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The Education of Women in the Reformation

LOWELL GREEN

THE IMPORTANCE of universal education to the emergence of today's world is obvious to anyone, but its history is often unknown. For example, the story of how large parts of modern society made the journey from widespread illiteracy to almost total literacy is a tale yet to be told. In this article a small beginning will be undertaken, based upon sources dealing with several small countries of Germany which espoused Luther's Reformation during the sixteenth century. (1) This will uncover an unsuspected concern for the education of girls as well as of boys, and, incidentally, evidence which reveals that German history is distorted when it is studied exclusively under the aspect of the evolution of the Prussian state.

The Protestant reformers played a role in the move toward universal education which has often been suspected but never adequately measured. In fact, some revisionist historians have claimed to the contrary that an excellent educational system existed at the end of the mediaeval period, only to be wrecked by the reformers. (2) These assertions have never been adequately judged by the facts, and many misunderstandings have consequently plagued historians. Only the dearth in knowledge of German history let Lawrence Stone, in an otherwise excellent study, speak mistakenly concerning Tudor and Stuart England: ". . . It may well be that early seventeenth century England was at all levels the most literate society the world has ever known," citing "a school for every 4,400 of the population." (3) To be sure, England had about 444 schools among 13,000 parishes in a land of about 4,500,000 population, or one school per 10,000 persons. But the little duchy of Württemberg in 1600 had 401 folk-schools among about 512 communities in a land of approximately 450,000 population, which comes to one school per 1,100 persons. (4) (See Figure 2.)

This example points to the need for intensive studies into the history of literacy and universal education. For Germany alone, dozens of

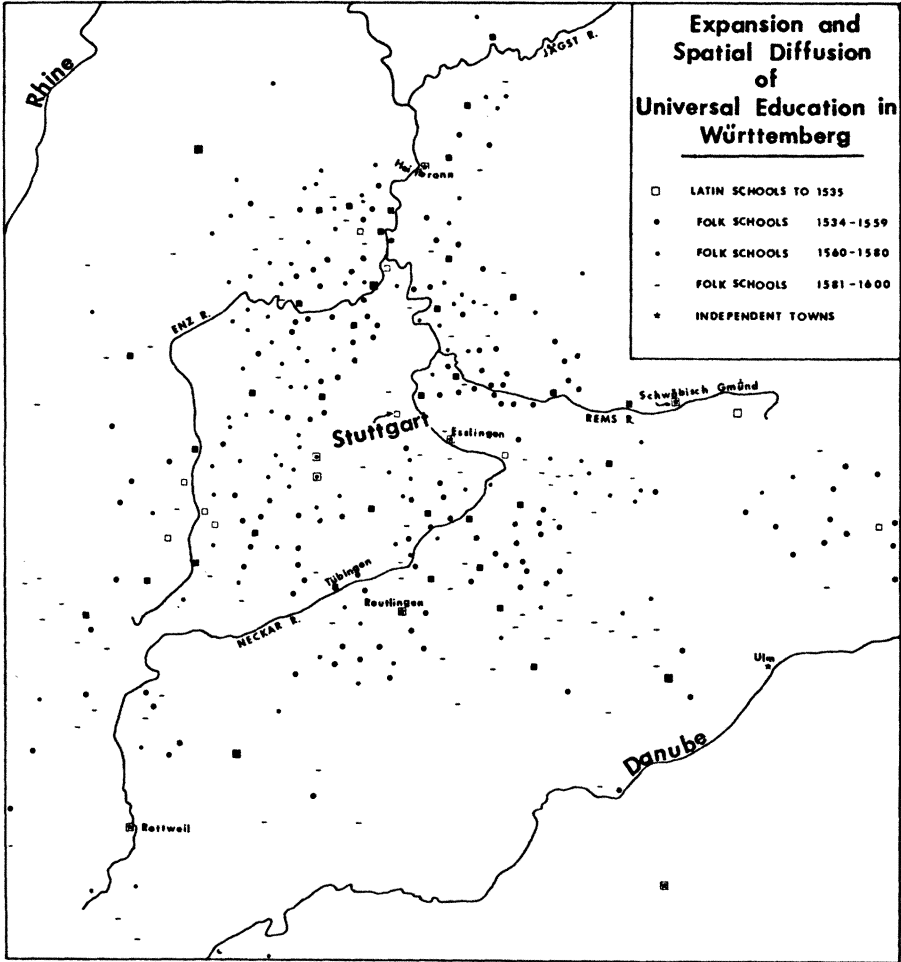
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Figure 1



intensive studies into the rich archival materials of the various lands are needed to fill in important gaps. Furthermore, previous studies which have remained largely unknown must be utilized by the historians to correct previous distortions. For example, it must not remain unknown that Württemberg inaugurated compulsory school attendance for all boys and girls in 1649. But this was not the first occurrence of compulsory attendance for Germany. Already in 1642, Duke Ernest the Devout of Saxe-Gotha had instituted compulsory education for all boys and girls between the ages of 5 and 12, and it appears that Hessen-

Figure 2



(N.B.: In reducing the above map for publication, the larger dots within hollow squares tended to give the appearance of solid squares; in such instances, earlier Latin schools added the curriculum of a folk school between 1534-1559.)

Darmstadt may have been still earlier. (See Figure 1.) There was also a strong emphasis upon female education. Compulsory school attendance did not come to France, England, and much of the United States until more than 200 years later. Why did Protestant Germany achieve universal education before Catholic Germany, and both a long time before other countries? In the following lines we shall first note the *theories* of the Protestant leaders regarding universal education, and, second, we shall try to ascertain how fully their teachings were put into *practice*. As

we do so, we shall pay particular attention to the special interest shown by them in the education of women.

I. The Teachings of the Reformers Regarding Education.

The Renaissance humanists had shown great interest in the education of the young. The Protestant reformers, many of whom came from the humanist circles, followed in their train. When the less enduring values of the Northern Renaissance began to fade away, these evangelical successors almost imperceptibly converted it from an elite to a popular movement, and institutionalized much of humanism in the school, church, and state, so that the movement became a part of the life of every Protestant community. (5)

A. The Contribution of the Wittenberg Reformers.

The indispensable personality in the transferral of Renaissance ideals to the Reformation was Philipp Melanchthon, who was a pupil of Reuchlin and Erasmus, becoming, in turn, the educator of thousands of pastors, teachers, musicians, lawyers, physicians, and statesmen. Although the *Praeceptor Germaniae*, as he is commonly called, was more interested in the Latin-schools than in the folk-schools and wrote more about the education of boys than the schooling of girls, so that there is little from Melanchthon's pen regarding feminine education, a significant poem was turned up some years ago in which he expresses definite favor toward serious studies for the fair sex: (6)

In our time they are teaching tender girls to love books,
And the feminine sex to make use of its gifts.
They make intellect flow into the arts, beauty into its culture,
Nor let such learned now be men alone.

. . . .

Let sweet girls vie with the males,
As I see it, your glory will not be light.
Both sexes share the muses by common consent,
I judge them to be less difficult for you!

Melanchthon wrote these lines in tribute to a young woman who had composed a Latin oration "On the Child Jesus," which was published by Ambrosius Moibanus, the Breslau reformer who manifested a concern for the education of women [see below].

