estate, must not take a spouse, but live outside of the bonds of marriage, and take the vow of celibacy."³³

Calling attention to the dire consequences of such teaching, Luther says: "After marriage is commanded and each one should have his own wife to avoid fornication, we still find that by others the celibate life is praised and lauded, and the young people become more inclined to disorderly indecent conduct and fornication."³⁴

Luther would therefore have this function of marriage emphasized, and praises those who teach properly concerning the marriage state. "Therefore those have taken upon

32. Luther: Walch, Vol. II, p. 526.

33. *ibid.*, Vol. I. p. 244.

34. *ibid.*, Vol. I. p. 1470

themselves and performed a very necessary and profitable task in the Church, who were diligent in seeing to it, that matrimony through God's word should again be honored and as is meet, praised and lauded."³⁵

Though Luther would not have the married state condemned, as unholy because of the physical side of sex, he tightly condemned those who would give the impression to the youth that that were the all of marriage. "Carnal men who are without the Holy Spirit turn their eyes only to indecency and shame in marriage. In their lust they do not see the very holy blessing of childbearing, for they feel and experience nothing but the burning of shameful lust."³⁶

Luther, therefore, would have education stress the psychic side of marriage, and explains the sixth commandment thus: "We should fear and love God, that we might lead a chaste and decent life in word and deed, and each love and honor his spouse."³⁷ We should love our spouse, consider one's marriage partner a precious gift of God, desire to be with and around this object of one's affection, helpful in good and evil days, sacrificing self in the interest of this gift. "We should honor", means to Luther that the two in the marriage state should respect the position into which God has placed each, as junior and senior partner in the marriage business. Luther says: "In the temporal estate of matrimony, when man and woman wed, both body and property

35. Luther: Walch, Vol. I. p. 244.

36. *ibid.*, Vol. I. p. 2485.

37. Luther: Weimar, Vol. XXX, Part I. p. 286.

becomes common. The children and everything else belong to both. The woman is as much lord over the man's property as the man himself, so that there is no difference between them, excepting that the man is the head of the woman. To the rest of the household, the man excepted, the woman is as much lord overall as the man."³⁸

But Luther would have youth instructed also as regards the second function of matrimony, namely, that of being the social agency for bringing children into the world. As we saw before, Luther considers this the most important function of the family. Luther would have childbearing looked upon not as the work of the parents or nature, but as the work of God, who through his blessing brings forth children, the parents being merely His instrument through whom He creates and works.³⁹

Luther would have this function held up by education as the true reason for entering marriage, he praises those who enter wedlock with the high intention of parenthood. "The first group of married people are those who seek and desire children and enter this state so that they might become parents and have children, and although original sin also plays in, yet that is their main purpose. Such people are, to be sure, angels compared with the rest, for they desire to use wedlock so that they might bring forth children in it. But of these there are very few and I count them simply among the angels, and not among men."⁴⁰

38. Luther: Walch, Vol. V. p. 592.

39. *ibid.*, Vol. VI, p. 1457; Vol IV, p. 2705.

40. *ibid.*, Vol. I. p. 2619.

The third function of the family is the education of the children. Luther even considered it the duty of education to give advice on feeding babies, on physical education. He, therefore, urges that children should be suckled wherever possible, since that is the food that nature provides. The mother should do this and not gross wet nurses.⁴¹

But his view was, of course, that education should deal mainly with inculcating the duties of parents as mental and spiritual educators. He says: "Both husband and wife should, if God give them children, bring them up in the fear of God."⁴² So important does Luther consider this function of the family, that he would have the young fully prepared for the discharge of it, before entering the estate: "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 cannot 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."⁴³ Thus education should foster the family life by imparting correct notions, habits, and ideals to the young with respect to the sex function, the function of nurture and education in the home.

Luther considered it of the highest importance that education should foster the family life, and especially

41. Luther: Walch, Vol. XXII, 262.

42. *ibid.*, Vol. X. p. 796.

43. *ibid.*, Vol. X. p. 752.

with respect to the last named function. From the family, as the basic institution of society, sprang the other institutions, church and state. As the home, so would be the condition of society in general: "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, murder, 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 the mother rule badly and let the children have their own way, then neither city, town, village, district, principality nor empire can be well and peacefully governed."⁴⁴

Luther's relating education to the family life again puts him in line with the best educational theory of the twentieth century.

5. The Economic Life and Education.

Luther held that education should order and humanize the economic life. Wealth, he considered a gift of God, to be used for God's glory and the welfare of mankind. He believed education should deal mainly with the moral aspect

44. Luther: Walch, Vol. IV, p. 2652.

of economics, and brings most of what he has to say under the seventh commandment.

As to production, Luther held that each individual should be trained to be a producer. "Man is not created for loafing, but for work, even had he remained in the state of innocence."⁴⁵ One must and should work, but education should train the individual to look upon the increase, that blesses his work, as coming from God.

Education should promote the attitude of looking upon work as a pleasure and a blessing: "The world does not consider work a blessing, it therefore flees from it and hates it. True Christians, however, and those who fear God, work with a light and joyous heart; for they recognize it as God's command and will. A pious Christian farmer sees on his wagon and plough, a shoemaker on his leather and awl, a blacksmith on his iron, a carpenter on his wood, the legend written: 'Blessed art thou, it is well with thee.' The world turns this around and says: 'Miserable art thou, it goes evil with thee, because thou must always suffer and bear it. Blessed are they who live in idleness, who have what they want without work'. Thus Martialis includes in a blessed happy life: *rem non partem labore sed relictam.*"⁴⁶

Luther considered it a function of education to train the youth in the proper relationship of employer and employee. He criticizes employers who look upon their employees, not as human beings but as machines, and neglected their welfare.

46. Luther: Walch, Vol. IV, p. 2738.

"But this is again a sad evil, that all live on as though God gave us children for our amusement and servants, that we should employ them like a cow or ass only for work, or as though all we had to do with our subjects were only to gratify our wantonness, without any concern on our part as to what they learn or how they live."⁴⁷

Luther also thought that education should teach faithfulness to employees. In his large Catechism, he scores the mechanics, workmen, and day-laborers, who follow all their wanton notions and never know enough ways to overcharge people, while they are lazy and unfaithful in their work.

Luther conceived it as a part of an educator's duty to inform the public for its protection about the machinations of predatory industrial groups. We bring one example: "When some are unable to carry out their monopolies, and selfish buys, because others have the same kind of products and goods, they proceed to sell their goods so cheaply that the others are not able to compete, forcing them either to stop selling or to sell as cheaply as they, to their disaster. They thus get their monopoly anyway. These people are not worthy of being styled human beings or live with them, yea, they are not even worthy of instruction or admonition: for their envy and greed is so gross and unabashed, that they, by their own hurt, bring harm to others, that

47. Luther: Weimar, Vol. XXX, Part I. p. 156.

they alone might remain in the field. It would, perhaps not be necessary to mention such things, but I mention them so that one might see what crookedness there is in financial transactions, and there might be revealed to everyone, what goes on in the world, so that they might be warned against such dangerous positions."⁴⁸

Luther held that education should foster an equitable distribution. He advocated maximum wage laws and in his sermons and catechism urges the congregations to look after the poor, but refuse to help mendicants.

Consumption also should come within the scope of education; Luther says: "We should not unnecessarily waste God's gifts but use them sensibly, and if he gives wealth, use it for our needs and necessities, also for the future, if it is further needed."⁴⁹ He inveighed against the extravagance in clothing of his times, and condemned luxurious living in general.

In short, Luther held that education ought to train the individual to regulate his whole economic life according to the Commandment, "Thou shalt not steal", that is, we should fear and love God, that we do not take our neighbor's money or goods, nor get them by false ware or dealing, but help him to improve and protect his property and business.⁵⁰ Above all was Luther anxious that the children should learn to

48. Luther: Walch, Vol. XIII, p. 1112.

49. Luther: Walch, Vol. XI., p. 1881.

50. Luther: Weimar. Vol. XXX, Part I, pp. 287-288.

acknowledge their "daily bread" as coming from God, and to receive it with thanksgiving, for only then would they be able to use the economic gifts of God for the glory of God, and the welfare of mankind.⁵¹

6. The Recreational or Cultural Life and Education.

Luther was of the opinion that education should enrich the recreational life of a people. He was angry with his fellow Germans for laying stress upon the economic in life at the expense of culture. "But you say again, if we shall and must have schools, what is the use to teach Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, and other liberal arts? Is it not enough to teach Scriptures, which are necessary to salvation in the mother tongue? To which I answer: I know, alas! that we Germans must always remain irrational brutes as we are deservedly called by surrounding nations. But I wonder why do we not also say: of what use to us are silk, wine, spices, and other foreign articles, since we ourselves have an abundance of wine, corn, wool, flax, wood, stone, in the German states, not only for our necessities, but also for embellishment and ornament? The languages and other liberal arts which are not only harmless, but even a greater ornament, benefit, and honor than these things, both for understanding the Holy Scripture and carrying on the civil government, we are disposed to despise; and the foreign articles which are neither necessary nor useful, and which besides, greatly impoverish us, we are unwilling to dispense

51. Luther: Weimar, Vol. XXX, Part I, p. 304.

with. Are we not rightly called German dunces and brutes?"⁵²

Though Luther criticizes the Germans for laying emphasis upon the economic to the detriment of the cultural, he nevertheless does not lose sight of the fact that a certain amount of economic independence is the necessary premise, for the mental freedom and leisure, called for by the pursuits of culture and recreation. In an interesting passage he says: "Had the Cainites been poor and had they suffered hunger they would have forgotten about their reeds, violins, harps, and other instruments, in their poverty: For those who are hungry and thirsty do not concern themselves with music. The fact that they invented music and were diligent in the invention of other arts proves that they had everything necessary for a livelihood, sufficient and in abundance."⁵³

But by recognizing the fact that leisure is necessary for the pursuit of culture and recreation, Luther did not sponsor an out and out severance of recreation from work, as we find it today. Luther would have education so fit a man that he finds recreation in his work. Luther would have every man recognize the fact that work is a gift of God and would have all rejoice in their labors as a sphere in which they found opportunity for self expression. "All of our work should be done like those do it, who work in the wine gathering or in the harvest, that perspiration run down our face and we yet sing a song of it."⁵⁴

52. Luther: Weimar, Vol. XV, p. 36.

53. *ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 584.

