

# CHRISTIAN HISTORY

Issue 139



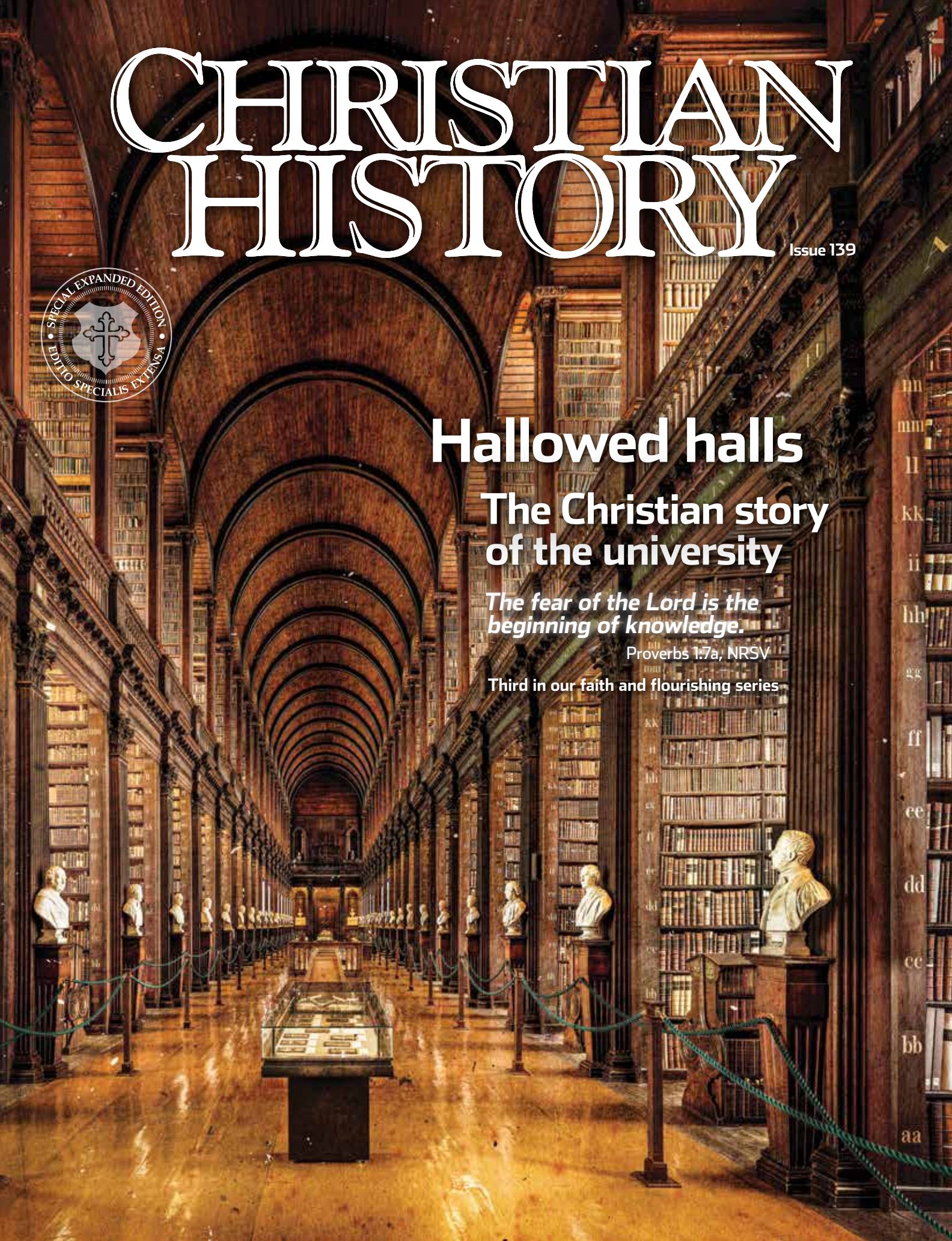
## Hallowed halls

### The Christian story of the university

*The fear of the Lord is the beginning of knowledge.*

Proverbs 1:7a, NRSV

Third in our faith and flourishing series





**CHRISTIAN INSTRUCTION** Medieval university students attend class in Bohemia—probably at the University of Prague.

lecturing has changed very little in over a millennium! Unlike many other universities you'll soon read about, where theology headed the curriculum, the University of Bologna did not teach theology or the liberal arts until the 1300s.

Students at Bologna officially ran the school at first. They took up a collection to give a financial gift to their instructors because, as the school's history notes, "at that time science, as a gift of God, could not be sold." Eventually these gifts developed into regular salaries.

**DO NOT ATTACK THE DEAN**

The University of St Andrews in Scotland grew from a papal schism. In the fifteenth century, Scottish students who wished to pursue higher education attended the University of Paris (in Scotland's historic ally, France), rather than Oxford or Cambridge (in Scotland's historic enemy, England). But the Western Schism—in which French cardinals and the Scottish church supported rival popes—made this impossible. Scottish churchmen incorporated a new university in 1411, finally obtaining a charter from beleaguered Pope Benedict XIII in 1413. When the charter arrived, people set celebratory bonfires.

The early days of the university were tempestuous, between town-and-gown fights and the turmoil of the Protestant Reformation. Its school history notes, "In 1470, several masters and students were expelled for attacking the Dean with bows and arrows. In 1544 the university banned beards, the carrying of weapons, gambling and football [soccer]." At its founding St Andrews was a center of humanist scholarship, and, after Scotland became Protestant in 1560, it became a flagship school for the new movement.

**GODLESS COLLEGE, FAMOUS DUEL**

One of Great Britain's first completely secular colleges, University College London, was founded in direct contrast to Oxford and Cambridge, which only allowed Anglicans to graduate. English educational reformer Thomas Arnold (1795–1842)—whose approach to character building

**BURYING THE HATCHET** The University of London (left) now combines two former rivals: University College and King's College.

# Did you know?

THIS ISSUE SHARES MANY STORIES ABOUT COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES TRYING TO PURSUE HUMAN FLOURISHING. HERE ARE A FEW TO START YOU OFF.

**SCIENCE CANNOT BE SOLD**

The earliest recorded attempts at something like a modern university occurred in Bologna, Italy. In the late 1080s, a scholar named Irenius (c. 1050–c. 1125) gathered students for instruction in Roman law. He read the law code aloud and added his own "glosses" while the students dutifully took notes—proof that some university



MEDIEVAL CLASS, BOHEMIA MANUSCRIPT DETAIL, 14.C.—PACKAGE / (CC BY SA 4.0) WIKIMEDIA THOMAS HIGHAM, UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, LONDON COLORED ENGRAVING, 1828—WELL COME IMAGES / (CC BY 4.0) WIKIMEDIA

**CHRISTIAN STUDY** This 13th-c. edition (*below*) of *Consolation of Philosophy* by Boethius shows the liberal arts as a ladder leading to philosophical truth.



would influence generations of English schoolchildren—called it “that godless college in Gower street.” King’s College London directly opposed University College: though King’s admitted non-Anglican students, it also had mandatory chapel and doctrinal requirements for professors. The Duke of Wellington, prime minister at the time and supporter of Catholic rights, even fought a duel with the Earl of Winchelsea over King’s refusal to limit students to Church of England members!

### WHO CAN FLOURISH HERE?

Berea College in Kentucky is one of the few colleges in the United States to charge no tuition; every student receives a scholarship and enrolls in a work-study program on campus. Founder and nondenominational minister John Fee (1816–1901) explicitly began the school in 1855 to educate men and women, Black and White, in the first coed and integrated college in the South. He modeled his efforts on developments in Ohio at Oberlin

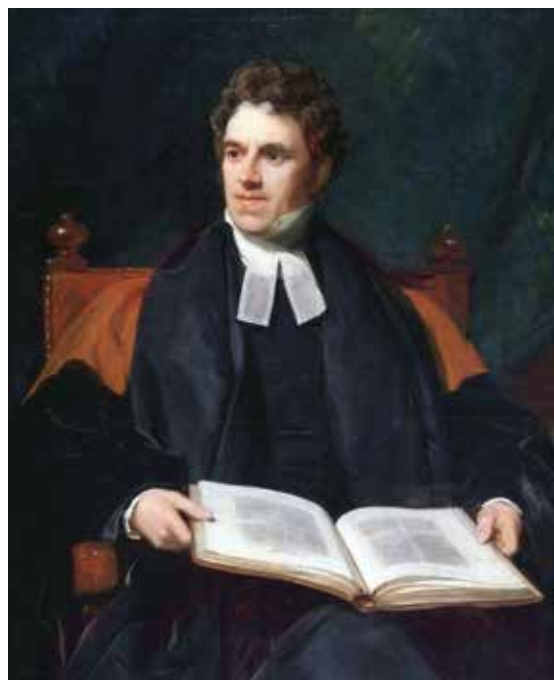
**CHRISTIAN REFORM** Thomas Arnold, headmaster of the famous Rugby boarding school, was concerned for the flourishing of schoolchildren *and* college students.

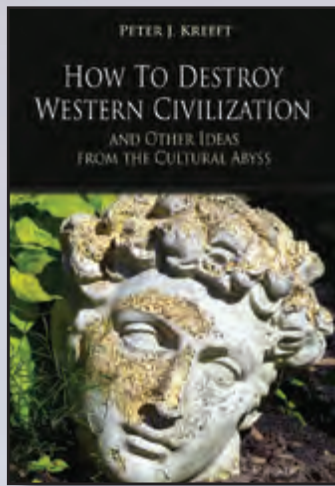


**CHRISTIAN FORMATION** Dartmouth (*above*, in 1834), like many US Ivy League schools, was originally founded to train clergy (see pp. 39–41).

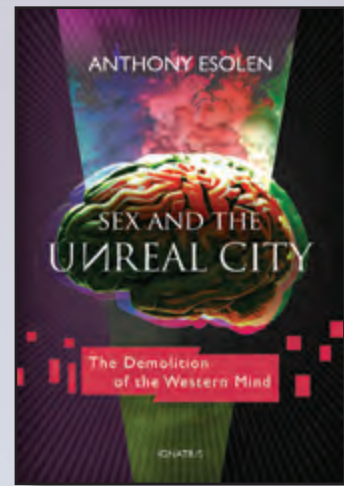
(see pp. 43–45). In response in 1905, the state legislature passed “An Act to Prohibit White and Colored Persons from Attending the Same School”—specifically aimed at Berea, which was convicted and fined \$1,000. Berea was forced to open the Lincoln Institute several hours away to educate Black students.

President and Congregational minister William Goodell Frost (1854–1938) announced a change of focus to poverty-stricken communities in eastern Kentucky; he is, in fact, credited with coining the concept of “Appalachia” as a cultural region. Not until 1950 could Black students again attend Berea. ☐





# HOW TO SAVE WESTERN CULTURE



## ◆ HOW TO DESTROY WESTERN CIVILIZATION

Peter Kreeft

A series of brilliant essays about many of the problems that undermine our Western civilization, along with ways to address them. In his witty, readable style, Kreeft implores us to gather wisdom and preserve it, as the monks did in the Middle Ages. He offers relevant philosophical precepts that can be collected to guide us in the days ahead.

Kreeft emphasizes the most necessary thing to save our civilization is to have children. The “unmentionable elephant in the room” is sex, properly understood. Religious liberty is being attacked in the name of “sexual liberty”, i.e. abortion. He encourages us to fight back, with joy and confidence, with the one weapon that will win the future: children.

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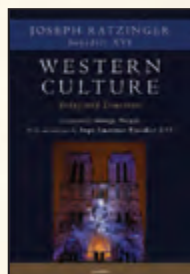
— **Robert Reilly**, Author, *America on Trial: A Defense of the Founding*

### RELATED TITLE

## WESTERN CULTURE: Today & Tomorrow

**Joseph Ratzinger** offers his keen insights about the social and political challenges confronting modern Western societies. He prescribes a return to the truths taught by the God of the Bible as essential for restoring our culture.

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The Demolition of the Western Mind

Anthony Esolen

With saber-like wit, Esolen leads us on a tour through the ruins of our own Western world. This hilarious guide to a culture gone mad with sex and self-care minces no words and spares no egos. We the people of Unreal City are no better, and certainly no smarter, than our fathers.

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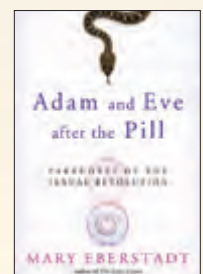
— **Sue Ellen Browder**, Author, *Sex and the Catholic Feminist*

### RELATED TITLE

## ADAM AND EVE AFTER THE PILL

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# Letters to the editor

Readers respond to *Christian History*

## WHO GIVES WEALTH?

I am perplexed that no article [in #137] made any reference to Deuteronomy 8:18 where God says (through Moses): “And you shall remember the Lord your God, for it is

He who gives you power to get wealth. . . .” (NKJV). This seems fundamental to the issue at hand.—David Butler, Monrovia, CA



Hundreds of Scripture passages speak of money or the market—we only discussed a few and did not direct our authors to use specific ones.

You may want to look at our two previous issues on money (#14 and #19); issue #14 referenced Deut. 8:18.

## FINANCE AND VIOLENCE

I love the magazine and often encourage friends and family to read it. However, [issue #137 said:] “In canon law usury by Jews was deemed acceptable via a loophole based on Deuteronomy 23:20, granting Jews the opportunity to use financial violence against foreigners in the form of interest.” . . . Deuteronomy 23:20 does not portray “interest” (usury) outside of the distinct family of God as violence—but as “allowed” with foreign peoples.—Tim Miller, e-subscriber

We asked Dr. Nathan Hitchcock, the author, and he responded: “In an earlier draft I had elaborated that some premodern interpreters understood Deut. 23:20 as financial violence, which was their superimposing of the talk of ‘enemies’ earlier in Deut. 23 on top of v. 20’s permission of lending at interest to ‘foreigners.’ They understood usury as a financial aggression permitted under certain parameters. Such reasoning was behind canon law. I did not intend to comment on the actual biblical meaning.”

## A LIGHT BULB WENT ON

I loved issue #137. I especially appreciated the historical aspect to Christians charging interest. . . . If you are desperate and have no money for food and I give you a loan with interest, and all you end up doing is paying more than you needed for food, that is predatory on my part at some point. But if I give you a loan with interest so that you can invest in a business idea that results in you making more money and having greater economic freedom (including the ability to donate to charity) then I have actually given you a blessing, and that is a wonderful thing.—Langdon Palmer, Philadelphia, PA

## PUBLISHING DESPITE A PANDEMIC

Thank you so much that with all that is going on you still sent out a new issue. God bless you.—Deborah Dockett, Monrovia, CA

Note: In issue #138, we neglected to mention #43, How We Got Our Bible, in the list of related issues. Please check it out! Also in issue #138 we misidentified what is most probably a Wycliffite Bible on p. 12 as a printing of Tyndale’s Bible, based on an erroneous attribution by the photographer. Thank you to our eagle-eyed reader Mark Rankin, professor of English at James Madison University, for pointing this out.

## MEET THE INTERN: GRACE POINTNER

What is your role at CHI?

My internship has allowed me to do a little bit of everything, from editing articles to drafting my own blog posts. I can observe the professionals at CHI while also trying my hand at editing, marketing, and writing. I have been shown how to write short descriptions of articles for posting on social media, what the process of compiling an issue looks like, what kinds of edits are more helpful than others, and how to better communicate stories through film. Although I edit and write alongside the staff of CHI, I have found that my role is also to observe and learn from the well-oiled-machine that is CHI.



Why did you want to join CHI for your internship?

My brother Max works for CHI, so he was my initial connection. I am interested in nonprofit or freelance editing and writing as a career, making this internship especially appealing. I personally find the content of the magazine interesting, making the work enjoyable and compelling!

What are you studying and what are your plans?

I am studying Communication Media with an Anthropology minor and a Journalism Certificate at Wheaton College (IL). My dream job would be freelance writing or storytelling for ministry purposes. Being able to listen, absorb, and retell people’s narratives is what I hope my future brings.

What do you do in your spare time?

I love to engage with both arts and athletics. Much of my time is spent journaling, watercoloring, playing soccer, cooking, or walking with friends. ☑

# Editor's note



**EVEN THOUGH** my older daughter is only 14, we've already begun to talk about college. Not in the prepping-the-kid-with-an-impeccable-resume-to-get-into-an-Ivy-League-school sense. Just in a sense of "What do you want to do? What do you think you might major in? Do you want to go to a big school or a small one? Do you want to stay close to home or go far away?" I ask these questions as an explicitly Christian parent, wanting the best possible education for my daughter on both an informational and a formational level.

Thirty-five years ago, when I was just a little older than she is, I too was considering these questions. Back then we submitted typewritten college applications (as I have never been able to touch-type, mine included copious amounts of white-out). Schools sent us brochures in the mail, hoping to entice us to an open house. I visited a few schools, went to some college fairs at my high school, read brochures, had phone conversations with admissions folks, and ultimately applied to eight colleges.

The one I selected was a small liberal-arts college about two hours from my home, historically church-related but not explicitly Christian—no doctrinal or chapel requirements. I did what many college students do: picked a major or two (English and music), read works of classic literature and learned a little German, took electives, did theater and joined a service organization, made late-night ice-cream runs while studying, attended lots of concerts and lectures, went to chapel, and stayed up late in the dorm discussing the Meaning of Life with my friends. All in all it was thoroughly fulfilling but not in any way unusual. Serious study of the liberal arts prepared me pretty well for the direction my life has taken since, both spiritually and intellectually.

Maybe your experience looked like mine, or maybe it didn't. Maybe you went to a state school or an explicitly Christian college. But I suspect you wrestled with some similar questions. Whether, and how, Christians should go about educating young

adults like me—and my daughter—for the common good has been a question almost since there have been Christians.

Does a classical education complement Christianity or oppose it? How important are the liberal arts? What place does religion have in the university curriculum? Should explicit Christian practice be required of students? What courses and activities best equip young people to be good Christians and good citizens?

## WHAT'S THE RIGHT ANSWER?

In this issue of *Christian History*, we look at a number of attempts to answer these questions, beginning with the development of the first institutions that clearly look like modern universities in the High Middle Ages.

We explore their vision for a classical education centered around theology as the queen of the sciences and trace what happened to that vision as post-Enlightenment developments ushered in a new kind of university focused on research and professional training—conceiving of religion as a subject of study like any other. Finally we consider how these visions made their way to America, where today wholly secular universities, explicitly Christian schools, and historically church-related colleges like my alma mater all dot the landscape. We trace this history through a "case study" approach, following schools of particular historical interest to the story.

I don't know yet where my daughter will go to college. I do, after working on this issue, feel better equipped to ask questions about what her experience might look like. There won't be any typewriters or white-out. But there will, I hope, be questions about the common good. ☒



Jennifer Woodruff Tait  
Managing editor

*CH appreciates Robert Porwoll's assistance with the preparation of this issue.*

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Don't miss our next issue, "C. S. Lewis at Home," which will discuss stories of the famous apologist and his friends and family.

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# Restoring the divine likeness

CHRISTIAN HUMANISM AND THE RISE OF THE MEDIEVAL UNIVERSITY

*Jens Zimmermann*

IMAGINE A TIME when higher education was intended for character formation rather than as a catapult into a higher income bracket. Imagine a time when university students pursued truth rather than—as many argue now—political correctness and identity politics. The medieval period from which our ideal of a university education emerged was such a time.

We often associate medieval learning with scholasticism, and scholasticism with narrow-minded theological fundamentalists obsessed with abstract, obscure questions. Yet this assumption is foundationally wrong. Medieval universities were dedicated to forming students in both intellectual skills and virtue. They championed a broad education in the liberal arts, promoting the unity of faith and reason for the development of the whole person. For them education was Christ-formation.

These universities invented many structures that persist in modern universities—from lectures in

cavernous halls to town-and-gown conflicts to the wearing of academic gowns—but they did not invent this idea of Christ-formation. It grew naturally from the early church and its emphasis on something called Christian humanism. The word “humanism” on a modern popular level calls to mind thinkers who reject God, but for the church fathers, “humanism” was a *Christian* concern for human flourishing in the light of what Jesus has done for us.

## THE IMAGE OF CHRIST

The apostle Paul fleshed this concept out in his letters to the churches. For Paul Christianity was about “being molded to the image (*eikonos*) of [God’s] son that he may become the eldest of many brothers and sisters” (Rom. 8:29). Transformation into “the image or likeness (*eikona*) of the heavenly one” (1 Cor. 15:49) drives the Christian life and fulfills the Christian’s ultimate purpose. And this “heavenly one” in

COETIVY MASTER, PHILOSOPHY PRESENTING THE SEVEN LIBERAL ARTS TO BOETHIUS TEMPERA, COLORS, GOLD LEAF, AND GOLD PAINT ON PARCHEMENT, 1460 TO 1460—GETTY CENTER. (PUBLIC DOMAIN) WIKIMEDIA





**TRAIN OF LADIES** In this image (*left*), Philosophy presents the seven liberal arts to Boethius (p. 50)—as so often in medieval art, they are personified as young women.

