JOHN CALVIN: AN EDUCATIONAL INNOVATOR
OR A REFLECTOR OF SOCIETY

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This study examined the influence of John Calvin in education, as well as those influences that affected him. It examined his writings to determine if his vision, as to the scope of education and its purpose, made him an innovator. The research searched for reforms in the areas of curriculum, understanding of the teaching office, and universal education. It also looked at philosophy, economics, and labor.

Schools existed in Geneva before Calvin arrived in 1536; however, they did not function in the way that Calvin would have liked. Calvin provided the elementary students with a needed text when he prepared a catechism. The students had written material that they could read and study and a systematic presentation of the basic doctrines of the Christian faith. Calvin also wanted more appropriate facilities in which the students could learn. Although his organization of the schools improved the
atmosphere for learning, the building of the Academy was his dream and became his major educational achievement in the city of Geneva.

Because 16th century students needed to be prepared for the new world, there was a need for curriculum change. The students were required to read many of the prominent Greek and Roman authors in the ancient languages but the student learned theology, Hebrew, poetry, dialectic and rhetoric, physics, and mathematics as well. Calvin wish to graduate a well rounded scholar who could take his or her place in society.

All people were to work to their potential at their job because in doing their job they would honor God. Teachers were especially important. Those who taught would affect the quality of education. Calvin worked to provide teacher training and support. He believed that the teaching office was a special calling from God and education was a means to prepare the young person for his or her calling.
DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to my wife and children.
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Because of John Calvin’s stature among theologians and his influence on theology for the last five centuries, articles on his relationship to social topics traditionally have been written from theological points of view. However, more recent research has indicated that theology was not the only thing that influenced Calvin’s ideas. Political and social change may have played a large role in developing a tradition in such areas as education. Therefore, this study will use social history to examine Calvin and his view and influence on education.

Calvin lived in Europe in the 16th century. It was a time of great change. A new nationalism challenged the power of the Roman Catholic Church and allowed for a dissention from its hold on the traditional theology. Wright (2006) demonstrates that there was also a challenge to the established scholastic educational system, which was used to train nobles and other leaders. It no longer met all the needs of society. More people from a broader socio-economic background needed more education because of religious and economic change. John Calvin was one reformer who was directly involved in the reform in education during this changing time. Harkness (1958) claims in her research that Calvin “set the example for the high regard for education, which led the Puritans to establish Harvard college in 1636” (p.87).
However, educational ideas have cycles. Old ideas are often reborn in the hope that what worked in the past will correct some of the problems that have come with change. Recently, in the United States, there has been a movement to classical education. Following the work of British novelist Sayers (1949), The goal of classical education is to teach subjects through the methodology of grammar, logic, and rhetoric. In the past decade three classical schools have opened in Mississippi alone. Most of the over 120 nation wide Association of Classical Christian Schools (ACCS) are affiliated with churches of a Calvinistic heritage. The concern shown in the development of classical schools that look back to the past as a model shows the importance of understanding the historical roots of education.

Sixteenth century Geneva was home to many who fled persecution during Reformation times. The work by Olson (1980), *The Bourse Françoise: Deacons and social welfare in Calvin’s Geneva*, gives insight into how Geneva met the problem of providing education for the many refugees who entered that city during the 16th century, as well as how education was exported outside the city. Although disagreement exists on how well the immigrant population from France was received in Geneva, the functioning of the Bourse Françoise (the charity that gave aid to the French immigrants) does demonstrate that this was a city that prided itself in helping religious refugees. It also demonstrates that Calvin played a leading role in this innovative philanthropic effort. One of the major goals of the Bourse was to provide for the needs of refugees. This provision was not just giving handouts but providing for the future economic stability of
the refugees. Thus, training and educating were important. The majority of immigrants had skills and often just needed equipment to reestablish themselves in a productive occupation. There were also people that had few opportunities for work, such as priests who had become Protestant. These men needed to be trained so that they could support themselves.

Olson (1989) also points out that there were also young people who had to leave their communities because they had converted from Roman Catholicism to the Protestant faith and no longer could live in their family home. These were joined by orphans and youth who had set out with high expectations but found making a living a difficult task. These people often would be given training via an apprentice system. Genevan society had the concern of socializing, educating, and providing a future occupation for all the young people in the city. A general education system was in place, but it needed some reform and organization. Finally, the crown of education in Geneva, the Academy, was formed in 1559 so there would be higher education for those who needed training for the ministry. Calvin’s influence on education was integral in all these educational developments and plans.

Statement of the Purpose

The purpose of this study is to investigate if John Calvin was a leader or follower in the field of education. His influence is worth studying because modern foundation
texts do not attribute the same influence to Calvin that authors did a few decades ago. Where texts such as Karier’s *Man, Society, and Education* (1967), and Harkness’s *John Calvin: The Man and his Ethics* (1931) gave the view that Calvin had a great effect on education, modern authors such as Tozer (2002) refer to negative aspects, charging Calvinism with harsh discipline. He states, “The Puritan God was an angry God” (p. 54). Tozer credits the Calvinist position for mass literacy, as reading was needed to read the Bible. McNerney and Herbert (2001) add,

> Many settlers were Puritans who followed the teachings of John Calvin…The role of schooling was to produce literate, hard-working, frugal, and respectful men and women who might resist the temptations of the world. Children perceived as savage and primitive creatures were trained and disciplined for a life of social conformity and religious commitment. (p. 45)

These above differences demonstrate a need for further study on Calvin’s view of education. Secularization of the public school has created a perceived need in the area of Christian education. Also, there has been an attempt to move educational philosophy to more of an elitist position rather than a universalist position. The historical roots of these ideals make this historical study important. The College of Education “Doctoral Student Guide” (August 2001) states that if the study is historical in nature questions rather than hypotheses should be used. Therefore the following research questions have been developed for the study of Calvin and Education.
Major research question: What was John Calvin’s influence on education in the 16th Century: A reflection or an influence?

Secondary research questions:

1. What was Calvin’s theology of education?
2. What was Calvin’s philosophy of education?
3. What was the role of the teacher in education in Calvin’s view?
4. How was Calvin’s view of education influenced by the society in which he lived?

The researcher will examine Calvin’s writings, the educational systems that trained Calvin, the educational system of Geneva that was in place before he arrived, and changes that were made to that system because of his influence. This study will present the interplay between religion and education and Calvin’s view on a need for education for economic and political need. Following the emphasis suggested by Brown (1968, 1990), the study will provide answers to philosophical questions on John Calvin’s influences on education.
Justification of the Study

Calvin’s influences

The study is significant because Calvin’s views and influences on education will be examined in a way that has not been previously studied. Although authors have pointed to Calvin’s effect on education, no text has been dedicated to his view of education. Therefore, there is misinformation from both Calvin’s supporters and his detractors and supporters. One supporter, Westminster Christian Academy, states on its web page, “John Calvin, in claiming Geneva for the Reformation, immediately established the Academy” (p. 1). Actually the Academy was not established until 1559, more than two decades later. Another example of confusion is shown in the thesis written by Gligoric (1996). He uses Eby’s work on *The development of modern education* (1952) to show that Calvin was the father of popular education when, in fact, Eby argues against that idea. Because Calvin did not address any of his works directly to education, the material regarding his influence must be gleaned from many different sources. Such a compilation will be a valuable source for students of the history of education, in that it will make a contribution as a reference for the study of the history of education. There is a rich tradition of influences on American education from many sources. However, the oldest seems to be Calvinistic. These influences came through the Puritans from England, the Presbyterians from Scotland, and the Reformed from the Netherlands (Oppewal, 1963). In Christian education circles, as well as in public schools, there are differences in
how this influence is understood and accepted; nevertheless, the historical influence is still meaningful and useful.

Contributions of the study

An interesting phenomenon is discussed in the text by Broadfoot, Osborn, Gilly, and Bucher (1993), *Perceptions of teaching: Primary school teachers in England and France*. The authors claim that secularism in France developed because of its historical roots. Secularism created a conception that the child was a pupil and that “it was the teacher’s duty to nurture in the child a taste for hard work and the intellectual ability to deal with academic tasks” (p. 94). On the other hand, the English system saw that the teacher’s role was to help the child mature socially, with good personal relations and interests outside the strictly academic field. These authors recognized the need of studying the past in order to understand the basis of modern education.

There are many issues that are important in modern schools that have roots that go back to the past. Modern schools have been faced with such issues as education of the elite as compared to education of the masses. Elite education is the goal of special schools such as state scholastic programs for academically gifted students. Also, Good and Levin (2001) demonstrate the need for experts writing in their chosen field of study. Obviously, there are dangers when novices extend their knowledge base too widely. Therefore, an elite education will often be demanded by a segment of society. On the other hand, the government is committed to giving every child an appropriate education.
Reports such as Editorial Projects in Educational Research Center (2006) “Diplomas count: An essential guide to graduation policy and rates” demonstrate the concern Americans have for a better graduation rate. A similar question faced the reformers of the 16th century: Was it more important to educate an elite or a general population?

Each generation of educators has been faced with the question of the need for change. Should we try something new to stimulate progress, or should we look back to the past to find what worked for past generations? Manno (May 1995) indicates that modern trends that are making schools more accountable seem to be looking back to the past for guidance. Still, there must be a good reason for change. Just because something was done differently in the past does not make it better. Therefore, the study of educators who had great influence in the past is important. This study will research Calvin’s thoughts and influences in education.

Definition of terms

Bourse: A charity system in Geneva that was set up to aid immigrants who came to the city in the sixteenth century.

Calvinism: The theological system that was expressed by John Calvin that is based on the sovereignty of God, the authority of scripture, which includes the Old and New Testaments, and the representative church government.

Eschatology: the study of end time.
Evangelical: The religious worldview that is distinct from Roman Catholicism in that it believes that salvation is never earned but granted through the grace of God.

Pietism: A movement that stressed devotion and devoutness in religion.

Reformation: The period of time around the 16th century where Protestants broke away from the Roman Catholic Church.

Scholasticism: The method of selecting and classifying general principles or statements taken from religious or classical authorities. It used a systematic order of commenting on the topics, examining arguments on both sides, refuting the arguments on both sides, and coming to a conclusion. It refers to the writings and teaching of the schoolmen of the Middle Ages such as Anselm, Aquinas, and William of Ockham.

Sovereignty of God: A belief that God is infinite, eternal, and unchangeable in His being, wisdom, power, holiness, justice, goodness, and truth.
Limitations of the study

Calvin’s writings

Calvin never wrote a book dedicated specifically to education. Therefore, it will be necessary to glean his thoughts by searching his works, which leaves the researcher open to the accusation of a poor interpretation. Also, there may be unpublished writings of Calvin that deal with education because students and scribes copied much of his work when he lectured. If such writings are discovered there may be changes that need to be made in the thesis and argument of this dissertation.

Differing views about Calvin

The intention of the study is to provide historical research, which is foundational to the study of education. The great numbers of Calvin’s writings that are indexed have been edited with theology rather than education in mind. Many of those who have written about Calvin have strong feelings for or against him because of their theology. Thus, much research in the original material will be necessary to understand Calvin’s view.

Methodology

The method used to study Calvin and education will be an historical approach. Calvin’s writings, including his commentaries, letters, and sermons, will be used both for
a theological understanding and a development of Calvin’s personal views on education. Calvin’s works will provide a basis for presenting an understanding of his theology of education. They will also give insight into the educational, social, and political events that influenced the reformer’s thinking. His writings will be searched for references to teaching, learning, and other educational terms. These references will be used to determine if there is a consistent pattern or development of a philosophy of education.

The research included a study of the history of education in Europe that lead up to the 16th century. Much of this history was from document analysis, such as contemporary books and letters. These provided background information needed to understand the social and political climate of Europe. Internet research, journals, dissertations, and recent books such as that on the Bourse, will provide direction on new themes that will make the study of Calvin and education more practical and reliable.

Procedure for research included the gathering and assimilation of material on education from a number of different sources:

* Medieval education as challenged by humanistic educational programs such as that of Halle. Many of these humanistic teachers had much influence in Paris where Calvin received his formal training. This humanistic influence was included in the research.
* Material on the political situation before 1530 and before Calvin came to the city.
* Calvin’s works as they described his views on education.
* Post Calvinistic materials as they showed his effect on education.
The extent of the research will include the use of libraries that have an extensive collection of Calvin’s work. Theological libraries in St.Louis, MO, Saskatoon, Canada, and Jackson, Mississippi provided most of the needed material. The Internet was a source for new and updated research. The author’s personal library and collection of Calvin’s commentaries and writings including his letters provided basic resources. Dissertations and other studies were used to demonstrate Calvin’s effects on education.

Procedure for the rest of the study

A literature review was conducted to compare authors’ views on Calvin’s ideas and influences. The literature review is followed by the explanation of why the historical design was best suited for this study. Content is presented to include aspects such as political background, influences on Calvin’s education, a theology of education, organization of Genevan education, and the importance of teachers who were not considered to be at the same theological level as the pastors. The final chapter will summarizes and concludes the study while pointing forward to new research.
CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

There are numerous reasons why Calvin’s views and effects on education are worthy of studying. Calvin lived at a time when there were many changes in the field of education. Because some reformers desire a break from the past and others wish to return to the past, it has been a challenge to classify his position. Misrepresentations of Calvin have not given him the credit that he may deserve as an innovator in the field of education. On the other hand, new understandings about the political and social climate of the 16th century such as works by Benedict (2002) and Gilmont (2005) have added new insight into the Reformer and the city of Geneva where he did his work. His effects on education are sometimes forgotten because of a modern desire to keep religion separate from education. Because Calvin was a religious leader and held to a standard that seems harsh by 21st century standards, he is not appreciated by some authors and dismissed by others (see table 1). The literature review will describe the influences on Calvin, especially concerning his personal life and education, and the major ways he influenced education from his own experiences to the theological basis for an educational theory.
The American education system has Puritan roots that took much of its educational theory from Calvin. As Harkness (1931) claims, “He set the example for the high regard for education which led the Puritans to establish Harvard College in 1636, almost as soon as their feet had touched New England soil” (p. 1). They combined education and religion in a worldview called Calvinism. Many of the ideals of that worldview have been maintained, even though the traditional relationship of education and the Christian religion has been challenged by a new emphasis on the separation of church and state. This study will examine the influence of John Calvin in education and determine if his contributions were innovative and worthy of note.

Personal Influences

Early schooling

Articles on Calvin’s relationship to social topics traditionally have been written from theological points of view. However, more recent research, such as edited works by Buck and Zophy (1972) and Molho and Tedeschi (1971), has indicated that political and social affairs may have played more of a role in developing a tradition in such areas as education. In order to see the importance of Calvin as an innovator it will be necessary to examine some of the influences of 16th century Europe on Calvin. Cadier (1960) and many of the biographies written about Calvin include his early life and schooling. They describe his early schooling in his hometown of Noyon at the Collège des Capettes,
Calvin’s move to Paris for further studies in arts, and his studies in law at Orleans. Parker (1967) makes the claim that his description of Calvin’s schooling was distinct in that it was more complete than any study to precede it. Although there seems to be some difficulty in tracing the exact placement because of the system of colleges, residences, and overlapping of professors, it appears that the young Calvin was educated in the traditional scholastic setting but highly influenced by humanistic teachers. Muller (2000) explains another problem when he comments, “The autobiographical comments that we have from him are few and sometimes difficult to interpret.” (p. 21). This idea had previously been expressed by Wendel (1963) Therefore, as far as his schooling went, the researchers need to rely on general information about the institutions and times he attended.

**Humanist influences**

When Calvin was ready to enter the arts course and begin to learn philosophical arguments, he transferred to the college of Montaigu. This was a college that had been influenced by humanism. A past principal, Jean Standock, had been educated in the schools of the Brotherhood of the Common Life as founded by Gerard Groote. Ziji (1963) demonstrates that such schools were instrumental in a change towards humanistic education. Parker (1967) claims that one of Standock’s reforms was to make the school a religious college for “reformed Monks.” The Humanists were interested in reviving the rediscovered culture of Greece and Rome. With the aid of classical literature, the
individual man became more important than the institutional church. Karier (1967) notes that Latin master Cicero was used as the student’s example and their text, especially on cultural matters (p. 6). The term Humanism has taken on many different meanings since first used in early 19th century Germany. However, it has been associated with the problem of dehumanizing influences in education. That negative trend was to be reduced by the study of humanities. In the Reformation the enemy was scholasticism. As McGrath (1991) claims, “Humanism was concerned with how ideas were obtained and expressed, rather than with the precise nature of the ideas themselves” (p. 55). Men did not have to be Christians in order to be humanists; however, many were.

Mosse (1963) singles out three men who took the classics and reformed humanism so that it became acceptable to Christianity. All of them came out of a pietistic background, where religious devotion was most important. John Colet from England, Lefèvre from France, and Erasmus moved from the philosophy of the Middle Ages to a study of the Bible. They believed that a study of the classics could provide better translations and understandings of scripture. Therefore, these men were instrumental in developing a means by which scriptures could become more accurate. Erasmus presented his Greek new testament, which the reformers used for study and in making their translations. With his translation he pointed out many of the inaccuracies of the Latin Vulgate text that was in use in the Roman Catholic Church. Such a revelation showed the importance of learning the original languages that marked the study of the reformers as opposed to the old scholastic traditions that relied on Latin alone. Colet, his

Greengrass (1997) points out that the Renaissance humanists like to stress that their learning was different from the medieval scholastics. The differences are expanded in Bouwsma (1988, 1990), as he attempts to place Calvin in an historical context. Cadier (1960) makes the argument that Calvin applied the new humanistic learning to his first scholarly work, his commentary on Seneca’s *de clementia*. It was devoted to classical literature. Parker (1975) continues explaining that Calvin used his “new learning” with the use of Greek and a linguistic approach. Like the Humanists, he pays great attention to the context and makes reference to many authorities (p. 27). On the other hand, Muller (2000) demonstrates that Calvin still used the scholastic structure in developing his written arguments.

Educational environment

Morrison (2001) tries to show that Calvin’s curriculum was affected by his humanistic training. She claims his theory of learning stressed a strong training in the liberal arts and a need for children to begin learning at an early age. The curriculum would, therefore, need to include drilling in Latin grammar and vocabulary, but would
also include planned times for physical exercise. The arts were not forgotten and Psalms were sung in French each day. Pannier (1924) explains that Calvin wrote the arrangement for a number of these Psalms while in Strasbourg. Humanism was an important foundation in the development of Calvin’s views of education.

Greengrass (1997) and Bousma (1998) demonstrated that the humanists also recognized that all occupations were important. Calvin accepted this view, although he based his theory of labor on theology.

Calvin: More than a Humanist

His personality

To leave Calvin as a humanist would not do him justice. Calvin surpassed humanism as he tried to reform the church and education in Geneva. McGrath (1990) considers his transition from humanist to reformer as a central question in Calvin’s life. This study will narrow the focus to a reformer in the field of education.

Calvin’s approach to education was affected by his personality. Calvin and those who follow him have tended to have a reputation of being rather dour and serious. Davis (1996) finds that nineteenth century American textbooks portrayed Calvin as intolerant. He states, “The word ‘Calvin’ seems to be shorthand for a range of negative thoughts and feelings in the American cultural consciousness” (p. 235). His study analyzes authors’ motives in the way they presented Calvinism but not in their accuracy. This analysis,
according to G. Johnson (1998), presents a new need for the study of Calvin and his image.

Strict or humane

An image that presents Calvin as strict and controlling indicates that his educational viewpoint would encourage a strict and scholastic style of learning. Bronowski and Mazlish (1962) claim, “Calvin enforced his regimen with great vigor and frequently with outright ferocity” (p. 94). They believe that he set up a theocratic dictatorship. Kingdon (1972) even suggests that the stern Calvinist education in morality internalized an austerity that was passed on to succeeding generations. Höpfl (1982) describes education in Geneva “as rote learning reinforced with public beatings before the whole school” (p. 204). On the other hand, Stauffer (1971) argues that Calvin was more humane than many people would believe. He examined Calvin’s correspondence to demonstrate that the reformer really loved his students. Morrison (2001) agrees, because Calvin would not allow for excessive force and demanded that the master of the school have a “gracious personality.” The fact that Calvin had students staying in his own house was indicative of the way that he was willing to go out of his way to support their education.
The Social Context

There were many ideas and changes in Europe that had an effect on education. Political changes that demanded a better informed populous meant an increased dependence on an educational system that was not as necessary in the Middle Ages. New economic opportunities that were afforded by a greater chance for trade and merchandising meant a change in the old class order. Instead of only nobles and peasants, a new middle class became an important part of society and with it a view that education offered children a new opportunity for economic advancement.

Monter (1967) provides an important understanding of the political situation that affected Geneva in the 16th century. Calvin’s political views are expanded by Robert Kingdon (1967) in *Geneva and the Consolidation of the French Protestant Movement 1564-1572*. Kingdon believes the reformation in France was mainly religious and was greatly influenced from Geneva. He examines the age-old problems of the balance of church and state and ecclesiastical structure in order to convince his readers about the influence of Geneva on the French protestant church. On the other side, there are many who discuss social influences on Calvin (Bratt, 1970; McGrath, 1990; and Tamburello, 1992;). Ethical, social and political studies are important in understanding the development of education for Calvin in Geneva and in Europe. Studies by Giligoric (1996) try to demonstrate Calvin’s long lasting affects and influences on modern education. These authors have established that Calvin’s educational reforms were affected by 16th century Europe and, in turn, became influential. This study will go...
beyond those to determine those innovative areas that were established by Calvin in
Geneva and if it was really his innovations or his ability to communicate that are
important to education.

Calvin and change

Eby (1961) claims that the Reformation was a victory in “rehabilitating” the
professional study of the history of education. His work pointed to the Reformation as
“the most far reaching and profound awakening in the history of western civilization”
(p. 1). He credits this revolution to an intellectual revolt of northern Europeans from the
domination of the old Roman traditions. McGrath (1990) describes the reformation as an
urban event. The social tensions that were present in the sixteenth century expressed
themselves in change. Brady (1988, 1997) has studied the urban phenomena with the
large independent cities of Strasbourg, Augsburg, Nuremberg, and Ulm. He finds that a
change in class distinctions was important in the development of these cities. Ozment
(1975) demonstrates the appeal that the Reformation would have had in major cities in
Germany and Switzerland as social as well as theological. His desire was to bridge a gap
between social and intellectual history as he described the cities of the Reformation.
Calvin would have experienced the social climate in his time spent in Strasbourg and his
contact with Jacob Sturm, as well as his involvement with the Swiss Cantons.

O’Connell (1974) makes the claim that Calvin was not a creative thinker like
Luther. He claimed Calvin borrowed freely from the reformers who went before him.
Wendel (1965) credits much of what he was able to accomplish to Bucer with whom Calvin worked when on hiatus in Strasburg. Calvin’s strength was in organization. McNeill (1947) presents a summary of his magna opus, *The Institutes of the Christian Religion*, where he demonstrates the organization of this major book. McGrath (1990) looks at the *Ecclesiastical Ordinances* of 1541 to demonstrate Calvin’s ability to organize. Although he claims that Calvin was responding to existing Genevan structures, he argues that Calvin took the structures and established a biblical basis that gave them legitimacy and a quality that would safeguard their longevity. The deaconate was one example. This order had been a longstanding institution of the middle ages, where it functioned as an apprenticeship for the priesthood. Calvin established a deaconate that had a responsibility for caring for the poor by insisting upon an implementation of the roles that deacons held in the New Testament church. Palm (1971) views the *Ordinances* as a guide that not only structured church government in Geneva but also provided church order in France.

When an innovation is successful or effective, it will have great influence. Thus, to show Calvin’s influence, this study will need to examine some influences outside of Geneva. Mordock (2000) follows an influence that has emerged as a topic of interest since the fall of the United Soviet Socialist Republic. That is the influence on education in Hungary. Mentzer and Spicer (2002) discuss a similar influence in the Huguenot world of France. Kingdon (1967) concentrates on Geneva’s role in French politics. He believes that the Reformation in France was mainly religious and greatly influenced from Geneva.
Church reform in Geneva was a model to be followed. That effect is supported by Phillip Benedict (2002) who stresses the influence that Calvin had throughout Europe.