Luther's interest in both the humanist and the folk-schools is so well-known that only those aspects which deal directly with our subject-matter need to be discussed here. In his writings he dealt with the role of women in society while he insisted upon compulsory school attendance for all, girls as well as boys. So early as his "Address to the Christian Nobility of the German Nation" (1520) he lamented that the convents had forsaken their original purpose of educating women, called upon

German leaders to provide elementary and secondary schools, and added: "And would to God that every city also had a girls' school where the girls could hear the Gospel for an hour every day, whether in German or Latin." (7) Four years later he urged the aldermen of all the German cities to provide "the best-possible schools both for boys and girls in every locality," with the observation that thereby men would be trained for public service and women for managing the house, children, and servants. (8) He felt that girls as well as boys should learn not only religion but also history, classical and modern languages, literature, music, and mathematics. His innovative notions sounded strangely modern when he proposed a work-study program for youth without strong academic talents. Such pupils should spend part of the schoolday studying their books and the rest of their time in town, learning a trade, handiwork, or housekeeping. (9) Although Luther's educational ideas were generally linked to the social structure of his time according to which the woman's place was in the home, he also wrote of the possibilities of a professional career for young women. Intellectually-qualified girls should study the liberal arts, like their brothers; among the available vocations he pointed out the need for female teachers. (10)

These proposals of Luther were fused with the paedagogical principles of Melanchthon by their pastor from Pomerania, Johann Bugenhagen. Dr. Pommer, as he was affectionately called, was not only a gifted theologian and educator, but he possessed an unusual talent for administration and organization. His ministry at the parish church of Wittenberg was interrupted by a continuous series of leaves of absence, during which he transmitted the teachings of the Reformation and laid the foundation for universal education for boys and girls in northern Germany, and, a little later, in Denmark and Norway. This began when he reformed the city of Braunschweig in 1528. His Church-Order for this thriving Hanseatic city was to set the standard for subsequent systems. It is noteworthy how he adapted important parts of Melanchthon's "Instructions for the Saxon Visitors" of 1528 (11) when he set up the daily schedule of classes for the two Latin schools, including the humanist's proposal of daily instruction in music. (12) Besides these, two German schools would be conducted by schoolmasters appointed by the City Council (13). These four schools were for boys. There should also be four schools for girls, distributed throughout the city so that their pupils would not have to go far from their homes; these schools were to be conducted by four female teachers. (14) Evidently the curricula of these six German schools for boys and girls were similar. In both cases, the teachers were to teach the Holy Scriptures, the Catechism, and "Christian songs"; the four girls' schools, in addition, were appointed to teach history (*historian edder geschichte*). Although not explicitly mentioned, reading and writing were almost certainly a part of the instruction in the six vernacular-language schools as well.

Similar measures were incorporated into the Church- and School-Orders for Pomerania, Lübeck, Hamburg, and other north German territories, as well as for Norway and Denmark. Even in a comparatively small city such as Mölln, a girls' school could be held by the schoolmaster's wife. (15) Back home in Wittenberg, Pommer joined forces with Luther to push the establishment of a school for girls. (16) In the new School-Order at Wittenberg, a special schoolmaster was in charge, assisted by the sexton. (17) The course of studies included the Catechism, reading, writing, the singing of "Psalms and other spiritual songs," and, for the more advanced, special training in music. (18) (These places are located on Figure 1.)

An alumnus of Wittenberg University who advanced girl's education during the earlier years of the Reformation was Ambrosius Moibanus, who served as pastor at Breslau beginning in 1525. Moibanus, like Melanchthon, insisted that women as well as men were capable of advanced academic studies, and encouraged them to study the classical languages. It was he who had published the oration of a girl for which Melanchthon had written his elegy; he himself added the following remarks: (19)

I wanted the following short oration to be published, so that boys, since they are more often invited to literature and its studies, might declaim it. God makes it possible at the present time as in the past to stimulate the minds of girls to the highest studies of scholarship.

Moibanus proceeded to give numerous examples from history of intellectual women, citing Cassandra of Venice, Hildegard of Bingen, Pope Joan (whom he called an example in genius but not in morality), Blesilla, Valeria of Rome, and Elisabeth of Thuringia. He then concluded:

I do not think that the Christian religion is opposed to the studies and scholarship of girls, as some have misrepresented it. We ought to be thankful to God for the gifts he has given to either sex; it pleased him that the first proclamations of the most glorious resurrection of his Son, Jesus Christ, were held by female preachers in the houses of the apostles.

This was followed by the oration of a girl concerning the Child Jesus Christ. In the declamation, the girl referred to her study of a few years [cum quibus aliquot annos literarum rudimentis operam dedi], and after a beautiful eulogy of the Christ Child, concluded: "Lead us therefore, most blessed Child, that we imitate this, that we love this, that we learn this, that our studies of books forever inspire us, that we follow this through the whole course of life, in which thing there is true peace and lasting joy." (20)

B. The South Germans.

Martin Bucer, the leading reformer at Strassburg (Figure 1), was

likewise concerned about female education. The waning of the Middle Ages had found Strassburg with a weak school system. The efforts of humanists such as Jacob Wimpfeling to improve the schools had been fruitless. (21) The monasteries and convents had done very little. Lower schools had been maintained by the Dominicans, Franciscans, Wilhelmites, Augustinians, and the Teutonic Order, (22) but the Carthusians, as well as all the women's convents, had failed to contribute significantly to education in spite of their immense wealth. (23) In reforming the schools, Bucer called for the establishment of six schools for boys with male teachers and six girls' schools with female teachers. (24) He also expressed his educational principles in writings which revealed the influence of Martin Luther.

The influence of both Martins was to manifest itself in the educational ideas of Johannes Brenz, the Swabian reformer. While he was working in Schwäbisch-Hall (Figure 1) he called for free schools for girls as well as boys in the imperial city. (25) Later his activity spread to the entire duchy of Württemberg (Figure 2). Working with the great statesman, Duke Christoph, he provided in the Great Church-Order of 1559 a plan for universal education in "Alt-Wirtemberg." Two principal kinds of schools were included in the plan—the Latin grammar-schools, which prepared men for an academic or professional career, and the German folk-schools, which aimed to give a minimal education to all boys and girls. The Great Church-Order discussed the Latin schools in Chapter CXIX as follows: (26)

Latin schools together with capable preceptors shall be held in each and every city, large or small, and also in the more prominent villages and market-towns of our realm.

Folk-schools were also to be organized which would offer tuition in the mother tongue. Where separate German schoolmasters could not be hired with available funds, teachers were to be procured by educating the sextons and appointing them to instruct the boys and girls. (27)

We wish that in such towns as sacristies [*Messnereien*] have been in the past, that henceforth German schools be arranged together with these sacristies. After this, capable and previously-examined persons shall be appointed to preside over these German schools and sacristies, men who are qualified in writing and reading, who can also instruct the youth in the Catechism and in church-music.

Sextons had been used as teachers previously. What was new in the school-plan of Brenz and Duke Christoph was the elevating of this to a national system, together with the raising of the qualifications required of future sextons. As we shall see, the plan worked, and became a major factor in the move to universal education, compulsory education for both boys and girls, and the obliteration of illiteracy in the western world.

Valuable insights into social history can be drawn from the records of the teachers, the school-plans, and the careers of the students. One finds both recollections of the Middle Ages as well as anticipations of the modern period. The tendency to separate the sexes, which persisted into the twentieth century, prevailed. Boys and girls in the same school were to be separated as far as possible. If they could not be taught in separate rooms, they should be seated in opposite ends of the same room. "And the schoolmaster shall in no case permit them to run about together, or to do disorderly things together and slide together." (28) This rule was perhaps not a mere sign of conservatism, as one might think without due reflection, but rather a needful measure due to the crude manners of the day. The scholars were arranged in proficiency groups to release competitive drives and thereby accelerate the learning processes. (29)

The Württemberg educational system paved the way for a new social mobility which was to have profound influences in modern history. Most children could get at least a minimal education, placing the Swabian people far above neighboring populations. Advanced education was available at the humanistic academies at Stuttgart and Tübingen for those who could pay for it. For those who could not, a comparable education was provided in the reorganized monastic schools, where full expenses were provided for boys who were willing to prepare for the Lutheran ministry or for teaching. Thus prepared for the university, they again received free board and room at the *Theologisches Stift* in Tübingen, the benefactor of many scholars such as Andreae, Kepler, Hegel, and Schelling. Although the boys were expected to become pastors, this was socially an advantage, since this calling brought them near to the top of the social ladder. Moreover the sons and daughters of the parsonage experienced almost unlimited social mobility in the next generation. It is well-known that the Swabians in general, and those of Württemberg in particular, have made an unproportionally high contribution to German intellectual history. Much of this must be credited to the educational opportunities and the social mobility which came from the *Grosse Kirchen-Ordnung* of 1559.

