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The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Modern Public Education: An Analysis of the Influence of Calvin and Ignatius in the Sixteenth Century

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ABSTRACT

The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Modern Public Education: An Analysis of the Influence of Calvin and Ignatius in the Sixteenth Century

Srdjan Gligoric

This study is a theoretical exploration of the connection between the Protestant ethic and the spirit of modern public education. According to Weber's methodology, the emphasis is placed on the way in which Calvin's theology, specifically that of predestination, and his presbyterian system influenced the development of modern public education. Some of the issues to be addressed are: the contrast between the approaches of the humanists and Jesuits to educational reform, an analysis of Calvin's presbyterian polity and theology of predestination, Ignatius' policy regarding the role of the Jesuits as compared and contrasted with Calvin's system, and the growing secularization of education in the seventeenth century. Due to the exploratory nature of the study, conclusions are formulated in terms of further work to be accomplished in order to better understand the situation.

Dedication

To Anne, for her love,

Aaron, for his friendship,

Frederick Bird, for all his support,

my father, Branimir Gligorich, for his inspiration, and

in loving memory to my mother,

Rachel R. Neame (1948-1993)

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INTRODUCTION

The definition of the spirit of modern public education can be divided into four parts: the term "spirit of" refers to the emphasis on education as a means of developing elementary skills, such as literacy, and on helping to develop a person's abilities and talents so they can contribute to the development of not only themselves, but also of society. As a result, the accent is on a broad curriculum. "Modern" is associated with the post-Medieval period, beginning in the sixteenth century and concerning the later development of education in other centuries, such as the seventeenth century. In addition, "modern" is associated with the evolution of modern nation states, such as England and France, and with instructional emphasis on the vernacular languages, not Latin; "public" refers to the education of everyone, it is the idea of instructing the masses; "public" is also not private, traditional education, but education that is supported by public funds and governed, to a certain extent, by the people. "Education" refers to the intellectual and moral instruction of society, including an individual's sense of discipline and ethical value. "Education" also refers to the development of a person's talents and skills in order for them to be useful members of the society.

Two groups which were especially responsible for reforming the educational system and using modern methods by

which to develop both public and higher education during the sixteenth century were the Calvinists, formed by the ideas of John Calvin (1509-1564), and the Jesuits, led by Ignatius of Loyola (1491-1556). However, they performed their tasks using diverse means: Calvinists emphasized primary and secondary education and enhanced basic literacy for all Christians, while the Jesuits established various colleges, including universities, and gained fame for their pedagogy. Their particular approaches to education reflected other concerns as well, namely, Calvin's revision of the ecclesiastical and political system and Ignatius' emphasis on better leadership within the Catholic church. Furthermore, self-discipline, moderation, and better organization led to, what Max Weber (1864-1920) referred to as "worldly monasticism",[1] which Calvinists used to develop the concept of living as an ascetic within the world, while maintaining a rigorous attitude to any of its temptations. The Jesuits, on the other hand, were concerned in producing a strongly educated, self-motivated, and self-disciplined clergy and public elite in order to govern Christendom.

Weber's *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* is the model which I am using in order to develop the nucleus

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[1] Weber, Max. From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology. Eds. H. H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1958), pp. 61 (inner-worldly asceticism) and 325-326 (asceticism and mysticism). Weber, Max. The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1958), pp. 149 and 154.

of my research and my thesis. Weber argued that Calvinists and, what later came to be known as the Ascetic Protestants, including the Anabaptists, Methodists, Quakers, and Pietists, influenced the economic ethics typical of modern societies.[1] The Ascetic Protestants were successful because they shaped a new religious ethic, which Weber called "The Practical Ethic of Ascetic Protestantism",[2] not because of what they said about economic theory. At the centre of this new religious ethic were notions of leading well-disciplined and well-organized lives that maximized people's resources, while not wasting them, and made better use of their time, which Weber also called "worldly monasticism." Several major factors helped to give rise to this ethic, including a new way of thinking about religious views. This new way of thinking was also connected with secular tasks and not just religious vocation;[3] the disallowing of monasticism as a calling;[4] the emphasis on leading a saint-like life (sanctification) either as a *sign* or *symptom* of one's election ("assurance of

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[1] Weber, The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism, 149, 154

[2] See Weber's The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism and his essay entitled "The Protestant Sects and the Spirit of Capitalism" in From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology.

[3] Weber, The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism, 54, 62 (duty in a calling), 79 ff. (idea of calling), 121

[4] Weber, The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism, 118-119

salvation")[1] or of one's good standing in the religious community ("sectarian notions regarding believer's church"),[2] but not as a *means* or *instrument* for trying to gain justification (not as good works).

Benjamin Nelson noted the correlation between Calvinism and the different attitudes towards usury because of the distinct notions regarding discipline and reciprocity.[3] Michael Walzer wrote about the connection between Calvinism and modern ideas regarding representative government,[4] while David Little associated Calvinism with modern ideas regarding law.[5] These are only some of the scholars utilizing Weber's thesis in conjunction with the Reformed tradition. My task is to argue the correlation between Calvinism and the spirit of modern public education. This includes the concern of education in equipping children with the necessary means to participate within society and for those children to be prepared to act as good, productive, and responsible citizens.

Given this theoretical background, the thesis begins with

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[1] Weber, The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism, 115-116

[2] Weber, "The Protestant Sects and the Spirit of Capitalism," in From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology, 313-314

[3] Nelson, Benjamin. The Idea of Usury. (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1969).

[4] See Walzer, Michael. The Revolution of the Saints. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1965).

[5] Little, David. Religion, Order, and Law. (New York: Harper and Row Publishers, 1969).

a description and definition of religious and cultural changes at the beginning of the sixteenth century. For example, Luther's attack on papal abuses, an improvement of the moral and social responsibility of the clergy, and the problems of supremacy between church and state were important elements during the early stages of the Reformation. One of the changes involved reforming the educational system, which, as I will show, included four ideas: it was conducted in medieval Latin, it was elitist, it was for professions (theology, medicine, and law), and it was poorly organized and performed.

I will argue that the humanists, Jesuits, and Calvinists were three major groups that dedicated themselves to reforming education. I will first deal with the humanists as compared and contrasted with the Jesuits. Because of their later influence and greater impact, the analysis of the Jesuits and Calvinists with regards to education will be provided at a later stage. I will show that the humanists supported private, classical education and were not an organized religious group. The Jesuits, however, were an organized religious order that supported private, classical education as well (including some modern methods, such as fresh air and exercise). Given these ideas, my strategy will be to argue that the humanists were apolitical individual intellectuals, who did not greatly support either the Reformation or the Catholic Reformation.

I will then go on to provide an outline of the lives of Calvin and Ignatius, the founders of their respective

movements. This analysis contributes a deeper, more personal, focus to my thesis. Calvin is presented as a hard-working and morally-disciplined, though uncompromising, man who fought opposition to his policies in Geneva at almost every turn. Ignatius, on the other hand, was, in his early life, an adventurer, seeking fame in fortune and battles. Recuperating from a leg operation, however, he devotes his life to spirituality and, later, forms a monastic order known as the Jesuits, one of the strongest educational forces in the sixteenth century.

From such a personal and particular background, I will establish that Calvin was the originator of the presbyterian system, which included a hierarchy of councils and motivated lay participation. Furthermore, I will need to examine some major concepts regarding the connection between the Protestant ethic and the spirit of capitalism in order to set up more clearly my own discussion. Concerning the Protestant ethic and the spirit of capitalism, I think that Weber observed the impact of Calvin's ideas on economic behaviour, which eventually helped to give rise to the spirit of capitalism. I am doing similar work by exploring the connection between the spirit of modern public education and Calvin's ideas regarding the Christian life. The argument centers on Calvin's theological notions regarding predestination, which involves God's foreknowledge of whether a person is saved or damned. My argument, following Weber, will be to show the later

development of this theology into worldly activity, not necessarily into religious anxiety. I will show, therefore, that, through his theological views and church government, Calvin indirectly influenced public education by making the laity more responsible citizens and more knowledgable about the structure that was governing them.

I will argue that Ignatius, on the other hand, led the Jesuits according to the episcopal system, trained the clergy (not the general public), and motivated his energies towards missionary activity. I will establish that, because of the hierarchical structure of the Roman Catholic church, the clergy's interests were removed far enough from the laity that any input would have been indirect. Furthermore, because the Catholic church's polity did not depend on the laity's direct role in governing, the laity's education was not as essential within Ignatius' instructional framework as it was in Calvin's. I will discuss these fundamental differences between the approaches of Calvin and Ignatius on the development of educational institutions in order to provide reasons why the Protestant ethic, primarily through the Reformed movement, inspired modern public education.

Given this diversity of ideas regarding the Calvinists and Jesuits, can I call their approaches to the reformation of education similar? A number of analogies can be drawn between Calvin and Ignatius, including their background education at the University of Paris and their passion for bettering the

educational system. Nevertheless, their movements ended up having quite different impacts upon the modern world. The Calvinists, through Calvin's theology and presbyterian structure, sought to develop mostly the education of the laity, which eventually influenced the rise of modern public education. The Jesuits, however, built mostly colleges and universities for those entering the clergy and for the education of the public elite. In the end, despite their mutual aim of desiring to better the educational system, I will show that their movements and ideas took diverging roads.

I will discuss the seventeenth century in a brief epilogue to these events. Here, the further proof of the growing secularization of education, being relegated to families and government-run schools where the church had less influence, is examined. The struggles of the sixteenth century eventually passed into a more socially-stable phase in the seventeenth, despite the Thirty Years' War (1618-1648) and the later growth of royal absolutism, where the issue of Protestant survival was not deemed an essential worry. The problems eventually began to centre around establishing an environment where Protestantism could enjoy a prosperous future. In the end, the initial connection between the Reformed tradition, inspired by the Protestant ethic, and modern public education was inevitably influenced by the growing power of secular development.

CHAPTER ONE:

RELIGIOUS AND CULTURAL CHANGES AT THE BEGINNING OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

The concerns of certain reformers, such as Luther, Zwingli, and the Anabaptists, at the beginning of the sixteenth century were many, but the main ones included an attack on papal abuses, improving the moral and social responsibility of the clergy, and changing the nature of the Eucharist.[1] The assault on the abuses of the papacy undermined the very foundations on which the Catholic church was built. The pope was looked on as the representative of Christ on earth as well as head of one, unified, indivisible church. An episcopal system was instituted, composed of the pope, bishops, priests, and laypeople.[2] Criticism of the pope did not necessarily mean a critique of the papacy, but could have simply been an attack on the practices of certain popes. Nevertheless, to reproach the pope was not only damaging to the internal administration of the Catholics, but also required a social sensitivity and awareness on the part of the Catholic clergy towards the laity.

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[1] The three reforms were particularly singled out for their importance in a seminar given by Dr. Frederick Bird on the Reformation and its influence at Concordia University (September - December 1995).

[2] Weaver, Mary Jo. Introduction to Christianity. (Belmont: Wadsworth Publishing Company, 1991), ch. 4, particularly pp. 66-68 (on the rise of the papacy).

The difficulty regarding the relations between the powers of the political state and the Catholic church was still an issue during the Reformation. When the German princes, most notably John Frederick of Saxony, supported Luther, it was out of Luther's need for their help against Charles V, the Holy Roman Emperor, and the pope. However, this event caused friction between secular and spiritual authority. Protestantism, by a concentration on the faith of the individual and the concept of the community of believers, gave power into the hands of the secular rulers and justified their positions. These rulers were still under the law of God, but now "their own secular rule was itself evidence of faith."[1] As a result, "the Lutheran faith of the people provided the Hohenzollern rulers with a religious justification of their authority, but the actual assertion of that authority was the indirect result of war"[2] (1618-1648). Unfortunately, this war was caused, in part, by political discord which proved, in the end, too much for the creation of a united Germany. Nevertheless, the Protestant tradition, at least in certain parts of Germany, did make the privilege and power of the secular ruler more prominent, thereby diminishing the economic and political status of the Catholic church.

With regards to both England and France, the financial

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[1] Bendix, Reinhard. Kings or People: Power and the Mandate to Rule. (Berkeley: California of University Press, 1978), p. 162.

[2] Bendix 157

and social position of the Catholic church did not fare any better. In England, under the direction of Thomas Cromwell (1485?-1540), Henry VIII's (1509-1547) chancellor, the dissolution of monasteries took place in order to acquire more funds for the government (1535-1540).[1] On the other hand, civil war and massacre, notably the St. Bartholomew's Day massacre (1572), raged in the south of France during the 1560's and 1570's between the Catholic forces and the Huguenots.[2] Such wanton destruction did not necessarily help the various calls for a Christian council nor the Catholic church in its claim to preside over a united Christendom. One of the only strong Catholic countries to remain, not to mention one of the most powerful in Europe at the time, was Spain. Catholic revenue profited from the support of the Spanish empire and its colonial holdings as well as from the emphasis on missionary activity by the Jesuits. With new lands converted to Christianity and with Charles V, who was also king of Spain, as Holy Roman Emperor, the Catholic church could still manage to retain a certain amount of power and prestige in Western Europe as compared to the Protestants. However, the changes that the Protestants initiated within society remained. Hence, the Council of Trent (1545-1563) was called to rally the Catholic forces, both spiritually as well

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[1] Bendix 207, 279

[2] Chadwick, Owen. The Reformation. (London: Penguin Books, 1990), pp. 162-164.

as politically.

