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BOSTON UNIVERSITY

GRADUATE SCHOOL

Thesis

THE CONTRIBUTION OF LUTHER TO RELIGIOUS EDUCATION

Submitted by

Martha Ann Clarke

(A.B., Drake University, 1921)

In partial fulfilment of requirements for

the degree of Master of Arts

1929

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OUTLINE

CHAPTER ONE

CHILDHOOD AND STUDENT LIFE, 1483 - 1505

THE CONTRIBUTION OF LUTHER TO RELIGIOUS EDUCATION

I. CHILDHOOD AND STUDENT LIFE, 1483 - 1505

A. LUTHER'S HOME LIFE

Among the hills and forest of Thuringia in the very heart of Germany, nestles the secluded village of Möhra, famous as the home of the Luther family. From this little village Hans and Margaret Luther journeyed to Eisleben and established their home. On the tenth of November, 1483, the first child was born to this young couple. The next day this child was baptized "Martin" in honor of the saint whose feast day it was.

Luther came of peasant stock, but he was not of the lowest class. For years the Luthers had owned their small farm and home in Möhra and from this home Hans Luther moved the distance of eighty miles and established his own home and adventured into a new field, that of copper mining. Worldly success came slowly; the means of the growing family were scant and Hans and Margaret Luther with their six months old son, Martin, moved to Mansfeld, the center of the iron mining and smelting industry. In this village, inhabited by people whose whole life and labor was devoted to mining, the Luthers established their permanent home. After several years of hard toil Hans Luther became the lessee of several pits and furnaces, and as early as 1491 he appeared as a notable member of the community serving as one of the four burgesses on the Town Council.

Hans Luther was a sturdy, frugal, hard working man, ambitious to provide for his son the education he himself had lacked. The mother was a quiet woman, bowed by poverty and toil, but possessing indominitable traits of a cheerful character, and the ability to look on the brighter side of life.

Luther often liked to repeat his mother's favorite expression, "If the world smiles not on you and me the fault is ours." [1]

In these humble parents we discover traits that account for the genius of a world leader. There was the honesty, integrity, and sturdy common sense which make a man a trusted friend; the vigor, courage, and self-reliance which enables one to win and keep success; and the sturdy independence, particularly noticeable in his attitude toward religion. Martin Luther possessed the temperament and disposition of his mother, and added to that was the strength and stability of his father's homely sense and obstinate will.

Hans and Margaret Luther reared their family with the current notion of unquestioning obedience to parental authority, and with firm conviction of the efficacy of the rod in making an impression. Life was severe and harsh for the German peasant; but with all that, the parents were not unkind nor lacking in tenderness and love for their son. Luther's parents gave him an education comparable with the nobility of Germany.

B. LUTHER'S STUDENT LIFE

1. Instruction in the Home

The first training, consisting of religious instruction, was given to Luther by his mother. He was taught a few simple hymns and prayers at his mother's knee. Without question the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments, and the Creed of the church became a part of this early training. God and Jesus were presented to him as stern and cruel judges. There was one way to appease these judges and that was through intercession of the saints. In his home there was the most devout faith in the effectiveness of the sacraments of the church. The Pope and the Ecclesias-

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1 Mac Giffert, Arthur Cushman, Martin Luther, the Man and His Work. N.Y.: Century Company, 1922. p. 7.

tical hierarchy were regarded with awe and reverence.

2. Education in the Public Schools

The lad's education began early. He attended the public school in Mansfeld which was conducted jointly by the state and the Catholic Church. Latin was the principal subject taught. The teachers found it difficult to teach Latin to the German-speaking children; they were not well versed in the technique of instruction, and their crude and inefficient approach worked many hardships and sufferings upon the pupils. Their chief method of procedure, in impelling a pupil to study, was to resort to punishment and whipping. Luther experienced a long, hard trial in his early school days. He often referred to the cruelty and severity of the instructors; but this later judgment was from one who had experienced the larger world and had a vision of an improved system of education.

Luther's intellectual ability was evidently unusual, as a result of which he was sent to the higher schools. At the age of thirteen he was sent to the School of the Nüllbrudern, at Magdeburg, which was controlled and taught by the Brethren of the Common Life. This order was founded in the fourteenth century, and was composed of an intellectual, cultured group of the Catholic Church. They believed in the active, pietistic, cultural life where morals, ethics and the simpler virtues were considered essentials. It is interesting to note that Erasmus, Luther, Calvin, and Melanchthon all came in contact with the School of the Nüllbrudern.

The one year spent in this environment without question first turned Luther's thoughts in the direction of monastic life. One incident made so deep an impression on his mind that he wrote of it twenty-five years later.

> "When, in my fourteenth year, I went to school at Magdeburg, I saw with my own eyes a prince of Anhalt... who went in a friar's cowl on the highways to beg bread, and carried a sack like a donkey, so heavy that he bent

> under it, but his companion walked by him without a burden; this prince alone might serve as an example of the grisly, shorn holiness of the world. They had so stunned him that he did all the works of the cloister like any other brother, and he had so fasted, watched, and mortified his flesh that he looked like a death's head, mere skin and bones; indeed he soon after died, for he could not long bear such a severe life. In short, whoever looked at him had to gasp for pity and must needs be ashamed of his own worldly position." [1]

Singing and begging was a recognized means by which a boy might assist in his own support during school. Luther used these methods. No more stigma was attached to them than for a student to accept a scholarship as is so often done today.

After one year at Magdeburg, Luther was transferred to Eisenach to attend the school of St. George the dragon-killer. He was to have a unique experience here, for Eisenach was his mother's native town. He came to know a relative, Conrad Hutter, who was sexton of St. Nicholas' Church, and it may have been through him that Luther learned to know and love the parish priest, John Braun.

Fortunately for Luther, the Cotta family opened their door to students, and Frau Cotta took an especial interest in young Luther. For the first time in his life this peasant boy came in contact with modest comfort, German culture, refinement, and the gentler graces of life. This family had established a small Franciscan Monastery at the foot of the Wartburg, and Luther became a constant visitor to this place and made friends with the monks.

In Eisenach his school life and instructors brought joy to his life.

> "Trebonius, the principal, could have been no common pedagogue. Upon entering the presence of his classes he always removed his scholar's cap and insisted his teachers should do the same, because of the mayors, chancellors, doctors, and rulers of the future who

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1 Smith, Preserved, The Life and Letters of Martin Luther, Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1911. p. 4.

> occupied the benches.....He here came in contact with the new humanistic spirit and methods for the first time, and he distinguished himself among his fellow-pupils for his aptitude in language and literature." [1]

3. Education in the University

The congenial atmosphere of the home life, together with the pleasant experiences in school, caused Luther to develop rapidly; and he used his social advantages to such good effect that at the age of seventeen he matriculated at the University of Erfurt, the greatest of the German universities of the day. The student at this particular time was held in honor by all the world. It was a time also of stirring days in the academic life for humanism, with its devotion to classical learning, was making rapid headway and disputing the supremacy of scholasticism.

Martin Luther's father was financially able to assist his son. This gave Martin every opportunity to throw himself into the life of the school and he became a friendly companionable fellow with the students. Little is known of his student life, but it is considered commendatory because his enemies never found any reproach in it. The course of studies began with logic, dialectic, grammar, and rhetoric; and these were followed by arithmetic, natural sciences, ethics, and metaphysics. Trutvetter, as instructor of philosophy, and Maternus, leading in the classical learning, afforded the students unusual privileges. Students came from all over the world to study with these professors. The natural sciences relied on Aristotle's ancient works and nothing was done in the way of experiment or original research.

In 1502 Luther received the degree of Bachelor of Arts, and in 1505, with high rank, the degree of Master of Arts. Then he began his study of jurisprudence. He had worked in law only two months when he decided to enter the Augustinian monastery at Erfurt.

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1 Mac Giffert, Arthur Cushman, Martin Luther, the Man and His Work. N.Y.: Century Co., 1922. p. 11.

4. Entrance into the Monastery

While many reasons have been suggested for Luther's entrance into the monastery, would it not seem to be the natural culmination of previous experiences? The strict discipline and training of a Christian home, the acquaintance and friendship of the priestly circle during his school days at Eisenach, the contact with great religious leaders at Erfurt, and the longing for a reconciliation with God? When one views these experiences in Luther's life and considers the intensity of his nature, one finds a character who would go all the way, and unquestionably be led to feel that no life offered satisfaction except one of full and complete service to God and fellow-man.

CHAPTER TWO

THE MONK AND PROFESSOR IN CONTROVERSY WITH ROME

1505 - 1525

II. THE MONK AND PROFESSOR IN CONTROVERSY WITH ROME, 1505-1525

A. LUTHER AS EDUCATOR, 1505-1515

Luther was ordained as priest in 1507. The celebration of his first mass was a great event, and his father who had opposed his entrance attended bringing a host of friends with him.