**THE ORIGINAL EDUCATOR** Medieval educators felt they were forming others in the image of Christ—who, after all, had disputed with scholars in the temple (*below*).



later shape the medieval university. The first was that faith and reason work in harmony to give us a deeper understanding of reality and godly conduct. The goal of Christ-likeness is attainable through knowledge pursued for the sake of wisdom. Thus the path to Christ-likeness is “faith seeking understanding,” the systematic unfolding of belief in God through knowledge. The early church did not regard the pursuit of knowledge as a threat to simple faith, as if logical reasoning waters down genuine belief. Rather it considered knowledge an important tool to build faith (Phil. 1:9, 1 Pet. 3:15).

The second conviction of Christian humanist education that persisted into the medieval university is an expansive view of truth leading to a fearless engagement with philosophy—even pagan philosophy. Christ is the center of reality, the universal *Logos* (Word) through whom everything had been made (John 1:1) and in whom “all things hang together” (Col. 1:17b). Every true, good, and noble thing, as Paul himself taught, could reflect God’s truth.

Encouraged by Paul’s own use of pagan poets in conversing with Greek philosophers (as in Acts 17:27–28), church fathers freely used Platonic, Aristotelian, and Stoic philosophy for articulating Christian mysteries such as the Trinity, or the union of humanity and divinity in Christ.

In becoming human God revealed himself by means of the material world and social realities. By making himself vulnerable to the mediation of

whom “all things were made new” (2 Cor. 5:17) created in himself a “new human being” beyond any racial, national, or even gender divisions.

Paul urged Christians to “put on this new human being” (Eph. 4:24). For Paul God perfected humanity through the Incarnation in Christ and invited his creation to share in this perfection through communion with himself.

Early Christian theologians after the apostles faithfully continued to uphold and unfold Paul’s humanist gospel. They held that in Christ all of creation is reconciled to God and renewed. The church father Irenaeus of Lyon (c. 130–c. 202) famously spoke of humanity’s “recapitulation” in Christ. Through Christ’s Passion and Resurrection, he argued, humanity is collectively taken up and perfected into the intended final form.

The church fathers saw in the Incarnation both the goal of the Christian life and the path to get there. For them the good news and the whole point of Christianity was to become fully human by becoming refashioned into the image of Christ through participation in the humanity of God.

### FAITH, REASON, AND CULTURE

This Christian humanist ideal of education already contained two important convictions that would



**TAKING CAPTIVE EVERY THOUGHT**  
Church fathers and medieval thinkers wanted to use the best of Greco-Roman education for Christ—from the ideals and methods of Plato (*below* in a 1st-c. BC mosaic) to the books of Aristotle (*left*).

claimed Christianity as “the true philosophy.”

But did the early church naively engage philosophy too much? Would the philosophies of the world leave a stain on the pure faith? In those early Christian centuries, Tertullian (c. 155–c. 225)

famously rejected the mixing of pagan thought with Christianity into a syncretistic cocktail: “What has Jerusalem to do with Athens, the Church with the Academy, the Christian with the heretic?” Yet Tertullian’s statement has to be understood as an expression of a shared early church concern to avoid philosophical distortions of the Christian gospel.

**“PLUNDER THE EGYPTIANS”**

Contrary to a false but tenacious rumor later set afoot by nineteenth-century German scholars such as Adolf von Harnack (1851–1930), early Christian engagement with philosophy did not introduce unbiblical categories. Early apologists for the Christian faith followed Origen’s advice to “plunder the Egyptians” and collect from pagan philosophy every good thing that could serve to promote Christianity. This “plundering,” however, followed two important rules that would profoundly shape medieval education.

First, the plunder had to be genuine treasure; only philosophies or cultural values already compatible with Christianity could serve as preparation for, or explanation of the Christian faith. For this reason Platonic philosophy, which taught assimilation to God, was an early favorite with Christian theologians.

Second, seizing pagan intellectual treasure involved critical appropriation. Origen (c. 184–c. 253) tried to discard from them anything incompatible with the Christian tradition, as did Christian theologians who followed his advice, including the medieval thinker Thomas Aquinas (1225–1274).

Besides using philosophical language to express Christian faith, church fathers also adopted and transformed Greco-Roman educational models. Ancient Greek education of the young for leadership in society focused on rhetoric, grammar, and studying culturally relevant texts, like Homer’s poetry. Poetry and literature were so central to Greek education that the Greek term for education, *paideia*, came to stand for literature



space, time, and culture, God demonstrated that faith, reason, and culture go together.

As Athanasius (c. 296–373) pointed out in *On the Incarnation*, in Jesus, God became “himself an object for the senses,” with the result that “all things have been filled with the knowledge of God.” For early Christian theologians, “all things” included every valid insight into the human condition.

Therefore Christian thinkers familiar with philosophical currents of their day recognized in them a foreshadowing of God’s revelation in Christ, even while acknowledging decisive differences between those currents and their own faith. Philosophy, after all, means “love of wisdom.” Christ embodies God’s world-sustaining wisdom (1 Cor. 1:24); early theologians like Justin Martyr (c. 100–c. 165)

MOSAIC OF PHILOSOPHER ARISTOTLE, ROMAN-GERMANIC MUSEUM, COLOGNE, GERMANY—STEVE ESTYANIK / SHUTTERSTOCK.COM  
PLATO’S ACADEMY, ROMAN MOSAIC, 1ST C. AD—MUSEO NAZIONALE ARCHEOLOGICO, NAPLES / (PUBLIC DOMAIN) WIKIMEDIA

**WISDOM IS THE PRINCIPAL THING** Hugh of St. Victor writes his *Didascalicon*, essentially an early encyclopedia (right); a 13th-c. scribe attempts to diagram the arguments of Augustine's *On Christian Doctrine* (below).



as a whole. Such studies served as preparation for the crowning discipline of philosophy.

Greek *paideia* aimed to develop a complete, holistic human personality and to form a virtuous, responsible citizen. Following their conquest of Greece, Romans adopted this Greek educational model, turning it into the *artes liberales*, the liberal arts, dedicated to the cultivation of the mind. Already in Roman antiquity, the liberal arts were shaped like the medieval curriculum into a *trivium* (grammar, rhetoric, dialectic) and a *quadrivium* (arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, and music).

Typically the upper class of free citizens enjoyed the “liberal” or “free” arts, while lower classes received training in the mechanical arts, or what we might today call technical or professional studies. Education was thus divided into two classes: those who worked and those who thought about the purpose of life.

### CENTERED ON SCRIPTURE

Christians transformed Greek *paideia* and Roman liberal arts into a liberal arts tradition centered on the Bible. Greek church fathers like Gregory of Nazianzen (329–390) and Basil of Caesaria (330–379), both educated at Athens, recognized in Greek education a

common goal of achieving true humanity through developing wisdom and moral virtue. They adapted the model to the Christian goal of becoming more like Christ, a decisive Christian departure point from the Greek model. And Christians insisted on three further major differences.

First, Christian education aimed not at Greek virtues of courage or wisdom, but at transformation to Christ-likeness; second, instead of Homer, the Bible became the central literature for study; and third, theology replaced philosophy as the crowning discipline. Philosophy, secular literature, and all other sciences remained an important part of education, but as handmaids (helpers) to theology. However, even theology itself was subservient to education’s ultimate goal: the process of becoming Christlike.

More than anyone else, Augustine (354–430) imprinted this patristic ideal of Christian humanist education on Western culture. Augustine’s vision is captured in his influential work *On Christian Teaching* (397, with a fourth book added in 426), which decisively shaped the medieval curriculum. A recent English translation renders the work’s title aptly as *Teaching Christianity* because the book is a guide for educators of the Christian faith on how to interpret Scripture and communicate its truths.



Augustine’s own classical training in literature and rhetoric, along with his view that the light of God’s truth guides all valid reasoning, prompted him to assert the usefulness of pagan and nonbiblical sources for Christian education. He taught Christians to welcome and appreciate all secular knowledge insofar as it can contribute to becoming more like Christ, or, as Augustine liked to put it, to “becoming fit for the fellowship of angels.”

Following Augustine’s lead the first universities that began to emerge in northern Europe focused on a Christianized version of liberal arts education. Medieval universities arose around the eleventh century, most directly from two institutions: first, from Christian schools of letters and canon law run by cathedrals or monasteries and second, from secular law schools that were independent of the church.

The University of Paris (see pp. 12–15) and later institutions like Cambridge and Oxford in England (see pp. 16–19) were of the first type, while the University of Bologna in Italy (see p. 29) evolved out of the second. Within the universities, liberal arts prepared students for the three graduate subjects of medicine, law, and

**THEOLOGY ON THE THRONE** In this fresco at the Basilica of Santa Maria Novella, Thomas Aquinas is enthroned not only at the center of famous Old and New Testament saints but of all branches of medieval learning.

theology. Theology stood as the queen of the sciences, not because it ruled over the others, but because only God truly grounds and unites all the sciences. Well into the thirteenth century, university education remained focused on assimilating this wisdom of ancient culture, guided by the ideal of ordering all wisdom and knowledge to aid the study of theology.

### TRUTH AND VIRTUE

Christian humanism of the early church ran deeply through medieval education, with a concern for education as a restoration of Christ’s image in the learner. According to twelfth-century schoolmaster Hugh of St. Victor (c. 1096–1141), for example, “there are two things which restore the divine likeness in human beings, namely the contemplation of truth and the practice of virtue.” And these two things were the goal of university studies:

This then is what the arts are concerned with, this is what they intend, namely, to restore within us the divine likeness. . . . The more we are conformed to the divine nature, the more do we possess Wisdom, for then there begins to shine forth again in us what has forever existed in the divine Idea or Pattern, coming and going in us but standing changeless in God.

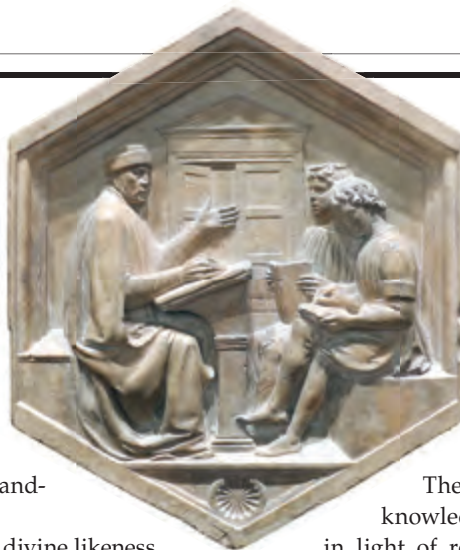
In seeking the recovery of that divine likeness, medieval scholastics walked in the footsteps of their patristic forebears. Education, they believed, contributes to the restoration of the divine image. For this reason they synthesized and compiled authoritative texts from the church fathers, hopeful that this method could repair the fragmentation of knowledge resulting from Adam and Eve's Fall from communion with God—humankind before the Fall had, they believed, a "perfect system of knowledge," which the university tried to recover in the service of human flourishing.

The scholastics, like their predecessors in the early church, saw the Incarnation as central to Christian humanism and drew their scholarly energy from the same well: when God's eternal creating Word and Wisdom, the Son of God, became human in Christ, humanity could be assured of God's love, the intelligibility of creation, and the trustworthiness of reason.

### "REPAIR JOB"

On the basis of this conviction, scholastic humanists energetically pursued their "repair job" of restoring the fullness of knowledge to humankind. They remained inspired by the vision of systematic knowledge—now, as was not the case in the early and persecuted church, accompanied by the perfection and extension of an organized Christian society.

This educational ideal often looked different in reality, but on a sheer social and economic level, cathedral schools and the arts programs of the universities served a real need by providing literacy and clerical staff for governing and organizing commercial and legal transactions in Europe.



### SYLLABUS FOR FLOURISHING

These reliefs on what is known as Giotto's Belltower in Florence show students learning grammar (*top*), a personification of rhetoric (*middle*), and Plato and Aristotle demonstrating logic (*bottom*).

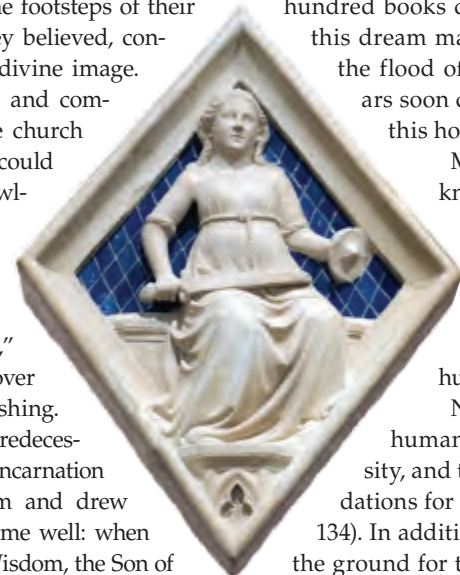
Ultimately medieval Christian humanism did not succeed.

The dream of recovering a complete knowledge of reality became untenable in light of reality's complexity. When a few hundred books comprised all human knowledge, this dream may have appeared reasonable, but the flood of publications by medieval scholars soon demonstrated the impossibility of this hope.

Moreover its lack of experimental knowledge doomed the scholastic project to failure. The rise of empirical science made obvious that merely summarizing and rehashing ancient assumptions about the cosmos did not advance humanity's knowledge of nature.

Nevertheless medieval Christian humanists founded the modern university, and their trust in reason laid the foundations for modern science (for more, see *CH* 134). In addition medieval humanism prepared the ground for the modern concept of the person as unique, irreplaceable, and irreducible to biology or social role. Without this medieval contribution, we would not have current notions of humankind's dignity, freedom, and rights.

In fact nothing seems more important to many in our day of technological and genetic challenges to human identity than to recover this Christian humanist legacy of the medieval university—where the goal was flourishing in Christlikeness rather than simply in technical prowess and expertise, and where truth was more important than commercial success or identity politics. ☐



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LUCA DELLA ROBBIA, GRAMMAR, MARBLE RELIEFS OF GIOTTO'S CAMPANILE, FLORENCE 1334-1337, SAILKO / (CC BY 3.0) WIKIMEDIA  
 ANDRAE PISANO, RHETORIC, MARBLE RELIEFS OF GIOTTO'S CAMPANILE, FLORENCE 1334-1337, SAILKO / (CC BY 3.0) WIKIMEDIA  
 LUCA DELLA ROBBIA, DIALECTIC (PLATO AND ARISTOTLE), MARBLE RELIEFS OF GIOTTO'S CAMPANILE, FLORENCE 1334-1337, SAILKO / (CC BY 3.0) WIKIMEDIA



# City of scholars

THE UNIVERSITY OF PARIS DEVELOPED A MODEL COPIED BY MANY SCHOOLS

**Robert J. Porwoll**

ON A DARK WINTRY DAY, a small boat with a handful of passengers crossed the stormy English Channel bound for France. It carried John of Salisbury (c. 1120–1180), secretary to Thomas Becket (c. 1118–1170), the English archbishop who in a few years would meet a bloody end at the hands of King Henry II. Now, in 1164, storm clouds of conflict between king and archbishop were gathering; Thomas sent John ahead to prepare for his own coming flight from England into exile.

Soon John arrived in Paris, where he had studied years earlier—and he wondered at its change. Now with multiplied schools, he saw a bustling and lively town filled with clergy, teachers, and students hastening to their studies. He wrote that, like Jacob awakening from his dream of the angelic ladder, “God is in this place and I was unaware of it” (Gen. 28:16).

## CITY OF SCHOLARS

Medieval Paris was truly a city of scholars—especially scholars of theology and sacred Scripture. In the decades following John’s homecoming, a university emerged there that stood like a giant among medieval universities, not least for its new and unusual

**LET THERE BE LIGHT** The artist of this 15th-c. book of hours imagines God dispersing demons from an accurate representation of medieval Paris and its university.

combination of theology and liberal arts faculties—a development that would become a model for imitation and adaptation by many later schools.

The roots of Paris’s synthesis of theology and the liberal arts long predated John’s boat trip. The pre-Christian classical triad of liberal arts had equipped students to read well (grammar), to compose and deliver public speeches (rhetoric), and to discern and argue whether statements were true or false (logic or dialectic).

In the late fourth century, church father Augustine of Hippo (354–430) argued in *On Christian Doctrine* (397–426) that preachers should study rhetoric to improve their preaching. Better preaching, Augustine argued, would reveal the inner depths of the scriptural texts, showing forth God’s love and kindling love for God in the heart. Ultimately, strong biblical preaching would help produce strong Christians.

Medieval scholars and teachers revived and adopted this scheme, but focused more closely on grammar and

**LECTURE HALL** *Right* A 15th-c. image of students listening to a lecture resembles both 13th-c. and 21st-c. ones.

**PERMISSION SLIP** This 1281 declaration (*below*) that acts of faculty must be considered acts of the University of Paris recognized a reality that already existed.

logic. Studying grammar may seem to us rudimentary or dull, not a subject to bring scriptural texts to life. But for the medieval student, studying grammar meant more than learning the rules of constructing sentences. Separate schools already existed in churches, especially bishops' cathedrals, to offer free lessons in reading and writing Latin. Higher teachers, or "masters," assumed their students would arrive with that foundation in place.

Grammar, as a liberal art, pried deeper into the meanings of words, literary devices, and, most important, the moral or ethical lesson flowing from the text. Students read widely through the church fathers and the classics and used that learning to understand and digest the meaning of biblical texts.

While all the liberal arts were meant to fit together and support each other, like a ladder for the student to climb, grammarians and logicians often conflicted and collided. Improving conditions in twelfth-century western Europe meant more students sought learning in schools and more scholars sought appointments as teachers; teachers became competitive among themselves to attract and to retain their students.

In these competitive schools, medieval teachers of grammar began to find they had rivals among logic specialists. Grammar may reveal what a text means, but logic is the art to discern what is true from what is false. Christ is the Truth, after all, and so logic is a preeminent Christian liberal art—at least so said Peter Abelard (1079–1142), who later in life sought to fuse logical study of the faith with a disciplined life of prayer.

Abelard's career illustrates how this ongoing debate between grammarians and logicians put Paris at the epicenter of a great resurgence of learning, adding drama to abstract questions. For instance, students once gathered at the cathedral school of Paris to hear famous teacher William of Champeaux (c. 1070–1122) lecture on grammar. Abelard, one of these students and a specialist in logic, challenged William midlecture with difficult questions; sometimes William could not give good answers. Abelard scored points against his famous teacher and bolstered his own reputation. Soon after, he started his own school on the outskirts of Paris and drew many of William's students with him.

Laying rhetorical siege to the city, Abelard debated, as if jousting, other rival teachers in Paris. He reported success upon success and after a few years, ended up



taking charge of the now-retired William's school.

Seeing the opportunity many more masters opened schools in Paris. Abelard's success encouraged these new independent schools while his fame drew many students to Paris. This encouraged more teachers to relocate, and soon Paris became home to flocks of students seeking learning.

**SCHOOL OF THE MASTERS**

Other cities also grew into centers of study and learning that attracted droves of students and boasted successful schools. In southern Italy, for example, Salerno hosted a famous, old medical school. In northern Italy, Bologna was home to early scholars, like Gratian, who organized and ordered church laws and regulations (called canon law). Bolognese scholars also revived the study of Roman law. Roman law and canon law served as models for ordered governance and church discipline. Law students went on to rise in feudal and church leadership, drawing on their studies to reform abuses and corruption.

More likely to be older and wealthier, these law students had already formed important connections in the world. As a result the University of Bologna organized



**POLITICS** Long after the deaths of Becket (reliquary at *left*) and John of Salisbury (shown lecturing *below right* in a 15th-c. edition of his work), the University of Paris endured.

**PERSONALITY** Abelard, famous for both his scholarship and his relationships, ponders a letter from Héloïse (*below left*).

as a charter or contract, marks the University of Paris's origin.

The University of Paris became the preeminent center for philosophy and theology. For medicine one went to Salerno; for law to Bologna. But the University of Paris had both a vibrant faculty of the liberal arts and a faculty of theology. Here again—as among the grammarians and logicians earlier—the rivalry between these two faculties caused conflict and yet fruitful consideration of the way theology and the Bible relate to human reason.

The arts faculty taught the *trivium* and the *quadrivium*. These seven arts had pagan inventors; they helped students read the Bible but they did not originate with the Bible. As a result the arts offered a perspective on the world and reality potentially separate from the perspectives offered by theology. Conflict arose in the 1200s, when long-lost scientific books of Aristotle (preserved in the East) entered Paris.

### PAPAL ALLIES

Aristotle's books of logic had held sway in education for centuries, but these new books revealed his arguments for ancient ideas that conflicted with Christian orthodoxy. For example he believed that the world is eternal, that God did not create freely or consciously, that God does not know individual persons, and that no afterlife awaits humans after death.

Paris in the 1200s became the flashpoint of this Aristotelian thinking. Members of the theology faculty objected to Aristotelian ideas that stood contrary to the Christian faith; some masters made efforts to prevent these books from being read and taught in Paris. Other theologians, especially Albert the Great (1200–1280), Thomas Aquinas (1225–1274), and Bonaventure (1221–1274), sought to show the essential agreement of faith and reason as different, but not contrary, ways of knowing. Aquinas in particular led the effort to examine Aristotle's arguments.



itself more quickly than Paris (see p. 29). Bologna's university also looked different because the students ran it. Organized into groups called "nations" according to their homelands, they elected student officers who gave rules and regulations to their masters: when classes should run and what books would be taught. The masters functioned like hired contractors.