C. Diffusion through the Work on the Formula of Concord.

After the death of Luther in 1546, a number of theological and political factors brought about a series of controversies among the disciples of Luther and Melanchthon which threatened to destroy the Lutheran Church in Germany. These conflicts were finally resolved in the Formula of Concord of 1577, when peace and unity were restored to German Lutheranism. The chief promoter was that shuttle-diplomat of the sixteenth century, Jakob Andreae. A brilliant and creative theologian in his own right, Andreae was a protégé of Duke Christoph and Johannes Brenz. One of the by-products of his ecclesiastical fence-mending was the transmission of parts of the Württemberg schools system to central and

northern German states. Andreae evidently made a strong impression upon Julius, duke of Braunschweig, and his prominent superintendent, Martin Chemnitz. Not only was the Swabian able to enlist their support in his endeavors for concord, but he also exerted an unmistakable influence upon the new Church- and School-Order for Braunschweig which appeared in 1569. (30) The next year he met with Andreas Musculus, the new General-Superintendent [bishop] of the electorate of Brandenburg (Figure 1); when Musculus' Church- and School-Order was published for Brandenburg in 1573, it showed its indebtedness to Andreae and the *Grosse Kirchen-Ordnung*. (31) Like Chemnitz, Nikolaus Selnecker had been an important pupil of Melanchthon. Andreae exerted a deep influence upon Selnecker who conveyed these educational principles to the duchy of Oldenburg (Figure 1) in the northwest. (32) Even more impressive, however, was the influence of the Swabian upon Elector August I of Saxony. Theologically, this came out in the overthrow of the Crypto-Calvinist party of Saxony in 1574 and the ready adoption of the Formula of Concord three years later; educationally, it resulted in the new school-plan of the Church-Order for Electoral Saxony of 1580. Once more, ideas from Württemberg led the way. (33)

D. The New Interest in Women's Education.

The important contributions of the Middle Ages toward the education of women as well as men should not be overlooked. Such mediaeval institutions as the church and municipal schools, the sexton's schools, and the monastery and convent schools were the necessary foundation. However, the reformers and their followers did build upon that foundation, and their work during the sixteenth century provided decisive impulses toward modern universal education.

Women's education had always taken place, even at times when it was available only for a select few and given only by private tutors to daughters of the nobility or the wealthy. After the Reformation, however, schooling for girls became more and more widely diffused, until at length it was placed within the grasp of most females in the west. In the transition which took place, one may detect a gradual evolution in concepts concerning the role of women in society and of the education or training appropriate to their social position.

An early proposal for Protestant girls' schools was made in the "Reformation of the Church of Hesse" (1526), written by Francis Lambert of Avignon. Although Lambert's plan was not adopted, it is worth some attention. The plan called for boys' schools "in all cities, towns, and villages" of Hesse, and for girls' schools "in the cities and towns, and where it can be done, also in the villages." Schools for girls should be presided over by "learned, mature and pious women." Girls as well as boys could sing in the Vespers services; the boys would sing in Latin, and

the girls would sing the Psalter *vulgariter*, in German. (34) Similar proposals became increasingly common after 1526, with Bugenhagen's church-order for Braunschweig (1528) proving to be a landmark, as we noted above.

One interesting sign of the new interest in female education was the writing and publishing of books on that subject. Evidently there was a good market in Germany for such books, judging by the number of titles and of repeated editions. The authors included Johann Agricola, Luther's former friend and later adversary who conducted school at Eisleben before becoming General-Superintendent of the church of Brandenburg, (35) Johann Spangenberg of Nordhausen, (36) the noted hymn-writer of Joachimsthal, Nikolaus Herman, (37) the girls' schoolmaster at Torgau, Johann Jhan, (38) an educator at Mühlhausen named Sebastian Starcke, (39) and Agricola's brother-in-law and successor in Brandenburg, Andreas Musculus. (40) This is but a sampling of authors who wrote with women's education specifically in mind. A brief glance at the circumstances behind several of these books will shed additional light upon practices in the schools. Perhaps the earliest book published explicitly for use in a school for girls was Johann Agricola's *One Hundred-and-Thirty Questions for the Young Children in the German Girls' School at Eisleben* (1527), a catechetical work for religious instruction. Seeing Agricola as the writer of a book for girls places this controversial theologian in a light not usually considered by today's historians. Starcke's book, consisting of memory verses drawn from the Bible and originally published in 1577 for use in the girls' and boys' schools of Mühlhausen, went through many reprints and was still being used in the eighteenth century. Jhan offered a collection of school-plays or dialogues on the Catechism, had the girls present them in public, and thus used women to impart religious instruction to the uneducated masses. This suggests a role for women which would not have been acceptable in many other places at that time. Both Spangenberg and Herman related the ancient pericopes of the church to classroom practices when the former gave expositions of the Epistles and Gospels of the church-year, and the latter supplied 101 hymn-texts with 17 melodies for singing in school and home.

The most productive of these men in the interest of women's education was Musculus. Probably influenced by the measures for educating women in Württemberg as he learned of them through Andreae, he made valuable contributions of his own. His marked interest in the intellectual and spiritual side of the fair sex was evidenced in the many books which he dedicated to prominent women of the day. More important were his books on how to organize girls' schools, the textbooks he wrote for them, and his activity as a reformer and as General Superintendent of Brandenburg, where he personally led the movement for feminine education. In

the School-Order of 1573 he called upon the townsmen of the electorate to set up schools for girls in their communities, and to provide the teachers with free rent, wood for fuel, and tax-exemption. (41) The daughters should be taught reading, writing, the art of prayer, and Christian songs. (42) Where nunneries still existed, these should be encouraged to operate as schools for women, provided the pupils were not burdened with vows, hoods, and other abuses, and provided that God's Word, the Catechism, writing and reading, the right way of praying to God and good Christian morals and virtues were taught. (43)

Rather unusual for the sixteenth century was the *Jungfrauschulordnung* which Musculus published in 1574 as a means for aiding the organization and management of girls' schools throughout the electorate of Brandenburg. (44) In an age when the proclamation of the Gospel, including singing in church choirs, was almost completely restricted to boys and men, Musculus like Jhan involved young women more directly. He wrote in his Order for Girls' Schools: (45)

. . . In order that not only the youth should be served, but also the common and simple people who do not know the Scriptures and are unable to read them, [we ask that they should come to the churches at convenient and appointed days and hours, at which times the young girls shall recite the Bible verses which they have learned and memorized. This is to be done by those persons appointed for teaching them these verses which have been collected out of Scripture and printed herein, as the children learn them, are examined, and questioned about them in the school.

Girls were given an unusually prominent role in Berlin. Here, the schoolrooms at the parish-churches of St. Mary and St. Nikolaus were turned over to women's education. When Baptisms were held in these churches, the girls were to participate in the service by singing a German Psalm, (46) a practice introduced also at other places such as Gardelegen (47) and Salzwedel (48) (Figure 1). On Wednesdays, when the boys' schools were not in session, the girls were to take over their choral work by singing at the services of Matins and Vespers in the parish-churches of Berlin. Mornings and evenings they would sing German Psalms; in addition, they were to recite selections from Luther's Catechism at Matins, (49) a practice which Lambert had suggested earlier, as we have already seen.

