Forward to the Past: A Study of the Development of the Liberal Arts in the Context of Confessional Lutheran Education with Special Reference to a Contemporary Application of Liberal Education

ACADEMISCH PROEFSCHRIFT

ter verkrijging van de graad Doctor aan
de Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam,
op gezag van de rector magnificus
prof.dr. L.M. Bouter,
in het openbaar te verdedigen
ten overstaan van de promotiecommissie
van de faculteit der Psychologie en Pedagogiek
op dinsdag 17 februari 2009 om 10.45 uur
in de aula van de universiteit,
De Boelelaan 1105

door

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promotoren: prof.dr. D.J. de Ruyter
prof.dr. L.F. Groenendijk
Preface

While developing a Lutheran elementary school in Ontario in 1999, I became interested in the relationship between theology and pedagogy. At that time, there was a trend among some religious educators in North America to adopt Liberal Arts curricula in the face of a growing concern that other pedagogical models did not serve the academic and theological deeds of the community. I was especially interested in what role, if any, the Liberal Arts could occupy within the curriculum of a modern religious elementary school.

The Lutheran community, in particular, has a deep history of both systematic theology and Liberal Arts education; however, I came to realize that there was very little current research in this area. Moreover, in order to investigate the feasibility of a contemporary application of the Liberal Arts to religious education, I concluded that it was necessary for me to do what Christian pedagogues have always done – go back to earlier sources. This practice can be traced to some of the earliest Christian educators. Augustine went back to Plato, the Scholastics of the 13th and 14th centuries went back to Aristotle, the 16th-century Lutherans went back to Cicero, the 19th-century American Lutherans went back to Luther, and so on. Indeed, that is the goal of this dissertation: to define the Evangelical understanding of the Liberal Arts by examining Lutheranism’s first sources. Direction for the future is to be found in the sources and pedagogues of the past. To look back is to move forward. Educators must see themselves as part of a continuum of pedagogues ready to engage in dialogues with Isocrates, Cicero, Augustine, Aquinas, Erasmus, Luther, Bugenhagen, Melanchthon, Walther, and other pedagogues of the past, and encourage their students to do the same. This is the heart of all classical education: preparing students for the future by equipping them to study the thinkers of the past and to apply the divine truth and wisdom they uncover to the world they will inherit.
Acknowledgements

I would like to thank the people who have aided me in this venture. First and foremost, I must thank my advisors, Prof.dr. D.J. de Ruyter and Prof.dr. L.F. Groenendijk. Prof.dr. de Ruyter has served as my advisor for this dissertation as well as my M.Phil research. Over the years, she has challenged me to reach beyond the many biases that one encounters when researching one’s own theological tradition. Furthermore, she has provided me with a model of open-minded scholarship that has been balanced with a demand for clarity and precision. Prof.dr Groenendijk’s knowledge of pedagogical history and historical theology enabled me to explore areas that I would have otherwise missed. This, combined with his rigorous thoroughness, was an invaluable contribution. These two professors critiqued and corrected what seemed to be endless editions of the manuscript. Their work, dedication, and patience during the process is deeply appreciated, and has been exemplary of the ideals of good scholarship.

I must also thank the members of the review committee: namely, Prof.dr. Christoph Burger (Vrije Universiteit), Prof.dr. Fred van Lieburg (Vrije Universiteit), Prof.dr. Siebren Miedema (Vrije Universiteit), and Prof.dr. Friedrich Schweitzer (Universität Tübingen). Their comments and critiques resulted in significant improvements to the dissertation.

There were also many scholars, theologians, and educators who provided informal assistance along the way. Chief among these is Dr. John Stephenson of Concordia Lutheran Theological Seminary in St. Catharines who, although burdened down with numerous academic and ecclesiastical duties, always found time to review and critique my work. His encouragement to continue my work during some very difficult times will always be treasured.

It is customary to thank one’s wife; however, in this case my wife, Doreen, deserves special commendation. Not only was she incredibly patient throughout the whole ordeal, but she also served as my editor, proof-reader and critic. The endless hours she spent working with my manuscript – often with her head in her hands – trying
to make sense out of my literary ramblings, can never be repaid. My two sons, Andrew and Mark, deserve special mention for sharing study space and computer time with me and for adjusting, without complaint, to the unpredictability of life with a parent who is a doctoral student. While my extended family has always been supportive, my mother-in-law, Kristina Crowther, deserves special mention for her aid rendered in translating German works which were impenetrable to me.
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Abbreviations


Style Notes

When a cited work uses an English spelling of an European name the English spelling will be retained: for example, Buenger vs. Bünгер.

Arabic and Roman numbers used in journal citations are entered according to their original usage: for example, Evang.-Luth. Schulblatt III and Evang.-Luth. Schulblatt 9.
Introduction

In 1839 a group of Saxon Lutherans arrived in Missouri. Under the guidance of their leader, Carl Ferdinand Wilhelm Walther, they immediately established a school which would be the progenitor of the largest protestant school system in North America. The Lutheran Church – Missouri Synod runs 1018 elementary schools and 102 high schools with a combined enrolment of 149,201 students.\(^1\) Beyond the United States, Lutheran schools in Canada, South America, Africa, Australia, and even remote countries such as Kyrgyzstan and Kazakstan, all have Lutheran schools that, to one degree or another, have been influenced by Missourian theology and pedagogy.\(^2\) One of the under-researched aspects of this school system is the pedagogical model that Walther and his colleagues employed as its foundation.\(^3\)

This dissertation will argue that these 19\(^{th}\)-century Lutherans attempted to create a unique pedagogical model that would meet their theological and sociological needs, using the classical liberal arts as they were understood by Luther. The usefulness of this model for current educators – Lutheran and otherwise – who are interested in a liberal approach to education will then be examined.

Since Walther drew much of his pedagogy from Luther and the 16\(^{th}\)-century Lutherans, it is essential to have a clear understanding of these earlier Lutherans. Thus, the first part of the dissertation will focus on the pedagogical views of these educators and their sources of inspiration: namely, early Christian educators. The second part will then explore the educational views of Walther and the other American Neo-Lutherans of

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\(^1\) School Ministry Statistical Information. 2007 (accessed 05 April 2008); available from http://www.lcms.org/graphics/assets/media/DCS/06-07StatisticReport.pdf. In contrast, the Evangelical Lutheran Church In America, a synod which has more than twice as many member congregations than the LCMS, operates 200 elementary schools and 20 high schools. E.L.C.A. Schools and Early Childhood Ministries (accessed 04 April 2008); available from http://www.elca.org/schools/faqs/.

\(^2\) In Europe, Lutheran schools remained under the administration of the state and therefore were relatively unaffected by Neo-Lutheran theology and pedagogy.

\(^3\) August Stellhorn's book, Schools of the Lutheran Church - Missouri Synod (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1963), is the most comprehensive work on Lutheran schools in North America and yet he spends little time on Walther's pedagogical views and how they were shaped by his theology. William C. Rietschel, An Introduction to the Foundations of Lutheran Education (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 2001), is more recent, but provides only a cursory, and at times superficial, treatment of the theological underpinnings of Lutheran pedagogy.
the mid-19th century. In both parts, I will examine the use of the liberal arts in the context of each respective group’s history, theology, and pedagogy.

Explanations are required for some of the key terms used in this dissertation. Particularly in American parlance, “Evangelical” generally refers to very fundamentalist or conservative Christians; however, the term was originally used by Luther and the other 16th-century Lutherans to describe themselves and their theology. Throughout this dissertation, the term “Evangelical” will be used with reference to the latter. The term “liberal arts” commonly refers to a general course of university studies that concentrates on the humanities. In this dissertation, the term will be used in a much more specific way. It will refer to the ancient grouping of the seven arts that was believed to comprise a complete education. The lower division of these arts, referred to as the trivium, generally included grammar, logic and rhetoric. The higher division, the quadrivium, was generally composed of geometry, astronomy, arithmetic, and music. This dissertation will demonstrate that the exact grouping of these arts was constantly changing according to differing theological, pedagogical and social needs. Furthermore, in discussing the liberal arts in pedagogy, this dissertation will concentrate on its use in a pre-university setting. For the purpose of this work, the word “trivial” should be understood as the adjectival form of “trivium”.

In the first part of this dissertation (Part A), I will concentrate on the three reformers who exerted the greatest influence in the adaptation of the arts to Evangelical theology: Martin Luther, Philipp Melanchthon and Johannes Bugenhagen.

While the 16th-century Evangelicals introduced some innovative and unique changes to the arts and the way they were taught, their thought reflected external influences. The first chapter will endeavour to provide an overview of those influences. The Evangelicals inherited the liberal arts as a living tradition which dated back to Augustine of Hippo who incorporated the traditions of classical Greek and Roman trivial education into his pedagogy. Although a historical survey always runs the danger of generalizing the situation, it is necessary in order to analyze the Evangelicals’ understanding of the arts.

There is general agreement that the northern European humanists had a great deal of influence on Evangelical pedagogy. It was their view of the arts that was
assumed into the Evangelicals’ pedagogical consciousness. For this reason, the first chapter will also examine how the northern European humanists understood the liberal arts.

The relationship between the Evangelicals’ theology and pedagogy has been well researched, but there has been little analysis of their theology in relation to the specific educational model that was used – the liberal arts. It is my contention that the Evangelicals’ theology and the arts were complementary and interdependent because the Evangelicals designed their curriculum to teach Evangelical theology. Thus, in the first chapter, I will briefly examine three aspects of Evangelical theology that I believe to be especially pertinent to this discussion: baptism, vocation and catechesis.

In the second chapter, I will examine how the Evangelicals’ historical heritage and theological principles combined to form a distinctively Evangelical approach to the trivium that left its mark on the type of schools – both Latin and vernacular – that were set up. The aim is to establish an understanding of the Evangelicals’ conception of the liberal arts and the changes that they introduced to the curriculum.

The second part of this dissertation (Part B) will be an examination of the liberal arts as it appeared in the pedagogy of the early Missouri Synod theologians and pedagogues.

In 1847, under the guidance of Carl Ferdinand Wilhelm Walther (1811-1887), 14 congregations joined together to form the German Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri, Ohio and other States. It could be argued that the founding theologians of the Missouri Synod gave more thought and attention to the nature of the liberal arts and its place in the theology of the confessional Lutheran church than did any other group of theologians since the time of the Reformation. Without a doubt, Walther was most influential in this regard. He was not only a pastor and an educator, but also the first president of this synod; the founder of its first seminary, serving as one of its professors and its first president; and the founder and first editor of the influential periodical, Der Lutheraner, which carried dozens of articles on education, the arts, and the theology of the church. Since Walther was instrumental in applying Luther and the Lutheran
confessions in an American context, it is not surprising that he has been referred to as "The American Luther".\(^5\)

Walther’s educational and pedagogical thought was not only shaped by Luther, but many parallels exist between the theological world of Luther and that of Walther. Whereas Luther’s pedagogy was forged in the crucible of 15\(^{th}\)-century Scholasticism and 16\(^{th}\)-century Enthusiasm, Walther’s pedagogy developed in the context of 18\(^{th}\)-century Rationalism and the 19\(^{th}\)-century pietistic *Erweckung*. Whereas Luther formed his theology by returning to the Scriptures and the early church fathers, Walther also shaped his theology by being directed back to the same primary sources through his study of Luther. Whereas Luther was preceded by the humanist classical revival of the late 15\(^{th}\) and early 16\(^{th}\) century, Walther was preceded by a classical revival of the late 18\(^{th}\) and early 19\(^{th}\) century. These factors, combined with the historical circumstances that led to the Saxon Emigration of 1839 and the state of American Lutheranism in the 19\(^{th}\) century, created an environment whereby Walther and his associates would develop a fresh application of the liberal arts that was unique to a confessional Lutheran school in a 19\(^{th}\)-century American context.

The theological developments occurring in the German Lutheran church in the early 19\(^{th}\) century, particularly those of Rationalism and Pietism, had a considerable impact on Walther’s theology and pedagogy. A comprehensive study of these developments are outside the purview of this dissertation; and so, aside from providing a general overview of these two movements, this dissertation will restrict itself to those aspects of Rationalism and Pietism with which Walther was familiar, and examine his interpretation of these doctrines.

The next chapter will look at Walther’s introduction to 19\(^{th}\)-century Neo-Lutheran Confessional thought and his first attempts to bring this brand of Confessionalism into

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\(^4\) Gustav Marius Bruce, *Luther as an Educator* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1979), and Franklin Verzelius Newton Painter, *Luther on Education* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1928), provides somewhat dated studies of Luther’s theology and his educational ideas.

the classroom. Particular attention will be given to the educational factors that were part of the decision of the Saxons to emigrate to America.

Prior to Walther’s arrival in America, there was an established history of Lutheran pedagogy. Chapter five will study that history paying special attention to the work of Heinrich Mühlenberg and the Pennsylvania Ministerium. Mühlenberg was particularly active developing Lutheran education in the American colonies. As result of his initiatives, an extensive system of Lutheran schools developed under the auspices of the Pennsylvania Ministerium. These schools, however, were considerably different from those of the later Missouri Synod – most notably, in how they understood the role of the liberal arts in the preservation of the faith.

Chapter six will look at the confessional Lutheran school system that was established by the Missouri Synod. Beginning with the first efforts by the Saxons to establish schools based on confessional Lutheran pedagogy, these Confessionalists developed an educational system designed to ensure that their understanding of Confessionalism would be transmitted to successive generations.

Finally, the pedagogical principles of the early Missourians will be examined from the perspective of the definition of the liberal arts established in the first part of the dissertation. Chapter seven will look at the Missourian pedagogical work as a new ad fontes – that is, a return to early sources – for pedagogical inspiration. It will examine the theological principles of this new incarnation of the trivium and its impact on schools and curricula. I will also address the question of whether or not the Missourian pedagogical model can be understood as an adequate adaptation of the Evangelical liberal arts.

The concluding chapter of this dissertation (the final chapter of Part C) will examine the relevancy of a confessional Lutheran understanding of the liberal arts to contemporary educational theory. In particular it will look at what form a modern Evangelical arts curriculum might take and whether the aims of such a pedagogical model are compatible with the aims of liberal education.
Part A: The Confessional Lutheran Curriculum established: historical developments and distinctive features

It is important to look at events and ideas within an historical context, particularly in the case of the adaptation of the liberal arts by Walther and his associates. Their adaptation depended on the educational ideas of their 16th-century counterparts. A comprehensive examination of the pedagogical views of Luther and the early Evangelicals is beyond the scope of this dissertation. Accordingly, this part of the dissertation will be restricted to those aspects of Lutheran thought and theology that are essential to a proper understanding of the role of the liberal arts in Evangelical pedagogy.

The Evangelicals’ contributions to the development of a confessionalized program of education came as a result of the confluence of three streams of influence: the historical pedagogy of Christians from Augustine through to the scholastics; the northern European humanists; and most importantly, the Evangelicals’ own theology.

As one researches the development of the curriculum in Evangelical thought, one quickly discovers the importance of understanding its development prior to the Reformation. Undoubtedly, an exhaustive study would provide many valuable insights; however, this part of the dissertation will simply provide a survey of these time periods in order to give a better understanding of the Evangelicals’ use of the liberal arts. Thus, in the first part chapter one will concisely describe the development of the liberal arts from Augustine through to the scholastics. The second section of chapter one will describe its development under the northern European humanists. It should be noted that the two sections do not have the intention to give a complete description of the ideas of the Christian pedagogues and humanists. The main aim of these sections is to highlight two issues that returned throughout the ages and were of influence on Walther: the question of knowledge and truth, and the use of pagan authors. The third section of chapter one is quite extensive in order to clarify the relation between the theology of the Evangelicals and their views on the liberal arts. Chapter two describes the pedagogical reforms of the Evangelicals in more detail in order to highlight the distinctive
characteristics of the sixteenth century Evangelical curriculum and to allow for a proper comparison between these ideas and Walther's innovations in the curriculum.

I. **Streams of influence**

I.1. **First stream of influence: earlier Christian pedagogues**

As the Evangelicals adapted the liberal arts to fit a confessional setting, they drew freely on Greek and Roman teachers such as Plato, Aristotle, Isocrates, Cicero, and Quintilian. The precedent for using such authors had been set by Augustine of Hippo (354-430). Indeed the influence of this church father continually surfaces in the Evangelicals' treatment of the liberal arts. Augustine’s pragmatic approach to the subject, his flexible understanding of the arrangement of the arts, and his understanding of their pedagogical limitations were all reflected in the Evangelicals' understanding of the liberal arts.

As an educator, Augustine was part of a continuing tradition of the liberal arts which traced its roots back to late fifth century B.C. Athenian society. This tradition, of ἔγκυκλιος παιδεία, developed in opposition to a “banausic” (βάναυσος) education which was required by the artisans of the city. The ruling class, on the other hand, required an education whose goal was to produce a virtuous man capable of engaging in the thoughtful deliberations of philosophy and political issues.⁷

By the middle of the first century B.C., the following structure of the liberal arts system was distinguishable. There was the trivium, comprising the three literary arts of grammar, dialectics, and rhetoric; and there was the quadri
divium, comprising the mathematical arts of geometry, arithmetic, astronomy, and music. While these were

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⁶ Marrou translates this as "general education". Hellenistic culture understood the term in two ways. At times it was understood as “the general culture of the educated gentleman”. At other times it referred to an ideal secondary education that prepared the mind for a life of contemplating ideas. H. I. Marrou, A History of Education in Antiquity, trans. George Lamb (London: Sheed and Ward, 1977), 176-177.

⁷ While both Plato and Aristotle described liberal education as a combination of practical and contemplative virtues, they saw the contemplative aspects as being the most important for the proper formation of citizens. See Nightingale’s comparison of Plato’s views with those of Aristotle. Andrea Wilson Nightingale, "Liberal Education in Plato's Republic and Aristotle's Politics," in Education in Greek and Roman Antiquity, ed. Lee Too Yun (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 131-173.
considered of paramount importance, room was also provided for an education in technical arts such as medicine, architecture, law, drawing, and military matters.\textsuperscript{8}

The Romans adapted the Greek concept of \textit{ἐγκύκλιος παιδεία} to suit their cultural needs.\textsuperscript{9} In Roman society the mathematical skills were associated with matters of building and engineering, and were thus assigned to the skilled trades. As a result, in the Roman structure of the liberal arts, the mathematical sciences of Greek education fell into neglect. Instead the Roman version of the liberal arts concentrated on the literary arts with rhetoric viewed as the noblest art that one could master.\textsuperscript{10}

Although not the first Christian educator to see the value of the ancient writers, Augustine was one of the first who was able to integrate the classics into a system of Christian education. Prior to Augustine, most of the church fathers recognized the intellectual depth and beauty in the ancient writings, but they struggled with how “pagan” classical learning could be incorporated into Christian pedagogy. St. Jerome, for example, knew the ancient writers well. He particularly loved the writings of Cicero, but he constantly battled his desire to read them, believing that the Roman author would drag his soul to hell.\textsuperscript{11} Thus, well into the fourth century, there was only a slight influence of Christianity on the Classical tradition.\textsuperscript{12} Augustine took a different view and was not afraid of the pre-Christian authors because he believed that all truth, even if contained in the writings of pagan authors, was still to be considered the truth and therefore to be received as from God. The very best of secular culture could be used by the Christian in service to Christ. He said, “Let every good and true Christian understand that wherever truth may be found, it belongs to his Master.”\textsuperscript{13} In his book, \textit{Saint Augustin et la fin de la culture antique}, Marrou points out that Augustine was a Christian theologian and also a product of classical culture. This uniquely equipped him

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\item \textsuperscript{8} Marrou, 176-185.
\item \textsuperscript{9} Whereas Marrou maintains that the Romans adopted Greek education through a process of cultural osmosis, others, such as Corbeill, maintain that the Romans were much more selective, incorporating only that which met their societal requirements. Anthony Corbeill, “Education in the Roman Republic: Creating Traditions,” in \textit{Education in Greek and Roman Antiquity}, ed. Lee Too Yun (Leiden: Brill, 2001).
\item \textsuperscript{10} Marrou, 277-282, Corbeill, 266-267.
\item \textsuperscript{12} Marrou, 325.
\end{itemize}
to bridge the gap between the fading classical Roman world and the emerging Christian world. Augustine took ancient classical humanism and transformed it into a Christian humanism that would dominate the world of medieval thought. This understanding allowed Augustine to take what he considered to be the finest pedagogical methods and thoughts, those of the Greeks and Romans, and incorporate them into Christian pedagogy.

Augustine believed that the purpose of education was to direct the student to disengage himself from less noble goals and turn inward to pursue the truth which lies within. Augustine believed that divine illumination could be attributed to the indwelling of Christ. In his writing, *De magistro*, Augustine said, “Our real Teacher is he who is listened to, who is said to dwell in the inner man, namely Christ, that is the unchangeable power and the eternal wisdom of God. To this wisdom every rational soul gives heed.” By immersing the student in the liberal arts, the teacher engaged the student in this inward process. To accomplish this, Augustine returned to the Greek conception of an all-encompassing education. He believed that the student was not so much to be taught various subjects as to be led on a journey through the humanities. Grammar, logic and rhetoric were all intimately linked in the learning process. Children, when exposed to an orator who uses the art of rhetoric to proclaim wisdom, will become excited and want to explore the logic that they have learned. They will also want to explore the relationship between the spoken word that they have heard and the written symbols that they have encountered in learning grammar. His approach to the liberal arts was pragmatic in that he envisioned the arts as a tool to enable the church to proclaim its message intelligently and effectively. This approach would come to dominate Christian pedagogical thought for the next six centuries.

Later religious pedagogues also left their mark on the Evangelicals. Even though they were rather critical of the scholastics’ use of the liberal arts, many scholastic ideas

were incorporated into Evangelical pedagogy. Like the scholastics, the Evangelicals continued to emphasize a careful use of questioning through dialectics. Indeed the Evangelicals, despite of their criticism of the scholastics’ use of Aristotle, whose ideas were introduced in the West in the 11th and 12th century, could not ignore the philosopher’s contributions to the art of logic. Philipp Melanchthon (1497-1560) especially continued to make room for the scholastics’ favourite philosopher in the study of dialectics.

A dialectics and grammar teacher, Peter Abelard (1079-1142), earnestly began the work of incorporating the teachings of Aristotle into Christian thinking, thus laying the groundwork for scholastic thought. According to Abelard, Aristotle was the “most clear sighted of all” the ancient philosophers through whom we were to approach every dilemma and question with the tools of his logic.\(^{19}\) While Abelard continued to be strongly influenced by Augustinian theology, he also introduced Aristotelian philosophy into Christian thought by teaching that a “constant and frequent question is the first key to wisdom.”\(^{20}\)

Abelard’s methods, though not his theological devotion to Aristotle, were continued by his student Peter Lombard (1095-1160), who wrote *Libri Quattuor Sententiarum* (“Four Books of Sentences”). This compendium of quotations of the early fathers was not only approved by the church but became the heart and core of education, especially in the discipline of theology.\(^{21}\) Lombard remained essentially an Augustinian in his theology; however, through the use of Aristotelian logic, he approached theology in a much more analytical and technical way. There were also noticeable changes in how he dealt with the individual arts. Authors before Abelard had dealt with grammar primarily in a literary way; it was closely associated with the correct forms of writing and comprehending the rules of literary matters, and was generally

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\(^{20}\) Ibid.

\(^{21}\) In late scholasticism, Lombard would be the one common denominator between the various schools of thought. While one cannot assume that every 15th and early 16th century theologian had an understanding of the original thoughts of Augustine, they all had an awareness of Lombard’s treatment of various questions regarding Augustine. David C. Steinmetz, “The Scholastic Calvin,” in *Protestant Scholasticism*, ed. Carl R. Trueman and R. S. Clark (Carlisle: Paternoster Press, 1999), 19.
seen as an antecedent to logic and rhetoric. Beginning with Abelard and continuing through Lombard, grammar became a philosophical art closely associated with logic. The goal of these thinkers was to discover the basis of language and develop an epistemology that was harmonious with Aristotelian thought.\textsuperscript{22} This approach to grammar was not just applied to the study of language but also to theology and cosmology.

In the 12\textsuperscript{th} and 13\textsuperscript{th} centuries, the Western theology was facing a crisis as a result of the introduction of Aristotelian thought. Thomas Aquinas (1225-1274) attempted to occupy a middle ground. Drawing on Aristotelian philosophy while attempting to retain Augustinian theology, Aquinas sought to present Aristotelian thought in a way that was compatible with Christian doctrine.

Aquinas believed that the onus for the acquisition of knowledge was on the individual. He said, “When, therefore, the mind is led from these general notions to the actual knowledge of particular things, which it knew previously in general, and as it were, potentially, then one is said to acquire knowledge.”\textsuperscript{23} According to Aquinas, knowledge and truth are not imparted to man by God and apprehended by faith, but are found outside of man. It is therefore through careful reasoning that truth might be discovered. Aquinas sees God as acting through intermediate agents. Knowledge comes not via Augustine’s idea of inner divine illumination, but through the mind working on the sensible materials which God provides. Thus, Aquinas spoke of God implanting knowledge within us through the systematic instruction of teaching. Aquinas wrote, “That something is known with certainty is due to the light of reason divinely implanted within us, by which God speaks within us. It comes from man teaching from without.”\textsuperscript{24} According to Aquinas, the liberal arts were not a means by which one made connections with the truth that God had implanted within as Augustine had taught, but a means of transmitting knowledge from the teacher to the student.

Similar to Lombard, Aquinas did not provide an extended analysis of the relationship between the arts. In his \textit{Summa theologiae} he differentiates the liberal arts

\textsuperscript{22} Jeffery F. Huntsman, "Grammar," in \textit{The Seven Liberal Arts in the Middle Ages}, ed. David L. Wagner (Bloomington: University of Indiana Press, 1983), 58.
from the mechanical arts, the former being more praiseworthy than the latter because they are speculative in nature.\textsuperscript{25} Aquinas recognized that a course of studies based on the \textit{artes liberales} (to be understood as “arts worthy of a free citizen”) alone was appropriate for the soul which was free. He believed that the works done by the body are of a servile nature in that the body is subject to the soul; but the soul of a man is free, subject to none, and should therefore be engaged in studies that lead the soul to better appreciate its freedom.\textsuperscript{26} Aquinas’ treatment of grammar, like Abelard’s and Lombard’s, tends to be a philosophical and epistemological discussion.\textsuperscript{27}

The scholastics may have treated grammar philosophically, placed Aristotelian logic at the centre of studies, and disconnected rhetoric from eloquence, but their understanding of the divine origin of knowledge compelled the scholastic pedagogues, like Augustine, to view the liberal arts as the tool to enable men to come to an understanding of truth. Thomistic thought, with its emphasis on a logical and careful questioning of all matters, would come to predominate in Dominican educational institutions throughout northern Europe.

While Luther and Melanchthon were neither Aristotelians nor Platonists, as the latter makes clear in his response to Pico della Mirandola\textsuperscript{28}, their epistemology and their understanding of the role of the seven liberal arts in education shows a distinct Augustinian imprint which would influence the development of their pedagogical plans. Luther and the other Evangelicals recognized that their new theology demanded a new relationship between theology and education, and a recovery of eloquence through the teaching of the arts. Inspiration for the latter would come, in large part, from the humanist movement.

\textbf{I. 2. Second stream of influence: the humanists}

It is difficult to overestimate the influence that the humanists had on the Evangelicals’ understanding of the liberal arts. In a letter to Eobanus Hessus, the

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\item \textsuperscript{24} Aquinas, \textit{De veritate}, Q. 11, \textit{De magistro}, Art.1, in Aquinas, \textit{Truth}, 86.
\item \textsuperscript{25} Aquinas, \textit{Summa Theologiae: Latin Notes with English Translation}, vol. XXIII (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1963), 47.
\item \textsuperscript{26} Ibid., 49.
\item \textsuperscript{27} Aquinas, \textit{De veritate} Q. 24, Art. 6, in Aquinas, \textit{Truth}, 161.
\item \textsuperscript{28} Breen, 413-436.
\end{itemize}
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leading humanist poet at the University of Erfurt, Martin Luther (1483-1546) acknowledged the work of the humanists as that of indispensable forerunners to the Reformation. He said that there would never have been “a great revelation of God’s Word unless God had first prepared the way by the rise and flourishing of languages and learning, as though these were forerunners, a sort of John the Baptist.”

As Germany progressed through the 15th century, the humanists recognized that the liberal arts were no longer meeting the educational needs of the day. The conditions under which the early scholastics had worked had changed. Lost writings of the ancient authors had come to light and the invention of the printing press made for easy distribution of these books. Inspired by the Italian humanists, their northern counterparts sought to introduce the studia humanitatis into the university curriculum in a way that was relevant to the indigenous concerns of their country.

It should be noted that there is a danger of viewing the northern European humanists as a group with a homogeneous view on the liberal arts. There was great diversity amongst those who viewed themselves as humanists; however, Desiderius Erasmus (1466-1536) because of his work and standing in the humanist community, will be considered in this dissertation as generally representative of the way that the early 16th-century German humanists understood education. Moreover, Erasmus was particularly influential on the Evangelicals. Many of his ideas regarding progressive teaching methods appeared in Evangelical thought; but, more significantly, the Evangelicals followed Erasmus’ lead in moving the liberal arts out of the university setting and applying it to children. This Erasmian concept opened the door for the Evangelicals to apply these studies on a broad scale. The arts of grammar, logic, and rhetoric were now to be taught to every child in an orderly elementary school setting.

Like other humanists, Erasmus considered Origen and Jerome to be the greatest of the church fathers. His esteem of Augustine was of a lower degree yet considerable. As an Augustinian cannon at Steyn near Gouda, Erasmus discovered the works of Augustine and was so engrossed by them that he would take his writings

29 Luther, Letter to Eobanus Hessus (29 March 1523), AE 49, 32.
30 Erasmus himself claimed a life-long fascination with Augustine though this estimation was perhaps a bit exaggerated as the writings of Augustine were enjoying something of a revival when
into his cell at night to study them.\textsuperscript{31} During this time, Augustine’s \textit{De doctrina Christiana} opened his mind to the role that the ancient authors, both pagan and Christian, should play in Christian education. This influence would be reflected in Erasmus’ writings as he sought to integrate the ancient authors’ writings into an educational program.

Not surprisingly, Erasmus’ educational views reveal an affinity for Platonic thought. While he distanced himself from Plato by stating that the soul and body were both integral parts of man’s nature, he also spoke of the mind as being of heavenly origin. In \textit{De conscribendis epistolis}, Erasmus reminded his readers of “Plato’s conception of souls descending to earth whose knowledge here is nothing but a kind of dreamlike memory of what they once saw, free from their bodies in the presence of God.”\textsuperscript{32} This view of knowledge made ignorance all the more abhorrent to Erasmus because, in his view, it was a denigration of the noble intellect and the divine knowledge that God has given to his creatures. God had not only bequeathed to man ancient learning which contained divine wisdom, but he had also given man the desire to contemplate that wisdom so that man would meditate “upon God as the maker of all things, and upon himself and the whole fabric of the universe.”\textsuperscript{33}

On one hand, he was in complete agreement with Augustine’s position in Book IV of \textit{De doctrina christiana}. The arts performed the function of enabling a person to better understand the Scriptures. From this perspective, Erasmus could write that a “knowledge of grammar by itself is not the making of a theologian, but much less is he made by ignorance of grammar or at the very least, skill in this subject is an aid to understanding theology and lack of skill is the reverse.”\textsuperscript{34} However, Erasmus also believed that a course of liberal studies, with grammar as the foundation, was capable of accomplishing much more; it would work with man’s “scintilla of original perfection”\textsuperscript{35}

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  \item Erasmus made that comment in 1518. Peter Iver Kaufman, \textit{Augustinian Piety and Catholic Reform: Augustine, Colet and Erasmus} (Mancon: Mercer University Press, 1982), 119.
  \item Erasmus, \textit{De conscribendis epistolis} (1522), CWE 25, 32.
  \item Ibid., 33.
  \item Erasmus \textit{Letter to Henry Bullock} (22 August 1516), CWE 4, 49.
  \item Brian Cummings, \textit{The Literary Culture of the Reformation: Grammar and Grace} (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 168.
\end{itemize}
so that he could accomplish good. He said, “Man is not born but made human” through education and, “Remember that a man without education has no humanity.”

According to Erasmus, while Holy Scripture offers the clearest and best exposition of these teachings, many of the same teachings are also found in the ancient writers. Diligent progression through the liberal arts, particularly grammar as it immerses a student in the ancient world, would shape a student’s piety through learning the noble ideals of the ancients. Cornelis Augustijn, in his book *Erasmus: His Life, Works and Influence*, points out that Erasmus could not achieve a synthesis between the highest good that came to light through a study of classical literature and that which was made manifest in Christ. Erasmus pointed to the attempts of Augustine to do so, but he himself could not suggest how this could be accomplished. Instead he restricted his comments to defending the humanistic study of good literature against the scholastic theologians’ belief that it was futile and dangerous. For Erasmus, if a pagan was eloquent and could teach something that a Christian could not, then it was preferable to study the pagan. He would rather be called a Ciceronian or a Virgilian than one of the “barbarous titles” belonging to the scholastics such as an “Albertist, Thomist, Scotist.” Indeed Erasmus’s writings effuse quotes from Diogenes, Plutarch, Homer, Paulus, Pliny the Younger, Virgil, Cicero and a host of other ancient authors. However, Erasmus does not just quote these authors as proof texts to support his arguments, but to bring the reader into the world of the ancient authors.

Perhaps the most dramatic contribution of Erasmus to education was his work in broadening liberal education to include children. Prior to Erasmus, the liberal arts were restricted to higher education. Generally, elementary education concerned itself with the simple mechanics of numbers and letters; but Erasmus saw that the time to expose a student to what he considered the greatest writings of the greatest men was at the earliest possible age: at an age when their minds could easily be shaped by the Greek and Latin masters. Erasmus placed a great deal of responsibility on teachers to develop a love for the ancient classics. Quoting Isocrates, Erasmus said, “We learn best when

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36 Erasmus, *De pueris instituendis* (1529), CWE 26, 298.
38 Augustijn, 26.
we have the desire to learn; and it is from those whom we like and respect that we learn most eagerly.”

In *De recta latini graecique sermonis pronuntiatione dialogus*, Erasmus succinctly laid out what he considered the ideal education for children. When they are young, children should be taught Latin and Greek. After they have mastered these two languages, they should be taught enough dialectics to be acquainted with it but “not tortured with all the ridiculous hair splitting.” Rhetoric should also be studied in moderate amounts but so that it would not “become a fetish.” Before coming to rhetoric, the student should master geography which should be followed by a sampling of music, arithmetic, astronomy, medicine and physics. This should all occur before the ages of 16 or 17 after which the child would be well equipped to study that which was to his liking and for which he was well suited.

Erasmus encouraged teachers to use creative approaches to teaching so that learning would remain enjoyable for the students; and yet, in some ways, this “creativity” seemed limited only to what the ancient authors had suggested. For example, in order to introduce very young children into the world of words, Erasmus suggested novel approaches such as the baking of biscuits in the form of letters, archery practice in which children would shoot arrows at letters and form words with them, and carving letters out of ivory so that children could actually feel the letters that they were learning to use. These “novel” approaches weren’t really new at all; Erasmus gleaned them from the ancient teachers. He also warned teachers against using fables of their own creation because there were far too many examples of a teacher coming up with things from their own, “foolish brain” in which there was “neither sense, nor coherence, nor even attractiveness of language.” It was far better to rely upon the fables of the classical authors which served two purposes: first, they were a means of instructing children in good morals; and second, they introduced children to the authors whom they would be studying as they progressed in their education.

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40 Erasmus, *De pueris instituendis* (1529), CWE 26, 324.
41 Erasmus, *De recta latini graecique sermonis pronuntiatione dialogus* (1528), CWE 26, 387-388.
42 Erasmus, *De pueris instituendis* (1529), CWE 26, 339.
43 Erasmus, *De conscribendis epistolis* (1522), CWE 25, 28.
Many of the ideas proposed by Erasmus and other humanists were appropriated by the Evangelicals. In the early years of the Reformation, there was no clear distinction between Evangelical and humanistic aims. Luther approved of many of the humanist ideals and he was quick to use their work in aid of his quest. Like the humanists, he was convinced that religious truth was not to be sought in the scholastic commentaries, but directly in Scripture. He was similarly convinced that a thorough understanding of the Biblical languages was required in order to correctly interpret Scripture and he joined with later humanists in rejecting the scholastics’ approach to theology by means of dialectical learning.

Both the Evangelicals and the humanists called for the church to return to its original source text, the Holy Scripture. Both held the early church fathers in high esteem as witnesses of the orthodox faith of the primitive church. Both deplored the abuse of languages, particularly Latin and the arcane terminology and dialectic disputes of the scholastics. In these years there was what McGrath calls “a productive misunderstanding” between the Evangelicals and the humanists with each assuming that they were working toward the same goal. This productive misunderstanding made the transference of pedagogical ideas very easy.

Many of the reforms to the liberal arts proposed by the humanists were incorporated by the Evangelicals, though often for very different reasons. Rhetoric, not Aristotelian logic, was seen as the culmination of trivial studies; therefore, the Evangelicals sought to combine pure grammar with the study of dialectics to produce students who were eloquent and persuasive. They were willing to take the best of various authors, selecting what was synchronous to their goals.

There were, however, clear differences between the humanists and the Evangelicals with respect to their understanding of the arts. The northern European humanists generally did not see a link between these studies and theology. The arts were seen as an agent for moral, not theological, change. While humanists like Erasmus were given to view the arts as the starting point for a progressive life of moral improvement, the Evangelicals did not see their work in these terms. Their view of

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theology, with its emphasis on the inability of man to achieve any spiritual progress, mitigated against such an optimistic view of the arts. For the Evangelicals, their primary function would serve the same purpose as it had for the scholastics: that is, to enable one to understand Evangelical theology.

As confessional differences came to light, the Lutherans would look at Erasmus’ ideas with far greater scepticism than before; but by that point, the Reformation had overtaken humanism, incorporating many of its educational thoughts into its own. Erika Rummel observes that, unlike many movements in history in which the new overtook the old as the old exhausted its vitality, this did not apply to the relationship of the Reformation and humanism. Both were young, showed great vitality, shared a contempt for many of the same traditions, and, for a while, walked in lockstep. But “even when the religious movement evolved as the dominant force, it did not absorb humanism but selectively suppressed or enhanced its development. The Reformation diverted significant humanistic sources into its own channel, but did not harness its entire stream of thought.” The result was a new form of humanism; one which Dolch calls a “Confessional Humanism”. Unlike the humanism of the 15th and early 16th century this “Confessional Humanism” placed catechetical instruction as the first priority. As the Evangelicals developed their own approach to the liberal arts, they would draw many of their ideas directly from humanist sources almost subconsciously but would adapt them in ways that were unique to their needs.

Historian Steven Ozment comments that, for the Evangelicals, “Doctrine was always the rider and humanities the horse. The humanities became for Protestant theologians what Aristotelian philosophy had been to the late medieval Catholic theologian, the favoured handmaiden of theology.” Ozment also points out that the Lutheran concern for pure doctrine did not extinguish the humanities. Because the two

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46 Ibid.
fit together so well, the humanities found a comfortable home in Lutheran schools. The relationship continued to flourish in the age of orthodoxy when theologians attempted to clearly define even the finest points of church doctrine.\textsuperscript{50} The Evangelicals’ adoption of the humanistic curriculum, with its emphasis on languages and history, provided a lasting model.

I. 3. Third stream of influence: Evangelical theology

From Augustine onward, theology and the lower division of the liberal arts, the trivium, were intimately linked. Theology shaped the trivium, and, in turn, the trivium became essential for an understanding of theology. This relationship continued under the Evangelicals. There are three areas of Evangelical theology which, perhaps more than any other, provide an understanding of the Evangelicals’ pedagogical views: baptism, vocation and catechesis. Baptism reveals the Lutheran understanding of the nature of man. Vocation reveals the purpose of man, and consequently, to what end a child should be educated. Catechesis reveals how the Evangelicals hoped that man would come to realize his nature and purpose. I will describe the theological influence more extensively, because this best explicates the particular nature of the Evangelical application of the liberal arts.

I.3.1. Baptism

For Luther, baptism is about the very essence of the Christian’s life – forgiveness of sin – and therefore he moved baptism from the fringes of daily life to the very centre. The Gospel, that is the forgiveness of Christ won on the cross and given through the unmerited grace of God, was expressed in baptism like nothing else. In Luther’s theology, baptism is a forensic act of justification on the part of God. God immerses the baptized into the death and resurrection of Jesus Christ, thereby initiating and empowering the ongoing transformation of the baptised from a sinner, who possessed only God’s wrath and punishment, into a saint who inherits the full measure of God’s grace and blessing. If a Christian would ever have any doubts regarding his status before God, he can always point to his baptism and the promises given in and through

\textsuperscript{50} Ibid., 149.
this sacrament. Having been assured of his status before God, he can also stand confidently before the world knowing that, as a baptized Christian, his vocation – that is his calling (vocatio) in this life – is a holy thing that is approved by the God who justified him.

Baptism brought Christians into a life of various paradoxical tensions: as a sinner living under the demands of the law while, at the same time, a saint living under the freedom of the Gospel; and as a citizen of the “kingdom of the left” serving the state and one’s neighbour while, at the same time, a citizen of the “kingdom of the right” serving God and the church. This doctrine of baptism demanded an educational model that would prepare Christians for such a life.

I.3.1.a. The link: baptism and the arts

The essential elements of Luther’s doctrine of Holy Baptism were well formed by 1520. During this time he wrote *De captivitate Babylonica ecclesiae* (“The Babylonian Captivity of the Church”)

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51 Luther, *De captivitate Babylonica ecclesiae* (1520), WA 6, 496-573. AE 36, 11-126.

52 Luther, *Eyn Sermon von dem heyligen hochwirdigen Sacrament der Tauffe* (“A Sermon on the Holy and Blessed Sacrament of Baptism”) 52. But it wasn’t until his *An den christlichen Adel deutscher Nation* (“Letter to the Christian Nobility of the German Nation”) 53 that Luther first began to connect baptism with education. Relying on passages such as 1 Peter 2:9 and Rev. 5:9-10, he made the point that, as a result of baptism, there was an ontological levelling in the church which abolished any possibility of the different spiritual estates of the medieval church. By virtue of baptism, all within the church were of a spiritually noble birth and there was no “difference between laymen and priests, princes and bishops, between religious and secular, except for the sake of office and work, but not for the sake of status.” 54 The implications of this were obvious. If education in the liberal arts was suitable for the son of a prince, then it was suitable for the son of a labourer as well.


54 Luther, *Letter to the Christian Nobility* (1520), AE 44, 129.
Consequently, schools to teach the liberal arts should be established for everyone. The same argument applied to education according to gender. If Latin grammar schools were of value for boys then they would be of value for girls as well.\textsuperscript{55} Luther identified a connection between baptism and an education in the liberal arts; but his associate, Johannes Bugenhagen (1485-1558), would provide the most complete explanation of the relationship between the two.

While Melanchthon often receives the title of \textit{Praeceptor Germaniae}, Bugenhagen did much of the organizational work of elementary schools in Reformation Germany. Writing many of the school orders, he organized schools in Braunschweig, Hamburg, Lübeck, Schleswig-Holstein, and Wolfenbüttel.\textsuperscript{56} Bugenhagen's \textit{Braunschweiger Kirchenordnungen} ("Braunschweig Orders") of 1528\textsuperscript{57} are of interest for two reasons: first, they form the template for many of the school orders that were to follow;\textsuperscript{58} and second, in the \textit{Braunschweig Orders}, Bugenhagen discusses the relationship between baptism and education in the liberal arts. This discussion constitutes one of Bugenhagen's unique contributions to the Lutherans' theological understanding of elementary education.

Bugenhagen's \textit{Braunschweig Orders} are prefaced with an extensive discussion of baptism, linking it with three areas of congregational life. According to the orders, it was essential that the city of Braunschweig commit itself to the following three goals:

1. To establish good schools for the children.
2. To hire preachers who preach the word of God in its purity to the people so it is accepted. Also to supply an explanation of Latin lectures from the Holy Scripture for learning.
3. To establish a fund from church collections and other gifts whereof these and other church services are to be funded and the poor helped with.\textsuperscript{59}

\textsuperscript{55} Ibid., 126.
\textsuperscript{56} Little has been written on Bugenhagen's work in organizing the Evangelical schools. For a discussion of this work, see Kurt Karl Hendel's "Johannes Bugenhagen's Educational Contributions" (Ohio State University, 1974).
\textsuperscript{58} In the "Braunschweig Orders", Bugenhagen acknowledges his dependence on the "Saxon Visitation Articles" of 1528 that were prepared by Melanchthon and Luther.
\textsuperscript{59} Bugenhagen, 351.
One can identify a cohesiveness in these three objectives. Elementary schools were required in order to provide Latin instruction in the art of grammar. With students being properly trained according to the arts, preachers would be required to provide the students with a true and proper understanding of the Scriptures. Finally, so that all would have equal opportunity to receive an education, financial assistance would be provided for those who could not afford to send their children to school. All this was to take place within the context of the community of the baptized. Having established these three goals, Bugenhagen proceeds to discuss the nature of baptism and its implication for the education of children.

For Bugenhagen, there could be no separation of Baptism and teaching because the two acts had been mandated by Christ in Matthew 28:19. The first duty of parents was to see that their children were baptized so that they might receive the assurances of a “Christ instituted seal of salvation” (Von Christus eingesetztes zeichen der selichkeit). In keeping with Luther’s baptismal theology, Bugenhagen saw baptism as a means by which God, working through the water connected to the Word, destroyed the old sinful man and gave birth to the new man that was created in the righteousness of Christ. Through the sacrament, children were brought into the kingdom of grace and enjoyed the life and salvation that was to be found in the fellowship of Christ. This sacrament did not remove a child’s concupiscence. Though they were members of the saintly kingdom, they remained sinners in whom the devil would teach the children “all the evils so that they forsake the Christian faith and bond made at baptism.” Herein lay the necessity of education. This baptismal grace could not remain long if not followed by an instruction in God’s Word and this Word could not be properly understood unless one had been trained in the art of grammar. Thus, the second duty of parents was to see that their children received a proper education. Here, Bugenhagen was in complete agreement with Luther who clearly laid the responsibility of education at the feet of the parents. As representatives of both temporal and spiritual authority, they were to see

60 Ibid.
61 There is little that differentiates Bugenhagen’s baptismal theology from that of Luther. For the most part he seems content to reiterate what Luther has previously said.
62 Bugenhagen, 362. With salvation coming as a result of the faith that was bestowed in and through baptism, the educator was no longer responsible for “saving” his students. Klaus Petzold,
that their children were taught to respect both.\textsuperscript{63} For Bugenhagen, baptism demanded a liberal education. Thus he encouraged the city fathers saying, “We should practice both, teach them when we can and baptize them when we can. We can baptize them when they are born and teach them as they grow. Both are commanded us. Nothing shall we miss.”\textsuperscript{64}

According to Bugenhagen, the baptized child deserved a liberal arts education simply by virtue of his standing before God and the Christian community. It was in the Old Testament covenant of circumcision that Bugenhagen saw an archetype of this education for the baptized. Through the covenant that God had established with Abraham, the circumcised individual entered into a special standing as a member of the chosen people which entitled him to learn of the mysteries and wisdom of God. Conversely, it was the obligation of the community to see that the circumcised were taught such things. Baptism, like the Old Testament circumcision, had made children a part of the Holy Christian and Apostolic church which meant that they were entitled to an education that would lead them to understand the mysteries of that salvific wisdom which was revealed in Holy Scriptures, but it also included the wisdom that God had made known outside of Scripture: that transcendent wisdom which came to man through even the pagan authors.\textsuperscript{65}

An eschatological emphasis, also seen in Luther’s view of baptism, surfaced in Bugenhagen’s articles as he explored the reason for educating children in the liberal arts. The essential goal and purpose of all education was to prepare children for the eternal life that they had been given in their baptism. Many parents sought an occupational training for their children so that they might have “goods and money enough.” Bugenhagen reminded them of the Scriptural story of the rich man and Lazarus.\textsuperscript{66} Children were to look forward to the last day when their baptism would be fulfilled; for only then, Bugenhagen wrote, “we will totally be rid of our sins and all evil.


\textsuperscript{63} Ivar Asheim, \textit{Glaube und Erziehung bei Luther: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Verhältnisses von Theologie und Pädagogik} (Heidelberg: Quelle & Meyer, 1961), 46ff. Asheim has an extensive discussion as to the role of parents in the education of children.

\textsuperscript{64} Bugenhagen, 351.

\textsuperscript{65} Ibid., 354.

\textsuperscript{66} Ibid., 363.
This is supposed to be a constant work for Christians under the Holy Spirit, to teach and make them believers as we ask in the Lord’s Prayer. We should not neglect or forget to raise them in the knowledge of Christ and God’s Word.”  

I.3.2. Vocation

Luther’s vocational theology grew out of his baptismal theology. For Luther, baptism is the stamp that marks the character of the everyday life of the Christian. A one-time, unrepeatable act, baptism inaugurates and empowers a continuing process of dying a daily death to sin and rising again to a new life in Christ. In this new life, the Christian lives out his vocation. Luther said, “If you see a baptized person walking in his baptismal faith and in the confession of the Word and performing the works of his calling, these works, however ordinary, are truly holy and admirable works of God, even though they are not impressive in the eyes of men.”

For Luther it was in vocation that the Christian encountered the antagonism between the “old sinful man” – the sinful human nature – and the “new man” – the sanctified soul begotten in baptism. As vocation is situated under the law, vocation brings the Christian to the realization of his failure to keep the law. In the Small Catechism, Luther wrote,

Here consider your station according to the Ten Commandments, whether you are a father, mother, son, daughter, master, mistress, man-servant or maid-servant; whether you have been disobedient, unfaithful, slothful; whether you have grieved anyone by words or deeds; whether you have stolen, neglected or wasted aught or done other injury.

As the Christian comes to a realization of his sin through his vocation, the old sinful man is symbolically drowned in his baptism “by daily contrition and repentance.” This allows the Gospel to effect a daily resurrection of the new man who would “live before God in righteousness and purity forever.” While Einar Billing, in his discussion, omits this important facet of Luther’s doctrine of vocation, he quite rightly points out the

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67 Ibid., 364.
68 Luther, Lectures on Genesis (1536), AE 2, 355.
69 Luther, Large Catechism (1529), TC 553.
70 Ibid., 551.
centrality of forgiveness in Luther’s theology.\textsuperscript{71} He says, “Life organized around the forgiveness of sins, that is Luther’s idea of the call.”\textsuperscript{72}

Luther saw vocation not in terms of a particular ecclesiastical office, but as something that all Christians possessed by virtue of their baptism. Each Christian had been called to a life of holy service from the moment of his baptism right through to his death. Vocation became not a matter of a Christian reaching up to God through his meritorious work, but of God reaching down through the Christian’s vocation and working for the good of mankind. The Evangelical interpretation of vocation meant that each person had a responsibility to act wisely and in accordance with the Word of God. It also meant that the Christian could act with a sense of joy knowing that, through the whole spectrum of relationships in which he found himself, God was conducting His providential work. Even if a Christian’s vocation has little societal honour, it has an inherent nobility because it has been given to him by God. There is no such thing as an inferior or lowly calling because each Christian praises God equally through his vocation.

I.3.2.a. The link: vocation and the arts

Luther’s view of the arts left little room for occupationalism. In fact, Luther rarely speaks of one’s occupation apart from references to the dignity accorded to it by vocation. For Luther, vocation is much broader than occupation. Vocation concerns itself with taking an active role in one’s community.\textsuperscript{73} Thus Luther’s vocational theology demanded an educational model whose goal was to faithfully prepare Christians to serve their neighbours. When Luther explains the fourth commandment, he does not just discuss the duties of children toward their parents and masters (those who are above), but also the duties of parents to their children and governments to their subjects (those who are below). When it came to education, parents were under the divine

\textsuperscript{71} Billing places Luther’s doctrine of vocation under the doctrine of redemption: that is, the forgiveness of sins. In doing so, he neglects the role of cross and suffering that Luther sees in one’s vocation as it is lived under the law. Wingren, on the other hand, places vocation somewhere between the doctrine of redemption and creation and thus maintains the balance between Law and Gospel that Luther tried to preserve. Gustav Fredrik Wingren, \textit{The Christian’s Calling. Luther on Vocation}, trans. Carl C. Rasmussen (Edinburgh, London: Oliver & Boyd, 1958).


\textsuperscript{73} Marc Kolden, "Luther on Vocation," \textit{Word and World} III, no. 4 (1983).
command to educate children so that they would fulfill their vocation and live as servants under God, prepared to serve in whatever office God would be pleased to give them. Parents were to spare no expense or effort in “teaching and educating our children, that they may serve God and the world.” In Luther’s view, a confessional liberal arts program would serve this purpose.

Luther’s doctrine of vocation demanded an educational model that would direct people in the proper use of their Christian freedom: that is, for the benefit of both church and state. Freedom, according to the doctrine of vocation, calls for obedience to that which is above and freedom to serve that which is below. An Evangelical education model should be constructed around this understanding. Individuals should be directed to render obedience to the authorities who are placed over them and at the same time to exercise freedom in a God-pleasing way by serving those who are placed below them. For these reasons, Luther considered a proper relationship between vocational theology and the liberal arts to be essential for the well-being of both the church and the state.