From Europe, the Calvinistic influence in education was carried to America. Atkinson and Maleska (1964) gives more of a chronological overview from earliest times to the American setting. Again, Karier (1967) credits Europe with a great influence on the Puritans and the Puritans on American education in general.

Other texts give less of a place to the influence of Calvinism. Lawrence Cremin (1965) and Tozer, Violas, and Senese (2002) look to the classical Greeks for inspiration but skip over the Reformation quickly to get to American education. In fact, many texts such as Altenbaugh (2003), Diaz, Pelletier, and Provenzo (2006), Hlebowitsh (2001), Parkway (2006), and Spring (2002), make limited reference to European history. Hlebowitsh (2001) tries to distance modern education from the past with statements such as, “The children were subjected to texts like the Westminster Catechism” (p. 185).

The trend to focus on American roots is understandable considering the rich tradition of American education. However, the European influence must not be forgotten.

McNergney (2003) dismisses Calvin as impractical, providing little that could be applied to modern progressive education. On the other hand Butterfield (1981) explains that Calvin’s work was of special importance to students of the social studies. Calvin developed an historical method that parted from the traditional Roman Catholic view of ecclesiastical history. With the Reformation, history became an important aspect of
education. Butterfield explains that the Reformers “revived the early Christian interest in a universal history, the overall history of mankind; and they established an enduring teaching-tradition in this subject” (p. 210). By raising the Old Testament to greater importance than it held in the medieval ages, Calvin brought out the importance of history.

The Reformation addressed many ethical issues as it challenged problems within the Roman Catholic Church. It developed an approach to the Bible that called for it to be a vital element in determining ethics. This approach called for the faithful to study and determine how scriptures would deal with ethical issues. Calvin applied his view to education so that it could be claimed “Calvin wanted Geneva, a city of notoriously lax morals, to be a holy city. His influence was felt everywhere, notably in the schools” (Anonymous, 1990, p. 40). Such a statement suggests that the ethical problems were not only in the Roman Catholic Church but were also part of society. The moral influence of education would make schools a priority for anyone who wished to influence the ethics of a city.

Geneva was a city that developed great importance in the 16th century. Part of that importance was that it became Calvin’s home. Wallace (1998) and Monter (1967) describe the influence that Calvin had on the city, as church leader was great but that this influence was limited. Hughes (1966) made this point as he edits the Register of the Company of Pastors of Geneva. Naphy (1994) demonstrates how the Genevan Reformation was consolidated under the influence of Calvin.
The fact that there was an educational system in place before Calvin even arrived in Geneva is indication that there were many factors that affected the system, besides Calvin’s theology. One factor was economics. The classical work on Calvin and the economy is the study by Weber (1939), *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*. Weber is still used by many to discredit Calvin’s support of the poor. Olson (1980) answers with her work on the Bourse Francaise. Again Calvin was portrayed as a humanist in Innes (1983) *Social Concerns in Calvin’s Geneva*. He portrays Calvin’s programs like a *New Deal*, where the dignity of man became the foundation of programs, such as poor relief, hospital and prison reform, reception of refugees, and the building of industry and guilds to aid the immigrants.

The work by Olson (1980), *The Bourse Francaise: Deacons and Social welfare in Calvin’s Geneva*, gives some insight into how Geneva met the problem of education for the many refugees who entered that city during the Reformation times as well as how education was exported outside the city. Although there seems to be some disagreement on how well the immigrant population from France was received in Geneva, the functioning of the Bourse Francaise does demonstrate that this was a city that prided itself in helping religious refugees. It also demonstrated that Calvin played a leading role in this innovative philanthropic effort. One of the major goals of the Bourse was to provide for the needs of refugees. This provision was not just giving handouts but providing for the future economic stability of the refugees. Education has been and will continue to be a factor in economic stability. Thus, training and educating immigrants to
Geneva were important. The majority of immigrants had skills and often just needed equipment to become established in a productive occupation. There were also young people who had to leave their communities because they had converted and no longer could live in their family home. These were joined by young people who were sometimes orphaned and sometimes just youth who had set out with high expectations and found making a living a difficult task. The young people often would be given training via an apprentice system. Such systems involved fees to the masters that were paid by the Bourse (p. 49). Then there were the children who were to become part of the Genevan society. These created a concern of socializing, educating, and providing for a future occupation. Eventually, the Academy was formed but education was expensive. It was the Bourse that paid the expenses for educating children.

Literary change

Censorship in Europe had an important affect on learning and education. Putnam (1967) presents a study of the extent and reasons for censorship. He points to the fact that the University of Paris was the body with the power to censor printed material that made France such a difficult place to print or obtain Protestant materials. Greengrass (1998) lists the Index of Prohibited Books that was used to hinder the spread of Protestant literature (p. 273). Yet the Roman Catholic Church was not the only church to control the printed media. Putnam also demonstrates that there were regulations in force in many Protestant cities.
Scribner (2001) also points out that an oral influence was sometimes more potent than the written word. Not everyone in the 16th century was literate. Therefore, the writings and pamphlets of the Reformers read in the public square or from the pulpit of churches were important communications. Scribner suggests that the evangelical sermon was a more important medium than printing for the dissemination of knowledge to the average person. He also suggests that casual communication between friends had a great influence in forming public opinion. Those authorities who controlled oral communications still had a great power over the people of their lands.

Educational Context

Calvin’s strengths as affecting education

There are authors who claim that Calvin was influential as an organizer and a writer. McGrath (1991) makes an interesting comparison between Joachim von Watt (known as Vaiden) at St. Gallen and Calvin at Geneva. Although Vaiden seemed to have everything going for him: reputation, authority, and a united city, it was Calvin that became the reformer of note. McGrath points out reasons such as ability in writing and publishing for a greater audience worked to Calvin’s advantage (p. 123). He does not, however, refer to Calvin’s ability as a teacher and organizer of education, which definitely enhanced Calvin’s work. Calvin’s training and experience along with the
situation of Geneva in the 16th century was a combination that was to change the world. He had great gifts and Geneva had great needs and potential.

View of teachers

Historically, teaching has been associated with the church and with that connection in mind many teachers were churchmen with a mission or a calling. Calvin supported a change in thinking about the role or vocation of the teacher. He felt that teaching was a separate office, with a special calling. The position of a teacher as a role model was also vital to a good school. Because of the position that teachers had in the school system, it was important that those who had a position of authority in the schools be of high moral character as well as being highly trained. Calvin viewed teachers as an important aspect of his educational system. They were to be well trained as well as of high moral character. Calvin’s ideas seemed to parallel the Lutherans in viewing teachers as a calling worthy of acceptance as a special office of the church. Although Calvin’s view of the separation of the offices of teacher and pastor was not always followed, the separation was established in Geneva. Calvin was able to accept men as teachers that he would not accept as pastors. They were two different offices.
Theological context

Universal education

Universal education is an innovation worthy of note. Calvin’s dream was that everyone should receive an education. This dream came from his theology in which he saw the need for an individual relationship with God. To accomplish this goal, every person needed to read the Bible and to understand what it said. The principle of *Sola scriptura* was a foundation for the reformers. Rothbard (2006) critiques Calvin as the founder of universal education. He insists on more freedom in education than a compulsory education would allow. Schaff (1903), quoting Bancroft, also calls Calvin the father of popular education and the inventor of a system of free schools. Eby (1961) argues that Calvin should never have been given that honor as others had done as much for public education. He argues that Calvin made no provision for the education of girls or for compulsory education. However, his argument must be tempered by the conditions described by Naphy (1994), which designate the power for the approval of a boys’ and girls’ school to the Senate. It was the job of the political body to be responsible for making such provisions. Atkinson and Maleska (1964) give some concrete examples, such as Frederick the Great who instituted a compulsory education because he believed that the child belonged to the state. Calvin’s view was that the child belonged to the home. The *Register of Pastors Geneva at the time of Calvin* (Hughes, 1966) also answers Eby when it stated that girls would have their own separate school, as had been the
custom in Geneva. Therefore, the governing council of Geneva had established schools for girls even before Calvin arrived in their city. Calvin could not introduce education for girls because it already existed.

Publishing of writings

Another aspect of education that was supported by the Bourse was the publication and disbursement of religious material. The more material available the more people would read. Although not everyone was literate, there were people in each community who were and they would read. Scribner (2001) discusses how even the illiterate could become more informed by the availability of the written word. He states that “The experience of ‘the word’ was mediated in the church and the household: song-books, prayer books, and catechisms were far more common than the Bible; and the picture of a father reading from an edifying text to his household was a more accurate picture than the individual deep in solitary reading” (p. 367).

Calvin was recognized as a leader in theology in his own time. Therefore, it made sense that his written material would be published. However, the Bourse supported another important method for recording Calvin’s thought. Every time that Calvin preached there was someone there to record what he said. These copyists received a salary from the Bourse. In fact, Dennis Raguenier was fully supported in this occupation as copyist (Olson, 1980, p. 215). The fact that he was fully supported showed
both that Calvin was recognized as a leading theologian and that it was important to put his words into print. Without the full time diligence of Raguenier, much of Calvin’s work would not have been copied or published.

Books and scriptures were seen as evangelical tools in spreading the Reformation into Roman Catholic countries such as France. Again, the Bourse provided the funds needed to publish the written material and then to provide for sending messengers to transport the material or to send information into France. As Moeller (1979) argues, “No printing, no Reformation” (p. 30). Authors such as Chrisman (1967) and Ozment (1982), point to the availability of pamphlets and new books that spread evangelical ideals throughout Germany and Switzerland. Greengrass presents background information that demonstrates the growth of the printing industry in Reformation times. Yet, there was another side to the story. The Roman church maintained a great deal of control, not just in printing and distributing the new material, but even in reading the material that was available (Scribner, 2001).

Place of theology

The need to discover if Calvin’s theology was the determining factor in the development of education or if the political/cultural situation was a determinant presents an underlying problem. Studies such as Benedict’s Christ’s churches purely reformed: A social history of Calvinism (2002) demonstrate a trend to social histories. The influence of Calvin was more than theological. It included social topics including education. David
Holwerda’s (1976) collection of essays is also an attempt to explore this heritage. He includes a chapter on the role of women, which will be important in the development of the topic of a universal education. Merle d’Aubigne (1990) also writes a history of the reformation where he attempts to provide possible influences.

Ethics

Because education is important to the dignity of man and to his understanding of the kingdom of God, it is an area that concerned ethics. Johnson (1998) indicated that Calvin’s reforms were ethical. Calvin’s ideas on poor relief, hospital construction, prison reform, the reception of refugees and the growth of an industrial economy all added to the importance of the working class. Anyone who had an education could feel better about themselves because they could understand that they had an important part to play in the economy of their city.

Scriptural importance

As Norman Ravitch (1973) points out, Calvin believed that the Old Testament had an equal authority with the New and that the scriptures were the infallible word of God. Calvin states, “Every man should examine his own life, and compare not only his actions, but also his thoughts, with that perfect rule of righteousness which is laid down in the law” (Calvin, 1948, Commentary on the Psalms, p. 209). Therefore, his theology of education must start with an interpretation of the Old Testament passages that refer to
education. Old Testament teachings commanded parents to teach their children to love God and to serve Him. This was taken so seriously that the Jews would place such verses as Deuteronomy 6:4-9 and 11:13-21 in a box, which was attached to the door posts of their homes. A number of principles of education arise from this basis: The parents are to be responsible for the education of their children. Religious morality should be part of the educational process.

Calvin borrowed ideas on education from many who preceded him. This thesis takes the view that borrowing or applying information in a new or more effective way can be creative enough to be considered innovative. Beyond that borrowing Calvin applied himself to the development of an academy that was a unique institution of higher learning. He was able to directly pass much of his educational theory to those who accepted his religious and moral standards, which makes a study of his educational theory worthwhile.

This literature review has shown that there is some disagreement about Calvin’s influence in education. Some authors have a negative view of the Reformer where others have made him into an example that everyone should follow. The thesis of this study follows the need to present Calvin and education in a fresh study that is unique in that it is devoted to Calvin’s effect on education. The study will look at those social, political and theological issues that make up Calvin’s view of education to determine his place in the field of education.
CHAPTER III

METHOD

This chapter will describe the research designs used in gathering information on Calvin’s view of education and the need for the study. It will outline the surveys and the research procedures. A survey of major social foundations of education texts was used to determine how Calvin’s educational contributions were being presented in the introductory foundations classes. This was followed by a search of Calvin’s writings and materials that described the socio/political climate of 16th century Europe. Finally, a survey was conducted to test the importance of Calvin’s innovative view of teaching as a calling.

Research Design

Methods used

Three methods will be used in this study. The major portion of the dissertation will be based upon a historical method. Because there was a radical increase in publication of religious materials during Calvin’s time, a search of these materials would be important to understanding the historical and sociological influences on education. Scholars such as Edwards (1994) and Scribner (1981) point to the more than forty-fold
increase in pamphlet production over pre-Reformation levels in the Holy Roman Empire. Greengrass (1998) and Monter (1967) chart the growth of publishing in Geneva during the time of Calvin. The number of titles published reached a high of 48 in 1561 and trailed off after Calvin’s death in 1564. Cardier (1960) points to the number of revisions of *The institutes of the Christian religion* that were published in French and Latin during this period. The introductions to Calvin’s (1959) 12 New Testament volumes also provides publication material that demonstrates that Calvin’s works were printed in more than one edition as well as in both Latin and French. Geneva printers also published Calvin’s (1959) Old Testament commentaries and occasional writings that include his theological treatises. It could be concluded from these figures that the printing industry was largely dependent upon the publication of Calvin’s writings. These writings will provide the basis for the material from which an understanding of Calvin’s thought on education will be derived. The research will consist of searching Calvin’s works for all references to education and teaching in order to develop a statement on his view of education. A survey of texts used in classes that stress foundations of education will be used to demonstrate the need for the study. The final method will use SPSS, Cross tabs to compare pre-service teachers views as to their views on their vocation. The statistical analysis will compare students who view teaching as a job, an occupation, and a calling.

**A Review of Texts Used in Educational Foundations Classes.**

To determine how Calvin’s contribution to education is taught in foundation classes for pre-service teachers, the researcher looked at major texts that are used for the
teaching of the above class and search for references to Calvin and his view on education. This material will be recorded in chart form so that the texts may be compared. The results are presented as a percentage.

Purpose: to determine if the study is legitimate

This review was conducted to demonstrate that this study is legitimate. If education textbooks do not give Calvin credit for innovative reforms either he was not considered a reformer or he is poorly understood. Either case would give cause to study his views on education because some people have claimed that he did have a great effect on education. The study will survey available Foundations of Education texts and summarize the number of times Calvin is mentioned and in what context. The results will be presented as an average that compares texts where the Reformer is mentioned to texts where he is not mentioned.

Introduction

The texts reviewed for this study revealed some interesting information that confirmed the need for a study on John Calvin. Many of the texts made reference to Calvinism as it affected the Puritans or later reformers such as Horace Mann. However, they usually left out any explanation of the contribution to education made by John Calvin. Other texts credited others with the contributions to American education that should have been given to Calvin. White (1968) claims that the idea of universal education came to America from Germany (p. 3). Considering that the Germans did not
arrive until after the Puritans had already established that principle, it seems that Calvin’s influence was disregarded. Reed (1995) made the unsupported claim that Calvin was more interested in secondary education than elementary education. Such a claim is debatable considering Calvin was a founder of the Bourse and he went door-to-door in Geneva to ask people to support elementary education. The survey revealed that texts usually taught that Europeans brought their two-track system of education to America and that an early stress on Bible reading brought an emphasis on literacy. If Calvin contributed more than this to American education, discovering his educational achievements and innovations should be credited. This dissertation attempts to go beyond college texts to discover what Calvin did for education.

Subjects (annotations are of foundations texts)


Reed, A., & Bergemann, V. (1995). *In the classroom: An introduction to education*, Guilford, CT: Dushkin Publishing Group. The authors claim Calvin was more interested in secondary education than elementary.


Limitations

The texts were chosen by availability and use in teacher education programs in Canada and the United States. There are some Educational Foundations texts that are too specific for the survey and were not included these in this review. Jana Noel (2008) Multicultural Education would be an example as it focuses on multicultural education and leaves out the historical aspects of education.

The following chart summarizes what the reviewed texts present about John Calvin and Calvinism. The topics surveyed were chosen because a lack of discussion would demonstrate a need to study Calvin and his effect on education.

Analysis

The history of education is traced in many texts and historical surveys. In surveying texts used in teaching classes on foundations of education this study found that less than 13% of the texts referred to Calvin as an innovator in education. An emphasis on American education may have been one reason, but some of the texts, such as Tozer (2002), referred to the European heritage without referring to Calvin. Therefore, there
may have been some misunderstanding or bias in regards to his educational contributions. White (1968) discredits Calvin’s influence by his claim that, “The idea of universal education came to America from Germany” (p. 3).

As can be seen in Table 1, only 10% of the reviewed texts referred to John Calvin directly and credited Calvin with an important influence on American schools. Sixty percent mentioned Calvinism. However, almost 4% of those referred to the belief in negative terms such as Spring’s (2005) emphasis on the negative effects of Calvinism on the life of Harold Mann. Therefore, there is indication that a study on Calvin’s influence on education is warranted.
Table 1. Foundations Texts Reviewed for a Discussion of John Calvin and Education.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Text</th>
<th>Calvin Included</th>
<th>Calvin Credited</th>
<th>Noted Problems</th>
<th>Calvinism mentioned</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Altenbaigh, R.J.</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
<td></td>
<td>Y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Counts, G.</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
<td></td>
<td>Y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diaz, C.</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
<td></td>
<td>Y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Garrison, J.</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hall, G.</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
<td></td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hlebowitsh, P.</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
<td></td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hendley, B.</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
<td></td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Johnson, A.</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
<td></td>
<td>Y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Johnson, J.</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
<td></td>
<td>Y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kneller, G. F.</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
<td></td>
<td>Y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leider, C.U.</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
<td></td>
<td>Y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lucas, C.</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
<td></td>
<td>Y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McNerggney, R.</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Puritans</td>
<td>Y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Martin, D.</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Noll, J.</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
<td></td>
<td>Y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orlich, D.</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
<td></td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ornstein, A.</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>dual-tract</td>
<td>Y</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The review looked at four topics that might be included in a foundations text:

- If Calvin was mentioned.
- If Calvin was credited with educational innovation or reform.
- If there were problems with the text’s perception of Calvinistic influences.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Authors</th>
<th>Topic 1</th>
<th>Topic 2</th>
<th>Topic 3</th>
<th>Topic 4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Parkay, F.</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
<td></td>
<td>Y</td>
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<tr>
<td>Piddocke, S.</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
<td></td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purpel, D.</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
<td></td>
<td>Y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reed, A.</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rich, J.M.</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
<td></td>
<td>Y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sadker, M.</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
<td></td>
<td>N (P)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spring, J. (2002)</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
<td></td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spring, J. (2005)</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spring, J. (2007)</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
<td></td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Serrow, R.</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
<td></td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tozer, S. V.</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Webb, L. D.</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
<td></td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White, H. R.</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wynn, R.</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
<td></td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
If Calvinism was mentioned. (Sometimes Calvinism was mentioned as a system without reference to whom it is named after).

The Historical Study

Introduction

The second method used to determine Calvin’s effect on learning is an historical method. Calvin’s works were reviewed to explore his views on education. Commentaries provided a tool for understanding the theological basis of education. By studying Calvin’s references to teaching and education, general themes as well as specific ideas on teaching can be seen in their theological context. Calvin’s letters and ethical writings will provide insight into the importance that Calvin gave to education and the teaching profession.

Other documents, contemporaneous with the reformer, will provide much of the context that can be used to describe how Calvin’s reforms created change or carried on traditions that had already been in place. Consistory records from Geneva give insight into the situation in Geneva, the conflicts as well as the programs that would affect education. Documentation from other European countries provide information on the influence both Calvin and Geneva had on the continent.
Library and Research Materials

The author’s personal library contains all of Calvin’s Commentaries as well as theological writings such as his *Institutes*, and many of his other texts such as *Concerning Scandals, Letters of John Calvin*, and *Devotions and Prayers of John Calvin*. The library also contains many volumes about and contemporaneous with Calvin.

A number of libraries have been used in gathering more material and supplementing the above. Mississippi State University library has many texts on the 16th century that include valuable works on social history and education. A number of libraries have been used to supplement the library at Mississippi State University. The Toronto School of Theology and Knox College libraries in Toronto as well as the University of Saskatchewan provided access to volumes written in the original languages of Latin and French in which Calvin wrote. There are also many writings on line that have confirmed research.

Procedures

Calvin’s works were searched to study each time education, teaching, and schools are mentioned. Those that apply to institutional education were used to determine Calvin’s views on education and how he developed them. The results are presented in discussion format.

Calvin has been claimed and denied by many groups. However, his theories and effect on education have not been properly recognized. Therefore, this dissertation will
attempt to present Calvin’s views on education and show that he was an innovative educator who had a great affect on educational systems since the sixteenth century.

Limitations

Because of cost, the author was unable to go to Geneva to do original research. Because of technology most of the needed documents are available on the Internet and have been translated by numerous scholars so that any discrepancies are well known. Robert Kingdon (1967) lists a number of problems in working in the Genevan State Archives. The first problem is that the documents are not definitive as they are only a sampling of the consistory’s work. Their bulk makes them difficult to use as they even include private papers. A second problem is technical. Because the documents were written by hand and quickly so that the information presented in the weekly minutes could be recorded accuracy may be lacking. Besides the 400 year-old French, the documents include many abbreviations and local usages that need the skill of a trained paleographer to decipher. Therefore, the use of transcribed and translated material has been most valuable.

A third problem is that Calvin is well known and either liked or disliked for his theological beliefs and actions. He has been condemned for his part in the burning of Servetus and hailed as a saint in Presbyterian schools and churches. It is necessary to understand the background of many of his commentators to understand their bias. The number of the latter means that in the past five centuries Calvin has been discussed in many books. The student of Calvin must not only become familiar with Calvin’s writings, but with the writings and opinions of many Calvin scholars and translators such as John McNeill, John Fraser, David and Thomas Torrance, and T. H. L. Parker. Modern
social historians, such as Thomas Brady and Steven Ozment, were also unfamiliar to the author before the research began, but invaluable in understanding the social situation in 16\textsuperscript{th} century Europe. The amount of literature available has made the task formidable although not unpleasant. Much material was contained in the \textit{Institutes of the Christian Religion}. Because there are many versions of this document the book, chapter, and section have been included to precede the page number.

Because 16\textsuperscript{th} century Europe was not a print–based culture, the effect of Calvin’s teaching cannot be gauged only by what has been written in his works but also in what was taught in schools and churches. Therefore, it will be necessary to look at some of the effects of his work to understand Calvin’s importance in education. Fortunately, scribes had been hired to copy Calvin’s sermons and lectures as he spoke, which provide insight into the oral culture that may have been dominant in 16th century Europe. Scribner’s (2001) studies answer some of the questions concerning the sudden change from an illiterate to a literate population. His claim was that 16\textsuperscript{th} century Europe was still heavily dependent upon orality, or information spread by the spoken word. At the same time he demonstrates that the same population, although largely illiterate, recognized the authority and the longevity of written works.

Calvin recognized this authority. Therefore he revised his \textit{Institutes of the Christian religion} four times and noted in his preface to Queen Elizabeth that he had taken so much time in revising the \textit{Commentary on Isaiah} that it “ought justly to be reckoned a new work” (\textit{Isaiah I}, p. xci). Yet, at the same time he recognized the importance of public lectures as he writes to Farel in January 1539, “I either lecture or preach daily” (\textit{Letters}, p. 58). Still Calvin understood the importance of being able to
read and passed that ideal on to Geneva in encouraging all citizens to give their children at least a basic education.

The Survey on Teaching

Introduction

The third method of research was used to determine the importance of how students viewed the teaching profession. Calvin insisted that teaching was a calling. In giving teaching this title he distinguished it from the secular occupations that may be a job or an occupation. Instead, teaching was given a spiritual dimension as was shown in the Ecclesiastical Ordinances (November 20, 1541). Teachers were called by God to serve in a special capacity of educating young people. They had special gifts given by God that they had to use or they would not feel fulfilled. Such a view would affect their motivation and their dedication.