The curriculum for girls' schools in the electorate was to consist of reading, writing, arithmetic, religion, and church-music. In place of merely learning by rote, Musculus advocated having the children learn their A-B-C's by pointing them out on the blackboard, followed by the search of the children for sayings which began with the various letters of the alphabet; after memorizing these sayings, they were to spell them out until they could read them. (50) Musculus advocated disciplinary means other than the rod, which should be employed only as the last resort. It

was better to spur the children on with praise and the joy of competing with their peers. (51)

It is obviously beyond dispute that a number of reformers, theologians, and educators of the sixteenth century placed a premium on universal education, and especially schools for women. Building upon their mediaeval past, they urged just such an expansion of the educational system. Furthermore, many church- or school-orders of the Reformation era made sweeping provisions for the educational program. Nevertheless, eminent historians of education have warned against assuming that these school-orders were necessarily put into practice. (52) Quantitative studies ranging far beyond the scope of this investigation will be needed to determine the actual effectiveness of these attempts. In the remainder of the article some materials close at hand will be examined in order to reach a preliminary answer. It is hoped that this study will lay the groundwork for future investigations, and spur other scholars on to more intensive research in archival records.

II. The Effectiveness of the Endeavors of the Reformers in Education.

To evaluate the progress made by the reformers, it will be necessary to estimate the situation which existed before they began their attempts. For this purpose rich archival materials are available in the reports of the visitations. (53) The visitations were carried out by teams consisting of theologians and lawyers, representatives of the ecclesiastical and civil jurisdictions. It was through this program that conditions at the parish level were investigated and reformational measures were introduced. Their reports provide rich source-materials for the historian today. C. A. H. Burkhardt has published the records of the Saxon visitation of 1528-29. The inspection involved 398 communities, made up of 145 parishes and 253 filials; of these places, only 21 localities had schools. (54) In Württemberg with its 512 localities, there were only 50 schools when the Reformation was introduced in 1534 (Figure 2); this, of course, was a more favorable ratio than in Saxony. (55) Brandenburg, with about 154 cities when the Reformation began in 1539, is known to have had 59 schools; the total number of communities is hard to determine, and therefore figures for this electorate cannot be used in direct comparison. (56) However the developments in Brandenburg will prove significant for us from the aspect of female education. At any rate, this brief reference to Saxony, Württemberg, and Brandenburg has indicated that the diffusion of schools was scanty and erratic.

Another area which affords an interesting comparison is Katzenelnbogen (Figure 1), a territory ruled by Philipp of Hessen which later became a part of the state of Hessen-Darmstadt. When the church-order prepared for Hessen by Francis Lambert of Avignon in 1526 was rejected, (57) his broad proposals pointing toward universal education seem to have been dropped as well. In the seven church-orders which

followed until the death of Philipp of Hessen in 1567, little progress was manifest. (58) All in all, Philipp showed less interest in the schools than some of the other Protestant princes, and his attention seems to have been directed toward the Latin-schools rather than the folk-schools or institutions for girls. When after the death of Philipp the lands were divided among his four sons, George I received the new Landgraviate of Hessen-Darmstadt, and he became known as the "Father of the Hessian Folk-School." This little state consisted of a land with four towns (Darmstadt, Reinheim, Zwingenberg, and Gross-Gerau) and 30 to 35 parishes; previously there had been schools only at Darmstadt, Zwingenberg, and Gross-Gerau, but George's father had opened a new school at Auerbach. Fortunately George I had a superintendent who was strongly interested in education, Peter Voltzius. During the ten years that he served under the new Landgrave, four new schools were added (Pfungstadt, Biebesheim, Griesheim, and Reinheim), and Darmstadt was raised to a full Latin-school, making it possible for the other schools to fill the need for folk-schools. When Voltzius was succeeded by Johannes Angelus, the work continued. By 1580, there were 23 schools in this little state, so that only a few small parishes lacked a school of their own. In fact, Wilhelm Diehl finds that for all practical purposes, compulsory school attendance and universal education were achieved before 1600 in Hessen-Darmstadt, a step which was reached through the enactment of compulsory confirmation instruction which quickly brought all the youth to at least a minimal elementary schooling with a rudimentary knowledge of reading and writing. (59)

A. The Effectiveness of Reformational Measures in Old-Württemberg.

One area of Germany where the effects of the Reformation upon education can be determined with relative certainty is Old-Württemberg. This state was considerably smaller than the modern, post-war territory of Baden-Württemberg; furthermore it did not include the many free, imperial cities, such as Ulm, Reutlingen, Esslingen, Heilbronn, Schwäbisch-Hall, and many others within or bordering on its holdings. Since the Swabians have done surpassingly well in writing their own sectional history, the historian has excellent research and statistical materials at his disposal. (60) When Duke Ulrich returned from his fifteen year exile in 1534 he immediately introduced the Reformation. At that time there were 50 known schools in ducal Württemberg; most of these were likely Latin-schools. The number of Latin-schools remained rather stable, (61) but a remarkable increase in other educational facilities came to pass. During the first twenty-five years of the Lutheran church, the number of schools increased to 180. (62) The controversial duke died in 1550 and was succeeded by his son, Christoph. This new ruler was a man of strong personal integrity, endowed with considerable intelligence and talent for statesmanship, and imbued with deep religious

conviction and piety. (63) Among the men in his service were Johannes Brenz, Jakob Heerbrand, and Jakob Andreae, all theologians and churchmen of eminence. In 1559 the duke promulgated the *Grosse Kirchen-Ordnung* with its epoch-making plan for universal education, providing at least a minimal education for nearly all the girls as well as boys of the realm. The plan actually worked phenomenally well. By 1581 there were 270 schools in Old-Württemberg, (64) and by the end of the century, following the annexation of a little new territory, the duchy boasted 401 schools. (65) This meant that all but the tiniest hamlets had their own schools; those few which did not were probably within a mile or two of the school in the next village. The diffusion of schools in Württemberg under the impact of the Reformation is graphically illustrated on Figure 2. (See p)

B. The Diffusion of Schools in Brandenburg During the Reformation.

The Reformation was introduced into Brandenburg a few years later than in Württemberg, and the decisive changes in the schooling of boys and girls came much later as well. As noted above, the important educational reforms of Andreas Musculus seem to have developed under his association with Andreae during their mutual work toward the Formula of Concord. Although local historians have not provided us so generously as in the case of Württemberg, nevertheless we have access to materials which will give considerable insight into the diffusion of education in Brandenburg (Table 1). We shall examine documentary materials from the visitations, the church- and school-orders, and the investigations of Reu, together with Erich Keyser's modern directory of Brandenburg. (66) In 1539, the year that the Reformation was introduced, Brandenburg had 55 boys' schools and 4 girls' schools. By 1572, the year that Musculus' educational reform began, the number had increased to 78 and 9, respectively. Remarkable progress followed 1573-1600, when the number of schools for girls increased five-fold to 45, entering nearly half of the communities on our list, while the schools for boys increased in number to 100 for those 102 municipalities, or to a total of 145 schools. We can present this in tabular form as follows:

Table 1
Diffusion of Schools in Brandenburg

<i>Year(s)</i>	<i>Number of Cities Included</i>	<i>Number of Boys' Schools</i>	<i>Number of Girls' Schools</i>
Middle Ages until 1539	102	55	4
1540-1572	102	78	9
1573-1600	102	100	45