1. Professor at Wittenburg, 1508

Apparently Luther had not found that assurance and peace he had expected to obtain upon entrance into a monastery, and after three years of struggle John Staupitz, vicar of the Augustinian monastery at Erfurt and Dean of the Faculty of Theology at the University of Wittenberg, recognized in Luther a young man of honest sincerity, longing and striving to win for himself the goodness of God. He became fond of Luther and aware of his ability and his matchless mind as a student. In 1508 he shifted him from the monastery at Erfurt to the University of Wittenberg to teach Aristotelian logic and ethics. Luther's letter written to John Braun at Eisenach expresses his dislike for the teaching of philosophy:

> "Now I am at Wittenberg, by God's command or permission. If you wish to know my condition I am well, thank God, but my studies are very severe, especially philosophy, which from the first I would willingly have changed for theology, I mean the theology which searches out the meat of the nut, the kernel of the grain and the marrow of the bones. But God is God; man is often, if not always, at fault in his judgment. He is our God, he will sweetly govern us for ever." [1]

2. Lecturer at Erfurt, 1509

In the fall of 1509 Luther returned to Erfurt and began lecturing on Peter Lombard's sentences. It was an academic rule that a young professor should devote three semesters to expounding Peter Lombard's sentences before lecturing on the

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1 Smith, Preserved, The Life and Letters of Martin Luther, Boston and N.Y.: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1911. P. 11.

Scriptures. His work at Erfurt was interrupted in the winter of 1510 by a most interesting and important event, a journey to Rome. John Staupitz was anxious to unite all of the chapters of the Augustinian order. Several of the chapters refused to comply with his request and they desired to appeal to Rome. John von Mecheln of Nürensberg was selected as their agent, and Martin Luther accompanied him, for the laws required that the brothers must always travel two and two.

Doubtless Luther was shocked by many of the things he saw, though apparently they did not shake his faith at the time nor his reverence and allegiance to the Pope; yet when the breach with Rome came in later years he attacked the problem more courageously, vigorously, and successfully because of this visit.

3. Professor of Divinity at Wittenberg, 1511

In the summer of 1511 he returned to Erfurt, and was called to the University of Wittenberg as professor of divinity. He completed the requirements and disputations, and in October 1512 he was given the degree of Doctor of Divinity by the University of Wittenberg. He could lecture now on theology without limitations of any kind. His most outstanding contributions, which give deep insight into his methods and results, are found in his lectures on the Psalms, Romans, the Book of Judges, and his Commentary on Galatians. Luther's work was thorough. Within a few years he had carried forward a great reform in the whole curriculum, and by 1517 he had eliminated Aristotelian instruction from the University.

4. District Vicar of His Order, 1515

His practical abilities were recognized, for he was made sub-prior of the wittenberg Convent and was later placed in full charge of the theological instruction. In 1515, when only thirty-one years of age, he was appointed district-vicar which required his attention in the interests of eleven monasteries.

B. LUTHER IN CONTROVERSY, 1515-1525

1. The Attack on Indulgences, 1517

Elector Frederick the Wise of Saxony was an indefatigable relic hunter, and he had placed more than five thousand relics in his castle church. It had been an expensive proposition to obtain and keep on display this array of relics, so the church became a mecca for pilgrimages and a large indulgence was granted to all who visited it.

Luther did not agree with this procedure, and dared to preach against it. The indulgence traffic was at its height during the Middle Ages. The whole theory was based upon the Catholic penitential system.

> "According to ancient and modern Catholic belief, forgiveness for sins committed after baptism can be secured only through the sacrament of penance. This requires repentence, confession to a priest, and the performance of acts involving some labor or sacrifice on the part of the penitent, such as fasting, almsgiving, or going upon a pilgrimage. The absolution pronounced by the priest in the confessional insures release from guilt and eternal punishment, but satisfaction must still be rendered in the forms of works of penance. If not enough of these are done before death they must be continued in purgatory until the debt is fully discharged. Only then is the penitent believer prepared to enter heaven. In the early Middle Ages the custom grew up of permitting the substitution of some other form of penance for that regularly prescribed by the church. This permission constituted what later came to be called an indulgence." [1]

Granting indulgences in return for the payment of money became the vogue, and later the indulgence released the purchaser from all the consequences of his misdeeds. It was this money abuse that attracted Luther and many other good Catholics and caused Luther to discuss it with friends and later to attack it boldly.

Pope Leo X was attempting to raise funds for the rebuilding of

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1 Mac Giffert, Arthur Cushman, Martin Luther, the Man and His Work. N.Y.: Century Co., 1922. pp. 78-79.

This meant the implicit rejection not only of indulgences but of the whole penitential system accepted in the Catholic Church, both east and west. If the thirty-sixth and thirty-seventh theses were believed, there was little hope of Tetzel finding a market for his indulgences. They read as follows:

The thirty-sixth thesis,

> "Every Christian who feels true compunction has of right plenary remission of pain and guilt, even without letters of pardon."[1]

and the thirty-seventh thesis,

> "Every true Christian, whether living or dead, has a share in all the benefits of Christ and of the Church, given him by God, even without letters of pardon."[1]

Much to Luther's surprise, Justus Jonas translated the theses into German, and within fourteen days they were circulated throughout Germany and read by all classes of people in all parts of the country. About this time there was called to the University of Wittenberg a young man, Melanchthon, Professor of Greek, who threw himself with all his youthful enthusiasm into the cause of the Reformation. He was one of the greatest scholars and teachers of the day and he later became the most valued associate and helper of Luther.

2. Important Papal Interviews, 1518-1519

The Pope wrote to his agent, Cajetan, in Germany and requested him to have a hearing with Luther, then, if Luther did not recant, to send him to Rome or put him and his followers under the ban.

Cajetan bade Luther recant his errors, and Luther upon inquiry discovered Cajetan referred to "The statement in the Theses that the treasury of the church consisted of the merits of Christ, and, second, the assertion in

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1 Wace and Buckheim, First Principles of the Reformation. p. 9.

St. Peter's Church. So he followed the example of Julius II and proclaimed a "plenary indulgence" granting the remission of sins, freedom from penance, and the release of friends from purgatory.

This was being practised when in 1515 Albert of Bradenberg held three rich offices. He had to pay Rome very heavily for the privilege of assuming the archbishopric. He made an agreement with John Tetzel, a Dominican prior, to superintend the selling of indulgences in Germany. So Tetzel and his helpers went to Germany and made elaborate preparations. Everything was done to attract the attention of the people. The Elector of Saxony, unwilling to have his subjects pay the debts of the Elector of Mayence, refused to permit Tetzel to cross the border. Many of Luther's parish went to Tetzel, but Luther refused to accept them in the confessional in lieu of repentance and penance.

To Luther his relationship to God was the most sincere thing in the world, and he could not conceive of men purchasing forgiveness and favor of God. Even after Tetzel had left the community Luther continued to study the whole situation of indulgences, and he was never able to reconcile conditions.

At that time it was customary to celebrate certain anniversaries of the castle church by theological debates; so on October 31, one year after preaching his first sermon against indulgences, he posted a placard of ninety-give theses on the church door, calling attention to a proposed academic disputation, for the purpose of discovering the truth. It never occurred to him to establish opposition and a quarrel with the Pope.

The first thesis carries the whole Reformation Gospel, "Our Lord and Master Jesus Christ in saying: 'Repent ye', etc., intended that the whole life of believers should be penitence." [1]

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1 Wace and Buckheim, First Principles of the Reformation. p. 6.

the Resolutions that the efficacy of the sacrament depended on the faith of the recipient."[1] These were points on which he considered that Luther had manifestly deviated from the Catholic teaching. Luther refused to recant and was dismissed by Cajetan with the order that he was not to appear again until he was prepared to recant. Luther was determined that he would not be persuaded by precept, counsel, or kindness when it was against his conscience.

The next move by the Pope was to resort to diplomacy. Carl von Miltitz, a Saxon nobleman and agent of the Saxon princes of Rome, was dispatched to Germany to seize Luther and send him to Rome. When Miltitz arrived in Rome and sensed the attitude of the Germans he decided to have a personal interview with Luther. Since Luther had refused to recant, Miltitz decided the next best thing was to secure his silence. Their first article of agreement was that both sides should maintain silence, but neither observed the truce, and the whole controversy was given an even wider publicity than it had attained by the great debate with John Eck.

Luther was to know no peace, for if one method or plan failed another proposition was to be met. John Eck of the University of Ingolstadt, and the ablest theologian of the day in Germany, proved to be one of the most persistent opponents Luther ever met.

3. The Leipsic Debate, 1519

Eck was the first German theologian to stand out in opposition, and Luther felt that his own honor and the honor of the university required him to meet his antagonist in debate. On July the fourth, 1519, Luther and Eck began the debate on the question of papal authority. Luther maintained that the Pope ruled by human, not divine, right. Eck's skill drove Luther to admit the fact

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1 Smith, Preserved, The Life and Letters of Martin Luther. Boston and N.Y.: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1911. p. 48.

that his positions were in some respects those of Huss; and although this was the climax of the debate, after continued appeal regarding the authority of the Council of Constance, Luther declared, "I shall not be moved until the most excellent doctor proves that a council is unable to err, has not erred, and does not err. For a council cannot make divine right of what is not by its nature such, nor can it make that heresy which is not against divine right." [1]

Leipzig was a crucial hour, and Luther had stood courageously and unafraid. When he went to meet Eck Luther was only the voice of reform crying out; when he returned he had rejected the final authority of the Pope and had admitted the fallibility of councils. This implied a break with the authoritative system of the Middle Ages, and permitted recourse to the Scriptures as final appeal. According to Grisar, who looked at the debate from a Catholic viewpoint:

> "The final impression made on the minds of the audience was that Eck had borne away the palm. He had repelled the often virulent attacks of two adversaries with untiring mental and physical energy... Carlstadt was too hurried and confused and unable to produce the necessary positive proofs and Luther, by his over-confidence, his rhetoric and the habitual violence of his attacks on his enemies gave umbrage to many." [2]

4. The Primary Works, 1520

In the summer and fall of 1520 Luther produced his greatest writings. His first production was "The Address to the Christian Nobility", which was an appeal to the nobility for reformation in their distress and misery, and an attempt to correct those things in which the clergy had become lax. The dissertation not only treated the external abuses in the state but suggested a program of reform. He urged the nobility to consider the matter with great earnestness,

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1 Mac Giffert, Arthur Cushman, Martin Luther, the Man and His Work. N.Y.: Century Co., 1922. p. 142.

