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An interpretation of the history of religious education in Sweden

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Dissertation

AN INTERPRETATION OF THE HISTORY
OF RELIGIOUS EDUCATION
IN SWEDEN

by

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION (Orientation)

To write a detailed account of the History of Religious Education in Sweden or even a part of that history within the limits of one volume requires not only extensive and ramified research but careful selection of material also. And an interpretation of this history must be based upon such material and research. In Sweden as well as in other countries such a task is a kind of pioneering in education.

Strictly all History of Religious Education in Sweden until most recent times, except a stray prospectus here and there, is briefly and loosely scattered under general culture in secular history and as material of rather secondary importance in church history. There are numerous good works on aspects of Religious Education notably by late Archbishop Nathan Soderblom, Dr. Manfred Bjorkquist (the outstanding leader in the youth movement in present-day Sweden), Bishop J. A. Eklund (a very active member on the psalmbook committee 1936 and 1937 and a writer of psalms, several of which are very popular). But there is not a comprehensive standard History of Religious Education in Sweden; neither in one volume nor in several.

This dissertation however promises only an interpretation of Religious Education in Sweden from and in-

cluding the Reformation Period to the beginning of more recent times. Through this interpretation runs also a kind of total account of a dominant idea (a reconciliation of the reality of religious faith and natural life in its immediacy, a synthesis of Religion and Science).¹ The empirical approach and realism come through gradually. Realism includes both ideals and facts, spirit and matter.

Primarily for the two following reasons is this account valuable: 1) A broader orientation in Religious Education in Sweden is timely and 2) an attempt to interpret the History of Religious Education in Sweden on a more comprehensive scale is new. This account is both timely and new.

1. Archbishop of Uppsala, Primate of Sweden, Erling Eidem ---"The Swedish Church," an article in "Sweden, A Wartime Survey," edited and published in Sweden with the assistance of public authorities, printed in the United States of America, American Book-Stratford, Inc., New York, Copies of this material have been filed with the Department of Justice, Washington, D.C., where the Registration of the American-Swedish News Exchange, Inc., 630 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y., as an agent of certain foreign principals, listed therein, is available for public inspection, (the fact of registration should not be considered as approval by the United States Government of the contents of this material), pages 183-189. On page 186 the Archbishop says, "The line of demarcation between secular culture and Christian spiritual life, however, has never been drawn so sharply here as in most European countries. Thus the need of Christian instruction in the public schools has never been seriously contested. During the most recent years, especially since the outbreak of the present war, there has been a noticeable improvement in the relations between the Church and movements which earlier had been rather foreign to Christian views and purposes." Concerning this dominant idea see also pages of this dissertation.

Previous to the latter part of the 19th century Religious Education was presented largely in terms too adult for children. Besides it was largely learning and memorizing for school (unnatural coercion, uninteresting, scholastic and formal).² The leading textbooks were the Catechism and the Bible History (a rather complete list of both of these books are given in the text proper). Much of this situation prevailed practically until the turn of the 20th century.

The 16th century leaders in Religious Education were Gustaf Vasa (the king), Olavus Petri (the reformer),³ Laurentius Petri (Petri's brother, Sweden's first Lutheran bishop, a student who sat at the feet of Luther and Melanchthon), Laurentius Andreae (a translator of the New Testament and archbishop of Sweden), Laurentius Petri Gothus (court preacher, professor at Uppsala and archbishop).

A study by itself of Religious Education in Sweden in the 17th century, the classical period,⁴ would hinge on such men as Gustaf II Adolf, chancellor Axel Oxenstierna, bishops Johannes Rudbeckius and Laurentius Paulinus, Johan Messenius (historian), Olof Rudbeck (son of Rudbeckius, a psalm writer and a famous scientist who

2. Too a priori and deductive.

3. Olavus Petri studied at German universities, received his baccalaureate and master degrees at Wittenberg, was very much influenced by Luther.

4. Ibid., pages 184-185.

discovered the lymph vessels in the human body), Jesper Svedberg (bishop and psalm writer). It was during this period that the Swedish people became quite firmly united around the strict doctrines and the spirit of the Lutheran Church, and it was in these that the entire nation was "sternly disciplined."⁵

The 18th century educators were generally of the same spirit; and with very few exceptions like Karl von Linne (Karl Linnaeus) and Emmanuel Swedenborg, they were poets and preachers. They wrote psalms and postils. In a special study of religious educators of this period the following would receive considerable space: Haqvin Spegel (archbishop, psalm writer and active member in larger works such as translation of the Bible, revision of the catechism, the handbook, church laws and the psalmbook), Erik Mikael Fant (historian, psalm writer and a member of the psalmbook committee of 1811-1819), Anders Nohrborg (court preacher, devotional writer and author of a most popular postil, which became a powerful force in the entire nation), Andreas Rhyzelius (a bishop and Sweden's first real philosopher), Olof Kolmodin (devotional and psalm writer), Anders Henrik Forssenius (author of the first method of procedure in confirmation instruction, 1784). Mention should also be made here of the confirmation rite in the handbook of 1811. Others who serve more directly the purpose of this dissertation are men-

⁵. Ibid., page 184.

tioned in the text. Henrik Schartau, for example, who early in his ministry was influenced by the Hernhutistic movement, is given special consideration, primarily because of his profound influence as a teacher, his famous catechism and his rationality as a spiritual man, his reasoning concerning spiritual things (a spiritual-psychological approach).

(But the beginnings of some deeper understanding of child nature did not come into education until after the middle of the 19th century, approximately the year 1842, the birthday of the public school in Sweden.)

Archbishop Eidem says, "Later on pietism came in from Germany. During the period of Enlightenment⁶ the Church was weakened. Where the influence of the Church today is strongest --- in the South, the West and the North of Sweden --- religious life shows traces of the pietistic revivals in the early part of the 19th century."⁷

In this dissertation biographical, historical and educational material is found under the following major headings: 1) The Reformation Period in Sweden (1521-1611; 2) the psychological and pietistic movements, beginnings

6. The 18th century was the age of Illumination. "Everything was measured by the cool, sober intellect. Nothing but the useful and practical was considered worth while. People were so rational, so practically rational, that finally times became unbearably dull." Carl Grimberg--- "A History of Sweden," translation by C.W.Foss, Augustana Book Concern, Rock Island, Illinois, 1935, page 360. See also C.T.Odhner --- "Svensk Historia," Stkhlm, P.A. Norstedt & Soners Forlag, 1904. pages 261-263.

7. "Sweden a Wartime Survey," page 185. Henric Schartan (1757-1825), one of the early 19th century pietists, in-

of realism and the empirical approach in Religious Education in Sweden (1611-1895); 3) Religious Education and a more orderly school system up to recent History of Religious Education in Sweden (approximately 1938).

Religious Education in Sweden has over the centuries avoided extremes and developed farther away from them; for example, away from repressiveness and carelessness. It recognizes the dangers in extremism. The theology of the church is a corrective. The philosophy of the public school is wholesomely progressive. And the church and the public school are internally related.

More specifically, Religious Education in Sweden is conscious of the values of physical training, child study, coeducation, adult education, comparative religion, social guidance and discipline, discovery, reconstruction, synthesis, biological experiences, the empirical method, the dynamic revelations of God's purpose and activity.

Sweden's experience in Religious Education ought to bear quite eminently upon Religious Education here for several reasons; but particularly because the relationship between church and public school here is in the process of being reconstructed on a higher level. Today here week-day Religious Education is being aggressively promoted in many towns and cities.

fluenced the History of Religious Education in Sweden very much. His special significance is clearly indicated in the second chapter of this dissertation.

For this reason men of necessary background and ability should be encouraged and trained to carry on extensive research also in the field of Religious Education in Sweden. Over the years many volumes of scholarly value in Religious Education in Sweden should be added to the library of educational contributions. Perhaps a formal organization could be created for the purpose of studying Religious Education in Sweden and publishing worthy results from this study.

In tracing rather carefully Religious Education in Sweden, as in many other countries, even from primitive life (thousands of years before Christ), but more particularly from the time of the ecclesiastical transformation, one comes to see quite clearly the following: Out of the true historial development of Religious Education in Sweden comes a wholesome interpretation of life as well as a more workable philosophical system; even an all or multi dimensional way of looking at the sacredness and development of life. One comes to see the dominant idea given a general account in this dissertation; that the source of life is and lies in the internal relation of spiritual ideas and tangible substances and that in this relation on various levels in history and in degrees between such levels life itself can be interpreted in both its transcendent and immanent aspects and manifestations. One can say that out of the immanent issue the transcendent manifestations and because

of the transcendent the immanent are possible. The transcendent and the immanent could not be without each other. Together they are and move on, even into higher syntheses. But their synthesis at any time is neither the one nor the other. It is entirely different, but could not be at all without them. To illustrate this point an illustration very similar to one of Pontus Vikner's might be used here.⁸ Consider the relation between pure light and the prism colors. The one could not be satisfactorily explained without the other; could not even be without the other. Yet pure light is not one of the colors, nor several of the colors, nor all of them. Though it could not be without all the colors, it is nevertheless more than all of them. It is different from all of them, separate or all together; and in respect to the colors it is an overvalue, the dynamic source of life (over-self, supreme self). From this inward relation between the pure light and the prism colors issue a synthesis that is neither the one nor the other and could not be without them.

In a very brief and summary way the plan of this dissertations is a combination of the interpretative matter with the historical and biographical presentations (descriptive in nature). The method in the main is furnishing data (empirically) around the dominant idea (a synthesis of

⁸. Pontus Vikner (1837-1888) --- "Kultur och Filosofi," Stkhlm, 1869, P.A.Norstedt och Soners Forlag, pages 65-66, and cf. page 114.

religion and science which gradually takes on a noticeable actuality when life becomes interpreted not so much in terms more or less partial, but more in its totality), as rather clearly seen in the life and works of leading thinkers, men outstanding in their interpretation of life and human experience.

The specific aim of the next chapter is to interpret and portray the religious educational contributions of the ecclesiastical transformation in Sweden (1521-1611) particularly in and through Olavus Petri and Gustaf Vasa.

CHAPTER II
REFORMATION PERIOD
IN SWEDEN
(1521-1611)

In the Reformation Period there was a change in both symbolization of life and in teaching techniques. There was a shift in emphasis, namely, from one on the church as an institution to that on the Book (the Holy Scriptures). This is felt in utterances expressed by the great Swedish reformer, Olavus Petri; such as, "A preacher must know the Scriptures."¹ Olavus Petri strongly emphasized faith based upon the Word of God.²

Simultaneously with the change in ecclesiastical matters other changes also took place; such as those in

1. Olavus Petri (1493-1552) was the leader of the ecclesiastical transformation in Sweden. The two pivotal men in this transformation were Gustaf Vasa and Olavus Petri. Other men should be included as outstanding in this period, such as Laurentius Andreae, archdeacon at Strangnas and later on Gustaf Vasa's chancellor, who translated a good part of the New Testament. See C.A.Cornelius' book on "Svenska Kyrkans Historia," Stkholm, page 185. (But H. Schuck, one of the great historians in Swedish history, favors Olavus Petri as chief editor of the translation of the New Testament. See his book on "Vara Aldsta Reformations skrifter och deras Forfattare," in "Historisk Tidskrift," 14, Stkholm, 1894.) This point will be treated more fully later on page 23. Olavus Petri's brother, Laurentius Petri, archbishop of Sweden, must also be mentioned here.

2. Works --- "Olavus Petri Samlade Skrifter --- utg. af Sveriges Kristliga Studentrorelse under redaktion af Bengt Hesselman, med Litteraturhistoriska inledningar af Knut B. Westman och J. Sahlgren, I-IV, Uppsala, 1914-1917, page

language, literature, economics and government. Obviously changes on the topmost level (in Religion, Theology and Religious Education) affect and alter the structure and the fluctuations of life on other levels. (Scriptural revelations in the Reformation Period were considered as strict absolutes (a priori); not as an emergence from high spiritual levels or as experience in spiritual development and guidance, purpose and activity (dynamic revelations); but as a communication of the infallible truth to which nothing could ever be added.)

In the church itself during the Reformation Period there was a drastic change. The church changed from a wealthy, obedient and rather irrational church to one, humanly considered, largely dependent on the intellectual leadership of Gustaf Vasa, the king, and Olavus Petri, the reformer and court preacher. The latter was the most effective preacher in the whole Swedish Reformation, but he would have been quite helpless in accomplishing an ecclesiastical transformation without Gustaf Vasa. These two were complementary to each other and from them issued a power both transcendent and immanent that transformed both the state and the church. Conrad Bergendoff, Ph.D. (Chicago University), president of Augustana College and Theological Seminary, is the author of a very scholarly book on Olavus Petri. He says, "But

474. A copy of the Works is in the Harvard College Library, Harvard University, namely, the two volume edition, published in Uppsala 1914-1915. See also GR---Gustavus I:s Registratur---, I-XXIII, Stkhlm, 1861-1905, volume VI, page 84, Gustaf Vasa's definition of God's pure Word and also good old Christian customs. GR is also in the Harv. College Library.

his (Petri's) work would have been impossible without the king, who built a new state and remodelled the ecclesiastical structure. Though the king's policies during this decade³ were destructive to the church, they made possible, at the same time, the constructive labors of the reformation. To understand the latter, it is necessary first to trace the policy of Gustav Vasa in regard to the church and see its effect upon both State and Church."⁴

The immediate background of this reformation is the experience of the Kalmar Unionen and Engelbrekt. The union was organized 1397 at Kalmar and existed during the fifteenth century among the three Scandinavian countries. The leading power was Denmark. But both the state and the church of Sweden violently resisted this power, which in particular the Engelbrekt uprising sufficiently proves (1434).

For some time however the "dissatisfaction with Denmark's supremacy" attracted very little attention. As long as Queen Margaret ruled Denmark no one really complained. She "inspired respect." An old chronicle says, "Not soon will there be born another woman like

3. The decade 1521-1531.

4. Conrad Bergendoff --- "Olavus Petri and the Ecclesiastical Transformation in Sweden," (1521-1552), a study of the Swedish Reformation, the Macmillan Company, 1928, pages 1-2. This book is a valuable survey of the Reformation Period in Sweden. Its bibliography shows an extensive range. It contains 264 pages including bibliography and index.

her."⁵

But things changed after Margaret's death 1412.

Grimberg says,

It was different when her grandnephew, Eric of Pomerania, whom she had induced all three kingdoms to choose as her successor, began his reign ---. Margaret had regarded herself as a Dane, that was serious; Eric was a German and acted as such, that was more dangerous. Again a large number of Germans crowded into Sweden. They came as the king's bailiffs to rule the Swedish people. This continued until at last Danes and Germans ruled over all the important parts of the kingdom. It was then that the saying arose that the maxim of the union kings was: 'From Sweden your food, from Norway your clothing, from Denmark your defense.'⁶

Then came the uprising under Engelbrekt Engelbrektssons's courageous leadership. Indignation boiled over.

5. Carl Grimberg --- "Sveriges Historia for Folkskolan," fifth edition, Stkholm, P. A. Norstedt & Soners Forlag, 1916, pages 68-69. See also "A History of Sweden," translated and adapted for American teachers, students and readers by C.W. Foss, Augustana Book Concern, Rock Island, Illinois, copyright 1935 by Augustana Book Concern, page 88. Dr. Carl Grimberg, of Djursholm, Sweden, is one of Sweden's most eminent historians. See also C.T. Odhner's "Larobok i Faderneslandets Historia" for Hogskolan, P. A. Norstedt & Soners Forlag, Stkholm, 1893, page 26.

6. Carl Grimberg --- "Sveriges Historia for Folkskolan," Fifth Edition, Stkholm, P. A. Norstedt & Soners Forlag, 1916, pages 69-73. "A History of Sweden," translated by Foss, page 88.

The Swedish lords were indignant, but it was the Swedish miners and peasants under the lead of the mine owner Engelbrekt Engelbrektsson that took action. When they refused to give ear to the complaints of his subjects against the tyranny and extortion of his bailiffs, the miners and the peasants of Dalecarlia and Westmanland rose in a body under Engelbrekt and drove out the tormentors from their castles. The peasantry in other provinces joined in the uprising, and in four months the kingdom was cleared of foreign bailiffs. To such power had the peasantry now risen that Engelbrekt could compel the great Swedish lords who sat in the King's council to renounce their allegiance to king Eric. And at the first Swedish Riksdag (Parliament), held at Arboga in 1435, the peasantry forced through an enactment that Engelbrekt should continue to govern Sweden as regent of the realm.⁷

This was one time the Swedish peasantry took a definite stand and directed the government and became a power in its affairs. From now they had a chance to make themselves felt in the Riksdag.⁸

The following results should be noted in an interpretation of the History of Religious Education in Sweden because they point to a larger unifying spirit:

He (Engelbrekt) united all classes (the peasants, the nobles and the clergy in exerting themselves for the welfare of their country) and all provinces in the service ---. In sentiment and by conviction the Swedes had become one people. Before this they had been forced to unite by pressure from above. By

7. Ibid., page 89.

8. Ibid., page 89.

their war of liberation the Swedish commons had saved themselves from the threat of serfdom. In the Danish islands the peasantry had at this time succumbed to serfdom. But thanks to Engelbrekt, Sweden is one of the few countries in which the peasants were never serfs.⁹

Hence, Engelbrekt was instrumental in leading the Swedish people to the beginning of their national unity and independence. Ever since that time Sweden has been a united nation.¹⁰

Though the antiunion party had appreciably gained in momentum, it was nevertheless unsuccessful in its attempts to gain full independence. But when Christian II became king of Denmark and Norway, the Swedes definitely refused to accept him as their king which directly led to further complications. The Swedish archbishop, Gustaf Trolle, who favored Christian II, was deposed, and his castle at Uppsala was destroyed. And once more war was an open affair with the Danish king. Again the Swedes were successful, but not for long. By careful scheming the Danish king was able to capture six gifted men and carry them off to Denmark, among whom was Gustaf Vasa. Finally in 1520 he conquered the entire country and celebrated his victory with a massacre (the Stockholm Blood-Bath), in which

9. Ibid., page 89. Also Odhner's *Larobok i Faderneslandets Historia samt Grunddragen af Norges och Danmarks Historia for skolans Hogre Klasser*, Stkhlm, 1904, pages 79-83.

10. Odhner --- LFH samt GNDH, pages 81-83.

eighty persons were killed, two bishops and a large number of the nobility. The archbishop was now an ally of Denmark and did not speak against the massacre. On the whole the prelates had favored the union.¹¹

But Gustaf Vasa (1496-1560) escaped from prison by way of Lubeck and came back to Sweden in 1520. This escape became a famous chapter in Swedish history and literature and is found in histories and readers used in the elementary and secondary schools. In 1523 Gustaf Vasa was chosen king and Sweden became completely independent.¹²

The following paragraph gives the conditions in Sweden at the beginning of Gustaf Vasa's reign, on the basis of which he formulated his policies:

Gustavus Vasa was the founder of the modern Swedish monarchy. Through his War of Liberation he had restored the political independence of the country. He was also to secure for the country its religious, or ecclesiastical independence. This he effected by introducing the Reformation, which Martin Luther had inaugurated in Germany. After the long civil wars against the union kings, Sweden and the Swedish people were completely impoverished. But the church had accumulated immense wealth in gold and silver vessels, ornaments, and rich vestments, and owned

11. Carl Grimberg --- Sveriges Historia for Folkskolan, Stkholm, P.A.Norstedt & Soners Forlag 1916, pages 89-93.

12. Ibid., pages 98-101. A brief description of the war for independence. (Gustaf Vasa, Gustaf Eriksson Vasa, was born May 12, 1496, on Lindholmen estate, Uppland. He was the son of the Sture family and became the founder of modern Sweden. Undoubtedly the name Vasa



Courtesy of American-Swedish News Exchange

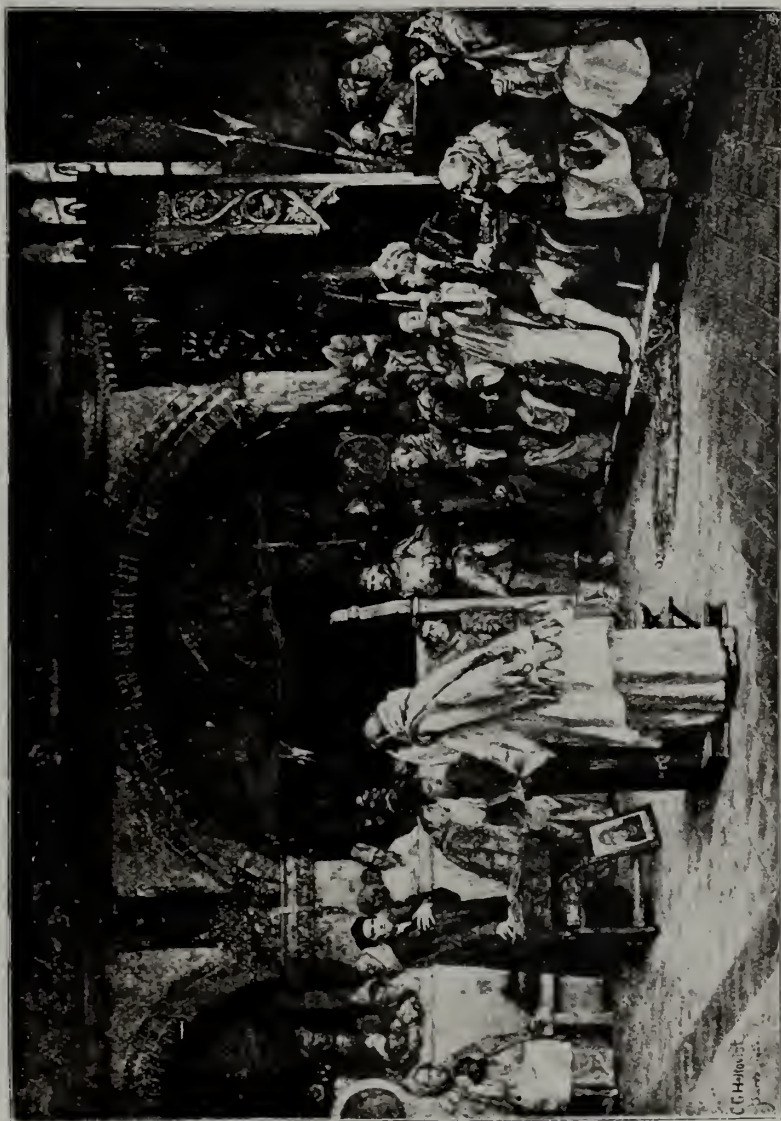
Engelbrekt Engelbrektsson

Design by Carl Eldh for a Monument to the Swedish Liberator



Swedish Travel Information Bureau

**Gustavus Vasa, from an oil
painting in Gripsholm Castle**



*Olaus Petri försvarar vid en disputation under Västerås riksdag luterska läran mot den katolska.
Efter målning av C. G. Hellqvist.*

one-fifth of the land in the country. The king needed this superfluous wealth for the recovery of the country. But the pope would never permit the wealth of the Church to be put to secular uses.¹³

In order to discuss this whole matter of church wealth and the need of preaching the pure Gospel Gustaf Vasa called the Riksdag together at Vasteras. Before this assembly he read a prepared statement concerning the conditions and the needs of the country. Primarily he wanted 1) the preaching of the pure Word of God and 2) necessary funds to run the country and improve its conditions. This Riksdag was a stormy session. But a few days after its opening the resolution (the Vasteras recess and ordinantia) was accepted, which briefly has the following points: 1) The excess church property should be used for the general good of the people, 2) the pure and unadulterated Word of God should be preached and 3) the king instead of the pope should be the head of the church. (The Vasteras recess is discussed further on pages 26-27.)¹⁴

At this point Olavus Petri came clearly into the picture. And together with the king, as alluded to, he fought antiprottestant influences, and was the church leader in a vigorous protestant movement which devel-

was taken from the figure on the family seal which perhaps was a vase or bundle --- stormvase, halmvase, fiskvase.)

13. Carl Grimberg --- A History of Sweden, pages 109-110.

14. C.T. Odhner --- "Larobok i Faderneslandet Historia,"



Gustaf

GUSTAF I.
1523 1560

Omnis potestas a Deo.
(All magt är af Gud.)

oped and flourished. For one thing as a result "the church was the communion of believers, the people and the possessions of the church were, in fact, the property of the people." Also the evangelical spirit influenced the state and its constitutional development.¹⁵

But in accomplishing this the king and Olavus Petri had to overcome strong opposition. Note the following:

Rumors of the new religion came from men high in the church 'who wished to remain secure in their great power, dominion and arrogance.' But many 'now here, as in other countries, have begun to realize how in many things the crown, the nobility and the common people have been deceived and oppressed by the ecclesiastics --- who with self-invested religious offices, which God never commanded, or through mortgage, sale, force, etc. have brought to pass that the crown and the nobility together hardly have 1/3 of what priests and monks, churches and cloisters have.¹⁶

The king himself found no Scriptural brief for the pastors and the teachers. He said,

for Folkskolan, page 44. (Gustaf Vasa did not want a new religion. He wanted the Word of God preached in purity. Most of all he wanted the property of the church.)

15. Hjalmar Holmquist (one of Sweden's outstanding church historians) --- "Svenska Reformationens Begynnelse," 1523-1531, Stkhlm, 1923, pages 125-128. November, 1523 marks the separation of the church of Sweden from Rome.

16. GR IV, page 209. See Bergendoff --- ETS, pages 33-37.

The true bishops lived, who did fulfill the functions of their office with no weapons in their hand, and who would rather receive blows for the sake of God's Word than they would give any. If you and others are disaffected, it is a sign that you do not, or do not want to, know what is the character of a true bishop. --- The pure Word of God shall be preached, everywhere, according to God's commandment, and not uncertain wonders, human inventions and fables, as has been much the practice hitherto. Good, old customs shall abide.¹⁷

Since the times were so full of religious controversy Gustaf Vasa urged the translation of the Bible. He felt that in order to judge wisely the people needed the Bible in their own language. There was also another good reason. The king urged the translation to defend himself against statements that the new faith was accepted to suppress Christianity.¹⁸

The Bible was translated; the New Testament in 1526 and the whole Bible in 1541. (In these translations Religious Education in Sweden took a definite step forward.)

¹⁷. GR IV, pages 216-220. H. Holmquist --- SRB pages 100-102. --- Note the position of the king toward the hierarchical church at the council of Vadstena 1524 and at Stockholm 1525. At the latter it was decided that "horses might be quartered at the monasteries, that the tithes of the church should devolve to the king, except as much as needed for purchase of the sacramental elements." GR, II, pages 29-30. The Swedish Chancellor at this time was Laurentius Andreae. He vigorously urged the new faith and made himself especially clear to the monks at Vadstena Cloister.

¹⁸. Bergendoff --- ETS pages 102-103.

Bergendoff asserts that Olavus Petri's translation of the Gospels, Romans, I and II Corinthians and Galatians forms the basic translation of the New Testament. The following is his statement regarding this matter:

In summary, our conclusion is that Olavus Petri had translated, by the end of the year 1525, at least the Gospels, Romans, I and II Corinthians, and Galatians. This translation was based upon Erasmus and Luther, principally. When the official translation of the New Testament was undertaken, the books already translated by our author were in large part adopted, but revised according to Erasmus. The language of the Translation differs from that of Olavus Petri, in the passages studied above. Consequently in many places in the Translation the language of Olavus Petri would yield to that of the reviser and editor, but the basic material of Matthew-John, Romans - Galatians still remains the work of Olavus Petri.¹⁹

The translation of the entire Bible was based more upon the German Bible than the Latin Bible and received the name The Gustaf Vasa Bible of 1541 and became the Bible of the official church. Each parish paid an annual tax for the printing of this Bible and each church received one copy of it.²⁰

19. Ibid., page 102.

20. L. A. Anjou --- Svenska Kyrkoreformationens Historia, Uppsala, 1850, pages 125-126. Also Bergendoff --- ETS., page 240.

The "editio princeps" of this Bible is ascribed to Laurentius Petri, Archbishop of Uppsala, a younger brother of Olavus Petri. Laurentius was to Petri what Melanchthon was to Luther. And in the translation of the Swedish Bible Laurentius collaborated with Petri, Laurentius Andreae and other colleagues. In 1536 Laurentius Petri published the Psalter and in 1541 the entire Bible, including the Apocrypha.²¹

The preface to the Gustaf Vasa Bible states that the translator followed Luther's Bible more than the Vulgate, and that the New Testament is a thorough revision of the New Testament of 1526. It is practic-

21. Abel Ahlquist, Ph.D., (Brown University) --- "The History of the Swedish Bible," in Scandinavian Studies, volume IX, No.4, November, 1926, and volume IX, No.5, February, 1927, publications of the Society for the Advancement of Scandinavian Study, Menasha, Wis., pages 89-112 and pages 119-144. The following are passages from this translation of the Bible in Sweden: I begynnelsen war oordhet och oordhet war nar Gudhi, och gudh war oordhet, thet samma war j begynnelsen nar gudhi, genom thet aro all ting giordt och thy forutan ar intit giordt thet giordt ar j thy var liffuet och liffuet war menniskernes liws och liwset i morkreth haffuer thet icke begripet.

Paulus, Jesu Christi tienare, kallad till Apostel, affskild til at predica Guds Euangelium. Hvilket han tilforenna uthloffuat haffuer genom sina Propheter i thn helgha Scrifft om sin son, thn food ar aff Davids Sadh effter kotet. Rom. 1:1-2.

Och uthan twiffwel ar gudachtighetennes hemlighet stoor, hwilken uppenbar worden ar j kotet, retferdighet j Andanom, synt Anglomen, predicat Hedningomen, trood j werlde, uptaghen j herligheten. I Tim.3:16.

ally a new translation, based chiefly upon the New Testament of Luther's Bible of 1534 with some reference to Erasmus' Latin version and the Vulgate. It conforms more closely to Luther's work than the New Testament of 1526.²²

In summary the king's objectives were: 1) To put an end to the proRome uprising²³; 2) to grant the king the income of the churches, bishops and canons (above what was necessary for their support), the episcopal castles and the management of the monasteries; 3) to return to the heirs all goods given the church after 1454; 4) to

22. Although this version was repeatedly revised, it remained in substance the accepted Bible in Sweden until recent time. It is like the authorized version in England, which still bears testimony to the work of Tyndale.

23. One of the uprisings was in Dalarne; another was the Vastgotaupproret. The following from Odhner's History of Sweden, pages 116-117: Redan 1529 utbroto nya oroligheter, denna gang i Smaland och Vastergotland. Upphovvet dartill var lagmannen i Vastergotland, den gamle palitlige Ture Jonsson. Efter Vasteras' riksdag hade han kommit i spandt forhallande till konungen och sammansvurit sig med andra vastgotaherrar, sasom biskopen i Skara Magnus Haraldsson och Mans Bryntesson (Liljehook). Pa deras anstiftan reste sig forst allmogen i norra Smaland samt Jonkopings stad, och upproriska skrivelser afsandes till ost- och vastgotarne. Detta gaf vastgotaherrarne anledning att sammankalla ett mote pa Larfs hed. Har talade Ture Jonsson till bonderna, utmalade konungen pa det svartaste och uppmanade dem att forena sig med smalandingarne. Men bonderna lato ej forleda sig utan forklarade, att de ville forblifva konungen trogna, enar herreskifte ej plagade vara till gagn. Harmed gick hela anslaget om intet; allmogen atskildes i fred, men Ture Jonsson och biskop Magnus rymde ur riket. De ofriga upprorsmannen erhollo konungens forlatelse, utom Mans Bryntesson och annu en af herrarne; dessa pastodo sig vara oskyldiga men ofverbevisades om sitt brott, domdes till doden och afrattades.

TREDJE DALUPPRORET. Under dessa oroligheter i sodra

quiet complaints against a new faith on the condition that the Word of God should be preached in its purity. These objectives were formulated at the Riksdag in Vasteras 1527; and because of the fourth objective the king should be the head of the Swedish church and in secular matters the priests should answer before a civil court.²⁴

Two years later (1529) at a church council in Orebro, it was decided that in the cathedrals and schools each day at least one lecture in the Bible should be given "with good and rightminded interpretation." The pastors were urged to attend these lectures. And the bishops were asked to "provide the deacons with 'the New Testament

Sverige hade dalkarlarne hallit sig stilla. Men det rackte ej lange. Skulden till Lybeck var till storre delen obetald, och da lybeckarne krafde och hotade, besluts det, att till skuldens betalning hvarje kyrka i landet skulle lamna en af sina klockor eller losen darfor. I borjan samtyckte dalkarlarne hartill, men da klockorna skulle hamtas, vagrade de att aflamna dem, atertogo med vald nagra, som redan blifvit aflamnade, och bevakade gransen emot konungens folk, 1531. Denna rorelse, som man kallat klockupproret eller tredje dalupproret, utbredde sig afven till nargransande landskap. Konungen stillade forst oron i ofriga landsorter men latsade sig ej fraga efter dalkarlarne. Dessa trottnade omsider pa att dag efter dag halla vakt vid landskapsgransen; de bado om konungens forlatelse och erbjodo penninglosen for sina klockor. Gustaf mottog anbudet, ty han hade nu fatt annat att tanka pa.

24. Odhner --- LFH, pages 113-118. Sources for this are in all leading or standard Swedish history books --- in histories of Sweden by Grimberg, A. Fryxell, E. Hildebrand, H. Hildebrand and others. See "Gustav Vasa och Reformationen i Sverige" by E. Linderholm, Uppsala, 1917; H. Holmquists's book on "Svenska Reformationens Begynnelse", 1523-1531, pages 100-102; E. Hildebrand's

books in Latin,' and see to it that learned men were appointed to the city churches." 25

The following is taken from ETS:

In monasteries, too, there should be instruction in Scriptures. Preachers were prohibited from "haranguing each other from the pulpit." Sermons were to expound the Lord's Prayer, Credo, Ave Maria, "for the good of young and simple folk, and the Ten Commandments one or two times a month. Prayer shall precede and follow the sermon." The deacons were to be strictly supervised, so also the monks. In cases where the canon law, but not God's law, prohibits marriage, the authorities might give dispensation, yet in such a way "that one avoids criticism as much as possible." Penitents should be penalized as might best suit the case and serve the community.²⁶

statement in "Kyrkohistorisk Arsskrift," 1914, pages 31-36; E. Hildebrand och O. Alin, "Svenska Riksdagsakter," I, Stkholm, 1887-1888. A record of the Vasteras Riksdag is found in the "Lasebok for Folkskolan," Stkholm, P.A. Norstedt & Soners Forlag, 1911, pages 544-552. The following is on page 551: Riksdagens beslut salunda, 1) att biskoparnas, domkyrkornas och klostrens ofverflodigs inkomster skulle anslas till kronans behov, 2) att de fralsegods, som efter den s.k. Karl Knutssons rafst hade kommit under kyrkan, skulle av kronan och aven av adeln fa aterbordas, samt slutligen, 3) att Guds rena ord skulle rent predikas overallt i riket; och genom detta tillagg blev ocksa bestamt, att konungen skulle vara svenska kyrkans overhuvud i stallet for paven, samt att prasterna skulle i varldsliga mal svara infor varldslig domstol liksom andra medborgare. Reformation date 1527. 25. Holmquist --- SRB, pages 125-128. Hildebrand-Alin --- "Svenska Riksdagsakter," I, pages 118-122. Bergendoff --- ETS., pages 45-48. 26. Bergendoff --- ETS., pages 46-47.

Many holidays and practices were considered unnecessary.

There were too many holidays. Those of our Lord, the Virgin Mary, the Apostles and Fathers were declared sufficient --- others should be omitted, as conditions might permit. One pastor (kyrkioherre --- head pastor) shall be in charge of all the churches of the city. Then followed a series of explanations of current customs which were Catholic in themselves, but, if they were to remain for the present, should be understood in an evangelical light. Such were the consecration of water, and the use of images, palms, candles, oil --- all were signs to remind of things holy, but in themselves had no peculiar sanctity. Church bells and church buildings were practically useful, not intrinsically holy. "The people ought to be taught to give their candles to the poor, rather than place them before images." Fasting and holidays were of assistance to Christian living, not anything meritorious before God. Pilgrimages were unnecessary --- "God is just as much present in one place as in another."²⁷

The Archbishop Laurentius Andreae would have gone further in the matter of making changes, but he was frustrated particularly by the inability of the people themselves to follow him.

From another source, a Vatican document, probably the notes of a Catholic member of the meeting, we learn that Laurentius Andreae would have gone still farther, particularly as to communion

²⁷. Ibid., page 47.

in both kinds, but the condition of the people made a slower progress necessary. As it was, the Council was sufficiently revolutionary for the Roman party, who could not but feel themselves dictated to by the king through his chancellor, and who were compelled to write their names under the above resolutions. "For the constitutional development of the Swedish Church, this transformation of the medieval Church Council organization into an agency of the evangelical reformation was to be of supreme importance."²⁸

A shift of authority from the church to the state took place. The church became a power within the state.

The king had given the Church a certain freedom in matters pertaining to itself, but it was nevertheless a freedom derived from the State, not from itself. It was no longer a Church above the State, nor even a Church beside the State, but a Church within the State.²⁹

But in this remarkable decade (1521-1531) the church had nevertheless been radically reconstructed in the right direction and on a definitely higher plane than ever before and had in the main become evangelical, while the state had become independent. Had this latter however been the only change in the Reformation (only a political change) which Gustaf Vasa had been chiefly

²⁸. Ibid., page 47.

²⁹. Ibid., page 47.

instrumental in bringing about, the change would have been too onesided and uncreative. But there was also another mind; a dynamic mind, Olavus Petri, who belongs to the upper part of the combined energy, the inspiring and directing force of the Reformation in Sweden. The two pivotal minds in this combined energy were as stated above Gustaf Vasa and Olavus Petri. The latter fostered the "soul of the church." His work is profoundly religious and educational and belongs to the magnificent contributions of Religious Education in Sweden.

True, the transformation had been to a great extent political, and the changes effected had transformed the body rather than the soul of the Church. Had only the will of Gustavus Vasa been the cause of the change, it is a question how long it may have endured. But in the background was a less conspicuous, a silent, but creative personality, whose preaching, whose books and translations, whose personal influence, carried the Reformation into the ranks of the clergy and the masses of the people. Olavus Petri educated the mind and nourished the spirit of the evangelical movement. The spiritual change took much longer than a decade, but it was more thorough and abiding. The king made possible the beginnings of the religious transformation. The Reformer made permanent the transformation of the character of the new Church and State.³⁰

30. Ibid., pages 60-61. Also L.A. Anjou --- "Svenska Kyrkoreformationens Historia," II, page 98. (The Refor-

Olavus Petri (1493-1552), born January 6, 1493, was a son of a blacksmith in Orebro. His early years are not clearly outlined in any history book or anywhere. With his brother Laurentius he attended a Carmelite Monastery, where he received instruction in "the language and custom of the church," reading and writing. There he also memorized Pater Noster, Ave Maria, Symbolum Apostolicum, the Seven Psalms (6, 32, 38, 51, 102, 130 and 143 --- Penitential Psalms) and received training and instruction in the ceremonies and music of the Liturgy. The textbooks in doctrines and grammar were the same as those on the Continent.³¹

At the age 13 Olavus was sent to Uppsala University (founded 1477), where he remained about 10 years, and where he studied Aristotle, Thomas Aquinas, Euclid and the Canon Law. But he sought his baccalaureate degree at a German university; not at Rostock, a favorite university among Swedish students, and not at Wittenberg; but at Leipsig to begin with and finally at Wittenberg, where in 1518 he was made baccalaureus

mation became a glorious chapter in the history of Sweden.)

31. Bergendoff --- ETS., pages 62-63. K. F. Karlson, Blad ur Orebro Skolas Aldsta Historia, page 9.



Olavus Petri.

Olavus Petri as preacher in "Storkyrkan," the Great Church of Stockholm.

and the following year a master. In the fall of that year he went back to Sweden, where, however, for a few years he remained in obscurity, merely lecturing on the Old and New Testaments at the diocese in Strangnas to candidates for the ministry. But in 1524 he was called by Gustaf Vasa to serve as city secretary of Stockholm. Two years later things broke loose in Sweden, and Olavus Petri was in the middle of a battle against the powerful Roman Catholic Church.³²

It was then that Olavus Petri more completely developed the fundamental or basic principles of the protestant church in Sweden. One of these principles (revolutionary) was the teaching concerning man's free, personal, living relation to God. Man must appear before God; man himself; not through the church, but immediately in his own behalf. And in the worship services the congregation must itself thank and praise God.³³

Olavus Petri wrote a number of popular tracts --- polemical and educational writings; the following for example; "Reply to Twelve Question,"³⁴, "Reply

32. Ibid., pages 64-86.

33. Olavus Petri was influenced by Luther, but he did not make Luther an objective in his work, rather a means. Ibid., page 90.

34. Foreword to "Reply to Twelve Questions" in Works, I,

to an Unchristian Letter,"³⁵, "A Little Book Concerning the Sacraments,"³⁶, "A Short Instruction Concerning Marriage,"³⁷, "Concerning Monastic Life,"³⁸, "Concerning the Word of God and the Sacraments,"³⁹, "Why Mass Should be in Swedish,"⁴⁰.

This shows rather clearly the influence of Luther and his work in the reformation of the church in Germany. The well-known fact is that the years 1516-1518 were influential years in the entire civilized world. They were important years in world history. Luther preached against indulgences; on October 31, 1517, he nailed his 95 theses on the church door of Wittenberg, and in July, 1518 he was accused of heresy. All this profoundly impressed Olavus Petri, then a student at the German universities mentioned above; young and flexible and a seeker after much knowledge.

Petri's usual schedule at the university was heavy from 6 A.M. to 4 P.M. He studied Aristotelian Logic, Natural Physics, Poetics, Astronomy, Math-

page 225. --- K. B. Westman --- "Reformationens Genombrottsar i Sverige," Stkholm, 1918, pages 65-66.

35. Works, I, page 154.

36. Westman, in Works, I, xxviii.

37. Works, I, pages 454-457.

38. Ibid., page 473.

39. Ibid., page 525.

40. Works, II, page 394.

These writings should be studied especially from the point of view of Olavus Petri's attempt to educate the people. It is primarily for this reason they are mentioned here.

ematics, Grammar, Metaphysics, Rhetoric, Latin, Greek and Hebrew. But at Wittenberg the great attraction was not liberal arts studies. The great attraction there was Theology. There Luther lectured on the Bible and John Boschenstein instructed in Hebrew. There also Luther impressed upon his students his views concerning Aristotle and Erasmus; with both he differed widely. He felt that Erasmus did not sense fundamentally the meaning of Christ, and he claimed that Aristotle had a bad influence on Theology. Finally Luther denied freedom of the will altogether and said that man can not sanctify himself; and from then on at the university of Wittenberg the Bible and Augustine were studied more carefully.⁴¹

However, Olavus Petri did not absorb Luther's so-called mysticism so much. He merely mentioned the mystical union with Christ, and he did so mainly on the basis of impressions received from Luther. But Olavus Petri lost faith in scholasticism and gained faith in the Bible and became very conscious of the abuses in the established church. Grimberg says,

Among the young men who gathered around Luther at Wittenberg was a young man from Sweden named

41. Carl Grimberg --- A History of Sweden, pages 109-122. Odhner --- LFH., pages 122-127. Lasebok for Folkskolan, avd. 1-4, arsk. 1-4, P.A. Norstedt & Soners Forlag, 1911, pages 537-572. Bergendoff---ETS., pages 62-111 and also 220-251.