The church required Evangelical preachers and teachers who could faithfully fulfill their vocations: that is, to teach and preach the Evangelical theology with rhetorical eloquence. Without such people, the church would, humanly speaking, cease to exist. So Luther said, “When schools flourish, then things go well and the church is secure. Let us make more doctors and masters. The youth is the church’s nursery and fountainhead.” If pastors and teachers were not properly educated in the arts and if they themselves did not understand the nature of their vocations, then they could not pass that on to others. Melanchthon said that without a command of the liberal arts, doctrinal confusion would reign in the church. One would not be able to distinguish a Christian prayer from a pagan prayer, or a Jewish prayer from an Islamic prayer. These distinctions cannot be explained “without erudition and the comparison of opinions,” and that erudition and ability to compare can only be gained through the arts. Melanchthon concluded that “therefore God wants the Scriptures and the good arts to be always

74 Luther, Large Catechism (1529), TC 629.
75 Luther, Table Talk (1542-1543), AE 54, 452.
fostered in the Church, and He protects the schools in an astonishing way so that learning may not be extinguished all together.”

The state also depended upon a vocational approach to the arts. Without it, good order and civil peace could not be maintained. School ordinances were careful to note this: “There can be neither Christian life nor civil order except where young people are brought up in the fear of God and the practice of obedience.” The need for liberally educated people to occupy the civic offices had been accentuated by the events of the Reformation itself. Thus the new Evangelical states urgently needed institutions that would provide magistrates, jurists, and other civic officials who could develop and apply Evangelical theology to ecclesiastical, and political authority and rework the canon law so that it might reflect the new realities of civic life.

The Evangelicals recognized that the liberal arts were crucial to supplying wise and eloquent leaders for both church and state. Speaking to students, Melanchthon said,

You ought to keep in view the purpose of your studies, and decide that they are provided for giving advice for the state, for teaching in the churches and for upholding the doctrine of religion. You will not be able to excel in any of those without perfect doctrine, and perfect doctrine is not granted to anyone without the lower disciplines.

For Melanchthon, mastery of the “lower disciplines” meant mastery of letters. This was essential if future leaders were to successfully conduct their vocations; and, the more influential the vocation was within society, the more important mastery became. It required a great deal of hard work to which only a few would be willing to submit themselves.

These were the vocational considerations the Evangelicals took into account as they constructed a confessional liberal arts model. Their vocational theology would

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require a liberal arts education of a different form than that which existed under the scholastics or the humanists. The ideal of scholastic education could be expressed as a *vita contemplativa*: that is, a life of prayer and meditation. This devotional aspect of education was engendered through a study of the commentaries of the great theologians, most especially Aquinas, and through a study of Aristotle. In contrast, the ideal of the humanist education could be expressed as a *vita activa*. By exposing a student to the great teachings of the ancient classical writers and the Greek and Roman poets and thinkers, the humanists hoped to raise up a generation of people well prepared to put their education to use in service to their fellow men and to the state. The Evangelicals’ educational philosophy was influenced by both of these ideals, but their vocational and baptismal theology would take them down a different path. Evangelical pedagogy would be neither the *vita contemplativa* ideal of the scholastics nor the *vita activa* ideal of the humanists. According to Evangelical theology, whether the Christian is a butcher or a prince, a milkmaid or the mother of Christ, he or she is involved in sacred work. As Christians live their vocation with love and faithfulness, their work is more pleasing to God than if they spend their lives in the study and prayer life espoused by the religious orders. This understanding would lead to an educational model whose ideal was *vita activa* and *vita contemplativa* at the same time. Christians were called to the active life of serving their fellow man as the manifestation of their devotional life. The rebuke of the law experienced in vocation turns the Christian to the divine mercy and forgiveness given him in the kingdom of the right. This mercy, in turn, moves the Christian to serve faithfully in the kingdom of the left. The humanist model of the liberal arts was well suited to preparing students to live in the kingdom of the left. In a sense, the arts addressed the *vita activa* aspect of education but, like Augustine, the Evangelicals were confronted with the limitations that the arts presented. According to the framework of their theology, the arts alone could not develop a citizen who was ready to live in the kingdom of the right, under the Gospel. The arts did not adequately address the *vita contemplativa* aspect of education, yet both parts were essential aspects of the Evangelical theology of vocation and, by extension, Evangelical.

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80 Susan Moberly, "The University of Wittenberg: Philip Melanchthon and the Creation of a Lutheran Classical Curriculum," in *Wittenberg 500* (Concordia University, Mequon, Wisconsin, 2002).
pedagogy. The solution to the dilemma was found in the role that Evangelicals gave to catechesis in their educational model.

I.3.3. Catechesis: connecting baptism and vocation to divine pedagogy

Catechesis – the teaching of the faith – and Luther’s *Ein kleiner Katechismus oder christliche Zucht* (“A Small Catechism or Christian Discipline” or simply “The Small Catechism”) occupied a significant role within the Evangelicals’ pedagogical framework. Often when Lutheran pedagogy is discussed, the *Small Catechism* is treated simply as a didactic tool whose only function was to impart theological knowledge, ignoring or at least downplaying its use as a prayer book. For example, Reu, in his landmark book, *Luther’s Small Catechism*, briefly touches on the devotional characteristics of the catechism, but considers it primarily a pedagogical tool designed to assist pastors, teachers and parents in teaching the truths of the Christian faith. Bruce, in his book, *Luther as an Educator*, treats the *Small Catechism* in a similar way. With an obvious bias, he calls it “the greatest textbook of Christian instruction in the Lutheran Church.” Others, such as Strauss, for example, not only treat the catechism as a didactic tool, but also as a psychological instrument that Lutheran educators used to “effect the personality change upon which the evangelical reform of the individual and society depended.” Strauss argues that the catechism was primarily a tool for “propagating doctrine” and secondly, “for guarding orthodoxy.” Undoubtedly there were pastors and teachers who used the catechism in this way. Luther himself commented that “the best and most useful teachers are able to drill the Catechism well,” but that those who could do this properly were “rare birds.” Instead of looking at how the catechism came to be used or abused, it is more relevant to this dissertation to examine how the catechism was intended to be used and the role it was to play in the Evangelicals’ confessional liberal arts pedagogy.

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81 For an explanation of the title of the *Small Catechism*, see F. Bente, *Historical Introduction to the Lutheran Confessions*, 2nd ed. (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 2005), 192-195.
82 Bruce, 182.
84 Ibid., 171.
85 Luther, *Der Prophet Zacharja ausgelegt* (1527), WA 23, 486.
Luther described the catechism as “the Bible of the laymen” because it contained what he believed to be all of the essential parts of the Christian faith. His “Small Catechism” provided explanations for the Decalogue, the Creed, the Our Father, Baptism, the Office of the Keys and Confession, and the Lord’s Supper. In addition, there were morning, evening, and mealtime prayers; and finally, “The Table of Duties” with the subtitle “Consisting of Certain Passages of Scripture for Various Holy Orders and Stations, Whereby These are to be Admonished, as by a Special Lesson, Regarding Their Office and Service.” Thus Luther could say that, in this catechism, “the entire body of Christian doctrine, which every Christian must know in order to be saved, is contained.” He believed that, because it contained “the correct, true, ancient, pure divine doctrine of the holy Christian Church,” every Christian should “love and esteem the catechism and diligently impress it upon youth.”

The Small Catechism was originally written primarily for use within households. Each chief part is introduced with the subtitle, “As the Head of a Family Should Teach it in a Simple Way to his Household.” In the home, it was designed to be used within a liturgical context: that is, as part of daily devotions. Families were encouraged to repeat it in the morning, before meals and before going to bed in the evening. However, reciting the catechism was not to be a mindless repetition but each chief part should be pondered and meditated upon. This was Luther’s own practice. He claimed to forever remain “a child and pupil of the catechism” praying it not only in the morning but whenever he had time.

In the preface to the Small Catechism, Luther describes how he envisioned the catechism being taught by household fathers, classroom teachers, and parish pastors. First, he says it is necessary for a young person to gain complete mastery over the texts of the catechism:

Young people should learn the Ten Commandments, the Creed, the Lord’s Prayer, etc., according to the text, word for word, so that they, too, can repeat it

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86 Luther, Tischreden, WA Tr. 5, No. 6288. When Luther refers to “the catechism” he is often referring to the three chief parts of the Christian faith; the Ten Commandments, the Apostles’ Creed and the Lord’s Prayer, not to the Small Catechism which he authored. In the preface to the Small Catechism, Luther allowed for various forms of these chief parts with the stipulation that the preacher “choose one form to which he adheres, and which he inculcates all the time, year after year,” Small Catechism, (1529) TC 533.
87 Luther, Large Catechism (1529), TC 569.
in the same manner after you. When they have mastered the text through memorization, they should be taught “the sense also, so that they know what it means.”

Once they have a thorough grasp of the Small Catechism and understand the meaning of the text, the teacher should then lead them to apply the meaning of the catechism to the world around them. In order to do this, the teacher should “take to the Large Catechism, and give them also a richer and fuller knowledge ... and particularly urge that commandment or part most which suffers the greatest neglect among your people.” Luther’s discussion suggests a pedagogical progression through the catechism that is similar to a progression through the trivium. First, through memorization, children master the “grammar” of the foundational texts of the Christian faith. Next they progress to understand the logic that exists behind the texts that they have learned. Finally, the teacher leads the children to a rhetorical understanding of the text: that is, an understanding of how to apply the text to their lives in such a way that moves them to action.

Like much of the didactic material of the time, the Small Catechism was written in a Socratic fashion. The primary text was laid out and memorized. This was followed by a question-and-answer-style teaching of the meaning of the text. In this way, the Small Catechism was expected to teach orthodox Evangelical doctrine. However, at the same time, it remained chiefly devotional in character.

The catechism was quickly taken up by classroom teachers for use in schools within the liturgical setting of chapel services and the like. This was a natural development since the Evangelicals had always placed the catechism within a liturgical context. In the preface to the German Mass, Luther called for a regular preaching on the catechism on Mondays and Tuesdays. Reu points out that the Small Catechism was also to be used as part of private confession before the Lord’s Supper. The 1528 Unterricht der Visitatorn an die Pfarrern ym Kurfurstenthum zu Sachszen (“Instructions for the Visitors of Parish Pastors in Electoral Saxony” or “Saxon Visitation Articles”)
instructed pastors to read the catechism to the congregation every Sunday afternoon.\footnote{Luther, \textit{Unterricht der Visitatoren an die Pfarrern ym Kurfurstenthum zu Sachsen} (1528), WA 26, 195-240. AE 40, 269-320.} The reason for always placing the catechism within a liturgical setting was because the liturgy was the \textit{locus} for prayer. Thus, reciting the catechism was not to be a mindless repetition but each chief part should be pondered and meditated upon. This was Luther’s own practice. He claimed to forever remain “a child and pupil of the catechism” praying it not only in the morning but whenever he had time.\footnote{Luther, \textit{Large Catechism} (1529), TC 569.}

In Luther’s theology there is an indissoluble unity between baptism and catechesis. Like vocation, catechesis grows out of baptism. If catechesis were to be isolated from its sacramental moorings, it would stand in peril of being treated as a purely intellectual exercise, instead of an integral part of one’s baptismal life.\footnote{David P. Scaer, \textit{Baptism}. Confessional Lutheran Dogmatics, ed. John Stephenson, vol. XI (St. Louis, MO: Luther Academy, 1999), 179.} Within that context, catechesis is a process whereby the baptised learn to pray divine texts through which God reveals divine wisdom. A right knowledge and use of the catechism was a key element in enabling the baptised to fulfil the obligations of his vocation.

Lutheran schools were not to be places of humanistic learning alone, but also places of prayer. In such schools, both the arts and the catechism were essential components if the pedagogical model were to address the anthropological concerns of the Evangelicals. Taken together, the humanistically moulded liberal arts and the Evangelical understanding of the catechism presented a model that dealt with the old sinful man and the new righteous man preparing Christians to live simultaneously under the Law and the Gospel, in the kingdom of the left and the kingdom of the right, to be served by God and to serve their fellow man.

II. \textbf{The Evangelicals’ pedagogical reforms}

The educational enterprise upon which the 16\textsuperscript{th}-century Evangelicals embarked was remarkable. Indeed even those who are critical of the Evangelicals’ work admire
them for their ambition. The scope of this ambition becomes apparent when one compares the educational reforms of the Evangelical states with other countries such as England. In the early 17th century, England had 444 schools for a population of 4.5 million – approximately one school for every 10,000 people. In contrast, Lutheran states, such as Württemberg, in the year 1600, had almost the same number of schools as in all of England – 401 schools for a population of approximately 450,000. This provided one school for every 1,100 people. Württemberg was not unique. In 1539, the year the Reformation was introduced in Brandenburg, there were 59 schools of which four were dedicated to the education of girls. Within 61 years, that number had increased to over 145 schools of which 45 were dedicated to the education of girls.

Such statistics beg for an investigation into how the Evangelicals envisioned the principles of the Evangelical pedagogy being put into practise. The Evangelicals' pedagogical reforms did not come about in isolation. They developed within the context of an existing framework of liberal education in pre-Reformation Germany. For this reason I will first examine this context. Then I will discuss the changes that the Evangelicals proposed in order to fit the requirements of their confessionalized program of classical education.

II.1. Elementary education in pre-Reformation Germany

Before the Reformation, there had been a large number of elementary schools in Germany that were run by various groups, each with its own academic standards and

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94 In recent decades, the accomplishments of the Evangelicals have come under closer scrutiny. Gerald Strauss, for example, comes to the conclusion that the Lutherans’ educational reforms were a failure; and yet he still admires the lofty goals of the reformers. He also recognizes the significance of the fact that they were the first seeking to implement a broad educational program designed to include every citizen. While the thoroughness of his research has been generally commended and it is recognized that Strauss’ interpretive analyses brought new insight to the field of Reformation era elementary education, criticism has centered on his uncritical use of the reports of 16th-century school inspectors. Others have been critical of his interpretation of the theology of Evangelicals. See critiques of Strauss’ book by Mark U. Edwards, "Lutheran Pedagogy in Reformation Germany," History of Education Quarterly 21, no. 4 (1981), Scott Hendrix, "Luther's Impact on the Sixteenth Century," Sixteenth Century Journal 16, no. 1 (1985), Lewis W. Spitz, "Review of Luther's House of Learning: Indoctrination of the Young in the German Reformation," American Historical Review 85, no. 1 (1980). For a defense of Strauss, see Susan C. Karant-Nunn, "Alas, a Lack: Trends in the Historiography of Pre-University Education in Early Modern Germany," Renaissance Quarterly 43, no. 4 (1990).

By the early 1500’s, there was a large number of monastic, parish, and cathedral schools providing an education that, to varying degrees, accorded with the humanistic understanding of the liberal arts. Beginning with basic literacy skills, children advanced through grammar, dialectics, and rhetoric, and received an education in the ancient Greek and Latin classics. Most of the students attending these schools were of wealthy backgrounds as there were limited avenues for poor students to gain admission.

In addition to the ecclesiastically run schools, there was also an informal network of non-ecclesiastical schools. Some of these were humanistic Latin schools while others were vernacular schools that were usually more interested in providing basic training in literacy. City guilds often established schools to educate the children of guild members. Several German cities established their own schools in order to meet the need for educated civil servants and administrators. There were even a few city-run schools for girls designed to provide them with basic literacy skills.97 There were also lay-run religious schools, the most significant of which were those run by the Brethren of the Common Life. The schools run by this lay order combined an education in the humane letters with a simple piety. The degree of influence that this order had on the educational thought of both the humanists and the Evangelical reformers is a matter of debate. It was commonly believed that it had a great deal of influence on humanists such as Erasmus and on Luther. It was believed that it was the Brethren who gave German humanism a more pious, Biblical orientation. That theory has been found wanting by R.R. Post who claims that such influences have been overstated.98

96 Ibid., 106.
97 For information on vernacular and girls’ schools, see Cornelia Niekus Moore, The Maiden’s Mirror: Reading Material for German Girls in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries (Wiesbaden: In Kommission bei O. Harrassowitz, 1987), chapter V. Also see Ernst Ralf Hintz, Learning and Persuasion in the German Middle Ages (London: Garland Publishing, 1997).
98 See R. R. Post, The Modern Devotion: Confrontation with Reformation and Humanism (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1968). Post analyzes the various positions taken in the discussion in the introduction of his book, observing that most contemporary scholars believe that there is a close connection between the Modern Devotion and Humanism. His analyses of the data result in a different and convincing conclusion. The curriculum of the Brethren’s schools differed little from that of a medieval liberal arts school except with the addition of Greek and rhetoric (p. 559). Furthermore, Post points to the fact that, while the Brethren owned the schools, they left the task of teaching and running the schools to teachers hired from outside of the order (p. 573). Instead of the Brethren serving as a seed bed for humanism, Post comes to the conclusion that it was humanism that influenced the Brethren. He says, “The fraters were merely practising what the humanists had been
Like the humanists, the Evangelicals had little good to say about the liberal arts schools of their youth. Melanchthon called the Latin schools of his youth “swamps of depravity” that were run by “barbarians who have vulgarly and by means of force and fear arrogated to themselves titles and rewards and retained men by means of malicious devices.”99 Luther similarly spoke of his education as “a hell and purgatory in which we were tormented with cases and tenses and yet learned less than nothing despite all the flogging, trembling, anguish, and misery.”100 While the accuracy of such statements may be debatable, from the Evangelicals’ perspective it was obvious that these schools failed to meet the requirements demanded by their theology.101

II.2. The Evangelicals’ understanding of childhood

The Reformation marked an introduction to a different understanding of childhood. Prior to that, late medieval thought generally followed Aquinas’ view that childhood was a period of innocence and purity.102 It was understood that children were born sinful, yet there still remained in them a certain noble, unblemished quality. Children were believed to be in some way more spiritually pure than adults. They were better able to comprehend spiritual truths, they lacked true wickedness, and they tended to be more generous than adults. Luther’s baptismal theology prevented such a positive view of children. In his view, children were born into sin and were thus inherently bent in upon themselves. The original sin they were born with would, throughout their lives, manifest itself in actual sins. Even small children were not above this; however, their physical limitations prevented them from acting upon such impulses. As children grew

100 Luther, *To the Councilmen in All Cities in Germany* (1524), AE 45, 369.
101 When one considers the reformers’ intellectual abilities and literary refinements, one questions how accurate such statements are. As Witte says, “From the start of their careers, they demonstrated an extraordinary erudition and theological imagination that would have been impossible had their caricature of German education been true.” Witte, 265. It is more likely that the Reformers overstated the case in order to offer a contrast with the type of education that they hoped to provide.
older and learned control of the members of their body, they would inevitably act in a contrary fashion to what was good and right. Of that Luther had no doubt. Piety was a foreign quality to a child’s nature that they had to be diligently and carefully taught. They had to learn to proper deference to authority and a spirit of service both to the community and to God. \(^{103}\)

In this way, Luther’s understanding of childhood mirrored that of Augustine who also believed that children were born into a state of complete depravity and, even after baptism, children would contend with these actual sins for the rest of their lives. Augustine believed that parents were to make the most of their children’s youth, using it to prepare them for this spiritual struggle and, in the end, for their final release which would come to them in a blessed death. \(^{104}\) However, Luther viewed children as sinners who had been justified by Christ (simul justus et peccator). For Luther, there was no merit to be found in a child’s natural self because it was inherently sinful. Merit could only be found in God’s act of justification whereby He declares the child to be holy because He imputes Christ’s righteousness to the child. \(^{105}\) Thus Luther makes no allowance for a “self-made” man as earlier pedagogues, like Erasmus, did. \(^{106}\) Any hope for transformation and improvement could only come from the gift of faith and the righteousness of God. \(^{107}\)

Luther’s understanding of a child as sinner and saint marked a divergence from Augustinian thought. While Luther, like Augustine, would warn of children’s wickedness, he could also praise children as the very model of a pure and simple faith – something that Augustine could not do. The sinner in child deserved the hand of sharp discipline

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\(^{103}\) Some, such as Gerald Strauss and Philippe Ariès, have argued that parents during this time were extraordinarily harsh and emotionally detached from their children. In response Ozment writes that such a judgment is invariably based on a highly selective reading of sources and influenced by present-day values. He claims that direct evidence of widespread brutality or even harsh treatment of children by sixteenth-century Protestants has yet to be presented. Steven Ozment, *When Fathers Ruled: Family Life in Reformation Europe* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1983), 162.

\(^{104}\) Martha Ellen Stortz, “”Where or when was Your Servant Innocent?”: Augustine on Childhood,” in *The Child in Christian Thought*, ed. Marcia J. Bunge (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2001), 78-102.

\(^{105}\) Asheim, 203-205.

\(^{106}\) Some German scholars of the mid-20th century tended to deny the importance of divine grace and were critical of Luther’s view that parents and educators, relying on the Law and Gospel, can mold children according to Christian ideals. This position was more sympathetic with Erasmus and pre-Reformation educational viewpoints that had been influenced by the ancient classical writers. See Petzold, 86. See also Asheim’s discussion as to what extent Luther believed that education could influence a child’s development. Asheim, 89ff.
but the saint in child merited words of highest praise. This is not to say that there was a perfect balance between discipline and praise. By modern standards, discipline was indeed severe but the Evangelicals believed that overindulging a child was worse: it would result in the child’s sinful self having free reign and would produce a self-centred individual who was unwilling to submit to authority.\textsuperscript{108} Luther believed that young children had a certain spiritual advantage over adults in that they had not yet begun to rationalize their sin and were therefore more receptive to the working of the Holy Spirit. Thus it was important that, early on, parents impress upon their children a proper understanding of the Law and the Gospel.\textsuperscript{109}

II.3. Evangelical adaptation of classical education

The onset of the Reformation paralleled a decline in enrolment in educational institutions across Germany. By the early 1520’s, university enrolments were shrinking and many elementary schools were closing. There were numerous reasons for this, including repeated attacks on education from humanists and reformers alike, the dissolution of monastic institutions, reluctance of the authorities to convert former ecclesiastical property into public schools, the peasant revolt, and a series of plagues and poor crops. As schools across Germany closed and enrolment declined, the Evangelicals recognized the need for a systematic educational program. Beginning in 1523 when Melanchthon presented his Praise of Eloquence, there was a steady stream of writings that called for educational reform. In 1524, Luther wrote his tract, \textit{An die Bürgermeister und Ratsherren der Städte in deutschen Landen} (To the Councilmen in All Cities in Germany).\textsuperscript{110} In 1526, Melanchthon began working on \textit{Saxon Visitation Articles} which were released under Luther’s name in 1528.\textsuperscript{111} That same year, Bugenhagen produced the \textit{Braunschweig Orders}.\textsuperscript{112} In 1529, Luther produced the

\textsuperscript{107} Petzold, 78.
\textsuperscript{108} Jane E. Strohl, “The Child in Luther’s Theology: ‘For what Purpose do we Older Folks Exist, other than to Care for...the Young?’,” in \textit{The Child in Christian Thought}, ed. Marcia J. Bunge (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2001), 134-159.
\textsuperscript{109} Petzold, 87-89.
\textsuperscript{110} Luther, \textit{An die Bürgermeister und Ratsherren der Städte in deutschen Landen} (1524), WA 15, 27-53. AE 45,347-378
\textsuperscript{111} Luther, \textit{Unterricht der Visitatoren an die Pfarrhern ym Kurfurstenonthum zu Sachszen} (1528), WA 26, 195-240. AE 40, 269-320.
\textsuperscript{112} See page 22 for more information.
Large Catechism and Small Catechism; and in 1530, he wrote Eine Predigt, daß man Kinder zur Schulen halten solle ("A Sermon on Keeping Children in School").

In these writings, it is apparent that the Evangelicals understood that they were living in a unique period of time which provided the opportunity to establish a new educational program. For example, in his letter, To the Councilmen in All Cities in Germany, Luther felt that, through the Reformation, God had “proclaimed a true year of jubilee.”

The Evangelicals sensed an urgency to seize the moment and use education in order to advance the theological gains that had been achieved. Luther said, “We have today the finest and most learned group of men, adorned with languages and all the arts, who could also render real service if only we would make use of them as instructors of the young people.”

For the Evangelicals, the ideal form of instruction was through Latin schools or Lateinschulen that were based on Evangelical pedagogical principles. From the early 1520’s through the rest of the century, the Evangelicals invested a great deal of energy into establishing these Latin schools. In 1524, Melanchthon assisted in organizing the first such school, a gymnasium in Nürnberg. In 1525, Casper Cruciger was appointed as head of the newly organized Latin School in Magdeburg. In that same year, Luther, Melanchthon and Agricola organized a Latin school in Eisleben. Bugenhagen suggested that it was essential for every region to establish Latin schools and that advice appears to have been followed. By the end of the 16th century, almost 300 cities and towns in Evangelical territories either re-organized existing schools or established new schools. Almost all of these schools were based on the Evangelical

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113 Luther, Eine Predigt, daß man Kinder zur Schulen halten solle (1530), WA 30 II, 517-588. AE 46, 213-257.
114 "Jubilee years" had been established in 1300 by Boniface VIII. Once every hundred years pilgrims to the chapel of Peter and Paul in Rome were offered a plenary indulgence. By Luther’s time jubilee years were being celebrated every 25 years and were identified with efforts to raise funds to build St. Peter’s Basilica in Rome. [Erwin L. Lueker, ed., Lutheran Cyclopedia (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1975), 432.] Through his use of the term Luther was suggesting to the councilmen that, instead of sending their money to Rome with the hope of earning forgiveness according to papal decree, they should, in response to the Gospel, generously support national educational endeavors, according to divine decree.
115 Luther, To the Councilmen in All Cities in Germany (1524), AE 45, 351.
116 Luther, Luther an Spaatin (16 April 1525), WA Br. 3, 474. See also note 11 in AE 49, 103.
117 Bugenhagen, 225-227.
understanding of the trivium. Unlike earlier schools, the Evangelicals’ schools were organized according to uniform standards and common curricular ideals. Writing the Margrave George of Brandenburg, Luther encouraged him not just to set up one school, but to institute an entire school system that included one or two universities with “four or five men for grammar, logic, rhetoric” in each one and that “in all towns and villages good primary schools be established.”

The Evangelicals believed that an Evangelical adaptation of a classical education was something that should be available to every child. Luther said that while boys, “especially sons of the poor”, should receive a Latin education, it should not just be limited to those of exceptional ability. He said, “other boys as well ought to study, even those of lesser ability. They ought at least to read, write and understand Latin.” Thus Latin was the preferred language of education for most of the Evangelicals; but in 16th-century Germany, this made very good sense. Without the ability to read Latin, one was effectively cut off from participating in most of the institutions in society. For example, without a basic knowledge of Latin, one couldn’t even follow the Lutheran liturgy, much of which remained in Latin well into the 17th and 18th centuries. The Evangelicals were not deliberately creating an elitist system of education nor were they attempting to preserve a “dead” language. They recognized that, by learning Latin, students, regardless of their socio-economic background, would be enabled to participate in the institutions of society and thus contribute to the unfolding events of the Reformation.

At the same time, the Evangelicals recognized the need for a vernacular education as Bugenhagen so acknowledged in the Braunschweig Orders. In Bugenhagen’s opinion, vernacular schools should be supported so that they could teach the boys “something good out of the Word of God, the Ten Commandments, the Lord’s

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120 Luther, Sermon on Keeping Children in School (1530), AE 46, 231. Strauss points out that many of those closest to Luther believed that the Evangelicals should put little effort into establishing vernacular schools. He maintains that the vernacular schools became entrenched in the Evangelical territories more by popular demand than by the foresight of the Lutheran pedagogues. Strauss, Luther’s House of Learning: Indoctrination of the Young in the German Reformation, 197-200.
Prayer, of both Christ-given sacraments with a brief explanation, and Christian songs.¹²² What is more, Luther’s own translation efforts opened the way for making a vernacular education more feasible and respectable. By translating the Bible and works like The Fables of Aesop, it was no longer essential to have knowledge of the ancient languages in order to read such texts. Many books that were to be used in teaching were written in the vernacular. For example, the first musical instruction books written by Martin Agricola between 1528 and 1532 were written not in Latin, but in German.¹²³ Clearly, the Reformers believed that the principles which applied to a Latin classical education could, to some degree, also be applied to a vernacular education.¹²⁴

The Evangelicals considered the need to provide an education according to the principles of the liberal studies for girls also, though this was to be conducted separately from the boys. One school order warned, “No school should have both boys and girls together,” for “flesh by nature is sinful and bad and if not watched when young, can become bad when older.”¹²⁵ While the advancement of girls’ education may not be as spectacular as some scholars believe, there are good reasons to question whether it was as regressive as others have made it appear.¹²⁶ It can be argued that the Evangelicals’ consideration of the inclusion of females in a liberal education was, by 16th-century standards, somewhat progressive. Their willingness to consider this can, in part, be traced to the centrality of baptism in Lutheran theology. In baptism, there is no difference, theologically, between men and women. Logically applied, this meant that

¹²¹ Dolch argues that, prior to the work of the humanists, vernacular education was on the rise. Humanism injected Latin with a new vitality, sparking renewed interest in the language. The Evangelicals continued this trend by placing Latin at the core of their educational program. Dolch, 197.
¹²² Bugenhagen, 370.
¹²⁴ For a discussion on the nature of German schools in the Reformation, see Dolch, 245-250 (“Deutsche Schule in der Reformation”).
¹²⁵ Bugenhagen, 62.
¹²⁶ Lowell Green (“The Education of Women in the Reformation”) and Gustav Bruce (“Luther as an Educator”) for example speak glowingly of the Evangelicals’ work in the education of women. On the other hand, historian Susan Karant-Nunn says that the “Lutheran schoolroom was the scene of the active propagation of ancient and medieval notions of women’s inferiority and of reformed ideas concerning her submission to her husband and confinement to the domestic sphere.” She correctly notes that, in the early years of the Reformation, there were even fewer girls’ schools than before; but as was previously mentioned, the same applied to boys’ schools as well. In the early years of the Reformation, many schools of all sorts closed down. Susan C. Karant-Nunn, “The Reality of Early Lutheran Education: The Electoral District of Saxony,” Luther-Jahrbuch 57 (1990), 140-141.
the same type of education should be equally available to boys and girls. Ambrosius Moibanus, an early 16th-century pastor from Breslau, commented,

I do not think that the Christian religion is opposed to the studies and scholarship of girls, as some have misrepresented it. We ought to be thankful to God for the gifts he has given to either sex; it pleased him that the first proclamations of the most glorious resurrection of his son, Jesus Christ, were held by female preachers in the house of the apostles.\footnote{Green, “The Education of Women in the Reformation,” 108.}

Accordingly, most school orders made provisions for the establishment of girls’ schools. Following Luther’s advice that a girl’s schooling be limited to only a few hours each day so as not to take her away too much from her domestic duties, the orders concentrated on providing a predominately catechetical training. Bugenhagen recommended that young girls should at least attend “one hour or at the most two hours a day” for such catechetical training and the rest of the time they should “read, serve their elders and learn how to do housekeeping.”\footnote{Bugenhagen, 371.} These schools were not liberal arts schools and it is questionable how much could be accomplished in an hour or two a day; but, like the vernacular schools, the Evangelicals recognized that some of the principles of classical education could be applied to this setting as well. In Luther’s letter, \textit{To the Councilmen in All Cities in Germany}, he spoke of providing schools for both boys and girls, and indicated that all children should be educated in a classical liberal arts program. He said, “I would have them study not only languages and history, but also singing and music together with the whole of mathematics.”\footnote{Luther, \textit{To the Councilmen in All Cities in Germany} (1524), AE 45, 369.} He recognized that especially gifted females should be trained to become teachers like “the holy martyrs SS. Agnes, Agatha, Lucy, and others.”\footnote{Ibid., 371.}

\section*{II.4. The Lateinschulen}

As the Lutherans developed a curriculum for their Latin schools, they reflected a humanist influence in that they looked to the ancient teachers for inspiration. Indeed it is hard to overestimate the influence that the classic authors such as Cicero, Quintilian and Plutarch had on the Evangelicals’ pedagogical views. Like the humanists, the
reformers held the ancients in awe – so much so that, at times, it is almost impossible for one to find a critical comment by the reformers against the ancient authors. Along with the humanists, the reformers looked to the Greeks and Romans as an almost noble race of educators. Luther was typical in heaping uncritical praise upon the ancient Romans who, in his opinion, “produced intelligent, wise and competent men so skilled in every art and rich in experience that if all the bishops, priests, and monks in the whole of Germany today were rolled into one, you would not have the equal of a single Roman soldier.”¹³¹

The Lutheran educators hoped that, by emulating the style of the ancients, Christendom would be raised to a new level of prosperity. Melanchthon said, “For from these schools came forth most renowned men in past centuries – Greeks and Romans, and also many Christians. If our contemporaries strove to imitate them, good God, how much more would human affairs flourish, and how much more successfully would the Holy Scriptures be dealt with?”¹³² Their praise was, however, tempered by a recognition that the ancient writers, by themselves, were insufficient for a complete confessional educational curriculum. Melanchthon confessed,

> The knowledge of languages can contribute to the study of the Holy Scriptures. I am not so mistaken that I declare that sacred matters can be penetrated by the industry of human minds. There are things in sacred matters which no one would ever behold, were it not that God shows them to us, nor does Christ become known to us, unless the Holy Spirit teaches us.¹³³

In his letter, *To the Councilmen in All Cities in Germany*, Luther recommended that libraries should be established with books of poets and orators “regardless of whether they were pagan or Christian, Greek or Latin” for from these books one would learn the art of grammar.¹³⁴ In 1529, Otto Brunfels wrote *Catechesis puerorum*, a book for the school supervisors of Strassburg. In it he included the educational ideas of Quintilian, Cicero, Plutarch and Jerome, as well as a good sampling of 15th-century Italian educators.¹³⁵ This eclecticism was possible because the basis for the Evangelicals'
educational program and curriculum was not a philosophical system but a theological system. The early scholastics felt it necessary to identify themselves according to Platonic or Aristotelian schools of thought. The Evangelicals felt no such constraints. They felt free to use almost all the ancient authors, incorporating those aspects of different classical authors which were harmonious with Evangelical theology.\(^{136}\) Thus Melanchthon could praise Plato’s eloquence as being so great that “If Jove wished to converse about divine things he would use the language of Plato” and yet he could also praise the work of Aristotle as being “fitting and pure, as so full of certain lights of its own that Cicero said it is like a gold-bearing river.”\(^{137}\)

When it came to identifying the specific curricular materials that were to be used in the schools, a great deal of discretion was left to the headmaster. Indeed what is striking about many of the early school orders is how little was said about the curriculum that was to be followed by the schools. The Saxon Visitation Articles, for example, is exceptionally brief and, aside from references to a few basic texts such as Donatus, Aesop, Terence, Virgil and Cicero, much of what was to be taught was left up to the individual teacher.\(^{138}\) The Evangelicals were more concerned that the schools follow an orderly and approved approach to education. The Saxon Visitation Articles succinctly prescribed the following model for the ideal school:

In the first place, the schoolmasters are to be concerned about teaching the children Latin only, not German or Greek or Hebrew as some have done hitherto and troubled poor children with so many languages. This is not only useless but even injurious. It is evident that these teachers undertake so many languages not because they are thinking of their value to the children but of their own reputation.

Secondly, they are also not to burden the children with a great many books, but avoid multiplicity in every way possible.

Thirdly, it is necessary to divide the children into groups.\(^{139}\)

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\(^{136}\) See chapter one for a discussion of Platonism and Aristotelianism in medieval Christian pedagogy.

\(^{137}\) Quirinus Breen, "Melancthon's Reply to G. Pico della Mirandola," *Journal of the History of Ideas* XII, no. 3 (1952), 415.

\(^{138}\) This contrasts with later efforts in which school orders became much more compendious. Johannes Sturm, for example, went into great detail as to what each teacher was to teach and what each class was expected to achieve.

\(^{139}\) Luther, *Saxon Visitation Articles* (1528), AE 40, 315.
This order identified the three characteristics which would be reflected in many of the school orders to follow. First, instruction was to be conducted in Latin so that the children would be furnished with the ability to communicate eloquently and effectively. Second, similar to the humanists, the Evangelicals were concerned that education not be overwhelming to children. They wanted a child’s exposure to classical education to stimulate his interest and desire to progress through the arts to higher learning. Finally, the children were to be divided into different groups according to their level of learning and abilities. In the case of the *Saxon Visitation Articles*, there were to be three groups: the first group of the youngest children concentrated on the basics of grammar, the second group progressed to a higher level of grammar, and the third group studied the arts of logic and rhetoric.

The Evangelical pedagogues held to the medieval tradition that every seventh year brought change into a child’s life. At age seven, a child entered into childhood; at age fourteen, a child was introduced to the world; and at age twenty-one, a young man was ready to assume his place as a contributing member of society in marriage and the workforce. This view of childhood corresponded with the different stages of learning into which the trivium was divided. Age seven was the ideal time for children to begin learning grammar, around age fourteen they were equipped with the tools of logic, and by the time they were twenty-one they would have mastered the rhetorical arts.

Melanchthon warned his students to progress carefully through grammar, dialectic, and rhetoric so that they did not “rashly embark on higher studies.” The grammar of Latin and Greek to be were thoroughly learned so that the student could understand the philosophers, theologians, historians, orators, and poets whom the student would “encounter at every step and to understand the essence of the matter, not just its shadow.” After mastering the art of grammar, the student was to move to dialectics which “instructs” and “appeals to the understanding” and then to rhetoric.

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which “moves” and appeals to the will. Luther said, “Logic does not give us the power to speak of all subjects, but is simply an instrument, by which we can speak correctly and methodically of what we already know and understand.”\textsuperscript{142} Rhetoric was the ultimate goal of the arts.

The Evangelicals viewed grammar as the art upon which all the other arts rested. If one did not master grammar, one could not progress beyond it. In Melanchthon’s inaugural address as the new professor of Greek at the University of Wittenberg, he highlighted this foundational relationship of grammar to the rest of the arts. In his oration, \textit{On Correcting the Studies of Youth} (1518) he said,

\begin{quote}
The logical treats of the force and refinement of language, and since it is a better way to approach language, it is the first rudiment for developing youth; it teaches literature, or prescribes the propriety of language with rules, or the collected figures of the authors; it indicates what to observe, something that grammar almost presents. And then when you have gotten a little farther, it connects mental judgments, by which you may recognize measures of things, origins, limits, routes, so that, whatever happens, you may deal with it precisely. All these things properly pertain to good teaching, almost as if they were ordered, and with the arts as your support you can so grasp the senses of your listeners that they cannot dare to disagree. These are the parts which we call dialectic and others call rhetoric.\textsuperscript{143}
\end{quote}

Melanchthon recognized that the lower arts - grammar, logic and rhetoric - had “little outward appeal for the crowds”, they were nevertheless of unsurpassed value because they paved “the way for knowing the higher arts, which sustains the administration of the state.”\textsuperscript{144} Luther questioned, “Where are the preachers, jurists and physicians to come from if grammar and other rhetorical arts are not taught?”\textsuperscript{145} The Evangelicals believed that good social order and good government were only possible if men were first schooled in the trivial arts.

\section*{II.4.1. Religious instruction}

As mentioned in the previous chapter, Evangelical theology demanded that catechetical training occupy a central role in the curriculum of the Latin school.

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\textsuperscript{142} Luther, \textit{Lectures on Galatians} (1535), AE 27, 31. \\
\textsuperscript{143} Philipp Melanchthon, \textit{A Melanchthon Reader}, trans. Ralph Keen (New York: P. Lang, 1988), 50. \\
\textsuperscript{144} Melanchthon, \textit{On the Order of Learning} (1531), in Kusukawa, ed., 3.
\end{flushleft}
However, as one reads through the 16th-century school orders, it appears that catechetical training initially occupied a relatively small portion of daily school life. In the Saxon Visitation Articles, for example, there were to be four full days of academic instruction: namely, Monday, Tuesday, Thursday, and Friday. On these days, instruction was almost exclusively devoted to grammar, logic and rhetoric. Formal catechetical training was reserved for Wednesday and Saturday only for half a day. However, it is important to note that, while formal catechetical instruction was restricted to those two half days, religion was an integral part of the entire curriculum. Often illustrations for grammatical lessons were of Biblical origin, translation exercises were based on the catechism, and doctrinal truths were discussed in the context of history lessons. In addition, there were daily Matins and Vespers services as well as the singing of Latin hymns and liturgical music for an hour or so after lunch. The boys, and occasionally the girls, were expected to lead in singing in the worship services on Sunday morning as well as take part in wedding and funeral services. In many schools there was a prescribed daily routine for praying the parts of Catechism. In fact, religion and religious training pervaded almost every aspect of the entire curriculum as it was designed for the purpose of inculcating the student in a thoroughly Lutheran world view.

II.4.2. Languages

In order for a person to conduct his or her vocation properly, it was essential to have a mastery of language. The more influential a particular vocation was within society, the more important that mastery became. Like the humanists, the Evangelicals believed that when one learned the ancient languages, one was able to enter into the world of the authors who wrote in those languages. The Evangelicals, however, had a theological justification for believing this. They believed that God had chosen to reveal His eternal truth through the language of the Gospel. It was, therefore, the solemn duty of man to master the divine languages in which the Word of God had been given – Hebrew and Greek. Not only did a knowledge of these languages enable one to better understand exactly what Scripture said, but it enabled the reader to enter the world of

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145 Luther, *Sermon on Keeping Children in School* (1530), AE 46, 252.
146 Luther, *Saxon Visitation Articles* (1528), AE 40, 318.
147 Green, “The Bible in Sixteenth-Century Humanist Education,” 120.
the Biblical writers and develop a love for the Scriptures on a much different plane. The Evangelicals were especially sensitive to this divine imperative because they believed that it was by divine providence that these languages had experienced a renaissance in their time. In their minds, to ignore such a gift that plainly came as a result of God’s providential hand was a mark of impiety. Melanchthon claimed that to reject this gift, “the usefulness of which is so obvious”, was tantamount to an insult against the goodness of God.

One couldn’t master Greek and Hebrew if one did not first master Latin. Thus, from the moment a student entered school until his graduation, a great deal of his time was spent learning Latin grammar. “First, etymology. Then, syntax. Next, prosody,” advised Melanchthon in the *Saxon Visitation Articles*. “When this is finished, the teacher should start over again from the beginning, giving the children a good training in grammar. For if this is not done all learning is lost labour and fruitless.” Bugenhagen said, “All energy and work should be used to serve the boys to learn Latin, and know how to read it, write it, understand about the author, speak Latin and always write Latin verses and essays.” Bugenhagen warned headmasters to examine their students to make sure that they were not mixing German with Latin or that they were not learning what Bugenhagen called “kitchen Latin”.

Prior to the 1530’s, generally all the Evangelicals favoured a return to a classical style of language, the ideal form being Ciceronian Latin. Beyond that, there was little discussion regarding the extent to which this style should be followed. However, as Lutheran schools became established, this question became a matter of debate reflecting differing views on the nature of the liberal arts. The humanistically trained Melanchthon continued to be a strong advocate of the Ciceronian Latin that was favoured by many of the other humanists, not the least of which was Erasmus.

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149 Ibid., 36.
150 Luther, *Saxon Visitation Articles* (1528), AE 40, 317-318.
151 Bugenhagen, 368.
152 Despite arguments to the contrary (see Erasmus’ *Ciceronian*, in CWE 28, 383), those who supported the use of Ciceronian Latin were criticized for attempting to repristinate the Latin language. Their interests lay with perfecting a grammatical understanding of the language through a recovery of a style of Latin that was developed in the conditions of ancient Rome sixteen centuries earlier.
many of the Lutheran educators had a humanistic and not a scholastic background, Ciceronian Latin came to dominate in Evangelical schools instead of the Ecclesiastical Latin of the Late Scholastics. Johannes Sturm strongly advocated that children should learn only Ciceronian Latin and, as his school model was copied throughout the Lutheran territories, this style of Latin became entrenched in Lutheran educational thinking.\footnote{Karl Barth sees Melanchthon’s predisposition toward Ciceronian Latin as the root cause of the anthropocentrism and natural theology which came to dominate 19th-century modernity. Karl Barth, \textit{Protestant Theology in the Nineteenth Century: Its Background and History}, trans. Brian Cozens (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing, 2002), 76, 579.}

As those who advocated this approach to Latin became more adamant that Ciceronian Latin was the only style that was to be taught, Luther became more vocal against “the grammarians” as he would call them. While Luther admired and even encouraged the use of this classical style of Latin, for Luther, Latin was much more a language of the present rather than a language of the past. In his lectures on Genesis, he spoke against the Ciceronian Latin replacing the Latin of the medieval theologians on the grounds that it would cut the church and society off from its immediate past and make theology incomprehensible.\footnote{Luther, \textit{Lectures on Genesis} (1539), AE 3, 358. Lutheran liturgical reform did not remove Latin from the liturgy. The Gloria, collects, and creeds, as well as other portions of the service, continued to be sung in Latin well into the 18th century. This reflected the Lutherans’ concern that there be a continuity in the worship life of the church catholic. Carl Schalk, \textit{Music in Early Lutheranism: Shaping the Tradition} (1524-1672) (St. Louis: Concordia Academic Press, 2001), 18-19.} Repeatedly he said that grammar was not to be the judge of truth, but the servant of truth. In his sermons on St. John, he warned against the “grammarians” who with their “idle grammar and rhetoric” would destroy the meaning of Scripture on the basis of their grammatical knowledge. “Let them teach their rules about how to speak Latin correctly”, said Luther, but at the same time it was important to recognize the limitations of their art.\footnote{Luther, \textit{Exposition of the Gospel of John} (1537-38), AE 24, 109.} This view reflects a slightly different understanding of the nature of the liberal arts than that of Melanchthon. Melanchthon, along with most of the Evangelicals who had a strong humanistic training, tended to define the liberal arts according to strict classical convention. This was in contrast to Luther who had a greater concern that the arts program change to meet the contemporary educational needs of the 16th century.
II.4.3. Literature

A substantial portion of the Evangelicals' curriculum was dedicated to the study of the ancient works of literature because they believed that these works contained an eloquence that reinforced the teachings of Scripture. Consistent with Augustine’s concept of the divine origin of truth and wisdom, the Evangelicals believed that the ancient literature contained a divine wisdom. If this literature were studied in the proper context, it would inevitably lead men to the ultimate truth that was revealed in the Gospel. In turn, this truth would aid them in the execution of their holy vocations. For example, in Melanchthon’s preface to Homer, he commended Homer's writings for providing valuable lessons about the meaning of the fourth commandment (Honour your father and your mother); the importance of service to God; the nature of divine vocation; and illustrations of a God who loved of humans, protected and assisted the good, and punished the wicked. As previously mentioned, instead of avoiding the pagan writers as had some other religious educators, the Evangelical pedagogues followed the example of Augustine embracing them and giving them a place next to the Gospel. Melanchthon effused praise for the learning of literature. He said,

For what is it that brings greater usefulness to the whole human race, except literature? For no skill, for no craft, indeed not even for the very fruits of the earth – which many think is the source of life – is there such a need as for literature and its study.

Without the study of literature, mankind would “wander as beasts” for it was the source of all “good laws”, “good conduct”, and the means by which “religion is propagated.”

The Evangelicals repeatedly stressed that students should be exposed to only the finest works of literature. It was much better to read only a few great works than many mediocre ones. Melanchthon wrote, “Lack of judgement also comes about if they hear and read just the worst things eagerly, and do not range through many things.”

There was near unanimous agreement among the Lutherans that the best way to introduce young children to the world of classical literature was through Aesop’s Fables.

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157 Melanchthon, In Praise of the New School (1526), in Melanchthon, A Melanchthon Reader, 60.
158 Ibid.
Not only were the fables well written, but they also laid the foundations for the teaching of the Gospel. Luther esteemed the ancient fables so highly that he claimed that, next to the Bible, they were “the best, better than the mangled utterances of all the philosophers and jurists.” He believed that it was “a result of God’s providence” that Aesop’s work had been preserved for educators to use in the 16th century. Melanchthon also praised Aesop as being especially valuable for the troubled times of the Reformation. The ancient Greek author taught young minds valuable lessons about a “hatred of war and strife” and “a zeal for tolerance.” Fables, in general, were to be honoured because God Himself was pleased to use this style of teaching in the Scriptures. “What greater praise can fall to fables than that the heavenly God also approves of them.”

After children had learned Aesop, they were ready to progress to works by Terence and Plautus, then Virgil, Ovid, and finally, Cicero. It should be noted that the Lutherans did not restrict their students to the study of ancient literature. They also included contemporary literature that met their standards of excellence. The Saxon Visitation Articles, for example, recommended contemporary works such as Mosellanus’ Paedagoga and Erasmus’ Colloquies.

II.4.4. History

Luther called for history to be given “a prominent place” within the curriculum. Luther had a theocentric view of history: that is, history was to be viewed as a portrayal of God’s dealings with men. In his letter To the Councilmen in All Cities in Germany, he wrote, “For they [chronicles and histories] are a wonderful help in understanding and guiding the course of events, and especially for observing the marvellous works of God.” In contrast, he criticized secular histories because they dealt with “what

160 Luther, Table Talk, No. 3490, AE 54, 210.
161 Melanchthon, On the Usefulness of Fables (1526), in Kusukawa, ed., 56.
162 Ibid., 58.
163 Luther, Saxon Visitation Articles (1528), AE 40, 317.
164 As all his contemporaries, Luther had limited access to accurate histories of the ancient world. The most popular source of historical information came from a compilation of ancient histories by John Annius of Viterbo (1432-1502). AE 45, 224 n. 41.
165 Luther, To the Councilmen in All Cities in Germany (1524), AE 45, 376.
mankind has achieved by the dint of reason and effort.”¹⁶⁶ In his preface to Historia Galeatii Capellae vom Herzog zu Mailand, Luther said that Evangelical schools were to be concerned with teaching history as a record of God dealing with men according to His “grace and anger”. Through history, children were to learn how “God maintains, governs, hinders, advances, punishes and honours men, according as each one has deserved good or evil.” As history chronicled accounts of divine action, it was incumbent upon the headmaster to teach them and students to believe them “as if they stood in Scripture.” It was for this same reason that historians were to write histories “with extreme care, fidelity and truth.”¹⁶⁷ Melanchthon also contended that it was the church’s sacred duty to teach the history of God’s dealings with men because God “wanted a history of all times – short, but containing the highest things – to be always present in the Church, and He preserved it.”¹⁶⁸

The events of the Reformation had made a knowledge of history all the more important. In their efforts to reform the church, the Evangelicals frequently made use of historical arguments to show that the theology which they were following was consistent with that of the early church. If one didn’t have a good grasp of history, then one couldn’t respond to the controversies that the church was facing. For theological disputation, Melanchthon contended that one needed not only a “ready mind” and knowledge of sacred books, but also “a knowledge of history, antiquity and judgments of the past.”¹⁶⁹ Thus, in the Evangelical school, children were to be taught history “not only in Holy Scripture, but also in heathen books, how men introduced and held up the examples, words and works of their ancestors.” Despite Luther’s and Melanchthon’s praise of history, the subject failed to occupy a correspondingly prominent space in 16th-century Evangelical school orders.¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁶ Luther, Lectures on Genesis (1536), AE 2, 236.
¹⁶⁷ Luther, Vorrede D. M. L. auf die Historia Galeatii Capellae vom Herzog zu Mailand (1538), WA 50, 383-385, quoted in Painter, 162.
¹⁶⁹ Melanchthon, On the Role of Schools (1543), in Kusukawa, ed., 16.
¹⁷⁰ Dolch, 209.
II.4.5. Music

The role that the Evangelicals gave to music in the curriculum was arguably one of their important contributions to the field. Luther could never speak too highly of music, calling it "an outstanding gift of God" and valuing it "next to theology."\(^\text{171}\) Much more than a mere liturgical ornamentation or an object of aesthetic beauty, music possessed rhetorical qualities. Music was capable of moving a person to good and of warding off evil and demonic influences.\(^\text{172}\) In speaking of the importance of music to Lutheran theology, Friedrich Kalb comments, “Lutheranism is not driven to search for Biblical commands or prohibitions; for music is a spontaneous activity of life, inherent in God’s creation, and needs no apology.”\(^\text{173}\) Music was of such importance to Evangelical pedagogy that Luther felt that it was to be a pre-requisite for teaching: “He who knows music has a good nature. Necessity demands that music be kept in the schools. A schoolmaster must know how to sing; otherwise I do not look at him.”\(^\text{174}\) Music was seen by Luther as a “semi-disciplinarian” and a “school-master” because it worked in students to make them “more gentle and tender-hearted, more modest and discreet.” In the end, students schooled in music made for “fine, skilful people.”\(^\text{175}\)

In medieval pedagogy, music was divided into two different components: \textit{musica practica} which dealt with the tools of composition and performance of music, and \textit{musica theorica} which dealt with the speculative and mathematical aspects of music. \textit{Musica theorica} belonged to the quadrivium while \textit{musica practica} was viewed as a craft, something that a true musician was to be interested in. While Luther still regarded the mathematical aspects of \textit{musica theorica} of value, \textit{musica practica} was of much greater importance since he saw music as a gift from God useful for teaching the

\(^{171}\) Luther, \textit{Tischreden} (1538), WA Tr. 3, No. 3815.
\(^{172}\) The first cantor of the Lutheran Church, Johann Walter wrote a 324-line didactic poem outlining the theological aspects of music. In it he stated,
As antidote that blight [sin]
To keep man’s life from wilting quite
And also to rejoice the heart,
God soon supplied music’s art
"In Praise of the Noble Art of Music," in Schalk, 188.
\(^{174}\) Luther, \textit{Tischreden}, WA Tr. 5, No. 6248.
\(^{175}\) Quoted in Painter, 165. Painter does not cite the source.
In Evangelical schools, musical instruction was to include learning Latin and German hymns - “not just the ordinary but in time also the artistic” - as well as something of the structure of music so that the students could all the more appreciate what they were singing. For the Evangelicals, *musica practica* became an art that even the youngest children were to learn, and so it was put into the curriculum.

