THE PLACE OF THE LIBERAL ARTS IN CHRISTIAN EDUCATION AS SEEN IN SELECTED EDUCATORS

By

JEAN LOUISE SWALE

A THESIS

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for
THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF RELIGIOUS EDUCATION

The Biblical Seminary in New York

New York, N. Y.
April 1946

To

Rebecca Russell Price

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

THE PLACE OF THE LIBERAL ARTS IN CHRISTIAN EDUCATION AS SEEN IN SELECTED EDUCATORS

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Critical evaluation is being made today of education in general and of Christian education in particular. In the beginning of this postwar era it is appropriate that sails be set anew in this most vital phase of national life in view of the unanimous opinion that modern education has not accomplished what it should have. It is supremely important that Christian educators take stock if they consider Christianity the answer to the world's need.

A. Nature and Significance of the Problem

A crucial issue in this matter is the relation of the Christian faith to the liberal arts; and it is with this problem that this paper concerns itself, in the interests of Christian education. Several articles of late have dealt with the issue in relation to both secular and Christian schools. Rachel H. King in her criticism of the Harvard report of its revamped philosophy of education, Harvard versus Christianity, states that it is "neither new nor Christian," but "a return to pre-Christ-

ian classical ideals," because Christianity is not given its place of supremacy as the way of life and measure of all other systems of thought.[1] W. Burnet Easton, Jr., in his Rethinking the Christian College points out the basic conflict between the traditional liberal arts education and a truly Christian education, and recommends that the Christian philosophy be the unifying factor in a Christian college.[2] This strikes at the very heart of what makes a really Christian education.

It is always helpful, yes imperative, in seeking the answer to so basic a problem to turn to history. There one can find and evaluate in the light of historic results the solutions great educators have found and put to the test. That is the intent of this paper.

B. Delineation of the Problem

It is not possible within the limits of this paper to study every pertinent situation in history; hence five representative men will be considered: Clement of Alexandria, Jerome, Rabanus Maurus, John Calvin, and John Amos Comenius. Each typifies a particular attitude toward the problem, and together they cover the principle positions that have been taken in regard to it.

. . . . . .

1. King, Rachel: Harvard versus Christianity, Christian Century, January 23, 1946.
2. Easton, W. Burnet: Rethinking the Christian College, Christian Century, September 12, 1945.

Clement was the first to attempt any fusion whatever of cultural and Christian tradition, and Comenius' work marks the last major development in the solution of the problem, with ideas since his time being merely a modification of truth discovered then.

No attempt is being made to evaluate the contribution of the liberal arts to Christian education, as that would involve an extensive treatment; rather, the analysis is being made of the theory of the place the arts held in Christian education in each of these cases. References made to specific arts and their contributions are in view of discovering the general principle that prevailed in the minds of the educators.

By the "liberal arts" is meant the languages, sciences, philosophy, and history - those subjects which have to do with the capacity of knowing, and distinguished from the fine arts on the one hand and the practical arts on the other.[1] They constitute what has been the traditional substance of secondary and higher education since the time of the Greeks and what was formally organized into a distinctive curriculum as the "seven liberal arts" during the Middle Ages. Although they have changed somewhat in form, content, and emphasis during the centuries,

. . . . . .

1. Monroe, Paul: A Cyclopedia of Education, Vol. 4, p. 1.

the core has remained constant - the basic skills of knowledge and understanding.

C. Method of Procedure

Each of the representative men will be analyzed in view of the answer given to the question at stake. The attempt will be made to understand each man in the light of his setting. The consequences and pitfalls of each solution will be considered. Finally, comparisons will be made between the five cases and the whole applied to the solution of the problem today.

D. The Sources of Data

Histories of education and church histories will be the main sources of data in addition to the translated educational works of each man. Finally, current articles will be used in relating the study to the present day situation.

CHAPTER II

CLEMENT: AN ESSENTIAL PLACE

CHAPTER II

CLEMENT: AN ESSENTIAL PLACE

A. Clement's Background

1. His Times.

Clement came on the scene of the church's history just at the period when adjustment between Greek culture and the Christian faith became necessary. Through the apostolic period and most of the second century most of the converts had been from the lower, uneducated classes,[1] and the great struggle had been not an intellectual one, but a moral one for them. In fact, here was where Hellenism and Christianity had parted company, the former finding the solution to the problem of the attainment of the "good life" in the intellectual nature of man, and the latter finding it in the moral nature of man.[2] As Cubberley expresses it, "the chief concern (of the early church) was the moral regeneration of society through the moral regeneration of converts."[3] Hence, catechetical instruction included chiefly moral teaching and psalmody, and there was no real system of belief.[4]

. . . . . .

1. Glover, T. R.: The Conflict of Religions in the Early Roman Empire, p. 263.
2. Monroe, Paul: History of Education, p. 222.
3. Cubberley, Ellwood P.: The History of Education, p. 92.
4. Ibid., p. 93.

Other factors besides this moral concern had contributed to the indifference and later even negative reaction to pagan philosophy. The belief was very prevalent that the second coming of Christ was near, thus all such affairs of men as intellectual pursuits were vain. The pagans were the ones who persecuted the Christians and so their culture was disdained as much as they.[1]

However, as the church began to make converts from the better educated classes, and Christianity started to hold its own, adjustment with the old culture was inevitable. This was particularly true in Alexandria, the great cosmopolitan city where Clement did his chief work. In this city where was located the university of the ancient world and where East and West met together in thought and religion, commerce and travel, it was only natural that Christianity and Hellenistic thinking should meet head on. Farrar gives a vivid description of the situation there:

> "In such a city as Alexandria, with its museums, its libraries, its lectures, its schools of philosophy, its splendid synagogue, its avowed atheists, its deep-thinking Oriental mystics, the Gospel would have been powerless if it had been unable to produce teachers who were capable of meeting Pagan philosophers and Jewish Philonists and eastern Eclectics on their own ground." [2]

. . . . . .

1. Monroe, op. cit., p. 235.
2. Farrar, Frederick: Lives of the Fathers, Vol. 2, p. 262.

It was into this picture that Clement stepped to meet the pagan thinkers on their own ground.

2. His Life.

It is probable that Athens was Clement's home, and that he was born about 150 A.D. His works show that he had a thorough education in Hellenic literature, music, rhetoric, and grammar, as well as in all branches of philosophy, so that he knew heathenism through and through. This was a vital factor in his later attitude toward pagan literature and culture. He became a Christian when an adult and refers to Christian leaders who greatly influenced him toward this step as those who "preserved the tradition of pure saving doctrine, and implanted that genuine apostolic seed in the hearts of their pupils."[1] In his travels he came to Alexandria where he was made a presbyter in the church and also came into contact with Pantaenus, the founder of the catechetical school there. In about 189 A.D. he succeeded Pantaenus as president of the school which he headed for twelve years until forced to flee from persecution. The remainder of his life he spent in various Eastern centers, producing his literary works. These works are the chief source of our information concerning him.

. . . . . .

1. Schaff, Philip: History of the Christian Church, Vol. 2, p. 782.

B. His Concept of Education

1. His Written Works.

Clement is not thought of primarily as an educator. There are no records of his educational work as such except as generally reflected in the Alexandrian school; but one can conclude that his thinking as revealed in his various works was carried out in his teaching, as any system of education is the application of a person's philosophy. His three leading works were the "Exhortation to the Greeks," "The Tutor," and the "Miscellanies," or the "Stromata." They together constitute a progressive unfolding of the experience of the Christian - the perfect and true Gnostic. The first is apologetic in nature, displaying the unreasonableness of the heathen literature to the end that the unconverted may repent and open their hearts to the Gospel. The second deals with Christian morality, setting forth a comprehensive ethical standard in order that the converts may be trained and strengthened. Finally, the third guides the Christian to the highest level of Christian experience - that of a mystical contemplation of God which is the knowledge of the true Gnostic.[1] It is in the second and third books particularly that occur the references, vague

. . . . . .

1. Ibid., p. 783-4.

though they sometimes are, to his educational philosophy.

2. The Nature of Education.

Clement thought of the Christian's education as his entire life experience, in all of which Christ is the Tutor, the Great Teacher, the Converter, and Perfecter of the race of man as indicated in the title of the second book, "The Tutor." It is the process by which man is completely delivered from sin through the corrective discipline of the Divine Instructor. The Tutor guides the subject first into health of soul and then into the "perfect knowledge of the truth."[1] This process Clement has described as follows:

> "It is, however, one and the self-same word which rescues man from the custom of this world in which he has been reared, and trains him up in the one salvation of faith in God."[2]

He went so far as to picture salvation as an ethical or educational process; but to him faith was always the basis of knowledge, and one had always to begin with trust in the Saviour. He makes this very clear in the Stromata:

> "The foundation of knowledge is to have no doubts about God but to believe; Christ is both - foundation and superstructure alike; by Him is the beginning and the end...These, I mean faith and love, are not matters of teaching."[3]

. . . . . .

1. Clement: The Tutor, Book 1, Chapter 1.
2. Ibid.
3. Clement: The Stromata, Book 7, Chapter 1.

2. The Aim of Education.

Clement thought of his ideally educated man in terms of the "True Gnostic," one who lived the good life, attaining to the knowledge of God. In fact he reserved the name "Gnostic" for the Christian alone, who was led by the Tutor into "that mental and moral and spiritual culture."[1] He very clearly stated the moral end of education in the Stromata: "For it is not by nature, but by learning, that people become noble and good, as people also become physicians and pilots."[2]

It is obvious that Clement emphasized the intellectual aspect of the Christian's development, yet that rational growth was to be directed to the knowledge of God, and completeness in Christ. Hence it did not mean keen thinking and understanding for its own sake, but for the glory of God, to display His goodness.

C. The Place He Gave to the Liberal Arts

In this process of perfecting in the virtuous life and in the knowledge of God, the Divine Instructor employs all worthwhile secular knowledge and arts, as Clement explains:

> "Human arts as well as divine knowledge proceed from God...Scripture calls every secular science or art
>
> . . . . . .

1. Farrar, op. cit., p. 290.
2. Clement, The Stromata, Book 1, Chapter 6.

> by the one name wisdom, and that artistic and skillful invention is from God.."1

Here then, is a significant feature of his work as regards education; he gave a clearly defined place in his educational plan to the secular culture of his time.

1. The Arts in General.

It was the policy of the catechetical school at Alexandria to include for study all the subjects that were studied in the secular schools in the city, which meant a veritable encyclopaedic course. Clement clearly enunciated the principle behind this policy in the Stromata:

> "So also here, I call him truly learned who brings everything to bear on the truth; so that, from geometry, and music, and grammar, and philosophy itself, culling what is useful, he guards the faith against assault...We praise the experienced helmsman who 'has seen the cities of many men,' and the physician who has had large experience;...and he who brings everything to bear on a right life, procuring examples from the Greeks and barbarians, this man is an experienced searcher after truth, and in reality a man of much counsel, like the touch-stone...which is believed to possess the power of distinguishing the spurious from the genuine gold. And our much-knowing gnostic can distinguish sophistry from philosophy, the art of decoration from gymnastics, cookery from physic, and rhetoric from dialectics, and other sects which are according to the barbarian philosophy, from the truth itself."2

> "For to him (the true Gnostic) knowledge is the principle thing. Consequently, therefore, he applies to the subjects that are a training for knowledge, taking from each branch of study its contribution to

. . . . . .