54. Luther: Walch, Vol. V. p. 2202.

Yet as we have seen above, Luther sponsors the doctrine of leisure, to have some time for the pursuit of those activities usually classified as recreations, in contradistinction to the duties of the various occupations. Luther admits every variety of recreation and pleasure which does not violate Christian faith or life. "God is well pleased and it is not contrary to Him, that we are joyful and happy, if only we do not become secure. Yea, with sorrow and sadness, we anger and offend Him. He desires a cheerful heart. We should, therefore, be happy, yet so as not to become secure, but together with joy should be fear, and together with fear, hope should be mingled."⁵⁵

Luther could not sympathize with a Puritian attitude toward innocent pleasures. "If some one be happy, let us not look upon it with a sour countenance, as the hypocrites, who desire to be something extra and with their untimely seriousness, appear alone to be wise and holy, and consider all who are gay and not of a doleful mein, fools and sinners; but let us be pleased with their joy, provided it is not against God."⁵⁶

Concerning bodily recreations, Luther says: "The gifts of God are not only in the spirit but also externally, to the body, for God is also God of the body. He therefore, gives us also bodily gifts and desires that we should use them with joy. They appear, of course, to be worldly and

55. Luther: Walch, Vol. V. p, 255.

56. *ibid.*, Vol. XII, p. 474.

vain, of which a Stoic or a Pharisee could ask a question or so. For they are very misanthropic and doleful people, who would allow no joy or pleasure to the body; for their religion and spirituality is as St. Paul describes it, that they spare not the body, but flagellate and mortify it, till it becomes as nothing, though God created body and soul and will, that both be permitted and have their recreation, yet in a proper measure and manner."⁵⁷

With this healthful attitude toward recreation and pleasure we are not surprised to hear Luther sponsoring games, athletics and sports for the schools, as proper educational recreations. "Now, since the young must leap and jump or have something to do because they have a natural desire for it, which should not be restrained (for it is not well to check them in everything) why should we not provide for them such schools and lay before them such studies?" It is not necessary again to quote the passage in which Luther advocates gymnastics as a pastime.⁵⁸

But Luther rightly laid more stress on the intellectual recreations as becoming intelligent creatures. Above all we hear him singing the praises of music as a recreation that education should sponsor: "I wish with my whole heart that every one would allow the divine and excellent gift of music to be aluded and commended to himself."⁵⁹ He considers music educative, and gives it a place next only to

57. Luther: Walch, Vol. I, p. 2562.

58. Luther: Weimar, Vol. XV, p. 46.

59. Luther: Walch, Vol. XIV, p. 407.

theology as a cheerbringer. "There is no doubt that the germ of many virtues lies hidden in the souls of those, given to music; those, however, are not moved by it,- I consider stacks and stones. For they know that music is opposed and hated by the devils. I am fully of the opinion, and am not ashamed to affirm it, that next to theology, not art, is to be compared with music, since it alone after theology does that which otherwise theology does, namely, brings peace and a cheerful heart, a clear proof that the devil, the originator of doleful worries and boisterous noise, flees music and its melody, almost as much as he does the word of divine learning; for which reason the prophets use no science as much as music, not having clother their theology in geometry, arithmetic, or astronomy, but in music, so that divine learning and music should stand united by their proclaiming the Truth in psalms and hymns."⁶⁰

With this love for music, we are not surprised that Luther advocates the introduction of, and actually introduced, music into the elementary, secondary, and higher schools. In his recommendation, he is rather rough on the teacher whom the muses had denied this gift. "Music must of necessity be retained in the schools. A schoolmaster must be able to sing, otherwise I will hear nothing of him."⁶¹ Thus we could go on for pages more quoting Luther's recommendations of music, "that semidisciplinarian and schoolmaster, which makes men more gentle and tender hearted, more

60. Luther: Walch, Vol. XXI, 1218.

61. Luther: Weimar, Table Talk, Vol. I., No. 968.

modest and discreet." ⁶²

Luther realized the possibilities of literature and conversation and companionship for recreation, and urges the study of languages, ancient and modern, from this point of view. "I will not here speak of the pleasure a scholar has apart from any office, in that he can read at home all kinds of books, talk and associate with learned men, and travel and transact business in foreign lands, for this pleasure, perhaps, will move but few."⁶³

Finally Luther did not overlook the cultural element, and the recreational opportunities offered by a contemplation of nature. "We are at the dawn of a new era", he says, "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. Erasmus passes by all that, takes no account of it, and looks upon external

62. Luther: Weimar, Table Talk, Vol. I. No. 968.

63. Luther: Weimar, Vol. XXX, Part III, p. 565.

objects, as cows look upon a new gate."⁶⁴

Luther bemoans the fact that this study of nature is not prosecuted "in the high schools and that the farmers know more of it than our magi, the natural masters, so that they are not inaptly called the natural dunces, who with much cost and labor only learn behind themselves and are ^{the} devils mocking birds."⁶⁵

Thus Luther would have education foster proper notions, habits, aspirations and ideals of recreation, which tend to God's glory and the welfare of mankind. Having thus considered Luther's purpose of education let us turn to the consideration of the question of educational responsibility.

III

LUTHER'S WHO OF EDUCATION.

Luther considers God the real educator of man, who, however, discharges this function through representatives, duly authorized: "God has always had certain persons and places on earth through whom and at which He made known His will. He thus sent Moses and revealed through him His word to the children of Israel, so that they had to say when he uttered something: 'This, not Moses, but God Himself has said'. After Moses, He sent Christ. His doctrine is sure even as His person is sure, so that we cannot fail, nor be deceived in what we hear from Him as to God Himself

64. Painter, p. 163.

65. Luther: Walch, Vol. XI, p. 414.

having surely spoken, even as the Heavenly Father says, Matth. 17, 5: 'This is my beloved Son, Him shall ye hear'. And when Christ ascended to heaven, He sent His apostles into all the world, having before instituted baptism and His supper. Now when God's word is heard and the sacraments are received, we can say in truth: 'This God says'."⁶⁶

God educates through duly authorized representatives. First among these representatives upon whom devolves the responsibility of educating the young are the parents. "For this reason God has given us children, and commanded that we should educate and govern them according to His will, else He would have no need of father or mother. Let everyone therefore know, that he is obliged on pain of losing the divine grace, above all to bring up his children in the fear and knowledge of God, and if they are fitted, have them study and learn so that one can use them, for whatever is needed."⁶⁷

Luther urges this function of parenthood as the most important and greatest of acts of worship: "Married people should know that they can perform no better work for God, Christianity, the world, themselves, and their children than by bringing up their children well."⁶⁸ It was to drive just this point home, that parents are primarily responsible for the education of their young, that Luther published his classic and justly famous sermon: "On the

66. Luther: Walch, Vol. XXII, p. 50.

67. Luther: Weimar, Vol. XXX, Part I, p, 156.

68. Luther: Walch, Vol. X, p, 761.

Duty of Sending Children to School."

Luther, however, realized that the parents could not alone carry out the responsibility of education placed upon them, for it called for capable instruction and training for which most parents were not fitted, or, if fitted, had not the time, owing to other duties. He, therefore, advocates the appointment of qualified teachers to carry out for them this responsibility. These could be either private tutors or, better still, school teachers. "But were they (the children) instructed in schools or elsewhere, by thoroughly qualified male and female teachers, who taught the languages, other arts and history, then, the pupils would hear the history and maxims of the world and see how things went with each city, kingdom, prince, man, and woman."⁶⁹

Luther holds that the office of school-master flows from the office of parents. "For all authority flows and is propogated from the authority of parents. For when a father is unable alone to educate his child, he employs a schoolmaster to instruct him."⁷⁰ Thus by delegated authority a schoolmaster becomes co-responsible with the parent for the education of the young. Parents have the twofold responsibility of educating the young at home and sending them to school. The schoolmaster is responsible for their education in the school.

69. Luther: Weimar, Vol. XV, p, 45.

70. *ibid.*, Vol. XXX, Part I, p, 152.

Luther esteemed the office of a school teacher very highly. "An industrious, pious, schoolmaster or teacher who faithfully trains and educates boys, can never be sufficiently recompensed, and no money will pay him, as even the heathen Aristotle says! Yet the calling is shamefully despised among us as if it were nothing. And at the same time we pretend to be Christians! If I was to give up preaching and my other duties, there is no office I would rather have than that of school teacher.... Therefore, let it be considered one of the highest virtues on earth faithfully to train the children of others, which duty but very few parents attend to themselves."⁷¹ "A schoolmaster is as important to a city as a pastor is. We can do without mayors, princes, and noblemen, but not without schools; for these must rule the world."⁷²

According to Luther, not only parents and teachers are responsible for the education of the young, but also civil rulers. In his "Address to the Mayors and Councillors on Behalf of Christian Schools", Luther says: "But all that you say (about educating the young) is addressed to parents; 'What does it concern the members of the council and the mayors?' That is true, but how if the parents neglect it? Who shall attend to it then? Shall we therefore let it alone and suffer the children to be neglected? How will mayors and council excuse themselves and prove that such duty does not belong to them?" He then shows that it must of necessity be neglected by some all the time. He then

71. Luther: Weimar, Vol. XXX, Part II, p, 580

72. Luther: Table Talk, Weimar, Vol. IV, No. 5252.

brings in his argument which would make them responsible. "For since the happiness, honor and life of the city are committed to their hands, they would be held recreant before God and the world if they did not, day and night, with all their power, seek its welfare and improvement...But the highest welfare, safety, and power of a city consists in able, learned, wise, upright, and cultivated citizens, who can secure, preserve, and utilize every treasure, and advantage....Therefore, honored members of the city councils, this work must remain in your hands. You have more time and better opportunity for it than princes and lords."⁷³ Not only local authorities, but the highest authorities, Luther holds responsible. He says, "Princes and lords ought to do it."

This is not, however, a "carte blanche" handing over of the control of education to the state. It will be noted that civil authorities were to step in when the parents could not or would not do it. Parents who would educate their children were to be free to do so. The duty of the state, according to him, was rather to see that the duty of parents was done by the parents, rather than that the state should take over the duties and prerogatives of the parents. This we see especially in his advice on compulsory education. "I maintain that the civil authorities are under obligation to compel the people to send their children to school, especially such as are promising, or has elsewhere

73. Luther: Weimar, Vol. XV, pp, 35, 34, 45.

been said. For our rulers are certainly bound to maintain the spiritual and secular offices and callings, so that there may always be preachers, jurists, pastors, scribes, physicians, schoolmasters and the like: for these cannot be dispensed with. If a government can compel such citizens as are fit for military service to bear spear and rifle, to mount ramparts, and perform other martial duties in time of war, how much more has it a right to compel the people to send their children to school, because in this case we are warring with the devil whose object it is secretly to exhaust our cities and principalities of their strong men, to destroy the kernel and leave a shell of ignorant and helpless people whom he can sport and juggle with at pleasure? That is starving it without a struggle and without its knowledge."⁷⁴

Luther is careful to note that he does not mean that the children should be taken from the control of parents and become state property, so to speak. "How much more should our rulers require children to be sent to school who, however, are not taken from their parents, but are educated for their own and the general good, in an office where they have an adequate support."⁷⁵ Thus, when parents could not, or would not, and in case of orphans, the state was to take charge of their education directly. But where the parents were doing their duty, they were not to be

74. Luther: Weimar, Vol. XXX, Part II, p. 586.

75. *ibid.*, Vol. XXX, Part II, p. 587.

interfered with, but left free to educate their own.

