

REFORMATION, PEDAGOGY, AND TYPOGRAPHY:
A STUDY IN THE HISTORY OF THE DISCOURSE ON CHILDHOOD

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REFORMATION, PEDAGOGY, AND TYPOGRAPHY: A STUDY IN THE HISTORY

OF THE DISCOURSE ON CHILDHOOD

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ABSTRACT

A considerable amount of historical research has examined the social and ideological consequences of the advent of typography and the subsequent development of mass literacy. However, the direct and indirect influences of printing on pedagogy have been generally overlooked. This study describes and explains how the relationship of printing, literacy, and early German Protestantism influenced the reconceptualization of childhood and pedagogy. My premise is that a new sensibility and attitude towards childhood, reflected in the establishment of a state sponsored system of universal education, is an overlooked concomitant of typography and the spread of print literacy.

Recent work in family and childhood history is reviewed. The early development of the printing industry is examined, focusing on both secular and theological publications. The economic, social, and political conditions in Germany during the early 1500's are outlined to provide a context within which to situate the 1525 Peasant Rebellion and the subsequent educational reform movement. Luther's doctrinal disputes are discussed in relation to his reconceptualization of the individual, his call for individual literacy, and, hence, his promotion of public and compulsory schooling. School documents, popular literature, and Luther's theological tracts are analyzed to document the emergence of the modern discourse on pedagogy and childhood.

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I. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Aims

This is a study in the history of an idea: the idea of childhood. The central aim of this study is to explain why and in what ways the concept of childhood changed from the 'premodern' concept typified by alleged adult indifference to children (cf. Aries, 1962), to the early 'modern' concept marked by increased and more systematic attention to children. The focus of the study will be on the Protestant Reformation in 16th century Germany.

Family historians Aries (1962), Stone (1977), and Shorter (1976), argue that the shift from the premodern extended family unit to the modern nuclear family occurred over a three century period: from 1500 to 1800. This study will examine the first century of this period, when changing ideas about the family and children emerged in the literature of the Reformation. During the 16th century, there emerged in many European countries an entirely 'new' body of literature concerned with the treatment of children at home and at school. Much of what was written about children was based on ideas derived from the authors of antiquity. But what was novel about this emergent discourse was an incorporation of humanist ideas and scriptural justifications for the methods and aims of childrearing.

Pedagogues, moralists, pediatricians, religious and educational reformers all advocated humane yet firm treatment for children; parents were admonished not to neglect the rod but, also, to love their children as God loved his earthly flock.

This is a study, then, in the emergence and development of a discourse -- pedagogy -- which expresses changing attitudes and ideas about children. Moreover, the rise of 'pedagogy' is itself an emergent phenomenon in the history of ideas, and reflects a recognition that children were not considered as "miniature adults" (Aries, 1962). In contrast to Aries' claims of apparent medieval attitudes of indifference and ignorance about children, the late Renaissance period showed an increasing adult awareness of children as distinct social beings who developed characteristics and needs in identifiable stages. Ideas about children and about their education did not remain in the sphere of academic, theological debate; that which was preached and printed was both in great demand by a literate lay public and, by mid century, would form the basis for major, state-legislated educational reform.

What distinguished the 16th century discourse on children from that of previous centuries was the systematization of those ideas in print. It is not unreasonable to assume that the wide distribution of those ideas among a nonclerical reading audience of parents influenced, in perhaps unmeasurable ways, parental attitudes. The eventual implementation of the 'new pedagogy' into social practice -- the establishment of a universal and

compulsory educational system -- can be linked to the mass propagandizing of ideas made possible by print technology which Protestant reformers made full use of.

[Michel Foucault has noted that the manner in which ideas are organized or "systematized" is as important as the content of those ideas.] In other words, an analysis of how ideas are conceptually or materially ordered, or of the rules that give select individuals or institutions the authority and right to 'speak', will provide, in Foucault's view, a better understanding of the formation, expression, and transformation of ideas, than analysis of the ideas themselves will allow.

What counts in the things said by men is not so much what they may have thought or the extent to which these things represent their thought, as to that which systematizes them from the outset, thus making them thereafter endlessly accessible to new discourses and open to the task of transforming them. (my emphasis; 1975: xix)

In order to explain, then, how and why certain ideas come about, equal consideration must be given to how those ideas are ordered, their mode of expression, the content of those ideas, or the way new ideas oppose or are analogous to already articulated ideas, and what institutional or individual authorities sanction certain ideas. Following this view, the development of Reformation ideas about children and education will be examined in relation to the then new mode of communication -- printing.

Reformation historians have generally acknowledged the importance of printing as a new means for disseminating ideas

which greatly facilitated the rapid spread of Luther's revolutionary theology. Compared to the slow and laborious process of hand copying manuscripts, moveable type enabled ideas to be mass reproduced and distributed faster and more efficiently. In contrast to the rate of transmission of ideas in an oral culture, the mass distribution via print of multiple and standardized ideas resulted in an accelerated public and political response to Luther's ideas, whether strong resistance in some regions, or broad support in others. Lawrence Stone has noted, and most Reformation historians agree, that

the main distinguishing doctrines of the Reformation were salvation by faith alone and the priesthood of all believers,...The key factor in the dissemination of these ideas was the printing press...It was the printing press which disseminated at such speed the ideas of Luther, and the printing press which made that revolutionary document, the Bible, available to an unsophisticated but semiliterate laity. The result was the most massive missionary drive in history. (1981: 102)

And along with the diffusion of issues pertaining to doctrinal dispute and debate, ideas about the spiritual relationship between the individual and God via scripture, ideas about the social conduct and responsibility of the family, about marriage, children, the church and the state, were simultaneously spread among the people. This "most massive missionary drive in history" was successful because Lutheran ideology was preached by pastors and itinerant evangelists in remote hamlets and villages, and Luther's sermons were also available in print.

The early history of printing is an important factor in the development and course of Reformation events and ideas. However,

the influence of printing on the spread of Lutheranism and the subsequent changes in the collective social consciousness must be considered in relation to antecedent and contemporaneous 'landmark' events in human knowledge and experience. As Chaytor explains, the decades shortly before and after 1500 were marked by 'great events' in many spheres of human knowledge which, in retrospect, can be said to have changed the worldviews of literate men and women from a medieval to an early modern perspective:

In 1492 Columbus made his great voyage, in 1494 Charles VIII invaded Italy, in 1500 Copernicus was lecturing in Rome, Erasmus and Luther were at work and in 1521 the Diet of Worms was held, while in the previous year Magellan had circumnavigated the globe. In the effects of such events the difference between medieval and modern is apparent, in the enlargement of outlook upon the world and the interpretation of man's place and powers in it. That extension of view would have unfolded much more slowly than it did, if the printer had not already been at work for half a century. (1966: 138)

Moreover, the recent interest in the advent of printing as a critical moment in the history of literacy, has led to renewed research on the 'social effects' of printing (e.g. Graff, 1981; Eisenstein, 1980; Febvre & Martin, 1976). Without print technology, as Eisenstein has noted, there could not have been a Bible in every household to promote "a priesthood of all believers"; universal public schooling could not have become a practical reality without the multiple duplications of text made possible by the press. The mass production of school texts and school ordinances enabled the wide distribution of specified knowledge and sets of institutional rules. Hence, public

schooling would standardize what and how children should be taught; it would provide all children with basic literacy skills and simultaneously facilitate the mass transmission of select and centrally controlled knowledge. The organization of children in schools would also permit more systematic and uniform socialization; prolonged mandatory school attendance would provide an extended and legally sanctioned opportunity for school/church authorities to shape the attitudes, values and beliefs of future generations. The uniform organization of schools, teachers, and students according to identical school ordinances distributed to all schools in pro-Lutheran territories and principalities eventually would have, or so Luther had hoped, a socially and religiously unifying effect on German society.

A central part of my analysis will examine how printing -- its geographic expansion, book genres, censorship laws, publications and distribution -- influenced the dissemination of Lutheran ideology. I will then look at those aspects of Luther's theology that bear directly on the ideas he advocated concerning the family, education, and children. By linking the early development of printing with select theological and social aspects of Lutheranism, I propose to show that ideas about and attitudes towards childhood changed throughout most of German society during the early and mid 16th century as a consequence of the combined power of both Luther's and the printed word. As Eisenstein has noted, "that the new presses disseminated

Protestant views is, probably, the only aspect of the impact of printing which is familiar to most historians of modern Europe" (Eisenstein, 1980: 28). I will attempt here to proceed from this commonly acknowledged relation between print and Protestantism, and link the rise of Lutheranism, printing, and education with social, economic, and political changes in an effort to describe and explain under what combination of influences the concept of childhood changed in 16th century German society. This study then, draws from communications and educational history, the history of literacy, and the social history of the family, in an effort to document, chronologically, the development of the early modern concept of childhood.

1.2 Method

In Discipline and Punish (1977), Madness and Civilization (1973), and The Birth of the Clinic (1975), Foucault traces the conceptual development of, and the rise of attendant institutions for the therapeutic confinement of the criminal, the 'madman', and the ill. The development of a formal discourse on pedagogy and the subsequent 'birth of the school' follows patterns similar to those described by Foucault in his analysis of prison reform, the emergence of mental institutions and hospitals. In Discipline and Punish, for instance, he shows how, in France, the 'modern' concept of the criminal emerged during the 18th century as part of the discourse on penal reform. In the process of reevaluating existing penal institutions and

ideas about criminality, justice, and punishment, a new practical and theoretical penal 'network' was established upon which 'modern' theories of law and crime were based. For example, newly defined taxonomies for identifying and describing criminal behaviors brought with them new civil laws of prohibition, and new forms of punishment; prisons were architecturally designed to both accommodate the "classified" criminal and to allow for the kind of surveillance large groups of classified individuals required. Those penal reformers who were instrumental in institutional and judicial reform created, and were themselves a part of, an emergent authority network of "warders, doctors, chaplains, psychiatrists, psychologists, educationalists" (Foucault, 1977: 11).

Documentation, or a "network of writing" helped fix and verify offenses, judgements, descriptions of individual behaviors, identifications of rank, and locations of confinement:

A 'power of writing' was constituted as an essential part in the mechanism of discipline. (Foucault, 1977: 189)

And by documenting the series of 'examinations' each individual was forced to pass through -- from initial oral questioning at trials, to the recording of behaviors once institutionalized -- record-keeping created a cumulative, individual "archive"; documentation and examination enabled amorphous "disciplinary power" to establish a 'visible', that is, written and formalized, disciplinary code by which individuals could be

classified, compared, identified, and defined.

In schools, Foucault notes, similar processes of disciplinary organization were at work. And this study will show those similar patterns of development vis a vis the child: the emergence of a discourse on childhood and education at the beginning of the 16th century, the 'birth of the school' at mid century, and, finally, the full institutionalization of the child, by the close of the century. Notions of 'rank', for instance, Foucault claims developed in the French educational order during the 18th century. Yet, criteria and methods for ranking were specified in the Lutheran educational reform documents, the school ordinances, as early as the mid 16th century when 'rank' defined

the great form of distribution of individuals in the educational order: rows or ranks of pupils in the class, corridors, courtyards; rank attributed to each pupil at the end of each task and each examination; the rank he obtains from week to week, month to month, year to year; an alignment of age groups, one after another; a succession of subjects taught and questions treated, according to an order of increasing difficulty.
(Foucault, 1977: 147)

Those same ideas about supervision, classification by examinations, confinement, or hierarchization, which underlay the 18th century French formation of institutional systems designed for therapeutic confinement (e.g. the prisons and hospitals), had already been articulated in the pedagogical discourse of 16th century German Protestant education. In analogy to Foucault's analyses of the emergence, definition and classification of criminality in 18th century France, and

madness in the 19th century, this study will show that Foucault's concepts can be related to an analysis of the emergence of early modern pedagogy, schooling, and changing definitions of childhood.

In "What is Discourse?", Robert D'Amico explains that "discourse is a group of statements which have a regularity in the form of practice" (1982: 210). The statements within a discourse derive their meaning from "discursive practice"; for Foucault, unless the statements of a discourse are considered in relation to a field of practice, such statements are meaningless, or "empty". Foucault explains that a discourse is based on the interplay of two "codes" or axes of knowledge:

on the one hand, that of codification/prescription (how it forms an ensemble of rules, procedures, means to an end, etc.), and on the other, that of true or false formulation (how it determines a domain of objects about which it is possible to articulate true or false propositions). (Foucault, 1981: 8)

Put in another way, discursive history studies both

this interplay between a 'code' which rules ways of doing things (how people are to be graded and examined, things and signs classified, individuals trained, etc.) and a production of true discourses which serve to found, justify, and provide reasons and principles for these ways of doing things. (Foucault, 1981: 8)

Accordingly, this study will examine both the prescriptions for home and school childrearing, and the theoretical formulations that justified and rationalized those practices.

Concepts of childhood have not been studied as a history of discourse. The history of education has been well researched and documented, as has the history of communication. Histories of

the family and of childhood are still relatively new fields of inquiry, wherein much debate and controversy over regional and chronological aspects of change is evident (cf. Tufte & Myerhoff, 1979). This study attempts to contribute to the current discourse on the history of childhood by applying the methods of historical inquiry outlined by Foucault in the aforementioned works, to link family history, educational history, intellectual history, and the history of communication.

An examination of those institutions -- the family and schools -- which, in Foucault's words, "circumscribe" children's lives, will provide insights into historical childrearing practices at home and at school. Educational history, then, contributes to this study aspects of a 'formalized' pedagogical discourse. From family history we can draw demographic and anecdotal information about less formal aspects of pedagogy: the training of children at home. Reformation ideas about children can be found in the secular literature of family conduct manuals, medical texts, popular literature, and in the reformers' theological tracts. And by reviewing the early history of printing, we can examine the early book trade in order to reconstruct the scope of the 'spread of ideas' in general, and the circulation and formalization of ideas about children in particular.

Contemporary scholars of the history of literacy (e.g. Graff, 1981, 1982; Cressy, 1980; Eisenstein, 1980) agree that book production is one of several indirect indicators of

literacy. In order to argue, then, that the advent of typography influenced a collective change in ideas about the family and childhood -- by way of an increase in literacy concomitant with the rise of Protestantism -- the expansion of printing and book production must be considered as one of several sources of change. As Cressy explains, print, literacy, and education must be viewed as historically concomitant phenomena:

It is reasonable to assume some correlation between the level and progress of literacy, and book production, book ownership and the history of education...The expansion or improvement of education increases literacy, which in turn leads to a greater demand for books. The rising output of printed matter makes it possible for more people to own books, and may itself stimulate the spread of literacy. The greater the circulation of books may create more opportunities for people to learn to read them. (1980: 45-6)

Cressy's comments reflect his particular findings on print, literacy and schooling in 16th to 18th century England. His methodological perspective, however, is shared by other social historians of literacy. The key word here is 'correlation' -- Cressy views print production as an indirect indicator of the advancement of literacy and is not arguing for a causal or linear relationship between the two. With Graff (1981 (a), (b); 1982), he attempts to establish historical relationships among phenomena such as print, literacy and schooling without overestimating the impact of print (cf. McLuhan, 1962). In agreement with Cressy, Graff, and Eisenstein this study integrates their methodological approach to the role of print as a potential 'agent of change' and follows Foucault's notion of situating print within a 'network of interrelations' which,

through their interaction and interdependence, generate historical change.

1.3 The Reformation Background

The theological issues of the 16th century, in conjunction with the political, social, economic and philosophical currents of the age, generated a religiously based protest movement which led to the institutionalizing of Protestantism. The voluminous literature on the Protestant Reformation documents a variety of causes for and consequences of the movement. The most commonly acknowledged cause is seen in the moral decline and disintegration of power of the Roman church: in its internal authority structure, in its ability to maintain unity within Christendom, and in its role as mediator between God and the people. A second, equally influential cause, first outlined by Engels¹ and Marx, derives from social and economic conditions. Economic and political historians agree that a rising bourgeoisie and an increasingly impoverished peasantry and laboring class, in conjunction with a deteriorating economic situation of overpopulation and an inefficient, outmoded system of food production, led to mass support of Lutheranism by upper and lower classes alike, and ultimately, to the 1525 Peasant Rebellion. The peasant revolt marked a pivotal point in the subsequent development of the 'modern' German state and marked the onset of a more systematic formulation and implementation of

¹Engels, F. The Peasant War in Germany (M. J. Olgin, Trans.). New York: International Publishers, 1926.

Protestant ideas derived, in large part, from Luther's matured vision of a reorganized church and state order.

Another, more sociologically based explanation for the Reformation is, in Stone's words, "the rise of an educated elite of laymen" whose "growing control of the laity over the clergy is a phenomenon common to all stages of the Reformation" (1981: 101). According to Stone, the diminishing power of church authorities during the Reformation was, in part, due to the increasing influence of humanist scholars whose contributions to educational reform deemphasized the training of professional clerics in favor of a classical education for the 'modern' Renaissance man. As well, vernacular translations of the New Testament undermined the authority of clerical mediation between believer, scripture and God.

From a study of Reformation causes, events and consequences to the study of tracing the development of an idea -- the concept of childhood -- one moves from a study of historical complexity to historical obscurity. For while the 'landmark' events of recorded history -- the wars, Reformation leaders, church ecumenical councils, the spread of printing, and so forth -- serve as historical markers with which to reconstruct the development of Reformation ideas and events, the kind of social changes effected by 'great events' and 'great men' are more difficult to uncover since, at the level of everyday experience, changing attitudes, thought and behaviors are generally absent from the formal historical record.

The reconceptualization of childhood was a part of a much broader change in intellectual outlook. Central to the intellectual changes of the 16th century was the idea, held by orthodox Catholics and by Luther and his followers, that the church was in need of major reform. And a major component of Luther's call for religious and social reform was the secular and spiritual redefinition of the family and of family relations, and, importantly, the need for total educational reform. These, for Luther, were fundamental preconditions for the reform of both church and state. The idea that the church could be reformed by establishing more effective means of recruitment than reliance on internal ecclesiastical promotion, also brought with it the recognition that a better educational foundation was needed for new recruits. For Luther, the need for well educated young people to assume leadership in the church and state was particularly important. Equally important, he initially considered a universal rudimentary literacy as essential in enabling all people to have access to the words of scripture.

Religious questions in the 16th century were, by and large, political questions. A unified church was considered a precondition for a unified state. And so, in order to promote and control uniformity of belief, a standardized educational system was seen as the best and most effective means of institutionalizing the young for an extended period of time. Under the controlled conditions of compulsory schooling,

children of all social classes in rural and urban areas could be brought under centralized surveillance whereby ideas could be uniformly transmitted and childrens' behaviors more closely monitored. Printed school textbooks and printed school ordinances distributed throughout the public schools and universities of reformed, pro-Lutheran territories enabled authorities to exert some measure of uniformity and control in what was taught and how it should be taught.

1.4 Perspectives on Historical Concepts of the Family and Childhood

Aries in Centuries of Childhood (1962) and Stone in The Family, Sex and Marriage in England: 1500-1800 (1977) claim that ideas about childhood underwent change as part of the more profound 300 year transformation of the family. As the title of Stone's work indicates, his study focuses on the English family, whereas Aries' work is a "social history of family life" in France.

Aries' central point, which is more fully discussed in Chapter 2, is that childhood was "discovered" during the 17th and 18th centuries when adults recognized distinct differences between childhood and adolescence, for "until the 18th century, adolescence was confused with childhood" (Aries, 1962: 25). The classification of adolescence as a distinct developmental stage, however, dates back to antiquity (cf. Strauss, 1978: 554). During the Middle Ages, young children "did not count",

adolescents were considered as children, and early adulthood was considered 'youth' (Aries, 1962: 121, 128). Until the mid 17th century, infancy was seen to end at age 5 or 6; between ages 7 to 10 children entered school where all age groups mingled in the same class: "up to the end of the 18th century nobody thought of separating them" (Aries, 1962: 239). Childhood and adolescence remained undifferentiated until 18th century middle class education established a system of age/grade related instruction.

Aries intends his study of past notions of childhood to be an account of European family history (cf. Strauss, 1978: 355). Yet as Stone's analysis shows, and as this study of 16th century Germany will show, from his predominantly French sources Aries has written a social history of the French family only. During the 16th, 17th, and 18th centuries, Catholic France developed a very different educational system from Protestant England or Germany. In fact, the chronology of change in family structure, in education, and in ideas about childhood documented by Aries, corresponds to the same periodization of the 18th century which Foucault outlines as the critical juncture when the 'modern' concept of mental illness and criminality emerged in France. As Aries notes, the historically 'late' childhood/adolescence distinction in France was due to the "tardy establishment of a connection between age and school class" (1962: 239). Again, Foucault makes a similar observation of the French educational order which he considers analogous to the organizing,

disciplinary principles at work in French prisons and hospitals. And while the British and German educational systems of the 16th century made age/grade distinctions explicit, in France "this connection remained vague" in the 16th and 17th centuries.

It will be noticed that the tradition of not distinguishing between childhood and adolescence, is a tradition which disappeared in the middle classes in the course of the nineteenth century, still exists today in France in the lower classes where there is no secondary education. Most primary schools remain faithful to the old practice of simultaneous tuition. (Aries, 1962: 239)

Catholic and Protestant ideas about children and education followed separate chronological developments and should not be taken to reflect one unified transition in the 'evolution of the Western family'. A more thorough examination of the difference between 16th century Protestant and Catholic attitudes towards book learning, which I will show to have had conceptual and practical implications regarding education and children, is discussed in Chapter 2.

Stone's ideas about changing concepts of childhood in England are more closely related to the situation in Protestant Germany. Change in British family structure, according to Stone, occurred between the mid 16th and late 18th centuries. Whereas Aries' work is more of a study in cultural history based on sources derived from art and literature, Stone relates change in family life and structure to wider intellectual changes in religion, philosophy, and political thought. Both Aries and Stone are more concerned with historical change in ideas and attitudes, than in socio-structural change. And while in Aries'

work the lack of 'numbers' reflects his aversion to a statistically based explanation of family and childhood history, Stone incorporates, although he does not rely upon, demographic data to give the reader approximations of class differentiated marriage age, age at death, marriage durations, life expectancy rates, and so forth.

In agreement with Aries' view of the French family, Stone notes that in 16th and 17th century British society, individuals found it very difficult to establish close emotional ties to any other person. Children were neglected, brutally treated, and even killed; adults treated each other with suspicion and hostility; affect was low, and hard to find. (1977: 99)

Stone's explanation for the development of such low affect in familial relations is as follows:

the lack of a unique mother figure in the first two years of life, the constant loss of close relatives, siblings, parents, nurses and friends through premature death, the physical imprisonment of the infant in tight swaddling-clothes in the early months, and the deliberate breaking of the child's will all contributed to a 'psychic numbing' which created many adults whose primary responses to others were at best a calculating indifference and at worst a mixture of suspicion and hostility, tyranny and submission, alienation and rage. (1977: 101-102)

Another reason for such low emotional tenor in the early modern family is seen to lie with the customary practice of prearranged marriage. Given the economic and political value and purpose of prearranged marriage contracts, emotional bonds, as we understand them today, were, in Stone's view, absent between husband and wife. And this lack of affect between parents was transferred to children, and other members of the family and

community. Prearranged marriage, according to Stone, did not come under criticism in England until the late 17th century. In contrast, prearranged marriage and lengthy betrothals had been vehemently rejected by Luther in his sermons printed as early as 1519.

Stone's three stage typology of the shift in family structure has some similarities to the development of the German family, but differs in its final stage. The Open Lineage Family existed from antiquity to the mid 16th century; the Restricted Patriarchal Family "began in about 1530, predominated from about 1580 to 1640, and ran to at least 1700"; the Closed Domesticated Nuclear Family emerged in the late 17th century from the ranks of the upper bourgeoisie and squirearchy. The Closed Domesticated Nuclear Family was based on "personal autonomy", linked family relations by "strong affective ties", and saw the decline of patriarchal authority (Stone, 1977: 7). The latter development coincided with the emergence of the modern concept of childhood -- one in which parent-child relations were based on love by both parents, where formal education was seen as necessary, and "among the wealthier members of society the new orientation towards children led to an active desire to limit their numbers in order to improve their life chances" (Stone, 1977: 8).

The development in England during the 1530's of the Restricted Patriarchal Family is paralleled by a similar stage in family evolution in Germany. In the literature of the 1530's,

at least, the importance of the family as the cornerstone of spiritual and civil harmony in the community is a recurring theme. Moreover, the necessity for good governance in the home was seen as the foundation for orderly rule in the state and church. Rule and order in the holy estate of matrimony increasingly became the responsibility of the 'hausvater' whose role and status was conceived of as a secular reflection of the holy father's rule in the spiritual kingdom.

Stone's model of the premodern Open Lineage Family, and the shift in the 1530's to the Restricted Patriarchal Family corresponds to similar chronological change in German thought about the family. Stone, unlike Aries, makes no generalizations about European history of the family and children. And if, for the moment, we accept that ideas about children changed over a period of three centuries in tandem with changes in the family which, in turn, can be linked to a variety of influences external to the family, the following becomes evident: that concepts of childhood changed unevenly and gradually across the social strata in a given society, at different times in different societies, and, furthermore, cannot be attributed to a single cause. Moreover, while studies of both English and French family history and education abound, there are no studies available in English on the history of the German family or German childhood. The differences noted above between French, English and German education and childrearing practices indicate, in part, the kind of differences which the literature

on the 'evolution of the Western family' has generally neglected and, hence, obscured. This study is a contribution towards a more adequate distinction between those historical, social and regional differences.

My premise is that Luther's reconsideration of the role, status, and nature of the human subject in relation to God, to the church, and to the state inevitably led him to reconceptualize aspects of the family and of childhood. The responsibility of parents and the role of the family in early childhood training was an important issue for Luther. A morally sound upbringing in the home, balanced by discipline and love, was considered a fundamental precondition for effective formal schooling -- effective in terms of benefits for the child, and success for the school system. In oral and printed sermons Luther repeatedly stressed the need for harmonious relationships between husband and wife, and between parents and children in order to provide an emotionally secure environment for the young. For without parental moral guidance and affection, children would be unruly and undisciplined, morally and socially ill-prepared to learn in a classroom setting, and to obey school authorities and rules. A change in the concept and social relations of the early Protestant German family predated similar changes noted by Aries in the French family during the late 1700's and early 1800's. I will argue, then, that the advent and expansion of print technology, the subsequent increase in secular and spiritual publications, and the spread of literacy

converged with certain doctrinal aspects of Lutheranism which generated a fundamental shift in educational practice, and a change in attitudes and ideas about the family and childhood.

1.5 The Discourse on Childhood

Any study of children in history must inevitably look at the ideas held by adults about children. Adult conceptions about childhood can be found by investigating childrearing practices which, in turn, historians have identified by examining the family in history. Historians of childhood have analyzed the ideas adults have held about children by examining the literature of educational history, children's literature, medical literature, autobiographies, or the representation of children in art and iconography. A study of children's games, toys or dress provides further insights into aspects of children's lives. Whether one looks to the literature, to art, or to the relics of children's toys or dress, one is necessarily confronted with adult notions about children. To study children in history, then, invariably means examining and interpreting adult practices and ideas that conditioned childhood experience. The history of childhood becomes a history of ideas, of institutions, and adult practices which circumscribe the child: the interplay of traditional and 'modern' ideas, of methods of punishment and reward, of the ideas that informed how and where children were educated, in its totality, forms a discourse of practices and ideas which stipulate the role, status and

experience of children.