1. Ibid., Book 1, Chapter 4.
2. Ibid., Book 1, Chapter 9.

the truth."[1]

His ideal Christian education, then, culled the good from all phases of human knowledge and experience, gathered it all together and viewed it from the Christian standpoint in a Christian atmosphere. This is in reality what went on at the Alexandrian school, for there the pupils studied the classical Greek literature, grammar, rhetoric, dialectic, arithmetic, music, geometry, astronomy, and philosophy - the same things studied in the pagan schools, only culminating in theology, and all with a different interpretation. Davidson sets forth this difference as follows:

> "..So far (through philosophy) the course pursued did not differ essentially from that familiar to the heathen schools. But at this point the characteristic features of the Christian seminary come into view. We find them in the consistency and power with which virtue was represented as a subject not merely for speculation, but for practice - in the sympathy and magnetic personal attraction of the teacher - but above all in the theology, to which all other subjects of thought were treated as ancillary."[2]

Because the Christian had a different purpose, and hence a different criterion of value of secular learning, he was able to profitably use it to the glory of God. By astronomy, for instance, the Christian Gnostic was:

> "raised from the earth in his mind, and elevated along with heaven, and will revolve with its revo-

. . . . . .

1. Ibid., Book 6, Chapter 10.
2. Davidson, Thomas: History of Education, p. 125.

> lution; studying ever divine things, and their harmony with each other; from which Abraham starting, [1] ascended to the knowledge of Him who created them."

2. Philosophy in Particular.

Because Greek philosophy was one of the most highly developed branches of learning of the day, and because Clement had had such a rich and thorough background in it, he gave philosophy the greatest place in his educational scheme. This "divine gift to the Greeks" as he called it he considered the queen of secular learning - the end to which grammar, music, rhetoric, etc. were preparatory.[2] As he defined it, it did not include all philosophy, but only the germs of truth inspired by the Logos through the centuries:

> "I do not mean the Stoic, or the Platonic, or the Epicurean, or the Aristotelian, but whatever has been well said by each of those sects, which teach righteousness along with a science pervaded by piety, this eclectic whole I call philosophy."[3]

> "But all, in my opinion, are illuminated by the dawn of Light...So then the barbarian and Hellenic philosophy has torn off a fragment of eternal truth not from the mythology of Dionysius, but from the theology of the ever-living Word, the truth."[4]

This philosophy, he felt, had very definite values for the Christian and for the Church.

. . . . . .

1. Clement: Stromata, Book 6, Chapter 10.
2. Ibid., Book 1, Chapter 5.
3. Ibid., Book 1, Chapter 7.
4. Ibid., Book 1, Chapter 13.

a. To combat paganism without the Church.

To "guard the faith against assault" was a primary purpose of Clement's utilization of Greek philosophy; for by stating its beliefs in philosophic terms, he felt they were rationally justified, and hence able to down paganism on its own ground. He expressed it thus:

> "We must be conversant with the art of reasoning, for the purpose of confuting the deceitful opinions of the sophists."1

> "(Hellenic philosophy) by rendering powerless the assault of sophistry against it, and frustrating the treacherous plots laid against the truth, is said to be the proper 'fence and wall of the vineyard'."2

He compared Greek philosophy to the Old Testament as a schoolmaster to bring the Hellenic mind to Christ, even as the Old Testament had prepared the Hebrew mind for Christ.[3] Just as Greek philosophy functioned to focus the world's mind on ultimate truth in preparation for Christianity, so it worked in the mind of the individual pagan of that time to show him the folly of untruth and prepare him to recognize perfect knowledge as it was revealed in Christianity.

b. To combat heresy within the church.

Gnostic heresy constituted perhaps the greatest threat to the life of the second century Church. Eby and

. . . . . .

1. Ibid., Book 1, Chapter 6.
2. Ibid., Book 1, Chapter 20.
3. Ibid., Book 1, Chapter 5.

Arrowwood state that it was to counteract this inward corruption from foreign systems of thought that the catechetical school arose, at least in large measure.[1] Philosophy enabled the Church to clearly think through its beliefs and doctrines and thus have a more or less objective truth as the standard. Clement expresses this function thus:

> "Philosophy came into existence, not on its own account, but for the advantages reaped by us from knowledge, we receiving a firm persuasion of true perception, through the knowledge of things comprehended by the mind."[2]

Thus was orthodoxy established and the Church saved from the dissipation with which the current heresies were endangering it.

c. To aid Christian growth.

In order to enter into the deep things of the Christian faith, Clement felt that one should have the advantage of philosophy. He makes this clear in a number of places in the Stromata, which is the book of the advanced Christian Gnostic and which consequently deals quite extensively with philosophy.

> "How necessary is it for him who desires to be partaker of the power of God, to treat of intellectual subjects by philosophising."[3]

. . . . . .

1. Eby, F. and C. F. Arrowwood: The History and Philosophy of Education, p. 610.
2. Clement: Stromata, Book 1, Chapter 2.
3. Ibid., Book 1, Chapter 9.

> "But as we say that a man can be a believer without learning, so also we assert that it is impossible for a man without learning to comprehend the things which are declared in the faith."[1]

To him, philosophy was one of the most important roads to full appreciation of the faith and attainment of the knowledge of God because of what it did to one's own mind and soul - "purging from sensible things and exciting so as to be able to see truth distinctly,"[2] because it greatly helped in the understanding of the Scriptures. Indeed, some portions of Scripture were practically unintelligible without the keen insight developed by "philosophising." Just how this was worked out in Clement's mind in a practical way is not clear, for he does not give specific examples of his principle.

3. The Weaknesses in His System.

Clement, as one of the most prominent of the early church apologists, has been accused of combining the wisdom of the world with the truth of God, and hence of bringing disaster upon Christianity. Cooke expresses this viewpoint:

> "The consequences for the world of their (apologists) particular interpretation of that responsibility, (interpreting Christian doctrine,) and of the system of teaching consequent on this interpretation, has perhaps with justice been named the great tragedy of

. . . . . .

1. Ibid., Book 1, Chapter 6.
2. Ibid.,

> the history of philosophy, a tragedy which is intensified as the same course of action is repeated again and again by other and later leaders."[1]

It is important in fairly evaluating this matter to realize just what Clement did. He not only utilized the philosophic form of thinking, but he took over, perhaps unnecessarily, much of the actual content of Greek philosophy. Sihler points out a number of instances where Clement paralleled Christian truths with ideas in the philosophers, such as The Beatitudes and a passage in Plato's Phaedo; the Sonship of Christ and Pan in Plato's Phaedrus;[2] and Paul's whole armor of God and Stoic ethics. Sihler describes this tendency in Clement as:

> "That literary and didactic trait in Clement which is perhaps more striking and odd to the Christian student than any other; I mean the direct way in which he places the Greek classics in juxtaposition with the Old and New Testaments."[3]

Thus it is clear that Clement went further than merely harmonizing Greek philosophy as a whole with Christianity, but strove to interpret Christianity in terms of actual content of Greek philosophy. No doubt this did confuse Christian thinking and tended to obscure the distinction between the revealed truth of God and the best that paganism had produced. Perhaps Clement did not follow his own precept - "to use indeed, but not to linger

. . . . . .

1. Cooke, R. L.: Philosophy, Education and Certainty, p. 80.
2. Sihler, E. G.: From Augustus to Augustine, p. 94-95.
3. Ibid., p. 93.

and spend time with, secular culture" - which he had learned in turn, he says, from Proverbs.

D. Summary and Evaluation

Clement was a pioneer in Christian education, for he was practically the first even to attempt the integration of secular culture with the Christian faith. Hence the study of his work throws a great deal of light on this problem of the contribution of Greek philosophy to Christian education.

His answer to this question was that secular culture and particularly Greek philosophy did have a vital place as subservient studies to theology. He showed very clearly, and subsequent church history bore it out, that proper use of the philosophic mode of thought and expression could be effective weapons in the fight against heresy and paganism; no one knows what course Christianity might have taken had this course not been followed.

However, in giving place to the values of these studies, he necessarily took great risks; and because the matter was in the stage of infancy, and he did not, or could not thoroughly think it through and so safeguard his position, pitfalls developed. By going too far in interpreting Christian truth in the very terms of Greek philosophy, he beclouded to some extent the unique nature of Christianity; by assigning too important a place to

philosophy in the experience of the Christian, he limited the attainment of the higher plains of Christian growth to the few. He was only human, and perhaps too close to his background of Hellenic training to fully solve the problem as later educators could do.

Clement provided a key place in Christian education for Greek philosophy, which constituted in the main the liberal arts of his day. This place was to be one ancillary to theology or the knowledge of God; but he did not keep it sufficiently ancillary and in practice gave it at times almost an equal place. If he had more carefully applied his own principle - of distinguishing the "spurious from the genuine gold" by the touchstone of a mind and heart enlightened by Christ - he would have avoided confusing so much of the content of Greek philosophy with the Christian revelation.

CHAPTER III

JEROME: A NEGATIVE PLACE

CHAPTER III

JEROME: A NEGATIVE PLACE

A. Jerome's Background

1. His Times.

From the religion of the minority in the century of Clement, Christianity had become the religion of the state by the fourth century when Jerome came on the scene. Bitter persecution by pagan emperors had changed to actual coercion into the folds of the faith by at least nominally Christian emperors, with the exception of the apostate Julian. The scene of conflict had shifted from the public arenas where Christians were burned and thrown to the wild beasts to the church councils where its doctrines were formed by the painful process of controversy. While the scholars and theologians were engaged in this intense struggle, the great mass of supposedly Christian people were on the whole far from Christ-like. Pagan worldliness and moral corruption was so widespread that the few who were deeply in earnest about their faith sought refuge in asceticism, hence the beginning of the monastic movement.

In turning attention from Clement to Jerome one is involved not only in another period of the church's development, but in a different phase of its life. The

Western church in which Jerome was active had more reason to react violently against paganism in any form than the Eastern for it had more directly felt the impact of Roman persecution and witnessed the moral decadence of Roman society. It was very difficult for the Western fathers ever to disassociate the pagan's philosophy from his atrocities, especially when the teachers of rhetoric and sophistry had been among their most active opponents. Cubberly points out another important factor in the attitude of the Western fathers; being Romans they were less philosophical and more practical in nature, hence inclined not so much to the abstraction of Christianity as to the realistic interpretation of it in daily life.[1]

Involved in the question of the liberal arts is the character of the pagan schools of the times, the only schools where the liberal arts were taught besides the very few catechetical schools. This constituted a grave problem for Christian parents, for if they did wish their children to be educated, it was to these pagan schools they would have to send them for the most part. Davidson vividly describes the degeneracy of the educational system after the second century:

> "Learning, always merely formal, and as devoid of scientific content as incapable of imparting intel-

. . . . . .

1. Cubberley, op. cit., p. 94.

> lectual and moral stimulus, had sunk down into a dull sapless routine, turning out chattering, versifying pedants, without moral earnestness, love of truth or literary taste. Pagan learning had died of inanity before Christian supernaturalism dug its grave."[1]

But not only was the quality of education poor, interested only in shallow rhetorical skill, "barren inwardly and remote from the realities of life,"[2] but it was shot through with pagan religious teaching and actual celebration of the festivals of the Roman gods.[3] Either Christian parents exposed their children to this pagan contamination or they deprived their children of any liberal education, for there were no other schools except the few of the catechetical variety.

2. His Life.

This noted Christian scholar, called "the ablest scholar of his century,"[4] and "the most learned of the Latin fathers,"[5] was born at Stridon, on the borderline between Dalmatia and Pannonia, the Roman provinces, about the year 340 A.D. After receiving his early education from his Christian father, he had the best training Roman education of the day could offer, studying rhetoric and philosophy under Donatus at Rome. The date and manner of

. . . . . .