But Luther extends his circle of those responsible for education still farther, and included all adult society. He makes all adults responsible for the proper upbringing of the young. He says: "And why do all people live except to care for, teach, and bring up the young? It is not possible for inexperienced youth 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."⁷⁶

Urging adult society always to be mindful of this responsibility in the presence of the young: "In the presence of the young", Luther continues: "one should be especially careful and thoughtful not to say and do everything, that one otherwise says and does. As also the heathen have said: *Maximam reverentiam deberi inventute*: 'Before the young one should be most careful and modest'. But how many are so? And it is just because of this that conditions are so bad everywhere in the world, so that there is no longer discipline, uprightness, faith, and faithfulness. The reason is, the old do and say everything without consideration, and permit the young to witness it. They then think they also have the right. What others, especially the parents, do is also not forbidden to them."⁷⁷

Since Luther holds all adult society responsible for

76. Luther: Weimar, Vol. XV, p. 32.

77. Luther: Walch, Vol. XIII, p. 2861.

the proper education of the young, he has no scruples about supporting a school tax, levied upon all, to be used in cases where parents themselves are not providing education for their children. He wrote the following to Elector John in 1526: "When there are towns and villages which have the ability, your electoral grace has the power to compel them to maintain schools, pulpits, parishes. If they will not do it from a consideration for their salvation then your electoral grace, as highest guardian of the youth and of all others needing supervision, is to compel them to do so, just as they are compelled to render contributions and services toward bridges, paths, and roads or other matters pertaining to the public interest. Those that enjoy the privileges of a country are to contribute toward everything that the common interests of the country require. Now there is nothing more necessary than to educate men who are to succeed us and govern."⁷⁸

In conclusion, let us note that Luther did not mean to exclude the church from participation in education. That the Roman Catholic Church, ruled by the Papal hierarchy, should be excluded from control of education, according to Luther's opinion, was self evident. But the Church in the sense that Luther uses it, the believers, who have formed a local congregation, should help the parents in the congregation to bring up their children properly. The local congregation was to be very active in education.

78. Luther: Walch, Vol. XXIIa, p. 894.

It was Luther's ideal to have each local congregation establish and maintain a school for the children in its midst, the teachers salary being met from the common coffer, well-filled by voluntary contributions. From the constitution of the congregation at Leisnic, published and commended by Luther as a model, we note the following provisions: "The ten directors in the name of the congregation shall have power to call, appoint, and remove a school teacher for the young boys..... In like manner the ten directors out of the common treasure shall provide an honorable, mature, and blameless woman to instruct young girls under twelve years of age in Christian discipline, honor and virtue, and at a suitable place to teach them reading and writing in German a few hours daily." ⁷⁹

According to Luther, then, parents, teachers, civil authorities, adult, society in general, and according to the preface of his sermon tract "On Sending Children to School", particularly the clergy are responsible for the education of the young. They are God's representatives, who are to train the children in the knowledge and the right use of the gifts of God.

IV

LUTHER'S WHOM OF EDUCATION.

Luther supported universal education. He says: "Should not every Christian be expected by his ninth or tenth year to know all the Holy Gospels, containing as

79. Luther: Walch, Vol. X, p. 969.

they do, his very name and life?"⁸⁰

He writes favoring equal opportunity for rich and poor, "In the third place, even if parents were qualified and willing to do it themselves, yet on account of other employments have no time for it, so that necessity requires us to have teachers for public schools, unless each parent employ a private instructor. But that would be to expensive for persons of ordinary means and many a bright boy, on account of poverty, would be neglected. Besides, many parents die and leave orphans."⁸¹

Luther sponsored equal opportunity for both sexes: He declared that the maintenance of civil order, and the proper regulation of the household require "the establishment of the best schools everywhere, both for boys and girls."⁸²

Luther would not, however, have the principle of equal opportunity pressed to the disadvantage of the brighter pupil. He would have education selective, with ability as the criterion. "But the brightest pupils, who give promise of becoming accomplished teachers, preachers, and workers, should be kept longer at school or set apart wholly for study, as we read of the holy martyrs, who brought up St. Agnes, St. Agatha, St. Lucian and others."⁸³ To allow a bright but poor pupil to remain at school longer, funds should be provided by society. "Therefore, let him who can, watch, and wherever the government sees a promising

80. Luther: Weimar, Vol. VI, p. 401.

81. *ibid.*, Vol. XV, p. 34

82. *ibid.*, p. 44.

83. *ibid.*, Vol. XV, p. 47.

boy, let him be sent to school. If the father is poor, let the child be aided with the property of the church. The rich should make bequests to such objects, as some have done who founded scholarships; that is giving money to the church in the proper way."⁸⁴

Universal elementary education Luther justifies on the grounds of Christian citizenship. The selective education for apt pupils at public expense, he justifies on the ground of Christian leadership.

V.

LUTHER'S VIEW OF EDUCATION.

Luther held that education as a process should continue throughout life. Of education in adult years he says to the pastors: "I, therefore, beg such lazy paunches or presumptuous saints to be persuaded and believe for God's sake that they are verily! verily! not so learned or such great doctors as they imagine and never to presume that they have finished learning this (the parts of the Catechisms) or know it well enough they think that they should know and understand it perfectly (which, however, is impossible in this life.). Yet there are manifold benefits and fruits still to be obtained if it be daily read and practised in thought and speech: namely that the Holy Ghost is present in such reading and repetition and meditation and bestows ever new and more light, and devoutness; so that it is

84. Luther: Weimar, Vol. XXX, Part II, p. 587.

daily relished and appreciated better as Christ promises."⁸⁵

The reason why education must continue even in adult life is due to the fact that the gifts of God are so manifold, and their nature and purpose so complex, that we cannot ever fully know them all or even the smallest part of them, especially since our understanding has been darkened by sin. Luther feels himself called upon to admonish Christians again and again, even the most learned, to continue their education, especially in spiritual matters. "Therefore, I again implore all Christians, especially pastors and preachers, not to be doctors too soon, and imagine that they know everything (for imagination and cloth unshrunk fall far short of the measure) but that they daily exercise themselves well in these studies and constantly treat them; moreover, that they guard with all care and diligence against the poisonous inflection of such security and vain imagination, but steadily keep on reading, teaching, learning, pondering, and meditating, and do not cease until they have made a test and are sure that they have taught the devil to death and have become more learned than God Himself and all His saints."⁸⁶

Luther holds himself up as an example of one who is continuing the process of education. "But for myself I say this: I am also a doctor and preacher, yea, as learned and experienced as all those may be who have such presumption and security: Yet I do as a child who is being taught the Catechism and every morning and whenever I have time, I read

85. Luther: Weimar, Vol. XXX, Part I, pp. 126-127.

86. *ibid.*, p. 128.

and say, word for word the ten commandments, the creed, the Lord's prayer, the Psalms, etc! 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."⁸⁷

In the above quotations Luther is speaking of informal self-education, that must continue in adult life. But to put a person in a way of continuing his education himself, a good formal education must have preceded. The foundation of this self-educational superstructure, Luther holds, must be laid by a formal education in youth, as the time of the greatest plasticity and retentivity. This education must be supplied by adult society. For Luther this education cannot begin too early. He says: "Children should be brought up in the fear of God. If the kingdom of God is to come in power we must begin with the children and teach them from the cradle."⁸⁸

Taking issue with those who would postpone education till later, on the plea that children do not understand, when so young, Luther says: "But those people ruin their children, who knowingly neglect them, permitting them to grow up without instruction and discipline of the Lord, and, though they do not set them a bad example, they spoil them by yielding to them too much out of superfluous carnal love. 'Yes', they say, 'they are yet children, they do not

87. Luther: Weimar, Vol. XXX, Part I, p. 126.

88. Luther: Walch, Vol. X, p. 752.

yet understand what they are doing.' That is true. But a dog or a horse or an ass also do not understand what they are doing, yet one teaches them to go, to come, to follow, to do something, ~~to~~ quit doing it, whether they understand it or not. A timber or a block of stone also do not understand that they are unsuited for a building, but the workman brings it into proper shape, how much more a human being? Or do children of other people only understand, and your children will not understand?"⁸⁹

Luther places the age of greatest plasticity in the period from birth to about the twentieth year. He quotes with approval the example of ancient Rome: "In ancient Rome the boys were so brought up that at the age of fifteen, eighteen, twenty, they were masters not only of the choicest Latin and Greek but also of the liberal arts, as they are called, and immediately after this scholastic training, they entered the army or held a position under government."⁹⁰

If this age of plasticity were neglected, to Luther the situation for education was well nigh hopeless. He says: "It is hard to make old dogs docile and old rogues pious, yet that is what the ministry works at and must work at, in great part, in vain, but young trees, though some may break in the process, are more easily bent and trained."⁹¹ In one of his sermons he tells the old people quite frankly: "The best thing for you old folk is to go along to the devil.

89. Luther: Walch, Vol. III, p. 1822.

90. Luther: Weimar, Vol. XV, p. 35.

91. *ibid.*, Part II, p. 580.

We are still preaching for the 'sake of the young, whose hearts are not yet poisoned, hoping that God will grant them grace to their improvement. With the old, all is lost; they covet and practice usury, and live along as though they had life from themselves and as though they were lords over body and life."⁹²

Luther advocated a school day of two hours for the common schools, so arranged that it would allow the older children and youth to carry on the ordinary economic duties of life uninterruptedly. "My opinion is that we must send boys to school one or two hours a day and have them learn a trade at home for the rest of the time."⁹³

For the Latin schools, Luther advocated longer school hours. In the Instruction to the Visitors we read: "In the morning the children should construe Aesop." "The hour before noon should always be devoted to nothing else but grammar." "The first hour after noon all the children, large and small, should be exercised in music." "In the evening, when the children go home, a line of one of the poets or other should be given them to recite the next morning."⁹⁴ According to these excerpts, it would seem that Luther advocated, at least, three if not four hours a day for the Latin schools.

Luther feels justified in advocating short school hours not only on the grounds of economic necessity, but also on the grounds of efficiency of the teachers, brought

92. Luther: Walch, Vol. III, p. 2692.

93. Luther: Weimar, Vol. XV, p. 47.

94. *ibid.*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 237-240.

about by the introduction of the humanistic methods. He says with enthusiasm: "We now have excellent and learned young men, adorned with every science and art, who, if they were employed, could be of great service as teachers. Is it not well known that a boy can now be so instructed in three years, that at the age of fifteen or eighteen, he knows more than all universities and convents have known heretofore?"⁹⁵

Luther felt that with the coming of their majority, children ought to be prepared well enough to take their independent station in life and continue down the road of education under their momentum. "If anyone thought to stay in school his life time, and always remain with spelling and only study the Donat, he ought to be driven out and told: 'You were not sent to school with the intention that you should abide there forever, but to study and thereafter pass out to serve other people.' For the head of a house also says to his son: 'Dear boy, I have now raised you. You must now become a father as I am.' And to daughter, 'You must go out and become a pious mother, for it was never the idea that you should always remain in my house, and under my discipline and not seek your own advancement, your own household and employment'".⁹⁶

95. Luther: Weimar, Vol. XV, p. 31.

96. Luther Walch, Vol. XII, p. 1602.

VI.