C. The Possibilities for an Education in Reformational Saxony.

Albertine Saxony opened itself to the Reformation in 1539, or more than a decade after the Lutheranism of Ernestine Saxony. There is less material than was the case with Brandenburg in tracing the opportunities for women. However, out of the visitation reports, the following picture emerges, even if it is sketchy. In the following table, dates when girls' schools were ordered are enclosed in parentheses; other dates attest to their known existence. Since Elector August I, under the influence of Jacob Andreae, had incorporated the main features of the Württemberg plan into the Church-Order for Electoral Saxony of 1580, one may safely assume that in evangelical communities which lacked separate schools, girls were admitted to the boys' schools on a much larger scale than we were able to document in Table 2. When one considers that the schools in mediaeval Saxony had been rather scattered and ineffective, the gains made in the early years of the reform seem impressive. (67) They do indicate that Musculus' efforts in behalf of girls' education enjoyed much success in Brandenburg. Although summaries of archival materials in Württemberg give little information on explicitly female schools, we know that the folk-schools there were often coeducational, and there is evidence that girls actually attended those schools. The *Visitations-*

Table 2
Schooling for Girls in Reformational Saxony

<i>Locality</i>	<i>Date(s)</i>	<i>Girls in Separate School</i>	<i>Girls in Boys' School</i>	<i>Documentation</i>
Annaberg	(1539) 1555	X	...	Sehl. I, 521.
Bruck	X	Sehl. I, 535.
Döbeln	1555	...	X	Sehl. I, 548.
Dresden	(1539)	X	...	Sehl. I, 554.
Düben	...	X	...	Sehl. I, 559f.
Eilenburg	1529	X	...	Sehl. I, 560.
Freiberg	1555	(Residential)	...	Sehl. I, 342; 418. Reu 2, 85; 107.
Grimma	1529	(Residential)	...	Sehl. I, 575.
Leisnig	1523	X	...	WA 12, 25; Sehl. I, 601f. 606.
Mühlberg	1555	(Residential)	...	Sehl. I, 342.
Mittweida	...	X	...	Sehl. I, 615.
Nimbschen	...	(Residential)	...	Sehl. I, 617.
Pirna	1539	X	...	Sehl. I, 636.640.
Salza	(1540) 1555	(Residential)	...	Sehl. I, 342. 656.
Oschatz	1539	X	...	Sehl. I, 623. 626. 627.
Penig	1575	X	...	Sehl. I, 634.
Wurzen	1542	X	...	Sehl. II, 95; Reu 2, 89.

Protokolle contains this kind of information and need to be studied intensively, along with the other rich archival materials of Württemberg. (68) School attendance for girls as well as boys became compulsory in Thuringia, Württemberg, and an increasing number of other German territories during the seventeenth century.

Although the figures on Brandenburg are based upon only a sampling of localities (approximately 2/3 of the total) and therefore cannot claim scientific accuracy, they appear to reflect the broad trends in a reliable way. It would seem that these computations can neither be proved nor refuted until exhaustive studies have been undertaken in the archives themselves.

Summary.

This investigation has shown that Reformation leaders not only advocated an education for everyone, including the women, but that they also carried out these aspirations in a notable manner. Because Germany was fragmented into hundreds of states, a history of the diffusion of education and schools will necessarily be fragmentary in nature. This is all the more true because individual studies for the various states are in most cases lacking. Universal education was not only important in giving new opportunities to the individual or in raising the social conditions of countless persons, but it was also important in laying the foundation for modern science and learning. Protestant Germany played an important role in this development which has not been sufficiently known or acknowledged in the past. Many analytic and synthetic studies will be needed in the future to balance the picture more fully.

EPILOGUE

This essay has dealt mainly with the sixteenth century. During the following period, the epoch-making endeavors in education from the Reformation era were to continue. Thus Johann Valentin Andreae, the celebrated grandson of Jakob Andreae, was to write a counterpart to Thomas More's *Utopia* [= "not really a place"] which he would entitle *Topia* [= "really a place"]. In *Topia*, he visualized women as having rights equal to those of men, beginning with equal opportunities for education from the elementary years up through the entire university program. In fact, women and men would even dress alike. Andreae, in contrast to More, actually was to implement parts of his program and to lay the ground for other portions of it. As the Superintendent [bishop] of the Lutheran Church of Württemberg, he would bring about the law requiring school attendance of girls as well as boys in 1649. Through him, and through his contemporary and correspondent, Duke Ernest I of Saxe-Gotha (Ernest the Devout), important break-throughs were to be made of

world-historical significance. (69) Many scholars of German history have overlooked these accomplishments. This is one reason why even Leopold von Ranke regarded the period between 1555 and 1618 as of little consequence. Nevertheless, the heirs of the reformers at that time were carrying out the programs and putting into effect the dreams of men like Luther and Melanchthon, Bucer and Brenz, Andreae and Musculus, and many others. In their work to further the schools and the education of all persons, male and female alike, the sixteenth-century reformers and their pupils made one of their greatest contributions to the future.

NOTES

1. This article in its original form was read as a paper at the Sixteenth Century Studies Conference, Iowa City, Iowa, November 1, 1975. My thanks for comments and criticisms to Dr. Roland H. Bainton, chairman of that session, and to my colleagues, Dr. Roy Carroll, Dr. Peter Petschauer, and Dr. Ole Gade. Prof. Gade redrew my map on the diffusion of education in Württemberg and put it in its present form (Figure 2). Thanks are also due the reference librarians at Appalachian State University and the University Research Grants program for making scarce and valuable materials available for my studies.
2. The Protestant historian and philosopher, Friedrich Paulsen, in attempting to achieve a more balanced picture than his predecessors, tended to follow Janssen too closely; therefore his findings must be used with greater discrimination than some scholars have practiced in the past. See Johannes Janssen, *Geschichte des deutschen Volkes seit dem Ausgang des Mittelalters*, 8 vols. + supplement, 14th ed. (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1887ff.), and Friedrich Paulsen, *Geschichte des gelehrten Unterrichts auf den deutschen Schulen und Universitäten vom Ausgang des Mittelalters bis zur Gegenwart*, 2 vols. (Leipzig: Veit, 1919. 1921); Vol. I, p. 190, *et passim*.
3. Lawrence Stone, "The Educational Revolution in England, 1560-1640," in *Past and Present*, No. 28 (1964), p. 44.
4. The estimate of 13,000 parishes is given by J. E. Neale, *Queen Elizabeth I: A Biography* (Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday Anchor Books, 1957), p. 321. The population of Old-Württemberg ca. 1500 was 250,000 according to Julius Rauscher, *Württembergische Reformationsgeschichte*, in the series "Württembergische Kirchengeschichte," Vol. III: *Die Reformation 1500-1559* (Stuttgart: Calwer Verlag, 1934), p. 5. In 1534 there were 512 localities consisting of 48 administrative cities, 14 smaller cities, 50 market-towns, and 400 villages, according to Rauscher, *Württembergische Visitationsakten*, Vol. I: [1534] 1536-1540, in the series "Württembergische Geschichtsquellen," Vol. 22 (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1932), p. xix. Old-Württemberg grew in territory and population around 1600. It had reached 400,000 to 450,000 by 1618 according to Claus-Peter Clasen, *Die Wiedertäufer im Herzogtum Württemberg und in benachbarten Herrschaften: Ausbreitung, Geisteswelt und Soziologie*, in series, "Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für geschichtliche Landeskunde in Baden-Württemberg," Reihe B, Band 32 (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1965), p. 49. The number of schools in the duchy is given in Eugen