A study was conducted at a southern university, Mississippi State University, to examine the idea of a calling to the teaching profession. The study surveyed pre-service teachers to determine if they viewed the teaching profession as a career, a job, or a calling. The purpose of the survey study was to determine if Calvin’s emphasis that teaching should be a calling could still be regarded as an important perception to be found in pre-service teachers.

This study used the results of a survey on higher education student perceptions of teachers. The survey presents descriptive information to examine the expectations of pre-
service teachers. The survey uses nominal scales to discover information on expectations for teaching, benefits of teaching as a profession, teacher preparation, and qualities that would be desirable in teachers. This design will not allow for statistics such as range. However, frequency was measured and variability approached by indicating the number of different categories for the responses to the survey questions. There was no development of any index of variability or spread. To maintain internal consistency, the evaluations and surveys were administered in the same manner, there was no pressure put on students to participate, and the researcher was present during the administration of the survey to clarify any misunderstanding (Creswell, 2003). Classes were observed over a number of semesters. Consistency over time showed a strong indication of reliability (Fraenkel & Wallen, 2003). As far as generalizing from the questions (construct validity), although the survey was given to a limited number of students, it was given over six semesters and the students who took it were students who had been accepted into professional education classes.

Subjects

The subjects were pre-service teachers, who were taking professional teacher education classes. Although the students were not chosen at random, the sample was large enough and the survey was taken over six semesters so the results are representative of pre-service teachers.

Subjects were obtained from the classes taught by the researcher in Social Foundations of Education and Planning and Management from 2002 to 2006. Students were volunteers. They received no extra credit or other incentive for participation in the
survey. There were 201 students surveyed after they completed their introductory social foundations class. Seven surveys were discarded because of irregularities.

Instrumentation

A survey was developed as an instrument to test pre-service teacher’s perceptions of teacher qualities. Qualities stressed by internship/student teaching programs were used to formulate the survey questions. The pilot study was run and a survey was developed from those results. To answer the question of the perceived importance of “calling,” a survey was conducted that compared qualities to the teachers’ perceptions of their job. Enthusiasm was the most chosen quality by those who felt teaching should be a career or a calling. It also indicated that pre-service students had expectations to do more work than their counter parts. This survey was adjusted to include variable options to include those who do not wish to teach and to add “combination of economic benefits including retirement” to the question on the greatest benefit of teaching. The survey was created independently of; but parallel to, Farkas, Johnson, and Foleno (2000) *A Sense of Calling: Who Teaches and Why*. Their results were from a national telephone survey of 664 public school teachers, 250 private school teachers, 802 college graduates who did not become teachers, and 170 school administrators. The final survey (Appendix B) focused on the attitude of whether the teaching profession should be a job, career, or calling and compared the variables that pre-service teachers indicated would be expected.

Administration

The responses were collected and analyzed as to content. The implications from this study yielded information on how pre-service teachers view the teaching profession
and how Calvin’s stress on calling has influenced people who have chosen to be teachers. The results will be given in chapter four.

Reliability and validity

The survey on qualities of teachers was run as a pilot study in the summer of 2002. The survey was modified because of the results. The new survey was given to determine dependent variables such as pre-service teacher’s views on teacher’s qualities, education classes and expectations of the teaching profession.

Procedures

The survey on pre-service teacher’s perceptions was prepared for student use. Students were given a form asking for permission to use their survey data in further research and to revise future classes. The form includes the following statement: I understand that no individual grades or names will be used in such research and that it will not affect my grade as my contribution is strictly voluntary. Students returned that form and survey. The researcher gathered the forms and detached the consent forms from the questionnaire forms. The consent forms were stored in a locked cabinet in the researcher’s office. The data forms were used for analysis.

Analysis

The collected data from the survey were analyzed according to specific characteristics such as time spent, effort, benefits of teaching, and sex. Frequency of responses was tallied. The data provided the information that showed how students perceive themselves in the classroom. The anticipation is that the data could be used to
create a profile of the potentially successful teacher and discover if the idea of a calling would affect perceptions of qualities of teachers.

An SPSS® cross tabs analysis was used to determine the relationship of variables to desired teacher qualities on the developed survey. The dependent variables included perceptions on benefits of teaching, work ethic (including what is expected of education classes and future work expectations), expected teaching level, and sex of the pre-service teacher. The independent variable was a view of teaching as a career, as a job, and as a calling.

The Uniqueness of the study

This study, because it is an interdisciplinary historical, theological, and sociological project that concerns the field of education, will contribute to an understanding of education and the importance of believing the ideal that teaching should be a calling. Because the survey was done with pre-service teachers, it demonstrates a perception or attitude toward teaching, where the survey of teachers by Farkas, Johnson, and Foleno (2000) was affected by their experience in the classroom.

Limitations

All those surveyed were pre-service teachers. However, the subjects make it unique because Farkas, Johnson, and Foleno (2000) conducted a telephone survey with college graduates and teachers with five or fewer years of teaching experience. Their survey also allowed a choice between job and calling as compared to the pre-service survey, which compared job, career, and calling.
Potential implications for theory

There is a desire to develop tools for the effective communication of the principles of learning to teacher education. There is also a movement to examine the efficacy of professional development activities for pre-service teachers because they have challenges for which they are not prepared when they become teachers. Beyond that, education is dynamic enough that there will be a need for lifelong learning. It is necessary to provide preparation that is compatible with promoting teacher learning. Research is needed to determine what could be done to answer the teacher’s needs. To give that answer, data was collected on what qualities the pre-service teacher perceives are important for an educator. The questions of perception were addressed to pre-service teachers. The questions could also be applied to teachers in the field. Answers could provide frameworks, which could guide their career development (Bransford, Brown, & Cocking, 2000).

The data gathered here could help with the instruction of future teachers to make their college experience more beneficial. This improved education will make for better-prepared teachers and ultimately better learning in schools.

Data that shows the pre-service teacher looks at teaching as only a job would indicate that the teacher is not dedicated to the ideal of lifelong learning. It would indicate a need of colleges and boards to look at the profile of a good teacher and weed out those prospective teachers who will not be successful in the classroom because of their attitude toward learning. How can such teachers motivate students to learn when they are not motivated themselves?
Data that show pre-service teachers have judged that they have put great effort into learning will indicate motivated students. When a pre-service teacher goes beyond the required readings and has struggled with material until it is understood the college will be encouraged that it is creating an atmosphere of learning.

The new information could be used in developing the profile of the teacher who has potential. Such information could help in teacher recruitment or pre-service counseling. It could also help in providing in-service programs that will be helpful to the teachers. Pre-service teachers will be going out into the classroom. When we accept that the teacher perceives himself in certain ways and there will be teachers who fail because they have poor conceptions of what is important in learning we can make the appropriate changes in teacher education. The poor conceptions will need to be addressed because they not only affect the teacher-training program but they also affect the classes of students that will be influenced by the newly trained teachers. When teachers enter the field of education for the wrong reasons the whole educational system will suffer.
CHAPTER IV
RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Survey Results

As part of this dissertation, the survey on pre-service teachers’ views of their future occupation was conducted. It was used to determine the importance of “calling” among pre-service teachers. The intention was to demonstrate the change in attitude that has its roots in Calvin’s educational theory. The literature review showed that status of teachers was a concern. John Calvin looked at the teaching profession as a calling. That is, it was to be more than a job. Certain religious and emotional overtones affected the idea of a calling. The study was carried out to examine if there was actually a difference between teachers who felt their occupation was a calling, a job, or an occupation.

This study explored the perceptions that pre-service teachers have concerning their occupation as teachers and how that perception affects their performance. When teaching is just a job the level of dedication is less than when it is a calling. The pre-service teacher’s attitude will affect their learning.

The survey addressed the question, “What qualities do pre-service teachers believe they must possess in order to be successful in their class?” If teachers are to understand how to teach students and how to proceed with self-regulated learning, it will be important for them to practice the process themselves. Covington (1999) encourages learning for the sake of self-expression, personal growth, and meaningful discovery.
this not the desire we would have for our teachers? If teachers, themselves, do not have such a desire, two things could happen: First, they will stagnate in the classroom. They will learn nothing new. Therefore, they will try nothing new and teaching will lose one of its most exciting elements - that teaching is constantly new because no two students are going to be exactly alike. The second problem to occur is that students will become trapped by the example of their teacher. They will be grade driven and the appreciation for learning and satisfaction of accomplishment may be lost as a model to the students. If they can see that their teacher continually strives for new knowledge, they too will be encouraged to pursue life long learning.

Accepting the role of fellow learners with students does not need to affect the teacher’s role or the teacher-student relationship (Craft, 1995, p.34). It does demand an attitude that creates an environment for learning. Craft suggests that, at age six, pupils have a clear understanding that teachers are also learners. In order to develop a positive attitude to life long learning colleges and professional schools need to stress the ideal of independent learning. Assignments that explore and challenge need to replace the busy work that has so often been the mark of colleges of education. Development of resources that will be available to teachers will also provide an incentive to continue to study and learn. Many colleges and teacher organizations have seen this need and have provided conferences, mini classes, on line classes, and written grants to provide for such learning. However, if the attitude is wrong - that is that teachers take professional development programs because it is required rather than because they have a desire to learn and improve themselves - then those opportunities are not effective.
This study also answered a question about a perceived change in attitude amongst teachers. Parkay (2006) stated that the public’s perceptions of teachers have changed over the last century. The teaching profession will need to become more committed to learning. Researchers have identified four educational dimensions that need to be considered in students’ progress: compensative motivation, attitude toward learning, strategic flexible learning, and persistent alternative learning. These dimensions have been found to improve prediction of school achievement significantly beyond predictions wrought by cognitive ability. The dimensions, as applied to pre-service teachers, will in the same way help to predict their achievement as teachers in the classroom or at least give insight into needs that should be met in teacher training programs. Weinstein and Van Mater Stone (1993) explain this value of self-regulation when they claim, “The future belongs to individuals who can identify their own learning needs and who have the resources to . . . orchestrate and manage their own learning activities” (p. 32). They point to the relationship of awareness of personal strengths and weaknesses to the understanding of their level of success and the ability to create reasonable goals. These qualities are important for teachers who are in practice because they make them confident, continuous learners, and keep their classes fresh and exciting.

Goodlad (1990) claims that teacher education programs are disjointed. Moreover, it is assumed that what is known about learning can be applied directly to teachers. However, teacher learning is a relatively new topic of research (Bransford, Brown, and Cocking, 2000). That means that there will be a need for more data on teacher learning. As much teacher learning takes place before the teacher ever gets out into the school,
there is also a need for more data on learning as applied to students who are studying to
be teachers.

Many current theories discussing self-regulation consider the importance of goals
(Bandura 1986; Weinstein 1988; Schutz 2000). In fact, in most of these theories goals
are used as one of the key explanations for the effort and persistence needed to become
successful. Life-task goals, which provide a personal context from which sub-goals and
goal orientation emerge, are defined and are pursued (Bandura, 1986). The goal to
become a teacher involves the development and use of a variety of sub-goals that require
day-to-day activities directed toward the goal of becoming a teacher. This study focused
on the sub-goals that lead to the goal of being a good teacher.

Bereiter and Scardamalia (1989) use the term intentional learning to describe the
process that has learning as a goal. In that process, beliefs about learning can either
support or deter intentional learning. It is expected that pre-service teachers will have a
desire to learn rather than just cope or get by. To get to the learning stage they will need
to value what they are learning. Theory classes often provoke the same question: “Why
do we need this?” Such a question indicates the students were there because they had to
cope with the subject and real learning was minimized. Covington (1999) proposed that
students are more likely to value what they are learning and to enjoy the process when
“(a) they are achieving their grade goals; (b) what they are studying is of personal
interest; and (c) the dominant reasons for learning are task oriented” (p.131).
Hopefully, for pre-service teachers, what they are studying will be of personal interest because they will be using that information and those skills that they are taught in their chosen profession. They also will be task oriented because self-aggrandizement is not usually associated with the teaching profession. However, there are some illusions about education classes. Students may choose education as an easier alternative or second choice profession because they don not succeed in their first choice. In that case they are in education to avoid failure. For the latter students, coping may replace learning intentions. Calvin would have found these students unacceptable as teachers.

An obvious goal for teachers is to be able to teach effectively. Many changes have been made in teacher training programs to meet that goal. However, there are still attitudes and behaviors that teachers hold that prevent them from becoming good teachers and will prevent them from improving their teaching skills once they are out in the school (Paulson and Feldman, 1995). Gryspeerdt, and Moxness (1993) indicate if pre-service teachers can be encouraged to recognize their special needs and talents and have their personal agenda or curriculum built around those needs and talents, their teaching will improve.

This study provided data on teacher learning as it asked students to present their perceptions on their future occupation. In order to create opportunities for lifelong development in learning a base of knowledge about pre-service teachers’ perceptions on learning was gathered. If institutions of teacher training recruit, model, and train teachers to have certain qualities those qualities will be prevalent in the profession. If those
qualities include a proper understanding of their profession and allow for a creative atmosphere in the classroom, education will change and the teaching profession will change. Therefore, it is important to understand pre-service teachers’ perceptions of what is necessary to be an effective teacher and how they can become such a teacher.

As seen above, the concept of calling is important in learning and teaching. The survey provided answers to the question about the perception/understanding that pre-service teachers have concerning their vocation. It also addresses the question about the expectation that pre-service students have concerning the importance of learning, the qualities of the ideal pre-service teacher, and the work expectations pre-service teachers have about their future profession. This study addresses is the importance of a calling and Calvin’s views on a calling being necessary to the teaching office. The “calling” will be discussed under the heading of Calvin’s innovations later in this chapter.

The survey demonstrated that calling was an important motive for pre-service teachers to enter into the profession. Sixty-one percent of the pre-service teachers surveyed indicated that they looked at the teaching profession as a calling as opposed to a job or a career. The SPSS © program for Crosstabs showed a statistically significant difference for women as compared to men who declared that teaching was a calling rather than a career at the .05 level. The bar graph that Crosstabs generated also indicated that pre-service teachers who called their profession a calling were more willing to work longer hours. When a t-test was run on the data it indicated at F (6.345) there was a significance of .013. As expected, those who looked at teaching as a calling were more
willing to put extra time into their profession than those who looked at it as a career or job.

The survey that was carried out on pre-service teachers demonstrated that teachers who had a view that their occupation was a calling were more likely to expect to work longer hours at their occupation. These results show that people who enter the field of education with the idea that it is a calling are prepared to work longer hours at their calling. The bar graph on Figure 3 demonstrated, by a graph formed on the survey data, that those who felt a calling were willing to work longer at their schoolwork than their counterparts. Therefore, Calvin’s view that teaching should be a calling is a legitimate idea. Calvin also stressed the idea that teachers should continue to study. Figure 4 demonstrated that pre-service students in general had the concept that improved learning was the purpose for taking education classes. Life long study is a key to keeping information fresh and exciting in the classroom.
Figure 1  The Number of hours spent on work outside the classroom as a function of pre-service teachers' perception of their occupation.

A t-test showed that pre-service teachers who viewed their occupation as a calling were statistically significantly more willing to spend more time on class work, outside of the classroom.
Pre-service teachers saw good family life as an important benefit of teaching. There was no significantly statistical difference among job, career, and calling.

Figure 2  Family life as a function of pre-service teachers' perception of their occupation.
Figure 3  The significance of the grade level to be taught as a function of pre-service teachers’ perception of their occupation.

Those who viewed their occupation as a career were statistically significantly more interested in teaching elementary grades.
Figure 4  Classroom learning as a function of pre-service teachers' perceptions of their occupation.

Most students desired classes that made them a better teacher. There were no statistically significant differences among perceptions of occupations.
These results match a survey done by Farkas, Johnson, and Foleno (2000), which indicated that teachers in their first few years of teaching view their profession as a calling rather than a job. Their survey indicated that 79% found it was compatible with raising a family and 90% claimed it took hard work to be a teacher. In their survey, 86% claimed that only those with a “true sense of calling” should become teachers. Also, *Teacher Magazine (January 17, 2006)* reported in its data that 74% of teachers see teaching as a lifelong career (p. 1).

Education has undergone much change since the time when Luther and Calvin reformed their communities. It will undergo much change in the future and every time it changes it will cause people to question if the change is good or bad. It will be important, therefore, for every student of education to discern the truth and develop a philosophy of education based on that truth so that both student and teacher can be all that they should be. As President G. W. Bush (May 11, 2004) stated in a speech at a Junior High school in Arkansas, “Teaching is one of the great callings, one of the most noble professions” (p. 1). Calvin would agree with the President’s statement. The next section will show how Calvin’s view of teachers, curriculum, and school structure were developed by discussing the historical and social background of Europe in the 16th century.
Background Affecting Education

This section will present the historical, political and scholarly background that should help to demonstrate what education was like in 16th century Europe. When Calvin and his reforms in education are placed in juxtaposition to this context, his position as an educational reformer will be recognized.

Many influences affected the educational system in Geneva besides the work and charisma of John Calvin. The educational system of France in the 16th century was basically the same classical structure that had been in place for centuries. Teaching grammar, logic, and rhetoric were still expected and the student who entered the university was to know Latin well enough that he would be able to benefit from lectures in the classical language. The Humanists had an influence in Paris so that the curriculum expanded to be a liberal arts program. A growing nationalism presented certain needs that would be met by educational reform. One reform was the use of the French language. The new emphasis on a national language was evident in the political changes of the 16th century. These innovations changed the whole social structure of Geneva.

Nationalism

When ethnic and linguistic groups attempted to assert their independence from traditional hierarchical governments, everyone felt the changes in structure. One of the major ruling bodies to lose power was the church. Geneva presents a great example of a
city asserting its independence from the church. Geneva had been under the control of a Bishop-prince. The bishop was more than an ecclesiastical leader. He was very much a political figure and carried out the functions of such a leader by collecting taxes, issuing decrees, and controlling the populous. The neighbor to the south, Savoy, claimed the area of Geneva and the bishop was usually a member of the House of Savoy. Naphy (1994) describes Geneva as a city that was being pulled in many different directions. To the west was the powerful country of France and to the east were the Swiss cantons of Berne and Fribourg, which supported an independent Geneva. With the help of the Swiss, Geneva gained its independence when its citizens established their republic in 1535.

Even when Savoy’s direct rule was over, Geneva still had problems with unity. There were still divisive parties in the city and the Church still held a lot of property whose revenues made her quite wealthy. Geneva saw the church’s wealth and the ties she had with Savoy as problems. To remove the problem, Geneva broke with the Roman Catholic Church and confiscated the church properties. That procedure made the revenues from church property available to the city and it removed the foreign influence or perhaps control from the head of the ecclesiastical institution, the church.

An educational system was a worthy beneficiary of those new funds. Prior to 1536 and the arrival of Calvin, Geneva actually had in place a system for the free education of children in the city. It was established when Geneva demanded and received its independence from Savoy and the Roman Catholic Church. This education was to be
paid for from the city funds gathered from the former church revenues. When the city confiscated church properties, it put the profits from the sale or rent of those estates into a general fund. However, as Naphy (1994) points out, such funds were often diverted to where the town council felt the greatest need and other uses, such as defense of the city, were always a priority. Even though not all the revenues would go towards education, schools were established in Geneva.

Geneva was an independent city, a unique position in 16th century Europe. When it parted from Savoy, Geneva did not become an imperial free city since it had no dynastic or national loyalties. Because its customs and people were a mixture of French and Swiss, the city sat between the two groups as a buffer state. Monter (1967) claimed that the Genevans were patriotic to Geneva rather than France or Switzerland. Although, depending on the reason, they sometimes displayed loyalties for one or the other. The question of loyalty would be raised in Geneva because Calvin encouraged the consistory to employ French pastors and because of the large number of immigrants from France that settled in Geneva.

Berne, Geneva’s Swiss neighbor, had embraced the Protestant Reformation before Geneva. Geneva sat on the edge trying to maintain its independence, yet needing the support of Swiss allies to be able to do it. Along with Berne, Geneva had an alliance with Fribourg, which was still Roman Catholic. The evangelical preachers won out and Geneva became wholly protestant. Many times there would be differences with Berne. Calvin hinted at this in his deathbed farewell of May 1st, 1564. He said, “They always
feared me more than they loved me. I am desirous they should know that I died in the opinion that they feared rather than loved me, and have always been afraid lest I disturb them about their eucharisty.” (Leters, p. 261). The scribe who copied this letter for Calvin left a blank instead of writing in the word “Berne.” One could assume that Berne still had much influence on Geneva and was not to be offended. Calvin addressed some issues in his letter to the masters of Berne, “Et que je incitasse vos pecheurs à faire ce qui me semble bon, plustost qu’à vous obéir; et surtout quant à la diversité des ceremonies, comme du baptesme, du mariage, de la cène et des fetes.” Berne still practiced many of the Roman Catholic customs in celebrating the Lord’s Supper, baptism and the traditional feasts. In opposition to the Roman Catholic customs, Geneva kept Sunday as its lone Holy day. There was also a difference over whether or not communion bread should be leaven. Calvin pushed Geneva into reform, but he also pushed Berne. Even though his influence was not as great there as it was in Geneva, he was called upon to settle disputes from time to time and he still caused controversy. Geneva could not exist without support from its populace. Therefore, a general education was necessary to create a support base as it encouraged nationalism in the city.

Economics

Monter (1967) points out that Geneva’s economy was limited and the city was small in area. Because it was heavily fortified and large in population, every available space was used. It could not be the typical sixteenth century manufacturing city because
of the limited space. Most of the goods produced in the city were consumed there. There was a banking tradition, which created a dependence on commerce. Its location on major trading routes and between major commercial centers, plus its position as being the largest city within four days of travel, helped to establish itself as a commercial center. Growing pressures from increasing populations and an immigration that brought in artisans who had skills and money to invest would change Geneva. With change came recognition of the need for a general educational program. Immigrants needed to be educated so that they could become useful members of Genevan society. New industries and occupations caused by a growing economy demanded new training. Education was a recognized need.

Humanistic educational programs, such as that of Halle, challenged medieval education. The men who attended these humanistic schools often had a pietistic background and wanted to add action to scholarship. Cardier (1960) shows that many of those humanistic teachers had much influence in Paris where Calvin received his formal training. This humanistic influence had had an effect long before Calvin came to the city and that movement would affect Calvin’s works on education that, in turn, would pass on some of this new ideology.

As refugees moved to Geneva from France and Italy, they brought their skills. Many of the French immigrants were in the business of publishing. It was logical that they would continue to wish to publish books and pamphlets because they needed a livelihood. After 1536 they would be able to publish and distribute one of the most
prolific authors of his day in John Calvin. According to Monter (1967), publishing was Geneva’s first export business. It was to become religious as well as economic. The Italians introduced silk weaving, which would gain prominence later in the century. The pressures of an economic change, as well as, a population change would put pressures on a new school system. The Genevans had to develop a curriculum that would accommodate those changes that it would see in the sixteenth century.

Political and religious conflicts also provided some secondary problems for education. Like any other physical disaster, wars destroyed property and displaced people. Those who were on the losing side, as well as those whose livelihood was destroyed, had to move. Geneva’s unique geography made it a city of refuge. It was situated on the route between Eastern France and Spain. There were two causes for a large refugee population. Francis of France and Charles V, the Holy Roman Emperor and king of Spain, were continually at war. Their refugees came to Geneva. As France, Spain, and Italy, (all Roman Catholic countries) persecuted Protestants and Geneva was a protestant city, their refugees came to Geneva. Innes (1983) pointed to some of the social concerns associated with such refugees.

The Reformation began in Geneva as a political and economic change rather than a religious reformation. When Calvin arrived, he found that there had not been much change in the church since Geneva had declared its independence and reformation. Calvin eschewed that idea on his deathbed. He proclaimed, in his farewell, written by the minister Pinant (April 28, 1564), “When I first came to this church, I found almost
nothing in it. There was preaching and that was all” (Letters, p. 257). Calvin claimed that he influenced the spiritual reformation but the political and economic change had already taken place before he arrived.