LUTHER'S VIEW OF EDUCATION.

Luther was not so narrow in his educational views as to conceive of education as functioning only in the classroom. His was not the schoolmaster conception of education. He was a true educator. He realized that wherever the young come into contact with the adults, they were receiving some sort of training, for better or for worse. He desires therefore, that adults be mindful of this fact at all times, and really educate the children, that is, train them for good, by avoiding a bad example. He sounds the warning: that "One commits a heavy sin if one speaks vile words in the presence of boys and girls. For such people become guilty of all sins that originate from their heedless words."⁹⁷ "For", he says, "the tender and inexperienced youth is very easily tainted by such talk and what is worse, it retains such filthy words a long time. Just as when a spot gets into a clean cloth, it becomes much more firmly fixed than if it had gotten into a rough and coarse cloth. This also the heathen learned from experience, for example, Horace, who says, that a new pot smells for a long time, after that which was first poured into it: 'Quo semel est imbuta recens servabit odorem testa diu'; and Juvenal says: 'Maxima debetur puero reverentia ~~si~~iquid. Turpe paras, huic tu ne contemseris annos.'"

97. Luther: Walch, Vol. III, p. 1925,

But from many of the quotations we have brought under various heads previously, we see that Luther had two places, especially in mind where formal education should proceed, the home and the school. Luther looks upon the home as an educational institution not even secondary to the school. Above, under the heading, "The Family Life and Education", we produced some passages bearing upon the home as the basic social institution, for the exercise of the function for which youth was to be educated. We noted that education was to pay especial attention to the third function of the family, namely that of the duty of home education. We desire now to elaborate upon this third function of the family, that of bringing up the children in the home.

The duty of home education, Luther enforces as a divine requirement. "Parents are not free to do with their children as they please. They are intrusted with parental authority that they might train up their offspring for society, and the church, and as we have heard before, are to be held to strict account for the manner in which they discharge this duty. ^uNo one is willing to ~~say~~^{say}", says Luther, "that this is the command of the Supreme Majesty, who will most strictly call us to an account and punish us for it, nor that there is so great need to be so intensely anxious about the young. For if we wish to have proper and excellent 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 must

not think only how we may amass money and possessions for them. Let everyone know therefore, that above all things, it is his duty (or otherwise he will lose the divine favor) to bring up his children in the fear and knowledge of God, and, if they have talents, to have them instructed and trained in a liberal education that men may be able to have their aid in government and in what soever is necessary"⁹⁸

Luther did not rest with merely showing to parents their duty of home education, but importunes them with great earnestness, not to say vehemence, to its performance. He brings every kind of argument to bear upon parents, especially in his "Sermon on Sending Children to School" and in his "Letter to the Mayors and Alderman." In overpowering eloquence, the divine requirements are set forth, the evils resulting to society, to the church, to civil government, and to the children themselves, through neglect of education are clearly pointed out; the parent's gratitude toward God and their obligations to mankind are urged as motives; the great guilt and punishment they pile upon themselves are fully portrayed; the great blessings and benefits of an education to the individual, the family, the church, the state, the world, are graphically presented. In short, only a reading of the complete writings will suffice to evaluate correctly Luther's great plea for the children.

Luther points out that home training is "the peculiar work of parents and when they do not attend to it, there is

98. Luther: Weimar, Vol. XXX, Part I, p. 156.

a perversion of nature, as when fire does not burn or water moisten". Luther says that the training of children is the straight road to heaven, and it cannot be more easily attained in any other way. "On the other hand, hell can not be more easily deserved, and no more hurtful work can be done than by neglecting children, letting them swear, learn shameful words and songs, and do as they please."⁹⁹

But Luther did more than thunder out to parents their duty of educating children. He went to work to help them. He encourages home education, by showing parents what was to be taught and how it was to be taught. "The ten commandments, the creed and the Lord's prayer," Luther tells them, "are the most necessary parts, which every Christian should first learn to repeat word for word, and which our children should be accustomed to recite daily, when they arise in the morning, when they sit down to their meals, and when they retire at night, and, until they repeat them, they should be given neither food nor drink.....For a person who is so heathenish as to be unwilling to learn these things is not to be tolerated, for in these three parts, everything contained in Scriptures is comprehended, in short, general, and simple terms."¹⁰⁰

In spite of the above injunction about refusing food until the children would recite, Luther would not have harshness employed, in general, in this religiousness instruction. And, if the general home atmosphere is congenial, "We might

100. Luther: Walch, Vol. X, pp, 2-5.

train our youth in a child-like way and in the midst of their play in God's fear and honor, so that the first and second commandments might be familiar and in constant practise.

Then some good might adhere, spring up and bear fruit; and men grow up in whom an extire land might rejoice and be glad. This would be the true way to bring up children; since by means of kindness and with delight, they can become accustomed to it. For what must only be forced with rods and blows will have no good result and, at farthest, under such treatment they will remain Godly no longer than the rod descends upon their backs."¹⁰¹

To facilitate home instruction, Luther published two Catechisms, the one as text book for the children, the other as a manual for further study for the teacher-parent.

Luther further sought to influence home training by showing the parents the nature of Christian discipline. Commenting on Colossians 3, 2: "Fathers, provoke not your children to wrath lest they be discouraged!" Luther says, "The injunction St. Paul here gives, pertains to the mind: for of the body, he in this place says nothing! 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 in 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.

101. Luther: Walch, Vol. X, p. 52.

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, and seeking not to cool our anger but to make them better."¹⁰²

Thus Luther wisely would not have the rod banished entirely. He quotes with approval Solomon's declaration: "A false love blinds parents so that they regard the body of their child more than his soul. Hence the wise man says, 'He that spareth his rod hateth his son, but he that loveth him chasteneth him betimes'. Prov. 13, 24.Hence it is highly necessary that all parents regard the soul of their child more than his body, and look upon him as a precious eternal treasure, which God has entrusted to them for preservation, so that the world, the flesh, and the devil do not destroy him. For at death and in the judgement they will have to render a strict account of their stewardship."¹⁰³

Finally, Luther strives for the improvement of home training by pointing out the three ways in which parents ruin their children, so that parents might avoid these pitfalls. These three ways are by neglect, bad example, and worldly training. "Those parents that knowingly neglect their children and let them grow up without proper instruction, bring about their ruin: and though they do not set a bad example, yet they spoil their children by undue indulgence.... Such people as thus fondle and indulge their

102. Luther: Walch, Vol. XII, 334.

103. Luther: Table Talk, Weimar: Vol. IV, No. 5571.

children must bear the sins of their children, as if committed by themselves."

"There are others who ruin their children by setting them a bad example in word and deed.... There are people that delight, when their sons are pugnacious and willing to fight, as if it were a great honor for them to be afraid of noone. 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 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?"

"The third class that ruin their children are those who teach them to love the world, and who have no other solicitude than that their children acquire an imposing bearing, learn to dance and dress and cut a figure in society. We find but few as solicitous that their children be provided with those things that relate to God and the soul as that they be provided with clothes, pleasure, wealth and honor!"¹⁰⁴

Thus Luther stressed the great importance of Christian home-training, and did all that he could to foster it. But Luther realized that home training would of necessity be neglected for many reasons. "In the first place", he says to the mayors and alderman, "there are some who are so lacking

104. Luther: Walch, Vol. III, p. 1822.

in piety that they would not do it if they could, but like the ostrich, harden themselves against their own offspring and do nothing for them.... In the second place, the great majority of parents are unqualified for it and do not understand how children should be brought up and taught. For they have learned nothing but to provide for their bodily wants. In the third place, even if parents were qualified and willing to do it themselves, yet on account of other employments and household duties they have no time for it. Besides many parents die and leave orphans."¹⁰⁵

Not only did Luther know it would be neglected, he moreover held that home training even at its best, was inadequate, because of the great variety and complexity of the gifts of God to which the children were to be introduced. "But each one', you say, 'may educate and discipline his own sons and daughters.' To which I reply: 'We see indeed how it goes with this teaching and training. And where it is carried to the highest point, and is attended with success, it results in nothing more than that the learners, in some measure, acquire a forced external propriety of manner, in other respects they remain dunces, knowing nothing and incapable of giving aid or advice." Luther considers home training necessary, but, like all laboratory method training without proper guidance, highly uneconomical. "But training which is given at home is expected to make us wise through our own experience. Before that can take place, we shall

105. Luther: Weimar, Vol. XV, p. 34.

die a hundred times and all through life act injudiciously; for much time is needed to give experience."¹⁰⁶

Thus owing to the neglect and inadequacy of home training. Luther proposes as a supplement to this practical and more or less "trial and error" process of learning at home, schools, with thoroughly qualified teachers, a separate-class, in order to train the children thoroughly and economically. "But were they instructed in schools or elsewhere by thoroughly qualified male or female teachers, who taught the languages, other arts, and history, then the pupils would hear the history and maxims of the world, and see how things went with each city, kingdom, prince, man, and woman, and thus in a short time they would be able to comprehend, as in a mirror, the character, life, counsels, undertakings, successes and failures of the whole world, from the beginning. From this knowledge they could regulate their views, and order their course of life in the fear of God, having become wise in judging what is to be sought and what avoided in this outward life, and capable of advising and directing others"¹⁰⁷

An examination of Luther's pedagogical writings shows that he had in mind, three classes of schools, and thus a comprehensive system of education. 1), The schools for the common people, in which these might be fitted for the various callings in life. 2) The Latin schools, preparing for the university, and 3) The University. Thus Luther sought the establishment of primary or elementary schools for the

106. Luther; Weimar, Vol. XV. p. 45.

107. *ibid.*

instruction of the masses that they might better discharge their domestic, religious, and social duties; he urged the necessity of secondary schools for those who were to pursue professional careers in church and state; he defended the higher education of the universities where the final preparation for learned vocations was to be obtained.