Luther's psychological agony over his salvation[1] resulted in his attack on the practice of indulgences (1517).[2] The attack upon indulgences was worthy of note, but no one at the time thought it would lead to the eventual break-up of western Christendom. The ideas of Luther had growing support, particularly under Luther's earthly sovereign, the Elector Frederick of Saxony,[3] and moved from a criticism of Catholic practices to a disagreement with Catholic doctrine. Either Luther was pushed into making his controversial conclusions, especially on the questioning of papal supremacy, by the Catholics themselves[4] or supported such extreme views long before his excommunication in 1521. What is certain is that others, like Zwingli and Muntzer, joined in the attack. The Reformation spread from various cities, like Wittenberg and Erfurt in Germany to Geneva and Zurich in Switzerland.[5] However, Luther did not want to necessarily break away from

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[1] For a fuller account see Bainton, Roland H. Here I Stand: A Life of Martin Luther. (New York: Penguin Group, 1977), pp. 39-51 (ch. 3). For a more psychoanalytic approach see Erikson, Erik H. Young Man Luther. (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1993).

[2] Luther, Martin. Martin Luther: Selections From His Writings. Ed. John Dillenberger. (New York: Anchor Books, 1962), pp. 489-500 (*The Ninety-five Theses*).

[3] Chadwick 47

[4] Bainton, ch. 6, particularly pp. 86-88 (the Leipzig debate with Eck)

[5] For more information see Bainton, particularly chps. 2 and 5, and Chadwick, especially Part One, chps. 2-3.

the Catholic church, but to instigate reforms within it. Luther, as many medieval thinkers, comprehended the church to be one and indivisible. In other words, Luther did not want to form a new church, but reform the existing one.[1] Nevertheless, the movements of Zwingli and the Anabaptists radically differed from the Catholics. For example, Zwingli understood the Eucharist to be a commemoration meal in remembrance of Christ's sacrifice[2], while the Anabaptists, such as the Mennonites and the Hutterites, practised adult baptism and had a congregational, instead of a presbyterian, structure.[3] As a result, such ideas pushed the split within western Christianity.

The moral and intellectual capacity of the scholars and clergy were also under close scrutiny during the turbulent sixteenth century. If the priest was simply an elected official, then the onus was on them to prove that they were sufficiently qualified for the task. Nonetheless, it must be noted that the Catholics tried to re-educate their clergy, but this was much slower in coming and essentially remained conservative in its nature.[4] It seemed that the Catholics were reforming simply to keep up with the Protestant reformers, but

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[1] Weaver 95

[2] Chadwick 77-78

[3] Weaver 260-261

[4] Chadwick 255-262 (the Jesuits) and 273-281 (the Council of Trent)

this would be too simple a comment. It would be better to say that the Catholics initiated changes even before the Protestant reformers, but that it took an exceptionally long time for them to be instituted.[1] Furthermore, the problems were not made more easily solvable by the lack of attendance of the clergy in their parishes or bishops in their sees, which was yet another serious point to be addressed. In order to remove certain difficulties, such as the moral and social responsibility of the clergy and the nature of the Eucharist, schools were set up, new hymns were sung, new services were established, and new doctrines were practised.[2] Therefore, certain religious issues of the sixteenth century, such as the attack on papal abuses and a lack of attendance of the clergy in their parishes, initiated a wave of constructive responses. The priests and preachers that were hired or appointed were now more carefully scrutinized, particularly their education and background in dealing with social and moral problems.[3]

The eventual questioning of papal supremacy led, to a certain extent, to the establishment of a different Eucharist. Luther postulated his justification by grace through faith argument, that salvation is given us by the grace of God

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[1] Chadwick 253-255 (early Catholic reforms and new orders)

[2] Bainton, chps. 18-19; Weaver, ch. 5

[3] Chadwick, Part One, ch. 3, particularly p. 84 (on Calvin) and Part Two, ch. 8, especially pp. 255-262 (on the Jesuits)

through faith as a gift.[1] Following this line of thought, Luther ended up choosing three sacraments, later changed to two, instead of seven.[2] Others, including Zwingli and Calvin, followed, along similar lines, in Luther's footsteps.[3] One of the central differences was the celebration of the Eucharist. In the Catholic tradition, the Eucharist was celebrated as a Mass, a sacrifice, with an altar raised above and differentiated from the laypeople. Luther saw this as erroneous because Christ was the last sacrifice and, as a result, no more sacrifices should be made. In other words, it looked too much like the times of the Hebrew Scriptures. Nevertheless, Luther retained certain Catholic practices in celebrating the Eucharist, allowing the raising of the Host as well as the wearing of vestments.[4] Moreover, the ordinary layperson was not only not included because they, for the most part, did not speak Latin, the official language of the Catholic church, but also because the distance between them and the performance of the Mass was too remote in space as well as speech. One of the solutions was to transform the altar into a table around which the celebrants can gather and

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[1] Luther 86-96

[2] Luther 249-359 (The Pagan Servitude of the Church)

[3] Chadwick 78 (that nothing should be contrary to the Word of God); Bainton 206-207. Some ideas found in Calvin, John. Institutes of the Christian Religion. Ed. John T. McNeill. (London: SCM Press, 1961), particularly pp. 548-551, look similar to Luther's understanding of faith.

[4] Bainton 206-207; Chadwick 76-79

join in together in proclaiming the Lord's Supper.[1] In this way, the Eucharist became more accessible to the ordinary layperson and more coherent. The nature of the Lord's Supper was, however, drastically changed. The priest became any qualified layperson who was elected by the congregation in order to serve, instead of to mediate between God and the people. Furthermore, the believers were there to remember the sacrifice and the redeeming powers of Christ, not to be initiated in a holy service in which God took a personal part, as the concept of transubstantiation made clear.

The religious reforms of the sixteenth century introduced various sweeping revisions within the life of the ordinary Catholic. Some of these, like the modifications in the celebration of the Eucharist and the re-education of the clergy, were central in demonstrating a solid possibility for real change. Furthermore, political, economic, and social problems did become entwined with religious ones, as the examples of Germany, England, and France illustrated. These problems presented a connection between the secular and the spiritual forms of organization. In order for a system to be truly altered, however, reforms need to strike at the roots of a problem, not create fortifications. Once this is achieved, the minds of the people will gain a greater understanding of the world around them and such a vision is one of the fundamental innovations of the sixteenth century and the dawn

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[1] Chadwick 77-78

of modern history.

CHAPTER TWO:

THE NATURE OF EDUCATION AT THE OUTSET OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

In this chapter, I will examine four ideas that I believe are centrally related to education in the sixteenth century: it was conducted in medieval Latin, it was elitist, it was for professions (theology, medicine, and law), and it was poorly organized and taught. Medieval Latin was used by the Catholic church to teach and train its clergy as well as to perform the Eucharist. From this usage, coupled with the fact that not many people spoke or knew Latin, came calls to change the celebration of the Eucharist and instruction within the classrooms to the vernacular. In addition, education could only be afforded by the higher classes of society and was given attention simply when it came to the more promising faculties, such as theology, medicine, and law, which placed a need on more democratically-oriented methods of learning and an opening up of the professions to more people. Finally, education was often poorly done, the teachers were not qualified, and new leadership was sought by Catholics and Protestants alike. Three main groups tackled the problem of education, namely, the humanists, such as Erasmus, the Jesuits, and the Calvinists. These groups differed in strategy and approach, but were fuelled by the same motive - reforming education. I shall devote more time to the development of education with respect to political and religious changes,

with a brief comparison of the humanists and the Jesuits. Both the Calvinists and the Jesuits will be further dealt with in other chapters because of their later and more wide-ranging influence.

A student during the 1520's and 1530's, when the Reformation was in its early stages, usually prepared for the arts degree by acquiring the necessary skills in Latin, both reading and writing, in order to follow a course conducted entirely in that language. Once the study of Latin had been completed, the student was ready to enter the arts faculty by taking arts courses, which consisted entirely of natural and moral philosophy,[1] including the study of classical philosophy, the Church Fathers, both the early desert ascetics and medieval scholastics, and the Scriptures. Subsequently, the student would go on to acquire the Master of Arts degree, which ideally took about a year or two, provided that the student had enough money. Such a path led the student to the "superior" faculties: medicine, theology or law.

Latin was the language of academics and of the Catholic church and was taught from childhood. This Latin was far from the classical Latin of the golden age of the Roman empire, when Cicero and Virgil were alive. It metamorphosed into medieval Latin, which was a different and perhaps less grammatically correct version of the classical. Needless to

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[1] Parker, T. H. L. John Calvin: A Biography. (London: J. M. Dent and Sons Ltd., 1975), p. 4.

say, there were experts in the language who both knew it and taught it with exceptional skill, such as Mathurin Cordier, one of Calvin's teachers.[1] However, in the sixteenth century, when the Reformation was well on its way, certain things began to change, such as the language of the classroom and the liturgy, the moral and intellectual status of the teachers, and the subjects being taught.

The language, both in the classroom as well as the liturgy, was transformed into the vernacular. Latin was still important, but was slowly and through time being pushed into obscurity as the language of scholars, not of common society. The Protestant groups, ranging from the Lutheran to the Anabaptist movements, called for the Eucharist to be celebrated in the country's language.[2] Once the Eucharist was celebrated in the vernacular, the classrooms began to follow suit. Perhaps, it was the political and cultural climate of Europe at the time that made such changes possible. With the call for a vernacular Eucharist, certain kings and princes of various countries, such as England, France, and Germany, wanted to be rid of papal control. A clear case can be made in the example of England, whose Reformation Parliament (1530-1535) reformed the laws of the church to such an extent that

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[1] Parker 6; Favre-Dorsaz, Andre. Calvin et Loyola. (Paris: Editions Universitaires, 1951), p. 45.

[2] See for reference Chadwick, especially the first three chapters of Part One.

the king was made head of the church.[1] Here, England and its customs were emphasized instead of Rome and the pope. It happened that Rome was eventually viewed by her enemies as a foreign power whose stay and influence was no longer needed or wanted, except by the large Roman Catholic minority. As a result, English was popularly preferred to Latin as a tool of communication. It must be noted, however, that Latin was not really well known by the majority in the middle ages either, but was studied by the learned. With this lack of knowledge in mind, it is easier to see why the vernacular, in most cases, was preferred.

The person who embarked on an academic career was often the one who had a lot of influence, status or money. Formal education was elitist or for the few. It also happened that, quite unexpectedly, a promising young man or even a woman without any social status could be sent to serve under an official. Here, the family needed to have certain connections to the official and the future student needed to show a certain amount of intellectual ability. Both Calvin and Ignatius were taught under church or government officials because their family had connections and, because of their hard work and aptitude for learning, excelled within the educational structure.

The growth of monarchical authority began with Henry VII (1485-1509), who was "the first English king in over a century

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[1] Chadwick, Part One, ch. 4

whose wealth and influence was greater than the total resources available to the magnates surrounding him, and under the chancellorship of Thomas Cromwell (1485?-1540) the revenue of Henry VIII (1509-1547) tripled."[1] This expansion of English government in the sixteenth century meant better educated people needed to apply for administrative duties. As demands increased on the organizing efforts of the administration, monarchical government was gradually expanding its bureaucracy, which increased the demand for literary skills. At this point, here is an interesting and quite useful quotation regarding the development of England (as compared to Japan) with regards to education:

> At a fairly early stage both societies freed education from the monopoly of priests, England in the sixteenth century, Japan in the seventeenth. Both developed schools for their elite in which the children could be taught firstly - and most importantly - the virtue of obedience to superiors in order to preserve social stability; secondly, the art of war, which was the original justification of their privileged status; thirdly, the techniques and skills which would equip them for administrative chores in an increasingly bureaucratic society; fourthly, scholarly appreciation of the classics, in which all wisdom was believed to reside; and fifthly, the manners, skills, and aesthetic interests that distinguished them from the rest of society.[2]

The emphasis on learning, beginning in the sixteenth century, brought, for the most part, a transition of education from the clerics to the public. Such instruction began with children,

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[1] Bendix 207

[2] Jansen, Marius and Stone, Lawrence. "Education and Modernization in Japan and England." Comparative Studies In Society and History, Volume 9 (1966-1967), p. 221.

when influence was easiest, in order to ensure obedience for social stability; skill in warfare helped to preserve not only this stability, but also the status of the higher classes on a more practical and forceful level; instruction in administrative duties, on the other hand, helped the higher classes deal with an ever-increasing bureaucratic government; finally, manners were learned in order to set them apart from commoners. These points are important to remember both in dealing with the nature of education in the sixteenth century and the way in which these ideas are related to the governing of a society by the elite.[1]

It should be noted that in England, from about the 1550's to the 1650's, a rise in higher education meant a decline in the violent nature of the nobles and aristocrats. Whereas in the middle ages, clerical book-learning was deplored, in the sixteenth century there was growing criticism of the ignorance and indifference towards education by the ruling classes.[2] "In 1563 the proportion of the 420 members (of the university) stood at 38 percent; by 1640-1642...the proportion of those (in the university) who had received some higher education had risen to 70 percent. This expansion of English higher education helped to destroy the old clerical monopoly of

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[1] On these points see also Weber, Max. The Religion of China. Tr. and Ed. by Hans H. Gerth. (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1962), pp. 120 (the Japanese attitude towards education) and, more fully, 119-129 (the typological position of Confucian education).

[2] Bendix 204

culture."[1] The efforts of the humanists and, later, the Jesuits and Calvinists helped persuade the noble classes of the importance of being instructed. No more was fighting and bravery emphasized in order to prove excellence in a person, but strong intellectual capabilities were quickly becoming useful in the pursuit of power and influence.

Elias, in his *The Civilizing Process*, examined the manners of society in the sixteenth century, including how people ate, blew their noses, and their sexual relations.[2] He viewed these manners as progressing from the middle ages onwards from the public to the personal sphere as well as from the family to the individual. By the eighteenth century, blowing one's nose with the hand was considered childish or relegated to the province of children,[3] meaning that the family was responsible for teaching children polite manners.[4] In the middle ages, though, most of the lower and even the higher classes of society blew their nose with the hand,[5] instead of a handkerchief, which began to be used sometime in the late sixteenth century.[6] However, the handkerchief did not

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[1] Bendix 205 (brackets added)

[2] See Elias, Norbert. The Civilizing Process (Volume 1). (New York: Urizen Books, 1978), Chapter Two, parts 4, 6, and 9.