The University of Paris, by contrast, was a masters' university. For many trades in medieval towns, craftsmen gathered in associations or guilds. Guilds could protect individual craftsmen, win special rights and privileges for them, and set up rules for their trade. A guild could also be called a "university" (*universitas*). Beginning in the mid-1100s, masters of schools incorporated informally into such a network. They were more concerned with learning and study than with legal rights and status; no formal founding document, such

THE BECKET CASNET, DETAIL OF THE MARTYRDOM OF ST. THOMAS BECKET, LIMOGES AND CHAMPLÈVE ENAMEL ON COPPER ALLOY, CRYSTAL, GLASS, WOOD 1180 TO 1190—VICTORIA AND ALBERT MUSEUM / (CC BY 2.5) WIKIMEDIA  
 LEAF—ABELARD WITH SCROLL (TEMPERA ON PARCHMENT) FRENCH (14TH CENTURY)—© DETROIT INSTITUTE OF ARTS / (LEFT OF MRS. JOHN S. NEWBERRY / BRIDGEMAN IMAGES)  
 ÉTIENNE COLAUD, JOHN OF SALISBURY TEACHING PHILOSOPHY, FRONTISPIECE MINIATURE OF THE POLYCRATICUS BY JOHN OF SALISBURY, TRANSLATED BY DENIS FOULECHAT, MS. 1145, FOLIO 3 RECTO, ILLUMINATION ON PARCHMENT—BNF / (PUBLIC DOMAIN) WIKIMEDIA



**PUTTING ON TRUTH** In this series from an illuminated manuscript, students at the University of Paris learning grammar (*top*), logic (*middle*), and rhetoric (*bottom*) gain nicer clothes and eventually stand up to present their arguments.

At other universities, like Bologna, no similar conflict between the faculties existed because there was no theology faculty. Only at Paris did a theology faculty teach alongside a liberal arts faculty. Hence Paris's debates on the relationship of faith and reason, and the peacemaking policy of those like Aquinas, stand as key monuments in the larger Christian intellectual and educational tradition.

The University of Paris won early and faithful allies. The Capetian kings of France gave gifts, protection, and privileges to the university. And medieval popes recognized early the potential for allying themselves with a university cultivating well-educated theologians and teachers.

Better living conditions meant more people could be educated, and this called for more teachers of the faith. With new heresies springing up, most famously the gnostic Cathars of southern France, well-trained theologians were needed to recognize and correct errors; some might even persuade strays to return to the faith. Increasing contact with learned Muslim, Jewish, and Eastern Christian scholars called for theologians to debate the truth of the faith. Moreover the pope and other leaders had long struggled to reform abuses and corruption among church officials—the university seemed a likely ally to bolster these efforts.

So popes became strong patrons of the University of Paris, granting the right to certify graduates as teachers of theology with a special license that would allow them to teach, theoretically, anywhere. This universal license strengthened Paris's magnetic attraction to would-be teachers across Europe.

Other universities later established theology faculties, ending Paris's monopoly. However, the University of Paris remained a gold standard and was often called upon to judge weighty and difficult matters (see p. 22). Though it enjoyed the patronage of the pope, the king of France, and others, the theology faculty also retained independence; its debates and judgments took on weight for many as coming from an authority.

### COPIED AND CHALLENGED

In the later Middle Ages (1300s–1400s), more universities began to appear across Europe. Most began with a founding gift and charter from a pope or emperor outlining structure and regulations. Many modeled themselves on the University of Paris and, as a result, often received similar privileges and rights.

Yet even in that same period, a new challenge emerged as Renaissance humanists began to imagine



another model and a new curriculum. The ensuing debate would profoundly influence the sixteenth-century Reformation and beyond—long after Abelard's disputing voice was at last silent, Aquinas's peacemaking between pagan and Christian thought was a matter for history books, and John of Salisbury's last journey ended. ■

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# A guild of learners

WHAT WAS IT LIKE TO STUDY AT OXFORD AND CAMBRIDGE IN THE MIDDLE AGES?

**G. R. Evans**

WHAT GUILD CREATED NO WARES and sold nothing tangible? Established to teach and prepare qualified learners, this guild spread and gathered apprentices to further the cause of its specialized trade. But it did not sell wares like a merchant or create something tangible as a metalsmith might. The trade was scholarship; the craft, and even the knowledge, of theology—a commodity considered more important to a thriving life on earth than any of the material goods of the other trades.

## APPRENTICED TO THE CRAFT

More than 800 years ago, after a century of extensive (but not terribly organized) provision of higher education in England, a group of scholars in Oxford established themselves as a *universitas*, Latin for “corporation.” The corporation took “apprentices” (undergraduates) and “journeymen” (partially qualified craftsmen who had achieved the bachelors of arts).

Masters of arts served as guild masters and taught the students, “ruling” the guild as regents. They trained students to lead the church as well as law courts, halls of government, and the trades. As in any other guild, the masters organized the syllabus for training, then

**THE LORD BE WITH YOU** Worship has been offered in King's College Chapel, Cambridge (*left*) since the 15th c. and Merton College Chapel, Oxford (*right*) since the 13th c.

examined the candidates, giving those who passed the appropriate *gradus*, or “degree,” in the guild. Like any other apprenticeship, the process, begun in adolescence, could take seven years to complete, during which the student would first gain the degree of bachelor of arts before attempting the MA.

Despite strict university standards for guild membership, would-be students simply arrived and applied to a regent master, who would place them on his register (the origin of the word “matriculation,” or “registering”). While their education eventually brought many of these students into positions of public service, non-university residents of university towns sometimes wondered whether they were worth the trouble.

Disputes between students and local people were an early problem, especially over lodgings. For this reason students hoped to enter the university quickly. Matriculated scholars enjoyed some legal protections, while unregistered hangers-on did not. Sheriffs could



**SYLLABI REVISION** Humphrey of Lancaster (*above*) donated his library to the University of Oxford, enlarging its collection 15-fold, but all but three of his books vanished in the Reformation—which is also when the *Sentences* (*below right*) was removed from the syllabus.

**KEEP CALM AND CARRY ON** Edward III renewed Oxford's charter in this 1335 document (*top right*).

imprison students just for being unregistered. Beyond registering, students had to go to class; only scholars who went to lectures at least three times a week (assuming the master had actually lectured on those three days) enjoyed immunity.

A town-and-gown clash over a presumed murder left three students dead and became the occasion for the birth of a second English university, Cambridge; Oxford became known as its “parent.” The University in the Fens of East Anglia (its original name) began in 1208 or 1209 when some scholars had to leave Oxford after the conflict. A resident body of practicing canon lawyers working in the diocese of Ely may account for the decision of the refugees to settle in nearby Cambridge. Theirs survived as a new university while other experimental scholar settlements failed. Cambridge’s practical arrangements continued largely to mirror those of its parent school for centuries.

The late eleventh and twelfth centuries had seen “wandering scholars” attaching themselves to famous masters and clustering near cathedrals, which had had schools for centuries. Those cathedral schools had produced advanced scholarship and famous controversies on theological topics. But the Universities of Paris and



Oxford, and soon Cambridge, provided a new institutional structure in northern Europe.

### CLERKS AND CLERICS

Students attracted to both Oxford and Cambridge were both would-be clerks and would-be clerics. Only after becoming an MA could a student begin to study theology or law for a higher degree. That could take many more years, into the student’s forties—and it might not happen at Oxford or Cambridge. From 1088 a growing European demand for qualified notaries and highly educated civil servants was met by a “business school” in Bologna; during the twelfth century, it became a graduate *studium* specializing in the teaching of law. Meanwhile Paris offered theology as a postgraduate degree.



**ANCIENT PLANS** Today the Oxford Botanic Garden (*left*), founded in 1621, still transports the viewer back centuries, and the university maintains much of its medieval layout (*below*).



the examiners of his *universitas* that he knew this syllabus in a disputation held for the purpose. Oral disputation long remained the method of examining a candidate for a degree; Cambridge's Senate House examinations became written papers only in 1828, and Oxford too kept up examination by Latin disputation into the nineteenth century. The

disputation survives today in doctoral defenses (where candidates must answer questions orally—although no longer in Latin) and at Oxford for some undergraduate degree candidates.

The holder of these higher degrees was known (interchangeably) as master or doctor. To attain a doctorate in theology involved studying the Latin Vulgate and also what would now be called systematic theology. The *Sentences* (*sententiae*, or “opinions”) collected by Peter Lombard (c. 1096–1160) had by now become the standard textbook. Lombard compiled and organized the views of early Christian authors dealing with key themes and principles of Christian theology. Hundreds of manuscript commentaries on the *Sentences* survive.

Every would-be doctor in theology would spend a period lecturing on Scripture when he reached the interim level of bachelor of theology. The lecturer usually chose from the Psalms and the Epistles. That did not prevent the adventurous from exploring other parts of the Bible. Robert Grosseteste (c. 1168–1253) was one of a number of students intrigued by scientific questions arising out of the story of creation in Genesis. (Read more about Grosseteste in CH 134.)

Franciscans and Dominicans quickly appeared in Oxford and Cambridge, each existing as a new kind of religious order with a mission to preach. Preachers needed a good education, and both orders wrangled with the universities over the order in which the syllabus should be covered. The question of preaching was contentious; while only a university had power to grant degrees, it might not have authority to permit its graduates to preach. That lay with bishops: the bishop of Lincoln for Oxford and the bishop of Ely for Cambridge.

Academic infighting began early in both universities and grew fiercer through the medieval centuries

Theology, law, and medicine would remain postgraduate degree subjects throughout the Middle Ages at Oxford, Cambridge, and elsewhere.

Everywhere the undergraduate syllabus looked the same, derived from the seven liberal arts of the classical world. The set books were taught by lecturing (*lectio*, literally “reading”), for it was some generations before local stationers (stores selling writing materials) hit on the idea of renting sections of a text to students as the lecturer made his way through the book. Normally the lecturer would read a sentence or two and then pause to explain difficult words, or to compare the opinions of authorities who had commented on the passage in earlier generations. Teaching methods reflected the emphasis on logic; points in dispute were taught in formal disputations. There the master presided and then declared the “correct” interpretation.

### PASSING THE TEST

No one could become a master of arts without satisfying



as more and more scholars left legacies of their opinions in commentaries. Such infighting could also break out into national politics, as it did for John Wycliffe (c. 1320–1384); see *CH* #3. He made himself unpopular chiefly over his views on “dominion” and the standing of clergy and nobility—making enemies, for instance, of the by now very powerful friars.

### “HOT-HEADED MEN”

The whole question of the teaching and study of the Christian faith in Oxford and Cambridge took on a new color with the Renaissance, when study of the Bible in the original languages of Greek and Hebrew was introduced. The Reformation outlawed much medieval doctrine and practice. Oxford and Cambridge revised the syllabus, under some pressure from the Tudor monarchy, no longer teaching only the set books of the Middle Ages. Many colleges had required fellows (in modern terms, alumni) to gain the degree of bachelor in divinity, which meant they had studied the *Sentences*; now royal injunctions of 1543 to 1547 forbade lectures on the *Sentences*.

Eventually some books from the original syllabus *physically* vanished: Humphrey of Lancaster had left his library of 281 books to the University of Oxford (which until then had only owned about 20 books) when he died in 1447, but in 1550 the king’s commissioners stripped the library to end the study of Roman Catholic learning, possibly burning the books.


During Catholic Mary Tudor’s reign, many of Oxford’s and Cambridge’s Protestant theologians took refuge in Europe until they could safely return. When



**CHAIR LEGS AND COWS** At Cambridge students today can still enter through the 16th-c. Great Gate of Trinity College (*left*, where the statue of Henry VIII mysteriously carries a chair leg instead of the original sword) or stroll in ancient pastures near King’s College (*above*).

Mary’s sister, Elizabeth, succeeded to the throne, she took a firmer hand in governing both universities than any monarch before her. In 1565 Cambridge’s Statutes were reformed: “though some few hot-headed men there made some opposition. . . . But by the most and best part” they were “consented to.”

Oxford and Cambridge had been composed of medieval colleges, independent corporations in their own right, with fellows making up the corporate bodies. But colleges with generous benefactors now began to multiply as part of the universities with the dissolution of the monasteries. These colleges now admitted students and presented them to the university for matriculation, and it became a requirement that students should subscribe to the Thirty-Nine Articles of the Church of England. That ended only with the University Tests Act of 1871. Graduates offered fellowships were normally expected to be ordained in the Church of England, so Anglicanism long maintained a strong presence in Oxford and Cambridge.

Today both schools are governed as direct democracies by a “sovereign body” (Oxford) or a “governing body” (Cambridge) composed of academics and academic-related staff. Although the guild has evolved into these modern forms, in a sense the two schools are still corporations of scholars. 

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# Politics, popes, and Prague

A CASCADING FAILURE TO MEET THE COMMON GOOD

*Edwin Woodruff Tait*

**ECCLESIASTES 4:12 TELLS US**, “A cord of three strands is not easily broken.” This is a helpful analogy for the three main institutions of medieval Europe: church, empire, and university. These distinct, yet interconnected, authorities were collectively responsible for maintaining the common good. If one took a wrong turn, the others stepped in to right the course. But a sufficiently catastrophic failure in one could also cascade into the others. That is what happened at the University of Prague.

## THE OTHER KING WENCESLAS

Dominating central Europe in the 1300s, the far-flung Holy Roman Empire was an unwieldy collection of territories ruled by an elected monarch claiming to succeed the ancient Roman emperors. When Charles IV of Luxembourg (1316–1378), a German, became king of Bohemia (1346) and Holy Roman Emperor (1355), his reign cemented a long, complex relationship between Germans and Bohemian Slavs. Four centuries before, Duke Václav the Good (c. 911–935), “Good King Wenceslas,” had been the first Bohemian ruler to cultivate a German alliance. Wenceslas rejected his grandfather’s Byzantine Christianity and his subjects’ paganism for Latin Christianity; he paid with his life.

Bohemian kings enjoyed special privileges among the empire’s prince-electors (powerful rulers who chose each Holy Roman Emperor). They had much power

**WE THREE KINGS** King Wenceslas IV, his father Emperor Charles IV, and Charles’s nephew Jobst of Moravia, who may have been poisoned as part of the political infighting.

and few of the usual obligations of vassals toward their lords. Meanwhile many Germans had immigrated to Bohemia after Mongol displacements, where they had important roles in commerce and lived under their own law code. By this time Bohemians were unquestionably Catholic Christians. Still the anti-German sentiments that had led Good King Wenceslas’s subjects to kill him remained a sullen undercurrent.

In 1348 Charles IV established what was called the “Charles University” in Prague. Like many European universities, it was modeled on the University of Paris, organizing students and faculty into “nations” representing ethnic groups: Bohemian (Czechs), Bavarian (southern and western Germans), Saxon (northern and eastern Germans and Scandinavians), and Polish (northern and eastern Slavs). Each nation had its own rules, lived and ate together, and had one vote in debates over university policy.

Charles had his older son, Wenceslas IV (1361–1419), crowned king of Bohemia at age two and entrusted his education to the archbishop of Prague. Wenceslas grew up identifying with the Czech part of his father’s realm, while Charles’s younger son, Sigismund (1368–1437), eventually took control of Hungary through marriage.



**BOHEMIAN TAKEOVER** The Decree of Kutná Hora (*left*) gave greater weight to Bohemian faculty and students, prompting an exodus of Germans already suspicious of the ideas of Hus (*above*).

Wycliffe had developed a radically Augustinian theology in which the true church was the body of the elect. If a pope showed by his actions that he was not among the elect, then he could not effectively lead; he was in Wycliffe's view, Antichrist. Wycliffe argued for a "poor church" under greater state control. He also attacked the doctrine of transubstantiation, a controversial position alienating some would-be supporters.

Meanwhile pugnacious itinerant scholar Jerome of Prague (1379–1416) had spent a decade migrating around Europe picking up degrees and starting fights with more traditional scholastic theologians. He encountered Wycliffe's ideas at Oxford and brought them back to Prague, where they became immensely popular.

Jerome and his friend, the gentler, more moderate Jan Hus (c. 1372–1415), sympathized with Wycliffe's key positions and their role in Christian formation: the church as the body of the elect, a godly clergy uncorrupted by power and wealth, and lay Christians' reception of Christ in both bread and wine in the Eucharist.

Gregory XI finally returned to Rome in 1377, only to die the next year. The Roman mob pressured the cardinals to elect an Italian to keep the papacy in Rome, and they did: Urban VI. But Urban's stern reforms made him unpopular, and the cardinals deposed *him* and elected another Avignon pope, Clement VII.

European monarchs lined up behind one claimant or the other. The French predictably supported Clement, and the English backed Urban. Now Wycliffe's ideas

Charles managed to get 15-year-old Wenceslas elected as "king of the Romans" in 1376 but not crowned as emperor by the pope. To secure support for the election as king, Charles revoked several city-states' charters and gave them to key nobles. This provoked a rebellion against Wenceslas, one of many that plagued his reign.

### ENTER THE POPES

All this took place against the backdrop of the medieval papacy's failure to promote Christian flourishing. For much of the 1300s, popes had lived in the French city of Avignon, where French kings exercised significant—and resented—influence on the papacy. During the Avignon papacy, concerns about corruption in the church exploded. The English in particular resented being forced to contribute to support a papacy under the control of enemy French; Oxford theologian John Wycliffe (c. 1324–1384) rose to prominence during the 1370s for his attacks on the Avignon pope Gregory XI.



**BACH TO THE FUTURE** Leipzig (whose original facade, destroyed in WWII, is at *left*) would become one of Europe's most famous universities, with alumni including some of the sons of Johann Sebastian Bach (*below*).

Wenceslas hoped Prague would play a similar role for him. But he ran into the “nation” system: the German and Polish nations remained loyal to Rupert and to the Roman pope.

Wenceslas now played his final desperate card; in the Decree of Kutná Hora in January 1409, he changed the university constitution to give his Bohemian allies the upper hand with three votes, while the other nations had one each. For the Germans this signaled heresy's triumph at the university—through Wycliffe's and Hus's radical notions of Christian flourishing, as well as a corrupt king's shameful attempt to manipulate academy and church into restoring his power. Johannes Hoffmann von Schweidnitz, rector of the university, led an exodus of about 80 percent of the faculty and students to Leipzig.

Hus became rector of what was left of the University of Prague. Over the next five years, his conflict with ecclesiastical authorities grew. When the Council of Pisa (1409) elected yet another pope (making three), Hus, Wenceslas, and the archbishop supported him. But the Pisan papacy lacked authority and proved to be even more corrupt than its two rivals.

In 1410 Rupert died. Sigismund secured his own election as “king of the Romans” and, unlike Wenceslas, took charge. In 1414 he called a new council at Constance, which, with his backing as the undisputed emperor-elect, succeeded in uniting Western Christian opinion. All three popes resigned or were deposed. The council elected a consensus pope, Martin V.

The Council of Constance summoned Hus to answer heresy charges. Sigismund issued him a safe-conduct but revoked it. Hus was burned at the stake in 1415, Jerome a year later. Hus's followers in Bohemia took up arms against Sigismund, resulting in schism and the Hussite Wars. Within three years the once-flagship University of Prague was greatly diminished. Recalling the fallout from Sigismund's treachery, Charles V chose to deal more faithfully with Luther a century later.

Meanwhile, the University of Leipzig grew and prospered. There, in 1519, John Eck forced Martin Luther to acknowledge his affinity with Hus's condemned ideas, provoking Luther to a more decisive break with late medieval Catholicism. The road to the Reformation ran through the all-too-recent memory of the moment when the first German university was Czech. **¶**

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became particularly appealing. What if the papacy had, in fact, become what Wycliffe warned against—Antichrist?

Without an undisputed pope, theologians suggested the Holy Roman Emperor could call a new council. But no emperor was in place—only the unfortunate, uncrowned Wenceslas. In 1398 the king of France persuaded Wenceslas to help ask both popes to resign. Boniface IX, Roman pope since 1389, belatedly offered to crown Wenceslas emperor. All this came to nothing.

After two years of inaction, powerful German electors had had enough. Led by Rupert of the Palatinate, they deposed Wenceslas and elected Rupert as “king of the Romans.” Rupert, with most of Germany behind him, solidly aligned himself with the Roman papacy. Wenceslas's brother Sigismund invaded Bohemia in 1402. Scheming to become emperor himself, he imprisoned Wenceslas and coerced him into signing away his powers; Boniface supported this, making Wenceslas now ineligible to be crowned emperor.

### **NATION AGAINST NATION**

Wenceslas escaped, still claiming to be the rightful king. In 1408 he turned to the third strand of the cord: his father's creation, the University of Prague. The University of Paris had supported a French king and rejected the Avignon pope when he would not step down.





# The backwoods school that changed a continent

HOW WITTENBERG HELPED SPREAD PROTESTANT REFORM

**Beth Kreitzer**

**IN 1502 A UNIVERSITY OPENED** in the small town of Wittenberg, far from academic and cultural centers. Dubbed the *Leucorea*, a Greek word meaning “White Mountain” (*Witten Berg* in German), it began with just a few hundred students, a handful of faculty (some stolen from nearby Erfurt), and borrowed rooms.