Calvin’s Experiences as they affected education

Many of John Calvin’s experiences affected his view of education. John Calvin’s reactions to the abuses of the Roman Catholic Church influenced the development of education in Geneva. The elite church school was replaced by the academy and education was encouraged for all citizens. The new school was innovative and inclusive so that it became a model for others to follow. Provisions were made for the training of children, teachers, and pastors, who were often from other countries. They came to Geneva to study and carried the educational system to their home country or their mission field.

*Personal education*

Calvin’s education in France would be a major influence in the type of schools that he would try to establish. He was a good scholar but education was costly and his father was not rich. His father did have influence with the bishop and was able to procure him a chaplaincy of the Cathedral altar of La Gésine. Calvin’s position would be that of a *clerc* to the Bishop at Noyon. The position was used as a scholarship for studies. He began those studies about the age of twelve when he went to live with the Montmor family and share the family’s tutor. Calvin (1532) dedicated his first book, *Commentary*
on Seneca’s De Clementia, to them: “I owe you all that I am and have… As a boy I was brought up in your home and was initiated in my studies with you. Hence I owe to your noble family my first training in life and letters.” (Battles & Hugo, 1969, pp. 12-13).

In 1520 or 1521 Calvin went up to Paris with this family to prepare for the university with a tutor, who prepared the youth for lectures in Latin, the language of scholarship. This first stage was a grammar course, started already in Noyon but continued at the college of La Marche, although, according to McGrath (1991), he may have attended here without any formal association at this point. Apparently, Calvin thought highly of his last Latin teacher, Cordier, who took over when he found that the other Latin masters were neglecting their task. He dedicated his commentary on I Thessalonians to Codier:

To Maturinus Corderius

A man of outstanding Godliness and Learning,

Principal of the College of Lausanne

When my father sent me as a boy to Paris I had done only the rudiments of Latin. For a short time, however, you were an instructor sent to me by God to teach me the true method of learning, so that I might afterwards be a little more proficient. You presided over the first class in a most estimable way. You saw, however, that pupils who had been trained ambitiously by other teachers produced mere show and nothing of worth, which meant that you had to train
them all over again. In that year, therefore you came down to the fourth class, since you were tired of having this trouble. This, at any rate, was your intention, but for me it was a singular kindness of God that I happened to have a propitious beginning to my studies. Although I was permitted to enjoy this for only a brief period, because we were soon advanced in our studies by an unenlightened individual, who regulated our course as his own choice or rather fancy led him, yet I received such help afterwards from your instruction that it is with good reason that I acknowledge such progress as I have made to be due to you. It was my desire to testify to posterity that, if they derive any profit from my writings, they should know that to some extent you are responsible for them. (p. 331)

Latin was not just an intellectual exercise; it was a foundation on which Calvin was able to build his knowledge of the church fathers and both favorable and unfavorable theologies that were found in the church. After a child mastered Latin grammar he went on to study elementary logic. The child memorized passages from classical as well as Medieval Latin, learned a little arithmetic, and was taught the art of writing letters. The latter was a most important task, as many of the clerics would be employed in the task of writing letters for nobility and clerics. It was crucial that the student know how to write letters to people of different social groups as their position demanded.

Even though the college had undergone reform, college life was difficult. Morals were strictly enforced and living conditions were not good. Because Calvin was a
student of theology with a benefice or scholarship, he was one of the privileged class.
That may be one reason that he did not complain in his writings about the experience in
the way that Erasmus, who had attended before him, wrote (Wallace, 1998).

**Problem Areas**

A youth would be a member of the college and of the University of Paris, which
would administer the examinations for the Bachelor of Arts. At that level the student was
expected to lecture in areas such as metaphysics, ethics, rhetoric, and natural sciences but
not, apparently, in logic. T.H.L. Parker (1975) argues that Calvin would have been taught
terminist logic based on the analysis of the relationship between language about objects,
the mental conception of an object, and the object itself. All this really made knowledge
subjective, something that Calvin as the systematic theologian would reject later in his
life after his conversion. Muller (2000) claims that Calvin reacted more against the
theologians of Paris in the Sorbonne who resisted the Reformation than he did against the
Scholastics. Calvin had problems with the medieval scholastics and their appeal to the
rationalism of Aristotle. In his Commentaries to the Galatians and Corinthian, Calvin not
only attacks the “Sophists of the Sorbonne” (p. 10), he also is clearly opposed to the
“Schoolmen” of the past.

Because scholasticism was the leading intellectual process over a long period of
time it was an influence with which educators, as well as philosophers and churchmen,
were familiar. Dijk (1958) presents three time periods: An early period marked by
Anselm and Abelard, a high scholasticism of Thomas Aquinas and Albert the Great, and a period of decline with William of Ockham and Thomas Bradwardine.

It is interesting that Calvin would refer to so many historical figures, but Aquinas is not referenced in his commentaries and is rarely referenced in his other works. Wulfert de Greef (2004) found that,

In contrast to his abundant references to the Fathers, Calvin rarely cited the medieval doctors by name: Anselm and Bonaventure only once each, Duns Scotus and William of Ockham twice each, Thomas Aquinas four times. Peter Lombard, the “master of the sentences,” who gave the medieval schools their textbook of theology, faired better with thirty-nine citations. (p. 294)

The lack of reference demonstrates that Calvin wished to distance himself from certain problems of the scholastics.

Thomas Aquinas was considered to be the chief of the Scholastics. The intellect was most important for him. As a student of Aristotle, he believed in the experimental or reflective way of knowing. The scholastics that followed him looked for a rational knowledge about God (Brown, 1968). The Scholastics reduced theology to a theoretical science, where Christian spirituality was not something to be sought. Calvin (1973) looks at philosophers as people who fight with nothing but reasons, “because there is no genuine authority among them, for setting aside the oracles of God, they fall back only on the inventions of the human brain.” (Commentary on Acts 28:23, p. 309). Aquinas joined faith and reason. Leff (1958) says this system where reason supplements faith is his,
“lasting testimony to knowledge in the service of belief” (p. 212). According to Groome (1980), Greek philosophical language had primacy over biblical language. Because the scholastics gave primacy to the Greek philosophical language rather than biblical language, the Reformers could reject their intellectualism. Because the scholastics did not question how the Greeks viewed God (Marrone, 2003), Calvin questioned their ethical conclusions. Because they were interested in the education of an elite for purposes of training leaders in the church and government, Calvin’s emphasis on the need for everyone to have an education demanded a different view of education. Learning and attitudes towards learning were important as can be seen from Calvin’s own experience.

De Greef (1993) points out that Calvin’s difficulty with the Scholastics was more than theological. He refers to the Institutes III, 14, 11. “[O]n the beginning of justification there is no quarrel between us and the sounder schoolmen.” A major philosophical difference can be seen in the area of education.

After Calvin earned his Masters degree, his father changed his thinking. The younger Calvin was to switch his studies from theology to law. Therefore, he was moved to Orleans. This was a different system of study as well as a different environment. The school at Orleans concentrated on the law, which was not divorced from theology. Calvin was still expected to learn Christology and a history of doctrine. The move was a positive experience for him as he gained many good friends. His correspondence with Nicolas Duchemin demonstrates that friendship (Letters, 14 May 1531)). His studies would not be completed at Orleans, however. Instead, he moved to the new university of Bourges. He
continued his studies and lectures in law, but then added the study of Greek, no doubt to be able to read Erasmus’s New Testament. It was in Bourges that Calvin published his first book, *Commentaries on the Books of Seneca, De Clementia, (On Mercy)* at his own expense. This was a positive experience that showed his love for study and writing. However, the publishing cost a lot and he did not have a lot to spend. He writes in April 1532 that the printings “have drawn from me more money than you can well suppose” (*Letters*, p. 32). Parker (1975) argues that Calvin published the Commentary on Seneca’s work to make a name for himself in the academic world where he felt he would be working.

Cardier (1960) describes Calvin’s education. At the age of eighteen he was supported with wages of a parish priest, even though he was never ordained as a priest. Again, this was a common practice that served the maturing student whose expenses had grown with his age. Calvin surrendered these perferments after his conversion to the Protestant belief in 1534. From that time until he was convinced to stay in Geneva, he earned his living as a lecturer and writer.

Wallace (1998) and Naphy (1994) relate some of the background to education in Geneva. Even though schools may have existed, they did not function in the way that Calvin would have liked them to function. Calvin wished to see some of the reforms that the new technology of the sixteenth century could provide. The greatest technological advance was the use of the printing press. Students needed to have a text from which they could learn. Calvin provided the elementary student with such a text when he prepared a
catechism. This text would serve more than one function. Not only would the students have written material that they could read and study but also a systematic presentation of the basic doctrines of the Christian faith presented in a form that was understandable to a child.

With this in mind it is interesting that Calvin (1545) would write his catechism in Latin. However, he had another problem in mind, which was uniting the church. If a catechism and curriculum of a school could be a uniting force, then a Latin catechism would show his desire for uniting the church.

Influence from other cities

Geneva also felt the influence of churches and schools in other communities. Most changes in a school organization or curriculum are more easily implemented or accepted if they have been tried in some other place. As can be seen through many of his letters, one of the cities that had a great influence on Genevan education was Strasbourg. It served as the home to Calvin when he was forced to leave Geneva in the Easter season of 1538 because he would not serve the Lord’s Supper to people in the congregation who were under church discipline.

Strasbourg served Calvin well as a place of respite and of learning. Bucer was most anxious to get him to come to Strasbourg. Once he was there he was quite happy. He wrote to Farel, “Having been induced… against my inclination, to lecture publicly, I either lecture or preach daily” (Letters, p. 58). The congregation that he was given grew
to about 500, he enjoyed fellowship with Bucer and other reformers, and he became an experienced teacher under the tutelage of Johan Sturm at the academy of Strasbourg. He also had time to publish his writings, such as his commentary on Romans and his new addition of the *Institutes of the Christian Religion*. Such writings made him well known as a reformer throughout Europe. By 1540 Calvin’s reputation had grown, as had his knowledge and confidence. As for his personal life, Calvin married his wife, Idelette de Bure in Strasbourg. Stauffer (1971) explains that the widow brought with her an instant family of two children and fulfilled a need of intimate friendship that his letters to friends expressed.

The success of his work and the experience he gained in his work in Strasbourg gave him new energy and confidence in reforming and building the schools in Geneva when he was recalled to his old position in Geneva in 1540. The time line of figure 5 demonstrates the time periods that Calvin spent in Strasbourg. Calvin wanted a new building and structure for the education of the children of Geneva. Immediately upon his return he worked to publish a new catechism. He explained the reason for this work in a note “To the reader” that preceded his 1545 publication of the *Catechism of the church of Geneva*:

> It has ever been the practice of the Church, and one carefully attended to, to see that children should be duly instructed in the Christian religion. That this might be done more conveniently, not only were schools opened in old time and individuals enjoined properly to teach their families, but it was a received public
custom and practice to question children in the churches on each of the heads, which should be common and well known to all Christians. To secure this being done in order, there was written out a formula, which was called a Catechism or institute (p. 2).

The custom was that children be instructed in the catechism. The Register of 1541 states that on Sundays at noon there would be instruction in the catechism in Genevan churches. The practice was traditional but the catechism was the work of Calvin and the doctrine that it taught had a great effect on Geneva.

Even after his return Calvin found help from Strasbourg in developing his schools. Ganoczy (2004) explains that Calvin traveled back to Strasbourg to obtain advice from Johan Strum in 1556. Strum had been a friend in Strasbourg as well as an educator, who was well known for his administrative abilities. Calvin took the Strasbourg model and adapted it to his use in Geneva. Where Berne and other Swiss cities had greater influence in politics, Strasbourg had a greater impact on Geneva’s schools.
Calvin’s Life

- Calvin Born 1523
- Calvin receives his education
- Completed studies include scholastic and humanist
- Calvin comes to Geneva to help reform the church
- In Strasbourg, Calvin learns the pedagogy that he will bring back to Geneva. Bucer is a great influence.
- Calvin is recalled to Geneva and begins an educational dream, the academy, is established as an international reformer in education.
- Calvin dies and is recognized as an international reformer in education May 83

Figure 5  A Time line of Calvin’s life
Written material

Calvin would not accept the call back to Geneva without this new catechism because it was foundational to his ministry. “On my return from Strasbourg, I composed the catechism and in haste, for I would never accept the ministry till they had taken an oath respecting these two points: namely to preserve the catechism and discipline.” (Letters, p. 260, “Calvin’s Farwell”). He stressed the effect of a Catechism for children as he writes to the leaders of Berene in March of 1555: “J’entens aussi qu’il y a quelque murmures du Catéchisme. Or quant j’ay compose le Catéchisme don’t nous usons, ç’a esté par faulte d’aultre” (Vol. II, p. 28, Pages Choisies, p. 70). He felt that as long as the doctrine was pure and holy that it did not need to be his Catechism. However, he felt it was necessary to have a catechism in use. His advice to Somerset, the protector of England, was to: “have a common formula of instruction for little children and for ignorant persons.” His belief was, “The church would never preserve itself without a Catechism.” (Letters, p. 96. To Somerset, October 1548). Although Groome (1980) looked at the use of a catechism as a sign that there was not much change in the Reformers educational plan, Calvin saw his use of a catechism as a reaction to the doctrine as well as the methods of the Roman Catholic Church. His constant revisions were in response to the errors of the church. There were not great changes in the three catechisms that Calvin produced. Just as he had done with his doctrinal statement, *The
Institutes of the Christian Religion, he was interested in revisions that would not be open to misinterpretation.

Calvin saw the importance of using written material in learning. This innovation to learning may have come about because of the new development of the printing press. No matter how logical it may appear to be, before Calvin’s time, pedagogy consisted of the teacher reading from a manuscript and the students copying down the material. The innovation, which provided students with written material, allowed more to be learned in a shorter time. It also followed the humanist belief that the student was to go beyond what the teacher stated and study for themselves. Even prior to Calvin’s time, Battista Guarino (2002), a humanist teacher, suggested that a textbook was most important because the students could write their reactions in the book and that writing would be of great benefit. “Hoc exercirtantionis genus mirifice acuit ingenium, linguam exploit, scribendi promtitudinem gignit, perfectam rerum noticiam inducit, memoriam confirmat, postremo studiosis quasi quondam expositionum cellam promptuariam et memoriae subsidium praesat” (p.295). The Catechism was to be a basic text for all children and a tool by which the young person could learn with understanding.

Another need that Calvin realized from his sojourn in Strasbourg was a school building. The Register of the Company of Pastors echoes Calvin’s desire for a school building:

First of all it will be necessary to allocate a place both for the giving of lessons and for the housing of children and others who wish to benefit, to have a learned
and experienced man in charge both of the house and the studies who himself can also teach... he shall have teachers both of languages and dialectic, if possible. Again, there will be need of young men for teaching little children, which we wish and order to be done (p.41).

Calvin’s new plan was to revive or improve the present school and to add a college to prepare pastors and other leaders. The second half of his plan would not see fruition until 1558 when the school committee began to raise money to build the Academy. The foundation of the needed funds came from a court case, where the city confiscated the property of enemies of the state and sold that property. The Register (May 26, 1555) lists Ami Perrin, Balthasaaar Sept, Francois Chambod, Pierre Verne, and Jean Michalet as people who lost their property in this way. (p. 309).

The rest of the finances came from both new immigrant families and old Genevese families. Some was even collected in a door-to-door campaign. Besides the funding, there was the problem of finding space to build an Academy. However, construction began in 1558 and was completed four years later. As can be seen in the time line, building the Academy was the crowning achievement in Calvin’s educational career.

Calvin also insisted that teacher’s should receive a salary. Those who taught would affect the quality of education and teachers had to be paid. Of course, a college is only as good as its teachers so Calvin wanted quality teachers. In this area he needed a little help from providence. His old friend Beza became the head of the school. The
faculty of the school at Lausanne had trouble with the administration and many of them were willing to come to Geneva. The Register lists a number of appointments in March 1559:

Antoine Chevalier was appointed professor of Hebrew.

Maitre Francois Berauld was appointed public professor of Greek.

M. Jean Tagaut was appointed professor of Mathematics.

M. Jean Randon was appointed as professor of the first class of the college (p. 343).

These teacher’s salaries were paid, in a large part, by the Bourse.

The school in Geneva had two tiers or levels. The first had seven grades that led to an ability to read Greek and Latin and the study of dialectics. The students were required to read many of the prominent Greek and Roman authors in the ancient languages. This Schola Privata was followed by the academy (Schola Publica) where the student learned Theology, Hebrew, Greek, poetry, dialectic and rhetoric, physics and mathematics. Students came from all over Europe drawn both by the promise of great instruction and the desire to be safe from persecution. From an opening enrollment of 600 the school grew to 900 the first year. (Wallace, 1998, p. 98f.). The school and college were a great success and Calvin proved himself as a great educator as a teacher, organizer, and theorist for the Christian school.

McGrath (1991) makes an interesting comparison between Joachim von Watt (known as Vaiden) at St. Gallen and Calvin at Geneva. Although Vaiden seemed to have everything going for him (reputation, authority, and a united city), it was Calvin that
became the Reformer of note. McGrath (1991) points out that the ability in writing and publishing for a greater audience worked to Calvin’s advantage. He does not, however, refer to Calvin’s ability as a teacher and organizer of education, which definitely enhanced Calvin’s work. Calvin’s training and experience along with the situation of Geneva in the 16th century was a combination that was to change the world. He had great gifts while Geneva had great needs and potential.

Theological influence

Theology and the study of scripture provide much of the influence that determines Calvin’s view of education. Therefore, Calvin’s commentaries and other theological works were utilized to provide more of an understanding of his educational thought.

*Covenant Theology*

Calvin’s view of a covenant theology affected the way that he viewed children. Because the covenant was for the whole family, the children were an important part of the kingdom of God. In a sermon that dealt with the covenant he states, “The promise belongeth to both great and small” (*Sermons*, p. 99). Children need guidance and it is the job of their parents to train children in piety.

Calvin (1559) writes, “For when we consider that immediately from birth God takes and acknowledges them as His children, we feel a strong stimulus to instruct them in an earnest fear of God and observance of the law “ (*Institutes IV*, 16, 32). His belief
that parents were to be responsible for education of their children was theological, based on the covenantal theology that also insisted that believing parents were to baptize their children.

At the same time, Calvin sees the role of the church in providing for the education of children. The Ecclesiastical ordinances of 1541 state, “at noon on Sundays all citizens and inhabitants shall take or send their children to catechism” (Hughes, 1966, p. 47). Such a quote should be representative of Calvin’s thought as it was written two months after his return to Geneva. Upon his return, Calvin introduced the Catechism that he had prepared when in exile in Strasbourg. He spent much time and effort in preparing that catechism, as it was important for education.

**Calling**

A calling is a special feeling that a person has that he/she has been chosen by God for a special occupation. Education was a means used to prepare the young person to better glorify God in that occupation. The idea of a calling was an important change in society that Calvin affected that, in turn, would affect education. Calvin’s view of labor, which again was taken from his interpretation of scripture, was that all occupations were important in the eyes of God. Each individual became a vital part of God's kingdom and the economics of society *(Institutes III, 10, 6)*. All people were to work to their potential at their job because in doing their job they would honor God. The Calvinist claims man is created in the image of God. Man has a mandate to use his property for God's glory. It
follows that no man is free to use his property or labor without regard for the commandments of God.

The worker is not just working for the employer or company; he is working for God. The manager is not just working for money or for advancement; he is working for God. Each person must do his or her job to the fullest. When workers and managers lose sight of this principle, managers don't trust their workers, suppliers, or competitors and are not trusted in return. A Calvinist belief is that all men are sinners. They can, however, still develop an attitude of trust because of belief in a sovereign God. Calvin (1972) states a work ethic:

The life of the godly is aptly compared to business, since they should deal among themselves to maintain fellowship; and the industry with which each man prosecutes the task laid upon him, and his very vocation, the ability to act aright, and the rest of the gifts, are reckoned as merchandise, since their purpose and use is the mutual communication among men. (Commentary on Matthew, p. 288).

The standards that Calvin set for believers established a new ethic for economics. He insists that those who are wealthy have great ability to serve God by helping others. Ronald Wallace repeats, “To those who have been given much, much will be required“ (p. 185 f.). The businessman had a responsibility to provide for those who were disadvantaged. He also had a responsibility to give the best product possible at the best price. This was the philosophy of the old Dutch Calvinists as they set up their guild houses. The guild was to monitor quality and set a fair price. Calvin's ethic also
demanded a new thinking on the part of the workman. The Calvinist worker is to do a quality job because he works for a higher authority and should need no inspection.

Calvin (1949) insists on fair and trustworthy business practices. He condemns unrighteous bargains and encourages long lasting relationships, "that we should not seek to grow rich by the loss of others" (*Commentary on the Psalms II*, p. 428).

Thus, each individual became a vital part of God's kingdom and the economics of society. "It is enough if we know that the Lord's calling is in everything the beginning and foundation of well doing" (*Institutes III*, 10, 6, p. 379). Which meant, "That no task will be so sorid and base, provided you obey your calling in it, that it will not shine and be reckoned very precious in God's sight" (*Institutes III*, 10, 6, p. 379). Typical of the forward looking ethics of Calvin is that even the poorest individual or lowest occupation is given new significance by the glory of the Lord and His promise of the future.

*New perceptions of labor*

Calvin, in *Harmony of the Gospels II*, not only gave a new importance to menial labor but his view of the future life opened the way for new occupations. For Calvin, the renewal of the world has begun. The earthly calling is preparation for the future.

But Christ by whom we are adopted into the family also admits us into the fellowship of this right so that we may enjoy the whole world with God's blessing. What the apostle refers to expressly as "the world to come" has relevance here for he takes it in the sense of the renewed world. (*Commentary on Hebrews*, p. 22, Hebrews 2:6). Man lost
the sovereignty that he had over the world in the beginning. His Sovereignty could only
be regained when things were restored in Jesus. Man's lordship over nature was restored
and the use of nature became legitimate. Therefore, those occupations that make use of
nature are legitimate as they help man in his pilgrimage.

To complement the rule of using the world without abusing it, Calvin insists that
each man should make use of the talents, which God has given him. The renewal of the
earth puts man in a position similar to that of Adam. The pleasant employment of Adam
could now be experienced in the kingdom awaiting the full enjoyment at the resurrection.
As the arts and sciences are encompassed in that experience of Adam, they must be
suitable fields for employment and they should become part of the curriculum.

Calvin (1948) states that man "was not formed for idleness, but for action"
(Commentary on Genesis, I, p. 174). The call to action could be that man's scientific task
was presented to him before the fall. Nigel Lee (1969) argues that the task was in
principle fulfilled by Christ as the Son of Man, is increasingly executed by those who are
in Him, and finally will be perfected in the new earth (p. 49). As each calling must be of
benefit to the pilgrimage of the individual, Calvin gives correction to other occupations as
well. He is concerned about the bankers and merchants, as the abuses of usury did not

These abuses often hindered man's progress toward the future life as they caused
some to be greedy and others to be desperate The discrepancy between the rich and poor
seemed to grow. Thus, Calvin called on the rich to give and to lend freely to the poor.
Yet, he would not always sympathize with the poor. Because of the hope of ultimate redemption, Calvin (1973) speaks sternly to those who cannot patiently endure. He also sees the idle as not fitting into God's plan. No one should be idle as such people are not productive and all people must be productive if the economy is to flourish. Men are called to action. When they act according to God's call, they benefit society and their lives are set in order. "Apart from this ordering there is nothing in human life but confusion" (*Commentary on I & II Thessalonians*, p. 416).

Lee (1969) demonstrated that Calvin taught that perfection would not come in this life so improvement would be a continuous effort. For Calvin an increase in skills had a beneficial effect on economics. A trained workman would do a better job than someone who was untrained. It was the duty of the workman to do the best job he could and to get all the training that he could. Supervisors were to help people do a better job. Thus, they too must be training and advising their employees. In the same way, teachers would have an important duty to teach so that people might fulfill their calling.