[3] Elias 146

[4] Elias 148

[5] Elias 143-144, 148

[6] Elias 149

come into regular use until the early eighteenth century, despite commentaries from Erasmus (1466-1536),[1] and was previously used mostly for show of status or wealth.[2] It seems, therefore, that with an increase in education people became aware of being polite or at least courteous in public.

Poor organization and insufficient practical activity on the part of the ruling elite, whether religious or secular, brought calls for reform beginning in the early sixteenth century. There were no effective, modern organizations to administer responsibility. Colet, one of the humanists, discussed the ignorance of the clergy, their lack of knowledge regarding the Latin language, and the disinterest of bishops in their sees. The political situation was not very different. Faulty leadership produced calls for reform which not only encompassed the religious world, but also the secular one as well. In England, Henry VIII caused a break with the Roman Catholic church (1534) and dissolved the monasteries, which provided him with enough funds to ensure royal absolutism would remain.[3] The argument which caused the split was two-fold, namely, the right to divorce Catherine of Aragon and the right to re-marry Anne Boleyn. The pope would not grant the divorce and would not sanction Henry's re-marriage, which

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[1] See Erasmus' comments in Elias' The Civilizing Process (Volume 1), 143-144, 172.

[2] Elias 149

[3] Bendix 207

caused Henry, once named Defender of the Faith for his loyalty to the Catholic church (1521), to call together the Reformation Parliament, as was previously mentioned, and pass a number of laws, one of which made him head of the Church of England. As a result, the ties that bound England and the Catholic church were permanently broken. The meaning of these events thus serves to prove the very subtle and powerful ways in which the state is associated with the church and politics with religious change.

Education in the sixteenth century was for professions, which seemed to be open to only a select group of people, mostly the higher classes of society. Some families, notably the ones of Luther and Calvin, tried to push their sons into law, but, at least in the case of the two reformers, theology proved to be the best choice, confirming that the voices of the parents were not necessarily heard or followed. However, the field of theology needed a better educated clergy at the outset of the sixteenth century. As a result, many humanist reformers, such as Colet, Erasmus, and More, some of them apolitical,[1] sought to introduce a wider curriculum aimed at both the clergy and the laity, including the classics, vernacular education, and the establishment of higher standards for learning. Their

> ambivalent attitude...toward the Reformation was primarily caused by ideological factors. Humanists did

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[1] Weber, Max. The Sociology of Religion. (Boston: Beacon Press, 1991), p. 135.

> not place themselves in the service of building the churches of either the Reformation or the Counter Reformation, but they played an extremely important, though not decisive, role in organizing church schools and in developing doctrine.[1]

Desiderius Erasmus, for example, was one of the few thinkers that devoted his time to manners and polite activity in the public arena.[2] In other words, he wrote for the betterment of humanity, which distinguished him from most of his peers.

The humanists contributed to the development of education by their translations of classical and Biblical texts and an emphasis on scholarship which required solid proof for any arguments. Erasmus, probably the most famous of all the humanists, brought a systematized approach to his ideas that can be summarized as follows:

> ...go to the sources because they are sounder and purer than the commentaries; theology must be based upon a sound linguistic and historical understanding of Scripture; the Scriptural text must not be twisted to suit the needs of Theology; the linguist and historian have as good a right as the theologian to the title of Christian scholar.[3]

The call for understanding the original languages of the Bible had a tremendous impact upon the need to reform education. Here, Erasmus, besides Colet (who was almost his mentor),[4] did not find it strange to be putting classical literature, like

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[1] Weber, The Sociology of Religion, 133

[2] Elias 172

[3] Harbison, E. Harris. The Christian Scholar in the Age of the Reformation. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1956), p. 85.

[4] Harbison 73-75

that of Virgil or Cicero, next to the Gospels. The search for linguistic and theological truth must not be hindered by the prejudices of humanity. Erasmus, in a way, recognized this hinderance as taking place within Christianity and sought to remedy the situation by going back to the original texts, whether canonical or not.

The Jesuits carried out this humanist agenda by their accent on a wider curriculum, better instruction, and thorough preparation. The humanists and Jesuits also had similar motivations in that both regarded education as classical and private, which can be defined as being limited in scope and held within certain boundaries, whether it be of the church or the family, but no less influential to the critical evaluation of education.[1] Classical and private education was reformed by both groups with an emphasis on a scholarly study of the Scriptures and the Latin language with, for example, better informed teachers and tougher regulations for colleges. Nevertheless, these activities, which were useful in the reform of education, did not necessarily open instructional facilities to the lower classes and were primarily for those entering the Catholic church. In spite of the Jesuits carrying out the humanist agenda, the Jesuits were more religious and less worldly and were members of a well-disciplined religious order. In the end, however, the Jesuits did remain a well-

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[1] Cole, Luella. A History of Education. (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1966), pp. 269-270.

organized order with strong leadership, while the humanists were simply made up of individuals who understood more fully the problems and solutions of their generation.

I do not mention the Calvinists and discuss only the Jesuits in their relation to the humanists, of which Erasmus was a prime example, because both the Calvinists and the Jesuits will be examined later in separate chapters. I chose the Jesuits for comparison to the humanists because, in my opinion, the Jesuits were more similar and easier to discuss in relation to the humanists than the Calvinists. I think that to bring yet another group for comparison, such as the Calvinists, would involve confusion. In some respects, I believe the Calvinists need to be dealt with separately, for their somewhat unique influence on education requires a deeper discussion.

Education in the sixteenth century was conducted in medieval Latin, producing a certain amount of resentment and a rise in the use of the vernacular language. It was for the few, where only a certain amount of people, preferably those who had ability, status, influence, and money, were accepted to pursue their professions, such as theology, medicine or law. Finally, these professions were poorly taught, which produced calls for reform in the educational system of the sixteenth century. The role of the humanists was to emphasize the need for original sources and a linguistic and historical base in Scriptural study. The role of the Jesuits was in

following, to a certain extent, this humanist agenda by their accent on, for example, a wider curriculum and better instruction, including a scholarly study of the Scriptures with better informed teachers. I have laid out some of the changes which took place in thought as well as in practice. The lives of Calvin and Ignatius and their respective groups, the Calvinists and the Jesuits, will now be addressed. The new ideas they initiated will be further examined in order to better understand the impact they had on education and its reformation.

CHAPTER THREE:

THE LIVES OF THE REFORMERS

JOHN CALVIN

John Calvin (1509-1564), one of three or four children born to Jeanne Le Franc and Gerard Cauvin, was baptized soon after his birth on 10 July 1509 in Noyon, France.[1] His family, especially from his father's side, came from humble origins. However, Calvin proved himself in study and had an excellent memory, which earned him a place at the College de la Marche in 1520 or 1521.[2] De la Marche is one of many educational institutions Calvin entered on his sometimes turbulent theological career, the others being the Universities of Paris (1523-1527 or 1528), Orleans (1527 or 1528-1529), and Bourges (1529-1531). The curriculum prepared him for theology, law or medicine, the three most distinguished careers of the time. Having been taken in by the church authorities, perhaps through his father's post (notary apostolic and notary fiscal to the Bishop, among other things),[3] Calvin entered upon the theological path. Right up until the moment of his conversion (1529 or early 1530), the road was set for Calvin to be a

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[1] Parker, T. H. L. John Calvin: A Biography. (London: J. M. Dent and Sons Ltd., 1975), pp. 1-2. Favre-Dorsaz, Andre. Calvin et Loyola. (Paris: Editions Universitaires, 1951), p. 32.

[2] Parker 3-4

[3] Parker 1

Roman Catholic priest. The conversion itself, however, embodied two changes which altered Calvin's life: first, having come from humble surroundings, he turned to a study of law and, second, being led along a road by the influence of his father and other authorities, he knew that he was being constrained and, in the end, accepted only the sole authority of God.[1] It was at Bourges that Calvin studied as a law student and may have stayed on until the spring of 1531, but more probably returned to Orleans where he took his licentiate. At this point, there began to operate within Calvin the power of a new affection, perhaps towards God, that was to change so much and influence so many.

Calvin was a serious, conscious-driven man, if uncompromising, ready to align his thoughts into action. As soon as he moved over to ideas like those of Luther and the doctrine of justification by faith,[2] he sat down to two major tasks, aiding in the French translation of the Bible and writing the *Institutes of the Christian Religion*. These he took up soon after his conversion (prior to 1535), when his life had settled enough to undertake such careful activities. The eagerness of Calvin stemmed not so much from his passion against the unjust ways of the Roman Catholic church, though this motive certainly inspired him, but from the fact that ordinary people had been misled into an incorrect assumption

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[1] Parker 22

[2] Parker 23

pertaining to the worship of God. Calvin wanted the people to know the truth and desired to arrange the church into a decent institution ready to battle heresy and sin wherever it found them. This growing intellectual zeal, however, did not shape the whole of Calvin's thinking. Calvin understood that his opponents were arguing for one united and visible church in communion with the pope. Calvin explained that the church need not be visible as much as pleasing to the ways of God and His holy word, the Scriptures. For example, Elijah thought that there was no one in Israel who shared his faith, but God knew of the seven thousand who did not bow their knee to Baal (1 Kings 19:18). Here, there was no visible church and yet faith in God and His teachings remained.

In the beginning, Calvin read Luther's works, such as *The Pagan Servitude of the Church* (1520), which, in part, influenced him not to look at the Eucharist as a simple commemoration meal, propagated by Zwingli (1484-1531).[1] Turbulent times came when Nicolas Cop, rector of the Sorbonne who had ties to King Francis I through Francis' sister Marguerite, the Queen of Navarre, gave a speech almost amounting to a sermon in support of Luther's views.[2] Since Calvin was associated with Cop, both of them had to flee Paris because of the controversy that erupted. By May 1534, Calvin

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[1] Parker 23

[2] Armstrong, Brian G. "Calvin, John." The Encyclopedia of Religion (Volumes 1-16), Volume 3, 31-34 (New York: Macmillan Publishing Company, 1987), p. 31.

resigned the chaplaincy of La Gesine in Noyon, which would effectively bring about the end of his career as a *clerc* (begun in 1521 at the age of twelve).[1] After May, Calvin was almost constantly on the move from Noyon to Orleans, from Poitiers to, perhaps, Claix. Calvin's travels were soon ended by the affair of the *Placards*, posted in many of the chief towns in France denouncing the Mass and adopting the ideas of Luther. The government acted swiftly by issuing a royal edict against "Lutherans", which forced Calvin finally, by January 1535, to end up in Basel, a free and friendly city won over to the cause of the Reformation by Zwingli's friend and Erasmus' collaborator, Oecolampadius. Once in Basel, Calvin occupied his time by assisting Pierre Robert on a new French translation of the Bible and writing his chief work, the *Institutes*.[2]

The *Institutes* expresses in an analytical manner Calvin's theological thought and Scriptural understanding. The first edition (1536),[3] prefaced by the Epistle to Francis I (1535) and divided as a catechism, contained sections of the Laws (Ten Commandments), faith (Apostles' Creed), prayer (Lord's Prayer), and the means by which the grace of God invites us into the society of Christ.[4] The work was to be revised over

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[1] Parker 3

[2] Parker 30-33

[3] Armstrong 31

[4] Parker 37

the next twenty-three years and expanded to include four parts ("The Knowledge of God the Creator"; "The Knowledge of God the Redeemer in Christ"; "The Way in Which We Receive the Grace of Christ"; "The External Means or Aids by Which God Invites Us Into the Society of Christ and Holds Us Therein"), each containing several chapters.[1] One of the main purposes that Calvin envisioned was to teach the people belonging to Christ, the already-baptized, the right road in understanding God's revelations and salvation, which is divided into a knowledge of God and ourselves. In the last part, Calvin describes the process of God's salvation, how it should be manifested within the church, and by what laws it should be organized. In these parts, especially when discussing the Lord's Supper, Calvin moves away from Luther's consubstantiation in order to present not a framework for how Christ is present in the bread and the wine, but how we experience the whole Christ crucified and become partakers of all his blessings. Such arguments induced Calvin to call the Sacrament a *eucharistia*, a memory of Christ's death and crucifixion, which ultimately lead to his resurrection, not a deliberation on Christ's presence in the bread and the wine.[2] In the end, the *Institutes* is not so much an *apologia* for the Reform movement as it is a systematic approach to the field of theology, specifying, in the process,

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[1] See the 1559 edition of Calvin's Institutes of the Christian Religion.

[2] Parker 44-45

its connection to both classical philosophy and biblical authority.

About the beginning of August 1536, because of the grave situation of the supporters of Luther's ideas in France, Calvin set out with a small entourage, consisting perhaps of his closest family and other inhabitants of Noyon, in the direction of Strasbourg, where Calvin intended to devote himself to quiet study. However, the way to Strasbourg was blocked due to war and, as a result, the group was forced to head south to Geneva. Here, Guillaume Farel was to detain Calvin by inspiring within him the need to help the city in her urgent spiritual crisis.[1] Hence begins the first attempt of Calvin to practically implement his ideas in Geneva, which was to end fruitlessly in 1538. The story of this first attempt is too long to be provided here in detail, but, suffice it to say that it failed mostly because the Councils simply would not listen and, in the end, threw out both reformers.