- Schmid, *Geschichte des Volksschulwesens in Altwürttemberg*, in series, "Veröffentlichungen der Württembergischen Kommission für Landesgeschichte" (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1927), pp. 36. 111. Only 68 small communities were without schools by 1653, p. 111.
5. Regarding this point which is very often overlooked see also Lewis W. Spitz, *The Religious Renaissance of the German Humanists* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1963), p. 292.
 6. This poem by Melanchthon, not found in his collected works in the *Corpus Reformatorum* or the *Supplementa Melanchthoniana*, was given by J. Michael Reu, *Quellen zur Geschichte des kirchlichen Unterrichts in der evangelischen Kirche Deutschlands zwischen 1530 und 1600*, 11 vols. (Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1904-1935), Vol. 3, p. 752. Because of the ambiguity in numbering the volumes, I shall cite them as follows: Vol. 3=I. Teil, II. Band, 2. Abteilung (1911); Vol. 4=I. Teil, III. Band, I. Abteilung, 1. Hälfte (1927); Vol. 6=I. Teil, III. Teil, 1. Abteilung, 2. Hälfte, 2. Lieferung (1933); Vol. 8=I. Teil, III. Band, 2. Abteilung, 1. Hälfte [in 1924 renumbered: I. Teil, III. Band, 2. Abteilung, 1. Teil] (1916); Vol. 11 = *Quellen zur Geschichte des biblischen Unterrichts*, II. Teil.—I have proposed this manner of citation and provided an author-index to the complete set in my article, "Introduction and Index to the *Quellen* of J.M. Reu," in *Bulletin of the Library, Foundation for Reformation Research*, St. Louis, vol. 6 (1971), No. 2, pp. 9-11), as continued also in Nos. 3-4 and in Vol. 7, (1972), No. 1.
 7. *D. Martin Luthers Werke: Kritische Gesamtausgabe* (Weimar: Hermann Böhlau und Nachfolger, 1883ff.), Vol. 6, p. 461; hereafter cited "WA." Compare an important statement of Luther, overlooked by many historians, in the Schmalkald Articles (1537): "Das die Stiftt und Kloster, vorzeiten guter meinung gestiftt, zu erziehen, gelerte Leute und zuchtige Weibsbilder, sollen widderümb zu solchem braüch geordnet werden. Damit man pfarhern, Prediger und ander kirchen Diener haben muge, Auch sonst notige Personen zu Weltlichem Regiment, ynn Stedten und Lendern, Auch wolgezogene Jungfrawen zu Haus muttern und Hauschalterin etc." WA 50, 211-212.
 8. WA 15, 44.
 9. WA 15, 45-46. — A valuable study of Luther's views on women and their place in society is given by Ingetraut Ludolphy, "Die Frau in der Sicht Martin Luthers," in *Vierhundertfünfzig Jahre lutherische Reformation 1517-1967: Festschrift für Franz Lau zum 60. Geburtstag* (Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1967), pp. 204-221. See also Roland H. Bainton's volumes, *Women of the Reformation* . . .
 10. WA 15, 47.
 11. Melanchthon's "Unterricht der Visitatorn an die Pfarhern ym Kurfurstenthum zu Sachssen," in *Melanchthons Werke: 1. Band, Reformatorische Schriften*, in series "Melanchthons Werke in Auswahl," ed. Robert Stupperich (Gütersloh: Bertelsmann and Gerd Mohn, 1951ff.), pp. 265-271; hereafter cited as "SA." This work of Melanchthon has at times been wrongly attributed to Luther by the scholars, but Luther wrote only the "Vorrhede," pp. 216-220-WA 26, 195-201.
 12. The Braunschweig Church-Order of 1528 is in *Die evangelischen Kirchenordnungen des XVI. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Emil Sehling and others (Leipzig: O. R. Reisland and Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1902ff.), Vol. 6/1/1 (1955), pp. 368-69; hereafter cited as "Sehling."
 13. *Ibid.*, p. 370.

14. *Ibid.*
15. See the "Sunderge Ordeninge der Stadt Mollen," in *Die evangelischen Kirchenordnungen des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts: Urkunden und Regesten zur Geschichte des Rechts und der Verfassung der evangelischen Kirche in Deutschland*, ed. Aemilius Ludwig Richter, 2 vols. (Weimar: Landes-Industriecomtoir, 1846; reprint, Nieuwkoop: B. De Graaf, 1967), Vol. I, p. 152; hereafter cited as "Richter."
16. Sehling I (1902), 705.
17. *Ibid.*, 706.
18. The Wittenberg Church-Order states the annual income of the church and school personnel as follows. —
- | | |
|------------------------------|--|
| Chief Pastor: | 200 gulden and 75 bushels of grain |
| Assistant Pastors: | 70 gulden and 37 bushels of grain (each) |
| Latin Schoolmaster: | 30 gulden |
| First and second Assistants: | 25 gulden (each) |
| Third assistant: | 12 gulden |
| Village pastor: | 40 gulden |
| Girls' Schoolmaster: | 20 gulden |
| Sextons: | 30 gulden + 2 gulden, 18 groschen for assisting Girls' Schoolmaster. |
| Physician for the poor: | 12 gulden. |
- (Information in Sehling I, 709). Once recent writer estimates that the Rhenish gulden was worth about \$40.00 in today's currency; see John P. Dolan, *History of the Reformation* (New York: The New American Library, 1967), p. 234. In another comparison, Janssen finds that 1 gulden in 1500 would purchase 90 to 100 pounds of beef and 100 to 120 pounds of pork. *Op. cit.* [note 2], Vol. I (1887), p. 25f. Janssen cites several teacher's incomes from around that time. At Weeze in Cleve the schoolmaster got 4 gulden plus tuition, a number of payments in kind and free rent; at Capellen the teacher received 9 Arnheim gulden, free rent and tuition. At Eltville the schoolmaster received 24 gulden besides tuition, at Kiderich he received from 30 to 90 gulden, and at Seligenstadt am Main free rent, wine, 36 bushels of wheat, and the tuition of the children (school-pennies).
19. Reu, *Quellen*, Vol. 3, 751.
20. *Ibid.*, p. 754.
21. On the history of the schools of Strassburg shortly before the Reformation of the city see Ernst-Wilhelm Kohls, *Die Schule bei Martin Bucer in ihrem Verhältnis zu Kirche und Obrigkeit* (Heidelberg: Quelle & Meyer, 1963), Chap. I. See also Miriam U. Chrisman, *Strasbourg and the Reform: A Study in the Process of Change* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1967).
22. See *Martin Bucers deutsche Schriften*, ed. Robert Stupperich (Gütersloh: Gerd Mohn, 1960ff.), Vol. II, p. 402; hereafter cited as "Bucer, DS."
23. *Ibid.*, p. 403.
24. In his "Erleütherong uber jngeleitete Supplication vff den dritten tag septembris an^o 1525," Bucer wrote: "Zum Andern, das man Sechs leerhüßer fur die knaben vnd vj fur die mädleyn vffs wenigst aufrichte, dar zu frumme gotzförchtige, bider leuth genomen würden, doch das bey den knäblin alleyn der man, vnd bey den mädleyn auch die frow leret. Jnn den leerhüßern solte man deutsche leren schreiben vnd leßen, vnd das furgeben zu leBen, so zur Erbarkeyt am tuchtigsten angesehen wurde." *Ibid.*, p. 401. In his "Christennlich Leeren, Ceremonien vnnd leben" (1531) Bucer added: ". . . das man die teutschen Schüllen also anrichte, daß man beide,