Calvin taught that all things come from God. Therefore, grace takes away worry and fear as man depends on God and not the goodwill of a supervisor. For Calvin the only necessary motivation is that one’s job be pleasing to God. Any other exhortation just takes away from that motivation. Christians are to strive for quality. He taught that each man had a call from God and that made his job important. As Spurgeon (1935) stated, "It is as great privilege to do anything for the king" (p. 310).
Calvin refers to wages as a barrier: "If I bargain with someone to work for me... that a poor man having done all he can he has not enough to live on, what then?" (Tanis, 1935, p. 31). If removing this barrier encourages a better job, then removing other barriers, such as faulty equipment or working conditions, will also help. However, Calvin did not offer the worker an excuse that would allow him to blame everything on his superior. No, in his view, everyone was important and any one individual could make a difference. Under a Calvinistic worldview a committed work force could implement dramatic changes.

The worldview of Calvinism desired a quality product produced by a workforce that is not stifled by greed, position, or fear. Calvin tried to improve the image of the working person showing that they are more than just tools to be used by some employer. He saw that all men were sinners, but a belief in God made them and their occupations important. The Libertines, of Calvin's time, claimed an antinomian type of perfection in this life. They identified objective perfection with the absence of the complaining voice of conscience, which put them in conflict with Calvin. Perhaps Calvin saw how society could wear down the conscience by continual abuse of the law so man begins to feel no wrong. Calvin saw many dangers in that position as all men are in need of forgiveness. He used Augustine’s argument in Against two epistles of the Pelagians (415) that the highest perfection of the Christian is knowing and confessing his sins. He saw that the characteristic of perfection that the Libertines did not have was a deep sense of humility.
Calvin also disagreed with the Libertine's lifestyle. He would not degrade "a calling" to any pleasing way of life. As Lobstein (1880) indicates, the more an earthly calling is brought into line with a religious calling, the more it appears to be a divine decree. Spies (1979) supports that idea of the call, concluding that Calvin insists man's calling is imposed by God and cannot be relinquished without guilt. Man's calling is the only legitimate way of life. Thus, Calvin was against "the ascetic conception of higher perfection, existing apart from and above the common life" (Lobstein, p. 45). Roman Catholic monasticism seemed to seek this higher perfection in self-chosen practices as the monks attempted to gain perfection. Calvin regarded moral conduct in one's civil calling as the distinctive marks of Christian perfection. Calvin saw a proper worldview as a support for his ethics. Such a worldview demands a willing participation in the future life. Calvin challenged the existing views of perfection and encouraged believers to work toward that future perfection. His conception of the earthly life and the kingdom of Christ (including the present) demonstrates the importance of belief in a future life for ethics. With a focus on Christ as foundation of his ethics, Calvin concludes that this life is a preparation for that future life where man can finally see perfection.

The economy depends upon business ethics. It is important to look at the larger picture. What is best for everyone? Businesses may improve but the economy will be the same. That would not be good according to Calvin (1965): "We push one another into vices and though we are the cause of one another's wicked ways, we put forward as an excuse custom and the example of the crowd" (Against Luxuries, p. 193). Where cheap
goods lacking quality, deadlines, and top-heavy management have become a way of life, Calvinism demands that each individual be responsible for his own part in society. The Calvinistic ethic was used to build an economy with a reputation for quality. Quality is important in business, education, and any other institutions. The means to get that quality depends on a commitment and a desire on everyone’s part.

With such a high view of a calling it is no wonder that Calvin would view teachers as people with a special calling. This office of teacher was important in Geneva because good instruction not only provided an attraction for students to come and study in the city, but also it provided a pool of trained and capable men who could take on the job of pastor when such positions became vacant. The Register (1966) records many times when teachers took over as pastors. M. Mathurin de la Brosse was appointed minister at Saint-Blaise. M. Theodore de Bèze was elected in March 1559, and M. Jean Merlin was appointed to Peissy that same year.

The two positions demanded many of the same qualities. Historically, teaching has been associated with the church and with that connection in mind many teachers were churchmen with a mission or a calling. Such is a tradition in the Lutheran as well as in Reformed churches. The Missouri Synod Lutherans still hold that teachers are called to their position and have a special position in the Synod as office holders. They take this position from a reformation position, “Therefore Scripture calls pastors and teachers.” (Chemnitz, 1593, p. 38), which is taken from scripture (1 Co. 3:5; 4:1; Mt. 10:10; 2; Titus 2:15). A similar structure was adopted in Geneva that the Register (1541) calls the second
order. It is fitly named because it is, “The degree nearest to the ministry and most closely associated with the government of the Church” (p. 40).

A discussion of Amos in *Devotions & Prayers of John Calvin* (1976) demonstrates the idea of a calling:

He therefore honestly confesses that he was an illiterate man: but by this he gained to himself more authority, inasmuch as the Lord had seized on him as it were by force, and set him over the people to teach them…. As he had prepared by his Spirit those who were before unlearned, it appeared more evident that they were sent from above. (p. 46)

Just as the call of Amos was proven by his status before and after his call others may see their abilities as a sign of their calling. Calvin believed that God did the calling of those who were chosen to teach.
Calvin’s Innovations

Calvin’s educational innovations were shown in his view of the teacher, responsibility, curriculum, economy, and government as foundational to the educational system that he espoused. As the Register (1541) indicates the head master of the school was to have “teachers both of languages and of Dialectic, if possible” (p.41) so that students would be able to read Greek and Roman authors in the ancient languages. The Register (1541) also pointed to the “need of young men for teaching the little children, which we wish and order to be done.” (p. 41). Good teachers as well as the curriculum attracted students to the academy. Its success demonstrated that there was something unique about the school and the ideas that were fundamental to its growth. This study will demonstrate that Calvin’s ideas for his academy and its teachers were based upon his worldview, which, in turn, was based on his theology, his own educational experiences, and the political-economic climate in which he lived.

Calvin’s educational plan did not change all of Europe’s schools. Half a century later there were still many schools that needed reform. Clark (1964) described the early 17th century teachers in terms that were not flattering.

The provision of primary education was everywhere relatively the most insufficient. In a village there might chance to be a more or less useful school kept by a parson, or more likely by the parish clerk, or by some old man or woman with no qualification except inability to earn a livelihood in any other way (p. 289).
Thus, when Calvin wanted teachers to be trained, skilful, and committed to their calling, he challenged the traditional role of the teacher. By basing his belief on the office of Christ as a prophet, he created a theological reason that teachers should feel a calling to their occupation.

Teachers

For Calvin and Geneva the teacher’s duty was to lead the child to his or her full potential as believers living in this world. Quite simply, “Teaching is the way to pass on Knowledge.” (Commentary on 1 Corinthians 14, p. 288). However, what kind of knowledge and how the teacher passes it on makes a difference.

The office of teacher was important in Geneva because good instruction not only provided an attraction for students to come and study in the city, but also it provided a pool of trained and capable men who could take on the job of pastor when such positions became vacant. The Register (1557) records many times when teachers took over as pastors. The two positions demanded many of the same qualities.

Prophetic Office

One theological change that is attributed to Calvin is his doctrine of the offices of Christ. Calvin developed a new formula for stating the offices of Christ. He includes the prophetic role along with that of the king and the priest. This theology of the three offices of Christ establishes a new importance for the teaching role, as it is part of that prophetic office. His work on this doctrine took many years to develop because,
according to John Jansen (1956), his contemporaries held to a two-fold office of priest and king. In fact, Jansen states that, “While Calvin suggests the formula as a theological category in his later dogmatics, he himself does no more with it- for the very good reason that he cannot make use of it” (p. 51). This study shows that he does make use of the prophetic office as he applies it to teachers. It is the aspect of teaching that can communicate the office of the prophet to all believers. By establishing the importance of teaching as a parent’s role, as a societal necessity, and as a calling for those who make it their occupation Calvin demonstrates that the attributes that Christ displays as a teacher can be transferred to all believers. If Christ held that teaching/prophetic office, Calvin could base his understanding and description of that office on his theology.

His description of Amos (Devotions, 1976) demonstrates that the office of the prophet was a teaching office. He explains that the role of a prophet was to be a teacher. Although Amos was not of the ordinary lineage of a prophet in that he was not a descendent of nor had he been schooled in prophetic methodology, the fact that he was called by God to teach made him a prophet.

The development of the theology behind the prophetic office can be traced through the many different versions of the Institutes that were published between 1536 and 1559. In the first edition Calvin only mentions a two-fold office of priest and King. Jansen (1956) traces the gradual development to the 1559 edition where Calvin states, “the name Christ refers to those three offices ”(p. 42). All three offices receive unction or anointing that consecrates them as special offices. Thus, “the unction which he received, in order to perform the office of teacher, was not for himself, but for his whole body, that
a corresponding efficacy of the Spirit might always accompany the preaching of the 
Gospel” (p. 43). Here Calvin relates that this office can be communicated to all believers 
as they are taught and in turn teach the Gospel.

This study has surveyed the usage of the words “Teacher and teaching” in order to 
understand Calvin’s understanding of the teaching office. A distinction had to be made 
between those times when teacher was used for a teaching role of a pastor and the general 
use of the word teacher. Because Calvin used the word teacher with specific and general 
meaning, some references did not apply to this study. The research has searched Calvin’s 
writing to find all occasions where meaning could be applied to general education.

Calvin’s commentaries provide the greatest source of information for his 
thetical understanding of teachers. In those commentaries Calvin establishes a need 
for teachers. They are used by God in convincing men of the truth. He states:

Let us hear no more of the fanatics who make the excuse of the Spirit to reject 
external teaching. For we must preserve the balance which Luke establishes here, 
that we obtain nothing from hearing the Word alone, without the grace of the 
spirit, and that the Spirit is conferred on us not that he may produce contempt of 
the Word, but rather to instill confidence in it in our minds and write it on our 
hearts. (Commentary on Acts, 1966, 16: 14)

Principles of Teaching

In his Commentary on Acts, Calvin discusses seven principles that he gleaned 
from his study of teaching in Scriptures. The effective teacher should know when and
how far to push his/her students. The teacher must teach for understanding. Teachers are
to be good role models for their students. Teachers are also to live Godly lives. They
are to be leaders in the classroom and the community. They should be capable of giving
clear instruction in biblical doctrine. They should be qualified in their training and
trainable. These principles will be discussed to show how Calvin viewed this important
office of teacher.

Following the example of Paul, Calvin demonstrates a common sense
methodology. He shows that Paul regulated his teaching as the occasion demanded
(Commentary on Acts, 1966, 18:4). Then he builds a methodology on that understanding;
“And since that moderation is also beneficial today it is proper for faithful teachers to
consider wisely where to make a start, so that an inopportune and confused argument
might not impede the progress of the teaching.” A teacher should know how much the
student knows already and how much they can handle. With this information, the teacher
can be more effective.

Apollos is used as an example of one who had a zeal for teaching. Calvin insisted
that teachers possess this attitude. “Teaching without zeal either is a sword in the hand of
a madman or lies cold and useless, or serves perverse ostentation” (Commentary on Acts,
1966, 18:25). He explains that fervor is the cause of diligence. Therefore, the teachers
who have a passion for teaching will be more diligent. They will prepare for lessons and
be sure that their students get the best education possible. That zeal also includes the
depth of the material to be learned. The reformer complains that teachers who do not go
beyond the simple facts or common knowledge are poor teachers. He is worried about
the ignorance and superstitions that many people hold and looks to teachers to teach a complete truth. This comes with the idea of high expectations. Teachers should not make “the excuse that people are not capable of more solid teaching” (Commentary on Acts, 1966, 20:20). Teachers must maintain high expectations for their students and for themselves.

Calvin is upset that there are those who teach without accomplishing anything. Although he feels their goal should be to bring about salvation, a more universal goal could be drawn from his advice. That goal is teachers must teach for understanding (Commentary on Acts, 26:18). A teacher who gives information without any indication from students that they have understood the material has not accomplished much.

Another basis for ethics, according to Calvin (Commentary on Acts, 1966), is the example of Christ himself. In the same way as Christ, teachers and leaders, as His representatives, must serve as examples. The phrase, "Do as I say and not as I do," has rationalized the lack of ethical standards among many people; however, for Calvin the teacher is responsible for his actions as well as his words.

The minister ought to behave himself well, in a godly manner; and the people ought to refrain from all kinds of wickedness. In The Mystery of Godliness (1950), Calvin explains that the ministers must point the way, set good examples, and regulate their lives according to what is taught them in Titus 1. As members of the kingdom, Christians become examples for the ethics of the world.

By emphasizing the presence of the kingdom Calvin can encourage believers to keep high standards for themselves and others. He insists that men should meditate on
the future life, not so that they can gain a reward, but so that they can live better lives in the world.

Calvin says in the *Institutes III*, 9, 3, "For the Lord has ordained that those who are one day to be crowned in heaven should first undergo struggles on earth." (p. 374).

He goes on to describe the earthly life: "It is never to be hated except in so far as it holds us subject to sin; although not even hatred of that condition may ever properly be turned against life itself” (p. 374).

There is a tension in the "now" and the "not yet" of the kingdom. Christ reigns now keeping His people in obedience. This is not a stagnant state. Once men are in His kingdom they do not receive perfection but, as Kromminga (1961) says, they are "reformed from rebels to citizens" (p.37). They are transformed by the perfection of Jesus Christ and His gift of the Holy Spirit. Ethics depends on Jesus, not only as an example, to work in the lives of men guiding, teaching, and transforming them to His image. Calvin understands the position of a teacher as a leader and as a leader that teacher must be an example to his students. Not only should they serve as examples but also they should continue to strive to be more Christ-like.

Calvin held that instruction in biblical doctrine was to be a goal in education. He insisted that a “Scripture lecture” be established in schools: “Let it be appointed by the piety of most religious princes and states, for the defense and increase of the Catholic faith and the preservation and propagation of sound doctrine” (*Tracts and Treatises, III*, 1960, p. 82). Of course, in this quote Calvin used the word Catholic to mean the universal church and not Roman Catholic. The desire for sound doctrine was a reason why the
order of teachers was established in Geneva, for it was the teacher’s job “to instruct the faithful in sound doctrine in order that the purity of the gospel may not be corrupted either by ignorance or by false opinions” (p. 82). The role of a teacher was not to be taken lightly. Calvin considered it a calling. What he understood from Ezekiel’s title of watchman could be applied one step further to all teachers. They are the guardians of the truth. Therefore, the job of a teacher was a position that should not be given to just anyone. Calvin makes it clear in his *Commentary on the book of the Prophet Ezekiel* that the teacher was an important position.

As has been previously shown, Calvin’s theory of education included a qualified teaching staff. This office was to receive the same training as the theologians because they were teaching children for their salvation. As more students were taught, the need for more teachers would increase. Therefore, a goal of the Academy was to develop leaders in education. Calvin insisted in his *Commentary on the book of the prophet Isaiah* that, “None are good teachers but those who have been good scholars” (p. 54). The Academy was set up as an institution that demanded good scholarship.

Calvin’s stress on the importance of teaching can be linked to his understanding of the offices of Christ; that is prophet, priest, and king. Calvin’s view of the offices was unique. Before his 1559 edition of *The Institutes* was published, scholars did not recognize the office of a prophet. When Calvin used this term and portrayed it as the teaching office, his theology influenced thinking about the importance of teachers.
Theory of learning

Calvin based his idea of trained teachers upon Jesus’ call of the disciples. Teachers had a special job to do; therefore, they needed a special time of leaning how to be teachers. “Those who are appointed to a public role must realize that more is required of them than of the ordinary individual. Thus, Christ makes no change in the everyday lives of others, but takes these four disciples [Simon, Andrew, James, and John] away from the craft they had lived on till this time, in order to use their effort for a higher calling” (Commentary on Luke 5:10, p. 157). Calvin argued that Christ chose unschooled and rough men as an example of what his teaching could do, but he also chose a well-educated man like Paul. The emphasis was that teachers needed to be trained. Even beyond that basic training, he insists that teachers must continue to study and learn – the good teacher must make “continuous” progress (Commentary on Isaiah IV (1947), p. 55). The Register (1541) listed negligence in studying as a vice that needed to be rebuked (p. 39).

Life-long learning was of importance for anyone who was to hold the office of teacher. In his Commentary on I Peter, Calvin explains that the prophets had this quality of inquiring. They relied, not just on their own understanding, but made use of revelation. Yet, at the same time, he is careful to point out that there was a sobriety to their searching. “Thus they have taught us by their example a sobriety in learning for they did not go beyond what the Spirit taught them” (p. 239). There are certain things that learners could try to discover that are a waste of time. “Moreover, to seek particular time in prophecies seems to me unprofitable” (Commentary on I Peter 1:10, p. 239).
Trying to discover the future was not seen as a good use of time; however, discovering
the truth was. The teacher must search out truth wherever it was.

Calvin saw that philosophy, although secular, had truth. Partee (1977) claimed
his use of philosophy was historical rather than systematic. Calvin looked to philosophy
for illustration of truth rather than a guide to it (p. 146). In his Commentary on Titus, he
says, “[I] t is superstitious to refuse to make use of secular authors. For since all truth is
in God, if any ungodly men has said anything true, we should not reject it, for it also has
come from, God.”

On the other hand, in his Sermons sur le livre de Michée (1964) he talks about
man’s propensity to be in control and to learn evil. Thus he warns against the corruption
that can be learned from the wrong materials. “Il est vray, que les homes, tous tant qu’ilz
sont, de leur nature sont bien enclins et adornez à mal; il ne faut point que nous allions à
l’eschole pour apprendre à mel faire, ung chacun sera son maistre et son docteur” (p. 7
line 25).

His theory of learning is that teachers should be life-long learners and that they
should seek out the truth, wherever it might be. They were not to go beyond the truth in
too much speculative theory nor were they to learn for the wrong reasons such as self-
aggrandizement or evil. Learning was to give honor to God and the study of His
scriptures should be done with diligence.
Authority in Education

Calvin believed that the Old Testament had an equal authority with the New and that the scriptures were the infallible word of God. The Reformer states, “the Jews were entrusted with the keeping of the law, their office was to restrain and subdue the Gentiles by its authority” (Psalms II, 1949, p. 209). His theology of education must start with an interpretation of the Old Testament passages that refer to education. Old Testament teachings commanded parents to teach their children to love God and to serve Him. A number of principles of education arise from this basis: the parents are to be responsible for the education of their children. Religious morality should be part of the educational process.

The principle of involving the family in education was important for Calvin. It was not as much an innovation as a renewal of a past practice. In his introduction to the 1545 Catechism, Calvin addresses the reader, explaining that to question children in the churches on statements which should be well known to all Christians was an ancient practice and it was the duty of individuals to teach their families on such statements. The Commentary on Genesis affirms that responsibility as Calvin (1948) claims that it was the “duty of the parent to apply themselves diligently to communicating what they had learned from the Lord to their children” (p. 481). To neglect the instruction of their children was a sin that God would punish (Psalms III, 1949, p.389). Even with that ideal, Calvin recognized the need for teachers. They had the knowledge and the skills that would be most effective in educating young people.
Ultimately, it was the parents who had the duty of educating their children. Thus, he congratulates Mm. De Microw for sending her child to school in Zurich (*Letters III* 1558, p. 112). She was a good example. The academy was an extension of the parent’s instruction and, as parents, the citizens of Geneva had a responsibility of supporting the school. Calvin approached parental responsibility for education from the starting point of love. Parents were to love their children. If they loved them, they would discipline them. This principle must still be mitigated with love. Parents must not be immoderately harsh because parents who are too mean make their children incapable of training (*disciplinae liberalis*).

Both Luther and Calvin emphasized the biblical duty of parents to teach their children; but Luther saw that some parents were negligent and needed an institution to look after the education of such children. His solution was church schools with government support. Calvin approached church control differently. His letter to John Knox (November 7, 1559) showed that the parent had a responsibility in raising the child. He refers to the “superstition” of the Roman Catholic Church in stealing babies to have them baptized. Baptism was not to take place unless the guardian was going to instruct his or her child in the faith (p. 214:). The parents’ role in Christian education was vital. When their duty was unattended, it caused problems. Calvin taught in his *Commentary on Genesis* (1948) that it was the “duty of the parent to apply themselves diligently to the work of communicating what they have learned from the Lord to their Children.” (p. 481). If this were not done, then God’s punishment would follow. In fact, Calvin taught it was a sin to neglect the instruction of children (*Commentary on Psalms, III*, 1949, p. 481).
It was a commandment then and it is to the modern parent (p. 230 and Commentary on *Psalms II*, p. 152).

Even with all this teaching of parental responsibility there was another aspect of learning that Calvin did not neglect. That was the role of the student. Children were instructed to, “press forward in the acquisition of divine knowledge, and not suffer their minds to wander in vain speculations, but should aim at… the right mark.” *Commentary on the Psalms III*, 1949, p. 233). Everyone had his own responsibility in the learning process.

Calvin claimed that the Roman Catholic Church had not carried out its role. As he established his own system, he pointed to the abuses of the Roman Catholic schools and reacted against the church’s authority over the school, but not its support or discipline over the teachers. The result was a school system that was more independent of the church.

The doctrine of original sin had an effect on the theology of education. Because of original sin man is corrupt. Calvin wrote in *Bondage and Liberation of the will*,

As long as he continues in his own nature, he cannot will and act except in an evil way. Indeed we deny that it is in his own power to abandon his wickedness and turn to the good. Since, then, he can of himself be nothing but evil, we determine that there is nothing but necessity in his case. And that not indeed without qualification, but in so far as he originates from an evil root and maintains his original character, that is, for as long as he is not led by the Spirit of God. (p. 149-150)
The stated doctrine makes a Christian education vital, as without it how will one
be able to train a child to fight against that evil nature? At the same time, Calvin would
not confuse matters of righteousness and of human reason. Even though original sin may
have destroyed righteousness, man’s ability to reason, although impaired, still functions.
Fallen mankind, according to Calvin, still maintains its intellectual capacity and men
want to use it. As he claims in the *Institutes* (1559):

> When we so condemn human understanding for its perpetual blindness as to leave
it no perception of any object whatever, we not only go against God’s Word, but
also run counter to the experience of common sense. For we see implanted in
human nature some sort of desire to search out the truth to which man would not
all aspire if he had not already savoried it. Human understanding then possesses
some power of perception, since it is by nature captivated by love of truth.

Education would have the job of developing that power of perception so that men might
know the truth. Christian education taught the truth of the Gospel.

**Curriculum**

Calvin saw the need for a change in curriculum. A liberal arts curriculum went
beyond the scholastic ideal to provide for the social, spiritual, and economic needs of
students. He based his plans on natural theology. Calvin appealed to daily experience to
back up the importance of liberal education. He drew the theme of teaching from
Colossians 3. Although the word “Teaching” was only used once in this passage, Calvin
makes the most of it to support his ideas on education.
He felt that even the unsaved would benefit from an education, especially in the areas of politics, ethics and economics. Calvin’s theology helped to develop a curriculum of studies. Elementary education was a preparation for a more advanced learning. The example of the revelation of the gospel demonstrates the importance of a good foundation for a new teaching. Based on the Epistle to the Romans (1973) he claimed that the Old Testament prophecies prepared for their fulfillment. God prepared the minds of His people to prevent “perplexity” (p. 327). From the idea of preparation in education Calvin contributes the idea of a tiered educational system. The approach to education should be different for elementary children than for older children. Therefore, he would like an elementary school that introduces a subject area, a secondary school that enhances their education, and an academy to train teachers and pastors. Calvin (1963) refers to that structure in his commentary on 1Peter 2 as “In these passages those who are compared to children remain always novices and ignorant scholars in the doctrine of religion, stick at the first elements and never penetrate into the higher knowledge” (p. 257).

It is Scripture that provided the curriculum from which the student would be taught, as is shown in II Timothy 3:16. He says Paul, “Commends the scriptures because of its authority, and then because of the profit that comes from it” (p. 330). Moses and the prophets are to be held in the position of being teachers. Faith in Christ is the “chief part of our knowledge” (p. 331). Instruction for good living follows. The curriculum, for Calvin, was to have a Christian base that led to a moral life. Calvin prepared his first Catechism while in Geneva and revised his work so young people could make better use of it. The rest of the subjects followed from that base.
Medieval Curriculum

The curriculum that was followed in the medieval school was classical in that it followed a pattern that included grammar, rhetoric, and dialectic. These three subjects were considered the Trivium. That curriculum was one that was followed in Calvin’s education. Therefore, it would seem that he would be influenced by that structure. On the other hand, a departure from that structure was innovative. The Reformers accepted the value of dialectic. However, they were more interested in teaching the truth than in a logic that was irrefutable. For some (Groome, 1980) that made it appear that Calvin accepted the scholastic position.

