EARLY EDUCATIONAL REFORM IN NORTH GERMANY
ITS EFFECTS ON POST-REFORMATION
GERMAN INTELLECTUALS

DISSERTATION

Presented to the Graduate Council of the
University of North Texas in Partial
Fulfillment of the Requirements

For the Degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

By

Rebecca C. Peterson, B.A., M.A.
Denton, Texas
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Martin Luther supported the development of the early German educational system on the basis of both religious and social ideals. His impact endured in the emphasis on obedience and duty to the state evident in the north German educational system throughout the early modern period and the nineteenth century. Luther taught that the state was a gift from God and that service to the state was a personal vocation. This thesis explores the extent to which a select group of nineteenth century German philosophers and historians reflect Luther’s teachings. Chapters II and III provide historiography on this topic, survey Luther’s view of the state and education, and demonstrate the adherence of nineteenth century German intellectuals to these goals.

Chapters IV through VII examine the works respectively of Johann Gottfried Herder, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, Leopold von Ranke, and Wilhelm Dilthey, with focus on the interest each had in the reformer’s work for its religious, and social content. The common themes found in these authors’ works were: the analysis of the membership of the individual in the group, the stress on the uniqueness of
individual persons and cultures, the belief that familial authority, as established in the Fourth Commandment, provided the basis for state authority, the view that the state was a necessary and benevolent institution, and, finally, the rejection of revolution as a means of instigating social change.

This work explains the relationship between Luther’s view of the state and its interpretation by later German scholars, providing specific examples of the way in which Herder, Hegel, Ranke, and Dilthey incorporated in their writings the reformer’s theory of the state. It also argues for the continued importance of Luther to later German intellectuals in the area of social and political theory.
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Martin Luther's religious, social and political writings helped shape sixteenth century German society. Even after his religious impact waned, his social and political theories remained embedded in the early modern educational institutions that developed under his impetus and guidance. The theories that survived through their incorporation in school ordinances were based on Luther's view of human nature and understanding the role of the state. Scholars who emerged from this educational system during the latter eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries, among them philosophers and historians, reflected both tenets in their personal and public writings.

Luther's concept of the state complemented his opinion of human nature, viewing human nature as basically negative. He viewed the state as a gift from God necessary in order to control the aberrant aspects of human nature. The state commanded and deserved complete obedience in all secular matters, because it was ordained by God. The authority of the state, according to Luther, had its foundation on the Fourth Commandment's admonition to honor parents. Luther considered rebellion unacceptable because active resistance
to the state amounted to usurpation of divinely instituted power. Luther emphasized submission of the individual will to the state or corporate will. Other significant themes that later transferred into secular goals were Luther's stress on the importance of language to the development of national literature and culture and the defining of service to the state as the fulfillment of a vocation.

Luther incorporated these social and political goals into a school system originally designed to ensure doctrinal orthodoxy. In so doing, he gained government support for the propagation and control of this system. He convinced princes that the religious goals of vocation and obedience benefitted the state by promoting respect for authority. In return, the state provided financial support for educational institutions and set up a means, originally in cooperation with the church, to evaluate this system. School and church ordinances in the sixteenth through eighteenth centuries stated the necessity of schools teaching respect and obedience in order to assure peace and stability.

This emphasis on the authority of the state continued to affect philosophers and historians educated in the early to middle nineteenth century. A more extensive secularization of the educational system in the north German states did not occur until after 1871. The professors during this period were screened for religious and political orthodoxy. In addition, Luther and the Reformation were
cited regularly by those coming out of the system as highly significant influences on contemporary German society and culture.

The historians and philosophers used in this study to evidence the above trend are: Johann Gottfried Herder, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, Leopold von Ranke, and Wilhelm Dilthey. They were chosen for this study because they came from Protestant backgrounds with three of the four being Lutheran in their religious affiliation. All attended Protestant institutions of higher education. Each studied for the ministry before choosing to pursue careers in philosophy and history. Their studies, both before and after theological training, led them to more than a casual investigation of Luther's life and works. The fact that all of them turned to the study of the reformer indicates that Luther was still viewed as a highly influential and significant figure in the cultural and historical development of nineteenth century Germany. In addition, all four represent significant intellectual trends in German historiography, such as Romanticism, Idealism, and the development of history as a social science.

The following chapters evaluate several common themes within the works of these intellectuals. Firstly, in their analysis of the membership of the individual in the group, they thought that the group had more authority than the individual. Herder and Dilthey tended to use culture as
their frame of reference, while Hegel and Ranke addressed more specifically the political state. Secondly, these scholars shared the belief that the familial authority, as established in the Fourth Commandment, provided the foundation for state authority, leading to the adoption by the state of responsibilities that had once belonged to the family, such as education. Thirdly, they all agreed that the state was necessary and could be a beneficent agency. Herder asserted the importance of the state and thought that the state, when controlled correctly, was an instrument for the promotion of culture, while Hegel, Ranke and Dilthey felt that the state was necessary in order to give individuals a sense of identity and to enable them to function harmoniously in society. Their rejection of revolution as a means of instigating social and political change reflects this respect for the state. Instead, they all supported gradual change through legitimate participation in the state or cultural unit.

There were other tangential topics in which the common influence of Luther's theories is evident in Herder, Hegel, Ranke and Dilthey. Frequently, they noted the philosophical parallelism between the development of indigenous language and the advancement of the state, maintaining that higher levels of political organization were difficult without the language. In a similar vein, the four scholars agreed that individuals were unique in the way they combine influences
and institutions, thus giving value to each person on an individual basis. Citizens provided in their own way services to the state in the form of secular vocationalism. For some, this entailed holding a state office, while for others it meant fulfilling their vocation, thus also supporting the national economy. In addition, these unique individuals cooperated to create singular cultures and states. It also explained why political institutions were not transferable between states and why there were so many different, yet acceptable, forms of state organization.

This work argues that there was a direct link between Luther's view of the state and the educational system he helped to institute. This thesis complements Learned's descriptive work on the foundation of the German educational system. It also supplements Gerald Strauss's *Luther's House of Learning* by expanding on the long term implications of the emphasis on obedience within the curriculum, as well as Kittelson's work that deals with educational change at the institutional level. I have aimed to be less polemical than some earlier authors such as those works favorable to Luther and the German educational system by F. V. N. Painter on the one hand and the ones more critical of the results of the achievements of German educational reform by Ursula Aumüller and R. Po-Chia Hsia on the other. This thesis contributes to the body of more specialized works addressing the long-term influences of Martin Luther and the Reformation by
providing specific instances of individuals who experienced this mode of teaching with examples of how it influenced their work. Chapter II provides the historiographical background and Chapter III addresses Luther’s teachings on education and the state. Chapters IV through VII discuss respectively Herder, Hegel, Ranke, and Dilthey with respect to how their works reflect their interpretation of Luther. The concluding chapter compares the four scholars’ views on education and the state and notes the peculiar historical milieu of each.

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CHAPTER II
HISTORIOGRAPHY ON LUTHER AND
GERMAN EDUCATIONAL REFORM

The nineteenth century German school system, higher education in particular, was highly acclaimed for its level of scholarship and research. Some scholars, such as Friedrich Paulsen and Daniel Fallon, have credited German universities with creating the structure and form of the modern university in the West. Many of the scholars in these universities had a similar background which included attendance at reformed lower schools and reformed universities.¹

The uniqueness of the German educational system lay in the peculiar relationship between the schools and the state, a relationship which began in the Reformation under the guiding hand of Martin Luther. Luther insisted on the state's responsibility to educate the populace in order to make them both good citizens and good Christians. Although most of Luther's theological teachings were eventually dropped or adapted to contemporary circumstances, his view

¹The term "reformed" refers to schools supported by Protestant or evangelical rulers, as opposed to schools and rulers associated with the Catholic church. It does not indicate a difference between old universities and modern universities.
of the state and, more specifically, the relationship between state and church became a hallmark of the German educational system.

The main characteristics of the German educational system, from the sixteenth until the nineteenth centuries, were extensive government involvement, regulation of the schools and curriculum, as well as a pedagogical method that emphasized order and obedience over speculation and creativity. The predominating means of education was catechistical instruction, e.g., the learning of a set formula of questions and responses. This approach leaves little room for individualism, questioning, or divergent opinions. It was this rigid catechistical method and educational system that perpetuated Luther's view of the state as a source of order throughout the modern period, thus deeply influencing German scholarship.

The evolution of the educational system in the German states during and after the Reformation has been a topic of much interest. Viewed as one of the best early works on the history of German education, The Oberlehrer: A Study of the Social and Professional Evolution of the German Schoolmaster by William Setchel Learned noted that the concern for "sound doctrine" characteristic of the early Reformation movement led to a proliferation of Schulordnungen in the German states, both Protestant and Catholic, that specified with
great detail the duties and methods of the school teacher.\textsuperscript{2} Initially, pastors acted as the inspectors of the schools, but, as early as 1559 in the Württemberg \textit{Schulordnung}, civil officials began to assume the duty of school inspections. From this point on, the transition to full state supervision of the school system evolved gradually. Learned argued that this change simply substituted one restricting authority for another, with these authorities sharing similar goals. In the nineteenth century, the state attempted to elevate the position of the teacher in the higher school to the level of the local judge. In doing so, the government intended not only to raise the status of the teacher, but also to cut any remaining religious ties between school and church. Until this time most teachers were at least partially dependent on churches for income from duties such as directing the choir or being the sexton. Learned maintained that, although this attempt to differentiate schoolmasters from the clergy commenced in 1845, no significant results were achieved from these attempts until very late in the nineteenth century.\textsuperscript{3}

\textsuperscript{2}\textit{Schulordnungen} were school ordinances prescribed by cities or other political authorities as a means of creating structure and order to the school system. In the first half of the sixteenth century, \textit{schulordnung} were frequently included within \textit{kirchenordnung} or church regulations which enhanced the influence of theology on pedagogy. After mid-century, the state became more involved in the school system and assumed the supervisory role that had been exercised by the church.

Heiko A. Oberman, a specialist in Church history, suggested that this trend toward state involvement in education began prior to the Reformation. He contended that the flurry of university foundations during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries were characteristic of the "territorialization" of the Holy Roman Empire. Territories proclaimed some amount of emancipation from the Empire and the Papacy by establishing an independent university within their boundaries. In addition, the universities sought support and protection from the state when humanists and reformers alike became the target of criticism. Once the prince became its patron, the university quickly emerged as a department of the state with the assigned duty of producing satisfactory civil servants. A loss of breadth and universality was characteristic as a result of the transition to territorialism. Students travelled less and educational institutions became parochial.

4During the period of territorialization, the various states within the Empire attempted to assert their independence and reduce the influence of the emperor. Until this point, all universities theoretically had been approved by the Papacy and the Empire prior to their foundation. This allowed the emperor to exercise a great deal of influence at these institutions. As territorialization progressed, the rulers founded universities without regard to papal or imperial approval; thus, the institutions were dependent on the regional ruler and became a source for advisors and ministers.

In this context, James M. Kittelson argued in *Rebirth. Reform and Resilience: Universities in Transition 1300-1700*, that the universities experienced troubled times during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries because of the dominance by the princes. Kittelson nevertheless concluded that the universities maintained their role as the principle propagators of culture and did not merely become an instrument of the state.⁶

Lewis W. Spitz provided a different argument for the attention to education in Germany during the early modern period. The involvement of the princes encouraged a period of scholarly growth which benefitted both the humanists and reformers. Spitz asserted that Luther utilized the developing influence of humanism in Germany by adopting many of the techniques and emphases of the humanists, while changing the focus to unite faith and culture within education. It was Spitz's position that both the reformers and the humanists viewed education as a means of improving church and state. One of the most evident connections between the humanists and reformers was the use of history as a means of interpretation and aid to understanding.⁷

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to support or criticize current events. In addition, the reformers viewed history as a means of studying God’s work in the world.

Elaborating on his thesis, Spitz argued in a more recent essay that the synthesis of humanism and evangelicalism was the source of vitality for the Protestant universities. Humanism provided the Protestant universities depth, while evangelicalism contributed discipline and structure to humanistic studies. Despite the fact that magisterial reforms profoundly affected the universities, Spitz maintained that the religious function of the university remained dominant throughout the confessional period. During the latter portion of this period, the faculties of theology became the arbiters of religious orthodoxy and imposed their standards on the other university faculties. Thus, the reformers’ influence continued long after the initial impetus of the religious

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8The term evangelical refers to all Protestant sects to distinguish them from Catholic churches or institutions. The predominant evangelical sects in the Empire during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were Lutheranism and Calvinism. The confessional period indicates the time after the Peace of Augsburg in which each ruler was allowed to choose the confession (either Catholic or Lutheran) that he and his subjects would follow. Although confessionalism occurred prior to the Peace of Augsburg, it was not officially recognized until that time. Calvinism was not added as an optional confession until the end of the Thirty Years’ War. The confessional period is usually marked from the mid-1500s until the mid-1700s.

9Spitz, "The Importance of the Reformation for the Universities: Culture and Confessions in the Critical Years", Rebirth, 42, 51, 55, and 57.
movement deteriorated. Although providing excellent documentation, Spitz's interpretations are biased in favor of the Reformation, giving little credit to the foundations laid by scholasticism or the early humanists.

Frederick Eby and Charles Flinn Arrowood, noted historians of education, have also pointed out that humanists and reformers had many shared goals and interests. Both groups attempted to emancipate individuals from institutionalism, uniformity, and conventionality in a variety of ways. In addition, each group aided the extension of secular power at the expense of the church. Although Eby and Arrowood noted many areas of agreement, humanists and reformers were quite different in their orientations. The exclusivity and worldly approach of the humanists contrasted with the emotional mass movement and spiritual nature of the reformers. This difference, so it is argued, made the reformers a much more influential cadre, since their audience was larger. In reaching their conclusions, the authors addressed the ideals of the reformers more than the actual results of their actions.

Among the various interpretations there are disagreements on which of the reformers had the most influence on schooling. Frederick Eby argued that Philip

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Melanchthon exercised a much more direct approach in the practical reorganization of secondary schools and universities than did Luther. William Harrison Woodward also credited Melanchthon as the moving force in the Protestant-humanist synthesis. Eby pointed out that Johann Bugenhagen had greater practical results than either of his better-known Wittenberg contemporaries, based on the number of school ordinances that he wrote. Most of these works credit Luther as the instigating force in the educational revival, while noting his reliance on others for its actual implementation.

Of the works that concentrated on Martin Luther, F. V. N. Painter's *Lutheran Education* provided a more polemical attitude. Although Painter displayed an unquestioned bias in favor of Martin Luther, scholars accept the importance of his work as one of the earliest analyses of German education in the nineteenth century. An Englishman, Painter travelled extensively in nineteenth century Germany studying educational techniques and organization. Painter thought that the schools in nineteenth century Germany were the realization of Luther's ideas. He maintained that the reformer was ahead of his time, and that it remained for the

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modern period to witness the results of the reformer's plan. Painter minimized any negative information on Luther's pedagogical theories and neglected to note slumps in education during the intermediate period, or changes in Luther's position. One such change was the movement away from support for vernacular education in schools. In spite of its polemic nature, Painter's work can be useful in showing the respect that the German schools attained in the modern period.¹²

The seminal work on Luther's pedagogy is Gerald Strauss's *Luther’s House of Learning*. Strauss stressed the restrictive nature of the reformers' methods and the rapid change from encouraging the development of vernacular schools and the use of the Scripture as an educational tool to the support of Latin schools and the use of catechisms. The author noted the importance of the reformers' aims and claimed the reformers were significant as the first to establish the goal of mass literacy. It was precisely because their goals were so elevated that the reformers experienced disappointment in the results of their efforts. Strauss believed that the reformers did, in fact, achieve high rates of literacy in the German states, failing, however, in their primary goal of Christianizing society.

Strauss contended that the schools began to indoctrinate their students in patience and obedience to God, as well as to the state. The author frequently asserted that he did not intend the term "indoctrinate" to be pejorative, rather that it represented a method of education based on the proliferation of catechisms during the confessional period. In a more recent article Strauss maintained that the Reformation church and state acted symbiotically to reinforce the ideas of duty and submission to these sources of authority.

One reason for the focus of these scholars on the early modern German educational system was the growth this system experienced while the educational systems in most other European countries stagnated. Evan Cameron depicted the increase in educational foundations as a result of the need for more Reformed clergy and teachers within the confessional states. The most effective way to assure that such personnel adhered to correct doctrine was to establish schools for their training. Many Catholic regions followed this practice as well. At the outset, the supervisor of the schools frequently held a high position within the religious

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community. Cameron argued that for this reason the reformers did not perceive a separation of persons between the church and the state when they accepted the state’s aid in accomplishing their educational goals. The differentiation between the goals of state and church occurred gradually and was an unanticipated effect of state aid. Cameron joined a host of other scholars in noting a suppression of curiosity through the use of catechistical instruction.  

Charles E. McClelland, who dealt with intellectual, social, and educational history in modern Europe, considered mainly eighteenth and nineteenth century reform movements in an attempt to discover how the German universities survived at a time when many other European universities virtually disappeared. He explained that the German university was unique because of its relationship with both church and state. These relationships opened the German university to numerous reform attempts during the 1700s which were not attempted in France for instance. Although the religious based reforms were not successful with respect to their goal of christianizing society, the state initiated reforms did encourage the founding of Halle, Gottingen, and Erlanger, institutions considered by many to be the first modern, secular institutions. Reforms also kept the public

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interested in education. McClelland discussed Wilhelm von Humboldt's role in reforming the Prussian universities. He asserted that Humboldt erred in expanding the role of the state in the university based on his assumption that the state would act as a moral force. McClelland explained that the rapid growth in German universities reflected government policies that favored churches; however, he also noted that the theological faculties were not allowed to regain their former power. After two centuries of reform, McClelland found that, instead of possessing academic freedom, the German universities had to answer for both religious and political orthodoxy in the mid nineteenth century.15

R. A. Houston produced a work in 1988 dealing with literacy in early modern Europe. He concluded that the rapid expansion in schooling during the Reformation served the needs of both the German states and people. The states required ever increasing numbers of civic officials and the people needed basic literacy to deal with the state. Houston also noted that confessionalism in the German states provided an important impetus to the creation of new schools and universities to produce confessionally correct ministers. In the face of the growing influence of the state, the emphasis on religion continued to predominate during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The

15Charles E. McClelland, State, Society, and University in Germany 1700-1914 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), 5-8, 58, 98, 141-8, and 217.
widespread development of catechisms provided a safe means of instruction because they could be legislated and controlled. Houston found the German educational system lacking when measured by anything other than basic literacy. The system continued to encourage advanced education and literacy in only a very small percentage of the population when measured by modern Western standards.\textsuperscript{17}

Much of the scholarship that focused on the uniqueness of German educational development tended to use Prussia as a model. Matthew Arnold established this position during the nineteenth century in a work using examples from Prussia, with the stated intent that this example was to serve for Germany as a whole. In particular, he addressed crown patronage and control of schools. Arnold viewed this as a dominant characteristic of the Prussian educational system and he maintained that this characteristic served as a model for other German states.\textsuperscript{16}

Nearly a century later, Fritz K. Ringer supported this notion. Concentrating on German and French social history, Ringer produced works on comparative European higher education. Prior to the Reformation, transfers of students between universities were quite common. During the early

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\textsuperscript{17}R. A. Houston, \textit{Literacy in Early Modern Europe: Culture and Education 1500-1800} (London: Longman, 1988), 7-8, 17, 58, 77, and 107.
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\textsuperscript{16}Matthew Arnold, \textit{Higher Schools & Universities in Germany} (London: Macmillan and Co., 1892), 23-4 and 136.
\end{flushright}
period of confessionalization, princes restricted the movement of students in an attempt to assure orthodoxy. Student transfers became more common again toward the end of the confessional period. Ringer argued that frequent transfers by students in this latter period brought Prussian educational policy to other German states. These states were encouraged to follow this policy as Prussia increased in political predominance. Kittelson agreed and went so far as to contend that Prussia adopted the theory of state responsibility found in Luther's "To the Councilmen of All Cities of Germany" making this work the basis for all public, compulsory education.\textsuperscript{19}

State involvement in German education has been a recurring theme, as noted above. Several works place their greatest emphasis specifically on this issue. Friedrich Paulsen, for instance, maintained that during the mid-sixteenth century the spiritual authorities became part of the civil service class, supervising the schools and universities. Paulsen argued that 1580 was a watershed year when professors became civil servants, answering to the state directly rather than to the church. The state then placed restrictions on the universities and study at foreign

universities became rare. In an earlier work, Paulsen surveyed various reform movements in Germany from the time of the Reformation through the mid-1800s. In this work, Paulsen placed considerable emphasis on later reform movements. He identified the first modern university in Europe as the Prussian foundation at Halle. He also noted a growing belief in the value of history and the assumption that historical method was scientific, two themes well represented in the modern university.

R. H. Samuel and R. Hinton Thomas discussed state involvement in the context of the nineteenth century. Their findings reflected the intermingling of state involvement with the growing movement toward nationalism. Emphasis continued to be on control and order, despite the brief period of neo-humanist influence early in the century. Increased involvement by the state did not eradicate church involvement in the nineteenth century Germany education. Samuel and Thomas argued that even as the influence of the theology faculties declined, the universities simply exchanged one restrictive institution for another. The


state became the judge of both political and religious orthodoxy. Only the myth of academic freedom existed at the University of Berlin, an institution theoretically created as a secular showcase by the Prussian monarchy. In actuality, professors were still restricted by religious orthodoxy as defined by the state.

James C. Albisetti’s well-documented work concentrated on the educational reforms enacted by imperial Germany after 1870; however, the work contained a good section on the conditions that brought this call for reform. The author noted that even in the nineteenth century a few scholars criticized the German educational system for being too restrictive. Some of these scholars questioned whether German academic excellence had been purchased at the too high price of the restriction of individualism and creativity.

Similarly, Daniel Fallon presented a detailed argument in which Humboldt is the symbol and organizer of the modern German university. In doing so, the author noted that the early nineteenth-century minister did little more than efficiently implement existing theories of educational reform during his short tenure in office. Fallon described


the close connection between the state and the new University of Berlin, marking this as the end of any possibility for private universities in the Prussian state. The author also described the many subtle means of control available to the government. At this time, professors negotiated individually with ministry officials on their salary and staffing. Professors with an eye to benefits and promotions would be unlikely to challenge state policy, either civil or religious.

Many works have focused on the social impact of this restrictive tendency. John R. Thelin’s work was among the many volumes which addressed compulsory education within the German states. Thelin found a singular tendency in the German school ordinances to stress the concept of parental obligation to educate their children. Neglect of this duty was considered an offense to both church and state. Carmen Luke’s discussion of the effects of the printing press supported Thelin’s thesis in publicizing this goal. Advances in printing also made possible the immense number of catechisms published during the confessional period. These texts allowed the drive for control, order and uniformity evident in virtually all of the Schulordnungen.

after the mid-sixteenth century.  

Mary Jo Maynes compared schools in the southern provinces in France and Germany. Maynes's area of expertise lies in French and German family history and demographic history. By comparison, the German schools tended to be better funded and attended, although both were lacking by current Western standards. Maynes also noted that state supervision of schools was more advanced in Germany by the end of the eighteenth century than in France. This involvement brought with it an expectation that proper social attitudes and civic virtues be taught in the schools. These goals were incorporated, for example, into the school instructions passed for Baden in 1832. Most attempts to separate church and state within the school system continued to be stymied during the early nineteenth century. In the German province, many teachers still earned a significant portion of their income from service to the church, such as directing the choir or acting as sexton. Effective separation of church and state was nearly impossible as long as educators held dual positions in school and church.


Ursula Aumüller presented a Marxist interpretation of the development of compulsory education in Prussia. The author argued for the ineffectiveness of Schulordnungen throughout most of the eighteenth century. She asserted that Frederick William I used the freeing of the serfs and compulsory education as weapons against the Prussian nobility. In each case the king tried to make his subjects more loyal to the state than to their local nobility. Aumüller included this as one of the necessary steps in the conversion of Prussia into an industrialized country and emphasized the controlling aspects of the educational system.27

R. Po-Chia Hsia has contributed several works which survey the social and political consequences of the confessional divisions in Germany. Hsia maintained that confessionalism, as reinforced by the schools through acculturation, increased the tendency toward particularism in the German states. States passed legislation to eradicate the use of alternate confessional texts in their respective territories. This particularism encouraged the growth in the number of universities, since professors of theology were needed by each different confession. The

early modern rulers also created a demand for bureaucrats within their developing governmental structures. Hsia argued that: "Confesionalization brought together state coercion and church discipline, and created an intersection between the history of sin and the history of criminalization."28

In conclusion, the recurring theme of the literature reviewed is the massive state involvement in the early modern German educational system. This involvement, so it is argued, resulted from the attempt of the Reformation movement to implement Luther's teachings on the responsibility of the state to mass education in order to make people better citizens and better Christians. In this context, as the state increased financial and legislative support for the schools in an effort to fulfill Luther's vision, it also demanded greater influence on the curriculum and a corresponding emphasis on civil obedience which the schools implemented by teaching obedience to both church and state through the catechistical method.

The reformers failed at their primary goal, which was the Christianization of society, but succeeded firstly, in spreading basic literacy which benefitted secular and religious learning alike, and secondly, they unintentionally succeeded in enforcing submission to civil authority,

stemming from the emphasis on education for better citizenship. Rather than religious orthodoxy being the exclusive measure of fitness for service, they added political orthodoxy as well. Not surprisingly, the German educational system of the nineteenth century was well respected, but suffered from numerous restrictions enforced by a disproportionately domineering government.
The social aspects of the Reformation created a long-lived and pervasive legacy, particularly in German education. Luther's opposition to the authority of the Catholic church generated corresponding challenges to the structure and position of the temporal government, the educational system and Protestant unity. Although some scholars, such as James M. Kittelson, argue that education in Germany began declining prior to the Reformation, most concede that this religious movement undermined German education at all levels. Aware of these social problems in the mid-1520s, Luther attempted to bring order out of chaos by shoring up the authority of the state and advocating school funding and curriculum reform. The reformer believed that by encouraging a directed curriculum both scholastic and civil goals were possible within a religiously reformed school system. His writings emphasized the need for a revitalized academic system stressing order and obedience to authority.