Following the threefold division of schools, the youngest children received a “grammatical” instruction in music, learning the basic rules of music, while second and third divisions formed the core of the choir and spent their time learning the hymns and liturgy.

Music occupied a daily part of school life. The day began and ended with singing and the children also took part in leading the congregation in worship during Matins, Vespers, and the Sunday morning mass. School choirs often became the focal point of community life. Music was even a means for raising extra money for the school. Bugenhagen recommended that the choir sing for weddings and funerals, and then be allowed to divide the earnings amongst themselves and the headmaster. He said, “Without money they shall not do this. If someone does not want to pay for this service he should not ask for it.” Allowances were made also for poor children to sing as a way to raise extra funds to cover their educational expenses.

II.5. **Teaching and memorization**

The Evangelicals were much more interested in the qualities of the teachers that would be employed than in their teaching methods. One school order summed this up saying, “Good teachers bring forth good students. Good schools, good graduates!”

School orders stated that teachers were to be “true believers in Holy Scriptures”, “gifted”, “devoted”, “God-fearing”, “serious”, “strong in their faith”, and “respected

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176 Butt, xiii, 12.
177 Bugenhagen 369. Luther continued to see value in the speculative aspects of music. In his 1535-1536 lectures of Genesis, he bemoaned the loss of *musica theorica*. Luther, *Lectures on Genesis* (1535-36), AE 1, 126.
178 Schalk, 38.
179 Schalk points out that without the presence of school choirs, Lutheran liturgical reform would have been impossible as the organ was only used to provide basic intonation of liturgical music. Ibid., 39.
180 Bugenhagen, 367.
Christians.” In his Goldberg school rules, Valentin Trotzendorf insisted, “Those who belong to our school, let the same also be members of our church and those who agree with our faith, which is most sure and true; because of perhaps one godless person out of the whole body, some evil happens.”

Bugenhagen explained that the citizens of Braunschweig should hire only “honest, good speakers, well educated masters and assistants to honour God the Almighty, for the best of our youth and the will of the whole city.” Luther warned teachers against becoming so engrossed in erudition that they would hinder the children from learning. Too many, he said, were guilty of using “unusual and high flown words” that could confuse students. Instead they should accustom themselves to “good, honest, intelligible words which are in common use and serve to elucidate the subject.”

School orders often reminded pastors and teachers to approach the children with tenderness and compassion. For example, in the Brandenburg and Nürnberg Orders of 1533, instructors were repeatedly, and almost mechanically, directed to address the children using the words, “My dearest little children” (Meine liebe kinderlein).

While the Evangelicals believed that employing skilful teachers was most important, they did not completely ignore didactics. Like the humanists, the Evangelicals advocated the use of charts, music, poems and drama. They called for the use of physical activity as well as singing to make the lessons more interesting. While Lutheran didactics could in no way be classified as “child-centred learning” in the modern sense of the term, the Evangelicals were interested in using methods that would excite children’s interest in the world around them. At times, their ideas outraged the sensibilities of the citizenry. For example, Luther encouraged the dramatic performance of secular literature on the grounds that children would become more interested in the work if they had a chance to perform it. Following this advice, a school teacher had

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182 Gustav Pinzger, *Valentin Friedland Trotzendorf dargestellt. Mit Trotzendorfs Bildniss und Facsimile seiner Handschrift* (Hirschberg, 1825). For more information on Trotzendorf, see Dolch, 224.

183 Quoted in Painter, 160. Painter does not cite the source.

arranged for his pupils to put on a play by Terence. This was met with vociferous objections from the townsfolk on the grounds that Christian children should not be involved in a play written by a heathen writer. Luther, however, endorsed the play, stating that it would give the students good practice in using their Latin and, at the same time, provide some needed instruction for the townspeople.\(^{185}\)

It is difficult to overestimate the role that memorization played in Evangelical didactics. The extensive use of it, however, was not unique to Evangelical pedagogues. Both scholastic and humanist educators stressed the role of memorization in mastering the subject matter. It was the key not just to remembering the grammatical structure of language but also to understanding the truth that was being taught. Luther reflected the thinking of Aristotle, Quintilian, and Augustine\(^{186}\) when he said that memory played a key role in coming to know the truth and enabling a person to ponder that truth. For Luther, memory was the mark of a man’s spiritual nature. Irrational creatures could see, hear, and feel; but it was the spiritual man who could remember and meditate.\(^{187}\)

While the Evangelicals felt that they had a theological justification for the use of memory skills, there were also very practical reasons for memorization. The classical curriculum demanded that students commit copious amounts of information to memory as they worked their way through grammar, logic and rhetoric. Thus the Evangelicals were not reluctant to develop a child's potential for memorizing, especially at a young age. Like the humanists, Luther held to the belief that between the ages of six through ten a child’s ability to memorize was most pronounced. Reasoning could wait until the child was older. Memorization could not.

\(^{185}\) Bruce, 236. Bruce does not cite the source.

\(^{186}\) Aristotle had divided memory and recollection and assigned different values to the two abilities. Quintilian had said that the memory was the best indicator of a man’s ability to learn, Augustine depicted the memory as the locus for learning, reasoning, imagination and thought. Charles Trinkaus, *In our Image and Likeness: Humanity and Divinity in Italian Humanist Thought*, vol. 1 (London: Constable, 1970), part 2, chapter 4.

\(^{187}\) Luther, *Lectures on the Psalms* (1513-1515), AE 11, 15.
Conclusions to Part A.

The Evangelicals introduced important educational changes. They tried to make liberal education accessible for every male child regardless of socio-economic background. In cases where a pure Latin school was impractical, they adapted principles of classical education to fit an education in the vernacular. In adapting the arts program to 16th-century Reformation Germany, the Evangelicals did not bind themselves to one particular philosophical system, such as Aristotelianism or Platonism, but to their theology. This enabled them to freely draw upon the ancient pedagogues and authors using concepts which they found theologically acceptable. The Evangelicals saw that, through modifying crucial aspects of the arts program, students would be inculcated in a thoroughly Lutheran world view. First, catechetical training was fully integrated into the curriculum. While the Evangelicals designated specific time periods for catechetical training, it was never conducted in isolation from the rest of the curriculum. Second, the ideal Latin school concentrated on the study of classical languages and classical literature. Latin introduced students to the Biblical languages of Greek and Hebrew which they would learn later on in their academic life. Third, the study of history, particularly Biblical history, which gave an account of God’s deeds among men, became an important part of the curriculum. Fourth, music assumed a role in the curriculum that had been unknown up to that point in time. This was not the *musica theorica* of the quadrivium, but a *musica practica* which was particularly useful in terms of the worship life of the church. Thus, while the aim of an Evangelical liberal arts education was to prepare students to assume their vocations in society, in reality the Evangelicals’ curriculum, with its emphasis on Biblical languages, a Christocentric view of history, and training in ecclesiastical music, was decidedly slanted toward a preparation for ecclesiastical offices.

The teaching methods that the Evangelicals employed were the stock methods advanced by the humanists of northern Europe. Consistent with Erasmus and earlier teachers such as Augustine, the Evangelicals were more interested in the quality of teachers who were to be employed than in the methods that they would use. While they
offered some interesting suggestions for teaching, by and large, the Evangelicals were content to use memorization as the chief method for instruction.
III. Early 19th-century German theology and its effect on education

III.1. Rationalism, Pietism and the rise of Neo-Lutheranism

III.1.1. The world of Rationalism

In 1885 C. F. W. Walther addressed seminary students regarding the effects of Rationalism on the Evangelical Lutheran Church. He said, “About one hundred and twenty years ago, Rationalism had become dominant in the so-called Protestant Church of Germany. It was at the time of the deepest ignominy and humiliation that the nation had ever passed through when defection from the Gospel had become complete.”\(^{188}\)

When Walther spoke these words, he was already seventy-six years old and had lived what most would consider an adventurous life. Educated at the University of Leipzig, he became involved first in the German Erweckung and then the Neo-Lutheran movement. Upon graduation, he asserted himself as an ardent confessional pastor and educator. His zeal in this position led to his emigration to America with the Saxon Gesellschaft in 1838. Shortly after arriving, he became head of the group and therefore became recognized as the leading voice of confessional Lutheranism in America – a distinction he carried through the rest of his life.\(^{189}\)

Reflecting back on his experiences, especially when he was in Germany, there was little doubt in Walther’s mind as to how the Rationalists had changed the church. In his view, they had stripped Christendom bare, altering the faith from one that rested on the revelation of God’s wisdom in the words of Holy Scriptures to one that rested on the rationalistic abilities of man. From Walther’s point of view, Rationalism had robbed the church of the one true saving Gospel which had been recovered by Luther during the Reformation. Rationalism also had a detrimental effect on the schools. The classical

Evangelical curriculum, with its traditional emphasis on the authority of the written Word and its catechetical training, had been intentionally changed so that the students would be receptive to this new Rationalistic doctrine and resistant to classical Lutheran orthodoxy. According to Walther, this new pedagogy was “killing the teachings of Lutheran Schools and poisoning the minds of our children.”

That Walther’s opposition to Rationalism was a key factor in the formation of his theology and pedagogy is undeniable, but what form of Rationalism did Walther have in mind when he spoke with such strong words?

Rationalism, of which there were many different traditions, needs to be understood in the context of the Enlightenment. Continental Rationalism followed the tradition of René Descartes (1596-1650) whose influence was keenly felt on German thinkers such as Baruch de Spinoza (1632-1677) and Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz (1646-1716). This Continental Rationalism was opposed by John Locke’s (1632-1704) Empiricism which exerted a stronger influence on English theology. In Germany, the term “Rationalism” is sometimes used to refer to the entire body of thought that belongs to the Enlightenment as it arrived in Germany and which dealt with the relationship of reason to revelation. However, there were many different schools of German Rationalism – a fact that Walther acknowledged.

First of all, there were what Walther called the “vulgar Rationalists”. In general, these were the Deists who sought to supplant historic Christianity with an entirely different system of religious thought. A typical example is Gotthold Ephraim Lessing (1729-1781) who, in the years 1774-1778, published Reimarus’ writings known as the Wolfenbüttel Fragments. Hermann Samuel Reimarus (1694-1768) had been influenced by the work of the English Deists such as Matthew Tindal (1653-1733) and John Toland (1670-1722). He advocated a natural religion solely based on reason,

189 For complete biographical details of Walther’s life, see this dissertation chapter IV: “The development of Walther as a Confessional educator.”
190 C. F. W. Walther, “Lesebuch für evangelisch-lutherische Schulen,” Der Lutheraner 18, no. 6 (1861), 42.
rejecting any belief that was based on a revelation of God. Lessing, who had received the manuscripts from Reimarus' daughter, used them to advance his own form of radical deism. Lessing criticized the reality of divine revelation as a reliable authority in the determination of doctrine by subjecting the Scriptures to historical analysis and reasoned scepticism. Lessing's work challenged Lutheran theologians to prove that the revelations contained in Scripture were historically accurate and that the divine miracles contained in Scripture were not natural phenomena that could be explained in a Rationalistic way.\(^\text{193}\) Lessing's philosophy thus centered on an attack on the authority of the written Word. No longer was the Word considered an infallible means by which God revealed Himself to man. Instead it became an object that was open to man's scrutiny and criticism. This understanding allowed Lessing to reject many of the fundamental doctrines that the Evangelical Lutheran Church had historically held to be unalterable. Doctrines such as the nature of the Trinity, Original Sin, the vicarious atonement of Christ, and the Divinity of Christ were all regarded as incompatible with the new theology. Whether one agreed with Lessing or not, with his publication of Reimarus, one could not approach the texts of the Holy Scriptures without dealing with the questions that had been raised.\(^\text{194}\) Walther's response to those who followed Lessing's doctrine was unequivocal. These "vulgar Rationalists" with their outright rejection of the authority of the Word were bankrupting the Christian church. Walther made the charge that they "turn the Bible into a code of ethics and declare the specifically Christian doctrines to be Oriental myths and fantasies, valuable only as far as moral lessons may be drawn from them, - these men have done acting their part and have gone into bankruptcy."\(^\text{195}\)

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\(^\text{193}\) Lessing wrote,

The true Lutheran does not seek refuge in Luther's writings but in Luther's spirit. And Luther's spirit demands nothing less than that no man be hindered from proceeding to the perception of the truth according to his own judgment. O Luther! You great, misunderstood man! And no one misunderstand you more than those shortsighted, stubborn fools, who, with your slippers in their hands, hail the road you have paved, but saunter along it without concern! Gotthold Lessing, "Erster Anti-Goeze 1778." in Werke, XXIII, 194, as quoted in Hirsch, Lutherstudien, II, 125, as quoted in Carl S. Meyer, ed., Moving Frontiers: Readings in the History of the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1964), 48.


\(^\text{195}\) Walther, The Proper Distinction between Law and Gospel, 234.
In contrast to the “vulgar rationalism” of Lessing, there was a more moderate form of German rationalism. Representative of this school of thought was Johann Salomo Semler (1725-1791) who pioneered the historical critical method of Biblical interpretation. In his work, Abhandlung von freier Untersuchung des Kanons (“Treatise on Behalf of the Free Interpretation of the Canon”), Semler maintained that, while the Scriptures contained the Word of God, they could not be called the Word of God. This put Semler and other similar theologians in a difficult position. While they sought to preserve the historical connection with the Christian church and its corpus of doctrines, they also rejected the canonical authority of the Old and New Testaments as the revealed Word of God. Walther claimed that theology, for these moderate Rationalists, was “a human historical consideration, changeable in content, depending on time, place and religious parties.” Unlike the radical Deists who discarded the heritage of Christian doctrine, the moderate Rationalists reinterpreted historical Christian doctrine in the context of Enlightenment philosophy, thus reshaping the Christian faith into what they believed was a more reasonable religion that would have broad appeal to modern understanding and intellect. The effect of this approach on the nature of the Christian faith was the same as that of the Deists. The veracity of Christian theology rested not on divine revelation, but on human reason; and the only pertinent aspect of religion was the ethical demand to live a good life. As opposed to the earlier Lutherans who insisted that the sinner's justification before God as a result of the vicarious death of Christ Jesus was the center of all theology, the moderate Rationalists placed ethical demands at the heart of theology with Christ being treated as the ethical teacher par excellence. A typical application of this view can be seen in Traugott Günther Röller's book of 1792, Dorfpredigten für gemeine Leute, bes. Handwerksleute und Bauern, daraus sie lernen sollen, wie sie verstündiger, besser und frommer und glücklicher werden können (“Village Sermons for Common People, Especially Craftsmen and Farmers, From Which They May Learn How They May Become More Learned, Better, Happier and More Pious”). In this book of sermons, Röller covered such topics as “The Duties of a Christian Congregation Saved from a Grave Risk Fire”, “Reasonable Rules for the

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Christian Burial of Corpses” and “How to Keep Faithful and Safe During a Thunderstorm.” Röller’s work stressed the ethical dimensions of man’s temporal life while at the same time diminishing historic confessional Lutheranism’s central focus on the individual’s justification before God. Outwardly these theologians may have retained some of the forms of historic Lutheranism, but in their teaching, the substance was being radically altered. Karl Barth explains this theology:

In accordance with the equally continuing practical presupposition of men it becomes the moral truth that guides, directs, illuminates and redeems each individual, in the last instance, in his reason. As a result of the theoretical basis that has been advanced, Christ now no longer falls into the category of the God-man, but—and this was the real, moral concern of the men of the time—into the category of the enlightened and enlightening teacher and the powerful model of wisdom and virtue, categories in which he could still be praised at Christmas, Easter and Ascension, in sincerity and in the loftiest tones, and possibly even in the language of ancient dogma. In accordance with the manifest juxtaposition of confessions and religions in history, and above all because of what men in fact wanted to find, the Church becomes a religious society, that is, the society, founded by Jesus Christ for our salvation, of the sincere worshippers of the true, i.e. the wise and gracious God, with all the goods and gifts that such a society could not fail to have.

Walther believed that these Rationalists were preoccupied with the so-called “practical matters” of temporal life, thus leading to an abandonment of the more important matters of eternal life. Walther cited one prominent Pomeranian Rationalist pastor, Johann Joachim Spalding (1714-1804), who wrote a preaching manual in 1772 entitled Of the Usefulness of the Ministry, Written For the Consolation of My Colleagues. Criticizing this book, Walther wrote, “He [Spalding] submits his own opinion, to this effect: If sermons are to be useful, the preacher must never speak of the doctrines of faith first because they only serve to confuse people’s minds, but he must present exclusively practical ethical lessons.”

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197 Barth, 82.
198 Ibid., 96.
III.1.2. The world of Pietism

During Walther’s formative years as a theologian, German Pietism was enjoying a resurgence with *Die Erweckung*. This awakening was rooted in 18\textsuperscript{th} -century Pietism and contained elements that set it apart from historic confessional Lutheran theology. Barth, in his book, *Protestant Theology in the Nineteenth Century* identifies five elements of Christianity that came under attack by the German Pietists of the late 18\textsuperscript{th} and early 19\textsuperscript{th} centuries.\textsuperscript{200}

The first element was the centrality of the incarnation to the Christian faith. Confessional Lutheranism maintains that, in the conception of Christ, the divine nature assumed a human nature - an article of faith by which the Church stands or falls. In contrast, many of the 19\textsuperscript{th}-century Pietists were somewhat unconcerned about the nature of Christ. They believed that the real birth of Christ was His birth in the individual’s heart. This experience, over and above the incarnation of Christ, became the central focus of their faith. Some more radical Pietists, such as Friedrich August Tholuck (1799-1877), viewed the whole doctrine of the Trinity as being somewhat irrelevant.\textsuperscript{201}

The second element that was challenged by the Pietists was the corporate nature of the Christian faith. Confessional Lutheranism views man in relationship to the church and to his neighbour rather than in isolation. With its emphasis on the individual’s personal experience of the divine, Pietism, especially in its radical forms, tended to ignore these relationships. As Barth says,

What the Pietists wanted, albeit with a rather different emphasis, is what Frederick the Great proclaimed as the religious right of every man; he wants to seek his own salvation in his own way without trouble or hindrance...he wants not only to be undisturbed by his neighbour but also

\textsuperscript{200} Barth, 100-106.
\textsuperscript{201} Tholuck, like other radical Pietists such as Johann Hinrich Wichern (1808-1881), not only opposed Rationalism but also the neo-Lutherans of the 19\textsuperscript{th}century. Because of their theological views of the nature of the church, they also supported the Prussian Union and a renewed German nationalism. See Hartmut Lehmann, "Pietism and Nationalism: The Relationship between Protestant Revivalism and National Renewal in Nineteenth-Century Germany," *Journal of Church History* 51, no. 1 (1982). Sasse points out that both Pietism and Rationalism were integral in the rising tide of German nationalism. According to Sasse, the Rationalists and Pietists first of all “destroyed the confessional integrity of the church.” They then encouraged the state to take control of a unified church thus allowing the state to use the church to benefit nationalistic endeavors. Hermann Sasse, *The Lonely Way: Selected Essays and Letters*, trans. Matthew C. Harrison, vol. 1 (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 2001), 294.
to have him, i.e. to have him as he himself is, to find him again in his own self.\textsuperscript{202}

A third element attacked by Pietism was the authority of the Word. Whereas confessional Lutheranism emphasizes the individual’s need to submit to the external authority of the Word of God as proclaimed by the church, Pietism leads the individual to reject this external authority in favour of the individual’s inner authority.

The fourth element that was challenged was the historical role Confessional Lutheranism had given to the Law. According to Confessional Lutheranism, the Law of God informs the Christian of God’s requirements which, due to man’s sinful nature, cannot be met. The Law serves as the means by which the individual is led to the Gospel where one finds the forgiveness for transgressions done against the Law. The Law also serves a secondary, didactic role. It teaches the Christian how to lead a God-pleasing life. The power to lead this life, however, comes through the Gospel and not the Law. The Pietists did not maintain this distinction between the role of the Law and the role of the Gospel. In general, the German Pietists viewed the Law as a means of self-mortification and self-improvement.

The final element to come under attack was the place of mystery and sacramentalism given in the life of the Christian. Confessional Lutheranism holds that God meets the fallen sinner in His Sacraments. There God furnishes him with everything needed for this life and the next. Pietism tended to turn against the sacraments, considering them vestiges of Roman Catholicism that detracted from one’s personal encounter with the divine.

III.1.3. The overlapping worlds of Rationalism and Pietism

Initially it would seem that Rationalism, with its high regard for scientific inquiry, and Pietism, with its Biblicism, would have little in common. Some, such as Becker, have argued that German Pietism viewed the Rationalists as “increasingly godless and

\textsuperscript{202} Barth, 102.
subversive of the Christian faith meriting the staunchest opposition." On the other hand, others, such as Merton, have argued that Pietism was unwittingly supportive of the Rationalists and instrumental in the rise of scientific inquiry. On one level, it is certainly true that the German Pietists of the 18th and 19th century viewed the Rationalists with suspicion. However, on a much more fundamental level, the Pietist movement in Germany, as it developed into the 19th century, was closely allied with the Rationalists on many points. Tholuck points out,

The Awakened were not as far removed from the Enlightenment as many believed. In their scepticism of traditional church structures, as well as in their organization of new initiatives, they shared a spirit of rational inquiry that does not simply accept the status quo. Like the leaders of the Enlightenment, the Awakened desired liberation from strictures of the past and were optimistic about what could be achieved. Both camps espoused more individual autonomy, more personal responsibility, and a great sense of individual worth. The ecumenical spirit of the Awakening was also related, if only indirectly, to the scientific method’s dispassionate and unified view of the world and the Awakening’s emphasis on the practice of faith and on the importance of experience corresponds to the Enlightenment’s delight in empirical proof.

Both Pietism and Rationalism emphasized works done in service to mankind. For the Pietists, this emphasis, which was rooted in the inner spiritual renewal of the individual, found its fullest expression in the Innere Mission movement which

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205 Barth, in Protestant Theology in the Nineteenth Century, has an extended discussion of these similarities. In addition, Sasse cites 18th-century theologians E.S. Cyprian (1673-1727) and V.E. Löschler (1673-1749) who not only opposed Enlightenment thought but also Pietistic theology for the same reasons. Sasse points out that the fundamental principles of Pietism and Rationalism were so closely aligned that “within a few decades the centers of Lutheran Pietism became centers of Enlightenment and Rationalistic theology.” Sasse, 296; see also Sasse, 466-467. Semler, Leibniz, Lessing, Kant, Schiller, Fichte and Goethe had all, in one way or another, been involved with or exposed to Pietistic teachings. Schleiermacher’s parents were Moravians and he attended Zinzendorf’s school at Niesky. This Pietistic background was instrumental in the formation of Friedrich Daniel Ernst Schleiermacher’s (1768-1834) theology. [George Cross, "The Influence of Schleiermacher on Modern Theology," American Journal of Theology 10, no. 1 (1906), 172.] As Brown points out in his book Understanding Pietism, it was the “experiential and moral dimensions of Pietism that opened the way for German Romanticism.” Dale W. Brown, Understanding Pietism, Rev. ed. (Nappanee: Evang Publishing House, 1996), 99-100.
established hospitals, orphanages and schools. For the Rationalists, this emphasis, which was rooted in the desire to achieve a more practical form of Christianity, sought to improve the physical well-being of the individual through communal reform. However, according to the confessional Lutherans, both theologies resulted in a theology based on works, both allowed for the participation of the individual in coming to faith. Walther saw that, although Pietism and Rationalism approached theology from two different directions, both confused this historic distinction between the Law, which served to bring the sinner to repentance; and the Gospel, which alone gave the new life in Christ. In the end, this would raise the most criticism by Walther and his contemporaries who accused both the Pietists and the Rationalists of the same error. Of the Pietists, Walther said,

Those who were guilty before others of this serious confusion of Law and Gospel were the so-called Pietists. To these belonged, among others, such theologians of Halle as August Hermann Francke, Breithaupt, Anastasius Freylinghausen, Rambach, Joachim Lange, and those who had publicly adopted their views, like Bogatzky, Fresenius, and many others.\(^{207}\)

Of the Rationalists, Walther said,

The grossest form of commingling Law and Gospel is the most grievous fault of Rationalists. The essence of their religion is to teach men that they become different beings by putting away their vices and leading a virtuous life, while the Word of God teaches us that we must become different men first, and then we shall put away our particular sins and begin to exercise ourselves in good works.\(^{208}\)

A final commonality between Pietism and Rationalism was that both tended to de-emphasize the historic Lutheran doctrine of the Scriptures as the means by which God revealed His salvific truth to man. As has been discussed, the Rationalists denied the special status that the Christian church had historically assigned to Scripture as the direct revelation of the will of God. Reason, not revelation, became the means of discerning the truth about God. As a result, one’s personal interpretation of the Holy Scriptures was more important than what the written Word actually said. On the other hand, the Pietists generally acknowledged this unique status of Scripture, but they allowed for a subjective interpretation. By allowing for inner revelations by the Holy


\(^{208}\) Ibid., 299-300.
Spirit, personal feelings about God often became more important than the objective meaning of the written Scriptures.

In commenting on the similarities between Pietism and Rationalism, Barth observes that, “in them we find two forms of the one essence, of Christianity as shaped by the spirit of the eighteenth century.”\[^{209}\] Barth’s views contrast with those of Kurt Aland who sees Pietism as quite distinct from Rationalism and believes it to be a genuine recovery of historic Christianity. He holds that the father of Pietism, Philipp Jakob Spener (1635-1705), and many of the early Pietists were, by and large, the authentic heirs of Luther, and that the whole Pietistic movement has been misconstrued by modern historians because of its lack of dogmatic writings. Aland comments,

> Our image of that time is determined by what was printed. But in the congregation, to the extent these writings even reached it, they were far less significant. Moreover, the forces opposing the Enlightenment were always alive – coming from Pietism, from Orthodoxy, and from a beginning Awakening movement – growing out of a dissatisfaction with what was happening, but also out of a traditionalism and conservatism that has been characteristic of the evangelical church at all times. The Enlightenment with the evangelical sphere also did not have time enough to supplant these persistent forces or those beginning to defeat it.\[^{210}\]

Be that as it may, the commonalities between Rationalism and Pietism would influence the pedagogical reforms that were to take place in late 18\(^{th}\)- and early 19\(^{th}\)-century Germany.

III.1.4. The world of Neo-Lutheranism

In the wake of the Napoleonic wars, the Prussian King Friedrich Wilhelm III proposed a union of the Reformed and Lutheran churches. Those who supported this union were, for the most part, followers of Rationalism and the developing Romantic movement.\[^{211}\] In general, they held to the idea of a progressive Reformation – that the

\[^{209}\] Barth, 71.
\[^{211}\] Friedrich Schleiermacher, influenced by Herrnhut piety and the spirit of Romanticism, was opposed to Rationalism, but nevertheless based his theology on the subjective conviction of an inner consciousness rather than the objective teaching of Holy Scriptures. As a result, Schleiermacher could not agree with Claus Harms (1778-1855) and the Neo-Lutheran movement...
church and her confessions should constantly evolve as they are reformed by the ideas of the current times. This concept mitigated against the orthodox Lutheran position that the Lutheran Confessions are the *norma normata* of the Christian faith.

Since the Prussian Union demanded that the Lutherans in effect surrender their confessional stance, the confessional theologians, who opposed the Union, affirmed that the orthodox view of the confessions was the only allowable position for the church to take. Anything else would result in a compromise of their confessional integrity. In Prussia, this group of Confessionalists was known as the Old Lutherans (so named because they had maintained their identity since the age of Orthodoxy), and outside of Prussia they became known as Neo-Lutherans.\textsuperscript{212}

The Neo-Lutheran movement found its originator in Claus Harms (1778-1855). In 1817, on the 300\textsuperscript{th} anniversary of the posting of Luther’s Ninety-Five Theses, Harms reissued Luther’s theses along with 95 theses of his own in which he blamed the Rationalistic thought that had become so common in Lutheran theology as the cause of the proposed Prussian Union.\textsuperscript{213} For Harms, the concept of a “Progressive Reformation” was contrary to what he considered to be the unchanging nature of Scripture as the revealed truth recovered in its purity by Luther at the time of the Reformation. Harms regarded the term “Progressive Reformation” merely as a codeword for Rationalistic theology by which “Lutheranism is reformed into Heathenism and Christianity is reformed out of the world…” (Thesis 3). According to him, this theology offered no true religion because the “so-called religion of reason, is without reason, or without religion, or without both…” In place of Rationalistic theology, Harms called for a renewed

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\textsuperscript{212} Tillich, 158.

\textsuperscript{213} Reprinted by Ferm, 119. Sasse calls Claus Harms “a lonely bird on the roof…with a powerful protest.” Sasse, 294.
adherence to the historic symbols of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, saying, “Christians are to be taught that they have the right not to endure anything un-Christian and un-Lutheran in the pulpits as well as in church and school books” (Thesis 64). Harms’ words certainly did not fall on deaf ears. Many pastors and theologians who had become disillusioned with Rationalism were drawn to this call for a return to Confessional Lutheranism. Among Harms’ followers was a Confessional pastor by the name of Martin Stephan from Dresden to whom the young C.F.W. Walther would write looking for guidance and direction. Quite often, the Neo-Lutherans were involved in Pietism prior to their conversion to Confessionalism. Initially they were drawn to Pietism because of its perceived opposition to Rationalism. Through Pietism they were drawn to the writings of Luther and the Lutheran confessions. Often this “conversion” was a slow process. For example, Walther continued to speak favourably of many Pietists for years after he was associated with the Confessionalists. His strongest criticisms of Pietism didn’t come until later on in life when he was reacting against North American incarnations of the movement.

214 While Tillich admires the conservative theologians for their study of classical Orthodoxy, he sees them as 19th-century repristinationists who sought an untenable return to 17th-century orthodoxy. Pointing to their adherence to the Holy Scriptures as an infallible revelation of God, he criticizes their belief in the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch stating, “Such absurdities are always the consequence of the doctrine of literal inspiration. This view could not and did not last.” Tillich, 158. However, Tillich fails to address the fact that, as a result of the work of 19th century confessional Lutheran theologians such as Claus Harms, Wilhelm Löhe, August Vilmar, C.F.D. Wyneken and C.F.W. Walther, there was a continued confessional revival outside of Germany. Sasse argues that such confessional leaders have been needlessly “defamed” and “vilified”. Sasse, 232-233.

215 Neo-Lutheran leaders of the 19th century, such as Jacob Wilhelm Georg Vilmar (1804-1884), his older brother, August Friedrich Christian Vilmar (1800-1868), and Johann K.W. Löhe (1808-1872), were all members of Die Erweckung in their youth. The same can be said of most of the leaders of the Saxon Emigration. Not only C.F.W. Walther but also his brother Otto Hermann Walther, J.F. Bünger (1810-1882), J.T. Brohm (1808-1881), E.G.W. Keyl (1804-1872), Ottamar Fürbringer (1810-1892), and E. M. Bürger (1806-1890) all started out as members of the same Pietistic group. Bürger had a particularly long family association with the Pietist movement. His grandfather, Andreas Christoph Bürger, was active in the Pietist movement under J.A. Freylinghausen (1670-1739). In 1746 Gotthilf August Francke (1696-1769), son of August Hermann Francke, appointed A.C. Bürger the Inspector Adjunctus (assistant principal) of the Paedagogium in Halle. Influenced by the romantic ideals of Friedrich Schleiermacher, many of these young theologians were directed back to the writings of Luther and started a Luther Renaissance.

III.2. Influence of Pietism and Rationalism on education and the liberal arts

III.2.1. Influence of Pietism on education and the liberal arts

III.2.1.a. Pietistic education

Since the time of August Hermann Francke (1663-1727), Pietism had been influential in shaping pedagogical reform in Germany in two ways; the Pietists tended to emphasize the practical or occupational aspects of education and vernacular literacy skills. The result of these twin emphases was a shift away from the liberal arts as the model for education. Their educational construct, with this two-fold emphasis, became a normal part of 18th- and 19th-century German school orders.\(^{217}\) It is important to examine these two emphases in contrast to the classical Lutheran model of education.

Vocation was central to the use of the liberal arts in education by the early Evangelical pedagogues. For them, vocation involved not just an individual's occupation, but all of their various stations in life. In vocation, which was lived under the Law, the individual served God and was confronted with sinfulness and was driven back to the Gospel for forgiveness. For Luther and the 16th-century Lutheran pedagogues, one of the core functions of education was to prepare the individual for a life in vocation. The liberal arts were seen as the ideal tool with which to accomplish this.

In contrast, the Pietists tended to stress occupation as a primary focus of education. They did not view work as being only one aspect of the Christian's vocation, as did the early Evangelicals, nor did they understand it in terms of the traditional Lutheran Law/Gospel dichotomy. Work was more often understood as a duty or a spiritual obligation that was owed to God by the redeemed sinner. It was the means by which prosperity came to God's kingdom. In classical Pietistic thinking, idleness was sinful and diligence was holy. With this theological elevation of work as a godly duty, the Pietists structured their educational model with the goal of building a strong work ethic in the lives of their pupils.\(^{218}\) This reform was well received in 18th-century Germany.


\(^{218}\) In order to remind students of the importance that they use every moment to be productive, Francke had hourglasses installed in the classroom. Time was the means by which work was to be measured.
Melton, in his book *Absolutism and the Eighteenth-Century Origins of Compulsory Schooling in Prussia and Austria*, argues that the Pietists’ educational reforms were largely successful because their understanding of work complemented the reforms recommended by the 18th-century German Cameralists. Melton states,

Pietism remained influential pedagogically in no small part because it addressed issues articulated by Cameralist writers and officials. Pietist pedagogy, for its part, promised to transform this ethos. The Pietist conception of work as an omnipresent moral obligation gave labor a significance beyond the mere fulfillment of subsistence needs. Francke’s stress on ‘free time’ like the Pietist revival of the Sabbath as a day of rest and worship, reflected the trends toward the polarization of work and leisure that characterized the eighteenth century. By condemning the disruptive impact of religious festivals and processions on production, Cameralist writers sought to abstract a notion of work time from a precapitalist rhythm of production that was discontinuous, intimately tied to ‘leisure,’ and broken up by religious festivals, popular entertainment, and the seasons themselves.

The second emphasis of Pietist pedagogy was the teaching of literacy in the vernacular for the purpose of the personal reading of Scriptures. Gawthrop and Strauss point out that the popular assumption that Luther was responsible for mass literacy is largely misplaced. Luther did not start schools so that the individual Christian could read the Holy Scriptures for himself. In fact, Lutheran schools in the early 16th century emphasized the reading and memorization of the catechism and not the Bible. Literacy, for the sake of Bible reading, is instead properly assigned to Pietist pedagogues. It was the Pietists who considered it important that everyone be able to read the Bible because Scripture reading was their primary means of evangelization. According to Pietist theology, genuine piety and a genuine knowledge of Christ were gained by personal reading of the Scriptures. Thus, a systematic program of developing literacy among the masses was essential to the salvation of souls. Francke had mandated that at least three hours a day should be set aside for Bible reading. Many Pietist pedagogues

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219 Cameralists were public servants who were interested in strengthening the central administration of the country and formulating policies that advanced the countries industrial expansion.


221 Gawthrop and Strauss, 43-44.

222 Melton, 39.

223 Bunge points out that scholars have cast Francke’s schools as places of harsh discipline which were preoccupied with the goal of conversion to the Pietist way of life. She argues that they were in fact kindly
followed his example. They usually retained the use of the catechism, but as a religious
primer in which young children would learn to sound out words before moving on to the
reading of Scriptures. As children grew older, teachers would then explain the meaning
of select passages and encourage children to retell the passages in their own words.
This was done with the hope of developing a personal inner faith that relied not on the
preached word of the called pastor, but upon the individual’s heartfelt understanding of
Scripture.  

Often the Pietist pedagogues were not so dogmatic as to prevent themselves
from freely borrowing from their Rationalist counterparts. As has been noted, there were
several commonalities between Pietism and Rationalism which made possible a
transfer of ideas that enabled the Pietist pedagogues to create educational models that
were unique fusions of the two schools of thought. This fusion of Enlightenment and
Pietistic ideals can be seen in Francke. While he had a different understanding than
Locke about the nature of education and its goals, Francke shared with Locke a
rejection of original sin, viewing children as spiritually good. Both also exhibited a
greater sensitivity to the developmental needs of the child and the need to create a
friendly environment for children in which to learn. Prior to this, childhood was
considered to be a time of preparation for the workplace and for salvation, but was not
valued in its own right.

places that were also interested in the betterment of the individual and society. Marcia J. Bunge,
"Education and the Child in Eighteenth-Century German Pietism: Perspectives from the Work of A. H.
Francke," in The Child in Christian Thought, ed. Marcia J. Bunge (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2001), 247-
278.

Often the Pietists were so open to Rationalism pedagogy that their schools lost the distinctive
Pietistic marks. Zinzendorf’s school in Nieskey, for example, was developed according to strict
Moravian principles. However, by the beginning of the 19th century it had evolved to the point that it
differed little from the Rationalism’s educational ideal with a focus on Greek antiquities and a study
of the sciences. Dietrich Meyer, ”Zinzendorf und Herrnhut,” in Geschichte des Pietismus, vol. 2: Der
Pietismus im achtzehnten Jahrhundert, ed. Martin Brecht and Klaus Deppermann (Göttingen:
Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1995), 77.

Regarding the similarities between the Enlightenment and Pietist views of childhood, Cunningham
states, ”there was a long term, if interrupted, decline in the belief of original sins, so that by mid-
nineteenth century it flourished only on the margins of Christianity; and with that decline children were
transformed from being corrupt and innately evil to being angels, messengers from God to a tired adult
world.” [Hugh Cunningham, Children and Childhood in Western Society since 1500 (New York: Longman,
1995), 61-62.] Marcia Bunge correctly points out that Francke emphasized the sinful nature of the child
and that he believed that God’s Word alone could regenerate a child. However, whereas Luther restricted
that regenerative power to the Gospel, Francke included obedience to the law. Bunge, 251, 263, 277.
III.2.1.b. Pietist pedagogy and its relation to Rationalism: a case study

Johann Frederick Oberlin (1740-1826), who would be influential in Walther’s early life, presents an interesting case study showing how the German Pietist educators freely borrowed from the Rationalist educators.

Oberlin was a Moravian Pietist who was part of the Herrnhut Brüdergemeine. Called to serve an impoverished Lutheran congregation in Steinthal near Strasbourg, he worked to improve the temporal and spiritual lives of his parishioners. In 1770 Oberlin established a school whose religious program was typical of Pietistic pedagogy. It aimed to develop a personal piety in the students through extensive Bible reading, the memorization of Bible verses, and instruction in concepts of Christian ethics and morality. The younger children were introduced to reading through learning the catechism: namely, the Ten Commandments, the Creed, the Lord’s Prayer and the Sacraments.

Like Francke’s Realschule, Oberlin’s schools also concentrated on providing children with a practical or occupational type of education. For example a knitting school was established in which women would teach children to knit while telling them pious stories about moral living.

Oberlin also initiated a program of early childhood education in which he enrolled children as young as three with the hope that they might be saved from what he considered to be the corrupting influence of their parents. There is a remarkable departure from Luther on this point. Whereas Luther elevated the role of Hausvater, making him the chief catechist of his children, Oberlin viewed the Hausvater as a corrupting influence from which children needed saving.

In this regard, it is difficult to ascertain if Oberlin was influenced according to his Pietist theology or according to Rationalist principles; for though he was a Pietist pastor, he also had a great deal of admiration for the Enlightenment Rationalists. While he did

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227 The Herrnhut Brüdergemeine was established by Count Nicolaus Ludwig von Zinzendorf (1700-1760) in 1727. It continued to be active in that area and, in the 19th century, included people such as Walther’s patron Count Detlev von Einsiedel. F. Ernest Stoeffler, German Pietism During the Eighteenth Century (Leiden: Brill, 1973), 137-140.
229 Harry Morgan, The Imagination of Early Childhood Education (Westport: Bergin & Garvey, 1999), 2.
not agree with Rousseau’s deism, his denial of the miraculous works of Christ or his rejection of original sin, Oberlin admired Rousseau, referring to his *Emile* as an “excellent book” and recommending that “every parent and teacher read it again and again.” Oberlin also read Johann Basedow’s (1723-1790) *Elementarwerk* and, while he rejected his views of natural religion and inter-confessional activities, Oberlin enthusiastically embraced Basedow’s calls for pedagogical reform.

Thus there was a beneficial relationship between Pietism and Rationalism that was facilitated by their fundamental commonalities. The Pietists’ pedagogical views intersected the concerns of the Rationalists in a way that made the Pietists unwitting allies in the Rationalists’ efforts to reform education. At the same time, many Rationalists could be supportive of the Pietists’ pedagogical work because they saw in it elements which were deemed to be of value. As Gawthrop and Strauss say, “Even thinkers strongly influenced by the ideas of the Enlightenment regarded religion as an essential device for achieving the increased productivity needed to ensure the greatest good for the greatest number.”

### III.2.2. Influence of Rationalism on education and the liberal arts

Since Rationalism influenced not only the church but also pedagogical thought, it led to a transformation of the Evangelical educational system. This Rationalistic influence in the schools often raised the ire of the same Neo-Lutherans who objected to its influence in the church, particularly in Saxony where pastors were given a greater supervisory role in the schools than they were in other parts of Germany. Saxon Neo-Lutheran pastors would frequently find themselves in conflict with their school teachers, headmasters and school superintendents – educators who had often been trained according to Rationalist thought. The Neo-Lutheran clergy tended to be far more

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230 Quoted in Kurtz, 87.
231 Ibid., 82.
232 Gawthrop and Strauss, 51.
234 Not all educators accepted the theological premises of Rationalism. Many were attracted to the theological position of the Confessionalists and worked to establish that position in their schools. One notable Neo-Lutheran educator was August Friedrich Christian Vilmar (1800-1868). Vilmar, who had studied theology in order to become a pastor, was a teacher at Rotenburg and Hersfeld from 1823-32 because there were no pastoral positions available for him. He experienced a
critical of Rationalistic influences than of Pietistic influences. There are two possible reasons for this. Outwardly, at least, the state tended to promote reforms that were supported by the Rationalist theologians. Pietism’s influences were certainly present, but more often in an informal way.235 Secondly, because the Neo-Lutherans often came from Pietistic circles, they either could not see the tension that existed in the schools between Confessionalism and Pietism or they were reluctant to criticize that to which they were indebted. In time, these tensions would become apparent to them, but not until they began to establish schools in North America.

Rarely did the Neo-Lutherans have trouble with the methodologies of 19th-century German schools. Indeed when it would come time to establish their own confessional school system in North America, they would incorporate many of the practices that had been previously established by the German pedagogical reformers. Just as it was doctrine that separated Luther from Erasmus in the 16th century, so it was doctrine that separated the Confessionalists of the 19th century from their pedagogical opponents. There were five areas of 19th-century German pedagogy that presented problems for the Neo-Lutherans: the nature of God, the nature of man, the knowledge of God, the role of psychology in catechesis, and the use of education to promote nationalism. It is beyond the scope of this chapter to present a comprehensive survey of these topics, but a brief discussion of each area will aid in understanding why Neo-Lutheran theologians, such as Walther, became involved in educational reforms of their own. To summarize the views of the 18th- and 19th-century pedagogues, three of the most influential educational reformers shall be referenced: Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi (1746-1827), and two of his disciples – Friedrich Wilhelm August Fröbel (1782-1852) and Johann Friedrich Herbart (1776-1841).236 Amongst these pedagogues there was a

conversion first from Rationalism to Pietism as a result of the Erweckung, and then to confessional Lutheranism in 1830 as a result of his study for the 300th anniversary of the Augsburg Confession. He served as the director of the main Lutheran high school/gymnasium from 1833-1850. He became involved in politics and from 1850-1855 was a member of the parliament for the State of Hesse and served as the deputy for the Minister for Religious Affairs. Wilhelm Maurer, August Vilmar und Wilhelm Löhe: zwei lutherische Väter des 19. Jahrhunderts (Kassel: Johannes Stauda, 1938).

235 For a discussion on Pietism’s impact on the state, see Lehmann, 34-53.
236 Freeman Butts argues that these three should be considered as the three most influential Europeans in 19th-century American education. For a comparison of their views see R. Freeman Butts, A Cultural History of Western Education, 2nd ed. (Toronto: McGraw-Hill, 1955), 397-406.
complex interrelationship of ideas that were mutually influential, but there were also pronounced differences between them. Neo-Lutherans like Walther, put little effort into distinguishing these differences. Pestalozzi and Herbart may have tended toward philosophical realism and Fröbel toward Romanticism; however, the Neo-Lutherans were almost singly interested in their theological position; and since they had a different view of such matters as the nature of God, man, and the authority of Scripture, they could all be classified as theological rationalists.

To what extent Walther read these pedagogues is difficult to determine. In his writings, Walther never makes direct reference to them. At the same time, it is safe to assume that he would have been acquainted with them. Walther had a reputation as a well-read theologian who was familiar with the writings of the leading thinkers of Germany. This held true even after he immigrated to America.\textsuperscript{237} As an intellectual who had been given supervision of a Saxon school, he certainly would have gained an awareness of the thoughts of these educators – the most influential in Germany at that time.\textsuperscript{238}

\textit{III.2.2.a. The nature of God}

In speaking about the nature of God, the early Evangelicals confessed, “Our Churches, with common consent, do teach that the decrees of the Council of Nicaea concerning the Unity of the Divine Essence and concerning the Three Persons, is true and to be believed without any doubting.”\textsuperscript{239} Thus, in Evangelical schools, children were taught to think of God exclusively in such Trinitarian terms and to confess according to the established Ecumenical creeds of the church. By the late 18\textsuperscript{th} century and early 19\textsuperscript{th} century, this doctrine had become incongruent with the educational models that were being proposed by the German pedagogues who no longer viewed God exclusively in

\textsuperscript{237} Hardt argues convincingly that Walther was well acquainted with German scholarship throughout his life. See Tom G. A. Hardt, "In the Forecourts of Theology: The Epistemology of Hermann Sasse and the Relationship between Philosophy and Theology and between Natural Theology and Revelation in His Works," in \textit{Hermann Sasse: A Man for our Times?}, ed. John Stephenson and Thomas Winger (St. Louis: Concordia Academic Press, 1998).

\textsuperscript{238} All of Walther’s educational writings occurred well after his emigration. Though German pedagogues proved influential in the development of American public education, within the context of American Lutheran education, which was quite isolated from public education, the writings of thinkers like Fröbel, Herbart and Pestalozzi would have received little attention. In such a situation, it was enough for Walther to group them all together as German Rationalists.
traditional Trinitarian terms. Fröbel, for example, did not understand God according to the classic Trinitarian formula of three distinct persons in one divine essence as the Confessional Lutherans did. Rather, he spoke of God as a “unifying source of continual creation” that manifested itself in the realms of human experience and creativity. Fröbel explained, “Unity is God. Everything has emanated from the divine, from God and is solely conditioned by God, who is the only cause of all things.”

The German educational reformers not only rejected the historic Lutheran position on the nature of God, but believed that such dogmatic definitions were inappropriate in an educational setting. They felt that it was more important to allow a child to arrive at his or her own understanding of the nature of God through self-discovery. Pestalozzi said, "God is of men, for men and by men. Man knows God only as he knows mankind, that is to say himself." As a result of this position, Rationalist pedagogues directed educators to avoid teaching the child the specific dogmatic formulations about the nature of God in the style of the earlier Lutheran pedagogues. Herbart was especially adamant that the educator avoid such creedal understandings of God. To him, the catechetical training espoused by the Lutherans not only distorted a child’s understanding of God but also caused psychological harm. Herbart believed that such training would “commit a grave psychological error in the present” and “prepare the way for disgust at religion in general in the future. For the child with his limited experience could have no ideas by which he could apperceive the meaning of such dogmas and services, hence the idea of God connected with them must inevitably become wearisome to him.”

III.2.2.b. The nature of Man

The early Evangelical pedagogues firmly believed that children were born sinful. This sin prevented children from knowing or choosing that which was spiritually beneficial and good. Even after original sin was removed through baptism, it was

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239 Augsburg Confession Article I. TR 43.
240 Friedrich Froebel, Education of Man, in Friedrich Froebel: A Selection from his Writings (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967), 49.
241 Ibid., 87.
understood that children still must daily contend with sin in their lives. This doctrine figured prominently in shaping the Evangelicals’ understanding of education. Schools were to teach children the Evangelical means of mortifying the sinful nature through contrition and repentance. Furthermore, because of their sinful nature, students were taught that they could not rely on their own experience to determine divine truth. Instead, they were taught to rely on the revealed Word in order to learn of such things as truth, goodness, virtue and righteousness.

In the 18th century, Jean Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778) gave voice to the contradicting belief that children possessed a natural goodness from birth. Following this lead, the German educators uniformly held a much more optimistic view of man. They believed that a divine nature dwelt within the child and, given the right education, the child could come to know and develop this communion with the divine in a healthy fashion. Fröbel stated that man “from his first appearance on earth”, possessed a “united life coherence with God, Nature and humanity.” In his letter to the Duke of Meiningen (1827), Fröbel expressed his conviction that “man’s nature is essentially and innately spiritual.” Herbart believed that a child started life with an “un-perverted mind” which had a “natural antipathy to strife, malevolence, injustice, selfishness.” Furthermore, children’s minds had “a correcting approval of harmony, good-will, justice and benevolence.” The German pedagogues believed that sin, evil and wickedness came from outside societal influences rather than from within a child. Pestalozzi said that “man of himself is good, and desires to be good, but he wishes to be happy when doing it; if he happens to be evil, surely it is because the road by which he sought to do good was blocked.” Generally, these Rationalist educational reformers believed that, if these corrupting roadblocks were removed and children were provided with the proper type of education, they would develop in their capacity to know God and choose that

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which was good and right. According to Fröbel, education was the means which "guided man to understand himself, to be at peace with Nature and to be united with God."\textsuperscript{247}

La Vopa, in his book, \textit{Prussian Schoolteachers: Profession and Office, 1763-1848}, argues that this approach to education was something of a breakthrough. He explains,

Their [the German pedagogues] discovery was that childhood was a unique formative period, the stage in which the human being’s ‘natural’ intellectual capacities and moral tendencies had not yet been corrupted by his environment. In that light even the peasant son, though born into a distinctly unenlightened world, was peculiarly educable. What the new pedagogy offered was a way to improve on – or, better, promote nature. The older generation was proof enough that children, and particularly the countrymen’s children, would not become reasonable men if left to themselves. Though the child had an innate desire to learn he also was easily distracted. Though predisposed to be good he was also given to mischief and even malice; his moral tendencies had not yet developed into conscience.\textsuperscript{248}

According to Hahn in his book, \textit{Education and Society in Germany}, this optimistic view of human nature had a three-fold effect on the development of German pedagogical ideology in the late 18\textsuperscript{th} century and early 19\textsuperscript{th} century. First, German pedagogy became imbued with a new sense of individualism that sought to emancipate the individual from the bonds of ignorance. Self-knowledge (\textit{Selbsterkenntnis}) was seen as the most noble achievement. Second, German pedagogy became concerned with inclusivity: that is, including all senses and intellectual abilities in educational enterprise. Hahn explains this by saying,

In order to realize the harmony of truth and beauty, man’s animality must be reconciled with his spirituality; all human faculties must unfold harmoniously. Of particular importance for this new concept of inclusive education was Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi (1746-1827). This Swiss pioneer saw the simultaneous understanding of number, form and word, his formula of our intellectual, emotional and practical abilities, would lead our understanding from confusion toward certainty, from certainty toward clarity and from clarity to distinctiveness.\textsuperscript{249}

\textsuperscript{247} Froebel, \textit{Education of Man}, 50.


Third, these educational reforms were concerned with universality. Hahn explains that this final element “emphasizes the anthropocentric aspect of Bildung, initially envisaged as physical development but soon to include the intellectual, emotional and spiritual perfection of the individual culminating in man’s most comprehensive appropriation of ‘world’.” Language was the avenue into this new world. Seen not just as means of communicating information, language was understood to be the medium by which the student experienced and engaged in an exchange with “past, present and future worlds.”

III.2.2.c. The knowledge of God (Cogito Dei)

The early Evangelicals believed that knowledge of spiritual matters came exclusively through the Word. This understanding was at the heart and core of their pedagogical model. They had altered the Confessional curriculum and tailored their catechetical training so that students would be able to know, understand, and value the Scriptures as a clear exposition of the will of God. They viewed their doctrine not as a doctrina humana but as a doctrina divina. For this reason, the early Evangelicals believed that an essential goal of education was to direct the learner to the word of Holy Scripture as the ultimate source of truth, and that the catechism – specifically Luther’s Small Catechism – was an indispensable tool for accomplishing this task.