Children in any era, unlike adults, do not have the cognitive or social maturity to evaluate, alter or resist the circumstances into which they are born; not until adulthood is reached, and the necessary intellectual and social skill and status is acquired, can one enter and participate in the formal discourse on childhood. By the time the child has grown into a man -- and we must recognize that, historically, participation in any formal discourse, particularly the discourse on pedagogy, was the domain of men -- efforts to change or modify ideas about children are seen through the eyes of the adult whose own childhood memories have been mediated by time and experience. The pedagogical discourse, then, and by pedagogy is meant the ideas and practices advocated to train children at home and at school, is ultimately an insidiously powerful set of ideas and practices since they are imposed on the most powerless segment of society -- the young. In the absence of or with the support of institutionalized education, pedagogical principles and practices reproduce 'silently' through generations across society, and over time. Importantly, the pedagogical discourse exerts itself uniformly with little resistance from those on whom it is imposed.

Historical ideas about childhood do not always have a concrete referent in an idea permanently or systematically encoded in writing. The further back in history one reaches to trace the concept of childhood, the less documented evidence is

available; as Laslett puts it, "crowds of little children are strangely missing from the historical record" (1973: 110). The most self-evident explanation for the paucity of sources is the historically diminishing chance of survival for historical records, particularly the chance of loss of manuscripts that are inherently more prone to destruction than, say, architectural relics. Another, more recently advanced explanation for the lack of historical commentary on children, and one which this study will, in part, address, is that children as individuals or as a social group have "not counted" in history (Aries, 1962). That is, until the 17th and 18th centuries, children have been treated by adults with relative indifference, and therefore do not appear in the historical records of past eras. Children's omission from the historical narrative prior to the 17th century, which parallels the general absence of women from historical accounts and as authors, poses a number of problems for the reconstruction of past concepts of childhood. The omission of women and children in historical documentation leads to the perpetual rewriting of a history written by men, and seemingly lived only by men.

1.6 Discursive Authority and Exclusion

Women and children have historically comprised a distinct social group and subculture differentiated from and by men on the basis of age and gender. The biological imperatives of the reproductive process link women and children more closely

physically, and to varying degrees emotionally, than fathers and children. It is not unreasonable, then, to assume that, regardless of historically changing family relations or childrearing practices, women's commentary would undoubtedly contribute a perspective on children radically different from those formulated by men. Women's historical silence, however, leaves the historian to reconstruct past childhoods based on what men have observed, thought about, and considered significant enough to record. From the outset, then, we must recognize that the history of ideas about children, about women or the family, is a one-dimensional history: it is a history of the ideas men have held, ideas that men have reinterpreted and recorded over time, and ideas that men have imposed on themselves, on women and on children. That is, of course, not to suggest that economic or ecological necessity has not also influenced the development of certain ideas and social practices. Consider for instance the practice of child abandonment in times when and in regions where food was scarce; or the absence of ceremony at children's death or celebration at birth, in times when infant mortality was high and death was a common occurrence in all social strata brought about by famine, plague, inadequate nutrition and sanitation.

Following Foucault's view on the discourse of history, women and children's exclusion from the historical discourse per se can be considered a 'silent historical series' which, of course, only becomes evident in retrospect. The absence of

certain historical features in the surviving records and in the secondary studies of history which were of necessity present -- women and children -- leaves us with a silent historical trace. As Laslett notes, "there is something mysterious about the silence of all these multitudes of babes in arms, toddlers and adolescents in the statements men made at the time about their own experience" (1973: 110).

According to Foucault, the formation or "manifest presence" of a given discourse is always in relation to other systematized sets of ideas or concepts. The manner in which a new or transformed concept emerges, then, is in juxtaposition to ideas already "enunciated" -- that is, ideas organized within other discourses. He writes:

The discourse under study may also be in relation of analogy, opposition, or complementarity with certain other discourses. (my emphasis; 1972: 66)

The absence of children and women from textual history, and, in particular, the exclusion of women from the production of text has its analogy and its referent in the Bible where concrete, textual evidence explicitly dictates the exclusion of women from the church; hence, it follows that in a Christian church governed society, women should be generally excluded from public life, of which authorship for publication is only one aspect.

The pedagogical discourse of the 16th century was derived from religious principles and assumptions and, hence, complemented, supported and diffused the dominant religious discourse in a broader system of ideas and practices which

Foucault calls a "discursive constellation" (1972: 66). To explain children's 'appearance' in 16th century discourse, one must look at, according to Foucault, such a constellation of adjacent and contemporaneous "networks of concepts", and the manner in which other discourses and the one under study are regulated and systematized. That is, one must search beyond that which is given and apparent in discourse, and look at how and why ideas are ordered as they are; how institutional systems and rules reflect those ideas they are designed to transmit; in what mode of articulation ideas are encoded (i.e. what system of documentation fixes and disperses ideas); what kind of political-judicial boundaries and social customs hold the practice of ideas within acceptable norms; and under what conditions such boundaries are weakened at a certain time and place to enable 'new' ideas and practices to break with traditional law or custom; and what "authorities of delimitation" -- individuals and institutions -- have the right to reject or legitimate new ideas, and what historical conditions sanction their authority in the first place.

As will become evident in the course of this study, those "authorities of delimitation" who brought forth the child as an object of study by analyzing, explaining, defining, describing and classifying the child by means of institutionalizing the young in schools, were, indeed, men. In The Policing of Families, Donzelot aptly notes:

Thus beside, or rather beneath, the capital-letter history made by and for men there would seem to be

another history, immobile and profound, linking the pyres where witches were burned alive to modern-day psychoanalytic couches for hysterics. (1979: xxii)

That the history of ideas about children, as well as the history of education is a history defined and written by men from antiquity to the present, should be recognized at the outset of this study. The absence of women's testimony to their own and their children's lives, childrearing practices, or household life, remains a recurring impediment to a fuller understanding of 16th family life.

1.7 Sources and Outline

In order to account for how the new pedagogy differed from or resembled older notions of child training, links will be established between that which was written -- the 'manifest discourse' -- and those previous works which 16th century authors consulted. And since Luther is the central figure in this study, his theological training, his colleagues at Wittenberg and their educational background, will be considered as influential in the formulation of his ideas about children and the family. Anecdotal material will provide insights into the everyday life of Luther and his fellow reformers. Reformation history, the 'objective' history of events, dates and 'great leaders', blends particularly well with subjective accounts for the following reasons. The printed sermons, the pamphlets, books and correspondence of 16th century reformers document the thoughts of individuals. Yet many of the reformers' personal observations and ideas were, in fact, translated through civil

legislation into social practice, thereby, transforming subjective accounts into objective history. Many of Luther's pedagogical and theological thoughts recorded in his correspondence or sermons, were eventually legislated into, for instance, the abolition of the mass, sacraments, and communion, or the establishment of a public school system.

I have drawn equally from narrative histories of the Reformation, and Luther's works, his correspondence, notes made by visitors to his house of dinner conversations, and personal information derived from several biographical accounts. To explain what historical antecedents predisposed the events and changes of the Reformation movement to take root, political, economic, and church history has been consulted. I have reviewed 16th century school ordinances which provide valuable information on the institutionalization of children and learning. Traditional Reformation history has been consulted to show the divergence of values and beliefs between Catholicism and Protestantism, and to explain the influence of Italian humanism on northern European thought. Finally, recent works in the history of the family, and the history of literacy and printing have been consulted with special attention to divergent and often conflicting methodologies.

The most recent and representative works in the history of childhood and the history of the family will be reviewed in Chapter 2. Emphasis will be placed on Aries' Centuries of Childhood which is both the seminal and foundational work in the

field; its main premises and methodological problems are outlined, and serve as the point of departure for this study. Concluding Chapter 2, is an examination of the differences between French Catholic and German Protestant responses to printing and literacy. These differences will be shown to underly the divergent attitudes French and German society developed towards children, education and the family. An explication of these differences will demonstrate the particularized focus of Aries' study which cannot be taken to characterize universal changes in the concept of childhood or the family.

In Chapter 3, the expansion of printing will be examined to indicate the rapid spread of the new technology. An elaboration of literary genres will give us a sense of the kind of information the reader had access to -- information beyond the scope of immediate, community-bound experience.

Luther's pedagogy will be examined in Chapter 4: his ideas about infancy, early childhood, adolescence, education, and the family. Those works which influenced both Luther and Philip Melanchthon, Luther's colleague at Wittenberg who wrote the school reform documents and curricula to be implemented, will be discussed. The events prior to the 1525 Peasant Revolt, and subsequent political changes will be explained to show how the rebellion influenced the reformers' ideas about church and state; for after 1527, Luther saw more urgently the need for total school reform.

Curricula for Latin, vernacular and girls' schools will be surveyed in Chapter 5. An examination of state legislated school ordinances will show how and to what extent the state was administrating teaching and learning, and what assumptions -- about children, the individual, human nature, and society -- underlay this formalized, civil discourse on pedagogy. Chapter 6 summarizes this study, and concludes with a discussion about the relationship of printing, Protestantism, and pedagogy in the context of assessing the implications of undertaking a discursive history in writing the history of childhood.

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II. APPROACHES TO THE HISTORY OF CHILDHOOD

The history of childhood as a distinct disciplinary concern is relatively new. Until the early 1970's historical accounts of childhood were subsumed under family history. Beginning with Philip Aries' seminal work Centuries of Childhood, published in 1960 in France and translated into English in 1962, the study of historical concepts of childhood and childrearing practices has received increasingly systematic study. Yet the causes and consequences of changing ideas about childhood are explained from differing perspectives; the academic debate is marked by much controversy and dispute over selection of sources, periodization, and over what caused adults to change their ideas about children.

Two approaches characterize the study of the child in history; one, what has come to be known as 'social history', the other, more recently termed 'psychohistory'. The social history approach claims an interdisciplinary perspective by utilizing the tools of demography, the models of sociology and anthropology. Psychohistorians base their interpretations on psychological, psychoanalytic and, particular to the study of childhood, on developmental models.

Social historians of the family typically fall into two methodological categories guided either by an anthropological theory or a demographic-statistical approach. The assumptions

underlying the anthropological approach are that the family is universal, that childrearing practices are the link between the individual and society and, hence, that socialization processes are the key to understanding a given society. From these assumptions the inference of a link between the nurture of children and the nature of a society's character develops into what Hareven considers the problem of

the typical family as a representative of the social order [which] lack an analysis of the family as an institution reflecting class differences, population movements, and economic change. By treating the family as the microscopic representation of the social order, they fail to focus on the dynamics shaping family life and organization. The typology of a national character represents only the dominant culture, and leaves out the varieties of family experience among other groups in society. (1976: 214)

The demographic approach to the history of the family measures population changes, fertility rates, marriage patterns, literacy rates among household members, birth control practices, marriage age, infant mortality, and so forth. From statistical information predominant family structures can be identified and family functions, in terms of economic transactions such as landholding and inheritance patterns, can be isolated. Demographic data allow the historian to reconstruct, for instance, the distribution of economic or legal power within the family.¹ Psychohistorians charge that individual experience within the family, or the subtleties of relationships among

¹For a survey and Marxist critique of functionalist and demographic approaches to family history see Vogel, I. Pummaging Through the Primitive Past: A Note on Family, Industrialization, and Capitalism. Chicago: Newberry Library, 1976.

family members, cannot be reconstructed by reliance on demographic data alone.

2.1 Socio-Cultural History

In contrast to the focus of demographic history on structural change or stability of the family, the socio-cultural approach to the history of the family emphasizes the need to trace historical change in attitude, meaning, emotions, ideas -- in short, to write a 'histoire des sentiments' (cf. Anderson, 1980: 39; Vann, 1979: 300). The 'sentiments school', according to Anderson, is represented by four major works: Stone's Family, Sex and Marriage in England: 1500-1800 (1977), Shorter's The Making of the Modern Family (1976), Flandrin's Families in Former Times (1979), and Aries' Centuries of Childhood (1962). Aries' work will be discussed in this section since it is the only work among the four primarily concerned with children in history.

The central thesis of Aries' work is the "discovery of childhood" between the 16th and 18th centuries. During the Middle Ages and the beginning of the 'modern era', circa 1500, children, he claims, were not differentiated in a world of adults. Apart from the infants' helplessness and physical dependency, there existed no separate realm of childhood. Children were considered "uninteresting", if not socially transparent; past infancy, they were seen as "miniature adults".

The discovery of childhood, according to Aries, came about by adult conceptions of a longer developmental period between early childhood and participation as an adult in an adult world. Childhood was prolonged and the pubescent years were eventually classified as adolescence. Aries views this shift in adult attitude and corresponding childrearing practices pessimistically; the discovery of childhood separated children from adult society, limited their freedom among adults, and imposed severe disciplinary controls on children and youth by home, school and church.

The main criticism of Aries by social historians is the alleged inadequacy of his sources. Aries' evidence for his arguments are drawn primarily from art and literature. His claim that no concept of childhood existed during the Middle Ages, is justified by his explanation that children are absent from medieval paintings; and if children are portrayed, they are depicted as "miniature adults" in dress, physical features, and posture. In addition, as medieval historian Hanawelt (1980: 19) has noted, Aries takes for granted that the medieval household consisted of both the extended family and outsiders who lived together under one roof, a view which social historian Laslett has rejected. ¹ Moreover, Aries neglects to study the processes

¹In Household and Family in Past Time (1972), Laslett shows that the stem-family was not common in pre-industrial England, but that a two-generational family structure predominated in England. Anderson (1980) suggests that England, northern France, North America, and the Low Countries had a low percentage of complex household patterns. Medieval household composition was not the same across Europe, or within one country.

of childrearing before age 7, and justifies this omission by claiming that children "did not count" prior to age 7, the age at which children became economically productive (1962: 128).

For psychohistorian deMause, Aries' reliance on literary sources reflects a fundamental error of "mistaking books for life" (1974: 4). Yet Aries' intent was to write a cultural history of childhood, to show how adult attitudes and ideas about childhood changed in mid 17th century France. And although Aries often loses sight of his stated aims and makes unsubstantiated generalizations to European history in general, he explicitly states in his introduction that

it is not so much the family as a reality that is our subject here as the family as an idea. (1962: 9)

That Aries' analysis is not substantiated by demographic data or autobiographical accounts is the main objection that historians deMause (1974), Anderson (1980), and Stone (1977) have against his work. Yet the usefulness of these criticisms is questionable when we consider Anderson's point that:

It has been becoming increasingly clear in recent years that many of the disputes in family history arise because different groups of scholars, even when apparently working on the same topic, are, often unconsciously, trying to write very different kinds of history and are thus adopting different approaches to the selection of problems for research, to the kinds of sources they employ, to the way evidence is and can be used, and to the relevance of social and economic theory to their work. (1980: 15)

On one hand Aries insists that his is a study in the history of an idea; yet he also claims to have written a social history of the family which he does take to be representative of

the development of the modern European family. Statistics alone do not provide sufficient evidence upon which to reconstruct family relations or the experiences of family members; yet reliance on literary or art history sources also does not justify the kind of broad generalizations and explanations Aries gives for why and in what ways ideas about childhood changed.

A central problem in both Aries' and Stone's work, and one which seems inherent in medieval studies, is the lack of sources needed to justify claims about peasant life which historians tend to infer from evidence not derived from the peasant or laboring class. As Hanawelt notes,

The approaches of peasants and the lower urban class to raising children were usually not represented in artistic and literary remains. For the Middle Ages the problem is particularly difficult because many of these sources were the works of ecclesiastical writers who had little direct experience with normal family life. Even the usual sources of information on childrearing in the Middle Ages are inconclusive. (1980: 29)

And so, both Aries and Stone¹ end up writing a history of upper class family life; given that the literary remains of the upper, literate classes comprise the bulk of the sources the historian can consult, such data cannot, however, unequivocally be taken to reflect family life or childrearing practices across society. Neither Aries nor Stone make clear that their sources are representative of an elite, literate minority only, which may or

¹Stone's dismissal of Marxist analyses which attribute change in family type to industrial capitalism, reflects in the selection of his predominantly upper class sources; these sources support Stone's premise that the upper bourgeoisie, not the industrial proletariat, led social change by being the 'first' group, educated and wealthy enough, to adopt new lifestyles. For a discussion see: Vann, R. T. (1979).

may not reflect family relations or childrearing practices of the society at large. Neglecting to point out the limited applicability of their sources, Aries' and Stone's work can easily mislead the reader to assume that the kind of evidence they provide is indicative of families in all social classes within a given society.

2.2 Psychohistory

Erik Erikson pioneered the application of psychoanalysis to historical inquiry in his studies of Gandhi (1969) and Luther (1958). In more recent works, notably Hunt (1970) and deMause (1974), the insights of developmental psychology and psychoanalytic theory have been used to explain childhood and the family in past eras. This section will focus on deMause's anthology, The History of Childhood, as the most recent and representative work in the field of psychohistory.

Psychohistorians attempt to reconstruct the emotional tenor, the behaviors, the psychological context within which family life occurred, within which children grew up. Intra-familial relations are of primary concern, as distinct from the more traditional interests of historians: socio-economic and political forces. Psychohistorical inquiry is typically guided by Freud's conception of four developmental stages of childhood considered to be universal and ahistorical features of human development. But do all children at all times experience the kind of oral, anal, or phallic crises that Freud

proposed? Discussing psychoanalysis and history, Halla comments on Stone's objections to psychohistory:

First of all, Stone wants to know how an oral trauma develops when weaning occurs, as he suggests it typically did in premodern Europe, after libido energy has shifted locus to another erogenous zone? Secondly, where is the crisis reputedly connected with parental interference in anal functions in a society that lived amid its own excrement...hardly ever washed, and whose women and children wore no underpants? How, thirdly, are we to impute crisis proportions to a "phallic stage" in the childhoods of individuals raised in homes commonly devoid of even a modicum of privacy and in which sexuality was taken entirely for granted? And finally, since in most societies throughout history parents have perceived little need for an extended adolescence during which children might spend several years preparing for adulthood, how is one to elevate a "crisis of puberty" to the status of a universal trauma? (1977: 426)

The aim of psychohistorical inquiry is to link personality characteristics with cultural characteristics. That is, the manner in which children are raised is seen to be the primary and fundamental influence in personality development; a generation of children raised in similar ways will reflect shared personality traits in a given society. Such a view does not make sufficient allowance for social class differences in personality formation; the labor and life experiences among social classes differ and influence the values, beliefs, and attitudes that individuals develop throughout adulthood. These, in turn, are transmitted to children and interact with another generation's social, economic, and cultural milieu, and individual experience. Moreover, typecasting a cultural personality according to childrearing practices typically results in social stereotyping by 'advanced' Western societies

of 'primitive' contemporary or premodern cultures that, for instance, do not toilet train the young. According to Wishty, "attempts to link ostensible childhood experiences with a cultural style...[is a] limit peculiar to psychoanalysis" because

considering the variety and amount of evidence psychoanalysis requires in the clinic just for understanding the individual case, what degree of information about nurture permits us comfortably to generalize about childhood and culture across the centuries, let alone from bizarre accounts of one child like the infant Louis XIII, as presented in the journal of Heroard, his physician? (1978: 104)

For deMause, historical change -- whether whether socio-cultural, political, economic or technological -- comes about as a result of personality changes over time, which derive directly from changed childrearing practices: that is, from altered parent-child relations. In his introduction deMause presents his "psychogenic theory of history":

the central force for change in history is neither technology nor economics, but the "psychogenic" changes in personality occurring because of successive generations of parent-child interactions. (1974: 3)

A theory of history that bases explanations of change on the interaction of personalities over time has major drawbacks. One limitation of this approach is that it cannot account for those economic and social factors which condition people's lives. Impoverished conditions may cause intolerable psychological stress in parents which may very well lead to behaviors which, given our contemporary sensibility, would be considered excessive punishment, neglect, or abuse of children. Also, in

the households of the nobility, parent-child interaction may have been almost non-existent as Hunt (1970) has shown in his study of Louis XIII, the French dauphin who was raised entirely by personal attendants. As deMause goes to considerable lengths to explain, generations of children were not systematically 'raised' at all; until the 18th century,

the average child of wealthy parents spent his earliest years in the home of a wet-nurse, returned home to the care of other servants, and was sent out to service, apprenticeship or school by age seven, so that the amount of time parents of means actually spent raising their children was minimal. (1974: 32)

deMause's sources are primarily anecdotal accounts.

Subjective observations reflect certain historical situations which condition the experience of the writer and form the substance of what was observed and recorded. Anecdotal evidence does not, however, fully account for those socio-structural or epistemic features that are 'exterior' to the individual, that structure the kind of social world the individual records, and that constrain the interpretive possibilities by which people express their experiences in writing. Anderson in Approaches to the History of the Western Family: 1500-1914, a review of current approaches to the economic and social history of the family, rejects psychohistory outright for the following reasons:

One, which calls itself psychohistory and even has its own journal, the Journal of Psychohistory, seems already in its work on the family to have run into insoluble problems of evidence, and to have involved its practitioners in so much anachronistic judgement and blatant disregard for many of the basic principles of historical scholarship, that I have not thought it worth

detailed consideration here. (1980: 15)

Without a historical social, economic or even political context within which to situate childrearing practices, we are left with a history of childhood which "is a nightmare from which we have only recently begun to awaken" (deMause, 1974: 1). It is little wonder, then, that deMause ends up writing a history of battered children. He notes, for instance, that swaddling, tying children into restraint devices, and administering tranquilizing potions were widely practiced which kept children quiet, out of the way, and greatly reduced the time parents, that is mothers, spent with their children. deMause reports that "opium and liquor were regularly given to infants throughout the ages to stop them from crying" (1974: 36). Infants opiated and immobilized by the bandages which bound them to boards could be "laid for hours behind the hot oven, hung on pegs on the wall, placed in tubs" and, generally, could be left alone for long periods of time. Once released from swaddling boards, infants were tied to leading strings to prevent their straying, strapped to backboards or iron collars to improve posture, or locked into immobile stool-like devices to control their mobility (deMause, 1974: 38).

Drugging, swaddling or tying up children, as deMause claims, is "only one aspect of the basic aggressiveness and cruelty of human nature, of the inbred disregard for the rights and feelings of others" (deMause, 1974: i). To refute deMause's blanket statement on the inherent cruelty of human nature, one might reasonably argue that restricting infants' mobility might

have had survival and economic value at a time when all able-bodied persons in a household were required to labor in the fields and, hence, neither mothers nor older siblings were at leisure to lavish constant attention on the young. We might consider that, in the premodern era, the absence of the kind of contemporary fascination with the psycho-social aspects of child development so typical of our own time, and the absence of comprehensive knowledge of the physiological processes of growth, should temper our judgements of the motivations and practices of another era. Yet few of the authors in deMause's volume "manage to find an occasional word of understanding or even support for swaddling or apron strings. Such sensitivity to complexity in the volume is regrettably thin" (Wishy, 1978: 104).

To explain the behaviors, attitudes and feelings of adults towards children requires a broader socio-cultural and historically grounded explanation than what deMause imposes on parents' actions in the past: projective reaction, reversal reaction, and empathetic reaction (1974: 6). Historical change is not primarily the result of unrestrained impulses, projection or neuroses. Moreover, "deducing attitude, motive, wish, etc. from behavior was a problem before psychiatry presented it in new guise; and it endures" (Wishy, 1978: 103). deMause's insistence that only "the psychogenic changes in personality" constitute "the central force for change in history" is as conceptually limited an argument as are claims of technological

or economic determinism. And while traditional history has given us accounts of a past marked by 'great events' and 'great men' who are devoid of emotions, family ties, preferences, or aberrant behaviors, what is needed is a history which attends equally to the quality of everyday life of those people who participated in, and were influenced by 'great events' and 'great men'. Abrams in his discussion of the role of narrative in historical sociology comments:

It is the problem of finding a way of accounting for human experience which recognizes simultaneously and in equal measure that history and society are made by constant, more or less purposeful, individual action and that individual action, however purposeful, is made by history and society. People make their own history, but only under definite circumstances and conditions; we act through a world of rules which our action makes, breaks and renews -- we are creatures of the rules, the rules are our creations; we make our own world -- the world confronts us as an implacable order of social facts set over against us. (1980: 3-16).

Psychohistorians have contributed to social history an awareness of the necessity to consider the psychological aspects of family relations in history. However, over-reliance on psychological justifications for historical change impoverishes any theory of history. And while most social scientists agree on the importance of early childhood experiences as formative for subsequent personality development, deMause overstresses the importance of childhood as the only "condition for the transmission and development of all other cultural elements".

deMause's aim is to introduce a psychogenic theory which might "provide a genuinely new paradigm for the study of history" (1974: 54). Rejecting the "century-long Durkheimian

flight from psychology", deMause proposes that psychological studies of historical parent-child relations will contribute to our understanding of why certain political or social forms, and technological changes emerged at different times in different societies. He hopes that psychologically based studies of history will

"encourage us to resume the task of constructing a scientific history of human nature which was envisioned by John S. Mill as a theory of the causes which determine the type of character belonging to a people or to an age" (my emphases; 1974: 54).

Attempts to scientize the history of human nature are conceptual constructs of this era. Such a view characterizes a set of historic epistemic assumptions aimed at rationalizing the 'mechanics' of individual and social development, and is an ethnocentric imposition of one epistemology on history and on human nature. We must consider if the questions we ask of the present are justifiably asked of the past.

As Foucault has pointed out in The Archeology of Knowledge (1972) and The Order of Things (1973), intrinsic to the modern scientific discourse which emerged at the beginning of the 19th century, is the urge to scientize, totalize and unify human knowledge. This need to explain and justify all human experience and knowledge according to precise and mechanistic rules, has led to the modern "episteme", or worldview, which invests the human subject (human history, behavior, and knowledge) with a cause-effect rationality, and with a progress principle, considered intrinsic to both the individual and society.

deMause's call for a "scientific history of human nature" exemplifies this scientific compulsion to fix history and human nature in a closed system of a cause-effect determinism, as J.S. Mill would have it. Following Foucault, deMause's historical model can be considered "a history that would not be a division, but development; not an interplay of relations, but an internal dynamic; not a system, but the hard work of freedom;" (1972: 13). Once such a scientific "theory of the causes which determine the type of character belonging to a people or to an age" is established, the link between our modern preoccupation with child care and development, and our Western cultural character, would (erroneously) justify our 'advanced' democratic political and social forms, and technological achievements as the pinnacle of human progress and development. Wishy comments:

If we were to follow deMause, we would look into the debates of the past for heroes and villains and put each age on trial for its contributions to the future happiness of children. This is not only an invitation to historical distortion, but rests on arrogance about our own time and its achievements for our century. (1978: 105)

David Hunt's Parents and Children in History (1970) is another work in the field of psychohistory which attempts to explain both adult attitudes to, and the 'reality' of childhood in 17th century France. His analysis of a 17th century journal is based on Erikson's developmental stage theory. To explain childrearing practices, parental attitudes and behaviors towards children, Hunt examines adult attitudes towards education. Yet 'adult attitudes' are derived from Hunt's analysis of the

journals of Heroard, the personal doctor-attendant of Louis XIII. The problem with Hunt's sources in terms of representation is obvious: what do the childrearing practices in the court of royalty tell us about middle or lower class children and parents in 17th century France? And while Hunt admits that "the list of sources has one obvious weakness: it tells us only about a limited segment of 17th century society" (1970: 7), he then proposes that we can extrapolate from the courtly concerns of raising a king to the lives of children of the common people. He writes:

if the evidence shows that, even in this [royal] free and licentious atmosphere, sex was a source of anxiety and conflict for both adults and children, it would necessarily follow that the same conclusion also applies to the rest of society, where mores were almost certainly more sober and conservative. (1970: 166)

My intent here is not to question the validity of Hunt's conceptual leaps. I would suggest, however, that Hunt's assumption that French society's sexual mores were "almost certainly more sober and conservative" than those of royalty, is as vague and questionable as Aries' notion that a concept of childhood was absent from medieval consciousness because children were not realistically portrayed on canvas. Demographic historians reject such inferential leaps on the grounds that such a history "lacks precision over detail, timing and, above all, social class differences" (Anderson, 1980: 59).