Social and political developments of early sixteenth century Germany challenged traditional educational institutions throughout the Empire. As humanism influenced curricula it created a readiness to accept change that, according to John M. Fletcher, benefitted Luther's program of educational reform.² Discontent with contemporary educational practices, for example, became evident with the introduction of humanism and can, in part, be seen in the emergence of territorial universities such as Wittenberg that did not seek either moral or financial support from ecclesiastical authorities.³ This set a trend of territorialization that, one, turned into confessionalization when the Reformation emerged as a motivating force and, two, increased the reliance of these educational institutions on local civil authorities.

Among Luther's theories, the one that profoundly impacted the decline of education was the doctrine of the priesthood of all believers. The reformer taught that all members of the church were priests and that the traditional priesthood held no special position with respect to faith.


The political implication of this belief was that protestant rulers secularized monasteries and cloisters, minimizing the number of clerical positions and undermining finances for existing educational institutions. With the translation of the Bible into German, a much larger proportion of the population had access to the foundations of the faith. The effects of this position were twofold; firstly, it de-emphasized the need for advanced education because German rather than Latin or Greek became the language of the religion and, secondly, the clerical profession experienced an immediate decline in quality, both of education and of class standing because the number of livings and prebends diminished. Nobles also abandoned the clerical profession because it was no longer as lucrative as it had been.

Due to Luther's earlier comments and the parallel deterritorialization of the educational system, many adherents of the Reformation kept their children out of school completely. When Luther turned his attention to this issue in the mid-1520s, the situation was critical. Roy Pascal maintained that Luther changed his initial position because he feared an uneducated populace as much as a wrongly educated populace. Luther thus addressed the

growing problems of early modern German education and strove to create unity and orthodoxy.

Luther strongly argued that school funding was the responsibility of both the people and the state. Monastic lands and benefices were absorbed without the income being directed as before to some portion of community service. Luther exclaimed in "A Sermon on Keeping Children in School":

Formerly, when people served the devil and put the blood of Christ to shame, all the purses stood wide open. . . . But now when men are to establish real schools and real churches . . . and we know that in so doing we keep God's word, honor Christ's blood, and build the true church, now all the purses are fastened shut with iron chains.  

Luther's rationale was that, because the people had been freed from what, in his opinion, were forced payments for indulgences, masses, pilgrimages, and the like, they should feel willing and honored to contribute a portion of those savings to the worthy cause of educating the children.  

Richard Friedenthal cited Luther as stating: "There are enough monasteries, foundations, fiefs and donations and

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such in your electoral lands alone. The favours proceeding therefrom [to use] so as to inspect, to correct, and to regulate."  

Luther hoped that establishing a steady income would attract sufficient numbers and quality to the positions of minister and teacher.

Funding was not the only problem in reforming the schools; quality of instruction was also an issue. Luther taught that the established schools were evil because teachers inculcated wrong doctrines, primarily due to the fact that most of them came out of traditional monastic schools. Recognizing this problem, Luther intended to develop a new system of schools staffed by scholars trained in the reformed religious tenets. Luther suggested early on that towns establish their own schools, which they did, thus generating much diversity due to lack of a common structure. Teachers needed to adhere to a standard doctrine as confessionalization of the territories progressed. Luther considered the amount of instruction taking place in this fragmented educational system to be miserably small. As early as 1520, Luther reprimanded the ruling classes: "Oh, we handle these poor young people who are committed to us for training and instruction in the wrong way! We shall have to render a solemn account of our neglect to set the

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word of God before them." For Luther, the main emphasis
for education was the spiritual life of the community in
relation to which he recognized service for and obedience to
the state as Christian virtues. Later Schulordnung
evidenced a continuing concern over establishing schools in
all areas, not merely in the cities. 9

To assure that each town provided an education for its
children and to monitor the curriculum in these schools,
Luther suggested to Elector John of Saxony that the late
Medieval practice of the visitation be re-instituted.
Unlike its Medieval predecessor, however, Luther advised
that the visitors come from church elders and state
administrators, an indication of Luther's need for
financial assistance from the state and the importance of
maintaining doctrinal orthodoxy. Luther asserted that
Elector John authorized this visitation, not because Elector
John was ruler of Saxony, but, because he was a Christian

8Martin Luther, "To the Christian Nobility of the
German Nation Concerning the Reform of the Christian Estate,
I, translated by Charles M. Jacobs, revised by James
Atkinson (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1966), 206-7; Luther
Hess Waring, The Political Theories of Martin Luther (Port

9"Schulordnung aus der Brandenbergerischen Visitations-
und Consistorialordnung, 1573," Evangelische Schulordnungen,
Erster Band, Die evangelischen Schulordnungen des
sechszehnten Jahrhunderts, herausgegeben von Reinhold
Vormbaum (Gütersloh: S. Bertelsmann, 1860), 226, "Ordnen
und wollen wir, das die Obrigkeiten jedes Orts, die Schulen
ordentlich und notdürftig bawen." "We order and will that
the administrators of every area build the proper and
necessary schools". 
whose position allowed him to give extraordinary aid to the church. Luther felt this distinction was necessary in order to maintain the duality of the spiritual and temporal spheres, which was a basic part of his theology and theory of temporal authority. Melanchthon wrote most of the visitation instruction's text which Luther approved and appended an introduction to the document.

The instructions were very detailed, pointing out the perceived need for structure to help the educators in the interpretation of complex and, in some instances, even simple works. As early as 1560 visitations were being

10 Martin Luther, "Instructions for the Visitors of Parish Pastors in Electoral Saxony," Luther's Works, volume 40, Church and Ministry I, edited by Conrad Bergendoff and Helmut T. Lehmann (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1958), 271-2. This point is important with respect to Luther's position on the separation of the earthly and spiritual realms discussed later. Elector John must do this from Christian duty or Luther's dual spheres do not remain independent. Luther did believe that those who held civil positions with unique influence should use them to support and spread the spiritual realm.

11 Friedenthal, Luther, 560-1. "Melanchthon setzte die Vorschriften auf und wies die Pfarrer an, wie sie dem 'gemeinen, groben Mann' predigen und den Gottesdienst handhaben sollten. Er stellte dabei das 'Gesetz', das mosaische Gesetz des Alten Testamentes, in den Vordergrund und betonte Busse, Glauben und gute Werke... Gehorsam also, Gebet. Von 'andern Sachen, von denen der arme Pöbel nicht viel verstehet' schweigt der Pfarrer besser." (Melanchthon composed the instructions and instructed the ministers on how to preach to the "common, coarse people" and on how the divine service should be handled. He placed therefore the "law", the Mosaic law of the Old Testament in the foreground and stressed repentance, faith and good works... Obedient, therefore, prayerful. Concerning "other things of which the poor people understood very little" the minister had better keep silent.)
carried out in all of the reformed territories and by 1600 there were more than 100 *Schulordnungen* published in the various German states.\(^\text{12}\) Many of these addressed the development of a standardized curriculum by providing specific instructions as to the works to be used. The main foundations of the curricula were to be the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and the Ten Commandments. Luther noted that in teaching these, the instructor "should emphasize what is necessary for living a good life, namely, the fear of God, faith, good works. He should not touch on points of dissension." Luther included in "points of dissension" issues such as the abuse of authority by the nobility.\(^\text{13}\)

Controlled curricula, in its turn, spurred the growth in the use of catechetical methodology as a means for ensuring orthodox content and standardized coverage. Carmen Luke noted that the various ordinances evidenced this stress on order and uniformity, often listing specific texts for use and the order in which these texts were to be covered.\(^\text{14}\)

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\(^{13}\)Luther, "Instructions," *Works*, 40:318; Friedenthal, *Luther*, 560-1.

Luther had many words of encouragement for the founding of and participation in the reformed school system. In his 1524 address "To the Councilmen", Luther emphasized the benefits to secular government of a well-educated populace. He noted the essential need for and advantage garnered from properly prepared administrators. Luther argued that a city's strength rested not in its wealth or buildings, but "consists rather in its having many able, learned, wise, honorable, and well-educated citizens. They can then readily gather, protect, and properly use treasure and all manner of property." Six years later in the "Sermon", when addressing a wider audience, and urging entry into the ministry or teaching, Luther emphasized the honor of the profession and stated that income earned from this source was "honorable and divine wealth, earned in a divine and honorable estate." He also maintained that teaching was one of the "supreme virtues on earth" because so few parents were either willing or able to provide this themselves for their children.

Luther noted that there were many reasons why parents did not educate their children on their own, ranging from inability to obstinacy. He maintained, nonetheless, that it


16Luther, "Keeping," Works, 46:244, 253, and 215.
was the parents' responsibility to ensure that their offspring received education. Despite this positive reinforcement, many parents still did not perceive the benefit or necessity of losing the economic productivity of their children in order to educate them in skills, such as the classical languages, which they considered of little use.

Luther continued his campaign, contending that children were gifts of God held in trust; thus, he made the failure to educate them a failure to fully utilize this gift and an undermining of God's plan for the world. Even under the most extreme circumstances, Luther saw no reason that a child could not at least attend school an hour or two each day. In Luther's opinion: "I also think that in the sight of God none among [sic] the outward sins so heavily burdens the world and merits such severe punishment as this very sin which we commit against the children by not educating them." Luther made rather dire predictions for the future if parents did not educate the next generation of pastors, teachers, and administrators.


19Luther, "Keeping," Works, 46:222-3 and 234: Martin Luther, Luther's Works, "Against the Roman Papacy, An Institution of the Devil, 1545," volume 41, Church and Ministry II, translated by Eric W. Gritsch (Philadelphia:
Compulsory school attendance became linked to the issue of order. If parents were unwilling or unable to maintain discipline over their children, then the state should take over this function, since obedience was imperative. The most effective way for the government to establish discipline was through the schools; therefore, Luther believed the state had the right to compel attendance. "If the government can compel such of its subjects as one fit for military service to carry pike and musket... how much more can it and should it compel its subjects to keep their children in school." Later Schulordnungen followed this line of thought and attempted to persuade children; "that they do not [pursue education] only from their own great need, but also because of God's, the ruler's and the parent's command, contrary to which the unindustrious and disobedient greatly hindered advancement and whom will not remain unpunished by God." 


The earliest reformed Schulordnung, "Kursächsisch Schulordnung, 1528" presented Luther's familiar argument for the education of children:

And such capable people God had also intended not only for the church, but also for the worldly regiment. Therefore, God wills that the parents should put their children in school and call their God the Lord, that they make use of their God given individual talents.  

Each person’s special talent should be put to use whether it be in the spiritual or secular realm.

Over time the general arguments for school attendance gave way to much more specific guidelines. The "Weimar’sche Schulordnung, 1619" called for the education of all children ages six to twelve. The later "Königl. [sic] Preussisches General-Land-Schul-Reglement, 1763" prescribed that all youth between five and thirteen or fourteen attend instruction. Additionally, these same ordinances asserted


that children should attend school all year, not just in the winter when it was convenient.\textsuperscript{24} To measure adherence to these policies, the visitations continued. A standardized means of evaluating the students was needed, so each region maintained a catalogue or register of students including the following information:

\begin{quote}
"Zuförderst wollen Wir, dass alle Unsere Unterthanen, es mögen seyn Eltern, Vormunder oder Herrschaften, denen die Erziehung der Jungend oblieget, ihre eigene sowol als ihrer Pflege anvertraute Kinder, Knaben oder Mädchen, wo nicht eher doch höchstens vom Fünften Jahre ihres Alters in die Schule schicken, auch damit ordentlich bis ins Dreyzehente und Vierzehente Jahr continuiren" (We furthermore will for all our subjects, it is desired that parents, guardians or sovereign authorities, who are obligated to the education of the youth send to school their own as well as children entrusted to their care, little boys or girls, if not sooner, then at least by five years of age, also to continue regularly until in their thirteenth and fourteenth year).
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{24}"Weimar'sche, 1619," Evangelische, II:217, "[die Kinder] den ganzen Sommer aber und also wol mehr als die helfft des Jahres draussen bleiben, so geschicht es, das sie im Sommer wieder vergessen, was sie im Winter gelernt haben" ([the children] remain out of doors the entire summer though, and thus indeed more than half the year, so it goes, that in the summer they forget what they have learned in the winter.); "Königl. Preussisches, 1763," Evangelische, III:541, "dass jedes Kind dreymal wöchentlich zur Schule komme, damit es dasjenige, so es im Winter gelernt, in Sommer nicht wiederum vergessen möge. An manchen Orten wird die Einrichtung füglich solchergestalt geschehen konnen, dass zwei Hauffen de Kinder gemachet werden; davon der eine Hauffe die drey ersten Tage in der Woche, der andere Hauffe die drey lessten Tage in die Tage in die Schule kommen müsse." (that each child come to school three times weekly, so that in doing so, that which he learned in the winter will not be forgotten again in the summer. In many places it was conveniently able to be arranged in such a way that two groups of the children were created; whereby, the on group had to come the first three days in the week, the other group must come the last three days to school.)
a) After which their names.  b) After which their parents.  
c) After which their address.  d) After which their age.  
e) After which the time of their entrance.  f) After  
which their lessons.  g) After which their behavior.  
h) After which their departure.  This catalogue, which no  
child must read, the minister hands over to the visitor  
of the school, whereby he [the visitor] observes the  
naughty children and makes an admonition to improve and  
it can be discussed with the parents on this account so  
that thereby the indiscrete and the ill-natured can be  
controlled.  

Once state involvement was established in schools within  
reformed areas, it continued to grow along with the  
bureaucracy to maintain such control.  

25 "Königl. Preuss. Schulordnung für Minden-Ravensberg,  
ihren Eltern.  c) Nach ihren Wohnungen.  d) Nach ihrem Alter.  
e) Nach der Zeit ihrer Reception.  f) Nach ihren Lectionen.  
g) Nach ihrer Lebensart.  h) Nach ihrem Abschiede.  Diesen  
Catalogum, den kein Kind lesen mutz, lässet sich der  
Prediger beim Besuch der Schule einhändigen, damit er die  
unartigen Kinder bemerken und eine Erinnerung zur Besserung  
thun, auch mit den Eltern deshalb reden könne, als wodurch  
der Leichtsinnigkeit und Bosheit gesteurt werden kann.";  
similar cataloguing was required in later ordinances such as  
"1) Nach ihrem Vor- und Zunamen. 2) Nach ihrem Alter.  3) Nach  
ihren Eltern. 4) Nach ihren Wohnungen. 5) Nach der Zeit,  
wen sie in die Schule aufgenommen werden. 6) Nach den  
Lectionen, worinnen sie unterrichtet worden. 7) Nach ihrem  
Fleiss oder Nachlässigkeit im Lernen. 8) Nach dem Vermögen  
ihres Verstandes. 9) Nach den Sitzen, und übrigen Verhalten.  
10) Nach ihrem Abgang aus der Schule."  (1) After which their  
first and last names. 2) After which their ages. 3) After  
which their parents. 4) After which their addresses. 5) After  
which the time when they were admitted to the school.  
5) After which their lessons, wherein they were instructed.  
7) After which their diligence or negligence in learning.  
8) After which their ability to understand. 9) After which their manners and other behavior.  
10) After which their departure from the school.)  

26 Similar, less detailed versions of student registered  
were recommended earlier, "Schulordnungen aus der  
"jeder Knabe seinen Namen, Tag, Monat, Jahr darunter  
schreiben soll, auf dass man von einem Examine zum andern
Luther provided a theological basis for the direct connection between school and state on the Fourth Commandment, one of the tenets of his catechistical instruction. In the Large Catechism Luther stated:

In this commandment, obedience also extends to the promise of all kinds of obedience to superior persons/who have authority and rule. Then it flows from the parents authority and spreads to all others. For when a father is not able to raise his child alone/he hires, for that purpose, a schoolmaster/who teaches him.  

Although the Fourth Commandment addressed specifically the authority and position of the parents, Luther's interpretation encompassed government as well. In the preface to the Fourth Commandment in his Small Catechism Luther stated that; "So, too, the Fourth Commandment must be stressed when instructing children and the common people in order that they may be encouraged to be orderly, faithful, obedient, and peaceful." He reiterated his point

sehen könne wie sie sich in ihrem studiren begessert und zugenommen haben." (Each young boy should write thereunder his name, day, month, and year from which one can see from one exam to another how they have increased and improved in their studies.)

in the explanation that accompanies this commandment; "We should fear and love God, and so we should not despise our parents and superiors, nor provoke them to anger, but honor, serve, obey, love, and esteem them." These explanations were unambivalent concerning Luther's opinion of the appropriate relationship between parents and children or rulers and subjects.\(^\text{28}\)

In exchange for the financial and legislative support of the state, Luther thought that the school system could offer services in return, such as instruction in obedience to the state. Pastors and teachers, argued Luther, must teach respect for government and all those in authority, thereby sustaining peace and order.\(^\text{29}\) Students were


\(^{29}\text{"Herzogl. Sachsen-Gothaische Schulordnungen, 1642-1685," Evangelische, II:348. "Geist- und Weltliche Amptspersonen, auch alte, und andere ehrliche Manns- und Weibs-Personen, sollen die Knaben auf der Gassen im fürübergehen mit entblöseten Hauptern ehren." (The youth should honor on the street, instead of neglect, with the baring of their heads spiritual and worldly official persons, also the old, and other honorable man and women.); "Magdeburgische Schulordnung, 1658," Evangelische, II:490, "Die Knaben und Schüler sollen gleichmäsig ihren Eltern, Vormündern und Pfarrern kindlichen und schuldigen Respect, Observantz und Gehorsam leisten, damit es ihnen wohl ergehen und der Allerhöchste bewogen werden möge, ihre Studia zu gesegnen." (The youth and students should equally give childlike and obliging observance and obedience to their parents, guardians, and ministers, so that it is well publicized and they will be most moved to bless their studies.)}
encouraged to this end so that "thereby they grow in the fear of God, to grow and thus be made able, so that they, in the days to come, want to serve God and the fatherland, to honor, improve, and excel."³⁰

This stress on the judging and disciplinary side of education provoked Roy Pascal's contention that Luther used education to support his own class and the status quo. Pascal based his position on statements by Luther such as the following: "That is why pastors and schoolteachers are the lowly, but daily, permanent, eternal judges who anathematize without interruption . . .".³¹ The reformer encouraged education for the general population, but the curriculum was not designed to promote social mobility, but,

³⁰"Magdeburgische Schulordnung, 1658," Evangelische, II:496. "damit sie in der Furcht Gottes wachsen, zunehmen und also geschickt gemacht werden, auf dass sie dermahleinesten Gott und dem Vaterlande zu Ehren, Besten und Aufnehmen dienen mögen."; this theme can also be found in numerous other Schulordnungen such as "Kürfustl. Sachsische Schulordnungen, 1773," Evangelische, III:613-4. "Dieweil die Schulen in der Absicht gestisetet sind, damit die Jugend darinne zum wahren Christenhume, zu grünlicher und nützlicher Gelehrsamkeit, und zu guten Sitten angeführet, und dadurch selbst wahrhaftig glücklich, auch dem Vaterlande brauchbar werde; so sollen die Lehrer diesen Zweck beständig vor Augen haben." (Meanwhile the school is given to the purpose so that the youth therein are brought up to true Christianity, to vigorous and useful learning, and to good morals, and, thereby, themselves truly successful, also to be useful to the fatherland; so the teacher should have this goal constantly before their eyes).

rather to reinforce existing social order.\textsuperscript{32} Pascal also maintained that Luther's position on obedience provided an excellent basis for the absolute monarchies which developed in early modern Europe.

The extensive renovations of the German educational system initiated by Luther also focused on pedagogy. Luther himself believed that the best way to teach the youth and the common people was to present a set formula for memorization. This prevented misunderstandings and facilitated uniformity of faith.\textsuperscript{33} According to Luther, if the wording or the explanation of the tenets of faith varied from one time to another all progress in the people's understanding would be lost. Numerous Schulordnungen relied on this same adherence to catechetical methods of instruction. The ordinance for Sachsen-Gothaische for 1642-1685 reads: "Without sanction, the schoolmaster should never be permitted to depart from the lesson."\textsuperscript{34} The ordinances prescribed in great detail the subjects to be taught, the

\textsuperscript{32}Pascal, Social, 159 and 221.

\textsuperscript{33}The set formula that is of importance in this case is the Fourth Commandment, which appeared in the following way in the Small Catechism:

"Honor your father and your mother."

What does this mean?

Answer: "We should fear and love God, and so we should despise our parents and superiors, not provoke them to anger, but honor, serve, obey, love, and esteem them."

Luther, Small, Concord, 343.

\textsuperscript{34}"Sachsen-Gothaische, 1642-1685," Evangelische, II:347 "Ohne Erlaubniss des Praeceptoris soll niemand aus der Lehr Stundewegzugehen erlaubet seyn."
pedagogical method to be used, and looked skeptically at any alterations to this structure. As late as 1754, the Minden-Ravensberg ordinance called for the use of Luther’s catechisms and recommended his method:

As now all of this is clearly contained in Luther’s Small Catechism, therefore, also the schoolmasters have diligently to promote this first with the children until they can recite by heart not only this, but also hereafter understand the substance [of it]. Then furthermore employ tests of understanding used in the Large Catechism and thereby specifically to see therein how these questions contained (therein) are classified, so that the ideas are explained most clearly and simply to the children, so that thus they receive a correct comprehension and understanding from the same article, and learn by memory not only the words, but also be able to grasp it with the same power in their hearts. 

The Schulordnungen consistently listed the works that could be used and Luther’s catechisms were just as consistently either required reading or were strongly recommended.

35"Minden-Ravensberg, 1754," Evangelische, III:533. "Wie nun dieses alles in Lutheri kleinem Catechismo deutlich enthalten, also haben auch die Præceptores denselben zuerst mit den Kindern fleissig zu treiben, bis sie ihn nicht nur auswendig hersagen können sondern auch dem Inhalte nach wohl verstehen. Alsdann ist ferner nach angestellter Prüfung des Verstandes der grosse Catechismus zu gebrauchen, und dabei fûrnemlich dahin zu sehen, dass die darin enthaltenen Fragen abgetheilet, nach dem Begriff der Kinder auf’s deutlichste und einfältigste erklärt werden, damit also dieselbe von der Sache einen rechten Begriff und Verstand bekommen, und nicht nur die Worte auswendig lernen, sondern auch inwendig die Kraft derselben in die Herzen fassen mögen."

The issue of maintaining freedom of conscience while teaching obedience remained a problem in this system of education. Waring argued that Luther adhered to the concept of freedom of thought and belief. While this may be correct in theory, implementation was another matter. Luther mentioned numerous times that the individual cannot be compelled to faith, but the state should not allow blasphemy to be spread by those who either disbelieved or believed incorrectly. The Reformer advised: "if they can give no explanation [for their conduct] and have no wish to believe, they should by all means be forced to silence, so that no seed of civil discord be nourished." Luther also recommended that these persons should be forced to learn at least the social aspects of the Ten Commandments so that they understand the proper relationship to the state and to their fellow citizens. Such teachings caused Gerhard Ritter to label the German states during this period "a Christian police state" in reference to the rulers' efforts to enforce a strict system of moral and civil order.


Waring, Political, 237.


Luther, "195, Thomas Löscher [Wittenberg] August 26, 1529," Works, 49:233-4; Gerhard Ritter, Luther: His Life and Works, translated from the German by John Riches (New York:
Luther's position directly relating the state and education, particularly portraying teachers as agents of the state with a duty to enforce order, draws attention to his frequent analyses of the citizen's relationship to the state in his various works. Luther's political thought, which found expression in the role he advocated for schools, reverted to a modified version of Augustinian dualism. Each person participated to a certain extent in both the spiritual and temporal realms, but the authority of the two spheres could not and must not be intertwined. The individual owed spiritual obedience to God and secular obedience to the state. Until late in life, Luther did not consider accepting rebellion against the emperor. Heiko Oberman contended that Luther's address "To the Christian Nobility" was in fact a call to German nationalism that the author obscured by adding a preface attacking papalism. The largest portion of this address outlined Luther's opinion of the actions required from responsible secular government and the order that it could bring into being if it acted properly.


Oberman, Man, 44-5; Walther von Loewenich, Martin Luther: The Man and His Work, translated by Lawrence W.
Because his view of the state influenced education through many of his writings, particularly the catechisms, some discussion of this attitude must follow. Luther's extensive writings on the state have caused some confusion as to his basic position. The reformer maintained that a "truly" Christian community did not need temporal government, since their spiritual orientation would not allow them to do an injustice to anyone. He noted, though, that no such Christian community existed; thus, necessitating civil government. Christians obeyed this authority, both in order to set a good example and because they were social beings who participated in secular society. In other instances, Luther referred to the state as a punishment from God. "For it is God's will that people who are not Christian be held in check and kept from doing wrong, at least from doing it with impunity... for the world will and must be evil, and the sword is God's rod and vengeance upon it." There were even times when Luther appeared to minimize the importance of temporal government. These times, however, pertained only to "true" Christians and, then, solely to their spiritual being. Luther stated: "Although he [the Christian] has no need of these things for

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himself -- to him they are not essential -- nevertheless, he concerns himself about what is serviceable and of benefit to others." Because the state, according to Luther, could not effect the Christian's salvation, its regulations made little difference and, for this reason, should be obeyed.43

Much more prevalent within Luther's writings was the portrayal of the state as a gift from God. In an early commentary on Ecclesiastes, Luther stated: "Government is an ordinance of God and a very important element in the world, or under the sun. Through this ordinance God directs everything that happens under the sun." In other places Luther referred to government as a "glorious ordinance and a splendid gift of God", and acknowledged service to the state as a calling or vocation.44 Luther also contended that the state acted as God's "mask" or instrument within the world.