The German educational reformers considered this understanding of revelation counterproductive in the quest for knowledge of the divine in particular. They believed that knowledge, wisdom and truth were rooted in human experience instead of divine revelation. Therefore, the Rationalist pedagogues specifically rejected classical Lutheran catechetical training. Pestalozzi said, “Surely the best catechism is the one the children understand without their pastor.” He thought that instead of finding divine wisdom and truth in Scripture, it could be found within the individual. He said, “Believe in yourself, O Man – believe in the inner meaning of your being. Then will you believe in God and immortality.” Fröbel similarly believed that a divine essence, which revealed truth and wisdom quite apart from Holy Scriptures, was at work in the individual. Thus

250 Ibid.
252 Pestalozzi, 90.
Fröbel believed that children should be taught to trust on this “essential nature” and not in the Holy Scripture as a revelation of God’s will. Education, he said, “must make him [the student] consciously accept and freely realize the divine power which activates him. It should lead him to perceive and know the divine as it is manifested in his natural surroundings.” Fröbel similarly stated, “Ideas spring from two main sources, experience and social intercourse.” For this reason, any religious instruction in the school was to be purified of “unworthy admixtures” allowing for the “true concepts” of Rationalistic theology to be impressed on children “before the mythological conceptions of antiquity become known.”

III.2.2.d. Psychology and its relationship to catechesis

In keeping with traditional Christian thinking, the Evangelicals understood education as ancilla theologiae. Thus their educational model was founded on clear theological principles. Baptism, Vocation, Law and Gospel, and the like were not just the starting points of Evangelical pedagogy, but integral components. Furthermore, this catechetical model had overtly theological goals aimed at cultivating a strong sense of Lutheran piety.

The German pedagogues considered the psychological and social needs of a child as being more important than the doctrinal needs of the church. They believed that education should be emancipated from such confessional subservience. Pestalozzi believed that the primary purpose of education was to develop all the faculties of the child’s nature. He said, “The instruction of man is then only the Art of helping Nature to develop in her own way; and this Art rests essentially on the relation and harmony between the impressions received by the child and the exact degree of his developed powers.” Strict theological models of education based on confessional identities were believed to hinder a child’s free development and were rejected on psychological grounds. In Lienhard und Gertrud (“Leonard and Gertrude”), Pestalozzi advocated that,

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253 Froebel, Education of Man, 57.
255 Ibid., 221.
in the realm of education, the doctrinal aspects of education — those which the Lutherans believed to be so important — were to be avoided.

Religious education continued to be an integral part of the reformers’ educational model, but it was governed by the tenets of their understanding of psychology which precluded the inclusion of traditional Evangelical catechetical training. From their point of view, confessional Lutheran catechesis — that is, the spiritual formation of a child through praying from memorized texts, especially the texts of the catechism — hindered a child’s development and restricted a true expression of the inner divine self. So, for example, according to Pestalozzi, children were to avoid learning prayers by rote because such indoctrination was, “contrary to the spirit of Christianity and the express injunctions of their Saviour.”

In place of a traditional catechetical style training, Herbart called for a religious education program that focused on moral development, with morality defined by Herbart in terms of equity, justice, perfection and the like. In this regard he said, “Inasmuch as moral training must be put off until after insight and right habits have been acquired, religious education, too, should not be begun too early; nor should it be needlessly delayed.” In Allgemeine Pädagogik aus dem Zweck der Erziehung abgeleitet (“General pedagogics derived from the purpose of education”), Herbart defined this age saying, “As soon as a child reasons with you by showing knowledge, thinking, fear and hope, the idea of God must already surface by having thought at an early age.” Thus Herbart agrees with the long-standing catechetical principle of early instruction, but disagrees with the method on the basis that a child should first come to a knowledge of the divine on his own without prior catechetical instruction. Whereas earlier pedagogues, beginning with Augustine and including the early Evangelicals, maintained that children should memorize early on what was deemed to be the essential texts of the Christian faith, Herbart and his contemporaries advocated that, if such learning were to occur at all, it should be delayed so that healthy psychological development would not be corrupted by doctrinal statements of faith.

The contrast between the ideals of the early Lutherans and the German pedagogues can be illustrated by comparing two sets of prayers. Luther’s Morning and

Evening Prayers were almost universally used in Lutheran schools from the time of the Reformation through to the close of the 18th century. In the early 19th century, Herbart wrote his own set of morning and evening prayers designed to replace those of Luther.259

Luther’s prayers have clear Christological references. They reflect a central concern for salvation from sin, death and Satan. They make reference to a daily struggle against the sinful nature and to forgiveness which could only be found “through Jesus Christ my Lord.” The early Evangelicals understood that their prayers were offered to a transcendent God who, according to His grace, answered those prayers. Herbart’s prayers, on the other hand, clearly reflect the new Rationalistic theology. Prayers were offered to a “Father in heaven”, with no Christological references. The prayers concentrate on building one’s ethical standard in this life with no eschatological

258 Herbart, The Double Basis of Pedagogics, 14.
259 Herbart’s Morning Prayer
“O Lord God! Our dear Father in heaven, take me into Thy keeping! I am Thy child and wish to be good. Help me to be so. Let me more and clearly and strongly feel day by day what is right and wrong (Idea of Inner Freedom), what is good and wicked. When I ask anything of any one, let me truly feel whether what I ask be just or unjust (Idea of Equity). When I wish to speak or to act, let me see clearly before hand if what I would say or do is mean, unseemly, or even dishonest. Help me to succeed in my work. Bless my industry. Give my parents, my brothers and sisters, and all other human beings as much happiness and as much good as is possible, Thou good Father in heaven.” Herbart, Letters and Lectures on Education, 54.

Luther’s Morning Prayer
“We give thanks unto Thee, Heavenly Father, through Jesus Christ, Thy dear Son, that Thou has kept us this night from all harm and danger; and we pray Thee that Thou wouldst keep us this day also from sin and every evil, that all our doings and life may please Thee. For into Thy hands we commend ourselves, our bodies and souls, and all things. Let Thy holy angel be with us that the wicked Foe may have no power over us. Amen.” Luther, Small Catechism (1529), TC, 557.

Herbart’s Evening Prayer
“How has the day gone by? Well or ill, or only indifferently? O God, help me to see how much better I ought to have been, how much better I could have been (Idea of Perfection). Have I been idle or diligent? Have I scolded or been quarrelsome? Have I done anything against another, or in my heart desired another’s ill (Idea of Right)? O God, Thou knowest the hearts of men – Thou knowest all their feelings, even when unspoken. To Thee no heart can be well-pleasing which is not well disposed to all men, and does not desire their good. Thou hast said we must love our enemies. Therefore let me fall asleep with feelings of love and good-will, and to-morrow wake again (Idea of Benevolence).” Herbart, Letters and Lectures on Education, 54.

Luther’s Evening Prayer
“We thank Thee, heavenly Father, through Jesus Christ, Thy dear Son, that Thou hast kept us this day; and we pray Thee that Thou wouldst graciously forgive s all our sins where we have done wrong, and graciously keep us this night. For into Thy hands we commend ourselves, our bodies
references to the life that was to come. They clearly reflect Herbart’s understanding that education should seek to develop a moral awareness in children by cultivating an understanding of freedom, equity, perfection, and benevolence. They are more of a psychological exercise – a personal motivator encouraging the student to strive to live according to his inner natural goodness.

There is something of a paradox in the Rationalist educators’ understanding of the relationship of theology to psychology in education. On one hand, they maintained that education should be free from confessional and catechetical influence; but on the other hand, their psychological approach to education was a vehicle for the advancement of their own theological views. In other words, it was a catechetical program designed to develop a Rationalist piety in their students. As the medieval scholastics and the Evangelicals before them had done, the educational reformers of the 18th and 19th century altered not just the liberal arts but the whole nature of education in order to advance their theology. This is illustrated in their treatment of confessional differences in an educational setting. Rationalist theologians generally regarded confessional divisions as an impediment to the advancement of true religion. The doctrinal differences that lay at the heart of these divisions were generally regarded as insignificant – something to be put aside in the name of true religion. It was a distinctly theological view, but the German educators used psychology to justify why this Rationalistic doctrine should be the norm for the classroom. Herbart, for example, instructed educators to work hard to overcome confessional differences and to teach children that the “characteristics of a particular Christian denomination [were] contradictory to the whole brotherhood of Christians.” Herbart directed educators to use the classroom to build a desire for inter-confessional communion, stating that “the first Communion service should imply a conquest over the feeling of separation from other denominations.” Thus, the psychologically justified goal to eliminate feelings of

and souls, and all things. Let Thy holy angel be with us that the wicked Foe may have no power over us. Amen.” Luther, Small Catechism (1529), TC, 559.

260 For an explanation of Herbart’s five-fold principle of education see Herbart, The Double Basis of Pedagogics, 11-12. Also see Letter to Herr von Steiger (4 November 1797), in Herbart, Letters and Lectures on Education, 44.

261 Herbart, Outlines of Educational Doctrine, 219.

262 Ibid., 220.
separation among students was used to advance the Rationalists’ theology of altar fellowship: that is, who was to be admitted to the Lord’s Supper.\textsuperscript{263}

This paradox notwithstanding, Herbart, along with most of his contemporaries, believed that psychology should be the final guide for catechetical instruction. So, for example, it was essential that the educator “gain an adequate knowledge of each pupil’s capacity for education,” taking into account “the rhythm of the pupil’s mental life as well as of the character of his store of thoughts. The insight thus obtained determines the matter and method of instruction.”\textsuperscript{264} Earlier religious pedagogues didn’t completely ignore a child’s psychological development; but in the end, their understanding of the psychological development of children was shaped by their theology. For Herbart, and most of his contemporaries, psychology, rather than theology, was the primary normative agent in pedagogy. They saw themselves as Anwalt des Kindes, a distinction that separated them from older Christian traditions as well as from the rising Neo-Lutheran movement. Rationalist reformers would not have considered Neo-Lutherans, such as Walther, true educators. Instead they were understood as Anwalt der Konfession who regressively viewed education as an application of theology.\textsuperscript{265}

\textit{III.2.2.e. Education and the promotion of Nationalism}

The influence of Rationalistic theology in pedagogical theory coincided with an effort to use education to promote German nationalism. Johann Gottlieb Fichte (1762-1814), who was also influenced by Pestalozzi’s educational ideas, was particularly influential in this regard. In 1808 Fichte wrote \textit{Reden an die deutsche Nation} (“Addresses to the German Nation”) in which he called for an overhaul of the German educational system that would establish strong nationalistic ties between the individual and the German nation. Writing in the context of the Napoleonic occupation and the defeat of the German territories, Fichte said, “In a word, it is the total change of the

\textsuperscript{263} Following Luther’s lead at Marburg until the time of the Prussian Union, the Lutheran Church admitted to the Lord’s Supper only those who had been instructed in the teachings of the Evangelical Lutheran faith. This meant that those who denied the Lutheran teaching of the Real Presence were forbidden from participating in the Sacrament of the Altar in a Lutheran Church. Generally speaking, those who were involved in confessional renewal also advocated a restricted participation in the Lord’s Supper. Hermann Sasse, \textit{This Is My Body: Luther’s Contention for the Real Presence in the Sacrament of the Altar} (Adelaide: Lutheran Publishing House, 1977), 233ff.

\textsuperscript{264} Herbart, \textit{Outlines of Educational Doctrine}, 23.
existing system of education that I propose as the sole means of preserving the existence of the German nation.”

Fichte believed that the existing educational system, based on confessional identities, had failed to produce children who had a “religious, moral and law-abiding disposition and order in all things and good habits.” Like the other pedagogues, Fichte believed that man, in his inner nature, was intrinsically good. Children eventually became corrupt by being surrounded by an evil society. The remedy “was an absolutely new system of German national education, such as has never existed in any other nation.”

Fichte believed that a new educational system based on Enlightenment philosophy and Rationalistic theology would “mould men who are inwardly and fundamentally good, since it is through such men alone that the German nation can still continue to exist.”

Confessional schools were seen to be a hindrance to this new nationalism because they divided the German people. Fichte believed that schools should strive to bring the nation together as one and he advocated one system of education that would “mould the Germans into a corporate body, which shall be stimulated and animated in all its individual members by the same interest.”

The new German pedagogues, inspired by Fichte, looked to the Greek classics and to Athens as the inspiration for German creativity and renewed German nationalism. By returning to Ancient Greece, which was viewed as the cradle of civilization, educational reformers such as Wilhelm von Humboldt (1767-1835) hoped to give birth to a new enlightened German nation. Thus, in the gymnasium, the study of Greek was revived and Greek philosophy was given a new prominence; however, in the process, the nature of the gymnasium was changed. The traditional doctrinal and catechetical aspects were forgotten and classical Hellenism took their place. At the universities, the faculties of philosophy took on superior status to those of theology and

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265 The term “Anwalt der Konfession” is a suggestion of Professor Leendert Groenendijk.
267 Ibid., 27.
268 Ibid., 29.
269 Ibid., 26.
became oriented toward man and reasoned thought rather than toward God and revealed knowledge.²⁷⁰

This marked a considerably different approach to language than that of the 16th-century Lutheran pedagogues who saw language as a gateway to the world of the Scriptures and the early church fathers. Early Lutheran pedagogues prized ancient languages because they stood in service to the faith. Their use of languages was Christocentric in its purpose. They believed that, through the words of Scripture, the student was drawn closer to Christ who was present therein. A command of the sacred languages was a priority because it enabled the student to understand the Scriptures in their original languages, thus allowing knowledge of Christ unmediated by translators. Conversely, the Rationalist educators used the ancient languages in an anthropocentric way. Their goal was the perfection of man and the development of self. An unmediated knowledge of the ancient philosophers, gained through a command of the ancient languages, would draw a student into the world of these philosophers and allow the progression toward an ideal “self” realization. This was reflected in a changed attitude toward the role of the arts in education. Whereas the early Lutherans had reworked the arts so that they would be an effective handmaiden of Evangelical theology, the German Rationalists refashioned trivial education to be the handmaiden of Rationalistic theology and an overall world-view.

²⁷⁰ Ernst Christian Helmreich, Religious Education in German Schools. An Historical Approach (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1959), 34. Paulsen, in his landmark book German Education: Past and Present, holds an optimistic view of German education in the 19th century. The neo-humanistic movement of the early 19th century was a “renascence, as it were, of the Renaissance, which had been smothered or at least reduced to a bloodless classicism, in Germany, as well as Italy, by the Reformation and its counter-movements.” (p. 162). He does correctly identify an important distinction between the humanists of the 15th and 16th centuries and the neo-humanists of the 18th century. Whereas the early generation of humanists sought to recover the Roman ideals and stressed the recovery of a Ciceronian Latin, the neo-humanists looked to Athens for their source of philosophy and eloquence. Paulsen cites several reasons for this difference, including the fact that the early humanists had taken their direction from the Italian humanists who had a natural affinity with Rome and the Latin world. But there is another reason which Paulsen does not identify. The earlier humanists were clearly within the fold of the church and it was their desire to continue in Latin – the language of the church. The German neo-humanists of 18th and 19th centuries sought to be free of the strictures of the church. This desire would motivate them to look outside a language that was so strongly connected with ecclesiastical connotations. While Greek was the language of the New Testament, it was distinctly separate from the language of the church and could be studied in a freer spirit. Friedrich Paulsen, German Education: Past and Present, trans. T. Lorenz (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1908).
III.3. Conclusions

The Evangelical liberal arts curriculum, which had, for the most part, survived through to the beginning of the 18th century, was in the process of being radically altered by the close of that century. This change took place within the context of the rise of Rationalistic theology, a renewal of Pietism, and the Neo-classical movement. Along with the theologies that directed them, the educational changes would give rise to the Neo-Lutheran movement of the early 19th century. Led by Claus Harms, theologians who were part of this movement returned back to the teachings of Luther and called for a strict adherence to the confessional standards of the Evangelical Lutheran Church.
IV. **The development of Walther as a Confessional educator**

IV.1. **An education in Rationalism**

Carl Ferdinand Wilhelm Walther grew up in the cross-currents of 19th-century Saxon Rationalism and Pietism.\(^{271}\) He was born in 1811 in Lagenchursdorf, Saxony where his father and his grandfather served as pastors. Though his father had been influenced by Rationalist theology, Walther considered him to be a “true believer” and claimed that he had provided Walther with a pious upbringing.\(^{272}\) At age seven, Walther was sent to the *gymnasium* in nearby Hohenstein; and at age ten, he entered the *Lateinschule* in Schneeberg – a school which had a reputation for strict discipline and rigorous academics.\(^{273}\) The education Walther received at Schneeberg was typical of 19th-century Saxon schools. By and large, the Saxon *gymnasiums* still followed the model of education laid out by Melanchthon. Every boy between the ages of ten and nineteen, regardless of his intended profession, followed the same course of studies which largely revolved around Latin, Greek and Hebrew. About the time that Walther attended the gymnasium, schools began introducing other subjects such as mathematics, natural science, German history and literature.\(^{274}\)

While Walther was never critical of the academic aspect of his education, he had very little good to say about the spiritual component. He felt that the spiritual climate at Schneeberg was devoid of true Christianity because of Rationalism. In later years, Walther would claim that, during these years, he remained “unconverted” and that the

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\(^{271}\) Aside from Forster’s examination of the Saxon Immigration, *Zion on the Mississippi* (1953), there is a lack of critical research on C.F.W. Walther. Most of what has been written has come from Lutheran Church–Missouri Synod writers. At times, some of the biographical material, such as Polack’s *The Story of C.F.W. Walther* (1935), borders on hagiography. W. G. Polack, *The Story of C. F. W. Walther* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1935). More recent works such as Suelflow’s *Servant of the Word: The Life and Ministry of C.F.W. Walther* (2000) tend to be more balanced in their approach but still reveal an uncritical bias toward Walther and his work. Important questions such as the degree to which Pietism influenced Walther’s theology, or the degree to which Walther understood the complexities of 19th-century German theological trends, have received little attention. See August R. Suelflow, *A Select Bibliography for the Study of the Reverend Doctor C. F. W. Walther* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1987).

\(^{272}\) Walther, *The Proper Distinction between Law and Gospel*, 141.

school lacked any Scriptural teachings. He stated that all of his associates were “unbelievers” and that he could find “a faint trace of faith” in only one of his teachers. He said, “When I entered the university, I did not know the 10 Commandments by heart and could not recite the list of books of the Bible. My knowledge of the Bible was pitiful, and I had not an inkling of faith.” Clearly, Walther believed that his catechetical training at Schneeberg had fallen far short of what he felt it should have been in a Lutheran school. In 1872 he said,

I was eighteen years old when I left the Gymnasium, and I had never heard a sentence taken from the Word of God out of a believing mouth. I had never had a Bible, neither a Catechism, but a miserable ‘Leitfaden’ which only contained morality.

Walther was not alone in his assessment of the state of religious education. Fellow emigrant, Ernst Bürger, attended Holy Cross gymnasium in Dresden. He wrote that, while he had a very good education in the classical languages of Greek and Latin, his catechetical training was “a miserable drivel of heathen morality.”

IV.2 Moving from Rationalism to Pietism

In 1829 Walther graduated from Schneeberg with the citation of *Imprimis dignus* and planned to continue to university in order to study music. His plans soon changed when his brother, Otto Hermann Walther (1809-1841), presented the 18-year-old Walther with a brief biography of the Pietist pastor, Johann Frederick Oberlin. The Oberlin biography was Walther’s introduction to the world of Pietism. In Oberlin, Walther saw a zeal and fervour that had been lacking in his own life as well as in the lives of his teachers and professors. Walther was so impressed with the religious dedication of Oberlin that he was persuaded to study theology at the University of Leipzig. Walther wrote,

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274 Mundinger, 27.
276 *Synodal-Bericht* (1872), cited by Martin Günther, *Dr. C. F. W. Walther: Lebensbild* (St. Louis: Lutherischer Concordia-Verlag, 1890), 5.
277 Ernst Moritz Buerger, “Memoirs of Ernst Moritz Buerger,” *Concordia Historical Institute Quarterly* 76, no. 3 (2003), 142.
I am living quite happily and philosophize with my brother about the most interesting events of our lives, and I am reading with real eagerness the account of the life of Pastor Oberlin by Schubert. This has taken possession of my whole being and has shown me that the prospects which a theologian can have are the finest, because he can, if he only will, gain for himself a field of activity such as no one who has chosen another calling may hope for.\textsuperscript{279}

In the fall of 1829, Walther matriculated at the University of Leipzig where he contended with a largely Rationalistic faculty which taught a theology that he was now rejecting.\textsuperscript{280} While at university, Walther's brother, Otto, introduced him to a group of Pietistic students who were part of Die Erweckung in Saxony. Pietist student groups had been active at the University of Leipzig since 1689 when Francke established a collegium philobiblicum. The collegium to which Walther belonged, was headed by a theological student by the name of Kühn. A rigorous Pietist, Kühn demanded that the members follow a strict ascetic agenda of Scripture reading, intense prayer, moral piety, and deprivation of physical comforts as a means of mortification of the flesh.\textsuperscript{281} In the biography of his associate Johann Friedrich Bünger, Walther wrote this about the nature of the books in which he immersed himself during this epoch of his life:

The less a book invited to faith, and the more legalistically it urged contrition of the heart and upon the thorough and complete killing of the old man, the more it passed for us as a better book. Very often we read such books only so far as they described the pains and lessons of penitence.\textsuperscript{282}

\textsuperscript{279} Paul H. Burgdorf, "The Book that Made Walther a Minister," \textit{Concordia Historical Institute Quarterly} 14, no. 1 (1941), 2.
\textsuperscript{280} Rationalist theology was actively promoted by the Leipzig faculty at the time. Bürger's memoirs include some of the textbooks that were used at that time, including Julius Wegschneider's \textit{Dogmatics}, a book which denied the divinity of Christ and provided naturalistic explanations for Christ's miracles; and Dieter's \textit{Teacher's Bible}, which Bürger described as "a tome of lying devilish scriptural interpretation." Buerger, 144.
It is difficult to overstate the negative view that Walther, who was full of a newfound zeal for Pietism, had toward the theological faculty at Leipzig and indeed toward the entire theological climate of the Lutheran Church in Saxony. In Bünger’s biography, Walther stated:

As our Bünger at Easter 1829 entered the University of Leipzig, conditions as concerned the true Christian faith, were as dismal at the “highest school” of the land as they were in all of Saxony. Precisely from this university for many years already there had flowed, as a living spring, the poisonous stream of rationalism, of unbelief, of sham enlightenment and the most frightful distortion of Scripture upon all the congregations of Saxony. The preachers whose misfortune it was to be prepared at that time to serve the church in Leipzig, proclaimed from their pulpits in the congregations that, naturally, which their professors had given them as the great new wisdom. At the very top of the whole church there stood at that time the Chief Court Chaplain and Vice President of the Chief Consistory, Christoph Friederich von Ammon, who had written a book with the title Continuation of the Building of Christianity Toward a World Religion [Die Fortbildung des Christentums zur Weltreligion (1833)]. The brother of the author of this biography [O. H. Walther] rightly declared concerning this book that the title ought really to have been, The Perversion of Christianity Toward a Worldly Religion.283

Christoph Friedrich von Ammon (1766-1850) was the Saxon royal chaplain and served on the consistorial court in Dresden. As the Oberhofprediger, Ammon was also responsible for the examination of the pastoral candidates at the University of Leipzig prior to their graduation.284 Though Ammon continued to use traditional Lutheran terms, he advocated a progressive development of Christian doctrine which would reflect the new advances that had been made in the field of science.285 Although Ammon, like other moderate Rationalists, attempted to maintain this historical link, this was not enough for Walther. Walther believed that Rationalism, in whatever form it was

283 Ibid., 7.
284 While it is unknown if he personally examined Walther, he did examine other members of the Leipzig group including Ernst Buerger. Buerger, 145.
285 Ammon sought a scientific explanation for the Biblical miracles and claimed Jesus was a “moral Messiah.” However, as long as the conservative Saxon politician Count von Einsiedel was in power he continued to use orthodox terminology and even went so far as to defend the theology of Claus Harms. After Count von Einsiedel left office, Ammon was again a “decided rationalist.” [Friedrich Wilhelm Bautz, Biographisch-Bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon (accessed 06 May 2007); available from http://www.bautz.de/bbk1/a/ammon_c_f.shtml.] Ammon may not have been as influential as the neo-Lutherans believed. In 1850 he was succeeded by Gottlieb C. Adolf von Harless who has been described as “the great pillar of Lutheran orthodoxy,” and was deeply committed to the Lutheran Confessions and the Neo-Lutheran cause. Mundinger, 19.
presented, was the chief enemy of the church. The fact that Ammon’s theology was officially approved by virtue of his appointment was confirmation to Walther that the church of Saxony had been perverted by Rationalism.

After about six months in this group, an unnamed “old candidate of theology, a genuine Pietist” directed Walther to the Beicht- und Kommunionbuch (“Book on Confession and Communion”) by the Pietist theologian, Johann Philipp Fresenius (1705-1761). This book proved to be troublesome for Walther. Fresenius demanded that, in order for one to be a Christian, one must achieve a complete and total mortification of the sinful nature. However, what troubled Walther was that Fresenius claimed that every Christian could be classified according to nine different categories, and Walther was unable to identify himself according to any of these. In a struggle reminiscent of Luther, Walther was tormented with feelings of unworthiness, even coming to the conclusion that he did not possess a true and saving faith. Writing about this experience, he said, “An increasing darkness settled on my soul as I tasted less and less of the sweetness of the Gospel.”

IV.3 Moving from Pietism to Confessionalism

During Walther’s time at Leipzig, two events occurred that initiated a conversion from Pietism to Confessionalism. First, he came into contact with the dynamic preacher from Dresden, Martin Stephan (1777-1846). Stephan had set himself up as the voice of Confessional Lutheranism in Dresden, and in so doing, he attracted support from anti-rationalistic and anti-unionistic elements throughout Saxony. This, of course, included a variety of Pietists and Neo-Lutherans. As Walther searched for answers in his spiritual crisis, he was directed to write to Stephan. Stephan’s reply to Walther had a deep impact on him. Walther stated that his letter “was so full of comfort that I could not resist its

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286 Walther, The Proper Distinction between Law and Gospel, 142.
287 In 1831 the leader of the Leipzig group, Kühn, left to accept a call to serve a congregation. This left the group without a spiritual leader and its members more receptive to the leadership offered by Stephan. Koenig and Koenig, 43.
arguments.” From this point on, Walther would rely on Stephan’s judgments and through them be drawn increasingly toward confessional Lutheranism.

The second factor that led to Walther’s conversion was the reading of classical Lutheran works during a period of convalescence. During the winter of 1831-1832, Walther became ill, in part, because of the ascetic lifestyle that he followed under Kühn’s leadership. As a result, he was forced to temporarily leave his university studies and return home to Lagenchursdorf in order to convalesce. During this time, Walther read the works of Luther and the Orthodox Lutheran theologians. This introduced him to a form of Lutheranism different from what he had previously experienced. He began to understand Lutheranism in terms of Confessionalism – articulating belief through the historic symbols of the Evangelical Lutheran Church.

This conversion – so to speak – was by no means instantaneous. It would be many years before Walther would understand Pietism as antithetical to genuine Lutheranism. As late as 1840, Walther would still quote Pietist theologians such as Spener and Francke approvingly. Indeed, remnants of Walther’s Pietistic past could be seen in his theology through to the end of his life. In later years, he retained some of the vocabulary of Pietism, speaking, for example, of those who were “truly converted”. He exhibited a Pietistic-like zeal for missions, evangelism and, more pertinent to this dissertation, the education of children. Nevertheless, in his later writings, Walther clearly rejected Pietism on the whole for many of the same reasons identified by Barth as discussed in the previous chapter.

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288 Walther, The Proper Distinction between Law and Gospel, 142.
291 Zersen maintains that Walther’s opposition to Pietism was reactionary against the extremes of Pietism and that more moderate versions of Pietism were unnecessarily vilified by Walther. Zersen, 10-25.
In 1834 Walther made his first foray into the field of education. In that year, Stephan recommended Walther as tutor to two prominent families: the Friedemann Löber and the August Löber families. By accepting the position, Walther had the opportunity to integrate his theology with pedagogical practice, and was also drawn closer to Stephan’s inner circle of Confessional/Pietistic pastors. This included G.H. Löber (1797-1849) who was in regular correspondence with Claus Harms; E.G.W. Keyl (1804-1872), who was, at the time, involved in controversy at his own parish school; O. Fürbringer (1810-1892), who would later be instrumental in founding a gymnasium in Missouri; E. M. Bürger, who had taught at a free school in Leipzig and been offered the position of catechist at St. Peter's Church in Leipzig; and Franz Delitzsch (1813-1890), who, in addition to being a bright scholar, would also develop and conduct a Sunday School in Leipzig.292 Thus, by 1836 Walther was not only thoroughly ensconced in Stephan’s group of would-be Confessionalists, but had also forged ties with educators intent on educational reform. Walther’s experience with teaching, his exposure to Rationalism, his involvement with Pietism and the contacts which he had established within the Neo-Lutheran movement all played a significant role in how he would interpret his position as pastor of the school and congregation to which he would be assigned upon graduation.

IV.4 Bräunsdorf: attempting to bring Confessionalism to the classroom

In the fall of 1836, Walther passed his examinations for the office of the pastoral ministry and was ordained and installed as the pastor of the Lutheran church in Bräunsdorf, Saxony in January of 1837. Walther’s assessment of the situation at his new parish was less than flattering. Within a month of his installation, Walther had come to the conclusion that true Christianity wa...
Walther was not only dissatisfied with his parishioners; in the same letter, he complained about his superintendent, Friedrich Otto Siebenhaar, claiming that the sermon he preached at Walther’s installation was a completely “unchristian address.” Walther believed that, in order to establish a “real spiritual life” in his congregation, he would have to begin in the school.

In the first half of the 19th century, Saxon schools were organized along confessional lines unlike schools in other German States. Saxon schools belonged to either a Lutheran school community (Schulgemeinde) or a Roman Catholic school community, both of which retained ownership and control over the schools. The immediate supervision of each individual school was divided between the pastor of the local congregation and the head teacher. Generally, the local pastor was given the responsibility of examining the teaching staff and the authority to confirm all appointments to teach.294 In addition, the pastor was responsible for the spiritual life of the school. The exercise of this supervision might range from direct instruction of the catechism to a simple annual examination of the children to see if they had been taught the catechism. The teacher was generally given responsibility over most other matters of school administration, including the selection of school books and curricula.

As a new pastor, Walther took his school responsibilities seriously. During the first four months of 1837, Walther visited the school no less than ten times, inspecting the first and second class alternately.295 He took an active role in the spiritual life of the school, conscientiously fulfilling duties that were often neglected by pastors. He catechized the children in the six chief parts of the Catechism, expounded on various seasonal Scripture passages (such as the Passion narrative during Lent), and explained the coming Sunday’s Gospel lessons. He listened to the pupils of his school recite Bible passages and portions of the catechism.296 Perhaps taking his cue from Oberlin's pessimistic estimation of his congregation was proved wrong when 19 members of his congregation were devoted enough to join him in immigrating to America the following year.

294 Mundinger, 26, footnote 30.
295 After April 1837, Walther’s log of school visits become less detailed. Reflecting the existing conflict there are only six entries made between 19 June 1837 and June 1838. Each of these entries notes the presence of various educational officials such as Superintendent Siebenhaar, School Counselor D. Meisinger and the school patron, Count von Einsiedel. The next entries are made by a Vicar Kretschmar in October 1839 well after Walther had immigrated to America. Carl S. Meyer, "Walther's School Visits in Braeunsdorf," Concordia Historical Institute 38 (1965), 103-105.
296 Ibid., 106-107.
extensive involvement in the daily operation of the school, Walther also involved himself in other areas of school life that had been traditionally the domain of the teacher. He took an active role in teaching the children spelling, reading and arithmetic; interviewing and admitting new children to the school; and reviewing all the texts that were being used in the school.\textsuperscript{297} Thus it was not long before Walther found himself locked in conflict with his schoolmaster, J. G. Neidert, and subsequently with Superintendent Siebenhaar. Had Walther restricted himself to the supervision of the spiritual life of the school, it is easy to surmise that much of the ensuing conflict could have been avoided, for he would have been acting in a traditionally accepted role for the pastor. However, Walther was unwilling to confine himself to purely spiritual matters. He distrusted the entire established educational system, viewing it as an agent of indoctrination for Rationalist theology.

The catalyst for the conflict was Neidert’s choice of textbooks. The texts for the school at Bräunsdorf had been selected by the head teacher and approved by the school board. However, within a short time of arriving, Walther determined that the material in these textbooks was of a Rationalistic nature and therefore unacceptable in a Lutheran school. Neidert rejected Walther’s critique of the book, refused to stop using them, and appealed to Siebenhaar for support. Incensed that Neidert went to his superintendent, Walther appealed to Count von Einsiedel. This set up a contentious situation. Einsiedel was not only a prominent member of Saxony’s ruling class, but also a patron and promoter of the Saxon \textit{Erweckung}. He had taken an active role in supporting Pietistically oriented schools, such as the school in Gröditz; he sponsored the Fletcher teacher training seminars; and he had founded a Deacon house in Dresden.\textsuperscript{298} In Walther, Einsiedel saw a champion for the cause of the \textit{Erweckung}. On the other hand, Siebenhaar harboured an unmistakable animosity toward Pietism, viewing it as a threat to the progressive theology of the day. Thus Siebenhaar saw in Neidert his champion against the advancement of Pietism. Einsiedel argued that, according to the school constitution, the pastor did indeed have the authority to select

\textsuperscript{297} Drevlow, Drickamer, and Reichwald, eds., 173.
\textsuperscript{298} Benrath, 220-221. Count von Einsiedel was a man of no small influence. Prior to 1830 he served as Saxony’s minister of the interior as well as minister of foreign affairs. After leaving office he went on to be one of Saxony's leading industrialists.
books and that Walther was therefore acting within his pastoral rights; however, in order to diffuse the conflict, Einsiedel purchased the books that Walther had recommended for the school which “convinced the school board and the congregation that it was sound economy to use them.” While this move placated the parties involved, it failed to resolve the fundamental conflict between Walther and his school teacher.

Walther was not the only one of Stephan’s followers to be embroiled in conflict with his school teacher and with Siebenhaar. An almost identical conflict began in November of 1836 with E. G. W. Keyl, a Neo-Lutheran pastor at Nieder-Frohna. In this case, the conflict started when a teacher at Keyl’s school, a Mr. Wenzel, both openly and secretly attacked his pastor’s theological position. As the conflict escalated, Wenzel appealed to Siebenhaar and, as in Walther’s case, Siebenhaar publicly supported the Rationalist teacher over and against the neo-Lutheran pastor. Keyl, in turn, appealed to Einsiedel. It must be said that Keyl acted with a certain amount of inflexibility. For example, he demanded that when conducting a service in Keyl’s absence Wenzel read sermons written by either Stephan or Luther. With the public support of Siebenhaar, Wenzel refused to comply and, as Forster relates, “The tactlessness of Siebenhaar in attempting to tell a pastor what to read or to have read in his own church was matched by Keyl’s insisting that, of all the books approved by the Saxon State Church, only those by Stephan and Luther were usable.” The result was that Keyl faced disciplinary action including a temporary suspension from his supervision of the school.

In 1835, G. H. Löber, pastor in Sachsen-Altenburg, also complained that the teachers under his charge were unsatisfactory because of their Rationalistic tendencies. There is no indication that there was conflict, at least to the degree of that between Walther and Keyl, but Löber was nevertheless dissatisfied with his staff.

Bürger also had conflicts with his teacher, Mr. Haeberlein, in Luzenau. In 1831, Haeberlein, whom Bürger described as a “proud, unbelieving and malicious school teacher”, appealed to the Royal Circuit Director of Falkenstein. He claimed that Bürger

299 Drevlow relates that “The impasse was finally resolved when Count Detlev Einsiedel donated texts which the pastor could approve. However Walther had to pay court costs in this matter.” Drevlow, Drickamer, and Reichwald, eds., 174.
300 Günther, 36.
301 Forster, 74.
302 G.H. Löber Diary, MS, Concordia Historical Institute, noted by Forster, 80.
was guilty of a wide range of “heresies” including teaching Zoroastrianism, denying the Trinity, practicing private absolution and teaching that “the body and blood of Jesus are essentially in the bread and wine, not something merely thought but actually present.” While Haeberlein’s charges of heresy were clearly outrageous, they were taken seriously enough to merit a formal inquiry into Bürger’s actions.  

Such conflicts convinced Walther and the rest of Stephan’s followers that the existing school system was incompatible with confessional Lutheranism. They believed that the philosophical and theological attitudes of the teaching staff, and the materials that they were using, were agencies for the advancement of Rationalist theology. The schools had become enemies to what, in their minds, was true Lutheranism.

IV.5. The decision to emigrate: a pedagogical explanation

By the fall of 1837, Stephan and his followers had concluded that conditions in Saxony had become intolerable for them and that emigration had now become a necessity.  

Why did they feel compelled to make such a move? The traditionally accepted view was that conditions in the Saxon church made it no longer possible for the Confessionalists to freely exercise their faith. Spitz, who is representative of this view, believes that these “believing Lutheran pastors and laymen” were in a struggle to preserve the true faith and that they either had to compromise and accommodate Rationalist doctrine, or leave to a new country where they could worship freely. Quoting Walther, Spitz asserts that “many regarded emigration to a country in which religious liberty prevailed as the only means to ‘escape from the oppression of conscience, which constantly grew more and more unbearable and which threatened to suffocate in them all life of faith.’” That assertion is derived largely from the reasons provided by the emigrants themselves. For example, the Emigration Code drawn up by the emigrants

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303 Buerger, 215.
304 Forster describes the relationship of Stephan to his followers in this way. “In the eyes of his followers Stephan became the champion of orthodoxy, the defender of the faith. They firmly asserted that the means of grace were dependent upon his person and that, if he were silenced, the Lutheran Church would cease to exist in Saxony. Stephan’s doctrine was unerringly true, his solution of a question inevitably correct.” Forster, 63. While there is little doubt that Stephan had a great deal of control over the group, Forster fails to show that Stephan’s followers did in fact believe that the means of grace were dependent on the person of Stephan.
before their departure states, “They [the Saxon emigrants] are, therefore, constrained by their conscience to emigrate and to seek a land where this faith is not in danger and where they consequently can serve God undisturbed, in the manner which He has graciously revealed and established, and enjoy undisturbed the unbridged and pure means of grace…”

The problem with this explanation is that it does not correspond with the actual churchly situation in Saxony in the 1830’s. To be sure, the prevailing theology of the Saxon Lutheran Church was what the Neo-Lutherans called “Rationalist”; but in Saxony, pastors were not under the same pressure to acquiesce as in other parts of Germany. Stephan may have complained that “everywhere there is a great hatred and depreciation of the pure Lutheran doctrine”; but in the same letter, he was willing to concede that the Lutheran Church in the Kingdom of Saxony had not suffered as it had in Prussia. Whereas in Prussia the church was compelled to accept the union of the Lutheran and Reformed churches, in Saxony the doctrinal independence of the church had been largely respected. Carl S. Mundinger points out that, in comparison with other German states, Rationalism was least vital in Saxony. He says that Saxon Rationalism was “Mild in its methods, sober in its thought processes” and “seldom went to the extremes.”

Even some contemporary Neo-Lutherans questioned the appropriateness of the emigration. The conservative theologian A.G. Rudelbach (1792-1862) stated that Lutherans in Saxony “had full freedom to exercise their office according to God’s Word and in the Lutheran manner.”

Bürger admitted that “the pure confession of the Evangelical Lutheran Church still existed in Saxony legally” and Walther himself would confess that conditions in the church were not bad enough as to make emigration a necessity. Moreover, the 1830’s was a time when the Neo-Lutheran movement was in its ascendancy. Stephan's
church in Dresden was flourishing. There was a growing number of pastors and theoretical candidates who identified themselves with the neo-Lutheran position, and their congregations appeared to be growing as well.\textsuperscript{312}

Based on these factors, Forster argues that the primary reason for the emigration was not a quest for religious freedom, but an event that centered around Stephan's personality. While Forster acknowledges that Confessionalism played a role, he maintains that it was more often used as a pretext for Stephan's personal ambitions. Thus he states that "the basic reason for the departure of the Stephanites from Germany was not principle, it was a person – Stephan."\textsuperscript{313} Stephan was indeed a charismatic and, quite arguably, domineering leader whose personality was indeed a significant factor behind the emigration. He wielded an extraordinary amount of influence over his disciples. Furthermore, his actions, as well as those of his zealous followers, created unnecessary conflict that made some of the "persecution" self inflicted. Forster's explanation, however, is insufficient in some points. First, he tends to discount the consistent testimony of the participants in the emigration. Second, he fails to adequately explain how one person, primarily on the basis of personal charisma, could have persuaded a very large and diverse group – which included intelligent and astute theologians and lay leaders – to leave their entire lives behind to immigrate to a foreign land. A much more compelling reason must have been presented to the would-be emigrants.

This dissertation argues that the desire for confessional freedom was indeed the primary motivation behind the emigrants' decision to leave. The Saxon Neo-Lutherans sensed that this freedom was becoming increasingly difficult to exercise in Saxony. Persecution was felt most acutely in the classroom instead of the parish. Repeatedly, pastors involved in the emigration pointed to their concern over the educational environment of their children as the primary factor behind their decision to leave. In his biography of Bünger, Walther highlighted this fact. He wrote:

Brohm, Fürbringer, and Bünger, perceived it as their duty not to allow the establishment of an institution for the education and development of orthodox

\textsuperscript{312} Benrath points out that the emigration prevented further reform of the Saxon church. Not only did the key members of the revival leave but it placed the whole movement in a negative light. Benrath, 222.

\textsuperscript{313} Forster, 112.
teachers and pastors idly and careless for the future. The care for the future of their children with respect to church and school had been for the Saxon Lutherans precisely the strongest motive for their emigration to America. [underlining original to text] 

Walther’s words are substantiated by H. G. Löber who wrote, “It was above all, most important at our immigration, that we protect our children from unchristian schooling.” The emigration was a necessity as most of the schools in Germany were “unchristian”. The Pastors handed over to “worldly superiors” their spiritual authority to supervise these schools which meant that they could no longer develop institutions where Confessional Lutheranism could be taught.

Indeed one of the first things that the Saxon immigrants set to work on after arriving in Missouri was to establish a school. Walther wrote,

The first and most urgent need was naturally the erection of a small cabin for the proposed educational institution. Indeed, some members of the congregation were not found who, as hard as it might be to wrestle for their own daily necessities, nevertheless immediately promised their help with the construction.

Löber declared in Der Lutheraner, “We will also now hold fast that aim [of establishing pure Lutheran schools] in our eyes and will – if God will – as long as we live, not sway from it.”

The Saxon Confessionalists believed that, in order for their confessional theology to survive, they required an educational system supportive of that theology, and that this could not be achieved in Saxony.

In order for the Neo-Lutheran pastors to appeal to conservatively-minded parishioners, they would have to be convinced that the dangers of Rationalism necessitated their emigration; however, parishioners with confessionally-minded pastors would not be so easily persuaded. This was because everything that took place in the divine services of the congregation – the liturgy, the hymns and the sermons – was under the control of the pastor and would therefore be free of Rationalist theology.

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316 Walther, *Brief Biography of the Late Venerable Pastor John Frederick Buenger, The Faithful Pastor of the Evangelical Lutheran Immanuel Congregation at St. Louis, Missouri*, 49.
317 Löber, 94.
Rationalism would remain, for the laymen, an esoteric concept that had little immediate impact on their lives. However, the schools were not under the pastor's complete control; and in the teachers, textbooks and pedagogy, pastors could show the people that Rationalism could have a soul-destroying effect on their homes through the education of their children. The pastor's message to the parents was that the very schools to which they had entrusted their children were responsible for turning their children away from the true faith.

This was not just a shallow means to win parents over. Walther, Löber, Keyl and others genuinely believed that rationalism had so altered the pedagogical program of Saxon schools that it made a proper catechization into the Evangelical faith all but impossible. As the Neo-Lutherans sought to recover the teachings of Luther and apply them to the church in the 19th century, they realized that such a recovery could not take root unless there was a supportive educational system. When Walther, Keyl and others tried to alter the prevailing pedagogy to make it consistent with their theology, they were opposed by educationalists who had a fundamentally different theological and pedagogical view. The differences were certainly exacerbated by the brusque way that the Neo-Lutherans conducted themselves, but differences remained nevertheless. As long as they remained in their sanctuaries – that is, as long as they confined their reforming message to preaching in the divine service – they were relatively free to conduct their work according to their confession. However, when they tried to bring that message into the schools, they encountered trouble. The experience of Walther and Keyl, the reputations of Siebenhaar and the teachers, the nature of the text books that were used, and the pedagogical theories behind those text books would have been discussed in every detail by the followers of Stephan. Even if a pastor didn’t have direct experience with Rationalistic pedagogy through his professional involvement with a school, he would have encountered it through his own children who would have been taught by what the Neo-Lutheran pastors considered to be Rationalist teachers using Rationalist text books. In this regard, it is worth noting that, with the exception of Stephan and the two Walther brothers, all the pastors involved in the Saxon emigration
had young children.\textsuperscript{318} Thus when Löber talked about “our children” he wasn’t just referring to the children of the congregation, but to his own three children.\textsuperscript{319}

From the Neo-Lutherans’ point of view, an accompanying educational Reformation was needed in order for their love for the doctrine of Luther and the Lutheran Confessions to be passed on to succeeding generations. This reformation could not occur within the existing educational structure of Saxony. Therefore, they chose to begin this new educational enterprise elsewhere.

In November of 1838, approximately 700 followers of Stephan boarded five ships in Bremerhaven in order to immigrate to America where they would settle in Missouri.\textsuperscript{320} Here the Saxons hoped to establish a new confessional Lutheran community where their children would be educated free from the influences of Rationalist doctrine and according to their own doctrinal standards. In time, this would force them to carefully evaluate how to accomplish this in 19\textsuperscript{th}-century America. Walther, the foremost theologian and leader of this group, would play a key role in this process. In order to be successful, as I will show in the next chapter, he would have to articulate a fresh understanding of the liberal arts, the relationship of those arts to confessional

\textsuperscript{318} “Lists and Tables,” in Forster, 540-563.

\textsuperscript{319} There are few studies that consider educational conflicts as causes for 19\textsuperscript{th} century emigrations; however, there is evidence that the Saxons were not the only Lutherans to emigrate for those reasons. The state of education in Prussia played a significant role in the decision of the Prussian Lutherans’ decision to emigrate. Among their list of grievances were complaints like “We are forced to go to America because here our children are forced to attend United Church schools,” and they had to leave “because our former churches as schools are not returned to us.” [Iwan, 13.] Historian M. Mark Stolarik argues that a major cause of the emigration of the Slovak Lutherans in the latter half of the 19\textsuperscript{th} century was the nationalization of confessional schools. He quotes a Slovak Lutheran publication that labelled such schools as “the bastard children of church and state.” Stolarik points out that this government interference was enough to drive many Slovaks from their homeland and seek out a new land where they could educate their children according to their confessional faith. M. Mark Stolarik, "Immigration, Education, and the Social Mobility of Slovaks, 1870-1930," in Immigrants and Religion in Urban America, ed. Randall M. Miller and Thomas D. Marzik (Philadelphia: Temple University, 1977), 106.

\textsuperscript{320} The Saxon Emigration was the largest religious emigration of a single group to the United States in American History to that date. Other Lutheran emigrations were larger. For example, over 1600 Lutherans participated in religious emigrations from Prussia which included 1017 from Pomerania; however, these did not arrive as one organized group. [Iwan, 83.] The Saxon emigration consisted of 665 people who left Bremen for St. Louis via New Orleans in five chartered ships, one of which was lost at sea. Later more than 200 additional colonists arrived via New York. Two more groups followed at a later date bringing the total number of colonists to 916. ["Lists and Tables," in Forster, 540-563.] To accommodate them, about 4,500 acres of land was purchased south of St. Louis in Perry County, Missouri.
Lutheranism, and the role that this relationship would occupy in developing an Evangelical Lutheran Curriculum.

IV.6. Conclusions

In early 19th-century Saxony, there were three dynamic forces: Rationalism, Pietism and Confessionalism. All three of these forces left an indelible mark on young Walther. He had attended a Rationalistically dominated school; he was converted to the cause of Pietism which he adopted with great zeal, and he had his first encounters with Confessionalism. In 1838, at the time of the emigration, Walther’s confessional theological system was only in its infancy. As a result, he could not yet articulate a pedagogical model to fit that theology. In time, as he matured as a confessional theologian, he would be able to construct a pedagogical model that would be complementary to his theology by turning to the same source as he did for his theology – Luther.

While Walther had not yet developed a pedagogical model, perhaps more importantly, he had learned the principle that such models develop in concert with theologies. In order for a confessional theology to take root, a supportive pedagogical model it was needed. Luther had changed the late medieval, scholastic trivium to meet the needs of his new Evangelicalism; but in the intervening years, that system had itself been altered to meet the needs of Rationalism.

Personality issues aside, when Walther and his associates attempted to introduce, or perhaps better, reintroduce Confessionalism into the schools, they were bound to fail because they were, in essence, trying to import a theology that was incompatible with the existing pedagogical model.
V. **Elementary Lutheran education prior to the arrival of the Saxons**

The Saxon Lutherans were not the first to establish Lutheran schools in North America. Their work was set in an established context of Lutheran pedagogy that dated back 200 years. Therefore, before examining the Saxon’s work, it is necessary to understand the nature of Lutheran education and how the liberal arts were applied prior to their arrival. Of particular importance in this regard is the work of Heinrich Melchior Mühlenberg (1711-1789) and the Pennsylvania Ministerium which Mühlenberg established. Mühlenberg, who is widely considered the father of American Lutheranism, is also the foremost American Lutheran educator of the 18th century. His work resulted in the development of the first significant Lutheran school system.

V.1. **Lutheran schools in early Colonial America**

Within 100 years of Luther’s death, Lutheran education arrived in North America. Swedish Lutheran colonies had been established in what are now Pennsylvania and Delaware. In 1638, the governor of these colonies was directed by Queen Christina (1626-1689) to “urge instruction and virtuous education of the young.” There is documentation that by 1646, an established program of daily elementary instruction was being conducted by Rev. Reorius Torkillus in Tinicum, Pennsylvania.\(^{321}\)

As colonization by Swedish, Dutch and German Lutherans continued throughout the 17th and early 18th centuries, Lutheran schools were established with varying degrees of success. Typical of these schools was the Lutheran school in Frederica, Georgia. In a mission report to Gotthilf August Francke (1696-1769) of Halle dated 30 July 1744, the pastor, Johann Ulrich Driesler, reported the following:

On Monday morning the little children who cannot be used for any work come from town. They are divided into small classes so that, as in the [Halle] orphanage, they have one kind of book and reading lessons. They learn spelling

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and reading and always learn a verse which I catechize...They know the six major articles of faith, and they have learned many Bible verses perfectly.\textsuperscript{322}

Throughout this period of early colonization, Lutheran schools remained independent and lacking any formal system of organization. By 1748 there were 24 Lutheran schools in the British colonies scattered throughout the regions of Delaware, Pennsylvania, Georgia, Maryland, Virginia and Ohio.\textsuperscript{323} Since these schools generally lacked reliable sources for teachers and materials, pastors had to rely on their own skill and ability in organizing schools. Schools often existed for a short time due to the pastor leaving or if the pattern of immigration changing. The curriculum in these schools generally consisted of little more than teaching basic literacy skills along with a catechization in the chief parts of the Christian faith according to Luther’s \textit{Small Catechism}. Instruction was almost always conducted in the mother tongue of the pastors; but the children grew up acculturated by English speaking communities, and so, would often drift away to English speaking schools and churches.\textsuperscript{324}

\textbf{V.2. Mühlenberg and the schools of the Pennsylvania Ministerium}

\textbf{V.2.1. Heinrich Melchior Mühlenberg: an educator}

It was not until the mid-18\textsuperscript{th} century that Lutheran schools began to develop in an organized and structured way under the direction of Heinrich Melchior Mühlenberg. Mühlenberg was born in 1711 in Einbeck where he attended the local gymnasium and received a typical classical Lutheran education, studying Greek, Latin and music.\textsuperscript{325} In 1735 he entered the University of Göttingen where, in addition to studying logic, mathematics and theology, he continued his study of the classical languages. While at the university, Mühlenberg came into contact with two missionaries who impressed him with their Pietistic zeal, and suggested that he should continue his studies at the Pietist mission center in Halle. There, Mühlenberg studied under Gotthilf August Francke, the

\textsuperscript{322} George Jones, "A Mission Report from Frederica, Georgia, to Gotthilf August Francke (July 30, 1744) - Life in Frederica, St. Simons Island," \textit{Concordia Historical Institute Quarterly} 72, no. 2 (1999), 100.
\textsuperscript{323} Table VI, “Development of Schools in the Colonial and Early Period 1640-1820,” in Beck, 48.
\textsuperscript{324} Ibid., 49.
son of August Hermann Francke. Struck with the spirit of Pietism, Mühlenberg remained with Francke after his graduation, serving as an instructor in Hebrew, Greek and Theology at Francke’s gymnasium.\textsuperscript{326}

While most scholars see Pietism as a major force in Mühlenberg’s theology, others deny this premise.\textsuperscript{327} In his earlier biography of Mühlenberg, Frick sees the theologian as a champion of orthodox Lutheranism.\textsuperscript{328} Scholz, employing a narrow definition of Pietism, also sees Mühlenberg as an orthodox Lutheran.\textsuperscript{329} Riforgiato presents a unique assessment of Mühlenberg in his portrayal of the man as a pragmatic Lutheran who attempted to occupy a mediating position between Pietism and Orthodox Lutheranism. According to Riforgiato, as Mühlenberg laboured to establish Lutheran churches and schools in America, he attempted to retain his orthodox heritage and, at the same time, apply his Halle-styled Pietism to the theological and practical needs of his people. Riforgiato describes Mühlenberg as a mediating Pietist whose theology is best understood as emanating from “a deep-seated moderation which caused him to seek the middle way between extremes abhorrent to him.”\textsuperscript{330}

Even though the Pietistic teachings which Mühlenberg espoused conflicted with the Lutheran Confessions, at times he would vigorously defend the Lutheran Confessions. In keeping with orthodox Lutheran theology, he would insist that the mark of the church was not found in personal piety, but in the proper administration of the Word and Sacraments.\textsuperscript{331} He even publicly stated that he and his colleagues were

\textsuperscript{327} The debate is relevant to the significance of Mühlenberg’s pedagogical work to that of Walther and the Saxon educators. If Mühlenberg was an orthodox Lutheran, then one would expect Walther and the other Neo-Lutherans to emulate his pedagogical principles when they arrived in America. On the other hand, if the nature of Mühlenberg’s work was understood as being pietistic, then the later Lutherans would be inclined to reject his model and develop a different one. This chapter argues for the latter position.
\textsuperscript{329} Robert F. Scholz, "Was Muhlenberg a Pietist?," \textit{Concordia Historical Institute Quarterly} 52, no. 3 (1979).
\textsuperscript{331} Mühlenberg stated “Where the Word of God and the Holy Sacraments are used according to Christ’s instruction there is the visible Church; and where the Church is the Word of God and the
neither “Pietists” nor “secret Zinzendorfians”. However, at other times, he would adopt Pietistic didactics, encourage the use of Pietistic educational material and, in keeping with Pietistic thought, stress the importance of personal conversion. He would co-operate with “awakened” Reformed clergy – a practice that lead to unionistic activity not only by Mühlbenberg but also among congregations of the Pennsylvania Ministerium. Nelson states, “On the whole the Lutherans who were under Pietistic influence tended not to inquire what the denominational labels of others were, but rather acknowledged as fellow Christians all who, like themselves, professed to be converted.”