2.3 Social-Demographic History

With statistical data of household composition, marriage rates, or inheritance patterns, "there is the problem of whether a knowlege of household composition always tells us the same set of things -- or even anything very much -- about familial behavior" (Anderson, 1980: 36). And too often, as Anderson notes, statistical data become 'social facts', which are then qualitatively interpreted to explain family relations, behaviors, attitudes and the quality of family life (1980: 37).

Although no work specifically concerned with the history of childhood has been written using the demographic approach, recent research into the history of children relies on existing family history literature, much of which is based on demographic sources (eg. Laslett, 1973; Flandrin, 1979; Spufford, 1981). And while census lists, coroners' reports, wills or landholding deeds provide valuable information on household size, family structure or community composition, such data provide only limited insights into everyday processes of a given family or community. Anderson notes two fundamental limitations of the demographic approach. The first is a problem of meaning for the person who originally recorded events. He notes, for example, that a "problem would arise with illegitimacy if there were changes or differences between areas in what was treated as a marriage and, therefore, in what was considered an illegitimate birth" (1980: 34). Admittedly, the family historian must work with those documents that have survived, but Anderson cautions

of the "natural temptation to make inferences from demographic behavior to attitudes which may -- or may not -- have underlain it" (1980: 34). The second, more vexing and complex problem is the paucity of records for premodern times. And here the temptation to draw inferences from a limited data base are even greater than working with, for instance, 17th century documents.

Hanawelt in "Childrearing Among the Lower Classes of Late Medieval England" (1980), illustrates how the problem of drawing monocausal inferences from a limited data base (coroners' inquests from the 13th to 15th century in Oxford, Bedfordshire and Northamptonshire) can be circumvented. In her discussion of infanticide she acknowledges that "a fairly consistent pattern associated with infanticide is that female children were killed more frequently than male" (1980: 28). Yet the coroners' rolls of Northamptonshire revealed that the deaths listed as accidental for boys of all ages far outnumbered those for girls (63% boys; 37% girls). In the age group of one year and under, the usual age for abandoning or murdering infants, she found more boys listed under accidental deaths than girls. Hanawelt concludes, not with disproving claims about infanticide in general, or infanticidal trends for Northamptonshire in particular, but, instead, offers possibilities:

Concrete evidence for infanticide is still lacking. There are four possibilities: 1) infanticide was a widespread phenomenon but was accepted by society and, therefore, ignored in the records; 2) it was successfully concealed; 3) infant mortality being between 30% and 50%, willful murder was unnecessary; 4) all children were valued because of the need for laborers in peasant society of the fourteenth century.

(1980: 32)

Similarly, when she reports that in her sample she found 50% of children under one year died in fires, and 21% died by drowning, she questions: "was this neglect or premeditated murder?"

When interpreting demographic data, it is imperative that the historian relate statistical information with caution to statements about the quality or 'texture' of life in the past. And even then, it will remain a difficult task to situate, conclusively, a given 'event' within the very complex network of historical influences that directly and indirectly 'cause' historical change. The complexity of influences which must be acknowledged in any history of childhood extend beyond the immediacy of the family. What must also be considered are the socio-economic setting of the family, the political structure of the community, the geographic location of the society under study, the role of religion or education, and so forth; for these are essential contextual features which, in Foucault's terms, "circumscribe" communities, families and children in historic-specific lifestyles, social customs, beliefs and values.

2.4 Centuries of Childhood: A Review

This section will summarize Aries' central ideas in Centuries of Childhood which still serves as a foundational work for all subsequent studies in the history of childhood. Recent studies have tended towards a more micro-historic focus, analyzing specific features in children's lives; Aries gave us a

broad overview of, literally, centuries of childhood. He drew attention to the fact that children were absent from the formal historical discourse, that adults have held historically differing ideas about childhood which informed childrearing practices, and that childhood and the family must be an essential component in any study and understanding of society and of history. Most importantly, Aries raised questions about the treatment of children and the structure of the family, many of which he was unable to answer, but which have become the ongoing focus of inquiry for historians and social scientists. His work has inspired a generation of scholars dedicated to uncovering past childhoods and writing their history.

According to Aries, children in medieval society mingled freely in the adult world. The rich and poor, young and old were not institutionally or socially differentiated. Individualism, privacy or a formal work ethic were unknown.

Work did not take up so much time during the day and did not have so much importance in the public mind; it did not have the existential value we have given it. (Aries, 1962: 72-73)

Life was lived in public: in the streets, in the marketplaces, in the fields and on the roads. Aries sees medieval life as an era of unrestrained freedom in the sense that the kind of institutional controls and regulations as we know them, were absent. Aries rejects the traditional view of the medieval period which holds that religious morality constrained people's actions and behaviors. Instead, he pictures "a wild population...given to riotous amusements" (1962: 315-328).

Sociability typical of oral cultures marked medieval society, not the rigid piety of a moral and Christian way of life usually associated with the monastic, feudal image of medieval times.

In this riotous and raucous atmosphere children participated freely in everyday events:

Transmission from one generation to the next was ensured by the everyday participation of children in adult life...wherever people worked, and also wherever they amused themselves, even in taverns of ill-repute, children mingled with adults. In this way they learnt the art of living from everyday contact. (Aries, 1962: 368)

Aries distinguishes between "the infant who was too fragile as yet to take part in the life of adults" and, therefore, "did not count", and 'the child' or 'enfant'. The 'enfant' ranged in age from 'late toddler' to early adolescence at which time children assumed full adult responsibilities: marriage or domestic service for girls, and apprenticeship at a craft or trade for boys. Notions of early childhood or adolescence were non-existent. It was not until the 17th century that the word 'bebe' appears in French, borrowed from the English (Aries, 1962: 29).

Aries' suggestion that during the Middle Ages an "awareness of the particular nature of childhood" was lacking and that, in Hunt's words, "no detailed program for the raising of children" existed, is questionable (1970: 34). The basic techniques of infant care were surely passed on from mother to daughter throughout the ages; also, we can assume that someone took the time to teach toddlers that hearth fires are hot and dangerous,

that hatchets and knives are not to be played with, or to stay clear of riverbanks and wells. There exists enough evidence in the literature of the 16th century to demonstrate that both pedagogues and pediatricians did, in fact, write "detailed programs for the raising of children".

Towards the end of the Middle Ages, Aries sees a first subtle shift in adult conceptions of childhood. In the iconography of the 13th century children begin to appear with more realistic child-like characteristics. In previous centuries, excluding Hellenistic art, "there are no children characterized by a special expression but only men on a reduced scale" (Aries, 1962: 34). For Aries this suggests that,

this undoubtedly means that the men of the 10th and 11th century did not dwell on the image of childhood, and that that image had neither interest or reality for them. It suggests too that in the realm of real life, and not simply in that of aesthetic transposition, childhood was a period of transition which passed quickly and which was just as quickly forgotten. (1962: 34)

By the late 16th century, infants and children had become more visible and distinct in the art and literature of the day; adult conceptions of childhood had become, according to Aries, more self-conscious. This new interest and change in attitude reflected in children's dress, games, toys, and a sudden rise in portrait paintings of children. The most profound change, however, was the dim recognition of differences between infancy, early childhood, and youth. Childhood was extended. Eisenstein in her study of the impact of printing on 16th century society, appropriately notes this emergence of childhood as the rise of a

"distinctive youth culture" (1980: 33). And for Aries, this recognition of children as separate and different from adults marked the beginning of fundamental shifts in the lives of children. Children lost their freedom and were henceforth confined to the ever increasing authority and discipline of French educational institutions: the collége.

Thus with the institution of the college appeared a feeling unknown to the Middle Ages and which would go on growing in strength until the end of the nineteenth century: revulsion at the idea of the mingling of the ages. Henceforth schoolboys would tend to be separated from adults and submitted to a discipline peculiar to their condition. An important stage had been passed. The transition from the free school of the Middle Ages to the disciplined college of the fifteenth century was the sign of a parallel movement in the world of feelings: it expressed a new attitude to childhood and youth. (Aries, 1962: 156-157)

During the 16th and 17th centuries the very nature of the family changed: family ties became sentimental bonds and romantic love replaced medieval bonding which had stressed the importance of lineage and kinship links. As the family turned inward, changes in architectural styles reflected the privatization of families from each other, and the individualization of members within families. Moral reform, generated by the intensity and fervour of religious reform, imposed a social discipline unknown in previous centuries. Aries points to the rise of a new group of public servants and social managers, the "magistrates, police officers and jurists, all enamoured of order and good administration, discipline, and authority", who gradually superseded the family as arbiters of community disputes. Pedagogues took the role parents formerly

held in supervising the young into maturity.

And so, by the 18th century, Aries sees the break with the past as complete; the modern nuclear family had emerged, children had been institutionalized in schools, and society was transformed into an urbanized and highly organized economic and political apparatus.

Since the publication of Aries' book in 1962, numerous scholars have discussed and criticized his sources, assumptions and conclusions. These will not be reviewed here.¹ The following section will discuss those aspects of Aries' work which warrant further development and form the basis for the arguments in this study: a more precise explanation of 16th century features which influenced and contributed to changes in childrearing practices and changes in the family.

Aries claims that the 16th century growth in literature for and about children, and the concurrent transformation of the school into "an instrument of discipline" was a reflection of the way the adult population in general was changing its views on childhood. But as Eisenstein has pointed out, the dissemination of standardized knowledge made possible by the presses, enabled a minority -- the moralists, reformers, humanists and pedagogues -- to influence the majority. We might question, then, whether the "growth in literature" and "the transformation of the school" was a reflection of a changed

¹ For informative reviews see: Baldick, 1964; Thirsk, 1964; Brown, 1967; Hunt, 1970; Hardach-Pinke, 1978; Wheaton & Hareven, 1980.

public attitude towards children, or if these changes were not instigated by a small group of literate reformers who, for a variety of personal interests, advocated change. Moreover, one might hypothesize that widespread access to the ideas of a few can change the opinions and viewpoints of a given social group; particularly if those ideas are financially and cognitively accessible -- which the publication of inexpensive pamphlets and the use of the vernacular ensured. And if, as Aries notes, "the great event [in the history of childhood] was the revival at the beginning of modern times of an interest in education" (1962: 412-413), then did this revival come from the hearts and minds of mothers and fathers, or was this revival not a result of the religious, moral and political interests shared by an educated male elite?

A small group of men, notably Luther and his colleague Melanchthon, Sturm, Bucer, and Bugenhagen in Germany, Erasmus of the Netherlands, Thomas More, Dean Colet, and Roger Ascham in England, Calvin and Zwingli in Switzerland, and I. Loyola, founder of the Jesuit order, wrote the bulk of 16th century 'formal' educational literature. And while we only have evidence in the reformers' documents with which to substantiate a restricted change in attitude towards children, or a revival of interest in education, their testimony cannot be taken to reflect uniform attitudinal change across society. The whole notion of 'change in adult attitude' should be qualified and delineated according to a more precise questioning of who

brought forth new ideas about children and education, and for what reasons. What social processes transformed the ideas of a few, the "pacemakers" in Stone's words, to become mass opinion, or a shared perspective across the social spectrum in a given society? How influential was the new means of collecting, preserving, and disseminating knowledge and opinion? Did the fact that "books changed from being rare, costly, and unique to being plentiful, cheap, and standardized" (Nauert, 1980: 103), foster a change in public attitude towards the family, children and education?

The printing press produced the first book in 1450. At the beginning of the 16th century European presses had been in production for 50 years, producing

some 30,000 - 50,000 different editions...[which] have survived, representing 10,000 - 15,000 different texts...Assuming an average print run to be no greater than 500, then about 20 million books were printed before 1500. (Febvre & Martin, 1976: 248)

In the early decades of the 16th century, then, there already existed a large non-clerical reading public. Reading as a skill and as an activity had become public, no longer confined to the university or monastic orders. The availability and consumption of a variety of reading material does not ensure, of course, an immediate change in social values or attitudes.

It is fairly obvious at the outset that printing brought about no sudden or radical transformation, and contemporary culture hardly seems at first to have changed, at least in regards its general characteristics...[but] the printed book could be said to have 'arrived' between 1500 and 1510. (Febvre & Martin, 1976: 260, 262)

It was in the early decades of the 16th century in Germany that the presses furthered, on a large scale, the ideological aims of a few to sway the opinions of a nation: Luther's Reformation movement.

[The] state of affairs changed abruptly in 1517 in Germany, a little later and more gradually elsewhere. Religious issues swiftly became questions of the foremost importance and unleashed the strongest passions. For the first time in history there developed a propaganda campaign conducted through the medium of the press. The capacity of the press to serve the interests of those who wished to influence thought and mould public opinion was revealed. (Febvre & Martin, 1976: 288)

A central component of Luther's prescription for a truly Christian way of life was his concern for correct training of the young. And so, a substantial part of Reformation literature, or propaganda as historian G. Strauss (1978) and Febvre and Martin note, became the first and most influential educational treatises of the modern era. With the support of state electorates, princes and dukes, Luther secularized education by institutionalizing compulsory schooling under state control -- a revolutionary and historically unprecedented move. In 1896, book and literary historian G. Putnam noted:

The historians of the time are certainly in substantial accord in the conclusion that the enormous impetus given to the education and active-mindedness of the people through the distribution and the eager acceptance of the writings of the Reformers, the habits then formed of buying and of reading printed books, the incentive secured for the work of the printers and the booksellers, and the practice that came into vogue of circulating books and pamphlets by means of pedlars and colporteurs in districts far beyond the reach of the book-shops, had both an immediate and an abiding effect upon the reading habits of the German people. (1896/1962: 218)

In light of the 'communications revolution' well under way in the 16th century, we might ask to what extent a new mode of communication influenced public opinion, private attitudes and, hence, social support of political decisions? Did the "revival of interest in education" reflect changing attitudes among adults towards children? Or was this interest in education not a product of the more dominant religious and, indeed, political motivations of reformers such as Luther and the politicians of the ruling aristocracy? Finally, in response to Aries' and this study's concern with changing concepts of childhood, since the beginnings of a shift from the premodern to the modern concept of childhood coincided with the first century of printing, then "why not consider, first of all, how childrearing and schooling were affected by the printed book?" (Eisenstein, 1980: 91). And since the response of church and state to the potential of the presses was not uniform across Europe, it is instructive to consider the differences between countries which encouraged printers and publishers, and those which opposed or censored the new book-learning. Catholic France strongly resisted the new book trade and issued numerous edicts throughout the early 16th century to stem the tide of heretical Protestant literature. By contrast, Protestantism was based on the idea that individuals should have access to scriptures and, hence, to salvation unmediated by clerical intervention. The Council of Trent (1545-1563) prohibited the distribution of vernacular Bibles in all Catholic regions, whereas they were "made almost compulsory

for Protestants" (Eisenstein, 1980: 88).

2.5 Printing and Literacy in Catholic France and Protestant Germany

As Eisenstein notes, the incentive to learn to read the Bible in the vernacular was inhibited for Catholics and encouraged for Protestants. As early as 1515, only 2 years prior to Luther's posting of the 95 theses, Pope Leo X issued an edict to all nations of the Holy Roman Empire, ordering "that no license should be given for the printing of a book until it had been examined and approved by an authorized representative of the Church" (Putnam, 1962: 439). The authority of the church over the production of literature was "contested in Venice, and was never accepted in Germany. In France, on the other hand, the necessity for such ecclesiastical supervision was at once admitted" (Putnam, 1962: 439).

The supervisory representative body of the church was the Theological Faculty of the University of Paris and the Paris Parlément. Parlément seats were, in Putnam's words, a "kind of circuit court"; members were 'officially' appointed by the Crown, but Francis I sold seats to supportive allies. The Parlément of Paris was not dissolved until 1790. In 1525 a parliamentary edict prohibited the private possession of copies of the Old or New Testament; the edict ordered all copies to be turned in to court notaries. Printers were prohibited from printing any versions of the Testaments under the threat of

confiscation of their premises and goods, and banishment from the kingdom.

A 1530 decree "forbade the printing of any work of medical science which had not received the approval of 'three good and notable' doctors of the Faculty of Medicine of the University" (Putnam, 1962: 443). That same year, publication of fortune telling books or almanacs was prohibited under penalty of imprisonment or a fine of 10 francs. A 500 franc fine and banishment was the penalty under a 1521 parliamentary decree for printing any polemical or interpretive work of the scriptures unauthorized by the Theological Faculty. This same decree was reissued in 1542, only this time aimed at the booksellers dealing in unauthorized copies.

Despite such discouraging legislation and the apparently successful enforcement of these laws, in major urban centers a black market book trade developed. Those who could afford black market prices, those who could read and were intent on acquiring certain texts could certainly find them in their own country, or just across the borders (Febvre & Martin, 1976: 244-246).

It is not unreasonable to assume that the expansion of a vernacular book reading public was more restricted in France compared with Protestant regions in Germany where the vernacular German Bible was an essential part of the new faith. Printing centers in Germany expanded rapidly in the years following 1517. The Frankfurt Book Fair was the established center for the European book trade, and as the following statistics indicate,

the production of Reformation literature printed in high and low German reflects the 'arrival' and preeminence of the printed vernacular word in early 16th century Germany.

The total number of separate works (principally pamphlets, 'Flugschriften') printed in German in 1513 was 90; in 1518, 146; in 1520, 571; and in 1523, 944. The aggregate for the ten years is 3113. Of the total for the decade, no less than 600 were printed in Wittenberg, a place which before 1517 had not possessed a printing press; this is an indication of the immediate effect produced by the Lutheran movement upon the work of the printers. (Putnam, 1962: 240)

Putnam links the output of the presses to a reading public which he assumes to have had basic reading skills:

It is not so easy at this period to understand how the middle and lower classes in Germany had been able, by the beginning of the sixteenth century, to secure so general a proficiency in reading as to be able to profit by the pamphlet literature of the time, but, that a widespread elementary education existed, is evident from the circulation secured for these pamphlets, and from their immediate influence upon opinion and belief. (1962: 241)

Writing in 1896, Putnam contrasts the difference between the

high standard of popular intelligence which rendered possible the comprehensive and general acceptance of the doctrines of the Reformers, doctrines largely made known through printed arguments...[and the] extreme ignorance which the masses of the people had been left under the ministrations of the Church of Rome. (1962: 241)

A less extreme version of this same idea is expressed by

Eisenstein, who explains:

Given a clearly defined incentive to learn to read was present among Protestants qua Protestants and not among Catholics qua Catholics, for example, one might expect to find a deeper social penetration of literacy among the former than among the latter during the second century of printing. Earlier lines dividing literate from unlettered social strata -- magistrates, merchants and masters from journeymen, artisans and yeomen -- might grow fainter in Protestant regions and more

indelible in Catholic ones between the 1550's and 1650's. This, in turn, would affect the timing of 'revolutions of rising expectations' and help to account for different patterns of social agitation and mobility, political cleavage and cohesion. We know that the mechanization of most modes of production came much more gradually in France than in England. (1980: 89)

The restricted access in 16th century France to vernacular books of popular interest, the Council of Trent having prohibited vernacular theological as well as secular literature, might well explain why historical studies of childhood focused on France identify major change in parental attitude and educational practice to have occurred as late as the 17th and 18th centuries. The changes brought about by Reformation leaders during the 16th century in Germany, in conjunction with the mass utilization of the presses generated rapid and fundamental social and political change in general, and radical educational change in particular. Moreover, "the spread of print between 1450 and 1517, did much to prepare Germany and certain other parts of Europe for the success of Luther's teachings" (Nauert, 1980: 103). We might hypothesize, then, that the changing concept of childhood and attendant schooling and childrearing practices was not a universal phenomenon in post medieval Europe, but that 16th century Germany predated France in the shift from a premodern to a modern concept of childhood.

Reformation historian Strauss in Luther's House of Learning (1978) has also challenged Aries on this point. As noted earlier, Aries' contention is that the extension of childhood, that is, a recognition of adolescence, did not occur until the 18th century. Aries translates this shift to mark the

identifiable emergence of a modern concept of childhood, characterizing a pivotal point in European social and intellectual history. Two comments by Strauss in reference to this overgeneralization in Aries' analysis appear in his reference notes:

Aries is wrong in maintaining that it was only in the eighteenth century that the concept of a long childhood was translated into grade schools. (1978: 336)

The Journal of Psychohistory, 1977, (5) 2: 271-90, also challenges the contention of Aries, John R. Gillis, John Demos, and other that the concept of adolescence emerged only as late as the nineteenth century. (1978: 337)

Rejecting Aries' claim of a "deliberate humiliation" and "degrading discipline" (1962: 262) which "became a feature of the new attitude to childhood", Strauss notes that:

Aries refers primarily to France but clearly intends his judgements to apply to Western European society as a whole. (1978: 355)

Strauss has noted Aries' tendency to generalize from his exclusively French historical data to European history in general. Yet given the aim of Luther's House of Learning, Strauss does not develop this problem in Aries' work -- and so we find these observations by Strauss in his reference notes. This study intends to clarify Aries' "judgements" and, in agreement with Strauss' observations, will consider Centuries of Childhood as a point of departure.

This study, then, is not a refutation of Aries' work, but will examine to what extent printing was a formative feature in pedagogical practices and the ideas adults held about childhood. The relation between printing and issues pertaining to childhood

will be considered in several ways. First, this study will survey book genres, their circulation, and the geographic expansion of printing shops from 1450 to the mid 16th century. Second, the development of the discourse on pedagogy and childhood will be traced by examining the writings of reformers, pedagogues, pediatricians, and humanists concerned with raising children at home and at school. Third, the ideas put forth by the reformers, particularly Luther and Melanchthon, will be linked to policies legislated into schooling practice: establishment of schools, curricula, and instructional practices. Finally, in the course of identifying a potential relationship between printing and Reformation ideology, we can come to see how the religious-pedagogical aims of the reformers and the humanistic ideals of the 'new pedagogy' reflected in childrearing ideas and practices.

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III. TYPOGRAPHY AND REFORMATION

3.1 The Spread of Printing: 1450-1500

Johannes Gensfleisch zum Gutenberg invented the printing press in Mainz, Germany sometime between 1448 and 1451. As early as 1437, in a suit filed against Gutenberg in Strassburg, the words "press" and "printing" appear in a legal document (Levarie, 1968: 78). The first printed book, a Latin Bible, was printed by Gutenberg's press between 1452 and 1455; the first edition of the first book was produced in 200 copies (Geck, 1968: 28). Two years later, in 1457, Fust and Schoeffer, Gutenberg's troublesome business partners, produced a Latin Psalter, "a book of superlative accomplishments" (Berry & Poole, 1966: 13). That same year, a Mainz Kalender was printed. This first medical 'text' was a "bleeding and purgation calendar, which gave details of the lucky and unlucky days on which to bleed or take medicine in a given year" (Berry & Poole, 1966: 13).

At the University of Cologne, a press was installed and the first book produced in 1466. "At the end of the century, there were more than 20 printers in the city [Cologne]" (Geck, 1968: 44). In 1479 the first Bible in Dutch was printed at Cologne. Lübeck, north of Hamburg, was the first center in the north to install a press in 1473. The first German Bible was produced by

a Strassburg printer, Johann Mentelin, whose profession was a "writer in gold or illustrator of manuscripts" (Geck, 1968: 45).

A Mainz printer, Berthold Ruppel, who had worked with Gutenberg, moved to Basel and set up the first printing shop there in 1467 (Geck, 1968: 46). Johann Amerbach, born in southern Germany in 1441, was introduced to the 'art of printing' by one of his teachers in Paris who had first introduced printing to that city. Amerbach, after completing a Master of Arts at the University of Paris, eventually worked as a corrector in a printing shop in Nuremberg. He later settled and married in Basel where he set up a printing shop which was to become the center of intellectual activity, superseded later by the House of Froben, friend and publisher of Erasmus. Johann Reuchlin's work was published by Amerbach, and Sebastian Brant's Narrenschiff (Ship of Fools) was published there in 1494 (Geck: 1968: 47). In Augsburg, the first book came off the presses in 1468, the year of Gutenberg's death.

In Nuremberg, however, the largest printing works in Germany were established by Anton Koberger :

more than a hundred people worked on 24 presses...[Koberger] dealt in books for other printers, and it may be assumed that he also had a bookbinding works operating on his behalf. (Geck, 1968: 49)

In the field of graphic arts, the Koberger shop was preeminent: among the artists who worked for him were Dürer's teachers and, later, Dürer (1471-1528) as well (Geck, 1968: 49).

In Italy, Venice was the center of printing. Johann Numeister, a pupil of Gutenberg, established a print shop in Foligno, returned to Mainz, and then moved to France where he opened yet another printing business at Lyons. Another Italian printer, the humanist lecturer Aldus Manutius, produced his first book, a Greek grammar in 1494. A few years later he

created a revolutionary innovation in printing in that he printed books of small format in an italic type; this type was said to be an imitation of Petrarch's handwriting. (Geck, 1968: 50)

In 1470, two professors at the Sorbonne invited three German printers to set up a press at the university and teach the art of printing. Independent presses had already been in operation in France since the late 1450's; by the 1470's the first university press was established in Paris. An English merchant, William Caxton, had acquired the skills of printing at Cologne in the 1460's; during the early 1470's he operated a press in Bruges and in 1476 he left for England to establish the first press at Westminster (Geck, 1968: 54).

The 'German art' was established in Budapest in the year 1473, in London in 1477, in Oxford in 1478, in Denmark in 1482, in Stockholm in 1483, in Moravia in 1486, and in Constantinople in 1490. (Janssen, 1976: 14).

In the last year of the 15th century, the first woodcut depicting a printing press appeared in an edition of the Dance of Death, printed at Lyons on February 18th, 1499 (Berry & Poole, 1968: 73). It is an eerie woodcut, foreshadowing public book burnings, book censorship laws, and later claims by reactionary theologians that 'books are the works of the devil'.

Before 1500, about 45,000 books had been printed by presses set up in 206 European cities (Geck, 1968: 54). Febvre and Martin estimate that by 1500, 35,000 editions had been produced in 15 to 20 million copies printed in 236 western European towns (1976: 186). During the first 50 years of printing, the reading audience was confined to 'men of letters': clerics, university professors, the educated nobility, and the printers themselves; "thus university cities, monasteries, the church and princely residences were the main purchasers" (Geck, 1968: 54).

As books were mostly unbound and sold as a collection of printed sheets, bookbinding was "left to the taste of the individual" (Geck, 1968: 54), and was not part of the process of 'producing a book'. Title pages were not utilized until the turn of the century, and author, title, date, printer and place of printing, were inconsistently recorded. Printers between 1450 and 1500 were specialists in all aspects of printing a book: typesetting, typesetting, proof reading, ink mixing, the mechanics of printing, collating, designing ornamental rubrics and the large illuminated letters which prefaced the first word of each page. The early 16th century saw an increasing specialization of labor in the production of books. The art of printing was well established and was a commercially viable business by the end of the 15th century. Business was brisk. Increasing demand for books led to expansion of the printing shop in terms of acquiring more presses and hiring more specialized help: craftsmen to design and carve the woodblocks,

metal workers to cast the type, and bookbinders. Latin predominated in most editions still primarily aimed at the learned elite who had the benefit of institutional financial support for the acquisition of, at the time, relatively expensive books.