44Martin Luther, Luther's Works, volume 15, Notes on Ecclesiastes, Lectures on the Song of Solomon, Treatise on the Last Words of David, edited by Jaroslav Pelikan and Hilton C. Oswald (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing, 1972), 169 (commentary is based on Ecc. 10:20, emphasis in citation are Luther's); Luther, "Keeping," Works, 46:237; Luther, "Temporal," Works, 45:100. Luther's theory of vocation was based on the divine call of the ministry. He argued that just as minister were called or selected by God to serve as pastors or priests, so persons in other positions or jobs were called to fulfill that particular purpose. It is similar to the distinction made in the Western world between a job and a career but with an added spiritual overlay.
Civil government revealed God’s plans, but could not
maintain order without God’s aid and support.\textsuperscript{45} Because God
supported the state, disobeying the state meant disobeying
God.

The reformed institutions focused on the relationship
between the citizens and the state, as well as that between
citizens. Luther stated in the "Instructions":

The people should be taught the difference between
church order and secular government. Every secular
authority is to be obeyed not because it sets up a new
service to God but because it makes for orderly life in
peace and love. Therefore it is to be obeyed in
everything except when it commands what is contrary to
the law of God, for example, if the government ordered
us to disregard the gospel or some of its parts.\textsuperscript{46}

Luther also hoped this defined relationship would establish
a moral basis for interaction between people.\textsuperscript{47}

Luther received criticism for inflating the power of
the state and some scholars, such as Pascal, maintained that
his idolizing of the state grew in direct proportion to the
authority he stripped from the church. The state then acted
as the executive arm of the church, doing for the church
what the church could not, in its weakened state, accomplish
for itself. Scholars founded accusations of this sort on
the following, and other similar, statements throughout

\textsuperscript{45}Luther, "Table Talk Recorded by Viet Dietrich," "The
Magistrate Needs God’s Help, April, 1523, No. 219," \textit{Works}
54: 28–9; Thompson, \textit{Political}, 64.

\textsuperscript{46}Luther, "Instructions," \textit{Works}, 40:299.

\textsuperscript{47}Waring, \textit{Political}, 200–1; Luther, "Keeping," \textit{Works},
Luther's works: "Therefore we do not condemn the laws; nor are we seditious against the emperor. We teach that he is to be obeyed, feared, venerated, and adored -- but in a civil manner." Pascal maintained that the last portion, e.g. "but in a civil manner," became de-emphasized over time, which encouraged reification of the role of the state. Skinner asserted that: "He [Luther] first of all sanctioned an unparalleled extension of the range of their [the secular authorities] powers." Skinner agreed with Pascal in viewing this as the basis of absolute monarchy.48

The result of this expansion of civil power based on God's sanction was an overtly evident emphasis on obedience as every citizen's duty. Luther counseled:

But if someone is not obedient to his magistrate and refuses to be subject to him, he may of course go ahead. But the reward he will get for this will be that he will become involved in many evils and will bring many afflictions and calamities upon himself. He is afraid of every hour, but he cannot escape. Therefore the best thing for him to do is simply to be obedient.49

The reformer recognized very few instances in which obedience was not merited. This obedience extended to fighting wars for the civil authorities as long as there was


49 Luther, "Ecclesiastes," Works, 15:137 (commentary based on Ecc. 8:6-7).
even a hint of justification. Luther advised: "Christians therefore do not fight as individuals or for their own benefit, but as obedient servants of the authorities under whom they live."\(^5^0\) Again, in his "Instructions" for visitation Luther recommended that pastors and teachers frequently remind their charges of the duty to honor and obey the government. Luther included even grumbling against the government as an offense.\(^5^1\)

The Schulordnungen which appeared in the following centuries continued to place strong emphases on schools as the instrument for teaching obedience and respect while maintaining order. The "Württembergischen Kirchenordnung" of 1559 stated: "Toward the youths, the schoolmaster is allowed also to use the rod and to be capable of maintaining this our statute, teaching and other ordinances to facilitate the issue and then judge them well in order to maintain the protection of the streets." Later Schulordnungen continued to impress the necessity of obedience and honor, not only in word, but also in deed.\(^5^2\) The 1702 ordinance for Halle was


\(^5^2\)"Schulordnung und der Württembergischen Kirchenordnung, 1559," Evangelische, I:122. "Gegen den Jungen, mögen die Praeceptores, nach gelegenheit der Sachen,
an important example of Luther's continuing influence on education and state:

The highest goal in all this schooling is, that the children before all things be able to be well brought up to an active knowledge of God and Christ and to a righteous Christianity. In this way they will duly promote not only diligent requests, but also God's Word and Luther's Catechism, in school just as in the church. Whereby they are then also accustomed to pray from their hearts to God their Father in heaven and the Holy Ghost because of their kindness, understanding, faith, love, obedience in the name of Jesus Christ, and thus to bring forth together the acquired judgement of Holy Scripture properly and devoutly in prayer.53

zu weilen, und nach irem gut ermessen, für die obgedachte Strassen, auch die Rutt gebrauchen, und zu haltung diser unserer Statuten, Lehr, unnd andern Ordnungen sie vermögen."; "Schulordnung aus der Kursächsischen Kirchenordnung, 1580," Evangelische, I:291. "In Summa: Sie sollen sich allezumal in allewege unstrafflich erzeigen, als die zuförderst Gott dem Allmachtigen wahrhaftige Gottseligkeit, der Oberkeit und Herrschaft ein dankbar Gemüth, und denen Praeceptoribus Folge und Gehorsam, nicht allein mit Worten versprochen, sodern auch bey der Hand zugesaget haben." (In summary, they should irreproachably show true piety at all times and in all ways so as to benefit God the almighty, to the authorities and nobility a thankful spirit, and follow and obey their teachings, not only with promised words, but also by having promised the hand.)

This position is important since Halle is cited by many scholars as the first modern university in Germany. Teaching deference to rulers within the school system became one of the chief goals of the Prussian monarchy.54

Luther distinguished between the person and the office within the state, which allowed him to construct a sinless state manned by sinful individuals and, thus, explained abuses of office or unfair policies. "In all of God’s offices and estates there are many wicked men; but the estate itself is good and remains good no matter how much men misuse it." Luther reasserted his position stating; "The ordinance, by which peace and justice is maintained, remains a divine creation even if the person who abuses the

54"Königlich-Preussische Ev. Reformirte Gymnasien- und Schul-Ordnung, 1713", Evangelische, III:213. "Diese Puncten, und was sonsten zum Besten der Reformirten Gymnasien Lateinischen und Teutschen Schulen nöthig, wie auch fürnemlich dass Rectores, Praeceptores, Cantores und Schul-Bediente, Sr. K. Maj., als ihrer Höchsten Landes-Obrigkeit sollen treu und hold seyn, . . .und noch zu publicirenden Verordnungen und Decreten gehorsamlich unterwerffen auch der Jugend allen, der höchsten Obrigkeit schuldigen Respect, Lieb und Pürcht wohl einbilden, sodann dass sie ihren Eltern, hohen Befehlshabern, Predigern, und allen Vorgesetzten schuldige Ehrenbietung erweisen solle", (These points, and those as otherwise are useful to the improvement of the reformed Gymnasium, Latin and German schools, as also especially that rectores, schoolmasters, cantors and school teachers should be faithful and be gracious to His Royal Majesty as their highest sovereign, . . . and still by publishing ordinances and decrees dutifully subjugate likewise all of the youth truly to believe the highest ruler, owing respect, love and fear, then that they should show due deference to their parents, high offices, ministers and all superiors).
ordinance does wrong." A ruler must be accepted even when his laws appear to be unjust or wicked. Luther viewed any form of disobedience or rebellion as an attempt to punish the ruler and he considered this an usurpation of power. If the ruler commanded an act that opposed the Gospel, then the appropriate response was passive resistance, failure to conform without actively attempting to reverse the order. The quandary created was that if this lack of conformity brought punishment by the state, the Christian subject must endure the consequences.

Luther's works on education and the state reflected, to a great extent, the events of his time, particularly the Peasant's Revolt of 1524-5. Politics and religion became intermingled in the Twelve Articles which the peasants of Swabia sent to Luther for his approval. Luther recognized the legitimacy of some of their complaints, but argued that their merit did not rely on the foundation of the Gospels as the peasants claimed. Luther also lectured the nobility on their responsibility to their subjects, but, in the final analysis, he demanded that the peasants continue to obey their lords. Law was divine, so revolt against the laws or


the law-givers was completely unacceptable. At all costs law and order must be maintained. Luther proclaimed: "law is our government's wisdom and reason, given it by God, it follows that this government cannot be maintained and will inevitably perish unless this law is maintained." The peasants initially believed that Luther would support their movement and were greatly disillusioned by his reply. It was partially in reaction to these events that Luther initiated the call for the 1528 visitation, and, as Strauss noted, scholars mark a transition from spreading the Reformation as a liberating force to the need for public orthodoxy so that misunderstandings or incorrect interpretations of doctrine could be eliminated. Various school ordinances went beyond the general teachings of obedience and order to become quite specific on acceptable behavior and discipline of the students.

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57 Luther, "Keeping," Works, 46:239; Pascal, Social, 137 and 155.


Schandtliche, leichtfertige Reden.
Vil weniger ergerliche Sachen und Handlungen."
"The schoolmaster should not allow or tolerate from their schoolchildren Blasphemy.
Disgraceful, thoughtless words."
After the Peasant's Revolt began, Luther wrote much harsher works against the movement. In part, the reformer felt this was necessary because many, particularly within the Catholic hierarchy, held him responsible for the actions of the peasants. As Luther learned the extent of the rebellion, he published his "Admonition to Peace" in which he asserted:

This [the Peasant's Revolt] then, is a great and dangerous matter. It concerns both the kingdom of God and the kingdom of the world. If this rebellion were to continue and get the upper hand, both kingdoms would be destroyed and there would be neither worldly government nor word of God, which would ultimately result in the permanent destruction of all Germany.  

As the magnitude of the violence became apparent, Luther increased his attacks, continuing to place himself firmly on

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Blasphemy.
Disgraceful, thoughtless words.
Little progress toward goals and deeds."

"Königl. Preuss. General-Land-Schul-Reglement, 1763," Evangelische, III:551. "Die Disciplin mutz weislich geschehen: so dass den Kindern die Eigenliebe als die Quelle aller Sünden entdecket und ihre Abscheulichkeit gewiesen, der Eigensinn oder Eigenwille mit Fleiss gebrochen, auch das Lügen, Schimpfen, Ungehorsam, Zorn, Zanck, Schlageren a. ernstlich, jedoch mit Unterscheid und nach vorhergegangener gnugsamer Überzeugung des geschehenen Verbrechens bestraft werden." "Discipline must be done wisely; so that the children discover the egotism as the source of all sins and so that it points out their loathsomeness, this obstinacy or willfulness break with diligence, also lies, bad language, disobedience, anger quarrels, blows, be earnestly punished each with discrimination and to precede it with moderate explanation of the instance committed."

the side of established authority. He thought that the rebellious peasant’s forfeited both their bodies and souls by breaking their oaths of obedience. Luther counseled; "Furthermore, anyone who can be proved to be a seditious person is an outlaw before God and the emperor; and whoever is the first to put him to death does right and well."

Throughout the late 1520s, Luther maintained his strong position against disobedience and rebellion, as seen in his lectures on Ecclesiastes in which he stated: "It is impossible for someone who resists the magistrate to escape this judgment. . . . You must therefore either obey for your own good or run away to your own hurt, for the word of the king is supreme."  

Reviewing the evolution of state intervention in German education Ursula Aumüller contended that the Schulordnungen through the eighteenth century were not very effective. She pointed out the vast number of ordinances and the similar problems addressed within these documents as evidence of their ineffectiveness. While other scholars do not


62Luther, "Ecclesiastes," Works, 15:136 (commentary based on Ecc. 8:3-4, emphases are Luther’s).

necessarily agree with her negative assessment of the ordinances' effectiveness, they do note the conservative and authoritative nature of nineteenth century German education. Painter maintained that the nineteenth century German school system was basically founded on Luther's sixteenth century vision. "Divinity" or religious orthodoxy was still a part of the teachers' exam during the 1800s and all schools that were in evangelical lands still used Luther's Catechism by mandate.64

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Johann Gottfried Herder has often been noted as a stimulus for the Romantic movement of the nineteenth century and, more specifically, the emphasis of that century on emotionalism and nationalism. Herder's most significant contribution in this area was distancing his philosophy and historiography from the rationalism of the Enlightenment by stressing the past, emotion and myth. As a part of this transition, Herder's views on the state cannot be separated from his theological background and study of Martin Luther. Herder greatly admired the reformer who influenced his theories in many ways. Herder's focus on the volksgeist or national spirit, and the subjection of the individual to the volksgeist has close parallels in Luther's advocacy of obedience to the state. In this context, we find as well similarities in the views of Herder and Luther on the role of education in society. Herder also agreed with Luther that the family is the form and basis of all types of government. Although Herder is somewhat more optimistic than the reformer about human nature, like Luther, he acknowledged the inevitability of some form of government. Both Herder and Luther placed the welfare of the group above
the whims and needs of the individual. Both disliked authoritarian, absolutist states, with its right to limit individual freedoms for the benefit of the state as a whole; both also stressed the individual’s fulfillment within one’s assigned social position as a means of supporting and promoting the fatherland.

This relationship between the individual and the state suggests another significant influence of Luther in Herder’s formulation of his view of the singularity of each culture. Luther maintained that individuals had a divinely planned role in society. They fulfilled their calling by accepting this assigned position and developing it to their fullest. Although this theory brought virtue to every occupation, it also tended to be socially conservative, based on the legitimization of one’s status by God. Herder applied this to cultures as aggregates of individuals. He believed that, because cultures are unique and divinely planned, they should not be altered by forceful human intervention, but rather allowed to evolve from within gradually. Cultural traditions dictated the pace of this evolution, and tradition itself can become authoritarian when change is not permitted. Herder thought that education was the chief method for improving citizens, while transmitting and adapting the culture to each successive generation.¹

¹In this area, as in many others, Herder did not define terms that he used specifically, allowing the reader interpretive latitude, sometimes leading to
Herder is *par excellence* a nineteenth century German historian. His philosophy of history was an early expression of the emphasis in nineteenth century German historiography on the *volk* and related political theories. Instead of emphasizing the institutional state, as later German historians and philosophers did, Herder saw in the fatherland and the *volksgeist* God's plan for the world. Herder based the *volksgeist* on language and culture. Both were to be defended against aggressive incursions. The *volksgeist* must be preserved, argued Herder, because individual self-actualization can only occur within the nurturing context of a cultural group. Like the intelligentsia of his day, Herder supported increased political rights for the people, arguing that this change must be gradual primarily because the middle class had little political experience. Although Herder noted the need for political change, he definitely rejected the idea of revolution as a means of reform.¹


²Georg G. Iggers, *The German Conception of History: The National Tradition of Historical Thought From Herder to the Present* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1968), 4
The political tradition of the German states during Herder's lifetime gave him little reason to expect effective leadership from institutional authority. The Holy Roman Empire, always a loose alliance of states, was fractured by the Reformation and the religious wars of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries because the various local princes resisted unification and refused to relinquish any power. The nineteenth century manifestation of this disruption was evidenced by courts throughout the Germanies that adopted French culture and language while neglecting the development of German letters. Herder wrote against this frenchifying influences and the rationalism that supported Enlightened despotism. He thought that French influence worked to divide modern Germany just as Latin restrained development in the early Holy Roman Empire. In doing so, Herder utilized his Pietistic background and studies of Luther in order to develop a theory that elevated the fatherland over the state. They could be one and the same entity, but, 


when the state abused its power or declined politically, the fatherland remained and still deserved reverence and obedience.

Herder grew up in the Pietistic atmosphere of the small town of Mohrungen. He studied theology in Konigsberg, but did not seriously focus his studies on Luther until his Buckenburg years. During this later period, Herder's began admiring Luther. In Haym's words:

Luther, the politician, with his frankness, his characteristic German bluntness, was only so much the more his man. So many words, so much theology endured: now, when the political question had appeared in the foreground, in the 1792, he [Herder] set to work on 'a little golden ABC of his [Luther's] sayings and teachings', those words of Luther were assembled which presented the Reformer as a national prophet, as an ecclesiast, as preacher and teacher of the German nation.⁶

Herder always praised Luther's personality and character, describing him "as the responsible ethical leader of the German people", the highest honor Herder attributed to anyone. Deviating from his usual stance against great individuals in history, he even viewed Luther as a great

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reformer in world history. The admiration must have been such that Herder began identifying with the reformer, as evidenced by his expression of a desire to be as influential in his own period as Luther had been to the Reformation. More specifically Herder wanted to encourage growth in German language and literature, an accomplishment he also credited to Luther. Herder made this admiration apparent early when he commented in Uber die Neuere Deutsche Literature: "In Germany, Luther had in this viewpoint immense merit. . . . by his reformation he had elevated an entire nation to think and feel."

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7Heinz Bluhm, "Herders Stellung zu Luther," Publications of the Modern Language Association of America, LXIV, 1(March), 159 & 178. "als verantwortlicher sittlicher Fuhrer des deutschen Volkes": "Von der Jugend bis ins Alter, von den ersten bis zu den letzten Ausserung über Luther hat Herder also ununterbrochen des Reformators Persohnlichkeit und Charakter gepriesen." From his youth to his old age, from the first to the last utterance on Luther, Herder had praised thus continuously the Reformers personality and character.: Ibid., 178. "Luther wird in seiner Wirkung auf das Ganze als einer der grossen Reformatoren der Weltgeschichte hingestellt." Luther was represented in his work on the whole as one of the great reformers of world history.

8Herder, Werke, Neuere, I:560.

9Haym, Herder, II:743. "In einer Zeit, die nicht die Zeit Luthers ist, will er, dem bei aller Genialität die starke Willenskraft und die selbstlose Unmittelbarkeit des grossen Reformators abging, ein zweiter Luther werden." In a time, that was not the time of Luther, he wants to become a second Luther, who started with in all originality the strong mind and the selfless directness of the great reformer.

10Johann Gottfried Herder, Werke in Zwei Bänden, Erster Band, Uber die Neuere Deutsche Literature: Fragmente, als Beilagen zu den Briefen, die Neueste Literatur Bestreffend
Herder's shared conviction with Luther, that schools should exercise a guiding influence in culture and behavior, became evident when Herder supervised the schools in Weimar and helped found the Teutonic Academy. Broce viewed these activities as the foundation of the nineteenth century German education that was so influential on Humboldt.\textsuperscript{11} Just like Luther, so argued Clark, Herder emphasized education based on patriotism and cultural nationalism.\textsuperscript{12} To achieve this goal, Herder proposed that reforms should not be handed down from the elite to the general populace, as advocated by the philosophy of the French Enlightenment, but rather in practical ways, based on real life experience within the existing educational institutions.

During Herder's residence in France he developed an early plan for a school system in his "Journal meiner Reiser im Jahr 1769", which established a structure similar to that of Luther's and the early Schulordnungen. Herder explained his educational theories as follows:

For the core belonged to precisely such a class. Luther's Catechism had to be learned by heart and remain eternally. Interpretation on this provides a wealth of duty and knowledge. What also Basedow said of the Jewish ten commandments, that with correct explanation

\begin{flushright}
(Munchen: Carl Hanser Verlag, n.d.) I:560. "In Deutschland hat Luther in diesem Gesichtspunkt unendlich Verdienst. . . . er hat durch seine Reformation eine ganze Nation zum Denken und Gefühl erhoben."
\end{flushright}

\textsuperscript{11}Broce, \textit{Genesis}, 84.

\textsuperscript{12}Clark, \textit{Life}, 100-1.
and enlightened introduction they are beautiful morals for children. . . . as each character of the explanation [is] very necessary and, as it were, the basis for acknowledgement of what a Christian republic is. Luther was not penetrated in this sense, who with each word provided a political introduction, beautiful and instructing.13

After initially learning the catechisms, Herder wanted students to develop an understanding of its moral and ethical contents, thus moving away from the dogmatic approach and similar to Luther’s initial structure.14

Herder believed that there was a reciprocal relationship between state and education, much as Luther had asserted. Herder maintained that it was the duty of the


14Haym, Herder, I:139. "Er notiviert diese Forderung mit der Ordnung, in der sich die Kräfte unserer Seele entwickeln. Zuerst die Sinne und die Einbildungskraft, erst später Verstand und Urteilskraft." He noted this demand with the order in which the powers of our soul develop. First the sense and imagination, then later understanding and judgement.; Ibid., I: 308. "Die alte Dogmatik ist durch eine neue, der alte Katechismus durch einen "Katechismus der christlichen Menschheit für unsere Zeit" zu ersetzen." The old dogma is replaced by a new, the old catechism is replaced by a "catechism of Christian humanity for our time."; Clark, Life, 103.
state to ensure that they fulfill their potential because the citizens were the state's most valuable assets. He remained optimistic of humanity's potential, contending: "Let man's thoughts be as devoid of reason as possible, still on every occasion when he thinks, he imitates the disposing deity; in whatever he wills and performs, he imitates the creating God." An effective educational system prepared the individual not only for his specialty or profession, but also encouraged a universalist's outlook that in its turn induced people to view themselves as integral parts of the whole. This whole, for Herder, was the volksgeist. Education transmitted the volksgeist from generation to generation, though, not in an unchanged form. There were substantive, but slow, changes, as minor alterations occurred and traditions were reevaluated. As Herder asserted:

15Herder, Outlines, 110, 93, & 163.

16F. M. Barnard, Herder's Social and Political Thought: From Enlightenment to Nationalism (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965), 79; Koepke, Herder, 21; Alexander Gillies, Herder: Der Mensch und Sein Werk (Hamburg: Marion von Schroder Verlag, 1949), 167. "Schliesslich war Herder wie Hutten, den er so sehr bewunderte, ein grosser Patriot und Streiter fur die Aufklarung seiner Landsleute uber sie selbst, ihre Vergangenheit, ihre verborgenen Moglichkeiten. Seine Vaterlandsliebe war ein wesentlicher Bestandteil seines allumfassenden Humanitatsgedankens." In the long run Herder was like Hutten, whom he so much admired, a great patriot and champion for the enlightenment of his people to themselves, their past, their hidden potentiality. His love of his fatherland was an essential component of his all-encompassing humanitarian thought.
Then all who live in Germany can and should work and think for Germany. No division of political interests of the separate states should ever disturb intentionally the peace of their circle, the clarity of their decisions, or the pure fervor of their endeavor: then Germany has only one interest, the life and the happiness of the whole.\textsuperscript{17}

Herder hoped that the Teutonic Academy would minimize social and regional divisions, leading to a united German \textit{volksgeist}, though not necessarily a united German state.

Emphasis within the Academy was placed on the student's position within the group instead of on individuality. Their study of history was to reinforce cultural unity and to focus on God's plan as revealed in history. Herder maintained that God revealed himself in nature and in history to the careful observer, stating in his \textit{Outline}:

"Yet, if there be a god in nature, there is in history too: for man is also a part of the creation, and in his wildest extravagances and passions must obey laws, not less beautiful and excellent than those, by which all the celestial bodies move."\textsuperscript{18}


\textsuperscript{18}Herder, \textit{Outlines}, 438.
From the perspective of this historiography, Herder's adoption of Luther's conviction of the importance of people fulfilling their calling expanded to include whole cultures, in the sense that they too were called to develop their unique volksgeist. This could not be accomplished in a mechanistic universe in which each person and culture operated according to impersonal natural laws. For Herder, both the universe and people reflected God's plan for their own unique destiny. Without awareness of God's plan, the realization of meaning in history was impossible and cultures and nations would go wrong, something Herder thought had happened to the German states when their leaders imported foreign values. According to Iggers, Herder thought that "all values are culture-bound, but all cultural phenomena are emanations of divine will and represent true values." Cultural values, therefore, reflected the divine. According to Herder, "He who placed us here, and others there, undoubtedly gave them an equal right to the enjoyment of life." Each culture participated in the divine plan if only people acted within their group and groups restricted themselves to their own cultural whole.

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20 Herder, Outlines, 219.

Groups had an individuality or personality because every volk or nation had its own soul that was regulative and creative.\textsuperscript{22} Herder believed that the development of cultures proceeded naturally, stating: "All plants grow wild in some part or other of the World. Those, which we cultivate with art, spring from the free lap of Nature and arrive at much greater perfection, in their proper climes. . . . for every race of men, in its proper region, is organized in the manner most natural to it."\textsuperscript{23}

History, as Herder understood it, should not study great people or single events, but rather the volk or group, first focusing on the family and, at a higher and more inclusive level, tribes and nations. He stated: "In all states, in all societies, man has had nothing in view, and could aim at nothing else, but humanity, whatever may have been the idea he formed of it."\textsuperscript{24} The aim of humanity was enhanced by organization into groups in order to study art, history and beliefs. Herder's study of the volk becomes the study of the state for later German historians and philosophers.

Herder maintained that a person cannot act outside of their time and place. He stated this poetically in the Outline: "What and wherever thou wast born, O man, there

\textsuperscript{22} Koepke, Herder, 35 & 36.

\textsuperscript{23} Herder, Outlines, 32.