- knäblin vnnnd mädlin neben dem schreiben vnnnd lessen auch ain recht Christenlich leben lerre, auß wölchenn teutschen schülen man denn die geschicktesten knaben jn die lateinisch Schüle verordne, jn deren sy nit alain latteinisch sprach, sonnder auch anfang der Crieichischen solen gelernt werden." *Ibid.*, p. 418.
25. Richter I, 48-49.
 26. Unfortunately, the epoch-making Great Church-Order of 1559 has not been published in its entirety in the collections of church-orders; therefore I shall cite this document from the 1968 facsimile reprint of the original of 1559. — *Von Gottes gnaden vnser Christoffs Hertzogen zu Württemberg vnd zu Teckh/ Grauen zu Mumpelgart/ etc. Sumarischer vnd einfältiger Begriff/ wie es mit der Lehre vnd Ceremonien in den Kirchen vnser Furstenthimbs/ auch derselben Kirchen anhangenden Sachen vnd Verrichtungen/ bißher geubt vnnnd gebraucht/ auch furohin mit verleihung Göttlicher gnaden gehalten vnd volzogen werden solle.* Getruckt zu Tüwingen/ Im jar 1559. — The first citation in the text is from Fol. X-Xj.
 27. *Ibid.*, Fol Cxcijv.
 28. *Ibid.*
 29. *Ibid.*, Fol. Xijv.
 30. The 1569 Church- and School-Order for the duchy of Braunschweig is generally cited from the edition in *Braunschweigische Schulordnungen von den ältesten Zeiten bis zum Jahre 1828*, ed. Friedrich Koldewey, in series "Monumenta Germaniae Paedagogica," ed. Karl Kehrbach, Vols. I and VIII (Berlin: A. Hofmann, 1886. 1890), Vol. VIII, pp. 25-78; abbreviated as "MGP." This 1569 Order is given in abridged form in Richter II, 318-324.
 31. Pointing out that the Braunschweig Order was dependent upon the Lüneburg Church-Order of 1564 (Richter II, pp. 285-287) and the Württemberg Order of 1559, Richter proceeds (pp. 318ff.) to indicate the parallels; pp. 322-324 of the Braunschweig document are mainly taken word-for-word from the *Grobe Kirchen-Ordnung* of 1559, with adaptations to this lower Saxon duchy.
 32. Reu, *Quellen*, Vol. 6 (1933), pp. 778-786.
 33. Sehling, Vol. I, 130f. The 1557 church-order for Albertine Saxony required sextons to be educated (Sehling I, 326) and to teach the catechism orally; but it was first in the 1580 church-order that, following the Württemberg Order of 1559, sextons also were to teach the boys (!) ". . . lesen, schreiben and christliche gesenge . . ." (Sehling I, 452). In contrast to the Württemberg Order, teaching the girls was not mentioned here.
 34. Richter I, pp. 68-69; part of the *Reformatio ecclesiarum Hassiae* (pp. 56-69).
 35. Agricola published in 1527 (1528?) his *Hundert vnd dreissig gemeyner Fragestücke fur die iungen kinder ynn der Deutschen Meydlin Schule zu Eyßleben*; see Reu, *Quellen*, Vol. 4, p. 130 and Gustav Kawerau, "Johann Agricola," in *Realencyklopadie sßr protestantische Theologie und Kirche*, ed. Albert Hauck, 3rd ed., 23 vols. + 2 (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1896ff.), Vol. I, p. 252: cited hereafter as "RE." That a more positive understanding of the talented Agricola has long been overdue is brought out by Joachim Rogge, *Johann Agricolas Lutherverständnis. Unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des Antinomismus*, in series, "Theologische Arbeiten," XIV (Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1960), 306 pp.
 36. See J. Spangenberg, *Auslegung der Euangelien, so auff die Sontage vom Aduent bis auff Ostern jnn der Kirchen gelesen werden, fur die jungen Christen, Knaben vnnnd Meidlein, inn Fragestücke verfasst*, 1542 (1584) and *Auslegung der Episteln . . . fur*

- die jungen Christen, Knaben vnd Meidlein inn Fragestücke verfasst* (1554), from which generous samples have been published in Reu, *Quellen*, Vol. 11, pp. 601-645. J. Spangenberg was reformer and preacher at Nordhausen; like his son, Cyriacus, he was also much interested in church-music.
37. Nikolaus Herman (1480-1561), schoolmaster and cantor at Joachimsthal with the noted pastor, Johannes Mathesius, is discussed as writer of hymns for girls in RE VII, p. 707.
 38. Johann Jhan, who was teacher of the Girls' School at Torgau, published the following title containing school-plays or dialogues on the Catechism: *Etliche Christliche Gespräch/ aus dem Catechismo/ welche jnn sich begreifen die fürnemsten stück vnsers Christlichen glaubens. . . . Gehalten von den Jungen Meidlin in der Jungfrauen Schul zu Torgaw/ öffentlich für der Christlichen Gemeine*. Wittenberg 1543. Reu, *Quellen*, Vol. 3, pp. 499-509, gives excerpts based upon the expanded edition of 1565, edited posthumously by Jacob Groland, successor of Jhan at Torgau.
 39. The title of Sebastian Starcke's book is informative: *Etzliche fürneme Sprüche aus dem Alten vnd Newen Testament/ welche die Kinder in der Knaben vnd Megdtlein Schulen der Stadt Mülhausen bey einem jeden Stuck des heiligen Catechismi fleissig Lernen vnd auff die Sontage vnd Mitwochen in allen Kirchen zur Kinder-Lehre mit Andacht aufsagen sollen. . . . Mühlhausen, 1577*. Reu, *Quellen*, Vol. II, pp. cxxi-cxxiv, and pp. 543-550.
 40. An adequate investigation of Andreas Musculus has never been published. The only biography is that by Christian Wilhelm Spieker, *Lebensgeschichte des Andreas Musculus . . .* (Frankfurt an der Oder: Trowitzsch & Sohn, 1858), 376 pp., a book written by a scholar who is too hostile toward his subject to inspire the reader's confidence. Much more impartial is the article by Gustav Kawerau in RE XIII, 577-581. Valuable information about this reformer of Brandenburg and co-author of the Formula of Concord is given in Reu, *Quellen*, Vol. 4, 156-192.
 41. Richter II, p. 375.
 42. *Ibid.*
 43. *Jungfraw Schule. Gestellet vnd Geordnet/ auff die newlichste Auffgerichten Christlichen Schulen in gehaltener Visitation der Marck Brandenburgk . . .* Frankfurt an der Oder, 1574. Part of a larger volume, the *Jungfrauschulordnung* itself is given in full in Reu, *Quellen*, Vol. 8 (1916), pp. 222-227.
 44. *Ibid.*, p. 223.
 45. Reu, *Quellen*, Vol. 8 (1916), p. 223. Musculus published for this purpose (1569) the following volume: *Haus Bibel. Sprüche aus dem Alten vnd neuen Testament für die Jugendt zusammen getragen, In den Meidlein Schulen zu lernen vnd in der Kirchen von jnen zu recitieren in bey sein der einfeltigen Leut, so selber nicht können lesen vnd sich der Schrift kündig machen . . .* *Quellen*, Vol. 8 (1916), pp. 210-222. The preface was excerpted earlier in *Quellen*, Vol. 11 (1906), p. LXXXIX, where Musculus elaborated upon his plan of having the girls teach the Scriptures in the churches. On girls' participation in church services, see also Reu, *Quellen*, Vol. 4 (1927), p. 180. This is discussed by a liturgiologist in Oskar Söhngen, "Theologische Grundlagen der Kirchenmusik," *Leiturgia: Handbuch des evangelischen Gottesdienstes* (Kassel: Johannes Stauda, 1961), p. 140.
 46. Reu, *Quellen*, Vol. 4, (1927), p. 183; Sehling III, p. 226.
 47. Sehling III, p. 276. 291.
 48. Reu, *Quellen*, Vol. 4 (1927), p. 179. Compare Caspar Aquila's description of how the

