Changing Conceptions of Virtue in Western Education

by

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ABSTRACT

This paper attempted to sample the meanings, understandings, appreciations, and conceptions of virtue during four distinct historical periods. The published educational record of educational thinkers and scholars from the Classical Greek and Roman period, the European Middle Ages and Renaissance, and the Modern era in North America were examined. Commentary on the world of educational practice was made only if it revealed some aspect of a particular conception of virtue; educational practice itself was not a focal point. Through a process of critical analysis of scholarly writings, monographs, theses, and periodical literature published in leading scholarly journals, the paper came to argue that visions of virtue found in educational theory were influenced by the larger social and philosophical conceptions of particular time periods. Narrow definitions of virtue were of little use in the examination of such a diverse and vast historical record. Thus, virtue in this study was broadly defined as those qualities of character which educational theorists and teachers hoped their students would acquire through habit, training, and the inclinations of their own natures.

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To Susan and Cass

INTRODUCTION

In the latter part of the twentieth century many North American Public school educators, the parents of students who attended public schools, and members of the communities that surrounded them were asking why young people behaved so badly. In 1988, the American National School Safety Center estimated 525,000 attacks and robberies occurred in public high schools each month.[1] In 1990, the Center to Prevent Handgun Violence located in Washington, D.C. reported that approximately 135,000 students carry guns to school daily.[2] The National Center for Educational Statistics reported that nearly one third of public school teachers had seriously considered leaving teaching because of student misbehavior.[3] Thomas Lickona, a developmental psychologist and education professor, listed ten troubling social trends: "rising youth violence; increasing dishonesty (lying, cheating, and stealing); growing disrespect for authority; peer cruelty; a resurgence of bigotry on school campuses from pre-school through higher education; a decline in the work ethic; sexual precocity; a growing self-centeredness and declining civic responsibility; an increase in self-destructive behavior; and ethical illiteracy."[4] Bibby and Posterski noted that Canadian youngsters, like their

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[1] Ronald D. Stephens, Safe Schools and Quality Schooling: The Public Responds (Malibu, Calif.: National School Safety Center, 1988), 5 in William Kilpatrick, Why Johnny Can't Tell Right From Wrong and What We Can Do About It (Toronto: Touchstone, 1993), 14.

[2] *Caught in the Crossfire: A Report on gun Violence in Our Nation's Schools* (Washington, D.C. : Center to Prevent Handgun Violence, 1990), 7 in William Kilpatrick, Why Johnny, 14.

[3] "Public School Teacher Perspectives on School Discipline," Office of Educational Research and Improvement Bulletin (Washington, D.C.: Center for Education Statistics, Department of Education, October 1987), 1 in William Kilpatrick, Why Johnny, 14.

[4] Thomas Lickona, "The Return of Character Education," Educational Leadership V1N3 (Nov 1993): 9.

American cousins, were sexually active and precocious, increasingly self-oriented, and less likely to value being generous or forgiving to others.[5]

These statistics and the trends that they reflect have encouraged North American Public school teachers to return to the idea of teaching character in the schools.[6] Educational Leadership dedicated its November 1993 issue to articles that explored this idea. Also in 1993, the Journal of Character Education was created to promote the implementation and development of character education curricula. In 1992, Moral, Character, and Civic Education in the Elementary School, Why Johnny Can't Tell Right from Wrong, and Reclaiming Our Schools: A Handbook on Teaching Character, Academics, and Discipline chronicled growing public and professional interest in character education. In 1996, George Jones described a nation-wide initiative to promote moral development of pupils in British schools.[7] Draft statements in the proposal reflected the belief that students should be given an understanding of their responsibilities as citizens. Catherine C. Lewis, Eric Schaps, and Marilyn S. Watson described the benefits of creating "a caring Community of learners."[8] These authors claimed that socially desirable human qualities were taught through literature-based reading

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[5] Reginald W. Bibby and Donald C. Posterski, Teen Trends: A Nation in Motion (Toronto: Stoddart Publishing Co., Inc., 1992), 64.

[6] Public school systems in North America have become officially value neutral; returning to the idea of teaching values appropriate to good character therefore requires courage, and the idea itself can be seen as unorthodox.

[7] George Jones, Edmonton Journal, October 23, 1996, A9.

[8] Catherine C. Lewis, Eric Schaps, and Marilyn S. Watson, "The Caring Classroom's Academic Edge," Educational Leadership V1N3 (Nov 1993), 17.

instruction, cooperative learning, a problem-solving approach to discipline, and school-wide programs of community building and service activities. Richard Sagar described a process of imbuing at-risk students with the capacity for resilience, an umbrella concept comprising the virtues of strength, fortitude, optimism, attentiveness, helpfulness, and curiosity.[9] Noblit and Dempsey found hope in the power of schools to construct morality. They emphasized the dynamic nature of moral systems and claimed that schools, as "communities of memory," had the capacity to create moral narratives and canons, imagine preferred futures, and build the continuity between past and present which is necessary for students to participate in the moral life.[10]

Suggested reforms to the practice of moral education were many and varied. Modern educators who wished to improve student conduct and values asked themselves, which of the many programs offered would be effective. They wondered which values and virtues should be taught and considered what the difficulties and consequences of teaching those values would be. The question about which values and virtues should be taught is one that has not be answered definitively, and it remains to be seen what the consequences of attempting to teach virtues in a progressive and pluralistic public school system will be.

Goals of Study and Methodology

This document does not attempt to directly address the pressing concerns of modern public school administrators. Instead, it samples the meanings, understandings,

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[9] Richard Sagar, "The Power of Resilience," Educational Leadership V1N3 (Nov 1993), 41.

[10] George W. Noblit and Van O. Dempsey, The Social Construction of Virtue (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1996), 205.

appreciations, and conceptions of virtue during four distinct historical periods. The published record of educational thinkers and scholars from the Classical Greek and Roman period, the European Middle Ages and Renaissance, and the Modern era in North America is examined. It is hoped that such an examination will render a broader vision of the moral and educational history of virtue. The value of such a history lies in its capacity to provide modern educational thinkers and teachers with a powerful framework for considering those qualities of character they might exhort their students to possess and the kinds of lives they might wish their students to live.

The paper comes to argue that visions of virtue found in educational theory and scholarship are influenced by the larger social and philosophical conceptions of particular time periods. In ancient Greece conceptions of virtue were embodied in the larger ideals related to citizenship. The central importance of the family to Roman life added another influence to these ideals when Greece came under Roman control. The Holy Roman Catholic Church dominated conceptions of virtue in the European Middle Ages, and the Renaissance was contextually defined by the intellectual vibrancy of Italy and the spirit of social and religious reform in Northern Europe. Conceptions of virtue in the Modern era in North America were characterized by what John Higham called Protestant-Republicanism and, sometime later, by the materialism and faith in natural human inclination that has marked much of twentieth century educational theory and philosophy.