Olavus Petri, the son of a blacksmith of Orebro. He learned and accepted the doctrines and imbibed the spirit of Luther, and upon his return to Sweden he proclaimed these doctrines with warmth and boldness as teacher and preacher at Strangnas. Among his hearers was the able and gifted Laurentius Andreae, archbishop of Strangnas, and now, after the death of the bishop, head of the diocese. Through him the king ~~was~~ made fully acquainted with the doctrines of the reformation. While attending the Riksdag in Strangnas, Gustavus heard Olavus Petri, and he was well pleased with his plain and earnest preaching. With his clear, unbiased mind, the king recognized the truth of the doctrines so warmly proclaimed. He soon after appointed Laurentius Andreae as his Chancellor, and installed Olavus Petri as preacher in Storkyrkan, the Great Church of Stockholm.⁴²

Olavus Petri was a powerful preacher; one who attracted attention and changed people's minds. But as is very nearly always the case in a great preacher's life, and not the least in Petri's life, enemies were on the alert watching him closely in order to find fault with him. Some of his superiors detected errors in his preachings, such as: 1) no basis in Scripture that St. Anna was the Mother of the Virgin Mary; 2)

42. Grimberg --- A History of Sweden, pages 110-111.

Mary's husband, Joseph, was a young man; 3) the true and living faith had not been preached in Sweden; 4) Deuteronomy XV teaches that mendicants are not allowed; 5) our trust should be in God according to Jeremiah XVII; 6) the principal office in the church is the preaching office; 7) confraternities of the Psalter of the Blessed Virgin and other saints should not be allowed --- they are meaningless, fruitless; 8) confession should be to God alone; 9) the Epistle of James is not authentic as basis for public confession.⁴³

At times it happened while Olavus Petri was preaching that his bitter enemies (they were many) would make cutting remarks, ridicule him, throw stones at him. But Olavus labored on patiently and long-sufferingly as writer, teacher and preacher, and impressed his doctrines upon the people and nurtured their souls. "Patiently, fearlessly, humbly, faithfully he used every mode of expression in his power to build up the true visible realities of the Christian religion."⁴⁴ And he gained also many friends, many of whom often called him Master Olof.

43. Handlingar rörande Skandinaviens historia, utgifna af Kungliga Samfundet för utgifvandet af handskrifter rörande Skandinaviens historia, XIII-XVIII, 1828-1833, XVII, page 135. Bergendoff --- ETS., pages 79-80.

44. Svenska Riksdagsakter, I, pages 570-600.

Olavus Petri's greater works are: 1) Translation of the New Testament (1526); 2) An Useful Teaching; 3) the Catechism; 4) the church manual (1529); 5) postils; 6) liturgics; 7) historical works; 8) a book on jurisprudence.

Definitely there is no question among scholars that Olavus Petri translated parts of the New Testament, and many feel that he should have the credit for the translation of the entire New Testament (1526).⁴⁵

45. They do so notwithstanding that there is a question about this in the minds of a few scholars. Comelius, author of "Handbok i Svenska Kyrkans Historia," says on page 185, "Undoubtedly Laurentius Andreae was the chief translator of the New Testament." Other authorities have pointed out the same idea; for example, such distinguished Swedish church historians as Anjou, Reuterdaahl and Lindquist. Nathan Lindquist concludes that the dominant language is that of Laurentius Andreae, who translated from Galatians on to the end of the New Testament. See Bergendoff --- ETS., page 105. But the first part of the New Testament (Gospels, Romans, I and II Corinthians) is strongly believed to be Olavus Petri's translation. Bergendoff in his ETS says on page 108, "Here the work of Olavus Petri was determinative and the role of Laurentius Andreae was that of advisor." See also pages 12-14 and pages 95-111. Erik Stave in a study that shows great knowledge of the sources of this translation claims that it is based upon more than one book (translation) or that it is based on Luther's Bible of 1522, Erasmus' Latin Translation of 1522, the Vulgate, and also that it reveals influences from Erasmus' Greek edition. This shows that Petri had great respect for Erasmus and also superior ability. He did not let his sympathies with Luther overshadow his respect for Erasmus. No one in Sweden at that time was so prepared according to scholars as Petri for the translation of the New Testament. See Erik Stave's "Om kallorna till 1526 ars ofversattning av Nya Testamentet," in "Skrifter utgifna af Kong. Humanistiska Vetenskapssamfundet i Uppsala," volume III, Uppsala, 1893, page 211.

Within parenthesis it should be stated here briefly at least that in 1536 (ten years later) parts of the Old Testament in Swedish were published. Bergendoff says, "Possibly Olavus had a hand in this work."⁴⁶

And in 1541 the entire Bible in Swedish was published.⁴⁷ Concerning the latter it seems reasonable to say that it was translated under the direction and guidance of Olavus Petri.

But there is less hesitancy on the part of some scholars in giving Olavus Petri credit for the translation of the New Testament. A late American scholar in his book, "The History of the Swedish Bible," namely Dr. Abel Ahlquist, says,

The work itself gives no clue as to who the translator was or who had supervision over the work of the translation. Tradition has preserved the two above mentioned names: Laurentius Andreae and Olavus Petri. Early writers took for granted that Andreae was the translator. Lonbom does not give Olavus Petri the least credit for the work. He claims that the great Reformer was instrumental in caring only for the printing of the volume. Wieselgren also credits Andreae for the work. In 1891 Henrik

46. Bergendoff --- ETS., page 225.

47. Ibid., page 239. The printing of both the New Testament and the entire Bible in Swedish accelerated Religious Education in Sweden very much.

Schuck made extensive research and caused the general opinion to swing over in favor of Olavus Petri. More recently Nathan Lindqvist, on a basis of research in the language of the translation, places Andreae in the leading place. The great majority of the writers of the present day are nevertheless agreed that to Olavus Petri is due the credit for this work.⁴⁸

But the second literary production, listed above, namely, "An Useful Teaching," helps considerably to give Olavus Petri credit for the translation of the New Testament. This book however was not, as some have inferred, a translation of Luther's Betbuchlein, neither was it written to suppress Roman Catholicism. It closely resembles the Catholic "Tideboken" (Horae), a devotional book.⁴⁹ Its basic language is that of the New Testament translation.

Bergendoff concludes his careful study of this matter with the following words:

We need not doubt that the chancellor was the force impelling a Swedish translation, and that its appearance at this time was due to him. But neither

48. Abel Ahlquist, Ph.D. (Brown University), --- "The History of the Swedish Bible," Scandinavian Studies, volume IX, No.4, November, 1926, page 97. (Scandinavian Studies are publications of the Society for Advancement of Scandinavian study, published four times a year, Menasha, Wis.). See ETS., pages 104-105.
49. This book ("An Useful Teaching") will be treated

can we doubt that Olavus Petri was responsible for the nature of the translation that appeared, and that the completed work was to a very large extent the result of labors in which he had been engaged for some time. The dress was the work of Andreae; the body was that of Olavus Petri. What we can discern of the work of Olavus in the New Testament in Swedish of 1526 leads us to see in him an independent, competent scholar, patient and resourceful, judicial and humble, who examined Erasmus, Luther, Vulgate, even Tideboken, and arrived at his own text. Even this he willingly permitted to be revised and used, anonymously, for the spiritual enlightenment of his people.⁵⁰

Consequently the first two Swedish Reformation literary productions were the translation of the New Testament and "An Useful Teaching," both by Olavus Petri; and the purpose of the latter was as follows:

An Useful Teaching from the Scriptures concerning the Fall of Man, and his regeneration through God, which it is very necessary that all Christians know, especially unlearned pastors, whose duty is to teach the common people.⁵¹

somewhat more fully later on.

50. Bergendoff --- ETS., page 110.

51. Works², I.* Een nyttwgh wnderwijsning wthwr schrifftenne om menniskiones fall/och hwrwledhes gwde henne wprettadhe ighen/Hwilken mykit nyttugh ar allom christinom/meniskiom ath wetha/besynnerligha eefalloghom prestom/som sadant plichtoghe are theras almogha ath lara.

*The two (2) after Works stands for the two volume

In a stricter sense it was Olavus Petri's first book in Religious Education; elementary in nature, based on fundamental teachings of the church. It assumed a new and vital place in Religious Education and gave the people and particularly the clergy a simple evangelical explanation of the basic doctrines in the Christian religion. In the following its contents are briefly stated:

- I. The noble estate in which man was created.
- II. How man forfeited this estate.
- III. How God through Moses gave man the Law, through which he might realize his sinful and evil condition.
- IV. The Ten Commandments and how these are kept or broken.
- V. The Credo, its articles, what each contains and requires.
- VI. Prayer, with an exposition of Pater Noster and Ave Maria.
- VII. The Magnificat.⁵²

edition of Olavus Petri's Samlade Skrifter, published in Uppsala (1914-1915), a copy in Harvard College Library. A copy of the four volume edition, published in Uppsala (1914-1917) is in the Denkmann Memorial Library, Augustana College, Rock Island, Illinois. 52. A. Anderson --- Skrifter Utgifna af Svenska Litteratursallskapet, II, page 71, a copy of an edition, in

VIII. A right observance of our Lord's suffering and death.

IX. An exposition of the Seven Psalms.

It is of historical importance to compare these contents to those of the Tideboken, the first religious book printed in Sweden. The Tideboken is not a copy of Luther or Bugenhagen; rather it is more like the Roman Catholic Tidebok (Horae), but it hoped to supplant Roman Catholic doctrines.

The contents of the Tideboken are:

- I. Pater Noster.
- II. Ave Maria
- III. Hours of the Holy Spirit.
- IV. Hours of the Cross, "Lord we honor Thy Cross and we adore Thy praiseworthy suffering."⁵³
- V. The Seven Psalms. "And are very useful to read before the Seven Deadly Sins."⁵⁴
- VI. List of Saints.
- VII. Credo --- Commandments.
- VIII. The Seven Deadly Sins.
- IX. Prayers.⁵⁵

The following is the outline of "An Useful Teaching" in the original⁵⁶ (translated on pages 43-44):

which the table contents does not include the Magnificat and the Seven Psalms.

53. Herre wij hedrom tith kors och wy dyrkom thina arofulla pina.

54. oc are ganska nyttoghe at lasa fore syw dodheligha synder.

55. A. Anderson --- Skrifter Utgifna af Svenska Litt-eraturesallskapet, II, Uppsala, 1893, page 4. See also pages 41-42.

56. Works, Volume I.

- I. Wthhi tesse bok fortelies forst hwrw menniskian scaput war.
- II. Ther nast hwrw hon then erligheet forsagh.
- III. Sedhan fortelies hwrw gudh genom Moses gaff henne sin lagh, ther hon sina ondzsko och synd aff besinna schulle.
- IV. Sedhan fortelies tiyo gudz bodhoord, och wthtydes j huad motto the bliffwa hollen eller broten.
- V. Sedhan om troona, och the toloff articklar j troona, och fortelies huad j hwar artickel beslutes, och j huad motto ther emoot skeer.
- VI. Sedhan om bonen till gudh, och vthlegges Pater Noster, och Aue Maria.
- VII. Sedhan vthlegges Jomfrw Maries loffsang som kallas Magnificat.
- VIII. Sedhan en wnderwijsning hwrwledhes man schal haffwa aminnilse wtaff war herras pino och doddh.
- IX. Yterst en vthlagning pa siw psalmer.

Olavus Petri's Catechism⁵⁷ for the purpose of instructing the people in the basic principles of the Christian religion was appended to his Postil. The clergy were asked to read the Ten Commandments, the Credo and the Lord's Prayer after the sermon on holidays, and every so often explain these things catechetically.⁵⁸

57. Petri called his Catechism A Beautiful and Useful Teaching for all christian people (Een skoon och nyttugh vnderwijsning for allom Christom menniskiom), not only for children and young people, but for old people also, based on question and answers (icke allena barnom och vngo folke, vtan och gamblom ganska nyttugh, stelt pa sporsmal och swar).

58. Ibid., page 8. The Catechism was published 1530.

The first commandment in the Catechism forbids trust in anything except in the power of God. It reads as follows:

This commandment (as all other commandments of God) reaches deep into the consciousness of man and forbids that man should rely on anything and trust in anything except God, who desires to be his God and make him good and protect him from evil. God dislikes man's relying on anything in heaven and on earth except Himself.⁵⁹

The Credo includes the three articles of faith concerning the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit; the historic Apostolic Creed. The third article also expresses faith in physical resurrection (lekamsens vppstandilse).

First article:

I believe in the Father Almighty,
creator of heaven and earth.

Second article:

And in Jesus Christ His Only Begotten Son, our Lord, who was conceived by the Holy Spirit, born of the Virgin Mary, suffered under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, dead and buried, he descended into hell, the third day

59. Thetta bodh (som ock all annor gudz bodh) racker innerst j menniskiones hierta j huilket gudh forbiuder ath hon icke skall haffwa naghot tingh annath ther hon forhather sich paa, och sather sin trost till, vtan til honom allena, han ar then som vill vara menniskione for en gudh gora henne got och beskerma henne fraa thet som oondt ar, och fortryter ath hon sather sin lijth til naghot tingh j hemmelriket

he rose again from the dead, he ascended into heaven, and sitteth on the right hand of God the Father Almighty, from thence He shall come to judge the quick and the dead.

Third article:

I believe in the Holy Spirit, the Holy Christian Church, the communion of saints, the forgiveness of sins, the resurrection of the body, and life everlasting, amen.⁶⁰

Olavus believed⁹ in a general resurrection of the physical body and that this body will again be united with its soul on judgment day, but that it will then receive a new spirit (being, disposition, quality).⁶¹

eller j jorderiket annat an til honom allena.
(The Catechism of Luther published 1529 had extended explanations which Olavus used as material for the clergy in their teaching the people the fundamentals in Christianity.)

60. Iach troor vpaa gudh fadher alzmektugher, hemelrikes och jorderikes scapare. Och vpaa Jesum Christum hans eenda son war herra, huilken afflader war aff then helgo anda fodder aff Jomfron Maria, pinad vnder Pontius Pilato, korsfaster dodher och jordadher, foor nidher till helwitis, tridie daghen stoodh vpp aff dodha, foor vpp til himbla, stter paa alzmektog gudz faders hoghra hand, thadhan kommandes till ath doma liffwandes och dodha. Iach troor vppa then helgha anda, then heliga christligha kyrkia, helgha manna samfundt, syndernas forlatilse, lekamsens vppstandilse, och ewinnerlight lijff, amen.

61. Iach troor ath een allmannelighen vppstandilse aff dodha ar tillkommande, nar gudh skal all lekamen uppweckia aff dodha, saa ath hwar och en sial oond och goodh kommer til then samma lekamen j ghen som hon forra haffde och inghen annan, a huru lekamen haffwer warit forfaren och for strodder ther fore troor iach fullleligha ath then lekamen iach nw ar lefwandes vthi skal vpaa ythersta doomen komma till sialena j ghen an tha ath han faar itt annat wasende an han nw haffwer, ther for lather iach mich vppa.

The Lord's Prayer is briefly explained as follows: Christ has not only taught what to pray for, but also what to seek in this prayer, and that this prayer has a deeper spirit than man can fully express. Yet a little explanation is possible in order to help those who themselves are unable to grasp what this prayer means.⁶²

The fourth petition, for example, has a special meaning. Give us this day our daily bread means, the bread is our dear Lord Jesus Christ who feeds and comforts the soul of man. In addition to this it is a prayer 1) for the preaching of the living Word to the whole world, 2) for help to follow Christ and 3) for daily bread; that Christ may dwell in the soul of men everywhere; that men may dwell in Him forever and truly be called Christians.⁶³

62. See Works, I.

63. Fader war tw som ast j himlom, --- I thesse boon haffer Christus icke aleena lardt oss huad wij bidia skole, vtan och iemvel huad wij forst sokia skole medh ware boon, och an ath thenne boon haffwer diupare sinne, an noghon menniskia til fulla vttryckia kan, wilia wij doch lekawal gifwa har en lithen forclaring vpaa for the eenfaldighe som icke are sielffwe sa skarpsinnade ath the begripa kunne, huad j thesse faa ord beslutit ar. --- Wort dagligha brodh giff oss j dag. Thet brodhit ar wor kare Jesus Christus som spijsar och trooster sielena, ther fore o tw hemmelske fader giff liffwerne, oord garningar och pina, warda predicat for oss och hella werldenne, och hielp oss ath wij haffwe honom och hans oord och garningar for itt exempel och efftherliknelse, i alt wort liffwerne ---

The following are further quotations from Petri's Catechism, A Beautiful and Useful Teaching for all Christian People:

- Q. What are you?
 A. A rational and mortal being, created by God.
- Q. Why did God create you?
 A. In order that I should learn to know Him and love Him.
- Q. You are then a Christian?
 A. Yes, I am a Christian.
- Q. What is a Christian?
 A. He that has the name Christian, follows Christ and believes in Him.
- Q. What do you believe concerning Him?
 A. I believe that He is a gracious and merciful God, who has taken my sin upon Himself and reconciled me to God the Father so that my sins are His and His righteousness is mine, and upon this Christ was laid the sin of the world and through Him all sins are forgiven. This faith makes me clean and well-pleasing before God. This Christ alone, His teachings, I will follow, because He is truly the way, the truth and the life. He is our wisdom, our Redeemer, our righteousness, our salvation. And God the Father is well-pleased with Him, therefore should we follow Him, believe and trust Him and be saved. He has said that if we believe in Him and be baptized we shall be saved, otherwise condemned.

giff oss wort daghliga brod til liff och siel, och att Christus bliwer ewinnerligha j oss, och wij j honom, ath saa ratzliga maa heeta och wara Christna. (See Works² I, pages 1-149.)

In this true faith all Christians are saved.⁶⁴

Next the question concerning works is considered:

What are good works?

- Q. What are good works, do they mean anything in the process of salvation?
- A. They have absolutely no meaning. Faith must be pure. Good works are the fruit of faith and they are a manifestation of faith.
- Q. Since works do not make me or save me I could leave them out?
- A. Not so. If you desire to be a Christian you must perform good

64. Sporsmal: Huad ast thu? Swar: En fornugtug och dodheligh menniskia, itt creatur aff gudi skapat. Sporsmal: Hwi hafuer gudh skapat tich? Swar: Pa thet ath iach skal lara kenna honom och haffau honom kaar. Sporsmal: Sa horer iach wal ath tu ar en Christen? Swar: Ja, en Christen ar iach. Sporsmal: Huadh ar en Christen? Swar: Then som man haffuer aff Christo, och gor hans wilia, och troor pa honom. Sporsmal: Huad troor tu om honom? Swar: Jach troor ath han ar migh en nadugh och barmhertigh gudh, och haffuer tagit mina synder pa sich, och forsonat migh medh gudh fadher, sa ath mina synder aro hans, och hans rettferdugheet ar mijn, och pa thenna Christo ligger alle werdennes synd, och genom hans rettferdugheet aro och warda alla wara synder vthskrapadha, och thenne troon gor mich reen och gudi behagliga. Thenna Christum allena, hans wilia och lara will iach folia, ty han ar sanningen liffuet och waghen till himmelriket, jtem han ar war wijsheet war forlosning war halughet retferdugheet och salugheet. Och gudh fadher hafuer hafft j honom jt gott behagh, honom skole wij hora och folia. Satie wij war troo och trost till honom sa warder wij salughe ty han haffuer oss thet tillsagt ath then ther troor och warder dopt han skall warda salugh, och then ther jcke troor warda fordombd. Och genom thenna clara och rena troona warda alle Christne salughe.

works, not that you thereby are saved. It is Christ's command that you should love your neighbor as He has loved you. He has loved us so that He came down to this earth to serve us in love. In the same manner we must serve our neighbor.⁶⁵

It is noteworthy that Olavus Petri considered Christianity and knowledge of the Scriptures inseparable and that his catechism is the real beginning of Religious Education among children on the basis of the reformation.⁶⁶

65. Sporsmal: Huadh aro da gerningarna, gora the intit till salughheten? Swar: The gora plat intit till salughheten, troona maste wara reen och oformengd, men aro trooes fruct och beuisa troona. Sporsmal: Efter gerningarna gora mich icke salugh sa wile iach och ingen gora? Swar: Icke sa, will tu gora godha gerningar, icke ath ti ther medh nagot skal forskulle vtan tinom nasta till tianste genom en Christeligh kerlek thetta haffuer Christus budhit tich seyande, thet ar mitt budh athi skolen elska idher inbyrdes, sasom iach idher elskat haffuer. Nu haffuer han sa elskat ath han for wara skull kommer pa thenna werld, och haffuer tient oss gerningom och alth for intit, han fick intit vthaff oss, vtan allenast giordt oss till tienste genom kerlek som han hadhe till oss sammalunda maste wij och gora gerningarna warom nasta till tienste hwilka wij ingelunda godha eller gudi behageligha. --- Works, I, pages 141-149. Olavus Petri's catechism is very small, similar to a little book for children (about 1520) according to Bohmiska Broderna, a way of life, translated to German with the little Kinderfrage. See introduction in Works by Knut B. Westman, page XXI. Luther's Large Catechism influenced Olavus Petri considerably. See also Den folkliga vidskepelsen och den Svenska Katekesen av Edgar Reuterskiold, Uppsala, 1921, Almqvist och Wiksells Boktryckeri A. B., page 21.

66. Works⁴, III, page 28. The explanations helped the clergy to teach the people and the parents to teach their children elementary lessons in Christianity.

In an article entitled To The Christian Reader (a short introduction to the Holy Scriptures) (Til Den Christeligha Lasaren, en liten in gong i thn helga schriffe), Olavus Petri interprets God's Law and the Gospel, and says that God's law is the commandments through which man learns to become conscious of his sins, weakness and wretchedness (skroplighet), and also that man is condemned to death and damnation, since he does not keep the commandments of God. But the Gospel is the good news from God to man, how God has saved mankind from sin through His Only Begotten Son, Jesus Christ. Those who believe are saved and given everlasting life.⁶⁷

Then an explanation of several doctrines in the Christian religion follows:

What faith in Christ means.

What a sacrament is (a holy ordinance, instituted by Christ Himself as a remembrance, a holy rite in which man feels sure about God's promises, that he is in God's grace and favor. The Holy sacraments are Baptism and the Lord's Supper).

^{67.} Works², volume II, pages 369-387. Laghen are gudz bodhoordh genom huilken menniskian larer kenna sina synd, swaghet och skropeligheet, och j genom laghen warder hon domd til ewigh dodh och fordommelse, epter thet hon gaar ther emoot och icke haller gudz bodh.---

What the sacrament of Holy Baptism means.

What the High Mass is.

The two kinds of righteousness; God's and man's.

What God's righteousness is.

What a true worship service is.

What faith is.

What hope means.

What charity means.

What the Cross of Christ is.

What true fasting is.

What a true Christian prayer is.

What the old Adam is.

What the new Adam is.

What man's work means.

What spiritual acts are. ⁶⁸

Euangelium ar jtt gladelight bodhskap vtgongit jfraa gudhi, och til menniskiona, hwrw han haffwer frelsat genom sin enfodda son Jesum Christum, them som troona haffwa, jfraa syndene dodhenom och ewigh fordomelse och wil giffua them ewinnerlighit lijff.

68. Huad troo ar pa Jesum Christum. Huad sacrament ar (jtt heligt tekn, jtt wist och fast jnseghel, som Christus sielff jnsatt haffuer til en jhoghkommelse eller paminnelse, huad gudh oss loffuat ther wij skole forssakra vort hierta och samwit medh, ath wij jw wisseliga are j gudz nadhe och ynnest, och the sannskylliga sacramenten are tw, som ar, dopet och Christe lekamen och bloodh). Huad doop ar. Huad Messa ar. Aff tweggie handa rettferdigheet gudz och menniskios. Huad gudz rettferdigheet ar. Huad rett gudz tienst ar. Huad tro ar. Huad Hopp ar. Huad kerlegh ar. Huad Christe kors ar. Huad fasta ar. Huad een rett Christeligh boon ar. Huad then gambla Adam heller

The following is a continuation of the list of doctrines discussed, such as holy wrath, free will, sanctification, antiChrist, God's Word, God's kingdom:

What the wrath of faith is.
(Anything against God's Word, anything false, or anything against the Christian freedom, anything that misleads and destroys is against faith and arouses its anger.)

What the wrath of love is.

What man's free will is.

What the Christian church is.

What Christian freedom is (freedom from the devil and the tyranny of sin through the death and resurrection of Jesus Christ).

What Christian sanction is.

What true holiness is.

Who the real antiChrist and the false prophets are (who falsify the Word of God, add to or subtract from it, do not remain faithful to its meaning, but desire nevertheless that their teachings shall be considered in harmony with the commandments of God).

What God's Word is.

What man's ordinances are.

What the Christian way is.

gambla menniskian ar. Huad then nyie Adam ar. Huad kotzligha gerningar ar. Huad andeligha gerningar ar.

What God's kingdom is.⁶⁹

This emphasis is also found in Olavus Petri's hymns and songs.⁷⁰ His Ueni Creator Spiritus is a prayer for the spirit of God, for courage and wisdom, for faith and grace, for strength, for guidance and help, for freedom, for power to express thanksgiving and praise.⁷¹

"Our Father, Merciful and Good" (O Fader waar barmhertigh och godh, som oss will till dich kalla) is a well-known hymn by Olavus. The first and fourth (last) stanzas read as follows:

Our Father, merciful and good,
Who dost to Thee invite us,
O cleanse us in our Saviour's blood,
And to Thyself unite us.

69. Huad troones forargelse ar (noghot lara talande eller scriffande som ar emot gudz ord, ther the for-falskas medh, eller och noghot pabindha som ar emoot then Christliga friheten, ty aff sadant warder wor neste forwerrat och forargat). Huad karlekens for-argelse ar. Huad menniskias frij wille ar. Huad then Christiga Kyrkian ar. Huad Christliga frijhet ar (frij aff dieffuulens och syndenes tyrannij genom Jesum Christi dodh och vpstandilse). Huad christligh helgd ar. Huad rett helgom ar. Hwilke the rette antichriste och falske propheter are (alla som gudz ordh, then helga scrifft forfalska, laggiandes ther noghot til, eller taghandes ther noghot aff, och ey blijffwa widh then retta scrifftennes mening, och wilia doch at thet the saa lara och sa foregiffna, skal hallas lijka widh gudz bodh. Huad gudz ord ar. Huad menniskio stadgar are. Huad christelighet ban ar. Huad gudz rike ar.

70. Works², II, pages 525-558.

71. Kom helge ande herre god/ besok vor hierta giff oss modh/ lat oss fa tina helga radh/ och war med oss

Send unto us Thy Holy Word,
 And let it guide us ever;
 Then in this world of darkness, Lord,
 Shall naught from Thee us sever;
 Grant us, O Lord, this favor.

Come, Holy Ghost, Thy grace impart,
 Tear Satan's snares asunder,
 The Word of God keep in our heart,
 That we its truth may ponder.
 Then, sanctified, for evermore,
 In Christ alone confiding,
 We'll sing His praise and Him adore,
 His precious Word us guiding
 To heavenly joys abiding.⁷²

In the field of liturgics Olavus Petri not only wrote and collected hymns and produced the first Swedish Hymn Book,⁷³ but he wrote also the first

j radd och dadh. For een san trost tu kender ar/ sal ar then man som tu est nar/ the harda hierta gor tu week/ och giffuer then en rett kerleck. Till liws tandt j worst morka sin/ giff kerlecks dygd j hiertat in/ hwad oss fela och brista ma/ lat oss aff tine styrkio fa. J tijt gaffno est tu margfal gudz hogra handz finger vtwald/ tu larer Christe lariungar/ prisa gudh med monga tungor. Wor fienda ifra oss drijff/ och tu med friden nar oss blijff/ leedsaga oss j alla stund/ at wij ondfly dieffuuls fund. Gudh fadher tu oss kenna laar/ med sonnen som frelsare ar/ lat oss ock lara thet nast/ at tu vtaff them vtgongen est. Gud fadher och hans eende som/ warde prijsat j himmels thron/ them helga anda skke ock sa/ han late oss sijn nader fa.

72. Hymn 166 in the Hymnal and Order of Service, authorized by the Evangelical Lutheran Augustana Synod, Rock Island, Illinois, 1925. (Olavus Petri is given the honor of producing the first Swedish Psalm Book. See "Den Svenska Psalmboken" by J. W. Beckman and also "Vara alsta Psalmbocker" by H. Schuck. In these psalm books are several of Petri's hymns.)

73. The first Swedish Hymn Book consisted of a few solemn hymns. No copy extant. But it perhaps consisted of several or all of the hymns (ten in all)

Manual (Handbook) in the entire Protestant Church.

Unquestionably therefore this Handbook should be given much more space in Church Histories and should be presented as a basic historical study in Religious Education in the Protestant Church.⁷⁴

The nucleus of the manual is the Sacrament of Baptism and guidance in comforting the sick. The introduction reads as follows: "At the Council held this year at Orebro, it was considered that the Sacrament of Baptism may be administered (wel motte skee) in Swedish; also it was thought that some instruction should be given in print for the benefit of the sick who ask to be prepared for their death, so that the untutored clergy might have some guidance in their dealing with those on their deathbed."⁷⁵

This manual has recently been translated into English by Rev. O. V. Anderson as a part of his work submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at the University of Chicago. Anderson concludes his

found in an incomplete copy of the Hymn Book of 1530. (Nagre Gudhelige Wijsor utdragne aff den Helige skrift, the ther tiene till at siungas i then Christeliga Forsamlingen). Works², II, page 561. C. H. Schuck, "Vara alsta psalmbocker," Samlaren, 1891. Several of Olavus Petri's hymns are still in some of our Lutheran Hymn books.

74. Works, II, page 315. Bergendoff --- ETS., page 169.

75. Works, II, pages 315-316.

introduction to this translation with the words:

"The text of the manual from which this translation has been made is found in the four-volume collection of the Works (Samlade Skrifter) of Olavus Petri. Volume II contains the manual. The original text published in the 'Bidrag till Svenska Liturgiens Historia' by Oscar Quensel has been consulted."⁷⁶

Its contents are indicated by the following headings:

1. Olavus Petri to the Christian reader.
2. Baptism in Swedish.
3. A form to be used for those desiring to be married.
4. The churching of women.
5. An order for the visitation of the sick.
6. The burial of the dead.
7. Conclusion.

It concludes:

Here you have now, good Christians, a Swedish Manual which you may use in a Christian manner in those matters for which it is intended. I have herein (In accordance with my limited understanding) given my counsel, what one shall do in the case of baptism, marriage, the sick, extreme unction, and so forth. Of course, I permit some one else to do it better. I compel no one, but whosoever desires to use this form may do so. However,

⁷⁶. This translation was published in the Augustana Quarterly, Rock Island, Illinois, volume XVIII, July 1939 and October 1939, and volume XIX January 1940.

I think I dare say that this can be used in a Christian manner. Let him who is not pleased with this form make a better one. I gladly permit it; but let him take heed also that he does it in a Christian manner. I do not doubt indeed that there will be those who despise and condemn this one. It is easier to find ten who criticize and condemn a thing than to find one who will be able to make another just as good. It has now almost come to the point where he who has the least understanding criticizes the most. But let whomsoever will criticize it; I, nevertheless, give them all just one answer. Let them do it better; and when they have done that, I will thank them for it.

In the next point in his concluding statements concerning the manual Olavus mentions extreme unction.

I have herein changed extreme unction so that it shall be administered unto life and not unto death, and in this I have Scripture on my side as well as prayers which are in the Latin Manual. He who does not wish to regard this unction as I regard it, let him do as he pleases. Also he who is minded to regard unction as an external sign of the inward anointing which takes place through the Holy Spirit, as is also the case with regard to anointing with chrism in baptism, him I permit to retain his opinion although in this he does not have Scripture on his side. Nevertheless, I certainly do not wish to argue about such small matters. What I have here presented concerning the consecration and committal of the dead, I hope shall be more Christian than that which has been heretofore, when the minister has stood and read in a foreign language

things which he hardly has understood himself. Similarly many hymns have been misused, which did not pertain to the matter at hand.

The final remarks in the conclusion of the manual are an appeal to man's intelligence and a prayer to God for an early settlement of these controversial issues.

And even if we here in Stockholm have a different reputation, nevertheless let intelligent man who reads this book or hears it judge for himself if, in matters which are here presented, we act in a Christian manner or not, when we treat the sacraments and other matters according to the form which is here prescribed. God grant that those who desire to condemn all things might first carefully ponder and investigate what would be right or wrong, and then judge concerning it. But now he judges most who either understands least or wants to understand nothing; and yet everything must be as he says. But I hope that Christ Jesus, to whom this matter pertains, will come soon to settle the contentions at the day of the last judgment. Grant, O God, that this may take place soon. Amen.---
Vicenaotaua Aprilis (28th of April).⁷⁷

Olavus Petri gave Sweden the first Swedish Lutheran Mass, which he based upon the Canon form and Luther's form. He preferred the Canon form, but included some parts of Luther's Formula Missae(1523)

⁷⁷. Works, volume II contains the manual. Edv. Rodhe---
"Svenska Gudstjänstliv," Svenska Kyrkans Diakonistyrelses Bokforlag, Stkhlm, 1923, page 25. (O. V. Anderson's translation).

and also parts of Deutsche Messe (1526); parts even today clearly seen in the high mass of the Swedish church and which are seen in the following points (compare them with the high mass of today):⁷⁸

1. Olavus transformed the Confiteor of the Canon from a priestly to a congregational confession, with absolution. Luther had discarded this moment.
2. Introitus, Kyrie, Gloria, Laudamus were retained from the Canon. As Luther in the 1523 Formula Missae, so the Swedish Mass prescribed a psalm or other song from the Scriptures as Introitus.
3. The place of the Lectiones remained the same. Olavus and Luther (1526) suggested Lectio Continua in place of the pericope texts. Both had, for Gradual, the song of the "Ten Commandments."
4. The Credo retained its place, though Olavus prescribed that it should be read.
5. The Offertorium of the Canon was rejected by Luther and Olavus, and both (Luther in 1523, but not in 1526) combined Praefatio and Verba Consecrationis, though Olavus' form is not the same as Luther's. The Elevation was retained followed in Luther (1526) and Olavus by Sanctus and Pater Noster. Pax and Agnus Dei remained the same.
6. The Exhortation here inserted by Olavus was not according to Canon. Luther had one (1526) in another place.

⁷⁸. Den Svenska Psalmboken av konungen gillad och stadfast och nya psalmer av konungen gillad ar 1921 tillsammans med 1819 ars psalmbok, Stkhlm, Svenska Kyrkans Diakonistyrelses Bokforlag. Med Svenska Massan, pages 492-502.

7. The Words of Distribution were in Luther an alteration of the Canon; a Communion Hymn was common to both the Protestant forms.⁷⁹

Olavus Petri was first in many things. He also wrote the first reliable history of Sweden (factual), called "A Swedish Chronicle." The people received it half-heartedly, and even the king gave it little attention. But the chronicle was nevertheless widely circulated in manuscript form. Finally it became one of the most valuable manuscripts of the century.⁸⁰

The purpose of the chronicle was to guide and warn the children. "It is better to learn wisdom through the misfortunes of another than of ourselves." Its guiding principle was the truth.⁸¹

Olavus began his history with the time of Christ; and on facts gathered from Swedish and Danish chronicles, he gave a trustworthy history of the earliest Swedes. He mentioned the Goths and the Visigoths, but saw no real connection between them and the history of Sweden. Further, he described

79. Oscar Quensel --- "Bidrag Till Svenska Liturgiens Historia," II, pages 47-48. Bergendoff --- ETS., pages 150-151.

80. Bergendoff --- ETS., page 212.

81. Schuck --- "Svensk Litteraturhistoria," Stkhlm, 1890, page 256. L. Stavenow --- "Olavus Petri som historieskrivare," in Goteborgs Hogskolas Tidskrift, 1898.

the "condition of the peasantry" and explained "the system of coinage."⁸² He also explained the slow progress of Christianity. "The reason for the slow advance of Christianity was found in the paucity and methods of the missionary. The idolatry needs to be taken off the heart first, rather than the altar."⁸³

At the time of the first missionaries Swedish, English and German were practically alike.⁸⁴

Church history received much attention.⁸⁵

"The origin of written law was explained and extracts from the law book were included."⁸⁶

The life of Birgitta received some space, but her visions Olavus considered mostly mere dreams.⁸⁷

The founding of Uppsala University was given.⁸⁸

Olavus felt that history should benefit the future, otherwise it has no value. He had no interest in wars. (He was a pacifist.) And concerning the wars between Sweden and Denmark he said,

82. Works, IV, page 37.

83. Ibid., page 39.

84. Ibid., page 40.

85. Ibid., page 44.

86. Ibid., page 54.

87. Ibid., page 113.

88. In the year 1477.

"Harm and destruction have been the lot of both."⁸⁹

Bergendoff gives a short sketch of this chronicle in the following words:

The history of Sweden, Olavus argued, could be written only for the previous three hundred years, the period following the establishment of Christianity in the land. The origin of the nation was uncertain, though presumably the Swedes were part of the northern Germanic race settled in Germany, England, and Scandinavia. The language, legal methods, and similar customs favored this theory. --- In the legends of the raids and life of the Vikings he found little that could throw glory on his nation. "It would be greater honor for us if our ancestors had always been peaceful and gentle, remained at home and been contented with what God had given them, and not robbed and plundered others." The pre-Christian inhabitants had a religion similar to that of other German tribes. Thor, Odin, and Freja, corresponding to the Roman Jupiter, Mercury, and Venus, were the principal deities, with Uppsala as the chief center of worship, where living sacrifices were made in national assemblies every ninth year. Gods corresponding to the Roman Ceres, Neptune, and Saturn seem also to have been worshiped.⁹⁰

89. Ibid., page 36.

90. Bergendoff --- ETS., pages 212-213. Concerning primitive Swedish history the historian Gustaf Oscar Augustin Montelius (1843-1921) has given a complete picture. And an outstanding historian who wrote on Norse Mythology is Rasmus B. Anderson. Plus a number

In its early ages Sweden was divided into two parts. For years the southern part of the country was a matter of contention between Sweden and Denmark. Olavus also refers to a "lively commerce" with England.

The title of the Swedish king --- King of Gotha and Svea --- indicated that the kingdom had not always been one, and it was known that southern Sweden had often been shifted between Sweden and Denmark. Formerly, probably four hundred years ago, there had been a lively commerce with England, of which the presence of much English mintage testified. This was practically all that could be said of the heathen period of Sweden's history, which had left no historical records save some Runestones scattered here and there in the land.⁹¹

Olavus Petri was a teacher of preachers and the father of evangelical preaching in Sweden. He opened up the way for worship in the Swedish language. He

of others, notably Viktor Rydberg, who undoubtedly is the greatest authority on Norse Mythology. With a thorough knowledge of the primitive and mythological ages in Sweden, one can appreciate better what Olavus Petri has to say on these subjects in his chronicle. 91. Bergendoff --- ETS., pages 212-213. (It is known now that the records are much more extensive. They are found in dolmens and grave mounds. During the stone age (Kummelaldern) the dead were buried in heaps of stone. Then followed the cremation period (Brannaldern). The third period was (Hogaldern) when the dead were placed in piles, for example, the mounds at Old Uppsala, known as Kings' Mounds (Kungshogarna). Oscar Montelius in histories on primitive life in Sweden makes this clear. But Petri's history is nevertheless trustworthy and ranks high as a study in history and should be given special attention also in the History of Religious Education.

placed preaching above the mass. (The Latin Mass he considered a mosaic of the original church.)⁹² He wrote two postils, including catechetical works, special sermons and general homiletical treatises.⁹³

Of the two postils (1528 and 1530) the 1530 is more to the point. Its preface declares, "Certainly it would be best if one read the Scriptures themselves, if the intelligence allowed, yet where it does not, we have, in this postil, however simple it is, invalidated their excuse, so that our parish preachers cannot say that they do not understand the text, and thus know not how to preach. Here the meaning is expressed so simply, that even if one read from the book to the people it would not be without fruit."⁹⁴

The formula of the sermons in the postils is simple: "The text, a paraphrase of the contents and an application of its teachings." Sometimes the occasion of the text is briefly explained. Generally the application consists of two or three points and is not so long as the main body of the sermon, the paraphrase. The sermons cover the regular Church Year

92. Works, IV, pages 180-182.

93. See pages above for some of this material, source material in this dissertation and Works.

94. Works, IV, page 5.

together with its main holidays; practically the same Sundays as in the present-day Lutheran pericope.⁹⁵

The following are Sundays and Festivals in the 1530 postil: Candlemas, Annunciation, St. John the Baptist, Visitation, Our Lady (Virgin's Death), St. Michael, All Saints, Days of the Apostles, Days of Holy Men not Apostles, Christmas, Epiphany, Lenten, Easter, Trinity and Advent Sundays, Ash Wednesday, Good Friday and so on.⁹⁶

Olavus Petri considered the preaching of the Word of God a great responsibility and felt that it should be preached in a simple manner. The sermons should be evangelical and educational in order to teach the unlearned to think for themselves and lead them to a real personal relation to God. Olavus called himself a preacher of the Word of God. He was not like the monk preachers who preached in Swedish and who often appeared preaching in the streets and market places. Their sermons however were more about signs and fables than anything else. But Petri's

95. Works, postils. Bergendoff --- ETS., page 184.

96. Ibid., page 184. See the Sundays and Festivals in the Swedish Psalmbok, 1921, under the heading Arliga Hogtider och Sondagar, Evangelier och Epistlar och stycken ur den Heliga Skrift over vilka predikas i hogmassan och aftonsangen av konungen faststallda, Stkhlm, Svenska Kyrkans Diakonistyrelses Bokforlag. (It is also believed that Olavus Petri is the author of a Biblical drama, "Tobiae Comedia," which he considered another kind of sermon --- hence first to introduce after the Reformation religious dramatic presentations. Works III, page 395. Cf. Schuck-Wahrburg and also Bergendoff, ETS, pages 195-197).

sermons were evangelical; a simple interpretation of the Bible.⁹⁷

Olavus Petri was also the author of the first Swedish legal work; a book on jurisprudence. When he served as secretary of the City Council in Stockholm 1524-1531 and as Swedish Chancellor he became deeply interested in the laws of the land. But his legal works were not published until 1619. Concerning the law Olavus felt that it should always be a guide, never a taskmaster. He said that a man's attitude toward the law determines whether or not he is a master or a slave. The following are quotations from his works on jurisprudence: "A good and honest judge is better than good law." "One shall not correct evil with double evil." "The envious shall not testify." "All is not true that is probable." "What one likes one easily bears witness to." "All punishment should be for improvement."⁹⁸

97. Works --- volume I, page 315 and page 353; volume III, page 473; volume IV pages 374, 375, 395, 443, 506, 579; volume III, page 513; volume II, page 449; volume III, pages 519-555. See Lasebok for Folk-skolan, tionde uppl., fullstandigt omarbetad och reviderad, forst --- fjarde arsklasserna, P. A. Norstedt & Soners Forlag, Stkhlm, 1911, page 567. Read also pages 565-570.

98. Works --- volume IV, page 301.

April 19, 1552, Olavus Petri passed away, only 60 years of age. But he had lived a life in a great faith and in great works. He served as reformer, preacher, teacher, lawgiver. In Swedish history and in History of Religious Education in Sweden Olavus Petri is indeed the first in many things.

For example, he must be given credit for writing the first evangelical book (An Useful Teaching) produced in Sweden, the first critical history of Sweden, the first extensive Swedish book on jurisprudence,⁹⁹ the first basic Swedish translation of the New Testament,¹⁰⁰ the first Swedish Postilla,¹⁰¹ the first Swedish Psalmbook,

99. Certain laws of the land had been published, such as East Gothic and West Gothic laws. The latter was put into writing during the first half of the 13th century and is now considered the oldest book extant in Swedish. Another law concerning land territories which became of value in the rural sections of the entire country (landsbygden over hela riket), namely, Magnus Erickssons Landslag (1350). See Grimberg's "Sveriges Historia for Folkskolan," Femte uppl. Stkhlm, 1916, pages 57-58. See any History of Sweden by such authors as Montelius, Fryksell, Otte, Hildebrand, Geijer. But Petri's book here considered is the first Swedish book on the Philosophy of positive law and its administration.

100. Olavus Petri's translation of the Gospels, Romans, I and II Corinthians served as basic material for the official translation. Petri's work "determinative and the role of Laurentius Andreae was that of revisor." See Bergendoff --- ETS., pages 104-111.

101. Because of its importance this Postilla and its historical background should be made a special study. A volume on this subject would be an invaluable contribution.

the first Swedish Handbook (also the first in the Protestant church), the first Swedish Catechism and the first Swedish translation of the entire Bible (under his direction and guidance).¹⁰² But among Swedish people in general Olavus Petri is best known as the great reformer in Swedish history.

However it was not until the Uppsala meeting 1593 that Sweden became officially a Lutheran country. Then Sweden accepted the two fundamental principles: Biblia Sacra and Sola Fide; the formal and the material principles; the Word of God and justification by faith. And at the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648 the separation of the Swedish Church and Rome was definitely established. After this treaty the church of Sweden was assured a place as a national evangelical church.¹⁰³

The closing date of the Uppsala meeting is March 20, 1593, a date which is celebrated every hundred years with great festivities.