As Ferguson (1971) states, “Rhetoric meant more than a mere competence in speech and writing. It was the medium through which knowledge informs wisdom and makes it possible for wisdom, in turn, to accomplish its social purpose” (p. 140). Suzanne Selinger (1984) described the use of rhetoric as a dangerous tool. Besides the use of the physical, there was the matter of arousing emotions. Calvin accepted the importance of classical education as one of the gifts of God through the Law of Creation. Therefore, dialectic should be studied as one of the sciences. In the Institutes, 1559, II, 2, 16 (1559) he demonstrates the importance of including sciences in the curriculum:

But if the Lord has been pleased to assist us by the work and ministry of the ungodly in physics, dialectics, mathematics and other similar sciences, let us avail ourselves of it, lest, by neglecting the gifts of God spontaneously offered to us we be justly punished for our sloth, Lest anyone, however should imagine a man to
be very happy merely because, with reference to the elements of this world, he
has been endued with great talents for the investigation of truth, we ought to add,
that the whole power of the intellect thus bestowed is, in the sight of God, fleeting
and vain whenever it is not based on a solid foundation of truth. (p. 134)

Scholasticism

At the same time, Calvin departs from classical Scholasticism when he delegates
reason second place to truth. Partee (1977) points out that Calvin admires and commends
some of the ethical insights of the philosophers, but worldviews will be different.
“Calvin’s interest in ethics was theological. That is to say, his concern as man’s
obedience to the revealed will of God” (p. 66).

For Calvin (1559), not all sins are imputable to ignorance (Institutes, 1559, II, 2,
25). Although he attributes this error to Plato, it is a problem in Aquinas and the
scholastics. Summa, I-II, q. 76,a.1-3 claims voluntary ignorance is sinful. It is the
gathering of knowledge that restrains men from sin. Therefore, if one neglects to acquire
knowledge, even if it is because of the stress of work or other occupations, he is sinning.
Aquinas links sin and ignorance in his “Student’s prayer” and his “Prayer for guidance.”
Lecture 3 on Book 3 of Nicomamachean Ethics claims that ignorance is caused by man
doing something he should not as well as not doing what he ought to do. The Calvinist
definition of sin is the breaking or any want of conformity to the law of God. This view
of sin separates the scholastics from Calvin. For the latter, ignorance is not always a sin
nor are all sins to be blamed on ignorance. The different views of sin will also cause a
difference in educational ideals.

It was that view of sin that encouraged the scholastic practice of discipline in
education. Aquinas believed education was for disciplining the mind where Calvin
believed it was for freeing the mind to serve God. Jacobsen (1938) explains that Roman
Catholic educators felt it was the best system of mental discipline.

Scholastic teachers believed that subject matter disciplined the mind of the
student. An example is the emphasis on classical grammar. Latin was a discipline and
demanded discipline to learn it, because it was not the spoken language of the common
people. Latin was the language of scholarship and Calvin wished his published works to
be considered scholarly. Therefore, he was even encouraged to publish his catechism in
Latin. It was to be a corrective on the practices of the Roman Catholic Church that had
given up its practice.

Languages

In Geneva, education was in French, the language of the people. Although Calvin
published his 1545 Catechism in Latin, he explains why in his “dedication.” Nationality
would determine their spoken language, but if all children knew Latin and read his Latin
catechism, the affect would be church unity. William Wright (2006) raised an interesting
possibility that may have also affected Calvin’s choice of language. He stated that Bucer
promoted a universal catechism instruction. It may be that his influence on Calvin while
the latter was in Strassburg was a contributing factor. At the same time Calvin was to follow Strasburg’s example to have schools taught in the vernacular.

In Genevan schools, French had replaced Latin and was the language of choice. Although the Provençal dialect of Savoy was still in use in Geneva, French was the common language that served as the basis for teaching reading and writing. Naphy (1994) shows that one criticism leveled against Calvin was schools in Geneva did not teach in Latin, “This seducer refuses to teach the children Latin” (p. 66 also see p. 155).

More than a disciplining of the mind, education becomes a means of testing out the gifts of God. Calvin (1559) also argues for a pedagogical change from the scholastic ideal of learning through repetition to using the creative gifts to do original thinking. He challenges scholastic philosophy: “This led Plato to adopt the erroneous idea, that such knowledge was nothing but re-collection” (Institutes, II, 2, 14). Instead of copying and reciting, Calvin would want the student to improve upon what has already been learned.

Because of the new understanding of the need for a new educational process, Groome, (1980) criticizes Calvin on not implementing a change. He looked at the Catechism in its question/answer format, and described it as just a memorization and repetition as had been done by the scholastics. There was a major difference, however. Calvin set out the catechism as a resource book. His catechism did demand a repetition, but it also demanded an understanding. McNeill (1947) explains why he could be accused of maintaining a Scholastic educational curriculum as he writes that Calvin was a rhetorician of the school of school of Cicero and that “His most impressive passages have
a distinct oratorical form.” (p. 56). Still, Wendel (1976) argued that Calvin was a humanist, “Calvin etait bien un humaniste du xvi siecle” (p. 30).

One reason why there may have been some controversy over his position was that Calvin’s theology allowed him to make use of the rhetorical method, even though he was not tied to it. Selinger (1984) points out that where the humanists of his day were disillusioned with rhetorical language, Calvin understood it was not the language but being human that was dangerous. Because he was open to the use of language (separating himself from the humanists) yet not tied to it (as were the scholastics), Calvin could support a liberal arts curriculum that would appreciate truth in a wide variety of subjects. The breadth of the curriculum and subjects taught was innovative.

Broadening curriculum

Geneva became home to printers and publishers. This would change the shape of educational pedagogy as well as the curriculum. The lecture halls of learning were lecture halls because of the scarcity of books. The lack of written material meant that the teacher would read from his copy and students would copy the material. Knowledge had to be presented in brief form. Therefore, outlines, schemata, and logical demonstrations were used and religious institutions maintained control of education. When books were available, places of learning could change to a study hall or bookstall. The ideology of the religious institution would no longer dominate the educational process. Calvin’s new approach to curriculum was aided by new technology. The printing press made texts available to students who otherwise would be instructed in a large classroom with a small
number of manuscript books. Kinser (1971) argued that there was a rivalry between rhetoric and logic. The former appealing to the heart as well as the head, while the latter appealed to the head in hopes that it would move the heart.

This was the conflict from the twelfth century on between those pursuing the “art of persuasion” and the discipline of disputation. The availability of written material would change the relative prestige of literature and logic. (Molho and Tedeschi, 1971, p. 723). Christian humanists could appeal to pagan material in many areas. However, Calvin referred to the material in ethical and religious teachings where they support the truths of Christianity. Truth is the key element. Calvin’s (1559) view of the fall was that because there was truth even in fallen men that truth should be learned and used by Christians (Institutes, 1559, II, 2, 10-18).

Secular authors had their place in a Christian education because there often is truth in what they wrote. Still Calvin (1968) gave a warning to young people about using the “heathen authors” for the wrong purposes (Titus 1, p.364). Calvin argues his case for education from an understanding of the nature of man. He believes that man’s nature was corrupted in the fall. That is man’s sinful nature keeps us from true good. However, he claims that men are endowed with natural gifts (Institutes II, 2, 15). Through these gifts man can learn and understand the truth. From this premise, Calvin argues that Christians should desire to learn truth, even from those that are heathen. Still, as Partee (1969) warns, “the context of man’s life redeemed in Christ is quite different from the philosophical understanding of man in nature. Withal, Calvin uses philosophy not as a source for the truth, but as a learned adjunct to the explanation of the Christian faith” (p.
91). As a result of this thinking, Calvin (1976) opened the curriculum to any area of study that would teach the truth as long as it was in a Christian context. His belief was:

When God comes forth with the teaching of his word, all the teachings of Satan must necessarily be dissipated. Whosoever then, desires to perform all the duties of a good and faithful pastor, ought firmly to resolve, not only to abstain from all impure doctrines and to simply to assert what is true, but also to detect all corruptions which are injurious to religion…and in short, avowedly to carry on war with all superstitions.” (Devotions, p. 110)

The more people knew about the world, its corruptions and superstitions the better they would be in dealing with them. Christian philosophy is based on faith rather than reason. If it came to deciding between rhetoric as a matter of persuasion, whether a case is true or false, and making the truth effective rather than the speaker, Calvin would want the truth to be the guiding principle. Stating the truth is most important.

Calvin (1559) also believed that talents were gifts given by God. To despise these gifts insults the giver (Institutes II, 2, 15). For this reason the curriculum must be inclusive of those subject areas that reflect the gifts. To leave out areas of knowledge just because they are not useful to our employment or they are dominated by non-Christians would mean we were neglectful. Thus, Calvin (1559) encourages the study of physics, dialectics, mathematics, and other similar sciences” (Institutes II, 16, p. 134).

John Calvin (1559) might be considered a forerunner in the theory of multiple intelligences because he states in The Institutes II, 2, 13 “that we have one kind of intelligence of earthly things, and another of heavenly things” (p. 132). A curriculum
would need to include both. He breaks down the former into matters of policy and
economy, all mechanical arts, and liberal studies. The policy and economy must be
learned so that students can understand how societies are to be regulated by laws. Then
they will be required to understand the principles of those laws. Calvin believed that civil
order was important and that it should be taught to all people. As for the liberal arts,
Calvin (1559) seems to favor an exploratory or survey curriculum. He believes that,
“there is scarcely an individual who does not display intelligence in some particular art”
(Institutes II, 2, 14, p. 133). However, his curriculum does not just call for the repetition
or learning of the art.

He takes exception to Plato’s idea that knowledge was just recollection. The
curriculum should stimulate the student to go beyond the mere learning to improve or
even devise something new. Calvin (1559) claims all men have some aptitude in the
manual and liberal arts. This claim is based on observation as much as theology, as he
argues, “we have sufficient evidence of a common capacity” (Institutes II, 2, 14, p. 133).
His claim goes beyond mere learning, but touches on the realm of creativity as he claims,
“This capacity extends not merely to the learning of the art, but to the devising something
new, or the improving of what had been previously learned” (Institutes II, 2, 14, p. 133).

This idea of creativity as a goal of learning is revolutionary. It is based on the
idea that all men are created in the image of God. Therefore, even the “ungodly” can
share in the creative process and believers should be able to learn from them in many
areas. “[I]f the Lord has been pleased to assist us by the work and ministry of the ungodly
in physics, dialectics, mathematics, and other similar sciences, let us avail ourselves of it,
lest, by neglecting the gifts of God spontaneously offered to us, we be justly punished for our sloth.” (Institutes, II, 2,16,p. 134). Calvin believed that there were remnants of the image of God in all men that distinguished man from the animals and gave him the ability to attain knowledge as well as do some good deeds. On this structure two ideas are formed. That is that all believers can learn from the genius of nonbelievers and that all people should have the opportunity for education.

Such a belief opened up a whole new curriculum that challenged protectionist curriculums and to a degree censorship. Calvin (1967) claimed, “It is superstitious to refuse to make use of secular authors. For since all truth is of God, if any ungodly man has said anything true, we should not reject it, for it has come from God” (Commentary on Titus 1:12, Commentary on Colossians p. 52). Still censorship was a common practice in 16th century Europe. George Putnam’s work on The Censorship of the Church of Rome (1967) describes that it was a practice of both Roman Catholics and Protestants. In Geneva, publishers were to receive a license before they could publish a book. The Register of the company of pastors (July 1554) demonstrates how the town officials handled libelous books. The council, rather than the pastors, was to decide on what was to be censored. Calvin’s own library contained many books that were opposed to his beliefs. When that library was donated to the Academy, Gilmont (2005) described the donation as including works, which were written by Calvin’s opponents. Thus, Calvin was open to finding truth from many different sources, even those who did not agree with him.
Universal education

Calvin wanted all children to have “the advantage of a liberal education (ingénue education).” (The Epistles of Paul to the Galations, Ephesians, Philippians, and Colossians, p. 355). He believed that all people should have an opportunity to learn and be taught because all people have gifts from God that must not be neglected. He supports this innovative idea with the belief in a corporate worship. Such a belief gave importance to the education of the poor and women as well as affecting subject matter that would be important for everyone to learn.

Women and education.

An aspect of the universal use of education includes the education of women. Calvin’s view is that girls as well as boys should be educated. As the individual’s sex will not determine her life after death, girls should be given all the opportunities to learn so that they can work out their salvation. He says that Paul wanted all believers to be mature in their thinking. To Calvin (1966), this stresses the difference against the Roman Catholic practice of keeping the people simple so that the church could direct them more easily. Simplicity does not mean ignorance. Christians should not be “children in their thinking” (Commentary: 1 Cor. 14) In the spiritual realm women should be treated equally with men. They have human souls and can receive spiritual gifts, just like men. That view is in contrast to the scholastic argument as put forth by Thomas Aquinas.

Thomas is affected by the principle of hierarchical relationships. The scholastic argument that women have an inherent incapacity to be ordained is rejected by Calvin.
Women were bared from ordination because of the law, not because of incapacity. Douglas (1985) pointed to Calvin’s view that women were to have a personal relationship with God as a free person. She points to the Institutes I, V, 2 in order to contrast the subjection by Eve as a free person to the bondage, which followed the fall. That idea of a free person and one renewed by Christ’s sacrifice means that women must have all the educational tools needed to reach their spiritual potential.

   Geneva provided a separate school for girls. The Register in 1541 states, “the girls shall have their school separate, as has been the case hitherto.” It does not explain why the schools should be separate. However, the context of the statement was in regards to the establishment of a school for children. One of the concerns was the housing of children for students often have to leave home to attend school. Where the classroom was tied to the housing of students, the separation of the sexes would prevent many problems.

Music

Another aspect of teaching that has sometimes been forgotten is song. The Register (1541) insisted that this be part of a child’s curriculum. “It will be desirable to introduce hymns in order the better to incite the people to prayer and to the praise of God. To begin with, the little children shall be taught, and then in course of time the whole church will be able to follow” (p. 45). The education of children in singing was important as it would affect the worship service itself. Not only were the children able to
participate; but also they would lead the rest of the church so that they too could learn and sing the hymns.

Calvin (1965) broke down the songs of his day into three categories: “a psalm is sung to the accompaniment of some musical instrument; a hymn is properly a song of praise, whether it be sung simply with the voice or otherwise; an ode contains not merely praises, but exhortations, and other matter” (p. 353). He insisted that all these songs should be edifying – They should teach something worthwhile. Calvin did not want to take all the joy out of singing. He wanted the songs to be meaningful. They would be meaningful if they did what Colossians 3 suggested, which was to teach and admonish.

In fact, Calvin (1965) referred to cheerful songs as also being edifying. “Let your words, not merely those that are serious, but those that are joyful and cheerful contain something profitable.” (p. 353). It is interesting that Calvin could state this and yet have a reputation for rejecting music. As Lawrence and Ferguson (1981) claim, “Later Reformers, such as John Calvin, Ulrich Zwingli, and John Huss, tended to reject music -especially musical instruments” (p. 202). Of course, these authors made some mistakes as they also claimed Huss was a later reformer, even though he lived a century before Martin Luther. Calvin had a reputation for a rather dogmatic service in which music played a very minor role. However, the idea that singing was the result of spiritual joy echoes his commentary on Ephesians 5:18, where he describes music, “These are truly pleasant and delightful fruits” (p. 203). Such a statement shows that Calvin prized music as an important part of the worship service.
Ozment (1975) shows that Calvin’s desire for music in the church was an innovation when he describes Geneva as being influenced by Zwingli in the early years of the Reformation and had no congregational singing. Yet, after his return from Strasbourg, Calvin encouraged the singing of the Psalms by the whole congregation. He believed this was the practice of the early church and a heartwarming part of worship. He states in his commentary on Corinthians (1965),

> From this verse we also gather, however, that at this time the custom of singing was already in use among believers. That is also established by Pliny, who, writing at least forty years or so after the death of Paul, tells us that the Christians were in the habit of singing hymns to Christ before daylight. And indeed I have no doubt that from the very beginning they adopted the usage of the Jewish church in singing psalms (I Corinthians 14:15, p. 293).

At the Zurich Synod of 1538 Calvin prepared a list of fourteen articles for ecclesiastical reform in Geneva including article 13, which called for the singing of Psalms in worship. Calvin edited a songbook published in Strasbourg in 1539, which probably served as a basis for the Psalter referred to above. It included the Ten Commandments in song form as well as 19 versified psalms with 18 melodies. (Friedrich Blume (1975). One of the authors of verse was Clement Marot, a favorite poet of Francis I in Paris. He set the Psalms to metrified verse. Calvin included thirteen of the poet’s Psalms in his *Alcuns psealmes et cantique mys en chant*. Dick Schuler (2007) claims that Calvin even wrote some of the other psalms that were included in that volume himself. Surely this was not a man who disliked music.
The importance of congregational singing is demonstrated by Calvin’s inclusion in his church liturgies or order of service. Calvin’s Strasbourgh Liturgy followed the liturgy established by Bucer (see Figure 6). It included congregational singing of the Decalogue (Ten Commandments) as well as the Apostles’ Creed. These are compared to the Geneva Liturgy in Figure 6. (The similarities show the influence of Bucer’s Liturgy on Calvin’s Strasbourg Liturgy, which would be the basis of the Geneva Liturgy brought by Calvin to Geneva in 1542). It should be noted that Calvin’s view on the liturgical order was not rigid. He writes to the English church at Frankfort (January 13, 1555), “You are at liberty to compose anew the form, which will seem best adapted for the use and edification of that church” (Letters, p. 164). In this regard then, the reason for listing the liturgies was to show that congregational singing was important to Calvin. Singing was important as it allowed the congregation to respond and actively participate. It was also a means by which the doctrine of the church could be learned and remembered. The Psalter Hymnal Supplement (1974) points to the importance of singing as part of the Liturgy of those churches that followed Calvinism (p. 84).

Thompson (2003) provides the information on the Geneva liturgy (pp. 198-200). The Psalter Hymnal Supplement (1974) provides the information on Bucer’s Strasbourg Liturgy and Calvin’s Strasbourg Liturgy (pp. 84-85).
## Figure 6 A Comparison of Liturgies

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Geneva Liturgy</th>
<th>Bucer's Strasbourg Liturgy</th>
<th>Calvin's Strasbourg Liturgy</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Assembly</strong></td>
<td>1. Confession of sins</td>
<td>1. &quot;Our help is in the name of the Lord&quot;.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Opening sentence</td>
<td>2. Words of Pardon (Promise)</td>
<td>2. Confession of Sins.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Confession of sin</td>
<td>3. Absolution (Pronouncement)</td>
<td>3. Words of Pardon (Promise)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Ten Commandments (sung)</td>
<td>4. Hymn, Psalm-&quot;-or Gloria</td>
<td>4. Absolution (Pronouncement)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Psalm (sung)</td>
<td>5. Prayer for Illumination</td>
<td>5. Decalogue (Sung by congregation)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Collect for Illumination</td>
<td>7. Sermon</td>
<td>7. Lessons from Scripture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lesson and Sermon</td>
<td>8. Offering of Alms</td>
<td>8. Sermon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apostles’ Creed (sung)</td>
<td>10. Intercession and Prayer of Consecration</td>
<td>10. Intercessions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Meal</strong></td>
<td>11. Lord’s Prayer</td>
<td>11. Lord's Prayer with Paraphrase</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Lord's Supper</td>
<td>12. Exhortation</td>
<td>12. Apostles Creed (sung)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prayer of Thanksgiving</td>
<td>13. Word of Institution</td>
<td>13. Words of Institution</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Psalm (sung) or Canticle of Simeon</td>
<td>14. Communion</td>
<td>14. Exhortation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Offering</strong></td>
<td>15. Post Communion Prayers</td>
<td>15. Communion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Blessings</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>17. <em>Nunc Dimittis</em> in metre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>18. Benediction</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Based on the writings of Paul, Calvin looked at singing as a type of public prayer. He criticized the interpretation of 1 Corinthians 14 v. 15 that viewed singing as merely praising. In the Preface to the Psalter (June 10, 1543) Calvin refers to the church father, Chrysostom to encourage the women and the little children, as well as the men, to become accustomed to singing the Psalms and to sing with understanding. In other words, people should know what they are singing and everyone should be able to sing the songs. The melodies should be simple enough so that children could sing them yet have a high enough standard that they would be considered edifying and pleasing to God. Psalms were added to create the _Genevan Psalter_, which was first published in 1562. Music was a subject that was to be learned and used in order for order in worship but also for individual edification.

Calvin stressed the need for universal worship. He wished to see more congregational participation in worship and saw singing hymns as a means of having a meaningful worship service. He looked at the writings of Pliny, who wrote at least forty years after Paul’s death, to show that Christians sang hymns to Christ. Also, he claimed that the early Christians would have followed the tradition of the Jewish church in singing the Psalms in services. Whereas, according to Ozment (1975), the early Genevan churches had no congregational singing, Calvin encouraged the singing of the Psalms by the whole congregation. That new practice stirred up some controversy as Bourquelot (1857) quoted a contemporary of Calvin, Claud Haton, who claimed, “the fine-voiced maidens let loose their hums and trills…so the young men will be sure to listen. How wrong of Calvin to let women sing in church” (p, 49-50). Calvin, in reference to I
Corinthians, 14:7, encouraged the active participation of women in this vocal part of worship. They were to be active participants in corporate worship. Calvin explains the power of music for moving men’s feelings. However, the context of 1 Corinthians 14 was on understanding. Thus, he did not wish to discuss in too much detail what was a simile. Still, he claims everyone should recognize the fact that music does have an emotional effect.

The importance of congregational understanding and participation in worship had an effect on the educational curriculum. The inclusion of the arts in education should be seen as an innovation. Unfortunately, as with Partee (1977) Calvin is sometimes quoted out of context when he refers to the arts in 1 Cor. 1, 17. Here he is referring to oratory as an art and not the “arts” in general. Still, Calvin was interested in the arts as can be seen in his desire for congregational singing. Here again an innovation must be seen, because it is a congregational singing that must be understood. The congregational hymns of Geneva and the old Scottish hymnals use the closing “Amen” after the hymn. Calvin (1965) is adamant about the use of “Amen.” In his comments on 1 Cor. 14:16, he states that it to be used only in places of understanding. “ ‘Nobody,’ Paul says, can add his Amen to a prayer or psalm unless he understands it” (p. 293). Calvin explains that the root of the Hebrew word Amen is derived from the word for “trustworthiness” or “truthfulness.” It passed from the Jews to the Gentiles and was accepted, as different language groups accepted the Christian Gospel. When Calvin concludes that the uneducated person cannot take part in public prayer unless he understands what is being said, it should be accepted that singing should also be understood if there is to be
congregational singing. Calvin’s claim was that thanksgivings should not be repeated in public except in a language that could be understood, the public tongue. All congregational singing should be done with understanding so that the “amen” could be used. Therefore, the singing should be in the mother tongue.

The Genevan Psalter of 1551 contained many new melodies that Joy Lawrence and John Ferguson (1981) explain were composed or adapted by Louis Bourgeois. The Old Hundredth and Psalm 42 are examples of some well-known hymns that demonstrate the tunes and metrical shapes that are still in use.

A difference between the publications of the Institutes from 1536 to 1539 shows a distinct development towards favoring congregational singing. In 1536 Calvin wrote, “Yet, we do not condemn…singing provided they are with the hearts affections and serve it.” In 1539 he revised his statement to read, “Yet, we do not here condemn … singing but highly recommend them.” The change could be attributed to the influence of Bucer or perhaps Calvin’s first hand observation of the importance of Psalm singing in the church at Strasbourg. The statement was supported by the preparation of a French Psalter, Aulcuns Pseaulmes et Cantique Mys en Chant, which was also published in 1539.