From Geneva, Calvin went to Basel and then Strasbourg, where he practised as a French minister (1538-1541).[2] Here, he would devote much time to study, writing, and research. In August of 1540, he was married to Idelette de Bure, a widow of a one-time Anabaptist, with two children, a boy and a girl. The union was, by all accounts, happy except for the poor

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[1] Parker 52-53

[2] Armstrong 32

health of Idelette, who died by the end of March 1549.[1] By 1541, however, Calvin was wanted back in Geneva largely due to the fact that his most outspoken critics had either died or were living in exile. Moreover, the religious situation in Geneva was not going well and a strong, well-disciplined hand was needed to bring it back to order. Calvin spent a long time debating the idea of coming back, but, in the end, decided it was for the best. By September 1541, Calvin entered the city not as a refugee, but as minister of the Gospel with full escort.[2]

The 1540's were filled with political and theological activity. Almost immediately upon Calvin's arrival, the *Ordonnances* were drawn up, laws for the ordering of the Christian religion and intended to legislate the whole of Church life.[3] These laws were subject to examination first by the Little Council, then by the Two Hundred, and finally by the General Council. Once passed into law, the *Ordonnances* were composed principally in terms of ministerial functions, of which there were four: pastors, doctors, elders, and deacons.[4] Having organized the Church, Calvin turned to preaching. It can be estimated that a regular attender of his sermons, provided their ears and minds were open, would learn

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[1] Parker 72

[2] Parker 80-81

[3] Armstrong 33

[4] Parker 82

as much as if they were attending a lecture at a college or university. For example, the number of Calvin's sermons and commentaries on Isaiah alone was three hundred and forty-two (1556-1559).[1] As a result, the congregation, which would come frequently to celebrate the Eucharist, grew not only in size, but also in knowledge.

Despite severe and long-lasting opposition (1545 or 1546 to 1555), mainly coming from a few inter-related families (the Favres, Bertheliers, Vandels, and Septs),[2] Calvin was not only able to continue with his commentaries, involving almost every book of the Bible, but also devote extra care and attention to healing differences within the Reformed tradition. Moreover, attention was also given to healing the differences within western Christianity. Such activity involved the writing of letters, both to personal friends and public figures, and revising, yet again, the famous *Institutes*, with the final edition coming out in 1559. Furthermore, the University of Geneva was completely built by 1563, which provided the city with a much-needed educational institution.[3] Finally, racked by illnesses ranging from a fever to nephritis, which were due to his frail health and ceaseless work, Calvin died on May 27, 1564.

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[1] Parker 92

[2] Parker 98

[3] Parker 126-129

ST. IGNATIUS OF LOYOLA

St. Ignatius of Loyola (1491-1556) was born in Guipuzcoa at the ancestral castle of the noble Loyola family on some undeterminable day during the summer or autumn of 1491 and baptized at the church of San Sebastian in Azpeitia, being possibly the tenth child of his parents.[1] At about the age of fifteen, Ignatius, knowing how to read and write, was sent to be trained for court life in the house of Juan Velazquez de Cuellar, the high treasurer of King Ferdinand and Isabella.[2] "Here Ignatius became acquainted with the literature of the flourishing Spanish Renaissance: religious and secular songs, and novels of chivalry..."[3] Passing into manhood, he became ambitious for feats of arms, had a growing interest in fine clothes and his personal appearance, and in reading romantic literature. All of these activities manifested certain characteristics: "a desire for worldly praise and glory, eagerness to distinguish himself by daring or even reckless deeds against odds, and tenacity in reaching an objective once he had decided upon it."[4]

Ignatius was never a professional soldier, but took part

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[1] Brodrick, James. Saint Ignatius Loyola: The Pilgrim Years 1491-1538. (New York: Farrar, Straus, and Cudahy, 1956), pp. 23-24; Favre-Dorsaz 39-40

[2] Ganss, George E. "Introduction." Spiritual Exercises and Selected Works. (New York: Paulist Press, 1991), p. 14.

[3] Ganss 14

[4] Ganss 14

in military expeditions when the occasion required. Such a case arose in 1521 when a large French army besieged Pamplona.[1] Urging resistance in a hopeless situation, Ignatius was struck by a cannonball on May 17, which shattered the bone in one of his legs and inflicted a flesh wound in the other. The French treated him kindly because of his bravery and carried him on a litter to Loyola where he received surgery, a painful experience he bore with great fortitude.[2] Almost near death, Ignatius recovered after June 28, which he attributed to St. Peter, and thereafter, during the recuperation, had time to read and reflect.

Some of the books that were brought to Ignatius included the *Life of Christ* by Ludolph of Saxony, while the lives of the saints were contained in the still popular *Golden Legend* by the Dominican Jacobus de Voragine (d. 1298).[3] With increasing meditation, he began taking notes, with the intention of writing a book, which had, in the end, nearly 300 quarto pages.[4] Once he was better, Ignatius resolved to go on a pilgrimage to Our Lady of Montserrat near Barcelona, then to Jerusalem, and after that perhaps lead the solitary life of a

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[1] Broderick, James. "Ignatius, Loyola." The Encyclopedia of Religion (Volumes 1-16), Volume 7, 83-86 (New York: Macmillan Publishing Company, 1987), p. 84.

[2] Broderick 84

[3] Brodrick, Saint Ignatius Loyola: The Pilgrim Years (1491-1538), 63-65

[4] Ganss 15

Carthusian. However, after his confession at Montserrat, he decided to stay a few days at nearby Manresa, which turned into an almost year-long stay, with much spiritual depth, that involved three stages: a continuation of the same joy and discernment as at Loyola (April and approximately May 1522); a severe struggle with doubts, scruples, and desolation - ended by late July; finally, the receiving of marvellous divine illuminations and a commencement of taking notes which were eventually to become his *Spiritual Exercises* (August to mid-February 1523).[1]

Between the years 1524 and 1535, Ignatius began a period of study beginning at Barcelona with the rudiments of Latin under Master Jeronimo Ardevol. In the summer of 1526, Ignatius went to the University of Alcala to begin philosophy. Here, he attracted many followers, even raising the suspicion of heresy from the Inquisition, which, although he was cleared of all charges, forced him to move to Salamanca in September 1527.[2] Similar troubles occurred at Salamanca as well, which gave Ignatius the impetus to move to Paris, where his lack of knowledge of the French language would prevent excessive apostolic work, so that he could study in a more concentrated way (February 2, 1528 - April 1535).[3] On March 15, 1533, Ignatius received the license to teach at Paris and anywhere

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[1] Ganss 27 (the three stages)

[2] Broderick 85

[3] Broderick 85

in the world. Lacking the necessary money, unlike his fellow student and friend Francis Xavier, who received the Master of Arts a few days after the licentiate, Ignatius put off his "commencement" until March 14, 1535, when he received his diploma and became a Master of Arts.[1] In addition, Ignatius' *Spiritual Exercises*, which received their final form by 1535, appeared in Latin (probably Ignatius' own translation) and was given and used by several people, including Ignatius' first companions - Favre, Lainez, and Xavier. On August 15, 1534, Ignatius and his friends made a vow in a small chapel dedicated to Mary, the mother of Jesus, on Montmartre, Paris. They vowed to live in strict poverty in imitation of Christ and devote themselves to the spiritual welfare of their fellow men and women. As a first step they would make a pilgrimage to Jerusalem and for this purpose they would assemble in Venice in the spring of 1537. If the circumstances for the journey to Jerusalem proved impossible throughout the year (1537), they would offer themselves to the pope, that he might send them wherever he thought best.[2]

Because of illness, Ignatius followed his physicians' orders, departing for his native air in Guipuzcoa in 1535. Here, the same line of thought which originated at Loyola and deepened at Manresa continued and developed: "to do everything for 'the service and praise of His Divine Majesty, to try to

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[1] Broderick 85

[2] Ganss 35-37

procure the praise, honour, and service of God our Lord', and the need to direct and order our life for 'the glory and praise of God.'"[1] Once in Venice (1536), Ignatius furthered his study of theology, while helping others through spiritual conversations. His friends arrived on January 8, 1537, hoping to carry out their pilgrimage, but war with the Turks seemed imminent and not a single ship sailed for the Holy Land. When their agreed-upon year ended with no passage available, they journeyed to Rome to offer their services to the pope (mid-November 1537).[2]

Pope Paul III wanted to send them on a mission across Italy. As a result, it seemed that their group would be dispersed (November 1538). Many questions were raised such as, should they form themselves into a new religious order or should they retain some form of unity by electing one of their members as a superior? All the questions were answered in the affirmative and Ignatius was charged to draw up a summary of the project for presentation to the pope. Pope Paul III gave oral approval on September 3, 1539 and a formal approval followed on September 27, 1540. Ignatius and his ten companions were now a religious order of clerics regular in the Church, the Society of Jesus. The Five Chapters, which were entitled "A First Sketch of the Institute of the Society

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[1] Ganss 40 (minor quotations are from the Letters of Ignatius 9-11 and 5-8)

[2] Ganss 40-41

of Jesus" and revised only in a few small details, were its papal law and the Society's fundamental Rule. On April 6, 1541, Ignatius was elected superior general and on April 19 accepted the charge.[1]

By the time Ignatius died in 1556, his Society had approximately a thousand members across twelve provinces: Portugal (1546), Spain (1547), India (1549), Italy apart from Rome (1551), Sicily (1553), Brazil (1553), Aragon, Andalusia, and Castile as new divisions of Spain (1554), France (1555), Lower Germany (1556), and Upper Germany (1556). Furthermore, he rapidly established colleges, such as the ones at Palermo (1549), Rome (1551), Vienna (1553), and Billom in France (1556), to a total of thirty-three and the approval of six more stretching from Goa throughout Europe to Brazil.[2] All of these activities were taking a toll on Ignatius as the years advanced. In early 1556 his increasing weakness and periods of sickness became more and more manifest to his associates. On July 31, 1556, Ignatius peacefully died.

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[1] Ganss 44-45

[2] Ganss 46 and 48

CHAPTER FOUR:

CALVIN AND EDUCATION

I shall cover in this chapter the indirect influence of Calvin on public education, which was governed by the city of Geneva. Here, the drive of Calvin towards a unified, administratively efficient church government will be defined. In addition, Calvin's doctrine of salvation shall be evaluated in order to ascertain how it shaped the intellectual growth of the individual believer. In order to practically ascertain to what extent Calvinist principles supported public education and public schools, examples will be given using the situation in Holland, which was a place of religious toleration that provided funds to public schools and required the education of both towns and villages. I will also argue that although Calvin, for the most part, indirectly influenced common schools, he did establish the Academy of Geneva (1559) and his catechism did provide, to a certain extent, religious instruction to everybody. Along with such an examination, the impact of Calvin's sermons upon the public shall be mentioned in order to understand how the minds of ordinary people developed and towards what purpose. Finally, the difference between Calvin and some of his contemporaries, notably Luther, shall be discussed in order to prove Calvin's effectiveness in pushing the drive towards education.

Calvin went through the process of medieval instruction,

but realized that the reform of religion included a reshaping and restructuring of the governance system. Towards this end, Calvin almost single-handedly proposed and carried out the outline of the reformed or presbyterian[1] structure, which included a hierarchy of committees and councils, instead of individuals, such as priests, bishops, and popes. Such a system made possible more discussion and included more people. These changes also included a government by the laity and was basically an elected assembly.[2] The presbyterian structure consisted of four parts: the session, synod, presbytery, and general assembly.[3]

The local church, called a session, is administered by a pastor, also known as a teaching elder. "The session can receive and dismiss members, examine and ordain ruling elders, and supervise the educational work of the church."[4] Session meetings must occur at least four times a year, but may occur more frequently. A number of sessions (at least twelve) together form a presbytery, or a district body, which has "legislative, executive, and judicial powers and is a kind of

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[1] Although they have the same meaning, the term *reformed* is used in countries like Holland, Switzerland, and Germany, while the *presbyterian* term is connected to countries like England and Scotland.

[2] Weaver, Introduction to Christianity, 263

[3] I follow Weaver's outline of the presbyterian structure, which can be found on pp. 262-263.

[4] Weaver 263

corporate episcopacy."[1] The presbytery receives candidates for ministry and sanctions the call of a congregation to a minister by ordaining or installing him or her. Delegates who are sent to synods and to the general assembly are elected by the presbytery, which also inaugurates the business of the general assembly.

> The questions and issues, decided higher up, therefore, are generated from the district level. If the general assembly proposes some change in government, the proposal has to be passed by a certain percentage of the presbyteries.[2]

Presbyteries in a certain geographical area make up a synod, whose duties include to meet annually to coordinate projects and facilitate cooperation among churches. The general assembly, however, is a national body made up of members elected by the presbyteries. It represents the whole church, being responsible for matters of faith and order, and also institutes and supervises agencies for education, missions, and ecumenism. "The general assembly can advise the presbyteries, but all changes in traditional documents or beliefs have to be passed by the presbyteries, and all questions of policy and items for discussion must be initiated by a presbytery."[3] As a result, the main juridical body within this system is the general assembly, working in cooperation with the presbyteries.

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[1] Weaver 263

[2] Weaver 263

[3] Weaver 263

Such a polity was by no means fully developed at the time of Calvin, but evolved over hundreds of years to reach the present form. No doubt, the essence of the structure was there in the sixteenth century, but took on new forms and new responsibilities as time and influence of the tradition grew and spread. I think a simple, yet effective system of checks and balances was already present within Calvin's church polity. I believe that the constructive use of the influence of the presbytery upon the general assembly provides an expression of such checks and balances. Furthermore, the logical progression from one assembly to the next also provides a coherent governing body, where obligations are understood. For example, sessions, the lower part, as well as the general assembly, the greater part, examine the life and work of the church and the agencies responsible for this life and work, so the matter is addressed from both sides of the polity. The example of the way sessions work with the general assembly provides an opportunity for considerable lay participation in the church's governing activities. In addition, because such an opportunity is presented at the level of the local churches, lay members are, to a certain extent, educated about how their church functions, while the main juridical body examines, in turn, the spirit and motivation of the local churches. The church, in this instance, is self-governing, which means that the Christians who belong to this tradition should have some understanding of

their church government so they can exercise these roles responsibly. Hence, there is a quite different view both as to *who* should be educated and for *what purposes* from that of the Jesuits, who did not share these views on church governance, but vowed to support the papal, episcopal system.