2 Grisar, Hartmann, Luther. Vol. I. Translated by E.M. Lamond and Edited by Luigi Cappadelta. St. Louis, Mo.: B. Herder, 1915. p.363.

and whatever was attempted not to trust in their own strength and wisdom, but in that of God.

Luther dedicated the book to his colleague in the university, Nicholas von Ainsdorf. In the dedicatory letter, dated June 23, 1920, we catch the spirit of Luther,

> "The time for silence is gone and the time to speak has come, as we read in Ecclesiastes (III 7). I have in conformity with our resolve put together some few points concerning the Reformation of the Christian Estate, with the intent of placing the same before the Christian Nobility of the German Nation, in case it may please God to help His Church by means of the laity, inasmuch as the clergy, whom this task rather befitted, have become quite careless." [1]

After this dedication the author referred to Charles V, the young and noble sovereign, who had the power to change conditions if he so desired.[2]

The thesis of his appeal to the German nobility is built around three major premises:

> "The Romanists have, with great adroitness, drawn three walls round themselves, with which they have hitherto protected themselves, so that no one could reform them, whereby all Christendom has fallen terribly.
>
> "Firstly, if pressed by the temporal power, they have affirmed and maintained that the temporal power has no jurisdiction over them, but on the contrary, that the spiritual power is above the temporal.
>
> "Secondly, if it were proposed to admonish them with the Scriptures, they objected that no one may interpret the Scriptures but the Pope.
>
> "Thirdly, if they are threatened with a council, they pretend that no one may call a council but a Pope." [3]

Luther did not believe that the clergy was of a higher order than the laity; rather he advocated the priesthood of all believers. There is one baptism, one gospel, and one faith; and all are Christians. The fact

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1 Wace and Buckheim, Ibid., p. 17.
2 Ibid., p. 19
3 Ibid., p. 20

that priests and bishops serve was to him just the same as if the congregation selected one person from the community and asked him to exercise power for the rest. All would have equal power, but one was ordered to govern. Thus the only difference was one of office and function and not of estate. Life, liberty and property must be equal before the law, and only guilt could make one subject to another.

> "The second wall is even more tottering and weak: that they alone pretend to be considered masters of the Scriptures; although they learn nothing of them all their life, they assume authority, and juggle before us with impudent words, saying that the Pope cannot err in matters of faith, whether he be evil or good; albeit they cannot prove it by a single letter..... For whereas they imagine the Holy Ghost never leaves them, however, unlearned and wicked they may be, they grow bold enough to decree what they like." [1]

Luther maintained that there were capable Christians who had the true faith, spirit, understanding, word and mind of Christ; and never should their word and understanding be rejected to follow the guidance of a Pope who had neither Spirit nor understanding.

The third wall was sure to crumble and decay if the first two received attention. Luther began his discussion of the third wall by quoting from Matthew XVIII: 15-17, and then writes:

> "Moreover they can show nothing in the Scriptures giving the Pope sole power to call and confirm councils; they have nothing but their own laws; and these hold good only so long as they are not injurious to Christianity and the laws of God. Therefore, if the Pope deserves punishment, these laws cease to bind us, since Christendom would suffer if he were not punished by a council." [2]

Luther suggested the following as matters to be discussed in councils:

1. Worldly Power of the Pope
2. Creating of Cardinals
3. Reduction of the Papal Court

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1 Wace and Buckheim, Ibid., pp. 25, 26.
2 Ibid., p. 28

The treatise closes with twenty-seven articles respecting the reformation the Christian Estate. It contains the element of nationalism, inasmuch as it challenges the German people to correct their conditions.

Luther's second great reforming pamphlet referred especially to the theology or sacramental abuses in the church. It was entitled "The Babylonian Captivity of the Church". Luther referred to Rome as the Babylon; the papacy as captor; and the Sacraments of the Church as chains. Luther intended this document for the theologians and scholars. Grisar says this book was of sceptical tendency of which Luther was in a great part unconscious.

The churches of Rome had seven Sacraments: baptism, confirmation, marriage, mass, penance, ordination, and extreme unction.

> "I must deny that there are seven Sacraments, and must lay it down, for the time being, that there are only three, baptism, penance, and the bread and that by the court of Rome all these have been brought into miserable bondage, and the church despoiled of all her liberty." [1]

Luther confirmed that "The sole value of a sacrament....is its witness to the divine promise. It seals or attests the God-given pledge of union with Christ and forgiveness of sins." [2]

He believed that the Sacrament in both kinds should be served to the laity, and based this assertion on the Scriptures according to Matthew, Mark and Luke. Luther discussed transubstantiation; but for himself he believed in con-substantiation, or the essence of Jesus, which can be everywhere at once and comes and resides in the bread and wine.

Concerning baptism, it was the only sacrament of the church which had remained untouched and undisputed by men. It was free to all men of every class and every nation if there was faith on the part of the believer.

Penance and indulgences were closely related in the thinking of

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1 Wace and Buckheim, Ibid., p. 147.
2 Walker, Williston, A History of the Christian Church. N.Y.: Charles Scribners Sons, 1926. Period VI, The Reformation. p. 48.

individuals; and when confession was turned into a means of extortion by the bishops, then Luther most heartily condemned it. Penance has a sacramental value as a return to baptism.

The writing "On the Liberty of a Christian Man" went into the inner life of the spirit. When von Miltitz and Luther had their interview it was requested that Luther send a letter to the Pope. The occasion for the writing of this work came as the result.

In the dedicatory letter addressed to Pope Leo X we observe his own statement:

> "I am conscious that, wherever I have had to mention your person, I have said nothing of you but what was honorable and good.....[1] You see, however, what is called the Court of Rome, and which neither you nor any man can deny to be more corrupt than any Babylon or Sodom, and quite, as I believe, of a lost, desperate, and hopeless impiety, this I have verily abominated, and have felt indignant that the people of Christ should be cheated under your name and the pretext of the Church of Rome; and so I have resisted, and will resist, as long as the spirit of faith shall live in me..... [2] Suffer me, I pray you, most excellent Leo, both to plead my own cause, and to accuse your true enemies." [3]

Luther then begins to discuss the proceedings with Cajetan, Miltitz, and Eck and confesses that in those interviews most of the corruption of Rome was exposed.

> "In fine, that I may not approach you empty handed, Blessed Father, I bring with me this little treatise, published under your name, as a good omen of the establishment of peace and good hope..... It is a small matter, if you look at its exterior, but, unless I mistake, it is a summary of the Christian life put together in small compass, if you apprehend its meaning." [4]

The treatise opens with two propositions concerning spiritual liberty and servitude.

> "A Christian man is the most free lord of all, and subject to none; a Christian man is the most dutiful servant of all, and subject to every one." [5]

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1 Wace and Buckheim, First Principles of the Reformation, p. 95.
2 Ibid., p. 97
3 Ibid., p. 99 4 Ibid., p. 103 5 Ibid., p. 104.

There is the two-fold nature of man, a spiritual and a bodily. Approaching first from the spiritual side, nothing can effect the inner soul of a Christian man. Freedom is the essence of Christian faith. Laws cannot bind it, and without it the hope of a Christian world is a dream and a fancy.

An unjustified state and bonds of slavery may exist; ill health, hunger, and thirst may harass a man; but external obligations cannot suppress even though conditions may not be the most pleasant, for these are only external experiences that can never touch the soul who knows the spirit of Jesus Christ. For that soul having the Word is rich and wants nothing. It has truth, light, peace, joy, liberty, wisdom, and virtue. This Word is only received by faith and growth in knowledge of God. The soul which cleaves to God in faith is free, for it is penetrated and saturated by the love of God so that nothing can touch it. It rises above all circumstances.

> ".... A Christian man is the most dutiful servant of all and subject to everyone." [1]

> "Here is the truly Christian life; here is faith really working by love; when a man applies himself with joy and love to the works of that freest servitude, in which he serves others voluntarily and for nought; himself abundantly satisfied in the fulness and riches of his own faith." [2]

Thus a Christian satisfied in the fulness and riches of his own faith is possessor of a cheerful, willing, free spirit, and disposed to serve all men, never taking into account gratitude, praise, or loss. Never should there be thought as to whom is the recipient so long as there is need. A Christian is always ready for every good work. The slightest word or need of man is heeded. If one is not a servant to his fellow man, then for Luther he is not a free man.

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1 Wace and Buckheim, Ibid., p. 104.
2 Ibid., p. 125

5. The Papal Bull of Excommunication, 1520

While Luther was busy with his writing, Eck was just as busy securing a papal bull of excommunication. Such a bull was issued June 15, 1520, and Eck and Aleander as nunicos to Germany arrived with the papal bull. Wittenberg refused to publish it, and its reception in Germany was either hostile or lukewarm.

On December 10, 1520, Luther answered the Pope by burning the Canon Law and the papal bull in the presence of students and citizens of Wittenberg, and without opposition from civil authorities. By this act Luther declared his separation from the Pope and the papal church.