1. Davidson, op. cit., p. 129.
2. Boyd, W.: The History of Western Education, p. 85.
3. Eby and Arrowwood, op. cit., p. 601.
4. Boyd, op. cit., p. 93.
5. Painter, F. V. N.: A History of Education, p. 143.

his conversion he has not given us, but it is probable that it took place during this time at Rome, for he was baptized there in 360.

It was during his sojourn in Gaul where he studied theology and visited the chief cities that he first "began to wish to serve God."[1] This for him meant the monastic life in harmony with the accepted idea of the religious life of the times. Any phase of Jerome's work must be considered in view of his ascetic life for it was a vital factor in all his endeavors. In fact, he has been called "the most zealous promoter of the monastic life among the church fathers."[2] However, it was not until after experiencing a very severe illness while at Antioch in 374 as a climax to a number of misfortunes including quarrels with, and the death offriends that he gave himself wholly to the monastic life.

The famous dream that gave expression to his supposed repudiation of pagan learning occurred during his first retirement in the wilderness of Chalcis. He was very ill at the time, so that Farrar explains the experience as "the misgiving of his own conscience projected into the nightmare of a severe fever."[3] Jerome recounts the experience thus:

. . . . . .

1. Jerome: Epistle iii, par.5.
2. Schaff, op. cit., Vol. 3, p. 205.
3. Farrar, op. cit., p. 184

> "Meanwhile, my funeral was being prepared, and the vital heat of my soul barely palpitated in the slight warmth of my breast, while all my body was growing cold; when suddenly I was rapt in the spirit before the tribunal of the Judge; where there was such a flood of light, and such resplendence from the glory of the angel spectators, that, prostrate on the earth I did not dare to uplift my eyes. Asked about my state, I answered that I was a Christian. 'Thou liest,' answered He; 'thou art a Ciceronian, not a Christian; for where thy treasure is, there is thy heart'..I began to swear, and call on His name, and say, 'O Lord, if I ever possess secular manuscripts, if I ever read them, I have denied thee'."[1]

This experience marked a turning point for Jerome, transforming him, as Schaff says, "from a more or less secular scholar into a Christian ascetic and hermit,"[2] so that henceforth he devoted himself entirely to literary works of a Christian nature. But he never really carried out his oath to abandon completely all pagan reading and later justified this inconsistency on the grounds that he could not cut himself off from his former study entirely, and that a dream vow is never binding.

It is significant that the one whose attitude is cited as typical of the Western church toward pagan literature was one who used the best of the learning of his day in the service of the church. His outstanding contribution was the Latin Vulgate translation of the Bible, made possible by his mastery of the Hebrew language. This work

. . . . . .

1. Jerome: Epistle xxii, par. 30.
2. Schaff, op. cit., Vol. 3., p. 969.

was the major factor in the formation of the Latin church language. Jerome wrote many commentaries, and did a great deal in founding Christian historical archeological scholarship. His controversial treatises, letters, stories, and other written works are very revealing of the life and issues of the times.

B. His Concept of Education

1. His Letters.

Jerome's works on the subject of education are very limited; and little is known of the school at the Bethlehem monastery. The chief source of information concerning his educational views are several of his letters, one written to Laeta in 403 while he was at Bethlehem, and one written to Eustochium also in 403. Laeta, the daughter-in-law of Paula who was one of his close friends at Rome, wrote to Jerome asking how she ought to bring up her daughter, also called Paula. In reply, Jerome gives very detailed and comprehensive instructions for the training of the young girl, including such items as her dress, her relations with boys, and her food, as well as all subjects of study and practice.

2. The Aim and Function of Education.

Jerome's aim and method of education as revealed in his advice to Laeta, were wholly in line with the asce-

tic ideals of the time. Paula was to be brought up a virgin and so dedicated to the religious life. He began his instruction with these words: "Thus must a soul be educated which is to be a temple of God. It must learn to hear nothing and to say nothing but what belongs to the fear of God."[1] Paula is to be shielded from the evil of the world; she is not to mix with people but remain in retirement except on special occasions and to go to church with her parents; her life is to be simple, "deaf to the sound of the organ" and other instruments, and her fare frugal - herbs and wheaten bread with a few fishes. Her time is to be occupied chiefly in reciting prayers and psalms, studying the Scriptures, and learning practical arts. All is to contribute toward developing a true "handmaid and spouse of Christ who must one day be offered to her Lord in heaven."[2]

The ascetic conception of education which is evident in this case and which prevailed throughout the Middle Ages is tersely expressed by Monroe as, "the idea of discipline of the physical nature for the sake of growth in moral and spiritual power."[3] It was this that Jerome advocated for Paula; he felt deeply from his own

. . . . . .

1. Jerome: Epistle cvii, par. 4.
2. Ibid., p. 13.
3. Monroe, op. cit., p. 248.

experience that this was the best kind of Christian life, though he had never found complete peace and satisfaction in it.[1]

Obviously this type of education would be very difficult to effect in Rome where Laeta and her family lived. Hence, Jerome counseled her to send Paula as soon as possible to the nunnery at Bethlehem where her grandmother and aunt could bring her up "ignorant of the world" to "live the angelic life."

C. The Place He Gave to the Liberal Arts

1. His Conflict over the Matter.

The relation of secular learning to the Christian's life was never completely worked out in Jerome's mind. Boyd vividly shows the unresolved conflict that Jerome shared with Augustine:

> "There was still the same distrust of pagan learning and the same inability to conceive of any practical alternative...All their lives through they struggled vainly to reconcile the claims of scholarship and piety, and never succeeded in escaping from the prevailing confusion of mind with regard to the place of literature and rhetoric in life."[2]

This conflict is evident in his account of his experience before the dream:

"And so, miserable man that I was, I would fast only

. . . . . .

1. Farrar, op. cit., p. 187.
2. Boyd, op. cit., p. 93.

> that I might afterwards read Cicero. After many nights spent in vigil, after the recollection of my past sins, I would once more take up Plautus. And when at times I returned to my right mind, and began to read the prophets, their style seemed rude and repellent."[1]

Even after the dream and his vow to never again read the classics, the problem was not solved; that he did go back to them is clear from his many quotations of pagan authors in later works and also from his inclusion in the curriculum at Bethlehem of Plantus, Terence, and Virgil.

2. Rejection of the Classics.

In spite of this inconsistency, Jerome stood in general for the rejection of pagan learning, and as Boyd points out, if the Church had really followed his counsel, it would have completely neglected the classics. In his advice to Eustochium and in that to Laeta he makes this clear. First, in his letter to the virgin, Eustochium:

> "For 'what communion hath light with darkness, And what concord hath Christ with Belial?' How can Horace go with the psalter, Virgil with the gospels, Cicero with the apostle? Is not a brother made to stumble if he sees you sitting at meat in an idol's temple? Although 'unto the pure all things are pure' and 'nothing is to be refused if it be received with thanksgiving,' still we ought not to drink the cup of Christ, and, at the same time, the cup of devils."[2]

In Paula's case, she was to read principally the Scriptures and the church fathers such as Cyprian, Athan-

. . . . . .

1. Jerome: Epistle xxii, par.30.
2. Ibid., p. 29.

asius and Hilary; they were safe and sufficient. As for other things, great care was to be exercised in selection and use:

> "Let her take pleasure in the works and wits of all in whose books a due regard for the faith is not neglected. But if she reads the works of others let it be rather to judge them than to follow them."[1]

Thus, while there was some provision for works outside the sacred studies, it was a minor place, without real significance. The faith was to be the norm of evaluation; anything apart from this was to be studied with a critical intent. Heathen writers were to be included only if they were modified so as to be completely in harmony with the faith, even as the Israelite was allowed to marry the female captive if he first shaved her head and cut her nails.

Because the ascetic life was the ideal of the day, and that implied, as Eby and Arrowood say, "not a liberal training of the powers of the individual or an enlightenment through science and philosophy," but "a narrow regimentation of the soul,"[2] the liberal arts had little function. One of the chief means of attaining the so-called religious life was renunciation of the world, and this included the world's wisdom.

. . . . . .

1. Jerome: Epistle cvii, par. 12.
2. Eby and Arrowood, p. 626.

As has been indicated, Jerome held to all of this in theory as he would have to in order to be the "zealous promoter of monastic life" that he was. That he did not carry it out in his own life is partly explained in terms of his own background; he had received a thorough education in the pagan authors, hence could not cut himself off from it. Nevertheless, his influence was principally in the direction of negating the value of the classics, hence our consideration of him in that light.

D. Summary and Evaluation

Jerome's attitude is representative of that of the Western church during the period of transition from ancient classical to medieval culture. Due to the very nature of a period of change and adjustment, there were flagrant contradictions and inconsistencies, but on the whole there developed the deepening conviction that the secular learning of the day had little value in the life of the religious person. The supreme goal in life was realization of a narrowly spiritual experience, not as a part of a wholesome, well-rounded life, but as an end in itself. Because the means to this end was curbing the physical and soulish powers and capacities, there was little or no need for cultivating these with the ancient learning.

The reaction of the Western church to pagan

learning, as typified by Jerome, must be evaluated in the light of conditions of the day. At that time secular knowledge was pagan knowledge; that is, the Christian community had not yet been able, or at least had not, entered creatively into the field of secular knowledge, and only the remnants of a decadent Greek and Roman culture existed. Because this culture was so inextricably bound up with pagan religion and persecution of Christians, it was only natural that this reaction should take place. Hence, it should be realized that the reaction was not against secular learning as such.

But even taking these factors into consideration it seems that Jerome's answer to the problem is inadequate. In line with the monastic ideal, it did not at all allow for the full development of persons but only provided for a narrow religious experience. As it worked out, when the other vital aspects of human experience were cut off, such as intellectual growth, even the religious experience was stunted and religion itself degenerated into superstition as seen in the Middle Ages. Though this policy protected Christians from the corrupting influence of paganism, it likewise cut them off from the only stimulus to intellectual development and so in the end weakened the faith itself.

CHAPTER IV

RABANUS MAURUS: A UTILITARIAN PLACE

CHAPTER IV

RABANUS MAURUS: A UTILITARIAN PLACE

A. Rabanus' Background

1. His Times.

Pagan education as such expired nearly three-hundred years before Rabanus took his place in the medieval educational world. The prejudice against the classical culture expressed by Jerome, further emphasized by Augustine, and given teeth by the Council of Carthage in 401 when the clergy were forbidden to read pagan literature, culminated in the Emporer Justinian's Edict of 529 whereby all pagan schools were closed. This affected notably the philosophical school of Athens, "the last intellectual seminary of heathenism,"[1] which had flourished for 900 years. The decree signified the complete triumph of Christianity, for it had been in the schools in which the last vestiges of paganism had persisted; hence this event is said to mark the beginning of the Middle Ages,[2] the era when the Church controlled all areas of life.

Since the field of education lay completely within the sway of the Church during the long period

. . . . . .

1. Schaff, op. cit., Vol. 3, p. 68.
2. Graves, F. P.: A Student's History of Education, p. 54.

known as the Middle Ages, it is important to sense the philosophy of life which it held. Painter well describes the "other-worldliness" which most characterized its attitude:

> "This one-sided apprehension of man as a heavenly being, this complete sway of the transcendental, forms the leading characteristic of the world before the Reformation, in which period Christianity appeared as an abnegation of the world. Only the world of religion is truth. The natural world is destitute of worth, and escape from it is the end of life."[1]

Because Christian education of this age prepared for eternal life, the other world, pagan learning with its earthly purpose had little value, and theology was the center and goal of all learning.