The importance of the singing of the Psalms was that it was a part of corporate worship. However, the educational implications are apparent from Calvin’s Commentary on I Corinthians. Here, Calvin stresses the idea that the uneducated person cannot take part in public worship unless he understands what is being said. His claim is that all believers should be mature in their thinking, as far as possible. Again that would put a
burden on schools to teach the arts so that children would not only be able to participate, but to understand what they were doing while they were participating.

Calvin (1965) expanded on the importance of music in the curriculum as he says, “Plato teaches quite rightly, that in one way or another music is of the greatest value in shaping the moral tone of the state” (I Corinthians 14: 8-9). Teaching music would not only be important in religious education but in any education. Calvin believed it had the power to influence man’s feelings. In this regard to leave music out of education would be of moral detriment to the state. Also as he says in the Institutes III, 20,

Certainly, if singing is tempered to a gravity befitting the presence of God and angels, it gives both dignity and grace to sacred actions, and has a very powerful tendency to stir up the mind to true zeal and ardent prayer. We must, however, be carefully aware, lest our ears be more intent on the music than our minds on the spiritual meaning of the words. (p. 475)

Training in proper use of song and singing would be important for children so that they could participate in the service of worship.

Economics

Calvin realized it was necessary to provide financial support for the new system of education. Provisions had to be made for staff and facilities. Teachers should be supported in a way that was fitting of their station and students needed the necessities of life so they could concentrate on their studies. He states in his Tracts and Treatises (1958), “Let those teaching…and the scholars who study in these schools, fully possess
and enjoy in absence all the privileges conferred by common law in regard to the drawing of fruits, prebends, and benefices” (vol III, p. 82). Prebends and benefices were traditional means of supporting scholarship but had been misused. Calvin encouraged a proper use for education and scholarship. He encouraged support for teachers in the same way he expected it for pastors. Teachers were also supported by the Bourse. Those who taught would affect the quality of education and teachers had to be paid. Of course a college is only as good as its teachers so Calvin wanted quality teachers.

In Concerning Scandals (1978), Calvin explains how property that had been confiscated from the Roman Catholic Church should be used. He describes the Reformation practice of using those funds, where they were “dispersed on the poor; much more is being devoted to schools than used to be done” (p. 113). His desire was that the church would need to help provide for education.

Still, Calvin (1559) warned against church control of education. He cited a negative example of the Roman Catholic Church, as it pleaded for money for lecturers. “An hundred times more is swallowed up by lazy-bellies than would serve the purpose“ (p. 82). This misuse of money was caused by a confusion of goals. When a churchman was in control of funding the goal might be something different than education. When the people in charge were those with education as their goal, the use of funds and administration of the school would be more efficient. Therefore, Calvin can write to the Duke of Somerset on July 25, 1551 about the squandering of the revenues and benefices of the universities: “ Revenues of the universities, which have been founded for the maintenance of scholars, are ill distributed” (p. 125).
Instead of church control, Calvin encouraged a certain amount of autonomy within the school. Even though he was interested in the school and desired to help, he limited his involvement and interference in the administration. As he explained, “With regard to the assistant teacher, I do not venture upon anything, because it will be more satisfactory that a person who has the superintendence of the school shall have the unfettered power of selecting whom he chooses” (Letters II, p. 24). Hiring of faculty was definitely one of the areas that Calvin handed over to the educational specialist. It may well be the desire to keep the school separate from the church that gave McNeill (1962) the idea that Calvin recognized his limitations as a schoolmaster and, therefore, did not take on the post as head of the Academy. (p. 151.) Actually, Calvin was very much at home in the academic setting and taught the upper classmen at that same academy.

The church had assumed responsibility for the education of children in the past, but because of her greed she neglected her duty. Part of that duty was to teach the word of God and part of it was to provide education for the poor. Calvin (1858) claimed that the church had failed to do either:

They more frequently squeezed something out of the teachers of schools than aided them with salaries. Now on the other hand, if the administration is not yet so pure and holy as were to be wished, at least godly pastors are maintained to feed souls with the doctrine of salvation; something is expended on schools; the poor have ten times more distributed to them than they used to get. (Letters II, p. 24)
The church had a responsibility of providing education for all, especially the poor. Calvin’s attempt at universal education had to break down the economic barrier.

The effect of the Genevan economic and educational policy can be seen in the development of industries, such as watch making. The year 1550 marked the beginning of the manufacturing of fob watches in Geneva. (Mueller Science, 12/7/2006, p. 15). The need for an improved economy affected educational policy in Geneva. With a number of immigrants moving into Geneva there was a need for a curriculum that would educate the newcomers to prepare them for Genevan society. Teaching a skill was one such aspect.

Because education and training are aspects of economic well being, Calvin’s educational policy cannot be divorced from his theology of economics. His economic theory is based on some basic principles: It is more important to have treasures in heaven than on earth. God provides the talent that is needed for a job, the strong back for menial labor and the skill of the surgeon. All people are responsible for the development of talent so that their full potential can be reached. This section will discuss the basis for Calvin’s theory of economics and its effects on education.

The 16th century economic system seemed harsh. However, Calvin encouraged some humanitarian changes. He saw a danger in overemphasizing the things of this world. Such an emphasis detracts from the future life. Thus, he uses the motif of reward in the future to help build an economic policy. He writes in the *Harmony of the Gospels II* (1972), "He who voluntarily loses all this earthly riches for Christ's sake will have greater joys in this life than if he had kept them, and above all a reward is laid up for him
in heaven" (p. 263). The statement that it is better to have riches in heaven than on earth is key to Calvin's thoughts on economics.

While he deals with the hope of the future life, Calvin (1972) points to the misery of certain unfortunate people to show that earthly treasures are not of prime importance to men. He says that many who "have lost all their money, do not recover but struggle out their life in lonely and deserted exile and in poverty" (p. 263). This economic condition could describe the plight of many of the refugees who fled to Geneva in Calvin's time. Yet, he compares God's present grace as preferred to all the riches of the world. He declares that heaven is the place where men should store up treasures. The hoarding of wealth on earth is folly "especially since God provides us with a place in heaven to lay up our treasure, and gently invites us to posses riches which shall never waste away" (p. 215).

This treasure in heaven can be a reward for proper use of financial resources. Calvin felt a proper use for wealth on earth should be in supporting the poor:

Now as men find it hard and painful to strip themselves of their possessions, He proposes to them a full and splendid hope of recompense, as a way of relieving the difficulty, namely, that when they relieve their brother's need on earth, they are laying up for themselves treasures in heaven-- according to Solomon's word, He that hath pity on the poor, lendeth unto the Lord. (Commentary on Proverbs 19:17, p. 215)
What better support for the poor than in educating them so that they could be productive members of society. Yet, at the same time, Calvin warns not to get too legalistic. Giving to the poor:

is not to be taken too exactly, as though it were not permissible for any Christian man to leave anything over to himself. The lesson he wished to give was that we should donate to the poor in terms of our superfluity spilling over onto them. No, we are not to spare our capital funds, if the interest from these fails to meet the necessity. In other words, liberality has to go as far as the diminution of your patrimony, and the disposal of your estates (p.215-216).

Thus, the future life is a motivating factor in determining ethics in the field of economics. By supporting education, the wealthy build up two systems the economy in Geneva and the heavenly kingdom.

The idea is not so much contempt for the world as a desire for greater blessings in heaven. The attraction of heaven should make it easier to give up earthly things. However, there is a negative argument as well. Calvin claims that the treasures of this world can hinder man as he aspires for the future life. Thus, Calvin calls for self-sacrifice. The Gospel is to be put before all the riches, delights, honors, and comforts of this world. It does not mean that all possessions must be renounced to enjoy eternal life. "Christ only exhorts His believers to renounce the things that are contrary to godliness. Yet, he permits God's temporal benefits to be used and enjoyed as if they were not used" (p. 82).
To complement the rule of using the world without abusing it, Calvin insists that each man should make use of the talents, which God has given him. The best way to encourage the use of these talents was to educate or train the young person. A good education is vital to a good economy. The renewal of the earth puts man in a position similar to that of Adam. The pleasant employment of Adam could now be experienced in the kingdom awaiting the full enjoyment at the resurrection. As the arts and sciences are encompassed in that experience of Adam, they must be suitable fields for education and employment. By supporting public education, the wealthy could use their resources to make sure that talents were not being wasted and that God’s mandate would be fulfilled.

On the other hand greed and a desire for luxury would prevent the wise use of resources and many talents would be wasted. Calvin (1964) found that Timothy was warned against the desire for riches. "God calls thee to life eternal therefore despise the world and strive to obtain it."(p.277). Yet he is careful to point out, "It is not riches that are the cause of the evils Paul mentions here, but a desire for them, even if the person is poor” (p. 275). Calvin insists that this desire for money almost always leads to corruption for other evils follow from covetousness. "And it is especially true of the base greed for gain, that it produces all sorts of evils every day" (p. 275). Luxury can be a detriment to those who are seeking the future life. Thus, Calvin asks his readers to bear abundance moderately.

Moderation is urged as an alternative to luxury because it does not detract from the goal of salvation. Wealth is a gift from God to be used wisely for His kingdom.
Those who are wealthy have greater ability to serve God by helping others. Those who own property could use their gift to help the poor.

So we must infer that his whole instruction was for the rich, according to their means, to disburse to the poor, as their necessity demands. In other words, see what basic necessity of life your neighbours lack, and which you have in plenty; let your supply meet their need (*Harmony of the Gospels I, p. 124*; also *Psalms 4, p. 156*).

Education was one of the greatest of needs. The best gift for the poor could be the gift of education because it would help the poor gain a good occupation that would support them and their families. Calvin sees that when men are given much from God, they must be cautious not to be kind to themselves alone. He emphasizes sharing with the poor and resisting luxury.

It is important to understand Calvin’s view of the future life if we are to understand his call for an equitable education for all. Education was important for two reasons: spiritual and economic. His support of education was a call for the ethical use of wealth. Calvin (1559) claims that aspirations of the future life are destroyed by an excessive love of created objects.

He who bids you use this world as if you used it not destroys not only the intemperance of gluttony in food and drink, and excessive indulgence at table, in buildings and clothing, ambition, pride, arrogance, and over fastidiousness, but also all care and inclination that either diverts or hinders you from thought of heavenly life and zeal to cultivate the soul (*Institutes, III, 10,4, p. 378*).
The French makes this passage clearer: Calvin refers to his preparing for our soul (notre ame). The "celui" is not reflexive. (L'Institution Cretienne, III, 10,4, p. 189).

Because there seems to be a lack of control present when plenty is available and earthly vices seem to go with immoderate desires (Commentary on Isaiah, 2:153), Calvin can insist upon moderation as a necessary economic principle. By living in moderation men can focus on the spiritual/ethical side of life and at the same time by meditating on the spiritual, men can be helped to live without luxury. This is a circular argument that shows the importance of ethical living for Calvin.

This life is going to provide some pleasant experiences as well as some unpleasant experiences. The good things in life must be used correctly. Calvin (1559) explains, "Nor can we even shun those things which seem more servient to delight than to necessity." (Institutes III, 10, 1, p. 377). Such a statement shows Calvin was not the stoic that he is often described as. Enjoyable things can still be ethical. Yet, Calvin (1559) does give a warning about the use of wealth:

This the Lord prescribes by his word, when he tells us that to his people the present life is a kind of pilgrimage by which they hasten to the heavenly kingdom. If we are only to pass through the earth, there can be no doubt that we are to use its blessings only so far as they assist our progress, rather than retard it (p. 377).

Economic blessings are only blessings if they help men to appreciate the future life. This is not a stoic asceticism. Rather, it is a system of common sense. The absolution of feast days in Geneva has been credited to Calvin's asceticism. However, he argues against that label. He defends himself (1858):
But as I can solemnly testify that it was accomplished without my knowledge, and
without my desire, so I resolved from the first rather to weaken malice by silence,
that to be over-solicitous about my defense. Before I entered the city, there were no

When luxury retards the pilgrim's progress, it becomes a curse. The waste that
luxury produces is an abuse of the resources of the world. To waste would be unethical
when many people live without the necessities needed for a decent life. It is also an
abuse of resources not to use them efficiently. Therefore, he calls on the wealthy to
support education of the poor.

It should not be thought that Calvin foresaw the environmental problems caused
by waste today. His ethics were based on an eschatological principle that men must
fulfill the duties of their pilgrimage on earth. However, the caution appears to be similar:
"Where is your thanksgiving if you so gorge yourself with banqueting or wine that you
either become stupid or are rendered useless for the duties of piety and of your calling?"
(Institutes III, 10, 3, p. 377). Such a statement would imply that one should waste as little
as possible.

More than that, it implies that those who live in luxury are often living at the
expense of someone else. By providing an education to all, the wealthy would be doing
the opposite. They would be providing for someone’s future. Calvin (1559) warns that
there could be repercussions, when greed was the motivation of the wealthy.

But those impious ones who have flourished on earth he will cast into utter
disgrace; he will turn their delights into tortures, their laughter and mirth into
weeping and gnashing of teeth; he will trouble their peace with the dire torment of conscience; he will punish their wantonness with unquenchable fire; he will also make them bow their heads in subjection to the godly, whose patience they have abused. (*Institutes, III, 9, 6, p. 376*)

Although the MacDonald (n.d.) publication uses "luxury" in place of "wantonness," neither the Battles (1960) nor the MacDonald translation has the force of the French: "en somme, les plonger dans le feu eternal." The wantonness must be seen as a summary of all the impieties mentioned in the *Institutes III, 9, 6.*

He talks of his own frugal life style as he defends himself against an accusation:

All know how frugally I live at home. They see that I am at no expense for the sumptuousness of my dress. It is known to everybody, that my own brother is neither very rich, nor has obtained anything by my influence. Where then can that buried treasure be lying hid? They give out too, that I have robbed the poor... But if while alive I cannot escape the reputation of being rich, death will at last vindicate me from that reproach. (*Tracts and Treatises, vol. III, p. 235*).

The fact that he provided rooms in his house for students shows that he practiced what he believed.

Even though Calvin did not live in luxury himself, he did not condemn all wealth. He rather defines what luxury is and what is wrong with it. He states, “Excess is ever to be condemned; for, when we give up ourselves to pomps and pleasures, we certainly are not then free from sin; indeed, every desire for present things, which exceeds moderation is ever justly reprehensible.” When he discusses Amos, 6:4 (1950), he adds: "Luxury is
not simply reprehended by the prophet” (p. 307-308). He points out, historically, that luxury broke down courage and made men effeminate. He is not afraid to say that in time of need that the rich should give up their luxuries. For those who do not he gives a stern warning. "Hence, since God could not terrify you by his rods, nothing remains but o draw you forth against your will to be punished "(p.308).

The ascension and return of Jesus provides a foundation for the argument against luxury. To be joined to Jesus, men must put off earthly things. Thus, each individual became a vital part of God's kingdom and the economics of society. "It is enough if we know that the Lord's calling is in everything the beginning and foundation of well doing." Which meant, "That no task will be so sorid and base, provided you obey your calling in it, that it will not shine and be reckoned very precious in God's sight"(InstitutesIII, 10,6, p. 378). This dissertation has already established that Calvin believed in education as an economic and political principal. He also tied it to an eschatological principle that even the poorest individual or lowest occupation is given new significance by the glory of the Lord and His promise of the future. As everyone was significant, every one deserved an education.

Calvin not only gave a new importance to menial labor, but his view of the future life opened the way for new occupations. For Calvin (1963) the renewal of the world has begun. The earthly calling is preparation for the future.

But Christ by whom we are adopted into the family also admits us into the fellowship of this right, so that we may enjoy the whole world with God's blessing. What the apostle refers to expressly as "the world to come" has
Calvin (1948) states in his commentary on Genesis that man "was not formed for idleness, but for action" (p. 174). The call to action could be that man's scientific task was presented to him before the fall. The task was in principle fulfilled by Christ as the Son of Man, is increasingly executed by those who are in Him, and finally will be perfected in the new earth. Lee (1969) points out Calvin’s respect for the sciences, as each calling must be of benefit to the pilgrimage of the individual. Abuses often hindered man's progress toward the future life. They caused some to be greedy and others to be desperate as the discrepancy between the rich and poor seemed to grow. Thus, Calvin called on the rich to give and to lend freely to the poor. He actively campaigned for people of means to be charitable in helping the development of schools in Geneva. He also agitated for all to make use of their abilities through learning (1 Peter 2: 2, p. 257). They should not waste their talents.

The idea of responsibility, when applied to educational ideals, would mean that those who were advantaged should help provide for those who were poor. Calvin did not demand that financial support for education come from taxation but rather be freely given. Therefore, he worked diligently through the Bourse to provide funds so that children of every economic status could receive some education.

Because of the hope of ultimate redemption, He speaks sternly to those who cannot patiently endure. He also sees the idle as not fitting into God's plan. No one
should be idle as such people are of no use to those around them. They are not productive and all people must be productive if the economy is to flourish. Men are called to action. When they act according to God's call, they benefit society and their lives are set in order. “Apart from this ordering there is nothing in human life but confusion” (II Thessalonians, p. 416).

The law

Calvin’s view of the law affects his support for a universal education. There is a theological basis for such support. Therefore, it is necessary to study Calvin’s three uses of the law. The application of the idea that the law has three uses means that because everyone will be affected by God’s laws, everyone must understand the law and to understand, everyone should be educated.

Calvin systematically stated the three uses of the law in his Institutes of the Christian Religion (1559). The first use was to point to Christ. Calvin refers to Galatians 3:10: “The law was our school master to lead us to Christ. The second use was to “curb those who, unless forced, have no regard for rectitude and justice” (p. 179). The third use, which Calvin calls the principal use, is to direct believers. On this basis, the teaching and learning of the law becomes a need for all children, non-believers as well as believers.

The discussion of the first use of the law does not directly state that people must teach the law in order to bring young people to a religious faith in Christ. However, Calvin (1559) had already established that the examples of other believers as well as
natural revelation teach the truth of God’s law (II, 7, 10). “We are reminded by the examples of others.” (p. 179). He also employs many metaphors such as the law as schoolmaster to establish the importance of teaching the law. He felt it was important to study the law. In Institutes I, 17, 2 men are enjoined, “studiously to meditate on the law” (p. 102). In Institutes I, 6, 2 Calvin established a principle that the law should be taught, “The special office assigned to Moses and all the prophets was to teach the method of reconciliation between God and man, whence Paul calls Christ ‘The end of the law’ “ (p. 25 and Romans 10: 4). Yet at the same time Calvin warns against false teachers and, therefore, demands that people study the word of God directly. “If true religion is to beam upon us, our principle must be that it is necessary to begin with heavenly teaching” (p. 25). This did not mean that Calvin didn’t see the importance of the teaching office of the church. “The law was promulgated, and prophets were afterwards added to be interpreters” (p. 25). However, he would discuss the teaching office of the church later in his Institutes. (See Appendix A).

Calvin (1559) is convinced (II, 7, 1) that the reason that God gave men the ceremonial law was to lead to Christ. “God did not enjoin sacrifice, in order that He might occupy his worshippers with earthly exercises” (p. 174). With the above statement Calvin gives an insight into his pedagogy. Busy work is not helpful in any kind of education. Calvin discusses that the “multiplicity of rites” has a negative affect. Non-believers look at such “earthly exercises” as childish” (p. 174). Unless the rites lead to Christ they were not only useless but had a negative impact that lead to ridicule. In the same way unless there is a purpose in an educational exercise and that purpose is made
known to the learner the exercise has a negative effect. *Institutes II, 7, 1 (1559)* refers to Peter as teaching that “the fullness of grace, of which the Jews has a foretaste under the law, is exhibited in Christ” (p. 174).

The second use of the law that “curbs” or restrains the common man from evil acts because of fear of punishment will also have an effect on education. Every child should be given an education, not only so they know the law but also that they would understand the consequences of what happens when they break the law. Calvin claims this is necessary for the good of society in the *Institutes II, 7, 10.*

Children are to be trained to bear the yoke of righteousness “so that when they are called they are not mere novices, studying a discipline of which they had no knowledge” (p. 179). Calvin’s concern is also for those who will become Christians at a later time. Those not immediately regenerate, he, through the works of the law, preserves in fear, against the time of his visitation, not, indeed that pure and chaste fear useful to the extent of instructing them in true piety according to their capacity. Thus, the law is used as a tool to instruct the non-believer in what he should do and how he should believe. In this case, again, the law is used as a pedagogical tool to teach or form a curriculum by which everyone would know how to act so that society would be preserved. If society is to function, everyone is to be taught the law and its consequences. When we have a society that is not taught the law or that the law has consequences, we have a society that “loses all desire after righteousness” (p. 179).

The third use of the law is applied to those people who already are Christian believers. Calvin believed that there were two benefits of the law that such people could
enjoy: learning the will of God and confirming that truth. He says the law is the “best instrument for enabling them daily to learn with greater truth and certainty what that will of the Lord is which they inspire to follow, and to confirm them in this knowledge” (p. 180). He claims that everyone should learn the law. “Let none of us deem ourselves exempt from this necessity, for none have as yet attained to such a degree of wisdom, as they may not, by daily instruction of the law, advance to a purer knowledge of the divine will “ (p. 180). He continues, “We need not doctrine merely, but exhortation also” (p. 180).

Calvin views the study of the law as a long-term project in Institutes II, 7, 13 “We must not confine to a single age, or employment which is most appropriate to all ages, even to the end of the world. Nor are we to be deterred or to shun its instructions.” (p. 181) Continually it is the responsibility of everyone to accept the instruction of the law – neither age nor social standing matter.

He felt that the law stood on its own for the law “not only teaches, but imperiously demands. In regard to believers, the law has the force of exhortation (p. 181). By following that exhortation man can live better because “by teaching, admonishing, rebuking, and correcting, it may fit and prepare us for every good work” (p.181). When Calvin stated the three uses of the law, he established another theological principle, with which he could support and program for universal education. The law was important for believer and non-believer alike.
Impact

The Reformation times saw the consolidation and diversification of educational ideas. The Reformers all insisted that education be Bible centered, but they differed on the structure, control, and type of church involvement that would be the most efficient. On the other hand efficiency was not always as much an issue as what was right. Thus, the questions of universal education and the place of government in education became important to the Reformers.

Calvin’s Academy had a different structure than the Lutheran schools in the German states, which was because of the differences between Geneva and Germany and because of a difference between Calvin and Luther. Church, state, and school developed together in Germany – it has even been claimed that pietistic theology helped to develop German nationalism. In Geneva, however, the academy, government, and church once held together by the power of men like Calvin and Beza gradually developed independently.

Universal education, or at least the provision for education to all, began to be realized when governments began to support the plans of the church. This support extended into higher education as well but did not take away from the evangelical use of education because governments often accepted a responsibility to teach the faith. Calvin felt that a government should be responsible to the people and for their education.

His view of government was innovative in that he supported a representative government, even before the American Revolution established it as an acceptable alternative to royalty. The government structure can be seen in the structure described in
the Institutes book four, section three. The structure was that of a court system. Those who had the position of teaching as pastors were called presbyters,

And in each city these presbyters selected one of their number to whom they gave the special title of bishop…. The bishop, however, was not so superior in honour and dignity as to have dominion over his colleagues, but as it belongs to a president in an assembly to bring matters before them collect their opinions take precedence of others in consulting, advising, exhorting, guide the whole procedure by his authority, and execute what is decreed by common consent, a bishop held the same office in a meeting of presbyters.(p.571)

Calvin goes on to explain the meeting of presbyters could appeal to a higher court in the provincial synod. Then, in turn, the synod could appeal to the general council or general assembly. There was no primacy. Also, although pastors may have been suggested by a bishop, as these men needed to have certain qualifications or standards, the candidates were taken before the congregation who actually did the choosing.

Therefore, those in government had a duty to serve the people. That duty carried over to caring for the church. Not just to secure and protect her but to further her cause and to support the establishment of true doctrine. Niesel (1956) pointed out that this meant they were to provide for pastors so that there could be church worship, care for the poor and build schools while providing support for teachers. This would include a particular concern for the universities because they were where the future leaders would be trained. If the universities were lacking in the proper spirit of the gospel, the government should be concerned.
Geneva could relate to such a theory because their own “College Versonnex” formed for the training of clergy had fallen into decay. Calvin reorganized the school after his return in 1541 and tuition was free. To make sure that every child had an opportunity to attend school, elementary schools were established in each of the four quarters of Geneva. While a small fee was charged to begin, this was abolished in 1571 and a true common school had been established. The council also erected the building for the Academy, although most of the support came from private donations.