6. The Diet of Worms, 1521

The great battle had now fully begun, and it was decreed that Luther should appear before the Emperor at the Diet of Worms. When Luther was summoned before the Diet of Worms in 1521 a number of books were pointed out to him. Luther, upon investigation, recognized them to be his writings. When asked to recant them, Luther requested time for reflection. A day was given him. Then his reply was to separate his books and writings into three divisions: those regarding persons; those which had to do with papal abuse; and writings which affirm Christian truth. As to those in the first division, he acknowledged that he may have expressed himself too strongly against persons and that he might tone them down, though the substance of what he had written he would not retract. Regarding those having to do with papal abuse and Christian truth, he declared he would never recant unless convinced of its wrongfulness by Scripture. He stood courageously, dauntlessly, and unflinchingly before the Emperor and the highest tribunal of his nation.

7. A Prisoner at the Wartburg, 1521 - 1522

On the way home Luther was seized by friendly hands, so arranged by Frederick the Wise, and was conveyed secretly to the Wartburg Castle, near Eisenach.

He spent the period from May 4, 1521 to March 1, 1522 as a prisoner. His mind was alert and his pen busy; and as a result of this experience he produced in three months a translation of the New Testament. This was not the first translation of the Scriptures into German; but the earlier versions had been made from the Latin Vulgate and were hard and awkward in expression. Luther's translation from the Greek determined the form of speech that should mark future German literature. His translation has been one of the greatest contributions ever made to the religious life of a nation. It was genuinely German in style and spirit.

One of the interesting incidents of his stay at the Wartburg was his correspondence with Archbishop Albert of Mayence. As soon as Luther was imprisoned the archbishop began the sale of indulgences, thinking he could replenish his exchequer and build a university at Halle to rival the one at Wittenberg. Luther wrote a tract entitled "Against the Idol at Halle". The Elector protested, but Luther refused to listen to him. The Elector took matters into his hands and wrote Archbishop Albert demanding that he put an end to the sale of indulgences.

8. The Peasants' Revolt, 1525

Luther was to have no peace, for he was appealed to by peasants and princes alike as the man of the hour during the peasant insurrection. Doubtless the teaching of Luther had its effect upon the peasants. He taught spiritual freedom and multitudes substituted for it freedom from social injustice, economic burden, and political oppression. The peasant requested him to act as arbitrator between them and the lords. In compliance he composed "An Exhortation to Peace on the Twelve Articles of the Swabian Peasants". He declared both sides were alike in the wrong, and called each of them sharply to account. His exhortation was imprudently expressed.

On April the sixteenth, 1525, Luther saw Germany threatened with

anarchy; and called upon the rulers to put down the warring rebels with a stern hand. By this act Luther ceased to be the popular hero of Germany and became to multitudes an object of hatred. Regardless of the consequences, Luther never faltered; for he believed firmly that to act against constituted authority was open rebellion against God.

CHAPTER THREE

RECONSTRUCTION OF THE CHURCH AND LATER YEARS OF HIS LIFE, 1525 - 1546

III. RECONSTRUCTION OF THE CHURCH AND LATER YEARS OF HIS LIFE, 1525 - 1546

A. RECONSTRUCTION OF THE CHURCH, 1525 - 1532

1. German Order of Worship, 1525

When Luther returned from the Wartburg things were in disorder and confusion existed in the church. The old form of service with slight alterations was used; for from Luther's point of view, it must be simply the old church stripped of certain unessential and disturbing accessories. Luther kept the ancient phrases and ancient order; he also retained the altar, the use of candles, gowns, and images as illustrative material for centralizing teaching. But he wrote a new ritual for the Lord's Supper and baptism. In 1525, a change was made to the use of the vernacular instead of the learned language, in the house of God. The next year Luther published the "German Order of Worship", an evangelic plan for public worship, consisting of the Lord's Prayer, hymns, creed, readings of the Bible, and a sermon. Luther was not urging uniformity, and in the preface of his book he suggested that the service could be altered and improved as most desirable for the church. But the form was an indication of what was done in the Wittenberg Church.

2. Saxon Visitation, 1526

Luther realized that if reforms were to be introduced in doctrine, worship, and discipline, that it could best be accomplished by visiting the churches and making a study of the conditions and the needs. He urged the elector, John, who was devoted to Luther's cause, to inaugurate an episcopal visitation of the church in his territory. The territory was divided into three or four districts, each of which would be visited by three or four noblemen or magistrates. Luther, Melanchthon, Jonas, Spalatin, Myconius, and several laymen were designated as the visitors.

Melanchthon prepared a "formula of doctrine and rites" for

instruction of the visitors. He prepared it in Latin and also in German, with Luther adding the preface and notes in the German edition.

Reports signify that the churches were in a deplorable condition: church buildings and schools were in ruins; ministers were without income. The people were ignorant, indifferent and demoralized. Thus he wrote to Spalatin in 1529:

> "Everywhere the condition of the churches is most miserable. The peasants learn nothing, know nothing, and do nothing except abuse their liberty. They do not pray at all, nor do they go to confession or communion. They act as if they were wholly free from religion. As they neglected their own papal usuages, they now despise ours. Dreadful it is to contemplate the administration of the Roman bishops." [1]

This idea of a visitation was repeated from time to time under the care of a superintendent and consistories. It was later necessary to resort to law, but order was restored.

It was with the object of training men and women in his ideas that Luther prepared the Long and Short Catechism. The Long Catechism was intended to supplement the German mass. The Short Catechism was really a simplification of the previous work.

3. Conference with Zwingli, 1529

While Luther was busy establishing the form of worship and reorganization of the churches in Saxony, he was confronted with the fact that there was a doctrinal difference in the reformation among the Swiss, led by Zwingli, and in his teaching among the Germans. The doctrinal difference was over the Lord's Supper.

The Catholic Church believed in transubstantiation; Luther advanced his theory of consubstantiation; while the belief of Zwingli and his followers

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1 Mac Giffert, Arthur Cushman, Ibid., p. 312.

was that the rite was merely commemorative, and bread and wine were used in a purely figurative and spiritual sense.

Hoping that an alliance might be made between the Swiss Cantons and the German Protestants, it was arranged by the Landgrave Philip of Hesse that the reformers and theologians should assemble at the capital, Marburg, and there participate in a public discussion. The Marburg Articles were drawn up at the conclusion of the discussion. Fourteen of these articles were agreed upon by both parties, but on the fifteenth, regarding the Lord's Supper, there could not be common agreement. Philip requested them to give each other the right hand of fellowship, but Luther refused because the Swiss had a different spirit from his. Later in the writings of Luther and Zwingli the difference of opinion was published.

4. Translation of the Bible, 1532

The greatest monument to Luther is the translation of the German Bible. His translation of the New Testament, begun at Wartburg in 1521, was completed in 1522. Then with Melanchthon, Rörer and Aurogallus, work was begun on the Old Testament. It was completed in March 1532.

> "In 1539 a careful revision was undertaken by a 'Sanhedrin', as Mathesius calls it, consisting of Melanchthon the Grecian, Cruciger with the Chaldean Paraphrase, Bugenhagen skillful in the Latin version, Jonas the Rhetorician, Aurogallus professor of Hebrew, Rörer the proof-reader, and Luther the president and inspiring spirit of the whole." [1]

The basis of Luther's translation was the original tongues. His work was done hurriedly and rapidly but with the utmost precision, polishing and revising. It has been said that Luther's influence has been so enormous on the literature of his people that it is sometimes affirmed he created the modern written language.

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1 Smith, Preserved, Ibid., p. 264.

B. LUTHER'S LAST YEARS, 1532 - 1546

1. Conference with Vergerio, 1535

Pope Clement VII was succeeded by Paul III, and contrary to the opinion of Clement, he decided to hold a council, hoping that he might stem the growing tide of revolt, especially in Germany, England, and France. The Pope sent Pietro Paolo Vergerio as a legate to inform the princes of his plan of holding a council somewhere outside of Germany and, if possible, to secure their promise to attend. Vergerio could not restrain his curiosity to see Luther, and went to Wittenberg to secure an interview with him.

> "In preparation for the interview, which occurred on a Sunday morning, Luther put on his best clothes and had his hair dressed with unusual care, informing the surprised barber that he wished to look as young as possible that Vergerio might think: 'The devil! if Luther has made so much trouble while still young, what will he do when he gets old?' To the barber's protest that he would offend the legate, he replied: 'That is just what I want to do. They have offended us enough, and you must deal thus with serpents and foxes.'" [1]

Luther's effort must have been successful, for according to Vergerio though he was over fifty, he looked only forty. He promised to attend the council, regardless of where it met, and whatever the danger involved.

2. Signing of the "Wittenberg Concordia", 1536

A previous statement has been made regarding the discussion of Zwingli and Luther at Marburg. A little later there was some inference made that Luther had agreed and entered upon peace with the Zwinglians. This was the last thing Luther should want to occur and in a letter to John Frosch, a minister of Augsburg, dated March 28, 1531, he says:

> "I have heard of the boasting of your Zwinglians that peace is made between us and that we have gone over entirely to your opinion. But, my dear Frosch, you must know that we have yielded nothing. Martin Bucer,

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1 Mac Giffert, Arthur Cushman, IBid., p. 354

> indeed, seems to be thoroughly convinced that we believe and teach the same doctrine, and of hom personally I therefore entertain some hopes. Of the others I know nothing certain, but if they desire peace I should wish to indulge them little by little, tolerating their opinion for a time while holding fast to our own as heretofore. This much charity demands."[1]

However, after the battle of Cappel, October 11, 1531, in which the Protestant cantons were defeated by the Catholic it seemed more necessary than ever that the German Lutherans and Swiss Protestants of upper Germany should unite. After the former attempt and the result of disagreement over the Lord's Supper, Philip of Hesse decided to call a conference and invite Melanchthon to meet Bucer in order to discuss terms of agreement. Luther was afraid his friend would yield too much, so he sent a written statement, urging Melanchthon to keep in mind that the body of the Lord was bitten by the communicant.