102. These productions are invaluable contributions in Religious Education in Sweden.

103. Concordia Pia --- Evangeliska Lutherska Kyrkans Symboliska Bocker jamte Uppsala Motes beslut av ar 1593, samt ett kort historiskt foretal av Peter Fjellstedt, Gefle, 1854, tryckt hos E. S. Forssell.--- Handbok i Lutherska Kyrkans Symbolik jamte jamforande oversikt av de ovriga kyrkans bekannelser utgivna av Anders Blomstrand, Theol. Symbol., Docent vid Lund Universitet, Stkhlm, tryckt pa Bokhandlaren P. A. Hultbergs Forlag uti Berlingska Boktryckeriet i Lund, 1855.

Thus far in this historical survey, An Interpretation of the History of Religious Education in Sweden, it is observed that the interpretation reveals an attitude that became more and more sympathetic, more reasonable. The emphasis shifted from one on the church as an institution to one on the Holy Scriptures, a vital step in the evolution of Religious Education. The translation of the Bible, its publication in printed form, the Catechism, the Postils were a powerful stimulus to Religious Education in Sweden. The dominant idea, the relationship between reflective thinking on the highest levels in life (spiritual levels) and human life in its immediacy, their interaction, their blending together into a harmonious whole, came into a clearer light. It was a complete empirical observation on the basis of the history of Religious Education in the Ecclesiastical Transformation in Sweden (1521-1552, specifically).

In the next chapter a further development of this synthesis will be followed into a more definite beginning of the spiritual-psychological approach or more real beginnings of realism and the empirical approach in Religious Education in Sweden; especially through Schartau and his school (a very effective

school among such schools as the Rosenius school, the Fjellstedt school, the Alingska school) and several other men among Sweden's greatest democratic and scientific thinkers (philosophers). The approach as stated becomes more empirical, the extremes are brought closer together (more toward a reasonably progressive philosophy of education, a psychologized education, better teaching and training methods, a clearer idea of the educational process).

CHAPTER III
THE PIETISTIC AND THE
PSYCHOLOGICAL MOVEMENTS IN SWEDEN

The more definite beginnings of the empirical approach and the integration of Religious Education and sense realism in Sweden.

The major part of this chapter is built up around Henric Schartau (1757-1824), Viktor Rydberg (1828-1895) and Pontus Vikner(1837-1879). These men are rich and daring in philosophical and educational thinking. They lived in the changeful and iconoclastic 19th century.

Their background, the 17th and the 18th centuries, was definitely touched by educational trends on the continent. There Amos Johann Comenius (1592-1670), the last bishop of the church of the Bohemian Brethren, labored and attained great fame as an educator. He felt that a young tree can be bent this way or that way much more easily than an old tree, and he believed in perpetual exercises in virtuous living. He said, "A new born infant can not be taught piety. Schools should be pleasant and present a way of life." Hundred years later Zinzendorf took up these principles and also emphasized the need of proper envi-

ronments for spiritual growth. He strongly advocated grade worship and teacher-pupil companionship. Both Comenius and Zinzendorf were primarily interested in the nature of children and embodied in themselves the early beginnings of child psychology, the early emphasis on the nature of the child's mind and the nature of its workings.

Comenius visited Sweden twice, once in 1642 and the second time in 1648. Sweden knew of his fame, which his books the "Magna Didactica" and the "Janua Reserata" (Geoffnete Sprachentur) had established in all the learned centers of the world. Except the Bible there was no other book so well known as the "Janua Reserata." From Sweden Comenius received a call to reform its schools and put his ideas of education to practical use. But he declined this call, because he did not want to take upon himself "so heavy and dangerous a burden."¹

Comenius had in mind to write a book including universal wisdom, and in 1637 he wrote some ideas concerning this matter, which he sent to an admirer in England by the name of Hartlib, who without his con-

1. "Comenius: His Life and Principles of Education" by Ossian Herbert Lang, author of "Basedow: His Life and Educational Works," New York and Chicago, E. L. Kellogg and Co., 1891, in Teachers' Manual 1922, page 19.

sent published them. This work was called "Pansophiae Prodigium" (Forerunner of the Universal Wisdom). It was not, however, until 1641 that Comenius was in England to write his great Pansophia. But internal difficulties there, "the Irish Insurrection and the differences between Parliament and Charles I," hindered him in all his plans. And for these reasons he left England the next year without even beginning his great book.²

While in England he received a second call to Sweden. This time from a rich Dutch nobleman, Lewis de Geer, "the great Alms Dispenser of Europe," according to Comenius. Thinking that Sweden might help reestablish the Moravian Brethren who had been persecuted and scattered and of whom Comenius was the last bishop (the Moravians were reorganized by Zinzendorf about 100 years later), and also thinking that Sweden might help him in realizing his pansophic college, he accepted this invitation.³ The summer of 1643 he left for Sweden.

Almost immediately upon his arrival, Comenius was

2. Ibid., pages 20-21.

3. The School of Infancy, an Essay on Education of Youth, during their first six years, by Johann Amos Comenius, to which is prefixed a sketch of Comenius' life by Daniel Benham, London: W. Mallalieu and Co., 97, Hatton Garden, 1858, page 57.

called to Stockholm by the great Chancellor Axel Oxenstierna who was very much interested in education and who had for a long time felt the need of a thorough reform of the schools of Sweden. Together with Skytte, chancellor of Uppsala University, Oxenstierna questioned Comenius closely, especially regarding the foundation of his scheme or philosophy of education. Both of these men were quite satisfied with Comenius and recommended the continuation of Pansophia, but they felt that Comenius should first satisfy the great need of the national schools by writing school books for them according to his educational ideas and methods.⁴

Comenius was given a pension and advised to live with his family in Elbing (West Prussia), which belonged to Sweden.⁵

In the conference mentioned above Oxenstierna said to Comenius,

From my youth I have observed something forced and incoherent in the method of instruction commonly used, but could not discover where the impediment lay. At length, being sent by my king of glorious memory (Gustavus Adolphus), as legate to Germany, I held conference there

4. Ibid., page 58.

5. Ibid., page 58.

on the subject with various learned men; and when I learned that Wolfgang Ratich had attempted an amendment of the method, I could not rest until I had a personal interview with him; when instead of favoring me with a conference, he presented me with a large quarto volume. With avidity I executed the task imposed upon me; and having perused the whole book, I discovered that he had succeeded in detecting the disease of the schools, but the remedies he suggested seemed to be deficient. Your remedies rest on surer foundations.⁶

This statement is a genuine expression of a seeking soul and reveals a consciousness of the educational development from a priori tradition and absolute perfection to an inquiring attitude and the empirical approach; from a narrow, dogmatic knowledge to a pansophic, encyclopedic process of learning.

On the second day Oxenstierna questioned Comenius further, but this time concerning the Pansophia; and being quite assured that Comenius could stand contradictions, he said that the idea of a better state of affairs seemed impossible for two reasons in particular, the political and the Scriptural. The Scriptures he thought predicted a break up of things, a break up in the apocalyptic sense; and therefore it would be better to improve the state of affairs after

6. Ibid., page 58.

the break up. So why study the Pansophia? But Comenius had an answer to all of Oxenstierna's questions and evidently won him over to his ideas enough to make him finally conclude: "I think that such things as these have hitherto entered into the mind of no one. Stand firmly on those fundamentals, and we shall both eventually arrive at the same results, or but little difference between us still remain. My counsel, however, is that you satisfy the wants of schools by rendering a knowledge of the Latin of easier acquisition, and thereby preparing the path of a readier approach towards those more sublime studies."⁷

Upon Mr. De Geer's advice Comenius accepted the proposal made by Oxenstierna and stepped down to labor on Latin letters, but he hoped that within a year or so he would be able to assume his higher intellectual studies. He hoped in vain. For fully six years he labored on textbooks; grammars and lexicons for the Swedish Latin schools. This time or these years he called "the miry entanglements of logomachy."⁸ However, two things consoled him: 1) He had more time for philosophical observations and judgment, and 2) he

7. Ibid., page 59.

8. Ibid., page 61. See also the Development of Modern Education by Frederick Eby and C. F. Arrowood, New York, Prentice Hall, Inc., 1941, pages 255-256.

felt that with the study of languages his greater wisdom might spread widely.⁹

The total fruits of these years were the "Novissima Linguarum Methodus," (the Newest Methods) and five other linguistic works. These Comenius submitted to a Swedish commission for approval, and after revising them once more had them published.¹⁰

The following is a quotation from Professor Laurie's book, which quotation shows the universal importance of "Novissima Linguarum Methodus":

The most important and indeed the only important treatise by Comenius on method in addition to the *Didactica Magna* and the short treatise on the mother school --- is entitled "Novissima Linguarum Methodus," firmly erected on didactic foundations, demonstrated in special relation to the Latin Tongue, adapted with precision to the use of the schools, but also capable of application with advantage to other kinds of studies. It was published 1648 and consists of thirty chapters. The first five are occupied with the consideration of language itself, beginning as is customary with the author, *ab ovo*, and approaching the question he has to solve in the most systematic way. There is nothing in these chapters worth producing for our times.

9. *Ibid.*, page 61.

10. Comenius: His life and Principles of Education by Ossian Lang, New York and Chicago: E. L. Kellogg and Co., 1891, in *Teachers' Manual* 1922, page 22. See also "Johann Amos Comenius, Bishop of the Moravians, His Life and Works" by Simon S. Laurie, Professor of the Insti-

Indeed, it may almost be said that like much of Comenius's writing they are characterized by a wearisome, elaborate and painfully systematic statement of commonplace. There is no penetrating light cast into any dark place.¹¹

The list of books by Comenius written during his six years at Elbing include: "The Novissima Linguarum Methodus," solidly based upon Didactic Foundations, a Vestibulum, a new edition of the Janua, A Latin-Vernacular Grammar for the Janua and a Lexicon, published later in 1656 at Frankfort.¹²

The Vestibulum, a Latin Primer, has about one thousand Latin words, selected and put into short sentences, which deal with things and their properties. It has seven chapters and four hundred and twenty-seven sentences. The following is a brief outline of the book:

Chapter I. Concerning the accidents or qualities of things; no verbs being used save the substantive verb, e.g. "Deus est aeternus; mundus temporarius. Color est multiplex;

tutes and History of Education in the University of Edinburgh, London: Paul French and Co., I Paternoster Square, 1881, pages 156-157.

11. Ibid., page 157. This accounts for the fact that Swedish historians do not treat this matter in their books thoroughly. The following are examples: "Ur kallorna till Sveriges Historia," I, 1520-1721, by Emil Hildebrand and Carl Grimberg and also "Sveriges Inre Historia under Drottning Christinas Formyndare" by C. T. Odhner.

12. John Amos Comenius, Bishop of the Moravians, His Life and Educational Works by Simon S. Laurie, page 48.

Creta, alba, tabula nigra.
 Chapter II. Concerning the actions
 and passions of things.
 Chapter III. Treats the circumstances
 of things.
 Chapter IV. Things in the school.
 Chapter V. Things at home.
 Chapter VI. Concerning the city.
 Chapter VII. Concerning virtues.¹³

From the Lexicon the following is a good example
 (the 18th lesson):

Quadrupeda: Primum, mansueta pecora et
 jumenta. Quadrupes quid, 161: Partes
 illius essentielles, 162: genera, 163:
 pecora majore, 164: et minora, 165, 6,
 7, 8: jumenta, 169: canes, feles,
 mures, 170, 71, 72: 161. Quadrupeda
 progenerant foetum vivum, aluntqua
 lacte uberum: grandiola unicum et
 rarius, minutiora plures et
 frequentius. 162. Pro integumento
 habent vel pilos vel digitatos
 armatos unguibus (ut canis, etc.,)
 vel unguatos et quidem unguave
 solida (ut equus) vel bifida (ut bos).
 And so on through twelve paragraphs.¹⁴

This emphasis on things and sense impressions
 satisfied Oxenstierna, primarily, because he wanted
 for his people useful knowledge ("uppllysning och
 gagn"). He sensed among the people inability to
 instruct the children properly, confusion in the
 schools and a poor method of teaching languages.¹⁵

13. Ibid., pages 175-176. Note the emphasis on things.
 A new method breaking through, inductive, experimental,
 evolutionary, expanding.

14. Ibid., pages 185-186.

15. "Sveriges Inre Historia under Drottning Christinas



Axel Oxenstierna. Efter samtida kopparstick.

At that time the schools were closely tied up with the church; and hence, such a foundation or fundamental principle as found in the "Magna Didactica," "Of nature we learn how to teach and learn" (Comenius's emphasis on nature and man), had much not in its favor in traditional theology. But this idea and similar ideas were in the right direction and received the attention they deserved later on, particularly, in the 19th century.¹⁶

So far then in Sweden Olavus Petri and Comenius (the latter quite especially through Oxenstierna and Latin textbooks) are in the more or less immediate background of a definitely new educational emphasis and an educational transformation and development, into which came later on a more complete (reasonable) understanding of life, realism and an empiric tendency. This is felt rather keenly in the church development and in educational and philosophical thinking in the 19th century. For example, Schartau,¹⁷ Rydberg and Vikner (greatest thinkers inductively

"Formyndare" by C. T. Odhner, Stkhlm, 1865, P. A. Norstedt och Soner, pages 330-333.

16. Comenius: His Life and Principles of Education by Ossian Lang in Teachers' Manual 1922, pages 5-11.

17. Here Schartau's name must be mentioned. Who could take his place and who was so thoroughly Swedish? No one in the educational and democratic development.

during the 19th century in Sweden) come into this educational line of development.

But Religious Education in Sweden as in all countries for that matter is a relatively slow evolution. Certain church decrees and church laws indicate a slow and even a belated development. The following church decree, for example, shows a belated development: "The synodical decree introduced in the 17th century by Bishop Rubeck and Gegelins has become the general law of the land that none should be married who could not read; or had not learned the catechism."¹⁸

It is of special historical significance that the schools at this time were directly under the guidance of the church; the best leaders in the land, especially in education, were in the church. It meant that "the schools of Sweden are to be considered as a communal institution, under the direction of the pastors and their congregations. The sexton of the parish is very often the schoolmaster. The clergy are

Of course Schartau was not an empiricist in the strict Lockian sense, for example, but there was in him a genuine beginning of the more useful for practical life; a beginning of progressive ideas. One must know Schartau well and be sympathetic with empiricism in education in order to appreciate this. See pages 106-119 of this dissertation.

18. Anjou-Mason --- "History of the Reformation in Sweden," Sheldon and Company, 1859, page 656.

expected or required to visit these schools and to have oversight of the moral and religious requirements both of the teachers and pupils." However, "in every congregation a third class who may be termed school directors are to watch over the interests of education in the parish and see that in their districts proper schools are established and that children are religiously trained."¹⁹

The practice of teaching and testing the religious knowledge of the people was kept up until almost recent times. "Today the clergy in 'husforhor'²⁰ or meetings develop and test the religious knowledge of the parishioners by means of the catechism. The rector (kyrkherden) presides over the local church appointed by the church assembly (kyrkstamman)."²¹

But during the time of Karl XI, 1686, a new church law was passed. Then the king became almost sole ruler of the church. The people received a new catechism, a new church handbook and a new psalm

19. Ibid., page 656.

20. Examinations conducted in the homes of parishioners, naturally rather informal. "Husforhor" must be considered as informal Education in Religion and should be made for the present age a special subject for research. A volume should be written on informal Education in Sweden.

21. Ency. Brit., II ed., "Sweden."

book. And six years after the death of Karl XI a new translation of the Bible came out.²²

The following paragraph describes in general the spiritual culture of that day:

"The Swedish church received during the time of Karl XI the order of service which the church in the main has retained. For a long time work had been done on a new church law in Sweden when Karl XI appointed a commission to work out such a law, which became law 1686. Then the king became almost as powerful within the church as in the state; church authority was subjected to the secular power. Besides this a new catechism, a new church handbook and a new psalm book were published. A new translation of the Bible came out six years after the death of Karl XI. However most of the credit for all this work must go to the archbishop Olof Svebilius, bishop Hakvin Spegel and professor and later on bishop Jesper Svedberg. Through these men and their works the spiritual culture of the Swedish people has developed in a powerful and wholesome way. The king himself did much to enlighten the common people. He made the preachers responsible for the people's training to read in a book and to understand the main articles in the Christian religion. This was indeed necessary because there was much witchcraft in the land,

22. Odhner --- "Larobok i Fadernas Historia," 8th Edition, page 215. This shift from infallible authorities to human authority is another step in the introduction of a kind of realism in education in Sweden.

which manifested itself especially in the witchcraft in Dalarne and in witch hunts.²³ Hundreds of people, mostly women, were accused of witchcraft and that they were in touch with the devil. Many believed this and many were burned at the stake."²⁴

In 1689 the general catechism was adopted by the Lutheran Church of Sweden, and three years later the law was passed making it obligatory that a "curate and a precenter diligently instruct the children" and that "in the church be held examinations in the catechism every Sunday."²⁵

But the instruction by the ministers consisted mainly of hymn reading, catechism and Bible history; all of this was considered good Lutheran text book material, in which children were instructed. And children not indoctrinated in the Lutheran doctrines could not become citizens.²⁶

At this time there were in Sweden several outstanding men of learning. Olof Rudbeck, a naturalist (especially as a botanist), a linguist, an author, wrote his large Atlantika to show that Sweden

23. "Huru val detta behofvdes syntes bast af den forskrackliga vidskepelsen, som framtradde i trolldomsvasendet i Dalarne och haxprocesserna."

24. Odhner --- LFH, 8th edition, page 215.

25. Anjou-Mason --- "History of the Reformation in Sweden," page 395.

26. K. A. Jansoon --- Ency. of S. Sch. and N. E., volume 3. The Catechism and the Bible History in

was the cradle of the world, the oldest kingdom on earth and the first land of culture; and H. Spegel and Jasper Svedberg (mentioned on page 90) wrote psalms and did much to improve the Swedish language, which then was a mixture of other languages. Svedberg was the father of Emanuel Swedenborg whose contribution to religion and education will be mentioned later on in this dissertation.²⁷

The first part of the 18th century made valuable contributions to the world of science through such men as Karl Gustaf Tessin, A. J. Hopken, Karl Linnaeus (Karl von Linne), Jonas Alstromer, Erik Benzelius, Andreas Rydelius, Emanuel Swedenborg, Anders Celsius, Torbern Bergman, Nils Rosen, Axel F. Cronstedt, Johan Ihre, Olof Dahlen and Sven Lagerbring. Almost all of these men of science were professors at the universities, which through them gained a greater reputation than ever before, not only in Sweden but in other countries also.²⁸

Religious Education in Sweden are special studies in themselves and should be subjects for special study and research. The Psalm Book also has a long and complex history.

27. See pages 3 and 4 of the introduction.

28. Odhner --- LFH, 8th edition, pages 262-263. See page 4 of the introduction. Swedenborg has been and is being rediscovered and is considered Sweden's Aristotle by such authorities as Amandus Johnson, Ph.D., historian and director of the American Swedish Museum, Philadelphia.

The church in general, however, was still strictly orthodox, of the 16th century type, autocratically absolute; but new tendencies (Swedenborgianism and pietism) had begun to make themselves felt. There was a religious need that the State Church could not satisfy altogether.²⁹

The purpose of these new tendencies is best expressed in the light of their leaders, each one of whom contributed in a large measure to the development of religion and education in Sweden.³⁰

29. Odhner --- LFH., 8th edition, pages 261-263. Traditional philosophy and psychology which considered man as spirit and nature (matter) or which separated man from natural life were being questioned in a way and were beginning to be superceded by a consideration of man as a product of evolutionary forces. In religion a productive absolutism was at least beginning to break through. ("inom den svenska statskyrkan radde annu samma stranga ortodoxi som under 1600-talet och samma ofordragsamhet emot olika tankande. Men tillika borjade nya religiosa riktningar framtrada och utbreda sig i landet; sadana voro svedenborgianism och pietism. --- Bada dessa asikter framgingo ur ett religiosst behof, some de ansago sig tillfredstalla battre an statkyrkan. -- Rationalismen var den religiosa yttringen af den da i Europa radande kulturriktningen, som kallades upplysningen ("enlightenment"). Ibid., page 263). (Voltarian. "We know truth only by our reason. That reason is enlightened only by our senses. --- All men who pretend to supernatural revelation or inspiration are swindlers, and those who believe them are dupes." Lowell, Edward J., "The Eve of the French Revolution," Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1892, page 61. This pure sense realism was questioned as well as infallible dogmatism).

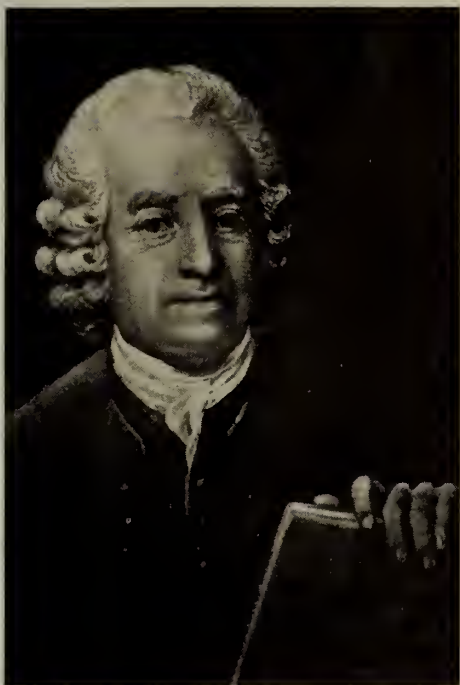
30. The influence of each one of these on the development of Religious Education in Sweden should be made the subject of special study and research.

The illustrious scientist and philosopher Emanuel Swedenborg (1688-1772) made an invaluable contribution to Religious Education, particularly, by leading away from teachings of unmodified absolute infallibility in religion (absolute dogmatics).³¹ He is considered Sweden's Aristotle.

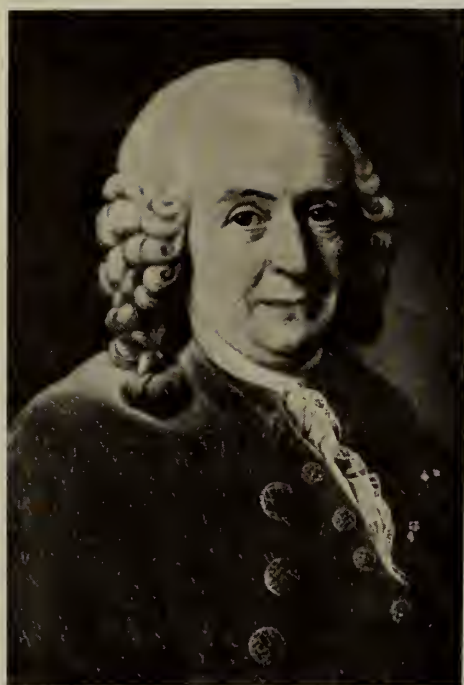
Swedenborg was not in any strict sense a teacher. He was rather a scientist and a philosopher. But his religious ideas and philosophical principles were among the first in Sweden in stimulating some realistic thinking among people; on a small scale, but successful early attempts.³² Certain theological beliefs had to be overcome; a deeper knowledge of human nature was necessary before a more balanced religious educational program could be introduced; values and facts had to be brought together in a harmonious relationship. It is for this reason that Swedenborg is briefly mentioned here. He lifts toward spiritual realism.

³¹. Swedenborg is one of the truly great minds in the world. He came from the highest spiritual and intellectual inheritance in Sweden. His father was Bishop Jesper Svedberg, an Army Chaplain, a popular educator and a psalm writer. See footnote number 28.

³². A man of spiritual power is not from a high spiritual level a mystic. Predominantly he is real. Swedenborg blended spirit and matter. He was too much a naturalist to be an ordinary mystic as so many seemingly think he was. By making him a mystic with



Emanuel Swedenborg.



Carl von Linné.

Carl Vilhelm von Scheele (1742—1786). One of the founders of the science of organic chemistry. In spite of having only the most meagre equipment at his disposal, he discovered various important elements such as oxygen, nitrogen, chlorine, manganese, barium, molybdenum and wolfram, as well as a number of organic acids of the greatest importance in biological chemistry.

Jöns Jakob Berzelius (1779—1848). Physicist and chemist. Exercised a great influence on the development of chemistry and mineralogy. He invented the system of chemical formulae still in use.

Kristofer Jakob Boström (1797—1860). The most original of Swedish philosophers. Influenced in particular the development of Political Science.

Anders Jonas Ångström (1814—1874). Physicist. He devoted himself especially to spectral analysis and has given his name to a unit of measurement used in that science.

Out of the theological teachings of his own day Swedenborg developed slowly. Dr. Helen Keller writes:

Swedenborg's own mind expanded slowly to the higher light, and with deep suffering. The theological systems of his day were little more than controversies and so full of long drawn out hair-splitting that they seemed like caverns in which one would easily get lost and never find one's way out again.³³

First of all Swedenborg had to define certain "important words" and put "new meanings into many others"; such important words as truth, soul, will, faith.

Swedenborg had to define important words such as truth, soul, will, state, faith, and give new meanings to many others so that he might translate more of the spiritual thought into common language. For love he had to find a special vocabulary, indeed, it almost seemed as if he were learning a different language.³⁴

In his "The True Christian Religion" he wrote:

The love whose joy is essentially good is like the heat of the sun, fructifying and operating on a fertile soil, on fruit trees and fields of

all the known noxious implications, they misinterpret him, and hence never learn to realize his real greatness.

33. "The True Christian Religion" by Swedenborg, a new translation by F. Bayley, M. A., introduction by Helen Keller, Everyman's Library, vol., 893, page xii.

34. Ibid., page XII.

corn, and where it operates is produced, as it were, a paradise, a garden of Jehovah, and a land of Canaan; and as light flowing into a crystal vessel in which are beautiful flowers, from which as they open breathes forth a fragrant perfume.³⁵

This is courageous struggling out of a rationalized world, unchangeable and determined.³⁶

Swedenborg struggled hard with the idea of God. What was He? Was He outside and unrelated to the natural world? Was He material substance? Consider the following:

Since God is a being, He is also substance; for unless being has substance, it is a fiction of the mind. --- Unless an idea were formed of God, as being the primary substance and form, and of His form as being the very human form, the minds of men would readily adopt vague, fantastic ideas concerning God Himself, the origin of mankind, and the creation of the world. --- It is for this reason that men remain merely in the atmosphere and material forms of nature, to which they acquire no other conception of heaven, and of the being and manifestation of God, than such as are atmospherical and material; and while a man thinks from these he forms no judgment concerning God, whether He is or is not, or whether He is one or more, and still less what He is to His being and manifestation.³⁷

35. Ibid., page xii.

36. Ibid., page xiii.

37. Ibid., pages 29-34.

Concerning Jesus Swedenborg says, "Moreover, His divinity can no more be separated from His humanity than the soul from the body; therefore, when it is said that the Lord as to His humanity is wholly present in the holy supper, it follows that His essential divinity is also present."³⁸

(This principle of spirit and matter together as one was carried forward and more closely defined by philosophers and historians like Viktor Rydberg, Pontus Vikner and others, and through these men applied to recent Religious Education; through their influence the minds of men were formed and brought farther into the stream of Religious Educational development. But it was a long process of development, a slow historical educational development.)

Swedenborg in his day certainly supported education, but considered Religious Education of greater value and importance. He felt that educators must build up the mind spiritually and morally. He said, "The effect of a sound education ought to be to educate the young to the same level of freedom and rationality which is enjoyed by their educators; and

38. *Ibid.*, page 755.

when they have reached that level they are in charge of the Lord alone and His truth, and He continues the process of education which is called regeneration."³⁹

Often it seems that it is hard for Swedenborg to blend spirit and matter into an interpenetrating whole, but he is in the direction toward this or in the process preparing the mind for this reconciliation.

The aim of education according to Swedenborg is to spiritualize man to the degree of the angelic level.⁴⁰ This is Religious Education. It is the conversion of the intellect to the highest self.

Here realism⁴¹ is strongly emphasized. The spiritual heaven is real also. Swedenborg was a great "speculative educationalist" and his main emphasis was on reality of things or realism (com-

39. A Cyclopedia of Education, edited by Paul Monroe, Ph.D., New York, Macmillan Co., 1913, page 482.

40. Ibid., page 483.

41. A sense-realist studies natural phenomena and uses the method of inductive reasoning. Comenius for example was a sense-realist, but there was also some symbolic sense in him. He was a transitional link between those who subjected education to religion and those who followed Locke and Rousseau. He felt that education should prepare men for everlasting happiness with God through knowledge, virtue and piety.--- Swedenborg believed that spiritual power and insight were the result of right living.

plete realism).⁴²

The following expressions summarize Swedenborg's dialectic: "1) To perceive is to take hold of something thoroughly, 2) to conceive is to grasp many things together, 3) to edify is to build up from the foundations, 4) a system to be of value for thought must be an interconnection of thoughts and not a juxtaposition of images and symbols, 5) a poetic metaphor needs to be free and spontaneous, alive and sprattling, like a fish just out of water and 6) a system of metaphors is an attempt to stereotype poetic genius, and means nothing to the dialectician unless, indeed, the latter is fortunately obsessed with the notion that spiritual insight is to be gained through the discovery of a dictionary and a dream book."⁴³

The moral and the spiritual consciousness sufficiently established in life expresses itself in ordinary words and patterns of expression. It is not separated or divorced from the world in which it finds

42. Ibid., page 483. Read also Swedenborg's "Education of Children in the Spiritual World."

43. David F. Swenson, professor of philosophy in the University of Minnesota, gives a very excellent interpretation of Swedenborg's philosophy, which is found in "Swedes in America, 1638-1938," Benson and Hedin, Yale University Press, page 272.

itself. This consciousness, when well defined, uses old words to express itself in the meaning of its new experience. It has not a separate language. Swedenborg followed this rule.⁴⁴

Swedenborg felt that it is in the experience of the relation of spiritual consciousness and a tangible substantiality that man finds himself; is conscious of self; has life and is free.

But pause awhile, dear reader, and consider whether any man could possibly have been created without free-will in spiritual things; if you take from him that freedom, he is no longer a man but a statue. For what is free-will but man's power to will, act, think, and speak, to all appearance as from himself? As this power was given him that he might live as a man, two trees were placed in the garden of Eden, the tree of life and the tree of knowledge of good and evil; and this signifies that man, by virtue of his freedom, has the power to eat of the fruit of either tree.⁴⁵

One fundamental principle in Religious Education is that God did not withdraw from the world but is theistically present. Swedenborg urged the same principle.

44. A process of thinking that comes from a deep understanding of life which in turn comes from high moral living.

45. Emanuel Swedenborg --- TCR, volume no. 893 in Everyman's Library, page 554.

God did not create evil, although He endowed man with free-will in spiritual things; and he never instills evil into any man, because He is good itself. God is omnipresent in good, and urgently seeking to be received; and even if He is not received, He does not withdraw. For if He did so, man would instantly die; in fact, he would be annihilated since he receives his entire subsistence from God.⁴⁶

The vital attitude of man's spiritual and mental life is here involved. Man is either master or slave--- above the law or under the law. It is either law for man or man for law. If man lives in spiritual harmony in the world he is free, otherwise not. If he develops in wisdom, knowledge and love, he is free. If he is wholesomely active in the relation of infinite and finite things he is real and has possibilities.

His (man's) body actually consists of such things as are in the earth and air; these he either breathes in or takes in as food and drink. His spirit also is created from finite things; for what is a man's spirit but a receptacle of mental life? The finite things of which it consists are spiritual substances and these are in the spiritual world, but they are latent in the elements of our earth. --- Who can reasonably suppose that the infinite could create anything but what is finite? Or what man being finite is anything but a form which the infinite

^{46.} Ibid., page 555.

may vivify from life which is in itself? And this is meant by the words: 'Jehovah God formed man of the dust, and breathed into his nostrils the breath of life.' Gen. 2:7.⁴⁷

Hence with Swedenborg spiritual freedom or free-will means equilibrium, balance, midway between two opposing worlds, the good and the evil. The attitude of all human beings in this midway region is either with God or with the evil. However, the midway theoretically is neither good nor bad.⁴⁸ It is rather a development in the good or the bad. The trend is away from a strict absolutism and instead in a synthetic development.⁴⁹

Swedenborg gave his last years over to spiritual contemplation and activity or to a strong emphasis on a new synthesis in the spiritual direction and became very conscious of the cosmic purpose or the creative power in the universe. He entered into a moral-religious anxiety in which he concentrated upon victory over sensuous desires. He sought peace of mind and divine grace and a high spiritual union.

47. Ibid., page 538.

48. Since life is not absolutely perfect nor its ideals, it is necessary to consider the direction man is in. "Divine Love and Wisdom" by Swedenborg, Swedenborg Foundation, 51 East 42 Street, New York, 1940, pages 260-349.

49. Ibid., pages 42-65.

And he found spiritual rest in the consciousness of the spirit of Jesus Christ.⁵⁰

There is in Swedenborg some definite infiltration of the neoplatonic philosophy. This is to be expected. In his early years he was taught doctrines of infallibility and he was somewhat steeped in a priori traditions. He was brought up in a strict or orthodox Lutheran parsonage. His father as stated above was Jesper Svedberg.⁵¹

Though his interpretations seem often merely a kind of expansion of the old theology, his methodology is different. Instead of the procedure from up-down, it was rather the beginnings of the procedure from down-up. The oversource naturally was something by itself, but not without its relation to what had been. The procedure was something much rather empiricistic instead of something aprioristic.⁵²

50. Ibid., pages 667-705.

51. A Lutheran court preacher, professor of theology and bishop. In 1694 he published a hymnal, and in collaboration with Haquin Spegel another in 1695.

52. "Divine Love and Wisdom" by Swedenborg, Swedenborg Foundation Incorporated, 51 East Forty-Second Street, New York, pages 300-305. Read also introduction to "The True Christian Religion," vol., no. 893, in Everyman's Library, pages 12-13. "Only when Swedenborg arose out of the cold age of logic-chopping called the 18th century, did love as a doctrine again shine forth as the centre and life of all things. He interpreted the whole world of human experience as love and in terms of love --- states of love --- activities, powers, functions of love --- the con-

Forms of uses are of a threefold kind; forms of uses of the mineral kingdom, forms of uses of the vegetable kingdom, and forms of uses of the animal kingdom. The forms of uses of the mineral kingdom cannot be described because they are not visible to the eye. The first forms are the substances and matters of which the lands consist, in their minutest divisions; the second forms are aggregates of these, and are of infinite variety; the third forms come from plants that have fallen to dust, and from animal remains, and from the continual evaporations and exhalations from these, which are added to lands and make their soil. These forms of the mineral kingdom in three degrees represent creation in an image in this, that, made active by the sun through the atmospheres and their heat and light, they bring forth uses in forms, which uses are creative ends. This image of creation lies deeply hidden within their conatus (of which see above, n. 310).⁵³

structive, preventive and courage-stirring dictates of love. Moreover the seer discovered that love is identical with the Divine Itself, 'that the material universe is God's love wrought into forms suitable to uses of life, and that the Word of God, rightly understood, reveals the fulness and wonders of His love towards all the children of men. Thus at last a faint ray, travelling through infinity from the Divine Soul reached the mind of deaf, blind humanity, and lo, the Second coming of the Lord was an accomplished fact.' Introduction to "The True Christian Religion" vol. no. 893, in Everyman's Library, pages 12-13.

53. Ibid., pages 329-330. The empirical elements in Swedenborg are somewhat similar to those of Alexis Carrel. In "Man, the Unknown" he writes: "The general helps us to grasp the particular. Owing to abstractions created by the sciences of the human being, each individual can be clothed in convenient schemata. Although not made to his measure, these schemata approximately fit him. At the same time, the empirical consideration

Swedenborg achieved great learning and profound spiritual insight. He pressed very hard against difficulties in the way of both mind and flesh to know God and experience the values of spirituality or the blended energy of infinite and finite powers.

He gave his life to learn, and what could he do with his colossal treasure of knowledge! He was naturally glad when more light, more opportunity was let into his difficult days; but I question whether he ever felt at home upon earth after his 'illumination.' Only such face-to-face knowledge gives reality to things, since it springs from life, and Swedenborg's living testimony will shed a slow but ever-increasing light upon the dark 'hinterland' of our soul experience, and reinforce our groping with the daring of immortal purpose.⁵⁴

of the concrete facts determines the evolution and the progress of the schemas, of the Ideas, of the Universals. It continually enriches these abstractions. The study of a multitude of individuals develops a more and more complete science of the human being. The Ideas, instead of being immutable in their beauty, as Plato thought, move and expand as soon as our mind becomes immersed in the ever-flowing waters of empirical reality." "Man, the Unknown" by Alexis Carrel, Halcyon House, New York, fifty-ninth edition, 1938, page 236. 54. Ibid., Introduction, page 13. As a great scientist he spoke objectively of psychic abnormalities, visions, voices, hallucinations and pseudohallucinations. In his physiological interpretations he called these abnormalities. But he regarded them in his own experience as revelations of exceptional divine power. His mind was trained to deep, realistic and logical thinking. Daily he cultivated the trance state and spoke of the spirits he communed with. He was far above normal

During the time of Gustaf III (1746-1792) several tangible things were introduced into both Church and State. The king himself loved deeply the Swedish language and culture. In 1786 he instituted the Swedish Academy; the Cultural, Historical Academy of Antiquity, and the Swedish Opera and Theater. (The Swedish Academy is made up of eighteen members deeply interested in the cultivation of Swedish culture and Swedish history.) Gustaf III also gathered works of art, the beginning of the Museum of Art. He assembled around himself sculptors, architects and painters; for example, John Tobins (sculptor), Roslin (artist) and Adelkrantz (builder). In addition to these institutions he founded the Academy of Music. But he did not give science the same support. Yet among the younger men was a great chemist, Karl Vilhelm Scheele, who made many discoveries and was known in wide circles in Europe.⁵⁵

Gustaf III was instrumental in making Sweden

and average man. He made mistakes and manifested limitations which make him more human and effective among ordinary men. See his book *The TCR in Everyman's Library*, vol., 893, pages 791-859.

55. Odhner --- *Svensk Historia*, Stkhlm, P. A. Norstedt & Soners Forlag, 1904, pages 270-287. Also Grimberg --- *Sveriges Historia for Folkskolan*, P. A. Norstedt och Soners Forlag, 1916, pages 244-259.

independent culturally and deserves therefore much credit, but he had a character that was a mixture of changing characteristics. He was a superior genius, a man of great cultural creativeness, a man with a flaming love for his country; but he was very changeable, vain, pleasure-mad and lacking in a spirit of respect for law and order.

March 16, 1792, at a masquerade ball he was murdered.⁵⁶

During the time of Gustaf IV Adolf (1792-1809) Sweden lost Finland. At the peace conference in Fredrikshamn September 17, 1809, Sweden surrendered more than 1/3 of its territory to Russia; the entire Swedish Finland together with Aland, part of Vesterbotten and part of Swedish Lappland. Tornea and Muonia rivers became the dividing lines. For five hundred years Finland had been with Sweden and had shared with Sweden much joy and sorrow. Runeberg, the great Swedish-Finnish poet, through his "Fanrik Stals Sagner," writes magnificently of this relationship, the struggles and the separation.⁵⁷

These historic items give trends and developments in the life of the Swedish people and bridge over also

56. Ibid., page 285. Grimberg --- SHF, pages 260-261.

57. Ibid., page 298. Grimberg --- SHF, pages 261-269.

to the next creative character in the history of Religious Education in Sweden, a character that counteracted to some degree unwholesome attitudes in Religious Education. Two unwholesome attitudes existed. In one direction was enlightenment (aristocratic) and social life, dissipating and sensual; and in another direction was something morbid (this life a vale of sorrow).

Also Sweden at this time as elsewhere there were powerful forerunners of a more definitely realistic education. Even an overbalanced synthesis had to be counterbalanced in one direction or another. A strict absolutism had to give way to a synthesis of creative infallibility and a naturalistic observation and study of life.

One of these forerunners, one of the most influential of them, was the pietist Henric Schartau.

His primary interest was reality in religion, a psychological understanding of personality and a true relationship between teacher and pupils.

He manifested a deep and wide sympathy that qualified him as a teacher of religion in an age that

The first part of the document discusses the importance of maintaining accurate records of all transactions. It emphasizes that every entry should be supported by a valid receipt or invoice. The text also mentions the need for regular audits to ensure the integrity of the financial data. Furthermore, it highlights the role of the accounting department in providing timely and accurate information to management for decision-making purposes. The document concludes by stating that adherence to these principles is essential for the long-term success and stability of the organization.

The second part of the document provides a detailed overview of the company's financial performance over the past year. It includes a summary of the income statement, balance sheet, and cash flow statement. The text notes that the company has achieved a steady increase in revenue, primarily due to the expansion of its product line and the entry into new markets. However, it also identifies areas where costs have increased, such as in the marketing and research & development departments. The document ends with a forecast for the upcoming year, predicting continued growth and a focus on improving operational efficiency.

was breaking away from 16th century scholasticism and all the unnaturalness of its dogmatic teaching.

Therefore a more thorough understanding of this man is necessary (his life, his catechism and sermons and his psychological and pedagogical technique) in order to understand better the earlier developments of Religious Education in Sweden.

Henric Schartau was born in Malmo, September 27, 1757. His father was a city clerk and later a councilman. His mother was Ann Catherina Falkman.

Schartau's married life was rather tragic. According to his own words he married a widow against his own conscience. In his home there was really no harmony. Economically Schartau was far from a success.⁵⁸

However, among the followers of Schartau, a Schartau parsonage always had a beautiful religious atmosphere. It had festive morning and evening prayer sessions in which young and old, workers and servants took part. These Schartau servants often became an inspiration in the life of children. The highest ordained leader in the Swedish church today,

58. Viktor Södergren --- "Henric Schartau," Stkhlm, 1925. This author begins his book on Schartau with Schartau's married life. See also the article "Henric Schartau" in Ungdoms Vannen, Volume VI, December 1901, Augustana Book Concern, Rock Island, Ill., pages 380-382.

[The text on this page is extremely faint and illegible. It appears to be a multi-paragraph document, possibly a letter or a report, but the specific content cannot be discerned.]



Henrik Schartau.

tells of his nurse (a "Schartauan") in one of his shepherd letters to the ministers of Sweden.⁵⁹

These followers of Schartau also instituted small schools for little children, but whether or not these schools should be considered as an effort in establishing kindergartens⁶⁰ is a question. One authority writes, "A few of them (friends of Schartau), who had the gift of instructing little children and nurture them, established small schools, where children were taught handwork together with instruction in the first concepts of salvation. And it was a joy to realize how these little children grasped this instruction and the desire they manifested as they received it."⁶¹

A present-day Swedish clergyman, a doctor of theology, Gosta Nelson, says that Lindeblad's information can be considered as a superior source.

59. Archbishop Erling Eidem --- an article in "Ur minnets dagbok," a Christmas magazine to the congregations of Goteborgs stift, 1938, pages 124-125.

60. Not in the strict Froebellian sense. But these Schartau schools for children existed before Froebel's Kindergarten, permanently established 1840. The first American Kindergarten was opened 1855.

61. Assar Lindeblad --- "Henric Schartau lefnad och lara," 2 uppl., Stkhlm 1864, page 59. This statement is also found in H. Hagglund's book on "Henric Schartau, till hundraarsminnet," Stkhlm, 1924, page 262. Lindeblad was Schartau's first biographer.

Lindeblad in turn refers to one man in particular, undoubtedly, Professor J. Holmbergsson.⁶² Dr. Nelson also says that it is possible to characterize Schartau as a pioneer in reaching down to the level of little children in teaching them religious concepts, but that it is a question whether it is possible to characterize him as a pioneer in the field of the kindergarten. He rather doubts its possibility in a scientific presentation. But he feels that in case the concept of the kindergarten is quite inclusively considered so as to include Schartau's efforts other similar efforts should be included also, for example, those of Tolstadius and Murbeck. However, concerning these latter the material is less reliable.⁶³

62. Holmbergsson was one of Schartau's intimate friends.

63. In a letter dated Uppsala, Sweden, October 9, 1942, written by the Archbishop of Sweden, Doctor Erling Eidem, is the following: "A few days ago I received your letter of August 24th. At once I wrote to a Swedish clergyman, theol. Dr. Gosta Nelson, Bokenas, of the diocese of Goteborg, who knows the literary work and the history of Henric Schartau better than any other Swedish scholar, and asked him the questions you have put to me. I have the honor to transmit to you a copy of his letter. For my part I am sure that it is impossible to characterize the work in question as a kindergarten in the usual meaning of the word." The following is from Dr. Nelson's letter: "Beyond this (Lindeblad's statements on Schartau's schools for little children) nothing further could very well be gained through research." ("Torde intet ytterligare kunna vinnas genom efterforskningar.")