It seemed unlikely that anything would come from such an inauspicious beginning—despite the grand Greek name in the humanist style. But the University of Wittenberg survived and grew to national and even international prominence—it has about 20,000 students and 350 faculty today. Now Martin Luther University of Halle-Wittenberg, it is inextricably linked to the Protestant Reformation and to the man whose name it bears: Martin Luther (1483–1546).

## LUTHER JUMPS SHIP

Left without a university because the nearby school at Leipzig (see pp. 20–22) was under the oversight

**CAMPUS HOUSING** Now a museum, Luther’s house in Wittenberg started out as a university building in 1504.

of a different branch of his family, Elector Prince Frederick III (1463–1525) desired a university of his own. Every good Renaissance prince (especially one referred to as “the Wise”) needed a university to provide him with court officials and jurists, not to mention prestige; and every region needed a place of higher learning where men could prepare for careers in law, medicine, theology, and education.

Wittenberg was a suitable if rough location, and so, with the help of Augustinian friar Johann von Staupitz (c. 1460–1524) and Frederick’s doctor (and professor of medicine in Leipzig) Martin Pollich von Mellerstadt (1455–1513), the university was established. Staupitz, first dean of the theology faculty and lecturer in Bible, staffed the college with



Augustinians; he brought young faculty as well as many students to Wittenberg to establish an Augustinian friary in the town and their own theology faculty to train its members.

The already-famous university at Tübingen provided a number of early professors as well as the statutes under which Wittenberg was established. Students and faculty also came from a closer school at Erfurt (where Luther was studying), displeasing leaders there. Staupitz brought the promising young Luther to Wittenberg in 1511 to lecture and take the first steps toward his doctorate. Angered by Staupitz's poaching, the theology faculty at Erfurt at first refused to recognize those first steps as legitimate, briefly putting Luther's pursuit of his doctoral degree in danger.

Conflict and competition drove the universities of early modern Europe, and Wittenberg was a small school among giants. However, as new intellectual currents reached the German Empire and the northern Renaissance launched, Wittenberg produced great intellectual ferment and strong support for emerging church, social, and political reforms.

### THE YOUNG ORGANIZER

At its founding the university was still quite traditional. Aristotle and other customary scholastic texts formed the basis of arts education, the beginning course of study for all students. (For more on scholasticism and humanism, see pp. 6–10.) Students also faced the *trivium* (grammar, logic, rhetoric) in their bachelor's and master's level courses before moving on to higher faculties. As at Paris centuries before, theological studies remained scholastic in nature, focused on the *Sentences* of Lombard and the books of the Bible.

However, humanists and humanistically inclined faculty influenced theological studies from the



**FACULTY MEETING** Luther and Melancthon confer in this 19th-c. painting (*above*) that may be set in the Lutherhaus at Wittenberg (*left*).

beginning. Humanist tendencies toward the priority of ancient languages and original texts informed Luther's own academic lectures on the Psalms and the letters of Paul, and on his understanding of biblical interpretation.

After his appointment to the chair of Bible in the 1513–1514 academic year, Luther began to push for a reform of the university's curriculum, particularly in theological studies but also in the arts. Luther knew that new approaches in theology required a new basis of education in ancient languages, among other subjects. But he was not suited to the practical administration of such an undertaking. Fortunately he had just met someone who was.

Philipp Melancthon (1497–1560) took up the post of professor of Greek in 1518 at the age of 21, and he and Luther quickly became a dynamic duo of university—and then churchwide—reform. (Luther's 95 *Theses* burst on the scene shortly before Melancthon arrived.) The young man's inaugural lecture addressed ways to reform the university curriculum. Faculty (including early supporters of Luther) moved to incorporate these insights into the curriculum.

Unlike Italian universities with more casual and haphazard structure, northern universities like Wittenberg were well organized, with faculty senates, deans, and rectors who had power to make academic policy and decisions. Melancthon served as rector in 1523 and 1524, allowing him to take charge of curriculum reform. He introduced Greek and Hebrew as independent subjects while revamping

**TO BE OR NOT TO BE** Wittenberg features prominently in literature as the alma mater of Shakespeare's Horatio and Hamlet (*right*).

**PRINCE VS. ARCHBISHOP** Elector Frederick the Wise (*below right*) supported Luther and the university; Archbishop Albert of Brandenburg (*below left*) opposed them.

studies of Aristotle to incorporate new, humanist translations of Aristotle's works. Rhetoric, history, and poetics were added to the arts course, and higher curricula were also modified to remove some scholastic influence and focus on new critical sources of learning. Before long, texts by Wittenberg faculty themselves, such as Melancthon's *Loci Communes* (1521) and, after 1530, the Augsburg Confession, became required.

Hand-in-hand with university reform went Luther's reform of the church, with support from his fellow faculty and from his prince. After the death of Frederick the Wise in 1525 and the ascension of John (and eventually his son John Frederick) to the electorate, Luther had explicit princely support for his reform and church-building efforts. As was generally true throughout Europe, rulers enforced their university and its theology faculty being constituted along reforming lines.

Wittenberg quickly rose as the focus of this new movement, attracting students not only from around Germany, but also internationally. These students carried their new knowledge and their humanistic and theological commitments back to their own communities or to new towns where they worked.

### COME STUDY WITH THE MAN HIMSELF

Young men from the middle classes enrolled to seek knowledge and greater opportunities. Unlike in other parts of Europe, students in Germany could not expect to find court or church positions, which were few. Thus many sought only basic degrees in the arts. These degrees allowed students to become tutors or teachers in Latin schools, where their influence multiplied; after the Reformation, such men also prepared for jobs as pastors. Students who did seek higher degrees often became university professors themselves; many became leaders in Lutheran, Calvinist, and Swiss reform.

Students continued to flock to Wittenberg, especially after Luther began gaining notoriety. Wittenberg



became the largest university in Germany in 1520 and, apart from turmoil during war (1524–1525) or plague (especially 1527), remained so for the rest of Luther's life. Luther might see up to 400 students in his lecture hall, and Melancthon from 400 to 600, which constituted the great majority of the student body.

Former students remained connected through ties of friendship and loyalty to the university and other alumni, sharing ideas and commitment. While Luther might have been responsible for the spark that set the Protestant Reformation ablaze, Wittenberg's students fed the fire and kept it burning. Luther's brand-new, backwoods school cannot be forgotten in the larger history of the Christian church. ☐

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# Tolerant and pious

HOW FRIEDRICH'S UNIVERSITY IN HALLE GAVE EUROPE A PIETIST VISION OF THE COMMON GOOD

*Douglas H. Shantz*

**STUDENTS WHO REFUSED TO STUDY**, syllabi long outdated, professors more focused on research than building student character—these could be modern complaints on “Rate My Professor,” but they come from a seventeenth-century philosopher and legal scholar.

His name was Christian Thomasius (1655–1728), and in *Suggestions for Establishing a New Academy*, he lamented the state of almost all German universities in “the darkened condition of our time.” Though not the only one to complain, he was one of a small group who turned complaints into action by helping to found a new university in Halle more to his liking.

## THE FIRST REFORM UNIVERSITY

Founded in 1694, Halle ranks as the fourth oldest university within Brandenburg-Prussia. But its true importance lies in its identity as the first reform university in the German Empire, a model for other German Protestant universities.

After the Thirty Years War (1618–1648), the empire’s educational institutions suffered widespread decline.

**REFORM FOR THE EMPIRE** The German Empire in 1705, shortly after Friedrichs University’s founding in Halle.

Scholars describe German universities of the day as ailing and disreputable, hardened against change and lacking in creative intellectual impulses. Thomasius and Halle’s other founders rejected the privileged position of abstract and speculative theology, and oriented knowledge to practical application and usefulness in ways that would benefit society as a whole.

Thomasius did not operate alone. Pietism, a movement that emphasized personal religion, suffused Halle’s early development and owed much to Philipp Jakob Spener (1635–1705). Provost of Berlin’s Nicholas Church, he influenced the appointment of Pietist professors, aiming to reform theological education and develop ethical pastors who could act as models for believers. Theology at Halle veered away from polemics and toward the biblical and pastoral. All of this set Halle apart from other German universities until about 1730.

MAP OF THE GERMAN EMPIRE WITH PORTRAITS OF THE HOLY ROMAN EMPERORS. PUBLISHED BY LOUIS-CHARLES DESNOS, PARIS 1770 (COLOUR LITHO)—© DEUTSCHES HISTORISCHES MUSEUM / © DHM / BRIDGEMAN IMAGES



**A LONG HISTORY** Politics led to an 1817 merger between Wittenberg and Halle; students cross the plaza (*above*) of the merged university today.

**I AM THE KING** Friedrich (*right*) crowned himself king in Prussia in 1701 with great ceremony; as king, he created a Prussian kingdom with its capital at Berlin.

Halle's young professors faced growing antagonism from the town's orthodox Lutheran clergy who distrusted the Pietist emphasis on personal religion. But, marked by innovation and intellectual freedom, Halle soon became an attractive choice for students, evident in its impressive numbers. Within a few years, the university grew to over a thousand students, one of the largest in the German Empire.

Halle welcomed students from all over Europe. While the majority were from Magdeburg, they also came from central Germany, free imperial cities, Friesland, Schleswig, Norway, and England. In a 1690 letter, the Magdeburg mayor extolled Halle's advantages and perhaps helped to explain the school's rapid growth: a well-situated and attractive place with friendly residents, plenty of fairly priced housing, and cheap food and drink. Halle would prove to be a perfect university town.

### CARE FOR POOR STUDENTS

Thomasius owed his opportunity as Halle's first professor (beginning in 1690, before the official founding) to Brandenburg elector Friedrich III (1657–1713), known as "crooked Fritz" after a childhood accident left him with a twisted spine and humped back. The elector had already supported Thomasius after he escaped arrest in Leipzig. Thomasius's views on law and religion, and his willingness to teach in German, had led him to be attacked from pulpits and forbidden to spread his opinions.

Even before Thomasius's involvement, Friedrich desired a Lutheran university marked by moderation

and tolerance, not the polemics of Wittenberg (pp. 23–25) and Leipzig (pp. 20–22). Of first concern, however, was the need for social renewal after the Thirty Years War—through a university oriented toward practical needs, educating teachers and doctors, and providing legal training for civil servants. When the university officially opened on July 11, 1694, it became known as Friedrichs University or the *Friedericiana* after its patron.

Halle made higher education available at low cost, with free meals for poorer students subsidized by a quarterly collection in local churches ordered by the elector. After the creation of an orphanage and schools in Glaucha in 1698, students served in the orphanage schools in exchange for free accommodation.

Over the next four decades, the university benefited from the reforming work of both Thomasius and prominent Pietist leader August Hermann Francke (1663–1727). Thomasius and Francke had been good friends at Leipzig University; Thomasius provided legal services to Pietist students in Leipzig connected to Francke when they came under attack from civic and church authorities.

In Halle Francke served as confessor to Thomasius and his family. The two shared much. Thomasius had sympathy for the Pietist practice of gathering in homes for mutual edification. He also shared the Pietist interest in encouraging the laity to nurture their own religious experience.

Both Thomasius and Francke aimed at producing graduates who would be both tolerant citizens and pious Christians; against pedagogy of the day, they





**CARE FOR STUDENTS** Halle benefited from the labors of Spener (*far left*), Thomasius (*below*), and Francke (*near left*, on a pillar in the Ulm Minster in Germany).

emphasized education as character-building. They broke with centuries-long precedent by holding their university lectures in German rather than in Latin for wider educational opportunity, and both published in the German language so their writings would be accessible to the widest possible readership.

In his *Suggestions* Thomasius offered several guidelines for education reform, later put into practice. First, professors should avoid unnecessary quarrels and battles of words and teach only what contributes to human happiness and general usefulness; second, professors should use the German language; finally, professors should be chosen not so much on the basis of their writings as on account of their excellent manner of teaching.

### MISERABLE STUDENTS

Despite his lofty aspirations, Thomasius resembled modern professors in his disillusionment with students' lack of discipline. In *On the Miserable Condition of the Students* (1693) he observed:

During my fifteen years of university teaching, I have found among most of my students very little diligence and seriousness in study. . . . It bothers me not a little when I see in many not only little fear of God, but also that they have never read the first five books of Moses in the Old Testament, not to mention the stories of Jesus.

Meanwhile, through Spener's intervention, Francke had been called as pastor of St. George's Church in Glaucha and as professor of Greek and Hebrew at the new university. Francke preached his first sermon

in February 1692; a week later he held his first university lectures in the philosophy faculty. He too wanted to reform the modern student. In *Timothy as the Model for All Students of Theology* (1695), he reflected:

Unfortunately, student life as led in most cases in the universities, even by those who call themselves students of theology, is a truly heathen, devilish life. There is nothing more contrary to the rules of Christ than the maxims and rules they have among themselves.

Students of theology must forsake this godless manner of life and follow the rules of Christ, he believed, even if they were despised and mocked for it.

In *Portrait of a Student of Theology* (1712), Francke argued that students should read only what contributes to a true, genuine Christianity, especially Johann Arndt's *True*

*Christianity* (1610). Of first concern, he argued, is not quantity of reading but understanding what one reads and applying it to one's life. Finally, he said, if students have never had a conversion experience, they should pray to be thoroughly converted.

As he taught the Bible in small academic seminars, or *collegia*, Francke explained that it was not enough to practice historical criticism of Scripture; one must become more godly through one's reading and study of Scripture, just as someone who walks in the sunshine feels warmed by it.

Francke's Pietism was not limited to the theology faculty. His practical program for universal social reform took shape in the Halle Foundations: an orphanage, schools for children from different social classes, printing and publishing houses, a mission society, and a pharmacy for medicine production—all under the patronage of the Prussian state.

Thomasius ultimately viewed Halle's university not as the work of human ingenuity but of divine providence. Certainly it brought forth rich fruit in many respects—in the church, in the state, in scholarship, and in the German language. For generations to come, leading pastors, teachers, and Prussian state officials were products of Friedrichs University in Halle. ☐

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BARTHOLOMÄUS KILIAN, PHILIPP JACOB SPENER, COPPER ENGRAVING PRINT, 1683—PUBLIC DOMAIN/WIKIMEDIA  
STATUE OF AUGUST HERMANN FRANCKE IN ULM MINSTER—FRANK C. MÜLLER / CC BY-SA 3.0/WIKIMEDIA  
CHRISTIAN THOMASIUS WOODCUT, 1882, DIGITAL IMPROVED—BILDAGENTUR-ONLINE/UGC / BRIDGEMAN IMAGES

# Other schools of note



**UNIVERSITY OF BOLOGNA**

*Founded:* 1158, but probably existed by 1088

*Located:* Italy

*Famous for:* Oldest continuously operating university; responsible for the Latin word *universitas* to describe an institution of higher learning that gives degrees; center of canon law

*Famous alumni and professors:* Dante Alighieri, Nicolaus Copernicus, Erasmus, Charles Borromeo



**UNIVERSITY OF COLOGNE**

*Founded:* 1388 (closed 1789, refounded 1919)

*Located:* Germany

*Famous for:* Having all four faculties (philosophy, medicine, law, theology) from the outset; center of Scholastic thought

*Famous alumni and professors:* Thomas Aquinas, Meister Eckhart, Duns Scotus (at the predecessor Dominican seminary, founded 1216)



**UNIVERSITY OF ST ANDREWS**

*Founded:* 1410

*Located:* Scotland

*Famous for:* Third-oldest university in Britain; became a center of Protestant education during the Reformation

*Famous alumni and professors:* John Knox,

John Witherspoon, James Wilson, Robert Reid, Donald Baillie, N. T. Wright



**UNIVERSITY OF LOUVAIN**

*Founded:* 1425

(closed 1797; successor school refounded in 1834 as the Catholic University of Louvain)

*Located:* Belgium

*Famous for:* Opposition

to Martin Luther; center of the Jansenist movement

*Famous alumni and professors:* Adrian Boeyens (Pope Adrian VI), Jacobus Latomus, Robert Bellarmine, Cornelius Jansen, Michael Baius



**UNIVERSITY OF BASEL**

*Founded:* 1460

*Located:* Switzerland

*Famous for:* Center of humanist thought and of book printing, with a magnificent library

*Famous alumni:* Paracelsus, Erasmus, Johannes Oecolampadius, Karl Barth



**UNIVERSITY OF TÜBINGEN**

*Founded:* 1477

*Located:* Germany

*Famous for:* Founded under influence of the Italian Renaissance; produced the "Tübingen School" of higher biblical criticism

*Famous alumni:* Johannes Kepler, Joseph Ratzinger (Pope Benedict XVI), Hans Küng

# Gladly learning, gladly teaching



Duke Humphrey, benefactor of Oxford, with his wife, Eleanor (1431)

**397-426** Augustine writes *On Christian Doctrine*.

**Early 400s** Seven liberal arts are explicitly codified in *On the Marriage of Philology and Mercury* by Martianus Minneus Felix Capella.

**Early 500s** The word *quadrivium* begins to be used for the four "upper" liberal arts—music, arithmetic, geometry, and astronomy.

**c. 524** Boethius defends classical education in *The Consolation of Philosophy*.

**782** Alcuin takes charge of Charlemagne's palace school, where he guides an educational renaissance.

**Early 800s** The word *trivium* begins to be used for the three "lower" liberal arts—grammar, logic, and rhetoric.

**1088** The University of Bologna is founded.

**c. 1096** The University of Oxford begins.

**c. 1150** The University of Paris begins. Peter Lombard compiles the *Sentences*, the standard medieval theology textbook.

**1185** Herrad of Landsberg completes her encyclopedia, *The Garden of Delights*.

**1209** Some Oxford students and professors found their own university in Cambridge.

**1210** The first of three condemnations is issued against the theology faculty of the University of Paris banning ideas connected to Aristotle's philosophy; other condemnations will come in 1270 and (most famously) in 1277.

**1347** Emperor Charles IV establishes the University of Prague.

**Early 1400s** Teachings of John Wycliffe and Jan Hus, and a dispute over rival popes, cause controversy at Prague.

**1409** Decree of Kutná Hora gives decisive control of the University of Prague to its Bohemian faction. German students and professors leave and found a new university at Leipzig.

**1502** Frederick the Wise of Saxony establishes the University of Wittenberg.

**1508** Martin Luther is invited to teach at Wittenberg; his presence there will make it a center of the Protestant Reformation.



St. Augustine, by Justus van Gent (1474)

**1529** Erasmus publishes *On the Teaching of Boys*.

**c. 1600** In Shakespeare's famous tragedy *Hamlet*, the titular character attends Wittenberg.

**1636** Harvard is founded.

**1690** Friedrich of Brandenburg calls Christian Thomasius to Halle to found a new university.

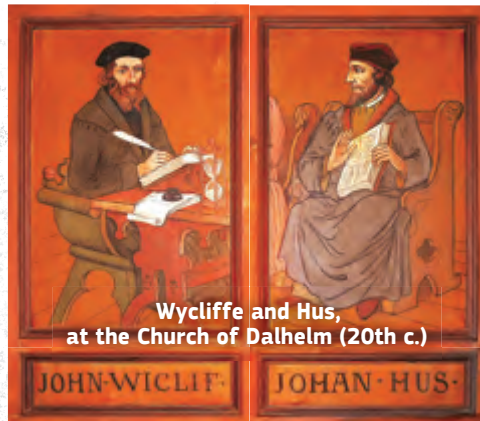
**1692** August Francke arrives in Halle, where he will serve as professor of Greek and Hebrew.

**1694** The University of Halle officially opens.

**1701** Yale is founded.

**1725** Giambattista Vico writes a compendium of the humanities called *New Science*.

**1787** A revival breaks out at Hampden-Sydney College in Virginia that will ultimately seed the Second Great Awakening.



Wycliffe and Hus, at the Church of Dalhelm (20th c.)

ILLUMINATED MINIATURE OF HUMPHREY, DUKE OF GLOUCESTER AND ELEANOR, DUCHESS OF GLOUCESTER, LIBER BENEFACTORUM OF ST ALBANS BY THOMAS WALSHINGHAM, 1431, COTTON MS NERO D VII, BRITISH LIBRARY—(PUBLIC DOMAIN) WIKIMEDIA  
 JUSTUS VAN GENT, ST AUGUSTINE OIL ON WOOD C. 1474—MUSEE DU LOUVRE, PARIS / (PUBLIC DOMAIN) WIKIMEDIA  
 GOTTLAND-DALHELM KYRKA CHORGESTUHL, REFORMATORENBILDER - WYCLIF UND HUS—WOLFGANG SAUBER / (CC BY-SA 3.0) WIKIMEDIA



*Christians through the centuries have wrestled with how to educate moral and virtuous people. Here are some milestones along the way.*

**1791** French revolutionaries close the University of Paris.

**1798** Immanuel Kant writes *Conflict of the Faculties*.

**1802** A famous revival begins at Yale.

**1806** Napoleon reopens Paris as the University of France.

**1809** The University of Berlin is founded under a new approach that makes universities centers for professionalized research.

**1817** Halle and Wittenberg merge.

**1828** The Yale Report reaffirms the value of classical education and Christian civilization.

**1833** Oberlin College is founded.



**Still Life with Lucas Cranach's Melanchthon, by Sébastien Stoskopff (17th c.); Melanchthon taught at Wittenberg.**

**1834** The abolitionist "Lane Rebels" merge with Oberlin. That same year Oberlin begins admitting Black students on the same basis as Whites.