The method of inquiry has been one of critical analysis of secondary sources pertaining to the history and philosophy of education. Scholarly writings, monographs, theses, and periodical literature published in leading scholarly journals were examined in the process of research for this thesis. The Current Index to Journals in Education (CIJE),

ERI C, The Education Index, and The Reader's Guide to Periodical Literature were consulted. Commentary on the world of educational practice and on documents related to that practice was made only if it revealed some aspect of a particular conception of virtue; educational practice itself was not a focal point. Three areas of concern arose in the author's attempt to represent a sampling of meanings, understandings, appreciations, and conceptions of virtue for each historical periods: 1) the literary sources to which students, teachers, and educational theorists or philosophers referred; 2) the ideas and lives of prominent educational theorists and philosophers; and 3) the kinds of schools that were described by educational historians or envisioned by ardent reformers.

CHAPTER 1

VIRTUE IN ANCIENT GREECE AND ROME

The Greeks and Romans give modern understanding two categories that may be used to characterize one's contemporaries. In the western world people may be broadly described as Greek or Roman. Those who possess boundless imagination, originality, and versatility, a seemingly natural love of beauty and proportion, dynamism, and spontaneity, are placed in the Greek category. We draw a line from them back to the ancient people who lived in the paradisiacal Attican landscape, surrounded by blue mountains and glittering sea. The more cosmopolitan, urbane, organized, pragmatic, articulate, those who have more administrative gifts, we compare to that ancient peasant people who at one time unified so much of Europe into a single thriving, productive, and cultured empire—these we call good Romans. These categories describe some of the virtues that are revealed in certain Greek and Roman commitments, habits, practices, and conceptions of the good. This chapter will examine the Greek and Roman virtues within an educational context. Please note that education must be construed in the broadest possible sense. Formal schooling did not exist then as it does now. Moreover, formal education, as we conceive of it now, is only ever part of the educational process that fosters virtue within a society.

For the Greeks and later Romans, Homeric accounts of the heroic age provide the foundation for conceptions about virtue. Hesiod's Theogony and Works and Days give us maxims for living in peace. The freedom-loving Athenians and war-like Spartans show us different sets of virtues and with the arrival of the Golden age the process of defining virtue becomes more complex. Plato and Aristotle challenge older conceptions of what it

means to be virtuous and show how the claims upon virtue shift somewhat from family and friends to the ever-growing city-states. Virtue becomes a subject of philosophy in societies that are defining themselves. The Epicurean and Stoic schools add their ideas to the debate about what it means to be virtuous and what kind of life to live. When Rome conquers Greece in the second century Greek ideas are grafted onto Roman piety and practicality. Virtue evolves and reforms.

It is important to note that evolution of virtue conceptions and shifting biases toward one or other of the virtues does not make obsolete older conceptions of what it means to live well. Older conceptions and bias do not fade into oblivion. Even though civilization and style of life has changed dramatically since the age of antiquity, the old virtues and excellences have remained attractive. We still esteem the physical power and skill of mighty Achilles, the beauty of fair Helen, and the nobility of glorious Hector. Indeed, the real power and difficulty that arises from any historical review of the virtues lay in the realization that one conception of virtue never quite supersedes another. They all maintain some claim upon our souls.

Virtue in Heroic Societies

Stories from the heroic age of a culture provided the source material for education in the virtues. This was the case for the Nordic peoples of 1100 AD and the Greeks of Periclean Athens were inspired by Homeric accounts of the heroes who fought at Troy over the lovely Helen. They provided for the meaningful construction of a cultural identity and were "the chief means of moral education."[1] Narrative poems and songs were dictated to students for writing practice and later read and rehearsed for public recitation.

This process of learning and public celebration made apparent to student, performer, and audience alike the relationship between the individual, present society, and a glorious, idealized past. The schoolmaster read from Homer's Iliad how the once great, now old and wise Nestor describes the men with whom he used to fight, "the finest men I have ever seen or shall see . . . the strongest men that Earth has bred, the strongest men pitted against the strongest enemies."[2] Because of the Greek belief in a glorious and ideal past, present generation warriors always rated less well than those who had gone before. This was part of the rhetoric of the time. The Athenian schoolboy hoped merely to remind his family and friends of the legendary greatness of the past, but he knew he could never hope to achieve what had gone before.

Rivaling one's relationship to the past in importance were one's relationships to kin and friends. In these also the dictates of justice and call to courage laid. A man knew what was just, what he must do, and what he owed his friends and kin.[3] If someone from another household infringed upon a friend's household, by murder or theft say, he owed his friend help in defending himself and, perhaps more importantly, in seeking vengeance upon the offender. Later, in Plato's Republic, Socrates discredits the law of vendetta and the principle of justice that commended doing good to one's friends and harm to one's enemies. However, in heroic times, the bonds of allegiance and the laws of vendetta were highly valued institutions that required the virtues of courage and fidelity to support them.

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[1] Alisdair MacIntyre, After Virtue, 2d ed. (Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 1984) 121.

[2] Homer, The Iliad, trans. E. V. Rieu (Toronto: Penguin Books Canada Ltd, 1950) 30.

[3] MacIntyre makes the important point that in ancient Greek there was no clear distinction between 'ought' and 'owe'. Alisdair MacIntyre, After Virtue, 121.

Understandably, death occurred often and suddenly in heroic societies. One had to understand that life was fragile and that "death wait[ed] for the man with courage, kinsmen, and friends just as it [did] for the man who has none of these."[4] If you were friendless and without kin you were vulnerable to attack, and if you had an extended network of kinsmen and friends your responsibilities would likely soon got you killed. This kind of life may seem a bleak one, but it had its rewards. For in the bonds of friendship and kinship as described in the great epics, there was evidence of great love and respect; for the fallen hero there was glory and honor. Even though man moved steadily toward his death and inevitable defeat, he could hope to live beyond death in the loyal memory of his loved ones and in the songs and stories of his tribe.

Hesiod chronicled the legendary descent of man to this precarious and uncertain kind of life.[5] He described man's departure from the golden age, his travels through the silver to the bronze age, in which a generation of heroes fought for the sake of the lovely haired Helen, and in which the Acropolis, rising 152 m above the Attican plains and Mediterranean sea below, supported houses and a royal palace. The horrific iron age, he writes, saw no end of hard work and pain, no justice for the righteous, no respect of age, no harmony between guest and host or companion and companion. Then Hesiod speculates about the evolution of his present day society. In his time Greece was composed of a number of city-states that were held apart by narrow political sympathies and petty laws. "Sometimes a number of city-states would combine to form a defensive

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[4] Alisdair MacIntyre, After Virtue, 124.

[5] Hesiod, Works and Days, ed. T. A. Sinclair (London: MacMillan, 1932) 45.

league, at other times they made war on each other."[6] Athens, Sparta, and Thebes, at different times, tried to unite the remaining city-states under them but "mutual jealousies" and extreme individualism stood in the way of a permanent union. The perpetual imminence of military service characterized many of the ages described by Hesiod.

Hesiod also gave a detailed picture of the life removed from war. In the Iliad one gets only glimpses of this life in The Iliad when, for instance, the Lycian Sarpedon described his baby son, and great possessions "which many a poor neighbor (was) itching to get hold of."[7] (Iliad, 105) Hesiod's Works and Days and The Theogony, two other great educational resources used by teachers after 640 BC, described in much greater detail the gods, nature, men and the proper relationship between all three in agricultural life. This life was not one of vaunted deeds: in the quiet country, there were no chariot races upon the open ground where blood congealed in the dust and death was welcomed to its untimely harvest.[8] This life was one of endurance in which temperance and the kind of wisdom now described as prudence were the most valuable possessions. Hesiod's Works and Days spoke more to the Greek agriculturist, also of wisdom, but more of justice, respect of the law, self-discipline, and hard work. He spoke to farmer's condition the way Homer spoke to the warrior's heart.