- girls assisted in the Vespers at Saalfeld: The girls sang a Psalm from memory, then they were questioned on the sermon, after this they sang the Litany, then one of the girls sang the Collect and the Collect for Peace, and then, after he had shaken their hands and wished them a good night, they recited together Ps. 79, 8-9. In Reu, *Quellen*, Vol. 2 (1911), p. 53. On similar practices at Hof in Franconia, see Sehling II, p. 72.
49. Reu, *Quellen*, Vol. 8 (1916), p. 224.
 50. *Ibid.*, pp. 224-225.
 51. *Ibid.*
 52. See the report of Karl Reinhardt, "Plan für die Fortführung der Monumenta Germaniae Paedagogica," in *Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für deutsche Erziehungs- und Schulgeschichte*, Vol. XX, No. 4 (1910), p. 234.
 53. A bibliography of published visitation-sources is given in *Die Visitation im Dienst der kirchlichen Reform*, ed. Ernst Walter Zeeden and Hansgeorg Molitor (Münster: Aschendorff, 1967); at the end, unprinted visitation-sources are provided with a list of archives.
 54. Carl August Hugo Burkhardt, *Geschichte der sächsischen Kirchen- und Schulvisitationen von 1524 bis 1545* (Leipzig: Fr. Wilh. Grunow, 1879), pp. 30-36.
 55. Schmid, *op. cit.* [note 4], lists them on p. 3. Cf. Rauscher, *op. cit.* [note 4].
 56. See note 66.
 57. Luther advised Philipp not to implement Lambert's church-order, WA Briefwechsel IV, pp. 157-58. Cf. Wilhelm Maurer, "Franz Lambert von Avignon und das Verfassungsideal der Reformatio ecclesiarum Hassiae von 1526," in *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, Vol. 48 (1929), pp. 208-260; reprinted in Wilhelm Maurer, *Kirche und Geschichte: Gesammelte Aufsätze*, Vol. I: *Luther und das evangelisches Bekenntnis*, ed. Ernst-Wilhelm Kohls and Gerhard Müller (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1970), pp. 319-364, and especially p. 363f.
 58. Lambert's ideas for girls' education and for universal education as a whole were not included in any of the subsequent church-orders during Philipp's lifetime. Little was said about the schools in the order of 1532, Richter I, 162-165. The short order for Katzenelnbogen (1535) held this single sentence, relating apparently to Latin schools: "Schools shall be set up for the good of the youth, and a scholarly and pious man shall be appointed for that purpose." Richter I, p. 261. The order for visitation of 1537 dealt only with existing schools and did not offer an energetic program for organizing new schools. Richter I, p. 285. The noted church-order of 1539 dealt almost exclusively with confirmation and with church-discipline, and did little for the inadequate educational system of Hesse, Richter I, pp. 290-295. The Kassel church-order of 1539 was almost entirely liturgical and did not discuss the schools, Richter I, 295-306. In the order of 1574, schools were mentioned, but there were no new measures for expanding the system, Richer II, p. 394.
 59. See the introduction and sources by Wilhelm Diehl, *Die Schulordnungen des Grossherzogtums Hessen*, 3 vols. in "Monumenta Germaniae Paedagogica," Vols. 27, 28, and 33 (Berlin: A Hofmann, 1903-05); on Hesse-Darmstadt before the Reformation, see MGP 28, pp. 5-8, on developments under Philip the Magnanimous see MGP 28, pp. 7-8, on the significance of George I see *ibid.*, pp. 8ff., and on his improvements see MGP 33, pp. 6-8. On confirmation and universal schooling, see *ib.*, pp. 9-10.
 60. Besides the excellent journals and serials, see the useful *Bibliographie der Würt-*

tembergischen Geschichte, founded by Wilhelm Heyd (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1895–present).

61. This is stated by Paulsen, *op. cit.* [note 2], Vol. I, pp. 310–312. He notes that in Württemberg in 1604 besides the university at Tübingen and the Paedagogiums there and at Stuttgart, and the four cloister schools, there were 47 Latin schools, taught by 47 praceptors and 28 collaborators, and that the attendance of these in 1590 was ca. 2400 pupils.
62. Schmid, p. 13.
63. A good characterisation of Duke Christoph, together with the older literature, is the article by Gustav Bossert, "Christoph, Herzog von Württemberg," RE IV, pp. 57–60. For the complete bibliography see Heyd, *op. cit.*, note 60. Part of the correspondence of Christoph has been published; see *Briefwechsel des Herzogs Christoph von Württemberg*, 4 vols. ed. Viktor Ernst (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1899–1907), which gives the correspondence 1550–1559.
64. Schmid, p. 29.
65. Schmid, p. 36.
66. The history of religious instruction in sixteenth-century Brandenburg is given in Reu, *Quellen*, Vol. 4 (1927), pp. 109–204, with generous excerpts from the visitation reports throughout and a detailed bibliography on p. 109; the sources (texts) are mostly in Vol. 8 (1916), pp. 76–237. The Brandenburg church-orders are in Sehling, Vol. 3, and in Richter, Vols. I and II. Valuable has been the history of cities and towns, *Deutsches Städtebuch. Handbuch städtischer Geschichte*, Vol. I: Nordostdeutschland, ed. Erich Keyser (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1939). Using this combination of materials presents us with one discrepancy: Keyser's histories of Brandenburg cities sometimes omit the sixteenth century on the one hand, and several cities are left out (Arendsee, Gardelegen, Osterburg, Salzwedel, both Altstadt and Neustadt, Seehausen, Stendal, Tangermünde, and Werben), on the other hand. Nevertheless although 52 localities must be disregarded here, either because they did not exist in the sixteenth century or because Keyser fails to supply adequate information, definite trends are unmistakable. When Keyser prepared his directory in 1939, the territory of Brandenburg numbered 145 cities; of these, 93 existed as cities, towns, or villages in the Reformation era; thus a judgment can be formed regarding the sixteenth-century school-history of these places. The 9 cities mentioned above which Keyser did not include because of subsequent boundary changes should be added. This yields 102 localities, which likely represents the more advanced of a total of 154 cities of that time.
67. See Johann Michael Reu, "Der kirchliche Unterricht am Vorabend der Reformation," *Kirchliche Zeitschrift* [Chicago], Vol. XXXIV (1910), pp. 403–414, 450–458, 507–524. See also my article, "The Bible in Sixteenth-Century Humanist Education," *Studies in the Renaissance*, Vol. XIX (1972), especially pp. 113ff.
68. There are several archives and libraries in Stuttgart which should be searched for their materials pertaining to school-attendance in sixteenth-century Württemberg, including statistics on girls. One finds comprehensive parish-records for Old-Württemberg in the *Landeskirchliches-Archiv*, including the *Kompetenzbücher* which list the sources of income for the schools and their teachers, and the *Synodus-Protokolle*, the records of the visitations in each town and parish. These materials have been microfilmed and may be purchased for a reasonable price.
69. There is little recent material on Duke Ernest I, but see the following article which I

published in the anniversary year of 1975. "Duke Ernest the Pious of Saxe-Gotha and his Relationship to Pietism," in *Der Pietismus in Gestalten und Wirkungen. Martin Schmidt zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Heinrich Bornkamm. "Arbeiten zur Geschichte des Pietismus," No. 14 (Bielefeld: Luther-Verlag, 1975), pp. 179-191. "Duke Ernest I of Saxe-Gotha: An Assessment on the 300th Anniversary of His Death," *The Lutheran Quarterly*, Vol. XXVII (1975), pp. 44-58. "Duke Ernest I of Saxe-Gotha: A Seventeenth-Century Prince of Luther's 'Christian Nobility'," *The Cresset*, Vol. XX-XVIII, No. 5 (March 1975), pp. 22-27, with portrait.