Calvin believed that everything necessary for salvation could be found in the Scriptures. Moreover, the Scriptures should be read and understood in the church, which is a community under the sovereignty and grace of God. The church, therefore, is essential for salvation: it is the locus of God's covenant of grace because it is supported by the person and work of Christ. Anxiety about individual salvation is no longer important because it lies in God's hands. Calvin's doctrine of salvation, therefore, supports the sovereignty of God and the Bible as the supreme rule of faith and, if that is the case, the believer is challenged to protect and maintain a world that God has created.

Calvin's theology did not directly influence attitudes towards education, but placed a premium on a disciplined lay religious life. Weber outlined in his *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, that, within the sphere and influence of the Calvinist and Puritan heritage (a later strand of the Reformed tradition which developed in England in the seventeenth century), an asceticism developed which was

worldly in its outlook.[1] By definition, the spirit of capitalism involved most of the virtues associated with capitalism, including honesty and frugality, that were, for example, expressed in the words of someone like Benjamin Franklin in the eighteenth century.[2] In other words, the thought of Calvinism and Puritanism, with Pietism, Methodism and various Baptist sects giving support,[3] led to a strict moral life that involved a daily assessment of one's individual motives.[4] The doctrine of predestination was, to a certain extent, essential in motivating pious individuals to work hard in their mundane toils, for every task, be it that of a cleaner or corporate executive, mattered in the eyes of God. Instead of creating religious anxiety, Calvin's doctrine of predestination emphasized that God is not only involved in the works of creation, but unburdens humanity from worry by directing their lives to salvation.[5] Once this idea was accepted by enough followers, the development of society shifted from an emphasis on religious anxiety to worldly

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[1] Weber, The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism, ch. 5

[2] Weber, The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism, 48-50; Morris, Brian. Anthropological Studies of Religion. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p. 63.

[3] Morris 64

[4] Weber, The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism, 154

[5] Morris 64

activity. This worldly activity produced more creativity, hard work, and, because of the Calvinistic and Puritan dissuasion from pure materialistic enjoyment, profit.[1] With enough accumulation of capital and, along with capital, financial security, society was able to be optimistic towards the future.[2]

Given the argument stated in the previous paragraph about certain fundamental ideas regarding the connection between the Protestant ethic and the spirit of capitalism, I can now apply those principles to my own thesis. At this point, I have to discuss a little further Calvin's concept of the doctrine of predestination, which involves God's foreknowledge about who is going to be saved or damned. Because Calvin did not want to necessarily create religious anxiety, he stressed the omnipotence of God in controlling our destinies.[3] As a result, God was responsible for events that passed, instead of the believer. Along with the stress on omnipotence, Calvin also discussed the duties and responsibilities of a Christian, who was to live a righteous life despite God's foreknowledge of their salvation or damnation.[4] These duties eventually created

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[1] Morris 64

[2] For more information, see Luthy, Herbert. "Once Again: Calvinism and Capitalism." The Protestant Ethic and Modernization: A Comparative View. (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1968), pp. 87-108, particularly p. 91.

[3] See Calvin's Institutes of the Christian Religion, Book I and II

[4] Calvin's Institutes of the Christian Religion, 214-216

worldly activity, for, despite the fact that salvation came from God's grace as a gift, a believer needed to be educated not only in order to contribute to the presbyterian system, but also to be able to perform well their everyday tasks. When a person does a job well, be it that of a writer or a merchant, it may be a sign of grace from God towards their salvation. However, nobody knows for certain who will be saved or damned, so a person must perform their duties well throughout their life. Education, in this instance, adds not only to the manners and discipline of an individual, but also to performing their jobs better. In this way, salvation and worldly activity, when it comes to the connection between the Protestant ethic and the spirit of modern public education, are said to work together.

With the development of education among the presbyterian congregations, the accent had to be on public, rather than private or classical, instruction because the congregations supplied the leaders of the church. Thus, they needed to be educated. In other words, Calvinists, through the presbyterian system, sought to include everybody in the task of governing the church and, in the process, produce responsible citizens. These responsible citizens would then provide order and an increase in moral ability, which contributed to their discipline.[1] Such discipline was, moreover, cultivated by

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[1] Durkheim, Emile. Moral Education. (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, Inc., 1961), p. 43 (on discipline and education).

Calvinism through a study in manners and academic instruction, which meant that Christians could now live in the world and perform worldly activities without being subject to its sins, provided that self-discipline was always maintained through the concentration on study.[1] It should be noted, however, that Calvin simply introduced these ideas which later followers developed. As a result, Calvin only indirectly emphasized public education, but this indirect emphasis had the effect of distancing his movement further from the aims of both the humanists and the Jesuits.

The realization of the Academy of Geneva (1559) was one of the central achievements of Calvin's contribution to education at Geneva.[2] The Academy was reorganized by Calvin from "several weak Latin schools into a consolidated gymnasium and academy. The gymnasium, a conventional preparatory Latin school, had seven classes and was under the supervision of the city but was supported by tuition fees."[3] The curriculum of the gymnasium was humanistic in character, while the academy, which was a higher institution, "gave instruction in Greek, Hebrew, ethics, logic, rhetoric, oratory, poetry, physics, and

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[1] Weil, Simone. The Simone Weil Reader. Ed. George A. Panichas. (London: Moyer Bell Limited, 1994), pp. 44-52 (*Reflections on the Right Use of School Studies with a View to the Love of God*), discussing "that school tasks should develop the power of attention" (p. 44).

[2] I use Eby, Frederick. The Development of Modern Education. (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1964) as a reference regarding Calvinism and public education.

[3] Eby 117

mathematics."[1] Ten professors were by Calvin's side, including Mathurin Cordier, one of Calvin's former Latin teachers, who was also rector of the academy.[2]

Although Calvin seems not to have had an interest in elementary vernacular education,[3] he required students to have a reading fluency in French and his catechism provided "a small measure of religious instruction to everybody."[4] It seems, therefore, that Calvin was not interested in providing intense public education in Geneva, but the system of religious organization he built eventually emphasized specifically public education. Calvin's ideas influenced other followers to pay more attention to the education of the masses. For example, in Holland, due to the influx of Calvinists from England who sought refuge from the persecutions of Mary (1553-1558), the prevailing religion became the Reformed tradition. The support of the Dutch state for public schools came from certain profits, such as the appropriation of Catholic property. "In 1580 the state of Utrecht set apart its ecclesiastical property for the maintenance of schoolmasters."[5] The province of Friesland decreed, in 1582, that "the inhabitants of the towns and

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[1] Eby 117

[2] Eby 117

[3] Eby 118

[4] Eby 118

[5] Eby 121

villages should, within the space of six weeks, provide good and able reformed schoolmasters."[1] In addition, the Synod of Nimeguen, in 1606, "voluntarily requested the civil authorities to make education compulsory."[2] All these examples provide further support of Holland for the maintenance of public schools.

There were three levels of schools in Holland: "common schools for the masses; classical schools for boys who expected to enter professional life; and the universities."[3] The need for the town schools resulted because of the demand made by commercial life, the virtual democracy of the government, and the Reformation. "During the Reformation in Holland the Calvinist doctrines contributed to the demand for popular education."[4] Some of the aims of the Reformed movement required "(1) learning of the creed and chief dogmas as found in the catechism; (2) training in moral habits and attendance upon the services of the church; (3) reading the Scriptures; and (4) the singing of the Psalms."[5] The elementary schools, it should be noted, admitted boys as well as girls.

I have chosen Holland because it was an important example of Calvinist public education. Here, there was religious

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[1] Eby 121-122

[2] Eby 122

[3] Eby 122

[4] Eby 122-123

[5] Eby 123

toleration as early as 1576 under the Prince of Orange. The ideas of Calvin seem to have influenced the development of public education to a great extent in Holland and give further support to the argument that Calvin indirectly influenced the progress of public education and support of elementary schools. Even Calvin himself, besides the organization of the gymnasium and the academy, extended his catechism on religious instruction to the general population. However, I needed to observe the structure of education in Holland because it was the best place to find major practical examples of common schools being established according to Calvinist principles.

Calvin's writings, sermons, and handbooks provided the congregations with good instruction and proved, in part, his own vocation as an educator. Calvin wrote and spoke much when it came to preaching in front of the church, which amounted to two or three sermons a week. If the work on Scriptural commentary were not cut short by his death, Calvin would have written on, examined, and discussed every book of the Bible. The number of sermons on the major prophets of the Bible, such as Jeremiah, ran into the hundreds and similarly with other works, such as the commentaries on Paul's epistles. By providing better instruction and an inexhaustible supply of effort, Calvin succeeded in bringing about a less elitist, more democratic form of education, and a body of citizens who were responsible and productive.

Martin Luther (1483-1546), to choose a famous person by

which Calvin was influenced, was for the most part concerned with theological education based on the Bible rather than on the decretals and on the scholastics.[1] Educational issues did receive his pragmatic attention, especially later in life, but were not as systematic or as clear cut as Calvin's. The need to educate laypeople to read and understand the Bible was an important task for both reformers. For example, they wrote commentaries on the Scriptures that were accessible to everyone, including children. Eventually, the concept of Sunday schools evolved from this method. Moreover, Calvin as well as Luther supported the doctrine of predestination,[2] that God predestines Christians either to eternal salvation or damnation, thus having certain similarities on a theological level. They also had an interest in reforming church government by educating their congregations and providing institutional innovations. In this way, Calvin, as was shown, created the presbyterian system, while Luther developed his own brand of congregational government.[3]

Calvin and his followers emphasized self-government when it came to church polity, making every member of the congregation responsible for their roles as citizens. Luther,

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[1] Bainton 51

[2] See Luther's "Bondage of the Will" in Martin Luther: Selections From His Writings and Calvin's Institutes of the Christian Religion, and Calvin, John, Theological Treatises. Tr. J. K. Reid. (London: SCM Press Ltd., 1954) on the issue of predestination.

[3] Luther 345, 349 (priesthood of all believers)

on the other hand, envisaged the church under the magistrate, which was for him the secular state.[1] Put another way, Luther wanted the church to follow the laws of the state, to work in conjunction with the state, provided it was Christian, but Calvin desired the church to be responsible for not only the moral attitude of the citizens, but also for the educational features of the society. To this end, Calvin expressly defined the role of the believer in the plan of salvation set by God, describing both the responsibilities and duties which a Christian should consider.[2] Through the presbyterian system, the laity had a role in governing the community. Education, in this instance, was not only used in order to enlighten Christian minds, but also to show forth the glory of God. In other words, the study of the Bible broadens the faith of the believers and makes them more aware of their tradition as well as more capable of understanding and communicating God's revelations. The leaders, therefore, were not only elected from the various congregations, but also became those who were best qualified to lead. Luther never held such extreme views, even retaining certain Catholic practices such as priestly vestments and the raising of the Host during the celebration

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[1] Luther 410 (from "An Appeal to the Ruling Class of German Nationality as to the Amelioration of the State of Christendom")

[2] See Calvin's Institutes of the Christian Religion, 214-216

of the Eucharist.[1] Interestingly enough, an example was made of Geneva by Calvin in order to prove that his system can and should be able to work on a practical scale, not only on the theoretical. In addition, Calvinists assumed that the glorification of God should be done through a person's talent (whether on a practical level or otherwise), which could be used as a vehicle for salvation. The real difference between these two theologians was not over the need for education, but in the ways their results were brought about. In this respect, Calvin was more organized and defined his aims in a clearer light, perhaps because his character was more prone towards administrative efficiency and a single, unconfused agenda.

In creating a new church polity, in establishing a more practical doctrine of salvation, and in urging an attitude of hard work and an acceptance of one's talents in life, Calvin expanded not only the intellectual, but also the spiritual horizons of his congregation. Furthermore, Calvin's founding of the Academy of Geneva and his use of the catechism provide examples of Calvin's interests in education. The case of Holland gives concrete evidence that Calvin's ideas regarding public education inspired the establishment of common schools and a policy of better instruction. Here lies the connection of the Protestant ethic with the spirit of modern public education, which was supported, although in different, perhaps less rigidly outlined terms, by Luther as well as the

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[1] Chadwick 65

Anabaptists, and here also lies the difference of Calvin's attitude towards education with some of his contemporaries. Put more directly, Calvin emphasized the congregational understanding of the Bible, as can be seen from his many sermons and his design of church polity. This church polity has power flowing not only from the top down (by means of decisions of the general assembly agreed upon by the presbyteries), but from the bottom up (by way of suggested agenda), providing, in the process, for local initiative and governance. Moreover, Calvin emphasized that the future lies with God through which the elect, which may include rich or poor, are saved. This salvation of the elect provides a coherent approach to both the Scriptures and the role of the church as well as God's ultimate responsibility (not our own) as the omnipotent creator in governing the universe. In giving such a lucid design, Calvin has provided guidelines by which a person may come to know God, His teachings, and the role Christians will play in their lifetime and beyond. There is, in other words, no confusion about the believer's responsibilities and duties, to study the Scriptures to find, through the inspiration of the Spirit, what God desires and to follow the guidance of God and heed His warnings.

CHAPTER FIVE:

IGNATIUS AND EDUCATION

I will analyse the church polity of the Roman Catholic church in order to provide a political and social alternative to the Reformed tradition as well as to give a better picture of the bounds in which Ignatius' ideas moved. Next, the way in which the Jesuits contributed towards the reformation of education, particularly the founding of colleges, will be evaluated in order to understand the nature of their influence. Finally, the structure and activities of the Jesuits shall be given attention, such as the difficulty of their missions, the order of their universities, and the conduct expected of their students, in order to ascertain what gains and reforms the Catholic church endorsed.