As a necessary, aye, vital adjunct to home and school education, Luther urged the establishment and maintenance of public libraries. "Finally, this must be taken into consideration by all who earnestly desire to see such schools established and the languages preserved in the German states; that no cost nor pains should be spared to procure good libraries in suitable buildings, especially in the large cities which are able to afford it. For if a knowledge of the Gospel and of every kind of learning is to be preserved, it must be embodied in books, as the Prophets and the Apostles did, as I have already shown. This should be done, not only that our spiritual and civil leaders may have something to read and study, but also that good books may not be lost and that the arts and languages may be preserved, with which God has graciously favored us. St. Paul was diligent in this matter, since he lays the injunction upon Timothy: 'Give attendance to reading' and directs him to bring the books, but especially the parchments left at Troas."¹⁰⁸

Luther, however, would have a selection made of the best books on each subject, "But my advice is, not to

108. Luther: Weimar, Vol. XV, p. 49.

collect all sorts of books indiscriminately, thinking only of getting a vast number together. I would have a discrimination used, because it is not necessary to collect the commentaries of all the jurists, the productions of all the theologians, the discussions of all the philosophers and the sermons of all the monks. Such trash I would reject altogether and provide my library only with useful books; and in making the selection I would advise with learned men."¹⁰⁹

Luther then gives his opinion as to what type of books should find a place in the libraries. "In the first place, a library should contain the Holy Scriptures in Latin, Greek, Hebrew, German, and other languages. Then the best and most ancient commentators in Greek, Hebrew and Latin. Secondly, such books as are useful in acquiring the languages, as the poets and orators, without considering whether they are heathen or Christian, Greek or Latin. For it is from such works that grammar must be learned. Thirdly, books treating of all arts and sciences. Lastly, books on jurisprudence and medicine, though here discrimination is necessary. A prominent place should be given Chronicles and Histories, in whatever language they may be obtained."¹¹⁰

109. Luther: Weimar, Vol. XV, p. 51.

110. *ibid.*, Vol. XV, p. 52.

VII

LUTHER'S HOW OF EDUCATION.

Under this final head we have yet to discuss the means Luther would employ to educate children in the knowledge and right use of God's gifts, eternal and temporal; and the manner in which he would have these means applied. Under the heading, "Luther's Concept of Education", we have briefly indicated this matter by the words, "by the application of Scripture and the accumulated race experience normated thereby."

Luther's chief means of education was Scripture as his chief emphasis was upon religious instruction and training. "Above all", says he, "in schools of all kinds the chief and most common lesson should be the Scriptures, and for young boys, the Gospel:.... and would to God each town had also a girls' school in which girls might be taught the Gospel, for an hour daily, either in German or Latin."¹¹¹ Scripture is to him the means "sine qua non" of education. He cannot conceive of an education apart from these means. "But where the Holy Scriptures are not the rule, I advise no one to send his child. Everything must perish, where Cod's word is not studied increasingly, and so we see what manner of men there are now in the universities and all this is the fault of no one but the Pope, the bishops, and prelates, to whom the welfare of the young has been entrusted."¹¹²

From his stand as indicated by these words, we can

111. Luther: Weimar, Vol. VI, p. 461.

112. *ibid.*, Vol. VI, p. 461

without difficulty infer that Luther would not have supported complete secularization of schools, as we have it in the United States today and that those are in error who seek to infer this from the words: "Even if there were no soul, and man did not need schools and languages for the sake of Christianity and the Scriptures, still for the establishment of the best schools everywhere both for boys and girls this consideration is of itself sufficient, namely, that society, for the maintenance of civil order and the proper regulation of the household, needs accomplished and well trained men and women."¹¹³ One could get these words to support complete secularization only by disregarding the words, "Even if there were no soul."

Luther would, of course, have considered it in order for the government to maintain schools of a purely secular character for those of its subjects, who did not profess to be Christians and yet should be taught outwardly the things that belonged to the welfare of society. This would have been in line with his doctrine of separation of church and state and his stand that government should train, because of the welfare of society, where parents could not and would not. Luther did not hold government so much responsible for education itself, as for seeing to it that the parents could and would educate their children. The specific functions of government according to him are those mentioned in Romans 13, 7, the punishment of evil doers and protection

of the pious. Thus I hold that, while praising government for the establishment of even fully secular schools, for those who did not profess to be Christians, he would have severely condemned the parents, especially Christian parents, for being satisfied with such education. To him, secular studies were also good gifts of God, but they pertained only to the body. With merely secular education the soul, the better part of man, would be left to starve. To Luther, education in its real sense pertained primarily to the soul, and of the soul he says: "The soul can do without everything except the word of God. Without this it suffers need. But when it has the word of God, it needs nothing more but has in the word enough--food, joy, peace, light, art, righteousness, truth, freedom, and every good thing in abundance." 114

Luther divides all Scripture into two doctrines, the doctrine which reveals sin and its punishment, or the law, and the doctrine which reveals forgiveness of sin, and eternal salvation or the gospel. For educating the children by the means of Scripture, he would have both these doctrines applied to them in their proper order.

First the law must be applied to the children in order that they might know their sin. The law is a power of God, revealing to man his sinful nature and his condemnation eternal.

After the law has revealed to the children their sinfulness, and God's anger, and roused them to a live appreciation

of their dire, helpless, condemned condition, then the gospel should be applied that is the article of justification, which teaches and offers to the aroused sinner, plenary forgiveness, and eternal salvation not by human works or merits but by God's grace alone, for Christ's sake alone, through faith alone.

This gospel, Luther considers, not only a glad tid-
ing of our salvation, but also a means by which God works
faith and acceptance of the benefits offered in this good
news. He predicates of Scripture both a "vis exhibitiva"
and a "vis collativa", but above all a "Vis operative
sen effectiva." In his "Large Catechism", Luther speaks
of this matter thus: "God's word is not like any careless
talk as that of *Dietrich of Bern*, etc..... but as St. Paul
says, Rom. 1. 16, 'the power of God', which gives the devil
extreme pain and strengthens, comforts, and helps us be-
yond measure." Again he says in the same book, "Such is
the efficacy of the word, wherever seriously contemplated,
heard, and used, that it never departs without fruit but
always awakens, new understanding, pleasure, and devoutness,
and produces a pure heart and pure thoughts. For these
words are not inoperative or dead but creative living words."

Where the scripture gets its power to convert and educate
and especially what the gospel effects, we see from Luther's
explanation to the third Article of the Creed. "I believe
that I cannot by my own reason or strength believe in Jesus
Christ, or come to Him, but the Holy Ghost has called me

by the Gospel, enlightened me with His gifts, sanctified and kept me in the one true faith."¹¹⁵

Thus Luther's educative process is ~~thus~~: First, apply the law to bring the children to a clear knowledge of their sinfulness, their state of condemnation, and their inability to help themselves. Then, apply the gospel, showing that Christ, the Son of God, "has redeemed them from all sins, purchased and won them from death and the power of the devil, not with gold or silver, but with His body, innocent, bitter suffering and death, so that they might be his own, and live under Him in His kingdom, and serve Him in everlasting righteousness, innocence, and blessedness."¹¹⁶

Luther holds that the gratitude that man experiences, upon accepting with joy the ~~s~~alvation offered him, is the motive for good works. The law should also be applied after faith has been engendered, but now to deepen the knowledge of sin the gospel, to deepen faith in the forgiveness. This results in an ever greater gratitude. A second function of the law with respect to grateful believers is to show them what truly good works are in the sight of God, with which God will be pleased, and will accept, as a manifestation of the believer's gratitude. Now this law does not happen to mention such deeds as fasting, pilgrimages, asceticism, celibacy, and the like, but stresses thoughts, words, and deeds of love toward God, and man, in the ordinary walks of life. The motivating means for this life of love is the gospel.

115. Luther: Weimar, Vol. XXX, Part I, p. 296.

116. Luther: Weimar, Vol. XXX, Part I, p. 296.

Thus the law also furnishes the knowledge of good works, but the gospel is the dynamic; the motive power for them.

Thus we have seen that Scripture to Luther is the means of education. We have also considered how, by its application, it educates, and why it does so.

It is necessary at this place to discuss Luther's attitude toward human reason in its relation to Scripture and divine matters. Some seem to think that Luther took so negative an attitude towards human reason in divine matters, that the Scriptures, in his educational scheme, become a sort of magical formula or incantation, a sort of spiritual "presto" that need only to be pronounced and heard, without any reference to the human intellect what ever, to be effective. Nothing was farther from Luther's mind.

Luther advocated the use of human reason and intelligence both in the study of Scripture and its application. He says, for example: "Whoever is to teach others, especially out of Holy Scriptures, and rightly to understand this book, must first have observed and learned to know the world."¹¹⁷ Here Luther urges the use of human reason, in its twofold sense, of a faculty in man by which he apprehends knowledge, and the accumulated experience of the race, Furthermore, he urges the study of the ancient languages, Greek and Hebrew, the source languages of Scripture, for a proper and exact understanding of the Holy Writ, "And let this be kept in mind, that we will not preserve the gospel without the languages. The languages are the scabbard in which the word of
117. Painter, p. 148.

God is sheather.... If through neglect we lose the languages (which may God forbid) we will not only lose the gospel but it will finally come to pass that we will lose also the ability to speak and write either Latin or German."¹¹⁸ In advocating language study, Luther surely advocates the use, a very vigorous use, of human reason, for such study implies a knowledge of psychology, logic, grammar, not mean objects indeed for the exercise of human reason.

In preparation for teaching the Scripture, Luther recommends an exact, scientific examination of the words of the sacred text, as well as meditation upon them in the heart. "You should not only consider the words in your heart but examine them diligently, as they stand in the text, that you may arrive at the meaning of the Holy Ghost. And see to it, that you do not become weary and imagine after reading it once or twice that you understand it thoroughly: for such a course makes not profound theologians, but such as resemble unripe fruit that falls before its time."¹¹⁹ Thus, according to Luther, he who would attain to a perception of Scripture, should indeed use his reason; he should indeed study grammar and ancient languages, train his mind by logic, and especially, one who would teach Scripture should do so, since one knife cuts better than another, and thus one who understands the languages and arts, speaks and teaches best."

The ability of human reason, with reference to Scripture,

119. Luther: Walch, Vol. XII, 423.

that Luther denies may be fixed and stated thus: "Although man's reason or natural understanding has still, indeed, a dim spark that there is a God as also of the doctrine of the law, yet it is so ignorant, blind and perverted, that when even the most able and learned men upon earth hear or read the gospel of the Son of God and the promise of eternal salvation, they cannot from their own powers perceive, apprehend, understand, or believe, and regard it as true, but the more diligence and earnestness they employ, in order to comprehend with their reason, these spiritual things, the less they understand or believe, and before they become enlightened or taught, of the Holy Ghost, they regard this all as only foolishness or fiction."¹²⁰ Thus while admitting and encouraging the ancillary use of human reason in the understanding of Scripture, Luther denies the ability, and inveighs against the use, of human reason, in the juridical sense in understanding God's word. It is only the Holy Ghost who can convince man of the truth of Scripture and effect its acceptance. But this He does, as we have seen before, through Scripture itself, which takes the human reason, while meditating upon it, captive and "changes its mind" as it were, as to the things it is contemplating, being fiction and foolishness.

Since Scripture is the means by which children are converted and educated, Luther would have it always in use, for it is only in use that the word can be effective: "The order of worship", he says in his "Writing Of the German

120. Luther: Walch, Vol. X, p. 73.

Mass", "in the Church is not a binding law, and we should not try to fasten it upon the consciences of men. But the chief thing is that the young folks and plain people should be trained and practiced daily in the Scriptures, the word of God, that they should become accustomed to the Scriptures and skilled in them, so that they can uphold their faith and in the course of time teach others and thus help to increase the Kingdom of Christ. For this purpose, to promote a knowledge of the Scriptures, one must read, sing, preach, write, rhyme, and if it would help, I should like to have all the bells ring it and all organs play it and whatever hath sound peal it forth."¹²¹ Had he lived in our time, you can be sure he would have used the radio, the large newspapers, and every other means of reaching the public.