The Middle Ages were, moreover, as Graves expresses it, "an era of assimilation and of repression," the Church acting as the schoolmaster to bring the barbaric world into subservience.[2] Absolute authority in carrying out its work was a requisite. This meant emphasis on the institutional life of the Church. Even in the period of the "flowering of the medieval ages" as Eby and Arrowwood epitomize the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the scholastic flowering was in terms of the Church as an institution. They bring out this fact very clearly:

"It (medieval scholarship) expressed itself within

. . . . . .

1. Painter, op. cit., p. 117.
2. Graves, op. cit., p. 53.

> the pattern of institutions and drew strength from them. It was not individualistic; it was not iconoclastic; it was not revolutionary. Its noblest poetry was religious, and its finest intellectual achievements were systems of theology and of law - disciplines inextricably bound up with institutions and concerned rather with the control of human conduct than with the control of natural energies and the release of human personality. But predominantly the age was one of willing subservience to authority."[1]

Because the dominating interest was religion and that realized in terms of the institution of the Church as the only agent, education along with the other interests of life, fell under its control. The practical effects of this are seen in the type of schools that existed during the period - only church schools, carried on primarily for training the clergy for service in the Church. These included monastic schools which aimed chiefly to teach the young monks; cathedral or episcopal schools which trained the priests, and which were conducted at the seat of each bishopric; parish schools which prepared lesser officers for service and were taught by priests in the local parishes; and song schools which fit for participation in church services.[2] The universities which developed in the later Middle Ages were broader in their function; nevertheless among the three advanced faculties, law, medicine, and theology, the latter ranked highest on the whole. It was in a monastic school that

. . . . . .

1. Eby and Arrowwood, op. cit., p. 717-718.
2. McCormick, P. J.: The History of Education, p. 84-88.

Rabanus labored, hence he was in the center of the stream of medieval Christian education.

3. His Life.

It would be difficult to find a better representative of medieval monastic education than Rabanus, for his own training, as well as his life work, was carried on principally in the famous monastic school of northern Germany, Fulda. Styled by Schaff, "one of the greatest scholars and teachers of the Carolingian age,"[1] he carried to Fulda the plans of education begun by Charlemagne and put into effect by Alcuin.

Rabanus was born in Mainz about 776. When nine years of age, he was placed by his parents in the Benedictine monastery of Fulda where he was given good training for the day, both secular and sacred. Because he distinguished himself as a student, he was sent to study under Alcuin at Tours the year after being consecrated a priest. There he was instructed not only in theology but in the liberal arts. Upon his return in 804 he was made principal of the monastic school at Fulda, which he consequently developed into a very prosperous center of learning, students coming from all over Europe to share in the piety and erudition for which it was

. . . . . .

1. Schaff, op. cit., Vol. 4, p. 714.

famous.

Through his work at Fulda, Rabanus won for himself the title "Primus Germaniae Praeceptor," or "First German Teacher."[1] He was notably progressive for his day allowing pupils to study in his school who were not headed toward the monastic life. They had to study, of course, in a separate place outside the monastery in the cloisters, but their very inclusion indicates a foreglimpse of modern education, and reason for his reputation as the real founder of the German school system.[2]

Rabanus was a thorough and orthodox churchman; this is testified to by the facts that the bulk of his writings were Biblical commentaries and other glossaries of sacred knowledge, and that he served as the very sincere and efficient archbishop of Mainz during the last years of his life. His motto in all religious discussion was "When the cause is Christ's, the opposition of the bad counts for naught."[3] His heart was in the work of the Church. His educational interests never ceased, however, for even during his archbishopric he was careful to promote the literary work of the monasteries.

A very fine tribute was paid to Rabanus by

. . . . . .

1. Ibid., p. 718.
2. Duffield, S. W.: Latin Hymn Writers and Their Hymns, p. 124.
3. Ibid., p. 125.

John Trithemius which well summarizes the character of this noted educator:

> "Rabanus was first among the Germans; a scholar universally erudite; profound in science; eloquent and strong in discourse; in life and conversation he shone as most learned, religious, and holy; he was always a prelate dignified, affable, and acceptable before God."[1]

B. His Concept of Education

1. His Educational Treatise.

Among his voluminous writings are several treatises on education, some of which deal with subject matter, and one of which presents the intellectual program for the clergy, which was his main concern in education. This work, "The Education of the Clergy," was written in 819 in answer to many requests for such a work; it is notable in that it so clearly epitomizes the educational theory of the times and that it gives the fullest presentation of the liberal arts that has come to us from that day.[2]

The work is in three parts; the first considers certain practical matters such as ecclesiastical orders, clerical vestments, and the sacraments. The second continues in this vein, treating of canonical hours, the litany, fasting, hymns, the creed, heresies, etc. The third, with which this discussion is primarily concerned,

. . . . . .

1. Ibid., p. 131.
2. Painter, F. V. N.: Great Pedagogical Essays, p. 159.

sets forth the education a servant of the Church should have.[1] It is here Rabanus' idea of education is revealed.

2. The Aim and Function of Education.

Rabanus shared in the Carolingian revival of education and hence in the educational concepts of that period. Charlemagne's purpose in patronizing the arts and letters had been, as Eby and Arrowwood express it, "to purify and improve worship and Christian living," this in terms of the Church, and with the clergy's education primarily in mind.[2] Likewise, Rabanus followed along with his utilitarian concept of education:

> "An ecclesiastical education should qualify the sacred office of the ministry for divine service. It is fitting that those who from an exalted station undertake the direction of the life of the church, should acquire fulness of knowledge, and that they further should strive after rectitude of life and perfection of development."[3]

It is true that this has to do with the clergy's education alone, but this was the principal concern of Rabanus' work in common with most all of the teachers of the Middle Ages.

It was not long after Rabanus' time that the Council of Valens (855 A.D.) expressed this same concern for the training of the clergy in the interests of the Church with the following edict, which was typical of

. . . . . .

1. Schaff, op. cit., p. 721.
2. Eby and Arrowwood, op. cit., p. 694.
3. Painter's Translation of Rabanus' Education of the Clergy, p. 159.

many such of that period:

> "That schools of divine and humane sciences and of sacred music should be held; for the long neglect of studies, ignorance of the faith, and the loss of all the sciences have made great inroads into the Churches of God."1

This whole period of revival in which Rabanus shared was carried forward with the prupose of improving the life of the Church.

This dominant interest of educational endeavors in the welfare of the Church reveals the ultimate aim - the spiritual life of the Church members. In harmony with the religious emphasis of the times, education set as its task the development of the moral and religious life of the people. Because this could only be realized through the Church as an institution, dispensing its sacramental grace, the immediate goal was the betterment of the Church itself. Rabanus' conviction quoted above bears this out; those who direct the life of the Church must be complete in knowledge and moral character.

3. The Place of the Bible and the Fear of God.

If anything is plain in Rabanus' educational philosophy, it is that the Word of God is the core of education. He states it thus:

> "The foundation, the content, and the perfection of wisdom is Holy Scripture, which has taken its origin

. . . . . .

1. Eby and Arrowwood, op. cit., p. 710.

> from that unchangeable and eternal Wisdom which streams from the mouth of the Most High."1

The Word of God is to enjoy complete authority and unquestioning obedience:

> "Therefore we are not to raise any objection to the Holy Scriptures, either when we understand them and feel ourselves smitten by their words, or when we do not understand them, and give ourselves up to the thought that we can understand and grasp something better out of our own minds."2

Along with giving this prominence to the Word of God, Rabanus makes willing obedience to the will of God a requisite for reaching the heights of wisdom:

> "Above all it is necessary that he, who aims to attain the summit of wisdom, should be converted to the fear of the Lord, in order to know what the divine will bids us strive for and shun."3

From this we see that education meant religious education to Rabanus; any secular studies would have to find their place in relationship to this spiritual center.

C. The Place He Gave to the Liberal Arts

1. The Arts Themselves.

The liberal arts had assumed a very formal character by the early Middle Ages. The liberal studies of Plato - arithmetic, geometry, music, astronomy - and the practical studies of the sophists - grammar, rhetoric,

. . . . . .

1. Rabanus, op. cit., p. 160.
2. Ibid., p. 161.
3. Ibid.,

and dialectic - had been combined and fixed as the "Seven Liberal Arts" in the fifth and sixth centuries by the several treatises of Capella, Boethius, and Cassiodorus. Grammar, rhetoric, and dialectic were designated as the "trivium" and formed the basic learning; the other four were the "quadrivium", the advanced group of studies. It was these seven arts, broad and shallow as they were and very different from what they are known to be today, that constituted the "heart of instruction" in schools throughout the Middle Ages.[1] As a model monastic school, Rabanus' institution at Fulda, was organized about these as its curriculum. In his treatise, Rabanus discusses each of the arts with reference to its value in the education of the clergy.

2. Their Place in the Clergy's Education.

Rabanus' theory as to their place in the clergy's education is best exemplified in the words of his concluding statement:

> "The seven liberal arts of the philosophers, which Christians should learn for their utility and advantage, we have, as I think, sufficiently discussed."[2]

"Utility and advantage" defines their position in the education of a Christian. And just how these contribute

. . . . . .

1. Eby and Arrowwood, op. cit., p. 729.
2. Rabanus, op. cit., p. 168.

he has very simply and clearly shown, taking each in its turn and analyzing it.

In the case of grammar, Rabanus points out that an understanding of forms of speech, such as figurative expressions, is essential to the apprehension of Holy Scriptures:

> "A knowledge of these things is proved to be necessary in relation to the interpretation of those passages of Holy Scripture which admit of a twofold sense; an interpretation strictly literal would lead to absurdities."[1]

The chief value of rhetoric is in supplying the Christian soldier the "weapon of discourse" with which to present the truth so as to "win the favor and sympathy of the hearers."[2] Likewise dialectic enables the clergy to discern truth and falsehood so that they might steer a straight course for the innocent flock.

A knowledge of arithmetic is also valuable in understanding the Scriptures for:

> "Ignorance of numbers leaves many things unintelligible that are expressed in the Holy Scripture in a derivative sense or with a mystical meaning."[3]

Thus, apart from such knowledge, one could not fully appreciate the Saviour's declaration that "the very hairs of your head are all numbered"; and symbolic numbers used in various portions would be unintelligible.

. . . . . .

1. Ibid., p. 162.
2. Ibid., p. 163.
3. Ibid., p. 165.

The remainder of the arts had very practical uses in the life of the Church. Geometry was employed in the building of churches; music a vital part of the worship services; and astronomy enabled the clergy to "draw confident conclusions" as to the time of Easter and other sacred events.[1] To all of these Rabanus might have added what he did in the case of music:

> "This science is as eminent as it is useful. He who is a stranger to it is not able to fulfil the duties of an ecclesiastical office in a suitable manner."[2]

Secondarily, some of the arts had a direct moral and spiritual value for the student as Rabanus explains in regard to arithmetic:

> "The holy Fathers were right in advising those eager for knowledge to cultivate arithmetic, because in large measure it turns the mind from fleshly desires, and furthermore awakens the wish to comprehend what with God's help we can merely receive with the heart."[3]

But on the whole, the chief value of the secular studies lay in the help rendered to the clergy in understanding and proclaiming the faith as centered in the Holy Scriptures, and in carrying on the regular services of the Church.

3. Relation of Pagan Philosophy.

Rabanus makes a special point of the place of

. . . . . .