The structure of the Catholic church is episcopal, a Greek word for overseer, translated into English as bishop. The episcopal system, therefore, is church government by bishops, which is based on apostolic succession. In other words, the bishops are successors to the apostles and share in the power and authority Christ bestowed on the apostles. In this way, the clergy is divided into a number of different orders: bishops possess the fullness of sacramental power, being able to celebrate all the sacraments, and usually preside over extended territories (dioceses) made up of many local parishes. Priests share in the sacramental power of the

bishop in a limited way, not being allowed to ordain new priests, and preside over local congregations (parishes) within the diocese. Deacons, who have very limited powers (only allowed to preach and baptize), administer certain parishes because of a shortage of priests and work in conjunction with a supervising priest. For the most part, the episcopal system is defined by the shared powers of bishops and priests.[1] There is

> a chief bishop, the pope (the bishop of Rome), whose authority extends over bishops and then on down the lines of the structure. All bishops - including the pope -are supposed to embody three of Christ's titles in their work: they are to be priests (sanctifying the church and possessing full sacramental powers), prophets (teaching and interpreting doctrine and discipline), and kings (ruling or administering their territories).[2]

The point to be made here is that if the Jesuits emphasized better instruction for those who manage this system, then primarily the clergy needs to be educated along with the higher classes of society.

Such a structure is certainly more restrictive, but also more authoritative than the presbyterian system that Calvin proposed. Instead of having meetings in assemblies, which sometime entail endless debates, the episcopal system has one individual at the top who decides matters, meaning hopefully less hassle and less time wasted. However, such a system can also be very structured because of the restrictive nature of

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[1] I follow Weaver's analysis of the episcopal system, which can be found on pp. 260-261.

[2] Weaver 260

the governing body. Because of this restrictive, hierarchical nature within the episcopal system, authority passes from the top, the pope, including the bishops, to the clergy, the middle, and finally, to the laity, the bottom. If there is a lack of communication or understanding between the leadership and those who are being led, the breach is not necessarily easy to rectify. Nevertheless, whether one polity is better than another or not, Ignatius happened to be working under the episcopal, which meant that his Society of Jesus needed to be eventually approved by the pope. It must also be noted that Ignatius could have conceived of education as a means of strengthening this hierarchy by providing good higher education to the clergy, the governing magistrates, and the political elites, while not calling out for church councils, which worked towards the unity of Christianity, thereby making the Roman Catholic church truly universal.

Ignatius resolved to be loyal, or obedient, to the pope and the hierarchical model of the Catholic church, so much, in fact, that the Jesuits introduced within their system similar strict guidelines of authority, with one person at the top and the rest following.[1] Furthermore, the Jesuits, under the leadership of Ignatius, decided to go wherever the pope might choose to send them or where there was need of Christian faith. Ignatius, therefore, made no institutionalized innovations, created no remarkable laws for his movement,

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[1] Chadwick 258

simply borrowing the structure of the Catholic church, while having a sense of fierce loyalty to God. Nonetheless, Ignatius' Jesuits were a successful, world-wide movement, which depended, in part, on a structurally strong government under resolute leadership and the perseverance of its originators. Ignatius himself wrote the constitution of the Society, which contained parts pertaining to universities and colleges that were later to follow.[1] In this respect, Ignatius' own calling as an educator was limited. He did not necessarily think of himself as a teacher, but proved himself as an organizer and administrator. By writing the *Spiritual Exercises*, Ignatius gave a model to his followers for spiritual meditation and a personal guide to bettering one's own association with God, which meant that meditation was more important than learning.

At this point, I will examine both the Jesuit colleges and their curriculum.[2] "Two types of colleges were conducted by the Order, the lower, which covered five or six years, and the higher, of regular university rank."[3] In the lower colleges, there were three grammar classes, including a fourth, the humanities, and one called rhetoric. In the higher

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[1] See Ganss, George E. "Introduction." Spiritual Exercises and Selected Works. (New York: Paulist Press, 1991).

[2] I use Eby, Frederick. The Development of Modern Education. (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1964) as a reference regarding Jesuit colleges and curriculum.

[3] Eby 111

colleges or universities, philosophy, mathematics, and natural science were studied for a period of three years. At the head of every college

> was a rector, assisted by two prefects, "the prefect of studies" and "the prefect of discipline." The rector and the prefects exercised sleepless surveillance over all teaching, examination, and discipline, as well as over the conduct of students.[1]

In the curriculum of the lower colleges, the Latin language was given prime importance along with a "combination of the seven liberal arts and the study of selected classical Latin authors."[2] The use of the vernacular was not permitted as well as the works of pagan authors, while Greek language and learning were given a subordinate role. "In the universities, mathematics, the sciences, and scholastic theology were pursued."[3] Within such an environment, the Jesuits desired complete control over the instruction of the student, not sharing it with "the influence of the home or any other agencies. More significantly still, the Order had no program for the education of the masses."[4]

Calvinists and Jesuits managed to increase the confidence of society living in an age of anxiety. By providing better instruction to the laity and the public (for the Calvinists) and the clergy and the higher classes of society (for the

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[1] Eby 111

[2] Eby 111

[3] Eby 112

[4] Eby 114

Jesuits) and, in the process, advocating good manners among the public, they increased a person's sense of worth. In a time of doubt, Calvinists provided an excellent church polity. The Jesuits, on the other hand, boldly ventured to new and quite unknown lands. Both groups fostered certainty at a time mostly made up of war and division. The strength of Calvin and Ignatius on the practical as well as the spiritual level remained unshaken by the violent disturbances of their times. In this instance, it could be argued that they had similar visions.

One of the main differences between the Jesuits and Calvinists was not only their focus on private and public education, but also their concern for monasticism and asceticism. The strand of thought that caused such a division lies in the historical formation of Catholic doctrine. The performance of good works by a Catholic, as stated in Weber's *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, "did not necessarily form a connected, or at least not a rationalized, system of life, but rather remained a succession of individual acts."[1] In other words, "the very human Catholic cycle of sin, repentance, atonement, release, followed by renewed sin (and a) balance of merit for a life as a whole which could be adjusted by temporal punishments or the Churches' means of

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[1] Weber, The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism, 116

grace"[1] was absent from the Calvinistic formula of salvation. The very nature of Catholicism, in its structure of government, theology, and accent on tradition, pointed to an other-worldly monasticism, when Ascetic Protestantism, not only the Calvinists, sought to emphasize this-worldly asceticism. The idea was to remain an ascetic within the world, a moral, well-disciplined citizen, instead of a member of a celibate community. Furthermore, despite the great activity of the Jesuits in the world, they remained a monastic movement which sought to not only endure the environment of the world through their activity, but also ultimately looked towards surpassing worldly morality and worldy control, desiring to be in constant union with God. The monastic structure of the Jesuits, their need, in the end, to look to an other-worldly morality or order, and their support of Catholic tradition are all reasons why the Jesuits fall into Weber's classification of monasticism, but, in my opinion, still to a lesser extent than some other Catholic monastic orders, such as the Franciscans. However, self-control forms the basis for both groups, which subjects their will to a greater one, while providing careful ethical analysis and, as a result, an assurance of salvation.[2] Their differences consisted in the "disappearance of the *consilia evangelica* and

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[1] Weber, The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism, 117 (brackets added)

[2] Weber, The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism, 119

the accompanying transformation of asceticism to activity within the world."[1] One of the holiest tasks for a monk was to surpass worldly morality and look solely to God. Calvinism, on the other hand, developed "the idea of the necessity of proving one's faith in worldly activity."[2] Such an idea made every Christian an ascetic, a person walking in a defiled world, but not defiled by it. In such a case, the performance of everyday tasks became the duty of salvation.

The constitution of the colleges that the Jesuits founded, which described the administration of the educational institutions, was no less strict than the constitution of the Society. The two organizations were similar because the colleges were there to provide the movement with new members.[3] Students were to be admitted under normal procedures of the time, but once they were in, they needed to show a moral and intellectual capability and a physical aptitude for the tough road ahead. Not everyone was able or fit to be a Jesuit and Ignatius demanded, however gently, the best from his members.[4] Rigorous training, in mind, spirit, and body, prepared young

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[1] Weber, The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism, 120

[2] Weber, The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism, 121

[3] See O'Malley, John W. "The Society of Jesus." Religious Orders of the Catholic Reformation (1994), pp. 139-163.

[4] Sable, Thomas F. "Running the Course: Ignatius of Loyola's Principles of Education." Diakonia. Volume 25 (1992), pp. 211-212.

men with a strong theological background which was coupled with extensive and widespread missions, thus furthering their abilities. It should be mentioned that like Calvin, Ignatius developed a rigorous discipline, but it was not necessarily for the laity in general, but for the religious order. In this way, the Catholic church endorsed a group which successfully tackled the education of the clergy, which fulfilled one of the needs of the congregation (an important issue which the reformers, such as Calvin, brought up), and the public elite. The Catholic church also endorsed a group that spread the faith to other parts of the globe and was very much involved with the church's politics, such as the Council of Trent (1545-1563).

The Catholic church used this newly won order to conquer, whether spiritually or physically, other lands for the papacy. Pretty soon, the Jesuits became forerunners of the armies of Western European empires, such as Spain or Portugal, that inevitably followed in order to subjugate other nations for the pope. The difficulty even during Ignatius' time was to ensure that new countries, especially if they already had developed civilizations (such as China or Japan), accepted the Jesuit missions. The societies accepting the missionaries were not tribes, but similar in nature and organization to any European city or country. There were also other religious traditions, such as Buddhism, Hinduism, and Shintoism, to rival Christian doctrine and philosophy at every level. Some

Jesuits, such as Francis Xavier (who went to the southeastern part of China on missionary duty), discovered a diversity of cultures and the richness of new ideas which in turn inspired not only an exchange of thoughts, deeds, and writings, but also motivated innovative strands within Christianity itself. Such, unfortunately, was not the case with the Reformed tradition, which spread to North America through the Puritans mainly during the early part of the seventeenth century, especially after the restoration of the monarchy in England under Charles II (1660).

The opening up of colleges and universities by Ignatius and his contemporaries and followers emphasized higher education, particularly that of the clergy and the higher classes,[1] while Calvin accentuated public education with his many sermons and administrative and spiritual reforms. Furthermore, Ignatius saw education in terms of becoming unified with the spirit of Christ and understanding the message of the Saviour of humanity. All the insults and dangers must be carried by teacher and student alike with humility because Christ did the same. Out of this pattern of thinking arose also the idea that the message of Christ, the good news, must be given literally to all the world. This geographical spread of the Catholic church entailed setting up new churches, employing new priests for the Mass, building new

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[1] See Fleisher, Barbara J. "The Ignatian Vision for Higher Education." Religious Education, Volume 88 (1993), pp. 255-272.

schools where Latin would be taught to more students, and instructing wider and quite different congregations, with diverse customs and characteristics. In other words, the seed of knowledge and exploration was being spread.

I believe that Ignatius' interests in higher education were dictated by the needs of the Catholic church and that Ignatius saw himself inspired to remedy the church's problems, such as an irresponsible clergy, through the Jesuits. I think that while Ignatius may have been interested and involved in the administrative tasks of the Jesuits, his movement and followers focused more on the development of specifically educational issues, such as opening up new colleges in Asia. In this way, the structure of the Catholic church coupled with the public's interest in having the clergy more educated brought about deeper activity on Ignatius' part. This deeper activity was caused, to a certain extent, by Ignatius' concern for restoring the people's faith in the abilities of the church. Instead of reforming the church administration and method of government, Ignatius worked within the existing system, adding to it a much-needed spirit of creativity. In addition, Ignatius, whether consciously or not, made the clergy, the leaders of parishes and dioceses, firmer in their resolutions and their faith, thereby inspiring better leadership.

"By 1556, when Ignatius died, the Society of Jesus had more than 1,000 members and had become one of the powerful

forces in the Catholic world, by its ministry not to the poor but to the upper ranks."[1] This happened chiefly through its hold upon higher education and in catering to nobles. In this way, the Jesuits differed in their approach from the Franciscans, for example, who had "begun by a ministry to the poor and had soon produced professors at the university."[2] For the Jesuits, the change from ministering to the poor to teaching the higher classes of society was not as large as it was for the Franciscans. As a result, the pattern of Jesuit thinking was that the university needed to be efficient before the primary and secondary schools were efficient. Some of the differences in the style and method of teaching that Ignatius and his followers employed included fresh air and exercise, admirable teaching of Latin in the spirit of the Renaissance, and care of good manners.[3] With such organization, the Jesuits found themselves to be the leading body engaged in the higher education of Catholics and its educational methods one of the most effective in contemporary Europe, which meant educating as well as influencing aristocrats and kings.[4]

The Jesuits, under the care and leadership of Ignatius, flowered and prospered through hard work and much missionary

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[1] Chadwick 261

[2] Chadwick 262

[3] Chadwick 262; Elias, Chapter Two, dealing with the personal manners of the sixteenth century, including eating (part 4) and blowing one's nose (part 6).

[4] Chadwick 262

travel. It was mainly a movement driven towards education, with a strong and unified governing body, that garnered much success. Moreover, the movement recognized a systematic approach when it came to dealing with higher education, which was emphasized because of the Jesuit accent on leadership that caused a ripple effect that flowed downwards. Therefore, the clergy and the upper secular classes became educated, giving hopefully better leadership in the process. In addition, the heavy missionary activity of the Jesuits caused the Catholic church in particular and Christianity in general to exchange ideas and spread to new lands and see new horizons. Finally, the difference marking the Jesuits from their contemporaries involved instructing the upper ranks of society, which caused the political and social influence of the Jesuits to grow, and an intellectual renovation of the clergy and nobility through their universities.

CHAPTER SIX:

A CASE FOR SIMILARITY?

I shall compare and contrast both the views of Calvin and Ignatius on their approaches to education. Their study at the University of Paris and their concern for the development of Christianity shall be analysed as similarities. Calvin's emphasis on public education, however, will be contrasted with Ignatius' concern for colleges and universities, as will be the fewer missionary travels undertaken by the Reformed church than by the Jesuits. Moreover, the distinction between the concepts of monasticism and asceticism also serves as a further division between the ideas of Calvin and Ignatius. As a result, I will come to the conclusion that in spite of a number of important similarities, the movements they started had quite a different impact on the development of educational institutions and practices in the modern world.