Hesiod's father, a merchant who found the going hard, traveled from Aiolia to Asdra, a territory of Thespia, to settle there as a farmer. There he died leaving his property to be divided between his two sons, Hesiod and Perses. Works and Days was written as a long epistle from Hesiod to his scapegrace brother, warning him against the

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[6] Ellwood Patterson Cubberley, A Brief History of Education (Boston: Houghton-Mifflin, 1922) 19.
[7] Homer, The Iliad, 105.

vices which would bring him ruin and giving him advice that would set him on the path to prosperity. He warned him that strife lived in two forms--the hateful one who built up an evil war and the other, far kinder one who "push[ed] the shiftless man to work."[9] Envy of another man's wealth should make man ambitious and move him to work for his own good. Hesiod clearly warned his brother that this envy, though not a virtue in itself, should not turn him to greedy thoughts of burgling the desirable things another man possesses, that "the unworking man, who stays on empty anticipation, needing substance, arrange[d] in his mind many bad thoughts."[10] He also advised him, after the fashion of the Spartans and early Romans, not to rely on his style with words. Style did not pay debts or help to stave off hateful, heart-eating poverty. If a man worked hard, was generous to his friends and guests, if he respected his father and the property of his neighbors, if he told the truth with a sparing tongue, then Zeus would justly reward him.

Hesiod's writing came out of a Boiotian tradition that favored the catalogue and geneology over the narrative. Hesiod did not draw the reader into the lives of his characters. Works and Days listed maxims that were sometimes illustrated by short anecdotes that were similar to Aesop's fables. The gods were important but undeveloped and flat characters who did not exhibit jealously, lust, mischieviousness, or affection, as they did in Homer's work. Hesiod's Zeus was a law-giver, father of the goddess justice, a young maiden who crie[d] out at her father's feet when any man use[d] force on her by false impeachment,"[11] and a protector of the righteous man. He behaved reasonably and

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[8] Ibid.

[9] Hesiod, Works and Days, 73.

[10] Ibid.

[11] Ibid., 43

was fair. In Homer, Zeus was the sexually wayward father or brother and leader of the foolish and powerful gods on Mount Olympus. The lives of the men and women under his rule often began or ended as a consequence of his godly lust. Homer's gods were intimately involved in human life; they were fond friends and lovers or the most dangerous of enemies and could be lethal in their anger and revenge. Perhaps the unruly destructive passions that characterized human relationships of the time had their origin and validation in the behavior of the gods.

Later writers, such as Plato, Lucretius, and Epictetus, deemed false any story that depicted the gods as cunningly seeking unjust or improper gratification of their desires. Lucretius, for example, described Venus as a distant patron or vital force behind the machinery of the natural world.[1] He paid homage to a much different goddess from the one who sprung from the foam of the sea and "laughed sweetly or mockingly at those her wiles had conquered; the irresistible goddess who stole away even the wits of the wise."[13] He warned his noble friend Memmius not to heed superstitions about the gods or "the blood-curdling declamations of the prophets."[14] Of course, Homer and Hesiod would be dead for hundreds of years before Lucretius expressed his views of the gods and goddesses, and set down his materialistic theories. During those many years, Attican society grew stable enough to support a wonderful intellectual life. The concept of virtue would be widely debated and different Greek city-states would cherish and foster different sets of the virtues in their young. But the texts that described the virtuous lives

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[12] Lucretius, On the Nature of the Universe, trans. R. E. Latham (Toronto: Penguin Books Canada Ltd., 1951) 27.

[13] Edith Hamilton, Mythology: Tales of Gods and Heroes (Toronto: Mentor, 1969) 32.

[14] Lucretius, Nature of the Universe, 30.

of heroes and generations of man would not be forgotten. These texts continued to be source books for the building of character as long as there were Greek and Roman forms of education.

Early Greek Education and Virtue

The work of Attican scholars formed the literary bedrock from which we have derived some of our earliest ideas about the virtues of Greek culture. "Far more than other Greeks the people of Attica were imaginative, original, versatile, adaptable, progressive, endowed with rare mental ability, keenly sensitive to beauty in nature and art, and possessed of a wonderful sense of proportion and a capacity for moderation in all things."[15]Their love of natural beauty, originality, and boundless imagination might seem to the poetic mind outgrowths of the paradise in which they lived. Experiencing the pervading scent of pine and fir trees covering the mountains to the rear, blending with the aroma of the fig trees, oranges, lemons, olives, and grapes in the valleys below; fields full of sheep and cattle, the brilliant sea full of fish; and the short, mild winters and long, dry summers, how could one not feel he lived a life made for serene contemplation and leisurely, pastoral indulgences.

Schoolboys rose at dawn, put on their cloaks and left their fathers' houses. Attendants and pedagogoi attended them, "bearing in their hands the implements of virtue, writing tablets or books containing the great deeds of old."[16]Above him, the houses and royal palace of the Acropolis gleamed where soon temples to Athena Parthenos and Athena Nike would be built and the statesman Pericles would become

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[15] Ellwood Patterson Cubberley, A Brief History, 19.

[16] Ellwood Patterson Cubberley, Readings in the History of Education (Boston: Houghton-Mifflin,

renown. After laboring diligently at his studies, learning his letters by copying down recitations of Homer, Hesiod, Aesop, and the other of the Greek poets, he would exercise his body, learning to ride, hurl the javelin and spear, and wrestle, all of this under the midday sun. After a bath and a meal, the schoolmasters would teach him "who was a great hero, who was a lover of justice and purity."[17]

The sense of an essential unity or order of all things and the important harmony of mind and body was a long-lived and beloved one among the ancient Greeks. "A good education," said Plato, "[was] that which [gave] to the body and to the soul all the beauty and perfection of which they are capable."[18] Education provided an intellectual and aesthetic as well as a physical and military foundation for citizenship. This concept of education was the forefather of what is called holistic education today. The teaching of gymnastics aimed at giving children graceful and dignified carriage of the body, good physical health, perfect control of temper, quickness of perception, self-possession, ease, skill, and proper conduct in games. Jarman observed that winning was not as important as performing one's part gracefully and well.[19] Beauty, dignity, and grace of the body was complemented by the emotional stability, heroism, gentleness of the soul taught through music, which comprised the several disciplines of reading, writing, counting, dancing, and singing.

The Greeks did not see life in distinct categories as we do, and we see evidence of

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Company, 1920) 6.

[17] Ibid.

[18] Thomas Leckie Jarman, Landmarks in the History of Education: English Education as Part of the European Tradition, 2nd ed. (London: J. Murray, 1963) 12.