1. Ibid., p. 168.
2. Ibid., p. 166.
3. Ibid., p. 165.

pagan philosophy in his scheme. The Christian should not hesitate to take any bit of truth, i.e., that which agrees with the faith, as "from its unlawful possessors and apply it to our own use."[1] This is in accord with his presumption that all kernels of truth have their ultimate origin in the wisdom of God. He, like Clement, cites the metaphor of Moses despoiling the Egyptians.

D. Summary and Conclusion

The institution of the Church has been observed as domineering the medieval scene. Rabanus, an educator, was a loyal and ardent churchman with the Church's goal of religious perfection in view. Because he felt that this religious life could only be realized through the institutional life of the Church, the improvement of that aspect of European civilization became the object of his education. And because this institutional life could not go on without the fundamental secular skills, these were revived in the early Middle Ages, and as seen in Rabanus' scheme, well established in the training of the clergy, the only widely educated group of those times. They occupied a place of complete subservience to the Church.

The inevitable outcome of this set-up was the narrowness of the arts and the very great limitation on

. . . . . .

1. Ibid., p. 168.

new learning; for knowledge was not considered of value in itself, but only as it served the Church. The process was highly selective, so that very significant and vital areas of culture were slighted because of their negligible worth as far as the Church was concerned.

It was only a reflection of the medieval spirit that education should lose sight of the individual; but in this weakness lay the reason for the inadequate place given to the arts. Their contribution to the full and rich life of each person was entirely lost sight of, so that the secular phase of Christian education was directed in only one narrow channel. It was right that education should have religion as its integrating center, but not religion in terms of the Church as an institution; when this happened the non-cleric was deprived of his inherent right of wholesome Christian living, and the cleric suffered the same to a lesser extent. Though this arrangement was fitting to the Middle Ages, it seems entirely inadequate for a philosophy of Christian education which is concerned with the fullest development of the Christian personality, the development of the abundant life.

CHAPTER V

CALVIN: A SUBSERVIENT PLACE IN TRAINING LEADERSHIP

CHAPTER V

CALVIN: A SUBSERVIENT PLACE IN TRAINING LEADERSHIP

A. Calvin's Background

1. His Times.

John Calvin lived and labored during one of the most fertile periods of European history. The Middle Ages had drawn to a close and a new era in human experience had taken form. Just two hundred years before Calvin, Petrarch had made his contribution in touching off the great revival or rebirth of learning known as the Renaissance. Men had begun to feel their way "groping for a fuller world,"[1] which the repression and authoritarianism of the Middle Ages, however necessary in subduing the barbaric hordes, had not allowed. But now these formerly uncultured peoples had been brought into subservience and the ground prepared for productivity.

Graves very well describes the character of the great Awakening:

> "The adherence to an 'otherworldly' ideal, the restriction of learning, the reception of the teachings of the Church without investigation, and the conformity of the individual were by this time rapidly disappearing. Such tendencies were clearly being replaced by a genuine joy in the life of this world, a broader field of knowledge and thought, a desire to

. . . . . .

1. Woodward, W. H.: Studies in Education during the Age of the Renaissance, p. 5.

> reason and deal with all ideas more critically, and enlarged ideals of individualism."[1]

The only available source materials for such an intellectual revival were the Greek and Roman classics; hence interest centered in them as the inspiration of the new humanism. Later this enthusiasm was carried too far and degenerated into "Ciceronianism," whereby study of the classics was formalized and form emphasized to the neglect of living content. The Reformers could not help but suffer from the effects of this, but it was a part of the heritage of their times.

Following closely on the heels of humanism and vitally related to it, was the Reformation, the second great factor in Calvin's work. Termed by Eby and Arrowwood, "The Nordic Revolution,"[2] this tremendous upheaval centered in northern Europe and directed the course of the new learning there along with all other phases of life. Even before the Reformation northern humanism had taken a decidedly religious turn as the chief feature in Germany, Holland, and England was interest in Biblical scholarship. Graves points out the effect of the deeper religious nature of the northern peoples upon their use of the enlightenment:

. . . . . .

1. Graves, op. cit., p. 101.
2. Eby, F. and C. F. Arrowwood: Development of Modern Education, p. 29.

> "With them the Renaissance led less to a desire for personal development, self-realization, and individual achievement, and took on more of a social and moral color. The prime purpose of humanism became the improvement of society, morally and religiously, and the classical revival pointed the way to obtaining a new and more exalted meaning from the Scriptures."1

This emphasis upon the Word of God and the moral improvement of society is the keynote of Calvin's educational philosophy as later will be seen. The first is essentially one of the cardinal principles of the Reformation, the authority of the Scriptures. A second cardinal principle which accompanies the first is the universality of the priesthood; together these call for education of all men since the individual conscience enlightened by the Scriptures is responsible to God, and men cannot know the Scriptures unless they can intelligently read and understand them.

Humanistic learning was an accepted thing and the Reformation was well underway when Calvin undertook his epoch making work at Geneva. The classics were well-established in the curricula of most schools, and Luther and Zwingli had won the first encounters with the Church of Rome. But the task largely remained of integrating the new learning with the program of the reformed church; this fell in large measure to Calvin's lot.

. . . . . .

1. Graves, op. cit., p. 109.

2. His Life.

This outstanding character, "the greatest exegete and theologian of the Reformation,"[1] and "the chief founder and consolidator of the Reformed Church of France and French Switzerland,"[2] began his life within the folds of the Roman Church. His father was secretary to the Bishop of Noyon in Picardy where Calvin was born in 1509; and early decided to prepare him for the priesthood. To this end the lad, who soon evidenced his mental acumen, was given every educational advantage. He was enrolled in the University of Paris by the time he was fourteen years of age. Later, upon the advice ofhis father, Calvin changed his goal from the priestly to the legal profession and studied at the universities of Orleans and Bruges from 1528 to 1533. Here he became intensely interested in classical literature, and distinguished himself in that field with his excellent commentary on Seneca's "On Mercy" when he was but twenty-two years of age. This proficiency in and deep appreciation for the humanities was never to leave Calvin; in fact he utilized the new learning to such an extent, that as Schaff says, "he made the linguistic and literary culture of the Renaissance tributary to the Reformation."[3]

. . . . . .

1. Farrar, F. W., quoted in Schaff, op. cit., Vol 7, p.289.
2. Schaff, op. cit., p. 257.
3. Ibid., p. 309.

The break with the Roman Church following his sudden conversion was the turning point in his life; from this time all other interests were subordinated to the religious, particularly the Word of God; within one year he became virtually the head of the evangelical party,[1] with inquirers coming from every quarter, and within three years he published his "Institutes of the Christian Religion," which, as Eby and Arrowwood signify, "at a stroke, marked him as the master theologian of the day."[2]

France, his native country, being hostile to Protestantism, Calvin sought refuge in Switzerland and in 1536 was called to Geneva to help reorganize the civil and religious administration of the city. This was his life work. Schaff aptly portrays the effects of his labors there:

> "He found in the city on Lake Leman 'a tottering republic, a wavering faith, a nascent Church.' He left it a Gibralter of Protestantism, a school of nations and churches."[3]

His direction included the total life of the community, so that he was the leader in developing a Christian commonwealth, not merely a strong church. Foster emphasizes the broad scope of his work in describing him as:

> "..a great political, economic, and educational as

. . . . . .

1. Ibid., p. 312.
2. Eby and Arrowwood, op. cit., p. 126.
3. Schaff, op. cit., p. 348.

> well as a religious reformer, a constructive social genius capable of reorganizing and molding the whole life of a people."[1]

It is not difficult to see how education fitted into this picture of life at Geneva. Calvin's educational dreams did not find fulfillment until 1559; then he set up the gymnasium and academy which were to be the fountainhead of the reformed faith.

B. His Concept of Education

1. The Academy at Geneva and His Written Works.

Calvin is an important figure in education not because of any educational treatises that he wrote, for we have very few of his words on the subject; but his significance in the field is due to the phenomenally successful secondary school he established in Geneva and which was for more than two hundred years "the principle school of reformed theology and literary culture."[2] Termed the "crown of Calvin's Genevan work,"[3] the academy was not organized until late in his life; in 1559, just five years before he died, Calvin invoked God's blessing upon the institution forever dedicated to science and religion.

Knowledge of his educational theory is chiefly

. . . . . .

1. Foster, H. D.: Article on Calvin in Cyclopedia of Education, Vol. 1, p. 491.
2. Schaff, op. cit., p. 806.
3. Walker, W.: John Calvin, p. 367.

drawn from data about this academy and the accompanying lower schools in Geneva. In addition to this, Cordier, one of the teachers in the academy, wrote four books of Colloquies for training of students, which reveal much about the schools. The only other sources are scattered portions in Calvin's letters, official documents, and literary works. One of the most prominent of the latter is his commentary on I Corinthians in which he discusses at some length the "wisdom of the world."

2. The Aim and Function of Education.

The reformers' direction of humanism toward the moral and religious improvement of society has been noted. This was supremely true in the Christian commonwealth which Calvin established at Geneva. Georgia Harkness emphasizes this point: "The establishment of the Academy was Calvin's crowning achievement in the building of a Christian state."[1] It is important in this connection to realize his concept of government and Christian life. Eby and Arrowwood very clearly define his views on this subject, showing how he thought of the church, state, and family as all more or less separate institutions, yet combined into one to discipline the organism of the Christian community to do the will of God.

. . . . . .

1. Harkness, G.: John Calvin, p. 53.
2. Eby and Arrowwood, op. cit., p. 127.

His designation of education to secure "public administration, to sustain the Church unharmed, and to maintain humanity among men,"[1] was then entirely in harmony with this total picture. His ideal was an educated ministry to propogate the faith and to guide the flock, and an educated laity to carry on a Christian commonwealth, a representative form of government. He refers to the practical advantage of the arts to the average person in his commentary on I Corinthians:

> "As for those arts, then, that have nothing of superstitution, but contain solid learning, and are founded on just principles, as they are useful and suited to the common transactions of human life, so there can be no doubt that they have come forth from the Holy Spirit."[2]

Hence elementary schools were provided in which all were taught reading, writing, and grammar in the vernacular.

However, Calvin's chief educational interest was in the ministry and civil officers, and he perhaps unduly has been called the "father of popular education" as Eby and Arrowwood point out.[3]

A profound appreciation of man's intellectual capacities lay behind Calvin's emphasis on education. He frequently reveals this attitude as when he says, "For what is more noble than man's reason, in which man excels the other animals?"[4] He felt that intelligence was the

. . . . . .

1. Boyd, op. cit., p. 209.
2. Calvin; I Corinthians, p. 75.
3. Eby and Arrowwood, op. cit., p. 128.
4. Calvin, op. cit., p. 82.

requisite of a true faith:

> "God has furnished the soul of man with a mind capable of discerning good from evil and just from unjust; and of discovering therefore by the light of reason what ought to be pursued or avoided."1

He was a true humanist in expressing as one of the aims of education the full development of the individual:

> "How richly deserving of honour are the liberal sciences, which polish man, so as to give him the dignity of true humanity."2

His ultimate aim in education, of course, was moral and religious. A portion in Cordier's work most clearly reveals this dominant aim of the Genevan schools:

> "Of the reasons for the present work, the first is that every learned person may hereby be led to write the better; the next, that boys may not only be brought to a ready use of Latin conversation, but stimulated to lead a noble life. For throughout this book we have scattered, as due occasion offered, exhortations to a devout and Christian life. For this comes before purity of speech. Without piety there can be no true progress in learning."3

3. The Place of the Word of God.

Very clearly, Calvin gave first place in his educational scheme to the Word of God.[4] It was central, and as will later be seen, the basis of judging all other subjects. This naturally follows upon the fact that the

. . . . . .