The first 50 years of printing produced primarily theological works and reproductions of classical texts; the style and format of books replicated the manuscript. During the early decades of the 16th century, European printing diversified both in content and format: title pages appeared more frequently with more exacting reference to author, date and publishing firm; the use of more intricately designed woodblocks for illustrations increased; the use of boldface and headpieces became more common; herbals, almanacs, calendars, medical manuals and books, maps, travelogues, and historical chronicles appeared on the book market. The most elaborate and aesthetically impressive history text, the Nürnberg Chronicle, was produced by Koberger's press in Nürnberg just before the turn of the century in 1493. Levarie gives a short account of this "book of monumental ambition":

The text itself ventured nothing less than a total world history. The illustration scheme was immensely complex, embracing large double-page topographical cuts of cities which break across the pages in a variety of formations, and figures scattered in and among the text in every imaginable way, sometimes connected by richly coiling vines: over eighteen hundred pictures in all. (1968: 105).

During the first half of the 16th century, German and Swiss printing centers led Europe in productivity, quality and

diversity of illustrated and scholarly books. The innovative works of Dürer superseded the quality and originality of all other illustrators of his day; his affiliation with Koberger's press in Nuremberg lent additional prestige and income to Nuremberg as a leading cultural and printing center, and enhanced the status of the Koberger works. The prestige of both Dürer and Koberger's enterprise was greatly facilitated by the ambitious Emperor Maximilian I who commissioned not only major architectural projects for the Hapsburg regime, but supported the arts as well. Levarie comments:

A good number of the Nuremberg and Augsburg artists worked at some time on the many book projects of the Emperor Maximilian...some of these projects were so ambitious that they were never completed. The Weisskunig, which undertook to describe the parentage, education, and exploits of Maximilian with 249 illustrations by Burgmair, was put on a press for the first time two and a half centuries later, in 1775...Dürer himself participated...in the most outrageously grand of Maximilian's printing schemes: the Triumphal Arch and Procession...the Triumphal Arch alone consisted of 192 woodcuts which combined covered an area of about ten by twelve feet. (1968: 180-182)

Imperial patronage of the arts and financial support coupled with the already established prestige of the Koberger presses, placed Nuremberg at the center of the printing industry, attracting members of learned circles, literate laymen, clergy, artists and aristocratic patrons of the arts. Nuremberg's cultural status was rivalled only by Basel and Strassburg.¹ Mainz at the end of the 15th century had lost its

¹ For an informative study of 16th century Nuremberg's cultural milieu, see Strauss, G. Nuremberg in the 16th Century. New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1966; see Chapter 6 for a discussion of Nuremberg printing shops.

lead and importance as a major center of printing (Febvre & Martin, 1976: 183).

The book, as Febvre and Martin note, had 'arrived' by 1500. The increasing output of books in vernacular high and low German undoubtedly gave more people access to information traditionally written in Latin. And although Latin still predominated in scholarly works,

Latin began to lose ground during the 16th century. From 1530 onwards, this process becomes unmistakable...the bookreading public became from then on...increasingly a lay public -- made up in large part of women and of merchants, many of whom had hardly any knowledge of Latin. (Febvre & Martin, 1976: 320)

One would assume that scholarly works in geography and the natural sciences were of less popular interest. Yet these more 'disciplinary works' -- anatomical, botanical, zoological and geographic texts -- were plentiful and, unlike most devotional works, were accompanied by intricate engravings and woodblock prints. According to Febvre and Martin, the visual appeal of these books made them a popular item among more "enlightened amateurs":

Such sumptuous productions with their magnificent wood blocks found a ready public of enlightened amateurs who were probably often attracted to particular volumes by other than purely scientific reasons. (1976: 278)

A growing public interest in the world outside the community and country can be inferred from the number of re-editions and translations many of these books underwent. And as the works in geography broadened the readers' worldview 'outward', so to speak, the equally popular medical books,

focused the readers' attention 'inward'. In perhaps imperceptible ways, one can assume the worldviews, the assumptions and range of ideas of the reading public to have changed. And as the more 'specialized' works of anatomy, surgery, or geography became available in German, the spoken language was slowly transformed into a legitimate medium of expression for formal discourse -- in literature, medicine, pedagogy, or religion. Ideas were more systematically encoded through increasing standardization of grammar, vocabulary and orthography. The systematization of ideas in more uniform linguistic categories and the materialization of those ordered ideas in books, helped to unify and fix sets of ideas within a given discourse. Furthermore, the mass distribution of standardized ideas systematized discourse by dispersing a material unit of ideas (i.e. a book or pamphlet) among a variety of readers thus unifying them linguistically and, to a certain extent, in shared knowledge. Febvre and Martin note that,

the standardization of grammar and vocabulary is even more important than spelling in establishing a language that can be readily understood by one and all...[and] by encouraging the multiplication of the number of texts available in the vernacular the printing press everywhere favoured...the development and the systematization of the literary language of the nation. (1976: 322-323)

As the vernaculars established themselves as formal literary and scholarly languages, a sense of political and cultural unity developed more strongly as people came to recognize that their language was, indeed, an official and national language. This emerging sense of nationalism was particularly important for

member states of the German Empire that had harbored resentment of their political, religious and cultural 'annexation' to the Holy Roman Empire for too long. Chaytor, discussing language and nationality in From Script to Print explains:

The invention of printing stabilized the predominant mode of speech, secured its position as the official and literary medium, and thereby reduced dialects...The next step is to regard the official language as a national heritage and an expression of national character. This idea made slow progress so long as the wars of religion continued...but the growth of literature and the spread of education consequent upon the greater multiplication of books increased its strength continually. (1966: 45-46).

And while printing encouraged a sense of internal, national unity, printed translations encouraged an international exchange of indigenous literary works. By the early 1500's, although religious themes still dominated the book market, the printing of secular literature steadily increased. In addition to vernacular prayer and song books, popular works for everyday domestic use such as herbals, household manuals, or family conduct guides reached increasingly diverse audiences.

3.2 Books of Conduct for Family and Children

Albrecht von Eyb, born in Germany (1420), educated in Bologna and Padua, was a prolific writer strongly influenced by the Italian humanist movement of the late 15th century. Two of his most popular works were reprinted by the Koberger press in Nuremberg as late as 1520, 55 years after von Eyb's death. The Ehebuch (Book of Marriage) was written in German and, broadly, discusses the virtues of marriage or remaining single. The Latin

Margarita Poetica (variously interpreted as 'Pearl of Poetry' or 'Pearl of Humanism'), was "a handbook of rhetoric and letter writing...the first substantial book of this type composed by a German author" (Hirsch, 1978, III: 33).

Caspar Huberinus, a Lutheran and popular author wrote the most influential and widely read family conduct books. Spiegel der Hauszucht (The Household Mirror), published in Nürnberg in 1552, "condemns tyrannical husbands and evil wives" (Strauss, 1978: 343). Huberinus' other widely read work was Der kleine Catechismus für die Jugend zu gebrauchen (A Shorter Catechism for the Instruction of Young People), published in Augsburg in 1544 (Strauss, 1978: 341).

Jörg Wickram's Good and Bad Neighbors (1556) is a treatise on the community of Christian households; "he wished to show how pious families can live together in peace and friendship. He tried to demonstrate that hard work in one's appointed calling leads to public esteem and inner contentment" (Strauss, 1978: 149). Repeatedly, family conduct books stressed the importance of 'normalizing' family relations. Intrafamilial discord was seen by humanists and theologians alike as the central negative catalyst of the greater social disintegration, reflected in church, state, and community disharmony. A cohesive family unit was considered an imperative precondition for a stable and cohesive society.

In Wickram's Good and Bad Neighbors we also note that hard work in an appointed calling, rewarded by inner contentment,

mirrors an existential and spiritual ethic which prompted Max Weber three and a half centuries later to reevaluate the relationship between the "religious characteristics...of the old Protestant spirit and modern capitalism" (Weber, 1904/1952: 45). Among Wickram's many other works, one is specifically concerned with young boys' conduct: Der Jungen Knaben Spiegel (The Young Boys' Mirror), published in 1554 (Strauss, 1978: 346).

In 1536, a Wittenberg press published Johann Böhme's Ein Christliches Radtbüchlein für die Kinder (A Christian Advice Booklet for Children) (Strauss, 1978: 338). Johann Agricola (1490-1550) wrote Eine Christliche Kinderzucht inn Gottes Wort und Lere: Aus der Schule zu Eisleben (A Christian Child Training Manual in God's Words and Teaching: From the School at Eisleben), which was published in Wittenberg in 1527 (Strauss, 1978: 340). The following year, in 1528, Luther commissioned Agricola to write a catechism. This request by Luther may have been on the basis of Agricola's 1527 publication; the catechism, published in 1528 in Wittenberg was entitled: Hundert und dreissig Gemeynere Fragestücke für die jungen Kinder vnn der deutschen Meydin Schule zu Eysleben. This work was oriented towards more pedagogical ends as the title indicates: '130 Questions for Young Children in the German Meydin School at Eisleben'; Luther had been a student at Eisleben as a child.

Veit Dietrich wrote Kinder-Postilla (Children's Postulates), which was published at Nürnberg in 1549 (Strauss, 1978: 347). Another marriage conduct manual, Ehespiegel

(Marriage Mirror) was written by Cyriacus Spangenberg in 1563 and printed in Strassburg (Strauss, 1978: 347). A bedtime prayerbook for children, Bettbüchlein (Bedbooklet) was written by Andreas Musculus and published in Leipzig (Strauss, 1978: 345). Erasmus Alber us wrote a series of ten essays for parents providing instructions to aid young children learning to speak: Zehen Dialogi für Kinder, so anfangen zu reden, published in Nürnberg (Strauss, 1978: 345).

Felix Würtzel, a barber-surgeon, wrote extensively on the health care of women and children. His best known work, Practica der Wund-Artzney (A Practical Manual of Medical Care, 1563) has a short work for children appended to it (Strauss, 1978: 332). From the title of the appended work, Schönes und nützliches Kinder-Büchlein (A Pretty and Useful Children's Booklet), it is not clear whether this booklet was a story or health guide written for children, or whether it was intended as a parental guide to children's ailments. Strauss suggests that Würtzel was "a widely trusted medical adviser...[judging] from the circulation of his books in several languages" (1978: 89). Würtzel showed great sympathy and compassion for children. In 1523, Würtzel condemned the use of standing stools for small children which inhibited their mobility and forced them to stand upright for long periods; Würtzel's criticism of these stools suggests their common use and partially supports Aries' claim of parental indifference to children's comfort. Würtzel writes:

there are stools for children to stand in, in which they can turn around in any way, when mothers or nurses see

them in it, then they care no more for the child, let it alone, go about their own business, supposing the child to be well provided, but they little think on the pain and misery the poor child is in...the poor child...must stand maybe many hours, whereas half an hour standing is too long...I wish that all such standing stools were burned. (in deMause, 1974: 39)

The absence of consistent reference to the scriptures as justification for certain childraising practices or the curing of disease, make Würtzel's work appear uncharacteristic of his age. He strongly rejected swaddling and the use of wet-nurses, a practice in vogue among the nobility. Strauss quotes Würtzel's sympathies for the newborn:

Imagine what goes on in him as he feels the touch of rough hands on his tender skin and is chafed by coarse woollen cloth or scratchy swaddling bands. What do you think it feels like to lie on a hard board covered with prickly straw, sharp-edged planing chips, or crumbled birch leaves? (1978: 89)

Clearly concerned here with the potential consequences of infants' perception of physical discomfort, Würtzel also gives us an indication of what we can assume to have been prevalent practices and conditions awaiting the newborn.

States of insecurity induced by discomfort, injury, or excessive restraint recur in nightmares, Würtzel thinks. If they persist they will leave the child with a permanently melancholy disposition. (Strauss: 1978: 89)

3.3 Pediatric Literature

While much of our knowledge about the impact of print on ideas about children must be drawn from inferences, some specific evidence, such as the early pediatric manuals, remains. The advice for childrearing offered parents in domestic guides and pediatric manuals provides a fairly well defined concept of

childhood and of childrearing practices.

In G.F. Still's History of Pediatrics (1931/1965), we find the earliest poem on the care of children, Versehung des Leibs (Care of the Body), written in Swabian by Heinrich von Louffenburg in 1429 and printed in Augsburg in 1491. A part of this poem was translated into high German and titled Ein Regiment der gesundheit Für die jungen Kinder (A Regiment of Health for Young Children), published in 1532 and re-edited in 1544 (Still, 1965: 84). Still summarized Louffenburg's pediatrics:

The pediatric part of Louffenburg's poem included in this book begins with directions as to the regimen of the pregnant woman, and then deals with the following points: how to manage new-born children; how to bathe them and how to look after them asleep and awake; how to feed and suckle them; how to manage them when the teeth begin to appear; how the wet-nurse is to be suitable; how long children should be suckled and how to wean them from the milk. (1965: 86)

Four woodcuts are included in the four pages of the 1549 edition, reproduced in Still's book (1962: 87-93). They confirm the practice of swaddling but also, surprisingly, illustrate rather advanced, 'modern' childrearing devices and methods. On the instruction for the care of pregnant women the woodcut shows a woman holding a swaddled infant; she sits, looking down at the child, next to a table on which a small bowl and small spoon are situated next to the woman -- the illustration exudes a warm simplicity.

The woodcut in the section discussing the proper care and placement of infants in cradles shows a woman rocking a cradle

in which a swaddled infant is wrapped into the cradle; the infant's head is propped up on a pillow and the advice for mothers is: "the head must be covered and protected from drafts, the head should also be raised above the prostrate body". A few lines further, sound and timeless advice advocates "singing sweet songs to infants with a gentle voice to cheer them up and prepare them for a sweet sleep" (1962: 89).

The third woodcut is accompanied by a set of rhymed instructions on the problems of teething and learning to walk. Here we see a toddler learning to walk by sitting on a wooden three-wheeled version of our modern tricycle. The child, whose features admittedly resemble "a miniature adult", appears to have trouble remaining balanced on the wheeled walker and looks to the mother in distress; she haltingly leans towards the child with hands outstretched -- her posture implies more of a cautioning and guiding reassurance to the child's struggle with the walker, than a reproachful or reprimanding corrective action.

The final woodcut in this series shows the transition from bottle feeding to solid foods. Louffenburg's advice is that after a two year suckling period, mothers must wean the infant, but not too suddenly or too rapidly. The introduction to solid foods requires careful and thoughtful preparation: foods should be sweetened and mashed. Failure to puree and sweeten the infants' broth will mostly likely result in 'stones', cramps in hands, feet and legs. The woodcut shows a woman seated at a

table, stirring food in a bowl and looking down at a child seated on a stool next to her. The child appears less as a miniature adult, having pudgy limbs and a reasonable resemblance to child-like facial features.

From Louffenburg's Care of the Body, we can deduce that child health care was a legitimate concern. Moreover, a gentle and nurturing attitude towards infants was stressed as an important and critical part of children's health care. That infants "did not count", as Aries proposes, is questionable when we read that infants were, indeed, perceived as physically and psychologically vulnerable, in need of specialized attending, and that, contrary to many suggestions, not all children were strapped to boards and hung on wall pegs -- many youngsters probably had the privilege of learning to walk in wheeled walkers. Of further interest is the women's attire in the woodcuts which is not the dress of the well-to-do, but typifies peasant and lower-class city burgher dress; in other words, the Care of the Body was addressed to the households of a literate common folk. Moreover, the problems of weaning, teething, or learning to walk were not the concerns of women of the nobility who relegated childrearing to wetnurses. It is also worth noting that the recommended and perhaps commonly accepted practice of weaning at age two is a marked contrast to the general assumption that lower class women breastfed their children long past infancy.

The most famous and most comprehensive work on pediatrics, Rosegarten, of which the last known edition was published as late as 1730, was written by a German, Eucharius Roesslin in 1512 and was immediately re-issued in 1513 (Still, 1965: 94). Roesslin was a practicing doctor first at Worms and later at Frankfurt. The first publication was in German and it was subsequently translated into Latin, French, Dutch and English (Still, 1965: 94). Roesslin also wrote a herbal, Kreuterbuch, dated 1533. Still notes that the Rosegarten "has a special interest as being the first book dealing with this subject [children's diseases and cures] translated into and printed in the English language" (1965: 96). It is the first book on pediatrics to have appeared in England, translated by Richard Jonas and published in London in 1540 (Still, 1965: 98).

Roesslin's Rosegarten "was one of the most famous works on midwifery of the period" (Still, 1965: 94). Included are sections "on the management and feeding of infants and on diseases of children" (Still, 1965: 94). Various parts of the original German edition of the Rosegarten were separately published and appeared as distinct works under various titles including The Medicine Book of Wedlock, Emergencies of Pregnancy, Child Nurture, and Medicine of Women. We can assume that reprints of sections of the entire Rosegarten enabled more people to gain access to the information and, as well, abbreviated versions of the rather voluminous text enabled the reader to purchase a cheaper booklet on a specialized topic.

Another widely circulated and popular vernacular pediatric work was written by Otto Brunfels in the 1530's: Weiber und Kinder Apothek (Women and Children's Apothecary). A Haus-Apothek (House Apothecary) by Hieronymus Braunschweig is dated 1537 (Still, 1965: 101). There seems to be a controversy over authorship between pediatrician Metlinger's version of A Regimen for Young Children and Brunfels' Apothecary; Still claims that "Brunfels in fact was an unblushing plagiarist" (1965: 102). Brunfels' last chapter is borrowed from Metlinger, entitled Wie man die Kinde halten und ziehen soll so sy gon und reden lernent biss sy das alter sieben iar erlangent, or 'How to keep and raise children until they learn to speak and until they have reached their seventh year'. Age seven marks the end of early childhood; seven year developmental cycles were a popular and traditional explanatory scheme for categorizing the 'ages of man'.

Interest in pediatrics was a part of the revival of interest in medicine during the late 15th and early 16th century. The medical tracts of antiquity were translated by medical-humanist scholars with the same fervor of the 'new learning' that encouraged the translation of standard Greek and Latin philosophical works. Moreover, it enabled medical scholars and practicing doctors to become authors writing from practical experience, addressing the public in their own language. As Strauss notes,

a surge of interest in pediatrics marked the 16th century when...scholarship and printing brought to this

branch of medicine a kind of international collaboration. More important...the growing respectability of vernacular language freed practicing doctors from their profession's subservience to its classical and Arabic predecessors. (1978: 88)

As more vernacular domestic guides and booklets about child health care were being published, we can assume that certain childrearing practices and ideas about the nature of childhood came to be more widely circulated throughout society. The early pediatric books provided parents with a non-institutional pedagogy for training the young at home. These works reflect a concept of childhood that stressed parental attention to and affection for children.

3.4 The Diffusion of Luther's Ideas

In oral cultures, the transmission of information is by word of mouth. In the 16th century printed pamphlets were becoming a popular and effective medium for transmitting the reformers' messages to the people. Yet, newsworthy events, royal proclamations, or the call to arms continued to be heralded by town criers. Outlying villages tended to be the last and least informed;

Lutheran gatherings and sermons in towns located along the main roads always drew a better attendance, thanks to the merchants, academicians, master builders, journeymen, beggars, and entertainers. However, in most cases, a direct connection between trade routes and the dispersion of the new faith is hard to establish. (Hanneman, 1975: 59)

In the early stages of the Reformation, Luther and his followers preached the new approach to the word of God to the common folk by the traditional channels of communication -- the

sermon. Itinerant pro-Lutheran preachers instructed the rural peasantry in German which more readily made accessible not only the words of the gospel, but enabled the preachers to explain those doctrinal issues in question -- communion, mass, indulgences -- of which the common peasantry, according to Hanneman, had limited understanding. Hanneman notes that these

clandestine and itinerant preachers were mostly non-residents in their sphere of influence and used a pseudonym so they could operate in secrecy and appear as equal in the socio-economic view of the common people. This made them more popular among the common folk.
(1975: 22)

Appearing as 'one' with the people, speaking their language, and addressing local concerns, these preachers attracted peasants from neighboring villages and towns of the region who attended the sermons in increasing numbers and readily converted to the ideas of the new faith.

The Lutheran evangelists, preaching at clandestine meetings or preaching 'officially' under local municipal sanction were, nonetheless, often the target of harassment by local authorities who were either devout Catholics or ambivalent about the evangelists' activities. Sermons left 'impressions' of ideas in the minds of townfolk, ideas which were open to misrepresentation and misunderstanding by the very transitory nature of the spoken word. Had Luther and his followers been confined to rely only on sermons, personal appearances and public lectures in their quest to win the support of the German people against the Church of Rome, we can speculate that the development and rapid spread of the Reformation would have taken

a far more circuitous, if not altogether different route.

The early development of Luther's theology in the 1520's coincided with the period in which printing was superseding the manuscript tradition, and book learning had become commonly accepted and relatively widespread practice among scholars and educated urban citizens. The traditional methods of oral communication through sermons, public preaching and town criers, coupled with the mass distribution of and accessibility to printed works, provided the means for rapid and radical change.

The 16th century, then, unlike previous or subsequent centuries marked a transition period from oral to print culture. But this transition should not be interpreted as print displacing oral transmission, or the power of the printed word gaining primacy over the spoken word. Strauss notes that the two cultures, oral and print, "interpenetrated so deeply and at so many points that neither could have flourished independently" (1978: 193). Reformation historian Cole suggests that "the combination of oral methods with printed materials as sources of information created a new "cultural mix...[which] was essentially a new force in the sixteenth century" (1972: 97). Printing did create a cultural mix in terms of making international scholarship and readership possible. For the mass of lower and middle class burghers, however, the "combination of oral methods with printed materials" may not necessarily have created a cultural mix. Consider, for instance, that everyday verbal interaction within a community would most likely concern

local affairs, and if 'print information' was the topic of discussion it would more likely have been derived from local posters, pamphlet literature or the Bible, rather than concern esoteric foreign or scientific works. The rise of indigenous literature during the 16th century, seen by historians to have reflected and reinforced a growing sense of nationalism, illustrates a new cultural insularity, and less of a cultural mix.

3.5 Presses in Support of Luther

The Reformation, in Geck's view, "involved the great turning point for printing".

It was now to be shown that the flood of printed works could influence people in a way previously not conceived of. Such a rapid spreading of the doctrines of Luther would have been inconceivable without printing. (1968: 58)

In Die hochdeutschen Drucker der Reformationszeit (1905/1963), or 'The High German Printers of the Reformation Period', Alfred Götze painstakingly lists all pro-Lutheran presses from the 1520's to the later 1540's. He gives detailed autobiographical accounts of the printers and lists words specific to given regional dialects which appear in the printed works of local printing shops. Lacking in Götze's list of German printing establishments are the centers in north Germany. He lists a total of 87 printing shops and 10 single ownerships of two businesses in separate towns. Febvre and Martin supplement Götze's findings by noting that 140 German towns operated

presses throughout the 16th century; if 140 towns had printing establishments in the course of the entire century, then Götze's findings of 87 pro-Lutheran printing presses in operation during the 30 years between 1520 and the late 1540's, indicates a proportionately large number of presses in the service of the 'Protestant' cause.

The remainder of Götze's book is a compilation of correspondence between printers. These letters indicate not only a genuine cooperation among these men in sharing technical information, but reflect a shared concern with attempts to improve lexical clarity, legibility, quality of print and illustrations. Above all, the letters reflect a new and sophisticated technical terminology. On the 'eve of the Reformation', printing was developing both as a lucrative commercial enterprise and in technical sophistication. Mentelin expanded into the paper trade; bookbinding was incorporated as part of the printing process. In Basel, the preeminent printing house of Frobel, Erasmus' publisher, bought a type foundry in 1536 (Febvre & Martin, 1976: 188).

Wittenberg University was established in 1502. In 1508 Johann Rhau-Grünenberg set up the first press there and "in 1516 he published Luther's earliest works and almost certainly the famous theses on Indulgences of 1517" (Febvre & Martin, 1976: 192). In 1519 a Leipzig printer, Melchior Lotther, opened a branch plant at Wittenberg which was to become the press entirely in the service of Luther (Febvre & Martin, 1976: 192).

In terms of the geography and 'quality' of printing in the 1520's, Febvre and Martin note the development of two important trends subsequent to Luther's rise to fame. First, the importance of printing in the south declined as north German cities superseded the south in sheer quantity of production. Second, the production of books with traditional 'disciplinary' content disappeared almost overnight in favor of inexpensive religious pamphlets and public posters printed in German (Febvre & Martin, 1976: 192).

The spread of printing to the north geographically expanded Luther's influence and, conversely, ensured support of his movement in the northern territories. The shift from scholarly books to mostly propagandist tracts of the pamphlets limited, although it did not restrict, access to the more diverse knowledge of Greek and Latin classics, works from the natural sciences, humanist literature, and so forth. However, the introduction and mass utilization of the vernacular, both high and low German, facilitated the spread of the word to more people than ever before. Cheap access to pamphlets printed in the people's language coupled with Luther's insistence on the importance of learning to read in order to study the scriptures, brought an unlettered laity in direct visual contact with their own language while inculcating them with 'new' ideas they had hitherto probably not seriously considered. Reading was no longer confined to the formally educated, the affluent, or those competent at Latin, but the printed word reached the households

of the poor, the rural, as well as middle and lower class urban burghers.

3.6 Luther's Publications

Luther's writings were primarily sermons, addresses and short treatises published in pamphlet form. His two major 'literary' works were a German, that is Lutheran, version of the Bible (1541), and his translation of the Psalms (1531).

We begin in 1517 with the posting of Luther's 95 Theses on the portals of the Wittenberg castle church. The theses were entitled 'A Sermon on Indulgences and Grace'. The posting of events, commentaries or complaints on the castle door was not an uncommon practice. Luther, however, was not posting just another theological commentary but was, indeed, posting an event in the true sense of the word. The theses were Luther's response to John Tetzel, a Dominican friar, who had been commissioned by Pope Leo X to sell thousands of indulgences in Germany in order to raise the necessary funds for rebuilding St. Peter's Cathedral in Rome. Febvre and Martin note that "his theses, translated into German and summarised, were printed as flysheets and distributed throughout Germany; within 15 days they had been seen in every part of the country" (1976: 289). The theses appeared under the Latin title Disputatio pro Declaratione Virtutis Indulgentiarum, were published in Wittenberg in the winter of 1517, and were followed by three other editions, two published in Wittenberg and one in Nürnberg. In the following

year, they were re-edited and published in German in Wittenberg under the title Solutions (Putnam, 1962: 254).

Luther's famous Address to the Christian Nobility of the German Nation, printed in August of 1520, sold 5,000 copies in five days (Putnam, 1962: 221). That same year Luther published Why the Books of the Pope and his Disciples were burnt by Dr. Martin Luther in defense of his provocative book burning of papal decrees and law books -- 1,400 copies of this pamphlet were sold at the Frankfurt Fair in two days (Putnam, 1962: 221).