[19] Ibid., 32.

this in the Greek word arete, which is translated, when we meet it in Plato, as virtue.[20] The word virtue, as used in modern English, refers only to moral virtues. For the Greeks arete covered far more ground, referring to all manner of excellence: physical, moral, intellectual, and technical. The man of passing arete in Homer's time, was well-rounded. Odysseus, for example, was a great fighter, a wily schemer, a ready speaker, a man of stout heart and broad wisdom, who knew that he must endure what the gods sent without too much complaining. He could both build and sail a boat; drive a furrow as straight as anyone; beat a young braggart at throwing the discuss; challenge the Phaeacian youth at boxing, wrestling, or running; flay, skin, butcher and cook an ox; and be moved to tears by song.[21]

Two Views of Virtue: Athenian and Spartan Education

Though early Athenian and Spartan education aim at producing citizens who would sacrifice their very lives for their cities, the Spartan state system of education more narrowly prepared its pupils to show courage and prowess on military expedition. Mental training consisted of memorizing the laws of Lycurgus, a few selections from Homer, and listening to the conversations of older men. These men, themselves veterans of many compaigns would observe and informally supervise the young cadets, who began their training at age seven and continued until age eighteen.[22]

The boys lived in state run barracks for this period of time. The Spartan boy's imagination was stimulated by the necessity of survival. He was often put in a position of needing to find food and wood for himself because the provisions allowed him always

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[20] H. D. F. Kitto, The Greeks (Harmondsworth, Middlesex, Penguin Books, 1954) 79.
[21] Ibid., 172.

left him a little hungry and cold. Sometimes he stole these things because his company commander, an older boy called the Iren, ordered him to do so. Slyly, he crept into gardens or snatched food from right off the common tables. If he were caught, he would be flogged for "negligence or want of dexterity,"[23] not theft. With resourcefulness and cunning he acquired the necessaries of life. In every other way he was obedient and saw his life in terms of the successful warrior only.

He was not schooled, as his Athenian brother was, in matters of taste and beauty; nor was he taught to think and question. Physically, though hardy and agile, the Spartan boy was smelly and unwashed. Baths and fragrant oils were allowed him only on particular days of the year. His hair was cropped short and he was forced to go barefoot. Punishment for disobedience was severe and borne with patience. Rest was taken among companies of boys on make-shift beds which each boy fashioned for himself of reeds gathered from the banks of the Eurotas. There was no music except for that which celebrated the valor of the Spartan warrior and enlivened the military drill. Comfort, leisure, and refinement were absent from his way of life.

The Athenian state gymnasium, attended by Athenian boys between the ages of 16 and 18, shared many purposes with the Spartan state-run system of education, though its methods differed greatly and the breadth of its curriculum was larger. In addition to boxing, wrestling, discus and javelin throwing, and hunting, deportment, swimming, and a slow, graceful, poised dancing were taught. One look at the ground plan of the gymnasium at Ephesos showed careful attention to the comforts and even sensual

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[22] Ellwood Patterson Cubberley, A Brief History, 3.

[23] Ibid.

pleasures of the body in training were paid. There were wet and dry saunas, cooling off rooms, hot baths, oils for anointing the wrestlers, sacks of chaff for the use of boxers, a covered stadia for use in bad weather, groves for walking among the trees, and recessed seats for the use of philosophers, rhetoricians, and others. There would be time in his training for Athenian youth to think and recall the stories learned earlier in their musical and grammatical education. As his education progressed he learned to run in armor, and his wrestling and boxing matches became more severe. At the age of 18 years, the youth would take the Ephebic oath, wherein he pledged not to disgrace his sacred arms, nor desert his companions in the ranks, to better the great fatherland transmitted to him now, and to obey and protect the law and honor the religion of his fathers.[24]

Spartan women were also trained to serve the military aspirations of their city. Like the boys, girls were organized into packs and took exercise in the form of running, wrestling, and throwing quoits or darts. Exercise would make them strong so that they might give healthy children to the state, and so that they might govern and protect their homes while their husbands were away on military expeditions. The following warning of one Spartan mother suggested the fervent patriotism and warlike character of Spartan women. She told her sons that they should come back carrying their shields or upon them. The verses that follow give a similar impression:

> Eight sons Daementa at Sparta's call
> Sent forth to fight; one tomb received them all,
> No tears she shed but shouted, "Victory
> Sparta, I bore them but to die for thee.

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[24] Ellwood Patterson Cubberley, A Brief History, 35.

> A Spartan, his companion slain
> Alone from battle fled;
> His mother kindling with disdain
> That she had borne him, struck him dead
> For courage and not birth alone
> In Sparta testifies a son.[25]

The father-son relationship also served to encourage men to fight bravely. Herodotus said of Leonides, the Spartan, that he brought to Thermopylae 300 men, "a fathers of living sons."[26] Implied in this fact was the importance Spartans laid on the father-son relationship. Leonidas cleverly selected men who would fight to their deaths rather than suffer the shame of having their sons perceive them as cowards. The dignity and beauty of the father-son relationship was also modeled by and Hector's love of Astyanax and Odysseus' love for Telemachus in Homer's two great epics. Hector prayed to Zeus for his son to surpass him in courage, strength, and skill at war, saying,

> Zeus and you other gods, grant that this boy of mine may be, like me, pre-eminent in Troy; as strong and brave as I; a mighty king of Ilium. May people say, when he comes back from battle, 'Here is a better man than his father.[27]

Knowing how the past was revered in Greek culture, one sees how great a wish this is. Virtue and the call to honor passed from father to son. Sons tried to live up to the greatness of their fathers before them, and fathers prayed that their sons would accomplish even greater feats than they had accomplished.

In The Histories, the Spartan people were depicted as hardy, obedient, loyal, and

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[25] Thomas Leckie Jarman, Landmarks, 25.

[26] Herodotus, The Histories, trans. Aubrey de Selincourt (Markham: Penguin Books Canada Ltd., 1972), 512.

courageous. In one poignant passage, Demaratus told Xerxes that Leonidas the Spartan, with only a handful of men, go to their deaths, fighting an impossibly unequal battle to control the mountain pass at Thermopylae. Demaratus said to him: "You have now to deal with the finest kingdom in Greece, and with the bravest men."[28] The story of this battle, the progress of which saw all 300 Spartans destroyed, revealed those virtues for which these men were made famous. Their cunning, physical agility, strength, and endurance, their resourcefulness and stealth in battle were outmatched only by their disdain for death, a quality most humorously illustrated in the Spartan Dieneces' witty remark. When told that Persians arrows flew in such number that they filled the sky and hid the sun during battle, he responded, saying, "This is pleasant news that this stranger from Trachis brings us; if the Persians hide the sun, we shall have our battle in the shade."[29]

Virtue and a Changing Moral World

For the Spartans and legendary heroes described by Homer, the moral world was orderly; its dictates were clear and unequivocal. In Athens at the time of the great tragedians the moral world lost coherence and several claims to virtue coexist. The philosophy of virtue began. Virtue was pursued like quarry in dialogues and long study. Sometimes, answers to questions about virtue could only be given by the gods. Aeschylus' Oresteia and Sophocles' Antigone serve to illustrate the defining process. In the Oresteia, Apollo and Athena saved Orestes from the Furies who sought vengeance upon him for murdering his mother. His father, King Agamemnon, had been killed by his

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[27] Homer, The Iliad, 129.