The question was also asked concerning Schartau's kindergartenlike school, What was its method? Nelson answers that one could perhaps refer to a letter by Schartau in Lindeblad's book and also to Ivar D. Wallerius' Bidrag till Henric Schartaus minne. A further source, "Ur aldre kallar" (some of which are not yet published), contains Schartau's statement concerning the Lancaster method, which Schartau in general favored. In a letter to his sister, September 1822, he wrote the following:

The so-called Lancaster method of instruction crowds out Religious Education in our schools, partly because its method is not entirely suitable for religious instruction and partly because its tendency is such that it brings in numerous secular studies. It also trains people in many subjects more or less superficially and makes them self-conceited, which eventually will lead them to a general uprising against the established authority. When the laborer knows everything concerning divine knowledge, he no longer limits himself to his own trade, and when the farmer learns that there are larger farms than his own, he will demand for himself a larger farm. Knowledge is useful, of course, even in material things, but then it must be guided and limited within its own purpose and be sufficient in its own activity. Otherwise, it will act like a conflagration that terrifies and destroys.⁶⁴

64. H. Schartau --- Letters concerning Spiritual things (Brev i Andliga Amnen), 5 edition, pages 355-356.

But to this letter the first editor of Schartau's letters, Professor J. Holmbergsson, attached the following note:

A careful reader understands readily that the author (Schartau) does not disapprove of the so-called Lancaster method, is not against the method itself. He merely points out the destructive results that might follow, if the method is misused. At the very time that Schartau wrote this letter, he related with much delight that a woman of the lower class in Lund conducted a school for poor children and that she had discovered a method of instruction, fundamentally very similar to the Bell-Lancaster method, long before the latter method had been made known in Sweden. Compare F. W. von Schubert's "Resa genom Sverige," I part, page 59.⁶⁵

65. The following statements are the original as received May 25, 1944, from Dr. Gosta Nelson, Bokenas, Sweden: Min kara Syster. September 1822. Den sa kallade Lancasterska undervisningsmetoden leder I) darhan, att Guds kunskap blir fran skolorna uttrangd, ty dels ar det undervisningssattet alldeles icke for den saken passande, och dels blir dar icke plats for kunskapen om evigheten, da barnen skola lara sa mycket av det som horer till tiden. For det andra leder den halva och otillrackliga mangkunnigheten dattill att bringa sjalvklokheter in hos allmanheten, vilket onskas dattill, att folkuppresningar ske overallt och tronerna omstortas. Nar hantverkaren vet besked pa himmelens lopp, sa later han icke inskranka sig till bestyrandet av sin verkstad, och nar bonden far kunskap om storre jordstracker an dem han odlar, sa vill han vara med i det vidstracktare bestyret. Upplysningen ar nyttig, aven i jordiska mal, men da maste den vara ledd han at sitt mal, styras inom sina granser och vara tillracklig for var sin sak. Annars liknar den en eldsvada, som endast forskracker och forstorer.

Schartau was very deeply sympathetic with children and sought methods and techniques suitable for his purpose in teaching them. He also established a kind of school for all his followers, who were called "Schartauaner," which school has already been alluded to in the mentioning of the Schartau Parsonage and the Schartau kindergartenlike school.⁶⁶ (He influenced particularly western, southern and northern Sweden.)

Schartau had an unusually deep religious background.

A strong influence in his life was his grandfather, also a councilman, who later became mayor. In his company Schartau as a boy experienced the joy and the goodness of his heavenly Father. But this

H. Schartau, Brev i andliga amnen, 5 uppl. s. 355-356.

Hartill har den forste utgivaren av Schartaus brev, professor J. Holmbergsson fogat foljande not: En uppmarksam lasare inser latt att forfattaren ej ogillar den sa kallade vaxelundervisningsmetoden i sig sjalv, utan endast anmarker de skadliga pafoljder, som aro att befara av dess missbruk. Vid samma tid som forfattaren skrev detta brev, omtalade han med fornojelse att en kvinna av lagre stand, som i Lund holl skola for fattiga barn, hade uppfunnit ett undervisningssatt, som i grunden var detsamma som det Bell-Lancasterska, langt forran detta i Sverige blev kant. Jamfor F. W. von Schuberts Resa genom Sverige, I delen sid. 59.

66. "Ur aldre kallor, delvis otryckta," Goteborg, 1925, 1st edition, page 185, and in the 5th edition,

strong influence he realized more fully in his youth, especially when he was drifting away once from the center of his heavenly Father's grace. He says, "I can remember how I found something solemn, dignified and important in the passages of Scriptures which my grandfather had written for me in a little book. When I read them to him I was in a state of an elderly converted Christian, expecting the greater degree of enlightenment which comes with growth and increasing years."⁶⁷

Besides his deep religious experiences in his childhood and youth, Schartau had a more than normal ability for learning. He attended the high school, then called the Latin school, which he said, "Gave me increased useful knowledge, but I also learned much evil from my comrades." At fourteen he was promoted to Lund University. But there he was constantly aware of his extreme youth, his immature

page 355. See also Assar Lindeblad's biography of Schartau and Henrik Hagglund's, "Kristendomskunskapen" af H. Schartau, Lund, C. W. K. Gleerups Forlag, 1892, introduction, page vi. Also Stomberg's History of Sweden, page 25.

67. S. G. Hagglund --- "Henric Schartau and the Order of Grace," a biography of Henric Schartau by Henrik Hagglund, a Swedish historian, tr. by S. G. Hagglund, Ph.D. (Brown University), Augustana Book Concern, Rock Island, Ill., 1926, pages 11-37.

self.⁶⁸ He had a very good pedagogue, though too cloistered in his studies to be of any real guidance in his life. There he saw also that "fighting, drinking and gambling were very general."⁶⁹

He received his Master of Arts degree at the age of twenty-one, the year after his religious conversion. He felt then that of the deeper spirit in religion he had been unconscious and that he had become more worldly than anything else. And concerning his deeper conversion he says, "I spent most of my time in my study. Scriver's Treasury had entirely captivated me, so that I did not tire of its verbose discussions, nor take offense at its somewhat inappropriate expressions and almost obsolete imagery, for it was God's supernatural power which perceptibly entered my heart, and overpowered my mind, which had previously wandered about in so-called honorable vanity."⁷⁰

Schartau was also led to a deeper appreciation of the Word of God and the sacraments which hitherto had not meant much to him, except something that ought to

68. Ibid., pages 12-13.

69. Ibid., page 13.

70. Ibid., page 14. (Schartau had been brought up in the school of absolute dogmatists who reconciled faith and reason and organized knowledge into a complete system on the basis of Aristotelian deduction).

be respected and something that ought to be used. He had a few habits in these things and nothing more. But after his conversion he received different attitudes; and concerning this latter development in his life he says,

The wise hand which had grasped my heart led likewise imperceptibly into the Word of God. Before I was aware of it, I was so captivated that I forgot everything in order to read the Bible. At that time there was to be communion in the church. Now my conscience smote me for this and also made it clear to me that I had otherwise prostituted this divine institution and gone to communion by habit or caprice, thus covering pointed sins and making a veneer for a finer worldliness. I was driven by an obscure need, by a hidden attraction, and by an incomprehensible craving. We had poor preachers, poor in preaching and in life, but the great Shepherd of souls kept His promise, which in like cases He has given His dearly bought sheep, even to those that have drifted away, 'I shall shepherd them according to their need.'

It was on the basis of this assurance that he went to the communion table; and the grace he received during the service leading up to the communion strengthened him.

During a wretched and careless altar address He gave me grace so that, while reading the confession, I had a living insight and a conviction, especially at the words, 'I therefore know that I am worthy of hell and eternal condemnation.' I clearly

understood that, if I should depart from this world in that condition, I would certainly be lost, condemned just as surely as I then sat in the church pew. But I also received grace to accept the words of absolution unto forgiveness, by virtue of the words and promises of Jesus, an assurance based upon His atonement and confirmed in Holy Communion. Since that day I have, by the powers of God, and in spite of errors and much wavering been preserved unto salvation.⁷¹

After his conversion Schartau began to feel the influence of the Moravians. Concerning this experience he says, "Like one who partakes of food without nourishment I became spiritually enervated. My peace of soul wavered, and I lacked strength unto victory, although I had not capitulated nor surrendered my weapons." But he came out of this struggle victoriously. He says further, "The hope anchored in redemption alone remained." It was through inner agony, struggles with God, he found the way of life or the course mapped out for him.⁷²

⁷¹. Ibid., pages 14-15.

⁷². Ibid., page 16. "Moravians had a very early connection with Sweden. When Zinzendorf (1700-60) founded his community at Herrnhut in 1727 he had a fellow worker in assessor C. H. Gundelstierna, who was also of use to himself in his own religious development. Through him and through Swedes the church of the Brethren was introduced into the country in the years 1739-44 when two centres were established, one in Stockholm and one in West Gothland. Its influence was great, salutary and

Schartau could not feel at home where emotionalism was emphasized too much. By nature and training he demanded a stronger emphasis on the holiness of God. He became more critical than Bengel (founder of textual criticism of the N. T. in Germany) toward emotional, pietistic movements, even to the degree of becoming uncompromising in his attitude toward them.

opportune, for Sweden was at this period disturbed in many quarters by fanatical separatists and mystic visionaries. Moravianism itself was for a time drawn into some of these extravagances, but it recovered about 1760 and continued to a rallying point for those who did not find the established church sufficiently warm in its life and attitude toward our Lord and His religion." See also John Wordsworth's "The National Church of Sweden."

Zinzendorf, Nikolaus Ludvig, Count von (1700-60) --- founder of the reorganized Moravian Church or the United Brethren --- born at Dresden, May 26: --- Spener, head of the pietists, was his godfather --- studied six years under A. H. Francke, the philanthropist, at Halle --- in 1716 he was in Wittenberg where pietism was not in such good repute, but he adhered to his earlier impressions --- in 1719-21 he travelled through Holland and France --- purchased an estate in upper Lusatia where he wished to build a quietistic community --- met Christian David, a member of the old sect of the Moravian Brethren --- David described the persecutions --- Zinzendorf invited the brethren to settle on his estate --- called it Herrnhut --- in 1734 he was ordained a minister of the Lutheran church --- had to leave because of his new kind of teaching --- went to Holland, where he founded a Moravian colony --- afterward to Esthonia and Livonia, where he founded colonies --- 1737 he became bishop of the Moravians --- went to London the same year and was received by Wesley --- 1714 he went to America and founded the Moravian colony at Bethlehem, Pa. --- returned 1743 --- for twelve years he travelled through Great Britain, Holland, Germany, Livonia, but made Chelsea his headquarters --- 1747 he

The following reveals this: "A rightminded soul, who will not veneer his stony heart with the blood of Christ nor use His cross as a crutch which he limps along on the broad way, a person ^{who} will ^{not} take refuge in the wounds of Jesus against the reproofs of the Holy Spirit --- behold this is my friend."⁷³

How Schartau came to know Moravianism and Herrnhutism can be answered as follows: The Moravian movement as stated made itself felt widely in Sweden.⁷⁴ Further Johann Amos Comenius (1592-1670),

was permitted to return to Herrnhut --- died May 9, 1760 --- author of more than one hundred works in verse and prose. --- International Encyclopedia.

Henry H. Meyer, Ph.D. (Yale) --- "Child Nature and nurture according to Nicolaus Ludvig von Zinzendorf," The Abington Press, New York, Cincinnati, Chicago, 1928. This book is an excellent study of the religious-educational theory and practice of Zinzendorf and how he goes beyond the educational implications of the theology of his day and develops independently. Dr. Meyer ends his study in this book by saying, "Thus in the organization and administration of religious education, as well as in his theory of child nature and nurture, Zinzendorf was a progressive in advance of his time, a kindred spirit of all who understand children and who conceive the problem of religious education in terms of creating for the child a wholesome, stimulating religious environment favorable to a normal development of the spiritual life." --- Dorner writes about the church of the Brethren as being warm in faith and love and great in its praise of God. See concerning this statement "The National Church of Sweden" by John Wordsworth.

73. Ibid., page 17.

74. See footnote 72.

last bishop of the Bohemian Brethren, published Ratio Discipline of the Bohemian Brethren. And many years later Zinzendorf read a copy of this book and was deeply impressed. As partly stated above Comenius was invited to investigate and reform the entire educational system in England, Transylvania and Sweden and that he during six years wrote text books for the Latin school of Sweden. His Geoffnete Sprachentur, better known as Janua Reserata, and Orbis Pictus were translated into all the European languages. Many of his ideas were used by Rousseau (1712-1778) and Pestalozzi (1746-1827). Before these men Spener (1635-1705) and Francke (1663-1727) influenced the entire Lutheran church. About one hundred years after Comenius, Zinzendorf reorganized the Moravian Church or the United Brethren; and at that time men from Sweden travelled in Germany and brought back ideas from Zinzendorf.⁷⁵

During his entire ministry Schartau attracted little attention. He did not put on any attractions. He concentrated upon faithfulness to God and spent most of his time between the pulpit and the school

75. Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge, 1882, Funk and Wagnalls. See titles: Rousseau, Pestalozzi, Spener, Francke, Comenius and Zinzendorf.

room. He also listened to hundreds of confessions.⁷⁶

But Schartau was an inherent power in the educational and religious development of Sweden; and in an age of overused teachings and methods, this power was merely beginning to appear above the surface of things. Not too soon. Moral degeneracy had already set in. Stomberg of Minnesota University says, "A wholesome religious awakening was likewise beginning which was destined to strengthen greatly the moral fibre of the people. Foremost in combating rationalism and in preaching a faith which is inspired by the revealed Word of God was Henric Schartau, an eloquent and devout pastor at Lund whose influence as a preacher of righteousness and author of religious works of edification extended to practically all parts of the country and still survives as a wholesome force in the Swedish Church."⁷⁷

Above all other things in his life Schartau was a teacher. He was deeply interested in the catechism and conducted catechetical instructions and examinations. He wrote a catechism which was much in use.⁷⁸

76. Foreword to Schartau's Catechism, Norrkoping, 1900, Johan Jonsons Boktryckeriaktiebolag, pages 3-6.

77. Andrew A. Stomberg --- "History of Sweden," London, George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., Museum Street, 1932, page 625.

78. On the first page of one edition of Schartau's

The first questions in this catechism concern God and emphasize true knowledge and faith as central in Christianity. What man knows he has a feeling for and desires to do.⁷⁹

1. Q. Do you know what Christianity and salvation are?

A. Our true Christianity and salvation are a true knowledge and faith concerning God, His spirit and will and a Christian and godly life.

2. Q. What is the first thing that we must have in order to possess true Christianity?

A. A true knowledge of God, his spirit and will.

catechism are the words: Instruction in Christian knowledge, two more complete works by Henric Schartau, first city minister of Lund and Head Rector, published after his death, third edition, Stkhlm, P. A. Hultbergs Bokforlag-Aktiebolag.

79. Basically sound pedagogy in a progressive direction. The problem is not so much how things are known, but how to control them and reorganize them. The emphasis here is somewhat on learning through doing as emphasized, for example, by Froebel or as seen in the philosophy and empirical approach of Rousseau, Pestalozzi and Froebel. See, "History of Education" by Stephen Duggan, D. Appleton-Century Company, New York, London, 1936, pages 310-329. (True, of course, that not much of this was really evidenced in Sweden until Ellen Key's and John Dewey's philosophies of education became operative. John Dewey's influence on education in Sweden should be treated in a dissertation by itself. But early beginnings were seen in men like Schartau, and these early beginnings made it possible for Sweden to be in readiness for modern education. After all things in great movements do not come suddenly, they come rather as the result of a long historical process).

3. Q. Where do we receive the true knowledge of God?
- A. In the Bible.
4. Q. Where is the Word of God?
- A. In the Holy Scriptures.
5. Q. How can you say that the Holy Scriptures are the Word of God since human beings have written the Bible?
- A. The Holy Spirit gave them the words to write.
7. Q. Where in the catechism can we find knowledge concerning God?
- A. In the Athanasii Symbolum.
10. Q. What is God?
- A. According to our holy Christian Faith we worship an eternal God in three persons, and three persons in one eternal God.⁸⁰

Schartau seems at times to be preponderantly an orthodox theologian, but here and there in his teachings he comes through as an innovator.

⁸⁰. This Esaias Tegner, a contemporary of Schartau, considered an impossibility and said that one might as well call a circle a square. Tegner however himself used conventional terms and became popular as a preacher. But he was a Lutheran Unitarian. He was the Emerson of Sweden. Read the article "Romantic Elements in Tegner's Religious Philosophy" by Albert Morey Sturtevant in Scandinavian Studies, volume v, no. 7, pages 213-246, August 1929, Menasha, Wis. Read page 233 where appears the statement by Tegner to the effect that the Trinity is "Theology's Square Circle, an impossibility."

13. Q. What is God according to His attributes?

A. God is a spirit, eternal, all-powerful, righteous, everywhere present, allwise, true and merciful.

14. Q. Why is God called a spirit?

A. Because He can not be seen.

15. Q. What is meant by God is eternal?

A. That God has no beginning nor end.

The following questions reveal a wholesome concept of the relation between God and man. They reveal also an organized mind, organized knowledge and consequently a system.⁸¹ His preaching and teaching Schartau built up according to this system; his order of grace.

656. Q. What is reconciliation?

A. That God becomes so disposed to man as a father to his son.

657. Q. What is new birth?

A. That man becomes so disposed to God as a son to his father.

The second part in Schartau's catechism has the usual five divisions: The ten commandments, the creed, the Lord's Prayer, the sacraments (baptism and holy communion). He follows rather faithfully Martin Luther.

⁸¹. See page 131 .

261. Q. What is sin?
- A. Everything that deviates from God's commandments and everything that is against His law.
565. Q. How is God's Word divided?
- A. Into two parts: Law and Gospel.
581. Q. How does God in baptism call little children?
- A. In baptism God offers the children what Christ accomplished, and at the same time the Holy Spirit works on their hearts so that they receive it.
781. Q. How does it come that children always receive faith in baptism?
- A. They never resist.
787. Q. What else happens to a child in baptism?
- A. It is delivered from condemnation, because baptism saves from hell.
788. Q. What additional blessings does a child receive in baptism?
- A. Baptism gives eternal ^{ing} ~~blesse~~.

In regard to baptism, obviously, Schartau did not wholly share the views of Comenius and Zinzendorf. Comenius said, "The parents will then make provision to return the gift to its Almighty Giver through a

pious dedication; fervently praying that the most merciful God would deign to save his own creature in Christ, and by granting it the Holy Spirit."⁸² And Zinzendorf is not a strict follower of Luther in doctrinal teachings of baptism. In Zinzendorf's *Gewisser Grund* the question concerning washing of regeneration receives the simple answer, "The wind bloweth where it listeth and thou hearest the sound thereof but knowest not whence it cometh, or whither it goeth; so is everyone that is born of the spirit." (John 3:8).⁸³

Concerning the sacrament of the altar Schartau gives the orthodox interpretation (his phraseology is orthodox), but he does so together with an emphasis on its spiritual values. (Psychology was in its embryonic stage. Discipline in education was rather primitive. Yet Schartau regardless of his orthodox training was a forerunner in these fields of thought.)

827. Q. What do we receive with the bread in the Holy Communion?

A. The body of Christ.

82. *School of Infancy*, an essay on the education of youth during their first six years by John Amos Comenius, to which is prefixed a sketch of his life by Daniel Benham, London: W. Mallalieu and Co., 97, Hatton Garden, 1858, page 61.

83. Henry H. Meyer --- "Child Nature and Nurture

828. Q. What do we receive with the wine in the Holy Communion?

A. The blood of Christ.

837. Q. What is received in the Holy Communion?

A. Forgiveness of sins, life and blessedness.

851. Q. Do all who partake in the Holy Communion receive these blessings?

A. Only those who do so worthily.

In his catechism Schartau also emphasizes the attitude a teacher should have toward his pupils and the attitude the pupils should have toward the teacher. The attitude should be that of Christian love.

886. Q. How should a teacher show Christian love toward his listeners?

A. Especially in two ways: 1) By living a true Christian life and 2) by aiming in his teaching toward conversion and edification.

896. Q. Toward whom should the listeners especially show Christian love?

A. Toward their teacher.

Prayer received considerable attention in the teachings of Schartau. He urges prayer for teachers, government officers and people in general.

according to Nicolaus Ludwig von Zinzendorf", The Abingdon Press, 1928, page 36.

964. Q. How should a Christian pray for all men?

A. That God might awake the spiritually sleeping, guide those who are awake to a true faith and preserve the faithful ones in the grace of God to the end.

The first part of Schartau's catechism contains 886 questions and answers and the second part 972. The total number of questions and answers is 1858. This catechism alone gives Schartau a place in the history of Religious Education in Sweden.⁸⁴ It belongs in the line of catechetical development which can be traced back to Luther and Olavus Petri, and it also prepares the way for greater developments and innovations in Religious Education, which however did not break through until many years later. The wholesome philosophical and empirical thinking of Viktor Rydberg and Pontus Vikner⁸⁵ made advancements more possible and became new materials for the foundation of modern Religious Education in Sweden.⁸⁶

84. See what Stomberg says on page 120.

85. Bostrom, a Platonian, was Vikner's teacher, but Vikner drifted away from him, mainly because he could not accept a fixed absolute standard without some kind of modification.

86. Vikner was not a true Kantian, even though some of his earlier expressions might indicate that. He said, for example, that "without the rules contained in the basic postulates of pure reason, experience would in no wise differ from the idle dreaming." Pure reason a postulation. History a postulation. See Vikner's philosophical system in the appendices.

I.

Någorlunda
fullständig undervisning

uti

Kristendoms-kunskapen,

till det mesta sådan som den, hvilken
Kyrkoherden Schartau
bibragte ungdomen af Bjellerups och Stora Råby
församlingar och några af stadsbarnen,
hvilka år 1799 Påsktiden af honom
framhades för första gången
till Herrans bord.

Uppsatt eller dikterad af honom sjelf samma år.

Joh. 21: v. 15.

Sade Jesus till Simon Petrus: Simon Jona, älskar
du mig mer än dessa? Han sade till Honom: Ja, Herre,
du vet att jag älskar dig. Sade han till honom: Föd
mina lam.

Schartau was as orthodox as any other leading teacher in his day and as pious as any pietist; but because he was a fighting spirit not any of these labels really describes him. Reason meant to him consciousness of the human world and it played a large part in his life. He depended upon laws that had no need of anybody's supervision. And he felt that certain types of religious people were as dangerous as worldly people. He himself hungered and thirsted after righteousness.⁸⁷

Viktor Sodergren concludes his book on Henric Schartau with the following paragraph, in which he anticipates also such men as influenced Viktor Rydberg and Pontus Vikner: "The struggle in the church of Sweden undoubtedly will come sooner than we imagine. It can become a struggle immediately concerning its external condition. It will be a struggle concerning its inner life, and the Swedish church must take into serious consideration the contribution of Schartau; a living contribution, the church people of westem and southern Sweden."⁸⁸

87. Viktor Sodergren --- "Henric Schartau," Stkhlm, 1925.

88. Ibid., last paragraph in the book.

Schartau is equally well known for his sermons, his sermon formula, his courage and his psychological approach.⁸⁹ Because of this approach more than anything else he never became a popular preacher, but it made him a great teacher.⁹⁰

In his sermon, third Sunday in Advent, 1793, he said,

Yes, I have preached the law and I will preach it as long as God gives me strength to move my tongue. The Chief Shepherd Himself preached law, and so did His Apostles. So I, too, have preached the law. I have preached the law as a tutor unto Christ. It has been my sincere desire as far as possible to tear down the kingdom of satan from the bottom. I have desired to threaten the obdurate sinner in order that his conscience might be awakened. I have endeavored to snatch away from ^{him} his crutches and every support in order that he might realize his utter helplessness and listen to the call of the Gospel, and that the comfort of the Holy Spirit might find room in his heart. It may be that some are of the opinion that I have been too stern. If this is so, I could truthfully say that I have striven to be like Paul, saying, "For whether we are beside ourselves, it is unto God, or whether we are of sober mind, it is unto you." I fear that my Lord may judge differently, namely, that I have in most cases been too lenient, but

89. Interest in little children and young people and understanding of their nature and experience. A better knowledge of educational processes.

90. "Henric Schartau and Order of Grace," biography by

then I also wish to say, "If we have been too lenient, we have been so also unto the Lord."⁹¹

In this conviction Schartau carried on to the end of his life. He followed faithfully four steps in his preaching, namely, 1) Consciousness of sin, 2) conscious knowledge, 3) consciousness of grace and 4) consciousness of fellowship with God.⁹² In his diagnosis of human personality he looked for these steps. On his deathbed Schartau said,

In the workshop of a goldsmith we find not only polishing soap, but also hammers and tongs with which the material is being worked and fashioned. So too, I have spoken not only pleasing words, but also words conducive to discipline. I know that to the praise of God I have been able in due time to speak words of comfort to the weary.⁹³

At the age of sixty-seven Schartau passed away, and it is significant that Achalius Kahl, a Swedeborgian, became his successor. Kahl said as he looked at the dead body of Schartau, and as he thought of his life, that "his eyes bore testimony to the stability

Henrik Hagglund and fifteen sermons, tr. by S. G. Hagglund, Augustana Book Concern, Rock Island, Ill., 1928, pages 32-34.

91. Henrik Hagglund --- "Henric Schartau," tr. by Dr. S. G. Hagglund, pages 20-21.

92. Ibid., pages 24-27. (Order of Grace).

93. Ibid., page 23.

of his faith, his pale lips to the power of prayer, and his open forehead to the upright purpose of heart."⁹⁴

Ossar Lindeblad, the first to write the life's story of Schartau, says, "With his dominating Christian disposition Schartau suppressed every human weakness into the background of his great personality, so that he gave the impression of an entirely harmonious, healthy, vigorous and independent person. There was balance, poise and dignity to his manner and speech, the lofty calm and the pure harmony which antique art was wont to attribute to its heroes."⁹⁵

That he viewed immediate situations of life calmly and endured them in order to make them better his reaction to Soren Kirkegaard makes quite clear. Kirkegaard had said, "We must return to the cloister which Luther abandoned." Schartau said, "Not to the cloister, but to your vocation and, first of all, to a true conversion, that you may become a new man and as such enter into your labor."⁹⁶

94. Ibid., page 27. "Schartau was distinctively Swedish." Ibid., page 30. Read also part of page 31.

95. Ibid., page 28.

96. Ibid., page 30.

apparently attained to faith have nevertheless remained in their natural condition; and some who have had the true faith have fallen away. These shall be missed in heaven, though it appeared as if they would surely come there.

C. Many who have been expected to receive an exceptionally great degree of glory shall be found to be but barely saved.

Those who have had great gifts, who have been sanctified by grace, and who have thus been brilliant, but nevertheless in personal character fundamentally weak — these belong here.

Those who have had exalted positions and who, by virtue of this, have shown enlightenment and power, but who have in themselves been weak — these may also belong here.

D. Some who have been considered humble and of low degree shall there be first, indeed, some who have had slight gifts and who have had external faults so that they scarcely seemed to be Christians.

The Text.

Know ye not that they which run in a race run all, but one receiveth the prize? Even so run, that ye may attain. 1 Cor. 9. 24—10. 5.

In Greece, and especially in the city of Corinth to which the apostle wrote this letter, there were among other physical exercises also those of races on specially made race-tracks. A large number of young people, even from far distant countries, came to take part in the games. After due training, to which belonged temperance in all things, they all exerted themselves to the

Sixteenth Sunday After Trinity

In the Name of the Father and of the Son of the Holy Spirit.

Introduction.

Verily, verily, I say unto you, He that heareth my word, and believeth him that sent me, hath eternal life, and cometh not into judgment, but hath passed out of death into life.

This is the assurance which Jesus, the Prince of Life, has given to us mortals, (John 5. 24). After the Creator gave us being, the Father sent His Son into the world "that the world should be saved through Him." Life is the chief privilege of man, and it is the happiest hope of the believer that this life will endure forever. He knows and believes that the Son of God is sent to work this very thing, that through Him we might live eternally happy, in eternal glory and joy. This was the chief mission of Jesus, the chief subject of His discourses, in our text and elsewhere, and it should be the chief object of your careful attention, O man, if you would have a sure foundation for your hope of entering into the joy of eternal life. God has laid no other foundation than the redemption wrought by His Son, neither has He given any other means of attaining it

"Schartau rises higher and higher in the proportion that Swedish church history is being clarified. In 1913 the Swedish Academy coined a memorial with Henric Schartau's name and picture, and simultaneously incorporated his biography into its proceedings. On the opposite side the coin bears the picture of a shepherd with his flock and with the following inscription: 'Pastor sedulus ille gregis verusque magister' (He was a faithful shepherd and a true teacher)."⁹⁷

In these years lived in Sweden the following men of science: Jakob Berselius, a chemist; Karl Agardh, a botanist; Elias Fries, also a botanist; Anders Retzius, an anatomist; Sven Nilsson, a zoologist; Gustaf Geijer, a great historian and professor at Uppsala University; Anders Fryxell, a historian and author; Karl Johan Schlyter, a co-author of Sweden's Old Laws; Kristoffer Jakob Bostrom, a great philosopher (Platonian), who had many followers. K. H. Hoijer must be included here also because of his influence on Swedish philosophy. At this time also lived Frans Mikael Franzen and Johan Wallin, poets and psalm writers (the latter in particular could be

97. Ibid., page 36.

a special study for his contribution of a large number of psalms, many of which are still in the Swedish Psalm Book). The following men absorbed into themselves much of the thought of their day which is relevant to the purpose here, and they bring other men of lesser light into view: C. O. Rosenius, Esaias Tegner ⁹⁸, Viktor Rydberg and Pontus Vikner.

Other names could be added to the illustrious names above, such names as: Anders Angstrom, a physicist; Sven Loven, a zoologist; John Erickson, an engineer and inventor; Fredrik Ferdinand Carlson, a historian; Karl Gustaf Malmstrom, a historian; Bernard Elis Malmstrom, a poet; Karl Vilhelm Strandberg, a poet; Karl Snoilsky, a poet; Karl David af Wirsén, a poet; Fredrik Scholander, an architect, painter and poet; Hugo Zetterwall, an architect;

98. A historian interpreting history from the point of view of an absolutist (dogmatist or rationalist---religious or intellectual aristocrat) would certainly play up Tegner as an educator. Furthermore, Tegner was not too sympathetic with the common people. See page 176. Rosenius was the founder of the Mission Friends, so-called because of their interest in missions at home and abroad. A large number of the Mission Friends formed The Swedish Evangelical Mission Covenant. In this country (U.S.A.) today this church is often called the Swedish Congregational Church, and has largely allied itself with the Congregational Church. The literature behind this church is Luther's Postil, Johann Arndt's (1555-1621) "The



Esaias Tegnér.



August Strindberg.

inspired by the masters of French naturalism Flaubert and Zola, there appeared in Norway Henrik Ibsen, and in Sweden August Strindberg, who rapidly focussed the attention of the whole dramatic world on the Scandinavian theatre. In his very first play, "Master Olof", and in his novel of society manners, "The Red Room", Strindberg attacks every form of emotional artificiality and the restraints imposed by conventional morality, with revolutionary enthusiasm. Most of his works reach a very high artistic standard, and in such plays as "The Father" and "Fröken Julie" he shows himself a master of the technique of naturalistic drama. But Strindberg outgrew this democratic-naturalistic phase — in fact he never attained a state of spiritual equilibrium but remained to the end of his artistic career a rootless, restless searcher after truth. The individualism of Nietzsche satisfied him as little as the religious mysticism he gave expression to in "Inferno", for example, and his play "To Damascus". Among his later works the lyric drama "The Highway" is worthy of

John Borjeson, a sculptor; George V. Rosen, a painter; Julius Kronberg, a painter.

But how could these men influence education? They were not teachers teaching in the school room. Almost all of them were scientists and writers. They were the men of thought and leaders in their age. And they were innovators somewhat like Francis Bacon, John Locke and Rousseau. The following sentence makes more or less clear their place in the history of education in Sweden and especially in an interpretation of Religious Education in Sweden:

Most of them were not engaged in school work, but were writers. Their books or pamphlets against the prevailing education were often merely side issues in lives devoted to other affairs, though their detachment enabled them to see its absurdities better than those engaged in its daily routine. Their principles had to wait for generations and in some cases for several centuries before they were realized. It is sometimes difficult to classify an innovator, because he partakes of the characteristics of more than one group; in fact he is placed in one group rather than another as a matter of emphasis.⁹⁹

True Christianity and "The Garden of Eden" and Christian Scriver's (1629-1693) "Soul Treasurer." Scriver was a contemporary of Spener.

99. Stephan Duggan, Ph.D., Litt. D., Director of International Education; formerly of the College of the City of New York, --- "The History of Education,"

Men like Rydberg and Vikner gave some real stimulus to revolt against exhausted traditions, old teachings in philosophy and literature, formalistic interpretations of the Christian religion, governmental absolutism, artificiality in society and unnatural and crude conditions in methods and disciplines in education. They were particularly against formalistic teachings in religion. And they paved the way for a dynamic blending of reason and feeling, inductive reasoning (observation and investigation) and empiricism (guidance by observation of facts into purpose and meaning of life rather than by accepted principles). They are in the turning point to development leading up to a wholesome progressive education in Sweden. In this way they are for Sweden what Roger Bacon, John Locke, Berkley and David Hume are for England; Kant and Hegel for Germany, and Descartes, Voltaire and Rousseau for France. They veered away from accepted things on the basis of infallible revelations which led to credulity, empty formalism and lack of interest in common people and children in both state

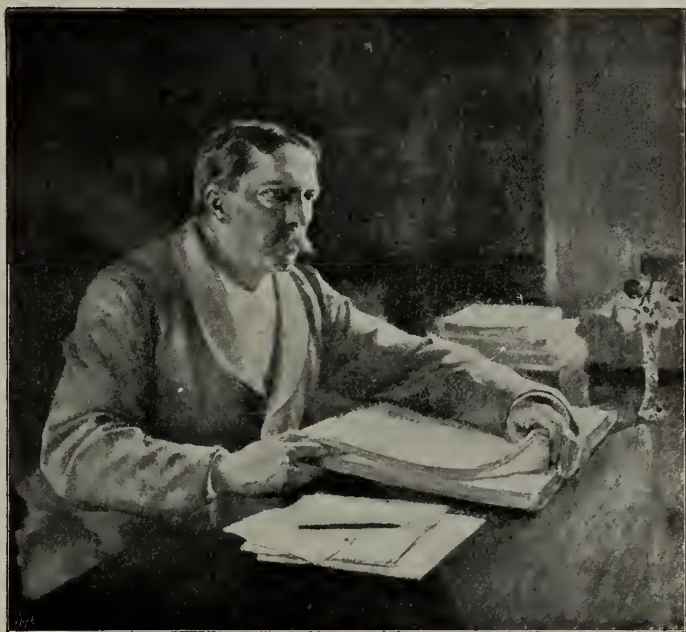
and church.¹⁰⁰

Rydberg and Vikner influenced Theology and Religious Education. They began to open the way to an empirical approach in these fields. They questioned predictable formulas and strictly absolute dogmas. They felt these had to be discarded or surpassed. The result was a beginning of relying on the procedure of observing facts, experimenting and trusting reason and experience (experience also in values).

Viktor Rydberg is one of Sweden's greatest poets, historians and philosophers. In literature as far as form¹⁰¹ is concerned he is perhaps the most outstanding in Sweden. He was bound to influence thinking in Theology, Philosophy and Education, and he marks noticeably the trend toward the synthesis of religion and science and realism in Religious Education in Sweden today.

100. Nothing could elevate Swedish history of philosophy and religious education so much as a careful study of these men. They were against formalistic teachings in religion. True, as far as religious education is concerned neither Rydberg nor Vikner in their own day were able to make themselves felt, and none of their ideas were ever incorporated in text books employed ~~then~~ in the schools. The text books then were mainly readers, the catechism, Bible history, the psalm book.
101. Perhaps Sweden's foremost classicist.

tecknad med mycken humor: »dygdig med de dygdiga, fräck med de fräcka, patricisk bland patricier och plebejisk bland plebejer, efter omständigheterna erkännande många gudar, en enda gud eller ingen, allt efter som förhållandena bjuda, med ett ord en maktens värdige tjänare.»



Viktor Rydberg. Målning av Albert Edelfelt.

De kristna typer å andra sidan, som Rydberg tecknat i så motbjudande färger, äro representanter icke för Jesu evangelium utan för en fanatisk, dogmbunden riktning inom det s. k. kristna samfundet, en riktning som med lust och blodutgjutelse lyckats bli den för tillfället härskande och begagnar sin makt till att skoningslöst förfölja såväl oliktankande kristna som hedningar.

The following poems illustrate rather clearly this point: "Dexippos," "Den Flygande Hollandaren" and "Ahasverus och Prometheus."¹⁰² In these poems the searching soul of Rydberg is magnificently expressing itself. And for the first time in Swedish history dissatisfaction is delineated in the best classical style. (See footnote below). Also in these poems Rydberg emphasizes certain high virtues; patience, for example. This was possible for Rydberg because he was rooted in the old world as well as in real situations of his own day. However, as far as Religious Education is concerned his pamphlets on religious topics and particularly his article on "The Teachings about Christ in the Bible" are more to the point.

The poem "Dexippos" is an expression of the optimistic and hopeful in the soul of Rydberg. It is an inspiring hymn praising the courage and power of youth. In the younger generations ~~is~~ hope. The old must go and the young must take over. "Away, ye grown up and overgrown. Come to me, O, youthful generation."¹⁰³

102. Carl Grimberg --- "Svenska Folkets Underbara Oden, Den Sociala och Kulturella Utvecklingen fran Oscar I:s Tid till vara Dagar," Stockholm, P. A. Norstedt & Soners Forlag, 1924, pages 327-341.

103. Zevs, giv slaktets gosselynne, hoppful dag och

"Den Flygande Hollandaren" (The Black Ghost Ship) symbolizes humanity's stormy journey over life's sea, a journey without rest and without goal. One trait is very necessary, namely, patience. That seems to be the only answer to the question, What is the meaning of this everlasting sailing on and on?¹⁰⁴

"Ahasverus och Prometheus" is an answer to Rydberg's own restless soul and his pondering over the meaning of life. In him was rather strongly pronounced two elemental desires; one to restrain and look to the past, and the other to move forward.

fantasi. Da ar traldomsoket fallet, da ar varlden skon och fri. --- Bort, I vuxne och forvuxne. Kom till mig du unga slakt. O, jag ser, nu kommer varen, nu andas vastanflakt, och bland unga plantor star jag som Dodonas gamla ek, och i kronan siar guden om en hog och adel lek. Gossar, lat oss leka kriget, da en varld befriades, da Temistokles och Kimon levde och Miltiades. Hell dig, Zeva, de leva annu. Hell dig, Zeva, de sta mig nar. --- Och en hanford gosseskara svarar rord: 'De aro har.' --- (This poem expresses Rydberg's faith in the possibilities in life. He is hopeful, optimistic).

104. Ibid., pages 345-346. The following from the poem: Da stormen slet pa fastets valv i trasor nattens sky och rymden tjoet och morkret skalv for blix och hagelby och nodsignaler lossades vid galla jammer-skri och strandat fartyg krossades, strok detta skepp forbi. Och vaktaren pa Eddystone da over boljans ban han skonjer skeppet langt ifran, sa vantar han orkan; och vaktaren pa Vinga fyr han vet vem seglarn ar, som svavar fram, dar brottsjon yr bland man-belysta skar.

There was a consciousness of conservative idealism as well as consciousness of a forward movement toward the unpredictable.¹⁰⁵

Perhaps the most beautiful poem by Rydberg is "Jubelkantaten" given at the 400th anniversary of Uppsala University in 1877, at which time he received an honorary doctor's degree.¹⁰⁶ The hopeful idealism expressed in this poem Rydberg never lost, not even when he faced great difficulties in the social and industrial world. He believed in the potentialities of human beings. He said that they carry within themselves everlasting life and that in every individual in whose soul is a burning desire for righteousness and loyalty to high ideals is deeply rooted a consciousness of continuous life.¹⁰⁷

105. The answer to the question, Why this endless sailing? was whispered, "Talamod" (Patience) by earth's everlasting wanderer Ahasverus to the rudderless sailor. Ahasverus was a shoemaker at Jerusalem who according to a legend denied Jesus the rest He could get from leaning against the wall of his house when Jesus was passing by almost fainting under the burden of His cross. For this unkindness Ahasverus was condemned to wander without peace on the earth until judgment day.

106. Ibid., page 344.

107. Vad ratt du tankt, vad du i karlek vill, vad skont du dromt, kan ej av tiden harjas: det ~~a~~ en skord, som undan honom bargas, ty den hor evigheten till. Ga fram, du mansklighet, var glad, var trost, ty du bar evigheten i ditt brost. Varje sjal, som langtan branner till vad adelt ar och sannt, bar uti

Rydberg expressed his hatred toward egoism, selfish profits and might is right. His sympathies went out to the working man. He does so poignantly in an almost brutally courageous poem called, "Den nya Grottesangen," in which he likens industrialism to a giant mill which incessantly requires man power, even young women and children, and which grinds out more and more furiously woe and misery over the world.¹⁰⁸ They are slaves.

When the slaves came closer to the mill they saw the golden ground grain pour forth and heard also the workers agony and sounds of woe.¹⁰⁹

sitt djup och kanner evighetens underpant. Blir vad sjalviskt ar forgatet, blir inom dig gudsbelatet harligare danat ut genom slakte efter slakte, skall, hur langt an oknen rackte, du Jordanen na till slut. 108. Ibid., pages 346-347.

Stackars lilla tralabarn, som med far och mor och andra har fran harjat hem att vandra vagen till kung Frodes kvarn --- malet, med forfaran anat, malet for de tunga fjat, ser du det, ser du det? Ser du dar vid himlens bryn nagot, likt ett kageldanat moln, som stiger upp mot skyn? Ser du det, malet for de tunga fjat, vad med skrack, at alla hall, far och mor ha efterspanat? Det ar Frodes Grottetroll, det ar Frodes Mammonskvarn, som skall krossa er, I flarn, spindeln, som ur edra safter snart skall suga nya krafter.

109. Det ljod pa milslangt avstand redan, som uvars hu i furusus, som lommars skri i vagors brus och ljudet stiger och svaller, medan du drives fram mot kupolens ljus; det stortar upp i cylkoniskt gny ur guldregnvalvet mot himlens sky, det vraker ut i forsar av kvidan och ston och tjut, av jammer och harskri en ryslig sang till rytmen och takten i Grottes gang.