In September of 1522, Luther completed his German version of the New Testament, adding to 19 already existing German editions of the Bible (Febvre & Martin, 1976: 289). This first edition, printed at Wittenberg, produced 5,000 copies and in December a second edition issued another 5,000 copies (Putnam, 1962: 220). This work was pirated and reprinted by the "enterprising" Petri of Basel "towards the close of that same year" (Putnam, 1962: 225). Putnam notes that Petri printed seven more editions within the following three years, another rival Basel printer produced five more editions, and an Augsburg printer issued three editions (1962: 225). Febvre and Martin add to Putnam's account and note that the New Testament, "printed...on three presses working flat out...was sold out in about 10 weeks despite its comparatively high price" (1976: 294). One can assume that members of the faculty and the Wittenberg intelligentsia purchased many copies of the first editions, despite the high cost. Between 1522 and 1524, 14 more

editions were printed at Wittenberg and 66 editions printed at other German presses.

Translation of the Old Testament was a joint effort of Luther and his former pupil and colleague Philip Melancthon; the first German translations appeared in 1523. Some 430 authorized editions of Luther's translation came off the presses before 1546; pirated editions without the author's name appeared throughout Germany -- one pirated edition ran to 3,000 copies. Dedicated to the Lutheran cause, printer Hans Lufft issued 100,000 copies of the Bible within 40 years between 1534 and 1574 (Febvre & Martin, 1976: 294). Febvre and Martin estimate that a total of one million German Bibles were printed before mid century, and more than one million printed during the latter part of the century (1976: 295).

People were buying Bibles in unprecedented numbers -- a Bible in every household was Luther's aim. "The Scriptures were henceforth in everyone's hands and the passions roused by religious controversy were such that even those who were illiterate had the text read and explained to them by better educated friends" (Febvre & Martin, 1976: 294). Putnam explains the intellectual and practical relevance of Luther's version of the New Testament:

The complete Lutheran version of The New Testament...constituted not only...a central fact of first importance in the work of the Reformation, but the most noteworthy of the literary productions of its author. The work is of necessity classed as a translation, but it was a translation into which had been absorbed, in very large measure, the individuality and original thought of the writer...The teaching that

Christian believers must base their relations with their Creator upon the inspired Word required that this Word should be placed within reach of all Christians and should be in a form to be understood by the unlettered as well as the scholarly. (1962: 223-224)

Towards the end of the 1520's, Luther's publications appeared less frequently in both Latin and German versions; more pamphlets in high and low German were printed concerned less with scholarly doctrinal polemics, and more focused on didactic moralizing on everyday issues such as the choice of marriage partner, conduct in marriage, childrearing and children's education. These shorter pamphlets, written in simple language and in regional dialects, appealed to a wider audience including the poor and barely literate. Since these pamphlets were small and lightweight in comparison to books, they were easily transportable and reached communities far from the centers of the urban book trade.

That large parts of rural Germany were still illiterate or semiliterate in the early decades of the century, was perceived as no obstacle by Luther and his later followers. Luther envisioned the perfect Christian household as one where the family gathered in the evenings to listen to and discuss readings from the scriptures; if parents do not possess the skills of reading, "let the boys read to their parents everyday an article from the catechism and also sing them a song or two" (in Strauss, 1978: 131). Luther's intent here is twofold: first, to instill in the young the daily practice of dealing with the words of God whether through song, prayer, reading or recitation, and, second, to encourage whomever has the ability

to read to gather members of the family or community for group instruction in the holy words. Towards the end of the century, "nearly everywhere regulations required children to share with their parents the fruits of their learning" (Strauss, 1978: 131). And, as Strauss points out, the illiteracy in 16th century Germany has been historically overrated:

the ability to read with fair fluency was evidently much more widespread in 16th century German society than is ordinarily recognized. (1978: 127)

3.7 Summary

The recovery, translation and correction of the texts of antiquity during the first fifty years of printing laid out a revised foundation of knowledge for European scholars. The use to which the revised classics were put depended upon, as much as they precipitated, a changed outlook. The errors uncovered by scholars, not only semantic but factual errors, were being substantiated by practitioners: navigators, physicians, astronomers, merchant-explorers, mathematician-accountants, teachers, and so forth.

Printing enabled the rapid reproduction of revised and new knowledge; knowledge encoded in books made ideas, literally, portable, and liberated ideas from the guarded, locked up and inaccessible manuscript scrolls in monastic and university libraries. Printing changed intellectual work from the solitary activity of medieval scholarship into a cooperative and international knowledge industry. At the same time, however,

printing privatized learning by gradually eliminating the necessity for students to copiously recite and transcribe entire lectures, or copy from library manuscripts; printing freed the scholar's memory from the task of recording and retaining a vast stock of ideas of encyclopaedic proportions. Conversely, for the reader converted to the Lutheran faith who was neither a cleric nor scholar, reading the Bible, catechisms, or prayer books encouraged communal learning and interaction. The ideal situation in Luther's view was for family and community members to gather together and listen to the reading of the holy words by those who were literate; discussion and group interaction would follow to further reinforce a sense of family and community spirit, and to promote ideological and social cohesion. We must remember that reading print in the 16th century was not silent reading but reading aloud to oneself or to an audience of listeners. So, inasmuch as print privatized learning (McLuhan, 1962), under early Protestantism popular printed literature (i.e. religious works) promoted a collective learning, or a "brotherhood" of oral readers.

By the 16th century, Italian humanist values and ideas had spread northward. Antiquity, so long forgotten and buried in an 'age of darkness' following the decline of Rome, was seen by the humanists in a new light; they viewed their own age as a new epoch -- an age of enlightened curiosity and tolerance. Rewriting the past with a sense of a particularized and 'visibly' different present, gave men a new sense of history,

one not inseparably linked to the history of Christendom, but one seen in relation to classical art, poetry, architecture, music and sculpture. A more critical attitude towards the inherited legacy of classical knowledge was part of a more general critical stance towards old and outmoded institutions grown rigid and resistant to change. And so, in the early translations of the Testaments and the classics, a subtle secularization and textual criticism marked the rewriting of history. This 'Renaissance spirit' of the urge to rediscover the past, to critically reevaluate and broaden, that is, secularize explanations of a forgotten past, characterized the intellectual tenor already widespread and firmly rooted in the attitude and outlook of the educated class of western Europe by the time the first Bible was produced by Gutenberg's modified winepress in 1452.

The preceding section has sketched the development of printing from 1450 to the end of the 16th century, and discussed some of the implications of printing for the spread of literacy, the rise of Protestantism, and the popularization of secular and religious ideas about childrearing. The availability and distribution of print information during the first fifty years of printing advanced literacy and, reciprocally, a more widespread print literacy generated increased demand for printed literature. It can be argued, as Luther did and as contemporary historians of literacy have (e.g. Cressy, 1980; Graff, 1981), that the popularization of literacy was socially and politically

dangerous. Certainly the social, ideological, and political changes that Luther instigated are attributable to his calculated use of the new print technology. Yet the political and socio-economic conditions of 16th century central and northern Europe, and of Germany in particular, were oppressive and intolerable for the masses and cannot be overlooked as antecedent conditions ripe for radical change. Along with the advent of printing, deteriorating political and economic conditions in early 16th century Germany are concomitant factors underlying the 'threshold' of change from which and because of which the Protestant Reformation emerged.

The 16th century inherited a two century heritage of technical inventions and mental creativity, as well as a growing civic and theological dissatisfaction with church doctrine and church politics. Populations in Europe increased steadily since the 14th and 15th centuries, and by the 16th century a relatively large population of middle class burghers and peasants was a potentially powerful political force to be reckoned with.

By 1500 the population of Germany, the largest country in Europe, had risen to 20 million people (Holborn, 1961: 37). Less than one million people lived in major metropolitan centers and large towns; more than 19 million lived in villages, hamlets and small towns with populations under 1,000. Overpopulation increased the economic burden of peasants for whom there was less land on which to raise livestock and crops. Unable to make

a profit by selling surplus food, peasants found themselves unable to pay ever increasing taxes. This resulted in a rise of an itinerant beggar population of "landless laborers and gardeners...[who] multiplied in the countryside" (Blickle, 1981: 77).

Population growth could no longer be absorbed by the agricultural economy, and cities were already considered overcrowded. The prosperity and rising wealth enjoyed by small city-states was paralleled by increasing tension between landlord and tenant in rural areas. The subtle structural changes in production and the organization of labor coupled with the problems of overpopulation and an inefficient, outmoded food production system, widened the gap and increased the tension between rich and poor, between urban and rural, between labor and capital (cf. Cipolla, 1980). While the peasantry organized to overthrow the yoke of serfdom, city merchants organized to save their businesses from financial collapse in the face of monopoly expansion. In May and March of 1525, for instance, the "Nuremberg Reichstag pronounced against the giant firms but they were saved by two edicts in their favor issued by the Emperor Charles V" (Braudel, 1982: 418). Throughout urban and rural Germany, organized and still peaceful resistance to secular and ecclesiastical power was repeatedly defeated 'on paper'.

It is against this economic and political backdrop, which had developed into crisis proportion by the 1520's, that Reformation ideology emerged at times triumphant, at others

embattled. The following description of the events of the 1520's explains the plight of the common folk, so that we may better understand and appreciate the need for and consequences of the educational reform movement of the mid century to be discussed in the following chapter.

To keep a restless, dependent and disenfranchized peasantry immobilized and depoliticized, heavy taxation served both to maintain ruling landlords and clergy, and to keep peasants, physically, 'in their place'. Fees were implemented in many villages throughout the territories to discourage wanderers and newcomers. Intermarriage between individuals of politically distinct territories was severely taxed, children could be disinherited by law, or such marriages were prohibited outright by law. Property taxes, death taxes, inheritance taxes, excise taxes, imperial taxes to support the Turkish wars, ecclesiastical taxes, taxes on wine and beer, meat and flour, exemplify only partially the kind of financial demands made of peasants by "the tyrants and bloodsuckers", as one contemporary put it (Blickle, 1981: 65).

Peasant grievances against taxation, against their diminishing fishing and hunting rights, their objections to compulsory labor for the local church and lordships, to regulations prohibiting the cutting of timber, and to the restrictions of grazing rights on local commons and meadows were longstanding prior to 1525. In the early months of 1525, The Twelve Articles of the Upper Swabian peasants was printed as a

list of all such grievances. In March, 25 editions of The Twelve Articles were published, producing some 25,000 copies which disseminated throughout large sections of the southern German empire (Blickle, 1981: 18).

Like a parabolic mirror, the Twelve Articles collected and focused the grievances of Upper Swabian villages, and multiple reprintings made the crisis of the agrarian order clear to peasants of the whole empire. (Blickle, 1981: 22)

The publications of Luther's works between 1517 and 1525 cannot be said to have triggered or caused the ensuing peasant revolt, but it did contribute to the peasants' sense of justification for their demands. Godly law, according to Luther, to be found in clear and unambiguous terms in the Bible, underscored the peasants' demand to break with territorial interpretation of 'ecclesiastical law'; peasants called for a just community of a Christian brotherhood under godly law as laid out in the scriptures. Natural law, Luther preached, was godly law to which each individual had an equal right and equal access by reading the Bible. With scripture as the sole and final authority over individual and communal secular and spiritual life, the legitimacy of a political and social order dictated by church law and interpreted by ruling lords, was broken.

Underlying Luther's theology was an 'individual equality before God' ethic which both peasant and urban burgher understood and used, albeit to dissimilar ends. Luther's teachings emphasized the teaching of a 'pure' gospel, unmediated

by the rites of sacraments or communion, and he encouraged communities to select their own pastor. On this basis, the old notion of the church as mediator between God and individual, and the church as administrative body of secular and spiritual affairs was rejected and replaced by the notion of a regional congregation -- a Christian brotherhood of equals before God. This conceptual 'democratization' of secular and spiritual life, as the peasantry understood it, meant equal and natural rights to God's worldly kingdom: the forests, streams, plants and animals. The peasants' interpretation of Luther's teachings, however, proved to be erroneous in the eyes of Luther and ruling authorities.

Sporadic uprisings in central and southern Germany were already prevalent in 1524; by the spring of 1525 rebellion had spread throughout Germany. Mercenary troops ranging from 2,000 to 15,000 (Blickle, 1981: xxi) and peasants had set the country aflame; Holborn estimates that in late April of 1525, 300,000 peasants were under arms, and the general estimate of the death toll for the years between 1524 and 1526 is around 100,000.

Luther, as many historians note, was shocked by the crisis. His siding with the nobility against the peasants is attributed to his misunderstanding of the peasants' interpretation of his own teachings; Luther had preached for reform, for Christian egalitarianism before God, not violence and mass civil disobedience. From the very beginning, Luther recognized the importance of maintaining relationships with princes, dukes and

electors, for here lay the real power which could support church reform. He nonetheless saw the equal importance of public support and, hence, could not tolerate the destruction of both sides on spiritual grounds, and the destruction of established authority on what can be considered 'political' grounds.

The aftermath of the revolution saw the sharp decline in church authority and the corresponding increase in state control. The 'reformed' territories and imperial cities claimed jurisdiction from the church over law, education and finance. Monasteries, cathedral chapters and the old judicial authority of the church came under the rule of local courts and local-regional municipal law (Holborn, 1962: 183).

It has been necessary to describe, somewhat broadly, the antecedent political conditions of the 1525 rebellion of which the educational reform movement of the following decade was one of several consequences. The development of constitutional and civil rights reform after the 1525 revolution were not exclusively dominated by the 'spirit of Lutheranism', but it did influence and modify the changes underway throughout central and northern Europe, and Germany in particular. It is against the aftermath of the social, political and economic upheavals of the late 20's and 30's of the 16th century, that we will now look specifically at the educational reform considered by Luther and his followers to be an essential first step and precondition for greater social reform towards the envisioned social order of a Christian brotherhood -- "a priesthood of all believers".

The following section will examine the works of Luther and his contemporaries who were concerned with educational reform; men who were greatly influenced by Luther's new theology and translated his ideas into educational practice. Their writings and practical innovations reveal ideas about childhood which were influenced by the ideals of classical humanism and the ideals of what was to be known as Protestantism.

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IV. LUTHERAN PEDAGOGICAL PRINCIPLES

4.1 Developments Prior to School Reform

The peasant rebellion changed Luther's attitude towards the German people, and his perceptions of the influence and consequences of his own work. The religious and social chaos of the previous years had led to deterioration and, in some cases, total disintegration of church and school. What was desperately needed was a thorough assessment and documentation of existing conditions from which a scheme for the reorganization of church, school and community could be derived. In 1527 Luther, with the support of the Elector of Saxony, launched the first civil church-school survey. Luther's personal friend and colleague at Wittenberg, Philip Melancthon, wrote the Instruction to the Visitors (1528) which was to guide examiners in their visitations to every parish of the territory. The first territory in which visitations were systematically conducted was the Electorate of Saxony; the Instruction was soon adopted by other districts and by the 1560's all 'reformed' pro-Lutheran territories throughout Germany had implemented territorial visitations.

The future success of church and social reform was seen to lie with the young; the need to produce citizens who would be literate and conversant with religious doctrine, could best be

achieved by mass schooling. And to assure the uniform transmission of a uniform body of knowledge and values, civil authorities cast a close net of surveillance in the form of school ordinances and visitations to control students, teachers and schools. The implementation of compulsory school attendance laws, the reorganization of curriculum, instruction, teacher training, and student classification according to age-grade levels and examination results, converged in the systematic establishment of 'modern' public schooling. Luther's understanding of doctrine was the source and motivation for the comprehensive educational reorganization which, in the course of several decades, changed the routines of children's lives.

The church-school survey revealed what appeared to Luther as a serious and widespread lack of commitment by parents to send their children to school. Formerly, the study of the learned disciplines assured boys a future in the priesthood or the professions, "but these livings were swept away in the revolution which was now taking place" (Eby & Arrowood, 1934: 84). As a result, local schools and universities "were deserted", since "parents refused to have their sons study for a vocation so uncertain" (Eby & Arrowood, 1934: 84). Parents' negative attitude towards a formal education was further reinforced by the reformers' rejection of traditional scholarship, that is monastic learning which, in Luther's words "is really a lazy, secure, and good life" (1526/1967: 149). As early as 1520 he had called for university reform in his Address

to the Christian Nobility which, as noted in Chapter 3, was an instant 'best-seller', selling 5,000 copies in five days.

Condemning the universities, Luther wrote:

What are the universities, as at present ordered, but, as the book of Maccabees says, "schools of 'Greek fashion' and 'heathenish manners'"...where...Aristotle rules even further than Christ? (1520/1910: 333)

In addition, parental resistance to a classical education may have been implicitly supported by the wide dissemination and availability of the vernacular Bible which Luther had claimed all along to hold the key to personal enlightenment and redemption.

Yet by the late 1520's Luther very clearly saw the need for an educated civil service trained in the classical languages, in church and civil law and history; facility only with German was considered insufficient for good church and state government. In his famous Sermon on Keeping Children in School he explains:

Every community, and especially a great city, must have in it many kinds of people besides merchants. It must have people who can do more than simply add, subtract and read German. German books are made primarily for the common man to read at home...There may, of course, be an occasional idolator,...who will take his son out of school and say, "If my son can read and do arithmetic, that is enough; we now have books in German, etc." Such a person sets a bad example for all the other good citizens. (1530/1967: 215)

Ten years earlier, in his Address to the Christian Nobility Luther had judged the study of the classical disciplines and languages to be useful only to men "of higher understanding":

Aristotle's books of Logic, Rhetoric, and Poetry, should be retained...in a condensed form. Besides this, there are the languages -- Latin, Greek, and Hebrew -- the mathematics, history; which I recommend to men of higher

understanding. (1520/1910: 339)

Luther initially accepted as 'natural' the inequality of men in the "worldly kingdom" -- the rich and poor, the "common man" and the "men of higher understanding". His views on governance of the worldly kingdom changed after the peasant revolt and his subsequent participation in one of the visitations, to include the "middle class of common people". In 1525 he wrote in reply to the peasants' Twelve Articles:

A worldly kingdom cannot exist without an inequality of persons, some being free, some imprisoned, some lord, some subjects, etc. (1525/1967: 39)

Five years later, in 1530, he wrote:

It is not God's will that only those who are born kings, princes, lords, and nobles should exercise rule and lordships. He wills to have his beggars among them also, lest they think it is nobility of birth rather than God alone who makes lords and rulers. (1530/1967: 250)

Giving his own background and schooling as an example for the necessity of sending children to school, he continues:

Without any doubt, I should not have come to this if I had not gone to school and become a writer. Therefore go ahead and send your son to study...your son and my son, that is, the children of the common people, will necessarily rule the world, both in the spiritual and worldly estates...The born princes and lords cannot do it alone...Thus both kinds of government on earth must remain with the middle class of common people. (1530/1967: 251)

Upon return from a visitation in November, 1528, Luther "was profoundly moved by the dense ignorance and indifference, gross immorality and spiritual destitution which prevailed everywhere" (Eby & Arrowood, 1934: 87). Henceforth, he would favor Latin over vernacular schools. Luther recognized that a broader, partially classical education was essential for the

training of future church and state leaders. Melancthon took over the redesigning of the Latin school curriculum and Luther took charge of reforming the curriculum of existing vernacular schools. That winter Luther set himself to work writing the Short Catechism and the Longer Catechism (Eby & Arrowood, 1934: 88; Thulin, 1966: 104). Both works were to replace the Bible in religious school instruction in the hope that a summarized and short version of Christian doctrine would preclude individual misinterpretation. In the preface to the Small Catechism he explained:

The miserable and deplorable situation that I myself encountered during my recent journeys as a visitor has forced and compelled me to cast this catechism, that is, the Christian doctrine, in such a small, concise and simple form. (in Thulin, 1966: 104)

Both works went to press in early 1529. As the data collected from the church-school surveys showed, parents could not be trusted to raise children in an appropriate Christian manner, let alone be trusted to voluntarily send their children to school. The next imperative step was to expand and enforce universal and compulsory education. Compulsory schooling had already been implemented legally in Magdeburg, a city not far from Wittenberg, in 1524 (Parker, 1912: 50), and in Eisleben, Luther's birthplace, in 1525. In 1528, compulsory schooling came under civil law in the Electorate of Saxony, in which Wittenberg was located (Parker, 1912: 52).

4.2 On Marriage, Family, and Children

Luther's view on education was inextricably linked to his understanding of doctrine. But he was also deeply influenced by the ideas of his lifelong friend Melanchthon who, unlike Luther, was a humanist scholar in heart and mind. Luther, on the other hand, was first and foremost a theologian in all that he wrote, thought, and acted upon throughout his life. And it was Melanchthon who became the actual author of Luther's school reform movement; Luther himself can be considered more of a publicist of their combined ideas.

The fourth commandment, "honor thy father and thy mother", was the foundational dictum upon which Luther's notion of a sound family, an orderly community, and a Christian society was based. Partially in response to his own harsh upbringing and his long harbored grief over the unsatisfactory relationship with his father, Luther advocated parental tolerance, and a more judicious use of corporal punishment than he had experienced in his own childhood.

In vigorous language he censured laxity in parental control and faulty methods of training. On the other hand, he frowned upon undue severity. In his childhood home he had suffered deeply from the harshness of his parents, yet he held them in the highest respect and veneration through all his days. He loved his own children tenderly, and a more natural, happy family relationship can scarcely be imagined. (Eby & Arrowood, 1934: 92)

Luther was no 'armchair' theologian-pedagogue. On June 13, 1525, he took Katherine von Bora, a former nun, as his wife. Marriage of the clergy was prohibited by canon law, yet

clandestine relationships had long been accepted practice among priests. Luther and others recognized that the clergy were not true to their vows of celibacy and that many "lived in concubinage in return for a yearly tax paid to the bishop." (Goodsell, 1935: 267). In his Address to the Christian Nobility, written five years prior to his marriage, Luther justified clerical marriage by reference to scripture:

We see also how the priesthood is fallen, and how many a poor priest is encumbered with a woman and children and burdened in his conscience, and no one does anything to help him, though he might very well be helped...every town should have a minister or bishop, as St. Paul plainly says (Titus i.), and this minister should not be forced to live without a lawful wife, but should be allowed to have one. (1520/1910: 317)

Luther's views of marriage and of children were profoundly affected by his own domestic experience. Katherine von Bora, or 'Katie' as he called her, bore six children. Upon the death of his first daughter Elizabeth, Luther wrote to a friend:

My little daughter is dead. I am left as weak as a woman. I would never have believed that the hearts of parents are so moved towards children. (in Bainton, 1971: 34)

In Tischreden (Table Talk), Luther comments on family life and children:

Nothing is more sweet than harmony in marriage, and nothing more distressing than dissention. Next to it is the loss of a child. I know how that hurts...Marriage offers the greatest sphere for good works, because it rests on love -- love between the husband and wife, love of the parents for the children, whom they nourish, clothe, rear, and nurse. If a child is sick, the parents are sick with worry. (in Bainton, 1971: 42)

The death of children was not an uncommon experience for parents rich or poor. And as Strauss notes,

any suggestion that people in former ages took less pleasure in their children than we do in ours, or felt less pity for their pains and grief at their death, ignores the testimony of the sources. (1978: 90)

Contrary to Aries' claims of parental indifference to children, the sentiments expressed by Luther over the loss of his daughter reflect commonly held strong affective ties between parent and child. Moreover, Luther's feelings and views were shared by other contemporaries.

Fellow reformer Oecolampadius (1483-1531), a minister, scholar of Greek and Hebrew, professor of theology at Basel, and friend of Erasmus whom he had helped prepare the publication of the New Testament, was one of the first to follow Luther's example of clerical marriage (Bainton, 1971: 81). Oecolampadius' first child, a son, was apparently a sickly infant; in a letter to a friend we note Oecolampadius' concern about the boy:

Eusebius is a gentle and quiet child unless hungry, thirsty or in need of change. He is very subject to colds and coughing. I fear he will not live long. (in Bainton, 1971: 84)

Eusebius died at age 13. Of Philip Melanchthon, one of his biographers writes:

Melanchthon was attached to his children with deep love. Visitors sometimes saw him with a book in his hand, sitting at the baby's cradle. (Stupperich, 1966: 62)

Similar paternal concern and caring is expressed in a letter by Luther addressed to his wife written in 1532:

I can't find any suitable presents for the children in this town, although it is the annual fair. See if you can dig up something at home for me to give them. (in Bainton, 1971: 32)

Pediatrician Otto Brunfels in Weiber und Kinder Apotheke (Women

and Children's Apothecary, 1535), advised parents:

Parents should be kind to their children and give them their attention at all times. (in Strauss, 1978: 90)

In 1545, Caspar Huberinus published the two volume Postilla Teutsch (German Postil) in which he reminds parents that:

Children are God's gift to husbands and wives. Parents should truly love and cherish such divine treasures, raising and keeping them to the best of their ability in constant remembrance of God's benevolence. (in Strauss, 1978: 124)

The above letters reveal emotional responses to personal experience; they show us sensitive concerns and affection for children of well educated and 'prominent' fathers. And here, the lack of sources with which to document another point of view -- that of mothers and wives -- limits historical investigation.

The missing link in the reconstruction of historical childhoods lies with those most familiar with and knowledgeable of the routine upbringing of children: women (mothers, wetnurses, nursemaids, governesses). De jure authority over matters pertaining to household affairs, education, community and society lay in the hands of men who, given the rigid division of household labor in the 16th century, could not claim de facto authority -- knowledgeable authority through experience or participation -- over the routine labors of childrearing. Yet the literature abounds with a wide array of male expertise on every topic concerning women's conduct, children's conduct, how to breastfeed, swaddle and wean, how to punish and how to reward, what to teach, how to teach and how to learn.

The affectionate concern for children expressed in the privacy of personal correspondence, and the attention paid to children in pediatric and household guides, do not reflect indifference to childhood, but reflect the importance of parental kindness, love, and attention. The aforementioned examples seem to indicate a greater sympathy and concern for children than Aries is willing to recognize. And so we turn from the emotional responses of 'prominent' fathers to domestic concerns, to an examination of how their private attitudes towards their own children differed from or reflected in the formulation of their pedagogical theories.

4.3 On Infancy

Humankind, according to Luther, is born into sin. In the infant, "original sin is as deep-seated...as it is in the adult. In the child it lies dormant, not ready to reveal itself in overt actions" (Strauss, 1978: 99). Childish innocence, then, is no more than a transitory developmental stage within which sinful impulses have not yet become self-conscious or known to the child. As Luther put it in 1535:

they [children] know no sin, they live without greed,...they will take an apple as cheerfully as a coin. (in Strauss, 1978: 99)

Both Luther and Melanchthon rejected the Aristotelean notion of infantile minds as 'blank slates' upon which experience records impressions. Instead, both believed that evil and sin are universal and innate propensities which, unless tempered early

by parental guidance and discipline, would reveal themselves in immoral, sinful conduct. Luther explained:

Children under seven years of age have not developed real thoughts. We know this because they do not feel the urge to kill and commit adultery. Still, sin has begun to stir within, as is evident in their tendency to steal sweets, and so on. (in Strauss, 1978: 100)

Many of Luther's contemporaries, such as the German pediatrician Metlinger, the Spanish humanist and "father of modern psychology", Juan Luis Vives, and Erasmus, did not share Luther's ideas about innate sin, but considered infants as neutral, 'crude matter'. Believing in the inheritance of sin, Luther and Melanchthon saw home and school discipline as the only and most effective means of combating innate sinful tendencies. Through an understanding of scripture, the attainment of faith, and a life in "the service of one's neighbor", the individual could hope to counterbalance, but never overcome, the essential feature of the human condition: the inheritance of original sin. From the negative thesis of inherited sin at birth, the individual progresses through life towards the uncertain promise of salvation and eternal life after death -- the positive thesis. This position Melanchthon and Luther, who had been trained as an Augustinian monk, shared with St. Augustine who, in the Confessions, had laid the foundation for the doctrine of predestination. In Book I of his autobiographical recollections Augustine rejects innocence in infancy and claims that individuals are born into sin and guilt -- "in sin did my mother conceive me" (397-8 C.E./1909: 11).