[28] Herodotus, The Histories, 504.

mother. If he sought vengeance for his father's sake, he had to kill his mother, which was a violation of familial bonds. If he did not seek vengeance his father's murder and the murder of a king went unpunished. Orestes killed his mother, broke the bonds of family and was meant to suffer. The furies, hungry for his blood and their rightful vengeance, were much offended when Athena judged Orestes' actions correct. The murder of a king outweighed the murder of one's mother and Orestes performed a heinous act in order to serve justice in this situation. MacIntyre noted that the claims of the polis began to supersede those of the family.[30] Older claims of family had not disappeared from the moral universe.

In Antigone, what was owed one's family and one's polis was also thrown into conflict. Although Creon, ruler of Thebes, forbade, on pain of death, the burial of her brother, Polynices, Antigone performed the honorable funeral rites. When brought before Creon and accused of the crime, she boldly admitted her guilt and claimed to have divine law on her side. The seer Tiresias agreed and warned Creon that her execution would bring fearful consequences. Creon relented too late and had to accept responsibility for the double suicide of his son and wife. In this play, the authority of the state, though given its due, did not justify Creon's fulfillment of his edict; he was punished by the gods for his actions and his hubris.

Plato's dialogues also threw old ideas about the virtues into question. Socrates examined courage in the Laches, piety in the Euthyphro, and justice in the first chapter of The Republic. This chapter began with Socrates being stopped on his way from Athens to

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[29] Ibid., 519.

[30] Alisdair MacIntyre, After Virtue, 132.

Piraeus, where he was persuaded by Polymarchus to come to his house. Once there, he was received by Polymarchus' aged father, Cephalus.[31] Here Cephalus gave the conventional definition of a just man when he described how his wealth has been useful in allowing him always to tell the truth and to pay back what he owed. When Socrates began to question this definition, the old father left the argument so that he might attend to the sacrifice and in that action represented the unquestioning piety of the older world; he left the younger men to try to corner justice with their reason. In their discussion we find that the just man should harm no one; even the enemy who has provoked him should not be disturbed. Socrates proved through argument that "injustice causes factions and hatreds and fights, while justice brings a sense of common purpose and friendship,"[32] and that it contributes also to the excellence of each individual. His argument rested on a new concept of human excellence and the accepted notion that citizens should behave in ways that cause their city-state to grow and become more powerful. He supports the claims of the flourishing Athenian polis.

Virtue and the Athenian in the Golden Age

In 509 BC the new Attican constitution was written. It admitted all free inhabitants of Attica to citizenship. Before this new constitution, citizenship was restricted to a small, properly born and educated class. Now proper education came to be of interest to members of the commercial classes which, with the great increase of cultural and commercial exchange, were now in a position to afford tutors for their

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[31] Plato, The Republic, trans. G. M. A. Grube (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Company, Inc., 1974), 1-4.

[32] Ibid., 24.

children.[33]

On every citizen fell the responsibility of military service. The Athenian army and navy were comprised of educated men fighting to protect their democracy, a new form of government that allowed more individual freedom and individual will than others in existence at the time. The triumph of educated Athenian soldiers over the uneducated Persian hordes at the battle of Marathon in 490 B.C., the victories at Plateau and Salamis in 480Bc, inspired Athenians with pride and confidence in the power of their golden city.

Pericles led Athens during much of what we now think to be the golden age of Greece, from 479 to 431 BC, and it is from his famous funeral oration that we come to understand the virtues of that time and place. When Isocrates praised Pericles he described him as excelling all other citizens in sophron, dikaios, and sophos; in other words, he was the wisest, the most just and self-possessed or temperate of men. Love of wisdom, justice, and self-control were implicit in his funeral oration. He praised a free, cultured, adventurous people who, despite their great individual ambitions, were law-abiding, honorable, respectful of authority, and more committed to the welfare of their beautiful city than to their own. Indeed, Pericles gave much time in his oration to the fallen, praising the ultimate sacrifice of men who thought it more honorable to stand their ground and suffer death than retreat and save their lives. These were men for whom life was set to the heroic measure, one in which death and happiness went hand in hand, and the best kind of life was a short but glorious one.[34] It is interesting to note that the Athenian citizen freely made great sacrifices for his city out of respect and love, not fear.

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[33] A more detailed description of Athenian society at this time can be found in Ellwood Patterson Cubberley, A Brief History, 17.

Public authorities were respected, their judgements obeyed. To fight merely for self-preservation was considered an abrogation of freedom. Instead, Pericles called upon Athenians to fight because they "had fixed their eyes upon the greatness of Athens and (fallen) in love with her."[35]

Public service promotion was based on achievement rather than social position. Political life was free and open as was day to day life in which citizens were tolerant of their neighbors in their private lives. The power of such a state laid in its organization and in the willingness of its people to adhere to reason and preserve the welfare of the whole.

Pericles also praised Athenians for their ambition, initiative, and incessant activity in pursuit of personal interests. When pursuing one's personal interests, one should possess sophrosune. Originally an aristocratic virtue describing one who does not abuse his power and controls his passions, this virtue restrained the more destructive forms of ambition.[36]Pleonexia, the ruthless acquisition of wealth for its own sake, was sanctioned. Personal wealth was a by-product only of the Athenian love of Agon or contest, not the petty desire for personal security or wealth.

Meanness and the lack of generosity were denounced. Athenians believed that friends were made by doing good to others, not by receiving good from them, and that one's kindness was to be offered without calculation of profit or loss. Hesuchia, originally a goddess representing that peacefulness of spirit to which the victor in a contest is entitled, was "bound up with the notion that we strive in order to be at rest, rather than in

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Canada Ltd., 1983), 143-149.

[34] Thucydides, The Peloponnesian War, ed. Betty Radice, trans. Rex Warner (Markham: Penguin Books 35
35 Ibid., 149.

[36] Alisdair MacIntyre, After Virtue, 137.

order to struggle ceaselessly from goal to goal, from desire to desire."[37] Indeed, that they struggled at all could be attributed to the love of agon mentioned above.

Whatever his school of thought or beliefs about the gods, the democratic man of the golden age was a model of deportment. On the athletic field and in daily life, he was graceful, poised and agile. He participated in musical and dramatic celebrations. He spoke well in the popular assembly, and was conversant in the intellectual and aesthetic concerns of the day.

His school life and education at home prepared him to fulfill the duties, responsibilities, and privileges of citizenship. Social life served to reiterate and renew learning achieved in class. Listening to Pericles give his funeral oration he would be inspired with the idea of what it was to be Athenian. Taking his place in the amphitheatre at the base of the acropolis, he would watch the plays of Sophocles, Euripides, and Ion of chios, all contending for the prize of poetry. From his seat, he would see the lives of his heroic ancestors dramatized and set within a moral context at the theatre of Dionysus. In one of the wrestling schools he might overhear the rhetoric of Gorgias or the dialectic of Socrates. A. S. Wilkins describes the quality and breadth of Athenian education:

> It was what the student gazed on, what he heard, what he caught by the magic of sympathy, not what he read, which was the education furnished by Athens. Not by her discipline, like Sparta and Rome, but by unfailing charm of her gracious influence did Athens train her children.[38]

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[37] H. D. F. Kitto, The Greeks, 94.

[38] Cubberley, Readings in Educational History, 23.