\textsuperscript{24} Ibid., 439.
thou art, and there thou shouldst be: quit not the chain, set not thyself above it, but adhere to it firmly. Life and happiness exist for thee only in its integrity, in what thou receivest or impartest, in thy activity in each."\(^{25}\) Herder emphasized that this did not mean integration in a subordinate manner, instead it was intended to convey a state of reciprocal dependence. The volk depended on the individual for its make up, being the sum of, but not greater than, the total of its parts. Although Herder required submission to the group, he still insisted on the individual's freedom and creativity. He used the example of Socrates, who was certainly creative and contributed his knowledge to the city state of Athens, which in turn defined the questions he addressed.\(^{26}\) Fulgate suggested that for Herder: "Man's capacity to sense, to perceive, and to will all reflect a freedom of action. This freedom is not absolute however, but is organically conditioned, . . . Man simply recognizes that freedom of will actually is the recognition of the fact that he is not free."\(^{27}\) Although

\(^{25}\)Herder, Outlines, 229; Ergang interprets this as the only means to achieve "complete expression of his [man's] virtue and talents." Ergang, Foundations, 84 & 227. Broce argues that Herder demands that the person submerge himself in his own culture to fully develop at the very least encouraged nationalistic efforts. Broce, Genesis, 92.

\(^{26}\)Herder, Outlines, 376.

\(^{27}\)Joe K. Fulgate, The Psychological Basis of Herder's Aesthetics (The Hague: Mouton & Co., 1966), 44. This paradox is quite similar to that which Luther presented in On the Freedom of the Christian. Luther contended that the
people were free, membership in the \textit{volk} restricted and
defined their actions. This is similar to Luther's
definition of the freedom of a Christian.

Herder placed considerable weight on language as a
determining factor in defining a \textit{volk}. According to Barnard
language was for Herder "the criterion by means of which a
group's identity as a homogenous unit can be established.
Without its own language, a \textit{Volk} is an absurdity (Uндинг), a
contradiction in terms." If a \textit{volk} lacked a fully developed
indigenous language, it could not progress in literature and
thought.\textsuperscript{26} This was another point for which Herder greatly
admired Luther based on the reformer's translation of the
Bible and his works into German. Herder regretted that
German literature had not grown creatively after this
initial burst during the Reformation. He blamed this
stagnation on Frederick II and earlier German rulers'
support of French culture and neglect of German culture.

Herder thought that language and culture held a nation
together long after the political state faltered. He stated
in \textit{Idee zum Ersten Patriotischen Institut fur den
Allgemeingeist Deutschlands}:

\begin{quote}
History shows that all the dominating people of world
history have frequently ruled over other people a
thousand years, not by arms alone, but much more by
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{26}Barnard, \textit{Political}, 57; Fulgate, \textit{Aesthetics}, 83.
intelligence, art and by a developed language, indeed that even when their political power had deteriorated, the developed tools of their thought and institutions remained as an example and a worthy sanctuary for other nations.\textsuperscript{29}

This reflected Herder's belief that it was unnatural and dangerous for a state to expand beyond its national boundaries by absorbing different cultures and their respective languages. Overexpansion, he argued, caused the decline and fall of many states in the past.\textsuperscript{30} In forcing other nations to accept their culture, the aggressor state inadvertently introduce foreign elements into their midst, thus loosing hegemony and precipitating their own demise. It should, however, be clarified that in this context Herder advocated the defense of culture not the defense of the state. He argued that non-organic nations disappeared when conquered, but "It is not so with states, which, springing up from a root, rest on themselves: They may be subdued, but the nation remains."\textsuperscript{31}

\textsuperscript{29}Herder, Patriotischen, Werke, II:515. "Die Geschichte zeigt, dass alle herrschende Völker der Weltperioden nicht durch Waffen allein, sondern vielmehr durch Verstand, Kunst und durch eine ausgebildetere Sprache über andre Völker oft Jahrtausende hin geherrschet haben, ja dass selbst wenn ihre politische Macht verfallen war, das ausgebildete werkzeug ihrer Gedanken und Einrichtungen andern Nationen als ein Vorbild und Heiligtum wert geblieben."

\textsuperscript{30}Herder, Outlines, 249; Bluhm, "Stellung," Publications, 169.

\textsuperscript{31}Herder, Outlines, 350.
The emphasis on volk and culture has often been interpreted as patriotism and as cultural nationalism. In this, the historian faces difficulties in analyzing Herder's view of the state and volksgeist due to the fact that he wrote over a vast time span. His opinions changed, particularly after he attained public office and witnessed the excesses of the Reign of Terror in revolutionary France. His later works, for example, reflected stronger support for the state and its rulers than his earlier ones. Frequently, and sometimes purposely, he also defined terms nebulously, leaving a great deal of interpretation to the reader. Some, Gillies for example, went further by looking to Herder as the father of modern nationalism. There are difficulties with this interpretation, mainly because Herder's nationalism was based on culture rather than the political state. Gillies misunderstanding stems from the fact that Herder's views were adopted by political romantics and used for the causes of political nationalism. Isaiah Berlin disagreed and maintained that Herder supported a non-aggressive form of nationalism which demanded that people defend their own culture while not imposing it on others. Herder wanted a self-determination which, Berlin wrote: "denied the superiority of one people over another."32

is only when cultural oppression occurs that cultural nationalism becomes political, and at times violent, nationalism. Koepke agreed with Berlin, adding that Herder’s approach of synthesis and accommodation of contradictions opened itself to distortion and misuse. It was through the misunderstanding of the synthesis and contradictory ideas that the more virulent forms of nationalism emerged. Although Herder was not a supporter of aggressive nationalism, his works could be used to endorse aggression and "justify the obedience of the individual to a state, church, cause, or ideology."\(^{33}\)

Herder believed that humans as social and political animals required regulatory elements in the organization of their societies.\(^{34}\) He viewed the family as the first form of government from which all other governments emanated.\(^{35}\) Herder wrote:

\[\text{\textsuperscript{33}}\text{Koepke, Herder, 72.}\]
\[\text{\textsuperscript{34}}\text{Herder, Outlines, 101.}\]
\[\text{\textsuperscript{35}}\text{Barnard, Social, 45 & 55; Johannes Horn, Herders Stellung zu Friedrich dem Grossen (Borna-Leipzig: Universitatsverlag von Robert Noske, 1928), 77-8. "In der Familie sah er jetzt die einzig berechtigte, weil allein natürliche Regierungsform. Jede erbliche Regierung erschien ihm dagegen als etwas Ungereimtes, . . . Als Ursache der erblichen Regierung sah er lediglich den Krieg an, wo das brutale Recht des Starkeren herrsche." In the family he saw now the only justified, because [it] alone [was] natural, form of rule. Each hereditary ruler appears to him in comparison as something absurd, . . . as to the source of hereditary rule he considered [it] only was [that] by which brutal right the stronger ruled.}\]
We could boldly accept the thesis that where there is no government, no learning exists either, even if no evidence for such a thesis were provided by history. The human race has never been without government; it is as natural to it as its origin and as the grouping together of its members within families. As soon as there is a family there is a form of government.  

This position is similar to Luther’s assessment of the source of authority as developed in the reformer’s explanation of the Fourth Commandment in his Catechism.  

Herder did not think that the state was formed through a voluntary social contract among individuals, but that it emerged out of necessity. "Nature has pointed out no master to the human species: brutal vices and passions render one necessary." It was this same degeneration that made governments abusive and oppressive. Government, nevertheless, was a necessity and the volk or nation had no choice but to participate in the constitution of government. There was, however, flexibility in the

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38 Herder, "Government," in Barnard’s Social, 249 & 248. Herder also maintained that the institution of the state was not inherently evil, but that the people who operate the state were selfish and greedy, leading to the abuse of state powers.
framing of this constitution. Herder thought that society was free "to frame their most delicate work of art, bodies politic, as they thought proper." Participation in the creation of the state ensured that it addressed the volks' interests.³⁹

The state, according to Herder, should maintain paternal rule, anything beyond this deteriorated into despotism. The first governments were founded on "family regulations, without which the species could not subsist".⁴⁰ This form of regulation was limited and conditions sometimes warranted a more advanced type of rule. The second type of natural government consisted of elected leaders, chosen for a specific purpose based on their ability and wisdom. When the chosen leader fulfilled the stated purpose, their political legitimacy ended. Herder thought that any extension of power beyond this point was artificial and restrained the development of the volk and its culture.⁴¹

Although Herder agreed that some sort of government is required, he did not think that the state as it evolved was inevitable. On the contrary, Herder noted: "that with the greatness of a state, and the intricate art of its constitution, the danger of rendering individuals miserable

³⁹Herder, Outlines, 248.
⁴⁰Ibid., 244.
is infinitely augmented."⁴² He rejected the notion that nature ordained hereditary monarchy providing leadership ability to only a select few families on earth while the rest were left to be dominated. Frequently, however, the volk did not exercise due diligence in the creation or monitoring of the institution they created. In the Outline he stated: "If they framed them [states] wisely, happiness was their reward: if they chose, or endured, tyranny and bad forms of government, they had to bear the burden."⁴³ As in the creation of the volksgeist, members of the volk individually contributed to the creation of the state. Once initiated, the volk must abide by the state's authority until gradual changes occur.

Herder frequently referred to cultures and states in metaphorical terms, comparing them to living organisms. Although not subordinated, the parts of the body, when united gave the entity its strength."⁴⁴ Scholars disagreed on the extent to which Herder intended to take these metaphorical analogies. It was Grossman's contention that Herder used this imagery to emphasize the interdependency of the individual and the volk, as well as the way in which the

⁴²Herder, Outlines, 223; Wells, After, 63; Iggers, Conception, 41.

⁴³Herder, Outlines, 248 & 245.

⁴⁴Ibid., 29.
individual perceives the volk.\textsuperscript{45} According to Barnard: "Herder suggests that he was thinking of the Volk-State in anthropomorphic terms, investing it with a body and soul, with a 'personality' of its own." In contrast, Wells argued: "The comparison with the flower, then, is nothing more than a convenient metaphor."\textsuperscript{46} If Herder intended to rely strongly on this imagery, it, along with his emphasis on tradition, placed him in the conservative camp. If this usage is nothing more than poetic license, then Herder is more easily associated with liberal political philosophy. This was one area in which the amount of literature Herder wrote causes difficulty because of changes in thought and contradictory statements.

There exists considerable evidence to document Herder's dislike for the contemporary conditions and governments in Germany. In the Outline he protested: "In large states, hundreds must pine with hunger, that one may feast and carouse: thousands are oppressed, and hunted to death, that one crowned fool or philosopher may gratify his whims."\textsuperscript{47} Herder maintained throughout his life the position that nature created nations rather than states, although he

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{45}Dr. Friedrich Grossman, Herder und die Schule (Berlin [sic]: R. Gaertners Verlagsbuchhanlung, 1899), 4; Spitz, "Natural", Ideas, 461.

\item \textsuperscript{46}Barnard, Social, 69; G. A. Wells, "Herder's Two Philosophies of History," Journal of the History of Ideas, 21: 532.

\item \textsuperscript{47}Herder, Outlines, 223.
\end{itemize}
conceded at times that the state had its place to the extent that it did not restrict or usurp the role of the nation. When a state expanded, encompassing numerous nations and cultures, he viewed it as a mechanistic entity that necessarily was "destitute of internal vivification and sympathy of parts." 48 Both Berlin and Broce contended that Herder viewed the state mainly as a force for conquest and oppression. 49 This was Herder's greatest fear in reference to the state. He remarked: "the state gives us nothing but instruments of art, and these, alas! may rob us of something far more essential, may rob us or ourselves." 50 The state cannot create the volk, the volk developed into a fatherland or nation-state, which could be coterminous with the political state. Herder found the guidance of a divine hand in geographic and cultural differences. Such differences were natural barriers against the uncontrolled and mechanistic expansion of a state. 51

The above sentiments marked Herder's disillusionment. He studied the rise of the German monarchy in an effort to discover the time when it degenerated into absolutism. According to Barth, Herder found this crucial period in the decline of the Holy Roman Empire during the early modern

48 Ibid., 249.
49 Berlin, Herder, 162 & 158; Broce, Genesis, 90.
50 Herder, Outlines, 224.
51 Ibid., 224.
era. The Empire did not represent its subjects perfectly and tried to bring diverse people together, two negative attributes according to Herder. In a more positive vein, the Empire attempted to ensure the reciprocal relationship between rulers and subjects and curbed expansion by individual states. Herder viewed the actions of the various petty rulers within the Empire as a blatant attempt of the strong to dominate the weak by the means of war.

Herder held no great hope for Frederick II's ability to reverse this trend toward fragmentation and absolutism, because this ruler had fallen too much under the influence of the French Enlightenment and neglected the development of German culture. Herder admired, however, both Catherine II of Russia and Joseph II of Austria as enlightened despots. He originally thought that these two monarchs would accomplish important milestones in encouraging the progress of their nations, but when they became conservative and unable to advance reforms, Herder became disappointed. In his youth, Herder frequently expressed hostility toward Frederick, but later in life, he referred to Frederick with respect and noted the ruler's accomplishments, particularly after Frederick's death.

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53Herder, Outlines, 245.
The young Herder criticized Frederick in his "Journal" stating: "The States of the King of Prussia will not be happy until they become autonomous parts of a large fraternal [German] union." This fraternal union was impossible, in Herder's opinion, as long as Frederick ruled despotically. Herder recommended that Frederick concentrate on furthering German culture, stop supporting French culture and cease the expansion of Prussian territory. In his later views (e.g. in the Outline), Herder maintained that the German states had better rulers than the French after they created a separate empire. In particular, he noted Henry, Otto, and both Fredericks as being "benevolent and industrious". He continued: "What would not these men have accomplished, in a more solid and determinate sphere!" 


55Herder, Outlines, 557.
Herder thought that the Empire survived in difficult circumstances, providing defence of liberty and connecting diverse nations by trade and alliances.\textsuperscript{56} After Frederick's death, Herder wrote of him:

Likewise, in administration of his lands he viewed himself as the first servant of the state, as the pilot of the ship, who was never permitted to neglect his posts. Without empty talk, he is properly called in Europe: the king. His father already had managed as head of his army, as magistrate of domestic affairs and income of his lands: Friedrich the Second was king and commander-in-chief.\textsuperscript{57}

Herder became more conservative after the French Revolution and the intensive study of Luther's works. These factors may account for the change of position with regard to Frederick II.

Herder assigned importance to the state, but he wanted the authoritative power to be used as sparingly as possible, placing more emphasis on laws than on those who implemented them. He thought that the best government, wherever possible, was a republic, stating: "Both in medieaval and modern times, the best history, the most humanitarian philosophy and the most sophisticated political science are

\textsuperscript{56}Ibid., 556.

invariably republican in origin". Herder thought that a transitional phase was necessary in the evolution from monarchy to republicanism. During this transitional period an aristo-democracy would educate and prepare citizens for participation in the government. Herder did not, however, provide any estimate of the amount of time that this transitional period should last, nor did he explain the method for the final transfer of power from aristo-democracy to republicanism. Herder provided the following description of the ideal transformation and goals of government:

The monarchy becomes an oligarchy in which finally, because of the feebleness or the greatness of the rulers, laws have to rule rather than princes. Then the sciences too will obey the laws to the extent that these promote the welfare of the state. The state will establish schools, academies, seminars, and professional institutes, indicate their subjects and methods of teaching and regulate them in relation to itself the whole. The monarchy will become a pyramid in which laws form the base, industry the stones, the sciences its cement, the prince the summit which rests on everything and coordinates it all.  

Herder vested law with a great deal of authority as long as it was implemented for the common good rather than for the benefit of the ruler or one specific cliché within society. Herder thought that the state could be benevolent as long as

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58 Herder, "Government," in Barnard, Social, 251-2; Barnard, Social, 65.

59 Herder, "Government", in Barnard, Social, 250; Barnard, Social, 77.
it followed the nation’s interests.\textsuperscript{60} The state only became an instrument of oppression when the interests followed were not those of its people.

Herder was far from supporting total freedom of action. He stated: "where it publicly stops the wheels of state license defeats its own principle and so interferes directly with its purpose and with the general happiness."\textsuperscript{61} People maintained the freedom to be creative and individualistic while their actions contributed to the happiness of the nation as a whole, not merely creativity for the individual’s gain. Herder continued: "Well-being is worth more than the speculative happiness of one. Hence I believe it is permissible and even necessary for the state to directly exclude certain sciences as well as certain amusements and occupations, if it cannot rely on being able to combine them with its principle of efficacy."\textsuperscript{62}

Herder’s ideal was a flexible republican constitution, sensitive to the needs of the volk. When he delineated the mode of its implementation, however, much of the flexibility disappeared. Herder relied on tradition and custom within the culture to guard conservatively against encroachment by individuals or special interest groups. This position led Barnard to charge Herder with preferring the "tyranny of

\textsuperscript{60}Herder, \textit{Outlines}, 246; Iggers, \textit{Conception}, 8-9.

\textsuperscript{61}Herder, "Government," in Barnard, \textit{Social}, 245.

\textsuperscript{62}Ibid.
custom" to the "tyranny of man".\textsuperscript{63} In either case, authority remained an important factor.

This leads to another point of agreement between Herder and Luther on the rejection of revolution as a vehicle for social and political change. Although Herder provided no details on the transfer of power from monarchy to aristocracy to republicanism, there was a sense that this would be a slow and determined evolution. Thought and intellect, not violence and force, were to transform society into a smoothly functioning culture. Oppressed peoples reacted through revolution. If the volk were allowed to develop their own institutions and constitutions, they no longer needed to rebel against a mechanistic and artificial state. Revolution was wrong but anticipated when hereditary national feelings were suppressed.\textsuperscript{64} Herder's attitudes began to stress more than the volk and culture, they started to address the nation state. Individuals were defined within their groups and the presumption prevailed that a legitimate state acted on a high moral and altruistic plane.\textsuperscript{65}

\textsuperscript{63}Barnard, Social, 64-6.

\textsuperscript{64}Herder, Outlines, 170, 171, & 349.

\textsuperscript{65}Iggers, Conception, 42-3.
CHAPTER V

GEORG WILHELM FRIEDRICH HEGEL:  
THE IDEAL OF THE STATE

Hegel rose to prominence through his philosophical writings and service to the state in the role of educator. He lived in a turbulent period of German history, experiencing both the conquests of Napoleon, whom he openly admired, and both the rise of nationalism and the territorial fragmentation it unleashed in the German states. Hegel’s concept of the state reflects, on one hand, these significant historical events and, on the other hand, his Protestant education and studies of Luther.

Although educated in the predominantly Catholic southern German state of Wurttemberg, Hegel received a traditional Lutheran education because this region was a pocket of Lutheranism. Through his studies at Tubingen, Hegel prepared for the ministry, but was never employed in this capacity. He spent most of his adult life as an instructor in positions ranging from private tutor, to gymnasium headmaster, and university professor. His interests remained in philosophy and in education with distinctly theological overtones.

Few, if any of his works, really follow the model of
theological writings, even though some were labeled as such. Hegel, nevertheless, proclaimed his Protestantism loudly, and vowed that he would always be a Lutheran. He focused frequently on the Reformation as a world historic event and based some of his most important lectures on related themes, as for instance his inaugural lecture at Berlin praising the Treaty of Augsburg. Wiedmann, Burbidge, and Olson all noted Lutheran influences in many of Hegel's important lectures, the retention of Lutheran constructs in his secular theories, and a shared influence from the mystic tradition.¹

At times, his theological orientation became perhaps too intertwined with his teaching duties in philosophy. Hegel defended himself to von Altenstein against Catholic students' complaints of his blatant Protestantism stating; "they would have to blame only themselves for attending philosophical lectures at a Protestant university under a professor who prides himself on having been baptized and raised as Lutheran, which he still is and shall remain."²

He also vocally criticized other philosophers whose analysis


of Christian dogma did not agree with his own. In a letter to Tholuck, he wrote: "In your entire publication [on the nature of the Trinity] I have not been able to feel or find any trace of a native understanding of this doctrine. I am a Lutheran, and through philosophy have been at once completely confirmed in Lutheranism." ¹ For Hegel, philosophy and religion were eminently compatible; religion was the most advanced form of philosophy. While believing that religion, and particularly Protestantism, was of paramount importance to society on all levels, Hegel evidenced far less support to the institutional church, which he thought had evolved into a restrictive entity.

There are indeed many areas of similarity between Hegel and Luther. The reformer, also, de-emphasized the institutional church in favor of the spiritual church or what Hegel identified as "Religion". ² Hegel emphasized language in much the same way Luther did, suggesting that German philosophy would not gain prominence and be understandable to the German people until it was written in the vernacular. Hegel also strongly supported the educational system envisioned by Luther and the premise that education was an integral part of Protestantism.

¹Ibid., "Hegel to Tholuck, Berlin, July 3, 1826," 520.

²In Hegel's writings, translators usually use the capitalized form of a word to indicate the concept of, or the ideal for that idea. In this instance, Religion as a universal distinguished from a specific religion or church.
In the context of his social theories, Hegel used two of Luther's concepts, the priesthood of all believers and vocationalism, to strengthen the secular arm of the state. He thought that people combined to create a state in which they were members, just as each person had the right to participate directly in his or her religion rather than through a mediator. Hegel asserted, in addition, that everyone followed a vocation as their duty to the state, an arrangement he viewed as a means of maintaining order. Hegel constructed, as did Luther, a conservative theory of state and of society. He agreed with Luther's bias against revolutionary changes to the government. While Luther advocated passive resistance and change through participation and office holding, Hegel viewed change as evolutionary by the gradual refocusing the goals of the people as a whole.

Throughout his extensive writings, Hegel incorporated his religious training, and more specifically, the Lutheran views of church and state. He frequently referred to the Reformation in his works, viewing it as a definitive moment in the history of Germany and the world. In his view, this social and religious movement released people from the restrictive vows to the Catholic church so that they could participate in Sittlichkeit, the ethical life, as
represented in family, economic and political relationships.\textsuperscript{5}

Hegel praised Luther as a world historic individual and aspired to emulate the reformer’s theological advances in the area of philosophy. In a letter to Voss, written in late 1805 or early 1806, Hegel, with a familiar emphasis on the use of vernacular language, asserted:

Luther made the Bible speak German, and you have done the same for Homer—the greatest gift that can be made to a people. For a people remains barbarian and does not view what is excellent within the range of its acquaintance as its own true property so long as it does not come to know it in its own language. If you will kindly forget these two illustrations, I may say of my endeavor that I wish to try to teach philosophy to speak German.\textsuperscript{6}

Hegel believed that German philosophy could not advance as long as the people and philosophers relied on foreign sources. Philosophy, just as religion, needed to reflect the culture of the people to be effective.

Hegel agreed with Luther on the need for an educated populace. In his prolific correspondence with Niethammer, Hegel consistently stressed the importance of education to Protestant culture. In November 1810 he wrote:

"Protestantism does not so much consist in any special creed as in the spirit of reflection and higher rational


\textsuperscript{6}Hegel, "Hegel to Voss, no date [main draft]," \textit{Letters}, 107.
education, not in the spirit of drill serving this or that utilitarian purpose.⁷ Through this type of education, citizens learn to contribute to the state. In October 1816, for example, Hegel explained his stress on education, because based on the idea of the priesthood of all believers, the laity had equal importance as the clergy, and he contended that Protestants looked to the universities in the same way that Catholics looked to Rome.⁸ Participation in the state should be no more exclusive than the practice of the Protestant religion, but participation for Hegel did not necessarily mean an administrative position of control. It, rather, required training in the values of society.

Scholars, such as Avineri, suggested that Hegel advocated education as a means of molding a disparate people into a unity through emphasis on obedience and duty.⁹ In the Philosophy of Right, Hegel contended that civil society had the right and duty to educate children because "education bears upon the child's capacity to become a member of society." Hegel elevated this right of the state to educate above parental choice, and required that the


⁸Hegel, "Hegel to Niethammer, Nuremberg, October 10, 1816, Letters, 328.

state provide facilities wherever practicable. Hegel's thought resembles Luther's argument that the state held the responsibility to ensure the education of the youth when parents neglected this duty out of inability or selfishness. But while Luther viewed education as necessary for participation in the faith, Hegel believed that it was the foundation for membership in the state and civil society.

Avineri based his argument for Hegel's emphasis on obedience to Hegel's statements regarding pedagogy. Hegel began with law as the basis for education in philosophy, but saw this as only the first step in the process of understanding, as indicated in the following explanation of his gymnasium curriculum. "As for myself I can do nothing else but begin with law, the most simple and abstract consequence of freedom, proceeding thereupon to morality and progressing from there to religion as the highest stage." Law was the necessary structure on which to build higher levels of thought and action. This same order of progression was evident in the early Protestant reforms.


11Hegel differentiated between different levels of social organization, starting with the family as the foundation. Civil society was comprised of mainly economic associations. The purely political state dealt with the operations of a particular government, while state as an ideal or universal predominated in an advanced society.

starting with the Ten Commandments before moving on to more complex theological issues.

Hegel accepted the mind/body dualism characteristic of Lutheran thought. In the Philosophy of Right, he listed several rights that he considered "imperscriptable": "Such characteristics are my personality as such, my universal freedom of will, my ethical life, my religion." He later stated that a person's body might be coerced, but that his or her free will and belief could not.\(^1\) The individual could not be forced to participate in the universal nature of the state, though outward behavior was an acceptable area of control for the benefit of the commonality. Hegel's argument resembles Luther's conviction that although heretics could not be forced to convert, the state should require that they received instruction on the Ten Commandments so that their outward social behavior did not draw others into error.

Hegel wrote prolifically and left many of his texts open to interpretation, a common problem of philosophers who write about the ideal as opposed to the immediate. Both Right- and Left-wing Hegelians used works such as the Philosophy of Right and Philosophy of History to support their respective positions. Ernst Cassirer maintained that Hegel did not view God as merely revealed in history, but as being history, certainly a less than orthodox position.\(^3\)

\(^{13}\)Hegel, Right, 52-3 & 66.
bordering on pantheism. In contrast, Daniel Berthold-Bond contended that Hegel depicted individuals as participating in a history that encompassed them in a plan of sorts.\textsuperscript{14} Hegel's view of God's role in history clarifies this sort of disagreement over his intended meaning.