After this preliminary conference, it was agreed that the Swiss Protestants appeal to Luther to fix a date and a place of meeting, in order to establish closer unity. The representatives assembled at Wittenberg and after a week's deliberation Luther announced that he regarded them all as brothers, for he was convinced they believed that the body and blood of the Christ are present in the elements.

Melanchthon had drawn up an agreement embodying the results of the conference, the Wittenberg Concord, and it was signed by all, except one, who attended the conference.

3. The Death of Luther, 1546

Most of the years of Luther's life were lived at the very limit of his strength. His later years were spent in visiting churches, helping them to reorganize, and formulating educational ideals for the school system of Germany. There was

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1 Smith, Preserved, Ibid., p. 289.

always a demand for Luther to serve on committees and in conferences of various sorts. It was necessary in later years for him to yield this position to others.

In January of 1546 Luther was obliged to go to Eisleban on business. He was accompanied by Justus Jonas and his three sons, who went with him to visit at Mansfeld. The business in Eisleban was exacting, and it required much of Luther's time and strength. He had completed his work and had made preparations to return to his home when he was taken ill, and died February 18, 1546. The body was taken to Wittenberg, and buried, on February 22, in the church where he had many years before nailed his theses on indulgences.

It would be most difficult to estimate the extent of Luther's influence, but without doubt one of his greatest contributions was in the shaping and formulating of the educational system of Germany.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE CONTRIBUTION OF LUTHER TO RELIGIOUS EDUCATION

IV. THE CONTRIBUTION OF LUTHER TO RELIGIOUS EDUCATION

A. CONSEQUENCES OF THE BREAK WITH AUTHORITY

The Protestant revolts in the different lands produced changes in the educational systems. Since our attention is centered on the Reformation in Germany we must keep in mind that the Renaissance is not to be distinguished from the Reformation, save in its spirit and its outcome.

Teutonic civilization had been a direct outgrowth of their Christianization, and the moral and religious strain running throughout the Renaissance and the Reformation is very easily traced. The Renaissance in Germany placed emphasis on patristic and Christian literature, and this developed a critical spirit which would lead to investigation and thought along religious lines.

It was inevitable that the two views of religion should come into conflict; and as a background of the situation in which Luther was placed, it is well to keep before us the attitudes and viewpoints of these religious movements in order to fully understand the educational problem involved.

1. Viewpoint of the Catholic Church

The Catholic Church looked upon religion as a completed truth, which had been revealed in its entirety by divine providence, and given into the keeping of an institution whose origin, constitution and authority was also divine. One can readily see how such a viewpoint would effect education. Since the emphasis was on collective judgment and collective responsibility; or, in other words, since it was always the judgment of the church rather than of individuals, which took precedence, we see at once that the educational system would be aristocratic and limited to the very few. The larger part of the training was for the purpose of preparing the clergy; and it occasionally happened that a very few laymen of the higher class had the privilege of instruction.

The great mass of the common people could neither read nor write, and it was not unusual to find noblemen who signed their name with a cross. However, we must not be too severe in our criticism, for books were rare and expensive and educational opportunities were limited.

2. Viewpoint of the Protestant Church

The Protestant church looked upon religion as a divine truth in origin, which could be completed only with the growth and through the development of the spirit of man. Never would this truth be completed, but the principles could be perfected in a progressive measure through the reason of man. Immediately there must come a reconstruction of the entire educational system if it was to correspond with this Protestant ideal which involved a new theory of individual responsibility, individual judgment and individual participation. So it became important, in theory at least, that every one should be able to read the Scriptures, participate intelligently in the church services and shape his life to the best of his ability in accord with the will of God.

The school systems had been so closely connected with the church that it looked as if the higher training might be destroyed. It is not surprising that a growing antagonism towards the church and towards certain schools of learning should exist in the minds of people. In some instances the princes and the rulers who favored the Reformation went to the extreme of seizing endowments and occasionally schools were closed. The Peasants' War also produced a diminution in the number of schools and students. As a result of the Peasants' War and the religious excitement, the attendance at the universities in Germany was reduced to one-fourth of what it formerly had been.

It required the work of a genius to ourline an educational system and to mold public opinion in its favor.

6. Luther, the Leader of the Educational Movement

Naturally Luther, as the protagonist of the Reformation and the man of the hour, assumed leadership

of the educational movement in Germany. He strenuously urged the extension and reformation of the schools. The Church Visitation of Saxony was for the purpose of introducing reforms in doctrine, worship, and discipline, and to help in establishing schools throughout all Saxony. Luther was one of the group on this visitation, and he became aware of the deplorable conditions of the church and the schools. He discovered in many places the absence of schools, and the ignorance of the people was beyond his conception.

After this visitation of the churches in Saxony in 1528, Luther wrote in the preface of his "Small Catechism":

> "The deplorable conditions in which I found the religious affairs of your parishes on my recent visit of inspection has impelled me to publish this concise and simple Catechism. Merciful God, what wretched ignorance I beheld! The common people - especially in the villages - apparently have no knowledge whatever of Christian doctrine, and even many pastors are ignorant and incapable teachers.
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> "Though all are called Christians and have the privilege of the sacraments, yet they cannot even repeat the Lord's Prayer, nor the Creed, nor the Ten Commandments. They live like the brutes, and having now the light of the Gospel, rankly abuse their Christian liberty."[1]

The wretched condition of education at the time of the Reformation is further revealed through excerpts from Luther:

> "Is it not truly pitiable, that a boy has been obliged to study twenty years or longer to learn enough Latin to become a priest and read mass? And whoever has accomplished that has been called blessed, and blessed the mother who has borne such a child; and yet he has remained a poor, ignorant man all his life long, unfit for any useful vocation. Such teachers and masters we have been obliged to have everywhere, who have known nothing themselves, and have been able to teach nothing good or useful; yea, they have not known the way in which one should learn and teach."[2]
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> "Do we not see before our very eyes that a boy may now be so thoroughly drilled in three years, that, at fifteen or eighteen, he shall know more than hitherto all the high schools and cloisters put together have ever been able to impart? Yea, what other thing have the high schools and cloisters ever achieved, but to make asses and

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1 Lenker, Christian Education. Minneapolis, Minn.: Luther Press, 1907. p. 16.

2 Painter, F.V.N. A History of Education. N.Y.: International Education Series. D. Appleton & Co. 1878. pp. 137,138.

> block heads? Twenty, forty years would they teach you, and after all you would know nothing of Latin, or of German either; and then, too, there is their shameful profligacy, by which many ingenious youths have been led astray." [1]

B. EDUCATIONAL IDEALS OF LUTHER

With Luther there was no conflict between school and church. Each must strengthen the other. Each must be Christo-centric. The very genius of Protestantism favored a general diffusion of knowledge. The common people must be elevated and their private judgment must be considered.

1. State System of Universal Education

Luther enunciated progressive ideas of education. The educational reconstruction begun by Luther was based on the premise that scholarship was essential in this new order. The old theory of an establishment of a small aristocracy of intellect, trusting to these ideas working their way down to the common people was cast aside. Luther made no distinction in social class nor sex, but advocated that education must be for all children, rich or poor, noble or ignoble; in all cities, villages, and hamlets of Germany. He urged that education for all people must prepare for every day life.

> "The world has need of educated men and women to an end that men may govern the country properly and women may properly bring up their children, care for their domestics, and direct the affairs of their households." [2]

In 1524 Luther sent a letter to the Mayors and Aldermen of all cities of Germany, urging the erection of public schools and public libraries. Painter says "if we consider its pioneer character in connection with its statement of principles and admirable recommendations, the address must be regarded the most important educational treatise ever written."

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1 Cubberly, Ellwood P., Readings in the History of Education. Houghton Mifflin Company, 1920. The Riverside Press, Cambridge. p. 241.

2 Cubberly, Ellwood P., The History of Education. Houghton Mifflin Co., 1920. The Riverside Press, Cambridge. pp. 312, 313.

The following extracts reveal his reasoning and his spirit of approach to these officials:

> "It is a great and solemn duty that is laid upon us, a duty of immense moment to Christ and to the world, to give aid and counsel to the young. And in so doing we likewise promote our own best interests. And remember, that the silent, hidden and malicious assaults of the devil can be withstood only by manly Christian effort. Beloved rulers, if we find it necessary to expend such large sums, as we do yearly, upon artillery, roads, bridges, dykes, and a thousand other things of the sort, in order that a city may be assured of continued order, peace, and tranquillity, ought we not to expend on the poor suffering youth therein, at least enough to provide them with a schoolmaster or two?" [1]

One catches the sincerity of Luther's appeal to the civil magistrates, as he urged them to improve the schools, or to establish new ones. The old Roman educational system was supported and controlled by the State and this is the first indication of a return to State controlled school system. He also called to their attention the fact that the monastic institutions were declining and there was an exodus from the Convents. Luther did not hesitate to recommend that a portion of the property of such institutions be expended for educational work; for he said they could easily afford to do this "since Divine Grace has released them from the exaction and robbery of the Roman Church."