For the Athenian of this time no life was possible without membership in the city. In the Sophoclean tragedy, Philoctetes, lamented his ten year exile on a lonely island saying, "(you) left me friendless, solitary, without a city, a corpse among the living."[39] MacIntyre argues that this is not mere rhetorical lamentation: in Sophocles' world, friendship, companionship, and citizenship were essential parts of the human experience without which no human life could be counted worth living. According to Aristotle it was the practice of friendship that increased individual happiness and held a city together.

Individuals saw their good as intertwined with the good of their city in at least two ways. First, Aristotle taught that man finds true happiness in rational activity and since he was best able to develop his capacity for reason in association with his fellows, he could not avoid assuming responsibility for their happiness too. Second, the best kind of friendship was founded on a shared concern for goods which were the goods of all those in a community. The good for oneself should also be good for one's friends and the members of a city. Thus, individual desires should serve the individual, his friends, and the needs of the state, creating a harmonious, cooperative, and powerful city. Though Aristotle criticized Plato's assumption that "the state should be as much of a unity as possible,"[40] and praised diverse views among men, he maintained the importance of individual self-sacrifice as an essential part of every citizen's beliefs. If the will to sacrifice oneself for the state was not present among the citizenry, he argued, pure forms of government soon slid into their perversions: monarchy slid into despotism; aristocracy into oligarchy; and polity into democracy. Once again, political community must be seen

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[39] Alisdair MacIntyre, After Virtue, 135.

[40] George Howie, Aristotle On Education (London: Collier-MacMillan, 1968) 22.

as a common project, a notion that is "alien to the modern individualist world."[41] From an Aristotelian viewpoint, modern liberal society appeared only as a collection of citizens who have banded together for mutual protection. Relationships based on mutual utility he called inferior to those based on a system of shared goods. They were self-serving only and originated in base desires not evident in the thoughts and actions of citizens of good character.

Of course, Plato argued that education should serve as the tool to shape the values and skills of such citizens.[42] In addition to making children lovers of the state, 4th century education taught children to live together harmoniously and to defend the city well. At age six, children of both sexes play games that fostered cooperation and self-restraint. Between the ages of six and ten children learned, in a playful and informal manner, basic skills necessary to the art of war. They learned to ride horseback, to shoot accurately with bow and arrow, to handle a javelin and slingshot. At ten years old, the child was expected to be able to handle a light shield and other defensive armor.

Even before these things were taught the child's education in music began. The spoken, sung, and danced word were all called music. Stories were told to children before they were old enough to learn gymnastics. The telling of stories was considered doing good by stealth, and, in the education of children, stories were to be playful and amusing, giving direct pleasure. Musical notes were like letters of the alphabet. Relationships were established, learned, and loved as universal intervals that mimicked planetary intervals framed by the creator of the cosmos. Standardized earthly music was conceived as a

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[41] Alidair MacIntyre, After Virtue, 156.

[42] R. C. Lodge, Plato's Theory of Education (New York: Russell and Russell, 1970) 76.

reproduction of a much larger cosmic music, and the learning of harmonies prepared young citizens to be part "not merely of an earthly community, but of a community that [was] based upon the cosmic and more-than-cosmic patterns of the ideal realm itself."[43] Dances approved by the community fell into two main groups: dances of peace and order, and the war dances. Peace dances expressed the escape from some danger into prosperity under the guidance of some community deity. They invoked the dancer's sense of temperance associated with piety toward the community deities and friendship toward fellow citizens. War dances expressed the need for continued preservation and the possibility of an increase of the prosperity already enjoyed. For the most part they were direct imitations of warlike motions that inculcated courage in the service of community, piety toward the gods who guided success in war, and comradeship toward fellow citizens.

Plato suggested games and play should be part of early and later forms of education within the grammar, music, and wrestling schools and the larger social context of the temple or amphitheater. This was consistent with the freedom of the self-determining citizen "that he should be a little careless, playful, amateurish, and willfully independent of considerations of time and place."[44] In the Republic Plato argued that early education should be a sort of amusement and saw the goal of wisdom and rational self-determination as attributes of the gods and a few men. To hold it as a goal for all students seemed foolish to him. He recommended instead that "in playing the game which will make us good citizens, there [should be] room for a laugh and the spirit of

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[43] Ibid., 83.

play."[45]

He balanced encouragement of a playful spirit with an emphasis on temperance in the child. In The Republic and Laws, he praised the kind of education that tends toward the acquisition of self-control, saying that no one should be allowed to rush headlong into pleasures; the divine impulse [was] to pursue the mean.[46] For Plato, as for Aristotle, the mean existed at the point where opposites balance. Virtue lay between extremes and the non-rational soul of a child must be tutored. Pleasure and pain had to be implanted by training and habit so children would choose the middle course.[47] The harmony or proper functioning of the state and the individual depended on this training. It was believed that well-educated citizens appreciated good singing and dancing, because their rational souls were gratified by graceful and harmonious forms. A harmonious body was as important as a harmonious mind. The gymnastics that trained boys for war also inculcated rhythm and grace in the body. Poems that taught them to love courage also inculcated the appreciation of rhythm and grace in the spoken word.

Plato also sought harmony and balance in the act of marriage. He argued that the headstrong should mate with the orderly, the tame with the more aggressive, the slower with the quicker, and so on. Marriage, to be harmonious, should balance opposing qualities in marriage partners just as opposing qualities within an individual should balance each other. "The city ought to be well-mingled," he argued, comparing it to a cup, "in which the fiery wine is chastened by a soberer God, and become an excellent and

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[44] Ibid., 74.
[45] Ibid.
[46] Plato, The Republic, 536e and Laws, 794cf.
[47] Plato, Laws, 653.

temperate drink."[48]

Aristotle, originally Plato's student, founded his own school called the Lyceum in 335 BC. It was named after a grove sacred to Apollo Lyceuis in which Aristotle walked with his students discussing ethics, politics, mathematics, grammar, literature, rhetoric, poetry, and the sciences. His students acquired the name Peripatetics because of this habit of walking about the covered walkway, or Peripates, in Apollo's sacred grove. Like Socrates before him, Aristotle wrote no treatises. Most of his extant writings consist of lecture notes that his successors have edited. In them we find three other ideas that are important to the study of virtue at this time. He argued that human beings desired happiness above all other things. He recognized knowledge itself as a virtue, and claimed that an individual's virtue had three origins: nature, habit or training, and reason.[49]

Aristotle reasoned that the most self-sufficient and complete object of our desires must be the thing at which all our other desires are aimed. He ranked desires in hierarchies, subsuming lesser desires under greater ones. Eudaemonia, or happiness, sat atop the whole hierarchy of desire and was considered by him to be mankind's summum bonum, his chief end. Money and pleasure, the two other candidates for this position, he dismissed, saying that if one were happy one no longer cared for those things. Given to us in great abundance, they do not satisfy the human soul unless put to the use of making us happy.[50] Moreover, the wise man can endure torturous pain and still be happy. This seems impossible or perverse to the modern mind because it conceives of happiness as a kind of

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[48] Plato, Laws, 773 in R. C. Lodge, Plato's Theory of Education, 65.

[49] George Howie, Aristotle on Education, 39.