1. Calvin, quoted by Hastings in Cyclopedia of Education, Vol. 1, p. 491.
2. Calvin: I Corinthians, p. 82.
3. Woodward, op. cit., p. 155.
4. Boyd, op. cit., p. 208.

authority of the Scriptures was one of the cardinal principles of the Reformation, as has been noted.

C. The Place He Gave to the Liberal Arts

1. A Contributory Place.

There is no question but that Calvin honored the liberal arts in their essence as coming from God Himself and as part of the heritage of humankind. In his commentary on I Corinthians in a discussion of the "wisdom of the world," he conveys this idea and shows their place in the Christian's education:

> "..natural perspicacity is a gift of God, and the liberal arts, and all the sciences by which wisdom is acquired, are gifts of God. They are confined, however, within their own limits; for into God's heavenly kingdom they cannot penetrate. Hence they must occupy the place of handmaid, not of mistress: nay more, they must be looked upon as empty and worthless, until they have become entirely subject to the word and Spirit of God."[1]

The arts did not have to contribute directly to religious knowledge, but had to be in harmony with the truth of Scripture, and contribute indirectly if not directly to the life and experience of the Christian minister and citizen; this, then, is the general principle of Calvin's ideas of curricula. It is evident that Calvin gave such a place to the arts in the Genevan Academy. While theology was the crowning science, the curriculum was thoroughly

. . . . . .

1. Calvin, op. cit., p. 145.

humanistic including the recognized arts of the day: Greek, Hebrew, ethics, logic, rhetoric, oratory, poetry, physics, and mathematics.[1] The students had had thorough preparation in Latin in the gymnasium before entering the secondary school.

As to the nature of the contribution the arts were to make, Calvin emphasizes the civil aspect:

> "..what distinguished and choice fruits they (the liberal sciences) produce! Who would not extol with the highest commendations civil prudence by which governments, principalities, and kingdoms are maintained."[2]

This, obviously, was not immediately related to religious knowledge or church life, but concerned the broader concept of the Christian life. Boyd points out that in the Ecclesiastical Ordinances Calvin prepared in 1541, he expressly stated that youths should be prepared for the ministry and civil offices by studying "the languages and the secular sciences" in schools provided by the Christian community;[3] this was essential for the prospering of the Church and the whole community.

Probably the greatest contribution of the arts was to be in understanding the Word of God. In a prospectus of the elementary schools written together with Cordier, Calvin stated:

. . . . . .

1. Eby and Arrowwood, op. cit., p. 127.
2. Calvin, op. cit., p. 83.
3. Boyd, op. cit., p. 209.

> "Although we accord the first place to the Word of God, we do not reject good training. The Word of God is indeed the foundation of all learning, but the liberal arts are aids to the full knowledge of the Word and not to be despised."1

Because "good training" developed the intellect, and he believed, as Walker interprets him, that "intelligence, not ignorance, was the mother of piety" and that "a true faith must be intelligent,"[2] he attributed this important function to the arts.

Calvin goes so far as to say not only that this is the place of the arts, but that it is the only place. Apart from proper relationship to the truth of God, they are meaningless, yes, even subject to misuse:

> "..a knowledge of all the sciences is mere smoke, where the heavenly science of Christ is wanting.."3

> "In other respects too, it holds true, that without Christ sciences in every department are vain, and that the man who knows not God is vain, though he should be conversant with every branch of learning. Nay more, we may affirm this, too, with truth, that these choice gifts of God--expertness of mind, acuteness of judgment, liberal sciences, and acquaintance with languages, are in a manner profaned in every instance in which they fall to the lot of wicked men."4

2. A Definitely Limited Place.

Significant is the following sentence of the quotation used above: "They are confined, however, within

. . . . . .

1. Ibid., p. 208.
2. Walker, op. cit., p. 360.
3. Calvin, op. cit., p. 82.
4. Ibid., p. 83.

their own limits; for into God's heavenly kingdom they cannot penetrate."[1] Thus, it is evident that though Calvin provided this very important place for the arts, he very definitely limited that place. Just what he meant by the boundary beyond which the wisdom of the world could not go is made clearer in another portion:

> "..Paul does not expressly condemn either man's natural perspicacity, or wisdom acquired from practice and experience, or cultivation of mind attained by learning; but declares that all this is of no avail for acquiring spiritual wisdom."[2]

It was not that spiritual wisdom was acquired by the use of entirely different faculties in man and far removed from other knowledge, but that "the illumination of the Spirit," (a favorite phrase of his,)[3] was absolutely necessary. Purely human arts could only go so far however valuable; the knowledge of God came through the enlightenment of mind and heart by the Spirit of God.

D. Summary and Evaluation

In keeping with the two dominant movements of his time, humanism and the Reformation, Calvin emphasized the training and experience of the individual in preparation for full and useful living in this world. The individual, however, was to be a Christian citizen, hence the

. . . . . .

1. Calvin, op. cit., p. 145.
2. Ibid., p. 83.
3. Ibid., p. 81.

education provided for him was moral and religious in tone and shaped for social ends. Brought into harmony with the moral and religious keynote of education, the liberal arts made essential and practical contributions, particularly in relation to understanding the Word of God, the ultimate authority, and in making possible wise government.

Calvin's philosophy of education was sound, and its outworking effective. It provided for the full development of the individual as a Christian person, and at the same time prepared him for effective life in society. The school had its place along with church and home in the foundations of a Christian commonwealth, and made possible the continued growth of such a society. As it worked out, the Academy at Geneva became, as Woodward describes it, "a most effective instrument of propoganda,"[1] so that in the twenty-three years following 1538, churches of that group increased from one to 2,150.[2]

As an integral part of his philosophy of education, his principle of curricula is a good one. By making the criterion of subject matter harmony with the Word of God, and by giving all arts the place of subservience to the Scriptures, Calvin established a sufficiently broad, yet safe basis for curricula. The fact that this may have

. . . . . .

1. Woodward, op. cit., p. 159.
2. Cubberley, op. cit., p. 332.

been easier in his day than at present, as Harkness points out,[1] because modern science was then in its infancy, does not minimize the validity of this principle.

The weakness in Calvin's scheme is in not fully providing for the most desirable education for all men. Perhaps this was due to the early stage of development of Protestant education rather than to an intentional oversight, for at that time it was an accomplishment even to educate competently the clergy and civil leaders. Calvin definitely concentrated on these two groups, however, and left it, perhaps necessarily, for succeeding educators to bring all men into the full benefit of the liberal arts.

. . . . . .

1. Harkness, op. cit., p. 87.

CHAPTER VI

COMENIUS: A SUBSERVIENT PLACE IN TRAINING ALL MEN

CHAPTER VI

COMENIUS: A SUBSERVIENT PLACE IN TRAINING ALL MEN

A. Comenius' Background

1. His Times.

As the Reformation and humanism characterized Calvin's century, so did the new movement of Realism characterize Comenius'. The Reformation proper spent itself in the 16th century; more accurately, it resolved itself into lasting institutions and ideals, not the least of which had to do with education - education for all for a Christian society. Not that this had been effected, but the foundations had been laid. Theological controversies and formalistic tendencies which accompanied the rise of Protestantism were not conducive to realization of educational ideals, but they were not to dominate forever.

Humanism had undergone a change, becoming formalized into "classical humanism," a pedantic sort of learning. As Quick points out, this meant a highly exclusive kind of education, one hardly suitable to the ideal of universal education the reformers had at first visualized:

> "To produce a few scholars able to appreciate the classics of Greece and Rome they have sacrificed everybody else; and according to their own showing they have condemned a large portion of the upper classes, nearly all the middle classes, and quite all the poorer classes to remain 'uneducated'."1

. . . . . .

1. Quick, R. H.: Essays on Educational Reformers, p. 18.

Precursory to the Realistic movement of the 17th century were the great discoveries of the scientists, as Eby and Arrowwood state, even "while churchmen were exhausting their powers in fiery controversies over matters which admit of no absolute settlement, and school men were immersed in deadening routine and formalism."[1] Copernicus' heliocentric theory, Stevin's invention of decimal fractions, and Kremer's first atlas are typical of the beginnings of modern science belonging to the 16th century. Defined as "direct individual experience of the objects of the external world,"[2] Realism was this new scientific spirit.

By the beginning of the 17th century this scientific spirit was translated into utopian dreams of the educators; this is clearly portrayed by Windleband:

> "A new epoch of culture seemed about to open and an exotic impulse seized the imagination. Unbelievable things were about to happen; nothing was to be impossible any more. The telescope unlocked the mysteries of the heavens, and the forces of the earth began to obey the investigator. Science would be the leader of the human spirit in its triumphant course through nature. Through her discoveries human life would be transformed."[3]

Comenius' was one of these grand schemes, however tempered and directed by his deep religious convictions.

. . . . . .

1. Eby and Arrowwood, op. cit., p. 200.
2. Ibid., p. 325.
3. Windelband, W., quoted in Eby and Arrowwood, op.cit., p. 243.

2. His Life.

The "good old bishop"[1] of the Moravian Church has been quite unanimously awarded the title of "the pioneer of modern educational science."[2] He was first of all a Christian, born in 1592 in the Moravian village of Nivnitz, an heir of the zeal, piety, humility, and self-sacrifice that have always marked this small but outstanding religious group.[3]

Apparently, he was late in evidencing intellectual interests, hence not until he was sixteen years of age did he begin to study Latin. But at this age he more readily observed the extremely inefficient teaching methods employed in his instruction, which later prompted him to attempt his educational reforms.

Studying at the universities of Herborn and Heidleberg in preparation for the ministry, Comenius shared the fruits of the reformers' educational endeavors. It was during this time also that he was influenced by Ratick, and Andrea, educational realists, and hence started on his way to becoming the first great Sense-Realist.

After further study in Amsterdam, Comenius returned to his people to begin a career strangely blessed

. . . . . .

1. Laurie, S. S.: John Amos Comenius, p. 225.
2. Monroe, P.: Cyclopedia of Education, Vol 2, p. 135.
3. Laurie, op. cit., p. 27.

with success and burdened with tragedy. Before long the terrible persecution of the Thirty Years' War drove him and his people from Moravia, and he settled in Lessa, Poland. The problem faced him of restoring religion and piety in such chaotic times; then it was he came to have a great faith in education as the solution, and so began writing his extensive educational works. The Great Didactic, the work for which he is most noted, was produced during this period.

The transcendant interest throughout his life was his great "Pansophic" ideal of "universal wisdom", which was "to place before the world of science and letters the sum of human knowledge in all departments."[1] But the impossibility of one man's accomplishing so great a task caused him to work instead on educational reforms and writing textbooks. It was this service that he rendered to several countries, including Sweden and Hungary, but not too successfully. His closing years, from 1654 to 1670, he spent writing and caring for his Moravian brethren while his home was located at Amsterdam.

B. His Concept of Education

1. His Great Didactic.

Comenius' educational philosophy is clearly re-

. . . . . .

1. Laurie, op. cit., p. 70.

vealed in his greatest written work, The Great Didactic. Characterized by him on the title page as "the whole art of teaching all things to all men," this significant treatise has been described by one modern educator as "more profitable reading than the majority of contemporary educational writings."[1] It is principally concerned with method in teaching and marks the first attempt to apply psychology to teaching. One is struck with the sound principles of method Comenius advocates in this work. It also contains his basic philosophy of education and consideration of desirable subject matter, as well as a detailed plan of organization for a graded program of training.