Bible doctrine, he held, should be presented to the children in a brief and simple form. Therefore, another means of instruction, although essentially not another, was the Catechism, that is, a "brief summary of Christian doctrine." He published two books containing the essentials of Christian doctrine. His "Small Catechism" and his "Large Catechism."

The word, "Catechism", has come to include in its definition the idea of questions and answers. To Luther this reference to form was not essential. His "Large Catechism" is not cast into erotematic form. In one of the prefaces, Luther dilates upon the word, "Catechism", from which we see that to him, Catechism was Scripture in its best form,

121. Luther: Walch, Vol. X, p. 73.

to be applied as a means of education. "This little work has been planned and undertaken in order to furnish a course of instruction for children and the simple minded. Hence, of old such works received in Greek the name Catechism, i. e., instruction for children. This of necessity every Christian should know, so that he who does not know this should not be reckoned among Christians, nor admitted to the Sacrament, just as a mechanic who does not understand the rules and customs of his trade is rejected and regarded as incapable. Therefore, the young should be thoroughly instructed in the parts which belong to the Catechism, or instruction for children, and should diligently exercise themselves therein."¹²²

We must now give more specific attention to Luther's method of teaching the Catechism; for from this scrutiny we may glean much as to his general methodology. In the preface of his "Small Catechism", Luther has given detailed instruction as to how it was to be applied: "In the first place, let the preacher take the utmost care to avoid all changes or variations in the text and wording of the ten commandments, the Lord's prayer, the creed, the sacraments, etc. Let him, on the contrary, take each of the forms respectfully, adhere to it and repeat it anew year after year. For the young and inexperienced people cannot be successfully instructed unless we adhere to the same text or the same forms of expression. They easily become confused when the teacher at one time employs a certain form or words and expressions, and at another, apparantly with the view to

make improvements, adopts a different form. The result of such a course will be that all the time and labor which we have expended will be lost."¹²³

It will readily be seen that Luther advocates the selection of a good brief text and grouping of instruction around key phrases and sentences, which are to be repeated and memorized verbatim. As to this principle having twentieth century approval, we quote a modern writer: "The student must acquire the habit of learning almost verbatim key phrases, definitions, rules, laws."¹²⁴

But Luther has further advice to offer on teaching the Catechism: "In the second place, when those whom you are instructing have become familiar with the words of the text, then teach them to understand the meaning of those words, so that they may become acquainted with the object and purport of the lessons. For it is not necessary that you should on the same occasion proceed from the beginning to the end of the several parts: it will be more profitable if you present them separately in regular succession. When the people have, for instance, at length correctly understood the first commandment, you may proceed to the second and so continue. By neglecting to observe this mode the people will be overburdened, and be prevented from understanding any considerable part of the matter communicated."¹²⁵

In other words, Luther's idea was, mastery of the old

123. Luther: Weimar, Vol. XXX, Part I, p. 269.

124. Chapman and Counts: Principles of Education, p. 553.

125. Luther: Weimar, Vol. XXX, Part I, p. 273.

before proceeding with the new, introduction of the new only to the degree that it can be assimilated, allowing of ample time for the process of absorption of the new, the whole process in logical order, so that the new finds it proper relation to the old. How perfectly obvious and yet how neglected in practice! The complain in the schools of higher learning to the effect that instruction is not successful because the ~~g~~round work has been but indifferently done is quite general and not altogether an excrecence of the defense mechanism of the higher schools. Luther realized that university methods in the elementary grades meant elementary methods in the secondary schools and in the university.

Some have directed criticism at the words, "When those whom you are instructing have become familiar with the words of the text, then teach them to understand the meaning", as coming in conflict with the principle of inductive teaching, set forth thus in the Words of Comenius: "The concrete should precede the abstract; the simple the ^mcomplex; the nearer, the remote."¹²⁶ One critic says: "True, Luther over-emphasized the utility of memorizing words, even in advance of learning their meaning, and this deductive method modern pedagogy would not approve without serious qualification."¹²⁷ Both critics seem to think that Luther meant that the text of the whole "Catechism" should be memorized before explaining its meaning. Even had Luther intended this, it would not

126. Painter, p. 152.

127. The Lutheran World Almanac, 1927-1928, p. 73.

have been so great an impact against the afore said principle, for in Luther's "Catechism" the concrete does precede the abstract, the simple, the complex, the nearer the remote, in most cases, and where the reverse is true, the concrete, the simple, the nearer, is brought immediately in an explanation. One can memorize the catechism without the guidance of a teacher, and never be at a loss as to its meaning. It is its own commentary.

Furthermore, even/^{had}Luther intended that the whole text should be memorized, before proceeding to its elaboration, as found in the large "Catechism", Luther was not so devoted to a system as to rule out explanations of the words while the memorizing was being done. Only if we assume this, can we justify the criticism of the second critic. But I see no reason why we should assume that the whole text of the "Catechism" was to be memorized before its elucidation should begin. What he meant was this: first, the text of the first commandment, which reads: "Thou shalt have no other Gods before me." should be memorized. Surely, "Thou" is not hard to understand even before explanation and "shalt" would not give a person much trouble either. "Have", "no", "other", "before", "me;" are all easy Anglo-Saxon words, understood even by a two-year old child; and if one wished to wait with memory work until the whold concept of "God" were understood, the first commandment would remain unmemorized in this and the next world. I consider it the height of common-sense, to proceed with the memorizing of this text first. It would take but five minutes at the most.

"Then," says Luther, "proceed with the explanation. "We should fear, love, and trust in God, above all things." This is the "meaning" of the text. This "meaning" of those words (the text) the children "are to be taught to understand, so that they may become acquainted with the object and purpose of the lesson." Then when the people have correctly understood the first commandment, the teacher was to proceed with the second commandment, and so continue. I consider this advice about memorizing the text as thus shown very beneficial for the progress of the whole lesson. It eliminates constant reference to the book on the part of the learner, thus avoiding distraction, it also provides a hub into which the different spokes of the lesson's cycle can conveniently be inserted, or it acts like the germ, which is to be developed, expanded, brought to bud, and fruitage, which must first of all/^{be}put into the ground before the culture begins. Thus I consider the criticism noted above as invalid.

Luther's third advice on teaching the "Catechism" runs thus: "In the third place, when you have reached the end of the Short Catechism, begin anew with the Large Catechism, and by means of it furnish the people with fuller and more comprehensive explanations. Here explain at large every commandment, petition and part, with its various works, uses, benefits, dangers, and injuries, as you find these abundantly stated in many books written about these matters."¹²⁸

128. Luther: Weimar, Vol. XXX, Part I. pp, 273-274.

Here we have, 1) cyclic gradation of the materials, 2) association of the material, that is new, with the old by as many strands as possible, ^{well as} as the application of the generalization arrived at, in as many ways as possible. Incidentally, he stresses the necessity of the instructor being well acquainted with the many aspects of his subject by wide reading.

In his next advice, Luther stresses the importance of concentrating on the important and most necessary elements of one's material. "And particularly, urge that command or part most, which suffers the greatest neglect among your people. For instance, the seventh commandment, concerning stealing, must be strenuously urged among mechanics and merchants, and even farmers and servants, for among these people many kinds of dishonesty and thieving prevail."¹²⁹

A modern writer on education says: "The importance of having much of the instruction center definitely around problems akin to those in which the individual will need facility in his adult life, cannot be overstressed..... Problems, problems, and again problems should be the basis of instruction."¹³⁰ Luther realized the importance of the problem as the vehicle for training in thinking. His whole "Small Catechism" is built up around questions, each of which contains a problem, which he solves in his various explanations in the same manner as suggested above.

129. Luther: Weimar, Vol. XXX, Part I, p. 275.

130. Chapman and Counts, pp, 118, 554.

And the questions Luther asks are of such a nature as to incite thinking on the material presented; "What does this mean?" is the most prevalent question. Despite the criticism of this Lutheran critic noted above, Luther will persist in showing the fatuity of the stricture, not only by insisting upon thorough-going explanation of the materials, but also by denouncing the deadening memoriter method, also prevalent in his day, as it seems, and proposes the discussional method as an antidote. In his book, "Von der Deutschen Messe und Ordnung des Gottes dienstes" of 1526, he says: "Not simply that they (the children) may learn and repeat the words by heart, as has hitherto been the case, but let them be questioned from article to article, and show what each signifies and how they understand it." He illustrates how this is to be done. The teacher should ask: "What do you pray?" Answer: "The Lord's Prayer." "What is meant by 'Our Father who art in heaven?'" Answer: "That God is not an earthly, but a Heavenly Father, who will make us rich and blessed in Heaven." "What is meant by 'Hallowed be Thy Name?'" Answer: "That we should honor His name, that it may not be profaned." "How is it profaned?" Answer: "When we, who are His children, lead evil lives and teach and believe error."¹³¹

In Church, of course, Luther used the lecture or sermon method. He, however, was not unaware of its short-comings, and advocates the discussional method for home and school.

131. Luther: Walch, Vol. X, p. 77.

"The common public sermons in the churches edify the young but little. Children do not learn much from them. But this is effective, that one diligently and properly and in an orderly way, teach, hear, and examine them in what they have learned in school and especially at home. That is very fruitful."

Modern education says with the immature, "the logical presentation must give way to the psychological mode of approach." This, of course, is meaningless unless several explanatory sentences are added to convey what the educators are driving at, namely, that one's mode of presentation should be dictated by the interests, needs, and capacities of the child rather than the interests, needs, and capacities of the trained student. When one has discovered that the modern educator is thus not trying the rather startling operation of curretting "logic" out of "psychological" but rather proposing that instruction should be adapted to child nature with children, and to adult nature with adults, one readily agrees with him, and finds that Luther does also.

In one place he suggests the use of a money pouch or purse, with two pockets, the one to be labeled "faith", the other "charity". The "faith" pocket was to be the pocket for gold coins, the "charity" for silver coins. By this device, the children were to learn the difference between gospel and law in Scripture texts. The gospel texts were golden texts. Those speaking of man's works according to the law, were the silver texts. After some coaching on

the part of the teacher, the children themselves were to study their text, and indicate into which pocket it ought to be inserted. Luther thus stresses religion as a school activity.

After commending this device as calculated to gain the interest of the child and help to establish the habit of evaluation of the lesson material. Luther says: "Let no one think himself too wise, and disdain such child's play. When Christ wished to teach men, he became a man. If we are to teach children, we must become children. Would to God, we had more of this child's play! We should then see in a short time, a great treasure of Christian people, souls rich in the Scriptures and in the knowledge of God." ¹³²

Luther believes it to be the only right method in the instruction of children, to make use of their play attitude! "If we would only bring up the young in a child like manner and in the midst of their play in the reverence and fear of God, so that the first and second commandment were always in practice and use! Then some good would strike root, grow up and produce fruit, so that such people would grow up, in which the whole community could benefit and rejoice. That would also be the right manner of educating children, since one can influence them with good and pleasure."