[50] Aristotle, Ethics, with an Introduction by Jonathan Barnes, trans. J. A. K. Thompson (Toronto: Penguin Books Canada Ltd., 1976), chap. 1.

pleasurable contentment. For the ancient Greeks happiness was equated with the knowledge that one lived the perfect or ideal human life. That knowledge could sustain one's spirit even unto death by physical torture.[51]

Because Aristotle saw happiness as man's chief end, he concluded that contemplation had to be the most valued human practice. To Aristotle's mind contemplation was the best use of one's leisure and required no adjunct other than the time to think. More importantly, contemplation helped one to discover the knowledge that directed one's actions and formed one's character. It is important to note here that knowledge for Aristotle, Plato, and Socrates implied a moral imperative. For them, to know the good was to do the good. The idea, encountered later in the medieval portion of this work, that human beings might choose actions known to be wrong, that they might even delight in the those actions, did not occur to the Greeks. For them all vice arose from ignorance, folly, or some other defect in thought or knowledge.[52] Because contemplation yielded knowledge, it yielded also goodness and virtue, making those who engaged in it wiser and better people. The scholarly ideal of pursuing knowledge for its own sake arose from the beliefs of these philosophers.[53]

Contemplation developed the virtue of phronesis, an intellectual virtue upon which all moral virtues depended. Originally, phronesis manifested itself in someone who knew what was due him and took pride in claiming it. Later, it came to refer to someone who

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[51] Cicero, Tusculan Disputations: Vol. II and IV, ed. A. E. Douglas (Warminster: Aris and Phillips Ltd., 1990) 1.

[52] Alisdair MacIntyre, After Virtue, 175.

[53] This kind of pursuit is much parodied by Aristophanes in The Clouds, wherein a gathering of philosophers, which includes Socrates in its number, calculate the number of fairies who may dance on the

exercised good judgement in particular cases. Because of the above-mentioned interdependency of the intellectual and moral virtues, distinguishing between them becomes almost impossible. The terms "intellectual" and "moral" tell us more about how the virtues they describe are acquired than about the actions or feelings they promote. Intellectual virtues were acquired through teaching and the development of reason; the moral virtues were attained through habit.[54] The teacher controlled these two factors in the development of virtue; a student's nature was left to fate and the gods. The teacher aided the development of reason through the study of logic and mathematics, and the practice of dialectic. The presentation of models of behavior and excellent achievement to students was also considered part of the development of reason. The Greeks did not think as we do now, that reason could be separated from this kind of learning. Therefore Aristotle, like Plato, thought that the ruler of a city must ensure "that there shall be nothing at all, statue or painting, that is a representation of unseemly actions."[55] The mind, even a reasoning mind, needed exemplars of virtue, if it was to understand how to live correctly and how to serve its telos or true nature.

Habit added pattern and familiarity to behaviors that served this telos and made the life of the city more harmonious. They helped one to find the mean between excess and deficiency. The habits of conversation, for example, might help one find the witty middle ground between buffoonery and boorishness, or the proper habit with money or personal resources along with a proper education in the matter of good taste would help

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head of a pin.

[54] Aristotle, Ethics, 91.

[55] George Howie, Aristotle on Education, 162.

one spend magnificently, rather than vulgarly or pettily.[56]

Virtue and the Stoic and Epicurean Schools

Besides Plato's Academy and Aristotle's Lyceum were the Stoic and Epicurean schools. Students of these schools chose to live simple lives and face death with equanimity. Yet their philosophies and the character of the lives they led differed greatly. Epictetus' Enchiridion provided much of the rationale for the development of the following stoic virtues: an harmonious spirit; the easy acceptance of things; unperturbability; good humor; placidness; an unconquerable will; continence; patience, even in the face of revilement; a desire for the freedom of detachment; abstinence; and fortitude.[57] Epictetus split life into two worlds, the world inside and the world outside us. Inside ourselves was a domain over which we might have some control; outside ourselves all things were beyond our power. Our bodies, property, reputation, offices, and wealth were affected by events beyond our control, but we may decide which opinions to believe, which aims and desires and aversions to have. The first commandment of the stoic philosopher was to desire and be averse to those things only within his power. He reminded himself to altogether restrain desire "where it [was] practically necessary to pursue or avoid anything, and to do this with discretion, gentleness, and moderation."[58] In facing the death of one's wife or child for example, Epictetus reasoned in this way: "Is the child or wife of another dead? There is no one who would not say, 'This is an accident of mortality.' But if anyone's child happens to die, it is immediately, 'Alas, how wretched am

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[56] Aristotle, Ethics, 104.

[57] Tom L. Beauchamp and William T. Blackstone, ed., Philosophy and the Human Condition (Englewood Cliffs, N.. J.: Prentice-Hall, 1980) 571.

[58] Ibid.

I.' You ought to be affected as if the child of another were dead and say, as before, 'This is an accident of mortality.'"[59] Similarily, Plutarch, valuing a kind of stoic self-restraint, asked in a letter of consolation to his wife upon the death of their daughter, "What could be more illogical than to check excess of laughter and gaiety and then give free flow to rivers of tears and lamentations which stream from the same source?"[60] Though sensible of grief's affliction, he requested his wife's help in preserving their customary composure.

In a letter from Lucretius to Menoeceus, written shortly before the birth of Christ, this sensitive and poetic Roman citizen outlined many tenets of Epicurean doctrine. Like the Stoic philosopher, the Epicurean faced death with tranquility, but he did so for different reasons. First, for the Epicurean good and evil lay in sensation and sensation ended with death. "While we exist death is not present, and when death is present we no longer exist."[61] Life beyond death in the land of the shades, described so chillingly by Homer in book XI of The Odyssey, if accepted as possible by the Epicurean philosopher would have little significance because the corporeal experience of life was here extinguished. It was a land without pleasure where the spirits of the dead wandered, seemed not to perceive, and could not speak unless they drank the blood of freshly killed sacrifice, so bereft were they of life's vitality.[62] Without this vitality, existence was meaningless and of little concern.

Second, the Epicurean saw pleasure as the greatest good, and tried always to

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[59] Ibid.

[60] Plutarch, Selected Essays on Love, the Family, and the Good Life, trans. Moses Hadas (New York: Mentor, 1957) in The Art of the Personal Essay: A Anthology from the Classical Era to the Present, ed. Phillip Lopate (Toronto: Doubleday, 1994) 19.

[61] Lucretius, On the Nature of the Universe, 99.

[62] Homer, The Odyssey, trans. Richmond Lattimore (New York: Harper Colophon Books, 1975) 172.

avoid painful experiences such as grief. He taught himself to appreciate pleasure, luxury even, but not to regret when certain pleasures were taken away. So it was with grieving the loss of friends: his natural reflex should have been to enjoy the memory of pleasant times that the company of late friends, lovers, or family members, rather than grieve their loss. The truly wise man was one who could be happy with a little. One's sensitivity to pleasure should not be dulled by too much indulgence or by a spirit that does not give access to desire. Here is where the Stoics and Epicureans differed. Though both believed in living simple lives, the Epicureans did not guard against desire like the Stoics did. Because of desire, the Stoic kept watch over himself as over an enemy and one in ambush. The Epicurean accepted it as a natural part of a simple and healthy life, if not over-indulged.