Disagreements also abound regarding Hegel's use of the terms State and Idea. Some of Hegel's concepts appear extreme and dangerous to the modern western scholar. In the \textit{Philosophy of History} he explained that struggles in history, such as the Reformation, caused a changed view of the secular state and encouraged "the recognition of the Secular as capable of being an embodiment of Truth; ... It is now perceived that Morality and Justice in the State are also divine and commanded by God, and that in point of substance there is nothing higher or more sacred."\textsuperscript{15} Cassirer interpreted such statements to mean that the state was supreme and divine, creating a new type of absolutism, one that confirmed divine right on the structure of the state rather than the individual ruler.

Kaufmann, Avineri and others, disagreed regarding Cassirer's interpretation of Hegel's intention. They think


that Hegel perceived the state as a part of God's divine plan. Such interpretation places Hegel's view closer to Luther's notion of the state as a gift from God and minimized accusations of pantheism. Kaufmann asserted that Hegel meant the "Idea of the State", rather than a particular political entity, when referring to the state. His Idea was not merely utopian, because he thought it existed in distorted form in the various states of nineteenth century Europe.\(^\text{16}\) Morris and O'Brien agreed that Hegel intended a positive definition of the state, and that the state was based on the individuals who participate in it. The state was the actualization of their particularism and emerged as more than the total of the individuals who became members and transcended their personal desires. This actualization was not simply based on cultural or linguistic unity, but was founded on common political traditions as well.\(^\text{17}\)


Hegel defined the state in the *Philosophy of Right*, explaining: "The state is the actuality of the ethical Idea. It is ethical mind *qua* the substantial will manifest and revealed to itself."¹⁸ Later, in the *Introduction* to the *Philosophy of History*, he explicated the relationship of the individual to the state. Each individual contained the particular in term of desires and ethics. Within the state these desires and ethics became externalized in the spiritual Idea that defined the ethical life and freedom for each culture on the universal level. Hegel measured the development of cultures, and the world in general, by the moments or instances of the Idea as it appeared in constitutions. Hegel believed that historical change depended on the state, not the individual acting alone unless that person was a world historic individual. He asserted that the end of the spirit as actualized in the state and as the motive force in history was the glorification of God.¹⁹ This view agreed with Luther's idea that the state, in whatever form it existed, was a gift from God and, therefore, obedience to the state was obedience and glorification of God.


Hegel did not ignore the individual as such, providing several examples in which the individual reached fulfillment through participation in the universal. He argued that individuals may seem to pursue their own goals, but they only truly attained these aims when the universal mediated. The universal or state appeared to act as a means to the ends when, in fact, the individual only reached their goals in connection with the society or group.20

Individualization and privatization hindered efforts to attain Sittlichkeit, because they distracted from public values. When this occurred, pursuit of the individual's aim minimized the universality of the state. This happened most frequently at the level of civil society, which represented the economic and legal organization of capitalistic society. When the state acted in a civil, particulate capacity, it related to its citizens in an external, rather than an internal, manner. It no longer reflected the general objectives, but emphasized obedience to the letter, not the spirit, of the laws. Although all forms of society contained alienation, the above relationship led to estrangement diminishing the potential for growth of both the individual and the state.21 Luther also supported

20Hegel, Right, 124.
individual action as long as it did not undermine the authority of the state and did not effect the spiritual well-being of others.

The state in its ideal instance drew support, according to Hegel, from various aspects of less complex associations. He found the early foundations for the state in the organization of the family in which all worked for the common welfare. In civil society, he identified the corporation as a second ethical source for the state, because it contained both the particular and the general. Hegel supported this form of organization stating: "In the Corporation these moments are united in an inward fashion, so that in this union particular welfare is present as a right and is actualized."22 The emphasis in both family and corporation was that individuals worked together, setting common goals for their mutual benefit that also correlated to their self interests. Luther did not expound to such a great extent on this type of relationship, however, he consistently emphasized adherence to the state and its norms as a foundation for stability and prosperity.

Once Hegel provided a rational foundation for the state, he devoted much time to the analysis of different forms of government and discussion of their various merits and problems. His conclusions favored constitutional monarchy as the best, and most mature, form of rule because

22Hegel, Right, 154.
it contained aspects of all other forms of organization. The legislature acted as a link between the state and the people, providing representation and, thus, the means for individuals to express their desires. Executive power resided with the council or ministerial departments, corresponding to the rule of the few. The crown that headed this system represented the rule of the one, as well as embodying the particular and the universal within one position. In the Philosophy of Right, Hegel supported this, saying: "The truth of subjectivity, however, is attained only in a subject, and the truth of personality only in a person . . . Hence this absolutely decisive moment of the whole is not individuality in general, but a single individual, the monarch." The ideal monarch was the embodiment of the state and its citizens, reflecting their personality and their goals. This position carried great responsibility, making the monarch personally answerable for the acts of the government. Hegel thought that the Empire, as it had degenerated, exemplified the unwarranted growth in power of the parts at the expense of the whole. The Germanies could not gain strength as long as the various political entities refused to use the Reichstag as their

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mediator with the Emperor as representative of the universal.\textsuperscript{24}

Not all states, though, were ready for monarchy. According to Hegel, each political society created a constitution that reflected their personality and stage of development. The constitution, then, was not based on personal whim, nor on the actions of a tyrant, nor could it be imposed from external sources. Hegel argued: "The proposal to give a constitution - even one more or less rational in content - to a nation \textit{a priori} would be a happy thought overlooking precisely that factor in a constitution which makes it more than an \textit{ens rationis}. Hence every nation has the constitution appropriate to it and suitable for it."\textsuperscript{25} Each constitution was unique based on the different historical events, traditions, and personalities of a people who chose to organize politically. Although Hegel would not consider imposing a monarchy on states such as the United States, he rationalized that: "North America cannot yet be regarded as a fully developed and mature state, but merely as one which is still in the process of becoming; it has not yet progressed far enough to feel the need for a monarchy."\textsuperscript{26}

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\textsuperscript{24}Hegel, \textit{Right}, 187 & 197.
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\textsuperscript{25}Ibid., 179; Leon J. Goldstein, "The Meaning of 'State' in Hegel's Philosophy of History," \textit{The Philosophical Quarterly}, XII (1962), 65.
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\textsuperscript{26}Hegel, \textit{Introduction}, 169 & 76.
\end{quote}
To reach this level of maturity, the individuals within the state must achieve a high level of personal development. Advanced peoples developed personalities, which meant that they were self-conscious of their own particularity and universality. Hegel's definition of personality stated: "Personality implies that as this person: (i) I am completely determined on every side (in my inner caprice, impulse, and desire, as well as by immediate external facts) and so finite, yet (ii) none the less I am simply and solely self-relation, and therefore in finitude I know myself as something infinite, universal, and free."\(^{27}\) Developed individuals, however, did not live for their own private ends, but joined associations to experience the freedom for which they strove. Hegel thought that the state was the actuality of this freedom. In the Philosophy of Right, he argued that:

The principle of modern state has prodigious strength and depth because it allows the principle of subjectivity to progress to its culmination in the extreme of self-subsistent personal particularity [freedom], and yet at the same time brings it back to the substantive unity and so maintains this unity in the principle of subjectivity itself.\(^{28}\)

Later, in the History of Philosophy, Hegel expanded this theme stating: "The union of the two relations of individual freedom in the community, and the bond implied in

\(^{27}\)Hegel, Right, 37.

\(^{28}\)Ibid., 160-1.
association - is the main point in the formation of the State."\textsuperscript{29} In Hegel's view, which agrees with that of Luther, the state provided the milieu for, and protection of, individual freedom to the extent that this particularism did not threaten the unity of the state or its goals.

Within this context, freedom moved beyond caprice, becoming an objective and a positive goal. Individuals still wished to implement personal freedom, but sometimes this type of freedom must be restricted because it was "mere arbitrariness, which exists solely in relation to particular needs."\textsuperscript{30} The goal of citizens, through their freedom, was to attain a rational existence within the rational state. Whereas Hegel did not maintain that each person's rational existence was the same, he did contend that:

Only in the state does man have rational existence. The aim of all education is to ensure that the individual does not remain purely subjective but attains an objective existence within the state. . . . Man owes his entire existence to the state, and has his being within it alone. Whatever worth and spiritual reality he possesses are his solely by virtue of the state.\textsuperscript{31}

Freedom outside of the state's construct was selfish and irrational. This is similar to Luther's position in \textit{The Freedom of a Christian} in which he maintained that the Christian possessed complete freedom of action while also

\begin{itemize}
    \item \textsuperscript{29} Hegel, \textit{History}, 353-4.
    \item \textsuperscript{30} Hegel, \textit{Introduction}, 93 & 94.
    \item \textsuperscript{31} Ibid., 94.
\end{itemize}
being servant to all. People were free in their belief and thought, but their actions were subjects to the good of the whole.

The individual contributed to movement in history by his or her activities within the community, thereby changing the personality of the universal in which they participated. An ethical person had no other alternative than to participate in their state. Hegel addressed this issue in a letter to Niethammer saying: "as seductive as independent isolation is, everybody must maintain a connection with the state, and must work on its behalf. The satisfaction one thinks one finds in private life is after all deceptive and insufficient." In trying to explain the relationship that he perceived between the particular human being and the universal whole, Hegel noted that the person was an individual to the extent that they were distinguished from the others within the group. There was, however, a converse aspect to this individuality. According to Hegel: "he is only an individual life in so far as he is at one with all the elements, with the infinity of lives outside himself." 

Despite Hegel's concentration on the group, there were some individuals whom he identified as world historic.

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individuals. Just as a monarch ideally embodied the personality of the state and worked toward the goals of the commonality, certain other persons also attained this universal union of the particular trends of their time and were able to make significant contributions to world history. In the Introduction to the Philosophy of History Hegel described these individuals in the following manner:

But right is on their side, for they are the far-sighted ones; they have discerned what is true in their world and in their age, and have recognized the concept, the next universal to emerge. . . . They are the most far-sighted among their contemporaries: they know best what issues are involved, and whatever they do is right. . . . It is this which gives them their power in the world, and only in so far as their ends are compatible with that of the spirit which has being in and for itself do they have absolute right on their side -- although it is a right of a wholly peculiar kind.34

These people created change in history, not from their own desires and goals, but by tapping into the needs of their culture and initiating action to attain the emerging goals.

Most notably, Hegel identified Martin Luther, as indicated above, and Napoleon Bonaparte as world historic individuals for their respective societies. To some extent, Napoleon also acted as a world historic figure for the German states because he diminished the particularism that, in Hegel's eyes, was rampant and destructive. Hegel thought that Napoleon aided the German states in reaching universal union. He was at Jena when Napoleon moved through the area.

The day after the fall of Jena, Hegel wrote his famous lines regarding Napoleon: "I saw the Emperor - this world soul - riding out of the city on reconnaissance. It is indeed a wonderful sensation to see such an individual, who, concentrated here at a single point, astride a horse, reaches out over the world and masters it." Hegel also noted that the rate of advance accomplished by Napoleon was impossible to minimize and could only be attributed to an extraordinary individual.\textsuperscript{35} After the disruption of the French Revolution, Hegel thought that Napoleon provided the order and the union of the overzealous particular interests necessary to recreate the French state.

The state, in fact, was the primary means for the individual to participate in the universal. Hegel adopted the concepts of the priesthood of all believers and of vocation or calling in the secular level to reinforce participation in and duty to the state. These were the ways in which persons rationally participated in the state.

This rationality gave the state, according to Hegel; "supreme right against the individual whose supreme duty is to be a member of the state."\textsuperscript{36} Later, in the \textit{Introduction}

\textsuperscript{35} Hegel, "Hegel to Niethammer, Jena, Monday, October 13, 1806," \textit{Letters}, 114; O'Brien, \textit{Reason}, 122; Avineri, \textit{Modern}, 35.

to the Philosophy of History, Hegel expounded on his notion of duty:

The worth of individuals is measured by the extent to which they reflect and represent the national spirit, and have adopted a particular station within the affairs of the state as a whole. . . . the substantial nature of such relationships, i.e. the rational element they embody, is universally known, and its expression is what we call duty. . . . Every individual has his station in society, and he is fully aware of what constitutes a right and honourable [sic] course of action. . . . Duty is rooted in the soil of civil life: individuals follow their appointed profession, and hence also their appointed duty; and their morality consists in acting in accordance with this duty.\(^{37}\)

This passage exemplified a continued development of Hegel’s political theory and a conservatism that emerged after the disruptions of the French Revolution and the fall of Napoleon. Luther, also experiencing the effects of rebellion against the government, asserted that the individual must obey the state as ordained by God, with only minimal provisions for passive resistance in very specific circumstances. Hegel viewed some of the problems of the French Revolution as caused by the dominance of public opinion over the public good.\(^{38}\) The revolutionaries acted in their own interest instead of through their duty, and, in so doing, they destroyed the Idea of the State in France for a time.

\(^{37}\)Hegel, Introduction, 80-1.

\(^{38}\)Hegel, Right, 204.
People fulfilled their relationship to the group through the completion of duty. In Hegel’s opinion, this did not include blind obedience or subservience to oppressive authority. Hegel differentiated in this way between those nations that ascribed to the Reformation and those that had not. Gottfried summarized Hegel’s attitude, asserting that: "Only the Protestant nations of northern Europe properly understood liberty as the willingness to obey authority through the assent of conscience rather than as the right to pursue personal interests." Duty became a part of Sittlichkeit, done almost by reflex, rather than elicited by force.\(^{39}\) Hegel viewed duty as the avenue for experiencing freedom. He explained this position on duty and freedom in the Philosophy of Right:

The bond of duty can appear as a restriction only on indeterminate subjectivity or abstract freedom, and on the impulses either of the natural will or of the moral will which determines its indeterminate good arbitrarily. The truth is, however, that in duty the individual finds his liberation; first, liberation from dependence on mere natural impulse and from the depression which as a particular subject he cannot escape in his moral reflection on what ought to be and what might be; secondly, liberation from the indeterminate subjectivity which, never reaching reality or the objective determinacy of action, remains self-enclosed and devoid of actuality. In duty the individual acquires his substantive freedom.\(^{40}\)

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\(^{40}\)Hegel, Right, 107.
Fulfillment of duty released the individual from the negative results of their own, and protected them from other's, actions. This was in the model of Luther's admonition to true Christians to obey the government, even though they did not need it, as an example to others who did, thus benefiting the whole and maintaining order.

Hegel utilized Luther's notion of vocation or calling, and the dual nature of human beings, citing that each person practiced their occupation as a duty to the state, and that there was a difference between the civil servants secular role in the government and their spiritual self. Hegel espoused that one's immediate existence contained a possibility of self-realization that could only be experienced through one's vocation. In the Philosophy of History, Hegel united physical action with religious vocation stating that: "ultimately the discovery is made, that Spirit finds the goal of its struggle and its harmonization, in that very sphere which it made the object of its resistance -- it finds that secular pursuits are a spiritual occupation." When each person attended to their duty, the state reached the highest rationality. As he

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42 Hegel, History, 355 (Hegel's emphasis); Hegel, Introduction, 50.
expressed in the *Philosophy of Right*: "In the rational organism of the state, each member by maintaining itself in its own position, *eo ipso* maintains the others in theirs." In this way, ministers and representatives provided an objective guarantee against the arbitrary will of a hereditary monarch.\(^43\)

In the discussion above, Hegel forged one link between the spiritual and the state, a connection that he built on and discussed frequently. He advocated a strong and mutually beneficial relationship between religion and state, yet he recognized a potential for abuse in this relationship.\(^44\) In all instances, Hegel resisted the creation of a state religion, feeling that bigotry and hypocrisy were rampant when church and state united in this way. He did not, however, advocate complete separation of religion and state. Religion referred to faith and the spiritual church rather than the institutional church. Complete division was impossible, because he thought that: "the laws find their highest confirmation in Religion."\(^45\)

Hegel believed that religion should support the state while the state provided assistance and protection for the church. In the *Philosophy of Right*, Hegel recommended that

\(^43\)Hegel, *Right*, 187.


the state require membership in a church based on the institution's encouragement of an ethical life and support of the state.\footnote{Some scholars, such as Lawrence Dickey, view Sittlichkeit as religiously progressive while being socially conservative. It offered an alternative to strict religious orthodoxy but criticized the interests and values of the growing bourgeois class. Lawrence Dickey, \textit{Hegel: Religion, Economics, and the Politics of Spirit 1770-1807} (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 184.} He noted, though, that this did not mean a state church, as he explained: "a church is all that can be said, because since the content of a man's faith depends on his private ideas, the state cannot interfere with it."\footnote{Hegel, \textit{Right}, 168.} This resembled Luther's assertion that people cannot be compelled to faith and his actions in seeking support from the state for his educational goals. In fact, Hegel asserted that the predominant religion of the people helped to mold the state constitution and was part of their personality. He thought that the relationship between church and state was more mutually beneficial within Protestant states that had experienced the Lutheran Reformation than in Catholic states, because: "in the Protestant Church the reconciliation of Religion with Legal Right has taken place. In the Protestant world there is no sacred, no religious conscience in a state of separation from, or perhaps even hostile to Secular Right."\footnote{Hegel, \textit{History}, 456; Hegel, \textit{Introduction}, 108.} He also noted that in Protestant states the ruler was head of the...
religion, which he believed made separation virtually impossible.\(^4\)

Hegel thought that the state should demand that its citizens lead a moral and ethical life; however, it could only do this to the extent that the state was itself a moral entity. In attempting to bring citizens into submission to the various institutions, the state must engender trust which it was most likely to do through the use of religion. Religion, particularly Lutheranism and its offshoots in Hegel's view, encouraged trust of and adherence to the institutions of the state.\(^5\) Later, in the Introduction to his Philosophy of History, Hegel maintained that the state was founded on, or more accurately, emanated from religion, hence the close alliance between the religion of a people and the constitution of their state.\(^6\) This position agrees with Luther's on the source for the authority of the state. In addition, Luther differentiated between the person of the ruler and his position or office. The person held the authority by virtue of holding the office; therefore, the

\(^4\)Hegel used Protestant and Lutheran interchangeably at times. He defined Protestant states as those influenced by the effects of the Reformation, which he credited Luther with being the main motive force. He wrote about Protestantism from the position of his alignment with Lutheranism.

\(^5\)Hegel, "Positivity," Theological, 97-8; Avineri, Modern, 52.

\(^6\)Hegel, Introduction, 108.
institution instead of the person demanded respect and obedience.

Despite his respect for Napoleon, Hegel was at heart a German patriot. He admired Napoleon as a world historic person, who aided France, and, at least in part, aided the Germanies.\textsuperscript{52} Hegel's patriotism cannot be described as strictly Prussianism, many instances could be cited in which he supported the Prussian state, but he addressed the German states as a whole, seeing a cultural unity from which a political unity could emerge. Hegel described patriotism as "political sentiment" toward one's state, the conviction that the state strove for the truth, and the volition, or readiness to action that became habitual.\textsuperscript{53} He denied that patriotism was comprised merely of extraordinary sacrifices made for the state. He asserted instead that: "it is the sentiment which, in the relationships of our daily life and under ordinary conditions, habitually recognizes that the community is one's substantive groundwork and end." These daily actions provided a loyalty to the state, and from this "also arises the readiness for extraordinary exertions."\textsuperscript{54} Each person could not be world historic; therefore, Hegel emphasized common, as opposed to unique, actions. In much

\textsuperscript{52}Sidney Hook, "Hegel Rehabilitated?" Hegel's Political Philosophy, edited by Walter Kaufmann (New York: Atherton Press, 1970), 59; Avineri, Modern, 179.

\textsuperscript{53}Hegel, Right, 267-8.

\textsuperscript{54}Ibid., 163-4.
the same way Luther taught vocation, in which each person's employment, no matter how lowly, held the same status as long as they fulfilled their duty.

Hegel did not believe that the state he described was oppressive, because the state and constitution reflected the national spirit of the people themselves. Each contributed something to the construction of the political ideals. In the *Philosophy of Right*, Hegel detailed the various levels of the relationship between the individual and the state: "The state exists immediately in custom, mediately in individual self-consciousness, knowledge, and activity, while self-consciousness in virtue of its sentiment towards the state finds in the state, as its essence and the end and product of its activity, its substantive freedom." People experienced true freedom within the state they created, thus, if their definition of *Sittlichkeit* changed, they needed to work from within to alter it as actualized in the state. Luther also encouraged participation in the state by the fulfillment of one's vocation. If changes needed to be made in the state, Luther advocated working from within by counseling the monarch.

On the whole, Hegel did not support revolution as a means for change within the state. Change happened gradually, as the goals of the people altered the state. Sudden divergence from tradition caused negative alienation.

and, in extreme cases, estrangement. Hegel's analysis of the French Revolution led him to conclude that if such a revolution occurred in the German states different results would be experienced. The main source for this difference was the world historic events of the Reformation and the wars for religion that followed. According to Hegel, the Reformation began, and Protestant religion continued, to uphold truth and freedom for the individual separately and through the state. 

Hegel believed that the Reformation engendered a different relationship between the individual and the state based on a new union between their spirit and their rationality. Lutheranism did not require the blind obedience that the Catholic church, in his opinion, demanded. Obedience in Protestant states became the rational element in volition. In the History of Philosophy he explained that: "In this obedience man is free, for all that is demanded is that the Particular should yield to the General. . . . This involves the possibility of a development of Reason and Freedom, and of their introduction into human relations; and Reason and the Divine are now synonymous." The extreme alienation that occurred between the French people and their government would not occur in Protestant countries.

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56 Kain, Hegel, 49-50; Hegel, "Hegel to His Wife and Children, August 10 [1826]," Letters, 18.

57 Hegel, History, 422-3.
Hegel thought that one of the ways in which the French Revolution went astray was in the destruction of civil and political life. The general will, as long as it worked within the political structure improved it; however, when it destroyed the structure, the general will was not able to create something in its place. The cause of the French Revolution was that the people's realized the state no longer worked toward their goals and had become unjust. Those in positions of power were unwilling to surrender their privileges and submit to the universal. Hegel attributed this disunity to Catholicism, while he viewed various forms of Protestantism as unifying. In Hegel's listing of the reasons for the French Revolution he stated: "lastly, because it was Catholic, and therefore the Idea of Freedom - Reason embodied in Laws - did not pass for the final absolute obligation, since the Holy and the religious conscience are separated from them." Hegel, in earlier works, defined law as the embodiment of right in a "determinate mode of being"; thus, it was the way that the universal concept of Right interacted with the particular. If it was not recognized as the final obligation by the state or by the people then injustice reigned.


59Hegel, History, 446-7.

60Hegel, Right, 140.
The French Revolution, therefore, was not a success in Hegel's view. After a period of violence and bloodshed that served to throw off the injustices of the old regime, the state still tended toward disunity because there was not a binding together of the spiritual and the secular. This union could only be possible if the people experienced the Reformation, melding the universal concepts of Right and Freedom. In the end, even Napoleon's rule was seen as a failure in this regard. France reverted back to their old structure and the changes made by Napoleon in Catholic countries did not survive. Hegel evaluated Napoleon, stating: "Napoleon could not coerce Spain into freedom any more than Philip II could force Holland into slavery." \[61\] Luther's reaction to the Peasants' Revolt was also influential. He reacted strongly against the peasants for working outside of the state for change and rejected their goals due to their violent means of implementation. Luther viewed their actions as destructive and fully supported the state in the reinstitution of order. Based on Luther's position on freedom and obedience to civil law, Hegel seemed confident that the German states would experience their revolution gradually and attain a higher form of state, one that more closely resembled the Idea of State about which he so frequently wrote.

\[61\]Hegel, History, 453.
CHAPTER VI

LEOPOLD VON RANKE:
THE STATE AS HISTORY

Leopold von Ranke earned a reputation based on his historical methodology and work in state archives with the stated goal of writing unbiased histories. The influence of his Lutheran background and later theological studies are, however, apparent in his writing. Ranke's works emphasized the state and its relationships both internal, to its citizens, and external, to other states. Although Luther's works were not predominantly political in nature, the reformer stressed the need for civil authority in order to preserve secular life. This Lutheran conviction made it easy for Ranke to weave together his historical interests and faith. Among the Lutheran tenets that Ranke used in his writing was the concept of vocationalism as a means for structure and fulfillment within society. He agreed with Luther that the family was the foundation of the state and, like Luther, he also advocated obedience to the state in almost every instance. Ranke modified, nevertheless, some Lutheran ideas by viewing states and nations as unique units due to their spirit or essence in the same way as the uniqueness of individuals.
Ranke was a native of the northern state of Saxony, an area in which the Reformation had great impact. The historian's family had traditionally produced many Lutheran ministers, and they expected Leopold, as the eldest son, to pursue this occupation. The young Ranke attended school at Donndorf and Pforta before entering the University at Leipzig to study theology; however, he soon ventured into philology. After receiving his doctorate in 1817, Ranke obtained a position at the Gymnasium in Frankfurt on the Oder where he began his work in historical studies as an adjunct to philology.¹

Ranke's first major historical work, Histories of the Latin and Teutonic Nations, brought him recognition from the Prussian government and resulted in an appointment to the University of Berlin. Although he was not Prussian, some scholars, such as Krieger, marked his growing affinity for the Prussian state to this period in which Ranke gained access to many archival sources.² The Prussian hierarchy tapped Ranke in 1832 to edit the short-lived Historisch-Politische Zeitschrift, a government sponsored political journal. Ranke was its major contributor, a situation that allowed the editor to explore and solidify his own political views. During the late 1830s Ranke worked first on his


History of the Popes and then on the History of the Reformation in Germany before turning to writing histories of various individual nations at particular times of crises.³

Ranke's long and productive life presented opportunities for him to experience many trends and political changes. Georg G. Iggers noted four main influences on Ranke's intellectual development; his Lutheran background, classical humanistic education, German idealistic philosophy, and restoration politics.⁴ Of these influences, Ranke's Lutheran background and restoration politics were crucial in the development of his political theories. Carl Hinrichs traced the influences in Ranke's "Lutherfragment," an early study of Luther's life and impact, to the young scholar's understanding of God as an active force in the world.⁵ In contrast, Peter Burke


⁵Carl Hinrichs, "Rankes Lutherfragment von 1817 und der Ursprung seiner universalhistorischen Anschauung," Festschrift für Gerhard Ritter zu seinem 60. Geburtstag (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1950), 304 & 308. Ranke's work on the "Lutherfragment" coincided with the 300 year anniversary of the posting of the 95 Theses. This work was not published by Ranke, although parts of it formed the basis of his research for his History of the Reformation in Germany.
maintained that Ranke's historiography reacted against eighteenth century historical trends by emphasizing universal history and perceiving God's plan in history. Both Iggers and Burke agreed with Leonard Krieger's estimation that the dominant influence of the Lutheran religion in the historian's life was responsible for Ranke's spiritual approach to history. This same Lutheran influence encouraged Ranke to favor hierarchy and structure in history and in the state.