Both Calvin and Ignatius were educated at the University of Paris, almost at the same time, and, therefore, received similar backgrounds in higher education. Calvin, who at one point was considering a career as a priest in the Roman Catholic church, decided that a full scale reform of Christian education and administration was necessary in order to have a better connection between the congregation and the clergy as well as between the people and their God. Furthermore, Calvin never deviated from the stance that Christianity should and

could be united, with one, holy, apostolic church. Ignatius thought along similar lines, but with a different emphasis, namely, staying within the already-established laws of the Catholic church and creating within it a powerful educating force, the Jesuits, who spread the Word of God throughout the world. It must be noted that during their education at Paris both men were active in the spiritual as well as the intellectual realm. In addition, they were troubled by the activities of the religious reformation going on around them and sought an ever closer union with God through Christ.

The methods employed by Calvin and Ignatius seem to also correspond. Calvin was a studious man, working diligently to better the governing activities of Geneva, instructing the congregation in the meaning of the Scriptures, and fortifying the conduct of the people. Ignatius was working in a similar manner, but with the Society of Jesus. In other words, Ignatius opened up colleges and universities, while his movement created new congregations in China and India, and worked tirelessly to further the cause of the Jesuits in the Catholic church and the world. Moreover, Ignatius expected the best from his students and followers; as well, Calvin expected the best from Geneva. Their emphasis on self-discipline or self-control as a part of "the rational monastic virtues"[1] also corresponded. Such self-discipline produced, in the words

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[1] Weber, The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism, 119

of Weber, "actions under constant self-control with a careful consideration of their ethical consequences. Thus it trained the monk, objectively, as a worker in the service of the kingdom of God, and thereby further, subjectively, assured the salvation of his soul."[1] The beliefs of Calvin and Ignatius in the one, united church and Christ as the redeemer were at least of a similar nature which, although different in their results, had the same meaning - educating the people.

However, the differences can be pointed out as well, namely, Calvin's indirect emphasis, through his church polity, on public education and Ignatius' concern, through the Jesuits, for higher education. Moreover, the church structure which Calvin built was more diverse and had communication between more levels than the Catholic one.[2] Calvin's system did not invest one man with the leadership of the church, but councils composed of several individuals. Ignatius, on the other hand, accepted the papacy, moved within its confines, was loyal to its customs, and saw it as not only a church government, but also a divinely appointed structure that represented the body of Christ. Furthermore, as much as Calvin preached, he did not forge widespread appeal through missions. The Reformed tradition was strong in Western Europe, especially Switzerland, but Ignatius saw the Jesuits in Brazil

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[1] Weber, The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism, 119

[2] Walzer 29

and southeast Asia. Calvin was busy building a system of reform, a different church, not a new one. He forged committees, instead of accepting the role of bishops, ensured the development (social, political, and moral) of Geneva, and worked hard in trying to unify Christianity according to his vision. Education was a part of all of these activities because in order to reform the minds of the various congregations, the system by which they were taught needed to be reformed. Ignatius took his ideas far, to other communities and civilizations, but built a system within a system, the Jesuits. Here, his energies motivated other men and women[1] to hear the gospels and be open to another faith. Moreover, his work went into building educational institutions and teaching the higher ranks of society, thus being instrumental in providing better and more conscientious leadership.

When I examine the approaches of Calvin and Ignatius with regards to educating the leadership, I do not think that they had similar goals in mind. Calvin's presbyterian system elected leaders from the laity, which is not the same thing as choosing bishops or cardinals from a celibate clergy. Capable leaders from the congregations were central to Calvin's polity. Within the episcopal system that the Roman Catholic church relied on, such need was not as central. Furthermore,

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[1] See for reference Loyola, St. Ignatius. Letters to Women. (New York: Herder and Herder Inc., 1960) and Loyola, St. Ignatius. Letters of St. Ignatius of Loyola. Tr. William J. Young. (Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1959).

Calvin's system brought leaders from the laity, not the clergy. Because the laity was emphasized in this way, the need for public education was that much greater. With this in mind, I believe that, even though both men sought to cultivate good leadership within their respective traditions, the way in which that leadership was sought and produced remained fundamentally different.

A discussion of classical, private education and public education can be analysed, to a certain extent, through the concepts of monasticism and asceticism, both outlined by Weber.[1] The spirit of monasticism seeks salvation by removal of the self from the world and living either alone or in a community of celibate individuals. This removal of the self from the world is not necessarily absolute, for help is given to those who are in need. Nevertheless, simply by the fact that celibacy and removal from the world exist, the monastic communities, unless held in great esteem, do not have an overwhelming influence in society. Asceticism, on the other hand, originates within the world and does not need a celibate community in order to exist. The person still behaves, in certain ways, like a monk by not giving in to the temptations. However, being faced with temptations every day, they can know the distractions and, as a result, toughen their moral armour. The monastic community, for example, is generally a group of

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[1] Weber, The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism, 118-120

people who decide to disassociate themselves from the world almost completely, unlike the Jesuits, who retain a celibate lifestyle, follow Catholic tradition (on which the monastic ideal was built), and seek to be active in this world. In addition, the leadership of the Catholic church originates at the monastic level. With this in mind, the Jesuits decided to train the leadership and, therefore, better the image and potency of the church, including setting up colleges and universities for those who were entering the clergy. The Calvinists saw no need for monasteries because their structure and organization of their tradition focused on constant attention on one's salvation, for no one was entirely safe from God's judgement. Within Calvinism, such a fear produced a belief that one's faith is proven by the work of the individual, instead of a fatalistic attitude towards life. In this way, Calvinism had to assure the intellectual capacity of every member, since the leadership of the church was elected from the laity, in order for the system to last. Such a development not only distinguished the achievements of both groups, but also displayed the differences in the motivational forces of both the spirit of monasticism and asceticism.

Given these diverse opinions, can I call the work and, to a certain extent, the approach of these two men similar? In my opinion, the movements both men began had a different impact on educational innovation. Both Calvin and the later development of the Jesuits were concerned for the betterment

of Christian instruction, including the comparable intellectual backgrounds that Calvin as well as Ignatius had. However, Ignatius supported the episcopal structure of the Roman Catholic church, while Calvin built another governing system. Furthermore, the Jesuits and Calvinists held opinions diverse in nature as to who should be educated as well as for what purpose. These are fundamental contrasts not only between the approaches of the two theologians, but also between the movements they inspired. As a result, they both wanted to reform education, but produced much different results.

EPILOGUE:

THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

AND THE INFLUENCE OF ASCETIC PROTESTANTISM

I will discuss the religious and cultural changes of the seventeenth century, giving brief examples from individual countries, such as England and France. The political climate will also be analysed through the ideas of royal absolutism. Such an examination leads to the differences between the Puritans and Anglicans towards academic freedom and the growing acceptance of the changes which were so revolutionary only a generation earlier. The mention of the Puritans and Anglicans is useful because it raises some major issues regarding the approach to education by two leading traditions in England of the seventeenth century. The Puritans were organized, to a certain extent, according to the principles of the Reformed church, while the Anglicans had an episcopal system similar to that of the Catholic church. It is necessary to examine, given these ideas, what some of the attitudes were towards education in England. Moreover, the issues regarding Puritanism and Anglicanism, such as liberality and academic freedom, need to be addressed in a discussion regarding the further development of education. The spread of Protestantism to North America, on the other hand, including the nature of education developed there, helps to understand the stress on primarily a secular form of education.

The religious and cultural changes of the seventeenth century were many, including the Thirty Years' War (1618-1648), the Edict of Nantes (1598) proclaiming the legality of the Huguenots in France, which, however, ended by the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes under Louis XIV (1685), and the revolution and restoration in England (1642-1660). As a result of the Peace of Westphalia (1648), the Thirty Years' War came to an end and the boundaries of most European countries received a status they would hold for 300 years.[1] Furthermore, Westphalia gave the Reformed church the right to be recognized by the Catholics and, in addition, made possible a general dialogue between the Protestants and Catholics, rather than bloodshed.[2]

The European map was changed drastically by these political and religious conflicts. In England, the battle between episcopalians and Calvinists raged through civil war (1642-1649), the execution of Charles I (1649), and the Puritan government (1649-1660). Because of the power of the cantons, Catholicism was growing again in Switzerland and Calvinists found themselves on the defensive. Germany was divided between the Protestant north and the Catholic south, as all Europe was. In the end, Lutherans claimed "Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Iceland, and the northern and central states of Germany; Calvinist or Reformed churches (were present) in

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[1] Chadwick 366

[2] Bendix 378

Scotland, the Netherlands, Hesse, the Palatinate, and a few of the western German states."[1] The rest, including "Spain, Italy, Austria, Bavaria, and elsewhere in southern Germany"[2], was claimed by the Catholic church.

The Protestants, not only the European continent, also experienced division. The Reformed church held a synod at Dort (1618-1619), "which came nearest to being a General Council of the Reformed Churches"[3], for it was becoming divided by the controversy of the Arminians. The ideas of Jacob Arminius, especially after his death (1609), inspired forty-six ministers to assent to a document known as the *Remonstrance*. One of the issues was whether Christ had died for all people, repudiating the concept of limited atonement; other ideas were that "election to eternal life is conditional upon good works in this life and that grace can be resisted and lost."[4] However, the conflict became entangled with the politics of Holland, becoming more complicated. The synod decided that Christ died for the elect and that grace, being irresistible, cannot be lost altogether.[5] As a result, the Reformed church was split and, although the separatists remained a small group, it gave rise to denominationalism.

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[1] Chadwick 366 (brackets added)

[2] Chadwick 366

[3] Chadwick 220

[4] Chadwick 220

[5] Chadwick 221

In the seventeenth century, Jesuit colleges were quickly growing in size, enough to rival the schools and universities of Protestantism. From such growth, the Jesuits dominated higher education in Catholic lands for another century, until their suppression in 1773. "By 1615, the Order conducted 572 colleges, and by 1705, the number had grown to 769. Many of these were very large; in 1627 the fourteen Jesuit colleges of the province of Paris enrolled more than 13,000 students."[1] In this way, Jesuit influence was spread and known throughout Western Europe and achieved a status that rivalled some of the best universities that Protestantism had to offer. Through the spread of the Jesuits, Catholic education was able to develop and become noticed in the academic circles of Europe.

Royal absolutism was only one of the developments taking place during the seventeenth century. The authority of kings and queens remained strong, but the various Parliaments of Europe, especially England, ensured that it became more a system of constitutional monarchy. For example, Charles I (1625-1649) wielded his royal powers like a despot and without the consent of Parliament. Later monarchs, especially in England, still had absolute power over the nation as heads of state, but would also keep a wary eye on the elected representatives of Parliament. Nevertheless, royal absolutism remained strong in, for example, France under Louis XIV (1643-

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[1] Eby, Frederick. The Development of Modern Education. (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1964), pp. 110-111.

1715), who ensured religious uniformity through the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes and whose policy maintained, at one point, the largest army in Europe. In a way, royalty, in countries where Catholicism formed a majority, despite such power, was not necessarily following the dictates of the Catholic church, while the medieval concept of the divine right of kings became only an image. Nonetheless, the notion of "one religion in one state (*un roi, une loi, une foi*)"[1] and the concept of a ruler being the same in religion as the majority of the people (*cujus regio ejus religio*)[2] retained some of its influence well into the seventeenth century. For example, "after the murder of Henry IV (1610) the political independence of the Huguenots offended the growing autocracy of the crown under Marie de' Medici and then Richelieu..."[3], which was used by Louis XIV to make France truly Catholic.

The strife in England, to a certain extent, had the effect of democratizing education because the Puritan government under Cromwell (1649-1658) was truly interested in providing religious toleration, which was limited, but gave enough room, in the process, for liberal ideas to be spread.[4]

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[1] Chadwick 166

[2] Bendix 155; Chadwick 173

[3] Chadwick 168

[4] Walzer, Michael. "Puritanism as a Revolutionary Ideology." The Protestant Ethic and Modernization: A Comparative View. Ed. S. N. Eisenstadt. (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1968), p. 109; Chadwick 238

However,

> the Puritan response produced revolutionaries, that is, saints, godly magistrates, men already disciplined (before the revolution begins) for the strenuous work of transforming all society and all men in the image of their salvation. Such men, narrow, fanatical, enthusiastic, committed to their "work," have little to contribute to the development of either liberalism or capitalism.[1]

It could be argued, though, that, given the structure, support, and attitude of the Puritan tradition (which was based on the Reformed tradition), education was given more attention when it came to the public. For example,

> in 1649, the Commonwealth Parliament provided for the support and regulation of schools in Wales; another measure passed the same year provided for the support of ministers and schoolmasters in England and Wales out of the national revenues.[2]

The reaction that accompanied the Restoration of Charles II (1660), however, set about to combat nonconformacy. For example, the Act of Uniformity (1662) "expelled all clergymen from their benefices and all teachers from their schools who refused to conform to the established church."[3] In addition, the Five-Mile Act (1665) "had for its purpose the extinction of all nonconformist teaching by forbidding all dissenting pastors to teach within five miles of their pulpits."[4] Such measures gave a virtual monopoly of instruction to the Church

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[1] Walzer, "Puritanism as a Revolutionary Ideology," 129

[2] Eby 213

[3] Eby 213

[4] Eby 213

of England or the Anglican tradition. With such security, most of the clergy of the Anglican church were "fox-hunting squires who had interest only in their livings, despised learning, and cared nothing for religion, which was merely part of the conventional formalism of civic life."[1] Academic freedom in English education was thus suppressed for over two centuries.[2]

Given the ideas stated in the preceding paragraph, I think that the need of the presbyterian system, with its destruction of "hierarchy...the central (principle) of traditional government,"[3] for the input of laypeople could have made the Puritans more sensitive to the needs of the lower ranks of society, while the Anglican church, with its episcopalian polity and its virtual union with the political state, might have catered more to the higher classes.