**1835** Charles Finney comes to Oberlin as a professor; he will become president in 1852.

**1852** John Henry Newman writes *The Idea of a University*.



**Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (c. 1809), by Gerhard von Kügelgen; Goethe was a famed Leipzig alumnus.**

**1860** Jonathan Blanchard founds Wheaton as an abolitionist college.

**1865** Cornell, the youngest Ivy League school, is founded.

**1871** In the Universities Test Act, the U.K. Parliament removes the qualification that students and professors at Oxford, Cambridge, and the University of Durham must belong to the Church of England.

**1870s** Oberlin begins to require segregation of the races on campus.

**1886** College students begin the Student Volunteer Movement.

**1919** Charles Blanchard, president of Wheaton, drafts the doctrinal statement for the World's Christian Fundamental Association.

**1920s** Yale begins the Religion in Higher Education Program.

**1935** Dorothy L. Sayers publishes *Gaudy Night*.

**1943** C. S. Lewis publishes *The Abolition of Man*.

**1945** Lewis publishes *That Hideous Strength*, set in part at a college. He will later address the topic of education in his Narnian works.

**1947** Dorothy L. Sayers publishes "The Lost Tools of Learning."

**1955** The Wheaton Philosophy Conference begins.

**1964** Princeton stops requiring chapel attendance, the last Ivy League school to do so.

**1965** Clyde Kilby founds the Wade Center at Wheaton.

**1970** A famous revival erupts at Asbury College in Kentucky; the University of Paris is closed and divided into 13 separate schools.

**1976** 38 evangelical colleges found the Council for Christian Colleges and Universities (CCCU).

**1978** The Society of Christian Philosophers is founded.

**1994** Mark Noll publishes *The Scandal of the Evangelical Mind*.



**Johann Gottlieb Fichte (1801), by Friedrich Bury; Fichte helped found Berlin.**

# Even more schools of note



**KING'S COLLEGE, LONDON**

**Founded:** 1829

**Located:** England

**Famous for:** Founded as an Anglican alternative (though non-Anglicans could attend) to the explicitly secular University College London; largest center in Europe today for graduate medical study

**Famous professors and alumni:** F. D. Maurice, Florence Nightingale, Desmond Tutu



**BAYLOR UNIVERSITY**

**Founded:** 1845

**Located:** United States—Texas

**Famous for:** Oldest university in Texas (chartered while Texas was a republic); one of the largest CCCU schools; strong humanities programs

**Famous professors and alumni:** J. Frank Norris, Dallas Willard, Chip and Joanna Gaines, David Crowder



**TAYLOR UNIVERSITY**

**Founded:** 1846

**Located:** United States—Indiana

**Famous for:** One of the oldest schools founded by Methodists, now the oldest nondenominational college in the CCCU; has a renowned C. S. Lewis collection

**Famous professors and alumni:** Samuel Morris, Harold Ockenga, Geoff Moore



**BEREA COLLEGE**

**Founded:** 1855

**Located:** United States—Kentucky

**Famous for:** Founded by a Christian abolitionist as the first coeducational and racially integrated college in the South; charges no tuition

**Famous professors and alumni:** Julia Britton Hooks, Mary E. Britton, Carter Woodson



**CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF AMERICA**

**Founded:** 1887

**Located:** United States—Washington, DC

**Famous for:** Only Catholic institution in the United States founded by bishops; only US university with a school of canon law; explicitly established as a university for all US Catholics; intentionally interracial

**Famous professors and alumni:** Fulton J. Sheen, Joseph Bernardin, Timothy Dolan, Francis George, Thea Bowman, Avery Dulles



**AFRICA UNIVERSITY**

**Founded:** 1992

**Located:** Zimbabwe

**Famous for:** Pan-African university with extensive professional training programs

**Famous professors and alumni:** John W. Z. Kurewa

• SOMERSET HOUSE, KING'S COLLEGE LONDON—[CC BY-SA 2.0] WIKIMEDIA • STATUE OF RUFUS C. BURLISON, BAYLOR UNIVERSITY—[PREP AT ENGLISH / [PUBLIC DOMAIN] WIKIMEDIA • SAMUEL MORRIS HALL, TAYLOR UNIVERSITY, UPLAND, INDIANA—[CC BY-SA 4.0] WIKIMEDIA • JIM GARRINGER / FLICKR • BEREA COLLEGE DRAPER BUILDING—[INCREA COLLEGE / [CC BY 2.0] WIKIMEDIA • CALDWELL HALL, CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF AMERICA IN WASHINGTON, D.C.—[FARRAGUTFUL / [CC BY-SA 4.0] WIKIMEDIA • AFRICA UNIVERSITY—[CAMPUS VIEW—[UNICOM/DUBOSE / [PUBLIC DOMAIN] WIKIMEDIA



# From Paris to Berlin

THE UNIVERSITY'S POST-ENLIGHTENMENT TRANSFORMATION

**Thomas Albert Howard**

**IT WAS A MOMENT** when everything seemed to be changing. The Revolution that took aim at France's aristocracy wound up unseating another monarch of sorts: theology, the traditional "queen of sciences" (see CH 134). Long enthroned by Europe's intellectual giants and celebrated in the university, she now faced challengers to her reign as the Enlightenment challenged tradition, and the French Revolution and Napoleonic era (1789–1815) ushered in momentous changes.

"We see the old forms collapsing everywhere," church historian Ferdinand Christian Baur wrote in the later nineteenth century, thinking of the French Revolution's end in 1799. "It is as though a mighty storm blew across the whole of Europe, bringing down everything lacking the power to withstand it." The Swiss historian Jacob Burckhardt quipped that the nineteenth century began with a "*tabula rasa* in relation to everything."

Theology increasingly was cut loose from medieval churchly moorings and reshaped to academic research agendas—even as the institution of the university itself became more secularized. By the end of

**DOWN WITH KINGS** The painting *Liberty, Equality, and Civilization Push Back Despotism* captures the spirit of the Revolutionary age.

the nineteenth century, the study of theology would no longer be called on to support understandings of human flourishing mediated by the church, but now rather to operate as "one science among many," whose answers to human questions must compete in a larger marketplace of ideas.

## THE MOST HOLY FACULTY

During the Revolution, France's medieval universities came under fire. Government decree suppressed them; the Revolutionary government nationalized their endowments. The radicalization of the Revolution after 1792 brought about waves of dechristianization, the erasure of the Christian calendar, iconoclasm, episodic violence against clergy, and the short-lived turning of the Cathedral of Notre Dame into the Temple to the Goddess Reason. And this is to say nothing of the



DEN IJDELIJKE EN ZINNELIJKE MENSCH.



guillotining of King Louis XVI, the regal protector of Catholic France, a country traditionally seen as “the first daughter of the Church.”

The Sorbonne—a key college of the University of Paris since 1253—was unceremoniously shuttered on September 17, 1791. This seat of “the most holy theological faculty” had been a symbol of theological learning of the highest order in the medieval scheme of things (see pp. 12–15), but now, quite suddenly, it was no more. The building once housing theology students served as quarters for an artists’ colony before being reclaimed for French higher education in 1821.

And it wasn’t just the Sorbonne. The political upheavals of the Revolution and Napoleonic Wars devastated and transformed the entire university landscape in Europe. In 1789 the continent could boast of 143 universities; in 1815, only 83 remained. Major centers of theology, such as Ingolstadt, Halle (see pp. 26–28), and Luther’s Wittenberg (see pp. 23–25), closed their doors, at least temporarily. Others moved or merged with other institutions.

Under Napoleon a new University of France arose in 1808, but it was a university in name only; it was, in reality, a highly centralized, professionally focused network of schools under the Ministry of National Education. A few locations reconstituted theological faculties, but French bishops tended not to trust them given tight state supervision, and Catholic theology largely migrated to church-run seminaries.

The upheaval in France spilled over in varying measures to other Catholic countries. The Flemish University of Louvain (see p. 29), shut down in 1797 and revived after 1815, and the short-lived Catholic University of Ireland (see p. 42) stand out as notable

**IN WITH THE NEW, OUT WITH THE OLD** Drowsy scholars listen to a Kantian philosopher lecture (*left*); the chapel of the Sorbonne (*above*) collapsed around 1800, though it was later restored.

exceptions to the new trends. Not as directly affected by the Revolution, England’s and Scotland’s medieval universities experienced less turbulence in the early nineteenth century, although various modernizing reforms stood in the offing, including those destined to dilute the universities’ Christian ties and revise the nature of theological inquiry.

The handful of colleges in North America at this time were still quite small and for the most part religiously determined (see pp. 39–41); but they too underwent fundamental changes in the course of the nineteenth century, as did Latin American universities that had been modeled on the venerable Spanish universities of Salamanca and Alcalá.

### ENTER THE GERMAN MODEL

If the closing of the Sorbonne in the 1790s represented the end of one theological era, the founding of the University of Berlin in 1809–1810 marked the beginning of another (see p. 37). Under the able direction of the Prussian minister of education and neohumanist scholar Wilhelm von Humboldt (1767–1835), the new university came into existence during the Prussian Reform Era (1806–1819), a period of major political change and reorganization precipitated by Napoleon’s decisive military victories over Prussia. A product of the modernizing bureaucratic nation-state, the University of Berlin bore the imprimatur of neither pope nor emperor.

**TWO VISIONS** King's College, London, was founded (right) as an explicitly Christian school; Humboldt (below) still presides over the Berlin campus today.

It also lacked a pronounced confessional identity besides a generic Protestantism, due to both the monarchy's preference and the Kantian-influenced idealist philosophy then popular—which exalted “religion” and “ethics” in general terms as profound, ennobling features of humankind.

Momentously, the new institution also bore witness to the emergence of a novel ethos and ideology of scholarship, *Wissenschaftsideologie*. *Wissenschaft* is the German term for rigorous scholarly inquiry. Faculty felt impelled not simply to teach, comment on, and transmit established knowledge—the hallmark of the premodern university—but to create new and better knowledge through rigorous inquiry, documentation of sources and methods, and publication.

The professoriate, as Humboldt put it in a memorandum, must be “continually carrying out research.” Berlin set the stage for disciplinary specialization and the rise of the modern research university. Classical philology (the study of languages) led the way with respect to what today we would designate as “the humanities,” but other disciplines followed suit.

Officials in Prussia's Ministry of Culture avidly supported Berlin's research imperative in policies of hiring and preferment, and saw that it spread to other Prussian and German universities. In the course of the nineteenth century, the “Berlin model” or “German model” became internationally synonymous with research and learning of the highest order.

It was widely emulated on both sides of the Atlantic. For many non-German scholars, even a brief stint at a German university could make a career. Discipline-based professional societies, networking, conferences, and specialized journals all received a massive boost from the research imperative radiating outward from German-speaking central Europe.

**THEOLOGY IN A NEW CLIMATE**

This new university landscape carried immense implications for academic theology. In the premodern scheme of knowledge, theology was considered one of the three higher faculties, along with medicine and law. Beneath these three stood the lower philosophical or arts faculty, the function of which was largely preparatory. To be sure many figures in the European Enlightenment had championed philosophy's liberation from any form of intellectual servitude, not least theology, arguing that humans should dare to know things without deferring to traditional authorities. But Berlin would set this in stone for the modern university.

At Berlin Christian theology fully crossed the Rubicon into modernity. The nature of its passage



was twofold—part preservationist, part innovative. Rejecting a more radical blueprint proposed by the idealist philosopher J. G. Fichte (1762–1814), which virtually eliminated theology, Humboldt leaned heavily on a plan for reform and organization penned by liberal theologian Friedrich Schleiermacher (1768–1834).

Unlike Fichte, who would also have been glad to scrap the medieval-sounding word “university,” Schleiermacher argued for the preservation of many medieval structures and even for retaining the four-faculty designation of theology, law, medicine, and

H.D. SMITH, CHARTER OF KING'S COLLEGE, LONDON, COLOURED ENGRAVING, 1838—WELLCOME IMAGES / (CC BY 4.0) WIKIMEDIA  
STATUE OF WILHELM VON HUMBOLDT, UNTER DEN LINDEN 6—OFFW. BERLIN / (CC BY-SA 3.0) WIKIMEDIA



**CENTURIES OF CULTURE** The University of Tübingen (pictured historically at *left* and today *above*) became another seedbed of modernizing influence for Protestant and Catholic theology.

unify “the scholarly spirit with the religious sense.” To a younger colleague, he defined the covenant between faith and independent science as one “by the terms of which science is not hindered and faith not excluded.”

Schleiermacher passed away after the University of Berlin had been in operation for over two decades. A day after his death, his colleague on the faculty, church historian August Neander (1789–1850), told students that “from him [Schleiermacher] a new period in the history of the Church will one day take its origins.”

While this accolade was not uttered without good reason, the origins and shaping of modern Christian academic theology cannot be reduced to a single institution or individual;

Schleiermacher and Berlin epitomized and institutionalized more pervasive historical forces. These forces would become more pronounced in the course of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. They also provoked strong reactions and generated other sites of influence, notably the University of Tübingen (see p. 29).

But as a whole, the abiding, multifaceted reality in which Berlin stood foremost shaped compelling and consequential conversations in Christian thought and higher education in the modern era. It did this in ways perhaps not dissimilar to those the University of Paris had once used. But the storm had blown through, the bridge had been crossed, and, though now dethroned, theology had persisted. **■**

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philosophy. But, he added, “new life needs to be breathed into its Gothic forms.”

With respect to theology, this meant at least three things. First, following Kant (p. 37), Schleiermacher held that arts and sciences should gain primacy over theology in the new institution. Second, the university should be animated by what he called “the modern spirit of science.” Theologians should not be tolerated as pastoral dilettantes and frumpy churchmen; they must become *Wissenschaftler*, serious scholars, even while charged to prepare young men for church leadership and service, which Schleiermacher also valued.

Finally, theology should labor to make the Christian faith intellectually respectable, especially to its “cultured despisers.” These were modern elites whom Schleiermacher had addressed in his famous *Speeches on Religion* (1799)—the landmark work that had first established his reputation. The task of modern theology, Schleiermacher wrote in a memorandum, is to

# Theology on trial:

## Berlin and the modern research university

On October 6, 1810, the University of Berlin opened its doors. Europe's first university founded under purely national, secular control, serving neither pope nor emperor, Berlin became the standard of higher education, revered and imitated around the world. Professors who embodied the "Berlin model" produced original, critical scholarship unprecedented in scope and specialization. Their century, the nineteenth, went down as the age of German footnotes.

But an important question remained unanswered. Could theology, that erstwhile queen of the sciences (see pp. 6–10), be taught and studied in the modern research university? Moreover should it be? Far from being hypothetical, these issues came under intense debate.

In 1806 Napoleon Bonaparte had defeated Prussia in the Battle of Jena-Auerstedt—and closed Prussia's flagship school, the University of Halle (see pp. 26–28), to boot. Prussian administrators used the political crisis to rebuild what had been lost. Their initiative attracted proposals from great German intellectuals—F. A. Wolf, J. G. Fichte, F. W. J. Schelling, Friedrich Schleiermacher, Wilhelm von Humboldt—to install a modern university in the Prussian capitol of Berlin.

A medieval creation, the institution of the university seemed outdated. Recent innovations, scientific and philosophical, were arriving from outside universities: England's Royal Society, France's *grandes écoles* (a new kind of higher education institution similar to modern liberal arts colleges), and other Enlightenment-era academies.

Even before Immanuel Kant's *Conflict of the Faculties* (1798) drove a wedge between theology and other disciplines, critics had lamented universities' close ties to the church, expressed through special privileges accorded to their theology faculties.

### WHAT DO WE DO WITH THEOLOGY?

Philosopher Fichte (1762–1814) entertained the most radical vision: eliminating three of the four traditional faculties. He argued that the "higher" faculties— theology, law, and medicine—existed only because the state needed trained priests, lawyers, and medics. Only the "lower" faculty, philosophy, dedicated to the cultivation of pure knowledge—*Wissenschaft* in German—should remain. He believed that if theologians study anything legitimately based on reason, not revelation, then those topics could be reassigned to disciplines such as history or philology.

Like Fichte, theologian Schleiermacher (1768–1834) identified philosophy as the heart of the university. But Schleiermacher argued for largely retaining the



**MODEL BERLIN** The University of Berlin still looks much as it did in 1905, minus the horses (*above*); Schleiermacher (*right*) was instrumental in creating its new approach.



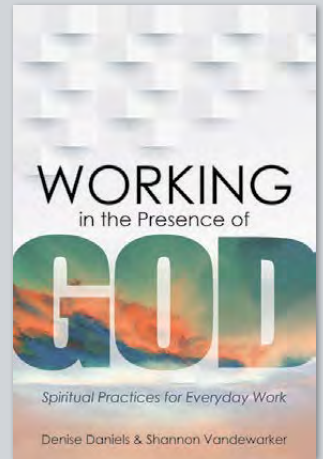
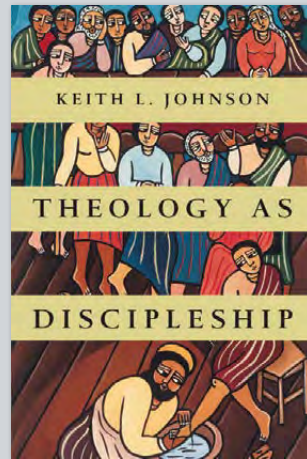
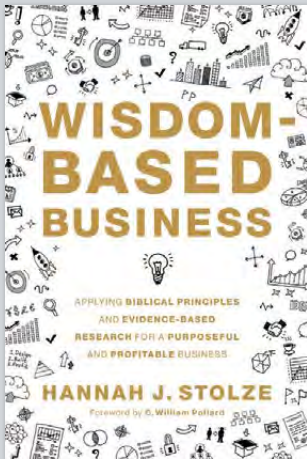
traditional structure inherited from the Middle Ages. Along with Schelling (1775–1854), also a philosopher, he identified theology, law, and medicine as contributing to human flourishing because they are practical. Theology exists, he argued, because the church needs clarity about doctrine and practice. Theology belongs in the university because the public has an interest that this be done well—just as it wants physicians with good medical educations and judges with proper understandings of law.

But theology also needed to engage with *Wissenschaft*. In Schleiermacher's scheme professors would be appointed on scientific, not confessional, grounds. If they did not contribute to philosophy, then they deserved to be excluded from the university. He therefore proposed two relationships for theology: practical, training for church leadership; and academic, redefining theology's methods along scientific lines.

Ultimately Schleiermacher won and secured for Berlin the continued presence of a theology faculty. The influence of his work was remarkable. But posterity also revealed tensions in his arrangement: theology's purported scientific character could (and did) bring it into conflict with the church. This sparked new challenges, as theology found itself torn, once again, as Tertullian had said, between Jerusalem and Athens.

—Zachary Purvis, *author of Theology and the University in Nineteenth-Century Germany*

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# Fruits of the ivy vine

THE IVY LEAGUE SCHOOLS AIMED FOR THE COMMON GOOD OF A NEW NATION

**Benjamin P. Leavitt**

*Yale was dedicated to the upraising of spiritual leaders. We betray our trust if we fail to explore the various ways in which the youth who come to us may learn to appreciate spiritual values, whether by the example of our own lives or through the cogency of our philosophical arguments. The simple and direct way is through the maintenance and upbuilding of the Christian religion as a vital part of university life.*

—Yale president Charles Seymour, 1937

**THE PRESTIGIOUS SCHOOLS** now called the “Ivy League”—Harvard, Yale, the University of Pennsylvania, Princeton, Columbia, Brown, Dartmouth, and Cornell—once had deep links to Christianity. The Ivies began and long persisted as distinctively Christian training grounds for America’s leaders—first for clergy and then for leaders of all types. At what point, and why, did we get to the secular, ivory-tower image of the Ivies of today?

## FOUNDINGS: BY CLERGY, FOR CLERGY

The Puritans who founded Harvard in 1636 intended to train clergy primarily and civil servants secondarily. Ministers led colonial Harvard and made daily prayer and study of classical languages and texts central, including the Old and New Testaments in their original languages. Yet, within 70 years, some New England Congregationalists had serious questions about the orthodoxy of Harvard and founded the Collegiate School (Yale) in 1701 as an orthodox alternative. Clergy led both institutions and in turn produced the new clergy deemed necessary for the maintenance of a godly society.

Beginning in the 1730s, the British colonies experienced the tumultuous revivals of the First Great Awakening; heated debates over whether ministers and professors were actually converted roiled congregations and campuses. Yale expelled future missionary David Brainerd (1718–1747) for suggesting that one of his tutors had “no more grace than the chair I am leaning upon.”

Conflicts between the “New Lights” who embraced revivalistic religion and the more formal “Old Light” antirevivalists soon prompted the creation of *more* colleges. In the decades prior to independence, Presbyterians, Anglicans, and Baptists founded schools of their own: the College of New Jersey (Princeton), King’s College (Columbia), and Rhode Island College (Brown). Anglicans were also



**CALL TO WORSHIP** The chapel at Yale features prominently in this 1786 lithograph.

instrumental at the University of Pennsylvania, while Dartmouth began as Moor’s Charity School, a New Light Congregationalist venture to educate and evangelize Native Americans.