2. The Aim and Function of Education.

Comenius states the aim of the education he envisions on his title page:

> "That the entire youth...shall quickly, pleasantly, and thoroughly become learned in the sciences, pure in morals, trained to piety, and in this manner instructed in all things necessary for the present and for the future life.."[2]

Knowledge, virtue, and piety - this is the threefold aim familiar as the goal of the humanist educators of the Reformation. Of these three aspects, piety was the one emphasized, as when he asks, "But what is more important

. . . . . .

1. Watson, F.: article on Comenius in Encyclopedia and Dictionary of Education, Vol. 2, p. 39.
2. Comenius: The Great Didactic, title page.

than piety."[1] This conviction is evident throughout Comenius' book as when in one place he defines Christian schools:

> "Our schools, therefore, will then at length be Christian schools when they make us as like to Christ as is possible. How wretched is that teaching which does not lead to virtue and piety."[2]

Another important emphasis in this regard is on preparation for eternal life:

> "..it is of great importance to impress upon them that we are not here for the sake of this life, but are destined for eternity; that our life on earth is only transitory, and serves to prepare us for our eternal home."[3]

This dominant religious and moral note does not indicate disregard for all-round development. Knowledge still has its place, and this total education is essential in order to really become a human being:

> "It is only by a proper education that he can become a man. Let none believe, therefore, that any can really be a man, unless he have learned to act like one, that is, have been trained in those elements which constitute a man."[4]

By training all youths with these aims in view, Comenius is very hopeful of elevating the human race, bringing it back to "the divine ideal,"[5] and thus solving society's problems:

. . . . . .

1. Ibid., p. 220.
2. Ibid., p. 74.
3. Ibid., p. 221.
4. Ibid., p. 52.
5. Eby and Arrowwood, op. cit., p. 257.

> "The most useful thing that the Holy Scriptures teach us in this connection (God's gracious dealings after the 'bloody war and devastation') is this, that there is no more certain way under the sun for the raising of sunken humanity than the proper education of the young."1

> "If we wish to have well-ordered and prosperous churches, states, and households, thus and in no other way can we reach our goal. (Education)"2

3. The Pansophic Ideal.

The unique feature of Comenius' educational plan is its universal aspect, as has been indicated. This truly democratic ideal is a reflection of his Moravian background, for that group had long been striving for equality among Christian brethren, partly through abolition of nobility. Comenius has an admirable and deep regard for the value of every human life and a sincere desire that each should attain full development:

> "The following reasons will establish that not the children of the rich or of the powerful only, but of all alike, boys and girls, both noble and ignoble, rich and poor, in all cities and towns, villages and hamlets, should be sent to school. In the first place, all who have been born to man's estate have been born with the same end in view, namely, that they may be men, that is to say, rational creatures, the lords of other creatures, and the images of their Creator. All, therefore, must be brought on to a point at which, being properly imbued with wisdom, virtue, and piety, they may usefully employ the present life and be worthily prepared for that to come."3

With this ideal in view, he sets as the immediate goal the

. . . . . .

1. Comenius, op. cit., p. 14.
2. Ibid., p. 18.
3. Ibid., p. 66.

following: "We are now seeking a way by which the common people may be led to understand and take an interest in the liberal arts and sciences."[1] Here then, is the needed emphasis in view of the degeneracy of education to exclusive classicism, from the time when the Reformers set free thinking for all as their goal.

4. The Place of the Word of God.

One quotation will serve to show that Comenius accorded the first place in his educational scheme to the Word of God, as did the Reformation educators: "The Holy Scriptures must be the Alpha and the Omega of Christian schools. In Christian schools, God's Book should rank before all other books."[2]

C. The Place He Gave to the Liberal Arts

1. The Nature of the Liberal Arts.

Comenius' was to be an encyclopedic course, including "every branch of human knowledge."[3] This not only encompassed the traditional seven liberal arts, but the new scientific learning of the day. In fact, he was inclined to give that type of study the prominent place as the first great Sense or Naturalistic Realist. Laurie

. . . . . .

1. Ibid., p. 271.
2. Ibid., p. 223.
3. Ibid., p. 281.

defines Comenius' conception of knowledge as "knowledge of nature and man's relation to nature"; this is in contrast to the Humanistic-Realism which considered the thought of man embodied in language and literature as the source or essence of knowledge.[1]

2. Their Essential Place.

Knowledge or erudition is the first aspect of the three-fold aim of education. While man's ultimate goal is eternal life, Comenius marks out "three stages in the preparation for eternity" which correspond to his three-fold aim: (1) A rational creature, (knowledge or erudition); (2) The Lord of all creatures including ruling oneself, (virtue); and (3) A creature which is the image and the joy of its Creator, (piety).[2] He describes the relationship between these as follows: "These three aspects are so joined together that they cannot be separated, for in them is laid the basis of the future and of the present life."[3] God has intended that man be in truth a rational creature by his acquainting himself with the facts of nature and his relation to nature. This is the first and basic step in preparation for eternal happiness with God. He argues that God would never have made man with the ca-

. . . . . .

1. Laurie, op. cit., p. 218.
2. Comenius, op. cit., p. 36.
3. Ibid.,

pacity for knowledge had He not intended him to acquire it. Man is made in the image of God, and since the chief attribute of God is omniscience, man is naturally "fitted for the understanding of facts."[1]

This knowledge is by no means an end in itself. One of the first requisites of knowledge taught is its usefulness:

> "Whatever is taught should be taught as being of practical application in every-day life and of some definite use. That is to say, the pupil should understand that what he learns is not taken out of some Utopia or borrowed from Platonic Ideas, but is one of the facts which surround us, and that a fitting acquaintance with it will be of great service in life."[2]

To illustrate his principle of utility, a reflection of Bacon's influence in that century, he explains that the value of the languages is not in their being an end in themselves by polishing with erudition, but is in making possible the acquiring of other useful knowledge.[3] In the case of physics, or natural science, it is essential as the basis for medicine, agriculture, and related sciences which are in turn necessary for human welfare.

Laurie, in summing up Comenius' pansophic education, states that his whole purpose was to "lead youth to God through things - to God as the source of all and

./. . . . .

1. Ibid., p. 41.
2. Ibid., p. 189.
3. Ibid., p. 203.

as the crown of knowledge and the end of life."[1] This very well strikes the heart of Comenius' notion - that this fully developed life would necessarily be crowned with true piety, the end of it all, these mundane concerns taking their rightful placesas subordinate ends.

Comenius' attitude toward the Word of God bears out this philosophy:

> "Whatever is taught to the young in addition to the Scriptures (sciences, arts, languages, etc.) should be taught as purely subordinate subjects. In this way it will be made evident to the pupils that all that does not relate to God and to the future life is nothing but vanity."2

3. His Attitude toward Pagan Authors.

Comenius entitles one of the chapters in his Great Didactic as follows:

> "If we wish to reform schools in accordance with the laws of true Christianity, we must remove from them books written by pagans, or, at any rate, must use them with more caution than hitherto."3

He advocates removing the Pagan writers as a group from the Christian schools, and then, in order that the good bits may be conserved, that "men of wisdom and judgment steadfast in the faith" should make usable and safe these writings:

> "The safest plan, therefore, is to send armed men to deprive those accursed by heaven of their gold, silver,

. . . . . .

1. Laurie, op. cit., p. 75.
2. Comenius, op. cit., p. 226.
3. Ibid., p. 231.

> and precious things, and to distribute them among the heirs of God. O that God would stir up some heroic spirit to cull those flowers of elegance from the vast deserts in which they grow, and plant them in the garden of Christian philosophy, that nothing be lacking there."[1]

The better of the heathen books are to be used, and even they only when "the Christian faith (of the young student) is well assured."[2]

It must be remembered in this connection that Comenius with his new Sense-Realism stood out in reaction to humanism as it existed in his day. The classics were the heart of humanism, and so in negating the value of it, he also was making negligible the contribution of the classics in comparison with the new scientific learning.

D. Summary and Evaluation

Comenius, the "father of modern educational method,"[3] was one of the first actually to effect democratic Christian education. In his reaction against formalized humanistic learning, he advocated wide and thorough knowledge of nature and its relation to man for every man, as the means for him to enter into his human estate. This knowledge, however, was only the first step, or aspect of man's experience, virtue and piety necessarily following in the full development into one made in the image of God;

. . . . . .

1. Ibid., p. 245.
2. Ibid.
3. Watson, op. cit., p. 363.

furthermore, the knowledge must always be subordinate to the moral and spiritual end. If all men were to receive this ideal education, the problems of church and society would be solved.

Comenius' educational ideals and basic principles are most satisfactory. He succeeded in conserving the values of the Reformers' educational schemes - the moral and spiritual center with the Word of God predominant - and also was able to carry out the democratic ideal that had been incipient in their schemes, but inhibited by the turbulent times and the formalizing of humanistic education. He also successfully tested out the Christian motive of education, so wonderfully developed during the Reformation, with the new scientific knowledge. By showing that man must understand nature in order to have dominion over it in response to his Creator's injunction, Comenius brought the beginnings of modern knowledge into proper relationship with the Christian motive. Thus a valid principle is established that can hold until today when man has but realized a little more of the fullness of scientific knowledge; all knowledge and learning must be subservient to piety - in this place they serve to develop the whole Christian man.

CHAPTER VII

COMPARATIVE EVALUATION AND CONCLUSION

CHAPTER VII

COMPARATIVE EVALUATION AND CONCLUSION

A. Comparative Evaluation

1. Concept of Education.

All of the five men studied were Christians; hence in each case the ultimate goal of education is a moral and spiritual one. But the difference lies in their concepts of the ideal Christian life, its scope or nature.

Jerome's concept was perhaps the narrowest, limiting the Christian's experience to a very confined religious realm in keeping with monastic ideals. In this instance, religion was not only the center, but the whole of the Christian's life, thus all education was religious in nature.

Rabanus also held a narrow view, believing that the ordinary Christian's life would be complete if he benefited from the sacrificial and other services of the church in addition to carrying on his daily tasks. Here education was the handmaid of the church and had no direct value in the lives of the mass of Christians.

The other three men, Clement, Calvin, and Comenius, were concerned with the whole man and his full development. While they regarded piety as the chief aim,

they allowed for intellectual growth also. The emphasis varied among them; Clement aimed at producing the Christian Gnostic, one who, using all knowledge at his disposal, should attain to the complete and highest knowledge of God; Calvin strove for well-trained citizens of a Christian society as well as ministers fit in every way for their task; and Comenius desired to see all men brought into their rightful heritage as rational creatures set over the world by their Creator.

Of these concepts, the first two, Jerome's and Rabanus', are inadequate. The Christian life is more than religion, though that is its heart; and even religion is more than relationship to an institution.

Clement's concept was very much in embryo and really contains nothing important that Calvin's and Comenius' do not cover. Hence there is in the combination of Calvin's and Comenius' educational philosophy the most adequate concept for Christian education - the full and abundant life for every Christian with a spiritual integrating center.

2. The Place of the Liberal Arts.

The question of the place of the liberal arts in Christian education involves the more basic one of the relation of this kind of knowledge - "secular" - to spiritual knowledge, or the knowledge of God. When this

question is decided as it applies in the life of the Christian, then the place given to the arts in the Christian's education naturally follows. This vital question, then, will be the basis of comparison of these five men's philosophies of curricula.

Jerome felt that spiritual knowledge was all that counted since a narrow spiritual experience embraced the whole of the Christian's life. Secular knowledge was unrelated, and in fact, antagonistic to the Christian's realization of the knowledge of God. Paula could grow up entirely ignorant of the world and its culture, and yet through study of the Word of God, and religious exercises, could attain to the ideal Christian experience; this, in fact, was the preferred course of training. The arts had no contribution to her life and were better left out entirely.