Here a new social consciousness is powerfully expressed that affected both theology and Religious Education, which in free churchly and pietistic movements found considerable sympathy and in the lives of thousands of people became a guiding light through much darkness.¹¹⁰

In 1862 Rydberg attracted much attention by his article "Bibelns lara om Kristus" (The Bible's Teachings concerning Christ). The immediate reason for this article was the persecution of a lecturer by the name of Ljungberg, a student of the famous philosopher, Christopher Jacob Bostrom. It was thought that Ljungberg had denied the divinity of Christ. Four decades later in a letter to his friend Hedlund, Rydberg says, "I realized that a noble man, the late lecturer Ljungberg, without friends, was being attacked by a group of fanatics, who sought to undo him morally and otherwise. Convinced as I was and am that it was he --- not his assailants --- who was biblically correct, I wrote 'Bibelns lara

¹¹⁰. Carl Grimberg --- SFUO, pages 342-349. See also Henrik Schuck and Karl Warburg's illustrated Swedish Literary History V and Otto Sylvan's Swedish History of Literature III. These poems are an attempt to disclose a coherent and unified description of life as it really was. They are realistic and affirmative.

om Kristus.'"lll

Rydberg did not base his judgment upon strictly absolute dogmatic confessions; absolute infallibility. Independent of symbols, he sought to find what the Bible factually had to say about the divinity of Christ. He finally came to the conclusion that Jesus was the best and noblest among men, the ideal man, but the teachings concerning His divinity he ascribed to later church confessions. Further, he

lll. Skrifter av Viktor Rydberg," Albert Bonnier Forlag, Stkhlm, 1916, pages 210-211. The last paragraph in "Bibelns lara om Kristus" reads as follows: "The dogmas in which the youth of the Christian world has been nurtured were largely formulated at church meetings during a time that was the darkest in history, when science was practically dead and the consciousness of God and the free congregational life was almost choked out; when the hierarchy and the formal spirit developed; when the teachings of Christ concerning God's spirit's presence and activity in the church had given way to a fetish teaching or doctrine concerning God's flesh as present in the communion bread, consecrated by a priest. Many think of this in an indifferent way. Many consider it a most convenient service that might as well remain until a new world comes into being that will consider it a fossil skeleton out of which life and spirit have departed. True also, that a thorough reformation in the church is a problem that can't be solved. But when we consider the influence of the church in the past and also at present, what a blessed light every spark of truth and humanity, preserved by the church, really is, regardless of all its weaknesses --- when we think of its greatness in her organization, which makes possible a well regulated, comprehensive and steady influence among the people and their development in the Christian freedom,

made it clear that the work of the reformation did not come to an end with Luther, who himself considered his work a mere beginning. Rydberg challenged the people to dare believe in religious matters as well as in science; to believe in political and social freedom; to believe in their values. He taught the people that belief in science is belief in the blessings of freedom. In the preface of his book "Bibelns lara om Kristus," Rydberg considers his book a lance thrown at the foes of freedom. However, in his later years he pursued his polemic less violently, passionately, against his opponents.¹¹²

Pontus Vikner who admired Rydberg speaks about him in his autobiography, especially mentioning the impressions he received from him as a young student. He declares that next to the Bible no other book so overwhelmingly possessed his soul as "Den siste Atenaren." Its beauty and sincerity refreshingly

equality and brotherliness --- then it seems it is our duty to support the church and work for her best." And this the author of this book had in mind, when he sought to show how the system of dogmas is a man made system in need of improvement. He also felt that the foundation of the church is strong and secure, namely, Jesus in the New Testament, which, if correctly understood, is an expression of man's divinity or divine intelligence --- reason, judgment.

^{112.} Skrifter av Viktor Rydberg," Albert Bonniers Forlag, Stkhlm, 1916, page 211.

enveloped him.¹¹³ It emphasizes courage and sacrifice.

"'The Last Athenian' breathes Rydberg's love for hellenic wisdom and beauty. This feeling he embodied in the noble thinker Krysanteus, the last Athenian, whose life's purpose was to revive the greatness of Greece. In sharp contrast with this greatness the author places a few illiberal, mean, quarrelsome characters to represent the leading tendency within the Christian church. However, the conflict is not so much between paganism and Christendom as between freedom of thought and religion and restraint of conscience."¹¹⁴

These repelling characters, ugly, irascible characters, do not represent the Gospel of Christ, but instead a fanatic, dogmatic tendency in the Christian congregation; a tendency which seemed to have been the domineering one. Anyone who dared to

113. Grimberg --- SFUO, pages 332-338.

Harlig ar doden, nar modigt i framsta ledet du dignar, dignar i kamp for ditt land, dor for din stad och ditt hem. Darfor med eldhag upp att varna fadernejorden. Ila att offra med frojd livet for kommande slakt. Fram, I ynglingar, fram i tata, oryggliga leder. Aldrig en kansla av skrack, aldrig en tanke pa flykt. Skam och nessa drabbar en har, da i fylkingespetsen framom de unge man ser gubben forbloda och do. Detta hoves ju framst en yngling, medan han annu alskligt i lockarna bar varliga blommornas krans. Fager for kvinnor, statlig for man ma han synas i livet; skon ar han annu som dod, fallen i slakningens mitt. Ibid., page 343.

114. Ibid., page 334.

to think for himself was ferociously persecuted, be he Christian or pagan.¹¹⁵

Rydberg believed in freedom of investigation and that this freedom must be elevated above teachings of absolute infallibility. He said, "Freedom of investigation is courage to believe in religious values as well as in science, political and social values and in the values of freedom. To believe in scientific freedom is to believe in human reason; to believe in political and social freedom is to believe in a moral and purposeful order in the world; to believe in religious freedom is to believe in God."¹¹⁶

Several decades later the people began to appreciate the genius of Rydberg, not the least in the field of theology and education. He appeared against hierarchy and rationalism, the very things that Schartau had fought against. This introduced a theological polemic and led toward realism in the relation of religion and science, in the synthesis of religion and science, and toward empiricism.¹¹⁷

A battle was fought between the old (Lutheran)

^{115.} Ibid., page 335.

^{116.} Ibid., page 337.

^{117.} Emil Hildebrand --- "Sveriges Historia intill Tjugonde Seklet," P. A. Norstedt och Soners Forlag, 1910, page 136.

school and the leaders of the revolutionary views. The latter won and greatly influenced theological and religious educational thinking a few decades later, especially in the last two decades.¹¹⁸

The year 1876 Rydberg was called to lecture to learned groups in Goteborg on Philosophy and History. He accepted this call, but feared the results. He said, "I know what will happen. The first day the auditorium will be full of people and a few days later have four or five." But the modest Rydberg made a mistake. He started with 150 and the following year he had 300. In the year 1884 he was called to the professorship in cultural history in the newly established high school in Stockholm, which sometime later became a professorship in the history of art. Rydberg desired, however, to spend the rest of his days in scientific research and in writing and wondered whether he would find a real opportunity for these things in a large city. He went there nevertheless. He became no social lion, but he expressed his strong convictions and fought valiantly and became a new (revolutionary) force among people.¹¹⁹

118. Chambers Encyclopaedia, London, Edinburgh and Philadelphia, 1927, page 807.

119. Ibid., pages 346-348.

The still greater break from scholasticism in Sweden, its strict absolutes, its complete infallibilities, came with men like Pontus Vikner. Their views affected Religious Education somewhat more definitely. They too had the idea that knowledge is relative and serves as a means. They emphasized evolution and reason (a little psychology) and ushered in a wholesome synthesis of idealism and materialism, nurture and nature, value and fact. For one thing education was shifted somewhat from a church dominance to a state dominance and consequently given more freedom to observe facts and to experiment.¹²⁰ It seems that education in Sweden from this time on becomes a more careful interpretation of life. Its activity becomes more productive and its order more purposeful. It is beginning to receive a better chance.

However, it was not an easy matter to overcome the concept of education based upon unrelated metaphysical speculations (scholastic thinking), traditional and adult text materials, knowledge memorized verbatim, something inflexible and un-

¹²⁰. The church dominated rather completely education until the 1920's. Even now education is under the Ecclesiastical Department.

changing. These things were quite entrenched in the schools of Sweden; in the souls of the people. And for a long time, therefore, the struggle between the aprioristic absolutes and the empiricistic views caused much confusion, and the latter views did not bring about any real noticeable change in the subject matter and in methods of teaching in any of the schools until rather recent times. But they eventually worked themselves through to the large scale realism today in Swedish education. And no other philosophy in the 19th century in Sweden could be more inspiring and instrumental in this direction than that of Pontus Vikner.

Pontus Vikner (1837-1888)

Pontus Vikner was born May 19, 1837, in Kirkerud, Rys County, Dalsland, and died 1888 only fifty-one years old. He was a very brilliant student and reached the top the hard way. Throughout his entire short life he was profoundly interested in religion and philosophy. What he wrote never satisfied him, and invariably he regretted what he had written. He was eminently subjective and sympathetic, at

times verging too much toward the somewhat unwholesome. He concentrated on his inner life, feelings and moods, too much for his own good. However, he liked friends and sought them. In his conversation he was very careful. Though he never really liked isolation, when he concentrated hard, he had to be alone. He felt that he was a mystic and fought desperately against mysticism, not always successfully. But as he moved on toward higher religious and intellectual developments, he worked himself away from it. He leaned also toward neoromanticism; the deep "etiska."¹²¹

In his religious life he was always on the move. He was (1) Schartauansk (Dalsland is part of western Sweden),¹²² (2) Nyevangelisk,¹²³ (3) historically orthodox leaning toward pietism and finally (4) unorthodox, when he could no longer hold on to the teachings of the church concerning the personality of Christ. When he held fast to the divine, the human faded away from him, and vice versa. However, gradually he let the orthodox go.¹²⁴

121. L. H. Aberg --- "Carl Pontus Vikner," Oscar Lamms Forlag, Stkhlm, pages 29-30 and 108-112. It should be remembered that Vikner did not become old.

122. Note the connection Schartauansk and Dalsland.

123. Neoevangelical.

124. Ibid., pages 9-10. Pietism (Laseri) gradually

To begin with philosophy took away from Vikner the personal Christ and he became a rational idealist. The famous 19th century Swedish philosopher, Christopher Jacob Bostrom, the Swedish Plato, influenced him radically in his student life. He gave personality to Plato's ideals and taught that eternity had its existence in higher personalities and that God was the absolute personality. To Vikner this was a wonderful thought, but too abstract. Not at any time did he fully accept Bostrom's philosophy, and before long there was a noticeable difference between them. Vikner found nothing but self and never the absolute. He said, "Thou art I" and likened himself to Narcissus, the king's son, who fell in love with himself, his own image in the spring water. As long as he held it at a distance he was able to distinguish its features, but as soon as he wanted to press it to his breast it became misty.¹²⁵

and naturally faded out of his life altogether. See also pages 30-36.

125. Ibid., page 109. (Bostrom's absolute needs a minus sign and Vikner's a plus sign. There is a kind of absolute that has its roots in human development and yet above any individual "self," average, normal; but revealed satisfactorily by the highest "self" only, a composite "self," through the highest developed individual "selves," spiritually and intellectually. This composite "self" is more like Vikner's absolute. A plus sign must be placed after it.)

Vikner was never satisfied; felt driven to seek God and was constantly pushing on. But finally he found God in a relationship he called "barnaskap"---childlikeness. This was the new beginning in his development, around which he built his life. It gave him integrity, universality and hope.¹²⁶

Vikner broke with Bostrom and became more like Spinoza. But to Vikner God's immanence was bound to mean also God's transcendence, God in us and we in God. He found it possible, however, to separate God and man, but to him the difference between God and man was only in degree.¹²⁷

In the background of his thought life Vikner had a structural system of thinking, not the theoretical absolute entrenched in his early life which tenaciously clung to him, but the creative, dynamic absolute which made him proceed genetically.¹²⁸

Vikner said that unity and manifold were one thing, looked at from different points of view. Only the absolute separates them. At an earlier stage in his new philosophy he found it hard to conceive of

126. Ibid., page 35.

127. Ibid., pages 17-29.

128. Ibid., pages 54-57.

manifold. In a letter to the rector Dr. Oskar Quensel, he wrote, "All things in one can not be manifold. Negation means that something is absent. Manifold is not conceivable without negation. Individuality becomes the same as all reality. The absolute can not be understood as sensitive in time and space. Complete individuality is action ceased. That individuality does not mean much that separates itself from God."¹²⁹

However, according to Vikner there is "manifold with God." It goes over to God. Vikner quotes from psalm 139. The limit is individuality itself. God is not a system of many, but unity and manifold can commix (sammanfalla). God is developing and man is God. From this point of view God is becoming and relative. This is breaking seriously from the traditional views of Bostrom.

The following paragraph clarifies much of the above statement (much in Vikner's thinking): "If I am a person because I am separated from God and because I am something else, then it is obvious that what you give me you take from God, and vice versa.

¹²⁹. Ibid., pages 48-49.

This is realism. If on the other hand I am a person, because I am one with God, then it is clearly understood that what you give me you give God, and vice versa. This is idealism. But it might become a problem with some persons whether I am a person because I am one with God or because I am separated from him. The former is the only possible idea. God is a person; but in the absolute sense, or, in other words, He is all personality. All personality is His personality. My personality is also His personality. My personality I usually describe: I. And God's personality is God. I have, therefore, the right to say that I am God."¹³⁰

The absolute and relative worlds are two points of view. God is absolute and there is no plurality in the absolute. Individuals are there, but they are completely identified with one another and with God. There is nothing but God. The relative is the absolute plus with a minus sign.¹³¹

Vikner said that individuals differ; and Christ he considered the centrum in the evolution of man.

^{130.} Ibid., pages 49-50;

^{131.} Vikner's outline of a philosophical system, published in Aberg's book on Carl Pontus Vikner, pages 145-148.

Christ manifested God in a complete way and had the courage to say that He was God. He is the Redeemer of the world, but what did He redeem? The answer is: He redeemed "separated human beings, separated from God. And because He is actually God, the separation came to an end in Him. In other words in Him humanity, yea, the universe, tied together, became identified with God. In Him came together the threads that weave all humanity together. With these threads He pulls human beings unto Himself and ties them to God." --- Vikner suggested that Christianity has more truth than all the things all the half-idealists and all the half-rationalists could dream of and also that preachers have more philosophy than they themselves are really aware of and that their philosophy is in harmony with their hope in everlasting salvation.¹³²

That all this was pantheism, Vikner protested against strongly; but later on he did not know exactly what it was and made very little protest, when accused of teaching pantheism. Whether it was Hegel's or Spinoza's type of pantheism is rather

^{132.} Ibid., pages 86-92.

hard to tell. Hegel emphasized the absolute, but his thought process was naturally foreign to Vikner. Hegel emphasized the thought that the absolute has a history and that there is no other history than the absolute. But it seems that Vikner was closer to Spinoza than Hegel; yet he was suspicious of Spinoza.¹³³ He was too close to Bostrom to consider space and evolution as essentially adequate forms for the absolute as in Hegel's philosophy or as attributes as in Spinoza's philosophy.¹³⁴ Vikner insisted on idealism and its power of absorbing everything to itself. He thought of pantheism as separated from God purely unreal, purely nothing. And he often felt that an explanation of God is really necessary.¹³⁵

Gradually Vikner divorced himself from this pantheistic view and began thinking more seriously

133. Professor Virgilius Ferm, Ph.D. (Yale), in a letter says, "Spinoza's metaphysics offers at least two major interpretations: Neutralistic as well as idealistic metaphysics, depending upon concept of substance, etc. Hence his pantheism is relative to whichever interpretation is given.

134. In my opinion the best interpreter of Hegel ("the very much abused and also very much misunderstood Hegel") is Professor Edgar Sheffield Brightman, Professor of Philosophy, Boston University. He now gives the Hegelian idealism a realistic interpretation.

135. Ibid., pages 52-53 and 107.

about man's need, which can not be measured by any abstract thought scheme, but by man himself in his concrete living. Pantheism did not satisfy such a need. In it man was not identified with God. Pantheism changed Vikner's father's house to a bewitched castle. When this became clear to him he fought his pantheism to death. Then he found his answer in Christ, who could stand before God and who became as no other man before Him a double person, yet one person, divine and human. Through Him every limited experience could be brought to God without loss of human identity.¹³⁶

Vikner's great work in Christology is his book, "Thoughts and Answers before the Son of Man." The problem after all that disturbed him terribly was: Could man exist as an individual before God? In pantheism he did find a complete answer. Not a single thing had limited individuality or was itself.¹³⁷

The problem:

Can a man retaining his human individuality endure before God?
The answer he found in a historical

¹³⁶. Ibid., pages 155-164.

¹³⁷. "Thoughts and Answers Before the Son of Man," Chapter V.

fact, in the person of Christ. He endured and therefore it is clear that in man's nature are no obstacles. From that time on Jesus was no longer identified solely with the divine any more than with himself, though for a short time and with considerable modification from the orthodox conception he retained the idea of two natures. Jesus was the one in whom God's love for the soul received its adequate expression and through whom souls can be brought to God without losing their identity. Vikner developed his philosophy, in which the fundamental thought can be summarized as follows: Self-continuation means self-communication, a communication of self-continuation. In this way he was trying to save individuality of spiritual nature without losing God's self-continuation. As the Father gave everything to the Son so the Son gives everything in return to the Father.¹³⁸

Vikner felt that with the realization of being a Christian must come a consciousness of the relation between God and man, and he expressed this quite clearly. In his book "Thoughts and Answers" he says, "From now on you shall be a Christian and realize that the Father who gives you all these gifts long ago gave them to you. And if you are wondering how He does this I shall answer that He long ago gave you to me and therefore nothing is

¹³⁸. L. H. Aberg --- Carl Pontus Vikner Hans Lefnad och Laror, pages 54-55.

taken from me that is given you."¹³⁹

Pontus Vikner taught that time is extended. The incomplete reality in time presupposes a kind of timeless reality just as the incomplete presupposes the complete. On this he posited his idea of God's existence and man's corruptibility. The natural world is passive. God does not suspend His laws. Everything must have a goal. Man is nature's goal, because man is a faithful agency for everlasting existence. If this is so, then in this existence there must be an absolute, independent God, yet He must be aware of His incompleteness; not in time which is an inadequate form. Further, time has within its meaning a lack of concretion or solidification and individuality, but its existence is nevertheless an expression of the complete. The broken up presupposes the unbroken.¹⁴⁰

The prism light is not explained without the pure light. Precisely so time experiences or a time condition is not explained or explainable through circumstances in the past and in the time that fol-

¹³⁹. "Thoughts and Answers Before the Son of Man" by Vikner, at the end of chapter 5.

¹⁴⁰. Pontus Vikner --- "Kultur och Filosofi," Stkhlm, 1869, P. A. Norstedt & Soners Forlag, page 114.

lows past or present, but through something that comes out of time as experienced, in which all things blend or are bound together in an everlasting rich now. Man is aware of broken beams. He likens his own life unto shifting colors in a prismatic broken light. When the prism is taken away the real life does not vanish; only its broken existence in different colors is taken away. When a man dies his sensitive power does not cease, only the incomplete powers; the split up form of his powers ceases. What appeared in time goes on, and an entirely new content comes into being. Man's life here is a continuation; but after life here, it changes radically.¹⁴¹

In God's mind natural laws are abstract expressions of His "Self" concerning nature. Miracles are within natural laws. They awaken astonishment because of ignorance of the full meaning of laws. There are levels of development between spirit and nature. There is a difference between man and nature, but it is not noticeable. It is like the difference between a circle and a million cornered polygon. Man can not be explained in terms

^{141.} Ibid., pages 65-66.

of everlasting existence. In time are only hints, occasions.¹⁴²

Vikner appeals to reason as well as to the emotions. He claims that God does not become incomplete simply because He is aware of incompleteness or is related to it. Just as the moon is not more incomplete in the moment a dog barks at it than in the moment an astronomer observes it. But on the whole Vikner thought of life after this as something that is unrelated to time here and yet could not be without it.¹⁴³

A translation of Vikner's "Outline of a Philosophical System --- 1865" helps here in understanding better his struggling mind, his profound ability to reason and his desire to extricate himself from abstractions; and also realizing his great importance and potentiality (possibilities) as a transitional link from a strict aprioristic method to a more rational genetic procedure.¹⁴⁴

142. Ibid., pages 13-16.

143. "Tankar och fragor infor Manniskones Son," Beijers Bokforlagsaktiebolag, Stkhlm, 1899, pages 204-205.

144. This does not square with Vikner's orthodoxy, but later with his more courageous spirit in breaking away every so often and finally rather definitely from the assumption of absolute authority of theological dogmas and from the Platonian philosophy.

The following are parts of a translation of Vikner's philosophical system mentioned above:¹⁴⁵

1. To be is to be aware of something or somebody; but no other thing can be sensed than the very one who is aware of you.

A. Because nothing is unless it is for somebody, but to be for somebody is to be aware of somebody.

B. If something else could be sensed except the very one who is aware of you, then, that would mean that somebody could sense something else outside the power that is aware of you; that this power could go outside itself (because no one could be aware of you, if the one who is aware of you is not).

In Religious Education, particularly, the meaning of consciousness and a conscious relationship to God and fellowmen together with a high concept of God is necessary. Facts and logic in making this clear affect aim, method, curriculum, tests and

The struggling Vikner is felt in his work "Culture and Philosophy," for example, in such statements as "I accept religious truths not because they are grasped by the reason as necessary, but because they found in the Bible." He says also, "Philosophy has accomplished much. Without philosophy when it comes to knowing and not merely believing, we would still be looking for the truth in air, fire or water."
 145. The Swedish script is in L. H. Aberg's "Carl Pontus Vikner, hans lefnad och laror," Oscar L. Lamms Forlag, 1889, Stkholm, pages 144-148. See the appendices of this dissertation for the entire translation of this system.

measurements in Religious Education.

But that there is always something more to be added; that nothing is complete, always something more; was revolutionary, rather than too new in the thought life of Vikner. He discovered it and struggled with it somewhat successfully. Under the third point in his philosophical system he says,

All real negation is negation of to be, consequently also of the power that can be sensed and the power that is sensing.¹⁴⁶ Nothing is manifold without negation --- real negation. Hence there is no manifold without negation of to be, or to be sensed by somebody or to be aware of somebody ("fornimmas eller fornimma"). In the absolute to be there can be no to be or ("fornimmas eller fornimma") to be negated. Therefore in the absolute of this nature there is no manifold. It is unity.

This statement is not far from placing a plus sign after the absolute instead of a minus sign. It reveals the struggle in breaking away from the scholastic philosophy to knowledge of life as relative and instrumental.

All things are known through personality. "The absolute unity is the absolute personality, and the

^{146.} By "negation" Vikner means that something is lacking or that something more is to be added --- something beyond --- something more to be constructed on higher planes, but toward absolute reality in the

limitless manifold, as manifold of unities, is then also manifold of persons, in limitless grades of completeness. The relative is a concentric system of persons."¹⁴⁷

When everything is seen from the point of view of the central person, then all personalities appear --- all the richness of personality, the entire personal world in its systematic and harmonious concretion, as kingdom of God ("God's temple in which Christ is the Cornerstone"). Everything, then, is what it can be. Everything is good and has everlasting blessedness in and through the highest personality (Christ).

Vikner's contribution to Religious Education in Sweden in particular lies in his attempt to formulate a concept of God and man within normal experiences in life; God and individuality. Having too deep rootage, however, in the scholastic absolutes, he was unable to extricate himself altogether from useless abstractions; but in his Christology and in his philosophical system and also in his Culture and Philosophy, he leads in his way toward an empirical understanding and approach. Hence, he reached toward present-day methods, procedures, tests and measurements

strict sense. Vikner placed a minus sign after the absolute. He was too rooted in the aprioristic tradition to do otherwise.

147. Point 9 in the Philosophical System.

in Religious Education in Sweden, a fusion or reconciliation of religious and secular education, a reasonable fusion of Theology and Philosophy.

Philosophy desires in its independent knowledge to retrace everything to its extreme original source and in the light of this knowledge explain the given.¹⁴⁸

Culture in the life of intelligent and democratic (cooperating) people together is a going over from a lower to a higher intelligence, i.e. self-consciousness and freedom.¹⁴⁹

Culture here includes natural science, theology, law, practical nurture, morality (natural and religious), art.¹⁵⁰ Within this culture philosophy has a high place.¹⁵¹

148. Kultur och Filosofi i deras förhållande till varandra af Pontus Vikner, Stockholm, 1869, P. A. Norstedt & Soners Forlag, page 107. On the same page are the following words: "Vi hafva härvid betraktat filosofien sasom en straffvande. Vi hafva kunnat gora detta i stod af den betydelse, som fran forsta borjan blifvit inlagd i hennes namn. Men pa samma satt som med kultur kunde forstas afven resultatet af den ofvergang fran lagre till hogre, hvilken kulturen i sin forsta betydelse innebar, sa kan afven filosofi menas det asyftande eller vunna resultatet af den vishetsstraffvan."

149. Ibid., page 32.

150. Ibid., page 121.

151. Ibid., page 128.

The higher level of self-consciousness as such can never be brought forward in any better way than by striving toward the reality of the highest (inductionally), and philosophy does this when it is satisfied with something less than complete wisdom and necessity, which fact we have demonstrated to be the same as the highest level of self-consciousness. In this respect the philosophical striving blends with that of the cultural.¹⁵²

This ends the discussion here of the beginnings of the empirical approach and the integration of Religious Education and sense realism in the history of Religious Education in Sweden as seen so far in this interpretation in and through leaders in Religion, Philosophy and Science, such as, Olavus Petri, Comenius, Oxenstierna, Swedenborg, and in a special sense in the 19th century in and through Schartau, Rydberg and Vikner. They were interested in a more complete view of life. They were not in a modern way of thinking strong in methods and procedures, but they urged a better understanding of life and human nature. In their philosophy they broke away from autocratic absolutism toward a creative absolutism and introduced effectively inductive reasoning and complete realism, for which

¹⁵². Ibid., page 129.

reason alone they earned a definite place in a standard interpretation of the History of Religious Education in Sweden.

CHAPTER IV

RELIGIOUS EDUCATION IN SWEDEN

A MORE ORDERLY SCHOOL SYSTEM

- 1) Birth of the public school.
- 2) Torsten Rudenschold and Fridtjuv Berg.
- 3) Readers (much of the material religious), Catechism, Bible History and Church History.
- 4) Up to present time (approximately 1938).

As Sweden advanced in Theology and Philosophy its educational system also changed and improved. In 1726 a law was passed forbidding private meetings for religious instruction (inferior teachers and teaching conditions), enforced until 1858. This law caused much dissatisfaction in several places, especially among the "lasare" of the Rosenius' type. Though the law of 1726 was enforced, the constitution of Sweden theoretically gave freedom of conscience. However, the church itself continued religious instruction of children until 1842, when a law was passed for general instruction of the people. This was the birth of the public school of Sweden. From now on the schools themselves secured their own

teachers for all subjects including religion (Bible reading, catechism and Bible History). And ministers were no longer instructors in the schools.¹

It is quite well known that conditions in the schools before this time (and after also) were bad. For example, when Karl XI ruled the church, the sexton was ordered by law to teach the children to read in a book; but to apply this law to country congregations was a difficult problem. Schools of any sort there were few and far between. Often the teacher sent was an old soldier weak from drinking strong drinks ("en forsupen knekt") or some other decadent soul. Such a teacher travelled from farm to farm teaching the children the art of spelling ("stava och lagga ihop"). Old women were also teachers. They were called Skol-Johanna, Skol-Ellika and the like. It did not bother these teachers whether or not they themselves were able to spell or explain the lessons in the catechism. Rector Ahnfelt tells about a place in Skane where there was a teacher who taught the children to say "Bel-juga instead of Be-ljuga," "Bitti-da" and "Tillfore-ne," and who at the morning prayers read, "God save us

1. Odhner --- FLH, page 321. Grimberg --- SFUO, pages 24-27.

from our Christian government." He also permitted the children to answer the question, "Who was Moses?" as follows: "A faithful district servant who led the Israelites out of Egypt."²

At a visitation meeting of bishops at Vadsbo, Vastergotland, 1747, a note was made in the minutes that the sexton was giving instruction to the young people and that a disabled boy travelled round in the village teaching them how to read. However, where conditions were more favorable instruction was given by some man or woman who went from place to place within the county. Usually the school was moved from house to house once a week; not infrequently every day. Many times it happened that teacher and pupils were packed into the room where members of the family were doing their daily work, of whom some were shoemakers, others tailors. And very often lambs, calves, pigs, chickens were also in the room and their sounds helped to break up the monotone reading by the children. Besides a little cash, about four to six shillings for each child, these teachers received food and room for their

2. Grimberg --- SFUO, pages 5 and 6; also 7-24.

efforts. (There was an understanding between the teachers and the leading men in the village that the teachers should not spare the rod.)³

Under such circumstances gifted men would not seek to become teachers. Even as late as 1840 more than one-half of the teachers in the country (about five hundred teachers) received less than fifty riksdaler a year. In the cities it was not much better.⁴

At the turn of the century in the capital city one seventh of the children received instruction in schools. Almost all the others depended upon private instruction given by old-maids and old women, soldiers, tramps. All these children received instruction in the abc book and the catechism. They also learned harsh words spoken by the teacher and the meaning of the rod, which was not spared.⁵

But in the year 1842, the birthday of the new school system in Sweden, a change was made. The crown prince Oskar was interested in the new public school; deeply interested. The first step was a circular to the "domkapitlen" with the request that

3. Ibid., page 5.

4. Ibid., page 6.

5. Ibid., page 6.

they move for a change in the school system. The most unexpected reaction to this request was an expression by Esaias Tegner, who was not an enthusiast for new ideas in education. He believed that the working class was not in need of any instruction except in religion. Education would be a dangerous thing in their hands. It would make some people farm-lawyers, law-readers, newspaper giants, who would ridicule the Majesty and the highest officers. At best these people would become merely half educated people. Tegner said, "We note that from Stockholm return congressmen of the farm party who are usually half cultured, who have merely the appearance of the higher class, whose morals and business are destroyed, who are censorious, without moderation and sense, who exaggerate things and who are very ludicrous in their pretensions."⁶

But in 1840 the riksdag received a petition that every county should have at least one teacher to teach at a permanent or circulating school. The debate became intense. Some people (like the people from Malmohus lan) saw in an improved school the salvation of the young people; others thought

6. Ibid., pages 24-25.

that a better education was unnecessary. Peter Peterson from Slatthult felt that poor people could not afford it. He said, "It would be hard, if poor people had to sell their clothes in order to give their children an opportunity to learn the names of Sweden's cities. --- The shepherd boys and the shepherd girls need not know whether Amal is in Dalsland or Skane or whether the son of Karl X was Karl XI. The poor farmer boys can not become statesmen. A good foundation in religion is enough for them." Peter Peterson had many followers. And also Rector Agrell was convinced that the common man felt best when he read his Bible and a few other religious books only. Knowledge would take away from him his religion. He would forget his Bible and prayer book and read instead stories about thieves and robbers. And further what good would penmanship and rhetoric do a farm girl?⁷

A hard headed man, in particular, against the reform was L. F. Raaf of Ydredrotten, who spoke from the point of view of economics. Education for everybody would be too heavy a burden for both the

7. Ibid., page 26.

county and the state. Agriculture would suffer because thousands of farmers would be lured from their farms and transformed to pedagogues.⁸

But the result of the riksdagen 1842 was a proclamation that at least one school must be established in each county and that all parents must let their children receive instruction not only in reading and Christianity but also in penmanship and arithmetic. The minimum salary for the teacher should be eight barrels of corn, fifty-three riksdaler and sixteen shillings and also room for himself and fodder for a cow. This was a real increase, though small.⁹

An episode occurred in the new system. J. Sandvall manufacturer and editor of Goteborgs Handels-tidning tried to use the teachers for political agitation. Through the teachers he thought that he could gain subscribers for his paper. That was in 1851. He wrote a circular which together with a copy of the paper he sent the teachers. But the postoffice director considered this mail fraud ("fribrevmissbruk") and fined Sandvall. The

8. Ibid., page 26.

9. Ibid., page 27.

"landshovdingeambetet" expressed the hope then that the teachers would never lower themselves to become servants of newspapermen and folkleaders who poison the minds of people and cause disturbances in society.¹⁰

Also the archbishop of Wingard sent a letter to the rectors of the dioceses part of which reads as follows: "Folk teachers young and inexperienced need the guidance and encouragement of the priests and should be warned not to deal with others outside their calling."¹¹

A man of great ability and sympathy in the new school system was "greve" Torsten Rudenschold, lieutenant at Skaraborgs regiment. He became imbued with the idea which Love Almquist and Jonas Waern had supported, the idea of bringing the cultured and the working classes together --- making all men feel like brothers --- (a direct contradiction to the traditional idea of education, religious or otherwise). Hence, Rudenschold left the army and devoted himself entirely to his new calling. More and more he saw the social problem and became convinced that

10. Ibid., page 27.

11. Ibid., pages 27-28.

the social misunderstanding could be solved by re-creating completely the disposition of the people; not through legislation but through education and guidance of the youth.

Rudenschold became a farmer and succeeded very well, but had to leave the farm because of the conflict he created between himself and his superiors. He had too warm sympathies with the small farmers (under feudal farmers). It hurt him to see these farmers wear themselves out. He made a motion in the riksdag that they should be given some chance to live like human beings. But the owners of the farms laughed him to scorn. They had no use for an idealist like Rudenschold; had never heard of any one so foolish. They felt that he was merely a disturber. Rudenschold walked out. He tried farming again, but for the same reason as before he failed again. These failures, however, brought him greater clarity and richer experiences, greater power of understanding and evaluation. He became even more convinced that he should give all his time to bringing about his social ideas and social changes; in bringing the whole social order into new and advanced cultural values.¹²

12. *Ibid.*, pages 28-30.

In 1845 Rudenschold published his "Tankar om standscirkulationen," which his enemies considered a crazy book by a crazy nobleman. But what did they dislike about the book? Only this that the author fought specifically against the false idea that it was dishonorable for a nobleman to become a common worker. He said, "If a nobleman has a dozen sons he takes for granted that they shall become noblemen at any cost, even though Providence does not call more than a few to be noblemen. Let them become strong, useful workers instead of useless and dangerous noblemen." The social solution he fought for was a radical change in attitude toward classes; one of the fundamental principles in the teachings of Christianity. (One of Rudenschold's sons accepted his father's views and became a worker. He went to North America and took part in the civil war and died in a soldiers' hospital.) In Lacko castle Rudenschold established a school for children which became very popular. At a church meeting it was decided to expand this school to a circulation school for the entire congregation. Three days a week in all kinds of weather and without salary Rudenschold walked from one school to another. After a year he

received a little remuneration from the state.¹³

Another leader in the history of Swedish education was Fridtjuv Berg, the Horace Mann of Sweden. He also had a warm spot in his heart for the common man and for children in the community, and he worked along Rudenschold's ideas to establish a sound "standcirkulation" and a brotherly relation among the social classes.¹⁴ That thought was the leading star in his daily work as a teacher and remained his leading star when he became the head of the Swedish Educational System in Karl Staaf's cabinet.

The following was his program:

- 1) The folk school should be the basic school for the people everywhere in the country.
- 2) The highly gifted children regardless of class and wealth should have a chance to continue their education at higher institutions of learning.
- 3) The loophole between the folk school and the higher educational institutions should be filled with the common middle schools.

13. Ibid., page 30. Cf. Gust. Lindberg's book, "Torsten Rudenschold och Hans Livsgarning." Also "Skrifter av Thorsten Rudenschold" (i "Pedagogiska skrifter, utgifna av Sveriges allmanna folkskolläroforening litteratursallskap.

14. J. Melander's book "Kyrkan och Klasskampen" treats this problem.

- 4) Trade schools should be encouraged.¹⁵

Fridtjuv Berg's program concerning the folk school as a basic school for the people, a school which all the children should finish, was to many a waving of red. They reacted strongly against it. But within a few years such a school became nevertheless a reality. Grimberg says, "Development is fast in our democracy. Now it is an exception to find any one whose eyes are not open to Berg's idea. Now regardless of class and wealth children associate with and learn from one another. And now men from every interest in life are working together on important committees in government and school. It is best to teach children early to understand other people. In this way class prejudice does not receive a chance and class consciousness is stamped out." He says further, "It is of great social importance to arrange the schools in such a manner as to give the gifted a chance to continue their education at higher institutions. --- And it is also of equal importance to avoid overestimating the

¹⁵. Grimberg --- SFUO, pages 31-33. Read N.O.Bruce's article on Fridtjuv Berg in "Svenskt biografiskt lexikon," Fridtjuv Berg, "Nagra Minnesblad," "Minnesskrift, tillagnad Fridtjuv Berg pa 60-arsdagen den 20 Mars 1911."

training of the mind and thereby underestimate the training of the hand. Training must be given in both the theoretical and the practical institutions of learning. The newly established trades schools have a useful purpose."¹⁶

It is not enough that a poor farmer's son can become archbishop or a poor working man's son a general; another thing must be considered, namely, the fact that it is in the interest of the society itself to see to it that this son becomes such a leader without hindrances so difficult that they scare numerous young gifted men from training their abilities. Each one ought to have the opportunity to make himself useful in society whether his parents are able to help him or not.¹⁷

But nothing showed more clearly the coming through of a more ordered school system than the numerous school readers used during the last two centuries in the schools of Sweden; and they indicate, in particular, the evolution of Religious Education in Sweden. They reflect the developing spirit of Religious Education, its becoming powerful enough to come down to the level of men in common life, to help them, enlighten them. They show a spirit toward a democratizing of education, a higher

¹⁶. Ibid., page 31.

¹⁷. Ibid., pages 32-33.

estimation of human ability and a consciousness of man's significance, actual and potential possibilities; a spirit toward emancipation of common man from ignorance. The tendency is away from intellectual and ecclesiastical aristocracy toward interrelations of religion and social life among people in general. In these readers the idea of strict absolutism is slowly supplanted by the idea that knowledge is relative and a medium. It is evolution from a kind of stereotyped form of training to one that continuously expands and also to one showing the relation of religion and science, showing that they are one, which this dissertation is frequently pointing to. These school readers should be made a special study.¹⁸

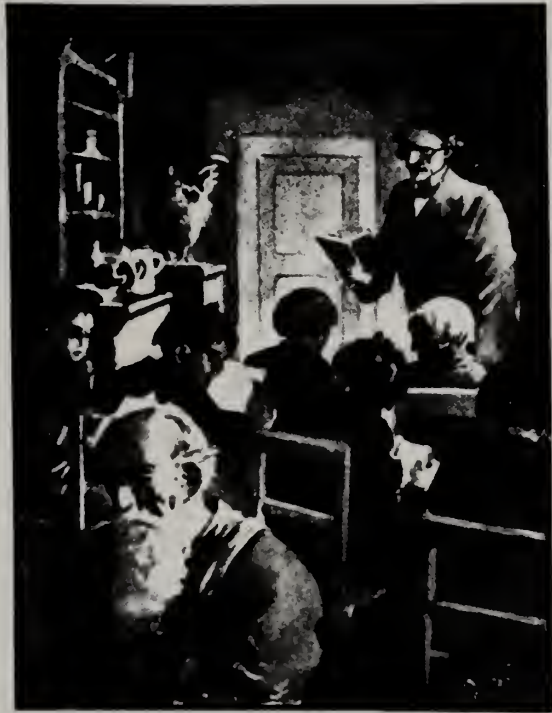
During several centuries the following abc books and readers were used: Kronprinsens barnbok (1780), Cnattingii abc bok (1832), C. O. Wikanders abc bok (1870), Cnattingii Lasebok i Folkskolor (1833), Lasebok for Barn och Ungdom I Hemmet och Skolan (1859), Landgrens Lasebok for Folkskolor (1864), Oldsberg Hem-Skolan Barnens Bok (1864), Siljestroms

18. A thesis by itself.

Lasebok vid de forsta innanlasningarne (1865), Rodhes Laro- och Lasebok for Barn i Hemmet och Smaskolan sarkilt lampad efter stafnings-, Skriftlase- och Ljudmetoden (1875), Rodhes ABC- och Lasebok for Smaskolan (1880), Glasells Werldsligt och Andligt --- Lasebok for Barn och Ungdom (Chicago 1865 reprinted by Hawkinson and Engberg), Kastmans Lasebok for Smaskolor (Chicago, Engberg and Holmbergs Forlag, (1879)¹⁹, Hults ABC bok (a reprint of a Swedish original)²⁰, Lasebok for Folkskolan avd. 1-4 (P.A. Norstedt & Soners Forlag).

A reader for children and young people was published in 1859; a good example of an unpedagogical approach. It has no preface nor introduction and is a collection of sayings by many authors. Many of the sayings are taken from the Bible. Page three is a poem entitled "The Sacrament of the Holy Baptism,"

19. Dr. I. O. Nothstein, archivist, Denkmann Library, Augustana College and Theological Seminary, in a letter writes: Printed by Engberg but only reprints of Swedish original used in Sweden. Both books above printed by Engberg are reprints of Swedish originals.
20. Dr. Adolf Hult, late professor of Church History at Augustana Theological Seminary in a letter (dated June 3, 1942) says regarding this book and Barnens Andra Bok and catechism and Bible Histories, "Indeed they were confirmed at about 14, the children of Sweden, using the Catechism, Bible History and readers you mentioned. So the same occurred in our Synod."



Class in session
in a home

VÅRT LAND FÅR EN ORDNAD FOLKUNDERSVNING.



R. P.

K. k.

*Där kallans rena, flöd, sit, friska vatn spisar
Mer vällust ofta fins, än man af drufvor njuter.*



L. I.

L. I.

*Med herden sjuga, Lamb för vargen trygg, gå.
Här lyckligt är i nød en van til besjänd jä.*

Kuäl och Grönor af J. Swartz

Ur Kronprinsens abc-bok.

VÅRT LAND FÅR EN ORDNAD FOLKUNDERVISNING.



En sida ur Krönprinsens abc-bok.

Et Barn, hjerteligen rödrt öfwer undfängen
förlåtelse.

Lilla Johan hade genom sin orvarsamhet slagit sönder et ganska wacker glass, som hans föräldrar höllo i mycket värde.

Han oroade sig deröfwer ganska mycket; mera för det misnöje skul, som han dem förorsakat, än för de förebräelser, som han hade at frukta. Hwad skal jag göra, sade han för sig sjelf, at kunna bättra denna min förbrutelse?

Fadren, för hwilken allt blef berättadt, och sjelf såg, wid inträdet i barokamaren, barnets willrådighet och bedröfwelse, emfannade det, i stället för at baunas, och sade: Mit barn, war obekymradt om det sönderslagna glasf! Det war oförsigtigheten, som war dertill wällande. Jag wil köpa et nytt.

Johan tystnade i förstone. Omfider sade han med tårar i ögonen: Uet hwad för en god far! I stället för de förebräelser, som jag förtjent, förlåten I mig, innan jag ännu hunnit bedja derom! Denna godheten, min käraste far, skal fördubbla min flit, at hädanefter alltid wara försigtig, och aldrig göra något, som kan förtörna er.

Huru lycklige äro icke de barn, som igenom godhet låta sig bättras!

Det

13) Carl den trettonde afled den 5 Februari 1818, då Carl XIV Johan uppsteg på thronen.

14) Efter Carl Johans död, den 8 Mars 1844, tillträdde hans son, Oscar d. I:ste, regeringen.

15) Oscar den förste dog den 8 Juli 1859, och hans son, Carl XV, uppsteg på thronen.

16) Lären af Historien, huru Gud leder folks och konungars samt enskilda människors öden. Lären och hvad som endast kan befordra lycka, själsständighet och lugn; och det är: kristelig gudaktighet, hörsamhet mot Konung och Öfverhet, aktning för lagarna, mod att i farans stund möta fienden, sorgfällig wård om ungdomens uppfostran och sedlighet, samt arbetsamhet, flärdfrihet och vegennytta i det enskilda lifvet.

Gud beware Konungen, Konungahuset och Fäderneslandet!

13) När dog Carl XIII?

14) När dog Carl XIV Johan, och hwem blef konung efter honom?

15) När afled Oscar I, och huru heter Sveriges nuvarande konung?

16) Hvad kunna wi lära af Historien?

and it has seven long verses.²¹

The Lasebok for Folkskolor by C. J. Landgren was written for smaller children. The first part is made up of spelling exercises and the second part of short stories taken largely from Swedish history, nature studies and the Bible. The last pages (87-96) contain poems for children; prayers and psalms. This reader follows closely Hansen's revision of Thiemes Gutmann's reader which at that time had been used many years in Denmark and Norway.²²

A very interesting reader for children is Anders Oldbergs Hem-Skolans Barnens Bok.²³ The first forty-one pages are spelling material to be used in connection with the reading lessons. The book begins with questions and answers. Example:

Q. When is a vocal sound long or short?

A. Long when one dwells on the vowel as in vat, gas, bas, and short when one does not dwell on the vowel as in slott, gosse, boss.

21. Lasebok for Barn och Ungdom i hemmet och skolan, Gotebor, tryckt hos Hedlund och Lindskog, 1859, 128 pages.

22. Lasebok for Folkskolor af C. J. Landgren, Stkhlm, tryckt pa P. A. Huldbergs Forlag (Huldberg och Komp:s Boktryckeri), 1864.

23. Hem-Skolan, Barnens Bok, af Anders Oldberg, Stkhlm, hos L. J. Hjerta, tryckt hos Joh. Beckman, 1864, 240 pages.

Q. What is meant by accent
(tonvikt)?

A. The raising or sinking of the
voice.²⁴

The spelling material comes in tables which were called Stavelsetabeller (Analysis-synthesis method). Pages 42-52 are lessons in punctuation. The rest of the book is reading material mostly religious and historical.