Colonial colleges practiced not only Christian study but also Christian worship. In 1774 Yale’s code of conduct mandated that “The President . . . shall constantly pray in the Chapel every Morning and Evening, and read a Chapter, or some suitable Portion of Scripture.” Daily chapel services were a central part of colonial higher education. Columbia had services similar to Yale’s but liturgically Anglican; the college also gathered at the chapel in times of grief. Beyond regular services Brown’s students all too frequently



**EDUCATIONAL** Penn began as a downtown commuter school before moving to West Philadelphia in the 1870s (and building College Hall, *above*).

**PROVIDENTIAL** The Harvard charter (*left*) attributes the school's founding to the "good hand of God."

used their college chapel to eulogize classmates who had succumbed to fevers or other illnesses. Many Brown eulogies survive, bearing witness not only to the precarious nature of early modern life but also to the pervasive religiosity of colonial colleges.

#### IVIES SPREAD THEIR VINES

Even during the eighteenth century, the mission of the Ivies was already broadening; they found themselves catering less to aspiring ministers and more to aspiring men of culture. The educational field also widened; after the Revolution, the Ivies became simply the oldest and most prestigious colleges among many. Nonetheless, from the nineteenth century on, the Ivies played at least three influential roles in spreading Christianity and

School	Founded
Harvard (MA)	1636
Yale (CT)	1701
Pennsylvania	1740
Princeton (NJ)	1746
Columbia (NY)	1754
Brown (RI)	1764
Dartmouth (NH)	1769
Cornell (NY)	1865

Christian higher education.

First, though their emphasis on ministerial education had diminished, they still provided a Christian education to society's future leaders. Ministers continued to lead them even into the late nineteenth century, and they maintained their old (and explicitly Christian) curricula, including compulsory chapel attendance and coursework on the classics and theology. The famed Yale Report of 1828 reaffirmed the value of a classical education in forming the character of young men and linked such an education to the well-being of a Christian society. Together the Ivies

helped ensure that American undergraduate education would remain substantively Christian for well over a century after the nation's founding.

Second, the Ivies supplied educators to the hundreds of denominational colleges soon dotting the American countryside. Both Yale and Princeton have been called the "mother of colleges" for educating the founding presidents of other institutions. For instance a Yale graduate was the first president of Dartmouth, a Dartmouth graduate the first president of Bowdoin College in Maine (est. 1794), and a Bowdoin graduate the first president of Grinnell College in Iowa (est. 1846)—a Congregationalist educational vine that traces back to Ivy roots.

Wherever Ivy League graduates went, they reproduced the form and religiosity of the colleges in which they had been trained. A college on the frontier may have had fewer financial or physical resources, but its curriculum still mirrored those back East.

Third, through their theological seminaries, some Ivies did even more direct service to the faith. Harvard, Yale, and Princeton came to have standalone divinity schools, while Columbia affiliated with Union Theological Seminary in New York. The Ivies thus continued to train ministers. They also supported the concept of Christian higher education well into the twentieth century. Notably, from the 1920s to the 1960s, Yale Divinity School was home to a prominent Religion in Higher Education program led by professors Luther Weigle (1880–1976), Clarence Shedd (1887–1973), and J. Edward Dirks (1919–1981). It produced the groundbreaking Yale Studies in Religious Education, researching topics such as college student religious

**ANCIENT FAITH** Cornell's chapel (*right*) was built in 1875 with the stipulation that it would always be nondenominational and never require attendance.

**MODERN KNOWLEDGE** The 1893 graduating class at Columbia processes at their 25-year reunion in 1918 (*below*); Brown University had grown substantially by 1900 (*bottom*).

life, religion in historically Black colleges and universities, and changing relations between American colleges and Christian churches.

### AFTER A GOLDEN AGE?

But from the nineteenth century to the 1960s, almost imperceptible changes began moving the Ivies first toward liberal Protestantism and then toward pluralism (the belief that colleges should not privilege one religious perspective over others). After the Civil War, Ivy League educators gradually began distinguishing between “religious” and “scientific” forms of knowledge (see p. 37). For both practical and ideological reasons, they put religious ways of knowing outside the bounds of academic study.

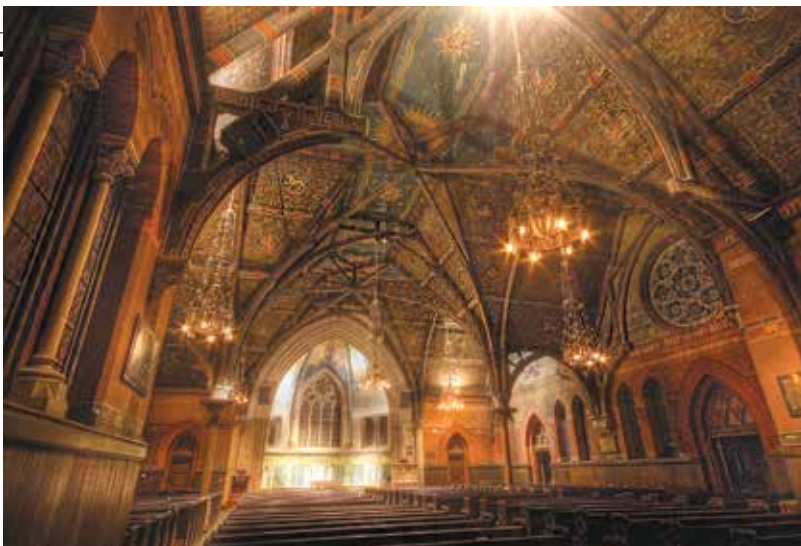
As Christianity ceased to form the core of their mission, Ivy League educators replaced it with other, more “universal” ideals such as science and beauty. Even as their shared identity as elite schools housed in stately, ivy-covered buildings coalesced in the early twentieth century, the schools began to move from their foundations.

Though more organic than intentional, the process nonetheless transformed these schools; within a generation of Seymour’s speech at Yale, the Ivies no longer considered Christianity “a vital part of university life.”

Brown and Princeton, the last two Ivies to require chapel attendance, stopped doing so in 1959 and 1964. Thus ended what some considered a golden age in Christian higher education.

But golden ages are not always as they appear. With some notable exceptions, the “Christian” Ivies had long refused to educate both racial minorities and women. Princeton, the last to start awarding undergraduate degrees to African Americans, did not do so until 1947. And only the youngest Ivy, Cornell (founded in 1865), was coeducational at the beginning. It would be a century before the rest admitted men and women equally, with Yale and Princeton leading the way in 1968 and 1969.

In faith’s absence the Ivies struggled to find new foundational principles; most struck on some general concept of social good of which inclusion and



diversity were a part. Today Yale aims for “improving the world” through “free exchange of ideas in an ethical, interdependent, and diverse community.” Cornell hopes to “enhance . . . lives and livelihoods”; Brown prepares students “to discharge the offices of life with usefulness and reputation.” While they no longer adhere to their founding faith, their versions of the common good serve as dim reflections of their Christian pasts. ■

*Benjamin P. Leavitt is a doctoral student at Baylor University.*



## Eternal views: John Henry Newman's The Idea of a University

**W**hat is the point of a university? What do students gain from a liberal arts education? John Henry Newman had pointed words about those controversial questions in the 1800s. "One of the chief evils of the day," he wrote in his 1852 preface to *The Idea of a University*, is the idea that "an intellectual man, as the world now conceives him, is one who is full of 'views' on all subjects of philosophy, on all matters of the day." (Today, we might call this a "hot take.") Against this "viewiness," Newman proposed in his famous book "a philosophical habit of mind," or a rightly ordered intellect: formed by a liberal education, attuned to theological truth, conscious of the achievements and limits of the various sciences and methods.

*The Idea* began as a series of lectures to an audience in Dublin in 1852, shortly after church officials invited Newman to be the founder and rector of a new Catholic university in Ireland. This Catholic University of Ireland was the Irish Catholic hierarchy's response to the 1845 establishment of the intentionally secular

**CARDINAL DIRECTIONS** Newman (*left*) served at the new Catholic University of Ireland until 1857; its seal reads "Seat of Wisdom, pray for us" (*below*).



Queen's University of Ireland, which imposed no religious test for admission and offered no religious instruction of any kind.

Throughout the nineteenth century, old universities such as Oxford opened their doors to non-Anglicans, and new universities such as University College London (see p. 32) were founded on explicitly secular and utilitarian premises. From the root of these dueling views of university education grew the questions: What to do with theology? Is it a branch of knowledge, the subject of a science, and therefore worthy of inclusion in a university curriculum? Or is it simply a taste, a matter of opinion, a mere sentiment that disrupts the smooth work of research and development?

### A CIRCLE OF SCIENCE

In response to these debates, *Idea* simultaneously addressed three audiences. First, it aimed to convince the Irish hierarchy that a university and a liberal education are goods in themselves. Newman needed the bishops to understand that he would not head a mere seminary. Second, Newman rebutted the view that theology should be excluded from university education. Third, he confronted utilitarian arguments that the old model of liberal arts education, now useless, ought to be replaced by educating students in more practical ways.

*The Idea* first laid out a vision of the whole "circle of sciences, [where] one [science] corrects another." Theology enters this circle both as one science among many and as the ground holding all the sciences together. But adjudicating between one science and another is the province of "philosophical or liberal education." This formed the *Idea's* second concern: the influence of the sciences and a collegiate atmosphere on the individual mind. An education can only be truly liberal if it occurs amid other people pursuing similar ends.

Newman believed the mission of a university is not to advance knowledge or facilitate research; the university exists to cultivate intellectual virtues within its students and professors—men and women who perceive the interconnection of all knowledge because they understand the world itself to be created.

—Austin Walker, assistant director, *The Lumen Christi Institute*

# “God will bless us in doing right”

OBERLIN COLLEGE AND CHRISTIAN SOCIAL REFORM

*Christina Hitchcock*



ON SEPTEMBER 13, 1858, a group of about 600 people gathered together in the small town of Oberlin, Ohio, and traveled—some even on foot—to the nearby town of Wellington to save a neighbor. The day before, John Price had been arrested as a fugitive slave and was being held at a hotel in Wellington.

The crowd, which included professors and students from Oberlin College, converged on the Wadsworth House hotel and helped Price escape through a window. They took him back to Oberlin and hid him in the house of James H. Fairchild (1817–1902), a professor and future president of Oberlin College.

Several months later Price was escorted to freedom in Canada. Of the 600 people who helped rescue Price in defiance of the Fugitive Slave Law, 37 were arrested, indicted, and jailed—including Oberlin College’s professor of ethics and the Oberlin Sunday School superintendent. The jailed men started an abolitionist newspaper called *The Rescuer*, which they published during the three months of their incarceration.

## PECULIAR GOOD

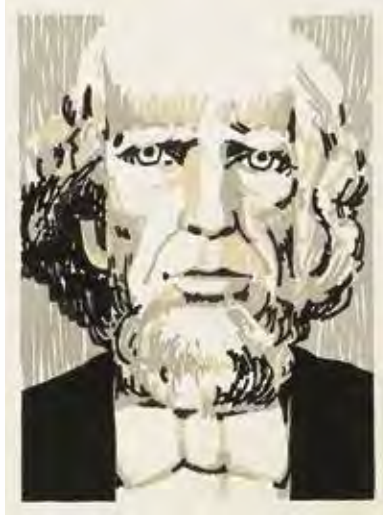
The town of Oberlin had been founded by John Jay Shipperd (1802–1844) and Philo P. Stewart (1798–1868) who bought land in Ohio to establish a utopian society

**JAILED FOR LOVE** Those who helped save fugitive John Price were called the “Rescuers;” several were imprisoned.

“peculiar in that which is good.” The members of Oberlin Colony, a mixture of New England Congregationalists and revivalist Presbyterians, believed a school that would promote “earnest and living piety among the students” would help students grow in holiness and spread social reform ideals. In the fall of 1833, the Oberlin Collegiate Institute published its vision:

The grand (but not exclusive) objects of the Oberlin Institute, are the education of Gospel ministers and pious school teachers. . . . The system of education in this Institute will provide for the body and heart as well as the intellect; for it aims at the best education of the whole man.

At the heart of the Oberlin Institute was the belief that authentic Christianity is not only a set of beliefs but a commitment to action. As a result, from the beginning, the institute committed to social reform as the true expression of the gospel. Evangelist Charles Finney (1792–1875) served as a professor at Oberlin from 1835 on and as president from 1851 to 1866. His thinking, regularly expressed in the *Oberlin Evangelist*,



articulated the institute's understanding of the church's vocation in the world:

The Christian church was designed to... lift up her voice and put forth her energies against iniquity in high and low places—to reform individuals, communities, and governments, and never rest until the kingdom and the greatness of the kingdom under the whole heaven shall be given to the people of the saints of the most High God—until every form of iniquity shall be driven from the earth.

Oberlin Institute leaders tried to create a space where future Christian leaders could practice holiness and piety individually and communally so that when they went out into the world they could produce the “greatest amount of moral influence.” As a result they championed various social reform movements (coeducation, advocacy for Native Americans, the peace movement, temperance, and dietary reforms) but are perhaps most well known for an early and serious commitment to abolition, a position that solidified following an uprising at another Ohio school.

Lane Seminary in Cincinnati, founded by Presbyterians in 1829, envisioned itself a “great central theological institution” in the West. But when in 1834 the school tried to stop students from abolitionist activities, the bulk of the student body resigned *en masse*. These students, along with professors John Morgan and trustee Asa Mahan, became known as the Lane Rebels. They had financial support from wealthy New York businessmen Arthur (1786–1865) and Lewis Tappan (1788–1863), but no school to call their home.

Shipherd, sensing an opportunity, invited the group to join the Oberlin Institute, and they agreed. The arrival of these students and their advocates, with their commitment to abolition and equality, had an immediate and long-lasting influence on the school's ethos. John Morgan was invited to become a professor at Oberlin Institute, Asa Mahan (1799–1889) became the institute's first president, and the Tappan brothers gave their financial assistance to the institute. In addition to

**DRIVING OUT INIQUITY** Lewis Tappan (*left*), Charles Finney (*center*, in a 20th-c. woodcut), and James Fairchild (*right*) all strove to combine personal piety and social activism at Oberlin.

this, the Tappans encouraged Finney to join the faculty of Oberlin's theological department.

#### “A MATTER OF GREAT INTEREST”

All of this support hinged on Oberlin agreeing to admit Black students. Those invested in Oberlin (students, faculty, trustees, and townspeople) were divided over this, but Shipherd used his typical blend of revivalism and pragmatism to convince the trustees to vote in favor of it, writing,

This should be passed because it is right principle; and God will bless us in doing right. Also because thus doing right we gain the confidence of benevolent and able men who probably will furnish us some thousands.

In February 1835 the Oberlin trustees passed the following resolution by a majority of one vote:

That the education of the people of color is a matter of great interest and should be encouraged & sustained in this Institution.

Oberlin immediately began admitting Black students along with White students. According to Oberlin's leaders, this was a distinctive decision in the fight for racial equality. They believed that segregation itself, not simply lack of education, disadvantaged Black Americans while simultaneously allowing White Americans to remain undisturbed in their racism. Oberlin professor and president James Fairchild wrote that the goal of Oberlin for the Black student was

to the extent of its influence, to break down the barrier of caste, and to elevate him to a common platform of intellectual, social, and religious life. This result it aims to secure, by admitting him, without any reservation or distinction, to all the advantages of a school, having a fair standing among the

ARTHUR E. PRINCHEORN, DRAWING OF LEWIS TAPPAN FROM A HISTORY OF OBERLIN COLLEGE FROM ITS FOUNDATION THROUGH THE CIVIL WAR, C. 1830—COURTESY OF OBERLIN COLLEGE ARCHIVES  
PAUL B. ARNOLD, CHARLES GRANDISON FINNEY WOODCUT PRINT, 1892—COURTESY OF OBERLIN COLLEGE ARCHIVES  
JAMES HARRIS FAIRCHILD—PORTRAIT COURTESY OF OBERLIN COLLEGE ARCHIVES



**“UNCHRISTIAN, UNJUST, AND UNKIND”** Mary Church Terrell, an Oberlin alum, published this anti-segregation speech (above) in 1914.

**PROVIDING FOR BODY AND HEART** Oberlin has transformed greatly (top) since this 1835 bill for room and board (at right) was issued.

But Oberlin’s commitment to racial equality faded following Reconstruction. Gone was the generation of the Rescuers and those they influenced. Oberlin graduate Mary Church Terrell sent her daughters to Oberlin in the early 1900s

only to discover they were now required to live in all-Black housing. In 1913 she wrote to the dean of women,

I do not believe in segregation of any group of students on account of race or color or anything else for which they are not responsible. I do not want my daughters segregated in Oberlin College. I believe segregation is unchristian, unjust and unkind... When I attended Oberlin College, no one could have made me believe that the day would ever come, when colored students would be segregated.

**“LOSING OUR FAITH”**

Oberlin recommitted to racial equality in the twentieth century, but Oberlin’s belief that Christian revival was the key to social reform faded and then disappeared. Oberlin president William Stevenson (1946–1960) was the last president to call for social justice on the basis of Christianity. In his 1947 inaugural address, he said, “So long as we condone or permit racial or any type of intolerance we run the risk of losing our faith.” Oberlin’s focus on “a sustainable and just society” (as today’s mission statement phrases it) was reawakened and redirected in the years after World War II, but the basis for such work became secular, rather than Christian, ideals. [1]

*Christina Hitchcock is professor of theology at the University of Sioux Falls and author of The Significance of Singleness.*

JOHN PETERSEN, OBERLIN COLLEGE, AERIAL VIEW, 2009—COURTESY OF OBERLIN COLLEGE; MARY CHURCH TERRELL, “UNCLE SAM AND THE SONS OF HAM,” FORD HALL FORUM, 1914—COURTESY OF OBERLIN COLLEGE ARCHIVES; AN EARLY BILL FOR BOARD AND INCIDENTALS, 1835, OBERLIN COLLEGE, OHIO—COURTESY OBERLIN COLLEGE ARCHIVES



# Delicate balance

FUNDAMENTALIST HERITAGE AND THE EVANGELICAL MIND AT WHEATON COLLEGE

*George M. Marsden*

IN 1994 HISTORY PROFESSOR Mark A. Noll (b. 1946) published a famous lament, *The Scandal of the Evangelical Mind*. The problem, he said bluntly, “is that there is not much of an evangelical mind.” He and others wondered: how can American evangelicals relate to higher education? How can evangelical schools navigate between constituencies suspicious of change, and faculty and students trying to refine the bounds of their traditions and sometimes overstepping them? Wheaton College has tried to navigate this delicate balancing act in its 160 years of educating young evangelicals.

## CHRIST IS COMING BACK

In its early years, Wheaton was an outlier largely for being too progressive in the eyes of the era’s conservative Christians. Jonathan Blanchard (1811–1892), the school’s 1860 founder, was a militant biblicist, but also out of step with most of the country in being a radical abolitionist. Early Wheaton looked a lot like Oberlin (see pp. 43–45); both schools welcomed women and Black students. Blanchard also opposed Freemasonry as a false religion—a stance at odds with many of America’s elite.

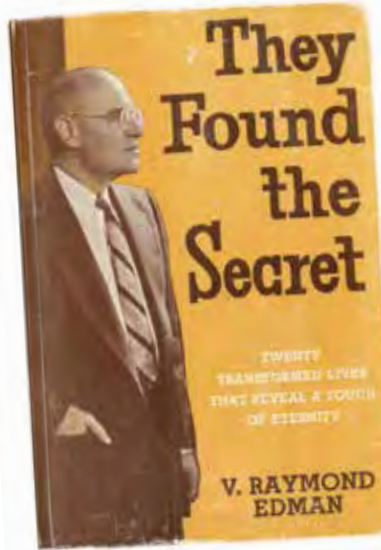
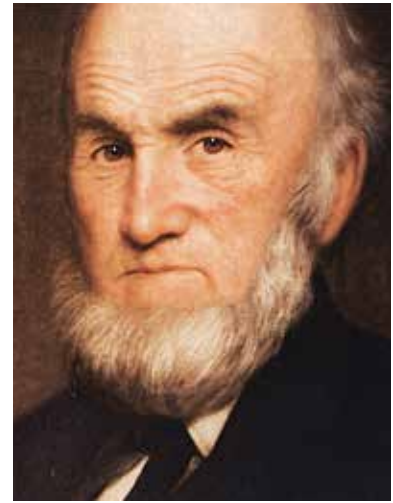
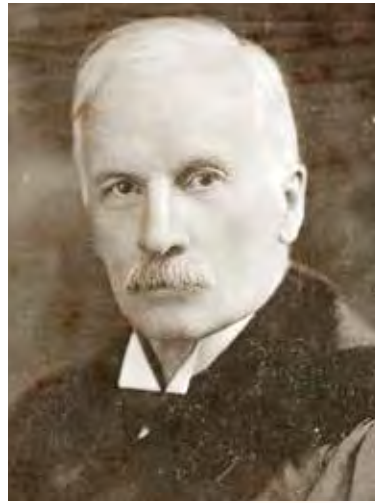
**HEARKENING BACK** Blanchard Hall, finished in 1853, was intended to resemble the University of Oxford.