"It is a sin and shame that we should need to be admonished to educate our children, when nature itself, and even the example of the heathen, urge us to do so." [2]

A year later he wrote to the Elector of Saxony:

> "Since all of us, particularly rulers, are commanded above everything else to educate the young, who are daily born and are growing up among us, and to keep them in order and in the fear of God, schools and preachers and pastors are necessary. If the parents won't see to it,

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1 Cubberly, Ellwood P., Readings in the History of Education, p. 241.
2 Schaff, Philip, History of the Christian Church. N.Y.: Charles Scribners Sons, 1926. Vol. VI, p. 514.

> let them go to the devil. If the young remain uncared for and uneducated, the fault is the government's. Moreover, the land becomes full of wild and loose persons, so that not only God's command, but our common need, obliges us to find some way to meet the situation."[1]

He continues his letter by calling attention to the fact that the Elector as chief ruler, now has all power within his own hands and so it is his duty and responsibility to look after educational matters. He then urges the Elector to establish schools and assume the support of them in every city or village which has sufficient means. If the cities will not do this from choice, compel them by force, exactly as they are compelled to contribute money and labor for civic improvements.

This universal state controlled school system as outlined by Luther should have as its objective the instruction of

1. The people at large
2. The ministers of religion
3. Leaders of civic and political affairs

The institutions necessary for this training should comprise:

1. Vernacular Primary Schools
2. Latin Secondary Schools
3. The Universities

2. Compulsory Attendance

As Luther declared that schools should be provided by municipalities and maintained at public expense; so, also, he placed upon the civil magistrates the responsibility of compulsory attendance, urging upon them the assumption of authority in requiring children to attend school.

In Luther's longest educational writing, the "Sermon on the Duty of Sending Children to School", written in 1530, Luther based the right to compel attendance on the general authority of the State to protect itself

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1 MacGiffert, Arthur Cushman, Ibid., p. 310.

and advance its welfare.

> "I hold it to be incumbent on those in authority to command their subjects to keep their children at school; for it is, beyond doubt, their duty to insure the permanence of the above-named offices and positions, so that preachers, jurists, curates, scribes, physicians, schoolmasters, and the like, may not fail from among us; for we cannot do without them. If they have the right to command their subjects, the able-bodied among them, in time of war, to handle musket and pike, to mount the walls, or to do whatever else the exigency may require; with how much the more reason ought they to compel the people to keep their children at school."[1]

He referred to the forces of good and evil at work in the world, and attempted to show how one who was idle could so easily become absorbed in evil and devote all his energies to mischief making. This would have a tendency to destroy the homes and cities from within and that would be as bad if not worse than conflict with an enemy.

Luther referred to the Turk to show how even the Turk managed to send every third child in the empire to school and train him for special work. Surely the German people could do no less, and certainly the magistrates ought to be on the lookout for all promising youth and have them sent to school.

In 1530 Luther wrote a pamphlet, entitled, "That Children Should Be Kept in School". In this same writing he re-emphasized the value and necessity of an elementary education for everybody, girls as well as boys. It is in this document that he appealed to people of wealth to establish scholarships for the purpose of supporting deserving students who demonstrated unusual ability and aptitude.

The economic situation was one with which Luther felt he must deal. He realized that the majority of parents were poor and that they would consider it an imposition to be compelled to send their children to school;

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1 Cubberly, Ellwood P., Readings in the History of Education. p. 244.

he realized that some would say "The parents should be responsible for the training of the children". To this Luther made reply that most of the parents were incapable of instructing their children, for they had never had opportunities and advantages of school. Many of the parents would not have the time to devote to the instruction of their children even if they were capable.

Again Luther would meet the problem of those parents who needed the children at home for work. His most important innovation was to establish schools in which the common people could be fitted for their occupations in life. He outlined a program correlating the school with the home in which he suggested that the boys and girls attend school at least one hour each day. He felt that all parents could spare the children from their homes that long, and so provide the opportunities afforded for an education as well as sufficient time to learn a trade or assist in household duties.

In the foreword of Luther's Small Catechism he placed upon the bishops and the pastors the responsibility of urging the magistrates and parents to rule wisely and educate their children. In no uncertain term he insisted that the pastors must make plain to the parents the wrong they commit when they refuse to train their children.

3. The Home an Educational Institution

Luther was aware of the value of a Christian home, and he looked upon it as the institution which should be the basis of his educational system.

He insisted upon the maintenance of family discipline as a measure of public safety and prosperity.

> "What is a city other than a collection of families? How, then, can a city be well governed, when there is no government in the family; yea, where neither child nor servant is obedient? Likewise, a district; what is it other than a collection of cities, towns, and villages? Where now the families are badly governed, how can a whole district be well governed? Yea, the result must be tyranny, witchcraft, murder, theft, disobedience.....Where now father and mother govern badly,

> And let children have their own way, there can neither city, town, village, district, principality, kingdom, nor empire be well and perfectly governed. For the son will become a father, judge, mayor, prince, king, emperor, preacher, schoolmaster; if he has been badly brought up, the subjects will become like their master, the members like their head." [1]

In the "Small Catechism" we repeatedly find this phrase as it applies to the teaching of certain sections of the Catechism; "as they should be faithfully taught in the family". There are also certain sections of the Catechism to be used by "the Head of the Family" such as Morning and Evening Worship in the Home and Grace at Meals, as well as "The Table of Duties for the Home" which contain passages of Scripture regarding relationships in the home.

That the parents might properly guide the life of the child in religious training and instruction, the foreword of the Large Catechism admonishes the father to question the children and servants at least once a week regarding their knowledge and understanding of the Catechism. If the fathers discovered they were not familiar with its teaching, they were to insist upon the children learning it.

4. The Curriculum of the Schools

The leaders of the Protestant Revolts, in asserting that every person should be able to read and study the Scriptures as a means to salvation, created a desire for elementary schools in the vernacular. Now it behooved these reformers to prepare the Bible and helps for the people. Luther made an outstanding contribution in the religious education of his people by his translation of the Bible. In his effort to make a translation that would be perfectly clear and natural to the common people, he visited with laborers, children and mothers in the home in an attempt to secure colloquial expressions. It is said that it sometimes took him weeks to secure the word he desired, but the result of

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1 Painter, F. V. N., Ibid., p. 144.

his labor stands as the most conspicuous monument in the history of the German language.

Luther prepared two general Catechisms for the purpose of instruction, one for adults and one for children. Aside from this, he produced a hymn book including the most famous of his German hymns. Perhaps the noblest one of these is "Ein Feste Burg" which is very expressive of the Protestant spirit and contains inspiration of a high order. Some of his many hymns have had permanent influence; and this one particularly is known and sung by multitudes of Protestants around the world.

Of all the reformers, none have excelled Luther in the production of materials and helps in the field of religious education. All of these writings were printed in the vernacular and broadcast throughout Germany. Luther thought "every human being, by the time he has reached his tenth year, should be familiar with the Holy Gospels, in which the very core and marrow of his life is bound." It is evident that the basis of his educational structure is Christian education, for the purpose of developing Christian character and Christian life.

The Vernacular Primary Schools were for the instruction of the common people of both sexes. The courses included reading, writing, physical training, music, and religion as well as practical instruction in a trade for the boys and household duties for the girls.

The Latin Secondary School was a preparatory school for the clergy. In these schools the curriculum consisted of Latin, Greek, Hebrew, rhetoric, dialectic, history, science, mathematics, music and gymnastics. Like the humanists of the North, Luther recommended the ancient languages - Latin, Greek, and Hebrew - for the light they would throw on the Scriptures and the patristic writers. Rhetoric and dialectic were very valuable subjects in those days of controversy, and Luther makes a decided advance in advocating history, natural science, vocal and instrumental music, and gymnastic

exercises.

History was studied by the humanists for the purpose of illustrating truth; but Luther advised it also because it was a means of understanding social institutions. The study of nature had a direct bearing on religion, as it revealed "The wonders of divine goodness and the omnipotence of God." It is not surprising that Luther, who was such a devoted lover of music and writer of hymns should include music as a component part of the education of all for, according to him, it "drives away all care and melancholy from the heart." Gymnastics and physical education were of value both for the body and the soul, and they assumed a new place in German thought. Luther writes:

> "So far as I am concerned, if I had children, and could manage it, I would make them learn not only languages and history, but music and the whole of mathematics as well. What is it all but mere child's play? And yet the Greeks trained their children in it and thereby raised a wonderfully capable people, skillful in all sorts of things." [1]

The question commonly confronting Luther was the need for including Latin, Greek, Hebrew and other liberal arts courses. The concensus of opinion hinged on the fact that German would be sufficient, since it was the written and spoken language of the country. Everyone could read the Bible and the word of God.

Luther replied to their inquiries:

> "Surely, were there no other good to be got from the languages, the bare thought that they are a noble and a glorious gift from God, wherewith he has visited and enriched us, almost beyond all other nations, this thought, I say, ought to be a powerful motive, yea, an allurement to cultivate them.... For the prince of darkness is shrewd enough to know that, where the languages flourish, there his power will soon be so rent and torn that he cannot readily repair it. But now, since he cannot keep them from expanding

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1 Mac Giffert, Arthur Cushman, Ibid., p. 270.