An acceptance of the changes initiated in the sixteenth century was growing. The revolutions of the 1500's were slowly passing into a more secure, less adventurous phase, which was necessary for building a stable economic system.[4] There were more commoners, instead of the privileged few, going to colleges, the middle class was becoming larger, not to mention

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[1] Eby 214

[2] Eby 214

[3] Walzer, "Puritanism as a Revolutionary Ideology," 129 (brackets added)

[4] See on this issue Walzer's The Revolution of the Saints, Bendix's Kings or People: Power and the Mandate to Rule, and Chadwick's The Reformation.

number of people with better accuracy.[1] Nevertheless, enormous barriers still existed for women and the poor. In the end, education, being an institution, despite all of its privileges and drawbacks, gave at least the ruling classes a more enlightened and more informed state of mind. These changes, interestingly enough, may have initiated a relativist attitude towards other people's beliefs, which might have pushed the idea of religion, however slightly, to the private sphere.

For the Protestants, the situation was not to simply exist anymore, but to provide stability for the countries in which they enjoyed a majority. When the Reformed tradition could not secure power in England through the failure of the Puritan revolution (1660), many discontented people left for the new shores of North America where they founded colonies, sometimes made up of small communities. These included Lutherans, Episcopalians, Congregationalists, Puritans, Presbyterians, Quakers, Baptists, and even Catholics. Here, they built new societies with new religious formulas. The fight was not only against the Catholics, but also against each other. In the sixteenth century, there were only two major Protestant groups: the Lutherans and the Reformed church. In the seventeenth century, there were dozens of groups that finally led to the notion of denominationalism.

The nature of education in the colonies, like Virginia and New England for example, could be separated according to

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[1] Chadwick 368

whether a child was male or female. Such education, which was not built according to the public education model and was for the well-to-do, simply provides a framework of the growing influence of secularization. For men, "to be worldly was to be prepared to deal effectively with the tasks associated with gentility in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries."[1] Worldly activities were associated with practical tasks that instructed a gentleman in manners, business (such as trade), and an observation of other people's ways, whether on a moral or an intellectual level. The Reverend Jonathan Boucher can be used as a representative of this kind of an education when he tutored the stepson of George Washington, John Parke Custis. Boucher saw in Custis a limited amount of learning when it came to scholarly study, but advised travel as the best means to bring the youth first-hand knowledge of the world around him. A genteel member of high society was often encouraged to travel as a means of concluding an education in worldliness.[2] Furthermore, Custis, like so many young gentlemen of his time, did not complete his college requirements because of early marriage, secure in his "youth, fortune, and family."[3] These are the means by which a young man, in the end, "entered the world of adults for which he had been preparing for many

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[1] Greven, Philip. The Protestant Temperament. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1977), p. 286.

[2] Greven 287

[3] Greven 288

years."[1]

The education of young ladies was different and more restricted, preparing them to become "wives, mothers, and household managers."[2] When marriage was concerned, the husband's happiness was considered more important than her own. With this objective in mind, a young lady was instructed in "all the arts and skills associated both with domesticity and gentility - cooking, sewing, music, dancing - as well as being literate and knowledgable to a limited degree..."[3] The act of being sociable, including being able to hold a decent, polite conversation with other members of the genteel society, was, in some ways, essential in proving the good breeding of girls. These were the proper undertakings of women coming from rich, fashionable families that ensured "the appearance as well as the manner of gentility."[4]

While I have considered the development of education using examples of the eighteenth century, when secularism has had a chance to evolve, the pattern of the growing secularization of education can be applied to the seventeenth century as well. This secular growth, though in its early stages, probably meant that education, despite its private

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[1] Greven 288

[2] Greven 289

[3] Greven 289

[4] Greven 291

character, was relegated not to the church[1], but to the immediate family.[2] Instead of sending their children to other, more prominent authorities for instruction, as was the case in the sixteenth century, the various financially-capable Protestant families decided to keep their children at home. Here, they probably received a less religiously-influential education, but a more practical one, which could have been used to run the family fortune. The nature of education depended, it seems, on what the family's beliefs were and what they wanted their children to be.[3] These ideas, interestingly enough, developed into attitudes on which was the best way to teach children. Was a strict, self-denying, and flesh-denying path right, as was the case in some evangelical households? Or was it prudent to be more moderate, imposing an emphasis on discipline and a duty towards one's parents? The moderates seem to have grown up without the emotional and religious troubles of the evangelical one.[4] They had a better time coping with sexual desires, authority, and the changes accompanying the growth from adolescence to adulthood.[5]

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[1] Berger, Peter L. The Sacred Canopy. (New York: Anchor Books, 1969), p. 107.

[2] Durkheim, Moral Education, pp. 1-14, 106 (on secular morality)

[3] Durkheim, Emile. Education and Sociology. (New York: The Free Press, 1956), p. 91.

[4] Greven 261, 291

[5] Greven 130-132, 261

I have showed that education continued to evolve towards the private sphere, but with important developments that influenced the growth of secularism. In addition, the Protestant families populating the colonies provided for their children a worldly education, which was part of the expression of secularism and was less religious in its outlook than the education given in the early sixteenth century. Religion, it seems, was being pushed out of the classrooms partly due to practical reasons that included the economic management of large estates, the growing secular influence because of the separation of church and state,[1] and the emphasis on worldliness as a part of education.

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[1] Berger 107

CONCLUSION

Cultural and religious changes permeated the sixteenth century. From Luther's protest to Henry VIII's Parliamentary sessions, the battles were long and fierce. One of the changes initiated during this turbulent age was in the realm of education, which was represented by three groups: the humanists, Jesuits, and Calvinists. The humanists were made up of individuals who sought reform within their societies, but did not necessarily choose sides during the Reformation due to their apolitical views. Given the argument that most of the humanists were, to a certain extent, apolitical, they did not contribute as much nor as decisively to either the Reformation or the Counter-Reformation, for they were disinterested in choosing sides and, in the end, remained simply individual intellectuals. Furthermore, their reform of education stayed classical and private. The Jesuits, on the other hand, were an organized religious group that fought long and hard to reform Catholic education anywhere in the world. Nevertheless, their reforms were also classical and private, their interest was on educating the clergy, not the general public, and their purpose was to fight for the Catholic church. Finally, the Calvinists were an organized religious group that fought for the Reformed tradition and accentuated public education, namely, that all people have a right to be educated. These differences mark the Calvinists as pursuing something new and

innovative, despite the enormous efforts of both the humanists and the Jesuits.

The lives of the founders of the Calvinists and Jesuits give a deeper meaning to the issue of the connection between the Protestant ethic and modern public education. Here, the discovery of their personal triumphs and tragedies provide an emphasis on the men behind the movements and what motivated them to become reformers. Such an analysis leads into the issue of education as it was associated with both Calvin and Ignatius. The presbyterian structure is given attention because at the root of such a system lies the necessary support of lay members. In order for lay members to contribute to its leadership, they need to be educated. Hence, there is quite a different view from the Jesuits both as to who should be educated and for what purposes. Calvin's theology of predestination did not necessarily lead into religious anxiety, but into worldly activity as an assurance of salvation. The believer, provided that the work is meaningful, can now live in the world without being subject to its sins. This work can also increase the moral duties and aims of the individual, making them better citizens. With a concentration on study, the discipline and manners of laypeople are improved.

Ignatius chose to build the organization of the Jesuits according to the episcopal system of the Roman Catholic church. With this in mind, it can be seen that laypeople are

left to their own devices, with the help of the church, to govern their lives. Because the system is hierarchical, the leadership is removed far enough from the laity that any input will be indirect. I am not necessarily arguing that in a hierarchical system, there is no contact between levels, even if the laity never gets to see the pope, but that the communication between the clergy, including the bishops and the cardinals, and the laity was, in some way, inconsistent. Furthermore, the leadership is chosen from members of the clergy, not directly from the laity. As a result, the Jesuits mostly opened up colleges for prospective applicants to the clergy, not the laity. In this respect, the Jesuits also emphasized higher education, not the public education advocated by the Calvinists.

The monastic ideal of the Jesuits can be compared and contrasted with the ascetic one. Like monasticism, asceticism is fervently devoted to God and believes in the sins of this world. However, the monk lives a celibate life outside of the world, preferring to live alone or in a small community. These living arrangements are chosen because the person desires to achieve an ever closer union with God. A worldly ascetic, on the other hand, moves within the confines of the world, marries, and decides to live with the sins every day, thereby making their moral armour tougher by actually experiencing (and, hopefully, helping) their environment. The strength of feeling in these two ideals is the same as well as the

devotion offered to God, but the way in which they are carried out is different.

The similarities and differences between the ideas of Calvin and Ignatius and some of their contemporaries should be noted. The theology of both Calvin and Luther were similar when the doctrine of predestination is considered. Furthermore, they both sought to reform the Catholic church, not necessarily create a new one, while stressing the importance of the Bible in church worship. However, Calvin understood the Eucharist to be a commemoration meal set on a table around which the celebrants can gather, while Luther still kept priestly vestments and the raising of the Host. Moreover, the understanding of asceticism or the doctrine where the believer received God's salvatory grace through work was never fully developed with Luther's ideas. There was no emphasis on work as a means to salvation and no broadly-defined concept of living within the world, but being untouched by its sins. Intense worldly activity was not an ideal strongly felt within Lutheranism and, as a result, the strong accent on discipline and frugality, which was present in the Reformed tradition, was absent.

The Jesuits, under Ignatius, can be discussed in relation with the Franciscans. Both the Jesuits and the Franciscans were monastic organizations dedicated to God. They worked hard and long to help those in need. Nevertheless, the Jesuits also catered to the higher classes of society, emphasizing the

gentry and those in leadership positions. In addition, they used modern methods, such as outdoor activities, and had a sense of true reform within and according to the structure of the Catholic church. The aim of the Jesuits was, to a certain extent, education, but towards the clergy. The Franciscans did not, for the most part, share such fervour for reforming the education of the clergy and, when they did, it was probably after the initiating process of the Jesuits. In the end, both monastic movements remained within the boundaries of classical and private educational reform, without the accent on widespread public instruction.

Is there a case to be made that the work of the Jesuits and Calvinists on the improvement of education was, to a certain extent, similar? I think that besides a number of similarities, including the formation of organized, self-disciplined religious groups and the considerable passion they both shared for reform, the goals of their respective movements were dissimilar. For example, their ideals rested on different principles, as the concepts of monasticism and asceticism made clear. Thus, the Jesuits aimed at an educated clergy, through a mostly classical and private education, while the Calvinists sought the education of the laity through their presbyterian model. Given these differences, it should be noted that the Jesuits and the Calvinists, speaking ideally, can be said to have reformed education according to certain moral principles and in order to enrich their society.

They used different ways in achieving that purpose, but the principles that were used remain ethically inspired.

The seventeenth century was, in some ways, built on the sixteenth. The struggles of the sixteenth century ultimately created Europe's boundaries for 300 years, brought on, to a certain extent, royal absolutism, and gave rise to denominationalism, which basically meant the further dissection of Christianity into many more parts, in the seventeenth century. In this case, education, whether it was done according to private or public methods, became more secular through the influence of family and public education in both Europe and North America, which eventually gave rise to evangelicalism and the moderate ideal. In other words, education became the property of the community, not of the church. Given these developments, religion was being slightly, but effectively pushed to the private sphere and became less essential to public education than in the sixteenth century. This situation arose due, in part, to more practical, including financial, matters eventually becoming paramount within the higher classes of society, particularly within the families living in the colonies. Church authorities were still present in everyday life, but patterns began to emerge that would lead to secularization. Using Weber's methodology, I have traced the outline of Calvinist thought from its beginnings to its influence on, and eventual transformation of, public education. The Reformed tradition was not the only

one to create changes still visible today, but was a primary component in the struggle to create instructional facilities that continue to be, at least in principle, open to everyone.

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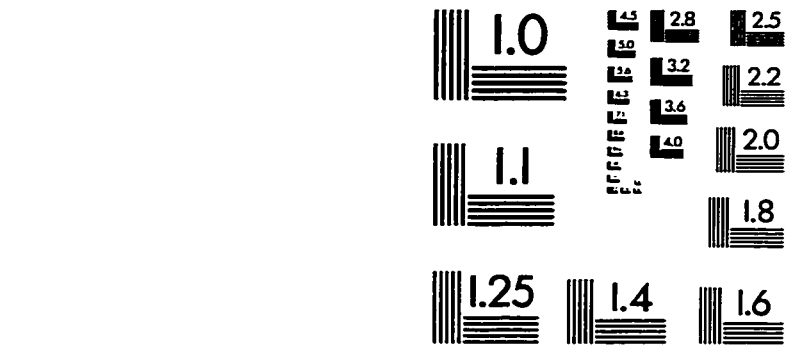

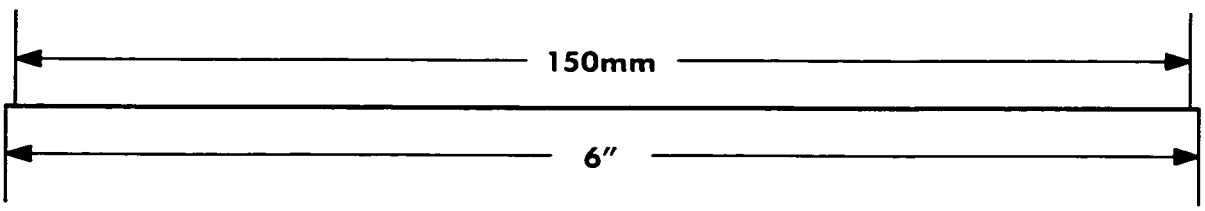

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