Charles Blanchard (1848–1925) succeeded his father as president of Wheaton in 1882 and took the school’s radicalism in a new direction. Active in Chicago evangelical circles shaped by evangelist Dwight L. Moody (1837–1899), he was alarmed at what he saw as the apostasy and degeneration of modern civilization. The dispensational premillennialism he espoused (see *CH* #128) expected Christ’s return and the final judgment at any moment.

By the twentieth century, Blanchard often looked for evidence of true Christianity in the things that a believer stood against, including card playing, dancing, theater attendance, smoking, and drinking. He was at the center of the emerging fundamentalist movement, drafting the 1919 doctrinal statement for the World’s Christian Fundamental Association.

After Charles Blanchard died, 31-year-old J. Oliver Buswell (1895–1977) succeeded him. Buswell established central principles that would characterize Wheaton for most of the twentieth century. He valued the intellectual





**HEAD AND HEART** Billy Graham (*far left*) may be Wheaton's most famous alum, but the presidencies of Charles Blanchard (*middle*), John Blanchard (*above*), and Edman (*left*) also exerted great influence.

life and took advantage of Wheaton's strongest academic asset: its heritage as a classic liberal arts college. While preserving strict fundamentalist restrictions, he also saw to it that the school was accredited, with academic programs and requirements much like more secular peers.

Buswell was also a Presbyterian of the strictest sort. After famous scholar J. Gresham Machen (1881–1937) led a conservative revolt against mainline Presbyterians, Buswell followed suit in 1936. But Buswell, premillennialist and ardently anti-alcohol, went further. When Machen died in 1937, Buswell joined Carl McIntire (1906–2002; see *CH* #138) to form the strictly fundamentalist Bible Presbyterian Church. Wheaton trustees, fearing that Buswell was drawing the school too much into the separatist Presbyterian movement and alienating other fundamentalists, terminated his presidency in 1940.

### NEW EVANGELICALS

Buswell's replacement, V. Raymond Edman (1900–1967), was almost the polar opposite. The child of Swedish immigrants, he had served as a missionary to Ecuador and a Christian and Missionary Alliance pastor. Neither Reformed nor intellectual, he welcomed a wide range of fundamentalist traditions and helped build Wheaton's image. At the same time, he showed little concern for strengthening the college's intellectual mission.

Buswell and Edman exemplify Wheaton's tensions between piety and intellect. Piety was vastly the more popular emphasis, but the school always had a much

smaller side that valued intellectual rigor. The story of the Wheaton philosophy program illustrates this.

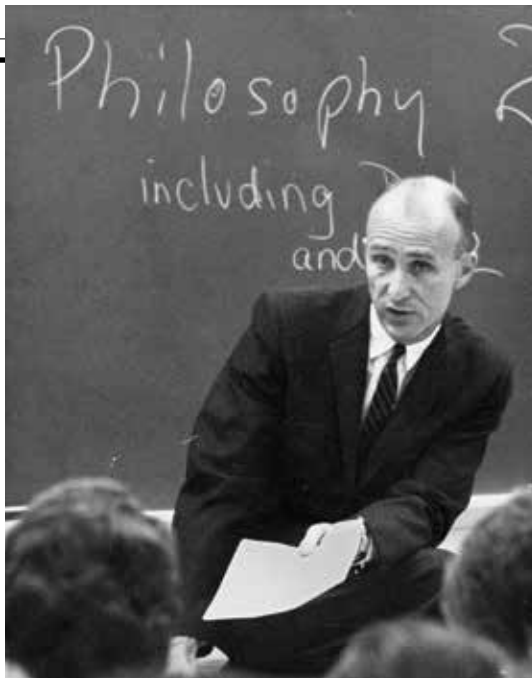
In 1936 Buswell hired fellow separatist Presbyterian and follower of Machen, Gordon H. Clark (1902–1985), a rigorous young philosopher.

Clark helped inspire intellectual revival, one part of a 1940s and 1950s "new evangelical" renewal.

Among his students were Carl F. H. Henry (who later founded *Christianity Today*), Baptist theologian Edward J. Carnell, Paul Jewett (later a Fuller professor), Harold Lindsell (one of Fuller's founders and author of *The Battle for the Bible*), and Orthodox Presbyterian theologian Edmund Clowney. Even Billy Graham took a course with Clark. Clark also frequently bred controversy, a trait that led to his forced resignation in 1943. The college then placed philosophy under the Bible Department. Carl Henry later lamented the replacement of required courses on ethics and theism with those on scriptural memorization and soul winning.

In 1950 Wheaton hired Arthur Holmes (1924–2011), a British émigré who had just earned a Wheaton BA in Bible, to teach philosophy. Holmes, who eventually earned his PhD, was an inspiring teacher and soon restored philosophy's popularity at Wheaton. Nonetheless, not until 1967, after a painful struggle and a threat to resign, did he succeed in getting

BILLY GRAHAM ON BLANCHARD LAWN—COURTESY BILLY GRAHAM ARCHIVES, WHEATON COLLEGE  
 CHARLES BLANCHARD—BUSWELL LIBRARY SPECIAL COLLECTIONS / COURTESY OF WHEATON COLLEGE  
 JOHN BLANCHARD PORTRAIT—BUSWELL LIBRARY SPECIAL COLLECTIONS / COURTESY OF WHEATON COLLEGE  
 V. RAYMOND EDMAN, *THEY FOUND THE SECRET* BOOK COVER—BUSWELL LIBRARY SPECIAL COLLECTIONS / COURTESY OF WHEATON COLLEGE



philosophy reestablished as a separate department.

Meanwhile, many on the faculty were quietly resisting the strictest fundamentalist teachings. English professor Clyde Kilby (1902–1986), for instance, celebrated C. S. Lewis as the era’s leading traditional Christian apologist. Lewis smoked, drank, and rejected fundamentalist essentials, such as biblical inerrancy and young-earth creationism. Nonetheless, Kilby made Wheaton a center for Lewis studies, founding the Wade Center to promote Lewis scholarship.

Wheaton scientists, however, did not receive the same indulgence. Russell Mixter (1906–2007), a zoologist, cautiously advocated a very conservative version of theistic evolution he called “progressive creationism.” That was too much for yet another major force in Wheaton’s history—the trustees. In 1961 they added an addendum to the doctrinal standards stating that Adam and Eve were “created by a direct act of God and not from previously existing forms of life.”

### ALL TRUTH IS GOD’S TRUTH

During the 1960s, guided by faculty members, an impressive number of students were also engaging with promising intellectual trends in the broader evangelical world. In 1955 Holmes started an annual Wheaton Philosophy Conference (an early precursor of the Society of Christian Philosophers) that brought interaction with Calvin College’s inspiring philosopher, William Harry Jellema (1893–1982), and his protégés, Alvin Plantinga (b. 1932) and Nicholas Wolterstorff (b. 1932), founders of a new school of thought known as Reformed epistemology. Holmes became a leading promoter of this outlook in readable books: *All Truth Is God’s Truth* (1977), *Contours of a World View* (1983), and *Fact, Value and God* (1997). He also trained over a hundred students who went on to earn doctorates, train their own students, and further



**WRESTLING WITH TRUTH** Holmes (far left) and Mixter (near left) pushed the bounds of academic inquiry at Wheaton.

develop distinctly Christian philosophical outlooks that earned respect even in the academic mainstream.

Philosophy provided an important foundation for a new outlook emphasizing “the integration of faith and learning,” which began spreading throughout the network of evangelical schools of which Wheaton was the leading model. Soon it wasn’t just philosophers; every major discipline had a society of Christian (meaning evangelical) adherents. In 1976, 38 evangelical colleges founded

the Council for Christian Colleges and Universities (CCCU, now with over 180 member institutions).

Despite its role near the center of this rebirth, Wheaton’s balancing act continued, as exemplified by Noll’s famous book. Rigorous college education had been spreading for decades in evangelical circles, and students from evangelical schools were crowding into respected graduate programs. CCCU schools could choose among excellent faculty candidates and were no longer the poor relations in American higher education. In *Jesus Christ and the Life of the Mind* (2011), Noll documented hopeful evidences of academic recovery. But he also observed that tensions between scholarship and conservative Christian anti-intellectualism remained strong.

In 1945 famed theologian Reinhold Niebuhr (1892–1971) had written, “Culturally obscurantist versions of the Protestant faith are so irrelevant to religion in higher education that no policy in the academic program can hope to overcome the irrelevance.” At that time Wheaton was the leading fundamentalist college. By the twenty-first century, evangelical academia had achieved a degree of cultural relevance Niebuhr had thought impossible. Yet it was still struggling to negotiate tensions between populist piety and dedication to careful intellectual inquiry as one essential dimension of the larger evangelical enterprise. ■

*George M. Marsden is professor emeritus at the University of Notre Dame and author of Fundamentalism and American Culture, Jonathan Edwards: A Life, and The Outrageous Idea of Christian Scholarship. This article is adapted from The Soul of the American University Revisited: From Protestant to Postsecular.*

# “The great plan of Jesus Christ”:

## *College revivals*

**I**t started with a disturbance of the peace. In a dorm room at Hampden-Sydney College, four young men prayed together. But this was no ordinary prayer. It was 1787, four years after the Revolutionary War, and these students were experiencing a revolution of their own.

A deep new experience of God had driven them to seek him, which they did together regularly in the woods beyond campus. That day a rainstorm had forced them inside, but the weather did not dampen their fervency. In fact the noise of their prayers grew so distracting that the president of the college himself, John Blair Smith (1756–1799), called a school assembly in response!

When Smith discovered the source of the controversy, however, he invited the new converts to pray in his parlor. Soon the parlor was too small to hold everyone who wanted to join, and the wave of revival that became the Second Great Awakening swept beyond Virginia and washed over the nation.

Stories of revival, renewal, and the spread of mission movements often seem to start in this way: with a small group of college students, praying for God to act on their campuses. College is often a time when students are exposed to new ideas, trying to find their place in the world and set a path for their lives. Spiritual renewal on campus has frequently helped them find that path—and forge a path for others.

For example, a thunderstorm at Williams College in 1806 drove a meeting of missions-minded students to take cover under a haystack. That meeting was crucial in the founding of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions.

Eighty years later an impromptu college-student-led evening prayer service at a D. L. Moody revival at his college prep school, Mount Hermon, brought the Student Volunteer Movement into being and launched the career of John R. Mott (1865–1955), one of the greatest ecumenical and missionary advocates of the twentieth century. In a 1905 revival at Yale, undergraduate Kenneth Scott Latourette (1884–1968) rose to leadership, eventually becoming a renowned missionary and church historian. Testimonies in 1970 at a revival at Asbury College helped spread a “Jesus movement” to churches and schools around the country.

### **PRAYING THROUGH THE NIGHT**

Hundreds of other revivals great and small across the United States involved students and college campuses. Nor did these revivals only occur in explicitly



**REVIVE US AGAIN** Revivals erupted at Asbury College in Kentucky in 1905, 1908, 1921, 1950, 1958, 1970 (above), 1992, and 2006.

Christian settings. By all accounts Yale was going through a period of “infidelity and immorality,” as an early twentieth-century historian put it, just before a revival swept the campus in 1802.

At the Mount Hermon revival that launched the Student Volunteer Movement, the preaching of Moody—though inspiring—was not the turning point. Instead, the renewal fervor arose from the actions of Robert Wilder (1863–1938), who gathered a few other students in the afternoon to pray for missions and sign a pledge:

We, the undersigned, declare ourselves willing and desirous, God permitting, to go to the unevangelized portions of the world.

A few became 10, then 20; soon those who had signed the pledge were speaking of it to other students everywhere, and Wilder—already an experienced missions speaker—convinced Moody to include a missions talk on the revival program.

Years later, Mott, deeply changed by that missions talk, wrote in a memoir:

We went out of that meeting not discussing the speeches. Everybody was quiet. We scattered among the groves. . . . I know many men who prayed on into the late watches of the night. The grove back there on the ridge was the scene that night of battles. Men surrendered themselves to the great plan of Jesus Christ [for] this whole world and . . . His Kingdom.

More often than not, the great plan of Jesus Christ has started on a college campus.—*Jennifer Woodruff Tait*, managing editor, *Christian History*

1970 REVIVAL AT ASBURY UNIVERSITY—PHOTOGRAPH COURTESY OF ASBURY UNIVERSITY ARCHIVES



# Seeking and teaching virtue

CHRISTIAN BEARERS OF THE LIBERAL ARTS TRADITION FROM THE MIDDLE AGES TO THE PRESENT

*Jennifer A. Boardman*

## **BOETHIUS (c. 477–524)**

Born into a prominent political family, Boethius was raised by his adoptive father who taught him Greek, a rarity for Romans at the time. A great scholar, Boethius became a senator at 25, quickly rising through the ranks to hold important government offices.

In 520 Boethius became the head of all governmental and court services under Theodoric the Great. In addition he attempted to heal divisions between the church in Rome and in Constantinople. His plan backfired, however, and he was charged with treason; in jail he drafted his masterpiece, *The Consolation of Philosophy* (c. 524). In it Philosophy reminds him that fame and wealth are empty, while virtue and the mind are the “one true good.” In *Consolation* Boethius also promoted classical education, believing that students need to learn Plato and Aristotle for the advancement of Western culture. Despite Boethius’s claim of innocence, he was executed in 524. His book lives on, one of the most-read works of the entire Middle Ages.

## **ALCUIN (c. 735–804)**

Alcuin was educated at the cathedral church of York,

**TRUTH** In 1680 artist Mattia Pretti imagined Boethius in dialogue with Philosophy even as his jailers watched.

England, a center of learning; the pupil soon became a teacher at the school and later the headmaster. But when Alcuin met Charlemagne in Italy in 781, the great ruler persuaded Alcuin to join his court in Aachen. There Alcuin oversaw the education of Charlemagne and his sons—teaching the liberal arts, organizing the curriculum, and raising standards. By doing this for the most influential leader of the Western world, Alcuin helped elevate both literacy and scholarship throughout Europe. Alcuin also used liberal arts education to further spiritual development. He believed the purpose of prudence, justice, courage, and temperance is not just to improve one’s rhetoric but to improve one’s life.

The aging Alcuin eventually requested leave from court. Charlemagne put him in charge of Marmoutier Abbey where he served until his death in 804.

## **PETER LOMBARD (c. 1096–1160)**

Lombard excelled in his studies, eventually



becoming a professor at the cathedral school of Notre Dame. He rose from subdeacon all the way to bishop of Paris in 1159, a position he held for only one year. Yet he is perhaps best remembered for his masterpiece, *Four Books of Sentences* (c. 1150), the primary theological textbook from the twelfth century to the Reformation.

Lombard's book collected biblical texts and commentaries from church fathers and served as a medieval university textbook for centuries. *Sentences* held such sway because of Lombard's genius in assembling wisdom of the centuries in one book, ready to be pored over by students thirsty for knowledge.

### HERRAD OF LANDSBERG (c. 1130–1195)

Born in modern-day France, Herrad grew up at Hohenburg Abbey. Well-funded and supported by the Holy Roman emperor, the abbey offered her the best education a woman could obtain in twelfth-century Europe. Noted for erudition and wisdom, she managed governance and education of the other nuns and was elected abbess in 1167.

Even before this, Herrad had begun her best-known work, *Garden of Delights* (finished in 1185). In it she collected knowledge of the day about the liberal arts for young novices to use in moral, theological, and biblical studies. The manuscript included poetry, music, stories, and numerous illuminations, and incorporated Christian, classical, and Arab sources. It tragically burned in a library fire in 1870, but miniature copies still exist, and a replica was republished in the nineteenth century. A heroic piece of work, it is considered the first encyclopedia written by a woman.

**SELFIE** An edition of Lombard's *Sentences* depicts the writer himself (*above*) in an illuminated initial.

**OBEDIENCE** Alcuin kneels before Charlemagne in this 20th-c. relief (*left*) from a church in Gentilly, France.

**PRAYER** This mosaic of Herrad (*right*) survives at her former convent, now called Mont-Sainte-Odile.

### ERASMUS (1469–1536)

Illegitimate son of a Dutch priest and orphaned by the plague, Erasmus entered a monastery as a teen. He was ordained in 1492 and went to Paris to study theology. His main goal was to learn from the best theologians and concentrate on his love of classical learning. In England he studied with John Colet, who encouraged him to become a "primitive theologian" by studying Scripture in a manner closer to the church fathers than to the scholastics. Erasmus dedicated himself to the Greek language and in 1516 published a Greek New Testament.

Erasmus valued his intellectual freedom and remained an independent scholar—writing prolifically to stay financially stable. By the 1530s between 10 and 20 percent of all books printed in Europe were written by Erasmus! Among his books is *On the Teaching of Boys* (1529), which urges teachers to instill the classics and the church fathers into young minds. Renaissance humanism, the movement he helped spearhead, would transform university education and society.





**GIAMBATTISTA VICO (1668–1744)**

Vico was a professor of rhetoric at the University of Naples during the Age of Enlightenment who urged people to keep sight of what classical antiquity could teach humanity. In his *New Science* (1725), he argued that over-reliance on new scientific knowledge would sacrifice the art of rhetoric—but that using the best of both old and new would make students “exact in science, clever in practical matters, fluent in eloquence, imaginative in understanding poetry or painting, and strong in memorizing what they have learned in their legal studies.” Against Enlightenment scientific methods, he argued that truth is verified through creation, not observation.

**DOROTHY L. SAYERS (1893–1957)**

Daughter of an Anglican priest, Sayers earned a scholarship to Somerville College, Oxford, and later became an advertising copywriter in London. Famous for her Lord Peter Wimsey detective novels, Sayers became a Christian apologist and authored *The Mind of the Maker* (1941), *Begin Here* (1942), and *Creed or Chaos* (1947). She called T. S. Eliot, Charles Williams, and C. S. Lewis friends.

Questions of vocation, including how education develops vocation, animated Sayers’s writing. While the medieval *trivium* had shaped university education, Sayers almost single-handedly revived it for use in elementary and secondary schools and homeschooling with her essay “The Lost Tools of Learning” (1947). And one of her famous mystery novels, *Gaudy Night* (1935), is as much about whether university education prepares people to flourish as it is about the romance between Wimsey and Harriet Vane.

**C. S. LEWIS (1898–1963)**

Lewis was born in Northern Ireland to a bookish



**STUDY** Dorothy L. Sayers (*left*) sits for an official portrait by famed British portrait painter William Hutchison.

**THOUGHT** Giambattista Vico (*middle*) broods over the Parco Nazionale del Cilento in Italy.

**ADVENTURE** This statue of Erasmus (*above*) fell off a Dutch ship in the 1500s and wound up in Japan centuries later!

Protestant family: “Books in the study, books in the dining room, books in the cloakroom, books (two deep) in the great bookcase on the landing,” he wrote. From an early age, he immersed himself in them. By 1917 he was a student at Oxford and, aside from a stint as a soldier in World War I, lived there the rest of his life. Around 1930 he famously converted from atheism, first to theism and then to Christianity.

For many years Lewis served as a tutor in Oxford’s English faculty and then became chair of medieval and Renaissance literature at Cambridge. In addition he is largely regarded as the twentieth century’s most celebrated apologist and one of its great fantasy authors. In academic works, apologetics, and fiction, he expressed deep concerns about contemporary education, attacking modern university trends directly in *That Hideous Strength* (1945). Yet even though an intellectual giant, Lewis didn’t consider the intellectual pathway the only road to God: “We find it to be a road, and it may be the appointed road for us.”

*Read more about Lewis in our next issue, #140!*  
Jennifer A. Boardman is a freelance writer and editor. She holds a master of theological studies from Bethel Seminary with a concentration in Christian history.

SIR WILLIAM OLIPHANT HUTCHISON, DOROTHY SAYERS, OIL ON CANVAS, C. 1950. © NATIONAL PORTRAIT GALLERY, LONDON. GIAMBATTISTA VICO, STATUE, PARCO NAZIONALE DEL CILENTO E VALLO DI DIANO, SALERNO, CAMPANIA, ITALY.—PHOTO © ALFIO GIANNOTTI/CORBISIMAGES / BRIDGEMAN IMAGES. ERASMUS, STATUE (REPRODUCTION OF 16TH C. DUTCH ORIGINAL)—TOKYO NATIONAL MUSEUM



# Humility, truth, mentoring, love

IS SOMETHING MISSING FROM THE MODERN UNIVERSITY?

**WE TALKED TO FOUR** educators about their visions for the common good as practiced by Christians in higher education today, asking them two questions: how would you define human flourishing in the context of higher education, and, if you had the power to do so, how would you modify higher education as it currently stands to bring greater flourishing?

*Craig A. Boyd is professor of philosophy and humanities at Saint Louis University and author of numerous books on ethics and moral philosophy.*

**CRAIG A. BOYD:** Flourishing is always a communal project. You can't flourish on your own; you can only do so with the support of a community that shares your understanding and commitment to the common good. We are always dependent upon the grace and compassion and goodness of other people. We're fragile and we're not really autonomous.

This flies in the face of much of political thought that shapes North American ideas of who we are—a self-sufficient political individualism from John Locke,

**THEOLOGY REIGNS** This painting by Raphael on the Vatican ceiling is part of a set of mosaics honoring the liberal arts.

in reaction to the communal approach of medieval figures like Aquinas and Bonaventure and Augustine. This idea of autonomous individualism denies our creatureliness and dependency on others. It gives us a false sense of our value being based on autonomy. To be in a community, it's critical that you practice humility. Aquinas says it's the precursor to all the other virtues because it clears away the rubble upon which you need to build the foundation of faith, hope, and love.