> into a vigorous growth, and from bearing fruit, he is at work, devising how he may render them dwarfed and sickly, if so be that they may decay and die of themselves." [1]

> "Much as we love the gospel, let us hold fast to the languages.... And let us remember that we shall not be able to keep the gospel without the languages. The languages are the sheath in which this sword of the Spirit is hid. They are the casket in which this treasure is kept. They are the vessels in which this drink is contained; they are the storehouse in which this food is laid by; and, as the gospel itself shows, they are the baskets in which these loaves and fishes and fragments are preserved. Yea, if we should so err as to let the languages go we shall not be able to speak or write correctly either Latin or German." [2]

The University offered training for the higher service in Church and State.

§. Methods and Value of Competent Instructors

The methods that Luther advocated were decidedly in advance of those of the narrower humanistic circle. He would take into consideration the interest and rationality of the pupil and attempt to utilize their natural activity and wherever possible make use of concrete examples in teaching. He would teach languages less by grammar and more by practice, for, "while printed words are dead, spoken words are living; on the printed page they are not so forcible as when uttered by the soul of man through the mouth." [3]

It is his recognition of the need of proper method that causes him to pay tribute to the teacher:

> "A diligent, devoted school teacher, preceptor, or any person, no matter what his title, who faithfully trains and teaches boys, can never receive an adequate reward, and no money is sufficient to pay the debt you owe him..... For I am convinced that, next to preaching, this is the most useful, and greatly the best labor in all the world, and, in fact, I am sometimes in doubt which of the positions is the more honorable.... My friend, nowhere

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1 Cubberly, Ellwood P., Readings in the History of Education. p. 242.
2 Schaff, Philip, Ibid., p. 514.
3 Graves, Frank Pierrepont, A History of Education. N.Y.: Macmillan Co., 1918. Vol. II, p. 187.

on earth can you find a higher virtue than is displayed by the stranger, who takes your children and gives them a faithful training, - a labor which parents very seldom perform, even for their own offspring." [1]

C. THE CATECHISM AS A TEXT-BOOK

1 The Short Catechism

Reference has been made to the fact of the awakening to the deplorable condition of Saxony during the Saxon visitation. Luther was conviced of the fact that if the reforms for which he stood were ever to be carried through, it would be only when the people fully appreciated and understood the situation and responded in an intelligent and understanding way.

It was with this idea of training men and women, as well as youth, that Luther published in 1529 two of his influencial works, the Long and The Short Catechisms.

The Short Catechism was wholly devoid of polemics and dogmas in technical terms, and states in a most simple and concise way the faith and duty of Christians. This Catechism was used as a text-book in the school; and because of its superlative merit, it has formed the basis of the religious education of the youth of Germany as well as of Lutheran youth in other lands.

In the preface Luther states that the result of the Saxon visitation was the immediate reason for writing the Catechism: for his real object was to prepare a uniform teaching of the Creed, Lord's Prayer and sacraments, so they would be understood by the common people.

He felt that people should be free to select another form if they preferred, but that there would be a benefit in always using the form chosen. The pastor should use only the one form, teaching a section or sentence at a time and explaining the contents. When it had been memorized and every word understood, then they could proceed in the same manner to the next section.

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1 Cubberly, Ellwood P., Readings in the History of Education, pp 243,244.

The pastors were also charged with the responsibility of reminding the parents of their duty and responsibility in sending the children to school, and making it very plain to them that they sinned if they neglected it. The leaders could not compel youth to believe, but they must so instruct the multitude that they would be able to distinguish between right and wrong conduct towards those with whom they daily came in contact, and to know and obey the laws of the city.

In the past, people had been compelled to do things because of fear and authority of the Pope; now that freedom of choice entered in, the people must be led to see the need and the blessing, and be prompted to seek God and partake of the Sacraments from choice.

The first part of the Short Catechism is the Ten Commandments, as they should be taught in the family. Luther referred to them as "The first table of God's law - love to God;" The Apostles Creed, as "The First Articles of Faith". There are also certain forms of family prayer and religious instruction given, with blessing and grace at meal times. After this, certain Scriptures set forth the duties of the pastors, husbands, wives, parents, children, servants, and widows. In the later edition of the Catechism, in 1531, a marriage service, a baptismal service, and forms of private confession with instruction to the priest as to how to deal with the penitent was added.

Luther was taught to fear God and think of him as a cruel judge from whom he found it most difficult to win favor and deserve free pardon. In the Catechism in his explanation of the Lord's Prayer the tenderness, kindness and understanding of Luther is portrayed in his relationship of God and man. Note his explanation of the sentence, "Our Father who art in heaven."

> "God would hereby tenderly invite us to
> believe that he is truly our Father we are truly his

> children, so that we may ask of him with all cheerfulness and confidence, as dear children ask of their dear father."[1]

Luther continues throughout this Catechism to explain in a simple manner each sentence, injecting into it not only the idea of relationship to God but the obedience that must be given him.

This Catechism was printed in many editions, and used in the schools, churches and homes. It is impossible to estimate the enormous influence created by this text-book. Luther once declared that he would be willing for all his books and writings to be destroyed if he could save the Catechism. One year after printing the Catechism Luther wrote to the Elector and referred to the way in which the Catechism was being received and used. He ventured the assertion that the youth understood the Bible better than the monks and nuns did under the old regime. He summed it up in the words:

> "It is a right Bible for the laity."[2]

2. The Long Catechism

The Long Catechism was published in January 1529. It was prepared for the purpose of supplementing the German mass. The Catechism begins with an exhortation to all Christians, but especially to all pastors and preachers, for a thorough study of its contents. Luther attempted to eliminate the carelessness and indolence of the pastors and the Christian people; and exhorted them to accept the privileges and opportunities that come to a Christian who has the power of choice.

His final exhortation to the people was to read, converse, meditate, and practice the Catechism; for he was confident of the fact that such familiarity with the Scripture could provide the counsel, guidance, and

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1 Lenker, Ibid., p. 25.

2 Smith, Preserved, Ibid., p. 236.

comfort needed by every individual.

In the foreword Luther relates how he planned the Catechism especially for the instruction of the children and the uneducated, the contents of which represented the minimum of knowledge for a Christian. Luther was convinced that those who did not have a thorough knowledge and mastery of the contents should be denied the Sacraments.

Therefore, in order to discover that children had been properly instructed in the schools and churches, the father should designate a time once a week in the home when the children should have a thorough drill, in order to determine if the child had been taught the things they ought to know. Luther insisted that every Christian should know and understand the Ten Commandments, the Lord's Prayer,and the Apostles Creed.

The Commandments teach what the individual must do; and for this reason they must be written on the hearts of men. The Commandments naturally fall into two divisions: the first on man's duty to God, and the second on man's duty to his neighbors. In consideration of the first three Commandments, it is emphasized that the first Commandment establishes faith as a basis; on this must be built an honor to the name of God and the strengthening of the spiritual life.

The last seven Commandments reveal very distinctly the social relationship of man. The fourth Commandment,"Honor thy father and thy mother", deserves thoughtful consideration. The youth were admonished to be gracious, courteous, and thoughtful, and in every way strive to aid and serve in a humble and reverent way in the home, thus bringing into existence Christian homes where happiness, love, friendship, and unity shall reign. Likewise, the parents had not only a temporal but a spiritual obligation to their children.

After this discourse on the home, the circle widens and we are in the realm of society where patience, love, and kindness must reign supreme,

and the good name and reputation of man must be established. In the discourse on the sixth Commandment, Luther took occasion to exalt marriage and the establishment of the Christian home. He advocated chaste lives in act, thought, and word if the homes would be established in honor and love.

The seventh Commandment on stealing was interpreted in the broader sense; not only did it refer to taking what did not belong to one, but to including unfaithfulness and dishonesty.

The Second Part of the Catechism deals with "The Apostles Creed". It is divided into three articles: the first, concerning the Father, explains creation; the second, concerning the Son, explains redemption; and the third, regarding the Holy Spirit, explains sanctification.

The Third Part of the Catechism refers to the Lord's Prayer, of which Luther says, "There is no more noble prayer in the world". Obedience and earnestness must be prevalent for a life of prayer and devotion, then the need which presses and compels one brings one to the Father as a child goes to an earthly parent, for only God can supply the help and strength that must come into life.

Luther closed his Catechism with a discourse on the Sacrament of Baptism and the Lord's Supper. These two sacraments had been instituted by Christ and every Christian should know why the sacraments were observed and the preparation of an individual who would partake of the two.

The Lord's Supper was discussed from the standpoint of essence and blessings and the power and blessings resulting upon the receiver. Then the appeal was made that every Christian would desire grace and consolation, and now that compulsion of the Papacy was removed, it was hoped that desire and love of God would prompt the choice.

It is by means of these Catechisms that Luther relates the home,

the school, and the church on his Christo-centric basis.

D. CO-WORKERS WITH LUTHER

1. Philip Melanchthon

Philip Melanchthon was called to the chair of Greek in the University of Wittenberg, and at the time of his introductory lecture he captivated Martin Luther. This resulted in a warm and lasting friendship and intimacy. This relationship of the two has been well portrayed by D'Autigne in the following parallel:

> "Luther possessed warmth, vigor, strength; Melanchthon, clearness, discretion, and mildness. Luther gave energy to Melanchthon, Melanchthon moderated Luther..... Luther did much by power; Melanchthon perhaps did no less by following a gentler and more tranquil method. Both were upright, openhearted, generous; both ardently loved the word of eternal life, and obeyed it with a fidelity and devotion that governed their whole lives." [1]

Through his association with Luther Melanchthon was soon turned toward theology, and he lectured on the New Testament, Old Testament, and dogmatics as well as the Greek and Latin classics. While he is generally known to history for his theological works and his part in the Reformation, his influence upon the education of the times was probably even greater.