Augustine viewed the mind as predisposed with sinful ideas and tendencies with which sense impressions associate. Mind, Augustine explains, holds 'generic' ideas and concepts which become self-conscious in their substance and form through sensory experience. For instance, a signifying sound, emotion, or images of "things themselves", brings forth uncoded ideas or concepts from memory and endows them with a particular set of defining characteristics. How could one learn or know of things,

unless that they were already in the memory, but so thrown back and buried as it were in deeper recesses, that had not the suggestion of another drawn them forth I had perchance been unable to conceive of them? (St. Augustine, 1909: 176-177)

Luther's concept of human nature bearing a legacy of inherited sin is a direct derivation from Augustine's teachings. If the human condition, the human mind, and individual destiny is so seen, then there can be, in theory, no innocence in childhood. Moreover, the possibility for a concerted effort to instill in individuals and society at large, habits of self-discipline with which to control the everpresent influence of Satan, was seen to lie naturally with home and school training of still impressionable young minds.

Luther's own upbringing and schooling were severe and left a lasting impression. Comparing Augustine's childhood memories with Luther's childhood and youth, the similarities lead one to suspect that Luther probably identified his own experiences in Augustine's writings, and was influenced by them to call for more moderate disciplinary measures in the treatment of children

-- although he never ceased to agree with the equal need for 'rule by the rod'. Augustine, recalling the beatings he received as a schoolboy from his masters when "we sinned in writing or reading or studying less than was expected of us", remembers the use of "racks and hooks and other torments" (1909: 13). He justifies such punishment as a legitimate means of curtailing children's frivolous play at the expense of study, and sympathizes with adults who must punish children for their own good. Parents and teachers desire what is best for children even if the attainment of goals, the precondition of which is study, necessitates severe punishment:

almost all wish the same for their children, and yet are very willing that they should be beaten, if those very games detain them from their studies. (St. Augustine, 1909: 14)

Rejecting infants' innocence, Augustine observed natural sinful tendencies manifest in behavior even before the child can speak:

I have myself seen jealousy in a baby and know what it means. He was not old enough to talk, but whenever he saw his foster-brother at the breast, he would grow pale with envy. (1961: 28)

Early childhood, then, was seen by Augustine and Luther as critical for the formation of virtuous attitudes and behaviors to stem the tide of immoral impulses which would, at age seven, develop into "real thoughts". If the school was to take over training of the young at age 7, the pedagogical methods of formal teaching would have to rely much on the quality of preparatory instruction given children in the home. The preschooler, if properly raised at home, should have acquired

the necessary self-discipline with which to recognize and combat corrupt ideas in the self and in others, once formal schooling begins. And how else to instill self-discipline than through the use of discipline?

4.4 On Adolescence

The "classifications of childhood and youth into the three periods of 'infantia', 'puerita', and 'adolescentia' were ancient" (Strauss, 1978: 54) and were not, contrary to Aries' claims, an 18th century invention; nor was adolescence "until the 18th century confused with childhood". If anything, in premodern times, early or mid-adolescence marked the end of childhood for children of the peasantry at least who joined the adult world of work at home, in the fields, or as apprentices as early as eight or ten years of age (cf. Stone, 1977).

Reformation pedagogues reclassified adolescents from being considered as young adults, to adolescents as older children. Childhood was indeed extended to include adolescence, and this was accomplished by the establishment of a universal and compulsory program of study, the completion of which would require attendance until age 16 or 18.

The reformers of the 16th century based their opinions on youth on an established body of classical literature about childhood and adolescence. Luther, as already noted, drew many of his theological and pedagogical principles from St. Augustine. Melanchthon, scholar of Latin, Greek and Hebrew was

well familiar with the educational treatises of Cicero and Quintilian, upon whose works Erasmus based his educational theory (Strauss, 1978: 54). Plato's pedagogy and social theory, Aristotle's developmental theory, and Socrates' dialogic method of instruction, were well known by all Renaissance scholars, these authors having formed a substantial part of their own classical studies. In addition to those works the reformers studied as young men, the translation and reinterpretation of many of the classics, and the proliferation and access to numerous 'contemporary' texts undoubtedly influenced their formulation of pedagogical principles and practices.

Concerns about education swept throughout Europe in the 16th century, prompting the writing of a variety of popular and educational tracts. Theologians, scholars and reformers sought to link traditional wisdom with a 'modern', religiously based understanding of contemporary social and educational needs. The circulation of ideas in books enabled the community of scholars to gain access to and communicate a diversity of ideas in a relatively short period of time. Ideas from antiquity influenced the modern pedagogue, and the rapidity with which 'modern' ideas were disseminated through the printed word, led to speedier developments of disputes or agreements on practical or theoretical issues -- often in the course of a year or two, sometimes within only months (e.g. the disputation -- in print -- between Luther and Erasmus on the question of free will).

The development of educational 'theories' during the 16th century, then, was as much a reworking of traditional sources as it was a product of the exchange of ideas between contemporary authors. Many of the educational ideas of pre-Christian societies were adopted by Reformation pedagogues who incorporated 'new', religious explanations for the teaching of foundational subjects such as logic, rhetoric, gymnastics, music, or the study of the ancient languages themselves.

Seven year developmental cycles appear fairly consistently in the educational systems and theories of antiquity (cf. Lucas, 1972). Formal training in classical Greece and Rome, whether at home by fathers, tutors, or at school, generally began between ages 5 to 7. Between age 7 and mid-adolescence, children were seen to require systematic instruction; mid-adolescence appears to have been demarcated equally as either the beginning of adulthood through entrance into state service, or the last phase of childhood requiring a more rigid form of intellectual and physical training. Age 21 generally marked full and legitimate entry into the adult world.

The classification of adolescence was not uniformly resolved during antiquity or during medieval times. The children of the common masses were never seen to require formal education under Hellenic or Roman rule, or in 'barbarous' central and northern Europe at any time prior to the Reformation. The 'revival of learning', spawned by the Italian Renaissance during the late 14th and 15th century, came from and influenced the

learning of an educated, well-to-do elite only. Humanist ideals alone would not have led to a call for public, mass education; but the need for state and church unity in the face of apparent moral and social decline in 16th century Germany, required a 'total' reassessment and call for reform of the social order for which Luther became the spokesperson. And in the course of this reevaluation and redefinition of human nature, human relations, and human destiny, all aspects of the human condition came under scrutiny, including adolescence.

Reflecting on his son's seventh birthday, Luther had this to say about the seven stages of man:

My Hans is about to enter upon his seventh year, which is always climacteric, that is, a time of change. People always change every seventh year. The first period of seven years is childhood, and at the second stage -- say, in the fourteenth year -- boys begin to look out into the world;...At the age of twenty-one youths desire marriage, in the twenty-eighth year young men are householders and heads of families, while at the age of thirty-five men have civil and ecclesiastical positions. This continues to the age of forty-two, when we are kings. Soon after this men begin to lose their sense. So every seventh year always brings to man some new condition and way of life. This has happened to me, and it happens to everybody. (1532/1967: 190)

In this encapsulated account of a man's life, a very subtle, but important point is noteworthy: Luther prioritizes a civil position over an ecclesiastical appointment.

One would expect, given Luther's concept of inherited sin, that the adolescent, at the developmental crossroads of childish ignorance and more elaborate cognitive abilities, would pose a particular problem in terms of the need to harness matured tendencies of sin and corruption. And, indeed, Luther and his

contemporaries had much to say about the dangers which might befall adolescents unless self and external discipline was systematically and rigidly imposed. We find the seeds of Luther's thoughts on the natural yet sinful consequences of sexual maturation at puberty in St. Augustine's Confessions. Remembering his adolescence with disdain, Augustine recalls the lies and thefts he committed, the vain and "unholy desires", the "muddy concupiscence of the flesh,... bubblings of youth,...the fog of lustfulness" (1909: 23). Such sins, he claimed, do not reflect any "innocence of boyhood", but attest to unbridled and inherent evil which, during puberty, ravage and mislead young boys. Augustine recalls these boyish tendencies which

did confusedly boil in me, and hurried my unstayed youth over the precipice of unholy desires, and sunk me into a gulf of flagitiousnesses. (1909: 23)

Luther agreed with Augustine that the awakening sexual desires in pubescent boys and girls could lead to the ruin of mind, body and soul, unless brought under strict control. As Strauss notes, all 16th century "authors agreed that a more or less rigorous system of control was needed to keep boys of 14 and 15 from destroying themselves for life" (1978: 55).

Age 14, that second and very critical stage in Luther's seven year developmental theory posed particular psycho-social problems for boys and, hence, disciplinary problems for parents and teachers. Boys at 14 are sexually mature but, unlike girls, too immature to shoulder the responsibilities of married life. Comparing boys' and girls' maturity at age 14, Luther compares

"weeds" (girls) to "good crops" (boys):

Girls begin to talk and stand on their feet sooner than boys because weeds always grow up more quickly than good crops. So girls who are fourteen years old are nubile, while boys of that age are not mature enough for marriage. (1533/1967: 167)

Luther, incidentally, often metaphorically spoke of little children as young trees, malleable and still flexible; he equated obedient, pious children with "a sound tree" or "good fruit".

In 1500, the 'landmark' book on adolescence was written by German humanist Jacob Wimpheling in Latin and published in Strassburg (Strauss, 1978: 323). Wimpheling's Adolescentia typified the pubescent male as enslaved to "voluptuous desires that consume the body and mind" (in Strauss, 1978: 55). The tensions of maturing sexuality manifest in "natural" vices such as:

lying, blaspheming, violence and cruelty, theft, disobedience to parents and disrespect to their elders, idleness, gambling, recklessness, and lack of shame. (in Strauss, 1978: 55)

As already noted, the authors of popular conduct manuals consistently warned of the dangers of leaving children and youths unsupervised who would fall prey to the evils of the street. The individual and social problems associated with adolescent and adult sexuality were of critical concern to Luther and his contemporaries. And the problem with sexuality was particularly difficult to resolve conceptually because the notion of original sin had cast the consequences of human sexuality into the permanence of trans-generational inheritance

of immorality and sinful behaviors. Yet sexuality was also considered a 'natural', divinely ordained aspect of human nature, as Luther points out:

the marital act is not an act of concupiscence. Rather, the act which attracts sex to sex is a divine ordinance. (1538/1967: 324)

Luther recognized that sexual urges are "more urgent than eating, drinking...sleeping and waking. It is rooted in us as part of our nature and species" (in Strauss, 1978: 102).

Celibacy, then, is unnatural and a rejection of God's divine ordinance; claiming chastity by taking eternal vows and then participating in clandestine sexual relationships is a blasphemous consequence of repressed sexuality. For, as Luther explains:

We do not have the power to be voluntarily poor, obedient, or chaste. God alone can make that possible. Therefore, whoever makes this kind of a vow, pledges things that do not belong to him. In so doing, he blasphemes and despises God. (1526/1967: 147)

Legitimizing clerical marriage was one way to circumvent the unnatural and un-Christian practice and concept of chastity. A rejection of the principles of monastic vows was to help eliminate illicit sexual practices, and to legitimate and institutionalize them in the holy estate of matrimony. Luther's emphasis on the social and spiritual importance of the conjugal unit underscored the importance of marriage and the family; as well, his insistence on the need for less parental intervention in their children's choice of marriage partner, was meant to reduce the adulterous, sinful consequences of adolescent

marriages of convenience.

By bringing adult sexuality within moral, legitimate and Christian boundaries, the irresistible power of sexuality could be given a natural and holy domain within which it could both flourish and be controlled. Civil marriage contracts, freedom of the clergy to marry, and an apparent freedom to choose one's mate were, indeed, revolutionary ideas and were seen by many Lutheran reformers as the key to curtailing the need for sexual and social deviance: from doctrine, from God's will, and from natural biological impulses.

But what about early adolescent sexuality which was yet too immature to come under the sanction of matrimonial legitimation, yet too mature and potentially 'dangerous' to be disregarded? Strauss notes that the aim of Reformation pedagogues was "not to eradicate sexual needs", for all agreed on the divine yet double-edged nature of human sexuality, "but to postpone and, if possible, moderate them. Delayed sexual maturity would prolong the innocence of childhood" (Strauss, 1978: 103). And since, for Luther, childish innocence was not pure innocence, but more of a childish ignorance-innocence, then to postpone the consequences of sexual maturity could be achieved by prolonging children's isolation from the carnal knowledge of the street: by legally maintaining children in segregated schools and classes, under constant surveillance and control by school masters and institutional rules, and by means of an extended, uniform educational program based on discipline and regimentation.

Extending public schooling to include adolescence provided a moral alternative to the false chastity imposed upon many young boys and girls who, in previous centuries, had been consigned to ecclesiastical continence by their parents. As Flandrin notes, "the early medieval church prescribed marrying children soon after puberty because it thought it very difficult or even impossible to prevent young people from engaging in sexual activity" (1980: 29). Rejecting early and prearranged marriage, and the unnatural chastity of monastic life, Lutheran reformers thought one alternative to celibacy or adolescent marriage to be prolonged and mandatory schooling, whereby juvenile sexuality could be more systematically curtailed.

To instill piety, unmitigated faith and self-discipline in the individual was seen to require more than just the transmission of doctrinal ideas to the impressionable young. A truly Christian way of life, as Luther envisioned it, would require the kind of disciplined training which in itself would mirror the quality of life children were expected to replicate upon reaching adulthood. Regularity and repetition were seen to be habit forming whereby conduct and ideas could be "drilled" into children, habituating them to what was learned by memorization and recitation. As Stone points out,

The learning process was thought to rely heavily on the memory, so that repeated exercises and an orderly system of instruction were seen as the keys to successful pedagogy...Religious and moral indoctrination through the installation of fixed habits were taken for granted as the prime purposes of education. (1976: xii)

Such methods were seen as ideal for molding the very young and

controlling adolescents who were, in Stone's words, under particular psychological stress.

When left to their own devices, youths, as Melanchthon observed in 1537, were often raucous and unruly:

Never were our youth so impatient of laws and of discipline, so determined to live after their own wills...It is the part, not of men, but of Cyclops to make public tumults at night; to fill whole neighbourhoods with furious outcries; to make bacchanalian and even hostile assaults upon the unarmed and innocent able citizens; to break in their doors and windows, destroy the slumbers of women in childbed, and of the wretched, the sick, and the aged; to demolish the booths in the market-place, carriages, and whatever else comes in the way. (in Manschreck, 1958: 155)

Melanchthon had hoped that schooling, which would "fill the hearts of the youth with the saving knowledge of God, of the nature of things, and with good morals" (Manschreck, 1958: 204), might keep the young out of harm's way. As Strauss puts it, "young minds and bodies with time to kill were easy prey for the devil" (1978: 105).

4.5 Obedience and Discipline

Obedience to authority was considered a fundamental precondition for adults and children alike, an indispensable attitude and behavior requisite for acquiring true faith, for service to the state, and mandatory for the proper functioning of family and school. Inculcating habits of submission was achieved in a number of ways. First, unquestioning obedience to and respect for parents was to be taught children from infancy. Secondly, it was hoped that extending schooling to include the

years of adolescence and making schooling compulsory, would further expose and accustom children to a disciplined and structured way of life. Not only could the impressionability of children be prolonged to include the years of puberty, but by keeping that potentially most troublesome age group occupied in schools and under the supervision of teachers, youths were, to some extent, detained from ruining themselves in the licentious atmosphere of the streets. Thirdly, as Strauss has noted, "the reformers' endeavors to imbue children with a sense of their innate depravity could be represented as a scheme for internalizing effective disciplinary constraints by using sin as an instrument of control" (1978: 204). Fear of God's wrath, the prospect of eternal hell and damnation was undoubtedly a powerful and persuasive threat to stir children to obey not only the ten commandments, but to obey those rules of conduct set down by adults.

Preaching on the fourth commandment, Luther emphasized the importance of filial obedience to parents:

Where this is not the case, you will find neither good manners nor good government...For where obedience is not maintained at the fireside, no power on earth can ensure...the blessings of a good government,...If now the root is corrupt, it is in vain that you look for a sound tree or for good fruit. (in Goodsell, 1935: 296)

The root of corruption, original sin, is the human heritage which can be tempered by "the parental estate God has especially honored above all estates"; if children are neglected through parental indifference or incompetence, the worldly estate eventually deteriorates into the kind of social and moral decay

Luther saw all around him. He warns fathers:

No one should become a father unless he is able to instruct his children in the Ten Commandments and in the Gospel, so that he may bring up true Christians. But many enter the state of holy matrimony who cannot say the Lord's Prayer, and knowing nothing themselves, they are utterly incompetent to instruct their children. (in Goodsell, 1935: 297)

The task of disciplining falls to the father. In the popular Seelenführer (Soul's Guide), published in 1498, the author addresses mothers and fathers calling for teaching by example, and attributes to the home the function of church and state:

Let parents, therefore, be admonished to see that their children grow up in Christian fear and reverence, and that their home be their first school and their first Church... Fathers and mother should set their children a good example, taking them to Mass, vespers and sermons on Sundays and saints' days as often as possible. They should be punished as often as they neglect to do this. (in Janssen, 1966: 31)

Another popular booklet, a catechism titled Christen-Spiegel (Christian Mirror, 1470), written in low German dialect by friar Diedrich Coelde, outlined the duties of parents in preventing children's tendencies towards sin and evil:

Children should be sent betimes to school, to worthy teachers, in order that they might be taught godly fear and reverence, and be saved from learning sin and evil in the streets. Those parents are to blame who object to the just punishment of their children. (in Janssen, 1966: 25)

Sebastian Brant, whose Narrenschiffe (Ship of Fools) was, next to the Bible, the century's best-seller, shares the view that only education can save children from the follies of human excess and depravity:

When children are not sent to school under the care of good schoolmasters they grow up to be wicked

blasphemers, gamblers and drunkards; for the beginning, the middle, and the end of a good life is a good education. (in Janssen, 1966: 25)

Assuming the inheritance of sin to be the existential foundation of a worldly existence, theoretically precluded the possibility of childish innocence and attributed to children the 'natural' inclination to disobey, to resist and reject authority, and to doubt and misinterpret God's laws. From infancy on, then, children had to be made cognizant of their own sinful nature. The consequences of sin -- punishment by temporal authority, or punishment through eternal damnation by the final divine authority -- constituted the ultimate discipline and most effective method of control. For the very young, at least, threats and visions of "burning in eternal hell" undoubtedly instilled enough fear in them to do as told. And as children enter their seventh year and, correspondingly, have developed "real thoughts", the controlled conditions of schooling intervene to help guard the young from the mature, self-conscious and intentional forms of corruption.

The earlier that children were sent to school, the better; for as Luther had noted, reliance on parental guidance and discipline had proved largely unsuccessful:

In the first place, there are some [parents] who are so lacking in piety and uprightness that they would not do it [instruction] if they could...In the second place, the majority of parents are unqualified for it, and do not understand how children should be brought up and taught...In the third place, even if parents were qualified and willing to do it themselves, yet on account of other employments and household duties they have not time for it, so that necessity requires us to have teachers for public schools. (in Eby, 1931: 54-55)

Luther disqualifies parents as reliable teachers of the young on moral and economic grounds; lacking piety and understanding, and constrained by the demands of labor at work and in the household, the need for public schools is justified as an almost 'natural' economic and spiritual necessity for the good of children and parents, as well as for the 'general good'.

Yet the very need to call upon and remind parents, mayors and aldermen of their duty to provide a Christian education for the young, Luther considers in itself sinful:

It is indeed a sin and shameful that we must be aroused and incited to the duty of educating our children and of considering their higher interests, whereas nature itself should move us thereto. (in Eby, 1931: 53)

However, Luther is sympathetic to and understands parental indifference to children's education given the degeneracy awaiting students who wish to pursue 'higher learning'.

Condemning the arduous study of Aristotle and "numberless pernicious books" which typified university studies, Luther comments on the quality of university faculties:

to these were added the progeny of Satan, the monks and the phantoms of the universities,...[which] many doctors, preachers, teacher, priests, monks, that is to say, great, coarse, fat asses, adorned with red and brown caps, like swine led with a golden chain and decorated with pearls...who have taught us nothing useful, but have made us more and more blind and stupid, and...have consumed all our property, and filled all the cloisters,...with the dregs and filth of their unclean and noxious books. (in Eby, 1931: 76)

And so, public and compulsory schooling for all children under the guidance of "an industrious, pious school-master or teacher, who faithfully trains and educates", is seen by Luther

as the only alternative to the inevitable sin and corruption which results from no schooling at all, or from schooling under the old, unreformed system. The position of the school master, a civil servant and servant of God, is elevated to new heights:

Therefore let it be considered one of the highest virtues on earth faithfully to train the children of others, which duty but very few parents attend to themselves. (in Ulich, 1968: 248)

Luther's recognition of and emphasis on the value of a state sponsored educational system increased the school master's social and spiritual prestige. The teachers' responsibility to community and God was enhanced and made concrete by the institutionalization of their training and their labor: state control of more formal and rigid teacher training programs in cloister schools, implementation of examinations and teacher certification, regular supervision of practicing teachers by district visitations, and work contracts stipulating tenure, salary and housing (Learned, 1914: 14-22). School ordinances dictated curriculum, teaching methods, and school rules for students and teachers. Students were expected to adhere to codes of conduct much as teachers were expected to enforce the dictates of the ordinance. The distribution of printed ordinances to all schools within a given territory could, in principle, promote a uniform education; the continuation of regular church-school visitations provided extra, personalized insurance against deviation from the standards set down in the documents of the ordinances.

To promote social order and discipline, obedience to authority was an educational, secular and spiritual imperative. Habits of obedience drilled into children at home and at school were no different in kind from the obedience expected of teachers to school supervisors, inspectors and ordinances, or the submission and obedience demanded of the individual by God's word and will. Lutheran pedagogues, as Stone notes,

approached their task with a set of values and presuppositions which ensured that the methods would be authoritarian and the objectives repressive. They hoped by such means to create a virtuous and holy society -- and inevitably they failed. (1976: xii)

4.6 Pedagogy for Home and School

In Duties of Parents in Training Children, written in 1519 while Luther was still a bachelor, he advised against severe punishment and against the lack of discipline. Quoting St. Paul, "ye fathers, provoke not your children to wrath", Luther writes:

under such an evil discipline, their disposition while yet tender and impressible, becomes permanently clouded with fear and diffidence...a child, who has become timid, sullen and dejected in spirit, loses all his self-reliance...For if children are accustomed to tremble at every word spoken by their father or mother, they will start to quake forever after, even at the rustling of a leaf. (in Eby, 1931: 24-24)

Again, one is led to assume that the psychological insights expressed in this sermon about the consequences of intimidation and punishment of young children, are derived from Luther's own childhood experience. He continues, advising parents not to frighten children at night time, that parents should not intimidate children to become cowardly or fearful, but to

instill in them a "wholesome fear" -- that is, a fear of God and parents alike. For if children fear only their parents, they are more likely

to fear the opinions of men, and so will become vacillating and cowardly. On this account children should be educated not only to fear their parents, but to feel that God will be angry with them if they do not fear their parents. (in Eby, 1931: 27)

In other words, children should be compelled to anticipate God's wrath, and doubly so, if they do not also fear their parents.

Luther admits that "far more can be accomplished by love, than by slavish fear and constraint", but he reminds parents that it is the "duty of children to learn the fear of God first of all", that "correction...saves the soul of the child from the endless punishment of hell", and, therefore, "let not the father spare the rod" (in Eby, 1931: 34).

The parent who neglects to raise children in the fear of God, a duty which in itself is an honor to God, in effect, "hates children and household", and "walks in darkness". In Luther's words:

For parents, who love their children blindly, and leave them to their own courses, do no better in the end than if they hated them. (in Eby, 1931: 34)

Somewhere between "unbending severity" and "foolish fondness" parents are to find the 'middle ground' by which to instill in children both fear and love God, and of parents. Failure at successful parenting is tantamount to hate of one's own children and sinful in the eyes of God; children's failure to love (obey and respect) and fear God and parents is sinful disobedience to

the fourth commandment. The source of wickedness in children lies as much in their inherited nature as it is a product of faulty childrearing -- too much leniency or too much discipline. Parents, likewise, are in a 'no win' situation. First, the toils of labor and household management prevents parents from attending to the systematic upbringing and moral instruction of the young; second, not having had the kind of education Luther envisioned for future generations, parents lack the necessary piety and understanding of childrearing; third, parents are guilty of either undue severity or "foolish fondness", and both attitudes equate with neglect and hate of children. Finally, the very issue of compelling parents to send their children to school is in itself "shameful" and "a sin".

Luther and Melanckthon had "hoped that schoolmasters would remedy this evil, -- that in school, at least, children would learn something good, and there have the fear of God implanted in their hearts" (in Eby, 1931: 24). But since schools and universities stood empty, "this hope, too, has come to nought" (in Eby, 1931: 25). And so, in the late 1520's and 30's there emerged in the newly written and published school ordinances a new program of teaching and learning, an altered concept of childhood. The newly designed curricula and instructional methods, the organization of learners according to ability and age, the building of new schools and the reorganization of old schools, the revised status of teachers, the implementation of examinations and certification, and so forth, all derived from

Luther's matured doctrinal fundamentalism. Printing enabled the formalization and mass dissemination of this emergent concept of childhood. In addition, the influence of his own experience as father and husband, the visitation data which confirmed the disintegration of home, church and school, and, finally, the influence of Melanchthon who wrote the Lutheran program of study, contributed to the formulation of a distinctly 'Protestant' concept of childhood and youth.

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V. LUTHERAN PEDAGOGICAL PRACTICES: SCHOOLING

The causes and results of the 1525 Peasant Revolt had led Luther to become distrustful of vernacular schooling. Some 30 years later the recognition of vernacular schools as essential and legitimate schools for the less intellectually able, the poor or the rural, reflects a renewed concern to bring territorial subjects under centralized state control by imbuing all subjects with a standard set of religious values. Underlying the emphasis on uniformity and repetition both in lesson scheduling and curricular content is a tacit recognition of the need for greater social discipline and civic order. In an era wracked by political strife over religious controversy, the surest way to preclude heterodoxy was to ensure religious conformity. The rising Anabaptist and other sectarian movements confirmed the fears of civil authorities and Reformation leaders alike that organized, religiously motivated dissent was a realistic possibility. Hence, a lawful and centrally controlled indoctrination program designed to reach both poor and rural subjects was seen as one way to preclude the formation of sectarian splinter groups.

The emphasis on the need for order, both civic and religious, is understandable in light of the kind of disarray documented by visitation examiners. And in order to enforce uniformity of thought and behavior, clarity and simplicity of

instruction, not only for children but in the instructions to teachers themselves, was the key to inhibit any possibility of misinterpretation. The necessity for order, uniformity and regularity is a recurring, explicit and overarching rule in all the school ordinances -- the term 'Ordnung' (ordinance), itself implying order and orderliness.

5.1 The Latin School Curriculum

Based on the model of a small Latin preparatory school Melanchthon had set up in his own home for a period of ten years, the main purpose of 'elementary' schooling for boys was "to be the inculcation of true religion and sound learning" (Woodward, 1965: 219). Melanchthon's Latin school model was implemented as a state system throughout Saxony in 1528. Other territories implemented variations on his basic curricular and instructional outline throughout the century.