A conversion experience of sorts while at the University of Leipzig led to an increased Lutheran influence in Ranke's philosophy. Ranke explained later in life his attraction to Luther during this period, stating: "I seized upon Luther, at first only to learn his German and to master the fundamentals of the modern German written language. But at the same time I was deeply stirred by the greatness of his content and his historical role." Ranke thus noted the

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7Krieger, Meaning, 37 & 47.


9Leopold von Ranke, "Autobiographical Dictation (November 1885)," The Secret of World History: Selected Writings on the Art and Science of History, edited, with
historic importance of Luther, both linguistically and historically, for the German nation. It suffices here to say that in this citation Ranke also recognized the use of philology in historical study.

Ranke interpreted the Reformation as one of the deciding events in German history. He admired Luther for having reintroduced revealed religion to the German people and for having advocated religion as a conservative force for political reform.\(^{10}\) Ranke showed his respect for the reformer's religious and political advances, as well as noting the importance of language and understanding for the changes in German society in the following passage:

 Whilst on one hand he emancipated them from the forms imposed on religion by the schools and the hierarchy, with the other he gave to the nation a faithful, intelligent and intelligible translation of the earliest records of Christianity. The national mind had just acquired sufficient ripeness to enable it to apprehend the meaning and value of the gift: in the most momentous stage of its development it was touched and penetrated to its very depths by the genuine expression of unveiled and unadulterated religion. From such influences everything was to be expected. Luther cherished the noble and confident hope that the doctrine alone would accomplish the desired end; that wherever it made its way, a change in the outward condition of society must necessarily follow.\(^{11}\)


Ranke continued to emphasize the importance of Luther and the reformation for German unification and intellectual development. These actions, according to Ranke, saved the modern mind from continued dominance by the Catholic hierarchy.\(^\text{12}\)

Despite the well-known statement by Ranke that he attempted to relate history as it happened, biases crept in, particularly in favor of Luther's achievements. In one instance, Ranke excused Luther's reference to the pope as the antichrist by explaining that: "it had, in fact, no other meaning than that the doctrine of the church was corrupted, and must be restored to its original purity."\(^\text{13}\)

It may be questioned whether Luther's audience understood the subtlety of the reformer's intent as interpreted by Ranke. When discussing Luther's 1529 catechism, Ranke exclaimed: "Happy the man whose soul has been nourished with it, and who holds fast to it! It contains enduring comfort in every affliction, and under a slight husk, the kernel of truths able to satisfy the wisest of the wise."\(^\text{14}\)

Such statements call into question Ranke's balance between his profession and his religion. Scholars differed to some extent in the analysis of this interaction. Peter Gay viewed Ranke as a "pious scientist" who thought

\(^{12}\)Ibid., 637.

\(^{13}\)Ibid., 205-6.

\(^{14}\)Ibid., 466.
scholarship had a religious justification, and that, therefore, the historian should approach his or her profession as a vocation. Laue contended that Ranke was firstly historian, only secondly a Christian; always looking for the influence of God in his historical writing. Krieger, in agreement with Laue, also thought that something more than a secularized version of the priestly calling must be used to explain Ranke's commitment to history.  

Ranke displayed in several instances an adherence to this Lutheran tenet of vocationalism. In a letter to his brother Heinrich, Ranke commented on the historians duty to interpret God's plan for the world as revealed in history. He described the vocational call of the historian by stating: "Boldly then! Let things happen as they may; only, for our part, let us try to unveil this holy hieroglyph. And so shall we serve God; so are we also priests, also teachers."  

Ranke explained the enduring influence of Luther's vocational doctrine in all fields, asserting: "He [Luther] is the patriarch of the austere and devout discipline and manners which characterize the domestic life of Northern Germany. What countless millions of time has his 'Das walt Gott,' reminded the tradesman and the peasant,

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immersed in the dull routine of the working day, of his relation to the Eternal!"\(^{17}\) Ranke thought that people accomplished their duty to God and to God's universal plan by fulfilling their role or calling.

The focus, however, of Ranke's history was not individuals but the state and political institutions. Krieger noted that Ranke treated the state, as a spiritual entity, as his primary historical unit. Schulin agreed with Krieger, adding that, while there was an inordinate stress on states and wars, the reader always perceived the people involved in the events. Schulin also recognized Ranke's emphasis on the interaction between religion and the nation in the development of the unique state for a specific people.\(^{18}\) In the "Dialogue" Ranke stated: "States are spiritual substances, by necessity and idea different from each other. The forms of the constitution and the different institutions are necessitated by the general conditions of

\(^{17}\)Ranke, Reformation, 466. "'Das walt Gott'" translates as "what God rules" or "as it please Gott" endorsing the workers position as a part of God's will.

\(^{18}\)Krieger, Meaning, 19 & 20: Ernst Schulin, "Universalgeschichte und Nationalgeschichte bei Leopold von Ranke," in Leopold von Ranke und die moderne Geschichtswissenschaft, herausgegeben von Wolfgang J. Mommsen (Stuttgart: Ernst Klatt Verlage GmbH u. Co. KG, 1988), 40 & 41-2. Ranke differentiated between the nation, a group of peoples tied by shared goals and cultures, from the state which he defined as the political entity that encompassed a particular nation.
human existence; they are, however, modified by this idea, and develop their fullest reality only through it."15

Ranke also held the position that states only prospered when they followed the interests of their nation. Good laws also must follow this pattern and "must be ever in unison with natural rights, with the commandments of God, and with the requirements of circumstances."20 States that reached such a point, as he believed Germany had, found that their citizens reflected the spirit of their country wherever they went. Nascent nations might look to mature states for models but, Ranke hastened to assure the reader, the ideas of the people had to remain, or the state became alien to its citizens.21

Ranke agreed with Luther that God ordained the state and revealed his or her plan in the history of the states for the careful historian.22 The idea of God's plan for the world is present in all of Ranke's earliest works. In his Servian history, Ranke wrote: "The eternal destinies of all


22 Iggers, Conception, 69; Krieger, Meaning, 26; Hinrichs, "Lutherfragment," Ritter, 305.
nations are in the hands of the Omnipotent; and the decrees of Providence, alike unfathomable and irresistible, will be accomplished, in their due course of fulfilment.\textsuperscript{23} Later, in the History of the Popes, Ranke stated that the study of God's plan as revealed in the governments of the world could be used "for the education of the human race." He asserted that these lessons taught people "that all the purposes and efforts of humanity are subjected to the silent and often imperceptible, but invincible and ceaseless march of events."\textsuperscript{24} In several of Ranke's other works this theme, though less defined, remained apparent. He maintained the tendency to view actions as occurring in an ordered way, because, in agreement with Luther's ideas, Ranke thought that God endorsed government and its operation in the secular world.

Ranke's position that humans could not function and understand life without this structure led him to conclude that states in their various forms were ordained by God because they all contained an essence of God's intent for the world. The concept of government was the universal, in contrast to the separate states in their various manifestations that acted as individuals in the scope of universal history. On a secondary level, states represented

\textsuperscript{23}Ranke, Servia, 298.

\textsuperscript{24}Ranke, Popes, I:24 & 25.
the universal concept as opposed to the special interests of
the individual.

Religion, Ranke thought, did not create the state, but
was an important factor in the way in which the particular
state developed. In The History of Servia, and the
Servian Revolution, Ranke maintained that: "In the course
which affairs have taken in Western Christendom, much may be
censured and objected to; but it cannot be denied that the
Church has throughout, contributed greatly to the formation
of national character." Ranke made stronger statements in
his works on German history. At the opening of the History
of the Reformation in Germany, Ranke argued: "it is
impossible to conceive a nation worthy of the name or
entitled to be called, in any sense, great, whose political
existence is not constantly elevated and guided by religious
ideas. . . . to embody them in outward forms and public
acts, is its necessary as well as its noblest task." Ranke suggested that the doctrines of Christianity provided
the unity he respected within the German state. In the
aforementioned work, he stated: "In them [Christian

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\item \footnote{Krieger, Meaning, 167 & 163; Ernst Schulin,
"Universal History and National History, Mainly in the
Lectures of Leopold von Ranke," in Leopold von Ranke and the
Shaping of the Historical Discipline, edited by Georg G.
Iggers and James M. Powell (Syracuse: Syracuse University
Press, 1990), 72.}
\item \footnote{Ranke, Servia, 25 & 232-3.}
\item \footnote{Ranke, Reformation, 1.}
\end{itemize}
doctrines] the nation had first risen to a consciousness of its existence as a united body; its whole intellectual and moral life was bound up with them." The importance of this statement comes to light when it is remembered that Ranke believed that Luther's tenets purified Catholic dogma in order to reattain the original, pure form of Christianity.

Ranke thought that states, even as they submitted to the universal, were also characteristically unique. In the "Dialogue" he stated: "Instead of the passing conglomerations which the contractual theory of the state creates like cloud formations, I perceive spiritual substances, original creations of the human mind -- I might say, thoughts of God." Ranke asserted that each state must maintain its identity in order to fulfill its role within the universal and effectively lead the nation it ruled.

In the History of the Popes, Ranke contended that each state was naturally unique and simultaneously existed in the stream of the universal. He stated: "There is no national history of which universal history does not form an important portion. So necessary in itself, so all-embracing, is the consecutive series of events through a lapse of ages, that even the most powerful of states appears

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28Ibid., 10 & 284.

but as a member of the universal commonwealth, involved in
and ruled by its destinies."  

Ranke reiterated the
collision between the universal and special interests,
relating: "From the conflict of the universal with the
special it is that the great catastrophes of history arise,
yet it sometimes happens that the efforts which seem to
perish with their authors exercise a more lasting influence
on the progress of events than does the power of the
conqueror."  

In a related passage he maintained that
historical progress emerged from these conflicts, but these
changes occurred slowly.

Numerous examples can be given of Ranke’s support for
established authority and emphasis on unity. Ranke’s first
published work focused on the uniting of the Frankish and
Germanic nations. Although the transition from feudal to
national loyalties was difficult, Ranke assured the reader
that: "Personal obligations retired when the consolidation
of the French realm and its unity was at stake."  
The
Frankish nobility recognized the greater necessity of a
strong central state to guard against outside challenges.

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30 Ranke, Popes, II:3.

31 Leopold von Ranke, A History of England Principally
in the Seventeenth Century (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1875),
I:x.

32 Leopold von Ranke, History of the Latin and Teutonic
Nations (1494 to 1514), a revised translation by G. R.
Dennis, with an Introduction by Edward Armstrong (London:
George Bell & Sons, 1909), 22 & 23.
In "A Dialogue on Politics," Ranke expounded on the reasons he believed the idea of the state predominated over local and personal issues, stating:

You must preserve the peculiarity of a province, or a section of the country, and yet unite it by indestructible ties with the whole. . . . Ultimately, undoubtedly, [the connection exists] on the fact that the idea of the state permeates every citizen, that he feels in himself some of its spiritual force, that he considers himself a member of the whole with an affection for it, and that the feeling of community in him is stronger than the feeling of provincial, local, and personal isolation.\footnote{Ranke, "Dialogue," in \textit{Formative}, 174.}

Ranke favored the state over people as separate entities in the same way Luther advocated subordination of the individual to the secular state.

Ranke predicted dire consequences for states that failed to keep their traditional unity. He maintained that in the thirteenth century the Italian states suffered devastation when they lost their leadership and unity.\footnote{Ranke, \textit{Latin}, 176.} During the sixteenth century, when dissension again spread throughout the Italian states, Ranke stated: "No pulse at that time beat for the idea of the unity and freedom of Italy. . . . each asserted and endeavored to advance its own cause, . . . the result of this was to be something other than the liberation of Italy."\footnote{Ibid., 318-9.} Liberation for the Italian states could only result from their subordination to a

\cite{Ranke, "Dialogue," in \textit{Formative}, 174.}
\cite{Ranke, \textit{Latin}, 176.}
\cite{Ibid., 318-9.}
centralized power. Similarly, the Germanies experienced their weakest moments at the time of the Reformation when the states split politically and religiously. Ranke was thus advocating, in other words, Luther's stance on freedom through submission to centralized authority.

Ranke did not abandon the historical significance of the individual, but the main goal was unity with and protection by the state which represented the universal. Ranke continued this commentary in his last work, arguing that: "The security of the nation as a whole is an indispensable condition for the security of the individual. To maintain this security is the principal object of human combinations: it is the common aim of all constitutions."  

Ranke thought that the immersion of individuals in the unique incident of their state and cooperation with their leadership influenced and vitalized the state. The spirit of the state existed in each of its citizens and each individual contributed to this essence of the state by participation in the political entity.

Ranke believed that the spiritual nature of the states in Europe necessitated a benevolent intent. Because God revealed His or Her plan through the history of states,

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these political units remained in place as long as they supported and enacted this plan.\footnote{Iggers, \textit{Conception}, 80; Laue, \textit{Formative}, 103.} The various divine individualities of the states acted as counterbalances to ensure that these essentially benevolent units did not gain excessive power. Ranke wrote: "In great danger one can safely trust in the guardian spirit (Genius) which always protects Europe from domination by any one-sided and violent tendency, which always meets pressure on the one side with resistance on the other, and . . . has happily preserved the freedom and separate existence of each state."\footnote{Leopold Ranke, "The Great Powers," in \textit{Leopold Ranke: The Formative Years} (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1950), 189; Ranke, "Dialogue," \textit{Formative}, 168-9.} Political predominance transferred to other states when these goals were no longer fulfilled in the existing political entity.

Ranke argued, as Hegel and Herder before him, that states could not borrow institutions wholesale from other political entities and expect them to work, because these institutions did not reflect the national character. When discussing the French desire to implement the German educational system for example, Ranke contended: "This system, however, is so firmly rooted in the needs, the ideas, and the development of the German protestant church, it is so strongly permeated with its spirit, so steeped in it, that probably only the merest outline, only a pale copy
of the original could be reproduced." In a similar fashion, the historian, according to Ranke, should not impose his values on another time or place, rather he thought that: "The historian exists to understand and to learn to understand the significance of every epoch in and for itself. He must impartially keep in view only the object itself and nothing more." Ranke considered this the only way to intuit the divine order created by states, institutions, and epochs, because God was not revealed, nor were his plans displayed directly to people. No doubt this level of objectivity was difficult to maintain and, some would say, led to the danger of relativism, if not in Ranke, then in some of his adherents.

Ranke emphasised this uniqueness in the interaction of religion and language, and saw manifestation of this singularity in other areas as well. He even went so far as to assert that each nation had its unique type of history. In Ranke's opinion, France approached history from a constitutional point of view, while German historians attempted: "to comprehend each event as a political and religious whole, and at the same time to view it in its

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40 Iggers, Conception, 160. Iggers maintains that Ranke began the trend against the intransferability of institutions in German historiography; however, a review of the preceding chapters in this work reveals that both Herder and Hegel also supported this position.

41 Ranke, "To his son Otto. May 25, 1873," Secret, 259-60.
universal historical relations." This revealed the extent to which national character permeated both the state and the individual.

Ranke thought strong leadership was imperative in order to adapt laws for changing circumstances and to bring unity to society. In his work on the Reformation, Ranke stated:

The want of a sovereign and chief, felt by all mankind, is in fact but the conscious necessity that their manifold purposes and endeavours should be collected and balanced in an individual mind; that one will should be the universal will; that the many-voiced debate should ripen into one resolve, admitting of no contradiction. This, too, is the secret of power; when all the energies of a nation give voluntary obedience to its commands, then, and then only, can it wield all its resources.

Ranke evidenced his pride in the Germanic people by claiming that they maintained their unity from time immemorial and were a great conquering force.

Despite this assertion, Ranke noted the fluid nature of power as revealed in the various forms of the state. He also explained the changes in fortunes that states experienced, stating: "The ideas upon which human society is based are but partially and imperfectly imbued with the divine and eternal Essence from which they emanate ".

States rose and fell because none fully attained the ideal of the divine essence. When a state reached the highest permutation of its spirit, another conquered it or came to

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42 Ranke, England, I:xii.
43 Ranke, Reformation, 223; Ranke, Latin, 169.
prominence to continue the progress toward the idea of the state. In Ranke's view, this was God's method of ordering the world.\textsuperscript{44}

Peter Gay, noted historian of the Enlightenment, objected to Ranke's rationale. Gay noted the negative aspects of this type of theoretical explanation for events. He maintained that Ranke excused the abuse of power and horrific deeds based on God's will. In addition, Gay asserted that, although Ranke was criticized at times for his refusal to judge the past, his interpretation of God's hand in history reflected his judgement on the actor's deeds and showed definite political decisions in favor of hierarchy and order.\textsuperscript{45}

Ranke justified the development of the state along the same lines as Luther. Both thought that the obedience owed to the parents was transferred to the nation as a cultural group and then to the state. The clearest evidence of this was Ranke's letters written at the accession of Frederick Wilhelm IV in 1840. In a letter to his brother, Ranke wrote: "From the new ruler, whom we all love and honor, let nothing be expected but good. In these days, I have a true feeling that this state is a family"\textsuperscript{46} In another letter

\textsuperscript{44}Ranke, \textit{Latin}, 3; Ranke, \textit{Reformation}, 40.

\textsuperscript{45}Gay, \textit{Style}, 91.

from the same time, Ranke made clear his support for the monarchy and explained the uniqueness he perceived in particular states by asserting: "You know what we have witnessed. In the case of events such as these, one feels it more, we are deeply rooted in the monarchy, as we all shape a single family, how much rests on a personality [or individual]". This provided the foundation for one of the objections that Ranke had to constitutional monarchies based on the assent of deliberative bodies. Ranke argued that this type of government was based on a social contract, but that, because the authority of the state developed from the organization of the family, this sort of contractual government not only was unnecessary, but could be detrimental to the operation of a state.

Ranke's political views were those of a conservative rather than a reactionary. During his term as editor of the Historisch-Politische Zietschrift he more consistently criticized liberal than monarchical institutions. This bias

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49Iggers, Theory, xxix.
was also evident in Ranke's *Universal History*. In one passage, Ranke noted and supported Plato's recognition of a "close alliance between monarchy and priesthood." Ranke also cited the many instances when rulers and people believed that the ability to maintain oneself in the position of king signified the endorsement of the gods. The conservative nature of Ranke's political orientation again became apparent when he endorsed the "supremacy of the wise within the state" as a means of keeping the entity in a harmonious whole.\(^{50}\) If monarchy could not be maintained, then rule by the aristocratic few was preferable to democracy.

Ranke's main argument against republicanism and democracy was that it brought individuals into power who had no previous experience, frequently leading to delays and decisions detrimental to the state.\(^{51}\) Ranke's *Universal History* provided numerous examples of this prejudice. He attributed the changing fortunes in the Pelopponesian War after the Athenian victory at Arginusae to the fact that: "While Athens was in this manner banishing or putting to death the best men in the state, the Spartan oligarchy managed so far to overcome its prejudices as to intrust the supreme command to one who, whatever might be urged against him on other grounds, was the fittest man they could find

\(^{50}\)Ranke, *Universal*, 338, 341, & 105.

\(^{51}\)Iggers, *Theory*, xxxv.
for the post."\(^{52}\) Shortly thereafter, Ranke criticized the constitutionally representative government of Athens for delaying actions, a problem that he stated was "frequently the case with constituent bodies." Ranke also felt that Thucydides suffered exile due to his failure to curry favor with the Athenian people, not as a direct result of his actions at Amphipolis.\(^{53}\) Promoting untrained persons to positions of leadership violated the theory of vocationalism as Ranke understood it.

Although clearly supporting monarchy and an aristocratic elite of leaders, Ranke did not deny completely the validity of alternate forms of government. He viewed liberalism as a necessary opponent to monarchy, used to spur on the legitimate government. This gentle goading led to gradual, organic change within the established state. Ranke also allowed that alternate forms of government were appropriate to other states, but he argued that a strong monarchy was the natural and essential form of leadership for Prussia.\(^{54}\) In commenting on the constitutional discussions that accompanied unification of the German states, Ranke suggested:

> And I am of the opinion now, that we owe the maintenance of this principle of power to the conservative sense of

\(^{52}\)Ranke, *Universal*, 271.

\(^{53}\)Ibid., 274 & 306.

Friedrich Wilhelm IV. A king with weaker principles might have accepted the constitutional system after the model introduced. Friedrich Wilhelm IV accommodated himself to the necessity of this piece of paper which he did not want to tolerate, in order to maintain life in the Prussian state. But he instinctively kept a monarchical system of government, at that time certainly limited, over the unlawful foundation that must be very limited, until the suitable time arrived and he fulfilled his just claims, in this way [he] endured to overcome.  

Ranke believed that the victories of the Prussian military revealed God's support for their form of government, for their expansion, and for the unification of the German states.  

Ranke's correspondence with the Prussian monarchs encouraged the interpretation of the historian as an official of the court. In 1847, Ranke wrote Friedrich Wilhelm IV to explain his search for the truth through archival documents and praised his sovereign for allowing the time and resources for this type of work. A later

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letter to Wilhelm I reiterated Ranke's appreciation for the support of the Prussian kings and gave high praise to the current monarch.\textsuperscript{57} Ranke's subsequent letters to Wilhelm I continued in their exaltation of that ruler, such as the letter dated December 1882, in which Ranke wrote: "It is due to the luck of my life, that I am permitted to revere my kingly lord as the true father of the fatherland, first with the same feeling of loyalty, as every other subject, then because I certainly know, that Your Imperial Majesty is attached to me and my endeavors with particular favor."\textsuperscript{58}

\textsuperscript{57}Ranke, "An König Friedrich Wilhelm IV. Berlin, 24. Dezember 1847." Neue, 326. "Nicht Zudringlichkeit ist es, wenn ich dies sage, sondern ein tiefes Gefühl wissenschaftlicher Dankbarkeit, da ich wohl weiss, dass es mir unter einer andern Regierung schwerlich möglich sein würde. So rechne ich auf die Nachsicht meines Allergnädigsten Königs und Herrn, der in weiter Weltüberrasch lebt und die Zeiten unterscheidet." "It is not forwardness when I say this, but a deep feeling of scholarly thankfulness, since I well know that for me it would scarcely be possible under another government. So I rely upon the indulgence of my most all-merciful king and lord who lives in this broad world view and distinctive time."

The next year, Ranke claimed that Wilhelm I was the source of all religious and political power. These were all direct letters to his superior and ruler, so some of the praise may be excused as customary flattery; however, the content of the flattery revealed a close relationship with the head of state and Ranke's view of the role that person should play. Ranke believed that the Prussian kings fulfilled their vocation by being strong paternal rulers to their nation.

The interaction between Ranke, the historian and his Lutheran heritage was apparent in most of his works. One particular area of importance was the citizen's obedience to the state. In his youth, Ranke learned respect for worldly authorities, and he looked to them for order in the political and secular world during his adult years. Ranke's

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meinem Königlichen Herrn den wahren Vater des Vaterlandes verehren zu dürfen, einmal mit demselben Gefühl der Treue, wie jeder andere Untertan, dann aber, weil ich ja weiss, dass Ew. Kaiserliche Majestät mir und meinen Bestrebungen mit besonderer Huld zugetan sind."

59Ranke, "An Kaiser Wilhelm I. Berlin, 11. Dezember 1883," Neue, 714-5. "Diese aber aufrecht zu erhalten, ist vor allen lebenden Menschen das Verdienst Ew. Kaiserlichen Majestät. Allerhöchstdero Erlasse begeisen, dass es der ernsteste, zugleich religiöse und politischce Zweck ist, der in der innersten Seele Ew. Majestät seine Wurzel hat." "This though maintain, is before all living people to the profit of Your Imperial Majesty. His most high decree proves that he in his most earnest, is at the same time religious and political goal, which in the innermost soul of Your Majesty has its root."
political theories demanded obedience to the state, just as it was required within the family.\textsuperscript{60}

Ranke endorsed the Lutheran doctrine that rulers must be obeyed even if they proved unjust or heretical. Ranke noted only one exception. Drawing a parallel between the family and the state, he wrote: "An impious father was not indeed entitled to obedience from his son, when his commands were in contravention of God's law; but on all other occasions, the son remains bound to pay him reverence and to continue in subjection."\textsuperscript{61}

Ranke noticed the Lutheran tendencies that appeared after the Reformation when he explored the history of other nations. In his discussions of Henry VIII and the Protestant Reformation in England, Ranke commented that: "Of the doctrines which came from Germany none found greater acceptance with him then this - that every man must be obedient to the higher powers."\textsuperscript{62} In this, Ranke recognized the inherent emphasis on obedience to duly constituted authority within Lutheran dogma.

This obedience entailed loyalty and service to the state based on the state's protection of the individual and its ordination by God. Laue criticized Ranke for ignoring


\textsuperscript{61}Ranke, \textit{Popes}, II:132-3.