Christian higher education, like much of higher education today, focuses more on technique and less on virtue; but virtues help sustain the community and help us persevere. We treat virtues as a value-added aspect. But they should be central. Forgiveness, repentance, and humility are important things intellectually. Intellectual virtues and skills should all be practiced within the greater context of moral virtues. Of course you don't



have to go to college or university to develop moral virtues, and there are also vices that are particularly unique to intellectuals—excessive curiosity, pride.

It's difficult to develop virtues at the university unless you have communities within it. At Saint Louis we have a Catholic studies program where we have Jesuit priests who are solid people trying to inculcate this. It's hard to have a community of 10,000 people. For 10,000 people, you need laws. Aquinas says laws are there to prevent the worst kinds of evils. But laws don't say anything about our inward dispositions.

If money and time and accrediting agencies were not in play, I would build in an ethics element to contemporary education. Not just because I'm an ethicist; you need moral continuity going throughout the entire curriculum, not bouncing around from course to course with different colleagues and instructors. I think you would want to have cohorts, working together throughout their four years, meeting together with a guide, thinking about developing virtues in community.

*Drew Trotter is former executive director of the Consortium of Christian Study Centers and has written on film and popular culture as well as publishing a commentary on Hebrews.*

**DREW TROTTER:** Human flourishing in a higher education context first has to involve a rigorous life of the mind. I have a strong affinity with the notion of a university being a place where knowledge is communicated. But human flourishing in a university context also needs to have a deep kind of heart component.



**HIT THE BOOKS** We see aspects of education that have endured in this book of hours picturing Augustine lecturing in medieval style (*above left*) and the library at Merton College in Oxford (*above*).

**TEACHER AND PUPIL** On a 15th-c. coin (*left*) minted by Cardinal Grimani, Theology instructs Philosophy.

That has to do with my theory of knowledge: you don't really know something unless it's personal knowledge.

You can't just memorize the eight components to Anselm's argument for the existence of God and spew them back on a test, and feel like you've learned something.

The interaction back and forth between a so-called teacher and a so-called student—I've actually learned a lot from my students—is often a restricted relationship. Teachers restrict office hours. They don't have students in their homes. They don't engage with them in class.

And that really doesn't cause flourishing to happen, because when flourishing happens, it's when a student has so engaged with the material that they can ask questions and have opinions about it; it grabs hold of them so much that they want to talk about it in the hallways and in the evenings. Some students are like that now, but they are few and far between. The university's responsibility is to try to help all students to become like that.

To think of knowledge as existing for the good of society, the good of others, is also a part of human flourishing. Again the university is bad about this, implying that the student is king: "We are here for *you*. You need





**ANCIENT PATHS** This map (*above*) shows England, Scotland, and Wales around the time Cambridge was founded.

**CLIMBING LEARNING'S LADDER** *The Hill of Knowledge* (*right*) emphasizes the hard work of mastering the liberal arts to study theology.

to grow. *You need to learn. You need to...*" This teaches the student *me, me, me, me, me* and doesn't ever get them into a world of sharing and loving others.

If universities now were as they were originally, they would have no problem with understanding that we need to ask: How does this glorify God? How does it praise God? How does it make us give thanks to God? How does it help us to think about what God might be doing in the world? For obvious reasons, secular universities do not ask those questions at all. In fact they reject their usefulness, sometimes even their legality.

If I could design my perfect university, it would be Cambridge staffed by a wonderful group of sanctified Christians. I like the system Cambridge uses. Lectures are not part of the grading system. You choose which lectures you attend, even across disciplines. You meet with your tutor and write on subjects the tutor asks you to write about. Being eloquent is a by-product of having to think things through by writing them down. If there's something the university's supposed to do besides give you a huge database of facts for the future, it is to teach you how to manage that database of facts well to make new things for the good of society.



I would have a student-faculty ratio of ten to one. And I would spend a lot of money to elevate in the eyes of society the teaching role and make it much more what it used to be. Far too many professors don't think of themselves as people who are building other human beings. They think of themselves as communicators of information for as little time as they can spare so that they can get back to their research.

*Luke Bobo is director of strategic partnerships for Made to Flourish with a background in engineering and was executive director of the Francis Schaeffer Institute at Covenant Seminary, where he now serves as visiting professor.*

**LUKE BOBO:** My definition of human flourishing would be very simply "self-shalom": a progression toward personal wholeness. The Fall caused disintegration. Human flourishing is taking progressive steps toward wholeness physically, emotionally, economically, mentally, spiritually, and existentially.

I'm interested in what actually begins before a student steps foot on the campus. I want to partner with churches in making sure that a student should actually attend higher ed, because I think too often young people follow the American Christian script: graduate from high school, go to college, get married, graduate, get a house in the suburbs with a white picket fence, get a dog named Spot, have two-and-a-half kids. I used to tell my students that some of you have been sold a bag of goods; some of you should not be in college. Some of



**WORDS OF WISDOM** A student studies alchemy (once considered a science) with a tutor.

A teacher who understands the classroom *and* practices and leads with compassion can be used for the sake of human flourishing.

*Margarita A. Mooney is a sociologist of religion and associate professor of congregational studies at Princeton Seminary, and founder and executive director of the Scala Foundation. This is adapted from her book *The Love of Learning: Seven Dialogues on the Liberal Arts*.*

**MARGARITA A. MOONEY:** Humans have an insatiable desire for meaning and for knowledge. How we use knowledge is intimately tied to serving others and loving God. A liberal arts model of education is crucial to personal freedom and the common good. A liberal arts education should be both contemplative and practical, educating the whole person—mind, body, and soul.

Christians believe humans are created for greatness, fallen in sin, and redeemed through grace. Education promotes intellectual virtues that, with the help of God’s grace, strengthen moral virtues. A great books curriculum that studies the classics can open students to the fundamental questions of Christianity, but prayer, worship, and liturgy are also central to integral human formation.

Humans care deeply about asking why things are as they are, not just how things work. A proper understanding of education for the common good allows teachers and students to put aside—for a time—political questions and form authentic friendships aimed at shared pursuit of the truth. A holistic view of education encompasses an openness to mystery and wonder at the natural world; the ability to constantly cultivate wonder organically gives rise to social order.

In particular the liberal arts tradition is holistic in its acknowledgment that experiences of beauty shape our capacity for attention to all of reality. An approach to reason that is open to God, to mystery, to wonder, is not the opposite of scientific reason, but integral to comprehending the full significance of reality and to recover the love of learning.

Educating the whole person can never be simply a scientific or social experiment. Each person is unique and irreplaceable and has an inherent dignity and personal vocation. Education needs to create an environment that models leisure and friendship as intrinsic human goods, inspiring the lifelong love of learning and the pursuit of truth and beauty in community. The true end of education is forming the whole person to seek the truth with passion and desire. The heart of a liberal arts education is perhaps best expressed in Augustine’s *Confessions*: “seeking the truth in a way that is humble yet confident that truth exists.” ■

you are quite capable of working in the trades. Some of you are wasting someone’s money.

If I would make one modification to Christian higher ed, it would be to focus on practical theology. We graduate too many people from Christian schools with big heads and small hearts. We need a semester in class and then a semester in the field—a workplace situation, or working in the ‘hood or the ghetto or an urban context, or a church in a suburban context.

I’d encourage students to pursue, as James K. A. Smith talks about in his book *You Are What You Love*, “being” over “doing” (ontological over functional). That will put things in better perspective; they will understand that their primary vocation is to be good students. I’d encourage Christian teachers to be content experts and do that well, but I want them to lead first with compassion because every student has a story.

My ethics professor said God has designed three institutions for the sake of human flourishing: the church, civil government, and the family. I would add a fourth, the workplace. Teachers have the responsibility of creating a classroom environment conducive to human flourishing in all of these areas. That means treating students with dignity and respect.

This reminds me of a sister on Twitter. One of her students was consistent in attendance, then suddenly began missing classes, coming late, being lethargic. She finally sat down and asked the student, “What’s wrong?” And the student said, “I just buried my mom.”

# Questions for reflection: Christians in higher education

*These questions are meant to help you think more deeply about this issue and apply it to your own life and setting. Ponder them on your own, or discuss them in Sunday school or in a study group.*

1. Describe your family and/or church views of higher education.
2. Did your educational experience prepare you for life intellectually and spiritually? What would you have changed about it?
3. In your own words, share what you see as the goal of higher education. Now answer the same question for “Christian higher education.” How have your answers changed?
4. Has reading this issue changed your perspective? How?
5. Some see higher education as a tool to better the individual; others see a path to bettering society at large. Which movements profiled in this issue are examples of each?
6. Theology was once the bedrock of all education. Describe how this view changed throughout the eras we’ve covered.
7. Define Christian humanism (pp. 6–11). Does this seem like a good foundation for a university education? Why or why not?
8. As you review the University of Paris article (pp. 12–15), can you name the seven disciplines included in the “liberal arts”? Compare this to how they are defined today.
9. How would you have responded to attending Oxford and Cambridge (pp. 16–19)?
10. What caused the conflict at the University of Prague (pp. 20–22) that created the University of Leipzig? How have you seen similar conflicts handled today?
11. Wittenberg University (pp. 23–25) was central to the Protestant Reformation. How would

**LOFTY GOALS** Yale University’s seal still maintains the Latin for “Light and Truth” and Hebrew reference to the Urim and Thummim (Leviticus 8:8) that first appeared on it in 1749.

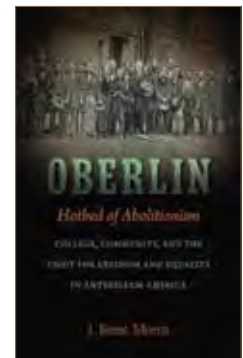
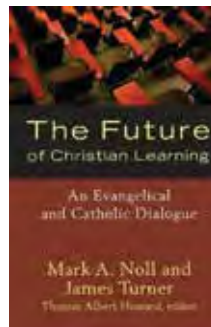
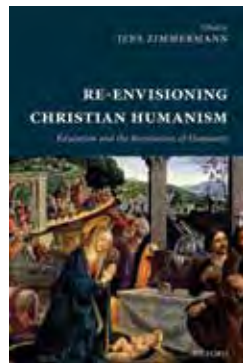
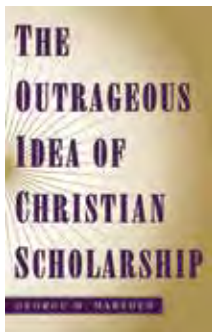


the Reformation have been different without it?

12. Review the guidelines for professors Christian Thomasius wrote for Halle (pp. 26–28). Look up a job posting for a modern professorship. Compare the two.
13. Where do you see effects of Enlightenment changes in higher education (pp. 33–36) in today’s colleges and universities?
14. How did the University of Berlin (p. 37) alter theology’s role in higher education?
15. Did it surprise you that many Ivy League schools (pp. 39–41) were recognizably Christian into the twentieth century? How would you describe their vision of the common good then and now?
16. Do you agree with Newman’s views on education (p. 42)? Why or why not?
17. How were Oberlin educators’ policies (pp. 43–45) on educating women and African Americans shaped by their views of the common good?
18. How did the Wheaton vision (pp. 46–48) of the common good change over the years? Why?
19. If you could attend or teach at any school we’ve covered in this issue, which would it be? Why?
20. Which story in this issue most stands out to you?
21. If you personally had resources and influence to help begin a new movement in higher education, what would be your focus?

# Recommended resources

LEARN MORE ABOUT CHRISTIANITY AND HIGHER EDUCATION WITH THESE RESOURCES SELECTED BY *CHRISTIAN HISTORY'S* AUTHORS AND EDITORS.



## BOOKS

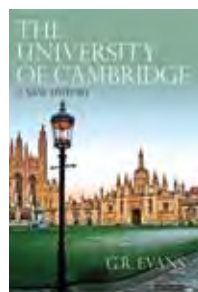
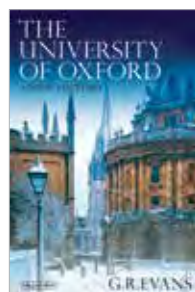
Introduce yourself to the topic with George Marsden, *The Outrageous Idea of Christian Scholarship* (1997); Arthur Holmes, *Building the Christian Academy* (2001); C. John Sommerville, *The Decline of the Secular University* (2006); Mark Noll and James Turner, edited by Thomas Albert Howard, *The Future of Christian Learning: An Evangelical and Catholic Dialogue* (2008); James Axtell, *Wisdom's Workshop* (2016); George Williams, *Wilderness and Paradise in Christian Thought* (2nd ed., 2016); M. J. Toswell, *Today's Medieval University* (2017); Jens Zimmerman, ed., *Re-Envisioning Christian Humanism* (2017); and Margarita Mooney, *Love of Learning* (2021).

For more on **medieval universities**, consult Hilde De Ridder-Symoens, *Universities in the Middle Ages* (1992); R. W. Southern, *Scholastic Humanism and the Unification of Europe* (1995, 2001); David B. Priest, Jürgen Miethke, and William J. Courtenay, eds., *Universities and Schooling in Medieval Society* (2000); and Joseph Koterski and Ronald Begley, eds., *Medieval Education* (2005).

Among the few English books on the **University of Paris** are Ian Wei's *Intellectual Culture in Medieval Paris* (2012) and William Courtenay's *Rituals for the Dead*

(2018). For **Oxford and Cambridge**, look at *The University of Cambridge: A New History* (2004) and *The University of Oxford: A New History* (2010) by G. R. Evans. Not much is available on **Prague and Leipzig** in English except for *A History of Charles University* (2001) by František Kavka, translated from Czech.

For higher education in Europe from the **Reformation** onward (including **Wittenberg**), consult Hilde De Ridder-Symoens, *Universities in Early Modern Europe* (1996); Helga Robinson-Hammerstein, *European Universities in the Age of Reformation and Counter Reformation* (1998); Paul Grendler, *The Universities of the Italian Renaissance* (2002); Thomas Albert Howard, *Protestant Theology and the Making of the Modern German University* (2006); and Zachary Purvis, *Theology and the University in Nineteenth-Century Germany* (2016). Read more on **Halle** in Douglas Shantz, *An Introduction to German Pietism* (2013) and his edited volume, *A Companion to German Pietism, 1660–1800* (2015), as well as in Thomas Ahnert, *Religion and the Origins of the German Enlightenment* (2006) and Richard Gawthrop, *Pietism and the Making of Eighteenth-Century Prussia* (2006).



For more on the story of **higher education in America**, look at Julie Reuben, *The Making of the Modern University* (1996); Jon Roberts and James Turner, *The Sacred and the Secular University* (2000); Andrea Turpin, *A New Moral Vision* (2016); and George Marsden, *The Soul of the American University Revisited* (2021) and, edited with Bradley J. Longfield, *The Secularization of the Academy* (1992). To understand religion and the **Ivy League** in particular, some useful books are Conrad Cherry's *Hurrying Toward Zion* (1995) and Paul Kemeny's *Princeton in the Nation's Service* (1998).

Read more about **John Henry Newman's** views on education in A. Dwight Cuyler, *The Imperial Intellect* (1955). You can also read *The Idea of a University* in a modern critical edition (1976) edited by Ian Ker.

For more on **Oberlin**, consult John Barnard, *From Evangelicalism to Progressivism at Oberlin College, 1866–1917* (1969); Roland M. Baumann, *Constructing Black Education at Oberlin College* (2010); and J. Brent Morris, *Oberlin, Hotbed of Abolitionism* (2014). To learn more about **Wheaton**, consult W. W. Willard, *Fire on the Prairie* (1950) and David Maas, *Marching to the Drumbeat of Abolitionism* (2010).

Finally, for more on **college campus revivals**, look at J. Edwin Orr, *Campus Aflame* (1971); Timothy K. Beougher and Lyle W. Dorsett, eds., *Accounts of a Campus Revival* (1995); Michael Gleason, *When God Walked on Campus* (2002); and Robert Coleman, *One Divine Moment* (2nd ed., 2013).

## CHRISTIAN HISTORY ISSUES



Read past issues on our website—some are still available for purchase:

- 10: *Pietism*
- 13: *Jan Amos Comenius*
- 41: *American Puritans*
- 34, 39, and 115: *Martin Luther*
- 68: *Jan Hus*
- 108: *Charlemagne*
- 113: *Seven Literary Sages*
- 116: *25 Writings that Changed the Church and the World*
- 134: *Science and Technology*

## VIDEOS FROM VISION VIDEO

Videos on this issue's topic include *God's Glory, Neighbor's Good*; *History of Christianity* (especially parts 2 and 3); *How Shall We Then Live?*; *In the Footsteps of Martin Luther*; *John Hus*; *Opening the Door to Luther*; *People of Faith*; *Truth Prevails*; and *Where Luther Walked*. These are also available to stream at RedeemTV.com.



## WEBSITES

Many universities discussed in this issue still operate today, and you can visit their websites and browse. Most have fairly extensive sections detailing their institutional histories. If you want to dig deeper into some of the historical figures and terms discussed, the *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* is one place to start. Read pre-twentieth-century figures in their own words at the *Christian Classics Ethereal Library* and *Post-Reformation Digital Library* (the PRDL also has a marvelous set of links to other sites with primary sources), as well as the *Internet Medieval Sourcebook* and the *Internet Modern History Sourcebook*.

The *Cardinal Newman Society* has quite a bit on modern education as well as Newman's educational ideals. The *Council on Christian Colleges and Universities* is a network of explicitly Christian schools, and the *Consortium of Christian Study Centers* is a network of study centers exploring questions of faith at schools both religious and secular. ☒



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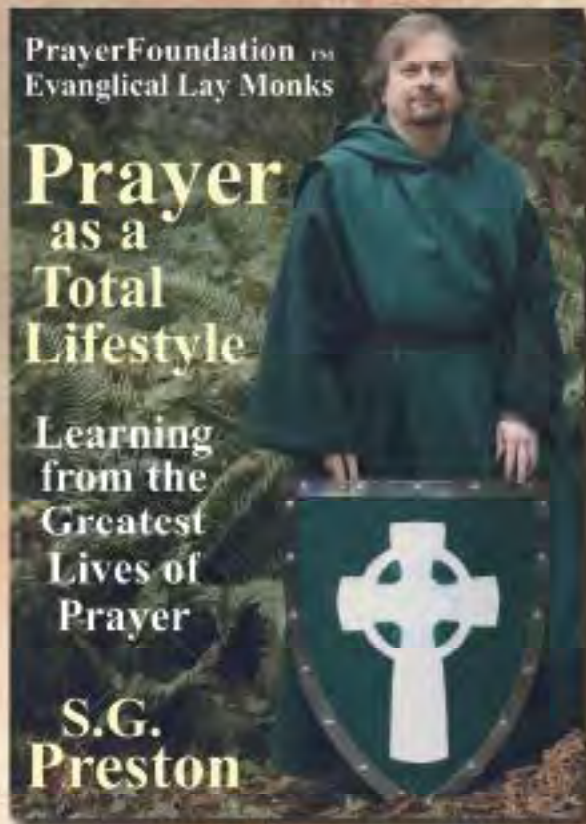
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~ George Müller

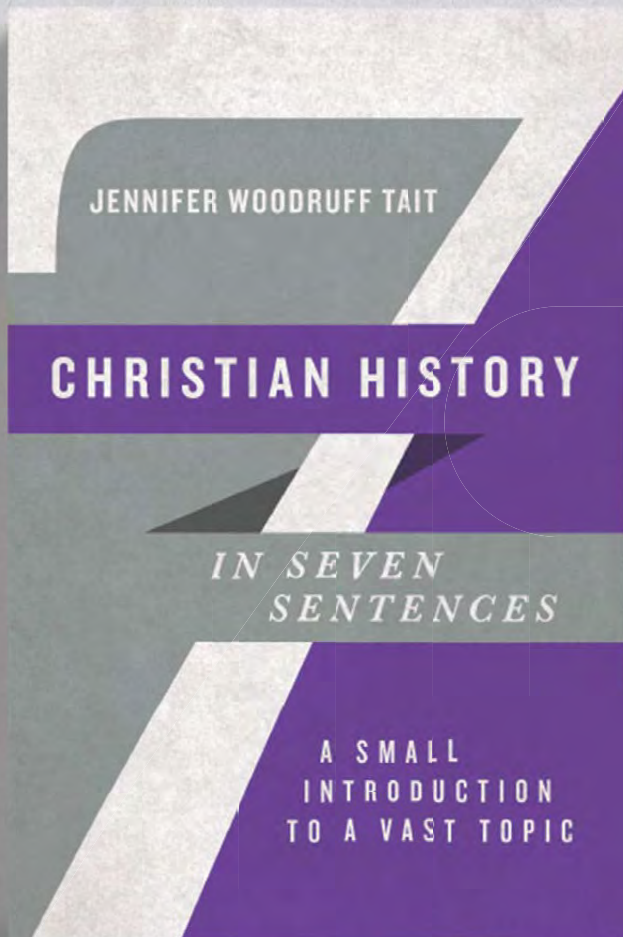
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