The first class, 'Classis Elementariorum', was designed for boys with no prior reading or writing skills, and aimed at teaching the alphabet and the rudiments of Latin by use of the vernacular. Memorizing and reciting lists of Latin words and sentences was meant to expand the vocabulary as quickly as possible (Eby & Arrowood, 1934: 222). One hour daily was to be reserved for music and singing in which the whole class participated (Woodward, 1965: 222).

Religion was taught in Latin and learned by heart. Singing in Latin by the entire group formed a most important part of the daily program. (Eby and Arrowood, 1934: 102)

Sundays were to be reserved for the exclusive study of the gospel; the schoolmaster gave scriptural expositions to the entire school and students were to recite assigned portions of the Bible as well as the Lord's Prayer, the Apostle's Creed, and the Commandments (Woodward, 1965: 222). Provisions for study on Sundays most likely refers to Latin schools where students were full time residents and not day students.

An elementary Latin grammar, written by Melanchthon in 1524, and printed in more than 50 editions which, according to Painter, were still in use in all public schools in Saxony until the 18th century (1903: 167), was used to teach "short sentences, prayers, psalms, etc., in Latin and in German" (Woodward, 1965: 219). From Aesop's Fables, which Luther "valued...very highly" (MacKinnon, 1962: 102), dialogues were selected which students memorized and this formed the basics for beginners' Latin conversation. Memorization of sentence structure and vocabulary preceded formal grammar study which, according to Melanchthon, allowed students to become functional speakers of Latin first, and accomplished grammarians not until the second class. The textbook of the Fables was a version revised by Luther of a translation undertaken by German scholar Steinhöwel in the late 1400's, and consisted of a Latin and German version on each page (MacKinnon, 1962: 102). According to two Reformation historians, the preface and revision of the Fables "remains 'a masterpiece of German prose'" (in MacKinnon, 1962: 103). Both Melanchthon and Luther believed in the use of

literary works, instead of grammar texts, for second language teaching. Reading in the 16th century meant oral reading which reflected the continuing influence of an oral, non-print tradition. By reading literature for language study, conversational fluency was made orally explicit and could more readily be learned than by study of grammar texts. As Luther saw it,

letters are dead words; the utterances of the mouth are living words, which in writing can never stand forth so distinct and so excellent. (in Eby, 1931: 165)

Language instruction and learning must proceed from conversational fluency to a study of grammar. Latin, the "sacred tongue", "amiable" Greek, and "majestic" Hebrew,

are much better learned by use and wont, than from these rules...Is it not extremely absurd, for one who would learn the sacred tongue...to pick the language out of grammar alone? (in Eby, 1931: 165)

In the second class, to which a boy should not be transferred until the "master perceived that he was ripe for a more rigorous type of instruction" (Woodward, 1965: 220), the use of German in classroom instruction was minimized, the study of Latin syntax was introduced, and readings included Terence and Vergil (Woodward, 1965: 220). Upon entering the third class, the student was expected to be prepared to study the rudiments of logic and the principles of rhetoric, both considered to be indispensable skills for future university studies and eventual work in the professions. Conversational and written expertise in Latin was "required at a high standard of excellence"; readings included Livy, Horace, Ovid and Cicero. Boys were grouped

according to ability and those most advanced in their studies were taught Greek which Melanchthon, professor of Greek and theology at Wittenberg University, held in high esteem; some were encouraged to study Hebrew. Group and individual instruction seems to have been the norm for study of the languages, except "twice a week there shall be two lessons (e.g. upon a play of Plautus, or a book of Cicero's Letters) given to the entire class" (Woodward, 1965: 221).

5.2 The Vernacular School Curriculum

Under the direction of Duke Christopher of Württemberg, the school ordinance of 1559 established a system of schools based on Melanchthon's three-tiered model of the Latin schools, but included vernacular schools, schools for the poor, and schools for girls. The object of schooling was:

to carry youth from the elements through successive grades to the degree of culture demanded for offices in the church and in the state. (in Eby, 1931: 213)

The Württemberg school system benefitted from 30 years of experience and data gathered by other territories in the establishment of compulsory and universal schooling.

'Particular' or elementary schools were set up throughout outlying districts from which students would progress to one of two 'pedagogia' in either urban Stuttgart or Tübingen. Pedagogia were similar in kind to the modern high school, organized into five classes in preparation for university entrance (Eby, 1931: 213). 'Lower' and 'higher' cloister schools were residence

schools which were designed primarily for the training of pastors, teacher and parish administrators. German elementary schools were retained in larger towns; rural hamlets and villages provided basic catechetical instruction through the parish.

Under the article 'Of the Instruction', the ordinance prescribes in concise, unambiguous terms what should be taught, how to teach, and how to classify and group learners. In the first class,

those are placed who are first beginning to learn the alphabet; the second, those who are just beginning to put syllables together; the third, those who are beginning to read and write. (in Eby, 1931: 224)

Within each class, students are to be grouped according to ability,

so that those of equal aptness to learn in each group may be put together, in order that the children may be stimulated to industry and the work of the schoolmasters may be lessened. (in Eby, 1931: 224-225)

Schoolmasters are advised not to "hurry the children" or promote them until competence is achieved. The teaching of the alphabet should follow a systematic approach, but occasionally the letters "should be broken up and with the letters mixed up the child should be asked to name some of the letters indiscriminately" (in Eby, 1931: 225).

Once identification of letters is mastered, pronunciation of syllables follows; clarity of diction is stressed and "they shall be taught not to mumble the last syllables" (in Eby, 1931: 225). Following the ability to read "tolerably well", writing

instruction begins for which children must have their own "special booklets". These the schoolmaster should examine regularly "having regard to defects in the form of the letters, the joining and adjustment thereof". Teachers are advised that "each child be kindly spoken to in a low tone and shown in a friendly way how each defect should be corrected" (in Eby, 1931: 225-226). Such a moderate approach is to ensure that "the children before all things shall be brought to the fear of God" (in Eby, 1931: 226). "Scandalous, shameful, sectarian books" are prohibited; authorized texts are the "Catechism, the Book of Psalms, the Proverbs of Solomon, Jesus Sirach, the New Testament, and the like" (in Eby, 1931: 226). The Catechism, as Luther had envisioned, was to be used as the basic text for language and moral instruction. One day a week at "one particular hour of the same day" was to be set aside for catechetical instruction;

thus uniformity may be preserved, be drilled into the children,...that they become familiar with it, so that they will memorize it, practice it, and rightly understand and comprehend it. (in Eby, 1931: 226)

Uniform comprehension was best achieved by memorization, recitation, "simple instruction", and explanation "in a way that they can understand"; as well, competition was seen as another useful instructional method and motivational device whereby all the children in the school "shall compete in asking and answering questions about the Catechism" (in Eby, 1931: 226).

Music and singing instruction on certain days of the week at the same hour each day was to accustom children to singing in

church and at school. Luther considered music and gymnastics an important part of the curriculum, and he took a personal interest in the implementation of these programs in the schools around Wittenberg. In the 1528 ordinance, written by Luther's friend and colleague Johann Bugenhagen for the town of Brunswick, the teaching of vernacular and Latin songs is stressed:

it is their [choristers'] particular duty to teach all children, large and small, learned and ignorant, to sing (as Philip Melanchthon has stated in the aforementioned book) common songs in German and Latin...In this way all children and youth shall learn to sing in the school.
(in Eby, 1931: 201)

Precise and detailed specification of all aspects of teaching and learning in both Latin and vernacular schools reflected new conceptions of education. Luther's incessant appeal between the 1520's and 40's for more extensive popular schooling, and for the formal education of a new class of future state officials, was finally realized during mid-century. As the ordinance and visitation documents indicate, public school systems were operational throughout reformed German territories (cf. Strauss, 1978). The Württemberg ordinance exemplifies the beginnings of modern school organization, the irrevocable trend towards, as Foucault puts it, a "totalized administration" of knowledge, and of children.

Regularity and repetition to promote conformity of thought and behavior was the new pedagogical method and aim; all school procedures were recorded, all documents processed by state appointed officials. Personal inspection of the schools

continued, as the Württemberg ordinance states:

[the inspector shall] either alone, or, if necessary, with the bailiff and regular inspectors, visit the school at least once a month, and see how, and to what extent, these school-regulations of ours are carried out. (in Learned, 1914: 17).

Visitation officials were to be present not only at students' examinations and promotions, but were required to periodically examine the teachers as well. As Learned comments,

It is apparent that the schoolmaster is no longer master within his own domain, but has become a public servant in a minutely regulated institution. (1914: 17)

All of Bugenhagen's ordinances, in use throughout northern Germany, specified requisite teacher qualification: the exact credentials necessary, preliminary examinations to be passed, practicums to undergo, final examinations and disputations to pass before official appointment to a rector or sub-rectorship.

Concerning the student, the humanistic tone in the ordinance's instructional guidelines was balanced by clearly laid out directions for administering penalties. The Latin school ordinance (1535) of Brunswick, for instance, prohibited corporal punishment for students over 17 years; instead, punishment was commuted to fines. The Kursachen ordinance of 1580 prescribed this punishment scale: a first verbal warning and reprimand followed by taking meals on the ground, the withholding of food and drink, whipping, confinement in the school dungeon, and, as a final resort, the expulsion of the student from the school (Learned, 1914: 20).

A multi-tiered system of discipline and surveillance -- of the student, the teacher, the school -- enclosed children in a new institution and discourse. Children's lives were at once both institutionally separated from society, and yet became a formal and 'public' part of society; their status was subtly redefined from the private domain of the family to the public domain of the state.

5.3 On the Education of Girls

In 1520 Luther wrote:

Above all, in schools of all kinds the chief and most common lesson should be the Scriptures, and for young boys the Gospel; and would to God each town had also a girls' school, in which girls might be taught the Gospel for an hour daily, either in German or Latin.
(1520/1910: 342)

Prior to the 1520's education for girls in local or parish schools was not common, although the education of daughters of the nobility and upper class in convent schools had been in vogue for several centuries. Four years later, in 1524, Luther again called upon parents to send their sons and daughters to school which, as he points out, would not interfere with the duties expected from children at home:

Boys shall attend upon such schools as I have in view an hour or two a day, and none less; spend their time at home, or in learning some trade...So, too, your little girls may easily find time to go to school an hour a day and yet do all their household duties. (in Parker, 1912: 50)

The 1526 school reform document for the Electorate of Hesse made provisions for the education of girls who "were to be given some

proficiency in reading, writing, and needlework. Religious instruction was to consist of Psalms and selected scriptural passages" (in Strauss, 1978: 20). This same document contains Luther's most straightforward explanation of what he considered the essential purpose of public education:

It is sufficient reason for establishing the best possible schools for boys and girls that the State, for its own advantage, needs well educated men and women for the better government of land and people, and the proper upbringing of children in the home. (in MacKinnon, 1962: 220-221)

Education was not seen as an end in itself, but as a means for individuals to be of effective service to state and church. Men were to govern in the home, community and society; women were to administer the household. Effective household management was seen as an important function for women. Reformation biographers (e.g. Thulin, 1966; Stupperich, 1966; Bainton, 1971) consistently point out the incompetence of Melanchthon's wife in managing household affairs, and praise Luther's wife for her domestic capabilities in running the 40 room Black Cloister, the Luthers' home, which was always filled to capacity with "the hubub in the household of babies, children, students, guests, refugees and servants" (Bainton, 1971: 32). As one contemporary put it, "a miscellaneous and promiscuous crowd inhabits Dr. Luther's home and on this account there is great and constant disturbance" (in Luther's Works, Vol.54: ix).

In many ways Katie served as a model housewife and mother in Luther's formulation of ideas about how girls should be trained and how they ought to perform their duties as Christian

women in the household. Katie was placed in a nunnery at age 10 from which she escaped to Wittenberg in her early twenties; she was considered well educated in scripture, Latin, and competent at domestic affairs. Despite the help of male and female domestic servants, Katie "herded, milked, and slaughtered the cattle, made butter and cheese, brewed, planted, and reaped" (Bainton, 1971: 32). She supervised the remodelling of the Black Cloister, purchased land plots on which to develop orchards and vegetable gardens, regularly organized and hosted dinners for weddings, promotions to the doctorate, visiting nobility and state authorities (Bainton, 1971: 30-33). She is claimed to have been well-read, articulate and an eloquent conversationalist which Luther commented on during a dinner for a British envoy sent by King Henry VIII:

She's very fluent. She's such a ready speaker [of German] that she's much better at it than I am. However, eloquence in women shouldn't be praised; it's more fitting for them to lisp and stammer. This is more becoming to them. (in Bainton, 1971: 30)

A girl's education must provide religious, moral and domestic instruction to maintain the efficient function of household affairs; but never should a woman's abilities mislead her into assuming eloquence of speech, dress or conduct, rivalling or detracting from the status of male company.

Fellow reformer Johann Bugenhagen (1485-1558) contributed much to the advancement of girls' education. According to Eby, Bugenhagen was the "practical organizer" of educational reform in northern Germany. A close friend and colleague of Luther and

Melanchthon, he held the chair of theology at Wittenberg University, and was appointed pastor of the town church. His aim for educational reform was to combine both Latin and vernacular schools under one state system. He wrote school ordinances for the city of Hamburg (1529), Lübeck (1531), Bremen (1534), Pomerania (1535), Schleswig-Holstein (1542), Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel (1543), and for cities in Denmark and Norway during the late 1540's and early 1550's (Eby, 1931: 192). The aims and methods of his interpretation of Lutheran pedagogy, then, had widespread influence across northern Germany and parts of Scandinavia; according to Eby, "his services to popular education were greater in practical results than those of either Luther or Melanchthon" (Eby, 1931: 192).

From 'Concerning the Girls' Schools' in the 1529 Brunswick ordinance, we can derive some specific ideas held by the author about how and what girls should be taught; and we can assume these educational practices to have been in general use given the wide distribution of Bugenhagen's ordinances as noted above.

In order that girls not be required to "go a great distance from their parents", it is suggested that "four schools for girls be held in four well selected parts of the city" (in Eby, 1931: 204). Girls are required to attend school daily, but "only one or at most two hours per day". In reference to payment of school fees to be paid to the school mistress "every quarter", it is pointed out that although "teaching involves trouble and labor", nonetheless, the teaching of girls requires only "a

short time" -- that is, girls can learn all that is deemed necessary "in a year or at most two years";

for the girls need only to read,...to hear some exposition of the ten commandments, the creed and the Lord's Prayer,...what baptism is,...to learn to recite some passage from the New Testament...and some sacred history or story suitable to girls, in order to exercise their memories...and in addition to learn Christian song. (in Eby, 1931: 205)

Girls' formal education, then, is predominantly religious training; there is no mention of the study of Latin, or how girls are to be taught to read. We can assume that the methods described in the Württemberg ordinance on how to teach primary school boys the alphabet or the syllables, was also used to teach girls how to read. Subsequent to attending school for an hour or two, girls are to spend the rest of the day at home repeating their lessons, "and also to help their parents to keep house, and to observe, etc." (in Eby, 1931: 205).

Rudimentary literacy is essential for the Christian girl and future housewife who can best manage household and children if her thoughts and actions are grounded in an understanding of the words of God:

From such girls who have laid hold of God's word there will come useful, skillful, happy, friendly, obedient, God-fearing, not superstitious, and self-willed housewives, who can control their servants, and train their children in obedience and respect them to reverence God. (in Eby, 1931: 205)

The 'new', albeit ideal Christian woman, whether rich or poor, rural or urban, is here envisioned as the mistress of the house -- happy and obedient, self-willed yet God-fearing.

Poor or rich, parents should strive to have their daughters acquire a basic Christian education in the schools; poverty must not deter parents from sending their daughters to school for "if any burgher is very poor", there is a "general treasury for the poor" from which to draw school fees. In the 1529 Hamburg ordinance, Bugenhagen made a similar provision for a general treasury to fund rural schools for girls: "In every district a girls' school must be held" (in Eby, 1931: 212). To attract additional revenues, school mistresses are under "obligation to have special Christian entertainments having to do with the studies, recitations,...the catechism and Christian songs" (in Eby, 1931: 212).

A sound religious elementary education for all children irrespective of age, sex, class or region was seen by Luther and his followers as the foundation for a strong German state and church. A cohesive and strong state was seen to be dependent upon a correspondingly united and strong church; the strength and survival of the state, according to Luther, is based upon and made possible by the abilities of educated men and women to govern, defend, and further the secular and spiritual needs of all members of society. Thus, as already noted, "the state...needs well educated men and women for the better government of land and people"; such egalitarian rhetoric, however, betrays Luther's often contradictory view of women and of girls. In an argument between Luther and his wife, recorded in the winter of 1532, the following comments are attributed to

him:

I concede to you the control of the household, provided my rights are preserved. Female government has never done any good. (1532/1967: 174).

He continues justifying male rule by reference to Adam, whom God had made "master over all creatures, to rule over all living things", and that Eve's intervention "spoiled everything".

Girls' schools under Bugenhagen's system were geographically separate from boys' schools. In contrast, the Württemberg ordinance of 1559 suggests that boys and girls were taught in the same school, if not in the same classroom, as the following directions to schoolmasters indicate: boys and "little girls" are to be "separately placed and taught"; the schoolmaster must "by no means allow them to run back and forth among each other, or to have disorderly relations with each other or to slip together" (in Eby, 1931: 224).

In theory and in practice boys' and girls' education was to be separate and different. Yet provision was made for a very basic education for girls which, although it emphasized traditional subject matter considered suitable for girls, aimed to teach girls rudimentary reading and writing skills. The mass promotion of literacy, irrespective of its essentially religious purposes, did give girls -- particularly those in rural areas or from less affluent families -- an opportunity to acquire the skills of reading and writing.

Luther's emphasis on the importance of the family and his denunciation of monastic orders, nunneries and monastic vows,

coupled with the highly publicized politico-doctrinal issue of clerical marriage, and the availability of public schooling for girls, redefined the role and status of women in German society. By stressing the spiritual duty of husband and wife to create a secular conjugal kingdom in which to exemplify and transmit Christian virtues to the young, Lutheran teachings brought women out of confinement in the holy enclave of the nunnery and repositioned their confinement in the more 'public' domestic enclave of the household. Participation in the worldly estate -- procreation, childrearing, household management -- was to be the natural right and place for women in the divinely established order of the secular world.

Undoubtedly, for many girls the opportunity to attend school was constrained by social or economic circumstances. Generations of girls continued to be raised at home unaffected by literacy or formal schooling. Given the greater availability and importance placed on boys' education, we can assume that in most communities more male than female household members could at least read. In reality, one literate person among two or three families would be sufficient to conduct Bible readings and discussions. And since the kind of vocations and professions that required a proficient literacy were only open to and held by men, the need to acquire a formal education or even basic literacy was decidedly less important for girls. Nonetheless, Luther did provide the impetus for contemporary and succeeding educational reformers to include girls in the formal educational

discourse and to create a place for them in the public school system.

5.4 School Administration

The teaching of literacy at the classroom level, once consolidated and institutionalized as part of the state apparatus generated a literacy specific to 'education' which necessitated concepts, language, procedures, and forms of documentation to express, in Foucault's words, a technology of power: organizing hierarchies of power and advancement for student and teacher in schools, devising the instruments, methods, techniques, and objectives for examinations and certifications, developing curricula and instruction to match students classified by age and ability, devising penalty systems for infractions (cf. Learned, 1914), administering school and district finances, and so forth. In effect, the development of a bureaucratic and administrative literacy alluded to by Goody and Watt (1968), is reflected in the emergence of an official, that is, state sanctioned pedagogical discourse in mid 16th century Protestant Germany.

This official 'educational' discourse, born of an initial "grass roots" literacy movement as Cressy (1980: 134-5) puts it, was transformed into a formal discourse commenting on and organizing itself, and rationalizing the institutional distribution of literacy. The formalization of this discourse is reflected in the efforts made, as outlined in the ordinances, to

record and classify most aspects of students' and teachers' institutional performance, and to centralize this information as part of the state archive. On the school and community level, children, youths, and teachers in those states that adopted the Lutheran system of state education were institutionalized and had become identifiable, 'visible' objects of knowledge through the written trace left by their own writings, and by the notations made of them by their supervisors and the surveillance experts of visitations. To regulate and order the processes of learning and teaching required a system of registration of all that went on in schools; detailed record-keeping and the wide distribution of school ordinances were meant "to regulate everything."

The Württemberg ordinance, for instance, explained to teachers that "as we find heretofore in our schools a certain amount of diversity as regards teaching, authors and methods of teaching...which is considered more of a hindrance than a help", the new ordinance "is simply arranged and may have a childish appearance" which no school master is likely to misinterpret (in Eby, 1931: 215). Teachers are called upon to "regulate everything", for the "good and advantage of the youth"; class and school organization is based upon

distinct division into classes, decurias, certain authors, hours, recitations and the like, according to which the preceptors are to regulate everything. (in Eby, 1931: 215)

Regulations in the preparatory pedagogia and cloister schools were more complex. Here the "maintenance of right order"

was of a more bureaucratic and administrative kind where examinations and certification held a key role for both students and teachers. Pedagogia and cloister schools were open only to boys. The Württemberg ordinance called upon parents to be "on the look out for boys... from twelve to about fourteen years of age who have good minds and are desirous and capable of higher studies" (in Eby, 1931: 220). The institutional regulations at cloister schools and pedagogia indicate how thorough and detailed the registration of students and teachers, learning and teaching had become, and the kind of bureaucratic surveillance this imposed upon communities.

Admission to a pedagogium was dependent upon the results of both written and oral examinations. Prior to acceptance to examinations, students were to present certificates from pastor and school master

regarding his scholastic attainments, talents, and correct conduct...his age...demeanour,...the temporal means of his parents, and what sort of brothers and sisters he has, and whether these are educated or not, and, if so, to what extent in a Christian way. (in Eby, 1931: 222)

As well, parents or guardians were required to submit their written consent and, thereby, "obligate themselves" to support a boy's course of study. A detailed report of each student's ability and family background was to be prepared by counsellors and kept on file in Stuttgart, the territorial capital. The purpose of centralized documentation was that

a regular record and catalogue should be in hand, so that at any time they...[administrators]...may see from it what sort of boys are in each cloister, and how many

vacancies there are. (in Eby, 1931: 223)

It was hoped that the distribution of printed, identical ordinances in every school of the territory, and the distribution of identical texts, would standardize instructional practices and curricula. The data collected by periodic visitations, in addition to centralized documentation of examination results, students' personal portfolios, and school enrollment records, enabled closer and more far reaching scrutiny of school affairs independent of personal monitoring. Under a system of compulsory schooling, the accumulation of personal files of students, their families, and school masters, provided an additional account of the population, supplementing the more traditional census data derived from municipal tax records.

Printing enabled the mass promotion of literacy through public education; the standardization of public schooling depended upon concerted efforts to enforce instructional, curricular, and administrative uniformity. The Württemberg ordinances and the attendant institutional processing of print and people, which the centralized administration of public schooling required, illustrates how the growth of an institution specializing in, among other things, the transmission, production and reproduction of knowledge, leads to the necessary correlative expansion of and refinement in methods of efficient administration.

Teaching and learning in public schools, then, by mid century had become a clearly defined system of gradated

curricula and instruction related to age/grade levels. School administration -- student and teacher recruitment, examinations, certification, school finances, the administration of different types of schools, and teacher training -- had come under state jurisdiction, usually located in the capitol of territories, electorates, or principalities. State and church affairs were not disjoined, but state legislation was superimposed on municipal and ecclesiastical affairs. Public schooling had seemed to Luther and Melanchthon a pragmatic idea and necessary precondition to reunite a religiously, politically and socially disunified nation that recognized the need to liberate itself from the cultural, intellectual and religious domination of papal Italy. The key issue for national autonomy was the shift of religious-political power from Imperial Rome to domestic authority over local church and secular affairs in municipalities, territories, electorates, and principalities (cf. Holborn, 1961). The push for communities to select their own pastor who would, in turn, participate in the hiring of teachers, illustrates this trend towards local secular authority over religious and civil issues.

Following Foucault, I suggest that this secular bureaucratization of education (and the church) was typified by an effort to centralize regimentation of the "multiplicity" (i.e. children, teachers, families, communities) by means of a "hierarchical surveillance, continuous registration, perpetual assessment and classification" (Foucault, 1979: 220). The

accumulation of data -- about students, teachers, examinations, certifications, schools and school district finances, enrollment records, students' families, and so forth -- was meant to improve the efficiency of school administration and to provide order within and among schools and communities. This accumulated knowledge, in turn, would be reapplied to the system from which the data was derived to further improve its growth, efficiency, or quality, all of which was an investment of sorts in the production of knowledge and skills embodied in children and youths. The "network of writing" or record-keeping by uniform and multiple printed copies of documents underlay the possibility of systematizing schooling and educational administration.

Printed text, as distinct from manuscript text, enabled literacy, in the context discussed here, to develop two forms. One, it promoted print literacy encoded in religious text; at the 'object level' of print literacy, then, the transmission of graphemic, syntactic and semantic elements of the German language were inseparable from the ideological messages embedded in popular literacy. Phonemic elements differed regionally since high and low German text was published throughout the century. Importantly, the most widely acknowledged consequence of print technology and the subsequent spread of popular literacy (i.e. rudimentary reading skills and to a lesser extent, writing skills) was its inextricable link with the spread of 'popular religion'.

The second consequence of the institutional promotion of literacy by the state through schools is the kind of administrative literacy that the rather complex organization of an unprecedented accumulation of documents engendered. At this second, or meta level of literacy, the school apparatus required interpretive, notational, and classificatory schemes with which to organize diverse information about a large number of people in and associated with a district's schools: headmasters, teachers, students, parish priests and parents. The success or failure of a school, and community commitment to both church and school, could be judged according to school records and visitation documents that gave extensive and minute accounts of communities: schools, church, individuals, and families (cf. Strauss, 1978). And so, educational administrators and senior evaluators in charge of visitations became the instruments for the political supervision of collective forms of behavior, attitudes, and performance through the rewriting of accumulated and interpreted data in reports, ministerial registers, and revised ordinances.

At the level of educational administration, bureaucratic functionaries comprised a newly formed state apparatus of power over individuals, and over the selection and distribution of knowledge. As Foucault puts it,

power produces knowledge;...power and knowledge directly imply one another;...There is no power relation without the correlative constitution of a field of knowledge, nor any knowledge that does not presuppose and constitute at the same time power relations. (1977: 27)

But were knowledge relations not also power relations during the premodern era in the medieval universities and monastic orders? It would be unreasonable to suggest that knowledge and power were mutually exclusive in the context of organized education in any era. However, outside the universities and religious orders, primary or preparatory education was haphazard in the sense that no uniform means of instruction or curriculum existed. Court schools, private schools or informal day schools operated by priests, itinerant teachers or laypersons teaching rudimentary skills in rooms donated by the church or private citizens did not come under state jurisdiction, and what was taught or how it should be taught was a matter of idiosyncratic personal choice.

Public schooling based on the Lutheran model took root because printing helped popularize the religiously grounded rationale for the duty of individuals to become proficient in reading and, secondly, because literacy had, for the most part, been accepted as the key to true faith and possible salvation. Public schooling became a consequence of a mass promoted ideology that stressed the importance of individual duties and rights of access to the printed word. The transfer of authority over the transmission of knowledge from the church to the state can be considered a reflection -- however dim -- of the 'democratizing' characteristic of print which Luther (unwittingly) advocated to mean individual and equal access to the word. Knowledge and its transmission was no longer to be the private domain of clerics but, under state control, was to

become 'public property', accessible to all. The official power to select and transmit public knowledge, then, could be attained, in principle, by anyone since all children were legally compelled to attend public schools.