Siljestrom's reader was published 1865 for children just beginning to read. It was an introduction to the more difficult reading material such as found in books on religion, history, nature studies, art; and was written on the basis of the author's idea of sound pedagogical principles and with the purpose in mind of giving the children a general religious and moral aim and a good foundation for the positive Christian teachings. The author did not want his reader or reading book to degenerate to mere reading exercises. Pages 4-142 tell the story of Robinson Crusoe which story had hitherto been withheld from the children in general and given the children of the nobility only.²⁵

24. Ibid., page 5.

25. Lasebok vid de forsta innanlasningsofningarne i

Cnatingius also wrote a reader for Folkskolor to help children in their first attempts in reading and to awaken the mind of the child to living knowledge.²⁶ In the preface is the following statement:

The first lessons are somewhat mechanical since they deal primarily with the formal side of continuous nurture; but if the subject matter is properly presented the mind will be stimulated, attention kept up, reflective thinking aroused which will in turn automatically lead to a clearer concept and a livelier interest.²⁷

Concern for the children's spiritual welfare is also expressed together with a plea for good and well prepared teachers.

Considering the thoughtlessness and the deathlike spiritual slumber as a result of poor teaching, one can not help being merciful in one's judgment of this new effort.---May zealous and capable teachers not become discouraged in teaching little children because of the little value now being placed on children's first instruction. Our day requires the best trained and experienced teachers.²⁸

skolan och hemmet, utgiven af P. A. Siljestrom, Stkhlm, 1865, P. A. Norstedt och Soner, Kongl. Boktryckeri, illustrated, 180 pages.

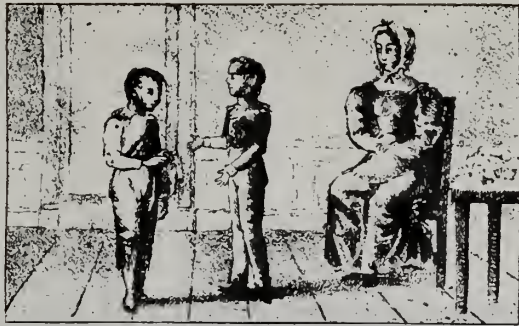
26. Lasebok i Folkskolor af A.J.D. Cnatingius, second edition, tryckt hos P.A.Norstedt och Soner, 1833.

27. Ibid., preface, page 1.

28. Ibid., preface, page 3.



From a page in
Siljestrom's reader



Reconciliation
Love toward parents
Brotherly love

From a page in Cnattin*g*i

abc-bok



Fridtjof Berg. Fotografi.

är icke nog, att den begåvade torparsonen *kan* bli ärkebiskop, eller att en arbetares son *kan* bli general, utan det ligger i samhällets eget intresse att tillse, att han kan bli det utan hinder så svåra, att de avskräcka en massa rikt begåvade ynglingar från att utbilda sina anlag. Var och en bör ha

Another Laro- och Lasebok for Barn by B. C. Rodhe was interesting for many reasons, but especially interesting pedagogically or methodologically. It was an attempt to foster children in spiritual things as well as practical; to give them an insight into both the spiritual and the material realities in their world. The book shows a tendency away from the dull plugging or drilling method of that day. Much of its material is religious and moral; articles on church and home, the heavenly Father, Christ and His teachings, service and fair play, Bible verses supporting doctrines in the Christian church.²⁹

Several years later B. C. Rodhe wrote a new textbook for children, a Ny ABC- och Lasebok for Smaskolan. In this book the reading material is definitely more on a child's level and the method used more reasonable. The following concerning the method is clarifying: 1) The teacher explains the contents of the reading lesson and reads also part of it; 2) the pupils read, one at a time, after which the teacher corrects the mistakes and explains par-

29. Laro-och Lasebok for Barn i Hemmet och Smaskolan, sarkildt lampad efter Stafnings-, Skriftlase och Ljudmetoden af B. C. Rodhe, Stkhlm, F. & G. Beijer's Forlag, tryckt hos A. L. Normans Boktryckeri-Aktiebolag, 1875, 147 pages.

particularly what the children can not understand; 3) the difficult words are spelt for the children; 4) the teacher demonstrates how incorrect reading sounds; 5) when the entire article has been read it is explained as a whole; 6) the article is read again by one or several of the children, once in a while by the teacher, and finally by all the children in unison. This reader contains more articles on nature and less on religion than any of the older readers.³⁰

In 1911 a large reader was published for Folkskolan, tenth edition, thoroughly reworked and revised. Heavy and improper expressions were taken out and more suitable ones substituted. Historical, geographical and biological essays were corrected by specialists. Much of the old and inapplicable material was eliminated.³¹

The catechism was also one of the main textbooks

30. Ny ABC- och Lasebok for Smaskolan by B. C. Rodhe, Distribuent; A. V. Carlson, Stkholm, 1880, 224 pages. This book comes closer to the synthesis of Religion and science found in Religious Education in Sweden today. Neonaturalism.

31. Lasebok for Folkskolan, first and fourth classes, Stkholm, P. A. Norstedt & Soners Forlag, 1911, 1328 pages. (There are numerous late readers, beginning with those by Schuck, Lundahl. These most recent readers --- a long series of totally modernized readers --- are a subject for a monograph or a volume in the History of Religious Education in Sweden.)

Han pekar rätt upp i wadret med den. Ser du den tjocke militären i uniform? Han skall lära gossarna att gå ordenlligt. Derför nyper han den dnnama gossen i armen. Gossen får hålla tillgodo dermed. När man bär sig illa åt, får man tala lillrättawisning. Ty eljest skulle man alltid bli dum och okunnig.»



Fyra gossar lära sig att gå i marsch.

*

En på sin tid mycket omlyckt bok var även Anders Oldbergs »Hemskola», vars första upplaga kom nt 1842. Lat oss avsmaka ett par godbilar därur!

Husch! Goda Mamma! Nu är ju det värsta förbi? Mamma sade ju, att när jag kan läsa rent på de första åtta (VIII) ta-bel-ler-na, så har jag gjort från mig det värsta? Lä-ra-ren i vår Skola har ock sagt det-sam-ma. Vet Mamma! han nar mycket trak med oss, tills vi kunna läsa riktigt. I Vilket ta-la-mod måste icke Han hafva, som hvar dag skall höra så många! Och när vi icke kunna, så må-ste Han höra om det-sam-ma och detsamma flere gånger. Visst är han bra trött hvarje qväll! Så tråksamt Han måste hafva; heldst då några äro lata och obe-sked-li-ga! Jag vill dock fö-re-sät-ta mig, att vara så lydig och flitig, att han icke får skäl att vara ledsen på mig. Det är så roligt i skolan, när det går bra för mig. Jag får da inga fula märken i Journalen. Kamraterna säga: 'Du skall sta högst i classen;' 'Du kan bäst,' m. m. Ibland säga de: 'Du får snart flytta i högre class.' o. s. v. — Då är jag så glad.»

»Lilla Swen lekte ibland med sin Mammans NYCKLAR, som woro fästade på en ring af stål. Det roade honom att höra, huru nycklarne skramlade mot hwarandra. Äfwen roade det honom, att blåsa i nyckelpiporna. En gång gick stålringen opp så, att nycklarne föllo af ringen. Da kastade Swen den ena nyckeln hit, den andra dit. När mamma skulle ater samla alla sina nycklar, war den aldra

G.O.Wikanders abc-bok, published
in Goteborg about 1870.

När döden nalkades, frågade rikskanslern efter nyheter från drottning Kristina. Då man berättade honom, vad man hört om henne, sedan hon lämnat Sverige, utbrast han: »Hon kommer att ångra sig, det har jag sagt henne förut, men hon har blivit förryckt. Men», tillade han med en djup suck, »hon är ändock den store Gustav Adolfs dotter.» Dessa ord voro de sista, han yttrade. Den 28 augusti 1654 gick Sveriges hittills störste statsman nedom tronen ur tiden; han ligger begravnen i Jäders kyrka i Södermanland. Med sin maka Anna Bååt hade han flera barn, bland dem Erik Axelsson Oxenstierna, som blev Karl X Gustavs rikskansler.

*

Axel Oxenstiernas otroligt stora arbetsförmåga underlättades av en stark hälsa, ett jämnt lynne, en grundlig bildning och en lycklig ekonomisk ställning. Han lät varje dag hava sin omsorg, och hans nattro störcdes ej av bekymmer för morgondagen. »Med kläderna», sade han, »bortlägger jag mina bekymmer.» Endast två sömnlösa nätter, säges det, hade han upplevat under hela sitt långa, av viktiga arbeten och mångfaldiga omsorger fyllda liv. Den första inträffade efter underrättelsen om konungens död, som grep honom djupare än något annat; nederlaget vid Nördlingen 1634 medförde den andra. Men båda gångerna återvände snart hans förtröstan och medförde »dagens förhoppningar och nattens lugn».

Axel Oxenstierna var en *adelsman* från topp till tå. Han var såsom sådan en ivrig kämpe för frälseståndets alla privilegier, ej minst för sin egen ätts intressen, och han hade svårt att förstå allmogens rop på bättre levnadsvillkor och större politisk frihet. I sitt sätt att vara föreföll han främlingar stel, högdragen och oåtkomlig, vilket kanske nog behövdes den tiden. Men i själva verket ägde han en ovanlig förmåga att vinna människor. I umgänget med sina landsmän var han glättig och meddelsam utan minsta spår av högdragenhet. En allvarlig gudsfruktan, stor hjälpsamhet mot anhöriga och mycken godhet mot alla underhavande utmärkte hans enskilda liv.

in the schools of Sweden. After the ecclesiastical reformation Olavus Petri compiled a catechism. In the 18th century one of the famous catechisms was Schartau's catechism. The underlying catechism for these and subsequent catechisms was Dr. Martin Luther's Enchiridion. Martin Luther's Small catechism and its interpretation became the catechism used mostly in the Swedish church. For example, Hultkrantz catechism published by E. J. Ostrand was Luther's catechism reworked by a special committee and accepted at a church meeting 1878 and recommended for use in religious instruction in the Swedish church.³²

32. Accepted 1878 through the Kongl. Maj:ts circular October 11, 1878. A study of Martin Luther's Enchiridion in its earliest Swedish translation is "Doktor Martin Luthers Enchiridion i dess tidigaste kanda svenska drakt" by Herman Lundstrom, (Teol. D:r), Uppsala, 1915, Akademiska Boktryckeriet, Edv. Berting, found in Uppsala University Arsskrift, 1915, a copy of which is at Harvard University Library. (En forebild till var Svenska titeltext: Catechismus eller Christeligh kennedom for ungt och enfaldigt folck ganska nyttigh.)

Concerning Schartau's Dr. Gosta Nelson says that it has been published in not less than twenty-five editions and has been a great influence in the religious art of nurture (Schartaus storsta och grundläggande inflytande som "educator" ligger ju pa det kateketiska omradet. Hans "Underwisning i Christendomskunskapen for barn" har utgatt i icke mindre an 25 upplagor och har liksom hans ovriga skrifter haft ett mycket stort inflytande pa religiosa uppfostrans art, synnerligen i Vast- och Sydsverige. Bokenas den 25 Maj 1944.)

From the catechism, "Enfaldig forklaring ofver Dr. Martin Lutheri Lilla Cateches, stalld genom sporsmal och svar, av Olao Svebilio," are taken the following questions and answers:³³

Q. What is the sum of the law?

A. Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart; with all thy soul; and with all thy mind; and thy neighbor as thyself.

Q. How does the law or the ten commandments conclude?

A. With threatenings and punishment on those who break the law; and with gracious promises and all things good to those who keep it and complete it.

Q. What is God?

A. God is a spirit; eternal, almighty, righteous, everywhere present, all wise, just and merciful.

From the Hultkrantzska Katekesen³⁴ the following questions and answers are quoted (The second part includes the articles of faith with remarks):

^{33.} Enfaldig Forklaring ofver Dr. Martin Lutheri Lilla Cateches, stalld genom sporsmal och svar, af Olao Svebilio, A. Ups., Helsingfors, 1905.

^{34.} Doktor Martin Luthers Lilla Katekes med Kort Utveckling, af Kongl. Maj: t Antagen den II Oktober, 1878, efter den s.k. Hultkrantzska Katekesens plan utgifven af E. J. Ostrand, 18de upplagan, med bibelspraken ur Nya Testamentet efter den af Kongl; Maj:t den 19 Oktober 1883, antagna ofversattningen, stafningen i enlighet med Sv. Akademiens Ordlista, 6te uppl., Stkholm, Aktiebolaget Formans Forlag. (This catechism is the best catechism officially in the church of Sweden.)

The articles of faith also called the Apostolic Confession of faith were written in the earliest times of the Christian Church (at least before 500 A.D.). They have no definite author. In all likelihood they were not written all at once, rather gradually. They express a common confession of faith for the entire Christian church and include a short summary of the fundamental principles in the Christian faith. For this reason they were used also at baptism and confirmation. Luther is the author of the interpretation of these articles.

The first article is expressed in the well-known classical style, as follows: Concerning God the Father, almighty, maker of heaven and earth. The following remarks are made:

This article includes two parts: 1) concerning the first person in the godhead; 2) concerning His works. The other articles (articles two and three) are divided in a similar way.

The first article:

Q. What does it mean?

A. I believe that God has created me and all that exists; that He has given me and still preserves me my body and soul, with all my limbs and senses, my reason and all the faculties of my mind, together with my raiment, food, home and family, and all my property; that He daily provides me abundantly with all the necessities of life; protects me

from all danger, and preserves me and guards me against all evil; all of which He does out of pure, paternal and divine goodness and mercy; for all of which I am duty bound to thank and praise, serve and obey Him. This is most certainly true.

The remarks concerning this article are:

This interpretation treats: 1) concerning creation; 2) concerning providence; 3) concerning God's works of mercy; 4) concerning thanksgiving to God; 5) concerning the certainty of this teaching.

The second article reads as follows:

Concerning God the Son and redemption. I believe in Jesus Christ His only Son, our Lord, who was conceived by the Holy Spirit, born of the virgin Mary; suffered under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, dead and buried; He descended into hell; the third day He arose again from the dead; He ascended into heaven, and sitteth on the right hand of God, the Father Almighty; from thence He shall come to judge the quick and the dead.

The remarks here concern themselves with Christ's humiliation and exaltation.

The conception of Jesus Christ, His birth, life here on earth, suffering, death and burial belong to His humiliation; His ascending into hell, resurrection, ascension, sitting on the Father's right hand and second coming to judge the earth belong to His exaltation. Hell or hades is that state in which the souls of men find themselves between death and resurrection.

The question and answer concerning the second article read as follows:

Q. What does it mean?

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

The remarks outline briefly the interpretation of this article as follows:

This interpretation treats: 1) concerning Christ's person; 2) concerning His work (redemption); 3) concerning the means of redemption; 4) concerning its purpose; 5) concerning the exaltation of Christ; 6) concerning the certainty of this teaching.

The third article:

Concerning God the Holy Spirit and sanctification. I believe in the Holy Spirit; the holy Christian Church, the communion of Saints; the forgiveness of sins; the resurrection of the body; and life everlasting. Amen.

Concerning this article the following question is asked: What does this mean? And the answer reads as follows:

I believe that I can not by my own reason or strength believe in Jesus Christ or come to Him; but the Holy Spirit has called me through the Gospel, enlightened me by His gifts and sanctified and preserved me in the true faith; in like manner as He calls, gathers, enlightens, and sanctifies the whole Christian Church on earth, and preserves it in union with Jesus Christ in the true faith; in which Christian Church He daily forgives abundantly all my sins, and the sins of all believers, and will raise up me and all the dead at the last day, and will grant everlasting life to me and to all who believe in Christ. This is most certainly true.

The remarks on the third article are a brief statement of religion as it was understood in that day.

This interpretation treats: 1) concerning man's natural power to do good; 2) concerning the Holy Spirit's work of grace (calling, illumination, sanctification and protection); a) in the life of the individual, b) in the Christian Church (the congregation); 3) concerning the daily forgiveness of sins; 4) concerning the resurrection of the dead; 5) concerning eternal life; 6) concerning the certainty of this teaching.

In spirit and thought the catechism remained too unchanged; doctrinal and speculative; stagnant and static; adult and other worldly-minded. The method was largely acquiring a narrow, dogmatic knowledge of religion by memory. Hence, this book did not fit into the new changes and developments that came gradually into the thoughts and method of Religious Education.

But the catechism is nevertheless an outstanding book in the study of Religious Education in Sweden. A volume on this subject should be written for the present day, in which the following catechisms, in particular, would be valuable studies: Olavus Petri's catechism, Laurentius Paulinus Gothus' catechism, Olof Laurentius' catechism, Schartau's catechism, Johannes Matthiae's catechism, Erik Emporagrius' catechism, Hakvin Spegel's catechism, archbishop Olof Svebilius' catechism, Jesper Svedberg's catechism, Jakob Axelsson Lindblom's revision of Svebilius' catechism, Claes Adolf Hultkrantz' catechism (1878) which is considered as the best catechism officially used by the church of Sweden and also in the history of the catechism in Sweden as the highest development.

Added to this list should be a number of editions since this time.³⁵

The following are books that have supplanted the catechism, very excellent modern textbooks, such as "Kristendomens undervisning i folkskolan" by Rodhe and Thunander, "Hjalpbok i undervisning i den kristna tros och livs askadningen" by Rodhe and Thunander, "Handledning for undervisare i kristendomen" by the same authors, "Handledning for barndomsskolans larare" by J. Lindskog and Berglund's books on Christian teachings. Some of these books reveal also quite clearly the methodology employed.

As indicated, in recent years the catechism has lost its exalted place in the church schools of Sweden. In the public school it is practically out altogether. However, leading men are advocating its return, among whom is the author of "En Kyrkans Klenod," Prosten L. M. Engstrom of Balstad, Dalsland.³⁶ He also wrote a book on "Tillbaka till

35. L. M. Engstrom --- "En Kyrkans Klenod," Luthers Lilla Katekes, ett 400-arsjubileum, 1529-1929, studier och tankar, andra uppl., Goteborg, 1929, Kyrkliga Forbundets Bokforlag, pages 154-163. (The author: Prosten L. M. Engstrom, Balstad, Dalsland).
36. See footnote 35.

Luthers Lilla Katekes" (Back to Luther's Little Catechism). But a voice like this (be it ever so fascinating) is like a voice in the dark. Already then in the new plans of education, Luther's Little Catechism with a few exceptions had been taken out of the schools of Sweden. A new day had begun, the day in which even the school Readers³⁷ in their evolutionary process (pointed to).

Emanuel Linderholm, one of Sweden's leading theologians, has the following to say concerning the catechism: "The time of the catechism is gone in both reality and otherwise. The new textbooks must be liberated from the catechism, its narrow and onesided material and its unnatural position which becomes very noticeable when all the teachings concerning the Christian faith are compressed within its unnatural framework."³⁸

Concerning systematic theology in Sweden today this theologian goes far beyond the ordinary 19th century interpretation of the catechism when he says, "Systematic theology ought not therefore strive to be Lutheran, but instead it ought to strive to

37. See pages 124 to 199.

38. Emanuel Linderholm --- Problemställningar och Arbetsuppgifter i Nutida Svensk Teologi, Uppsala,

be Christlike in character."³⁹ He says further concerning this latter, "It should build upon evangelical principles, developed and oriented in the world in which we find ourselves."⁴⁰

Throughout Religious Education in Sweden in recent history it is generally evident that religion and science have been blended into a dynamic reality. Science has gained headway (learning, investigating, experimenting, testing). Hence, for example, no one informed at all is interested in the difference between the churchly and the free churchly groups. Such a thing appears or sounds childish. It is a mere bagatelle. Linderholm emphasizes the development of science in the following statement:

"Because of research and critical attitudes in history science and secularization have come even

A. B. Akademiska Bokhandeln, 1921, page 47. ("Katekesens tid ar gangen bade reelt och formelt och framfor allt reelt. Den nya laroboken maste frigoras fran katekesens allt for inskrankta och ensidiga material och den onaturliga disposition, som uppstar nar hela den kristna trosラーan skall pressas in i denna konstlade ram.")

39. Ibid., page 47. ("Den systematiska bor alltsa ej strafva att bli Luthersk, utan istallet fa den allmankristliga karaktar, som kan betecknas sasom ratt och slatt evangelisk.")

40. Ibid., page 47. ("Den bor, for sa vidt det eljest skall vara en larobok i kristlig tros- och lifdaskadning, alltsa bygga pa evangeliets grundtankar, utvecklade och orienterade in den varld, vi nu lefva.")

to us. These trends were felt already in the liberalism during years leading up to the middle of the 19th century,⁴¹ when leading men such as Viktor Rydberg, having deep religious interests, made their revolutionary contributions. Ever since the decade 1880 has the entire Swedish cultural development been influenced by a constant secularizing of science and literature, lawmaking and politics, social and national life. In reality this is a quiet but serious cultural struggle, which is not just now coming into our life, but is already here with us; in fact has been with us many years.--- It is especially felt in the educational world where a secularization is going on similar to the one in France from the time of 1880."⁴²

41. The underscoring of these lines is by the writer of this dissertation.

42. Ibid., page 5. ("Afven hos oss har det i kraft af naturforskning och historisk kritik kommit till en vetenskapens och lifvets starka sekularisering. Denna uppbars val redan af gammalliberalismen inemot och efter 1800 talets midt, men denna raknade dock inom sig ledande personligheter --- framst en Viktor Rydberg --- med djupa religiosa intressen. Alltifran 1880- talet har hela den svenska kulturutvecklingen praglats af en standig djupare och vidare gaende sekularisering af vetenskap och litteratur, politik och lagstiftning, samhalls- och folklif. I sjalva verket innebar allt detta intet mindre an en tyst men allvarsam kulturkamp. Denna behover icke komma, den ar redan sedan manga ar i full gang, fast formerna och medlen hos oss aro andra an exempelvis i Tyskland. Det ar sarkilt undervisningsvasendet, som nu ar foremal for samma sekularisering som det franska fr.o.m. 1880-talet.")

Linderholm discusses further the matter of textbooks and makes unmistakably clear the need of scientifically sound textbooks, and he also pleads for a strong theological faculty and a well-trained ministry. "The historical textbooks must be built on the results of critical research," he says. "For this reason," he continues, "a well-trained ministry is necessary which can not be gained unless our theological faculty measures up to the highest possible standards. Such a faculty must be able to give our ministers and teachers the necessary training as well as the new form and the tested content; all of which will make the Christian faith powerful in the future and also a power in the church to guide our people in truth and holiness."⁴³

In addition to these books there are many other

43. Ibid., pages 47 and 62. ("Darmed torde krafvet pa objektiviteten vara tillfredstalldt. Hvad de historiska larobockerna angar ar det nog att saga att de maste kort och godt byggas pa den kritiska forskningens allmanna resultat.--- Det maste vara ett religiost och vetenskapligt val undervisat och utbildat prasterskap. Detta kan ej vinnas utan att vara teologiska fakulteters arbetskrafter, andligen fa kraftig och fullt tillracklig forstarkning, sa att de forma gifva praster och larare den behofliga utbildningen samt i allmanhet at kristen tro den nya form och det profvade innehall, som gora den lifsduglig for framtiden samt aterger at krykan den religiosa ledning af vart folks lif, som dess naturliga uppgift.")

excellent books (textbooks) on Christian teaching; also excellent in that they reveal somewhat the methodology employed.⁴⁴ A good example of such books is "Larobok i religions kunskap for folkskolans sjunde klass och fortsattningsskolor," introduction by J. Lindskog, 1938, written by Carl Edquist, who has written many books for religious instruction in the public schools of Sweden. Another of his books is "Larobok i var kristna tros- och livsaskadning i anslutning till Jesu bergspredikan," for folkskolans hogsta klass, 1933.⁴⁵ Similar books by A. Klefbeck and H. Wijmark should also be mentioned here, particularly their "Larobok i kristendoms kunskap for realskolan," "forsta delen for den femariga realskolans fyra forsta och den fyraariges tre forsta klasser, 1937, andra delen for realskolans avslutningsklass," and "Larobok i kristendoms kunskap," "for det fyraariga gymnasiets forsta ring, 1934."

Next to the catechism must be placed the Bible History as a textbook in Religious Education in Sweden. This book also has a rich history and

44. See pages 209-211

45. Aktiebolaget J. F. Hallmans Bokhandel, Uddevalla, Sweden.

should be given special study. At least one scholarly volume from the point of view of Religious Education should be written. The following is a rather complete list of standard books on this subject:

Ahlstrom, C. A. --- Biblisk Historia, Stkholm, Carlson, 1888, 128 pages, maps.

Backman, J. --- Biblisk Historia, Stkholm, Norstedt & Soners Forlag, 1881, 148 pages, maps 2nd edition.

Barth, C. G. --- Tva ganger tva och femtio Bibliska historier, Lund, Gleerup, 1872, 223 pages, illustrations, 10th edition.

Cavallin, S. --- Biblisk Historia, Lund, Gleerup, 1869, 144 pages.

Fischier, P. E. M. --- Biblisk Historia, Stkholm, Norstedt, 1878, maps.

Hubner, Johan --- Walda berattelser utur den Heliga Skrift, Stkholm, Hjerta, 1822, 138 pages.

Hubner, Johan --- Tva ganger tva och femtio utwalda bibliska historier, Orebro, Lindholm, 1821, 416 pages, illustrations.

Kurtz, J. H. --- Biblisk historia, tr. by J. A. Asping, Stkholm, Marcus, 1866, 272 pages, 3rd edition.

Lindstrom, L. G. --- Guds rikets historia, Stkholm, Norstedt, 1888, 280 pages.

Johansson, Joh. --- Livsbilder ur Bibeln, Linkoping, Ostgota C. B., 1915, 322 pages.

Lundgren, Fredrik --- Handbok till
Bibliska historien, Stkhlm, Norman,
1888, 2nd volume.

Norlen, Wilh. och Lundgren, Fr.---
Biblisk historia for folkskolan,
Stkhlm, Norman, 1894, 143 pages,
maps, 9th edition.

Ostertag, Albert --- Bibelns historia,
Orebro, Lindh, 1864, 308 pages,
illustrations.

Petterson, C. --- Biblisk historia,
Falun, Groningsson, 1862, 106 pages,
maps.

Roos, C. O. --- Biblisk historia,
Uppsala, Hansell, 1860, 96 pages,
7th edition.

Roos, M. F. --- Inledning till
Bibliska historien, Stkhlm, Ev. Fost.
Stift., 1863.

Rosenquist, V. T. --- Biblisk
historia for elementarlaroverken,
Helsingfors, Soderstrom, 1892.

Sandberg, Fredrik --- Forklaringar
till Bibliska historien, Stkhlm,
Palmquist, 1869, 310 pages.

Edquist, Carl --- Livets vag i gamla
och nya forbundet, Gamla forbundet,
1932, Nya forbundet, Jesu liv, 1938,
Uddevalla, Hallmans.

Liedgren, Emil --- Tids- och livs-
bilder ur kristendomens historia,
for laroverken, Uddevalla, Hallmans,
1938.

Among the recent church historians towers
Hjalmar Holmquist. He has written the following
books:

Bilder ur kyrkohistorien, religions-
och missionshistorien, abridged
edition for folkskolan, 1935.

Kyrkhistoria:

- 1) Gamla tiden och medeltiden, 1928.
- 2) Nyare tiden, 1931.
- 3) Nyaste tiden jamte nutiden, 1929.

Svenska Reformationens Begynnelse,
1523-1531, Stkhlm, 1923.

To this list of standard church histories such
as the following should also be added:

Anjou, L. A. --- Svensk Kyrkoreforma-
tionens historia, Uppsala, 1850.

Eklund, J. A. --- Andelivet i Sveriges
Kyrka, I, II, Uppsala, 1911, 1913.

Reutherdahl, H. --- Svenska Kyrkans
Historia, I-IV, Lund, 1838-1866.

Rodhe, E. --- Svenskt Gudstjenstliv,
Stkhlm, 1923.

Schuck, H. --- Vara aldsta psalmbocker,
in Samlaren, 1891, (Samlaren ---
Skrifter utgivna av Svenska
Litteratursallskapet, Uppsala).

So far this chapter brings into clearer view
the relationship between thought on spiritual levels
and factuality, the latter without the former would
for one thing be quite arid. This is especially
seen in men like Rudenschold and Linderholm, a more
orderly school system, the school readers and the
new emphasis that textbooks must be built upon

critical research. It is becoming more evident that in the line of evolution of the synthesis (the dominant idea, the unification of the spiritual and the material) such men as Rydberg and Vikner were not only iconoclasts, but men of unusual insight, purpose and courage. And an increase of monographic literature on specific subjects indicated (for example, the school readers) will help future historians considerably to achieve a fuller appreciation of this religious educational development, the progressiveness of Religious Education in Sweden.

Finally in this chapter it is the purpose to bring Religious Education as treated in this dissertation from here up to present time (approximately 1938). But first a brief review.

Some preliminary steps were made in the 19th century in the direction of Religious Education and complete realism in Sweden. The approach became more empirical. State and church became more reconciled. But any real reconciliation of religion and realism (positivistic) was impossible as long as the mind was considered distinct from the body. Old conceptions (scholasticism, memory drills, dogmatics,

formalism, other worldliness) were deeply entrenched in the church and the school. Pietists like Schartau (in particular) and Rosenius (both innovators) made worthy attempts to understand the workings of the mind a little better. Rydberg and Vikner in a more definite way made contributions toward reconciling religion and realism (purposeless). However, it is in more recent years that the results of these efforts have been seen on a larger scale.

Up until recent years, for example, the diocesan board (Bishop and Chapter) had in a general way supervisory power over the lower public schools (Primary Schools) as well as the higher public schools (Secondary Schools); although civil officers also took part in the administration and supervision of these schools. The clergy was mostly interested in the contents of the textbooks and the civil officers in the administration.⁴⁶

In 1872 primary instruction was made obligatory and in 1897 a compulsory school law was enforced.

46. E. P. Lindstrom --- "Education in Sweden," in Monroe's (Paul Monroe) A Cyclopedia of Education, volume V, 1917.

If parents refused to send their children to school, the school board had the right to take them and give them instruction at the parents' expense. The compulsory age was from seven to fourteen.⁴⁷

This primary school had two divisions: 1) The infant school for beginners (seven to nine), and 2) the elementary school for advanced pupils (ten to fourteen). Generally the infant school was two years and the elementary four years; or two classes in the infant school and four classes on the elementary school (progressively taught). The following subjects were obligatory: Religion, Swedish, Arithmetic, Geometry, Geography, History, Natural Science, Drawing, Singing, Gymnastics and Gardening (in rural schools only). Religion held the central place in the program. The optional subjects were: Sloyd and Domestic Economy (subjects required in the cities) and in some places a foreign language (English or German). Gymnastics were taught according to the Ling system and the Naas system respectively. The naas system was elaborated upon by Otto Solomon, founder of the Sloyd Training School at Naas. These systems have

47. *Ibid.*, page 477.

the pedagogical aim of developing a harmonious life in the pupils.⁴⁸

The secondary schools were: 1) The Realskola (a practical high school), which had six one year classes and was finished with the Realexamen, and 2) the Gymnasium (the classical high school), which had four one year classes and was finished with the Studentexamen. (The Gymnasium was not free). Hence, a complete secondary school course included a three years' course in the primary school, a five years' course in the Realskola and a four years' course in the Gymnasium, which was divided into two parallel lines, Latin and Modern. These schools were intended for boys, but in some towns the Realskola was arranged on the plan of coeducation (coeducation was rare). There were, however, secondary schools for girls.⁴⁹

The diagrams I, II and III⁵⁰ show the normal age, the time schedule for the Gymnasium and the time schedule for the Realskola. They also show the number of subjects taught, the number of hours

48. Ibid., pages 477-478.

49. Ibid., pages 478-480.

50. Pages 222-224.

Time schedule for the Gymnasium ---
 Number of hours per subject per week (1911).

Subjects	Classes				Classes			
	Modern				Latin			
Classes	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
Religion	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
Swedish	3	2	3	3	3	2	3	3
Latin					6	6	6	6
German	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
English	3	3	2	4	2	2	2	2
French		4	4	4		4	4	4
History	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
Geography	2	1			2	1		
Logic and Psych.			1	1			1	1
Mathematics	7	6	6	6	5	4	4	5
Biology	1	2	2	1	1	2	2	1
Physics	3	2	4	3	2	1	2	2
Chemistry	2	2	2	2				
Drawing	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
Total no. of hrs. per wk.	30	31	33	33	30	31	33	33

Diagram number II.

Time schedule for the Realskola.

Religion	3	3	3	2	2	2	15
Swedish	5	5	6	4	3	3	26
German	6	6	6	4	4	3	29
English				5	5	4	14
History	2	3	3	3	3	4	18
Geography	2	2	2	2	2	2	12
Mathematics	4	5	5	5	4	5	28
Biology	2	2	2	1	2	2	11
Physics				2	1	2	5
Chemistry					2	1	3
Penmanship	2	2	1				5
Drawing	1	1	2	2	2	2	10
Total	27	29	30	30	30	30	176
	(Total hrs. per wk.)						

Diagram III.

for each subject each week and the total of hours each week. These schedules indicate rather clearly the relation of Religion and science when seen in the light of the highest development; realism in Swedish education (the scientific attitude and approach).⁵¹

Throughout these schools Religion was an integral part of the curriculum. In proper gradation and placement the following courses in religion (Religious Education) were given: Old Testament, New Testament, Church History, Comparative Religion, religious articles in various readers (mentioned above), Luther's Catechism and Bible History. At this time Religion was taught by the church in the public schools.⁵²

51. A kind of reconciliation of Religion and science from the point of view suggested. On lower intellectual and religious levels of course hardly a reconciliation, rather a constant friction, which many even today feel finally culminated in almost complete elimination of Religion as a subject from the school curriculum. The Act of 1927 forbade the teaching of the larger Catechism in the public schools. But Religion was not eliminated. The fact is that it is taught more vitally today than ever before. See Svenska Kyrkans Arsbok, 1939, for example pages 174, 192 and 233.

52. Sweden, Ancient and Modern, published by the Swedish Traffic Association, Edited by Herr Rolf Grauers, Phil. Cand., translator Lektor G. K. Laycock, M. A. Oxon, copies presented to H. M. King

The code of 1905 emphasized in a general way the need of public education. It showed no real interest in any kind of vocational training, though it placed some real emphasis upon manual training, i.e., upon woodwork, metal shop work and sewing and cooking for girls. Civic or humanistic education was not the same as classical education. It was rather a combination of the old subjects; traditionally humanistic subjects and modern languages. From there on a step or two farther definitely led into scientific education which today is on an equal footing with classical education.⁵³

But the code of 1928 emphasized self-activity in order to prepare for teaching and develop organizing power and also to put to use acquired knowledge. Further, it provided for concentration on the vital or most important parts in each subject as well as integration of all subjects taught around a rich growing body of ideals. This is the *Gesamtunterricht* or the integrated instruction

Gustav V and Mr. Franklin Roosevelt, Stkhlm, 1938, pages 109-114.

53. "Sweden" by Arvid Gierow, D.D., formerly inspector of Swedish public schools, Helsingfors, Educational Yearbook, Columbia University, pages 274-275.

introduced as early as 1919. The code also in connection with the continuity and reality of subjects studied provided for training in social responsibilities, and methods of scientific research and procedure; for preparing the mind for critical research and measurements.⁵⁴

At the Riksdag, however, in 1927 a greater reform took place, and primary and secondary education were made a part of a unitary system. Dr. Hanninger, an official of the board of education, said,

"While the school in the past and right up to the present had more or less onesidedly emphasized the intellect of the pupils, (that is, memory, unchangeable concepts, abstract thought), the school more recently, influenced by social consideration and recent educational research, began more and more to devote attention to will and action,

54. Ibid., page 276. (Schools were moving away from a onesided cultivation of the mind; absolutely perfect revelations and knowledge; nothing incomplete; no negatives. Away from 16th century scholasticism; Aristotelian deductions; bombastic dogmatism. The emphasis was much rather on activity and utilitarianism; becoming more practical and useful, even in the William James and John Dewey fashion. Manual workers were socially and politically trained. The popular subjects were Sloyd, Domestic Economy, Drawing, Arts and Crafts. And for a while it looked like an overbalance of utilitarianism in both the primary and the secondary schools.)

and to kindred aspects of the mind. To use an old saying, it is the active school which is desired rather than the passive."⁵⁵

The curriculum became more flexible, elective, and a greater freedom came in among both the teachers and the pupils. Also more attention was given physical education, sports and games. These ideas were incorporated into the Secondary Education Act of 1928 and even more so into the Instructions used in 1935.⁵⁶

The results of these ideas in action had to be a more rounded "development of natural capabilities of children;" a development of the entire being ("physical, social and mental, in unison"); not knowledge primarily through memory, but instead insight into life through activities under reasonable control. Hence, to impart knowledge (hand something over, equip the mind or think of knowledge or education as discipline) was merely a low degree in the larger synthesis of scientific knowledge and spiritual character. The latter was given consideration as follows:

1. In the organized life and activity of the school itself, such as

55. Ibid., page 278.

56. Ibid., page 278.

punctuality, sense of duty, responsibility, perseverance, power to overcome real difficulties, budgeting time and self-reliance.

2. In the study of the subjects. Each subject makes its own special contribution to the training of soul or character.

3. By fostering democratic self-government in the cultivation of a sense of responsibility to fellow-men; a wholesome spirit of fellowship, civic cooperation, and in addition to this, devotion to this ideal to the best of the individual's ability and power. Note particularly that in the instructions it was not so much a matter of training obedience to authority as for initiative and responsibility; and above all it was not so much a matter of homogeneity of mass as a matter of quality of each individual.

4. By fostering cooperation, a sense or consciousness of public duty, order and initiative of the pupils themselves; not any unnecessary or unusual compulsion, instead persuasion and kindly, sincere, realistic, deep sympathy. All this must be in agreement with the ideals of the school.--- Meetings of parents are encouraged and scheduled for discussion of needs or some vital educational subject. At such meetings pupils may present some kind of entertainment in the form of a music program or dramatic presentation.⁵⁷

The synthesis of authority and liberty was emphasized and widely separated extremes were dis-

⁵⁷. Ibid., page 277.

couraged. This is clearly stated in the 5th point of the instructions on character.

5. By fostering a true teacher-pupil relationship, the teacher should become a friend; and authority and obedience should be established on the basis of confidence. One should seek to strike a balance between liberty and authority. Freedom should be stressed.⁵⁸

Also the curriculum today is built up so as to integrate with the curriculum of other and different schools; hence, there is now a rather unified school as far as it goes with the Realskola based upon the Primary school and the Gymnasium in turn based upon the Realskola.⁵⁹

And the contents of the subjects in this curriculum should be selected for their possible values in the life of the pupils; particularly, 1) for their practical utility and 2) for their power to endure in the consciousness of the pupils even after many details have faded away in their memory. It is evident that upon this principle there is bound to be a weeding out of unnecessary and obsolete subjects, and also that upon this

58. Ibid., page 277.

59. Ibid., page 278.

principle there will be an assimilating of fresh, vital contents, such as are in harmony with science and living subjects (dynamic subjects).⁶⁰

The school act of 1927 and the school regulation of 1928 were definitely great advancements in the line of the natural educational development of the Swedish nation, the roots of which are discernible in a long educational tradition. This advancement was not caused by anything unnatural or by force of a dictatorial nature, but rather by natural, inherent forces in the people and their environment. The objectives were a consciousness of higher and broader civic, educational and spiritual values, in which reason is expanded to move and gain experiences.⁶¹ It is evident, therefore, that in this direction the concept of reason is being expanded to include verification in and through experience in spiritual values as well as intellectual, social and utilitarian values.

The present-day workable code for secondary education in Sweden is an elaboration of the code of 1928. In this code the aim of the Realskola

60. Ibid., page 279.

61. Ibid., page 280.

(the lower secondary school which now provides a four or five years' training and preparation for the upper school or the Gymnasium) is "by building on the work of the primary or the public school to impart an all-rounded civic education." The aim of the Gymnasium "is to impart a deepened and broader general civic insight to be further developed at a university or some higher technical institution."⁶²

Another vital part of education in Sweden today is the department of adult education.⁶³ It relates itself with primary and secondary instruction and tends naturally to accelerate education in general. Adult education itself has been accelerated by the war⁶⁴ which brought in a new (advanced) cultural era for Sweden; self-examination and the strengthening of democracy. More in particular it brought to clearer light two problems in adult education: 1) Whether or not man was going to rule the machine or robots continue to pull the people

62. Present-day code for secondary education in Sweden, paragraph 2.

63. A volume should be written on this subject.

64. First World War.

downward; 2) an equally vital problem, namely, the rebuilding of the world culturally after the war. In adult education these problems as well as other ideas bear directly upon Religious Education. Professor Knut Kjellberg spoke at the opening of the Educational Conference in Stockholm in 1920, saying, "However we may discuss forms, techniques of organizations and cooperation, we must above all emphasize the spiritual awakening, the maintenance of interest, the arrangement for satisfying the need of education as the most indispensable prerequisite for a fruitful adult education. --- There should be no compulsory forms, but the greatest possible freedom and free-will --- different subjects, different wishes and varying forms. Within the frame work of our educational system a place must be given cultivated recreation, music and fine arts. The free hours must be filled with a sound, noble and youthful content."⁶⁵

These ideas are today a characteristic feature in Swedish adult education, and they are not

65. Yngve Hugo, Director of Talks, Swedish Broadcasting Company, Stkholm, 1940, wrote the article on Sweden in the Educational Yearbook, 1939, International Institute of Teachers College, Columbia University, pages 304-305.



Lower Secondary School in Stockholm.

The leaving examination at the Lower Secondary Schools qualifies pupils for entry into certain less advanced colleges or institutes of technical or professional training and enables them to take special courses of study. It also qualifies pupils for employment in the lower grades of the Civil Service. The leaving examination at the Higher Girls' Schools is of about the same standing as the Lower Secondary School Certificate, though it may even be equivalent to the final examination, at the end of the gymnasium course, for entry into establishments catering for specifically feminine careers. In the gymnasium there is a classical side and a modern side, the choice and combination of subjects being very free. Studies here culminate in the general matriculation (*studentexamen*), which opens the door to all institutions of higher learning. The transition from elementary school to intermediate school and from thence to the upper school has been facilitated by the School Reform Act of 1927, which aimed at the creation of an integrated school, affording,

altogether a "complete resistance to state interference; but do not want any censorship or too much direction from leaders ---." What a mistake it would be, grave mistake, to force a people who for centuries have had an intense aversion to compulsion. For example, members of the Workers' Educational Association in Sweden could not be forced to read each day a chapter from Karl Marx' Das Kapital, neither could members in the Swedish Christian Association be forced to one-sided dogmatic studies. On the whole current problems rather are quite uppermost in the minds of people and absorb much time in adult education.⁶⁶

When the war broke out in September 1939 the Pen Club in Stockholm was ready to gather in congress (but cancelled its congress) and had invited H. G. Wells to speak on war. Mr. Wells was present, however, for this meeting. Though it was cancelled he delivered nevertheless his speech and said that he hoped the northern states would succeed in staying out of the war and remain a kind of "reserve culture" from which source power would flow into the life of nations that might become

66. Ibid., page 305. The Pen Club in Stockholm is an excellent example of this interest.

exhausted and broken because of the war. He hoped further that the northern states would be able to continue saving as much as possible of their inheritance and be able to continue deepening their culture and widening it by "material sacrifice and mental exertions."⁶⁷

In the latest school organization in Sweden is the school reform (skolreformen) of 1927 and its application to the schools of Sweden since that time.

It was thought that the entire school system should be related to the "folkskolan" (the six year school) and that this school should be the bottom school, to which all the other schools should be organically related. The "folkskolan" should be the base on which the whole school system should be built in order to give the young people (both sexes) a theoretical and practical training.

67. Ibid., page 305. See also "Literature," an article by Georg Svensson in "Sweden, A Wartime Survey," edited and published in Sweden with the assistance of public authorities, second world war, Albert Bonnier Publishing House, 665 Lexington Avenue, New York, N. Y., page 217. Mr. Svensson says, "The International Pen Club's seventeenth general congress was to have been held in Stockholm in September, 1939. Many distinguished authors, among them Thomas Mann and H. G. Wells, had already arrived for its sessions in the Swedish capital, but when war broke out the meeting was postponed."

The purpose was to bring the theoretical and the practical institutions of learning into a unit of organization, to harmonize them.

This principle the king gave the school commission as a fundamental principle, and it led to the school reform of 1927.