That Luther was fully out of sympathy with the taskmaster conception of education we noted under his strictures on education, where he spoke of the hell and purgatory of the

schools of his youth. He would not have the atmosphere of the school an oppressive one of Puritanical sternness, for he holds, "What must be forced with rods and blows will have no good result, and at farthest, under such treatment, they will remain Godly no longer than the rod descends upon their backs."¹³³

But to return from this excursion into the realms of discipline, made necessary by the close relationship of discipline and method, we note finally in connection with the "Catechism" that Luther would also further the psychological approach by a copious use of illustration and example, so that not only the intellect be instructed, but the will be strengthened, for good: "The celebrated Roman, Varro, affirms that the best way to teach is to unite examples with words. This results in a clearer apprehension of what is taught, and secures also its better retention: otherwise, when statements are heard without examples, no matter how good the doctrine may be, the heart is not so deeply moved, and the subject is not so clearly understood nor so firmly retained. Therefore, history is very valuable. For whatever philosophy or reason teaches, history supplies with illustrations, and portrays, as it were, before our eyes, what the words convey to the ear. We there see how the good and the wise have lived, and how they have been rewarded, and also how the wicked and the ignorant have done and how they have been punished."¹³⁴

133. Luther: Walch, Vol. X, p. 53.

134. *ibid.*, Vol. XIV, p. 354.

According to Luther then, since religion is the most important interest in life, Scripture is the chief means of education. Just as the religious life should dominate and influence all other phases of life, family, civic, economic, recreational, and physical, so should Scripture dominate and normate all other means that are used for training the young. Where any ancillary means become dominant in education, the latter no longer trains in the right knowledge and the use of God's gifts, spiritual and eternal, to God's glory and the welfare of mankind.

Besides Scripture, Luther admitted other means of education, ancillary means, by which man inquires into the nature and purposes of gifts and makes them viable for using in the furtherance of God's glory and the welfare of mankind. In the brief overview of Luther's educational concept we have designated these by the general term "the accumulated race experience normated thereby" namely, by Scripture.

We may conveniently, for discussion, classify the accumulated race experiences, that Luther has in mind, in three rubrics: 1) immediate concrete activities of the individual, 2) vicarious experiences of the past, 3) the tools of knowledge.

Among the concrete and immediate activities, that Luther advocates as being especially adapted to training and educating the young, we find gymnastics, games, plays, singing, dramas, disputations, and debates. This was in line with his views expressed in the "Letter to the Mayor and Councillors on Behalf of Christian Schools": "Now since the young must leap and jump, or have something to do because they

have a natural desire for it that should not be restrained (for it is not well to check them in everything), why should we not provide such schools and lay before them such studies"¹³⁵

Mention has been made of several of these activities before, for example, gymnastics and singing, and pertinent quotations adduced. Here we wish only to emphasize Luther's advocacy of the drama or dramatization as a valuable educational adjunct: "Comedies ought to be produced by the boys, first that they may have training in the Latin tongue; furthermore, mankind is educated by characters of fiction and each one is reminded of his own duty; in addition to this, the wiles of evil women are laid bare.... And if the comedies were not to be produced by a Christian on account of certain unclean elements, then not even the Bible ought to be read. But he who takes offense at such things takes offense when no one offers it."¹³⁶ Luther here advocates dramas, both as a means of education and a method of presentation of educative materials. Luther had already appreciated the value of dramatization of which a modern author writes: "The school has been slow to see what a powerful instrument for good, particularly in the early years of formal instruction, is this desire to dramatize."¹³⁷

Especial mention should be made here of Luther's sponsoring vocational training in close correlation with formal education. "My idea is that boys should spend an hour or two a day in school and the rest of the time work at home, learn

135. Luther: Weimar, Vol. XV, p. 46.

136. Luther: Table Talk, Weimar, Vol. I, No. 867.

137. Chapman and Counts, p. 252.

some trade and do whatsoever is desired, so that study and work may go on together, while the children are young and can attend to both."¹³⁸

If we now turn our attention to the vicarious experiences that the children were to be subjected to, according to Luther's educational plans, we note that he included in his curriculum: History, science, literature, music, art, philosophy, rhetoric, dialectic, poetics. Here we note much that is traditional, for Luther's reforms in education were real re-forms. He retained all that was usable of the old, added some things that were new, and gave the whole, a wider scope, and a different viewpoint. Even Aristotle, whom Luther so severely attacked, was not altogether scrapped. Luther salvaged his "Logic", "Rhetoric", and "Poetics". He says: "But I would gladly allow Aristotle's books on Logic, Rhetoric and Poetics to be kept, at least, in an abbreviated form, without elaborate commentaries."¹³⁹

But we shall not be able to go into detail on each of these subjects, nor is it necessary, since some have been touched upon before, for example, music. Let us pick out those subjects which were but recently added to education at that time, through the influence of the humanists, and to one especially which it seems had up to that time had no place in the schools, though the name was there. Luther would give history a prominent place in the curriculum. Luther had some sane views regarding history and its use.

138. Luther: Weimar, Vol. XV, p, 47.

139. Luther: Weimar, Vol. VI, p. 458.

First of all, he looks upon history as a science: "It requires a superior man to write history, a man with a lion heart, who dares, without fear to speak the truth. For most men write in such a way, that according to the wishes of their rulers or friends, they pass over the vices or degeneracy of their times or put the best construction upon them; on the other hand, through partiality for their fatherland and hostility to foreigners, they unduly magnify or defame according to their preferences or prejudices. In this way histories become beyond measure untrustworthy, and God's work is obscured. Since history describes nothing else than the ways of God, that is, grace and anger, which we should believe as if they stood in Scripture, it ought to be written with extreme care, fidelity, and truth."¹⁴⁰

We believe that Luther's definition of history would have run about like this: History is a scientific study of God's successive adjustments to man's successive attitudes towards Him and His gifts, summerized as a civilization process. He almost hits this in the following quotation: "When one thoroughly considers the matter, it is from history as from a living fountain, that have flowed all laws, sciences, counsel, warning, threatening, comfort, strength, wisdom, and all virtues: that is to say history is nothing else than an indication recollection, and monument of divine works, and judgements, showing how God maintains, governs, hinders, advances, punishes, and honors men, according as each one has deserved good or evil."¹⁴¹

Luther: Walch, Vol. XIV, p. 354, No. 140.

141. *ibid.*, p. 354.

But Luther could never have been satisfied with the mere scientific conception of history, "that selects facts, important and significant, only as illustrations or explanations of what the past age was and of how it came to be what it was and how the present grew out of it."¹⁴²

While admitting history to be a scientific study, as above states, he would have urged that all facts important and significant for the above purpose would also be interesting and serviceable didactically, that is, for education. In the following, Luther touches upon the didactic in history. "And although there are many, who do not recognize and regard God, yet must they take warning from history and fear that it may go with them as with many a one therein portrayed, whereby they are moved more than by mere admonition in works, as we read, not alone in the Holy Scriptures, but also in heathen books, how men introduced and held up the examples, words, and works of their ancestors, when they wished to accomplish something with the multitude, or to teach, admonish, warn or terrify."¹⁴³ Again in urging the establishment of libraries, and a proper selection of books he says: "A prominent place should be given to chronicles and histories in whatever languages, they may be obtained, for they are wonderfully useful in understanding and regulating the course of the world, and in disclosing the marvelous works of God."¹⁴⁴

Luther also urged the importance of recording, teaching

142. Henry Johnson: Teaching of History in Elementary and Secondary Schools, p. 26.

143. Luther: Walch, Vol. XIV, p. 354.

144. Luther: Weimar, Vol. XV, p. 52.

and studying of contemporary history. Therefore, historians are most useful people and most excellent teachers whom we can never sufficiently honor, praise, and thank, and it should be a care of our great lords, as emperors and kings, to have histories of their times written, and preserved in libraries, and they should spare no expense to procure persons capable of teaching." "O. how many noble deeds and wise maxims produced on German soil have been forgotten and lost, because no one at the time wrote them down, or, if they were written, no one preserved the books; hence we Germans are unknown in other lands, and are called brutes that know only how to fight, eat, and drink."

This quotation hints that Luther would not have been satisfied with a treatment of history that took account only of wars, treaties, constitutions, and parliaments, and overlooked the economic, social, and cultural in the life of a nation. The following words bring this out even more plainly. "But the Greeks and Romans, and even the Hebrews, have recorded their history with such particularity, that even if a woman or a child did anything noteworthy, all the world was obliged to read and know it; but we Germans are always Germans, and will remain Germans." How pleased Luther would be, could he know, that his Germans did finally wake up and produce some historians of note whose names have a good savor even in other countries. ¹⁴⁵

145. Luther: Weimar, Vol. XV, p. 52.

Another means that Luther would have employed to become acquainted with the nature and purpose of God's gifts was science. By science he meant especially the natural sciences. Commenting on the word "magi", Luther says of "magia", which he defines as the science of knowing the manner and nature of creatures: "This science is a fine and real natural science, from which has come everything the physicians and their like know, describe, and use of the powers of herbs, fruits, ore, stone and the like. It is often referred to in Scripture, when it uses examples of animals, stones, trees and herbs, and so on. In this science, the Persians, Arabs, and other Orientals were very expert. They studied it and it was an honorable science. It also produced wisemen¹⁴⁶." Luther is grieved that this science was so poorly prosecuted in the high schools, so that "the farmers know more of it than our 'magi' the natural masters, who therefore are not unaptly called the natural dunces, who with much cost and labor only learn behind themselves, and are the devil's mocking birds." Astrology he, of course, abominated, but was pleased with astronomy. We will omit the other sciences mentioned.

Luther looked upon literature as a means of education. When he spoke of literature, he of necessity, thought mainly of the Latin and Greek classics, for vernacular literature up to Luther's time had not flourished to such a degree as to give him German Classics to include in his curriculum.

146. Luther: Walch, Vol. XI, p. 412.

It was Luther's German Bible, that gave the needed definite impetus to the creation of a national literature in modern German, which resulted in such great masterpieces as those produced by Goethe, Shiller, and many others.

As to the classics that Luther proposed for the Latin schools, we note the following in "The Instruction to the Visitors" drawn up jointly by Luther and Melancthon; Aesop, Terence, Plautus, Virgil, Ovid, Cicero. Together with the classics naturally went grammar, etymology, syntax, prosody, metric, and after grammar dialectic and rhetoric. In the teaching of these Luther advised thoroughness and adaptation to the children. He would have many stanzas from the poets memorized to give the children a good vocabulary, that is, complete sentences and stanzas, not isolated words.