\textsuperscript{62}Ranke, \textit{England}, I:144.
the immense accumulation of power allowed by this theory and its tacit support of the status quo.\(^{63}\) Ranke commented extensively on this topic in "A Dialogue on Politics", when he suggested that, over time, citizens learned the benefit of participation in the state and contributed voluntarily to its institutions. Ranke maintained that: "He [the citizen] recognizes the need for it [the state]. And there is no purely private existence for him. He would not be himself, did he not belong to this particular state as his spiritual fatherland." According to Ranke, the individual was not fully defined without this spiritual link to the state. Performance of duty, which made the state stronger, also improved the position of the individual, because private and public affairs were interwoven. Once the state reached this point, Ranke thought that: "Compulsion will be transformed on a higher level into voluntary individual initiative. Duty will become liberty.\(^{64}\) This definition of duty and liberty aligns very closely to Luther's theory that the Christian, through faith, was both the master of all and the servant of all. Both Luther and Ranke recognized that the citizen participated in the formation of national culture and the individuals then must subordinate themselves to it.

Ranke's stance on resistance to the established government also bore a remarkable similarity to Luther's

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\(^{63}\) Laue, Formative, 95 & 97.

\(^{64}\) Ranke, "Dialogue," Formative, 173, 175, & 177.
position. Ranke stated of Luther: "Of all men who ever placed themselves at the head of a great movement, Luther was perhaps the most averse to violence and war." According to Ranke, Luther did support the right of princes within the empire to resist the influences of each other, preferably by peaceable means, but by arms if necessary. Luther and Ranke both draw the line when rival states wanted to interfere in each other's religious affairs after the basic agreement had been reached within the empire. Ranke stated Luther's position this way, "He [Luther] said it was as if they, the protestants, wanted to take advantage of the emperor; that is to say, to usurp an influence over the conduct of public affairs, in consequence of the necessity for defense." Princes had superior rights within their own territories, but they were all citizens of the empire and had to submit to its authority and the common good. The emperor had decided to allow the princes of the individual states latitude in the religion they chose to follow; therefore, it would usurp the emperor's authority if one prince attempted to enforce religious beliefs on another.

Throughout the History of the Reformation in Germany, Ranke supported Luther's position on resistance to papal authority and endorsed the reformer's belief that the only legitimate resistance to civil authority was on religious

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65 Ranke, Reformation, 503.

66 Ibid., 686.
grounds and then it should be passive in nature. Ranke praised Luther and Melanchthon for their moderation in accepting the right of each ruler to decide the religion of his holdings. According to Ranke: "It thus became possible to develop and extend the new system of faith, without waging open warfare with that already established, or, by the sudden subversion of existing authorities, rousing those destructive tendencies, the slightest agitation of which had just threatened such danger to society." Ranke even noted instances in which the Protestant princes refused to continue in league with those states which would oppose the emperor on secular grounds as support for the Lutheran doctrine's endorsement of established authority.

The problems within the empire during the mid-sixteenth century were in part attributable to the Luther's challenge of papal authority. Ranke's account of Luther's actions during this period reflected an attempt to minimize the revolutionary aspects of the reformer's behavior and to show how these actions fit the mold of acceptable resistance to heretical and abusive authority. Ranke explained that Luther protested against the papacy by declaring the very principles that were the basis for the papal institutions. Luther's success was due to the corruption of the papacy and because his opposition "was acceptable to those who rejected the faith, and yet, because it was undertaken in defence of

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67 Ibid., 261.
those principles, was consonant to the mind of the earnest believer". Luther's challenge, therefore, was one of orthodoxy rather than of heresy. Ranke thought that Luther's resultant break with the papacy contributed to universal advancement stating: "Deeply as we may lament the earthward tendency of spiritual things, and the corruption we have just described as existing in religious institutions; yet, but for these evils, the mind of man could with difficulty have entered on that peculiar path, which more directly than any other, has led to his essential progress, moral and intellectual." Failure to resist the abuses of the papacy would have resulted, in Ranke's opinion, in unacceptable intellectual bondage.

Ranke placed much greater responsibility for division within the empire on other contemporary problems rather than on Luther. Ranke thought the narrow outlook of those states that remained Catholic and their alliances with the pope caused the rift. These actions, according to Ranke, led them to "cut themselves off from the great and vigorous expansion which the mind of the German nation was now undergoing." Ranke also held Luther blameless for the violence that erupted on both sides of the Peasant's Revolt. Ranke maintained that the Peasant's Revolt resulted from the

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68 Ranke, *Popes*, I:56.
69 Ibid., I:45.
70 Ranke, *Reformation*, 325.
deterioration of the imperial government, not from Luther's teachings. Ranke explained the rebellion in the following way:

Opinions are in perpetual flux and perpetual progress; so long as a strong government is activated by the same general spirit, and feels the necessity of moving in the same direction, no violent convulsion need be feared. But when the constituted powers doubt, vacillate, and conflict with one another, whilst at the same moment opinions essentially hostile to the existing order of things become predominant, then, indeed, is the peril imminent... But now that all hope of further change being effected by a decree of the empire was over, Luther could not longer maintain the authoritative position he had assumed, and the anarchical theories he had helped to stifle broke out afresh: they had found an asylum in the territory of his own sovereign - in electoral Saxony.\(^{71}\)

Ranke credited Luther with defusing violence in Wittenberg during the early 1520s, but his position of leadership and moral authority diminished when the rulers declared themselves unwilling to adjust to the new spirit of the times.\(^{72}\) The spirit of the state no longer incorporated that of the citizens.

Although Ranke argued that Catholicism could become a spiritual part of the state, just as the Lutheranism had in Germany, he displayed a tendency to favor the Lutheran belief system for the greatest fulfillment of the citizens. At times Ranke used matters of faith to explain the rise or fall of a particular nation. It was Ranke's position that

\(^{71}\)Ranke, *Reformation*, 334.

\(^{72}\)Gooch, *Studies*, 226.
France would not reach the level of unity that he perceived in Germany because the country was predominantly Catholic. Ranke supported this judgment by noting the German successes in the Franco-Prussian war. In contrast, Ranke provided the following comments on Germany: "To Germany belongs the undying merit of having restored Christianity to a purer form than it had presented since the first ages of the Church - of having rediscovered the true religion. Armed with this weapon, Germany was unconquerable."\(^7^3\)

Never on the cutting edge of the liberalizing political movements in Europe, Ranke began to move to the right as early as 1830 and continued to become more conservative following the various revolutions in the mid-nineteenth century.\(^7^4\) Ranke wrote these comments on the revolutionary movement of the late 1840s and the ensuing Frankfurt Assembly: "Should it however come again to a revolution, what then? I see the reaction active in labour; I see nowhere at all consolidation of the interests and ideas."\(^7^5\) Ranke even questioned the unification process


which brought with it constitutional monarchy and increased bureaucracy.  

Private comments and his published works on German history have led some scholars to criticize Ranke for the use to which he put his historical talents. Krieger questioned Ranke’s need to show the German state as a continuously developing entity, maintaining that this forced Ranke to revert to the use of abstract propositions in opposition to his stated emphasis on document oriented history. Ranke’s overt support for the Prussian monarchy led to his promotion to full professor in 1834 by cabinet order rather than by consultation with the faculty of philosophy at the University of Berlin, and his designation as official historian of Prussia in 1841. Iggers agreed that Ranke’s methods, and the way that the historian’s student followed them, led to the “increased political utilization of history in the service of nationalistic and domestic political aims.” Thus, for all the advocacy of

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Ranke, "An Edwin Freiherr von Manteuffel. Berlin, 10. März 1872," Neue, 573. "ich sehen aber in dem Absichtslosen, was von allen Seiten dabei vorwaltete, mehr eine so weite Umfassung, dass er von revolutionären Tendenzen nicht beherrscht werden konnte; dass aber die Welt von diesem Umfang und einer dem preussischen Wesen homogenen politischen Richtung des Königs unterrichtet werde, ist notwendig. Sie fassen die Sache eben, wie ich, auf." "I see, though in an unpremeditated way, that from all sides thereby administered, more of a wide movement, that he could not be by revolutionary tendencies controlled; that, however, it is necessary for a people of this size and the Prussian state to be taught homogeneous political direction from the King. They perceive the goal even as do I."
objective history through the study of documents, Ranke was unable to recognize his bias or even simply describe events as they occurred.\textsuperscript{77}

\textsuperscript{77}Krieger, Meaning, 168, 182 & 190-1; Iggers, Directions, 21.
CHAPTER VII

WILHELM DILTHEY: UNDERSTANDING
INDIVIDUALS AS PART OF THE WHOLE

Wilhelm Dilthey, an eminent nineteenth century German philosopher, and his writings have recently experienced renewed interest. His significance was in the human studies, a term he used to include modern social sciences, as well as many of the traditional disciplines of the humanities. By emphasizing experience and understanding in his view of human nature, Dilthey evidenced his belief that individuals could not understand each other without the benefit of their common experiences. In his reading of Luther's works, Dilthey found support for his stress on internal, as opposed to external data, based on the concept that a person's spiritual, inner self gave significance to observable actions. Dilthey traced the intellectual origins of this self-analytical tendency in the German world view to Luther.

Many portions of Dilthey's thought agree with Luther's teachings on the individual and the relationship of the individual to the group. Both thought that education was in the jurisdiction of the state and that academic institutions should convey society's mores. These two men also shared a
common belief in the uniqueness of people as well as cultures and a sense that each entity had its role to play in the operation of the universe. In addition, the philosopher and theologian had similar views of the important role of the state. Further, both men believed that the state based its organization and authority on the family. They also agreed that the state was a necessary and benevolent institution for the control of human nature, which inherently strove for individual gain over the good of the whole.

Dilthey's family was from the region of Nassau on the Rhine River, a pocket of Calvinism within this predominantly Catholic area. His father was an unorthodox chaplain to the duke of Nassau and the younger Dilthey was expected to follow in the ministerial profession. Dilthey studied theology briefly at the University of Heidelberg before transferring to the University of Berlin where he studied history and philosophy. Dilthey received a certificate in theology in 1861. Influenced by his distaste for the ministry, however, he officially transferred to the faculty of philosophy. Dilthey held professorships at Basel (1867), Kiel (1868-1870), and Breslau (1871-1882) before returning to the University of Berlin where he occupied the Chair of Philosophy until 1911.¹

¹William Kluback, Wilhelm Dilthey’s Philosophy of History (New York: Columbia University Press, 1956), 3; Rudolf A. Makkreel, Dilthey: Philosopher of the Human
Dilthey stated that he was not a Christian in the strictest sense of the word, but he maintained an avid interest in religion. Dilthey's religious conviction that there was an underlying force operating behind all events resulted from his exposure to the pantheism of Kuno Fischer, his professor at Heidelberg, who was fired shortly after this encounter with Dilthey. Dilthey's interest in the study of religions remained, however, and in particular in their relationship to philosophy and history. A portion of this philosophical and historical study focused on Luther and sixteenth and seventeenth century intellectual history. Dilthey found contemporary institutionalized Lutheranism too dogmatic and restricting. Dilthey's studies of Luther placed the reformer in the context of the sixteenth century and provided him a better understanding of the reformer's theology. Although Dilthey was critical of the way Lutheranism developed, he admired the stimuli for intellectual change provided by Luther.² In addition, Dilthey was very active in examining and editing the works

of Friedrich Schleiermacher, a noted theologian and philosopher of the early nineteenth century.\(^3\)

Both William Kluback and Theodore Plantinga recognized Dilthey’s study of Luther in connection with Luther’s emphasis on experience. They pointed out that Dilthey consistently asserted the importance of the reformer’s theory of the perception of experience in the development of Germany and of the modern mind.\(^4\) Dilthey expounded this view in statements such as the following: "Thus Luther’s life receives its meaning from the fact that it connects all the concrete events in which the new religiousness was embraced and established."\(^5\) Luther’s ability to communicate his message proved particularly important to Dilthey who was concerned with the individual’s ability to understand another’s experience. In Das Erlebnis und die Dichtung Dilthey maintained: "In Luther’s books for the young there exists a condition of feeling, an energy of imagination

\(^3\)H. P. Rickman, Wilhelm Dilthey: Pioneer of the Human Studies (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979), 25; Kluback, Dilthey’s, 5 & 78. Schleiermacher’s religious background was Lutheran. Although certainly not agreeing with all of Schleiermacher’s theological positions, this work did expose Dilthey to numerous tenets of the Lutheran faith.

\(^4\)Theodore Plantinga, Historical Understanding in the Thought of Wilhelm Dilthey (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980), 97; Kluback, Dilthey’s, 92.

close to hallucination, a power of expression close to brutality, which by comparison the complete religious poetry of today up to Klopstock appears feeble." Later he compared Luther to Lessing, noting that in the time between these two authors no one had had such a great and benevolent literary influence on Germany. Dilthey also thought that Luther’s literary advances were as important for the sixteenth century as those of Goethe and Schiller were for the nineteenth century.

Dilthey maintained that Luther and the Reformation changed the German Weltanschauung in a number of ways. In the Erlebnis, Dilthey argued that Luther’s theological teachings encouraged a tendency among Germans to emphasize

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6 Wilhelm Dilthey, Das Erlebnis und die Dichtung: Lessing, Goethe, Novalis, Hölderlin (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1965), 11 & 18. "In Luthers Jugendschriften ist ein Zustandgefühl, eine Energie der Einbildungskraft bis zur Halluzination, eine Gewalt des Ausdrucks bis zur Brutalität, mit der verglichen die ganze religiöse Poesie von Klopstock bis heute kraftlos erscheint." "Was könnte uns heute ein Mann sein, welcher der ungeheuren Veränderung in unserer Anschauung vom Menschen und seiner gesellschaftlichen Natur und der hierdurch bedingten Umgestaltung unseres sittlichen Ideals einen so gewaltigen und gesunden Ausdruck verliebe, als er seinerzeit in Deutschland seit den grossen Jungenschriften Luthers." "What man could be to us today, for whom the enormous change in our view of people and their social nature and by this way to alter the condition of our moral ideals to be enamored by such a powerful and beneficial expression, as he [Lessing] in this time in Germany since the great books for youths by Luther."


8 Weltanschauung means world view or philosophy of life.
inwardness, intent, and duty rather than focus on empirical evidence alone.\textsuperscript{9} In the \textit{Introduction to the Human Sciences} Dilthey expanded on the importance of Luther's thought by considering Luther's attempt to separate faith from metaphysics and champion the uniqueness of experience as a significant factor in the formation of a freer consciousness and liberation from the metaphysics of the Middle Ages. Dilthey suggested that Luther in religion, Leonardo da Vinci in art, and Galileo in science all played a historical role in breaking down the hold of metaphysics on philosophy, thus leading to the emergence of the modern mind. According to Dilthey: "Humanism and the Reformation are outstanding elements in the process by which our modern consciousness came into being."\textsuperscript{10}

\textsuperscript{9}Dilthey, \textit{Erlebnis}, 49-50. "Die besonderen sozialen und politischen Verhältnisse Deutschlands gaben nun der moralischen Konstitution unserer Denker und Dichter ihren eigentümlichen Charakter. Von der Religiosität Luthers her war der eigentliche Grundzug der deutschen Denkart die Innerlichkeit des moralischen Bewusstseins, gleichsam die Rückkehr der religiösen Bewegung in sich selbst - die Überzeugung, dass in der Gesinnung und nicht in dem äußeren Werk der höchste Wert des Lebens gelegen sei." "The distinct social and political relations of Germany give now the moral constitution of our thinkers and poets their specific character. Because of Luther's religiosity hither was the proper foundation of the German way of thinking, the inwardness of moral consciousness, as though the return of the religious movement in itself - the belief that the conviction and not the external work was situated as the highest value of life.

Dilthey perceived a strong relationship between education and the state and noted Luther's contributions to this identification. He thought that important pedagogical figures, such as Luther and Philip Melanchthon, helped shape the spirit of the German state. In Dilthey's opinion, education moved from the family to the state based on the goals of establishing efficiency and stability within society. He thought that national education fostered religious education and taught dependency of the individual on the state. Dilthey asserted that: "This community was the origin of the serene living existence of the family and the generation. . . . So began the problem of organizing a national education, in which the efficiency of the national German states in the contest of nations broke through to the highest degree and the same, indeed, together made possible the highest stability." With the reformer, Dilthey

11Wilhelm Dilthey, Wilhelm Dilthey: Schriften zur Pädagogik, besorgt von Hans-Hermann Groothoff und Ulrich Herrmann (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 1971), 50-1, 108, & 114-5. The concept of the individual as an abstraction without participation in the whole will be addressed later in the essay. "Diese Gemeinschaften waren ursprünglich die Lebeneinheiten der Familie und der Geschlechter. . . . So entsteht das Problem, eine nationale Erziehung zu organisieren, welche die Leistungsfähigkeit des nationalen deutschen Staates im Wettkampf der Nationen auf das höchste Mass brachte und erselben doch zugleich die höchste Dauerhaftigkeit ermöglichte." "Die Erziehung kann also nur für die Verfassung eines bestimmten Volkes geordnet werden. Es gibt kein abstraktes Erziehungsideal, ja in dem Entgegenarbeiten gegen Extreme der Zeit liegt ein naturgemäßer geschichtlicher Regulator." "Education can thus be ordered only by the writing of appointed people. It gives no abstract educational ideals, indeed, in the work against the exaggerations of the times it lies as a natural
thought that schools should provide moral education and inform political opinion. Dilthey believed that the historian's appreciation for, and interpretation of, past events were the best means to achieve these goals.\textsuperscript{12}

In later writings, Dilthey identified education as an instrument that served the purpose of society, teaching the common aspects of human nature so that the unique could be understood in the context of the universal. He maintained some independence for this institution, noting that; "only gradually and partially has the system of education been subsumed into the organization of the state administration

\footnotesize{(Zuerst muss immer einheitliche Erziehung stattfinden (nationale Erziehung); erst im späteren Entwicklungsgang die Spaltung nach den verschiedenen geistigen Richtungen.)" 
"(First centralization of education always must take place (national education); then later development to diversity after the differing spiritual directions.)"

\textsuperscript{12}Dilthey, Pädagogik, 17-8; Kluback, Dilthey's, 26-7 & 40-1. "Diese Geschichte ist verwebt mit dem Fortgang des deutschen Geistes aus der Epoche der kirchlichen Machtkämpfe in die der Aufklärung, aus dieser dann in die Entwicklung des nationalen und geschichtlichen Bewusstseins und der Ausbildung des deutschen Staates. Und nicht nur die grossen Pädagogen Deutschlands und der anderen Kulturländer, sondern die grössten Personlichkeiten unserer Geschichte, Luther und Melanchthon, Leibniz, Friedrich der Grosse, ... So führt die Natur des Gegenstandes selber dahin, ihn unter universalhistorischen Gesichtspunkten aufzufassen." "This history is interwoven with the progress of the German spirit from the epoch of the church's mighty wars to that of the German Enlightenment, from this then developed the national and historical consciousness and the formation of the german states. And not only the great pedagogues of Germany and the other civilized lands, but the greatest personalities of our history, Luther and Melanchthon, Leibniz, Friedrich the Great, ... So hither led the nature of the subject they perceived under the point of view of universal history."
itself.\textsuperscript{13} Dilthey's educational goals of efficiency and stability were similar to Luther's civic aims of training civil servants and teaching obedience. Dilthey thought that establishing a common foundation for students provided the means for a better understanding of humanity.

Dilthey committed himself to a long term project of defining and refining the human studies. For Dilthey, the human studies included the social sciences, as well as philosophy, philology and other areas usually assigned to the humanities. He wanted to provide a scientific basis for human studies that did not rely on metaphysics, because metaphysics no longer related to the modern mind. A new epistemology for the studies if the human was thus necessary. Dilthey did not completely abandon metaphysics, however, thinking that it served as a tool for understanding the past similar to the function of religion or philology. Dilthey argued that the human studies were as scientific as the studies of nature. Their approaches were different, however. His stress on the human studies' understanding and empathy with its subjects, contrasted with the natural sciences attempt to explain observable phenomena.\textsuperscript{14}

\textsuperscript{13}Dilthey, Introduction, 114.

\textsuperscript{14}Hodges, Philosophy, 162 & 164-5; Robert W. Jenson, "Wilhelm Dilthey and a Background Problem of Theology," Lutheran Quarterly, 15 (1963) No. 9, 216; Plantinga, Thought, 81; Georg G. Iggers, The German Concept of History: The National Tradition of Historical Thought From Herder to the Present (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1968), 125.
content of the human studies was not primarily made of physical events, but human experiences and, therefore, they could not be explained and observed but rather described and interpreted.

Dilthey took the Historical School's idealistic arguments to task, maintaining that the concentration on events and finding meaning in the patterns of history was misleading metaphysics. Dilthey still believed that history was a powerful process necessary for the understanding of human society. In contrast to the Historical School, Dilthey studied history in order to perceive the essence an age, that which made it unique and led to a better understanding of the people instead of creating an ordered whole from history, placing each era in respect to all others. According to Ilsa Bulhof: "Dilthey had come to see history as a system of interlocking cultural structures instead of a succession of events."\(^{15}\) Describing the events merely scratched the surface of historical study. The true student of history must understand the thought process imbedded in the individuals who participated in the events.

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The observable facts were less revealing than an understanding of the person's motives. Dilthey, in agreement with Luther, found significance in the spiritual nature rather than the physical aspects of the individual.

Scholars, such as Makkreel, Plantinga and Hodges, noted the importance that the individual played for Dilthey in his development of the human studies. Dilthey viewed individuals as the basic historical units of study, because they interacted with society and were historically conscious. This emphasis on the individual did not, however, mean that Dilthey ignored their relationship to the whole. Individuals, above all, reflected unique combinations of societal structures. It was in this context that Dilthey thought that the biographical approach was the most fundamental tool of history. For Dilthey, though, biography meant much more than the recitation of the events in a specific person's life. His biography of Schleiermacher, for example, placed the individual in the context of societal and cultural events. Thus, Dilthey's definition of biography reflected as much the study of institutions that interconnected in the person's life as the individual life itself.\(^{16}\) Without the social structures, individual's actions would be meaningless from a historical perspective.

Dilthey thought that biographies were the most easily assessable form of history because all people share the common experience of life and can use this as a basis to interpret another's integration within society. According to Dilthey: "A part has meaning for the whole to which it belongs only if it is linked to it by a relationship found in life; for it is not intrinsic to the relation of the whole and part that the part should have a meaning for the whole." Individuals and their work, for instance poets and artists, were studied for what they revealed about the larger group in which they were a member. Dilthey strongly stated his belief in contextual analysis in the *Essence*:

> The individual man as an isolated being is a mere abstraction. Blood relationship, community life, competitive and cooperative [sic] work, the manifold connections which arise from the common pursuit of goals, and relations of power in dominance and obedience make the individual a member of society. As this society consists of structured individuals, it possesses the same structural regularities.

The role of the individual remained important throughout Dilthey's works, as he consistently integrated them in their historical and societal context.

Dilthey thought that the individual and society had a reciprocal relationship and that history portrayed the

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gradual self-realization of the goals of this relationship. This evolutionary process of adaptation was similar to Luther’s theory of non-revolutionary change, both espousing change through participation in established structures. Dilthey believed that one’s personality and values were based on the complex of interrelated structures within which the individual participated. Dilthey stated:

The historian has, therefore, to understand the whole of life of an individual as it expresses itself at a certain time and place. It is the whole web of connections which stretches from individuals concerned with their own existence to the cultural systems and communities and, finally, to the whole of mankind, which makes up the character of society and history.\(^{20}\)

Change happened slowly because the individual shaped their culture to an extent which in turn influenced the person. Dilthey again asserted: "I am involved in the interactions of society because its various systems intersect in my life. These systems have sprung from the same human nature as I experience in myself and understand in others."\(^{21}\)

Dilthey did not, however, entirely sublimate the individual to the whole. The historian may need to approach the individual from within the established structures to gain understanding, but the interrelated structures joined together uniquely in each person. In the *Essence* Dilthey


suggested: "Still, no concept exhausts the contents of these individual selves. Rather, the variety directly given in them can be only lived, understood and described. And even their interweaving in the course of history is something unique, never wholly reducible to concepts."22 In so arguing, Dilthey held Luther’s emphasis on each person as simultaneously singular and special. History and society could not survive without its individual members, each having an impact on the formation of the whole. In later works, Dilthey reiterated this theme, stating: "Every life has its own significance. This lies in a context of meaning in which every moment that can be remembered has an intrinsic value and, yet, in the context of memory, it also has a relation to the meaning of the whole."23

Dilthey supported some independence for the individual in two ways. Firstly, the individual always had aspects of their personality that participated in structures other than the state and over which the state had no authority or control. Secondly, a portion of each person’s spirit belonged exclusively to God not to civil authority. Dilthey stated this dualistic idea in this manner: "No matter how deeply the strong hand of the state reaches into the living unity of the individual and lays hold of him, still the

22Dilthey, Essence, 2; Ermarth, Critique, 113; Plantinga, Thought, 131.

state obligates and subjects individuals only partially, only relatively; there is something in them which is only in the hand of God."\textsuperscript{24} This agrees with the dualism found in Luther, recognizing people as subject to both secular and spiritual authority with the spiritual authority being primary.

Dilthey recognized that many eras looked to the actions of important individuals to explain the movement of history. He viewed these persons as representatives of their age or nation instead of attributing revolutionary impetus to their activities. According to Dilthey: "The great historical persons are, above all, determined by this context. Their creative activity does not reach into historical distance but draws its goals from the values and meaning-context of the age itself. . . . their labour serves the realization of the fundamental goals of the age."\textsuperscript{25} These individuals become the "great persons" of history based, not only on their actions, but also because the people of their time recognized them as representative of the society's common goals and desires.