When Mühlbenberg was sent by Gotthilf August Francke in 1742 to serve the German population in Pennsylvania, he arrived at the beginning of a wave of German immigration into the colony. With so many newly arrived German Lutherans, conditions were right for a large scale development of Lutheran schools.

Upon his arrival, Mühlbenberg was shocked by the low level of education that he discovered among the Lutherans. He commented, “Since ignorance among the youth is great in this country, and good schoolmasters are very rarely found, I had to take this matter also into my hands. Those who might possibly teach the children to read are lazy

Holy Sacraments must also be used.” Quoted in Hartmut Lehmann, "Missioner Extraordinary: Henry Melchior Mühlbenberg," Concordia Historical Institute Quarterly 71, no. 3 (1998), 113.

A. Spaeth, ed., Documentary History of the Evangelical Lutheran Ministerium of Pennsylvania and Adjacent States (Philadelphia: General Council of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, 1898), 50. Zinzendorfians were followers of Count Nicolaus Ludwig von Zinzendorf who organized the Herrnhut Brüdergemeine, and sponsored mission work and the establishment of schools in America. In 1741, under Zinzendorf’s guidance, a colony of his followers was established in Pennsylvania.


When Mühlbenberg arrived, there were less than 30 Lutheran congregations in Pennsylvania. Within the next 75 years, Pennsylvania would see an influx of an estimated 60,000 settlers who had gathered together in 520 Lutheran and Reformed congregations. By contrast there were only 475 Presbyterian, 252 Methodist and 151 Baptist congregations. Steven M. Nolt, "Becoming Ethnic Americans in the Early Republic: Pennsylvania German Reaction to Evangelical Protestant Reformism," Journal of the Early Republic 20, no. 3 (2000), 425.
and given to drink." The conditions convinced Mühlenberg that, if the congregations and their schools were to succeed, then there had to be a supporting organization. In 1748 Mühlenberg called together a meeting of the various Lutheran leaders for the purpose of “closer union” and “mutual consolation and agreement in matters concerning all the congregations.” As a result of this meeting, “The United Preachers of the Evangelical Lutheran Congregation of German Nationality in The American Colonies, Especially Pennsylvania” or, as it was more commonly referred to, “The Pennsylvania Ministerium” was organized.

At the first convention of the Ministerium, a report was given concerning the state of the schools of member congregations. It expressed two concerns which would surface repeatedly throughout the history of the Ministerium. The first was an inadequate supply of properly trained teachers which was so acute that schools often had to employ teachers with little or no qualifications. The second was that the congregations were often too poor to adequately supply the needs of their schools. In many German Lutheran communities, there simply was not enough money to pay for teachers and buy suitable learning resources.

In spite of these obstacles, the schools of the Ministerium flourished. In 1748 there were seven schools that were part of the Ministerium. By 1775 that number had increased to 40; by 1798 there were 106; and by 1820 there were 240.

V.2.2. The curriculum of the Pennsylvania Ministerium schools

An in-depth analysis of the curriculum of these schools is difficult as the curriculum of this era was not clearly defined. There were several reasons. First, the German Lutheran schools lacked a geographical compactness which would facilitate the development of a common curriculum. Second, the schools were developing in...
difficult economic circumstances in which pastors or schoolmasters resorted to using whatever textbooks they could obtain. Finally, the lack of a common curriculum was rooted in the nature of the Ministerium itself. The Ministerium tended to be more of an association of like-minded pastors rather than a formal organization. Thus, it lacked the resources required to develop a cohesive curricular program; educators had to rely on external publishers for educational material, and the Ministerium lacked its own teacher training institutions. This is not to say that the schools were completely dissimilar. Broadly speaking, there was consensus in the areas of catechesis and the role that the liberal arts were to occupy in these schools.

V.2.2.a. The curriculum and catechesis

Early in the history of the Ministerium, catechetical instruction occupied a prominent position in the curriculum of the schools. Schools reported that their children regularly recited hymns, prayers, portions of the catechism and proof-texts from the Bible as proof that they had mastered the required religious knowledge.341 At the 1760 convention of the Pennsylvania Ministerium, Mühlenberg encouraged the pastors and school teachers to give attention to proper catechetical training above all other subjects, saying,

The schools in the towns should be diligently visited by the preacher. In the country provision should be made for private devotional exercises and catechization of children and servants, in the houses, in presence of the parents. The truths should be taught them out of the Catechism, simply, intelligently, impressively, and adapted to their capacity, and be supported by proof-texts from Holy Scripture.342

A variety of catechisms were in use by the schools of the Ministerium. Two aspects of the Ministerium’s catechisms departed from Luther’s original concepts: content and application. Luther had designed his Small Catechism primarily as a prayer book or devotional guide based on the chief parts of the Christian faith. Its design was simple, compact and easily memorized so that the Christian could use it for daily meditation. In contrast, the catechisms used by the Ministerium were much more involved. Under the influence of Pietism, they had been expanded from the simple

341 Spaeth, ed., 66.
format designed by Luther to include proof-texts, additional prayers, Psalms, and the “Orders of Salvation” - a series of hymns or questions that prescribed a systematic progression of an individual toward salvation. The purpose of these catechisms was to prepare the catechumens for their Confirmation vows in which they would promise to live exclusively for Christ and thus complete the Holy Spirit’s work which was begun in their Baptism.\(^{343}\) Repp explains that these catechisms encouraged the use of Luther’s catechism as a summary, or as a systematic compendium of Christian doctrine rather than for its intended purpose which was to teach young Christians the meaning and use of the Gospel as a source of power for the new life in Christ. The inclusion of the orders of salvation tended further to encourage the use of Luther’s catechism as simply another order. This too did not conform with his purpose in writing the catechism. Yet this was not unique to this catechism since neither much of Lutheran Orthodoxy nor of Pietism had in the past grasped Luther’s intended purpose.\(^{344}\)

The Lutheran catechisms of 18th-century America are best understood more as a noetic guide to a spiritual life. They were not so much to be prayed as they were to be memorized and followed. Since the Reformed in America held similar views regarding their catechism, there was an obfuscation of pedagogical thought concerning Lutheran and Reformed catechetical goals.

This blurring of catechetical goals corresponded with increased co-operation between Lutheran and Reformed communities in educational programs. Often schools were run jointly by neighbouring Lutheran and Reformed congregations. Beck explains the situation, saying,

Though the congregations in such cases were served by separate pastors, the school was commonly conducted for both by one teacher, who was either Lutheran or German Reformed, according to the majority of membership, or after a specified period of years or upon joint agreement Lutheran and German Reformed teachers alternated, with pastor of both congregations exercising supervision and seeing to it that the teacher used the respective catechisms for religious instruction of the children of each congregation.\(^{345}\)

\(^{342}\) Ibid., 51-52.
\(^{343}\) Arthur C. Repp, *Luther’s Catechism Comes to America: Theological Effects on the Issues of the Small Catechism Prepared in or for America prior to 1850* (Metuchen: Scarecrow Press, 1982), 35.
\(^{344}\) Ibid., 72-73.
\(^{345}\) Beck, 57-58.
According to an 1796 Agreement for the Frieden’s school in Schuylkill County, Pennsylvania, the schoolmaster was obligated “to recognize and confess the doctrine of that great man of God, Martin Luther, as his own,” to “diligently instruct the [Lutheran] children in the Lutheran Catechism,” while on the other hand, “teach also the children of the Reformed side,” and “let these children use their own catechism.” In such settings, confessional distinctions were bound to be diminished as the schoolmaster tried to give equal treatment to the Lutheran and Reformed doctrines.

This treatment was supported by the textbooks used in the classroom. In the mid-1700’s the German/America printers who produced German ABC books were often indifferent to the doctrinal requirements of the Lutheran Church and, in an effort to economize on production costs, often produced the same book for both Lutheran and Reformed schools, sometimes merely substituting Lutherisches for Reformirtes on the title page and making the appropriate changes to the texts of the Ten Commandments.

The wide variety of catechetical material in circulation prompted the Pennsylvania Ministerium to produce its own catechism. In 1782, the convention adopted the official catechism bearing the lengthy title,

*The Small Catechism of the Blessed Dr. Martin Luther, together with the Usual Morning- Table- and Evening Prayers. To which are added the Order of Salvation in a Hymn, in short Statements, In Questions and Answers, in a Table: as also An Analysis of the Catechism: The Württemberg Brief Children’s Examination, the Confirmation, and Confession; and several Hymns, Freylinghausen’s Order of Salvation, the Golden A, B, C, for Children and the Seven Penitential Psalms. For use of Young and Old.*

This catechism was, for the most part, based on two previous editions of the catechism – the Müller edition of 1765 and the Kuntze edition of 1781 (also referred to

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346 Frieden’s Church at the Little Schuylkill. 1898, by H. A. Weller, 10, quoted in Beck, 58-59.
as the Steiner edition) – both of which contained strong Pietistic elements evidenced most notably by the inclusion of “The Orders of Salvation” by the well-known Pietist, Johann Anastasius Freylinghausen (1670-1739) and the Württemberg Examination, which was a Pietistic order of confirmation. This catechism was the only “official” school textbook adopted by the Ministerium, effectively entrenching Pietistic catechesis as the established catechetical model of the Ministerium.

V.2.2.b. The schools of the Ministerium and the liberal arts

The liberal arts, especially the lower arts of the trivium, had formed the basis of Lutheran education since its inception. Thus, in a developing Lutheran school system like that which Mühlenberg encountered in the 18th century, one would expect that Mühlenberg would have discussed the use of the arts in the schools, especially considering that he himself had received a classical education in the arts. However, there was very little discussion about the liberal arts. Subjects traditionally central to Lutheran education – such as the study of Greek, Latin, music, history and rhetoric – all received very little attention by Mühlenberg and the Ministerium. When matters pertaining to a classical education arose, they were often met with a negative response. In one instance, a schoolmaster approached Mühlenberg with a request that the pastor teach him Latin so that he might better understand the Latin terminology associated with the liturgy and the church year. If Mühlenberg desired to encourage the development of the liberal arts and an orthodox Lutheran cultus in the schools, then he would have encouraged this schoolmaster to study Latin and its application to the liturgy. Instead, Mühlenberg discouraged the educator and tried everything possible “to refer him [the schoolmaster] to his own heart and to the primary roots of true conversion...”, urging him “to begin learning to experience what Christ prescribed in Matthew 5 concerning poverty of spirit, mourning, purity of heart, hunger and thirst, etc.” Thus the teacher was directed away from the liturgical moorings of the Lutheran Church and its historic language toward the inclinations of his own heart in order that he might be “awakened” to a true and living faith.

Buss-Psalmen, angehängt sind. Zum Gebrauch der Jungen und Alten. 1st ed. Germantown; Leibert und Billmayer, 1785

349 For a complete analysis of the Pennsylvania Ministerium’s catechism see Repp, 70-78.
Evidence of Mühlenberg’s opposition to a classical Lutheran education surfaced again in 1785 when he was given the opportunity to establish a classical gymnasium among the Lutherans in America. This was the very model of education that early Evangelicals such as Luther, Melanchthon, and Bugenhagen considered essential for the life of the Evangelical church; yet Mühlenberg spoke against such a school. He viewed it as impractical in an American setting because there were simply insufficient funds to support a gymnasium and, more importantly, because it was incongruent with the Christian faith. Mühlenberg believed that crucial matters such as “the rule and prescription of the supreme Lord, ‘Seek ye first the kingdom of God’” were neglected or “regarded as a secondary matter, at best treated as an opus operatum.” Mühlenberg believed that it was far better to have “practical schools [Realschule] in which physical and spiritual powers are cultivated and would probably be more necessary and useful for the furtherance of temporal and eternal welfare.”³⁵¹ The schools which he believed to be best suited for the Lutheran Church in America were not the classical Lutheran gymnasia, but the pietistic Realschule which he had observed in Halle. It was the model upon which he developed his school in Philadelphia, and considered by the Ministerium as the ideal pattern for further schools.³⁵²

V.2.3. Successes of the Pennsylvania Ministerium schools

In some respects, the schools of the Pennsylvania Ministerium achieved a remarkable degree of success. The pastors and schoolmasters carried out their educational work with extremely limited resources and yet they were able to achieve levels of education that were unknown anywhere else in colonial British North America. Not only did they form the largest Lutheran school system in America prior to the schools of the Missouri Synod, but they were instrumental in a dramatic rise in literacy rates in the colonies where they taught. Prior to Mühlenberg’s arrival, literacy rates among the Germans in Pennsylvania were approximately the same as the general populace – between 50 and 60 percent. By the 1760’s, literacy rates among the Pennsylvania Germans had risen to 80 percent, and by the time of the Revolutionary

³⁵⁰ Tappert and Doberstein, eds., 132.
³⁵¹ Ibid., 241.
³⁵² Spaeth, ed., 39.
War, there was almost universal literacy among the Germans. While these literacy rates were not exclusively the result of the work of the Ministerium's schools, the schools were, by far, the most influential factor.\textsuperscript{353}

V.2.4. Decline of the Pennsylvania Ministerium schools

The schools were, however, less successful in maintaining a Lutheran ethos. Early in the Ministerium’s history, it was understood that the chief purpose for schools was the transmission of religious values. During that time, conventions received regular reports dealing with the levels of catechetical instruction, the materials that were used, and the need to have godly teachers. As the Ministerium matured, the schools tended to lose that catechetical focus. The Lutheran identity had become weak and confused. By the close of the 18\textsuperscript{th} century, schools were increasingly understood as agents for communicating the German language and German values.\textsuperscript{354} Conventions would lament that parents were neglecting to teach their children German. A special committee, which was struck to study the language question and report to the 1805 convention, revealed a definite bias. It reported that it was “difficult to believe” that children could be instructed in Lutheran doctrine without knowing German. It concluded that, if children were not instructed in German, then they could only receive what the committee considered to be “an incomplete instruction.”\textsuperscript{355} The transmission of Lutheran doctrine was indeed desirable, but the primary concern was that instruction be in German. The content and nature of it received very little attention.

In an effort to maintain German literacy over and above the intrusion of English into their religious community, the same convention resolved that

the present Lutheran Ministerium in Pennsylvania and the adjacent States must remain a German-speaking Ministerium, and that no regulation can be adopted which would necessitate the use of another language besides the German in its Synodical Meetings and business.\textsuperscript{356}

\textsuperscript{353} Farley Grubb, "German Immigration to Pennsylvania, 1709 to 1820," \textit{Journal of Interdisciplinary History} 20, no. 3 (1990).
\textsuperscript{354} Beck, 84.
\textsuperscript{355} Spaeth, ed., 359.
\textsuperscript{356} Ibid., 353.
Clearly, schools were now seen as the primary agent for transmitting a Protestant German/American identity instead of a distinctly Lutheran identity. Language, not theology, had become the identifying mark of a Lutheran school.

This disenfranchised those members who had grown up speaking English. German continued to be used in the schools, in most churches, and in the official business of the Ministerium, effectively excluding those who spoke English. At the same time, as the predominant language of the communities became English, the German schools became increasingly isolated from the communities that they were designed to serve. Schools were already reporting that “the tendency towards English was very strong” and that “many parents prefer to send their children to English schools.”

Within a few years of the language debates, a noticeable decline in the level of interest in Lutheran schools began. Whereas earlier conventions always included a comprehensive school report, by 1815 there was only a brief notation regarding schools. The minutes recorded, “A plan for improvement of the German school system, by some one not mentioned. Upon motion, it was resolved, that the Synod, because of a lack of sufficient means, can have nothing to do with this matter.” After that convention, school reports were discontinued.

The decline in official interest was followed by a decline in the number of schools from a peak of 240 schools in 1820 to 229 schools in 1834. The decline was dramatically accelerated when, in 1834, the state of Pennsylvania enacted a law mandating the creation of public schools. By 1850 there were 99 Lutheran schools; and by 1860, the number had dwindled to 28.

The enactment of school laws served as a catalytic agent for this dramatic decline; however, there were pre-existing weaknesses making it inevitable. They

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357 As Nolt points out, that even though such acts were designed to maintain a German identity, the very act itself reveals that the German Lutherans had integrated an American cultural identity into their consciousness. Their identity was no longer determined by doctrine, but by a distinctly American understanding which saw the right to retain their German heritage as part of the national identity in the new republic. Nolt, 426.
358 Spaeth, ed., 279.
359 Ibid., 477.
360 This decline was not experienced only in Pennsylvania. Those of the Ohio Synod suffered a similar fate. After reaching a peak in 1833 of 60 schools, the numbers began to decline. By 1853 there were only 25 schools still in existence. Table Vlb. “Schools in the Pennsylvania Synods. Middle Period, 1820-1860,” in Beck, 74.
included a lack of teacher training, a loss of confessional identity, and an inability to make a smooth transition from German to English as a medium of instruction. Beck explains this decline, saying,

Various difficulties and impediments, however, were responsible for the failure to continue the development and maintenance of schools. The establishment of more institutions for the training of pastors as well as teachers would have guaranteed a constant supply of men for the many vacant churches and schools, kept up the thorough program of education and indoctrination, and prevented the appalling losses of members to other denominations and apostasy, concerning which there was continual complaint within the church....The churches were unprepared to meet the changes brought about by the transition in language; their doctrinal literature, written almost altogether in German, was largely neglected, and the churches and pastors fell prey to the sectarianism and unionism which had become rampant in these years.\(^{361}\)

In addition, the Ministerium failed to develop a philosophy of education that was distinct to the Lutheran church in America. The Lutheran schools in early colonial America, especially those of the Pennsylvania Ministerium, were based on Pietistic principles. The curricular goals tended to concentrate on building basic literacy skills, and the catechetical goals centered on developing an awakened faith in the students, establishing Bible literacy, and memorizing key Scripture verses and prayers. Reformed schools, Moravian schools, and even many public schools of the time maintained similar pedagogical and religious programs. Conversely, in the 16\(^{th}\) century, Lutheran pedagogy was built upon the liberal arts – with special attention given to the lower arts of the trivium – and to a catechetical training which used the *Small Catechism* as the basis for developing a devotional life. That pedagogical model had historically served the Lutheran church as a means for instilling a confessional identity in her children. But the Pennsylvania Ministerium did not seek to be distinctly confessional. It was shaped by a Pietism that, instead of building a Lutheran confessional identity, fostered, at the very least, a tacit disregard for Confessionalism. Consequently, there was little reason to develop a distinct Evangelical pedagogical system. Thus, the liberal arts model was not considered viable. Instead the schools of the Ministerium, as well as most other Lutheran schools in colonial America, were more closely aligned with the educational philosophy of Francke’s *Realschule*. This model would, however, in part lead to their
demise. In Europe, the schools of Lutheran Pietism eventually adopted Rationalist principles until they became indistinguishable from most other schools. In America, the Lutheran Pietistic schools gave way to state run schools which, interestingly, were modeled after the Rationalistic schools of Germany.

361 Ibid., 84-85.
VI. A Confessional Lutheran school system is established in America

The Saxons’ arrival in St. Louis marked the beginning of a new epoch in the development of Lutheran education and the arts. Firmly convinced that they had the true faith – that is, a classical interpretation of the Lutheran confessions – they were determined to educate their children to continue in this confession. In order to accomplish this, they would be required to develop schools, teachers, and teaching resources independent of any exterior agencies.

This chapter will examine how the Saxon immigrants and the founders of the Missouri Synod endeavoured to do this. It will examine the first elementary schools and the first gymnasium which served as templates to the hundreds of schools that followed.

There were other Lutheran Confessionalists in North America developing schools of their own. Some of these Lutherans were instrumental in the formation of the Missouri Synod. Their experiences, views, and influence on the development of the Synod’s schools will also be considered.

When the Synod was formed in 1847, education was entrenched in the Synodical constitution. This chapter will identify those parts of the constitution that speak to the pedagogical aspirations of its framers.

As these confessional schools developed, there arose the need to supply properly trained teachers and to produce supporting resources. Therefore, attention will be given to the founding of the first teachers seminary at Addison, Illinois and to the first professional school journal, Evangelisch-Lutherische Schulblatt.

An understanding of these areas will then lead into the subsequent chapter which will study how the Missourian theologians in general, and C.F.W. Walther in particular, understood the liberal arts and their relationship to Lutheran theology.

VI.1. Conditions in Missouri at the time of the Saxons’ arrival

In commenting on the Saxons’ arrival, Forster states, “The Stephanites could hardly have improved the timing of their appearance in St. Louis history had they had
the perspective of their children or grandchildren." The Saxons' arrival coincided with a wave of immigration and the establishment of other educational institutions.

St. Louis in 1839 was on the verge of a population boom that would see the city expand twenty-fold in the next thirty years. In 1840 the population of St. Louis was 16,469 – the twentieth largest city in the United States. Within ten years, it had become the sixth largest city in the country with a population of 77,860. It boasted a large German community that included 22,531 people originally from that country. By 1860, the population was 160,733. Ten years later, the population was 310,869 and immigrants of Germanic background were the largest ethnic group by far. The growth resulted in the development of St. Louis as a center of commerce and manufacturing for the booming west. Coming at the beginning of this boom, the Saxon immigrants, with their craftsmen, farmers, lawyers, clergymen and teachers, would form the core of this prosperous and vibrant German community, thus allowing the Lutherans to become the shapers of mid-western cultural and educational institutions. Forster says, “Much more than other immigrants, therefore, the proportion of occupations among the Saxons was in line with the future development of their new home. They had the type of skilled worker who was sorely needed and usually unavailable in a rapidly developing West.”

At the time of the Saxons’ arrival, schools were just beginning to be developed in the state of Missouri. It was still considered a frontier state whose system of public education lagged behind other more developed eastern states. Laws mandating public education had been passed in Missouri as early as 1833, but the first public school was not organized in St. Louis until April of 1838. It was a segregated school of 175 students

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362 Forster, 231. This is not to say that the Lutherans were completely unaware of the future potential of their new land. Meyer points out that, early on, Walther and other Lutheran leaders recognized that the future of the Lutheran Church lay in the west. Carl S. Meyer, "Lutheran Immigrant Churches Face the Problems of the Frontier," *American Society of Church History* 29, no. 4 (1960), 440.

363 This reflected a national immigration pattern in which Germans constituted the largest ethnic group coming to America. Between 1830 and 1900, Germans represented 27 percent of all immigrants. In peak years such as 1854 and 1882, 215,000 and 250,000 Germans arrived in these respective years. Francesco Cordasco, ed., *Dictionary of American Immigration History* (Metuchen: Scarecrow Press, 1990), 242-243. See also Steven L. Schlossman, "Is There an American Tradition of Bilingual Education? German in the Public Elementary Schools, 1840-1919," *American Journal of Education* 91, no. 2 (1983).

364 Forster, 233. This was true of the German immigrant community in general. As Cordasco says, “Compared to American workers, as a whole, they [the German immigrants] were over represented in industry, manufacturing, the mechanical trades and mining.” Cordasco, ed., 245.
with one male teacher instructing the boys and one female teacher instructing the girls.\textsuperscript{365} A second school was started the following year; however, the combined enrolment of the two schools in 1840 amounted to less than ten percent of all eligible children in St. Louis. Public secondary education took even longer to be established. The first public high school did not open until 1853.\textsuperscript{366}

In rural areas, public education took much longer to become established. As late as 1847, fourteen years after the state had enacted educational laws, fewer than 60 percent of Missouri’s counties had made application to the state to institute a school, and many of those counties progressed no further than the application.\textsuperscript{367} This lack of public education forced most of the population to rely on private schools to fulfill their educational needs. In St. Louis, attendance in such schools was double that of the public schools. It is estimated that over 700 children were enrolled in private institutions. Some of these schools were little more than classes held for a fee in the homes of self-appointed teachers while others, particularly those run by religious organizations, offered a more complete and comprehensive educational program.\textsuperscript{368}

In general, the mid-western states held little interest for the older eastern Lutheran synods.\textsuperscript{369} The theological descendants of Mühlenberg had waned in their educational fervour and, with their own schools in a steep decline, they were quite

\textsuperscript{366} Between 1850 and 1880 public schools in St. Louis became an established part of public life. While school enrollment in 1850 was only 20%, by 1880 close to 90% of all children between the ages of 8 and 11 were enrolled in school. Selwyn K. Troen, "Popular Education in Nineteenth Century St. Louis," \textit{History of Education Quarterly} 13, no. 1 (1973), 23.
\textsuperscript{367} In 1840 only 20 percent of Americans had an education that extended beyond the primary grades and less than one percent attended a college or university. In newly settled areas such as Missouri, rates of school attendance remained considerably lower for quite some time. August C. Stellhorn, \textit{Schools of the Lutheran Church - Missouri Synod} (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1963), 25.
\textsuperscript{368} Forster lists some of the schools that were in St. Louis at the time. In particular there were colleges operated by Roman Catholics, Baptists, Episcopalians, Methodists and Presbyterians. There was a "St. Louis German Academy" that operated from 1838 to 1846 and closed due to a general lack of interest. Forster, 338-342.
\textsuperscript{369} Before 1839 Lutheran schools, and indeed Lutheran churches were noticeably absent in St. Louis. Prior to the Saxons’ arrival, there was only one German Protestant church in St. Louis which had been organized in 1834 by a Pastor Korndörffer. This congregation, which can be considered nominally Lutheran, at best, welcomed protestant Germans regardless of their confessional subscription and made little effort to develop an educational program for the German population. Ibid., 307-308.
willing to allow the state to take over the role of providing education to the Germans settling in places like Missouri.\textsuperscript{370}

Thus Missouri, in 1839, presented a unique opportunity. There was a lack of pre-existing schools, there was no other competing Lutheran group working in that part of the country, and waves of German immigrants were about to come, looking for educational institutions to care for their children. The Saxons would use this opportunity to their full advantage.

\section*{VI.2. The first efforts at education}

The educational work of the Saxon immigrants began prior to their arrival in North America. The Emigration Code drawn up stipulated that, during the journey to America, instruction was to be provided for the 110 school-aged children who were part of the \textit{Gesellschaft}.\textsuperscript{371} On the first leg of the journey down the Elbe, Johann Bünger provided instruction on two river vessels, giving special attention to the children’s catechetical instruction.\textsuperscript{372} Both Ernst Bürger and teacher Johann Friedrich Ferdinand Winter (1807-1873) indicated that daily instruction was provided for all of the children on each of the five ships carrying the colonists, though they provided few details about the nature of that instruction.

The codes also stipulated that, as soon as they arrived at their destination, they were to construct a seminary and school immediately after building a church.\textsuperscript{373} Absolutely no provision was made for government involvement in education. The schools of the Saxons were to be joint efforts between the parents and the church – the church providing the schools and the teachers who would teach the orthodox Lutheran

\textsuperscript{370} By the 1850’s there were a number of theologians of the Pennsylvania Ministerium who not only argued that it wasn’t necessary for the church to operate schools but that it was, in fact, wrong to maintain parochial schools. They argued that it was the patriotic duty of every Christian citizen to send their children to the state school.

\textsuperscript{371} “Travel Regulations for the Lutheran ‘Gesellschaft’ Emigrating with Herr Pastor Stephan to the United States of North America,” reprinted in Forster, 574.

\textsuperscript{372} Walther, \textit{Brief Biography of the Late Venerable Pastor John Frederick Buenger, The Faithful Pastor of the Evangelical Lutheran Immanuel Congregation at St. Louis, Missouri}, 40-42.

\textsuperscript{373} “Regulations for Settlement of the Lutheran ‘Gesellschaft’ Emigrating with Herr Pastor Stephan to the United States of North America,” in Forster, 578.
faith, and the parents fulfilling their responsibilities according to the fourth commandment by sending their children to a godly school.\textsuperscript{374}

Within a year of arriving, the Saxons had fulfilled the code’s requirements. In St. Louis and in Perry County, they had established elementary schools and constructed a seminary and college.\textsuperscript{375}

VI.2.1. The St. Louis elementary school

The stop in St. Louis was to be only temporary until the Gesellschaft could collectively purchase a large tract of land somewhere outside the city where they planned to set up a community for those “who have not departed from the old, pure, Lutheran faith.”\textsuperscript{376} Within days of their arrival in St. Louis on January of 1839, classes were begun.\textsuperscript{377} This pattern would be consistently followed by the Saxons wherever they went.\textsuperscript{378}

In his biography of Bünger, Walther states:

In the Saxon Lutheran congregations it was the rule that the teaching ministry was always set up at the same time as the preaching ministry. A school was opened in St. Louis just a few days after the arrival of the first group of the emigration society. The same thing happened also in all the other congregations in Perry County. If no individual teacher was able to be installed, it was self understood that the pastor took over the teaching ministry (Schulamt) together with the preaching ministry (Predigamt) and administered both according to his abilities.\textsuperscript{379}

The Saxons accorded the same priority to education as they did to worship. If at all possible, a congregation was to establish a school. If no teacher was available to conduct classes, then it was the pastor’s responsibility to take over the teaching duties.

\textsuperscript{374} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{375} Other elementary schools were started as well. For example, there were schools in Frohna and Wittenberg, Missouri; however, there is little documentation regarding these schools.

\textsuperscript{376} "Emigration Code," in Forster, 566.

\textsuperscript{377} The date of the Saxons’ arrival and consequently the date for the first school is of some debate. See August C. Steilhorn, "The Arrival of the Saxons in St. Louis," Concordia Theological Monthly IX, 905-908.

\textsuperscript{378} In many older Missouri Synod congregations, this principle is evident in that one finds that the school often predates the organization of the congregation.

\textsuperscript{379} Walther, Brief Biography of the Late Venerable Pastor John Frederick Buenger, The Faithful Pastor of the Evangelical Lutheran Immanuel Congregation at St. Louis, Missouri, 50.
By March of 1839, a school had been formally organized and a house rented for use as a school building.\textsuperscript{380} The first teacher was Walther’s cousin, Carl Ludwig Geyer (1812-1892).\textsuperscript{381} He was assisted by teacher Johann Winter. In 1841, Bünger, who had been in Altenburg, accepted a call to teach at the St. Louis school and reorganized it as a more disciplined academic institution. Subjects included Bible History, Religion which was “carried on naturally from Luther’s Small Catechism”, Reading, Writing, Arithmetic, Singing, and “popular knowledge” as well as “some English language.”\textsuperscript{382} For reading material, he used a primer that was printed in St. Louis, the New Testament, and tracts that were published by the American Tract Society.\textsuperscript{383} In 1845, Bünger served both as a school teacher and as co-pastor with C.F.W. Walther of Trinity Lutheran Church – the name adopted by the congregation in St. Louis. During this time, the school was moved to the basement of the church building and a “second smaller parish school in the northern part of the city” was begun: a school that would form the basis of Immanuel Lutheran Church and Academy.\textsuperscript{384}

VI.2.2. The Perry County elementary school

In the spring of 1838, the majority of the Gesellschaft proceeded approximately 100 miles south of St. Louis to Perry County where they had collectively purchased approximately 4,400 acres of land. As they had done in St. Louis, the colonists immediately set about organizing an Evangelical elementary school. The first school to

\textsuperscript{380} Forster, 344.
\textsuperscript{381} Geyer was from Zwickau in Saxony where his mother had started a girls’ school. As a youth he attended the local gymnasium before enrolling at the University of Leipzig. While there, he became involved in Walther’s pietistic group. After graduation, he served as a tutor and teacher in Saxony prior to joining the Gesellschaft. His conversion to Confessionalism is one of the unique stories of the Saxon immigration. Some years earlier, Geyer had journeyed to Leipzig. While staying at an inn, Geyer ordered some cheese for lunch and the cheese was brought to him wrapped in paper which, unbeknownst to Geyer, had come from the Walch edition of Luther’s Works. As Geyer ate his lunch, he read the page and was so intrigued that he inquired of the innkeeper what it was from. The innkeeper showed Geyer to a store room where there was a collection of Luther’s Works from which the innkeeper had been taking pages to wrap up food. Geyer purchased the set and read with the works with enthusiasm. After coming to America, Geyer served as a teacher for five years before being ordained as a pastor. During this time, he authored the Missouri Synod’s first Fibel. August C. Stellhorn, “Carl Ludwig Geyer,” \textit{Concordia Historical Institute Quarterly} XII, no. 1 (1939), 5. See also \textit{Der Lutheraner} 49.34 (1893).
\textsuperscript{382} Walther, \textit{Brief Biography of the Late Venerable Pastor John Frederick Buenger, The Faithful Pastor of the Evangelical Lutheran Immanuel Congregation at St. Louis, Missouri}, 51-52.
\textsuperscript{383} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{384} Walther, \textit{To Wm. Sihler} (02 January 1845), in Walther, \textit{Selected Letters}, 88.
be established in the county was in the settlement of Wittenberg where J.F. Winter, who had accompanied the group to Perry County, served as teacher.\textsuperscript{385} Shortly after he organized the school in Wittenberg, he was called as the teacher of the new elementary school in Altenburg – a position that he would occupy until his death.

Winter was born in 1807 in Friedrich-Schwerz, Prussia. Like so many other Neo-Lutherans, he became involved in the Pietist movement in his youth and enrolled at Francke’s teacher training school in Halle. After studying at Halle for six years, he was given a position in a small school in the village of Planena near Halle. Known for his vigorous opposition to the Prussian Union, Winter was dismissed from office. This action drew Winter into a circle of Prussian Neo-Lutherans headed by Dr. Heinrich Ernst Ferdinand Guericke (1803-1878), a professor of theology at Halle who had also been dismissed because of his opposition to the union. This group attracted the attention of Löber. As Winter drew closer to the Neo-Lutherans of Saxony, he found a supportive core of pastors and teachers who shared in his opposition and were sympathetic to his anti-rationalistic views.\textsuperscript{386} Thus, when the Gesellschaft was organized, Winter not only joined the group but also induced 19 other residents of Planena to come along.\textsuperscript{387}

Winter had been trained at Halle in a Pietistic style; however, as a teacher in Altenburg, he exhibited the trademarks of a classical confessional Lutheran educator. Winter’s curriculum was typical of the early Saxon schools. His first concern was a thorough and intense catechetical training aimed at moulding the children to fit the confessional mindset. As textbooks and other teaching resources were scarce, the curriculum was adapted to fit what the teacher had on hand, the only common textbooks being Luther’s \textit{Small Catechism}, the hymnal and the Bible.\textsuperscript{388} His catechetical instruction was based almost exclusively on Luther’s \textit{Small Catechism}, using Dietrich’s

\textsuperscript{385} Little information is available regarding this school.
\textsuperscript{386} Theodore Kuehnert, “Teacher Johann Friedrich Ferdinand Winter,” \textit{Lutheran School Journal} 74, no. 6 (1939), 248.
\textsuperscript{387} Forster, 561.
\textsuperscript{388} A common view assumes that, because there was a lack of textbooks, the curriculum of the early Saxon Schools was almost exclusively catechetical in nature. Stellhorn, for example, states that “textbooks were scarce, and the instruction in secular branches, while given, was probably quite limited.” August C. Stellhorn, “The Period of Organization: 1838-1847,” in \textit{100 Years of Christian Education}, ed. Arthur C. Repp (River Forest: Lutheran Education Association, 1947), 17. While catechetical instruction certainly did occupy a central role in the school, teachers such as
edition as the core text; and music, which was a significant part of his curriculum, centered on the old Lutheran chorales.\textsuperscript{389}

As congregations in St. Louis and Altenburg were formally organized, the role of schools in the life of those congregations was regularized. Whereas, in Germany, supervision of schools was under the jurisdiction of government officials, now that responsibility was given directly to the congregation which, along with the pastor, was authorized to inspect the school to see that it was conducted in accord with sound Lutheran doctrine and practice. The constitution of Trinity Lutheran Church of St. Louis, Mo. 1842, which became the model congregational constitution for the future Missouri Synod, stated that “Every member of this congregation is required, according to his means, to support the school and the church.”\textsuperscript{390} Furthermore, it was stipulated that

in the school, only purely Lutheran books for Christian instruction shall be introduced, in addition to the Scripture and Luther’s \textit{Small Catechism}. Parents who are members of the congregation are obligated to send their children to the Christian day school or to make the necessary provisions for their instruction in the pure doctrine.\textsuperscript{391}

In the Altenburg congregation, which also took the name “Trinity”, the constitution stipulated that the elders were obligated to “attend classes occasionally, to ask about the attendance and the needs of the School, and to attend the examinations” which were held two times a year. Supervision of the teacher was “first of all the Pastor’s duty.”\textsuperscript{392}

VI.2.3. The Altenburg gymnasium

From the outset, the Saxons envisioned a two-tiered school system. The first tier was to consist of elementary schools which every congregation was expected to

\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{389} Winter, who had been educated in classical gymnasia, attempted to provide a balanced curriculum in spite of the lack of supporting resources.\textsuperscript{390} Winter was the chief organist of the congregation and, in the style prescribed by many of the 16\textsuperscript{th}-century school orders, his school choir often led the congregation in worship. Kuehnert, 251. See also Johann Friedrich Köstering, “Johann Friedrich Ferdinand Winter,” \textit{Der Lutheraner} 30, no. 5 (1874), 36.\textsuperscript{391} Der \textit{Lutheraner}, VI (5 March 1850), 105-106. “Gemeinde-Ordnung für die deutsche evangelisch-lutherische Gemeinde ungeänderter Augsburgischer Confession in St. Louis, Mo.” (1843), in Meyer, ed., \textit{Moving Frontiers: Readings in the History of the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod}, 168-169.\textsuperscript{392} Ibid.}
establish. The second tier was to consist of a classical gymnasium in combination with a theological seminary. This school would be dedicated for the preparation of future pastors and teachers.

The first effort to establish a gymnasium may have been an independent effort by the theological candidate, Georg Albert Schieferdecker. In early 1839, Schieferdecker advertised himself to the city of St. Louis as a teacher of German, Latin, Greek and Hebrew. Evidently he had little success attracting students as there is no record of his conducting classes; and, within a short time, he left St. Louis to teach at a school in Waterloo, Illinois.

The first organized effort to start a gymnasium occurred in Perry County, four months after the members of the Gesellschaft arrived. On 13 August 1839, Walther placed an announcement in the St. Louis German-language newspaper, Anzeiger des Westens, stating that he, along with Fürbringer, Brohm, and Bünger, planned to open a gymnasium in the newly founded parish of Dresden in Perry County approximately one mile south of Altenburg. The announcement read as follows:

We, the undersigned, intend to establish an instruction and training institution which differs from the common elementary schools principally in that it will embrace, outside of (in addition to) the general and elementary curriculum, all branches of the (classical) high school, which are necessary for a true Christian and scientific education, such as Religion, the Latin, Greek Hebrew, German, French and English languages; History, Geography, Mathematics, Physics, Natural History, Introduction to Philosophy, Music, and Drawing.

This was a remarkably ambitious project. Less than one year after arriving in America, in a rural part of a state that had only the most rudimentary forms of education, the Saxons planned to establish a classical gymnasium. In spite of these obstacles, the school opened on the 9th of December, 1839 in a one-room log cabin with an enrolment of 11 students – seven boys and four girls – between the ages of 5 ½ and 15. Drawing

393 Forster, 343.
395 Paul H. Burgdorf, "Saxon Centennial Calendar 1839," Concordia Historical Institute Quarterly XI, no. 1 (1939), 100. See also Drevlow, Drickamer, and Reichwald, eds., 174-175.
on their own educational experiences, the founders attempted to implement a version of the German gymnasium that was modified to reflect their theological views.\textsuperscript{396}

What were those modifications? First, the school existed for the purpose of passing on an orthodox understanding of confessional Lutheranism. Through intensive catechesis in Luther’s \textit{Small Catechism}, the future church leaders would be shaped in their understanding of Christianity by theologians who had rejected the worldly teachings of Rationalism.\textsuperscript{397} The school was, according to one of its instructors, “isolated away from the noisy world” and a place where “the Word of God is taught in all its purity.”\textsuperscript{398} Next, the curriculum was modified to reflect their circumstances in their new country. The Saxons wanted to make sure that their children would not be cut off from participating in the civic life of their new homeland; and so they provided instruction in the English language, American geography, history, and American politics. This was in sharp contrast to the attitude of the Pennsylvania Ministerium. The Ministerium’s schools were theologically open in that they co-operated with Germans from other confessions, and yet wanted to remain culturally separate in that they tried to isolate their students from mainstream American culture by rigidly insisting on teaching only the German language. The Saxons, on the other hand, wanted to remain theologically separate, yet more culturally open. They sought to isolate their students from other ecclesiastical confessions, but endeavoured to integrate the children into the cultural mainstream by giving them the tools and knowledge by which they could participate in that life. Löber expressed his desire that his students would have a pure theological education balanced with a “practical efficiency for life” so that they might be of service both to the American community and to the church.\textsuperscript{399}

\textsuperscript{396} There is some debate as to whether this school should be classified as an elementary school instead of a gymnasium or theological seminary. At the beginning there were no theological students and several of the children were too young for a gymnasium style education. While there were no students old enough to be considered theological students or teaching students, there is little doubt that from the beginning the founders planned for it to develop into a gymnasium with a theological seminary. August C. Stellhorn, “What was the Perry County College,” \textit{Concordia Historical Institute Quarterly} XVIII, no. 4 (1946).

\textsuperscript{397} Meyer states that Pietistic ideals were integrated into the school; however, his comments appear to be based on a poem written by Otto Hermann Walther on the occasion of the dedication of the school. O.H. Walther was never directly involved in the school and remained in St. Louis, 100 miles to the north. Meyer, "Walther's School Visits in Braeunsdorf," 4.

\textsuperscript{398} Löber, 93-95.

\textsuperscript{399} Ibid., 94.
Over the next several years, the gymnasium continued to struggle with low enrolment. In 1840, the school moved from Dresden to Altenburg. The following year, there were only eight students enrolled. By 1843 the original four instructors had moved away from the area, taking calls to serve as pastors. Duties fell on Löber, who was then pastor at Altenburg, and E.G.W. Keyl of nearby Frohna. These two pastors were assisted by teachers Winter, Nitschke, and Goenner. In 1845, Löber reported that there were still only eight children enrolled – three between the ages of 16 and 20 and five between the ages of 11 and 14. By this time, the college had become dependant on other congregations for financial support. Walther, who had been instrumental in rallying this support for the school, argued that the future of the Lutheran church in America depended on the classical style of education that this gymnasium was endeavouring to provide. It was essential for the proper formation of future church leaders that there be a school in which “the old languages were taught” and the proper branches of learning (Wissenschaften) were preserved.

In spite of the difficulties, the school maintained its program. Löber described the course of studies offered at the school in an edition of Der Lutheraner. Catechetics were dealt with in classes on the Catechism, Reformation history and Bible history. There was a heavy emphasis on the classical languages, which included courses on Greek - “especially Xenophon and Plutarch” - and Latin, with an emphasis on Cicero. Löber added that the Greek and Latin poets, “especially Homer and Virgil were not neglected.” Modern languages were also taught including German, English and French. Subjects traditionally belonging to the liberal arts such as declamation, history (which included American History), mathematics, geometry, arithmetic and logic were all taught. There was some attention given to the sciences which included in chemistry and political science, American and world geography, and an introduction to psychology. There was instruction in art and drawing; and Winter taught both instrumental and vocal music.

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400 Brohm, who was serving a congregation in New York, provided financial support for the school as did Trinity Lutheran Church in St. Louis, where C.F.W. Walther now served as pastor. Ibid.
402 Löber, 93.
403 Ibid.
When the Missouri Synod was formed, the school was handed over to the synod as its official college and seminary. In 1849 it was moved from Altenburg to St. Louis, a more favourable location. This, along with the official recognition from the synod, initiated a period of sustained growth. When the school re-opened in St. Louis, it had 16 students, eight of whom had previously been enrolled while the college was in Altenburg. Within 10 years, there were 88 students with 74 enrolled in the gymnasium and 14 enrolled in the theological seminary. The college had retained its original purpose of being an institution for the training of pastors and teachers. It soon evolved into a boarding school with a ten-year program. The first seven years belonged to the gymnasium and the last three to the theological seminary. According to traditional structure, the gymnasium consisted of a lower department which was divided into three classes: Quinta, Quarta, and Tertia; and a college department which was divided into four classes: Unter-Secunda, Ober-Secunda, Unter-Prima and Ober-Prima. The typical age for enrolment in Quinta was eleven years and the normal age of graduation from the seminary was twenty-one. Thus, the future teacher or pastor was placed under the watchful eye of approved theologians throughout his formative years. The goal was to shape these young men so that they would comfortably fit into the confessional model constructed so painstakingly by the founders.

The gymnasium continued to follow very much the same curriculum that had been designed by its founders. A student was expected to master the Catechism, Bible history and Hebrew, Latin, Greek, German, English (geography and mathematics was conducted in English as well), history, geography, arithmetic, mathematics (algebra, geometry, stereometry, trigonometry), natural history, physics, geology, singing, and calligraphy all within the confines of a doctrinally pure environment.

Later, the Missouri Lutherans started other secondary schools in addition to this gymnasium. In 1855, an English high school in St. Louis was opened, but remained in operation for only two years. Following that, Immanuel Academy opened with classes in Catechism, Bible history, history, German, English, mathematics, geometry, physics,

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404 Carl S. Meyer, Log Cabin to Luther Tower: Concordia Seminary during One Hundred and Twenty-five Years toward a more Excellent Ministry 1839-1964 (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1965), 303.
geography, music, drawing and penmanship. Other secondary schools followed, including high schools in St. Louis (1867) and Milwaukee (1868); however, they followed essentially the same curriculum as the gymnasium with the exception of sacred languages and classes in philosophy, logic and declamation. Clearly, the Saxons believed that while Latin, Greek, Hebrew, logic, and the rhetorical arts were essential for pastors and teachers, a more practical high school curriculum was sufficient for those children not being groomed for church work. 406

405 “Programm des Evangelisch-Lutherischen Concordia-Collegiums der Synode von Missouri, Ohio u. a. St. zu St. Louis, Missouri,” Der Lutheraner 16, no. 22 (1860), 170.
406 This distinction supports Gawthorpe’s and Strauss’ argument that the educational reforms of the 16th-century gymnasium were primarily to produce an educated and informed clergy, not for the purpose of enabling mass literacy. Gawthrop and Strauss, 35-51. For a complete discussion on the development of secondary schools in the early Missouri Synod see Stellhorn, Schools of the Lutheran Church - Missouri Synod, 151-169.
Figure 1: Comparison of the curriculum of the gymnasium and the Lutheran high school

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1860 Curriculum of Concordia College Gymnasium(^{407})</th>
<th>1857 Curriculum of Immanuel Academy, St. Louis(^{408})</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Catechetics</td>
<td>Catechism, Religion, Church History, Reformation History</td>
<td>Catechism, Church History, Bible History</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Languages</td>
<td>German, Greek, English, Hebrew, Latin, Norwegian(^{**}), French(^{*})</td>
<td>German, English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mathematics</td>
<td>Arithmetic, Mathematics (Algebra, Geometry, Stereometry, Trigonometry)</td>
<td>Arithmetic, Mathematics, Geometry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sciences</td>
<td>Geography, Physics, General Geology, Natural History</td>
<td>Physics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fine Arts</td>
<td>Singing, Drawing, Instrumental Music(^{*})</td>
<td>Singing, Drawing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>History</td>
<td>World History, American History</td>
<td>General History</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Penmanship</td>
<td>Penmanship, Calligraphy</td>
<td>Penmanship</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{*}\) These courses were offered as instructors were available.

\(^{**}\) Norwegian was taught only to those students of Norwegian background.

\(^{407}\) "Programm des Evangelisch-Lutherischen Concordia-Collegiums der Synode von Missouri, Ohio u. a. St. zu St. Louis, Missouri," 170. Elsewhere Meyer states that Logic, Declamation, Political Science and Chemistry were also included in the curriculum. Meyer, *Log Cabin to Luther Tower: Concordia Seminary during One Hundred and Twenty-five Years toward a more Excellent Ministry 1839-1964*, 28.

\(^{408}\) Stellhorn, *Schools of the Lutheran Church - Missouri Synod*, 159-160.
VI.3. Schools and the founding of the Missouri Synod

VI.3.1. Educational work by other Lutheran Confessionalists

Other Confessional Lutherans were also establishing an orthodox Lutheran presence in America; consequently, confessional Lutheran schools were established by these groups as well.

For example, J. A. A. Grabau (1804-1879) led a group of about 1,600 Pomeranian “Old Lutherans” to settle in the area of Buffalo, New York. This Buffalo Synod quickly established several congregations with schools and a seminary. Doctrinal differences led to divisions in this group and the majority later joined the Missouri Synod. There were also schools of the Iowa Synod (1854), the Wisconsin Synod (1849), the Michigan Synod (1855), and various Norwegian groups. Though these were established after the arrival of the Saxons, they were all active in the field of education, each establishing their own elementary schools, colleges and seminaries.

Most relevant to the development of schools in the Missouri Synod were those congregations and pastors associated with Friedrich Conrad Dietrich Wyneken (1810-1881). Wyneken was born in Verden, Hanover, Germany and like Walther and the other Missourian Lutherans, his early years were influenced by Pietism. He attended university at Göttingen and then later enrolled at the Pietist center in Halle. Also, like many of the Saxon leaders, he had considerable experience as an educator. He served as a private tutor to families in France and Italy, and was the headmaster of the Lateinschule in Bremerford. Wyneken came to America in 1838 in response to a call for pastors and served a congregation in Baltimore for several months. From there he accepted a call to serve as pastor of St. Paul’s Lutheran Church and school in Fort Wayne, Indiana. From this base, Wyneken trained teachers and missionaries to serve the developing lands of the mid-west. In 1841, Wyneken made a trip back to Germany to solicit support for his mission work. He published a plea for help, *Die Noth der deutschen Lutheraner in Nordamerika*, which attracted the attention of Wilhelm Löhe of

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409 These “Old Lutherans” quickly established schools after their arrival, evenly distributing teachers so that all children would have access to education. Schools were begun immediately upon arriving in the Buffalo area and soon had a combined enrollment of 120 children. Iwan, 130-135.