A half century after Luther had helped stir the German people to a social, political, and a kind of intellectual reawakening, education had itself become part of a social and political environment which, as Cressy (1980) notes, provided a fairly well defined and established context which would define the values, uses and criteria for literacy. In this sense, education as a state institution and as a political and social structure did take over the role of defining and evaluating literacy, and of establishing certain criteria for specific literacy skills required of educational practitioners. This historical development contrasts with the earlier push to promote literacy according to the criteria and aims set forth by Luther and contemporary educational reformers who had more narrowly defined literacy: first, to acquire the skills of reading to decipher and comprehend the scriptures; secondly, to acquire the Lutheran version of a 'classical' education along the lines set out by Melancthon to facilitate service to and leadership in the church and state. All these concerns, ostensibly extrinsic to concerns about children and adolescents did, nonetheless, directly and indirectly bring the young under 'professional' scrutiny.

Public schooling was not in effect throughout the German empire. But in those states that did implement universal schooling, children's lives were affected. For many, learning had been removed from the home, the streets or the community and had been replaced by an organized and regimented institutional setting where rewards, punishments, and the ideas and skills to be learned were provided by an authority other than the more familiar and personal authority of family and community members. Public schooling undoubtedly affected parents who were now legally compelled to send their children to school and could not count on the economic benefits of free help received from children in the household or workplace. For most children a part of each day was spent in schools; for others public schooling provided access to more and advanced schooling -- an extended and more comprehensive institutionalization of their lives and their learning.

As the state assumed greater authority and responsibility over the social order, the need to systematize and enforce public schooling, to encourage advanced study, and to institutionalize the young seemed a reasonable and necessary step towards preparing future generations to perpetuate and uphold an ideology hard won in the face of internal and external political and religious adversity. The establishment of public and compulsory schooling reflects the support and furthering of two very radical and fundamental historical changes, the significance of which we can only appreciate in historical

retrospect: the transition from oral to print culture, and the shift of authority over education from the church to the state.

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VI. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

6.1 Summary Discussion

This study has investigated the influence of printing and Protestantism on pedagogy in 16th century German society. In attempting to order diverse evidence and to demonstrate how a variety of events, personalities and relations converged to bring about a change in thought about the young, it has been impossible to dissociate the history of childhood from family and educational history, the advent of typography from the history of literacy, or to discuss the rise of Protestantism independent of its reliance on and encouragement of printing and literacy. The intent of this study has not been "to revive the ridiculous thesis that the Reformation was the child of the printing press" (Martin & Febvre, 1976: 288). However, the spread of Reformation ideas and the development of the Reformation as a social, political, and educational movement relied on the potential of mechanized printing and extended that potential. My contention has been that Lutheranism, and the production and consumption of printed text were mutually reinforcing within the context of specific socio-cultural, political and economic conditions, and of the prevailing intellectual milieu of 16th century Germany.

As we have seen, central to Luther's campaign for religious and social reform was his skillful use of print technology and the systematic introduction of vernacular German in the public and academic discourse. The initial development of what was to become known as Protestantism was the result of one man's rejection and revision of traditional theological concepts. The subsequent diffusion of his ideas was made possible by their mass dissemination in print and printed illustrations, as well as by the more traditional means of oral communication: the preachings of evangelists. Luther's words and ideas reached a public already well familiar with print; posters, placards, handbills, broadsheets, etc., had been in use since the invention of the press in 1450 to provide information to the public. Lutheran reformers made calculated use of print technology to publicize and generate public support for their movement. Before Luther became a figure of public and political interest in 1517, German burghers and peasants, artisans and merchants, and many humanist academics shared a feeling of unrest and dissatisfaction with existing social, economic, and political-religious conditions, and were ready for a change towards a more just and Christian society. The events leading up to the 1525 Peasant Revolt and the subsequent effects of the revolution on the course of the Reformation have been discussed to provide a broader context within which to situate the educational reform movement that began in the late 1520's.

Different points of connection in the relationship between the first century of printing and early Protestantism have been focused on in this study. Generally unrelated historical data have been linked to the central theme of this study -- the history of childhood -- in an effort to establish the network of historically antecedent and contemporaneous relations that set the conditions for historical change in practice and in ideas. My initial premise was that the first century of transition from script to print culture generated, among other things, a change in ideas about children from premodern to modern notions of childhood. The early shift from oral to print communications generated the formalization and systematization of language and of discourses; speech and ideas became fixed in print, visible to a mass audience. The Reformation, I have argued, was the first major social and ideological movement after the invention of moveable type that incorporated the printed word and print literacy as a fundamental constituent of its ideology, and extensively used print to promote that ideology. The establishment of public schools reinforced the legitimacy of 'book learning' which had already been popularized and sanctioned by Luther's vernacular translation of the Bible, and by his insistent call for a universal priesthood -- a mass readership of the Bible. The redefinition of childhood under Protestantism had to do with book learning; in a circuitous way, Luther's text-centered religion of individualism, the establishment of schools, and the development of a public, as

distinct from scholarly, pedagogic discourse, can be considered as one indirect consequence of the early shift from script to print.

Starting in the early 16th century, central Europe underwent a general transition from oral to print culture, from restricted to mass literacy. European society underwent this process of change under varying circumstances; different political, religious, or economic constraints encouraged printing and literacy in some countries, and inhibited them in others. Similarly, the spread of Protestantism was readily adopted by some countries and vehemently rejected in others according to the demands of regional political-religious loyalties and affiliations. The difference in attitude towards book learning between Catholic France and Protestant Germany illustrates the differential consequences of encouraging or discouraging printing and literacy on ideas about education, the family, and childhood. As Eisenstein (1980) has pointed out in considerable detail, 'going by the book' in secular and spiritual matters was far more important for Protestants than for Catholics.

At the beginning of the 16th century, the mass dissemination of conduct books, herbals, domestic guides and marriage manuals, health and 'self-help' books was, in many ways, the mass distribution of old advice in a new medium. Yet by mid century, old advice was mixed with the 'new religion' -- with new ideas about the family, the individual, children,

social conduct, and the management of community affairs. Reflecting Luther's influence, more books concerned with secular and spiritual issues infiltrated Protestant households than Catholic ones. Along the same lines, 'self-help' books on reading, writing or elementary mathematics proliferated in Protestant households. Luther's emphasis on the necessity for individual literacy as the gateway to potential salvation and as indispensable for participation in secular 'good works', underscored the fervor with which Protestants -- and perhaps initially only the already educated, enlightened urban burghers -- pursued their own re-education.

My premise has been that the advent of printing made possible the subsequent spread of ideas, literacy and the diffusion of Lutheran ideology, a central part of which was a revised concept of the family and of childhood. In Chapter 3, I discussed the expansion of printing prior to 1500; it was noted that at the turn of the century, "the book had arrived". The trend towards the use of the vernacular in scholarly, theological and secular works was well established, and literacy can be assumed to have spread in relation to the geographical expansion of printing and the increased output of published works. Luther seized upon the availability and potential of print technology and further promoted printing and literacy in an effort to promote his own ideas via print.

The rise of Protestantism and the advent of printing were significant changes in themselves. When taken together in

relation to those antecedent and contemporaneous forces -- social, economic, technological, political, cultural -- that set favorable conditions for the Reformation to take hold, the fact that a demand for 'schooling for print' would emerge is not surprising. Moreover, when examining those intellectual forerunners who informed Luther's views and who served as catalysts for his contestations with theological principles and practices, it becomes equally clear that 'schooling for print' would become schooling for the new belief. Schooling for print and for the new faith would provide the rudimentary literacy skills which would enable the general public to have access to the cheap and simply written pamphlets of Luther's sermons, the Catechisms, song and prayer books that constituted the ideological and social cohesion for community gatherings.

Public schooling may have initially produced generations of readers competent only to read pamphlets, posters, or broadsheets. As well, the expense of books undoubtedly made them inaccessible to most common folk. And despite Luther's campaign to put a Bible in every household, there is no evidence to verify how many Bibles did, in fact, become a part of daily life; inventories of wills that list Bibles and other books tend to reflect book ownership among those affluent enough to register a will. In short, the beginnings of public schooling can be said to have arisen out of the need for mass ideological conversion, rather than for purely altruistic purposes.

In Chapter 4, Luther's views have been discussed principally in relation to Augustine whose doctrine of sin and predestination Luther resurrected. Underlying the shift in ideas about children was Luther's radical conception of the relationship between the individual and God.

At the core of Luther's doctrinal polemic was his belief that the only source of religious truth was the divine word as originally set down in the scriptures. Salvation could be attained only by faith and not, for instance, through the purchase of indulgences. Moreover, faith could only be attained by the grace of God which, in turn, women and men could only have access to via scripture. The importance of the authority of the Biblical text and Luther's religious individualism, would lead to the need for vernacular interpretations of the Bible in order to make God's word accessible to everyone; it would eventually lead to the need and demand for an educational system open to all children that would teach the skills of reading and writing while providing instruction in the new faith.

If, as Luther envisioned, there should be no difference between the spiritual estate (priesthood) and the temporal-secular estate (laity), but that all true Christians are, indeed, a priesthood of believers, then, in principle, all individuals have an equal duty and right to confront God's words as revealed in the divine text. The existence of the press which enabled the mass production of printed text, I would suggest, made possible the popular idea that there be a Bible in every

household, that every household be transformed into a church, and every household member into priest. Insofar as printing in the early decades of the 16th century was already an established craft and mode of communication, we might rightfully assume that Luther's call for a Bible in every household, which can be seen as the practical underpinning of 'a priesthood of all believers', is a direct consequence of the printing press -- multiple duplications of text were possible before Luther formulated his text centered theology.

Similarly, the establishment of a public school system and the standardization of that system depended upon the mass production of school texts and school ordinances. Public schooling, as we have seen, was considered by Protestant reformers as a necessary precondition for socio-religious change; universal schooling would provide the means by which to inculcate children with Christian morals and values while teaching them to read and write. The reformers had hoped that by providing near universal access to a basic education, entire generations of children would attend school with the inevitable outcome that systematic and uniform molding of young minds would result in the eventual transition to a more just and Christian social order. It would be the responsibility of the graduates of the new educational system, trained in the new faith, to assume positions of power and leadership in the church and state and, thereby, consolidate and secure the reformed social order.

Books of the proper kind and book learning were the key to educating and enlightening both young and old. Prior to the 16th century, book learning had been the domain of "old men and monks", in Eisenstein's words. In 16th century German society, as in urban centers in France, England and the Netherlands, book learning "gradually became the focus of daily life during childhood, adolescence and early manhood" (Eisenstein, 1980: 432). Domestic manuals prescribed the new roles fathers and mothers were to assume in childrearing; state legislated school ordinances prescribed curricula and instructional methods for schoolmasters. Diversity in school instruction was frowned upon by the educational authorities. Booklists, school rules, and teacher guides for dealing with disorderly conduct were aimed at bringing both the schoolmaster and the student under more uniform and centralized control.

The establishment of different kinds of schools, the creation of textbooks designed to match age/grade related ability levels, and the implementation of a graded examination and certification system reflects a heightened awareness of children's developmental stages and correlative cognitive abilities. The establishment of a clearly articulated sequence of learning stages (i.e. curricula, classes and schools) and the provision of printed materials and teachers trained to address distinct ability levels, marked the early foundations of modern schooling. The most decisive and critical step undertaken by the educational reformers of the Reformation, and one not overlooked

by educational historians, was the establishment of universal schooling, and the transfer of administrative power over education from the church to the state. Children became a legalized object of state scrutiny; authority over children was no longer the sole domain of parents or legal guardians. Schooling added a new dimension to children's lives. Not only did learning become institutionalized and formalized -- Eistenstein notes this transition as the shift from 'learning by doing' to 'learning by reading' -- but educational success or failure brought with it rewards and punishments meted out by institutional authorities, not household members. Moreover, success or failure at school began to imply eventual occupational status as the system of examinations and certification became more pervasive and took on greater importance. We can assume that this new educational intervention did not affect all children; the inheritance of property, a name, or a commercial enterprise undoubtedly continued to set the occupational futures for many children, particularly for boys. Yet, public education and the availability of financial assistance for economically disadvantaged children did provide a legitimate means for those children whose families had neither property nor name to bequeathe, to better their station in life by acquiring enough educational capital to become 'upwardly mobile'.

6.2 Conclusions

The relationship between printing, literacy, Protestantism and ideas about childhood is complex. However, although forces such as print, mass literacy and the Reformation are both cause and consequence, the printing press did help the Reformation take root which, in turn, explicitly promoted literacy and an education for literacy. I began this study questioning Aries' suggestion that concepts of the family and childhood changed in European society during the 17th and 18th centuries. Examining Stone's work on the English family, I found that similar characteristics of change in family life and structure, and childrearing practices emerged during the mid 16th century. The differences between Protestant England and Catholic France with respect to family and educational history became apparent; the shift from premodern to early modern concepts of the family and childhood was not a uniform transition in European thought. Under English Protestantism changes in education, family relations and structure predated similar changes noted for 17th and 18th century France. Consequently, I sensed that the early developments of the Protestant Reformation warranted further investigation. My initial survey of 16th century German social history revealed the link historians have made over the centuries between print technology and the spread of Luther's ideas.

By examining the historical conditions that led to the implementation of public schooling in pro-Lutheran regions, this

study has aimed to specify how the early modern shift in ideas about children reflected in, as Aries puts it, "a revival at the beginning of modern times of an interest in education" (1962: 412). This interest in education I have found to be a consequence of the introduction of moveable type and certain tenets of German Protestantism which, in time, demanded and furthered literacy and its formalization: the standardization of vernacular German, the graphemic standardization of print, and the establishment of public schools. Moreover, the revival of interest in education "at the beginning of modern times" can be made more chronologically and regionally specific.

The changes in family life and ideas about childhood that Aries documents for the French family during the 17th and 18th centuries, and similar changes in the English family starting in the mid 16th century as noted by Stone, when taken as a whole, can be interpreted as a reflection of rather broad historical change (in ideas, family structure, economic organization, and so forth) during a rather broadly defined historical era -- 'early modern times'. I suggest that the beginnings of these conceptual and practical changes concerning the family, childhood, and education can be traced to and dated by the events and literature of the German Protestant Reformation during the 1520's to 1560's.

If we accept Aries' suggestion that in premodern times children mingled freely with adult society and had more social freedoms, then the separation of children from that milieu by

the schools and by parents whose duty it now became to impose more stringent controls on the young, supports Aries' contention that the early modern shift in ideas about children was characterized, in part, by a deprivation of social freedoms the young had previously enjoyed. The school and the family were reconceived as the primary 'disciplinary sites' for the transmission of Christian morals and values based on notions of individual self-discipline. School and family exercised a newly justified authority and power over children.

Young children were no longer considered unimportant -- their existence ceased to "not count". Instead, the young were seen as the unschooled, in need of moral guidance and protection from and control over their potentially deviant nature. But the ultimate aim of the new pedagogy which appears in retrospect to have been an authoritarian pedagogy of repression, was to provide long-term beneficial consequences for the individual and for society. To protect the young from what the reformers judged to be the overwhelming power of sin, mandatory schooling, close supervision, discipline, and years of reciting appropriate school knowledge were seen as the only viable correctives for the kind of moral decay that appeared to pervade society. As well, among the educated and emergent mercantile class there was an increasing recognition of the need for institutionally socialized, skilled and literate workers. The recognition that the future of the state and church, community and family was dependent upon the young, upon universal access to institutional

facilities in which to train the young, and upon parents sending their children to school, when taken together, reflects an intent to promote greater (social) justice and (spiritual) equality.

As noted at the beginning, the purpose of this study has not been to refute Aries' claims, but to use his work as a point of contrast against which to note similar historical change in ideas about the family and childhood in a different society, at a different point in time. In recent years the debate over his work has subsided and historians of the family and childhood have settled into their disciplinary niches to pursue their historical investigations from different methodological vantage points. Social and psychohistory are now at the disciplinary forefront exploring historical concepts of childhood and childrearing practices. This study has followed neither methodological course. Instead, by constructing a framework for analyzing the emergence and manifestation of a discourse -- pedagogy -- as suggested by Foucault, it has been possible to move away from a linear, 'progressive' account of historical change (narrative history), from less generalizable accounts of micro-historical studies (social history), from the human agent determinism of psychoanalytic and phylo/ontogenic perspectives (psychohistory), and from the limitations of qualitative description of statistically based studies (demographic history).

By setting out a "discursive field", wherein the formal (written) discourse is not abstracted from its author(s) nor interpreted in terms of its author, where discourse and author are necessarily a product and intrinsic part of the practices formulated by that same discourse, and where discursive omission and silence is as critical a part of a discourse as that which it includes, it is possible to write a history that incorporates 'great events' with personal histories, one that links, say, technological innovation in one field with its social consequences in other spheres. Moreover, it enables the uncovering of discursive assumptions that underly a given set of practices (e.g. religious, pedagogic). Conversely, it allows the uncovering of historically antecedent and concurrent practices, intellectual precursors and contemporaries that contribute to the formation and formalization of the discourse. In this sense and in contrast to other historical approaches (e.g. social, psycho-, or narrative history) that undertake inquiry on the basis of a priori operant principles -- methodologically, and in terms of disciplinary concepts of the family, society, individual, education, and so forth -- a history of discourse leaves enough conceptual room to allow a given set of concepts or ideas to emerge from within their own context. For example, and in specific reference to the history of childhood, a history of discourse does not investigate childrearing practices, or text for and about children with a priori definitions of the child, the family or society that, for instance,

anthropologically or psychologically based studies presuppose. Discursive history presupposes a field of discourse -- not only or necessarily text, but all historical inscriptions in diverse forms such as architecture, relics, technology, roads or trade routes. Using Foucault's 'archeological' approach to history, we 'dig' for clues and relics of knowledge at 'the site'. Yet, this immersion in context easily runs the risk of providing an object level analysis. What, then, is the value of discursive history for the study of history in general, and specifically, for the history of childhood?

First, to address the latter, historical descriptions are necessarily ordered by present concepts of history and current knowledge; in short, by the contemporary episteme of which this study and this very discussion of historical method is a part. Nonetheless, an archeological approach to history is an alternative to reproducing and reconfirming age-old static concepts of an overriding cultural unity or a central epistemological principle by which a historical period or society coheres. Instead, the intent is to trace one history or series of histories by reordering historical 'documents': "books, texts, accounts, registers, acts, buildings, institutions, laws, techniques, objects, customs, etc." (Foucault, 1972: 7). This repositioning of historical data -- the juxtaposition of history's "material documentation" traditionally assumed to be unrelated and disparate -- allows the historian to identify and isolate different sets of

historical 'objects'. Such objects have their own history and structure, sets of practices, customs or laws, and contain their own conditions of possibility. An historical object such as the printing press, for instance, generated, among other things, the possibility of mass producing printed text several pages at a time, established a new direction in the development of the paper industry, advanced the development and specialization of typesetting, and created a new culture industry whose agents were the new 'printer-scholars'.

By sorting out separate historical series, then, and tracing their possibilities, links to and overlaps with other discourses and practices -- some unsuspected, others familiar -- will emerge. The context within which social forms or ideas emerge, develop or disappear, can be established without reducing history to a myriad of individual discourses all relative to historically adjacent series, and without unifying an asymmetrical and complex history under historiography's traditional 'great moments in history' umbrella. A history of discourse is a mode of inquiry that allows the historian to map new, previously unconsidered trajectories, to develop a matrix or grid, as it were, within which to situate diverse historical data. In such a "constellation", reordered data will bear directly and/or indirectly on the discourse under study in ways -- opposing, complementary, contradictory -- that traditional histories have failed to note and conceptually have been unable to consider.

In this study some of these connections have surfaced: Lutheranism and the advent of printing were historically contemporaneous and complementary phenomena; Luther opposed church doctrine and practice and, in a link back to 'intellectual origins', he retrieved and reformulated Augustinian doctrine. Luther's rise to fame marks a unique historical juncture -- at once both continuous and discontinuous -- one which marked a most radical break with the immediate past while reinstating an intellectual continuity with an earlier past. The intellectual liberation of the individual was based on Luther's incorporation from the more distant past of an essentially negative concept of individualism and human nature. This concept of the individual formed the basis of a projected future of ostensible individual liberation, reform, secular and spiritual justice and equality, and relief from medieval oppression by church and landlord. Interestingly, in an age when the slaughter of heretics was commonplace and Luther was the Vatican's principal enemy, he passed through and out of countless Diets unharmed where others would have perished on the pyre. A complex network of political promises and affiliations among princes, electors, bishops and church lawyers, political pressure from Rome, the emperor and the public, set the conditions to break the continuity of inquisitorial persecution which preceded and surrounded Luther, and accelerated after his death.

Foucault argues for an historical inquiry that does not seek to explain events, ideas or innovation as part of the progressive unfolding of consciousness, as "simple causality" or "circular determination", but one that individualizes historical series, describes the relations between them, and distinguishes types of events at different levels. Accordingly, we can see that in the formation of the Lutheran (Protestant) discourse the 'theme' of individualism emerged in opposition to the medieval collectivization of social and spiritual life. And while this focus on individualism seemed, indeed, to mark a discontinuity with the past, the fundamental tenets of the new faith formed the strongest existential and ideological links to and continuity with an intellectual past from which the ideology that Luther opposed, emerged.

Looking to a different level and a different series across time, it becomes apparent that printing engendered analogous transformations in its materiality (the text) and immateriality (mode of thought and communications). The first fifty years of printing reproduced the texts of the past. The initial organization of language in print was the encoding of oral language in print; manuscript form and speech continued through the medium of print. The collectivizing force of information exchange in an oral culture was transformed by print into what is generally considered as the privatization of thought and language. Inasmuch as this privatization resembled the privatization of faith as set forth by Luther, so the

standardization of language and thought in print, and the development of a mass readership confronting essentially the same few texts (i.e. the Bible, Luther's pamphlets, calendars, domestic manuals, etc.), recollectivized individual readers and believers.

We have, then, in the two series -- printing and Protestantism -- historical discontinuity yet continuity through transformation, succession and difference, overlap and interplay of conceptual and socio-practical similarities, disappearance on one level and repetition on another. And together through the systematization of language and ideas in print and, subsequently, the systematization of Lutheran ideology, a discourse emerged defining its own level of formalization and legitimacy. Underneath and contained within it, this primary theological discourse generated and was constituted by a "subseries" of other discourses and practices. And it is the emergence of the discourse on pedagogy -- childhood -- that I have attempted to outline through a description and explanation of the circumscribing conditions that led to its formation.

Turning now to discuss the value and implications of discursive history for childhood history, the central methodological guide and substantive aim of this study has been to locate those intellectual and practical influences which converged in the construction of an institutionalized discourse that embodied a pedagogical model of the child.

Towards the end of the Middle Ages, European society was in a state of crisis. The political and economic reorganization of a largely undifferentiated population -- the non-clerical, non-aristocratic common masses -- is a central event in the development of modern European society. Organizing functions emerged through institutionalized forms such as police forces, prisons, charity hospitals for orphans, the elderly, and the sick, asylums for the mentally unstable, and schools for children. The corrective and disciplinary functions of these institutions were aimed to rehabilitate, improve, or make socially useful the unstable, the deviants, or the unschooled.

The establishment of schools enabled closer control over children who previously had received no specialized institutional treatment and had not been the object of specialized knowledge, but had been a largely heterogenous and unspecified population. Insofar as Luther, and the moralists and pedagogues who followed his teachings, brought children as moral beings to the attention of adults, the rise of public and mandatory schooling, then, can be considered as one of the first institutions of morality, so to speak, that combined civil law with moral obligation, (legal) constraint with (spiritual) liberation, and the administration of knowledge with the administration of children.

In Foucault's work on criminality, mental illness, and sexuality, repression is viewed as a necessary historical counterpart of liberation, improvement, or rehabilitation. The

birth of the school, then, like the birth of the prison, arose out of practical needs to cure (ignorance and moral depravity), to reform, to discipline, and to educate the social body. To institutionalize and secularize learning provided legal sanction for the state to control, train, punish and reward children who, hitherto, had been the private property of families, and not a part of the public, judicial discourse. Foucault notes of the carceral that, "in its function, the power to punish is not essentially different from that of curing and educating" (1979: 303). When applied to the school, the function of which was to cure ignorance, the consolidation of power to institutionalize children in the hands of the state, was, as we have seen, the only alternative means to counteract not only the moral and spiritual deficiencies inherent in children, but to regulate and normalize childrearing. Having found parents generally unfit to teach the young, the reformers assumed that compulsory schooling would systematically mold and train young minds and bodies, and would individualize and equalize training in the context of enforced assembly of all children. Standardization of treatment -- curricular content, rules, punishments, rewards -- according to uniform codes was meant to preclude the idiosyncratic and unregulated moral training that families provided.

The school, then, like the prison, became the site of discursive practice, the practical expression of a discourse of repression, conformity and constraint aimed at individual liberation. Children's institutional confinement was meant to

suppress sinful impulses, to censor immoral conduct, to delay the self-realization of sexual maturity; in short, to suspend the development of personal autonomy. The objective of this pedagogy of prohibition was to give children the tools for salvation: literacy for personal faith and redemption via scripture and for meaningful participation in the worldly estate, and self-discipline to combat the inevitable temptations to sin. Parental neglect, laxity, or severity in early childrearing could be normalized through schooling where all children would be subject to the same knowledge, rules, and examinations. And here, printing overlapped with pedagogy through its organizing and standardizing function of providing multiple and identical texts and ordinances.

The pedagogical discourse that emerged out of early German Protestantism established children as a distinct social group and created public institutions for them in which to standardize their beliefs, behaviors, attitudes, and values. By bringing children and adolescents together under the rule of civil law, in buildings separate from the privacy of the home and public life in the streets, ruled by adults especially trained to teach, control, and observe large groups of children, and under the rule of written codes that prescribed, defined and organized almost all aspects of school activities, a "culture of youth" developed -- visible and distinct from the social body.

Underlying the formation of this institutional discourse was an essentially negative concept of childhood. The reformers'

concerns about children's vulnerability to their innate predispositions to sin and children's defenselessness against parental neglect or indulgence, would raise the problem of control for conformity. Children, easy victims or "prey for the devil", needed protection from the evil in themselves, and from the kind of moral corruption that pervaded society. A more totalized administration over society meant to inhibit political, social and religious fragmentation could be achieved by beginning with the young. By separating youth from adult society, knowledge input and output could be more broadly controlled by means of the school; schooling would facilitate the registration, supervision and certification of an important segment of society -- the cognitively malleable and politically powerless.

That this pedagogical homogenization of one strata of the populace would generate its own forms of resistance was reflected in the continuation and, indeed, increase of school visitations during the second half of the 16th century when Melanchthon's humanistic Instructions to the Visitors had been transformed into a blueprint for persecution through what had become church/school inquisitions (cf. Strauss, 1978). The upheavals in the church first instigated by Luther, provided the impetus for the spiritual renewal of humankind, the restructuring of the social, a redistribution of real and symbolic power from ecclesiastical to secular authorities, and the setting of new aims for the individual and for society. The

objectives of this spiritual and social renewal could best be met if successive generations were inspired and convinced of the importance, authenticity, and truth of God's words. Children needed to learn to read -- and to read the same texts. Luther believed that scripture contained in unambiguous terms the natural, divine laws of human rights, duties, and liberties which future generations would need to understand, protect and defend, and transmit to their offspring. And how else to embark on this program of social and spiritual renewal, but systematically to lay its foundations in children and youth.

6.3 References

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