The organization, content and method which Luther advocated for the educational system of Germany was formulated and worked out in actual institutions by Melanchthon. He has been given the title "Praeceptor of Germany", and without question the honor was warranted.

Wittenberg was the center from which radiated these educational influences, first of Luther and later of Melanchthon. Melanchthon was a most inspiring and widely influential teacher; his instruction had a marked effect upon the thousands of students who attended Wittenberg, drawn by his reputation. Familiar with the educational viewpoint of Melanchthon and acquainted with his text-books and methods, they helped to carry his

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1 Painter, F. V. N., Ibid., pp. 149,150.

ideals into all Germany. Melanchthon always proved a friend to them and gave them individual encouragement and aid.

The educational influence of Melanchthon is worthy of attention in five different directions: (1) training of scholars who later became teachers in the schools of Germany; (2) preparing the Visitation Articles and making direct suggestions for the erection of schools, beginning with the modest requirements of Latin, religion, and music; (3) organizing of schools over Germany; (4) influencing the German universities, some of which he organized and others he reorganized; and (5) writing of text books for the schools.

Melanchthon drew up a Constitution and arranged the curricula for the first Protestant High School at Eisleban and Nurenberg in 1525. In 1527 the Elector of Saxony requested him to head a commission of three to travel over Germany and report on its educational needs. This was probably the earliest of the school surveys. In 1528 the "Report" or "Book of Visitation" was published. It was the first step toward a state school system. His main thesis was organized around three points:

> "In the first place, the teachers must be careful to teach the children Latin only, not German, nor Greek, nor Hebrew, as some have here-to-fore done, burdening the poor children with such a multiplicity of pursuits, that are not only unproductive, but positively injurious..... In the second place teachers should not burden the children with too many books, but should rather avoid a needless variety. Thirdly, it is indispensible that the children be classified into distinct groups." [1]

The first group as suggested by Luther should consist of the children who were learning to read. They would be taught the manual prepared by Melanchthon. It contained the alphabet, the Lutheran Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and other prayers. After mastering this material, the

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1 Cubberly, Readings in the History of Education, p. 247.

pupil would study Donatus and Cato: Donatus for a reading book, and Cato for a book from which they would learn words and phrases to use in conversation.

The second group consisted of the children who had learned to read, and were ready to study grammar. This group would study music and Aesop's Fables. The latter would be interpreted by the school master, and then reviewed by him at a later date. After becoming familiar with Aesop, they would study Terance. The instructor would teach and review grammar, for it was considered that no greater injury could befall learning and arts than for youths to grow up in the ignorance of grammar. Specific attention and study was given to the Scriptures, the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, the Commandments, the Psalms, Proverbs, Gospels, and Epistles.

When the boys had become proficient in grammar they were promoted and formed into a third group. They would begin the day by the study of music, and then devote their attention to a study of Virgil, Ovid, and Cicero. In course of time, after they had been sufficiently practised in grammar, they would begin the study of logic and rhetoric. The boys in the second and third groups were required to write compositions each week, either in the form of letters or of verses. They were also rigidly confined to Latin conversation, and the teachers were required to speak only the Latin so far as possible when with the boys.

This educational movement outlined by Luther and formulated and put into effect by Melanchthon, affected for the most part only the secondary Latin schools and the universities, and often times it was severely hindered by the narrow and dogmatic spirit of the theological controversies of the times. Thus theology became the central subject in the higher institutions of learning, and gave to the work of the lower schools a marked religious character. In the lower schools religion became the chief subject of the

course of study, and the Catechism ranked as the most important of text books.

Throughout Protestant Germany, the pastor or the sexton on Sunday afternoons explained to the congregation and to the younger people the principal passages of the Catechism. In 1530 Melanchthon referred to this practice as a peculiarly Protestant institution everywhere cherished. According to the Catechism, the parents were expected to drill their children upon the lessons of the week; but many were indifferent and unwilling to do it, and the duty fell upon the sexton, who one day during the week gave instruction in the Catechism and church music.

These schools throughout Germany later became the gymnasium, which was the central school system of Germany and has remained until the present time as the best type of secondary school in Germany.

2. John Bugenhagen

In 1520 John Bugenhagen was attracted by Luther to the University of Wittenberg, and within a few years he became professor of theology. Serving in the capacity of professor and pastor, one of his first actions was the restoration of the town school which had fallen into decay. He devoted much of his time to the reorganization of churches throughout the cities and states of Northern Germany. Wherever he visited and assisted with the church, by his general "church order" he made ample provision for schools.

As Melanchthon was the leader in the educational movement in the secondary schools, so Bugenhagen was father of the Protestant volkschule. He introduced elementary schools in the cities and villages where all children should receive instruction in Catechism and in reading and writing the mother tongue. Bugenhagen was also especially interested in providing training for the girls and young women: he considered the education of mothers the most effective means for the moral elevation of the people.

He also was instrumental in establishing the so-called Lektorien, a kind of university for the adults.

Through Bugenhagen's "church order" for Hamburg, he organized a German school for boys and one for girls in every parish, as well as a simple Latin school with a rector and seven teachers. The curriculum of the Latin school which included Latin, Greek, Hebrew, dialectic, rhetoric, mathematics, catechism, and singing, seems to coincide exactly with the Lutheran pattern.

Several years later the church order of Brunswick provided two classical schools, two vernacular schools for the boys, and four for the girls, so arranged that all children could conveniently reach one of the schools.

This school system spread, and within six to eight years many cities and also some entire states of Germany had established institutions of learning modeled after Luther's plan and put into effect by the efforts of John Bugenhagen. This same educational system was introduced into Denmark.

While some have considered that the increase in elementary instruction under civil control was the most important educational outcome of the Reformation, the effect was also evident in the secondary schools, whose ideals had been largely fixed by humanism. As the Reformation advanced, the Latin schools and the gymnasium of Germany came under the control of the princes and the state, rather than the church, and gradually became the back-bone of the state school system.

S U M M A R Y

Martin Luther was born of peasant stock in the little village of Möhra, in the year of 1483. His father was an honest, hard-working man, and desired for his son the best education that could be provided.

As a child, Luther attended the public school at Mansfeld; and at thirteen entered the school of the Nüllbrudern at Magdeburg. After one year, he entered the school of St. George the dragon killer at Eisenach, and later matriculated at the University of Erfurt. He was graduated from the latter and began the study of law, when he decided to enter the Augustinian monastery.

It was difficult for Luther to find the peace and satisfaction he desired in his spiritual life, and under the direction and supervision of John Stanpitz he was placed in the University of Wittenberg to teach Aristotelian ethics. He was dissatisfied during his professorship and later returned to Erfurt where he began lecturing on Peter Lombard's sentences. It was during this time that he made his memorable trip to Rome. While we do not know the immediate effect of this trip upon his life, we are assured that he attacked the problems of the Reformation in a more courageous and successful way because of it.

He returned to the University of Erfurt in 1512 as a lecturer in theology. It was while serving as professor that he nailed the twenty-five theses to the door, and thus began his prolonged debate and activity with the papal powers. Interviews and debates followed: publications stating Luther's views were published, and it was not long until the three Primary Works of Luther were heralded abroad and read by large numbers.

The Diet of Worms was a momentous time, but Luther stood courageously and dauntlessly before the Emperor, and as a result was put under a ban of the Empire. As he was on his way home he was seized and placed in the

Wartburg as a prisoner. During his imprisonment, he translated the New Testament; and no sooner had he left the castle than he actively participated in the Peasants' Revolt and the reconstruction of the Church. He published the "Deutsche Messe", the Long and the Short Catechism, and a Hymn Book, and translated the Bible.

The Protestant Reformation in Germany produced changes in the educational system. There was a movement from collective judgment and responsibility to individual judgment, responsibility and participation. It required the work of a genius to shape the educational system for Germany, and to mold public opinion in its favor.

The church visitation of Saxony brought the deplorable educational need of the country most forcibly to the attention of Luther, and he began to consider ways and means of meeting the situation.

The educational ideals of Luther involved a state-supported system of universal education, irrespective of social class or sex. The compulsory attendance requirement established a correlation of the school and home. Luther looked upon the home as a place where discipline and religious instruction laid the foundation for Christian citizenship.

The Vernacular Primary Schools were organized for the instruction of the Common people, and the course included reading, writing, physical training, music, and religion. The Latin Secondary School was a preparatory institution for the clergy, and arranged for a more advanced course, while the University afforded training for the higher service in church and state.

In the way of a special contribution to the Christian content of the curriculum, Luther prepared the two Catechisms. The superlative merit of which can only be measured by the fact that they were not only used as a text book in the schools during Luther's time, but they have remained the

basis of the religious education of the youth of Germany and other lands.

Although it was not possible for Luther to formulate plans and to organize the school system of Germany, it is most interesting to know that the method and content was actually formulated and carried out by Philip Melanchthon and John Bugenhagen, so that many institutions of learning over Germany were modeled after Luther's plan.

Thus Luther, the leader of the Reformation in Germany, through his educational ideals of state controlled schools, universal education, compulsory attendance, and Christian content, made a contribution of religious education to youth that has been second to none in the educational realm of the world.

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