410 For a complete discussion of educational work of these groups see Beck, 118-160.
Neuendettelsau in Bavaria. Löhe was not just interested in sending pastors from Germany but he also desired to establish a system of Lutheran education in America.\textsuperscript{411}

During this trip to Germany, Wyneken made contact with another confessionally minded pastor, Dr. Wilhelm Sihler (1801-1885). Sihler came from a strong Prussian military family and began his career in the Prussian infantry. In 1826 he left the military to study at the University of Berlin where he was deeply influenced by Friedrich Schleiermacher. Upon graduation, he served as a private tutor, and in 1830 he was given a position teaching at the Blochmann Institute in Dresden. The founder, Karl Blochmann (1786-1855), had spent seven years teaching at Pestalozzi’s school in Yverdon, and in 1824, he established an institute based on Pestalozzian ideals. At the Blochmann Institute, Sihler was exposed to what could be considered the best of Rationalistic educational reform. The school was known for brilliant teachers who were intent on exploring the latest pedagogical methods and theories. Thus the move to Dresden gave Sihler opportunities to explore Rationalistic education in a progressive environment.\textsuperscript{412} The move to Dresden also brought Sihler into contact with the same Pietistic and Neo-Lutheran influences that had shaped the followers of Stephan.\textsuperscript{413}

Eventually, Sihler committed himself to the Neo-Lutheran cause, and in 1838 resigned his position at the Institute to become a private tutor. For the next five years, Sihler taught during which time he studied the Lutheran confessions and the orthodox Lutheran fathers. In 1843 he received a copy of a pamphlet that Wyneken had written

\begin{footnotes}
\footnote{411}{In response to Wyneken’s plea, Löhe set about educating men to serve as pastors in North America. Among the first was Adam Ernst who would become the leader of confessional Lutherans in Canada. The curriculum of Löhe’s school in Neuendettelsau was an interesting blend of courses designed to prepare theological workers in a North American setting. Students not only studied doctrine, church history, and Bible history, but also English, Handwriting, Geology, World and Church History, and North American Politics. Johannes Deinzer, \textit{Wilhelm Löhe’s Leben}, vol. III (Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1892), 4-5.}
\footnote{412}{Sihler had been an ardent disciple of Schleiermacher. At Dresden he was also exposed to some leading Rationalists. In particular, he attended Christoph Friedrich von Ammon’s church and made a point of attending those services where Ammon was preaching. Lewis W. Spitz, \textit{Life in Two Worlds: Biography of William Sihler} (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1968), 25-26.}
\footnote{413}{It was during this time that Sihler came under the influence of the conservative theologian, A.G. Rudelbach. Rudelbach later facilitated Sihler’s trip to America. Ibid., 29. While Sihler associated with people who knew Stephan, there is no documentation indicating that the two of them met. In fact, Sihler avoided Stephan because of allegations of possible immorality. Though he was not directly connected with Stephan, he could have been influenced by the pessimistic mood of the Stephanites. It is noteworthy that Sihler resigned his position at the Institute the same year that the Stephanites decided to emigrate.}
\end{footnotes}
which appealed for men to work among the scattered Lutherans of America. After contacting Löhe, Sihler was sent in September of that year to work among the Lutherans in Pomeroy, Ohio. In 1845 he succeeded Wyneken as pastor of St. Paul’s Church and School in Ft. Wayne, Indiana.

With Löhe’s support, Wyneken and Sihler established a seminary in Ft. Wayne for the training of confessionally minded pastors and teachers.\textsuperscript{414} Though it was called a seminary, the institution, like the one set up by the Saxons in Perry County, was a combined gymnasium/seminary that followed the classical Lutheran educational model. Designed by Löhe in Germany, the curriculum bore similarities to that at the college at Altenburg. Religious instruction centered on Luther’s \textit{Small Catechism}, the reading of Scripture, and the study of church history. Greek and Latin were standard parts of the curriculum as were mathematics, music (singing and piano), English grammar and composition. Advanced classes in the seminary department were more theologically oriented, designed to prepare the pastors and teachers for working in the environs of a confessional Lutheran congregation. Although the seminary was primarily designed to train pastors and missionaries for the frontier lands, it also graduated a number of teachers. In the eleven years following its founding, 15 of 79 graduates were teachers.\textsuperscript{415}

Wyneken and his group had much in common with the Saxons. As committed Confessionalists, they shared the same theological and educational convictions. Like the Saxons, they were experienced educators. They understood education from the inside and believed that, in order for Confessionalism to succeed in America, they could not rely on pastors and teachers from Germany. They must train their own. The supply of men from Germany would never be sufficient to meet the growing population; but more importantly, there would be no way to ensure that pastors coming from Europe shared their commitment to confessional purity. Thus, both of these groups understood that the establishment of a confessional Lutheran education system was the top priority.

\textsuperscript{414} Stellhorn, \textit{Schools of the Lutheran Church - Missouri Synod}, 37.
\textsuperscript{415} Ibid., 130.
VI.3.2. Education and the constitution of the new synod

In 1844 Wyneken received a copy of Der Lutheraner and immediately recognized a theological and educational synergy with the Saxons. He therefore sought to establish a relationship with them. In April of 1847, after several meetings, the two groups joined together to form a new synod – Die Deutsche Evangelisch-Lutherische Synode von Missouri, Ohio, und andern Staaten. The synod consisted of 16 congregations and 14 schools. Total enrolment of students in all the elementary schools that year was 764.

The constitution set the synod apart from any other Lutheran church body that had come before it. It was unique in its demand for confessional subscription. Pastors, teachers and congregations were to agree to the doctrine of the Evangelical Lutheran Church as defined in the Book of Concord of 1580. Anything less rendered them inadmissible to membership in the synod. In contrast, the Pennsylvania Ministerium, through the 18th and early 19th centuries, remained little more than a loose connection of pastors in which confessional subscription and confessional integrity were rarely an issue, whereas, in the Missouri Synod, confessional subscription became its defining characteristic. As Mundinger points out,

Not since the sixteenth century, and never on American soil, had a body of men so completely and so sincerely subscribed to the Unaltered Augsburg Confession and its Apology, the Smalcald Articles, the Catechisms of Luther, and the

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416 It is reported that when Wyneken received the copy of Der Lutheraner he declared, “Thank God, there are more Lutherans in America.” Ibid., 38.
417 In 1917 this name was changed to “The Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri, Ohio and other States.” In 1947 the name “The Lutheran Church–Missouri Synod” was officially adopted.
418 The constitution of the synod reads more like the Kirchenordnungen than a typical American congregational constitution.
419 For Walther the 16th- and 17th-century orthodox theologians formed the framework from which everything was understood. This had an insolating effect on the Synod. Maurer says, “Walther did not find it necessary to consult either history or theology of the last two centuries. With the seventeenth century his casebook of history closes and thus he performed for his groups...the decisive service of cutting it off from Germany, from Europe, from time and space, from pietism, from rationalism, from the old theology, and from the new: from the Geistesgeschichte of the last two centuries with all its troubles.” Heinrich Maurer, “The Problem of Group-Consensus; Founding the Missouri Synod,” American Journal of Sociology 30, no. 6 (1925), 680.
420 While the early Missourians regarded themselves as faithful disciples of Luther, their thought was also shaped by theological trends that came after Luther. 16th-century Confessionalism, 17th-century Orthodoxy and 19th-century Romanticism all shaped the Missourian’s understanding of Luther. Their divergence from Luther is most apparent in their understanding of Catechesis. See this dissertation I.3.3.: “Catechesis: connecting baptism and vocation to divine pedagogy.”
Formula of Concord….The respect which these men had for any opinion of Luther is indescribable. Where Luther had spoken, the case was settled.421

The constitution is also unique in its commitment to education. References to education, schools and teachers appear in almost every article.

Article II, “Conditions under which congregations may join Synod and remain a member”, clearly established the importance that was placed on schools by the founders. Congregations were required to make “provision for a Christian education for the children of the congregation.” These were to be orthodox Lutheran schools that used only orthodox catechisms, readers and hymn books.422 In Article III, “External Organization of Synod”, teachers were given official status in the synod as advisory members equal to “those orthodox pastors not empowered to vote by their congregations.”423 Article IV “The Business of Synod” states the synod’s responsibility to examine all teacher candidates, to maintain sound instruction of catechumens and to “institute and maintain catechization every Sunday for the confirmed youth.”424 According to Article V, “Execution of Synodical business,” the president of the synod was to keep close supervision of the churches and schools, and to report to the synod at large anything in the school books that was “contrary to the confession of the true faith.”425

The matter of teacher certification received extended treatment. Teacher candidates were to be examined twice. First they were to be examined by the pastor loci. Article V states,

The subjects in which they are to be examined are knowledge of the Bible and understanding of Scripture; Christian doctrine, with particular reference to the Symbolical Books, especially the two Catechisms of Luther; church and Reformation history; German language; arithmetic; penmanship; geography; history; and music. Besides this the candidate is also to hold a catechization,

421 Mundinger, 195. While Mundinger’s point is valid, he ignores earlier groups that also exhibited a strong subscription to the Lutheran Confessions. Most notable in this regard was The German Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Tennessee which, under the guidance of three brothers – David, Phillip and Paul Henkel – was formed twenty-seven years prior to the Missouri Synod. Richard C. Wolf, Documents of Lutheran Unity in America (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1966), 72-77. 422 W. G. Polack, "Our First Synodical Constitution," Concordia Historical Institute Quarterly XVI, no. 1 (1943), 3.
423 Ibid., 4.
424 Ibid., 5.
425 Ibid., 7.
which is also to be submitted in writing, as also a dissertation on some pedagogical topic assigned by the examiner.\textsuperscript{426}

Following this examination, the president of the synod, together with an examining commission, would give each teacher candidate an assignment on a pedagogical subject that would then be judged in the presence of the pastors.\textsuperscript{427}

The Synod was committed to a cohesive and all-encompassing education program – a commitment in which every member was expected to share. Congregations were expected to have orthodox Lutheran schools. This was to be the congregation’s manifest expression of its intention to continue the confessional revival of its founders. It was the concrete proof that the congregation was serious about passing on to its children the commitment to doctrinal unity that bound the synod together. In the minds of the founders, if children were taught correctly – that is, if they were taught by orthodox teachers according to the precepts of classical Lutheran pedagogy – then they would grow to be pious Lutheran adults who would assume their places in the congregation and synod, and continue in the tradition of doctrinal purity.

For the founders, the key to ensuring a continuity of this vision was to see that the synod’s teachers were of a uniform orthodox confession. The school orders of the 16\textsuperscript{th} century had established the principle that orthodox teachers made for orthodox schools. “Good teachers bring forth good students,” as one 16\textsuperscript{th}-century order expressed it.\textsuperscript{428} The founders of the Synod were keen to reinstitute the practice of making sure that they had only “good teachers” by establishing a rigorous process of review and supervision of its teachers and pastors.

To these Confessionalists, questions of orthodoxy were more important than questions of didactics. Therefore, teachers were to be carefully examined to see that they were orthodox in their confession. Furthermore, they were given official status in the Synod – a move which gave the synod control over who taught in the schools. The polity of the Missouri Synod dictated that each congregation was autonomous and responsible for its own school. With this polity, it was impossible for the Synod to

\textsuperscript{426} Ibid., 9.
\textsuperscript{427} Ibid., 15-16.
\textsuperscript{428} Sehling, ed., \textit{Wolfenbütteler Kirchenordnung (1569)}, 225. See page 54.
remove what might be considered an unsuitable teacher. However, by granting teachers status as members – a standing they did not have in the Pennsylvania Ministerium – the Synod retained the right to remove the teacher from membership in the Synod, an action which would render him ineligible to teach in any Missouri Synod congregational school. The Synod also retained the right to inspect the textbooks and curricular material used in the school. In Saxony, Walther, Bürger, Keyl and Bünger had all experienced conflicts over what they considered doctrinally unacceptable materials and Rationalistic teachers. These had hindered their efforts to introduce Confessionalism into the schools. The new constitution prevented those mistakes from being repeated. Pastors and congregations were not merely given the freedom to inspect the teacher’s theological and pedagogical views, they were obligated to do so.

VI.3.3. Teacher training in the new synod

A congregation’s commitment to the Synod was to use only orthodox pastors and teachers. Consequently, the Synod’s commitment to its congregations was to provide these orthodox pastors and teachers. Thus, one of the chief functions of the Synod was to provide educational institutions whereby its pastors and teachers would be properly doctrinally and academically prepared to assume their place in the Confessional community. In this respect, the synod was remarkably successful.

The institutions in Altenburg/St. Louis, Ft. Wayne, and later the teachers seminary in Addison, produced a pool of educators and clergy who were not only remarkably doctrinally unified, but also exceptionally well trained. In the mid-19th century, the average American Methodist minister had achieved only an elementary

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See pages 96ff.
Meyer points out that most of the leaders of most of the newer, more conservative Lutheran groups were university educated. Most of the Saxon leaders had attended Leipzig University. Johann Grabau of the Buffalo Synod and Adolph Hoeneke of the Wisconsin Synod attended Halle, C.B. Hochstetter of the Buffalo Synod attended Tübingen, Gottfried Fritschel and G.M. Grossman of the Iowa Synod attended Erlangen, Fredrich Craemer attended Erlangen and Munich, Stephan Klingman of the Michigan Synod attended Basle, Friedrich Wyneken attended Göttingen and Halle, and Wilhelm Sihler attended Berlin. A contemporary observer stated,

I say it without fear of successful contradiction, the Lutheran clergy of the west, in all the element of true manhood, in intellectual power and devotion to their proper work are the peers of the ministry of any other church. Nay, further, they even average higher in capacity and character than most other Churches.

Meyer, "Lutheran Immigrant Churches Face the Problems of the Frontier," 450.
level of education. By contrast, the typical Missouri Synod pastor had spent ten years at
the college level and was thoroughly grounded in the liberal arts. Many children were
taught by pastors who had mastered all three of the sacred languages and all areas of
theology, were fluent in German and usually English, had studied logic and rhetoric, and
conducted their office with a uniformity of teaching and practice that was virtually
unparalleled in any other denomination.

The Missouri Synod was also successful in developing a core of pastors and
teachers who were indigenous to the Synod. Other groups, such as the Pennsylvania
Ministerium, had relied on Germany to supply her with pastors and teachers. In a
relatively short period of time, most of Missouri Synod’s pastors and teachers were
native Americans who had little or no connection with the Lutheran church in Germany.
The Synod’s institutions of higher education, coupled with its system of elementary
schools, made it possible for a pastor or a teacher to receive his entire education in a
Confessional Lutheran school system without ever having any contact with a state-run
institution. Like the people that he served, the pastor or teacher received his entire
education in the “doctrinally pure” environment of Lutheran schools. Thus, his cultural
outlook was neither European nor even American, but distinct to the Missouri Synod.

With the groundwork laid for an organized school system, Lutheran schools were
established at an astonishing rate. In 1847, the year of the foundation of the Synod,
there were 16 congregations and 14 schools with an enrolment of 764 students. There
were seven teachers and seven pastors serving as teachers. Twenty-five years later,
there were 499 congregations and 472 schools with an enrolment of 30,320 students.
There were 209 teaching pastors and 263 teachers. By the 50th anniversary of the
Synod, there were 1,986 congregations and 1,603 schools with an enrolment of 89,202
students. This was served by 894 teaching pastors and 781 teachers. Often there

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432 Mundinger, 198.
433 The Gettysburg Seminary was established in 1826, 78 years after the founding of the
Pennsylvania Ministerium.
434 Within the pale of the synod were hospitals and social service organizations, social clubs, even a
fraternal benefits organization. Thus while proudly American, the people of the Missouri Synod
remained independent of American cultural institutions preferring to rely on their own resources to
meet their needs. For a discussion of this see Mundinger, 216, and Maurer “The Problem of Group-
Consensus; Founding the Missouri Synod.”
435 “Table V: Comparative Statistics by Quarter Centuries,” in Stellhorn, Schools of the Lutheran Church - Missouri Synod, 182.
would be two or more congregations belonging to the same parish. When that figure is accounted for, there were, in fact, 18 more schools than parishes in 1872, and 113 more schools than parishes in 1897.

The multiplication of congregations and schools quickly outstripped the supply of qualified teachers that the Synod was able to produce. It was beyond the capability of the small college at Altenburg and the seminary at Ft. Wayne to meet these needs. Throughout the first years of the 1860’s, pleas were repeatedly made in Der Lutheraner for more students for the teacher seminary. In 1862-1863 only six men graduated as teachers with an additional six permitted to serve as teachers’ assistants. By 1864 the system, which now had over 225 schools, had only managed to graduate 76 teacher candidates since its inception.

VI.3.3.a. The establishment of a teachers seminary

In 1863 the Synod decided that a dedicated teachers seminary should be created. In January of 1865, the new institution was opened in Addison, Illinois, with two professors and 46 students. For a brief time prior to this, there was a teachers seminary in Milwaukee that was only in existence for two years (1855-57) and could not sustain itself. In 1857 operations were transferred to the Ft. Wayne school and the institution was closed. While the school was short lived, it did have the effect of alerting the synod to the need for an institution dedicated to the training of teachers. 436

The founder of the school was Johann Christoph Wilhelm Lindemann (1827-1879) who was something of an oddity among the Missouri Synod leadership. Unlike

436 The fact that teacher seminaries designed to produce a core of professionally trained teachers was a product of Rationalist pedagogy seemed to escape the attention of these decidedly Anti-Rationalist theologians. In fact there has been no direct evidence linking the creation of the Missouri Synod’s teacher seminaries with the development of similar seminaries in Germany or the development of “normal schools” as advocated by Henry Barnard and Horace Mann in the United States. Normal Schools were only just beginning to be established in the 1860’s. By 1865, the year that Addison opened, there were only 21 such schools in the United States, most of which were located in the northeastern states. [L. Dean Webb, The History of American Education: A Great American Experiment (Columbus: Person Education, 2006), 158-160.] The St. Louis High school, while not a true normal school, had been providing classes in education and training elementary school teachers since 1857. [Harry G. Good and James D. Teller, A History of American Education, 3rd ed. (New York: Macmillan, 1973), 210.] For a discussion of this as well as an analysis of teacher training practices in general see Carl S. Meyer, “Teacher Training in Missouri Synod to 1864,” Concordia Historical Institute Quarterly XXX, no. 3 (1957), 166 and Carl S. Meyer, “Teacher Training in the Missouri Synod to 1864,” Concordia Historical Institute Quarterly XXX, no. 4 (1958).
most who had received a European university education, Lindemann had only received one and a half years of formal education after his confirmation. He hadn’t attended a gymnasium or received a liberal arts education, nor had he any proficiency in the sacred languages – a deficiency which he felt should have disqualified him as the head of the institution. Lindemann was also unique in that he had not always been a Lutheran. Baptized as a Lutheran and raised in a Rationalistic home, Lindemann joined the Roman Catholic Church as a youth and would have become a Catholic missionary had it not been for the intervention of his parents and their pastor. That intervention forced Lindemann to research the Lutheran Confessions, and in so doing, he discovered the Neo-Lutheran movement and resolved to become a Lutheran teacher. After only six months at the Hanover Teachers Seminary, Lindemann volunteered to teach at a school in Baltimore. After making the acquaintance with Wyneken, Lindemann entered the seminary at Ft. Wayne in 1852 in order to become a pastor. Upon graduation he served as pastor of a church in Cleveland until he was called to head up the new teachers seminary in Addison.437

Lindemann’s associate at Addison was Christian August Thomas Selle (1819-1893). Like Lindemann, Selle was unique in that he received only a limited elementary education. The only school he had attended was his village school near Hamburg. Even before he was confirmed at age 14, Selle was given a position teaching 120 pupils. It was only after he came to America in 1837 that he began to study theology in order to become a pastor. In 1861, upon the recommendation of Walther, he was called to be professor at Fort Wayne and followed the school when it was transferred to Addison.438 Thus, quite surprisingly, two seemingly non-academic pastors came to be in charge of the academic institution that was responsible for training teachers to fill the classrooms of the growing synod.

The choice of Lindemann and Selle influenced the type of institution that Addison was to become. Formerly it was essential that teachers be trained in the classics by those who mastered the sacred texts in the original languages. It appears that Walther

hoped that this tradition would continue at the new seminary. Writing to J.C.W. Lindemann, Walther said,

> It is highly desirable that we have on the faculty of our teachers’ seminary a classically trained man who can read the journals containing divine wisdom in the Latin language and test them according to the original text of the Word of God. In fact, this is in many aspects a relative necessity.\(^{439}\)

However, Lindemann designed the teachers seminary as a much more practical institution. Noticeably absent was instruction in the classical languages. Greek, Latin and Hebrew were all left out of the syllabus. Courses were centered on things that would prepare teachers to teach the orthodox Lutheran faith to German/American children. An early student related the course of studies thus:

> Lindemann taught religion on the basis of Dietrich’s Catechism, catechetics, Bible reading with expositions, world history (the Babylonian and Persian kingdoms, etc.) German grammar, arithmetic, pedagogy, psychology, drawing and handwritings….When the class was dismissed, a catechesis would be discussed and criticized. Prof. Selle’s courses were Bible history, the Symbolical Books, (especially the Augsburg Confession); English (mostly translations from English to German and visa versa), and, of course, writing for exercise in spelling; United States history, English grammar, geography and piano for older students. Prof. Brauer was the music teacher; piano, organ, singing, violin and theory of music were his branches.\(^{440}\)

Like the pastors, the Missouri Synod teachers had an education that exceeded what the average public school teacher in the Midwest had received. Many public school teachers had no formal training at all; however, even if they had attended a state normal school or teacher training school, their training was still well below what the typical Missouri Synod teacher received. State normal schools generally required only a basic elementary education prior to enrolment and offered a teacher training course that could be as short as one year. Classes centered on teaching practices and educational psychology.\(^{441}\) Graduates from the Addison Teachers Seminary were required to have completed their elementary education before entry. They then spent a full three years in preparatory training – a rough equivalent to the gymnasium – and two more years after


\(^{440}\) Gustav Kampe, “When the Addison Seminary was New,” *Concordia Historical Institute Quarterly* XXX, no. 4 (1958),178.

\(^{441}\) Webb, 158-159.
that in the teachers seminary. They had exposure to almost all academic disciplines, were bilingual, and had a comprehensive theological training.

With the introduction of a separate teachers seminary, there is also a subtle shift in thinking. Prior to Addison, the teaching and preaching offices were combined into one. They were inextricable; thus, teachers and pastors attended the same training institution and received almost the same education. Pastors would often end up teaching in the school, and teachers would be called as pastors. The creation of a separate teachers seminary introduced a change in that the office of teacher was seen as being distinct from the pastoral office.\footnote{For a discussion of the relationship of the teaching office to the preaching office, see John C. Wohlrabe, "Ministry in Missouri Until 1962: An Historical Analysis of the Doctrine of the Ministry in the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod" (1992).}

VI.3.3.b. The establishment of an educational journal

With the rise of a core of professionally trained teachers came the need for support resources. The journal, *Evangelisch-Lutherisches Schulblatt* ("Evangelical Lutheran School Journal") was chief among these. Founded by Lindemann in 1865, *Schulblatt* was taken over by the Synod as its official professional educators' journal four years later. Designed as a journal to equip the Lutheran teacher for his duties, it contained articles on pedagogy, didactics and theology. The first issue had articles that dealt with classroom management such as "Care in Judging and Handling Children." Other articles addressed the very matters that caused the Saxons so much difficulty in Germany including "Do Parochial Teachers Have the Right to Introduce Textbooks According to Their Own Judgment?", "Is the Pastor of the Congregation also the Supervisor of the School?", and "The Office of a Lutheran Teacher." All seem to have been written with the goal of establishing a correct understanding of the authority of the pastor over and against the authority of the teacher. Subsequent issues carried similar articles. As well, there were numerous articles surveying the history of the *Small Catechism* in North America, Luther as a reformer of German schools, and various Reformation theologians such as Nicolaus Herman. Since the school teacher was also expected to be the chief musician of the parish, almost every issue had articles dealing with classical Lutheran hymnody and suggested liturgical studies. *Schulblatt* served the
important purpose not only of providing an official conduit to the teachers to ensure that they maintained their doctrinal standards while in the classroom, but also, that they remained vigilant against the intrusion of Rationalistic and Pietistic pedagogy into the classroom.

VI.4. Conclusions

The Saxons arrived in Missouri at a propitious time. The state had an underdeveloped school system, there were no other Lutheran groups at work in the area, and the country was about to receive record numbers of German Lutheran immigrants. These factors allowed the Saxons to establish a remarkably successful school system that satisfied their confessional requirements.

The first schools that they established were templates for the many schools that were to follow. They provided education for future church workers as well as lay people. The Perry County gymnasium followed a classical model that was designed to produce uniform confessional pastors and teachers. Other schools, such as those in St. Louis and Altenburg, were designed to prepare laymen to be faithful to their vocation.

When the Missouri Synod was formed, many, if not most, of the founders had previous experience as educators. This was reflected in the new constitution which made provisions for schools in almost every article. It was clear that these founders were determined to have schools play a prominent role in the new synod. Their mission was to produce faithful confessional-minded Lutherans, well equipped to take an active role in the affairs of the new church body.

At the time of the synod’s formation, the founders could not have imagined the dimensions their school system would achieve. Within a few years, the number of schools that were operated by Missouri Synod congregations exceeded 1600 and enrolled close to 90,000 students. The rapid growth forced the synod to establish a teacher training institution at Addison, Illinois. This job fell to Johann Lindemann who, unlike most of the other Missourian leaders, had not received a classical liberal arts education. As a result, the college that he set up was designed to prepare a different type of teacher than had previously been envisioned. Lindemann also established the
synod’s official teacher’s journal, *Schulblatt*. Thus Lindemann would be most influential in the development of the Missourian conception of the liberal arts.
VII. The Missourians' adaptation of the liberal arts

To what extent was the Missourians' new educational model an adaptation of the old Evangelical arts program? In this model – a modified version of the humanist curriculum that met their catechetical goals and complemented their doctrines of baptism and vocation – language, literature, and music were given unique treatments in order to produce a truly Lutheran adaptation of the liberal arts.

This chapter will examine the sources used by the Missourians in constructing their version of the arts. Since they understood education to be an expression of the theology of the community, this chapter will look at their doctrines of baptism and vocation, their catechetical goals, and their understanding of the relationship of the church to the arts. The chapter will also consider how Missourian theology related to their understanding of early childhood education. Finally, it will examine how those theological principles were brought to bear in the areas of language, literature, music and – to a discipline that was foreign to the 16th-century pedagogues – science.

VII.1. A new Ad Fontes

In the 16th century, the Evangelicals followed the humanists' lead and adopted *ad fontes* as a principle in constructing an Evangelical liberal arts model, rejecting the prevailing models and going back to earlier sources for direction. The Missourians followed the same pattern. They rejected the prevailing pedagogical models – those of the Pietists and Rationalists – and returned to earlier sources for direction, the chief source being Luther.

The Missourians' position on the Rationalist pedagogues was clear. The *Schulblatt* regularly examined Rationalist educators with the forgone conclusion that they were dangerous to confessional Lutheran education.443 Rousseau was described

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443 Often readers were treated to stories about the Rationalists' foibles such as the following story about Basedow which appeared in the December 1866 issue of the *Schulblatt*.

"Als Basedow in Folge seiner pädagogischen Bestrebungen namentlich bei den Hohen dieser Welt Beifall fand, ward er stolz bis zur Unerträglichkeit und Lächerlichkeit. Einst begegnete er einem Schubkarrenführer, der keuchend seine Last einen schroffen Bergabhang hinauftrieb. Basedow half ihm. Der Mann bedankte sich treuerzig, versichernd, das es nicht viele solcher
as “one of the fathers of the present-day mockers” whose ways were contrary to true Christian education. Pestalozzi was considered nothing more than a pedagogical “dreamer” who couldn’t reach his goals because he was unable to lead pupils to “the waters of Life, whose name is Jesus.” In one issue, readers were told about a new book on Pestalozzi by Karl von Raumer. Lindemann stated that von Raumer considered this particular collection of Pestalozzi’s adages as being “spiritually rich” and satirically added, “The reader should try and discover any rich spirituality in them.” Fröbel’s Kindergarten was seen as a subversive attempt to indoctrinate children into a new world religion.

The Pietist pedagogues fared a little better; however, Schulblatt articles repeatedly warned against the dangers of employing Pietistic educational theory in the Evangelical classroom. While Lindemann granted that Pietists such as Francke and Freylinghausen performed many good civic works and that “the best public school teachers belonged to this circle,” he argued that their emphasis on a subjective experience with God and their legalistic theology rendered them inappropriate for the Evangelical classroom.

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445 “Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi,” Evang.-Luth. Schulblatt 5, no. 5 (1870). Lindemann claimed that Pestalozzi’s methodology wasn’t at all new. According to Lindemann, every method Pestalozzi introduced could be found in Jan Amos Comenius (1592-1670) or Wolfgang Ratichius (1571–1635).
446 “Einige Auszüge aus Pestalozzi’s Schriften,” Evang.-Luth. Schulblatt 5, no. 9 (1870).
447 The attitude of the Missouri educators stands in sharp contrast to those educators working in the public arena. In general, many American educators were enamoured with the German pedagogues and Prussian education. Leading educators such as Horace Mann, Henry Barnard, Alexander Bache and William Harris all visited Prussian schools with the goal of incorporating German pedagogy into American Public education. For a thorough discussion of the influence of German education, see Henry Geitz, Jurgen Heideking, and Jurgen Herbst, eds., German Influences on Education in the United States to 1917 (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995).
448 In 1868 a three-part article appeared in Schulblatt between January and March that placed Francke in a rather favourable light. The author, presumably Lindemann, said, “Of course, one has
misleading mistakes these ‘devout’ men could do.” According to *Schulblatt*, Pietist pedagogy, with its indifference to confessional subscription, had allowed Lutheran schools to be taken over for nationalistic purposes. This, in turn, had paved the way for the eradication of true Lutheranism in Germany and the Prussian Union. If the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America wanted to preserve its identity and doctrine, Pietism, in whatever form it was to be found, had to be rejected by the Lutheran teacher.

Since nearly every one of the pedagogical thinkers of the previous 150 years could be classified as either a Rationalist or a Pietist, the Missourians had to use earlier educational models that predated these thinkers. The result was a new *ad fontes* attitude in which they returned to the first sources of Lutheranism, using the pedagogical models that had been developed by Reformation era educators.

A return to that era was easy for the Missourians because they saw themselves as the true heirs of the Reformation with C. F. W. Walther as their new Luther. The Lutheran church in Germany may have abandoned Reformation theology, but it burned bright in the Missourians’ hearts. Indeed they understood that they had been divinely established in America for the very purpose of continuing the work of the Reformation; and, as education played a vital part in the 16th-century Reformation, so it was in the 19th century. Therefore, whatever Luther said about schools and pedagogy was to be heeded almost to the exclusion of any other commentary.

Walther particularly made extensive use of Luther in his discussions on schools. The arguments that he used, and many of the phrases that he employed, could be found in Luther’s own pedagogical writings. What is absent in Walther’s pedagogical writings are references to Melanchthon. At first thought, it would have seemed natural for Walther to return to Melanchthon for direction on schools. Melanchthon was, after to admit, that Francke’s way of education had an ascetic streak and that Luther would have had a difficult time agreeing with all of it yet, on the other hand, one cannot deny that his institutions were of immeasurable blessings. Nobody is able to measure up to them.” ["August Hermann Francke," *Evang.-Luth. Schulblatt* III, no. 5-7 (1868).] However, in April of 1868, another article appeared entitled “Die Realschule” which was considerably more critical of Francke. That assessment seemed to carry through into later volumes in which Francke’s contribution to education was described in more negative terms. "Die Realschulen," *Evang.-Luth. Schulblatt* III, no. 8 (1868).

all, well known as the *Praeceptor Germaniae*. Furthermore, Walther, like most of the other Missouri leaders, had been trained in a classical gymnasium that was constructed according to Melanchthon’s pedagogy. Also, Melanchthon had produced considerably more pedagogical writings than Luther. Yet, in spite of this, one struggles to find any positive references to Melanchthon in Walther’s writings.\footnote{Walther did appeal to Melanchthon in *Lehre und Wehre* (Vol. XXI, No. 2 Feb. 1875. 33-42.) in his defense of the arts; however, in other contexts, Walther would refer to Melanchthon in negative ways. In *Law and Gospel* for example, Walther spent a considerable amount of time discussing Melanchthon’s “crass synergism” and warned students not to fall into Melanchthon’s error. Walther, *The Proper Distinction between Law and Gospel*, 261-265.}

In his book, *Protestant Theology in the Nineteenth Century*, Barth traces the origins of German Rationalism and Pietism to Melanchthon’s classical gymnasium. Its regimen of Cicero and Plutarch, says Barth, trained men to think in terms of a “pre-Christian” or “extra-Christian” antiquity. The result was that there were

Hundreds and thousands of people everywhere to whom philosophy was what it had been to countless numbers of people in the time of the emperors of Rome, namely a practical teaching of life, nay more: a whole attitude to life based on this complete authority of rational man in a rational world with a religious background ... And strangely enough it continually reappears, either in hidden or in patent form, in the utterances of many a Pietist.\footnote{Barth, 62ff.}

If Barth is right in this assessment, it is plausible that, at a certain level, Walther avoided Melanchthon’s pedagogy because he saw that it bore at least partial responsibility for the destruction of the Evangelical church in Germany. Furthermore, Melanchthon, with his insistence on Ciceronian Latin and his rigid classicism, seemed to be ill-suited for the needs of the church in 19th-century America. Thus, while appealing to Melanchthon’s pedagogy may have seemed self-evident, it would, nevertheless, have opened the door to the same errors that affected the Lutheran church in Germany.

Luther presented a much more attractive educational guide. Theologically, his pedagogical thoughts were beyond question. As well, his understanding of the liberal arts was much more malleable than that of Melanchthon. Luther never described the arts in the same definitive terms as had Melanchthon. One could therefore easily take Luther’s concepts, adapt and change them to suit an American context, and yet still
claim to be faithful to Luther’s ideals. Luther’s pedagogy would prevail in Missourian thought.

This reliance on Luther brought criticism from observers outside of the Neo-Lutheran camp. One contemporary observer, Hermann Krummacher, accused the Missouri Synod of a simplistic, unthinking approach to both theology and pedagogy.\textsuperscript{452} According to such critics, the synod was in a state of theological stagnation and their efforts to develop a confessional Lutheran church were nothing more than dead repristinationalism which stifled intellectual growth.\textsuperscript{453}

The Missourians, who already understood themselves as outsiders to the American cultural and intellectual elite, would have been sensitive to such charges. They felt compelled to present themselves as educators who were not just interested in recreating a 16\textsuperscript{th}-century model of education, but whose scholarship was current and vibrant. They desired to present a contemporary model of the liberal arts, uniquely “made in Missouri” for the confessional Lutheran church in America.

On several occasions, Walther wrote articles and editorials in which he defined the relationship of Confessional Lutheranism to the arts. In 1849 he delivered a sermon at the cornerstone-laying of the new college building in St. Louis. The sermon, which speaks about the church’s interest in education and the arts, was reprinted in 1850 in \textit{Der Lutheraner}.\textsuperscript{454} In 1861 Walther was in the process of producing a reader for Lutheran elementary schools. To promote the book, he wrote an editorial for \textit{Der Lutheraner}, “Lesebuch für evanglisch-lutherische Schulen”, in which he examined the value of grammar and literature in Lutheran pedagogy.\textsuperscript{455} In 1868 he delivered a sermon at the dedication of the Lutheran high school in St. Louis. Reprinted in \textit{Der Lutheraner} the following year, the sermon spoke at length about the arts and their relationship to orthodox Lutheran theology.\textsuperscript{456} In 1875 Walther continued that defence,


\textsuperscript{453} C. F. W. Walther, “Vorwort,” \textit{Lehre und Wehre} 21, no. 1 (1875).

\textsuperscript{454} C. F. W. Walther, “Rede bei Gelegenheit der feierlichen Legung des Grundsteins zu dem deutschen evang.-luther. Collegium- und Seminar-Gebäude zu St. Louis, Mo.,” \textit{Der Lutheraner} 6, no. 21 (1850), 161-162.

\textsuperscript{455} Walther, “Lesebuch für evangelisch-lutherische Schulen,” 41-44.

writing his most extensive treatment of the relationship of the liberal arts to the church in a three-part editorial in *Lehre und Wehre*.\(^{457}\)

Through these writings, it is possible to piece together Walther’s view of the liberal arts and how they related to the Evangelical Lutheran Church in 19\(^{th}\)-century America.

VII.2. Theological principles of the new Evangelical curriculum

VII.2.1. Relationship of Confessionalism to the liberal arts

Walther’s view of the arts bears the unmistakable imprint of Luther. Like Luther, he follows in the epistemological traditions of the ancient church in that he recognizes that all truth, regardless of where it is found, has its origins with God. For this reason much could be learned from the Greeks and Romans. They were, as Walther said, “honourable heathens who searched for the truth.”\(^{458}\) However, this “pagan knowledge” was incomplete because it failed to reveal the author of all truth, Christ Jesus. At best, it could only prepare one to receive the full truth as revealed in the Holy Scriptures. While not original to Walther, it was the one central principle behind his understanding of true scholarship – that all scholarly learning leads to the one divine truth. He believed that if one were committed to understanding Holy Scripture as being the means by which God reveals divine truth, then one would also be committed to the arts and to true scholarship. On the other hand, if one were to allow the teachings of men to supplant Holy Scripture as the final arbitrator of truth, then there could be no true learning and the arts would be perverted to sinful uses. Walther wrote,

> We admit further that as necessary as we consider learning to be, especially the study of languages, logic, rhetoric and history, for searching the content of Scripture, we nevertheless reject any learning that, instead of being a handmaid and pupil, wants to assume the role of mistress and teacher instead of merely helping to discover the truth contained in Scripture presumes to sit in judgment, and instead of submitting to Scripture’s correction desires to correct Scripture,


instead of remaining in its sphere attempts to elevate the laws that happen to obtain in its field to universal ones and impose them also upon Scripture. We regard such a transfer of rules from one discipline to another (metabasis eis allo genos) to be as idolatrous as it is unscholarly.\textsuperscript{459}

On this basis alone, no one could accuse the Christian church of being an enemy of the arts (\textit{Kunst}), the sciences (\textit{Wissenschaft}), or higher classical education (\textit{höhere Bildung des Geistes}) for it was part of the essential nature of the church to seek out these things.\textsuperscript{460}

Walther appealed to church history to support his argument. In his view, the early church possessed true learning because it was faithful to the principle that the Holy Scriptures were the norm for all teaching. This understanding had directed the church to the liberal arts in which the key to a better understanding of Scripture and right teaching could be found.

This wisdom and true love of scholarship was lost when, as Walther said, “at the end of the sixth century the Anti-Christian Papacy in Rome...created its own teachings and ended Christianity as the bearer of true learning.”\textsuperscript{461} For Walther, the sixth century marked the beginning of a dark age in the church. It was a time in which the pure teachings of Scripture were surrendered to human opinion, thus causing the church to lose true godly scholarship. If there were to be a recovery of true learning and of the arts, then there also had to be a recovery of pure doctrine. This occurred with Luther and the Reformation.

Walther continued,

Only when God, three hundred years ago, enlightened His servant Martin Luther and through him brought the Reformation, was there a return to a new clean

\textsuperscript{459} Walther, "Foreword to the 1875 Volume," 131.
\textsuperscript{461} The sixth century was widely recognized as the dividing line between the early church and the medieval period. The end of the century saw the pontificate of Gregory the Great (540-604) who is notable for his development of the doctrine of penance and satisfaction as a means of mitigating divine wrath. The sixth century also saw the execution of the great educator and philosopher Boethius (480-525/526). Often called the last Roman, Boethius had formalized the division of the arts and was well known for his work in philosophy and logic. Walther's romantic view of history led him to ignore the development of the arts and advancements in scholarship that had occurred between the sixth and fifteenth centuries.
apostolic church and a glorious re-emergence and new blossoming of art, science, and classical education. Thousands of glorious institutions, universities and academies, not just for theology but also for philosophy, language arts, history, mathematics, judicial knowledge, medical research, Latin academies or so-called Gymnasiums, better high schools and most of all, numerous parochial elementary schools sprouted like blossoms on a tree of the new church. Perhaps never before have arts, sciences and classical education made such generous strides as in our time.\footnote{Walther, "Rede zur Feier der Wiedereröffnung der deutschen ev.-luther. Höheren Bürgerschule zu St. Louis, Mo., gehalten im Versammlungs-Saal der Dreieinigkeitsgemeinde daselbst, den 20. September 1868," 17-29.}

Walther expressed this similar sentiment in \textit{Lehre und Wehre}:  

God so guided the course of world history by His miraculous intervention that before the appearance of the man through whom God again wanted to place the light of pure saving knowledge on a lamp stand, so that it might "give light to all in the house" (Matthew 5:15), there was a revival of knowledge of the two original Biblical languages as well as of other languages and of a variety of good arts and sciences. We would have to be struck with blindness to fail to see not only what a glorious aid the reawakened learning was for achieving the work of reformation, but also that without that learning that work would have been impossible, unless God had chosen to suspend His method of ruling His church through mediately called and enlightened servants…\footnote{Walther, "Foreword to the 1875 Volume," 126.}

When Walther looked back over the past two centuries, he saw a pattern of history repeating itself. Just as human opinion had trumped the teachings of Scripture in the sixth century, Pietism and Rationalism had plunged the church into a new dark age in which men's opinions had supplanted the Word of God as the final arbiter of truth. In the process, scholarship had been perverted which resulted in the destruction of the church and the destruction of true learning.\footnote{In the American Pietists, Walther saw a mindset that rejected classical learning. On this Walther commented, "It was claimed that worldly teachings do not agree with humility and denial of worldliness to which a Christian is called up and whose entire knowledge, without human instruction, is gained alone in the mysterious school of the Holy Spirit." Walther, "Rede bei Gelegenheit der feierlichen Legung des Grundsteins zu dem deutschen evang.-luther. Collegium- und Seminar-Gebäude zu St. Louis, Mo.,” 161-162. The Rationalists, with their critical approach to Scripture and their redaction of the Word of God, had deceived men into thinking that they possessed true scholarship. However, for Walther, their brand of scholarship led away from Scripture and was therefore false and satanic. Walther, "Rede zur Feier der Wiedereröffnung der deutschen ev.-luther. Höheren Bürgerschule zu St. Louis, Mo., gehalten im Versammlungs-Saal der Dreieinigkeitsgemeinde daselbst, den 20. September 1868,” 17-29.} Walther also saw historical parallels between the humanist movement of the 15\textsuperscript{th} and 16\textsuperscript{th} centuries and the Neo-humanist
movement of the 18\textsuperscript{th} and 19\textsuperscript{th} centuries.\textsuperscript{465} The humanist movement had prepared the way for the Reformers and the recovery of godly learning. In the same way, the Neo-humanist movement had prepared the Neo-Lutheran leaders to recover Luther. Most of the Neo-Lutherans had received an education that had been shaped by the Neo-humanists. Their education in Latin and Greek had prepared the Neo-Lutherans for their conversion to Confessionalism from Pietism. Their classical education enabled the Neo-Lutherans to read the Scriptures in their original Greek, and the Latin writings of the 16\textsuperscript{th}- and 17\textsuperscript{th}-century theologians. Like the earlier humanism, Neo-humanism erred in that it didn’t surrender itself to pure doctrine. Walther cautioned, “We reject everything whereby scholarship seeks to enrich our theology in this respect as under all circumstances a dangerous gift of the Greeks, no matter whether scientific learning seeks to enrich us from Scripture or from its own achievements.”\textsuperscript{466}

Now in America, pure teaching had once again been restored. The Missourians had the pure doctrine, the right teaching, and therefore, true scholarship. As adherents to the pure teachings of Luther, they, not the Rationalists nor the Pietists, were the true lovers of the liberal arts. There could be no other conclusion. At the laying of the cornerstone of the college in St. Louis, Walther said, “The church has always been a true and upright friend and protector of the arts and sciences and according to its nature and calling, always has to be.”\textsuperscript{467} In Walther’s opinion, God had brought the Lutheran Church to America so that the Word might be rightfully proclaimed and the arts re-established, purified from human doctrine. The two were bound together. To deny the arts and true scholarship was tantamount to denying the Christian faith. Elsewhere he rhetorically asked, “How, then, could we even call ourselves Christians if we were so blinded as to despise or even only belittle any good art or science?”\textsuperscript{468}

VII.2.2. Baptism, vocation, catechesis and the new Evangelical curriculum

Luther considered baptism a daily part of the Christian’s life. He believed that it not only forms the Christian’s identity, but also provides the point of contact with the

\textsuperscript{465} See pages 87ff.
\textsuperscript{466} Walther, "Foreword to the 1875 Volume," 133.
\textsuperscript{467} Walther, "Rede bei Gelegenheit der feierlichen Legung des Grundsteins zu dem deutschen evang.-luther. Collegium- und Seminar-Gebäude zu St. Louis, Mo.," 161-162.
\textsuperscript{468} Walther, "Foreword to the 1875 Volume," 125.
Gospel whereby daily forgiveness is given. Vocation – that is, the Christian’s daily calling – is the Christian’s contact point with the Law. In vocation, the Christian serves his fellow men, and in so doing, he becomes aware of his own failings – an action that drives him back to his baptism for forgiveness. Catechesis links baptism and vocation together with the liberal arts. With the Small Catechism as the chief catechetical tool, the Evangelicals employed the arts to produce students whose lives were, at the same time, *vita contemplativa* and *vita activa*.

The early Evangelicals adapted the arts to serve their understanding of doctrine. The liberal arts were seen as a pedagogical model that equipped the baptized student live out his vocation faithfully. With its emphasis on eternal truth, the arts were endowed with an eschatological emphasis. The doctrinal significance of this model of education was not lost on the Missourians.

**VII.2.2.a. Baptism and the Evangelical curriculum**

Baptism was central in thought of the Missourians in determining what sort of education was appropriate. Walther pointed out that, on the basis of Exodus 2:9 and Ephesians 6:4, a child’s baptism imposed upon the parents and the church the duty to “take care of their daily, pure Christian schooling.” Elsewhere, he argued that the church was obligated to provide a model of education that suited “our baptized children, in whom is planted that faithful flame, to strengthen it, teaching them how to use wisdom and God’s gifts in good and useful ways.” According to Walther, only the church could provide a proper environment in which children could be instructed free of false religion, with proper discipline and instruction. Their baptism dictated that all subjects taught were to be “treated in the light of God’s Word for the glory of God and the welfare of the neighbour.”

According to 16th-century confessional Lutherans, baptism bestowed upon an individual a noble standing before God which gave him or her the right to the noblest

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469 See this dissertation section I.3.: “The third stream of influence: Evangelical theology.”
471 Walther, "Lesebuch für evangelisch-lutherische Schulen," 41-44.
education. In their collective opinion, this was a liberal arts education. According to Lindemann, only the arts could ensure that "a baptized person is equipped to walk in the world as a child of God, as a richly endowed fellow heir of Jesus Christ, as a priest, prophet and king, through this vale of evil to the heavenly Jerusalem."\(^{473}\)

The eschatological significance of a liberal arts education that was present in the 16\(^{th}\)-century Evangelicals remained part of the Missourians' understanding of education. Baptism had separated a Christian from the world and brought him into an eternal world. Thus the education that followed baptism was not only to prepare the student for this life, but more importantly, for the world to come. At the 1854 Chicago Teachers' Conference, a teacher from Addison, Illinois, Heinrich Bartling, delivered a paper which left little doubt about the eternal scope that education was to include:

> The Lutheran school aims to rear the children as Christian citizens, even though the first object is to make them faithful, blessed citizens of heaven. The latter must never become secondary, as alas, it has happened in most of the schools in Germany. The children must learn to believe aright, to lead a Christian life, and to die a Christian death. The religion taught by our church in its truth and purity must be the center about which the whole course revolves.\(^{474}\)

**VII.2.2.b. Vocation and the new Evangelical curriculum**

The first goal of Lutheran education was to make children into "faithful and blessed citizens of heaven"; the second goal was to make them into faithful Christian citizens of their new earthly homeland.\(^{475}\) Luther had determined that the training of Christian earthly citizens was one of the purposes of schools. Schools were required in order to maintain the temporal estate of the world and to provide capable leaders of society.\(^{476}\) The Missourians took Luther's directions to heart. The vocational goal of education was repeated over and over again to readers of the Synod's publications in

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\(^{475}\) Ibid., 203.

which they were reminded that they were obligated to train children to “serve their
neighbour and become a blessing to the world.”

From Walther’s point of view, God had brought the Lutherans to this new land
and provided them with the means to develop schools so that their children might take a
leading role in society. Therefore, educational models were to be designed with the aim
of preparing children to serve both the church and the state with their skills, knowledge
and gifts. Echoing Luther, Walther wrote,

Since God has blessed many of our immigrant German fellow Christians materially in this our new fatherland, they recognize it to be their sacred duty to have their children not only trained sufficiently as Christians, but also to educate them as beneficial and useful members of society.

In the developing lands of the American West, this vocational emphasis was particularly important. Wyneken recognized that the Lutherans arrived in America at a critical juncture in the nation’s development. The country needed faithful and thoughtful citizens and leaders who could make a positive contribution in all areas of private and civic life. If children could be properly educated – that is, if they were trained in the arts in an orthodox Lutheran environment – then they could exert a positive influence as they entered into their vocations. As president of the synod, Wyneken reported to the 1857 convention, “The Lord has certainly designated our children in this country to be something more than mere hewers of wood and carriers of water for speculators.”

Walther would reuse this line in the following quote from Der Lutheraner:

If we German Lutherans in America do not wish forever to play the role of “hewers of wood and drawers of water” as is said of the Gibeonites in Canaan (Joshua 9:21), but to contribute our share toward the general welfare of our new fatherland by means of the special talents which God has bestowed on us ... we must establish institutions above the level of our elementary schools ...

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477 Der Lutheraner, 15 (26 July 1859), 193, quoted in Stellhorn, Schools of the Lutheran Church - Missouri Synod, 112-113.
480 “Synodal-Bericht” (1857), 318-324, printed in Stellhorn, Schools of the Lutheran Church - Missouri Synod, 93-94.
institutions that will equip our boys and young men for real proficiency in their occupations and business endeavours; for taking up any of the useful arts; for going into any of the professions; and for capable, useful service in all kinds of public and civic positions; so that they may generally acquit themselves as thoroughly educated men in any calling or station of life.\textsuperscript{481}

\textit{VII.2.2.c. Catechesis and the new Evangelical curriculum}

The chief function of Luther’s trivial school was to act as an agent of catechization into the Evangelical faith. The chief tool used in that process was the \textit{Small Catechism}. That central function remained at the core of the Missourian curriculum; more than anything else, schools were to indoctrinate children with the pure teachings of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, and children were to master all the material contained in the catechism. The Synodical constitution mandated that every school child was to have the entire catechism memorized before he or she was confirmed. Synodical publications regularly admonished teachers to enforce this. However, the content and use of the catechism differed from Luther’s intentions.

When Luther spoke of the catechism, he generally referred to the primary texts of the Decalogue, the Creed and the Lord’s Prayer. The explanations that he provided in the \textit{Small Catechism} were designed primarily to give the Christian a better understanding of the primary texts in order to have a fuller devotional life. After the publication of the \textit{Small Catechism}, the texts of Luther’s explanation quickly acquired Confessional status and schools generally required the memorization of these texts as well. However, the Missourians took a much more expansive view of the catechism that came to include numerous Bible verses as well as a series of questions and answers pertaining to key doctrines which children were generally expected to memorize.\textsuperscript{482}

Indeed, later Synodical conventions declared that it was the teacher’s duty to see that,

\begin{footnotesize}
\textsuperscript{481} “Vorlaeufige Nachricht und Aufforderung betreffs einer zu errichtenden deutschen evang.-luth. hoheren Buergerschule zu St. Louis, Mo.,” \textit{Der Lutheraner} 22 (01 August 1866), 181; translated in Stellhorn, “Lutheran Secondary Education in St. Louis,” 284. \\
\textsuperscript{482} Polack, “Our First Synodical Constitution,” 13.
\end{footnotesize}
by confirmation age, every child had acquired “a desirable supply of Bible passages, the chief parts of the Catechism, Bible history, psalms, and hymn stanzas.”

By far the preferred text for accomplishing this was Dietrich’s edition of Luther’s Small Catechism. The Dietrich catechism had been originally published in 1613 by Johann Conrad Dietrich (1575-1639) under the title, Institutiones catecheticae. The edition was a classic work of orthodox Lutheran catechetics with exhaustive dogmatic explanations of each part of the Small Catechism. In 1627 an abridged version which retained the original technical and dogmatic language was produced for schools. In 1858 the German translation of this version was adopted by the Missouri Synod as its official catechism.

The accepted position of the synod was that the 611 questions and answers in this catechism represented the ideal in catechetical instruction. In 1863, the St. Louis teachers conference received a paper entitled, “How is Dietrich’s catechism best treated with reference to the great volume and difficulty of content of many questions?” In the paper, the author didn’t question the suitability of the book, but rather directed the teachers to continue using the catechism with great zeal. A convention of the Eastern District of the Missouri Synod also recognized that there were some who thought Dietrich’s catechism too difficult. The minutes recorded, “It is said by some that all we need in the schools is Luther’s Small Catechism” [referring to only the simple text of the Small Catechism]. They went on to say that, while Luther’s catechism was a

483 “Synodal-Bericht” (1872), 44-46, quoted in Stellhorn, Schools of the Lutheran Church - Missouri Synod, 175-176.
484 Prior to 1858, the standard version of the catechism used by the Missourians was the Dresdener Kreuzkatechismus which had been produced in 1688. The Saxons brought 900 copies of this catechism with them when they came to America. As supplies of this edition became unavailable, the Synod was forced to produce its own catechism and turned to the Dietrich edition. Repp, 197-200.
485 Reu, 175, 207, 282.
486 This edition contained 611 questions and answers, each with accompanying proof texts from the Bible and a series of 32 questions and answers on the confessions of Evangelical Lutheran Church. Johann Conrad Dietrich, Kleiner Katechismus in Frage und Antwort / gründlich ausgelegt von Dr. Johann Conrad Dietrich. (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1895).
487 This was followed by a discussion of the topic “What is the best way to keep children quiet during instructions?” The following year that conference again wrestled with the problem of teaching a complex catechism to little children. Leonard J. Dierker, “Minutes of the First Lutheran Teacher’s Conference in St. Louis,” Concordia Historical Institute Quarterly 57, no. 3 (1984), 125
“wonderful book” and it “contained everything that was necessary to know for the salvation of one’s soul,” a more comprehensive resource was needed to properly instruct children. Such a resource was supplied by the Dietrich edition. The convention declared that the book “should be greeted with rejoicing. The order of the questions is wonderful” and that in it, “all necessary teachings are dealt with.”