Here again Luther would have the childrens' natural curiosity and interest exploited, "for by the gracious arrangement of God, children take a delight in acquiring knowledge whether languages, mathematics, or history." But this brings us to a discussion of the tools of knowledge.

We are surprized to find that in his recommendations for the Latin schools, Luther seems to have neglected to include arithmetic. We know that he was not opposed to it, for he criticized those who thought reading, writing and arithmetic a sufficient preparation for life. I have not been able to find a good reason for its omission. Did he, perhaps, think that arithmetic could be safely postponed until later? Or what is more probable, did he think that arithmetic was being

well enough,--too well, for him--taken care of by outside agencies, such as the business schools of the day? Or did the children get elementary arithmetic along with the trade they were to learn at home, according to his plans? If for any of these reasons he neglected to include this science in his proposals, he has educators in modern times who would agree with him, both in putting arithmetic off until other more essential matters have been looked after, or excluding it, if taught sufficiently by outside agencies.

What affects us even more strangely is that Luther nowhere mentions the vernacular language as a subject in his Latin school curriculum. Yet we must not forget that in the lower classes, the medium of instruction was of necessity, German, in religion as well as in introducing children to Latin. He also encouraged the establishment of primary schools in which German was to be the medium of instruction. Nor did he neglect the vernacular otherwise. In fact, he was the one great champion of the vernacular amongst the many Latin scholars of his time, in Germany. He promoted the German tongue in every way, and it was due to him that a German finally emerged from the babel of dialects which could be used as the language of the school. It was his German Bible, his German hymns, his German tracts, and pamphlets, his Hundreds of German sermons, that made the German of today.

Luther considered Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, great aids in the education of children and therefore lays great emphasis on these languages for his curriculum. But it was no

"mental discipline theory" that prompted him to do so. He heartily sponsored Latin because Latin at the time was of great utility both for the church and the state, as well as for international relations. Latin was the source language for almost all the learned studies, necessary for physicians and lawyers, as well as for clergy and statesmen. It was the "lingua franca" for scholars and diplomats, throughout Europe. It was the one tie that bound together the leaders, political and intellectual, of all European nationalities, city states, and principalities.

Luther's reason for supporting Hebrew and Greek for his curriculum in the higher schools was also one of utility. Hebrew and Greek are the source languages of the Bible, his greatest means of education. Without a knowledge of these languages, he held, and rightly so, that Bible doctrine would not long remain pure. Nor could one ever reach that assurance which a knowledge of the source languages brings, if faith and life had to be built upon translations and glosses. In cases of perversion of Scripture doctrine, the man unacquainted with the languages would, due to his ignorance, be wholly at the mercy of the perverter and the result would be another Papacy. We deem it unnecessary to bring more than one quotation besides those quoted before: "Therefore, my beloved countrymen, let us open our eyes, thank God for this precious treasure and take pains to preserve it and to frustrate the design of Satan. For we cannot deny that, although the gospel has come and daily comes through the

Holy Spirit, it has come by means of the languages and through them must increase and be preserved. For when God wished, through the apostles, to spread the gospel abroad in all the world, He gave the languages for that purpose; and by means of the Roman Empire He made Latin and Greek the language of many lands, that His gospel might speedily bear fruit far and wide. He has done the same now. For a time no one understood why God had revived the study of languages; but now we see that it was for the sake of the gospel, which He wished to bring to light and thereby expose and destroy the reign of Anti-Christ. For the same reason, He gave Greece a prey to the Turks, in order that Greek scholars driven from home and scattered abroad might bear the Greek tongue to other countries and thereby excite interest in the study of languages."¹⁴⁷

Luther was broad enough, Cosmopolitan enough, despite his intense national spirit, to advocate the study also of modern languages. He says: "I do not hold with those who give themselves to one language, and despise all others. For I should like to bring up such people as can be of use to Christ in foreign lands, that it may not go with us as with the Waldenses in Bohemia, who confined their doctrine to their own language in such a way, that no one could clearly understand them without first learning their language. But the Holy Spirit acted differently: He did not wait till all the world came to Jerusalem and learned Hebrew, but He bestowed the gift of tongues upon the apostles so that they could speak wherever they came. I prefer to follow this

example and hold it proper to exercise the young in many languages: for who knows how God may use them?"¹⁴⁸ For this also schools are established.

In regard to the best methods of learning and teaching languages, Luther laid down principles, that especially a missionary in foreign work can appreciate as fundamental. Had some missionaries, entrained by scholastic language method, but had a chance to read Luther's suggestions, they would not have sat themselves down in a mission bungalow, cudgeling their brain, with a grammar, a reader, and a dictionary, worn themselves wan with much study and worry, only to return home humiliated because they had not the language gift, -the irony of it all being heightened by the fact that they spoke their mother tongue quite well, and had done so even from the age of three. In the light of the fact that a child, starting life with no linguistic predilections and aids such as grammars and dictionaries and long lists of roots, will speak the language of its environment with ease and fluency at the age of three, and this without any conscious effort of learning having been made, would seem to prove that language learning, so far as speech is concerned is largely a matter of imitation, and the idea of a special "language gift" a myth.

Luther's advice is simply: "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

148. Luther: Walch, Vol. X. p. 270; Weimar, Vol. X, p. 74

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 languages that have the most clearly defined rules as the Latin and the Greek, can be better learned from practice?"¹⁴⁹

Another sage piece of advice for language study is to get the subject matter first, and then proceed to the words or grammar. "A knowledge of words or grammar becomes easier, when the subject in hand is understood, as Horace also teaches. But when knowledge of the subject is wanting, then knowledge of words is useless. I do not wish to be understood as rejecting grammar, which is necessary: 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."¹⁵⁰ Missionaries have found corroboration of the wisdom of this observation in the experience of finding the Bible, where it has already been translated, the first and best familiarity of ^{aid to them because of the} the subject matter.

But one thing needs be added to make Luther's advice on language study comprehensive, that is, that one should select a person, well versed in his native tongue, without grammatical errors, slang and provincialisms, as a model,

149. Painter, p. 158.

150. Painter, p. 159.

and as a corrective influence over against the language one hears in the streets and in the market places.

To finish this matter of the tools of knowledge, we have but to add that Luther obviously included a rigorous training in reading and writing in his course. In fact the graded instruction he suggested for the Latin school is based largely upon the ability, or, rather, progress in the fundamental tools. In the "Instruction to the Visitors" we read: "Thirdly, it is necessary to divide the children into three groups. The first group are the children, who are learning to read.... The second group are the children, who can read and are now, to learn grammar..... When the children are well trained in grammar, one may select the most apt, and make a third group."¹⁵¹

It will, perhaps, be well here, before proceeding, to show how the subjects of the curriculum were to be distributed over the whole school period divided into a graded system of schools.

- 1) Vernacular Primary schools, for common people of both sexes; reading, writing, physical training, singing, religion, practical instruction in trade and household duties.
- 2) Latin Secondary schools: Latin, Greek, Hebrew, rhetoric, dialectic, history, science, mathematics, music, gymnastics, and religion.
- 3) Universities. The studies of the four faculties, Theology, Medicine, Philosophy, Law.

151. Luther: Weimar, Vol. XXVI, pp. 237-240.

There remains but to explain the phrase: "and the accumulated race experience" with reference to its qualifier, "normated thereby", i. e. by Scripture, to bring our discussion of Luther's "How of Education" to a close. The accumulated race experience, as we have seen, included everything that was a product of human reason, in contradistinction to the doctrines of Scripture, which were to Luther God's own revelation. Luther held that, wherever the products of human reason conflicted with revelation, they were not products of reason, but ^{of} reason, possessed by the devil, and as such possessed no educative value, but were pernicious. He, therefore, made Scripture a norm by which the educative and beneficial in the products of human reason, were to be detected. He felt, however, that such conflict could take place only if reason tried to usurp the domain of revelation, and revelation trespassed upon the bounds of reason. ¹⁵² If both remained within their sphere, reason would serve revelation, and revelation reason. We bring but one quotation:

"Reason possessed by the devil does great damage in divine matters; and the greater and more acute, the greater the damage it does, as we see in wise and learned men of the world, whose reason does not agree with God's word, yea

152. We add two quotations here: "Philosophy should not be mixed into Theology, but the one is to be wisely separated from the other." Walch, Vol. XX, 2121; "Theology should be Queen, Philosophy and other good sciences, her servants, and not master or rule." Walch, Vol. XXII, p. 369.

the wiser and the more clever they are, the more presumptuous are they against God's word. If, however, it is enlightened by the Holy Spirit, the work helps them judge and adjudicate. The tongue of the ungodly blasphemes God; mine, however, lauds and praises Him, and yet it is one member, instrument, and tool. It is but one and the same tongue, both before and after faith, and the tongue itself helps nothing toward faith and yet it serves faith when the heart has become enlightened. Thus also human reason serves faith, after it is enlightened, in considering a matter; but without faith, reason helps not at all..... But, when it is enlightened, it takes all its thoughts from God's word and orders and guides them according to it."¹⁵³

CONCLUSION.

We have now come to the end of our review of Luther's principles of education, and with that, to the end of our thesis. Considering the fact that Luther anticipated certain phases of American education by four hundred years in his emphasis upon , 1) universal education, 2) responsibility of adult society for education, 3) society supported and controlled education, 4) compulsory elementary education, 5) selective secondary and university education based on ability, 6) education based on a scientific study and adaptation to child nature, 7) properly graded education, 8) a comprehensive system of schools for education,

153. Luther: Walch, Vol. XXII, p. 268.

9) education as an activity, in which the child participates, as a training of body and spirit, of the whole human being, not only the intellect, 10) an education related to the six basic needs of the child in his life, --I say, considering this fact, I have no hesitation in pronouncing Luther a modern educator and, since these principles represent fundamentals, a great educator.

On the other hand, modern education does not emphasize the following of Luther's principles: 1) education, a training in the Gifts of God, 2) not for personal aggrandizement, especially in the monetary way, but for the glory of God and the welfare of mankind, 3) the Bible the principle means of education, 4) a clear separation of the realms of human reason and the realms of faith, 5) especially the forgiving grace of God in Christ Jesus as the consolation for sin sick humanity and as a motivation for proper conduct. Believing as I do, with Luther, that religion is the fundamental basis of all education. I have no hesitation in declaring Luther post modern, if American education is modern.

Luther, in maintaining that Christianity was the only true religion which alone gives all glory to God for man's salvation and alone offers hope and consolation to a conscience stricken sinner, as far as religious education is concerned, struck the timeless, abiding, eternal principle from which such education must proceed, for which it must be prosecuted, and to which it must gravitate, if it is to be eternally worthwhile.

Anyone, who had followed the discussion of Luther's principles of education, will have noticed how often is his appeal to Scripture for the particular educational tenet he is urging and will not be startled, if I now in conclusion, deny any originality in Luther's educational views, but accuse him of having piously "pilfered" his whole educational concept from the Bible. For such chiding, I am sure Luther would be the first to bless me.