In the first place discussions came up concerning the character building of the students, whether or not it should be "humanistisk eller real bildning." The demand for character building and for personality development became very strong, and it received much attention. The accelerated tempo, the many temptations and the new demands introduced new problems and demanded strong characters and personalities. For one thing Sloyd and Home Economics were made obligatory.⁶⁸

In the new system teachers must have a proper pedagogical training and their methods of teaching must be flexible, scientific and psychological.⁶⁹ They must also be members of the state church.⁷⁰

68. Nils Helger --- "Enhetsskola eller parallelskola," Stkhlm, 1938, pages 16-17.

69. Ibid., page 18.

70. Late J:J:son Bergquist, Ph.D., D.D., formerly Director-General, Royal Board of Education; formerly minister of Education --- "Sweden," Educational

Some specific changes were made. The age for selecting between theoretical and practical studies was set at 9-10. Later this was considered too early and was set at 12-13. Realskolan (citizenship education) should be either four or five years depending upon whether or not the pupils come from the sixth or the fourth class in the folkskolan.⁷¹

The religious influence has always been felt in Swedish education. For centuries the church has been a guiding power.

During 400 years or ever since Gustaf Vasa took over the church property and moved it into the state (after the riksdag in Vasteras) the Swedish people have been protestants and the Lutheran teachings have been the state religion. Even today very few Swedes are outside the Lutheran faith known in Sweden for its reasonability (well represented by late Archbishop Nathan Soderblom). "With the exception of 0.4 percent the entire population

Year Book of the International Institute of Teachers College, Columbia University, 1932, Edited by. I.L. Kandel, M.A., Ph.D., professor of Education and associate of International Institute, Teachers College, Columbia University, Bureau of Publication, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1933, page 409.
71. Nils Helger --- EEP, pages 16-19.



Lower Secondary School in Stockholm.

The leaving examination at the Lower Secondary Schools qualifies pupils for entry into certain less advanced colleges or institutes of technical or professional training and enables them to take special courses of study. It also qualifies pupils for employment in the lower grades of the Civil Service. The leaving examination at the Higher Girls' Schools is of about the same standing as the Lower Secondary School Certificate, though it may even be equivalent to the final examination, at the end of the gymnasium course, for entry into establishments catering for specifically feminine careers. In the gymnasium there is a classical side and a modern side, the choice and combination of subjects being very free. Studies here culminate in the general matriculation (*studentexamen*), which opens the door to all institutions of higher learning. The transition from elementary school to intermediate school and from thence to the upper school has been facilitated by the School Reform Act of 1927, which aimed at the creation of an integrated school, affording,

of Sweden belongs to the Protestant Lutheran State Church. In the 0.4 percent 5,500 are Methodists, 7,300 are Baptists, 3,400 are Roman Catholics, 6,500 are Jews and 1,000 are members of other denominations."⁷²

In general the religious interests in Sweden are strong, not the least in the schools.⁷³ The bishops today have in their respective dioceses a kind of supervision over the religious instruction in the Folkskolorna and the Gymnasiums (now generally called Laroverk). Also bishops of the protestant church (the State Church) have the right to visit the schools in the capacity of "Ephors" in order to satisfy themselves in the manner in which religious instruction is given. If they have any criticism to offer they should bring it to the Royal Central Board of Education which supervises all the public schools.⁷⁴

It is generally understood that changes in

⁷². J.J. Berquist --- "Sweden," Educational Year-book of the International Institute Teachers College, Columbia Univ., 1932, page 400.

⁷³. Nils Helger --- EEP., page 55.

⁷⁴. J. J. Bergquist --- "Sweden," (see footnote directly above 72), page 400.

the church or in theology and ethics are closely related to changes in education. Whether the one influences the other and to what degree needs not be discussed here. Neither, perhaps, is it necessary to discuss here how much religious subjects influence so-called secular subjects. All these subjects are related to one another and can not be separated without serious effects. The well trained teacher reconciles the religious and the secular. It is also from this point of view or in this line of thought it is being said that, though the time of instruction of religion has been cut down to only a few hours each week (today only two periods a week), religious instruction in the public schools of Sweden today has a central place; is a vital, highly purposeful, integrating force.⁷⁵

In the elementary or primary school, the foundational school of the Swedish educational system, Religion is being taught effectively among

⁷⁵. The influence of religion in education in Sweden today should be treated extensively in a scientific study, according to scientific methods and procedures. Only so is it possible to understand present-day reconciliation of religion and science.

other subjects, such as: Swedish, Arithmetic and Geometry, History, Geography, Local Topography and Folklore, Nature Study, Drawing, Singing, Gymnastics and wherever possible Handicrafts.⁷⁶

In the secondary school Religion is one of the obligatory subjects also and serves in the same way as in the primary school. Religion is the upper part of the synthesis of Religion and Science; the whole of all its parts moving on toward greater absolutes, emerging in the process. And since the secondary school is much older than the primary, it has a richer background; a background of various older schools, prereformation schools, monastic schools, cathedral schools and certain schools found in some of the dioceses. Its aim is naturally to provide a higher education; a higher intelligence and a higher character.⁷⁷

76. Sweden --- Ancient and Modern, published by the Swedish Traffic Association, Stkhlm, 1939, page 110. It is clear that Religion and other subjects are being integrated more and more or in a progressive school system becoming more a reality. (A very reasonable inference).

77. Ibid., page 110. The parallel development of religious and secular subjects and their intimate relation, (interpenetratingly related in a dynamic synthesis), should be a volume by itself.

Citizens not members of the State Church who do not desire their children by instructed in the State Church faith (the Lutheran) may receive for their children an excuse from such instruction; but they must provide elsewhere adequate religious instruction for them. And should they fail to do so the public school must see to it that their children attend religious instruction in the public school.⁷⁸

In church schools (parochial schools) children receive instruction in Religion and attend the public school for instruction in all the other subjects required. But these church schools are under the supervision of the local school board. They receive no subsidy from the state.⁷⁹

In the aims and methods in Religious Education as contrasted with propagandistic or conflicting aims and methods the distinguishing feature is the absence of unnatural coercion. Another essential feature is change and adjustment; plasticity as well as elasticity. In Religious Education there

78. J. J. Bergquist --- "Sweden," Ed. Yearbook Inter. Inst., Col. Univ., 1933, pp. 400-401.

79. Ibid., page 401.

is development (change and adjustment; break up and crystalization) toward high purposeful living --- continuous development. There must be stability and change and change and stability in organic life in order to survive and in order to integrate change into life not once only but continuously.

The aim in Religious Education in the elementary schools in Sweden is stated simply as follows:

The aim of religious instruction in the elementary school is to give the pupils a knowledge of the origin, the meaning and the development of Christianity; in imparting such knowledge their interest and their needs must be considered and a method followed which promises to foster religious and moral development of the children.⁸⁰

The curriculum or the lesson material is important in making the aim clear. Together with the lesson material proper are other subjects that aid in making the aim clear, such as, worship programs, handwork, projects, drama, pupils' self-expression, discussions, readings, decorations, pictures, objects, charts, records, journals, exhib-

80. Ibid., 401.

its, socials, recreation. The following is a description of the courses of study in Religious Education in Sweden:

Grade 1 (2 hours per week). Simple Bible stories, preferably from the Gospels, to be told by the teacher. The stories should be selected with a view to preparing a basis for the children's religious and moral concepts. In connection with this: Short Bible Proverbs, some verses of hymns and morning and evening prayers and grace.

Grade 2 (2 hours per week). A more comprehensive selection of simple stories from the Gospels, to be told by the teacher; simple stories from the Old Testament, likewise told by the teacher. In connection with this: Short Bible Proverbs, The Lord's Prayer and the Benediction.

In the third grade the Bible selections for reading and study are taken exclusively from the Old Testament.

Grade 3 (2 hours per week). Selections from the Old Testament, especially stories suitable for the children of that age, in chronological order. In connection with this: Short proverbs and some verses of hymns.

But in the fourth grade the selections are taken from the New Testament, selected on the basis of age and experience and in chronological order.

Grade 4 (2 to 3 hours per week).
 Selections from the Gospels,
 chiefly stories suitable for chil-
 dren of that age, in chronological
 order. In connection with this:
 Short proverbs and some verses of
 hymns.

Grades 5 and 6 include some beginnings of Church
 History and an emphasis on Christian faith and phi-
 losophy.

Grade 5 (2 or 3 hours per week).
 Selections of material from the
 lives of the apostles, especially
 stories suitable for children of
 that age, in chronological order.
 A more comprehensive selection of
 the sayings and parables of Christ.
 In connection with this: Bible
 verses and some verses of hymns.

Grade 6 (2 or 3 hours per week).
 Selections of material from the Old
 Testament with pithy religious and
 moral content suitable for children
 of that age.--- The Sermon on the
 Mount in connection with a summary
 of Christian faith and a philosophy
 should be presented in a manner which
 takes into account the children's
 interests and needs. Simple stories
 and sketches from the history of the
 Church, inclusive of stories and
 sketches from the history of the
 Reformation. In connection with this:
 Reading of Luther's Short Catechism
 as a historical document of Luther's
 interpretation of the principal
 tenets of Christianity, Bible prov-
 erbs and church songs.

The seventh or last grade in the elementary
 schools of Sweden includes reading of source

material and an elementary or rudimentary study of the liturgy and the church calendar of the Swedish church.

Grade 7 (2 hours per week). Stories and descriptions of personalities and events which seem likely to illumine the development of religious and moral life during past eras. In connection with this: Reading of source material (Bible and other suitable literature) which will provide a firm basis for instruction and tend to make it clear. A survey of the rites of the Swedish Church and the church calendar, Bible proverbs and church songs.

Today also in the methods and in the setting forth of aims or purposes, broadminded attitudes and the experimental tendencies (are felt in Religious Education in Sweden); especially through observation, conscious knowledge and experimentation in religious values, together with standards and sympathies, procedures and techniques, educational facilities and equipment. The following principles in method of procedure make this somewhat clear:⁸¹

The teacher must never lose sight of the different and frequently opposing views regarding religion and morals. Avoid offense to others. There must be broad-

81. Ibid., pages 402-403.

minded tolerance. Nothing must be said contrary to any individual's freedom of thought.

The foundational instruction in religion and morals for all children must be the Bible.

The Bible shall form the immediate basis of religious instruction. The children shall be made acquainted with the Bible itself.

Other text books may be used, but must be selected on the mental age levels of the children. Whatever materials used must be selected in the same way.

All texts and materials shall be selected with a view of their suitability for the age of the children. Materials unsuitable as to form or whose content is beyond the understanding of the pupils must be excluded.

The teachers must keep in mind the laws of learning, particularly the law of readiness or the apperceptive principle.⁸²

Teachers shall attempt to make his explanations simple, clear and vivid. As often as possible, connections shall be established between subjects studied and the

⁸². The writer of this dissertation sees in this law humility in action. (A Law in Humility).

life of the children and the conditions with which they are acquainted. Abstract disputations and abstruse instruction shall be avoided generally and especially in the lower grades.

Memorization must contribute to religious development. Everything that children are asked to memorize must become a part of their life and experience. Long periods of drilling in memory work as in memorizing the catechism, psalms and hymns have been eliminated.

For memory only: 1) A limited number of proverbs from the Bible whose meaning is clear to the children; 2) in rare cases short, connected passages from the Bible, and 3) selected verses of hymns and short songs.

Certain educational aids may be used.

To lend clearness and vividness to the instruction well-selected pictures and maps are to be used.

All instruction must be integrated around the spirit of Christ, His personality and His teachings.

The different phases of religious instruction shall be integrated so as to form a unit that the children may obtain in their lessons, and take with them into life, a vivid picture of the personality of Christ, of His life and His works.

The genetic process, the going from the less

difficult to the more difficult⁸³ genetically, progressively, is emphasized. Throughout is an expanding experience and an expanding unity and purpose.

During the first two school years the children should be introduced to simple Bible stories, told orally by the teacher. They themselves should start to read selected subjects from the Bible during the third year. The subjects read at first must be in narrative form. Somewhat later texts of an instructive nature should be read. Gradually the latter are emphasized until they assume the principal parts of the Bible reading during the last school year.

These simple narratives from the Bible are selected from the Gospels and become largely the religious and moral foundation in the life of the children.

The selections from the Bible studied the first and the second school years are simple narratives from the Gospels which tend to furnish a foundation for the religious and moral ideas of the children. A few subjects from the Old Testament may likewise be studied, if they tend to make clearer the texts from the New Testament.

83. From the complex to the more complex.

In the third and fourth school years narratives from the various periods in Israel's history are selected to give the children the evolution of the conception of God leading up to Christ.

The narratives selected during the third and fourth school years are selected to illustrate the different periods in the history of Israel so that the children may obtain a fairly connected picture of the fate of that nation and a background for their conception of Christ's personality and works and of the lives and the works of His disciples.

This historical background builds up to a study of the Sermon on the Mount.

When the Sermon on the Mount is read the religious and moral impressions and ideas which the children have acquired by that time are brought together into relation and are deepened so that the pupils may obtain in this manner an idea of Christian faith and philosophy in its entirety which is in harmony with their understanding and needs. This phase of instruction must not be overburdened with abstract and systematic explanations and definitions.

Bible texts should not be paraphrased.

Texts selected must as far as possible use the words of the Bible.

Short biographies of leaders in Church History, History of Religion and history in general are

selected to give the children an idea of the religious and moral development in history.

Sketches of persons, outstanding because of their religious life or ideas and their moral conduct, which are used during the last school year, are taken especially from the history of the Christian church as well as from the history of religion and from cultural history in general and serve to give the children an idea of the development of religious and moral life during different periods and up to present, above all in our own country. Manifold relations should also be considered so that manifold relations may be established between the Christian philosophy and the results of study in all other subjects, and relations also between that philosophy and the ideals with which education shall inspire the pupils. The Sermon on the Mount shall be read before the reading of Luther's Catechism to clarify Luther's interpretation of religious and moral precepts.

Missionary activities and works of mercy are studied.

To illustrate missionary activities and related Christian endeavors in the service of humanity some simple sketches of persons and events are studied, special attention given to Swedish Missionary activity.

Long descriptions, heavy dogmatic discussions and names and dates in excess are omitted.

Church History must not be overburdened with description of religious struggles, dogmas or other topics of that

history which are beyond the comprehension of the children or with too many names and dates.

Whenever there is an opportunity the liturgy and Christian festivals in the Swedish Church should be taught the children.

When an opportunity offers itself children shall be given the necessary information regarding Christian festivals, the Christian calendar and forms of worship of the Swedish Church.

Hymns and songs as texts are selected on the basis of their religious and poetical quality and the ability and experience of the children.

When hymns and songs as texts are selected their religious and poetic content must be taken into consideration as well as the ability of individual children and their age level. Tunes of hymns and songs must also be considered carefully.

The daily morning religious services must be worshipful.

The daily morning services must not take on the character of an ordinary lesson, but must be a real hour of worship. Thus it may frequently consist of songs and prayers alone. If a reading from the Bible is included, a passage is read which forms a unit in itself and needs no special interpretation to be an inspiration to the listeners. Or a short passage from

the Bible may be read which is supplemented by the teacher with a few simple comments of a religious or moral nature.

The secondary schools have also regulated religious instruction and have in particular been regulated by the law of June 29, 1928, which prescribes the following requirements:

Based on the knowledge acquired by the pupils in the elementary school and serving the purpose of promoting the religious and moral development of the students religious instruction in the Lower Section, the Real school shall acquaint them with the History of the Christian faith and philosophy as well as with the most important non-Christian religions.--- In the Upper Section, the Gymnasium shall help the pupils to arrive at a deeper and more comprehensive understanding of the History of Christianity, of the Christian faith and philosophy and of the History of Religion in general.

The time spent in Religious instruction in the secondary school is two hours a week, and the method of teaching is in the main the same as in the elementary school.⁸⁴ Also in the secondary school every child must attend religious instruction.

84. Ibid., page 407.

There are no exceptions.⁸⁵

Broadly speaking there are three kinds of elementary schools in Sweden, namely: 1) Lower Secondary Schools (Realskolor) which do not carry the superstructure of an upper school (the Gymnasium); 2) Higher Secondary Schools possessing such a Gymnasium, and 3) Higher Girls' School.

The following textbooks in religion are used in the public schools of Sweden:⁸⁶

"God loves Little Children" (Gud som haver barnen kär) by Carl Edquist. It is an introduction to Christian instruction in the Folkskolan for the first two years. The same author has also written a book for the teachers of small children in the Christian faith and way of life. He wrote books on the Way of Life for the Folk schools.

- I. The Old Covenant for the third year's course.
- II. The New Covenant, The Life of Jesus, for the fourth year's course.
- III. The New Covenant, The Christian Church, for the fifth and sixth years' courses.
- IV. A textbook on Religious Knowledge for the seventh year's course, introduction by J. Lindskog.

85. Ibid., page 409.

86. Aktiebolaget J. F. Hallmans Bokhandel, Uddevalla, Sweden.

- V. A textbook on our Christian Faith and Way of Life, following closely the Sermon on the Mount, for the highest class in the Folkskolan.

The following textbooks in church history by the well-known church historian Hjalmar Holmquist:

Sketches out of Church History, Religious and Missionary, for Folkskolan and Realskolan.

Church History:

- I. Ancient History and Middle Ages.
- II. Recent History.
- III. Present-Day History.

The following first two books by A. Klefbeck and H. Wijkmark:

Textbook on Christian Knowledge for the Realskolan. The first part for the first four years in the five years' Realskolan and the three first classes in the four years' Realskolan. The second part is for the last class in the Realskolan.

Textbook on Christian Knowledge for the four years' Gymnasium's first class.

And the following are studies in Church History:

Studies from the History of Christianity (Tids- och livsbilder ur kristendomens historia) for the Laroverken by Emil Liedgren.

Studies from Church History by Henning Wijkmark for Folkskolan and Realskolan.

The Sunday schools in Sweden today are an addition to the regular Religious Education in the public schools. But excellent as the Sunday school is, it is nevertheless still a small part of the religious instruction in the land. The people depend largely upon the public school for the major part or the solid work in Religious Education. The Sunday school, however, is a growing institution. With its freedom of action and sympathy in fostering care and guidance it is appealing more and more to the people. Hence, besides the supervisory power that the church has in the public schools, it has its own schools; in particular, Sunday schools, Bible studies and confirmation classes.

That the Sunday school today is a vital factor in Religious Education in Sweden the Annual Report of the Swedish Church (Svenska Kyrkans Arsbok) makes quite clear. This report covers briefly for the year the entire activity of the church, state and free. The following report from the annual 1939 reveals the activity of the Sunday school for the year 1938:

The Sunday School is constantly increasing. Its opposition is now hardly noticeable. Religion in the home is not altogether what it ought

to be. From a traditional point of view Religion in the home has retrogressed; it is less emphasized. And also since the removal of catechetical instruction from the public school, the church seems not so intimately in touch with it.--- The Sunday School today is an essential activity of the church and is gradually gaining the confidence of the people; and leaders in the church are realizing more and more that this kind of activity is not only something nice and good, but also something necessary and should be, therefore, a real part of the actual responsibility of the church.⁸⁷

According to the same report the figures compiled during the spring and summer of 1938 by the Sunday School, there were in Sweden then 1,831 Sunday Schools, 4,262 teachers and 75,530 children.

⁸⁷. From a report by Pastor Dag Tollin in "Svenska Kyrkans Arsbok," 19th annual, Stkhlm, Svenska Diakonistyrelsens Bokforlag, 1939, page 192. The following is the Swedish text: Det kyrkliga sondagsskolarbetet befinner sig standigt i utveckling. Den motvilja, som i vissa bygder forspotts mot detta arbete i sondagsskolans form, blir alltmer sallsynt. De invandningar, som man haft att framfora, fa en allt svagare saklig grund. Hemmen aro i stort icke byggda pa kristen grund, och skolan har icke som tidigare intim kontakt med kyrkan. Aven i gammalkyrkliga bygder marks mycket tydligt en ny tid i den forsvagade religiosa seden och den storre frigjordheten fran traditionen. Just i sadana bygder ar det viktigt att man, medan kyrkan annu har sitt grepp over manniskorna, far ogonen oppna for sondagsskolans stora betydelse. Sondagsskolan torde dock vara den minst omstridda av de nya, frivilliga arbetsformerna. Fortroendet for kyrkans garning bland barnen vaxer sig allt starkare; inom kyrkan och bland kyrkoledare borjar man mer och med forsta, att detta barnarbete

Compare these figures with those for the year 1936, which were 1,557 Sunday Schools, 3,873 teachers and 73,785 children. In 1938 51.3% of the congregations had Sunday Schools; in 1936 42.4%. Though the increase was not large, it was nevertheless an increase worth taking note of. In connection with this matter, it must also be stated that the birth-rate was at that time decreasing.⁸⁸

In many churches the same year worship services for children were held monthly. And in some churches Sunday School pictures and magazines were distributed after the morning services to the children present.⁸⁹

The most difficult problem in the Sunday School is the general lack of trained and experienced leaders and teachers. However, laymen of the church conduct annually an eight weeks' seminar course for the training of teachers. Over a period of years 415 students have finished the course. In 1938 fifty students attended the course. The Sunday School

inte ar bara nagot gott och snallt, nagot icke utan betydelse men underordnat, utan nagot vasentligt och nodvandigt, ett arbete inom kyrkan av grundlaggande natur, som darfor ratteligen borde hora till de ordinarie, foreskrivna uppgifterna i dagens forsamling.

88. Ibid., page 193.

89. Ibid., page 193.

gives also during the summer a continuation course which has generally been well attended.⁹⁰

The Diakonistyreleens Sunday School commission is at work translating Gospels and Epistles and rearranging psalms and songs for children. It is also designing greeting cards and other materials for instruction in the cradle roll and the beginners department.⁹¹

The following books are used in the Sunday School:

A short interpretation of Christian Faith and Life (Sammanfattning av den kristna tros- och livsaskadningen) for children by Carl Edquist.

Stories illustrating Bible texts for small children in the Sunday School (Berättelser till texterna för söndagsskolans smabarnsavdelningen) by B. G. Wilander and John Sjogren.

Stories for the Sunday School and the Home for small children (Bibelberättelser för söndagsskolan och hemmet), a Sunday School text series for the beginners department, carefully worked out, by John Gustafsson and illustrated by Helge Artelius.⁹²

Stories for the Sunday School, a book for the youngest readers.

90. Ibid., 194.

91. Ibid., 194.

92. Svenska Missionsförbundets Forlag, Stkhlm, 1938.

Bible texts for the Sunday School,
for small children and for older ones,
older children.⁹³

In confirmation classes the following books are
used:

Our Christian Faith (Var kristna tro)
from Klefbeck-Wijmark's text book
on Christian knowledge II.

A parallel edition for instruction
in confirmation classes (Parallell-
upplaga for konfirmandundervisningen)
by Carl Edquist.⁹⁴

Confirmation Book (Konfirmandboken) by
Bengt Jonzon and Olle Nystedt,⁹⁵ con-
tributions by H. Akselsson, Erik Berg-
man, Gunnar and Siri Dahlquist, J. A.
Eklund, H. Isberg, Lewis Jonsson, A.
Kleo, J. Kallander, Naima Leuwgren,
G. Lindberg, A. Lutteman, J. Melander,
O. Nystedt, L. G. Stensson, S. Thysell,
Edv. Wessberg, Folke Westrup and Axel
Ylander.

Concerning the present-day Sunday school in
Sweden, James Kelley, D.D., of Glasgow, Scotland,
one of the general secretaries of the World's
Sunday School Association, says, "Sweden, of course,
as you know, is a neutral country. The aim of their
Sunday school work is the same as in all countries
where the Sunday school exists --- the Christian

93. Evangeliska Fosterlands-stiftelsens Bokforlag, 1938.

94. Ars katalog 1938, Svenska Kyrkans Diakonistyre-
ses Bokforlag, Stkholm.

95. Aktiebolaget, J. F. Hallmans Bokhandel, Uddevalla,
Sweden, 1938.

teaching and training of their youth. They follow the usual methods. Many churches have their Sunday schools as we know them; others have a Children's Church. They prepare their own Lesson Schemes."⁹⁶

In this chapter, a survey of a more orderly school system, particularly through Rudenschold and Berg as leaders in Education and the school readers and the catechism (Religious Education from this time up to approximately 1938; religious instruction in public schools, parochial schools, confirmation classes and Sunday schools), the progressiveness of education is more noticeable. The relation of Religion and Science becomes more real in the general synthesis; the relation of the spiritual ideals and special studies, factually limited; the idea around which the interpretation here is largely integrated. Religious Education is

96. In a letter from the New York office of the World's Sunday School Association, signed by Marie E. Wissel, secretary of Forrest L. Knapp, Ph.D., general secretary. The letter begins: "In further reply to your letter of June 27, (1942), we have heard from our secretary in Glasgow, Scotland, to whom we wrote for information with reference to the work in Sweden."

based more completely⁹⁷ upon the teachings of Christ and critical procedures and instruments in measurements and research.

97. Reasonably.

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AND
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University. (The Swedish Bible here is Olavus Petri's Bible, a translation based more on the German Bible than the Latin Bible. Laurentius, Petri's brother, performed the work of this translation in collaboration with Petri. Laurentius was to Petri what Melanchthon was to Luther.) Page 97.

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- "History of Sweden," Emil Hildebrand.
- "History of Sweden," Hans Olof Hildebrand.
- "History of Sweden," Gustaf Oskar Montelius.
- "History of Sweden," Clas Theodor Odhner.
- "History of Sweden," Elise C. Otte
- "History of Sweden," Otto Sjögren.
- "A History of Sweden," Carl Grimberg.
- "Svenska Folkets Underbara Oden," Carl Grimberg.
- "Sveriges Historia för folkskolan," C. Grimberg.
- "Lärobok i Faderneslandets Historia," C. T. Odhner. (for folkskolan).

Among the recent church historians towers Hjalmar Holmquist. He has written the following books:

Bilder ur kyrkohistorien, religions- och missionshistorien, abridged edition for folkskolan, 1935.

Kyrkhistoria:

- 1) Gamla tiden och medeltiden, 1928.
- 2) Nyare tiden, 1931.
- 3) Nyaste tiden jamte nutiden, 1929.

Svenska Reformationens Begynnelse, 1523-1531, Stkholm, 1923.

To this list of standard church histories such as the following must also be added:

Anjou, L. A. --- Svensk Kyrkoreformationens historia, Uppsala, 1850.

Eklund, J. A. --- Andelivet i Sveriges Kyrka, I, II, Uppsala, 1911, 1913.

Reutherdahl, H. --- Svenska Kyrkans Historia, I-IV, Lund, 1838-1866.

Rohde, E. --- Svenskt Gudstjenstliv, Stkholm, 1923.

Schuck, H. --- Vara äldsta psalm-
böcker, in Samlaren, 1891, (Samlaren
--- Skrifter utgivna av Svenska
Litteratursällskapet, Uppsala).

APPENDIX I

Source Quotation

The following is a quotation from Carl Grimberg's "A History of Sweden," translated and adapted for American teachers, students and readers by C. W. Foss, copyright 1935 by Augustana Book Concern, pages 88-89. (Dr. Carl Grimberg, of Djursholm, Sweden, is one of Sweden's recent eminent historians.)

Engelbert Engelbertsson. The Swedish lords were indignant, but it was the Swedish miners and peasants under the lead of the mine owner Engelbert Engelbertsson that took action. When the king refused to give ear to the complaints of his subjects against the tyranny and extortion of his bailiffs, the miners and peasants of Dalecarlia and Westmanland rose in a body under Engelbert and drove the tormentors from their strong castles. The peasantry in other provinces joined in the uprising, and in four months the kingdom was cleared of foreign bailiffs. To such power had the peasantry now risen that Engelbert could compel the great Swedish lords who sat in the king's council to renounce their allegiance to king Eric. And at the first Swedish Riksdag (Parliament), held at Arboga in 1435, the peasantry forced through an enactment that Engelbert should continue to govern Sweden as regent of the realm. This was the first time the peasantry had a hand in determining the government of the kingdom. Henceforth they had a chance together with the nobles to exert influence in the Swedish Riksdag.

Result of Engelbert's Services. A year after the Riksdag of Arboga Engelbert fell a victim to the murderous hand of a coarse and vindictive nobleman. Short was his heroic career, but of singular importance. He united all classes and all provinces in the service of a common fatherland. In sentiment and by conviction the Swedes had become one people. Before this they had been forced to unite by pressure from above. By their war of liberation the Swedish commons had saved themselves from the threat of serfdom. In the Danish islands the peasantry had at this time succumbed to serfdom. But thanks to Engelbert, Sweden is one of the few countries in which the peasants were never serfs.

Gustaf Vasa's last speech to the people of his kingdom. (Lasebok for Folkskolan. Tionde upplagan. Fullstandigt omarbetat och reviderad. Forsta-fjarde arsklasserna. Stockholm. P. A. Norstedt & Soners Forlag, 1911. Pages 559-561.) Nar Gustav Vasa kande att det var ute med hans kraft, och att slutet ej kunde vara langt borta, sammankallade han en riksdag till Stockholm. Da standerna samlats den 25 juni 1560, intradde konungen i rikssalen, omgiven av alla sina soner, och halsade de forsamlade med ungefär foljande ord:

Jag vordar Guds makt, som i mig på
Sveriges gamla tron ater upplyft
Sveriges gamla konungaslakt från Magnus
Ladulas och Karl Knutsson. De bland

eder, som aro komna nagot till alder, hava tvivelsutan fornummit, huru vart kara fadernesland forut i manga hundra ar varit i stort elande och betryck under frammande herradome och konungar, enkannerligen under den omilde tyrannen konung Kristian, och huru det tacktes Gud genom mig befria oss fran detta tyranni.

Darfor bora vi, hog och lag, herre och tjanare, gammal och ung, aldrig forgata samma gudomliga hjalp. Ty vilken man var jag att fordriva slik maktig herre, den dar icke allenast regerade over tre konungarikerna utan och var nara forbunden och befryndad med kejsaren och de valdigaste furstar? Ej kunde jag forestalla mig den aran, da jag i skog och ode fjall maste sticka mig undan for fiendens blodtorstiga sward. Men Gud drev verket och gjorde mig till sin undersman, pa vilken hans allmakt skulle varda uppenbar; och ma jag val likna mig vid David, vilken Gud fran en ringa herde gjorde till konung over allt folket.

Jag tackar eder, trogna undersatrare, att I velat upphoja mig till konungslig hoghet och till en stamfader i edert konungahus. Ej mindre tackar jag eder for den trohet och det bistand, som I haven bevisat mig uti min regeringstid. Att under denna tid Gud latit sitt rena och klara ord inkomma, och att han ocksa uti timlig matto riket med allt slags valsignelse begavat, sasom nu for ogonen ar, darfor skola vi, goda man och undersatrare, alla med storsta tacksamhet och odmjukhet giva Gud aran.

Det ar mig nogsamt bekant, att jag i mangas sinne varit en hard konung. Men de tider skola komma, da Sveriges barn skulle vilja riva mig upp ur mullen, om det stode i deras makt. Dock ma jag icke blygas att bekanna manslig svaghet

och skrophet, ty ingen ar fullkomlig och utan vank. Darfor beder jag eder, att I sasom troгна undersatare viljen for Kristi skull forlata och overse, evad brist som varit med regering. Uppsatet har alltid varit till rikets och dess inbyggares basta. Mina gra har, min farade panna bara nog vittne om de manga faror, vedervardigheter och bekymmer, jag utstatt under min fyrtio-ariga regering.

Min tid ar snart forbi. Ej tarvas mig darom stjarnor eller annan spadom. Jag kanner i min egen kropp tecken, att jag snart skall ga hadan.

"Darefter lat han upplasa for riksstanden sitt testamente. Sedan de med ed lovat att halla dess bestammelser, formanade konungen dem till lydriad och horsamhet mot hans soner, till samja och enighet inbordes och befallde dem i Guds hander."

The following is the content of ENN NYTTWGH WNDERWIJSNING by Olavus Petri as given in his Samlade Skrifter, volume I (two volume set, Harvard College):

- 1) Wthhi tesse bok fortelies forst hwrw menniskian scaput war.
- 2) Ther nast hwrw hon then erligheet forsagh.
- 3) Sedhan hwrw gudh genom Moses gaff henne sin lagh, ther hon sina ondsko och synd aff besinna schulle.
- 4) Sedhan fortelies tiyo gudz bodoord, och wthtydes i huad motto the bliffwa hollen eller broten.

- 5) Sedhan om troona, och the tolf
articlar i troona, och fortellies
huad i hwar artickel beslutes, och
j huad motto ther emoot sker.
- 6) Sedhan om bonen till gudh, och
vthlegges Pater Noster, och Aue Maria.
- 7) Sedhan vthlegges Jomfrw Maries loffsang,
som kallas Magnificat.
- 8) Sedhan en wnderwijsning hwrwledhes man
schal haffwa aminnilse wt aff war herras
pino och doddh.
- 9) Yterst en vthlagning pa siw psalmer.

First commandment:

Thetta bodh (som och all annor gudz bodh) racker
menniskiones hierta j huilket gudh forbiuder ath
hon icke skall haffwa naghottingh annath ther hon
forhather sich pa, och sather sin trost till, vtan
til honom allena, han ar then som vil vara
menniskione for en gudh gora henne got och be-
skerma henne fraa thet som oondt ar, och for-
tryter ath hon sather sin lijth til naghottingh
i hemmelriket eller j jorderijhet annat an til
honom allena.

First article:

Iach troor vpaa gudh fadher alzmektugher,
hemmelrikes och jorderikes scapare.

Second article:

Och vpaa Jesum Christum hans eenda son war herra, huilken afflader war aff then helga anda, fodder aff Jomfrw Maria, pinad wnder Pilato, korsfaster, dodher och jordadher, foor nidher till helwitis, tridie daghen stoodh vpp aff dodha, foor vpp til himbla, stter paa alzmektog gudz fadhers hoghra hand. Thadhan kommandes till ath doma liffwandes och dodha.

Third article:

Iach troor vppa then helgha anda, then heliga christligha kyrkia, helgha manna samfundt, syndernas forlatelse, lekamsens vppstandilse, och ewinnerlight lijff, amen.

LIKAMSENS VPPSTANDILSE:

Iach troor ath een allmannelighen vppstandilse aff dodha ar tillkommande, nar gudh skal all lekamsen vppweckia aff dodha, saa ath hwar och en sial oond och goodh kommer til then samma lekamsen j ghen som hon farra haffde och inghen annan, a huru lekamen haffwer warit forfaren och forstrodder ther fore troor iach fulleligha ath then lekamen iach nw ar lefwandes vthi skal vpaa ythersta doomen komma till sialena j ghen an tha ath han faar itt

annat wasende an han nw haffwer, ther for lather
iach mich vpaa.

The Lord's Prayer:

Fadher war tw som ast j himblom, --- I thesse
boon haffer Christus icke aleena lardt oss huad wij
bidhia skole, vtan och iemvel huad wij forst sokia
skole medh ware boon, och an tha ath thenne boon
haffwer diupare sinne, an noghon menniskia til
fulla vttryckia kan, wilia wij doch lekawel gifwa
har en lithen forclaring vpaa for the eenfaldighe
som icke are sielffwe sa skarpsinnadhe ath the
begripa kunne, huad i thesse faa ord beslutit ar.

Wort dagligha brodh oss giff j dag. Thet
brodhit ar wor kare Jesus Christus som spijsar och
trooster sielena, ther fore o tw hemmelske fadher
giff liffwerne, oord garningar och pina, warda
predicat for oss och hela werldenne, och hielp oss
ath wij haffwe honom och hans oord och garningar
for itt exempel och efftherliknelse, i alt wort
liffwerne --- giff oss wort daghliga brod til liff
och siel, och att Christus bliwer ewinnerligha j
oss, och wij j honom, ath saa ratzliga maa heeta
och wara Christna.

TILL DEN CHRISTELIGHA LASAREN (En liten in

gong i thn helga schrifte):

Laghen are gudz bodoordh genom huilken menniskian larer kenna sina synd, swaghet och skropeligheet, och j genom laghen warder hon domd til ewigh dodh och fordommelse, epter thet hon gaar ther emoot och icke haller gudz bodh.

Euangelium ar jtt gladelighit bodhskap vtgongit jfraa gudhi, och til menniskiona, hwrw han haffwer frelsat genom sin enfodda son Jesum Christum, them som troona haffwa, jfraa syndene dodhenom och ewigh fordommelse och wil giffua them ewinnerlight lijff.

Then an explanation of several expressions in the Christian teachings:

Huadh troo ar pa Jesum Christum.

Huadh sacrament ar (jtt heligt tekn, jtt wist och fast jnseghel, som Christus sielff jnsatt haffuer til en jhoghkommelse eller paminnelse, huad gudh oss loffuat ther wij skole forssakra vort hierta och samwit medh, ath wij jw wisseliga are j gudz nadhe och ynnest, och the sanskylliga sacramenten are tw, som ar, dopet och Christe lekamen och bloodh).

Huad doop ar.

Huad Messa ar.

Aff tweggie handa rettferdigheet gudz och
menniskos.

Huad gudz rettferdigheet ar.

Huad rett gudztienst ar.

Huad tro ar.

Huad hopp ar.

Huad kerlegh ar.

Huad Christe kors ar.

Huad rett fasta ar.

Huad een rett Christeligh boon ar.

Huad den gamble Adam heller gamble menniskian ar.

Huad den nyie Adam ar.

Huad kotzligha gerningar ar.

Huad adneligha gerningar ar.

Huad troones forargelse ar (noghot lara talande
eller scriffande som ar emot gudz ord, ther the
forfalskas medh, eller och noghot pabindha som ar
emoot then Christliga friheten, ty aff sadant
warder wor neste forwerrat och forargat).

Huad kerligens forargelse ar.

Huad menniskians frij wilie ar.

Huad Christliga frijhet ar (frij aff dieff-
uulens och syndenes tyrannij genom Jesum Christi

dodh och vpstondilse).

Huad christligh helgd ar.

Huad rett helgom ara ar.

Hwilke the rette antichriste och falske prophet-
er are (alla som gudz ordh, then helga scrifft
forfalska, laggiandes ther noghot til, eller tagh-
andes ther noghot aff, och ey blijffwa widh then
retta scrifftennes mening, och wilia doch at thet
the saa lara och sa foregiffna, skall hallas lijka
widh gudz bodh).

Huad gudz oord ar.

Huad menniskio stadgar are.

Huad christelighit ban ar.

Huad gudz rike ar.

Olavus Petri's great hymn: UENI CREATOR

SPIRITUS:

Kom helge ande herre god/ besok vor hierta giff
oss modh/ lat oss fa tina helga radh/ och war med
oss j radd och dadh.

For een san trost tu kender ar/ sal ar then
man som tu est nar/ the harda hierta-gor tu week/
och giffuer then en rett kerleck.

Till liws tandt j wort morka sin/ giff
kerlecks dygd j hiertat in/ hwad oss fela och

brista ma/ lat oss aff tine styrkio fa.

J tijn gaffno est tu margfal/ gudz hogra handz
fingar vtwald/ tu larer Christo lariungar/ prisa
gud med monga tungor.

Wor fienda ifra oss drijff/ och tu med friden
nar oss blijff/ leedsaga oss j alla stund/ at wij
ondfly dieffuuls fund.

Gudh fader tu oss kenna laar/ med soonen som
frelzare ar/ lat oss och lara thet ther nast/ at
tu vtaff them vtgongen est.

Gud fader och hans eende son/ varde prijsat j
himmels thron/ them helga skke och sa/ han late
oss sijn nader fa.

The following are quotations from Petri's
Catechism, which he calls a Beautiful and Useful
Teaching for all Christian people (children,
young people and old people), based on questions
and answers (Een skoon och nyttugh vudervijsning
allom Christom menniskiom, icke allena barnom och
vnge folke, vtan och gamblom ganska nyttugh, stellt
pa sporsmal och swar).

Sporsmal: Huad est thu?

Swar: En fornuftug och dodheligh menniskia,
itt creatur aff gudi skapat.

Sporsmal: Hwi hafuer gudh skapat tich?

Swar: Pa thet ath iach skal lara kenna honom och haffua honom kaar.

Sporsmal: Sa horer iach wal ath tu ar en Christen?

Swar: Ja en Christen ar iach.

Sporsmal: Huadh ar en Christen?

Swar: Then som nampn haffuer aff Christo, och gor hans wilia, och troor pa honom.

Sporsmal: Huadh troor tu om honom?

Swar: Jach troor ath han ar migh en nadugh och barhertugh gudh, och haffuer taghit mina synder pa sich, och forsonat migh medh gudh fadher, sa ath mina synder aro hans, och hans rettferdigheet ar mijn, och pa thenna Christo ligger alle werdennes synd, och genom hans rettferdugheet aro och wardha alla wara synder vthskrapadha, och thenne troon gor mich reen och gudi begagheliga. Thenna Christum allena, hans wilia och lara will iach folia, ty han ar sanningen, liffuet och waghen till himmelrike, jtem han ar war wijsheet, war forlossning, war helighet, retferdughet och salugheet, Och gudh fadher haffuer hafft j honom jt gott behagh, honom skole wij hora och folia.

Satie wij war troo och trost till honom sa warde wij salughe ty han haffuer oss thet tillsagt ath then ther troor och warder dopt han skal warda salugh, och the ther jcke troor han skal warda frodomd. Och genom thenna clara och rena troona warda alle Christne salughe.

Sporsmal: Huadh aro da garningarna, gora the intit till salugheten?

Swar: The gora platt intit till salugheten troona maste wara reen och oformengd, men garningarna aro trooes fruct och beuisa troona.

Sporsmal: Efter gerningarna gora mich jcke salugh sa wile iach ock ingen gora?

Swar: Icke sa, will tu wara en Christen sa maste tu gora godha gerningar, icke ath tu ther medh nagot skal forskulle vtan tinom nasta till nasta till tianste genom en Christeligh kerlek thetta hafuer Christus budhit tich seyande, thet ar mitt budh athi skolen elska idher inbyrdes sasom iach idher elskat haffuer. Nu haffuer han elskat ath han for wara skull kommer pa thenne world, och haffuer tient oss gerningom, och alth for intit, han fick intit vthaff oss, vtan allenast giordt oss thet till tienste genom kerlek som han

hadhe till oss sammalunda maste wij och gora
gerningarna warom nasta till tienste, hwilka wij
ingelunda godha eller gudhi behagelighe.

Olavus Petri's manual (handbook) 1529 is the first in the entire Protestant Church. The original text is found in the Works (Olavus Petri Samlade Skrifter). The original text is also published in the "Bidrag till Svenska Liturgiens Historia" by Oscar Quensel. Mr. O. V. Anderson's translation is published in the Augustana Quarterly, volume XVIII, July 1939 and October 1939, and volume XIX, January 1940. The following are parts from the manual as translated by Anderson and also a short bibliography suggested by him for those who are desirous of making the manual a more complete study:

He desires a pure heart along with our prayers. Still, I do not here lay down any rule by which one has to be bound solely to the form I have proposed for these prayers. He who desires to make use of all the prayers which are in the Latin Manual, I permit him to do as he desires, as long as the prayer is not found to be contrary to Scripture. But this I would advise anyone to whom my advice might be of value, that he should translate such prayers into Swedish, in order that the whole congregation might understand what

is said, since such prayers take place on behalf of the congregation. If they are to be one in heart and mind before God, together with the minister who offers the prayer, then they must certainly understand the meaning of that which they together with him request of God. And it would be quite helpful if the minister, who shall read such prayers, gave the whole congregation an admonition before he begins the prayer, that they pray and join with a pious heart in the same prayer with him; and then he should read the prayers slowly and intelligibly so that the whole estimate its power. For this reason I have inserted at that place a brief explanation of it, and have presented in addition a special form of unction which may in a measure be claimed to be consistent with Scripture, provided it is used in the sense I have indicated.

Likewise I have prepared an instruction for ministering to the sick, what comfort and consolation should be given him, despite the fact that it is rather late to teach one who lies on his death-bed, especially if he has not been amenable to teaching when he was in good health. Nevertheless one should still not despair concerning him, but rather teach and comfort him as opportunity at the time dictates, and pray earnestly that God would give him the grace to die as a Christian. Further, the minister shall constantly admonish his parishioners that they give heed to God's Word while they are well, while they have time to do so, and that they early make known when they become ill, while they are still in sound mind; not waiting until the last moment, because it will be too late to receive any good teaching when one is gasping for breath.

Then I have also proposed a form for preparation for burial (wiya lijck) and likewise for the committal service, which I hope shall be more in agreement with Scripture than that which is found in the Latin Manual. Therewith I place this Swedish Manual at the disposal of all Christians, so that each may use it as far as he likes, no one being compelled to do so. But this I certainly dare to say that that which has been presented will be found to be in closer agreement with Scripture than the Latin Manual, even though for the sake of the weak, I have permitted many parts to remain which otherwise could easily have been omitted. But God give us all His holy grace to remain steadfast in His Word. Amen.