The attitude toward, and the use of, the Dietrich catechism reveals a divergence from Luther’s thought. Luther’s understanding of catechesis was much more spiritually oriented. He wanted the texts of the catechism used to develop a proper devotional life and a sense of Evangelical piety. Thus Luther talked about “praying” the catechism with the belief that, as one meditated upon the words of the catechism, God would work through these words to teach the catechumen divine truth. After Luther’s death, that meditative emphasis of catechetical training continued reaching a peak in the early 17th century, during the Age of Orthodoxy – the age to which Dietrich belonged. During this time, orthodox theologians such as Johann Gerhard (1582-1637), and Paul Gerhardt (1607-1676) were all part of a Lutheran devotional movement which reflected a mystical aspect to the faith. In the schools, they carried on with the devotional practices of praying the liturgy, the devotional use of Matins and Vespers, the use of devotional books, and the teaching of hymns which emphasized the Christian’s life of piety.

In spite of Walther’s affection for these very theologians, he and the rest of the Missourian pedagogues paid scant attention to the Orthodox theologians’ belief that the development of Christian piety was the chief aim of catechesis. Thus, when Walther and his associates wrote about the catechism, it was portrayed as an abbreviated dogmatic textbook designed to supply the catechumen with a correct understanding of pure doctrine.

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489 Ibid.
490 See footnote 420, page 138.
491 One possible explanation for this is that, among the early Missourians, it was simply understood that this was a proper way to develop Christian piety and, since no one challenged this understanding, they never felt compelled to address the matter. One of the few books that examines Lutheran piety during the Age of Orthodoxy is Udo Sträter’s Meditatio und Kirchenreform in der lutherischen Kirche des 17. Jahrhunderts (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1995).
In addition to classes in the catechism, there were also classes in Bible history in Missourian schools; however, the nature of these classes tended to further detract from the devotional nature of instruction. They tended to analyze key narratives from the Old and New Testaments with an emphasis placed on the correct memorization and exposition of various passages. Like the catechism classes, they tended to emphasize the intellectual assent to right doctrine and a mastery of Biblical knowledge.

This is not to say that devotional and spiritual life was completely ignored. Pastors were directed to regularly visit the classrooms to explain the Sunday pericopes and discuss the previous Sunday’s sermon. In discussing the responsibility of the pastor as the chief catechist of the school, C.A.T. Selle, professor at Addison Teacher’s College, explains,

It is especially important to see whether the Law and Gospel are always rightly divided and that both in their right place are handled with so much clarity and certainty that in as much as it depends on the teacher a right recognition of sin and grace might be worked in the dear children. It is also important to see whether proper prayer is being said to God since all blessings must be received from him.  

VII.3. The new Evangelical arts school: an American Lutheran Realschule

VII.3.1. A Lutheran Realschule

Walther believed that if the arts were presented in a doctrinally pure environment, then the children could be lifted above the changing currents of the 19th century and brought into the world of truth and wisdom. The arts model, he said, “has always proven herself to be the mother of all true human development.” Though he did not use the term “trivium,” he nevertheless understood it as the basis for Evangelical pedagogy. In his February 1875 *Lehre und Wehre* editorial, Walther said that true learning consisted of “the study of languages, logic, rhetoric and history for the searching the content of

The similarity between Luther’s understanding of the arts and that of Walther is unmistakable. This is especially true of their view of the lower three arts of the trivium. Though separated by three centuries of development in educational thought, both understood that the arts of grammar, logic and rhetoric were essential for the intellectual development of the student. Both believed that grammar — that is, an instruction in the languages — was of paramount importance. They believed that history — that is, the study of the working of God in time for the good of the church — was an integral part of trivial studies. Both believed that, without an education in the arts, a proper understanding of the Scriptures was impossible. Finally, both believed that the ultimate purpose of such an education was Christocentric: it enabled the student to better understand Christ as the author of all divine knowledge and wisdom.

The Missourians applied this definition in two different settings. One setting was the classical gymnasium which, while incorporating some contemporary disciplines such as the sciences, retained its traditional form. Its purpose was to provide the ideal education for the Confessional Lutheran pastor. The pastor’s vocation required Greek and Hebrew for the proper exegesis of Scriptures, Latin for the reading of the orthodox Lutheran theologians, and logic and rhetoric for the correct proclamation of the pure doctrine. However, the vocational requirements of the laity were different. Their language of worship was German, they lived in an English-speaking country, and they needed tools to live and work in the emerging age of industry and technology. Thus the arts had to take a different form in order to suit the educational needs of that group of people.

The question remained, What principles of the classical Evangelical curriculum could be incorporated into a confessional Lutheran elementary school in order to accommodate the vocational needs of the laity? Aside from suggestions regarding

Walther, “Foreword to the 1875 Volume,” 131.

This problem was not unique to the 19th century. It was recognized that, even at the time of the Reformation, the classical gymnasium was ill suited for those not entering into service in the church or government and that an alternative form of education was required. Selle, in discussing the role of the pastor in the parish school quoted the 1539 Saxon School Orders, “Since in some villages there are so few boys that no Latin School can be established there…in order that children of the working people are not neglected, in their youth especially in prayer and the catechism and likewise in writing and reading…it is our wish that wherever school is still not held by the sacristan or minister of the church…that this be established.” Selle and Nispel, 15.
religious instruction, Luther could provide no clear guidelines. The curriculum of the 16th-century vernacular German schools that Luther had suggested was too rudimentary to be applicable in the 19th century. The Pietist Realschulen, as successful as they were, were deemed to be theologically incompatible with Confessional Lutheran pedagogy as were the American public schools which had been strongly influenced by the German Rationalist pedagogues.

The Lutherans would have to look elsewhere for educational models. Lindemann found one such model in the educational work of an 18th-century Lutheran pastor, Christoph Semler (1669-1740). Semler, who was better known for his contributions in the fields of astronomy and cartography, had also been involved in education. In 1868 Lindemann published a lengthy article in Schulblatt extolling the virtues of Semler’s model of education. What attracted Lindemann’s attention was that Semler created the first Realschule ahead of the popularly acknowledged Realschulen founders, J.J. Hecker (1707-1768) and A.H. Francke (1663-1727). Influenced by the ideals of Jan Amos Comenius (1592-1670) and Ludwig Seckendorf (1626-1692), Semler realized that the gymnasium was an impractical option for those who were not going to enter into ecclesiastical or civil service. In 1707 Semler established a mechanical and mathematical school in Halle that emphasized sciences such as geography, arithmetic, and physics over and above the traditional classical languages. According to Lindemann, Semler provided a model of the liberal arts that met the needs of the Missouri Synod. Furthermore, what made Semler even more attractive was that he was not a Pietist. Schulblatt stressed that Semler was an orthodox Lutheran pastor in Halle at a time when “the value of unadulterated teaching was already underestimated.”

According to the journal, the brief duration of Semler’s schools were due to the

496 "Die Realschulen," 225-228.
497 The school, which carried the motto “Non scholae sed vitae discendum”, was a short-lived venture, closing in 1711 due to low enrollment. In 1738 he opened another similar school but this remained open for only two years. In contrast to Francke’s school in which there was very little attention given in the curriculum to scientific studies, Semler made these studies a key feature of his school. During his time in Halle, he acquired a reputation for opposing Francke’s theology. [George Becker, "Pietism and Science: A Critique of Robert K. Merton's Hypothesis," The American Journal of Sociology 89, no. 5 (1984),1073-1075.] Merton claims that it is Francke that introduced the study of science in the Realschulen. Merton, 643-644. Lindemann’s views as expressed in Schulblatt support Becker’s critique of Merton.
498 "Die Realschulen," 225-228.
opposition that he encountered from the Pietists who, after the schools failed, incorporated Semler's ideas into their own *Realschulen*.

Semler's schools came as close as any in providing a workable template for the Missouri Synod elementary schools. He provided an example of a practical adaptation of the arts that was designed to prepare children to live in a modern setting while at the same time maintaining the historic doctrinal and pedagogical formulations of the Evangelical Lutheran church.

VII.3.2. **Early childhood education**

Luther believed that the proper time for a child to begin formal education was at the age of seven. This opinion was shared by the medieval pedagogues and commonly accepted among German educators since then. Since the Missourians intended to continue in that tradition, the subject of early childhood education received little attention. However, that changed with the arrival of the Kindergarten movement in the last half of the 19th century.

The first public school Kindergarten was established in 1873 by Susan Blow under the guidance of the St. Louis educationalist, William T. Harris who wanted to provide a “redemptive center” for children by exposing them to the Fröbelian concepts of virtue and culture. The project met with considerable success. Sixty-eight students enrolled in Blow's Kindergarten the first year. Within five years, the enrolment had exploded to 7,828. The project attracted attention from across the country and was quickly embraced by the American educational establishment.

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499 Ibid., 226.
500 See page 45.
501 When the “gymnasium” in Altenburg was started, it included a child of 5 ½ years; however, this was the exception rather than the norm. Generally children began school at age six or seven.
502 The first American Kindergarten was a private school established in 1855 in Watertown, Wisconsin by a former student of Fröbel, Margarethe Schurz. Blow was invited to organize the public Kindergarten by the superintendent of public schools for St. Louis, William T. Harris. Harris, who was a passionate advocate of early childhood education, hoped that by removing children at an early age from the influence of their immigrant families, these children could be inculcated with American public virtues. [Troen, 36.] See also O. L. Davis Jr., “Susan Blow Founds the Public Kindergarten,” in *Perspectives on Curriculum Development 1776-1976*, ed. O. L. Davis Jr. (Washington: Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development, 1976), and William Torrey Harris, *Free Kindergartens: Mr. Mitchell, of Wisconsin, presented the following statement of Hon. William Harris, commissioner of education, on the subject of free kindergartens* (Washington: G.P.O., 1897).
503 Geitz, Heideking, and Herbst, eds., 132.
Ann Allen, identifies four reasons for this acceptance. First, American culture, which was infused with Arminianism, was predisposed to the Fröbelian optimistic view of the nature of man. Second, Kindergarten promised a means of cultivating American public virtues over and above the private values of the home. Third, it offered public educators a means of assimilating the masses of immigrants into mainstream American culture in a religiously neutral setting. Finally, American Kindergartens made widespread use of female teachers, giving a sense of empowerment among American women.  

The qualities that made Kindergarten attractive to the American educators were the same qualities that made it objectionable to Missourian educators. The Lutheran doctrine of original sin put the Missourians at odds with Fröbel’s positivistic anthropology. According to the fourth commandment, parents, not the government, were the temporal authorities over children and were charged with instilling in their children proper values. Missouri Lutherans did not want children adopting American secular values in a-religious classrooms. Finally, they believed that it was generally improper to have women teaching in the classroom.  

With the first public Kindergarten opening right in the Missourians’ backyard, the Lutheran educators could not remain silent. A year after Blow’s Kindergarten was established, Schulblatt critiqued the movement. After a discussion of its origins, Lindemann declared, “The friend of the Kindergarten and the enemy of Christ and his Word is the same thing.” In his view, the advocates of Kindergarten wanted children removed from the godly influence of their mothers as early as possible. He claimed that the proponents wanted to cut the children off from “the hated seed of the word of God so they can raise them and prepare them with a faithless, heathen education which they

505 Teachers were understood to be extensions of the pastoral office – an office that only men could occupy. In the early Missouri Synod, the only female teachers were those who were teaching girls’ classes. Women did teach but they were not classified as “called” teachers. For example, Holy Cross School in St. Louis had a series of five female teachers between the years 1860 and 1866 who served under the “called” male teacher, Henry Erck. [Norman H. Schneider, Holy Cross Lutheran School: Memorial Issue (St. Louis: Schneider Family, 1976), 49.] As late as 1884, there were only 18 female teachers working in the synod’s schools. Stellhorn, Schools of the Lutheran Church - Missouri Synod, 424.  
will have through later schooling.”\textsuperscript{507} In place of the true Christian religion, Kindergarten advocates desired to catechize children into a “world religion of truth and brotherly love.” The article concluded thus: “God save our dear children from these Kindergartens and from the ‘world religion’. It is the religion of the old serpent: the devil, who holds the world in his reign and leads it into eternal destruction.”\textsuperscript{508}

It was clear to the Missourians that formal programs of early childhood education, such as Kindergarten, were to have no place in the Lutheran school. The only proper location for the education of young children lay in the home. Parents were the child’s God-given teachers and nothing could replace the influence of a pious and godly mother in the early years of a child’s development. Parents were adjured to take this matter seriously, teaching their young children the catechism and Bible stories that they might learn true Christian piety from infancy on. When they were old enough to read and write, then they could attend a school where teachers would continue to build their piety by teaching them the Catechism and the subjects associated with the liberal arts.

\textbf{VII.4. The curriculum of the new Evangelical liberal arts}

\textbf{VII.4.1. Overview of the curriculum}

The \textit{Saxon Visitation Articles} had prescribed a three-fold division of school children according to ability.\textsuperscript{509} Early \textit{Stundenpl"ans} of the Missouri Synod continued in that tradition. In 1854, \textit{Der Lutheraner} published a \textit{Stundenplan} for schools prepared by the teacher, Heinrich Barthling.\textsuperscript{510} The first class was composed of those who were proficient in reading, the second class included those who had acquired basic reading skills but were not fluent in them, and the third class was made up of those who had difficulty reading at all. Classroom instruction time was divided into five hour-long periods. The day began at 9:00 a.m. with opening devotions and religious instruction “according to Luther’s \textit{Small Catechism}.” The next five periods were devoted to the

\textsuperscript{507} Ibid., 8.  
\textsuperscript{508} Ibid., 10.  
\textsuperscript{509} Luther, \textit{Saxon Visitation Articles} (1528), AE 40, 315. See the discussion on the role of Latin in Evangelical schools, page 47ff.  
following subjects: Bible reading in the first period; arithmetic, spelling, and singing in the second period; penmanship, story reading, and more penmanship in the third period; arithmetic in the fourth period and English combined with a German language lesson in the fifth period.  

As Lutheran schools became established, more comprehensive curricular guidelines were developed. In 1867 another Stundenplan was published in Schulblatt in which the threefold division of the 1854 Stundenplan was maintained.  

Religious instruction again occupied the first hours of the morning with alternating classes in Bible history and the catechism. Grammar and literacy were taught through the subjects reading, recitations, penmanship and writing. Singing occupied a minimum of two hours a week and there were lessons in history, geography, science and arithmetic. The medium of instruction was German, but instructional time was also devoted to English.

Out of the five hours of each day allotted for instruction, one hour was for religious instruction, one hour for Realien (which included history, geography and natural history), and one hour for singing. The remaining three hours, approximately 60 percent of the class time, were devoted to skills associated with the first of the liberal arts – grammar. The Stundenplan was often modified by teachers to suit their local needs and personal abilities. One teacher, Paul Elbert, modified the plan so that 50 percent of instruction time was given in English; however, they all generally followed the same pattern. Religion was of first importance, followed by grammar, music and then Realien.

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511 Ibid.
513 Paul Elber taught in the Lutheran school in Courtland, Nicolet Co., Minnesota until 1883. In 1885 he moved to the school in Germania, Marquette Co., Wisconsin and in 1888 he began teaching at the Lutheran school in Salters, Washington Co., Wisconsin. [Amerikanischer Kalender für deutsche Lutheraner 1870-1892 (St. Louis: deutschen evangelisch-lutherischen Synode von Missouri, Ohio und anderen Staaten).] The handwritten Stundenplan by Elbert (Figure 2) was found inserted in a volume of Schulblatt alongside the 1867 Stundenplan (Figure 1). Elbert's handwritten copy was his adaptation of the published Stundenplan.
### Figure 1: 1867 Stundenplan as published in Schulblatt III.1 p. 32

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N. B. Wer für Abs. 1. mehr Zeit für Lesebuch belegt, muss es mit der Bibel wechseln lassen.
Figure 2: Modified Stundenplan by teacher Paul Elbert

Is an Evangelical understanding of the arts present in these Stundenplans? In order to determine this, it is necessary to look at four areas of the curriculum: languages, literature, music and the sciences.

VII.4.2. Languages
The Missourians were German-speaking citizens of an English-speaking country. For this reason, it was natural that children would be taught in a bilingual setting learning both German and English.\footnote{514 Lutheran schools were not the only American schools engaged in bilingual English/German instruction. There was similar instruction taking place in some American public schools. See Schlossman, 139-186. As late as 1877, the Public School Reports of the St. Louis Board of Education were published in German and English. Byron Northwick, “The Development of the Missouri Synod: The Role of Education in the Preservation and Promotion of Lutheran Orthodoxy, 1839-1872” (Kansas State University, 1987), 75.}

There were good sociological reasons for the retention of German; however, the Missourian pedagogues tended to base their arguments for this on theological grounds. In the 19\textsuperscript{th} century, virtually every orthodox Lutheran theological resource such as theological books, catechisms, liturgies, hymnals, and devotional materials were available only in German.\footnote{515 Language has always been closely linked to culture. In order to retain cultural heritage the language by which that culture is transmitted must be retained. In the case of the Missourian Lutherans who were often in isolated communities, the retention of German was especially important for the continued cohesion of the societal structures of family and community. See Brent O. Peterson, Popular Narratives and Ethnic Identity: Literature and Community in Die Abendschule (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991). Also see Don Heinrich Tolzmann, The German-American Experience (Amherst: Humanity Books, 2000).} The Missourians realized that if their children were not fluent in German, they would be cut off from these resources and consequently from the orthodox faith of their fathers. There was also an understanding that language and theology were inseparable. When the Missourian leaders looked at the older eastern Lutheran synods who had adopted American English as a medium of discourse, they saw that those churches had adopted American theology as well.\footnote{516 Best known to the leaders of the Missouri Synod was Samuel Schmucker (1799-1873) and the General Synod (which the Pennsylvania Ministerium had joined). Schmucker made a conscious and deliberate effort to “Americanize” the Lutheran church, changing the theology to make it more appealing to the non-German population. A key part of his reforms included the promotion of English in the schools and congregations of the synod. Paul Baglyos, "One Nation under God: Schmucker’s Theology and the American Republic," in The Papers of the Schmucker Bicentennial, ed. Norman Forness (Gettysburg: Gettysburg College, 2000).} Thus the Missourians feared that the adoption of English was not simply matter of the church introducing a new language, but it was more importantly a language introducing a new theology. Walther warned pastors that if Lutheran children were to attend English schools, they would not only lose “the unsurpassed and irreplaceable treasure of the German language and their German character (in the best sense),” but also be “plunged...
into the grave danger of losing their Lutheran faith."\(^{517}\) In 1845 Walther wrote to Sihler and commented,

> I need not elaborate that all of us here are all thinking most earnestly of doing everything possible to preserve the German language and to counter all the evil leaven, which creeps into the pure doctrine and the polity of the church with the English language.\(^{518}\)

In order to maintain this connection between theology and language, all religious instruction (Bible history and catechism) and all subjects dealing with religion, such as singing, were always to be taught in German.

It is useful to compare the use of German in these schools to the use of Latin in the 16\(^{th}\)-century Evangelical schools. In the 16\(^{th}\) century, Latin was the living language of the Church. Theological discussions, theological literature, and the liturgy were all in Latin. So, for a person to fully participate in the life of the church, it was essential to know Latin. By the 19\(^{th}\) century, German had become the living language of the church. German was now the language that granted access to the literature of the Evangelical Lutheran Church. It allowed the believer to fully participate in the worship life of the church and to engage in theological dialogue. It was therefore essential that students master the language, and therefore, German continued to be the primary language of instruction.\(^{519}\) Thus the Missourians adapted the liberal arts by effectively substituting German for Latin.

Since children of the immigrants were growing up in an English-speaking country, it was therefore essential that they also be fluent in English. Lindemann argued that if English were not taught to the children, they would either be estranged from the new fatherland or else they would be estranged from the church. Our children, he said, "are Americans and must dwell among Americans and must be with them and work with

\(^{517}\) Walther, "Foreword to the 1875 Volume," 122-142.
\(^{518}\) Walther, To Wm Sihler (2 January 1845), "Briefe," I, p. 14, quoted in Northwick, 75. Northwick points out that other ethnic religious groups argued that the preservation of language was essential to the survival of their faith. For example, Polish Roman Catholic bishops made essentially the same arguments as the Missourians. Northwick, 91.
\(^{519}\) Latin would continue to be taught to theological students because it was essential that they had a command of that language for the reading of the orthodox Lutheran fathers. At Concordia Seminary in St. Louis, Walther generally conducted his dogmatics lectures in Latin. Other lectures, such as Pastoral Theology, were conducted in German. Ludwig Ernest Fuerbringer, 80 Eventful
them and by God’s will must confess Christ and be salt with them.” English would enable them to participate in the national discourse of a developing country and to present the doctrines of the Evangelical Lutheran faith to a public that misunderstood this German immigrant church. Other articles dealt with how to conduct a bilingual school and how to teach English to children of German-speaking parents, always with the goal of ensuring that children had a command of the English language.

Following popular opinion, Rietschel claims that the primary reason behind the establishment of Lutheran schools was the preservation of the German language; however, he presents little documentation to support this assertion. From the establishment of the first schools by the Saxons, English had also been included in the curriculum. The Schulblatt regularly carried articles regarding the importance of teaching the language; and as Stellhorn points out, during the first 50 years of the Missouri Synod’s existence, almost every article that dealt with language encouraged the teaching of English. Thus the Missourian educators attempted to strike a balance between the preservation of German for theological and ethnic reasons, and the teaching of English for vocational reasons.

VII.4.3. Literature

Literature occupied a prominent role in the Evangelical adaptation of the liberal arts because it was understood that reading classic authors brought people into the world of the ancients, and thereby directed them to the one truth. Luther’s favourite classic author by far was Aesop whose fables he considered invaluable as illustrations of Scriptural truths.

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Years: Reminiscences of Ludwig Ernest Fuerbringer (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1944), 74.


523 Stellhorn, Schools of the Lutheran Church - Missouri Synod, 184.
In the early years, the Missourian educators had limited access to literature of such value. The available literature was often deemed morally or doctrinally unacceptable for Lutheran classrooms. As a result, teachers had to rely on the materials that were at hand, using perhaps the New Testament or various tracts as readers. Bünger, for example, used a twelve-page booklet that was produced by a German newspaper in St. Louis as a primer.\textsuperscript{524} As schools developed, it became apparent that the Synod would have to produce a reader to meet its theological and educational standards. The first project was a \textit{Fibel} or primer which the Synod had resolved to produce in 1850 for the primary ages. A manuscript was presented for study; however, nothing came of this project. Two years later, Carl Geyer wrote a new \textit{Fibel} which became widely used in the Synod for the next twenty years.

As the \textit{Fibel} was only for primary children, it failed to all meet the needs of the Evangelical school. In an issue of \textit{Der Lutheraner}, Walther listed the textbooks that should be considered essential for the Evangelical classroom: the \textit{Fibel}, the \textit{Small Catechism}, a hymnal, the Bible and a good reading book.\textsuperscript{525} Teachers had the first four resources, but there remained the need for a comprehensive reader. As early as 1853, the St. Louis Teachers Conference had resolved to produce such a reader but had failed to complete the project.\textsuperscript{526} Finally, it was Walther who took on the project, serving as chief editor of the book.\textsuperscript{527}

\textsuperscript{524} Walther, \textit{Brief Biography of the Late Venerable Pastor John Frederick Buenger, The Faithful Pastor of the Evangelical Lutheran Immanuel Congregation at St. Louis, Missouri}, 51.
\textsuperscript{525} Walther, "Lesebuch für evangelisch-lutherische Schulen," 41-44. For a complete list of textbooks used by the synod during this time, see Stellhorn, \textit{Schools of the Lutheran Church - Missouri Synod}, 123-125.
\textsuperscript{526} Dierker, 120.
\textsuperscript{527} Walther had a considerable appreciation of literature. In a letter to his nephew, he praised the reading of classical works of literature but cautioned about the need to be careful to read only that which was edifying. Quite predictably, literature was to be not only morally pure but also theologically sound. Initially he believed that Shakespeare was edifying, but as he read Shakespeare, he came to a different conclusion. He stated "There are a few pieces that one can read, as for example, Coriolanus, without polluting one's nature and having all kinds of unclean images fill one's mind." Many other contemporary works were to be completely avoided on the grounds that they were "even more poisonous because they usually put a veil over their immoral imagery and thus inflame one's fantasy all the more and arouse a hellish lust...." His preference remained with German authors. Schiller was "most harmless, as far as attractive form is concerned." Next to Schiller, Walther recommended Friedrich Richter who was "also one of the less dangerous writers among the German classicists." The best authors to read were those who were pious Christians like "the author of \textit{Wandsbecker Bote} and Hamann, who is usually called the
To build support for the project, Walther wrote an article for *Der Lutheraner* in which he discussed the type of literature that was acceptable for use in a Lutheran school. He said that there were “legions of worldly books which would be destructive.” If a teacher used these books he would be “killing the teachings of Lutheran Schools and poisoning the minds of our children.” The most salutary literature to be used in the classroom was, as it had been with Luther, *Aesop’s Fables*. As proof of the outstanding value of Aesop, Walther reminded the readers that Luther himself had translated and published Aesop in German and had always praised his fables. Like Luther, Walther acknowledged that Aesop did fall into his category of Christian authors; his fables contained teachings of great wisdom for life that the teacher could apply to Scripture.

The goal of the proposed *Lesebuch* was to expose children to what Walther considered good examples of classical literature. Walther promised his readers that his book would not include “a little language instruction, a little geography, a little astronomy (*Sternkunde*), a little study of nature, etc.” Instead it would be a book of primary readings all chosen to instil in children a love for their church and their German heritage.

When it was published, the book bore the unmistakable influence of Walther’s confessional world-view. The book begins with a series of readings that describes devout respect for God, parents, school, church community, the land, workers and the country. This was followed by a series of proverbs (*Sprichwoerter*) and poems. There are several fables from Aesop, using Luther’s translations, and several readings about German history. Walther had planned a second book for older children that would be composed of historical readings about Germany, America, the Lutheran Church and the Reformation; however, it is unknown what became of this second project.

The parallels between Walther’s view of literature and that of Luther are unmistakable, especially in Walther’s praise of Aesop. Like Luther, Walther saw the need to expose young children to what he considered to be the finest works of literature.

‘Magus of the North’, as even Gottfried Herder, who was reared a Christian...’ Walther, *Selected Letters*, 26-27.

528 Walther, “*Lesebuch für evangelisch-lutherische Schulen,*” 41-44.

529 Ibid.

530 Ibid.
If these works were studied properly, they would lead the students to a great understanding of truth which would direct them back to Scripture. Thus literature, which had traditionally been assigned to the art of grammar, continued to play a prominent role in the Evangelical elementary school.

VII.4.4 Music

The inclusion of music as one of the arts of the trivium and its prominent role in the curriculum was one of the unique innovations of the early Evangelicals. The teaching of music in schools had certain pedagogical merits all of their own; but music was also valued as a means of introducing Evangelical hymnody and music to the congregation. Therefore, daily instruction in music had been mandated for all Evangelical schools.\textsuperscript{532}

By the 19\textsuperscript{th} century, largely as a result of Pietism, the nature of Lutheran hymnody had changed. There was a greater emphasis on simplified musical forms, more heartfelt singing and less choral involvement. Isometric modes of singing were introduced replacing the original rhythmic forms of the classical Lutheran chorale. This type of hymnody came to dominate Lutheran hymnals on both sides of the Atlantic. The \textit{Deutsche Harmonie}, published in 1833 by the American-Lutheran musician, Johann Gottfried Schmauk, is an example of this influence.\textsuperscript{533} This hymnal/music book was perhaps the most widely used worship resource among American Lutheran congregations prior to the publication of the Missouri Synod \textit{Gesangbuch} in 1847. It is notable for its assortment of isometric forms of the Lutheran chorales, Pietistic hymns, and the music of contemporary composers such as Wagner.\textsuperscript{534}

Walther, who had originally planned to study music in university, was himself an accomplished musician. He rejected the isometric forms so favoured by the Pietist, and, in an effort to recover a purer, more authentic expression of Evangelical music, returned

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{531} \textit{Lesebuch für Unter-Klassen ev.-luth. Schulen}, 12th ed. (St. Louis: Lutherischer Concordia Verlag, 1889).
\item \textsuperscript{532} See the discussion of music in the 16\textsuperscript{th}-century Lutheran curriculum, page 53ff.
\item \textsuperscript{533} J. G. Schmauk, \textit{Deutsche Harmonie; oder, Mehrstimmige Gesänge für deutsche Singeschulen und Kirchen} (Philadelphia: Mentz und Rovoudt, 1847).
\item \textsuperscript{534} Schmauk was also influenced by Pestalozzi and included many Pestalozzian inspired methods for teaching music. For example, he avoided all sharps on the grounds that they were unnecessary
\end{itemize}
to the work of Luther and the 16th- and 17th-century German hymn writers. However, many of those hymns were unknown to the people in their isometric forms.

The value of music in the teaching of children surfaces repeatedly in Walther's writings. Echoing Luther on the value of music and hymnody, Walther wrote that a good hymn, "awakens the soul from false security," "provides comfort in trials and ills," and "provides counsel from the Lord." However, he also saw that the schools could be used to reintroduce the purified form of Evangelical music. If school children were taught to sing well and sing properly (that is with orthodox hymns), then proper hymnody could be easily appropriated by the congregation.

Before this could be accomplished, a new hymnal was needed. In 1845, Walther set to work to produce a hymnal for his own congregation. The resulting hymnal, the *Kirchengesangbuch für evangelisch-lutherische Gemeinden ungeänderter Augsburgischer Confession* was adopted as the synod's official hymnal in 1847 and quickly became one of the primary textbooks of Lutheran classrooms.

One of the things that made American Kindergarten so odious was its treatment of music. *Schulblatt* complained that, in the public Kindergartens, music was taught without proper training and discipline, and the songs that were used were contrary to the true faith and God's Word. The attraction of Walther's hymnal was that, in addition to its catechetical and musical resources, teachers could use it without in most music and made singing too difficult. Edward C. Wolf, "Johann Gottfried Schmauk: German-American Music Educator," *Journal of Research in Music Education* 25, no. 2 (1977).

Walther's work is set within the context of a general revival of classical forms of church music that crossed confessional boundaries. See Allan Mahnke, "Church Music History, Classic and Romantic," in *Key Words in Church Music*, ed. Carl Schalk (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 2004).


Jon D. Vieker, "C.F.W. Walther: Editor of Missouri's First and Only German Hymnal," *Concordia Historical Institute Quarterly* 65, no. 2 (1992), 66.
questioning its doctrinal soundness. Missourian pedagogues were concerned that false
doctrine was all too easily introduced to children through music. C.A.T. Selle wrote that
pastors and teachers should make sure that children were “well trained in singing the
most useful and most beautiful church melodies and especially all church hymns which
they have to learn by heart in school.” Repeatedly, Schulblatt reminded teachers that
immoral and worldly songs, especially songs which were against the sixth
commandment, were to be avoided. It was a constant concern that music be free from
false doctrine or poor morals. Folk songs could be taught only if they were carefully
selected. In the end, the best music was to be found in their synodically approved
hymnal.

The Missourians were keen to reinstitute a confessional view of music in the
curriculum. As in the 16th century, music was one of the key arts of the trivium that every
child was expected to grasp to some degree.

VII.4.5 The sciences

Scientific disciplines such as physics, chemistry, and geography were all
unknown academic disciplines to the 16th-century reformers. Consequently, no room
was provided for them in the liberal arts. However, by the mid-19th century, these
disciplines had come into their own. One could no longer speak of education in terms of
the arts alone but of a combination of the arts and sciences. This presented a problem
for Walther and the Missourian pedagogues. In most other disciplines such as
language, literature, and music, they could return to what Luther had said and modify
his principles to fit their curriculum. But Luther had not addressed the discipline of
science and, aside from a few words regarding nature and creation, he could provide
very little assistance as to what role it might be assigned within the curriculum.
Complicating this was the fact that most of the Missourian leaders had been educated in
Germany in a classical style at a time when science received little attention in Saxon

538 “Kindergärten,” 1-10.
539 Selle and Nispel, 5.
Thus their own personal experiences with the sciences were minimal at best.\textsuperscript{541}

In spite of this, the educators realized that they simply could not ignore the role of science in the Evangelical curriculum. Science was becoming a standardized part of the public school curriculum. As well, with the advent of the age of industry and technology, knowledge of science was becoming increasingly important for the execution of one’s vocation.\textsuperscript{542} Thus, almost reluctantly, the Missourians were forced to address the subject.

While Walther acknowledged that science was a legitimate discipline and that true science was in no way opposed to true religion, it was clear that he regarded it as secondary to the arts. He said, “All science, insofar as it is man’s own product, is just for this world and not for the next life. It knows no way to God and gives no true information about the world beyond.”\textsuperscript{543} Thus the tradition of the arts, with their emphasis on grammar, would continue to dominate in Lutheran schools. This attitude could be seen in the curriculum of the Perry County/St. Louis gymnasium. While subjects such as chemistry and physics were included in the curriculum, they were only briefly touched upon. Even in the high schools such as Immanuel Academy in St. Louis, out of a total of 58 hours of instruction, only four hours were devoted to two science subjects: geography and physics.\textsuperscript{544}

Other educators such as Lindemann, who hadn’t attended a classical gymnasium, appear to have had a better grasp of the value of science.\textsuperscript{545} Lindemann

\textsuperscript{540} Saxony had lagged behind other countries in introducing science into the curriculum. Whereas, in some parts of the United States, science had been included elementary school curricula as early as 1790, it was not incorporated into the Saxon curriculum until 1836. Kamens and Benavot identify three reasons for this. The Saxon establishment believed that 1) the study of science was unsuitable for the development of morally upright citizens, 2) science was associated with hostility to orthodox Christianity, and 3) the pursuit of science led to a subversion of existing political and social orders. David H. Kamens and Aaron Benavot, “Elite Knowledge for the Masses: The Origins and Spread of Mathematics and Science Education in National Curricula,” American Journal of Education 99, no. 2 (1991), 152-153.

\textsuperscript{541} Sasse recognized this and believed that the epistemological understanding of the Missourians suffered accordingly. See Hardt, 155-166.

\textsuperscript{542} In 1871 William Harris produced “A Syllabus in Nature Study” for use in St. Louis Schools.

\textsuperscript{543} Walthr, "Rede bei Gelegenheit der feierlichen Legung des Grundsteins zu dem deutschen evang.-luther. Collegium- und Seminar-Gebäude zu St. Louis, Mo.,” 161-162.

\textsuperscript{544} Stellhorn, Schools of the Lutheran Church - Missouri Synod, 159.

\textsuperscript{545} In Schul-Praxis, Lindemann devoted a chapter to the teaching of science in the Lutheran classroom in which he argued that the teacher should strive to show the harmony that exists between nature and the
recommended that schools follow Semler’s lead and include science in their curricula; however, even he believed that science was best left for the higher grades. As a result, science continued to receive little attention in the elementary grades. The 1867 Stundenplan allowed two hours per week for the study of Realien which included history, geography and natural history (Naturalgeschichte). It was considered better for students to spend their time mastering the catechism and grammar-related exercises. Science could wait. Religion and grammar could not.

VII.5. Conclusions

Having set themselves against Rationalist and Pietist pedagogy, the Missourians went back to earlier pedagogues for direction as to what form their trivium should take. It was a new Ad Fontes with Luther providing the greatest inspiration.

As in the pedagogy of the early Evangelicals, the doctrines of Baptism and Vocation remained their justification for using the arts curriculum as the basis for their pedagogy. Baptism brought an eschatological dimension to education, and Vocation took on new importance as the Missourians were keen to exert a positive influence in developing American life.

Perhaps the most significant departure from Luther’s thought was in the area of Catechesis. Catechetical instruction was the defining characteristic of the Missourian schools and occupied a significant portion of instructional time. But it was not the type of instruction that Luther envisioned. Instead of being a prayer book for developing a sense of Lutheran piety or a devotional life, it was understood chiefly as a compendium of correct expressions of the Evangelical Lutheran Church which inculcated an understanding of proper doctrine.

546 "Die Realschulen," 225-228.
547 Science continued to receive very little attention in the elementary schools. In 1890 the Milwaukee Teachers’ Conference published a suggested curriculum for elementary schools. The only mention of science is in a footnote that stated, “In the upper grades, nature study is included in German and English reading.” ["Lehrplan fuer die Gemeindeschulen der evang.-lutherischen Missouri-Synode zu Milwaukee, Wis.," Evang.-Luth. Schulblatt 25 (April 1890), 97-128, quoted in Stellhorn, Schools of the Lutheran Church - Missouri Synod, 200-201.] Not until the 20th century did science become a standard part of the curriculum.
Aside from pastoral training, the Missourians recognized that the classical Evangelical curriculum of the gymnasium was of little value in their situation. They required an educational model that was much more practical and yet retained the hallmarks of the Evangelical pedagogy. Such a template was found in the *Realschulen* of Christoph Semler.

The result was a model of education that continued to emphasize grammar, language and literature. German was retained chiefly for its theological and spiritual value. English was taught because of its importance to the vocational dimension of the student’s life. As in schools of the 16th century, music was given an important role because it was understood that the school could be used to introduce purified forms of Evangelical hymnody to the congregations.

The Missourian’s reliance on 16th and 17th century sources restricted their consideration of science as a part of a liberal arts curriculum. While they certainly recognized that it had to be included in pedagogical discussions, they seemed unable to fully incorporate the sciences into their broader understanding of the Evangelical curriculum. One can surmise that individual teachers who had an interest in science would have incorporated it into their curriculum; however, the published *Stundenplans* of the day provided little room for the subject.
Part C: Towards a modern Evangelical arts curriculum

This dissertation has examined the arts first as they appeared in the pedagogy of the 16th-century Evangelicals and then as they appeared in the pedagogy of the 19th-century Missourians. The 16th century was a time during which the Evangelical understanding of the arts was defined, and the 19th century as a time when those arts were adapted to a North American environment. With this perspective, the educator can assess how the liberal arts might be employed today in an Evangelical classroom.

VIII. The 16th-century Evangelical liberal arts: establishing a definition

VIII.1. The sources

The Evangelicals’ unique contributions to the development of the arts came as a result of the confluence of three streams of influence: the pedagogy of earlier Christian educators; the northern European humanists; and most importantly, the Evangelicals’ own theology.

Perhaps the greatest impact of the earlier Christian pedagogues on the Evangelicals’ understanding of the arts can be seen in the relationship between the arts and theology. The humanists, such as Erasmus, believed that the goal of a trivial education was the moral improvement of the student. Even though they had different theologies, the Evangelicals and their predecessors viewed the arts –especially the lower arts of the trivium – as the medium for providing the necessary tools to enable one to properly understand theology. This similar view grew out of a common epistemological understanding of the divine origins of truth and wisdom. Like Augustine and Aquinas, the Evangelicals saw mastery of the arts as essential in coming to know the truth. In their quest to arrive at this truth, the Evangelicals were faced with the dilemma that first confronted Augustine: that is, how the finite arts could bring a sinful person to know the infinite and perfect truth of God. Augustine, with his Neo-platonic background, had not addressed the problem. Aquinas sought to solve it through the use of Aristotelian reason. The Evangelicals attempted a different solution. Their approach was to integrate catechesis into their arts curriculum and assign catechesis a new role as a shaper of the theological mind.
The early Christian educators saw the liberal arts as a model of education that could be adapted to accommodate and integrate new thought into Christian theology. As Aristotelian thought entered Western thinking, scholastics were willing to change the nature of the arts in order to allow for an assimilation of this thought.

When the Lutherans began their education work, they did not seek to replace the liberal arts with a new educational model. Instead they sought to reform it according to the dictates of their theology by returning to the pedagogical thoughts of earlier teachers; but, it must be added, this was no mere repristination movement. The Evangelicals used these ancient teachers to develop a modern approach to the arts. There are some interesting parallels between the Evangelicals’ understanding of the liberal arts and their understanding of theology. In their theological reforms, the Evangelicals did not seek to create a new theology. Instead they developed a theological system based on primary sources – that is, the Holy Scriptures – and they turned to the early church fathers to demonstrate the consistency of their theology with the teachings of the apostolic church. They acknowledged that theirs was not a new church but the same church as that of Augustine and the church fathers, and yet, at the same time, their doctrine was applied to the 16th-century church in a very relevant and meaningful way. The Evangelicals were on a quest to discover the truth with the conviction that there was only one truth made incarnate: that is, Christ Jesus. For this reason, they did not view their confessions of faith – such as the Augsburg Confession, for example – as confessions of the Lutheran Church alone, but rather as ecumenical confessions of the entire church.\footnote{For a discussion on the Evangelicals’ understanding of their confessions, see Hermann Sasse, \textit{Here We Stand}, trans. Theodore G. Tappert (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1938).}

In a similar way, the Evangelicals did not attempt to construct a new model of education or a new method of teaching. They openly acknowledged that most of their ideas were drawn from ancient Greek, Roman and early Christian pedagogues from whom they hoped to develop a thoroughly modern educational system. With an attitude similar to that regarding their confessions, they were not trying to produce a pedagogical model that was designed only for the Lutheran church. Their interests were more universal. They sought a system that enabled any student to come to a knowledge
of truth. The result was a model that was somewhat “ecumenical” in nature in that key components of it were appropriated by all the major confessional communities of the 16th century.\textsuperscript{549}

Many of the reforms to the liberal arts curriculum proposed by the humanists were incorporated by the Evangelicals, though often for very different reasons. Rhetoric, not Aristotelian logic, was seen as the culmination of trivial studies; therefore, the Evangelicals sought to combine pure grammar with the study of dialectics to produce students who were eloquent and persuasive. The humanists' eclectic approach to pedagogical philosophy was also appropriated by the Evangelicals. Like the humanists, the Evangelicals did not limit themselves to one philosophical approach. They were willing to take the best of various authors, selecting what was synchronous to their goals. There were also distinct differences between the educational philosophies of the humanists and those of the Evangelicals. The humanists tended to view the arts as agents of moral change and so they believed that a change in pedagogy did not necessitate a change in theology. The Evangelicals were quite different. For them there was a very close link between theology and pedagogy. Theology was to form the liberal arts and the arts, in turn were to form the mind so that one could properly understand Evangelical theology.

This relationship between Evangelical theology and the liberal arts can be clearly seen in the intimate link between baptism and the use of the arts. In baptism there was an ontological levelling of every Christian in that, regardless of one’s standing in the world, all were of noble standing before God. Thus, if a classical liberal arts education was fitting for the son of a nobleman, it was equally fitting for the son of a peasant. Both, by virtue of baptism, had been declared free citizens in the heavenly kingdom; and so, with hints of Augustinian thought, each should be led through the arts to come to an understanding of the mysteries and wisdom of God. But the truth revealed through the study of the arts was limited to matters which pertained to civic righteousness, morals, and a natural knowledge of God. It could not lead students to a salvific knowledge of

\textsuperscript{549} For a discussion of the Evangelicals on Western Education see Witte, \textit{Law and Protestantism: the legal teachings of the Lutheran Reformation}. For Sturm’s influence in other confessional communities see also Lewis W. Spitz and Barbara Sher Tinsley, \textit{Johann Sturm on Education: The Reformation and Humanist Learning} (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1995).
Christ Jesus, or prepare them to live under Grace as citizens of the “kingdom of the right.” Such knowledge could only be gained through the addition of catechesis in the Word of God to the trivium. The essence of Evangelical catechesis was the teaching of the Word of God as revealed in Scripture. As the Word was taught and meditated upon, the Evangelicals understood that God would teach the student the eternal truths necessary for salvation.

This approach to the arts as a means of preparing students for both an active service to the state and a contemplative life in service to God provided a theological justification for both the church and the state to be supportive of this pedagogical model.

VIII.2. The convergence

The three streams of influence identified in this dissertation – the early Christian pedagogues, the humanists and Evangelical theology – not only shaped the Evangelicals’ overall understanding of the liberal, but also the pedagogy and curriculum that were to be used in teaching the liberal arts.

In the Evangelical trivial school, Latin was considered to be an essential language. A command of Latin allowed the student to enter the world of the ancient authors – a crucial step if the student were to learn of the truth that these ancients possessed. It also allowed one to participate in most of the institutions of 16th-century Reformation Germany. This would enable the student to contribute to the theological and intellectual changes that were sweeping over the continent.

Language was the key to all learning, and therefore the Evangelicals placed a great deal of emphasis on the art of grammar as the fundamental art. Returning to the grammatical rules of language again and again, the Evangelical pedagogues believed that, if a child did not master the art of grammar, he could not progress to the other arts.

The Evangelicals followed Augustine’s precedent by encouraging the use of “pagan” authors provided that such authors were of the highest quality. Ancient authors were preferred, not just because they were historic, but because they exhibited a transcendental quality: that is, they stood the test of time.

The Evangelicals were not so fixed in the past that they were unwilling to change the structure of the arts. On the contrary, they felt that the liberal arts, particularly the
arts of the trivium, had evolved over time and could further evolve to meet specific needs. Thus, they were willing to expand the trivium beyond the three arts of grammar, logic and rhetoric. History was included in the teaching of grammar, and music was occasionally classified as one of the basic arts belonging to the trivium.

The Evangelicals’ educational program was not without its shortfalls. One was in their application of the arts in a vernacular setting and another was their limited use with respect to the education of females. Generally speaking, both the girls’ schools and the vernacular schools attempted to provide a basic catechetical training rather than a complete liberal arts education.

While the Evangelicals often spoke of the need to educate children so that there would be citizens fit to serve both church and state, in reality, there was a much greater emphasis on the former than the latter. Luther continually put forth this argument for the establishment of trivial schools on the basis that the church needed well trained pastors. Indeed the emphasis in Evangelical schools on the sacred languages did well to prepare boys for the Holy Ministry; but one might question the value of languages like Greek and Hebrew to other vocations.

In the youthful days of the Reformation, the liberal arts were understood in very fluid ways. The Saxon Visitation Articles, for example, were exceedingly brief when explaining how Evangelical pedagogy should be applied and allowed for a great deal of flexibility in its implementation. However, in later years, as Evangelical schools became more established, this flexible attitude toward the arts began to be replaced by a more rigid, dogmatic approach to classical education. School orders became more detailed and prescriptive, curricula were codified, and attitudes toward the arts became much more fixed.

VIII.3. An Evangelical pedagogy

An historical definition of the Evangelical pedagogy can be divided into four parts. First, it was based on the epistemological understanding of the divine origin of truth and knowledge. This understanding was the fundamental reason for the use of the liberal arts in religious education since Augustine, and was the viewpoint of virtually every

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pedagogue up to and including the Lutheran reformers. The divine origin of truth and knowledge was the justifying reason for using the liberal arts because the pedagogues understood that they furnished the tools necessary to enable a person to come to a knowledge of that divine truth.

This leads to the second point in the definition. The Evangelicals’ model – which had the trivium at its heart – was understood primarily as a vehicle through which the tools of learning were imparted to students. Students would then use these tools to discover divine wisdom and truth. Furthermore, these tools, especially grammar, logic and rhetoric equipped students to navigate through the unfolding events of the Reformation. Grammar enabled them to understand the source of Evangelical doctrine – that is, Scripture – and, through the reading of literature, enabled them to place that knowledge within the context of the arena of human experience. Dialectics enabled students to organize this information in a systematic and logical way. Rhetoric enabled them to present the Evangelical cause in a persuasive way so that others would be moved to be supportive of the Reformation.

The third part of the definition identifies Evangelical theology as the normative force that would shape their use of the arts. Because of the mutual interests of humanists and the Evangelicals, many of the humanistic changes to the liberal arts were incorporated – sometimes deliberately, but often subconsciously – into the Evangelical pedagogy. However, in the end their theology modeled their pedagogy which resulted in a unique adaptation of the liberal arts.

Finally, the Evangelicals viewed the arts as a fluid, evolutionary model of education. While they certainly made original contributions to education, it is best to view the Evangelicals as inheritors of a living tradition. They saw themselves as being part of a continuum of pedagogues stretching back to Augustine, and they understood the liberal arts not as a static model, but as one that had changed and could be changed to fit the circumstances of their age.
IX. The Early Missourian understanding of the liberal arts

Should the Missourians’ educational model be understood as a continuation of the Evangelical arts program? At first glance, one might be tempted to answer this question in the negative for the following reason. There was a 300-year gap between the first Evangelicals and the Missourians. The intervening period saw German Rationalism and Pietism introduce dramatic changes to theology, pedagogy, and to the relationship between the two; therefore, it would seem that establishing a direct connection between the 16th-century Evangelicals and the 19th-century Missourians is impossible.

Rationalism had introduced radically different doctrines of God, Man, and an understanding of divine revelation which caused the Rationalist educational reformers to realize that the old Evangelical model no longer served their needs. In response to Rationalism’s new emphasis on anthropology, they changed education – specifically, the relationship between education and theology – to suit their theology which considered education to be a handmaiden to human development rather than to theology.

Pietist pedagogy also introduced its own changes to the classical Evangelical pedagogy. The Pietists’ more subjective approach to theology and personal piety was incongruent with the Evangelical’s understanding of the development of piety through the continual praying of the Catechism, and with their emphasis on the objective revelation through the Word. As a result of Pietist theology, education became more practically oriented and catechetical training tended to stress personal experiences with the divine.

Nevertheless, the intervening years did not deter the Missourian pedagogues from trying to establish a connection with their 16th-century counterparts. Largely through the Neo-Lutheran revival, Walther and his associates were under the influence of Luther’s theology and pedagogy. This renewal of Confessionalism set the Neo-Lutherans against Rationalism in whatever form it was encountered; and for the Saxons, the place of greatest conflict was the classroom. There, young Saxon, Neo-
Lutheran pastors earnestly and zealously – with an attitude that was bound to raise the ire of the educational establishment – squared off against Rationalist teachers and superintendents in an effort to purge the schools under their charge of all Rationalist influences. In some situations, such as with Johann Winter and Carl Geyer, it was Neo-Lutheran teachers who objected to their Rationalist pastors; but, in all cases, there was a fundamental difference in educational philosophies which, contrary to Forster's opinion, transcended personality conflicts551.

This dissertation has argued that the conflict between the Rationalists and the Neo-Lutherans was one of the primary reasons behind the decision of the Saxons to emigrate. In Saxony, the Neo-Lutheran pastors were relatively free to conduct their worship services according to their beliefs. The only place where they uniformly encountered conflict was in the schools which used a model of education that was incompatible with their theological beliefs.

The Saxons were not the only Lutherans to establish Lutheran schools in America. Indeed virtually every Lutheran group prior to the Saxons were active in this regard; however, what set the Saxons apart was their resolve to establish schools based on a decidedly confessional Lutheran pedagogy.

In other Lutheran school systems, Pietism or Rationalism were endemic parts of their pedagogy. This was especially true of the Pennsylvania Ministerium which had the largest system of Lutheran schools prior to the establishment of the Missouri Synod. These schools were influenced by Mühlener’s Pietism and lacked the strong confessional identity of the later Missourian schools. Thus, when public school laws were enacted and immigration patterns changed, the Ministerium’s school system experienced a rapid decline.

The Saxons were determined to avoid the same fate. Beginning with the Emigration Codes, it was clear that they intended to establish schools in which there would be no co-mingling of foreign pedagogy with Lutheran orthodoxy. Immediately upon arriving in America, the Saxons opened orthodox Lutheran educational institutions, first in St. Louis and then in Perry County. Wherever a congregation was established, they started a school that was specifically designed to meet the educational

551 Forster, 112.
needs of a confessional German Lutheran community in America. In addition to the congregationally run schools, the Saxons also established a college in Perry County which followed many of the precepts of the classical Lutheran gymnasium and was unique in that it was designed specifically for the purpose of preparing future pastors and teachers.

When the Missouri Synod was formed in 1847, the priority to provide confessional education was formalized through various constitutional provisions. The ensuing school system experienced remarkable growth. Beginning with only 14 schools, the number of Missouri Synod schools multiplied to over 1,600 schools over the next fifty years.

It is not the numerical success of this system which is of interest to this dissertation, but rather, its unique adaptation of the Evangelical pedagogy. The Missourians may have been separated from Luther by over three centuries, but they were closer to Luther in terms of their theology than anyone since the orthodox Lutheran theologians of the 17th century. Their theological kinship also established a pedagogical bond. With little else to use as a guide, they freely imported Reformation-era pedagogical thought which became the basis for their own adaptation of the liberal arts.

Of course, the Missourians were not free from the prejudices of their age. Influences of Pietism, Romanticism and, though they would probably have been loath to admit it, Rationalism remained in their pedagogical thought. The extent and nature of these influences is another area of Lutheran pedagogy that begs for further study.

If an Evangelical pedagogy is to be understood according to the definition presented in this dissertation – that is, a fluid, theologically based model in which the arts serve to give students the necessary tools to discover divine knowledge and truth – then what parts of that model were incorporated into the Missourian pedagogical model?