Calvin still pushed for a separation of church and state, for the preaching of the gospel is not the function of the government. That is the business of the church alone. Even in the Academy, Calvin drew up the program of studies. The position of the government was to support and encourage. The institutions were self-controlled.

Calvin based his educational innovations on theology. However, his actions were often affected by the social and economic realities that existed in Geneva and his own experiences as a student and teacher. Being a teacher himself and seeing the need for quality teachers made selection and training of teachers an important aspect of his educational plan. That plan included a desire for a curriculum that went beyond what was common for the 16th century and was implemented for the well being of all citizens. Because of the importance of education, Calvin felt that there should be a whole-hearted support for education. The church was not to neglect her duty. As parents, the citizens of Geneva had a responsibility of supporting the school and the government as their representatives was also responsible. Calvin’s view was that a proper education for
everyone was important for the well being of Geneva and vital for the spiritual life of the individual.

Universal education, adding to the importance of the teaching office, and expanding the curriculum were innovations that this researcher has credited to John Calvin. He was affected by the political and economical climate of his day; but, in turn, he affected politics and economics through his educational achievements.
CHAPTER V

CONCLUSIONS

The survey of pre-service teachers demonstrated that the idea of a calling was important to those teachers. A large majority of those surveyed felt that teaching was a calling rather than a job. These pre-service teachers indicated that they were more motivated, had a better attitude toward learning, and a desire to continually improve upon their skills. They were more willing to work harder at their occupation than their peers, who did not view teaching as a calling. These results show that the idea of a calling that Calvin established on a theological basis is something that students who are considering a field in education need to examine. Calvin set a high standard for teachers because he felt that they had a special calling. The ideal of a calling demonstrated that teachers needed training as well as a desire to be trained. The survey demonstrated that Calvin had foresight to establish a principle for teaching that would still be applicable today.

Education was not a priority for the average person of the 16th century. European society was divided between the elite and the poor. The elite had opportunities for education and the poor could not afford that privilege. Because Calvin’s theology insisted that everyone has a calling, everyone needed an education to fulfill their calling. Economic needs, as well as, spiritual needs had to be considered. Therefore, there was a need for schools in Geneva that were going to provide a good education for everyone.
The goal of a universal educational program is based on this theory and the dedicated teacher is a corner stone of the educational program. Education affected the social and economic climate of Geneva.

However, the political situation in France also affected the social and economic climate of Geneva and the numbers and type of immigrants who came to the Swiss city. Thus, it is necessary to provide some background to the situation in France. This chapter will also look at the influences that Calvin’s educational innovations had on Europe and Europeans and evaluate the importance of his innovative views.

**Historical Summary**

The Year 1559 marked time of great change in the political and religious events of France that would influence Geneva. The Peace of Cateau-Cambrésis, the death of Henri II, and the first national assembly of the French Reformed Church all occurred in that time. The treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis created peace between France and Spain. With that peace, their kings could dedicate time and energy to solving the problems at home. France had to give up Savoy and Piedmont. The peace meant that many of her military men would come home to France. Many of these men were Calvinists. Therefore, O’Connell (1974) suggests that there was a threat of nucleus of a protestant militia in France.

The Duke of Savoy was restored and Geneva was in danger of his attack. Calvin wrote to the French Admiral Coligny January 16, 1561, “I am convinced that the safety
of this place needs not be recommended to you…especially as that anxiety tends to be the public good of France, and is ultimately connected with it.” (Selected Letters, p. 235).

Both the Pope and Phillip II of Spain threatened France’s security. Thus, she still wanted independent Swiss cantons.

Henri II showed little sympathy for Protestants when he created the *Chambre ardent* to try them as heretics. Harold Grim (1973) explains that he also disregarded the treaty of Chateaubriand and set up lower courts to expedite trials (p. 293). Where Henri had been able to play one faction against another, his heirs were not so skillful. He left his wife Catherine de Medici and four young sons subject to the aspirations of the Roman Catholic party headed by the House of Guise, and the Bourbons who supported the King of Navarre, and Montmorency. When Francis II came to the throne, he was only 15 and, although of legal age, he was subject to a regency of sorts. The House of Guise had arranged the marriage of their niece, Mary Queen of Scots to the new king. Francis was thus persuaded to place himself in their hands.

The first national meeting of the French Reformed Church marked an important moment in the development of a protestant church in France. It was a sign of maturity. The structure, that of the “Ecclesiastical Ordinances” (*Register*, p. 35) and the leadership of the French church had come from Geneva. Although that influence would not disappear, a national meeting was a healthy sign that the Reformed church in France had grown in numbers and was going to be able to take on more responsibility in areas such as educating its congregations.
It was significant that at that meeting the church established a creed and a discipline for governing the new congregations. The system did not function as intended, because persecution kept the synods from meeting. The local churches developed their own schools as their elders saw necessary and practical.

Roman Catholic schools were the norm in France. However they were changing. An anti-Jesuit feeling developed. Cornelius Jansen of the University of Louvain called on Roman Catholics to lead exemplary lives and he attacked Scholasticism. His work was taken up by Blaise Pascal, who continued educational reform in France.

The queen mother, Catherine, stopped the edicts of persecution and released political prisoners. With this new freedom the Huguenot movement grew. When King Francis became ill and died, the Estates General met as a parliament for the first time in eighty years. Even though the Parliament attempted to set up a regency for the new king, Catherine, with the support of the King of Navarre became regent for Charles IX.

Her policy was to unite the Roman Catholic and Protestant churches in hopes of solving France’s internal problems. She assumed that civil unrest was only because of religious differences and that both the Roman Catholic and Calvinistic churches were purely national, so she called for a council to solve the problem. Because the Council of Trent (1551-2) had said that a compromise between the two churches was impossible, the Pope viewed the French council as a breech between France and Rome. Catherine changed the name of her meeting to a colloquy and proceeded in secret. Calvin’s educational leader, Beza, was brought to this colloquy, which again showed the influence that Geneva had on the religious situation in France (M. Baird, 1970).
Catherine’s policy isolated the crown between the two religious parties of Roman Catholic and Huguenot. She was able to convince the Pope to accept the Edict of Toleration, which recognized protestant churches by permitting worship outside of towns and in the suburbs. She was unable to convince the Parlement de Paris. Massacres and an invasion of Paris by the Catholic Army led to war. The real winner in the war was Catherine. All the other leaders were eliminated. The real losers were the Huguenots who had more restrictions placed on them. In Paris there were to be no Huguenot assemblies.

Events such as the August 24th St. Bartholomew’s day Massacre, the War of the Three Henries, and the assassinations of Duke and the Cardinal of Guise along with the King of Navarre left Henry of Navarre, a Huguenot, as legitimate heir to the French throne. To eliminate the religious problems of France, Henry became a Roman Catholic (with the blessing of Pope Clement VII), expelled the Jesuits, and issued the Edict of Nantes. The latter established the Roman Catholic Church as the state religion. However, it gave concessions to the Huguenots, such as the right to publish and sell Reformed books publicly, the right to hold office, and to build places for the exercise of religion. Education became important as Henry reduced the power of the nobility by using trained middle class officials. Although it was not universal, the educational program did train French leaders for government and financial positions. The success of that educational program was demonstrated when France became a leader in agriculture, commerce, and industry.
May 10, 1610 Henry was assassinated and Cardinal Richelieu was appointed Regent for Prince Louis XIII. Both nobles and Huguenots lost rights under his regency and many upper class Huguenots fled to Geneva. The movement to absolutism continued under Louis XIV and the chief minister Cardinal Mazarin. The Huguenots’ rights were taken away and France was affirmed as a Roman Catholic country.

A comparison needs to be made in order to understand what happened in Geneva because of Calvin’s influence and the political structure of the time. That is to see what happened after Calvin’s time in Geneva itself. Another well-known citizen of Geneva was Jean-Jacque Rousseau from the 18th century. However, his description of Geneva was much different than what was seen at the time of Calvin (Cohen, 1953). The reasons for the change are many, but the belief that there was a moral decay seems to have been an accepted fact (Rosenblatt, 1977, p. 22). It seems strange but some of the accusations about the cause of the change were that the French immigrants brought in the moral decay when in Calvin’s day it was just the opposite. The 16th century Genevans were upset that Calvin was bringing in French preachers that forced a new morality on their city. The 18th century Genevans were upset that the French immigrants were bringing the loose morals of a decadent French society. However, the new immigrants were wealthier than those of the early 16th century, and Calvin’s influence had dissipated by the 18th century.

According to Bronowski (1962), Rousseau viewed the laws as operating by the consent of the whole population (p. 297) That view of the law was different than Calvin’s view of a God given law and it reflected a different morality in Geneva. Such a view
would lead to a different view of education as one could see in the *Emile*. When Rousseau (1966) instructs, “Let us yield nothing to the claims of birth, to the authority of parents and pastors” (*Emile*, p. 261). He caught the spirit of a common education that Calvin found so important for every citizen but that had been lost in Geneva. By Rousseau’s time Geneva had developed a society with upper class privilege. At the same time she lost the importance of the religious aspect of education and the importance of the parents in the educating process.

**Influences**

Calvin’s school was innovative and inclusive so that it became a model for others to follow. Provisions were made for the training of children, teachers, and pastors, who were often from other countries. When they left Geneva, they carried the educational system to their home country or their mission field. Through a study of Calvin’s educational views and practices, this study has attempted to present other aspects of education that may have developed or changed beyond the German Reformation.

Reid (1972) points out that in Scotland the *Book of Reformation* developed plans for the establishment of a national education system as well as a church organization that was not separate from civil government. He credits John Knox with a great influence in writing both *The Confession of Faith Professed and Believed by the Protestants Within the Realm of Scotland, 1560* and *The Book of Discipline of the Scottish Reformed Church, 1561*. Then he credits John Calvin on influencing Knox. Knox, while in exile in Geneva, lived, preached, and studied. Many of the developments from Geneva were transported
by Knox to Scotland. Knox proved to have organizing skills for the legal establishment of a national Reformed church. An educational system was an important component of that established church.

In that Scottish educational system, every church was to have a schoolmaster. Knox (1561) writes: “As the youth must succeed to us, so ought we to be careful that they have knowledge and erudition, for the profit and comfort of that which ought to be most dear to us, to wit, the church and Spouse of the Lord Jesus” (p. 382). In the remote areas where it was difficult to meet more than once a week the minister or a reader would teach the children. In the cities, logic, rhetoric, and the languages would be taught by a reader. Education was to be for everyone rich and poor because everyone needed to be able to understand the doctrines of the Bible. Hogan (March-April 2000) claimed that in the 18th century, Scotland was the only European country where most of its citizens received as education (p. 3).

Typical medieval universities were set up under the patronage of the Pope and local bishop and supported by the king. Scotland’s Kings College was such a university. Aberdeen’s second university would be different. The Marichal Museum (2007) reports that Marischal College was founded by George Keith Earl of Marischal in 1593. It was the third Earl Marischal, with the Earl of Glencairn that invited Knox to return to Scotland in 1559. Marischal was typical of a new type of university as it was set up under the patronage of a local nobleman and supported by the people of the city where it was located. Such a university was the direct result of the Reformation. In dismantling
the old monastic system in Scotland the Grey Friar’s lands were taken by the
government. The proceeds were used to provide an endowment for the school.

South of the border in England it was the Puritans who brought Calvinistic ideas
on education from Geneva. England already had established a university system. Oxford
University’s history dates back further than King’s College. It had the flavor of a
medieval university and was used to train the elite of England. Before the Reformation
education was a privilege of the ruling class. Often it would be a tutor who would either
supplement schooling or provide the education by himself. (Of course the higher the
nobility the more famous the tutor.)

Henry the VIII was an educated ruler who was skilled enough at writing that he
would take on Martin Luther and receive the title “Defender of the Faith” from the Pope.
However, it was men such as Archbishop Thomas Cramner and the Puritans who led a
change from a political to a theological reform. Following Calvinism, the Puritans saw a
need for all to be able to read the scripture and to have an education.

The Puritan influence in England and later in the Americas was great and, when
schools began in the colonies, it was Puritan influence that determined educational
policy. Bendix (1978) claims that in 16th century England there was a rise in higher
education that replaced the indifference to clerical book learning that was held by the
upper class in the middle ages. In the 80 years between 1563 and 1642 the proportion of
the university who had received some higher education more than doubled. The old
clerical monopoly of culture was destroyed and intellectual capabilities replaced combat
as a desired quality amongst leaders. Calvinists were credited with persuading the noble classes of the importance of education.

The Puritans and Presbyterians believed that they needed to be well educated not only to contribute to their church but so that they could perform well in their everyday tasks. Protestant ethic and the spirit of public education worked together. The influence of Calvinism on education would be on public rather than private or classical elitist education because the leadership of the church came out of the local congregations. The Presbyterian system was most effective when everyone was involved in the task of governing the church. Providing for church government also produced responsible citizens.

The complex structure of modern public schools, with all its bureaucracy and tax basis, could not be expected in the 16th and 17th centuries. However, Calvin (unlike the Jesuits and even the humanists) laid the foundation for public education by stressing the need for a universal education.

Eby (1964) credits Calvinism with the development of public education in Holland. The training that Dutch scholars received at the Academy in Geneva, a reaction against anything Spanish (including the Roman Catholic Church), and the influx of Calvinist refugees from England during the persecutions under Mary gave rise to a dominant Reformed church in Holland. Roman Catholic property was confiscated and used for the support of education. “In 1850 the state of Utrecht set apart its ecclesiastical property for the maintenance of schoolmasters” (p. 121). The province of Friesland decreed, in 1582, that “the inhabitants of the towns and villages should within the space
of six weeks, provide good and able reformed schoolmasters” (p. 121-122). In 1606 the Synod of Nimeguen “requested the civil authorities to make education compulsory” (p. 122). Legislation, as stated above, demonstrates that the acceptance of a Calvinistic worldview made education very important.

Murdock (2000) explains the effect of Calvin’s views on education in Hungary and Transylvania. The curriculum included the Catechism in the Reformed schools. Benedict (2002) pointed out that there was a large Italian church in Geneva. The adherents were required to sign a confession of faith. Such an action shows the influence of Calvin in maintaining a theological unity. It also demonstrates that the Reformed influence extended into Italy, the cradle of Roman Catholicism.

A note must be added to the idea of universal education that Calvin was not so much a proponent of universal schooling as he was a proponent of universal education. Some students were going to be skilled laborers. Their tract for education might be with the apprentice system. This was still an education – still demanding an ability to read and understand scriptures, but not necessarily in a school setting.

Implications

Calvin’s view of teachers evaluated

Calvin based his definition of a good teacher on the idea that the teacher shared the prophetic office. The prophet was a teacher but not just any teacher. He was a teacher of God’s truth and, therefore, he would need to be called by God to teach in order for him
to be suited for his job. This meant that the teacher was to have two qualities the feeling of a call to teach and a moral standing representative of an office of the church.

By basing his belief on the office of Christ as prophet Calvin created a theological reason of why teachers should feel a calling to their office. He believed that the office of a teacher was important to the success of a school. Although the modern teacher is no longer looked to as a teacher of religion, he is still seen as a teacher of morals and as Farkas (2000) points out the sense of calling is still a vital quality in all teachers.

Calvin’s view of Curriculum evaluated

Sir George Clark (1964) also critiqued the curriculum of the 17th century. He claimed that the intellectual revolutions of the fifteenth and sixteenth century had little effect on educational policy. Scholasticism was still the popular educational mode and training in eloquence was a principal aim of teaching. Therefore, when Calvin insisted on a broader curriculum that would lead to better-trained clergy and an educated congregation, he was acting as a change agent.

The Ecclesiastical ordinances of 1541 States ‘Il faudra dresser Collège pour instruire les enfants aux langues et sciences humaines afin do les préparer tant au ministère qu’augouvernement civil. With apologies to professor Gavillet (2007) and Google this should be translated, “The College will educate (literally, ‘It will make the college.’) children about languages and social sciences in order to prepare both the ministerial and civilian government.” Calvin based his thinking on the need for all to know the social sciences. As leaders, the ministerial and government officials would
need to also learn to read and communicate. Therefore, the study of languages was necessary.

This was a humanist idea that had already been emphasized by Erasmus, when he formatted his Greek New Testament and by Guarino (1457) as he discusses a program of teaching and learning. Guarino believed that students should desire to study on their own and not depend on teachers to guide them (p.297). He understood some of the problems of language learning as he says, “They will have to read Greek assiduously, for if Latin slips away from us through disuse, what must we infer about a language which is not natural to us?” (p. 297). With all the difficulties and hard work needed to learn another language it was still an important part of learning. Calvin’s contribution was to make language learning a part of the school’s curriculum.

He believed that public education, the art of writing, and rhetorical training were important for his people. Marvin Becker (1971) made the claim that these subjects were needed in a society that was going through a commercial and urban revolution (p. 296). Calvin adds that they were important for a spiritual revolution.

Calvin’s view of compulsory education evaluated.

Professor Oliver Fatio (2007) claimed that on May 21, 1536, the people of Geneva decided to make education free for the poor and compulsory. The new campus was located in the old Franciscan monastery at de Rive. Thus, it was already in place when Calvin arrived in Geneva. However, it was under his leadership that it began to flourish. In 1559, Leges Academiae Genevensis (Order of the College of Geneva)
broadened the scope of education to give more opportunity to students besides those who wished to enter the pastoral ministry or governmental work. Exams were held to move from a lower level class to a higher level and prizes were given to the most successful students.

Calvin may not have been such a proponent of universal schooling as he was universal education. However, the reformed theology that insisted everyone needed to be able to read and understand Scriptures gave his contribution to universal education and important place in the history of a universal education and the development of a common school.

Recommendations

As noted by Ozment (1975), the Reformers played a prominent role in the intellectual transition from Medieval to modern times (p. 168). Therefore, they should not be left out of the history of education. Calvin’s innovations that affected universal education, the view of teachers, and a liberal arts curriculum should be recognized as important developments that led to our modern educational system. He should be discussed in educational foundation textbooks because of those innovations.

Good teachers will have a sense of calling. They will be well-trained and good role models. Their curriculum will be based on the cultural, intellectual, and emotional needs of their society. For Calvin, that would have meant a Christian world-view. With modern separation of church and state, Christian doctrine is not to be taught in the public schools; however, that does not mean throwing out the baby with the bath water. Calvin
should still be recognized as an influential innovator in the development of modern
education. These teachers, who have a sense of calling, will be learners inside as well as
outside the classroom as was confirmed by the pre-service teacher survey.

Not all of Calvin’s innovations became the educational practice. Even in his own
Geneva the reforms were abandoned. Still, modern educational practices such as
universal education and need for a professional faculty have been recognized as
important in our modern educational milieu. This dissertation has attempted to
demonstrate Calvin’s unique position as an educational innovator and the reasons why
such innovations were necessary. Of course, Calvin’s position, as a church leader
demanded that he and his educational theory would be based on Biblical principles.
However, other factors such as immigration, politics, and the change in society brought
about by the beginnings of a European industrial revolution all had their effect on his
educational thought.

This study concludes that Calvin was an innovator in the field of education. He
presented a new view of teachers that not only demanded more from teachers but also
improved their statue as an honorable labor. He challenged learners to find truth in many
different areas. Thus, he encouraged a critical use of philosophy, and broadened the
scope of a curriculum to include the arts and sciences. His insistence that all people
should have an education for their economic as well as their spiritual well being was a
major step towards a universal education. He definitely was man who made use of the
technology of his day as he wrote and encouraged the use of the printed word. His own
training from the Scholastic method to humanism was important to his understanding of
education. His experiences as a student, teacher, and friend of teachers, such as Bucer, also influenced the implementation of his educational ideas. However, it was his theology that was the authority for his educational thought.

Calvin’s theology made education important for everyone. If people were to work out their own salvation, they would need to know how to read the scriptures. They would also need to have scriptures in their own language. Because God’s truth was in creation and possessed by non-Christians as well as Christians, Calvin did not want to limit the scope of learning as long as it was profitable for gleaning that truth.

Calvin’s philosophy grew out of his theology. He came to Geneva at a pivotal time in history and organized a city that was ready for change. Of utmost importance was his influence on the educational system that culminated with the building of the Academy. Men from all over Europe, who studied there, took back his theology as well as his pedagogy. Through such men, Calvin’ ideas would influence education throughout the world.
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APPENDIX A

A COMPARISON ON THE THREE USES OF THE LAW AS STATED BY JOHN CALVIN
A comparison of the Uses of the Law.

Taken from J. Calvin (1969). *Calvin's Commentary on Seneca's De Clementia*. F. L. Battles & A. M. Hugo (Trans.)
APPENDIX B

SURVEY FORM ON PERCEPTIONS OF TEACHING
Survey on Perceptions of Teaching

1. Do you plan on teaching (a) high school  (b) elementary (c) college  
   (d) do not wish to teach

2. What is your level of education?  (a) sophomore (b) junior (c) senior   (d) grad

3. Is teaching (a) a job   (b) a career (c) a calling

4. The greatest benefit of teaching is (a) long vacations (b) conducive to raising a family  
   (c) job  security (d) combination of economic benefits including retirement.

5. The reason I like taking education classes  (a) they are required (b) I wish to be a  
   better teacher (c) they are not as demanding other disciplines (d) do not like education classes

6. I have wanted to be a teacher since (a) my youth   (b) high school graduation (c)  
   decided at university     (d) do not wish to teach

7. As a teenager did you work with youth as a teacher, assistant teacher, coach or  
   supervisor?  
   (a) yes     (b) no

8. The quality that best describes your favorite teacher (a) sensitive (b) enthusiastic  
   (c) creative (d) dependable   (e) knowledgeable     (f) other __________

9. As a teacher how much time per day do you expect to spend on school work after  
   hours?  
   (a) less than an hour   (b) 1 to 2 hours   (c) 2 to 3 hours   (d) more than 3 hours

10. Your sex  (a) male   (b) female
APPENDIX C

IRB APPROVAL FORM
I. Personnel & Qualifications

A. Jim Codling

B. Principal investigator. Will produce, distribute, and evaluate the survey.

C. As a member of a research team that has investigated students perceptions of women on television, the investigator was involved in all the above activities. The researcher has also conducted surveys for undergraduate classes at the University of Saskatchewan in 1971 and at Concordia Seminary in 1982. He also prepared a survey in 1996 to be used by Covenant Presbytery.

D. The researchers have taken graduate research and statistics classes at Mississippi State University, which would aid in the preparation and evaluation of surveys and survey data.

Dr. R. Atkinson- EPY 6214, Dr. D. Morse- EPY 8214, Dr. R. Atkinson- EPY 9213.

Dr. R. D. Hare- EDF 9373.

E. Continued reading and research.

II Research Protocol

1. Site of Work, MSU.

2. Purpose to gather information for use in a Dissertation. Benefits will be to strengthen the program of training pre-service teachers by a study of their qualities.

3. Subject’s participation.
   (a) Subject population, MSU college students. Southern Mississippi Students.

   (b) Subjects will be recruited from classes taken in the College of Education.

   (c) There will be no inducements given.

   (d) The preliminary study will use 45 students to be followed by 100 students in the following two semesters. Students will be college students in 3rd and 4th year who are taking education classes at MSU.

   (e) There will be one survey given.

   (f) Subjects will complete a survey.

4. Informed consent will be gained with an explanation that the participation in the survey is completely voluntary and that there will be no punishment for not completing the survey. The students will also be informed that they may withdraw at any time. This
will be followed by the signing of a consent form. The consent form will be separated from the survey to insure anonymity and stored in the researcher’s files.

5. There is no chance that subjects will be harmed. There is no deception. There are no physical social, or psychological risks.

6. The researcher will be the only one with access to the data, which will be stored in his filling cabinet in room 345 Allen Hall. The consent forms will be removed so that there will be no identifiers on the data forms. Data will be stored for possible future study.