Dilthey extended the implications of this concept to assert that each age and culture should be treated as a singular unit, because each was composed of diverse and unique groups. Absolute standards, therefore, did not apply

\textsuperscript{24}Dilthey, \textit{Introduction}, 126; Iggers, \textit{Conception}, 137.  
\textsuperscript{25}Dilthey, "Construction," 185-6, in \textit{Pattern}, 156.
and, if used, distorted the perceived place of an entity within the historical whole. Dilthey suggested that this was an optimistic type of relativism. He focused on the significance afforded each era and culture as a benefit, rather than falling into skepticism based on a lack of unified standards.\textsuperscript{26} This approach guarded against the historian viewing an era simply as a result of or foundation for another time period. The Middle Ages, for instance, could not be accurately understood merely as a precursor to the Renaissance, nor as a result of the Roman Empire. As early as 1859, Dilthey expressed his attitude toward epochs in his \textit{Tagbuch}, listing religion and art as means of identifying the uniqueness of each culture. He also emphasized the importance of the relationship between the nation and the spirit of a people.\textsuperscript{27} Much later in a letter

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\textsuperscript{26}Makkreel, \textit{Philosopher}, 42; Kluback, \textit{Dilthey's}, 58; Rickman, \textit{Pattern}, 47.
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\textsuperscript{27}Wilhelm Dilthey, "Aus den Tagebüchern. Den 26 März 1859," \textit{Der junge Dilthey: Ein Lebensbild in Briefen und Tagebüchern 1852-1870}, zusammengestellt von Clara Misch geb. Dilthey (Stuttgart: B. G. Teubner Verlagsgesellschaft, 1960), 81-2. "Kein anderer ist der Charakter, der unserer Epoche aufgeprägt ist, als die Durchdringung der empirischen Wissenschaften und der Philosophie. Dass wir es auf die Geschichte anwenden, in den Erscheinungen der Religion, der Wissenschaft, Kunst usw. Formen des nationalen Geistes zu sehen, welche von denselben Gesetzen hervorgebracht werden, die allgegenwärtig wirken", "There is no other characteristic which our epoch has imprinted than the permeation of the empirical sciences and philosophy. That we use it on history, on the manifestation of religion, science, art and so forth to see the form of the national spirit, which were brought forth from the same laws, that works omnipresently".
\end{flushright}
to Graf Yorck, Dilthey again noted the role of religious experience in identifying differences between people and ages.\textsuperscript{28}

Dilthey believed that historical study appropriately included religion, logic and natural philosophy. In the traditional mode of German historiography, Dilthey thought that the historian should understand the spirit of the age because this spirit created unity in the era or in the people of a nation. Dilthey stated: "Throughout history a living, active, creative and responsive soul is present at all times and places. Every first class document is an expression of such a soul."\textsuperscript{29} Because they convey the spirit of an era, the works endure. Societies cast aside

\textsuperscript{28}Wilhelm Dilthey, "Dilthey an Graf Yorck. [Juni 1892]," Briefwechsel zwischen Wilhelm Dilthey und dem Grafen Paul Yorcken v. Wartemburg 1877-1897 (Halle: Verlag Max Niemeyer, 1923), 146. "Das ich dem religiösen Moment eine solche Bedeutung, einen solchen Zusammenhang mit allen geistigen Gewalten des 16. Jahrhunderts zu erweisen strebe, ist ja schon das Äusserste was diese Zeit verträgt. So werden Sie ja auch zur Analysis dieses Erlebnisses, wie jedes Erlebnisses fortgetrieben. Damit auf die hohe See der Menschheit. . . . Wir können es nicht begreifen. Aber wir dürfen es auch nicht isoliren." "What I strive to show in the religious impulse of such significance, such unity with all spiritual authorities of the 16th century, had indeed already endured the most extreme of this time. So they came indeed also to analyze this experience as each experience pushed forward. Thereby elevating the soul of humanity. . . . We cannot understand it. But we are also not allowed to isolate it."

creative works that did not reflect the issues and values of their culture. The following statement from *The Essence of Philosophy* contains an example of the respect that Dilthey held for these works: "Their creative activity rises above all environmental orders into a region where, quite alone, they confront the universal powers, above all historical relations to timeless communion with the eternal and omnipresent cause of life." This spirit made the principles and values of a given time or society explicit and revealed their validity through the study of history. These were the values historians should use to judge the society they study, rather than imposing standards from another era or culture. Dilthey was critical of the validity of forcing standard meanings on history such as those of the Historical School.

Dilthey thought that the state was an outgrowth of family organization, and common state goals and institutions. The state functioned under the leadership of a strong personality, who could be viewed as embodying the basic precepts of the nation. The leaders brought out and organized the need of their people to form communities and

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unite goals. Dilthey explained the role of the state in the following way:

For all the individuals — each of whom pursues his own purposes (often competing against each other) or the purposes of the family or other associations — the state is a sphere having its own particular purposes. In this sphere they act as a single subject. In the consciousness of belonging together they realize the purpose which the national context prescribes for them. Indeed, in this whole the consciousness of an — at the time — highest good for it, is formed. This occurs under the influence of a common mood or under the leadership of a great man, as in the time of Luther or Bismarck. Then the feeling of belonging together is present in the common purposes. Then, too, the outer events, destinies and actions are measured by the purpose which, at the time, represents the inner content of the nation's life.\(^{32}\)

This excerpt reiterated the idea that the individual good must subject itself to the common good. It also implied the benevolent concept of the state supported by Luther.

Institutions such as the family and state were not strictly voluntary associations for Dilthey, instead they were necessary due to the peculiar conditions of human nature. He thought that people had a natural inclination toward union that must be satisfied in one of the various forms of community. Dilthey consistently maintained that the family was the basic form of social institution and that all other structures, such as the state and the church, were founded on the organization of the family.\(^{33}\)

\(^{32}\)Dilthey, "Continuation", 282-5, in Pattern, 152-3.

\(^{33}\)Dilthey, Pädagogik, 114. "Die Familie ist durch Verhältnisse von Abhängigkeit und Gemeinschaft den anderen Zentren der äusseren Organisation der Gesellschaft,
toward common goals was particularly strong within the state and church, in contrast to other types of structures, such as economic, in which individual goals were paramount. Dilthey asserted: "In the family and in the different intermediate forms between it and the state, as well as in the latter itself, we find the highest development of common goals within a community."34 Dilthey contrasted the state, as based on family, to other types of institutions, characterizing the state as being created out of "love and reverence", rather than being a synthetic construct imposed on the community.35

Dilthey infrequently addressed specific states when he wrote about the authority of political entities. Despite the more theoretical nature of most of his writing, Dilthey did occasionally express an opinion on Prussian politics, and these instances supported a strong form of government. He thought that monarchy was the correct form of government for Prussia, defending the expansion of the state and its power during the Seven Weeks' War.36 In a letter to Graf Gemeinde, Kirche, Staat, untergeordnet." "The family is subordinated to from the understanding of dependence and mutual participation of other centers of external organization of society, community, church, state."; Makkreel, Philosopher, 64-5.

34Dilthey, "Construction," 134-8, in Pattern, 78.
35Dilthey, Introduction, 120 & 121.
36Dilthey, "[Wilhelm Dilthey bis Vater], (Berlin, Mitte Juni 1866)," Junge, 214-5. "Es ist eine wunderliche Stimmung hier. Die straffe Zucht und das starke Staatsgefühl
Yorck, Dilthey maintained that Luther elevated the ideal of authority and in doing so touched the germanic spirit. In other works, Dilthey argued for the necessity of a strong state because this entity must deal with challenges from outside and diversity from within. People naturally attempted to expand their spheres of power, thus, Dilthey

gaben dem Soldaten einen festen Halt. . . . den Staat frei macht, damit er der äußersten Kraftanstrengung fähig sei, die doch so offenbar nothwendig ist. Da kommt dann jeder einzeln, besonders den Wahlen gegenüber, in eine wunderliche Lage. Geld verweigern für einen unvermeidlichen Krieg, für die Soldaten, für den Staat - das ist nicht viel besser als Verratherei." "There is a wonderful mood here. The tense discipline and the strong national sentiment gave the soldiers a strong position. . . . the state created freedom, therewith it is capable of the utmost strength of distribution, that indeed is so plainly necessary. There comes then each individual, especially opposed to the election in a wonderful state. They refuse money for an unavoidable war, for the soldier, for the state - this is not much better than treason."

Dilthey, "Dilthey an Graf Yorck [vor Weihnachten 1892.]," Briefwechsel, 157-8. "Luther . . . über die vorhandene christliche Religion hinaus eine höhere Stufe erreicht. Er thut das vermöge des bildlosen, freheits - bedürftigen, impetuosen germanischen Geistes. Er hebt das Bildmassig (begrifflich) Anschauliche und das Regimentale auf: er findet den ganzen Menschen, nicht katholisch den Vernunftbestandtheil, wofern er seine eigene Haut zu Markte trägt und die religiöse Arbeit selber leistet, nicht von theologischen Büchern und Priestern leisten lässt, dadurch in einem Zusammenhang mit Gott, der ihm über den Teufel und den Tod siegreich und wirksam macht." "Luther had reached . . . beyond the existing christian religion to an elevated degree. He had the ability in that amorphous, freedom - poor, impetuous germanic spirit. He raised the ideal of perception and authority: he found the true man, not the catholic understanding of certain salvation if one had risked his life and had fulfilled religious works, it was not allowed to be fulfilled by books and priests, but by a union with God, that made him victorious and powerful over the devil and death."; Tuttle, Historical, 48 & 65; Kluback, Dilthys, 70-1.
thought that this tendency "must be tamed by the collective will and the compulsion exercised by it." Dilthey did not intend these restrictions to be arbitrary, maintaining that: "even within the state compulsion is the last court of appeal."38 Force may be necessary, but it should not be the first line of defense for the integrity of the state.

Dilthey's evaluation of individual actions according to normative cultural goals rather than artificially constructed universal standards stressed the participation of the individual in the group, with the state representing the institutionalization of these cultural mores. In Dilthey's words: "The ultimate regulator of this rational purposeful activity in society is the state." The state acted as coordinator of this multitude of varied goals.39 Dilthey viewed this role as the state's protective function, controlling the aberrant parts of human nature. He expounded on this theme later in the Introduction stating:

The unbridled violence of the passions does not allow a man to enter into the order of such a purpose complex with clear self-control. A strong hand holds each person in check; the social body which accomplishes this must be superior to any other force in the sphere governed by its strong hand and must therefore be endowed with the attribute of sovereignty. . . . It is not as though the state, through its union of wills, performed a task which would otherwise be taken care of, though not as well, by the combined efforts of


individuals; rather, the state is the *sine qua non* of all such cooperation. The protective function is directed outwardly in protecting subjects; it is directed inwardly in erecting and forcibly maintaining rules of law.\(^4\)

Dilthey's view of human nature resembled that of Luther's, including agreement as to the state's role in controlling this nature. For Dilthey, then, the state in its ideal form was both necessary and beneficial.

The state should also, according to Dilthey, reflect the culture and will of the nation that it represented. Dilthey considered factors such as language, religion, philosophy, and science to be more important than either racial or ethnic divisions. In early writings Dilthey asserted that the constitution of a state should be founded on these original and distinctive sources of national spirit.\(^4\) The permanent relationship that developed between

\(^4\)Dilthey, *Introduction*, 123.

\(^4\)Dilthey, "Aus den Tagebüchern: 1860, [Den 2 Mai 1860]," Junge, 124. "Soll die Analyse der Geschichte der Philosophie wirklich bis zu einer Klassifikation ihrer Hauptformen aus dem Wesen des menschlichen Geistes Herr werden, so muss sie in den konstituierenden Urelementen die Verschiedenheit ergreifen. Hierbei muss man an die Stelle der Ansicht von einer allgemein gültigen Logik die von werdenden, wechselnden Formen der Bewegung des Geistes setzen. Hauptunterschied ist hier jedenfalls Element der Begriffsordnung und des Urteils, aus dem der Gegensatz des nach Gesetzen und des nach einem einheitlichen Begriffsbild strebenden Denkens sich ergibt. . . . es handelt sich darum, die Elemente der Systeme zu finden, welche ihre Ungleichheit bedingen, und sie durch diese zu klassifizieren." "If the analysis of the history of philosophy should be effective for a classification of their chief forms from the human spirit of man, then they must apprehend the establishing source elements of diversity. In doing to, one must base
the person and the state was sensitive to the individual's desires and goals while connecting each person to others in the state and, further, to the rest of humanity.\(^{42}\)

Dilthey planned works in which his theories of the human studies and history would have been explicated more fully, but these projects, for the most part, were left in the planning stages. Dilthey was optimistic about the development of the human mind without adopting the notion of universal and inevitable progress as held by the Idealist and Historical schools. Plantinga defined Dilthey's concept of progress as the growth in autonomy for the mind within the historical framework.\(^{43}\) Ermarth and Bulhof both noted the conditional freedom of will that Dilthey described within cultures and states. The freedom of the will appeared to be the ability to choose responses defined by the "spirit of the times." History, for Dilthey, served this role of teaching individual freedom within the

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\(^{42}\)Dilthey, \textit{Introduction}, 104.

universal development of their culture." This concept was comparable to Luther's approach to the Christian's freedom of the will in which the individual was both servant to all and lord of all.

"Dilthey, "Aus den Tagebüchern 1859, Den 7ten April 1859 begonnen, Über die Emanationssyteme," Junge, 93-4. "Es muss sich daher in der historischen Methode der doppelte Gesichtspunkt des Sich-Anbildens der Gedanken an einen Keim und der andere, dass es die universellen Gesetze sind, welche in einem bestimmten Gedankenkreise in der Art wirksam sind, dass sich an Einem Punkte Gedankenreihen sammeln und kraft derselben Gesetze zu einem Ganzen gestalten - diese beiden Gedanken müssen zugleich gegenwärtig sein." "It must be, thus, in the historical method from the double view point of self-analyzing thought in an embryo and the other, that it has the universal law, which has effect in a determined range of ideas in nature, that gathered itself in a point of ordered thought and by virtue of this same precept shaped a whole - these two concepts must be present at the same time."; Ermarth, Critique, 121; Bulhof, "Structure," History, 24.
CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSION

Martin Luther influenced the early German educational system in a number of ways. He emphasized education for the community in order to promote literacy for religious purposes. He feared the impact of those who were uneducated, as well as those who were wrongly educated. Parents were responsible for this task, but, when they were unable or unwilling to fulfill this duty, the state must assume an active role. Luther supported the institution of the visitation to standardize curriculum, pedagogy, and to ensure that orthodox education was offered stressing order and discipline. Luther recommended compulsory attendance to maximize the impact. Although progress toward this aim was not uniform, it was one of the stated goals of the German educational system attained to a greater extent in the German states than in other European countries at this time.

Luther incorporated the secular goals of peace and obedience as incentives for the support and participation of the state within the school system. Luther legitimated his view of the state on his interpretation of the Fourth Commandment. He explained that parental authority also encompassed the state in its role as parent or overseer of
the community. Luther also maintained that the state was a gift from God for the control and ordering of human nature. Because the state was a divinely ordained institution, service to the government became a vocation on the same level as being a minister or a teacher.

Johann Gottfried Herder expressed his admiration for Luther in numerous instances with particular focus on the reformer’s contributions to language and literature. Herder believed, as did Luther, that ideas and religion were best communicated to people in their own language. The school plan that Herder developed in his youth was akin to Luther’s in structure and goals, particularly for the early years of schooling. Herder believed that there was a relationship of reciprocal benefit between the educational system and the state. The state could teach its goals in the school system and encourage participation in the state to keep these aims relevant.

Herder’s main focus in civil society was the development of the volksgeist or fatherland rather than the political state. He believed that God’s plan was revealed in both nature and history through varying geography and differences in culture. Herder maintained that each culture was a unique mixture of singular individuals who defined their volksgeist through cooperative effort. Herder thought that education served its purpose by acculturating the youth in the mores of society. Herder, in a manner similar to
Luther, believed that the individual was subject to the group once the volksgeist was established. He did not perceive this as restrictive, because the individual participated in the creation of the group, there developed a relationship of mutual dependence.

Although Herder was in general optimistic about the potential of people, he thought that humanity needed regulation when living in society with one another. In this context, the family functioned as the first and most natural form of government. The state became a necessity as society developed, because some did not wish to sublimate their individual aspirations to those of the culture. The best form of government, according to Herder, provided for the active participation of citizens in order to ensure the agreement of aims between the culture and the state. Herder assumed that the goals of the volksgeist would always be beneficial to culture as a whole. When the will of the state agreed with those of the community, then the state functioned well. Herder did not think that the state could institute drastic changes to its culture without dangerous repercussions and perhaps the end of the state's ability to govern. Authority, either associated with the state or the volksgeist, remained important for Herder, and he rejected revolution as a means of development. Change, whether initiated by the state or by the individual, occurred slowly. Schools contributed to maintaining the status quo
by emphasis on tradition and acculturation. Each generation changed the culture to some extent by reinterpreting traditions within the framework of contemporary events. Any major alteration spanned several generations.

Herder's political and social milieu certainly helped to shape his interpretation of Luther's theories. The German states of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries were far from any sort of political unity, but they did share a common cultural and historical background. The authority of the Empire had been in decline proportionately to the growth in strength of the individual German states. This circumstance did not encourage cooperation in the promotion of German culture. It is understandable that, based on his theory of volksgeist, Herder favored the supremacy of culture over the domination of petty Germanic princes. Herder invested volksgeist with the attributes of being divinely ordained and being based on the Fourth Commandment. Finally, Herder looked to the state for protection of the culture from humanity and one individual from another, which may reflect the constant infighting and rivalries between the German states.

Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel also utilized many aspects of Luther's theories but with significant differences in interpretation from Herder. Hegel made it quite clear that he viewed himself as an orthodox Lutheran, despite his criticism of the institutional church. He
founded his admiration for Luther on the reformer's teachings on the spiritual nature of the church and the importance of language. Luther's theory of mind/body dualism was also significant for Hegel with regard to the philosopher's concept of universals. Hegel thought that the mind participated in the creation of the universal in which the body acted, with the most important universal being the state. Hegel perceived a reciprocal relationship between the state and church in the support of obedience and ethical behavior. Hegel did not, however, require that this church be the institutional Lutheran church, but recommended that the state encourage membership in a church of any kind.

Hegel thought that education played an important role in incorporating individuals into the state's universal essence. Hegel believed that an educated populace was both beneficial and necessary to an efficient state. Schools should emphasize citizenship in their curriculum by teaching obedience and duty. This was also the sphere in which the doctrines of the priesthood of all believers and vocationalism could be transformed into secular instruments. In Hegel's opinion, the participation of all citizens in the creation of the universal of the state correlated to the priesthood of all believers, because all were included in this process no matter how small the individual role was. Additionally, any service to the state, whatever the form, became a vocation and thus significant.
Hegel, just like Luther, thought that the authority of the state was based on the organization of the family. Hegel disliked the particularism that existed in the Germanies of his time and viewed the state as a positive, unifying entity. Change occurred slowly because each individual changed the concept of the state minutely. Hegel recognized some exceptions to this rule in the form of world historic persons such as Luther and Napoleon. He credited Luther with the cultural unity of Germany, and Napoleon with the beginnings of political unity by the Frenchman's reorganization of the western German states into fewer political entities. Change within the state happened slowly unless a world historic person tapped into a trend that already existed among the people. Hegel rejected revolution as a mode of change because he thought that it destroyed the institutional structures already in place without replacing them. This was the way he explained the failure of the French Revolution.

Hegel maintained that the state was the primary means for an individual to participate in the universal and that this institution protected limited individual freedom. In a manner similar to Luther, Hegel contended that the individual was free, but recognized that his/her freedom was circumscribed by duty, allowing for the fulfillment of vocation. Hegel explained further that individuals could only reach fulfillment through interaction with the state.
Individuals, for example, experience freedom by fulfilling their duty to the state.

Hegel's ideas were influenced by his close alliance to the Prussian state and his concern over the fragmentation of the German states in place of the unity that the universal state ideally provided. Hegel described an utopian state, not one that existed in Europe. In his view, only a strong state could solve the problems experienced by the Germanies. The Empire, one possible source of alliance between the German states, no longer functioned. Hegel's state combined the cultural, historical and political backgrounds of the German states to create a powerful and protective state.

Leopold von Ranke, best known for his attempts to make history more scientific, espoused some of the same ideas as the thinkers referred to earlier, with, however, an increased reliance on political history. Raised in Saxony and trained for the ministry before turning to philology and history, Ranke made his admiration for Luther clear in his works, identifying the Reformation as the decisive event in German history. In addition to the study of politics and Luther, Ranke also established a close relationship with the Prussian crown, becoming the state historian of Prussia and relying on the ruler for his promotion and tenure at the University of Berlin.
Ranke agreed with Luther that the state was ordained by God and interpreted the interaction between states as a revelation of God's plan for humanity. Each state had its own role to play in this plan, therefore each was unique and required its own special form of history in which to express itself. Ranke thought that his service to the state in history was a vocation and viewed other occupations in the same way. This held true as long as the person was trained for his or her professional vocation. Promoting the untrained injured the state and the individual.

Most of Ranke's works dealt with states in their internal and external relationships. Ranke believed that states were spiritual in orientation and singular in their development. This spiritual nature of the state made the entity benevolent in its interaction with citizens. States in their creation reflected the interests of the people who were their citizens. Once the state was established citizens reflected the ideals of the state even when they traveled abroad. The religion of the citizens was an important factor in the development of the state. This affected the attitude of the citizenry to the state. Ranke contended that the Reformation helped to incorporate the spiritual attitude of religion into the secular realm of government. In his opinion, this made the German states more willing to obey the government than the citizens of France because the Germans viewed themselves as parts of the
state rather than alienated from it, as their French counterparts felt.

Ranke definitely supported a strong state with monarchy being his preferred form of organization. Ranke believed, in agreement with Luther, that the authority of the state was based on the authority given to parents by God. He also maintained that, because the state revealed God’s purpose for humanity and was a benevolent institution, the idea of the state should predominate over local and personal issues. Ranke, thus, demanded obedience to the state, asserting that the individual attained freedom by submitting to authority. His position that duty will become liberty was much like that of Luther on the freedom of a Christian. He thought that states acted as checks to each others’ activities, guarding against any one state becoming too dominant. In this context, it is not surprising that Ranke was against revolution as a method of change. Modification should come gradually through petitions to the crown and participation in the state.

Ranke wrote many of his works in a quite different milieu than Herder or Hegel. He was not as affected by the immediate events of the French Revolution and the Napoleonic Era, instead he lived through the Revolutions of 1848, the Frankfurt Assembly, and the wars that led to the unification of Germany under the leadership of Prussia. He no longer looked to an ideal state or to volksgeist for unity, but
dealt much more specifically with political cohesion. He strongly supported the Prussian state and was unsure of the wisdom of Prussia’s king agreeing to abide by a constitution. He viewed the Frankfurt Assembly as a ready example showing the weaknesses of representative government. Unification occurred shortly before Ranke’s death and the historian perceived this as the culmination of God’s plan for Germany.

Wilhelm Dilthey, a noted German philosopher after the period of unification, reverted to an emphasis on cultural or spiritual unity of a people, although he still supported a strong state as the means for providing a common set of institutions and experiences for the individual. Dilthey was raised as a Calvinist, but studied Luther and found much in the reformer that he liked and supported his human studies. Dilthey admired Luther’s theology while rejecting the institutional form into which the Lutheran church developed. The philosopher’s main area of interest in Luther’s work was the use of mind/body dualism which emphasized the internal experience in order to understand the individual’s motivation. Dilthey credited Luther with spurring the German tendency toward inwardness with its focus on intent and duty. In addition, Dilthey thought that the reformer helped to break down the hold of metaphysics on people’s intelligence, which led to the emergence of modern mind.
Dilthey saw a strong relationship between educational institutions and the state. He believed that education had originally been the responsibility of the family. This duty was transferred to the state for better efficiency and stability. The school system, according to Dilthey, should teach the common aspects of society to students, in order to help them understand the variety of mundane experiences. In so doing, schools taught the dependence of the individual on the state as the institution that provided this framework for understanding. In addition, educational institutions provided moral education to students and helped to formulate well informed political opinions.

Dilthey emphasized the individual, spiritual self over one's physical being. He believed that people were unique because they represented the singular combinations of societal structures. These structures aided in the relationship between an individual and the group to which he or she belonged because each person was defined to some extent by these groups. Dilthey expanded on this relationship by asserting that the individual members should be studied to gain information about the whole. The spirit of an age or era created unity among its participants, therefore, the individual participated in creating this unity and was subjected to it. Dilthey explained that great leaders occasionally emerged in history because they represented their particular society's common goals. They
could not rise to significance without the danger of disruption and revolution.

Dilthey thought that the state was an outgrowth of family organization and was part of the process of making the individual good subject to the common good. He supported a strong Prussian state, believing that the state was benevolent and necessary due to human nature which tended to promote individual aspirations. The state operated in an advantageous manner because it represented the institutionalization of cultural mores. It was through practicing these mores and submitting to the guiding hand of the state that the individual experienced freedom. Each person had the freedom to choose responses as defined by the spirit of the times. Operating within these constructs created a gradual form of change that Dilthey viewed as a slow self-realization through established structures. If the traditional structures were destroyed, the members of a group had no means of relating to each other.

Dilthey lived after the unification of Germany and so he focused on the relationship of people to each other and the role that the state played in this, rather than on the creation of a strong state. Dilthey enjoyed the support of the Prussian state and occupied the Chair of Philosophy at the University of Berlin for many years. Political affairs were not his true area of interest, but he occasionally addressed them in his scholarly work and in his personal
correspondence as they affected the understanding of the individual. Despite the varying political situations, Dilthey, along with Herder, Hegel, and Ranke, shared a common Lutheran attitude toward the state and the role of education in that institution.


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