To Rabanus, secular knowledge was related to spiritual knowledge only as it contributed to the institutional life of the church; it had very little direct relationship in the lives of the people, in fact their knowledge of God came through the worship services and church sacraments, activities largely devoid of anything intellectual. The seven liberal arts were useful in maintaining the services of the church, but their content was never united with religious knowledge in the education of the common Christian. He needed nothing but the religious

knowledge the church could give him, hence the arts were relegated to practical training of the clergy.

The other three men, in contrast to Jerome and Rabanus, believed that there was a vital relationship between secular and spiritual knowledge. With different emphases and modes of expressing it, they all felt that secular knowledge was directly contributory to the life of the individual Christian, and hence to the church, and finally society. They all gave first place to the Word of God, and held in common that the knowledge of it was enhanced and only fully attained with the help of a knowledge of the arts. Similar as these three men are in their basic assumptions, there are some differences as to just the nature of this relationship, and hence of the exact place of the arts in a Christian's education.

Clement brought secular and spiritual knowledge perhaps closest together, in making philosophy the necessary means, under the Tutor's guidance, of attaining to the Christian Gnostic. In fact, it is difficult to differentiate between these fields of knowledge as he discusses them, and, though he safeguards himself by putting all under the Tutor's direction, one wonders if he did not bring them a little too close together. After all, a fairly full knowledge of God is possible without Greek philosophy, as the lives of many of the early Christians testify, though philosophizing may be definitely contri-

butory.

Calvin states most clearly of the three the nature of this relationship. First, he believed God to be the source of all knowledge and wisdom. Secular knowledge is to apply in the mundane area of man's experience, and is attained by human learning, unaided if need be; but spiritual wisdom can only be gained through the illumination of the Spirit of God. His activity must go beyond what the human mind and heart can do of itself if man is to know God. Secular wisdom can be preparatory to that illumination as, for instance, it aids in knowing the Word which the Spirit in turn uses to enlighten the heart; but it is definitely limited. Spiritual knowledge is a higher kind of knowledge, and is distinguished from secular knowledge in its object - God - and its means of attainment - the inner working of the Spirit of God. It follows that while the arts are not the direct means of gaining spiritual knowledge, they aid in preparing for it and in carrying out the implications of that knowledge of God in everyday life, translating it into daily action. Hence Calvin's emphasis upon a Christian society, and men fully educated who can take their places in that society.

Comenius followed in Calvin's train with his emphasis upon knowledge as part of his three-fold aim of education. He too assigned this natural knowledge to the mundane affairs of men, yet at the same time he allowed

that it could lead to God, as all creation points to the Creator. The uniqueness of Comenius' thought was that he felt all men should have this knowledge of nature and its relation to man in order to lead a full life. He found a place for the sciences - the aspect of human learning he emphasized - to function not only in the lives of Christian leaders, which had been Calvin's chief concern, but in the lives of all Christians, who had the right also to become full-fledged human beings perfect in knowledge, virtue, and piety.

In finally evaluating the attitudes of these five men towards secular learning and its relation to the Christian life, it is evident that Jerome's and Rabanus' views are entirely inadequate, for they, by finding no vital place for secular culture in the Christian's life, handicap and confine him to a purely religious experience and in the end weaken even that religious life. However, they do set one important standard - that of safeguarding the Christian from possible corrupting influences, and this standard will have to be met if not through external means as they did, then through inner resources in the Christian's character.

The other three men, Clement, Calvin, and Comenius, were after the same thing though in slightly different ways and at varying stages, as has been shown. Clement more or less broke trail through this forest of

secular learning, Calvin followed making the pathway clear, and then Comenius broadened it out to make it useful for all. In drawing up the statement of a desirable solution to this problem, these three men's ideas will be basic.

B. Conclusion

It is essential in conclusion to state briefly a desirable solution to this problem based on the findings from the study of these five men. This will include a brief statement of the aim and function of Christian education, and then of the place of the liberal arts in that education.

1. Concept of Education.

Christian education must educate the whole man. It must provide adequately for his spiritual, intellectual, and moral development with the spiritual aspect the integrating center. Religion is the central and dominating factor or influence, but it is not all of his life; all other things however, must be in harmony with and find their meaning in relation to his Christian faith. His whole life must be religious though religion is not the whole of his life; this alone is the abundant life.

2. The Place of the Liberal Arts.

The liberal arts have to do primarily with de-

veloping the Christian intellectually. This area of his experience is the poorer for lack of training in the arts, for they are but the product of the human race's rational experience. Hence, if the Christian is to live a full life, he must take advantage of this aspect of his heritage.

The arts, furthermore, must be related to his spiritual experience in a subservient position, because, as has been indicated, this part of his life is the controlling factor. When this is true, any knowledge and understanding he attains will be interpreted and given direction in the light of his vital Christian faith. There need be no fear then of including all essentially worth-while subjects in his curricula, for his guide-post is established.

When the liberal arts are given this place, the effect is a deepening, strengthening, and enriching of the Christian's life. His life is an organic whole; though there are several factors in the total picture - intellectual, moral, emotional, and spiritual - they are mutually interdependent, and the others being equal, the strengthening of one means the strengthening of the whole. While spiritual knowledge - the knowledge of God - may be a distinct aspect of his experience, it cannot stand alone. It is always differentiated by its content and the Holy Spirit's illuminating work, but the raw material of that know-

ledge - mental grasp of the Word of God - and the vehicles for conveying it into practical life are improved by right use of the liberal arts.

A recent article in the official Inter-Varsity Christian Fellowship publication, His, emphasizes the importance of the intellectual aspect of the faith in regard to student evangelism. The author, "a British Friend," has discovered that during the war years of stern reality, mere emotionalism does not suffice to produce true and lasting conversions. He very kindly criticizes the almost superficial evangelistic work among college youth done in America as well as in England, and points out that the New Testament never taught this. Paul addressed his messages to the mind and "the subsequent appeal for action is based on the assumption that the mind has been convinced of the truth of the earlier contention."[1]

In order for Christian witnesses to be able to address the mind, the British Friend contends that they must pursue diligently their secular studies while in college, "to equip (themselves) thoroughly at all points." He points out how both Wesley and Spurgeon made reading the English classics an imperative for their lay preachers, and that Wesley himself read in philosophy and history while journeying on horseback from place to place. Only

. . . . . .

1. "A British Friend": The Place of Doctrine in an Age of Youth Appeal, His Magazine, April, 1946.

this kind of keen thinking and diligent application to secular studies will "toughen this particular generation so that it will be deep enough and strong enough to take over the greatest as well as the meanest tasks of this post-war age."

Thus the experience of a leader in one of the most effective Christian movements of the present day confirms this conviction - that the secular studies do have an essential place in the Christian's education. Let Christian educators take heed then, and make the most of the gifts God has given for the furtherance of His kingdom.

Finally, it should be stated that this thesis has only brought this problem to the surface and surveyed it from an historical angle. From this point, there are many angles along which the problem needs to be developed and which will involve the thinking of a lifetime, such as the philosophical basis for the differentiation between secular and spiritual knowledge, the working out of effective college curricula in line with the principles established, and developing materials and methods in the church's Christian education program with this especially in mind. This is only the beginning!

BIBLIOGRAPHY

BIBLIOGRAPHY

A. Primary Sources

Calvin, John: Commentary on I Corinthians, translated from original Latin by John Pringle, Edinburgh, 1848.

Clement of Alexandria: Complete Works, in the Ante-Nicene Fathers, edited by Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson, Vol. 2, Charles Scribner's, New York, 1903.

Comenius, John Amos: The Great Didactic, A. & C. Black, London, 1923.

Jerome: The Principal Works of Jerome, in the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church, Vol. 6, edited by Philip Schaff and Henry Wace, The Christian Literature Company, New York, 1893.

Rabanus Maurus: Education of the Clergy, in Great Pedagogical Essays by F. V. N. Painter, American Book Company, New York, 1905.

B. Secondary Sources

Beesley, Patricia: The Revival of the Humanities in American Education, Columbia University Press, New York, 1940.

Boyd, William: The History of Western Education, A. & C. Black, London, 1921.

Cooke, Robert L.: Philosophy, Education and Certainty, Zondervan Publishing House, Grand Rapids, 1940.

Cubberley, Ellwood: The History of Education, Houghton-Mifflin Company, New York, 1920.

Davidson, Thomas: A History of Education, London, 1901.

Duffield, Samuel W.: The Latin Hymn Writers and Their Hymns, Funk and Wagnalls, New York, 1889.

Duggan, Stephen Pierce: A Student's Textbook in the History of Education, D. Appleton and Company, New York, 1916.

Eby, Frederick, and Charles Flynn Arrowwood: Development of Modern Education, Prentice Hall, New York, 1945.

Eby, Frederick, and Charles Flynn Arrowwood: The History and Philosophy of Education Ancient and Medieval, Prentice Hall, New York, 1942.

Farrar, Frederic W.: Lives of the Fathers, Vol. 1, Mac Millan and Company, New York, 1889.

Glover, Terrot Reaveley: The Conflict of Religions in the Early Roman Empire, Methuen and Company, London, 1910.

Graves, Frank Pierrepont: A History of Education, Vol. 1 and 2, Scribner's, New York, 1910.

Graves, Frank Pierrepont: A Student's History of Education, MacMillan, 1929.

Laurie, Simon Somerville: John Amos Comenius, C. W. Bardeen, Syracuse, New York, 1892.

Harkness, Georgia: John Calvin, Henry Holt and Company, New York, 1931.

Marique, Pierre J.: History of Christian Education, Fordham University Press, New York, 1924.

McCormick, Patrick Joseph: History of Education, The Catholic Education Press, Washington, D. C., 1915.

Monroe, Paul: A Cyclopedia of Education, editor, MacMillan, New York, 1911.

Monroe, Paul: History of Education, MacMillan, New York, 1906.

Painter, Franklin Verzelius Newton: A History of Education, D. Appleton and Company, 1920.

Painter, Franklin Verzelius Newton: Great Pedagogical Essays, American Book Company, New York, 1905.

Quick, Robert Hebert: Essays on Educational Reformers, D. Appleton and Company, New York, 1909.

Reisner, Edward H.: The Evolution of the Common School, MacMillan, New York, 1930.

Sandys, John Edwin: A Short History of Classical Scholarship, Cambridge University Press, London, 1915.

Schaff, Philip: History of the Christian Church, Charles Scribner's, New York, 1924.

Seeley, Levi: History of Education, American Book Company, New York, 1914.

Sihler, Ernest G.: From Augustus to Augustine, Cambridge University Press, 1923.

Taylor, Henry Osborne: The Medieval Mind, Vol. 1, Mac Millan and Company, London, 1930.

Walker, Williston: John Calvin, G. P. Putnam's, New York, 1906.

Watson, Foster: The Encyclopedia and Dictionary of Education, Editor, Sir Isaac Pitman and Sons, New York, 1921.

Woodward, William Harrison: Studies in Education during the Age of the Renaissance, Cambridge University Press, London, 1924.

C. Periodicals

"British Friend": The Place of Doctrine in an Age of Youth Appeal, His Magazine, April, 1946.

Easton, W. Burnet, Jr.: Rethinking the Christian College, Christian Century, September 12, 1945.

Jaarsma, Cornelius: Distinctiveness of the Christian Liberal Arts College, Wheaton College Bulletin, January, 1946.

Kepler, Thomas S.: Pre-Theological Training, Religious Education Magazine, January-February, 1945.

King, Rachel: Harvard versus Christianity, Christian Century, January 23, 1946.