BAPTISM IN SWEDISH

First the minister inquires what the child is to be named and then he says these words over the child:

Depart hence, thou unclean devil, and make room for the Holy Spirit through the power of Him who shall come to judge the living and the dead. Amen.

Then the minister takes oil, makes with it a sign of the cross upon the chest and another between the shoulders of the child and says:

May God who of His great mercy hath called thee to baptism anoint thee with the oil of gladness.

Thereupon the minister inquires regarding faith and says:

Do you believe in God the Father, Almighty Creator of heaven and earth?

Answer:

Yes.

Do you believe in Jesus Christ, His only Son, our Lord, who was born and died?

Answer:

Yes.

Do you believe in the Holy Spirit, one Christian Church, the communion of saints, the forgiveness of sins, the resurrection of the body, and eternal life after death?

Answer:

Yes.

The minister inquires:

Do you wish to be baptized?

Answer:

Yes.

Then the minister asks the name of the child and takes it and baptizes it three times and says:

I baptize thee in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit. Amen.

When the minister has taken the child up out of the font, he makes the sign of the cross on the crown of his head with chrism and says:

May the Almighty God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who has caused* thee to be born anew through water and the Holy Spirit and forgiven thee thy sins, strengthen and preserve thee in His grace and anoint thee with the Holy Spirit unto life eternal. Amen.

* regenerated thee through, etc.

The following is the bibliography:

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In the Swedish Psalmbook (den Svenska Psalm-boken ar 1819 och Nya Psalmer ar 1921, Gustaf Melins A. B. Goteborg, 1928) are 22 psalms by Olavus Petri. The following is psalm 21:

O Fader var, barmhartig god, Som oss till dig vill kalla Och stanka oss med Kristi blod, Som rena kan oss alla. Lat komma Gud, till oss ditt ord, Det heliga och klara; Lat det i morkret pa var jord En ledare oss vara, Att vi ej vilse fara.

Men alla ropa vi till dig, Ej annat ar till rade; Ty ingen tar ditt ord till sig, Om han ej far din nade. O helge Fader, tank darpa, Att djavulen vill blanda Sitt ogras i din sad och sa Oss komma sig till handa; Ty sand till oss din Anda.

O Gud och manniska, Jesu Krist, Som synden pa dig lade. Du kanner bast var stora brist, Ty du och mandom hade. O Jesu Krist, var broder kar, Ditt lofte vi pakalla: Hugsvalaren lat komma nar, Som sanning lar oss alla, Att vi fran dig ej falla.

O du, Guds Helge Ande, kom, Slit sonder satans snara. Det ord, vi fatt av Herranom, Uti var sjal bevara, Pa det envar ma heliggjord Lovsjunga Gud med gamman, Och Jesu Kristi dyra ord Oss leda allesamman Till himlens gladje. Amen.

O. Petri (1493-1552).

Psalm 648:

O Kriste, du som ljuset ar,
Dig kan ej morker bliva nar;
Vi skada upp i tron till dig.
Nar solens ljus fordoljer sig.

Till trost for alla ar du satt;
Beskydda oss i denna natt,
Att vi i dig ma hava ro
Och i din hagnad tryyga bo.

Nar vara ogon sluta sig,
Lat sjalen njuta frid i dig;
Ditt ljus oss alltid lyse sa,
Att vi i synd ej sova ma.

Du fralste oss fran synd och skuld
Med korsets dod, o Jesu huld.
Du vorden ar var sjalatrost:
Sa hjalp dem, som du aterlost.

Gud, Fader, Son och Ande, bliv
Oss alltid nar och nad oss giv.
Den heliga Treenighet,
Ske pris och lov i evighet.

Psalm 133: 1-3.

Kom, Helge Ande, Herre god, Besok vart
hjarta, giv oss mod. Forlana oss din
helga nad, For lana oss din helga nad
Och var med oss i rad och dad.

Den sanne trostaren du ar: Sa kom och
var oss alltid nar. De harda hjartan
sjalv bevek, De harda hjartan sjalv
bevek, Att ova karlek utan svek.

Ditt ljus tand i vart morka sinn',
Giv tro och hopp i hjartat in. Och
allt vad har oss fela ma, Och allt
vad har oss fela ma, Lat oss av dina
nade fa.

The following questions and answers are taken
from Henric Schartau's catechism (Undervisning i
Kristendoms-kunskapen. Tvenne utforligare aldre
arbeten. Utgifna efter Schartaus dod. Trettende

upplagan. Stockholm, A. P. Huldbergs Bokforlags-
Aktiebolag. 1900):

1. Q. Do you know what true Christianity and salvation really are?

A. Our true Christianity and salvation are a true knowledge and a true faith in God, His spirit and will, and Christlike and godly living.
2. Q. What is the first thing necessary in order to have a true Christian knowledge?

A. A true knowledge of God, His spirit and will.
4. Q. Where is the Word of God?

A. In the Holy Scriptures.
5. Q. How can you say that the Holy Scriptures are the Word of God since human beings have written the Bible?

A. The Holy Spirit gave them the words to write.
7. Q. Where in the catechism can we find knowledge concerning God?

A. In the Athanasii Symbolum.
10. Q. What is God?

A. According to our holy Christian faith we worship an eternal God in three persons, and three persons in one eternal God.
13. Q. What is God according to His attributes?

A. God is a spirit, eternal, all-powerful, righteous, everywhere present, all-wise, true and merciful.

The following is taken from Rector Peter
Murbeck's catechetical works:

Gif, o store Treenige Gud! desse
fattige barnen, och alla som har aro
forsamlade, Din dyra nad, att ratt
taga emot Din wiljas kunskap. Ack!
hor och gor detta for Din oandeliga
karleks skull, Gud Fader! Gud Son!
och Gud du Helige Ande! Amen.

DEN FORSTA ARTIKLEN
OM GUD FADER OCH SKAPELSEN

Jag will saga Er, mine Barn! att Artikel
ar ett ord, som horer till utlandska
sprak, och betyder pa wart tungomal en
del eller lank af en kedja. Och passas
detta mycket wal hartill, ty nu borje
wi att forklara en del af war Tros-
bekannelse, men det ar bara en lank,
som alldeles sa hanger ihop med hela
kedjan eller Tron, att hwar del for
sig, tillhopa hamtad och forenad, ut-
gora ett, en grund, pa och wid hwilken
war tro skall stodja sig.

7. Hwarfore sager du: jag tror? Ty
den som will salig warda, han maste
intet lita pa en annans tro, utan sjelf
for sin egen person hafwa den kristeliga
tron, sa att han kan saga med Paulo:
jag wet pa hwem jag tror. Det ar wisst
en stor forblindelse och galet begrepp
om Guds uppenbarade ord, att den ena
menniskans tro skall kunna hjelpa den
andra for Gud; men sa har likwal den
agre fienden djefwulen forledt manga
tusende menniskor med denna morksens
blindhet.¹

1. Andra delen af kyrkoherden Peter Murbecks katekesiska
arbete, forestallt ungdomen, som forsta gagen skulle
bega den Heliga Nattvarden, och innehaller alla tre
Trones Heliga Artiklar. Tredje upplagan. Carlskrona
1815. Tryckt i Kongl. Amiralitets-Boktryckeriet hos
Major C. F. Swinhufvud. Pa eget Forlag.

Hultkrantzska katekesens plan, utgiven af
E. J. Oslund, Stockholm, 1878. The following are
the opening paragraphs:

Kort utveckling
af
Doktor Martin Luthers

LILLA KATEKES

Inledning.

1. Hvarfor kallas du kristen?

Jag kallas kristen, emedan jag genom
dopet ar upptagen i Jesu Kristi for-
samling och med forsamlingen tror och
bekanner honom vara min Fralsare och
Saliggorare.

2. Hvarifran hamtas undervisningen
om det som hor till din kristendom?

Fran bibeln eller den heliga skrift.
Anm. Orbet bibel (pa grekiska biblia)
betyder boken eller bockerna. Bibeln
kallas sa, emedan han ar den for-
namsta af alla bocker.

3. Hvad ar den heliga skrift?

Den heliga skrift ar Guds ord, som
genom den Helige Andes ingifvelse ar
skrifvet af profeter, evangelister
och apostlar, oss till undervisning,
battring, trost och evig salighet.

4. Nar har den heliga skrift
blifvit oss gifven?

Fore Kristi fodelse hafva profeterna
skrifvit det Gamla testamentet, och
efter Kristi fodelse hafva evangelisterna
och apostlarne skrifvit det Nya testa-
mentet.

5. Huru fordelas hufvudinnehallet af den heliga skrift?

I lagen och evangelium.

6. Hvad forkunnar Gud genom lagen?

Genom lagen forkunnar Gud sin heliga fordran, att vi skola vara heliga i hjarta och lefverne.

Mik. 6: 8. Det ar dig sagdt, manniska, hvad godt ar, och hvad Herren af dig askar.

Anm. Lagen larer saledes: 1) huru vi i vart inre skola vara beskaffade (heliga i hjartat); 2) huru vi i det yttre skola handla (namligen sa, att vi aro heliga i lefvernet). - Askar - fordrar.

From the catechism of Olao Svebilio, as follows:

TREDJE HUFWUDSTYCKET
OM
HERRANS BON: FADER WAR.

1. Hwad ar bonen?

Bonen ar ett odmjukt och troget samtal med Gud, deruti wi efter hans willje, i Jesu namn, bedje honom om andeliga och lekamliga walgerningar; sasom och tacke och prise hans heliga namn.

Joh. 16:23. Sannerligen, sannerligen sager jag eder: allt det I bedjen Fadren i mitt namn, skall han gifwa eder.

Dan. 6:10. Daniel gick upp i sitt hus; der foll han tre resor om dagen uppa sin kna, bad, lowade och tackade Gud. I Tim. 2:2. Hwad ar det som oss till bonen beweka skall?

1. Guds befallning. 2. Hans lofte om bonhorelsen. 3. War egen nod.
4. Bonens kraft och wardighet.

Matth. 7:7. Beder, och eder skall warda gifwet; Soker, och I skolen finna; klapper, och eder skall upplatas.

Joh. 15:7. Om I blifwen i mig, sager Jesus, och min ord blifwa i eder, allt det I welen, ma I bedja, och det skall ske eder.

Ps. 50: 15. Se sid. 36. Jac. 5:16.

3. Huru skall man ratteligen bedja?

Med hjerta och mun, och det i andanom och sanning, det ar: efter Guds wilje, uti hjertats odmjukhet, i tron, intet twiflande; sa och i en sann botfardighet, utan skrymtan.

Matth. 15:8. Detta folket nalkas mig med sin mun, och hedrar mig med sina lappar, men deras hjerta ar langt ifran mig.

Joh. 4:24. Gud ar en ande; och de honom tillbedja skola tillbedja honom i andanom och sanningen. I Joh. 5:14. Se.N:o 53.

Jac. I: 5-7. Hwar nu nagrom ibland eder fattas wisdom han bedje i tron. (Swebilii Cateches).

. Enfaldig forklaring ofwer D:r Martin Lutheri Lilla Cateches, stalld genom sporsmal och swar, af Olao Swebilio, A. Ups., Helsingfors, 1905.

The following expresses Viktor Rydberg's aversion to the routine plugging of lessons in school and his own description of a class recitation:

Som larjunge först vid Jonkopings och sedan vid Vaxjo laroverk visade han emellertid ovanliga anlag och stor plikttrohet i sitt arbete. Men fruktansvart led hans battre jag av den tidens allt beharskande, sjal-mordande plugglasning. Som ett ungdomstidens inferno stod for honom livet igenom minnet av de langa host- och vinteraftnarna inom skolans vaggar, Han mindes sa tydligt, hur den sjunkande solens sken vemodsfyllt drojde pa vaggen, hur den sista stralen bleknade, hur skymningen kom och ljusen tandes och den svarta tavlan pa sin stallning nara kakelugnen kastade en lang skugga bort mot dorren. "Lararen satt framfor sitt bord med huvudet lutat i handen. Skenet fran de flamtande dankarna i ljuskronan foll pa hans adelt valvda men sorgtyngda panna. Han gav oss fragor ur boken, vi svarade efter boken. Han skotte plikttroget sitt kall pa laxans omrade, han plojde och sadde inom hennes hank och stor men gick darutover, sasom hade han med livlig ed forbundit sig vid att aldrig oppna oss utsikt over hennes stangsel. Han hade hjarta --- det vet jag; han hade haft inbillningskraft --- det tror jag. Men det hande aldrig, att han vadjade till vare sig det forra eller den senare hos oss --- Engelbrekt och Sturarne blevo namn, Lutzen och Narva artal och dagtal --- intet annat. Att vi voro fodda i Sverige, fingo vi lara har men ej, att vi voro svenskar --- Ordet, det livgivande ordet, for vilket gossekynnet ar sa mottagligt, ordet om tillvarons mal, om aktningen for allas gagnande id, om den friska viljan att som gode stridsman ga ut ur skolan i livets fejd --- det ordet, som vi aldrig skulle glomt, om det blivit sagt, det dog pa hans lappar det horde ickelaxan till, det lag utanfor skolstadgan." SFUO, pages 329-330.

The quotations that follow are taken from
 "Kultur och Filosofi" i deras forhallande till
 hvarandra by Pontus Wikner:¹

Nagoting aro de for hvarandra---
 det ar redan gifvet derigenom, att
 det ena gor vissa icke sa obetydliga
 ansprak gent emot det andra --- men
 nagoting maste dessforinnan vara
 hvar for sig. Vi pasta vidare, at
 det, som en sak ratteligen ar i och
 for sig sjelf; pa samma satt som den
 omstandigheten, huruvida en vaglangd
 ar langre eller kortare an en annan,
 beror deraf, huru manga famnar hvar-
 dera mater for sig. Sa beror ocksa
 det ratta forhallandet mellan filosofi
 och kultur derpa, hvad de hvardera for
 sig ratteligen aro, och det ar omojligt
 att veta det forra utan att veta det
 sednare. Det blir saledes var uppgift
 att forst betrakta filosofi och kultur
 hvar for sig for att sedan samman-
 stalla dem och utleta deras inbordes
 forhallande. Page 8.

Sjalfa namnet kultur kommer, sasom
 bekant, af ett Latinskt ord, som be-
 tyder odla. Kultur betyda odling.
 Detta ar nu nagoting, som egentligen
 angar akern, fran hvilken vi skola
 hemta var foda och, anvandt om det
 foremal, som vi nu hafva i syfte, ar
 det endast en bild. Sa har sprakanden,
 liksom menniskoanden i allmanhet,
 borjat med det lilla och alldagliga,
 som betingat dess egen existens pa
 jorden, derifran strackt sin blick
 langre bort, anat, att der fanns ett
 hogre och da begagnat det narmare och
 lagre sasom en bild af detta. Han,

1. Same text as used in this dissertation proper.

som plojde sin teg for att gora honom mottaglig for sadden och salunda bereda rum for kommande skordar, han har kommit att tanka derpa, att det val torde stunda en skordetid afven pa annat område an det, hvilket han trampar med sin fot, och att det da afven pa det området finnes nagoting, som motsvarar den synliga akern och dess odling. Nu skulle man med en odling i dess forsta och lagsta bemarkelse kunna mena tva saker: Antingen sjelfva den verksamhet, genom hvilken akern beredes till en for saddens mottagande tjenlig aker, eller ocksa det resultat, som af denna verksamhet frambringas, nameligen den odlade akern eller den beskaffenhet hos akern, att han ar odlad. Page 10.

Det ar emellertid for kulturen ingalunda likgiltigt, hvad detta nya ar. Om ett folk, som utmarkt sig genom en hogre standpunkt i ett eller annat afseende, sedermera nedstiger till en lagre, sa framkommer derigenom visserligen nagoting nytt hos det folket, namligen det lagre tillstandet, som icke fanns i det nast foregaende; men en dylik ofvergang fran hogre till lagre kan aldrig betraktes sasom en handling af kultur, den sages tvartom ske i motsats mot kulturens intresse. Den andring, hvilken kulturen innebar, skall saledes nodvandigt vara en ofvergang fran samre till battre, fran lagre till hogre; lika visst som det ar, att den odling, jorden underkastas af jordbrukaren, endast med det vilkor fortjenar sitt namn af odling, att hon verkligen gor jorden i afseende pa den afsedda produktionen battre och ej samre. Page 13.

Det filosofiska vetandet ar saledes genom denna fordran av sjelfstandighet forbundet att rikta sig pa den fullkomligt

sjelstandiga verkligheten eller vasendet, Gud. Sa kan da filosofien icke undga att rikta sitt oga pa Gud; att forbjuda henne detta ar att forbjuda henne vara till. --- Harmed hafva vi at filosofien gifvit hvarken for litet eller for mycket. For litet icke, ty nagonting mera an detta eller nagonting dyrbarare an detta gor ingen annan kulturforeteelse, atminstone ingen theoretisk eller esthetisk; och nagonting lika stort eller like utmarkt, om man vill afse det theoretiska och det praktiska samfaldt, utrattar pa sin hojd endast theologien. Men theologien ar i rent theoretiskt afseende filosofien underlagsen, emedan hon icke ar forbunden till samma grad af vetenskaplighet. For mycket hafva vi icke heller dermed tillskrifvit filosofien. Hvarje annan vetenskap an hon far inom sig och enligt sitt eget sarskilda syfte ostormt arbeta hvar och en pa sitt foremal; och filosofien respekterar deras resultat, sa langt som de icke vilja ga och galla for filosofi, i hvilket fall de naturligtvis, enligt sin egen begaran, falla inom filosofiens omrade och saledes maste underkastas hennes dom. Pages 133-134.

A translation of Vikner's "Outline of a Philosophical System --- 1865" (my own translation):²

1. To be is to be sensed by somebody; but no other thing can be sensed than the sensing power itself (an sjalfva fornimmandet).

A. Because nothing is unless it is for somebody, but to be for somebody is to be sensed by somebody.

B. If something else could be sensed than the power to sense itself, it would mean

2. L. H. Aberg --- "Carl Pontus Vikner hans lefnad och laror," Oscar Lamms Forlag, Stockholm, 1889, pages 144-148.

that somebody could sense something else than the power to sense --- that this power could go outside itself (because no awareness or thing sensed where there is no awareness). (Om nagonting annat kunde fornimmas an sjalfva fornimmandet, sa skulle detta betyda, att nagon kunde fornimma nagot annat an fornimmandet --- att fornimmandet kunde ga utom sig sjalft, ty ingen fornimmelse eller fornummet, der fornimmandet icke ar.)

II. Absolute to be consequently is absolute power to be sensed by somebody and absolute awareness of somebody's awareness of you is absolute ability to be conscious of someone. Since someone is aware of me I am. Hence absolute to be is identity with the power that is aware of somebody and with that person of whom this power is aware --- identity of the subjective and the objective.

III. All real negation (3) is negation of to be, consequently also of the power that can be sensed and the power that is sensing. No such thing is manifold without negation --- real negation. Hence no manifold without negation of to be or to be sensed by somebody (fornimmas or fornimma). In the absolute to be there can be no to be or (fornimmas or fornimma) to be negated. Therefore in the absolute there is no manifold. It is unity.

IV. Consequently in all sensing and also in all that is being sensed one might ask: Why or what is being sensed and what has been sensed? What is the form and what is the content? The stronger the power to sense the better is the form; the more intense it is, the richer it is, the better is its contents. The absolute is in form as well as in content the absolute best and is also an absolute clarity and an absolute rich "fornimmande och fornummit" --- identity of clarity and richness.

3. By "negation" Vikner means something lacking or something to be added --- something beyond --- something to be reconstructed yet but on higher levels.

V. The relative to be is the absolute with a negation and consequently is the absolute's absolute attributes with negation --- in other words it is unity with negation --- "fornimma och fornummit" or identity of both with negation --- clarity and richness or their identity with negation.

VI. The relative is the absolute as unity with negation, and when the absolute is outside the relative no negation is to be found. Then the relative is the absolute unity with endless negation. Negation in the whole situation can not mean pure not to be of anything within the whole realm of the relative because there is no real negation with position. Nothing can be negated except the to be --- therefore the to be's negation is also its position. This can mean nothing else than the to be's negation here is it's position there; consequently other-to-be is the essential meaning of not-to-be. The endless not-to-be is therefore the endless other-to-be --- endless "fornimma." The relative as the absolute unity with negation is for this reason the absolute unity with the endless other-to-be --- the endless unity with the limitless manifold. The character of the relative therefore will be the absolute unity in a limitless manifold. (Remember that Vikner's real absolute means real completeness, and that it would be inactive. In it there is nothing to do for anybody, not even for the most powerful.)

VII. If the relative is both the absolute unity and the endless manifold then the relative is everything thinkable in unity and manifold --- unity undivided and unity broken up into all kinds of imaginable grades. One must therefore in the relative think about the unity as having all reality in itself, and besides this consider this unity spread out in all directions, in an endless number of ways and in endless diminishing grades. Hence the second character of unity becomes central.

VIII. The manifold is many unities and every unity has in itself a central force. Every unity is a central thing in the sense that it is a unity. It is a system.

IX. And since to be in general is "fornimmas och fornimma" or identity of both or personality, all things are in this sense and only in this sense. The absolute unity is the absolute personality, and the limitless manifold, as manifold of unities, is then also manifold of persons, in limitless grades of completeness. The relative is a concentric system of persons.

X. Centrum in the system has in itself all the reality of personality which in limitless grades is found in all the other personalities. The others are reality or personality only in and through the centrum or central person.

XI. Since to be "fornimma och fornimmas" is so, the relative is to be the relative "fornimmande" in all its points. In each point is the identity of "fornimma och fornimmas." Relative "fornimmande" is the absolute with negation. At each are the following: 1) The absolute "fornimmande," the actual centrum with all things included, and 2) the same negated to the degree where the point in question has meaning.

XII. Every low point in the system (every relative personality, not the highest) can therefore, when in its "fornimmande" both the mentioned moments blend, sense in both ways the following: 1) To consider everything from the point of view of the central person, and 2) from the point of view of itself as somebody else than this central person.

XIII. When everything is seen from the point of view of the central person, then all personalities appear --- all the richness of personality, the entire personal world in its

systematic and harmonious concretion, as a kingdom of God (God's temple in which Christ is the Cornerstone). Everything, then, is what it can be. Everything is good and has eternal blessedness in and through the highest personality (Christ).

XIV. When everything is considered from the point of view of the lower person alone, then, it is understood that this means a lifting of a point to the centrum, which point originally was not central --- then, too- everything stands out in the same oblique way as the lower personality separated from the central personality. And when the central personality is the complete reality, the complete person, identity of "fornimma och fornimmas," of clarity and richness, then, through the lowering of the centrum to the lower person this identity becomes incomplete --- the balance between clarity and richness is disturbed.

XV. This means from the point of view of the lower person the following three points: 1) Identity of to be aware of and the power to sense others ("fornimma och fornimmas"), subjectivity and objectivity, clarity and richness, the person himself; 2) the difference between subjectivity and objectivity, clarity and richness (but still a balance between them both); a) balance between "fornimma och fornimmas" --- now, b) balance between clarity and richness --- here; 3) the obscure condition between "fornimma och fornimmas," clarity and richness --- the overbalance of one or the other --- hence: a) Overbalance of "fornimma och fornimmas," objectivity over subjectivity --- the past, necessity; b) overbalance of subjectivity over objectivity --- the coming things, freedom; c) overbalance of clarity and richness.-----

In a letter to Oscar Qvensel sent from Uppsala
January 17, 1864, Vikner writes:

"Hvilken som kommer till mig och icke hatar sin fader och moder och broder och systrar och hustru och barn och dertill sitt eget lif, han kan icke vara min larjunge." --- Detta ar det problem, som nu plagar Ditt hjerta, som mer an en gang sonderslitit mitt.

Det ar ett svart problem, detta. Ty a ena sidan ar jag ju forbunden att alska med-menniskor, jag ar skyldig att gifva dem mycken karlek, men a andra sidan far jag ej gifva dem den karlek, som tillkommer Gud. Men hvilken ar val denna senare? Ar det i sjelfva verket nog, att Gud far den forsta af mina karleksportioner? Visserligen icke. Gud har ratt att af mig fordra all karlek. En karlek till hvilken han ej agde ratt, vore en gudlos karlek. Foljer nu icke deraf, att christendomens fordran rakar i motsagelse mot sig sjelf, da den a ena sidan sager: ett rikt matt af karlek maste du gifva at menniskorna --- och a den andra: all karlek maste du gifva at Gud, alltsa ingen at nagon annan?

Visat synes detta vara en stor motsagelse. Mig har den kostat arslanga qual och skulle hafva kostat mig mitt forstand, om ej filosofien i rattan tid hade raddat mig. Hvad gjorde da filosofien? Den lat mig kasta en blick in i idealismens verld, och der loser sig den angifna svarigheten. Likasom realismens losen ar: "utom hvartannat," sa ar idealismens: "I hvartannat." Om jag ar en person genom att vara skiljd ifran Gud och genom att vara ett annat an han; sa ar det en gifven sak, att hvad du gifver mig, det berofvar Du Gud, och tvartom. Men detta ar realism. Om daremot jag ar en person genom att vara ett med Gud, da ar det en gifven sak, att hvad Du gifver mig, det gifver Du Gud, och tvartom. Detta ar idealism. Det kan nu sattas i fraga, om jag ar person genom at vara ett med Gud eller genom att vara

skiljd fran homom. Det forra ar det enda mojliga. Ty Gud ar person; men Gud ar allt, hvad han ar, fullstandigt. Foljaktligen ar han och personligheten fullstandigt eller med andra ord: han ar all personlighet. All personlighet hans personlighet. Min personlighet ar alltsa afven hans personlighet. Min personlighet plagar jag namna med det ordet: jag; och Guds personlighet ar ju Gud. Jag ager derfore ratt att saga --- jag ar Gud.

Blif icke forskrackt, X. En menniska tillforene har vagat uttalla den sanningen, som dock ar en evig sanning. Honom kostade denna bekannelse lifvet. Det gjorde ingenting, ty doden dodar ej det personliga: genom den be- kannelsen, som kanske annu ingen dodlig for- statt --- ehuru manga kant den --- har den menniskan forlossat verlden. Och sedan den tiden har, sa vidt jag vet, ingen dodlig vagat aterupprepa de tre orden: jag ar Gud --- ord, some dock aro christendomens losen. Jag vagar detta aterupprepande. Fran denna stund vet jag, att sa ar, och att det icke kan vara annor- lunda. Hittills har jag anat det. Denna natt --- har den sanningen, pa hvilken artusenden stafvat, med eldskrift framstralat for min sjals oga. Jag har lart den, verlden skall lara den lattare efter mig.

Tror Du, att jag yrar? Ja, jag yrar sasom den, hvilken dricker ur det evigas djup, sasom den, hvilken hvilar skalfvande af frojd vid den Eviges hjerta. Och dock --- jag ar vaken, nykter och vaken, ehuru min barm hafves af frojd ---

Det ar midnatt. I morgon far Du dessa rader. Ma de blifva till valsignelse for Dig, Dig och Din Pontus.⁴

⁴. L. H. Aberg --- "Carl Pontus Wikner hans lefnad och laror," Stockholm, Oscar L. Lamms Forlag, pages 48-49.

The following selections are taken from children's readers and ABC books in the early or first half of the 18th century ("Svenska Folkets Underbara Oden" av Carl Grimberg, Stockholm, P. A. Norstedt & Soners Forlag, 1924):

Ett for sin tid hogst modernt pedagogiskt alster var ABC- och lasebok for nybegynnare af A. J. D. Cnattingius, utgiven anno 1832. Latom oss uppbygga oss med nagra av de mest dygderika berättelserna!

KARLEK TILL FORALDRAR

Karls Fader och Moder hade rest bort.

Den lille Karl hade icke fatt resa med, emedan resan var for lang for honom.

Han var nu mycket ledsen derofver, att hans Foraldrar icke voro hemma.

Och han langtade med otalighet efter deras aterkomst.

Mellertid beslot han, att gora sina alskade Foraldrar en stor gladje vid deras aterkomst.

Han var ganska flitig.

Och larde sig snart allt hvad hans Larare foresatte honom.

Andteligen var den dagen inne, da Foraldrarne skulle aterkomma.

Fadren hade en gang forut gifvit den lilla Karl litet penningar, hvilka han hade forvarat i sin sparbossa.

Nu tog han dessa penningar och kopte derfore en mycket god hvetebrodskaka, for att dermed traktera Foraldrarne vid deras hemkomst.

Karls Fader hade afven lemnat honom en sang i tradgarden, pa hvilken han planterat manga vackra blommor.

Och flitigt skott och vattnat dem.

Nu var hela tradgardssangen fullsatt med blommor.

Karl kande sig nu rikeligen belonad for den moda, som blommornas vard fororsakat honom. ⁵

Han plockade några de vackraste blommorna och prydde dermed tallricken, på hvilken han laggt hvetebrodskakan.

Sedermera bad han Lararen, att skriva på ett papper, huru han uppfört sig under Foraldrarnes franvaro.

Han lade detta papper bredvid tallricken. Foraldrarne hemkommo.

Karl sprang gladtigt emot dem och helsade dem med vordnadsfull frojd.

De sago nu tallricken med kakan och blommorna; de omfamnade Karl och beromde honom för den karlek, han visade dem.

De funno papperet, hvarpa Lararen antecknat Karls uppförande.

Der stod foljande skrifvet:

Karl har under sina Foraldrars franvaro uppfört sig mycket beskedligt och lydigt.

Derofver voro nu Foraldrarna ganska glada, och omfamnade Karl annu en gang, tryckte honom till sitt brost och kysste honom.

Syskon-karlek

Fredrik hade begatt nagot fel: till straff derfore fick han icke sitt frukostbrod.

Han satte sig ute i garden att grata.

Hans broder Wilhelm hade varit borta.

Han kom hem och hans Moder gaf honom hans frukostbrod.

Han gick dermed ut i garden.

Der sag han sin broder Fredrik sitta och grata.

Hvad felas dig, kara Fredrik? fragade han honom.

Ack, svarade Fredrik, jag har visst genom min olydnad fortjent, att jag nu icke fatt nagot frukostbrod: likval ar jag ganska hungrig.

Detta gjorde den lille Wilhelm ganska ledsen.

Har, kara Fredrik! sade han, skall du fa mitt brod.

Men var hadanefter lydig mot vara Foraldrar!

Fredrik lofvade val detta, men ville icke emottaga Wilhelms brod.

Du har ju da intet sjelf, basta bror! sade han.

Tag det du, Fredrik, svarade Wilhelm: jag ar icke sa hungrig.⁶

I klockare G. O. Wikanders abc-bok, utgiven i Goteborg pa 1870-talet, har den borne pedagogen behandlat amnet pa foljande lekande satt: Det ar tre sma gossar, Edvard Jacob och Johan, som hafwa gatt ut pa landet for att samla blommor, sma djur och andra markwardiga saker. De atfoljas af en aldre kamrat, Anton, som lange gatt i skola och der lart kanna namn pa manga natur-alster, samt hade en liten samling deraf i sitt hem. Redan har detta lilla sallskap gatt en lang wag, och de tre sma gossarne aro derfore trotta. Nu hafwa de nedsatt sig for att hwila, och pa samma gang examinera de saker, som de samlat i sina sma waskor. Edvard hade funnit en stenwigge och fragade Jacob: Till hwilket rike horer denna? Till mineralriket, swarade Jacob. Derefter framtog han ett eklof, hwarpa sma insekter sutto, och fragade: An detta lofwet, hwilket rike tillhor det? Johan swarade: Sjelfwa lofwet tillhor wextriket men insekterna djurriket. Huru indelas djur? 1) I Daggdjur: sasom koen; 2) Foglar: sasom sparfwen; 3) Fiskar: sasom gaddan; 4) Amfibier: sasom grodan; 5) Insekter: sasom biet; 6) Maskar: sasom daggmasken.

Och sa ar den overfortjuste pedagogen inne pa det riktigt larorika.⁷

From a Reader 1859, published by Hedlund and

Lindskog:

9. Den korsmarkte stenen

En hednisk kejsare var en gang uti stort betryck och bekymmer for vissa summor, hvilkas snara anskaffande var honom af hogsta noden for rikets bestand. Under det han da en dag gick upp och ned uti slotts-salarne, for att ostordt utfinna vagar och medel till hjelp, fangslades hans dystra oga oformodadt af en korsmarkt sten pa golfvet. Det rann honom

strax i hagen, att manga af hans undersater dyrkade en Gud, som varit korsfast, och fattad af en hemlig vordnad for denne de kristnas Gud kallade han sina tienare och befalde dem att ofortofvadt borttaga den stenen; emedan det forekom honom bade oratt och hanfullt, att trampa pa nagot, som i andra stilla menniskors ogon var ett dyrt och heligt minne. Nar nu stenen var utbruten, befanns derunder en stor skatt ligga dold, och var den sa stor, att kejsarens alla bekymmer blefvo afhulpna.

10. Underbar raddning.

Vid ett nykterhets-mote i Norra Amerika berättade en prestman foljande:

Mellan Norwich och Yarmouth vandrade en gang pa stranden en man af forvildadt utseende med sin son, som var ungefär 4 ar gammal. Barnet var blekt och affallet, och i dess djupt liggande ogon kunde tydligen lasas, att det led af hunger; andtligen utbrast det: "jag ar sa hungrig!" "Tig olycklige!" sade den rae fadren. -- "Ack ja! jag ar hungrig." -- "Vill du tiga, pojke, svarade den kansllose fadren, kan jag finna brod har i sanden?" Barnet teg med moda och grat i stillhet; fadren syntes forsankt i sorgliga tankar, han gjorde krampaktiga rorelser for att halla sig i jemnvigt, men det ville ej lyckas, ty han var efter sin vana berusad, och raglade med hvarje steg. Plotsligen begynte barnet skrika hogljuddt, det kunde ej halla sig langre och snyftande ropade det: "brod! gif mig ett stycke brod, far!" 8

From the same reader:

HWI SUCKAR DET SA TUNGT UTI SKOGEN?

Och liten pilt han sitter en kulen hosteqwall

Och leker tyst inunder gula linden:
 Han ser hur ljusen brinna uti Guds Faders
 tjall,
 Och hor hur lofwen prassla under winden,
 Men huru lange pilten i sina drommar satt,
 Allt morkare blef lunden uti September-natt.
 Da suckar det sa tungt uti skogen.

Och pilten han lyssnade, blef hemskt uti
 sitt mod,
 Och borjade att springa utat leden.
 Han tankte stygga tankar och skramde upp
 sitt blod,
 Och wilsegick pa ljungebewexta heden.
 Han tankte uppa fader, pa mor och syskon
 kar:
 "Gud nade mig, som liten ar, om wal jag
 wore der!"
 Da suckar det tungt uti skogen.

Men manen trader stilla ur sonderbrusten
 sky
 Och kastar silfwertacket ofwer jorden.
 Och skuggorna forskrackta till bergens
 fotter fly,
 Och trollena de flyga upp at norden
 Och bergens toppar glimma; men skogen han
 ar mork,
 Och ufwen sjunger sorgesang i regnbegjuten
 bjork.
 Da suckar det sa tungt uti skogen.

Och liten pilt han lopte utofwer widan hed,
 Och tankte uppa mangen gammal sagen,
 Och himlens stjernor skredo, och natten
 led och led,
 Men ej sa traffade han ratta wagen.
 "I blida stjernor alla uppa den hoga stig:
 Hwem suckar sa tungt uti skogen?"

Men alla stjernor tego och liten blomma teg,
 Och pilten manga bittra torar fallde.
 Sa kom han till sma elfwors tjall.---Med
 wingesnabba steg
 Han midt i deras latta ring sig stallde.
 "O I, som traden dansen pa ljungebewuxen stig,
 I skonaste sma syskon, o sagen mig:
 Hwem suckade sa tungt uti skogen?"

From Lasebok for Folkskolan, Forsta-Fjarde

Arsklasserna:

Men 1838 var hans askadning en anna. Han forklarade da oppet, att motstand mot berattigade och rattvisa ansprak pa frihet var kortsynt, och att det snarare var agnat att framkalla an forhindra, vad man sa mycket fruktade: revolutionen. Det var denna andrade livsaskadning, som kallades for Geijers avfall, och som beredde honom manga lidanden. Det var da han skrev denna lilla dikt, som sa malande beskriver hans kansla av overgivenhet men ocksa hans tro pa Forsynen:

"Ensam i bracklig farkost vagar
seglaren sig pa det vida hav;
stjarnvalvet over honom lagar,
nedanfor brusar hemskt hans grav.
Framat! -- sa ar hans odes bud,
och i djupet bor som uti himlen Gud."

Geijer var en adel, storslagen personlighet, ovanligt rikt begavad i manga riktningar. Oaktat sitt kraftfulla och allvarliga vasende var han i hog grad mild och godhjärtad. Han var en man med den vises forstand och ett barns hjarta. Med en nagot stolt yttre hallning forenade han ett odmjukt sinne. Bade som yngre och i sina manna-ar var han vanligtvis tyst och levde huvudsakligen i sina studier och betraktelser. Till omvaxling valde han helst sitt kara piano. Over hans anletsdrag lag merendels ett uttryckt av stilla fornojsamhet, vilken liksom aterspeglade hans inre frid; han sag garna allt fran den ljusaste och basta sidan. "Min erfarenhet ar", sade han, "att i denna varld finnes tusen ganger mer godhet, vishet och karlek, an manniskorna kunna begripa."⁹

9. Lasebok for Folkskolan, Forsta --- Fjarde Arsklasserna, Stockholm, 1911, page 1126.

Med John Ericssons inflyttning till Amerika börjar ett nytt skede i den store uppfinnarens liv. I sitt nya hem tillbringade var landsman nu flera år i rastlost om ock mest inom uppfinnarnas kretsar bemärkt arbete. Da utbröt det stora amerikanska inbordeskriget. Sydstaterna ville spranga unionsbandet för att opåtalt få använda negrer till slavar. De norra staterna försvarade unionen och ville bryta slavarnas bojar. Slavstaterna agde en fruktansvärd angräms, kallad Merrimac, helt och hållet skyddad av ett tak av lutande järnvägsskenor. Om det icke lyckades att besegra detta sjödjur, skulle det förstöra nordstaternas flotta och förhärja den ena staden efter den andra längs kusten.

Da uppfann John Ericsson sin ryktbara monitor. Aldrig förut hade man sett ett fartyg av sådan form flyta på vattnet. Närmast liknade den över vattenytan synliga delen ett strykjärn, som uppbar ett runt torn, vari en väldig kanon var uppställd.

Det behövdes Ericssons hela övertygande snilles kraft för att forma regeringen att inlåta sig på byggandet av en så besynnerlig tingest. Det skedde dock slutligen. Visserligen halsades fartyget, när det gjorde sin första tur, med allmän misstro, och det omnämndes till och med i en tidning under namnet "Ericssons darskap". Men den darskapen befanns vara en vishet, som räddade unionen. I den valdiga tvekamp, som inom kort utkämpades vid Hampton Roads mellan Merrimac och dess till det yttre oansenliga motståndare, vann "strykjärnet" seger. Unionen räddades. Var landsmans namn bars på ryktets vingar över hela världen sasom sitt andra fosterlands främste försvarare. Efter krigets slut nämndes han jämte general Grant offentligt "befriaren av fyra miljoner slavar".¹⁰

TREDJE AVDELNINGEN

174. Sverige

Jag vet ett land, dar himlen omkring fjällen
sig svanger praktig, djarv och underbar,
dar tusen stjernor gnistra uti kvallen
och hogst star, trofast, nordens stjarna klar,
dar granens har och bjorkens kransa tjällen,
fran bergen brusar floden stark och snar.
Dar sag jag himlen forst, sag havet, jorden.
Och jag vill leva och vill do i Norden.

Jag vet ett folk, vid havets brost uppammat,
i dalens vagga, uti jarnets land,
av hjaltefaders gudaslakt harstammat,
fran bergen harskar det med maktig hand,
av skogen, klippan, boljorna horsammat,
och har sitt rykte strackt till fjarran land.
Jag maktigare folk pa jorden kanner,
men jag vill leva bland de frie manner.¹¹

(The translations in this dissertation are
by its writer, unless otherwise clearly indicated.)

11. Page 481.

CONCLUSION

It was acknowledged in the first chapter, the introduction (orientation), that the task of interpreting the History of Religious Education in Sweden would take on tremendous magnitude. It is a vast undertaking. Original or source material bulks very large. But it can be organized. Monographic literature can be made impressive. Even a formal organization for this purpose could be created.

Much in this dissertation is largely pioneering work and should encourage men of scholarly ability and training to carry on further such efforts; rework some material given and add new. In this field of research there is material for a scholarly series of volumes. Several important subjects are suggested, on which from the point of view of Religious Education in Sweden one or more volumes of high worth could be written. This present work was completed also on the assumption that further studies might be forthcoming; that reliable books on this and related subjects might be written, not the least to make Swedish philosophers and educators who influenced Religious Education in Sweden better known to American Students. This idea is part of its contribution.

The dominant idea (ultimate values, the integrative force), however unwieldy seemingly, made interpretation possible. It provided a worthy functional or dynamic energy. Without an overmastering thought any subject becomes generally very uninteresting. An analysis without an intensely, profoundly moving increasing effect or emerging power would numb creative insight and imagination.

And this line of natural evolvment of thought and special studies led gradually to a complete (reasonable) recognition of the relation of religion and science in Religious Education in Sweden; a general synthesis with its emergents; a combination or a blended energy that preserves spiritual and intellectual integrity. This includes both the transcendent and the immanent, spirit and matter, and their mutual evolvment. Rightly understood these are not antagonizing opposites; rather quite necessary to each other, otherwise unreal and meaningless. The old lines of demarcation have been or are being obliterated altogether. Science is not a positivistic antithesis. Deductions are real. They are based upon data, experience, investigations and observations. Within this inclusive category (dynamic) Religious Education in Sweden moves and has its being.

The specific aim of the second chapter is an

interpretation and portrayal of Religious Educational contributions during the ecclesiastical transformation (the Reformation) in Sweden (1521-1611), particularly by Olavus Petri and Gustaf Vasa, in whom the reformation challenge was constantly very crucial. The result was a new emphasis; from sacerdotalism (priestcraft) and the church (ecclesiolatry) to the authority of the Holy Scriptures. The formal principle (the Scriptures) received the main emphasis; a step next to emphasis on life itself; a more reasonable attitude toward Religious Education. The literary contributions became very significant, for example such as: The translation of the Bible, its publication in printed form, the catechism, the postils --- all of these together with several other contributions, in the main by Olavus Petri, brought religion and life in general among the people closer together.

The third chapter traced this synthesis or reconciliation to a higher level, i.e. into a more definite beginning of the spiritual-psychological approach. The emphasis became one on life; hence, a better understanding of human life, a greater sympathy with the whole makeup of the human soul. The idea of realism and the empirical nature became more tangible (the interpretation of life more inspiring). This

integration of Religion and positivistic (sense) realism in Religious Education in Sweden is seen quite clearly in the genuine foresight and achievement of such men as Comenius, Oxenstierna, Swedenborg (Sweden's Aristotle), but even more so in the insight and courage of Schartau, Rydberg and Vikner (the latter two particularly also rather sharp empiricists). They applied their scholarship and a scientific methodology almost altogether to the entire pattern of life; Schartau especially through his kindergartenlike school, catechism and sermons, Rydberg through his "Bibelns lara om Kristus" and several of his poems and Vikner through his "Kultur och Filosofi" and "Thoughts and Answers before the Son of Man." These men were not in the modern sense strong in methods and procedures. Neither were they teachers in the strict sense. But they were obviously revolutionary in their thinking and interpretation of life. They broke away from absolute infallibility, from autocratic absolutism of any kind, especially in theology. They emphasized complete realism and inductive reasoning and considered fundamental thought not as dogmas (absolute finalities), but as dynamic finalities.

The fourth chapter brings into view a more orderly

school system, especially through such leaders in education as Rudenschold and Berg (the Horace Mann of Sweden), and it also reveals a wholesome progressiveness in Religious Education in Sweden as seen coming through readers, catechisms and textbooks on Christian teachings.

The result thus far is a clearer view of the whole general synthesis of spiritual and scientific values (their continuous relation and development), in which Religious Education in Sweden moves on the highest levels.

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