IX.1. **The arts as a guide to divine truth**

It is clear that Walther and those who followed him held to many of the same epistemological assumptions as the 16th-century Evangelicals. For that matter, they
should be considered part of the greater Christian tradition that understood Christ as author of all truth and wisdom. Accordingly, the Missourians remained convinced that the full revelation of truth was given in Holy Scripture which contained all things necessary for one’s spiritual well-being. However, divine truth could also be found in “pagan” thinkers outside of Scripture. Although this truth did not reveal salvation through Christ alone, it did, nevertheless, reveal the truth and wisdom of God in the realm of civic righteousness. Having said this, in comparison to the early Evangelicals, the Missourians were much more restrictive in their acceptance of “pagan” writers. Since most of the Missourian pedagogues had Pietist backgrounds and were reacting against Rationalism – a theology that tended to dismiss the authority of Scripture – they felt the need to defend themselves against such attacks and, as a result, tended to be less interested in the study of non-Christian thinkers and classical authors, and more concerned about the teaching of Holy Scriptures as interpreted by the Lutheran Confessions.

IX.2. The arts as a theologically-based model of education

As the Saxons developed their pedagogy, they reverted back to the older Christian tradition of education as ancilla theologiae. They believed that education's task was to enable the student to internalize the church’s theology. Without the proper model of education, their theology would fail to take root. These Neo-Lutherans recognized that they could not work within the prevailing model of Rationalist pedagogy; their theology and their understanding of its relationship to education were simply too different. Thus, conflict between the Saxon Neo-Lutherans and school officials seemed almost inevitable. The conflict was, at its heart, a result of two different theologies, each with its own pedagogical requirements. If the Neo-Lutherans had adopted the prevailing Rationalist model of education, it would have been self-defeating. The students would have been expected to adopt a Confessional Lutheran mindset under an educational model that had been designed to direct them to reject those tenets.

This then is what caused the Neo-Lutherans to construct a new adaptation of the arts. Their model would prepare students to be faithful disciples of Luther and the Lutheran confessions. This set the Missourian’s educational model apart from earlier
editions and served their unique style of Confessionalism. Most notably, their catechetical program reflected their overarching concern for sound doctrine. This was in contrast with the early Evangelicals who were primarily concerned with the development of piety through a meditation on the words of the catechism. The whole nature of the Missourian pedagogy, with its emphasis on grammar, German, Bible and Reformation History, and the memorization of questions from Dietrich’s edition of the Small Catechism, was all designed to equip students to understand the world from an orthodox doctrinal point of view.

IX.3. **The Evangelical liberal arts as an adaptable model of education**

Throughout their history, the lower three arts especially have shifted both in importance and in the way each individual one was used. The grammar of the scholastics, which emphasized the philosophical aspects of grammar and logic – particularly Aristotelian logic – dominated studies. The humanists and the early Evangelicals changed this placing more emphasis on literary grammar and stressing rhetoric over logic.

This dynamic quality of the arts continued under the Missourians. In their schools, grammar was the chief art taught; little attention was paid to logic and rhetoric. This prioritization of the arts was a reflection of Missourian pedagogical concerns. These Lutherans needed an understanding of both German and English grammar: German for the communication of the Evangelical faith, and English to enable students to function in American society. As a result, a preponderance of class time – almost 60 percent – was spent teaching grammar and grammar-related subjects. Logic and rhetoric continued to be taught, but only in the gymnasium where they were seen as valuable for the execution of the pastoral office.

This history of the liberal arts demonstrates that the ordering of the arts was always closely related to ecclesiastical requirements. Thus, the early Evangelicals stressed rhetoric because it taught eloquence and persuasiveness which would enable the Evangelical faith to be winsomely presented in the German courts. The Missourians had different needs. Their church was growing exponentially through the influx of new immigrants, many of whom had been raised in Rationalist or Pietist churches in
Germany. Therefore, the Missourians were concerned that these new arrivals acquired a proper knowledge of sound Lutheran doctrine. Thus, in their schools, it was only natural that grammar should predominate. Students were not expected to analyze church doctrines, nor were they encouraged to publicly debate them, and so they were in little need of logic or rhetoric. They were, however, required to give a proper ascent to these doctrines. This ascent required the mastery of grammar because it enabled them to read and comprehend the sources of doctrine: namely, the Holy Scripture, Dietrich’s catechism, and the Lutheran Confessions.

The mutability of the arts manifested itself in other ways. New areas of knowledge had developed over the previous three hundred years and were considered to be essential parts of an elementary education. Geography, arithmetic, natural history, and American history were all standard in Missouri Synod schools. The value of these subjects was so self-evident that there was virtually no debate over their inclusion. The Missourians easily justified their role in the curriculum by pointing out that knowledge of these subjects was necessary for the faithful execution of one’s vocation.

The Lutherans did refuse to adopt some changes; however, generally these were changes that they believed posed a threat to their doctrine. In such cases, the innovations were rejected outright – one of these being Kindergarten. Dismissing it as an anti-Christian innovation, they were clear that it was to be given no role in the Lutheran school. The inclusion of any formal early childhood education was beyond the limit of change to pedagogy that the Missourians would allow.

The study of science was another area that caused the Missourians difficulty. They seemed unsure as to how this emerging discipline might be incorporated into the trivium. On one hand, they agreed that the study of science was a valid discipline because it revealed the creative order of God. On the other hand, it was not a priority, so they provided little room for it in their curriculum. Given their epistemological assumptions, one could see why they would have assimilated science into the arts as a discipline that would assist students in discovering divine truth as it was embedded in creation, but they were evidently not ready for this. In time, science did become a standard part of the Lutheran curriculum; however, its relationship to Lutheran education and Lutheran theology was never clearly defined.
X. Can the arts be used today in a Confessional Lutheran classroom?

Before examining the applicability of the arts in a contemporary confessional setting, it is necessary to give consideration to a contemporary movement that calls itself “Classical Education,” and then examine liberal education and its compatibility with the Lutheran liberal arts tradition. Then consideration will be given to the application of grammar, logic, and rhetoric in a contemporary classroom, and the inclusion of modern subjects in a modern setting.

X.1. Evangelical pedagogy and “Classical Education”

The “Classical Education” movement began among denominational Christian educators in America in the 1990’s. Confessional Reformed theologian, Douglas Wilson, has been a chief proponent. He has written several books on the topic, the most notable of which is entitled *Recovering The Lost Tools of Learning*.

Generally, proponents of the “Classical Education” movement adamantly reject Progressive Education on the grounds that it is ineffectual and incompatible with Christian theology. They tend to look romantically back to an earlier age – usually a time prior to the 20th century – when they believe that education was based on classical virtues, and they then endeavour to create similar teaching models.

In terms of didactics, “Classical” educators tend to place a great deal of emphasis on memorization and the learning of foundational facts, especially in the lower grades. There are also forms of “Classical Education” apart from Christian denominational schools. These include the Paideia Group and the Marva Collins Academy. Veith explores the various different groups at work in this field. Gene Edward Veith and Andrew Kern, *Classical Education: the Movement Sweeping America* (Washington: Capital Research Center, 2001).


grades. Teachers are expected to be the authority on the material being taught and students are expected to master the subject matter. In addition to an emphasis on English grammar, Latin is a priority and is generally taught at all grade levels. Latin instruction is considered a definitive criterion of membership in “Classical Education” associations such as the Association of Christian and Classical Schools and the Consortium for Classical and Lutheran Education.555

The advocates of “Classical Education” focus much attention on discussing the trivium. This aspect of their philosophy is of chief interest to this dissertation. Generally, homage is paid to what they call the “medieval trivium” which they believe represents the ideal form of education.556 In spite of their stated admiration for this model, a different model of the trivium forms the basis of their pedagogy, specifically one derived from a 1947 essay written by British author, Dorothy Sayers, entitled “Lost Tools of Learning.”557 In her essay, Sayers describes the arts of the trivium in a metaphorical way, drawing parallels between grammar, logic, and rhetoric and three stages of a child’s development which Sayers describes as Poll-Parrot stage, Pert stage, and Poetic stage. According to Sayers, young children in the Grammar stage (the Poll-Parrot stage) are to be taught basic skills through chant, recitation and memorization. When they are in their early teens, which is the Logic stage (the Pert stage), they should be taught the various subjects through the use of questions and banter. Finally, when children have matured, they enter the Rhetoric stage (the Poetic stage) in which they are encouraged to express themselves with their own ideas, drawing on the knowledge that they have learned in earlier stages. The goal of the educator is to apply these three stages of developmental learning to the various subjects of the curriculum.

Sayers’ essay certainly presents an intriguing analogy and raises some interesting questions regarding appropriate teaching methodologies for the various

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556 This depiction of the trivium tends to be a romanticized version that ignored the many nuances and variations that existed not only in the “medieval” period but throughout its history.
557 This essay has been reprinted in numerous books on classical education, including Wilson, 145-164.
stages of a child’s development; however, is it wise to develop a whole pedagogical system based on one essay? Indeed there is no indication that Sayers ever intended her essay to be used in this way. Furthermore, Sayers’ interpretation of the trivium represents a radical departure from any other previous definition. As such, it requires careful scrutiny before it can be accepted as valid and useful.

Despite the lack of careful and critical analysis, Sayers’ ideas have been enthusiastically embraced by the advocates of “Classical Education,” including some Lutheran educators. Groups such as the Consortium of Classical and Lutheran Education employ Sayers’ definition as the basis for applying the trivium, and have attempted to incorporate distinctly Lutheran elements into their “Classical Education” model.

Before hastily adopting the Sayers model, Lutheran educators should look carefully at their own historic definitions of the liberal arts and develop a contemporary application that is synchronous with those paradigms. They especially need to give careful consideration to liberal education.

X.2. The Evangelical pedagogy and liberal education

Currently, liberal education, the descendant of the liberal arts tradition, is one of the dominant paradigms in educational research. This paradigm seems to be the most distinct from Lutheran views on education; therefore, it is important to investigate the central concepts and educational claims to determine if they are indeed as opposed as they seem to be. If Liberal education is found to be compatible with Evangelical pedagogy, then it might not be necessary to replace the classical Lutheran approach to the liberal arts with some other educational model. Rather, it may be possible to follow the pattern established by the first Evangelicals and adapt the arts accordingly. If fundamental differences were to be found, current Lutheran educators may want to reflect about the way in which they want to defend the differences and challenge the liberal educational views.

Individual autonomy – which is characterized by the ability to think critically about the issues that are central to one’s life – is the chief aim of liberal education. That which
undermines or hinders such critical thought is generally referred to as indoctrination.\textsuperscript{558} It is beyond the scope of this dissertation to present a complete analysis of liberal education; however, it is important to touch on how a modern Evangelical pedagogy addresses the matters of autonomy and indoctrination.\textsuperscript{559}

At first, it would appear that the orthodox nature of confessional Lutheran pedagogy would render it incompatible with liberal education. Its emphasis on authority, community, structure, and the like would seem to be inherently contrary to the liberal aim of autonomy and critical thinking. However, a number of scholars have argued that a theologically positive education, such as that of confessional Lutheranism, can be not only compatible with, but may even be indispensable to, the healthy development of these liberal ideals.\textsuperscript{560} In this section, I will determine whether or not I underwrite this

\textsuperscript{558} The use of indoctrination in this context should not be confused with the older theological usage which means simply the teaching of doctrines.

\textsuperscript{559} There is a great deal of research on the topic of liberal education’s relationship to religion. For the sake of brevity, I will rely primarily, but not exclusively, on Elmer Thiessen’s arguments as presented in Teaching for Commitment: Liberal Education, Indoctrination and Christian Nurture (Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press, 1993). It must be said that Thiessen is not a liberal philosopher of education. His primary interest lies in presenting apologetic arguments for faith-based education. See Elmer John Thiessen, In Defence of Religious Schools and Colleges (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2001). In his work, he appeals to the proponents of liberal education to be more open to the role of religion and Christian nurture in the educational process. In order to do this, he seeks to redefine liberal terms such as “autonomy”, “indoctrination” and “critical openness”. Thiessen’s definitions have been criticized as a departure from traditional liberal education. See Tasos Kazepides, “Programmatic Definitions in Education: The Case of Indoctrination,” Canadian Journal of Education / Revue canadienne de l'éducation 14, no. 3 (1989).

\textsuperscript{560} While Thiessen uses the term “orthodox”, he does not provide an adequate definition. See Elmer John Thiessen, Teaching for Commitment: Liberal Education, Indoctrination and Christian Nurture (Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press, 1993), 83-86. Thiessen applies this term to any Christian tradition that establishes its doctrinal standards through divine revelation. However, conventional definitions of “orthodox” are usually much broader entailing a complete conformity to an entire systematic theology. Thus the traditional usage of the term “orthodox” is too restrictive for the purposes of this discussion. As an alternative, this dissertation suggests the term “positive theology”. This term has its roots in the 19\textsuperscript{th} century with the founding of the Positive Union by Berlin Court preacher, Theodor Johannes Rudolf Kögel (1829-1896). Kögel opposed the theologically liberal elements in the Prussian Union church and called an alliance of confessional theologians. [G. Patzig, "Positivismus," in Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart, ed. Kurt Galling, vol. 5 (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1961), 472-473.] See also Wolfdietrich Kloeden, “Kögel, Johannes Theodor Rudolf,” in Biographisch-Bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon (accessed March 2008); available from http://www.bautz.de/bbkl/k/Koegel_j_t.shtml. The term “positive” was more inclusive than “orthodox” and allowed for broader agreement. In the early 20\textsuperscript{th} century, Protestant theologians such as Reinhold Seeberg (1855-1935) incorporated the term into “modern-positive theology” which maintained the divinity of Christ and emphasized the importance of divine revelation as an authoritative source in the determination of truth. They also sought to maintain a historical continuity with the doctrines of historic Christianity. See Gerald Birney Smith, “The Modern-Positive Movement in Theology,” American Journal of Theology 13, no. 1 (1909).
claim: first by looking at the aims of autonomy and then by looking at the matter of indoctrination.

X.2.1. Autonomy, Critical Thinking, and the Aims of Lutheran Confessional Education

Are the aims of liberal education compatible with the aims of classical Lutheran education? Most will agree that total and complete autonomy is impossible to achieve, if not undesirable, for everyone is bound, by some degree, to the constraints of culture; everyone lives in a series of obligations and commitments. However, most definitions of autonomy seem to render liberal education incompatible with any confessionally based education because Confessionalism, by its very nature, possesses limits that autonomy must deny. In place of this, Thiessen suggests a more moderate “normal autonomy” which he defines in this way:

Normal autonomy recognizes the importance of a certain level of dependence on others in normal human relationships. It acknowledges that growth toward autonomy necessarily begins with a contingent historical context. Normal autonomy also allows for the possibility that one may choose to submit to another person, even to God. What is important is that there is a degree of procedural independence in making this decision of substantive dependence.

Under this definition, which Thiessen argues can be supported by a positive theological (or, as Thiessen calls it, “relatively orthodox”) tradition, individuals can be engaged in mutually dependant relationships with others without surrendering their autonomy.

Burtt also maintains a view of autonomy that is in line with relatively theologically positive views and yet is supportive of liberal educational values. Quoting Proverbs 22:6

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561 For example, Peters points out that compulsory education makes absolute autonomy an impossibility. For the sake of social good, every individual must be prepared to submit to some degree to the constraints of society. R. S. Peters, Education and the Education of Teachers (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1977).

562 This dichotomy, which is a traditional liberal position, is held by Feinberg who argues that religious education discourages autonomy. While granting that “individuals may develop some level of autonomy within orthodox traditions, even those in which broad critical thinking is discouraged”, he says that educators must be concerned “not only with the future autonomy of one child” but with maintaining “autonomy at acceptable levels for all.” His conclusion is that confessionally based schools are incapable of providing this. Walter Feinberg, “Religious Education in Liberal Democratic Societies: The Question of Accountability and Autonomy,” in Education and Citizenship in Liberal-Democratic Societies: Teaching for Cosmopolitan Values and Collective Identities, ed. Kevin McDonough and Walter Feinberg (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003) 386. Spinner-Halev finds this position unwarranted. Jeff Spinner-Halev, “Teaching Identity and Autonomy,” Journal of Philosophy of Education 39, no. 1 (2005).
(“Train up a child in the way he should go…”), she argues that this verse demands that parents raise their children with this goal of normal autonomy. She writes,

[This proverb] serves as both a promise and a warning to parents. Choose the ends you hold out to your children well. If these ideals are indeed worthy of human commitment, your child will embrace them as she matures and continues to live by them as an adult. The warning to parents contained in this passage then, is that only good educations win the hearts and minds of your children. If you educate a child in the way that retards or restricts his development, the education may not ‘take’. 564

A similar approach can be applied to critical thinking. In Education and Belief, Brenda Watson presents a critique of some of the extreme versions of critical thinking that have been put forth in the name of liberal education. In place of those views, she suggests that the educator should strive to develop what she calls, “critical affirmation” in students which she maintains encourages “the rigorous use of critical faculties…but not for the sake of destruction, as though scepticism were the be-all and end-all, but for the purpose of creating a larger grasp of understanding and commitment both to oneself and for others.” 565 A strong theological system may be understood as a valid tool by which an individual evaluates himself, the world in which he lives, and the relationships in which he finds himself engaged. Critical affirmation equips a person to subject his beliefs to an appropriate level of scrutiny. Thus, a person can even passionately hold to his belief, if he is willing to engage in respectful dialogue with those who hold opposing viewpoints, and be ready to concede that there is a possibility that he is in error. 566

566 Ronald S. Laura and Michael Leahy, "Religious Upbringing and Rational Autonomy," Journal of Philosophy of Education 23, no. 2 (1989). Luther’s famous declaration at the diet of Worms (“Unless I am convinced by Scripture and plain reason…”) is an example of how one can be firmly and passionately convinced of his beliefs and yet, at the same time remain open to the possibility that they are in error. The opposite of autonomy is heteronomy. Regarding Benn’s description of a heteronomous person in his book A Theory of Freedom, De Ruyter wrote, “A heteronomous person is not prepared to recognize or even to contemplate beliefs, opinions, or scientific evidence as challenges needing to be met by reasoned counterarguments, at least as rigorous as those he would deploy in disputes within the framework of the system he accepts (195, 196). Another interpretation of heteronomy is not related to the genesis of, but to the habit of, the mind itself. In this interpretation a person can make an autonomous decision to lead a heteronomous life, in which he follows the rules of others without question, by, for instance becoming a
Throughout this dissertation, Lutheran pedagogy has been described in the context of Luther’s doctrines of Baptism and Vocation. These two doctrines are also useful in evaluating the pedagogy’s compatibility with the liberal aims of autonomy. Recall that Luther’s view of a Christian’s vocational life is rooted in baptism whereby a child is sacramentally born into the community of the faithful. One might say that, at this point, a child begins his formation as an autonomous individual in that, for Luther, prior to baptism, one is incapable of exercising any spiritual freedom. In baptism, one is freed from all the confines of spiritual darkness. Although freedom is a necessary characteristic of autonomy, it does not free the individual from his commitments to the community in which he lives out his vocation. He is autonomous in that, before God, he has complete and perfect spiritual freedom. This autonomy is balanced by the demands of divine law with its associated obligations and commitments to others. The Christian freely and willingly submits to these obligations.

At this point, Evangelical pedagogy appears to be at odds with liberal education. Liberal education assumes an autonomous decision in adopting a faith. However, Luther’s strong emphasis on monergism removes the individual from active participation in decisions of this sort. If it is essential that spiritual autonomy be a prerequisite for an initiation into the faith, then the argument for the compatibility of liberal education and Lutheran theology becomes considerably more complex. While they do not address the complexity from the perspective of Lutheran theology, Laura and Leahy offer a solution which makes this complexity less problematic. They maintain that young children need to be committed to a primary culture of which religion is an

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567 See this dissertation I.3.2.: “Vocation” page 25.
568 The bondage of which Luther spoke was a spiritual one. He always recognized that people were capable of freely making decisions of a non-spiritual nature.
569 Monergism maintains that, in matters dealing with the initiation of faith and conversion, God alone is the effective cause.
integral part, and that it is incumbent upon parents and educators to provide children with the critical apparatus needed to evaluate this culture as they mature. This argument allows room for the Evangelical view of baptism and the baptismal life. Luther’s view of the baptismal life allows for the active participation of the baptized in the development of their commitment to their beliefs, and provides a counterbalance to the concern that the sacramental initiation into the faith creates an undue limitation on autonomy. This can be demonstrated by the roles given to the Law and the Gospel in Evangelical theology.

Lutheran theology understands that the Law is an unattainable ideal. Indeed the classical Lutheran phrase, *lex semper accusat*, is a reminder that the chief use of the Law is not to show where others are wrong, but to convince the individual of the truth that the Law is an unattainable ideal. It is to be used to drive a person back to the Gospel which is the source of the spiritual autonomy first given in baptism. In classical Lutheran terms, the Law always directs the individual back to the Gospel which is to be at the center of baptismal life. Applying this to the concept of autonomy, this constant reflection on the Law as the unattainable, and the Gospel as the source of complete freedom, can be seen as a process that facilitates a growth in one’s understanding of self, relationship to God, and commitment to others. Through this process, students gain the ability to examine their own vocations and apply their ideals to their positions in life.

This balance between Law and Gospel is the starting point for a child’s formation of the self as an autonomous member of the community, and it provides the foundation from which he or she develops the skills of critical thinking. The Law is the corrective against the child believing that there is nothing more to strive for; it serves as a constant reminder that the child has an imperfect understanding of the world and his or her place in it. The Gospel serves to validate the child’s understanding of the self as an autonomous individual with transcendent dignity. It provides the freedom required to

571 Laura and Leahy, 253ff.
572 One of the marks of fundamentalism is an absolutist conviction that leads to a belief of superiority over others. This Evangelical use of the law provides a defense against the charge of fundamentalism. See De Ruyter, 197.
evaluate options and make decisions that are specific to their unique vocation in the world.

A potential criticism of any confessionally based pedagogy is that those educated accordingly will be limited in their ability to critically assess it. Thiessen points out that such criticism can also be made against those educated in a secular liberal setting. However, this dissertation argues that the ability to critically assess one’s own life, including one’s confession of faith, is an important part of Evangelical theology; and a pedagogical model which combines a Law/Gospel understanding with the liberal arts positions Evangelical education to equip children with the critical thinking skills that are also required by liberal education. While a child’s education may take place within the framework of confessional Evangelical theology, it remains the goal of the Evangelical pedagogy to stimulate a critical examination of that framework.

This argument certainly demands rigorous study and examination. If this can be proved valid, then it may assist in bridging the perceived gap that has traditionally existed between liberal and religiously-based education.

X.2.2. Indoctrination and Confessional Lutheran education

In her book, *Education and Belief*, Watson defines indoctrination as the process by which certain beliefs and values are stamped upon the mind in such a way that the person concerned will not question them or reflect upon them consciously and freely with the possibility of ceasing adherence to them. There are three factors of indoctrination that almost all authors agree on: intention, method and content. Teachers can be accused of indoctrination when they deliberately attempt to prevent critical reflection through the materials they use and how they teach.

Some might argue that all catechesis is indoctrination and therefore contrary to liberal education. However, this is not necessarily so. In his discussion on the subject, Thiessen argues that catechesis, or as he terms it, “Christian nurture,” is an essential component of liberal education. Whereas the definition of indoctrination can be defined as the process that leads to “the curtailment of a person’s growth toward normal rational

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574 Watson, 12.
Christian nurture involves a continual process of learning and growing that results in the deepening of one’s sense of autonomy, the formation of a person’s spiritual identity, and an initiation “into a Christian heritage, an inheritance of Christian sentiments, beliefs, imaginings, understandings, and activities.” Thiessen believes that initiation is the starting point from which the self grows toward normal autonomy. If this growth does not happen, then initiation can denigrate into indoctrination. He recognizes that his definition of Christian nurture has many parallels in theologically positive Christian catechetical tradition. While traditional liberal terms such as “freedom”, “authenticity”, “rational reflection”, and “competence” may be foreign to the lexicon of Evangelical pedagogy, they may, with thoughtful reflection, be used to describe the goals of the Evangelical education.

This dissertation has argued that an Evangelical catechetical program is best described as a life-long nurturing process that endeavours to enable individuals to grow in their identity as Confessional Lutherans which, rightly understood, involves a sense of normal autonomy. The aims of catechesis have not always been understood in this way. At the time of the early Missourian Lutherans there was a neglect of the original catechetical goals of the 16th-century Evangelicals. The Missourians’ catechetical program tended to be more concerned with the inculcation of correct doctrinal formulations and less with a reflective mediation on one’s faith. As such, it could be argued that there was a crossing over to what could properly be termed indoctrination. However, that was not the intent of the earlier Evangelicals. They believed that this catechetical growth is accomplished by the divine teacher working mediately through the Word as it is taught to the child. Thus, the catechetical process, or “Christian nurture” does not begin when a child enters the classroom, it begins in infancy with the parents assuming the responsibility of shaping the child’s sense of autonomy by

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576 Ibid., 27.
577 Ibid., 128.
teaching them the demands of commitments and obligations (the divine Law) and the freedom that they have as individuals (the Gospel). Classroom instruction is to be seen as an extension or continuation of this baptismal work. Its goals remain constant.

There is discussion about the view that earlier Evangelicals did aim for normal autonomy. Some, such as Strauss, argue that the Evangelical catechisms of the 16th century were designed to restrict critical thought. The catechisms served to preserve the status quo and cultivate a spirit of almost blind obedience to church authority. If Strauss is right, then the Evangelical catechisms were agents of indoctrination. Ozment contradicts this view. He maintains that these catechisms served to cultivate a spirit of humanity – of cultivating spiritual growth and providing a conceptual framework and spiritual vocabulary which would enable the Christian to engage in discourse with the community. Ozment states that the purpose of the catechism was to “cast doubt on traditional religious belief and institutions by making children all too confident and sure where truth lay in ultimate matters.” Children were challenged to question all authorities and rely on the internal faith that had been given to them in baptism. Ozment concludes: “The Protestant catechism, so often deplored by modern scholars as an assault on the freedom and autonomy of children, may instead have been the chief means of their liberation from the internal bonds of authoritarian religion.” According to this view, the catechism extolled obedience to parents and authorities for the sake of one’s personal faith, and challenged the children to question all doctrine and all authority – including that of their parents – when it was perceived that they were contrary to the faith. Thus, the catechism is best viewed not as an agent of

578 This is not to say that the Missourians were uninterested in developing autonomous individuals. Their promotion of the arts was motivated, in large part, that people would be able to think critically, however they did not seem to understand that their catechetical program did not fully support this view of the Arts. See this dissertation VII.2.1.: “Relationship of the Confessionalism to the liberal arts.”
579 See this dissertation I.3.3.: “Catechesis: connecting baptism and vocation to divine pedagogy,” and VII.2.2. “Baptism, vocation, catechesis and the new Evangelical curriculum.”
581 Strauss, Luther’s House of Learning: Indoctrination of the Young in the German Reformation, 234-235.
583 Ibid., 173.
indoctrination but as a defence against indoctrination. Ozment’s understanding of the Evangelical’s catechetical goals does appear to be more correct than those of Strauss. Luther’s theology necessitates a good measure of personal freedom and autonomy. The centrality of the one’s personal justification before God and the doctrine of vocation, to name but two examples, would fail to take root if people were trained in blind obedience. With this in mind it is hardly likely that the early Evangelicals would have so quickly instituted a catechetical program that would have restricted autonomy through indoctrination. This would have defeated the goals of the Reformation.

In Evangelical pedagogy, the catechetical program never stands alone. It is always taught in tandem with the liberal arts, particularly those of the trivium. The early years of formal training stress the grammatical arts. In this stage, the primary effort is to teach the child the rules of communication and language. This stage may well involve drill and rote memory; however, it is an error to equate all drill and memorization with indoctrination. Thiessen points out that, at this age, “What children want are answers, not doubts, and it is as absurd as it is cruel to treat children at this stage with a heavy dose of ‘critical thinking’.” He goes on to say,

Drill, rote memory, and learning from authority all have a legitimate and necessary role in education, especially at the initiation phase, as long as these are part of an over-all process of development toward normal rational autonomy.

The growth toward normal, rational autonomy continues as students are provided with the basic tools of logic which are necessary for independent thought, teaching the student not what to think but how to think. With these tools, they are able to incorporate the grammatical knowledge they have learned and use it to interpret the world around them. Finally, they are taught the rhetorical arts which provide them with the tools to speak eruditely about the critical thoughts that they might have formulated.

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584 For a comparison of these two views see Strohl, 148-149.
586 Ibid., 240.
587 Thirteen and fourteen year olds are particularly eager to engage in this process. I taught a basic logic class to this age group and often, with glee, they would take the logical tools that had provided and would start challenging everyone and everything - their parents, their teachers even their own religious beliefs. What was enjoyable was watching them do so in an orderly and disciplined fashion using the basic skills that they had learned through their study of logic. I find that it is an aspect that is missing in many
This melding of the lower three arts with an Evangelical catechetical program results in a pedagogical model that is compatible with the development of liberal ideals in students. While the terminology is certainly different, this model seeks to achieve the goal which liberal education desires: a mature individual with a sense of normal autonomy.

X.3. Modern subjects in the Evangelical curriculum

The history of the liberal arts demonstrates a remarkable elasticity in its form and usage. For example, the trivium was rarely restricted to the three arts of grammar, logic and rhetoric. History was often included as a part of the trivium. Luther felt free to include music as one of its arts. Today the educator must consider how this elasticity might be used to incorporate modern day subjects into the liberal arts model. Mathematics, modern literature, and the visual arts all need attention, but the two areas that require special consideration are languages – both modern and ancient – and the sciences.

X.3.1. Modern and ancient languages in modern Evangelical curriculum

In the past, the language of instruction was determined largely by the needs of the church and society. The 16th-century Evangelicals maintained Latin as the medium of instruction because it was the language of higher education, theology, and the court or civil life. The 19th-century Lutherans considered Latin essential only for those studying for the Pastoral Ministry. German was their language of learning and theology, and English was the language of civil society. Therefore, German and English became the language of instruction. In contemporary American cultural life, the language of worship, theology, and civic discourse is English. Therefore there is no reason to require any language other than English for instruction. But what about Latin? There are certainly strong arguments – which will not be entertained in this dissertation – for the benefits of teaching Latin in schools, but is it as essential as those who are involved in “Classical Education” maintain? According to the definition of the arts presented in this dissertation, it is not. The medium of instruction has always been determined by educational programs. While many want to teach children to think critically, few programs provide children the proper, effective tools which enable them to do so.
ecclesiastical and civic life. If Latin is an essential part of an education, then it must be essential in these two realms but in a contemporary American Lutheran setting, it is not. It is only essential that the prevailing language of the church and of civic life – in this case English – be mastered by the students. Latin may be beneficial, but it can hardly be considered a necessary component of the Evangelical curriculum.

X.3.2. Science and the modern Evangelical curriculum

The role of science in the Evangelical pedagogy is another area that requires careful consideration. When the Missourians began their work, the scientific disciplines were just coming into their own. It is therefore understandable that the Missourians did not fully synthesize science into their pedagogy. This is no longer the case. The sciences, both pure and applied, are well established as recognized disciplines; yet there has been no careful effort to complete the task that was unfinished by the Missourians. This could be because a division exists between science and the arts that tends to pit the two against each other, or it could be a reflection of a long-held suspicion that science is inherently contrary to religious belief. Regardless, the question of how the sciences fit into the arts curriculum must be addressed.

By returning to the epistemological assumptions upon which the liberal arts rests, the answer becomes clear. Recall that the early Evangelicals held to the long-standing tradition that all truth was of divine origin, and the study of the classic works of literature led to a fuller understanding of the divine Author of truth. The Evangelicals applied this principle to areas of study other than literature too. Luther, for example, believed that the study of history and music provided insight into the nature and wisdom of God, and therefore, he included them as part of the lower arts.

Applying this principle to the sciences, then, one can argue that the knowledge gathered from the natural world is to lead to a fuller understanding of the complexities of

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588 Bugliarello maintains generally that applied and natural sciences, for the most part, exist in isolation from the arts. As the two are unable to inform each other, the original goal of the arts – illuminating the individual and guiding society – is never realized. According to Bugliarello, what is required is a new trivium and quadrivium that fully integrate the arts and the sciences. George Bugliarello, "A New Trivium and Quadrivium," Bulletin of Science Technology Society 23, no. 2 (2003).

589 Lindberg traces this belief to the 19th century. He argues that the early Christian church was generally open to knowledge gained from studying the natural world. David C. Lindberg, "Science and the Early Christian Church," Isis 74, no. 4 (1983).
creation and, therefore, divine truth. It is helpful to view the modern sciences as being similar to the subjects of the historic quadrivium which dealt with the mathematical arts. In this case the trivial arts of grammar, logic and rhetoric are important in that they enables a proper interpretation of the value of scientific knowledge gained through research and an understanding that this knowledge is a manifestation of the greater truth.

An Evangelical approach to the teaching of the contentious issue of creation verses evolution serves as an illustration of this. In this debate, especially as it occurs in popular American discourse, there is often little room allowed for thoughtful reflection on the implications of the various positions. An Evangelical liberal arts pedagogy that fully incorporates the study of natural science would allow for students to learn the relevant scientific research, and delve into the implications of the research on their ideals. Accordingly, students need to be well read, have a basic grasp of the tools of logic, and be able to enunciate their views with relative coherence.

The history of the liberal arts is one of constant change in response to new demands and new areas of knowledge. It follows then that a modern Evangelical curriculum would seek to fully incorporate the modern study of natural and applied sciences.

X.4. Grammar, logic, and rhetoric in the modern Evangelical curriculum

Throughout its history, the arts have been adapted to fit the prevailing circumstances and needs of education. This flexible quality accounts for its long and successful history. Unless the fundamental requirements of Confessional Lutheranism have changed – there is no indication that they have – there is no reason that the liberal arts cannot be adapted to meet contemporary needs. The question is, What form should a 21st-century edition of the confessionalized liberal arts program take?

590 In this regard, I disagree with the parallels that Thiessen draws between the “doctrines” of science and the doctrines of religion in Teaching for Commitment: Liberal Education, Indoctrination and Christian Nurture. While he is correct in his view that scientists bring with them certain presuppositions which may influence their research, the factual data they uncover is not doctrinal though it may be used to support one’s doctrinal views. See Ben Spiecker, “Review Article: Commitment to Liberal Education,” Studies in Philosophy and Education 15 (1996) and Thiessen, “Fanaticism and Christian Liberal Education: A Response to Ben Spiecker’s 'Commitment to Liberal Education’,” 293-300. Also see Bugliarello, 108.
To answer such a question, the Lutheran pedagogue must determine the challenges faced by the individual in a post-modern era and consider how the various arts can be used to equip that person to meet those challenges.

For example, it can be argued that the electronic age has ushered in a new age of rhetoric. Just as rhetoric took one form in the oral age of Augustine and another form in the age of print during the Reformation, so it must take on a new form in the current electronic age. Accordingly, the task of the Lutheran educator is to determine if rhetoric should be given a more prominent role in a contemporary adaptation of the arts, and if so, how it should be taught in the classroom.

As globalization continues to make its effects felt in society, diverse religious and theological traditions are having an impact in ways unknown a generation ago. The Nigerian author, Wole Soyinka, has observed that religion is the central issue of the current century. Religious issues are at the forefront of contemporary culture. Thus those of the Christian tradition are required to engage in the resulting discourse. Given this, it seems that a model of education that provides students with a grammatical foundation for the exegetical understanding of language, a logical understanding of argumentation, and a rhetorical mastery of eloquence and persuasiveness required for rational debate would be timely indeed. The skills engendered, especially by the lower three liberal arts, are not just valuable to theologians. Vocation, in a global context, demands that the laity also possess enough grammar to speak correctly, enough logic to think cogently, and enough rhetoric to speak persuasively.

The contemporary classroom presents some interesting challenges for the Evangelical educator. What is the relationship between theology and education? What form should the arts take in a 21st-century classroom? How much credence should be accorded to the “Classical Education” movement? Are Evangelical pedagogy and liberal education compatible? This dissertation has maintained that, by studying the development of the liberal arts in terms of its adaptation to meet changing

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593 Melanchthon’s observation – that without a proper training in the liberal arts one cannot make a proper distinction between the various world religions – seems especially appropriate. See p. 27.
circumstances, today’s educators will be able to devise ways of adapting it to meet current challenges, giving particular consideration to how Evangelical education relates to liberal education. The liberal concepts of autonomy within the framework of Evangelical education and distinctions between indoctrination and catechesis have only been briefly examined. In the opinion of the author, these two areas deserve serious and extended research if Evangelical pedagogy wishes to have a voice in the future development of educational thought.
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**Samenvatting**

In 1847 vormden 14 kerkelijke gemeenten onder leiding van Carl Ferdinand Wilhelm Walther (1811-1887) *Die Deutsche Evangelisch-Lutherische Synode von Missouri, Ohio, und andern Staaten*. Deze synode werd de aanjager van het grootste protestantse schoolsysteem in de Verenigde Staten van Amerika. Aan de aard van de *artes liberales* (vrije kunsten) en hun plaats in de theologie van de ‘confessie getrouwe’ lutherse kerken hebben de godgeleerden die de grondleggers van de Missouri synode waren, aantoonbaar meer aandacht besteed dan enige andere groepering van theologen uit de tijd na de Reformatie. Walther is daarbij onmiskenbaar van grote betekenis geweest.

In deze dissertatie wordt betoogd dat Walther, samen met andere 19e-eeuwse lutheranen, heeft geprobeerd om de lutherse kerken in de Verenigde Staten van Amerika van dienst te zijn door een pedagogisch model te ontwerpen – namelijk door een bij het ‘confessie getrouwe’ lutheranisme aansluitend curriculum van ‘vrije kunsten’ te ontwikkelen – waarmee op eigensoortige wijze tegemoet kon worden gekomen aan de toenmalige theologische en maatschappelijke behoeften. Hoewel in deze dissertatie hun werk centraal staat, is het van belang dat we beseffen dat zij een groot deel van hun inspiratie ontleenden aan lutherse pedagogen uit het begin van de 16e eeuw. Maarten Luther (1483-1546), Johannes Bugenhagen (1485-1558) en Philippus Melanchthon (1497-1560) hebben allen zeer veel invloed gehad op de opvattingen die de Amerikaanse lutheranen omtrent de ‘vrije kunsten’ hebben ontwikkeld.

Op hun beurt beschouwden de 16e-eeuwse lutherse pedagogen zichzelf als onderdeel van een al langer bestaande traditie die de ‘vrije kunsten’ in scholen voor christelijk onderwijs toepaste. En terwijl Walther en de zijnen zich lieten inspireren door Luther en diens tijdgenoten, boorden zij een denktraditie aan die terug ging tot Augustinus van Hippo (354-430).

Om het werk van Walther goed te kunnen begrijpen en beoordelen, is het dus belangrijk om de historische achtergrond ervan te kennen. De dissertatie begint dan ook met een kort historisch overzicht van de ontwikkeling in het denken over de ‘vrije kunsten’, allereerst van de vroege christelijke pedagogen zoals Augustinus en
vervolgens van de Noord-Europese humanisten uit het einde van de 15e en het begin van de 16e eeuw. Aan Desiderius Erasmus (1466-1536), die representatief is voor die groep, wordt in het bijzonder aandacht geschonken.

Nadat de invloed van de vroege pedagogen op het denken van de 16e-eeuwse lutheranen is vastgesteld, wordt voorts van drie van hun theologische kernthema’s - namelijk hun leer omtrent doop, roeping en catechese - de relatie tot opvoeding en onderwijs onderzocht. Daarbij wordt ook aandacht besteed aan de veranderingen die de lutherse pedagogen voor het curriculum voorstelden teneinde het in overeenstemming te brengen met de oogmerken van de evangelisch-lutherse theologie.

Op basis van het historisch overzicht wordt de volgende definitie van een confessioneel gebonden curriculum van ‘vrije kunsten’ voorgesteld: een flexibel, theologisch verantwoord model waarin de meest essentiële onderdelen van de ‘vrije kunsten’ – grammatica, logica en retorica – leerlingen de noodzakelijke instrumenten moesten verschaffen om bovennatuurlijke kennis en waarheid te kunnen ontdekken. Het is deze conceptie waarop Walther en anderen hebben voortgebouwd.

Walther groeide op in Saksen, in een tijd waarin het rationalisme de gevestigde theologische en pedagogische instituties domineerde en het piëtisme populair was onder studenten en het kerkvolk. Evenals de meeste van zijn ambtgenoten had Walther met beide bewegingen direct te maken gehad. Hij ontving rationalistisch georiënteerd onderwijs, maar raakte op de universiteit betrokken bij een gedreven piëtistisch conventikel (gezelschap van vromen). Er was echter nog een derde beweging, die uiteindelijk de grootste invloed op Walther en zijn groep zou hebben, de lutherse neo-orthodoxie. Deze richting beoogde een herstel van hetgeen men hield voor de zuivere leer van Luther en van de lutherse belijdenisgeschriften. In de dissertatie wordt de invloed van deze theologische opvattingen op Walthers groep onderzocht en wordt de rol besproken die ze speelden bij de beslissing om naar de Verenigde Staten te emigreren. Er wordt vastgesteld dat, ofschoon de kerkelijke gemeenten in Saksen voor wat betreft theologische opvattingen een zekere vrijheid genoten, de scholen die vrijheid moesten ontberen. Piëtistische en neo-orthodoxe overtuigingen die in de schoolklas werden uitgedragen, zorgden voor conflicten met door het rationalisme beïnvloede schoolleiders. De neo-orthodoxen beseften, dat het ware lutheranisme niet
zou kunnen floreren zonder een ondersteunend pedagogisch model. Hun beslissing om te emigreren was dan ook voor een groot deel gemotiveerd door de wens om een nieuw confessioneel gebonden curriculum in het leven te roepen.


Walthers groep arriveerde te St. Louis, in Missouri, in 1839 en meteen werden scholen opgericht waarmee hun neo-orthodoxe theologie gediend zou zijn. In die tijd behoorden pedagogen en theologen zoals Friedrich Conrad Dietrich Wyneken (1810-1881), Wilhelm Sihler (1801-1885) en Johann Christoph Wilhelm Lindemann (1827-1879) tot die groep. De groep formeerde de Die Deutsche Evangelisch-Lutherische Synode von Missouri, Ohio, und andern Staaten (of de ‘Missouri Synod’) en beschikte al spoedig over een omvangrijk netwerk van basisscholen, scholen voor voortgezet onderwijs en instellingen voor hoger onderwijs. De opzet van deze scholen vereiste een opvoedingsfilosofie waarvoor de Amerikaanse theologen te rade gingen bij Luther en andere lutherse theologen van erkend orthodoxe signatuur teneinde een versie van een evangelisch-luthers curriculum van ‘vrije kunsten’ te ontwikkelen die toegesneden was op de situatie in de Verenigde Staten in de 19e eeuw.

Bij de analyse van het curriculum wordt eerst nagegaan hoe de specifieke relevante doctrines – doop, roeping en catechese – de opvatting omtrent de ‘vrije kunsten’ van de lutheranen in Missouri hebben beïnvloed. Daarna wordt deze conceptie vergeleken met de opvattingen van hun 16e-eeuwse tegenhangers. Ten slotte wordt geanalyseerd op welke wijze de neo-orthodoxen omgingen met diverse onderdelen van het curriculum, in het bijzonder met talen, literatuur, muziek en de wetenschappen. De conclusie luidt dat, ofschoon er duidelijke verschillen waren tussen het curriculum van de lutheranen uit de 16e eeuw en die uit de 19e eeuw, beide groepen de ‘vrije kunsten’
in wezen op dezelfde manier begrepen: de kunsten zorgden voor een opvoedkundig model op theologische grondslag dat gewijzigd kon worden om de opvoedkundige behoeften van die tijd te bevredigen, terwijl het onveranderd een gids richting bovennatuurlijke waarheid bleef. Ook wordt gekeken naar de beperkingen van het Missourische curriculum, waaronder de onmogelijkheid om de wetenschappen volledig onder te brengen in het dagrooster en het feit dat de opvattingen over de catechese meer beïnvloed waren door het piëtisme dan men zichzelf bewust was.

Na het historisch overzicht van het evangelisch-lutherse ‘vrije kunsten’ curriculum wordt de levensvatbaarheid daarvan in de huidige schoolklas onderzocht. Eerst wordt aandacht besteed aan een beweging onder godsdienstleraren die een pedagogisch model wil invoeren dat bekend staat als ‘Classical Education’. Alhoewel dit model een aantal interessante ideeën behelst, is er veel meer onderzoek nodig om te kunnen bepalen of het inderdaad voldoet aan de criteria voor een echt programma van ‘vrije kunsten’.

Heden ten dage is ‘liberal education’, nazaat van de traditie der ‘vrije kunsten’, een van de dominante paradigma’s in het pedagogisch en onderwijskundig onderzoek. Van alle paradigma’s lijkt dit het meest een contrast te vormen met lutherse opvattingen over opvoeding en onderwijs. En daarom is het belangrijk om de centrale concepten en pedagogische claims ervan te bestuderen teneinde na te gaan of beide inderdaad zo tegenover elkaar staan als in eerste instantie lijkt. Als evangelisch-lutherse pedagogen een relevante stem in het pedagogisch debat willen hebben, is het noodzakelijk dat zij zich voor deze vragen open stellen. Derhalve worden enkele kernthema’s van liberale opvoeding geanalyseerd in het licht van de lutherse ‘confessie getrouwe’ conceptie van de ‘vrije kunsten’. Het centrale doel van liberale opvoeding, autonomie, wordt vergeleken met dat van het ‘confessie getrouwe’ lutheranisme om na te gaan of deze twee stelsels elkaar wederzijds uitsluiten. Vervolgens wordt onderzocht of de lutherse catechese een vorm van indoctrinatie is of juist de ontvankelijkheid daarvoor tegengaat. De conclusie is dat, wanneer de evangelisch-lutherse pedagogiek correct wordt gepercipieerd, deze niet alleen compatibel is met liberale opvoeding, maar in velerlei opzichten zelfs onmisbaar is voor de ontwikkeling van een gezond besef van persoonlijke autonomie.
Ten slotte wordt kort ingegaan op de opname van moderne vakken in een hedendaagse versie van een confissioeneel-luthers ‘vrije kunsten’ curriculum. Verkend wordt de rol van moderne en klassieke talen, de plaats van moderne wetenschappen en de relevantie van het historische trivium, dus van grammatica, logica en retorica.
Abstract

In 1847, under the guidance of Carl Ferdinand Wilhelm Walther (1811-1887), 14 congregations joined together to form *Die Deutsche Evangelisch-Lutherische Synode von Missouri, Ohio, und andern Staaten*. This synod became the progenitor of the largest protestant school system in North America. It could be argued that the founding theologians of the Missouri Synod gave more thought and attention to the nature of the liberal arts and its place in the theology of the confessional Lutheran church than did any other group of theologians since the time of the Reformation. Without a doubt, Walther was most influential in this regard.

This dissertation argues that Walther, along with other 19th-century Lutherans, attempted to create a unique pedagogical model that would meet their theological and sociological needs by developing a confessional liberal arts curriculum to serve the Lutheran church in America. While their work is the central focus of this dissertation, it is important to realize that much of their inspiration came from Lutheran pedagogues of the early 16th century. Martin Luther (1483-1546), Johannes Bugenhagen (1485-1558), and Philipp Melanchthon (1497-1560) were all extremely influential in shaping the American Lutherans’ understanding of the arts.

At the same time, the 16th-century Lutheran educators understood themselves as part of an ancient, living tradition that employed liberal arts in religious schools. And so, as Walther and his associates drew inspiration from Luther and his contemporaries, they were also tapping into a history of thought that extended back to Augustine of Hippo (354-430).

In order to properly evaluate Walther’s work, it is important to understand the historical context in which he worked; therefore the dissertation begins with a brief historical overview of their development, first under early Christian pedagogues such as Augustine, and then under the northern European humanists of the late 15th and early 16th century. Special attention is given to Desiderius Erasmus (1466-1536) who is representative of that group.

Having established the influence of the earlier educators on the 16th-century Lutherans, the dissertation then examines the specific theological concerns of the 16th-
century Evangelicals as it related to education: namely, the doctrines of baptism, vocation, and catechesis. The dissertation then explores some of the curricular changes that these Lutheran educators proposed in order to bring it in line with the aims of Evangelical theology.

Based on this historical survey, the following definition is established: A confessional liberal arts curriculum is a fluid, theologically based model in which the most essential arts of the liberal arts – grammar, logic and rhetoric – served to give students the necessary tools to discover divine knowledge and truth. It is to this definition that the work of Walther and others is compared.

Walther came of age in Saxony at a time when Rationalism dominated the established theological and educational institutions, and Pietism was popular with university students and the laity. Like most of his associates, Walther had direct involvement with both of these movements. He received his Rationalistically oriented education; but, while at university, he became involved in a fervent Pietist conventicle. However, there was a third movement that, in time, would exert the greatest influence on Walther and his group – Neo-confessionalism which sought to reinstitute what was considered to be the pure teachings of Luther and the Lutheran Confessions. The dissertation examines the influence of these theologies on Walther’s group and discusses the role that they played in the group’s decision to emigrate to America. It concludes that, while the Saxons had relative theological freedom in their congregations, they did not enjoy the same freedom in the schools. In the classroom, their Pietistic and Confessional convictions caused conflict with school officials who were influenced by Rationalism. The Confessionals perceived that true Lutheranism could not thrive without a supportive educational model. Thus, their decision to emigrate was, in large part, motivated by a desire to establish a new confessional curriculum.

Prior to the arrival of these Saxons in America, there was a well-established system of Lutheran schools in the United States, particularly in states with a large German population such as Pennsylvania. Established according to Pietistic ideals, these schools developed largely as a result of the work of Heinrich Melchior Mühlenberg (1711-1787) and the Pennsylvania Ministerium. A brief historical survey determines
that their pedagogical model was found wanting by Walther’s group because of a lack of commitment to Confessional Lutheranism and the liberal arts.

Walther’s group arrived in St. Louis, Missouri in 1839 and promptly established schools that would support their confessional theology. In time, this group would include educators and theologians such as Friedrich Conrad Dietrich Wyneken (1810-1881), Wilhelm Sihler (1801-1885) and Johann Christoph Wilhelm Lindemann (1827-1879). The group formed Die Deutsche Evangelisch-Lutherische Synode von Missouri, Ohio, und andern Staaten (or “Missouri Synod”) and soon had a sizable network of elementary, secondary and post-secondary institutions. The development of these schools necessitated an educational philosophy for which the American theologians turned to Luther and other approved orthodox Lutheran theologians in order to establish a version of an Evangelical liberal arts curriculum that was appropriate to the environment of 19th-century America. In its analysis of this curriculum, this dissertation first examines how the particular relevant doctrines – baptism, vocation and catechesis – shaped the Missouri Lutheran’s understanding of the liberal arts. It then compares this conception with that of their 16th century counterparts. Finally, the dissertation analyzes the Confessionalists’ treatment of various subjects – specifically, languages, literature, music and the sciences – and concludes that, while there were distinct differences between the curriculum produced by the Evangelicals of the 16th century and that of the 19th century, both groups understood the arts in essentially the same way. The arts provided a theologically based model of education that could be changed to meet the prevailing educational needs of the time in which they lived, while remaining a guide to divine truth. The study also looks at some of the deficiencies in the Missourians’ curriculum, including their inability to fully incorporate the sciences into the daily curriculum, and the fact that their understanding of catechesis was more influenced by Pietism than they realized.

With a historical survey of the Evangelical arts curriculum completed, the dissertation then examines its viability in a contemporary classroom. Attention is given to a movement among some religious educators to institute a model of education called “Classical Education”. While this model presents some interesting concepts, much
more study is required in order to determine whether this indeed meets the criteria for a true liberal arts program.

Currently, liberal education, the descendant of the liberal arts tradition, is one of the dominant paradigms in educational research. This paradigm seems to be the most distinct from Lutheran views on education; therefore, it is important to investigate the central concepts and educational claims to determine if they are indeed as opposed as they seem to be. For Evangelical educators to have a relevant voice in pedagogical discourse, it is essential that they be prepared to address these concerns. Thus some key themes of liberal education are analyzed in light of the Confessional understanding of the arts. The dissertation compares the chief aim of Liberal Education – autonomy – with Lutheran Confessionalism to see if these two systems are mutually exclusive. It then examines the Lutheran understanding of catechesis to discover if it should be regarded as an agent of, or defender against, indoctrination. The conclusion is that, properly understood, Evangelical pedagogy is not only compatible with liberal education, but, in many ways, essential for the development of a healthy sense of individual autonomy.

Finally, the dissertation briefly explores the incorporation of modern day subjects into a contemporary version of a confessional liberal arts curriculum. This includes an exploration of the roles given to modern and ancient languages, the inclusion of the modern sciences, and the relevancy of the historic trivium: that is grammar, logic and rhetoric.
Biography

Thomas James Korcok (1961) has a B.A. in History and Political Science from Concordia College, Ann Arbor, Michigan; an M.Div. from Concordia Lutheran Theological Seminary, St. Catharines, Ontario; and an M.Phil. from the University of Glasgow in Scotland. In addition to being a parish pastor for over 20 years, he developed the journal *Word and Deed* in 1994, and acted as its editorial chair from 1994 to 2005.

In 2001, Reverend Korcok developed and taught in a private elementary school in Pembroke, Ontario, which initiated an interest that led to researching the application of the Liberal Arts in an elementary setting. More recently, he has served as Instructor of Catechetics at Concordia Lutheran Theological Seminary in St. Catharines, Ontario. He currently resides in Niagara-on-the-Lake, Ontario, with his wife, Doreen, and his two sons, Andrew and Mark.