The Epicureans also had a more moderate view of fate. Lucretius, for example, did not see fate as entirely beyond human control, a world outside and disconnected from us. He said, "the future (was) neither ours nor wholly not ours, so that we may neither count on it as sure to come or abandon hope of it as certain not to be."[63] For Lucretius, the natural world was not so fickle as the one inhabited by irresponsible gods. It was a mechanistic universe unaffected by the lives of the gods. He saw it as an infinite space filled with material atoms, operating by the laws of causality. Chance was the name we gave to events that were consequences of unpredictable, uncontrollable, or unseen forces acting and reacting to each other in the world around us.

To some degree all four philosophical schools derived their founding ideas from Socrates, the most influential of the Sophists, who lived from 469-399 BC. Advanced

education at this time consisted of attendance at public gymnasiums and study with a Sophist, an itinerant teacher who traveled from city to city offering to teach students the knowledge and skills that would bring them success in their lives. During the Hellenistic period following Socrates' death, the informal teaching of the sophists gave way to institutionalized schools for advanced learning in philosophy. Rhetorical schools such as the one founded by Isocrates also came into being at this time.

With the introduction of Isocrates into the history of education we see the beginning of what Noblitt and Dempsey have called the Isocrates-Plato opposition: the recycling of oratorical and philosophical principles on which the pursuit of truth and virtue is based. According to these authors, the arrival of the rhetorical school represented the abandonment of the "epistemological skepticism which underlies the free and intellectual search for the [ever-elusive] truth"[64] had begun. Isocrates sought traditional texts, themselves eloquent rhetorical expressions of wisdom, to train citizen-orators--men of good character who would be devoted to the public good--rather than philosophers, whose pursuits of knowledge for its own sake often landed them in debates that had little relevance to the problems of the state. Cicero and Quintillian showed Isocrates' biases. Their writings and teachings suggested a practicality and devotion to the state that was reminiscent of Isocrates and that revealed important aspects of the Roman character.

Roman Virtues

With the annexation of Greek cities to Roman states in 146 B.C., Greek ideas of

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[63] Lucretius, On the Nature of the Universe, 99.

[64] George W. Noblitt and Van O. Dempsey, The Social Construction of Virtue: The Moral Life of Schools

virtue were transferred to Roman and eventually to European life. The Romans were a peasant people with a rural aristocracy. They valued a strong sense of family, practicality, and piety. The Romans did not possess the Greek preoccupation with beauty for its own sake or their interest in hard speculative thinking. They were a reserved and proud race, trained to govern and do business, but not possessed of the lofty ideals or large enthusiasms associated with the Greek character. Like individual Greeks, every Roman citizen was ready to subordinate himself to the state. He did this for honor, the prestige and reputation of his family, and the continued greatness of Rome.[65] The Greek Athenian sacrificed himself for Athens because he loved and would die for her. The Roman sacrificed himself for Rome because he was one of its noble sons and owed a son's duty to his father. As Mommsen tells us, "Life... was spent under conditions of austere restraint and the nobler [the Roman citizen], the less was he a free man." Glory lay in living "a grave and severe" life, keeping one's household in good order, and bearing one's part in counsel and action in public affairs.[66]

Emperor Marcus Aurelius Antoninus in the first of his meditations offered gratitude and gave credit to those people who imbued him with virtues of a particularly Roman and stoic character.[67] Mentioned first were his grandfather, the reputation and remembrance of his father, his mother, and his great-grandfather. After them, certain philosophers, a rhetorician, his good sister, kinsmen, and associates were named. These he humbly and warmly thanked for the gifts of character. These gifts included good

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(New York: State University of New York Press, 1996) 4.

[65] Ellwood Patterson Cubberley, Readings, 27.

[66] Ibid., 27.

[67] Marcus Aurelius, The Meditations, trans. George Long (Garden City, New York: Double Day) 9-16.

morals, government of his temper, modesty and a manly character, piety and beneficence and abstinence, endurance of labor, to desire little and work with his own hands, not to meddle in people's affairs or be ready to listen to slander; to endure freedom of speech; to love kin, truth, and justice; a benevolent disposition and the just admixture of sweetness and dignity. In his gratitude and deference to the gods, we see what is now thought of as characteristic Roman piety. Likewise in praising his father's simplicity, honesty, and economy, his careful, unhurried thoughtfulness and determination, and his abhorrence of vain shows, Marcus Aurelius revealed the noble Roman citizen's esteem for practicality and the stoic virtues.

The truly held virtues of practicality and simplicity were also reflected in Roman worship.[68] Roman religion lacked the beauty and stately ceremonial of the Greeks; it lacked that lofty faith and aspiration that characterized the Hebrew and later Christian faith. Roman gods were useful household gods. There was a god who guarded the cradle, for example, and another who presided over children's food. As members of the Numina, these gods dignified and made more precious the simplest acts of life. Most prominent and revered among the Roman gods were the Lares and Penates. Families offered a little food to them at every meal in return for protection and defense of the household. As Roman citizens, family members would also worship the public Lares and Penates who protected the city as the more private ones protected the family.

Important gods such as Terminus, Guardian of boundaries; Priapus, Cause of Fertility; Pales, Strengthener of Cattle; and Sylvanus, Helper of Plowmen and

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[68] Edith Hamilton, Mythology, 43.

Woodcutters were "never personified or attributed a definite shape."[69] Until Greek literature and art entered Italy the Roman citizen felt no need for beautiful and poetic gods. Above all, Romans were a practical people, and it is no wonder that Marcus Aurelius gave thanks that he did not make too much progress in his study of poetry and rhetoric.[70] Characteristically Roman in his sentiments, he held it a virtue not to spend too much of one's time reading works of these kinds.

The old Roman education in religious life and civic virtue was received at home. The father was high priest and headmaster to his children. He alone conversed with the gods. He taught his sons the Laws of the Twelve Tables, one of which gave him the power of life and death over his wife and children.[71] During the day, sons would often follow their fathers in the fields and public places, listening to the conversations of men, seeing and hearing how one expresses oneself in debate and discussion, and learning about the issues of city life.

It was not until 300 BC that a system of organized public instruction developed, beginning with the elementary school. With that development and the introduction of Greek learning begins the liberation from the older Roman training and the way of the fathers. Rome conquered Greece in 146 BC and, in so doing, opened the way for scores of Greek rhetoricians to come to Rome as teachers. In spite of a conservative outcry against the sophistry of Greek rhetoric and philosophy, the study of these subjects became an important part of higher education in Rome from the middle of the second century BC

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[69] Ibid., 44.

[70] Marcus Aurelius, Meditations, 15.

[71] It should also be noted here that the wife and mother also held a high place in the home and was responsible for managing its every detail, including the training of her children. Ellwood Patterson

onwards. Cicero and Quintilian, two of Rome's most famous statesmen and orators, became advocates for the study of rhetoric as the training best able to produce good men who would be of valuable service to Rome.[72]

Virtue in Roman Literature and Education

Moses Hadas describes Cicero as "the perfect embodiment" of Latin literature in his concern for the practical and his devotion to the service of Rome. Yet, in his treatise On Moral Duties, much of what he has to say on the topics of oratory, philosophy, and morality "differs little from those [theories] of the Peripatetics."[73] Knowing well his own abilities, Cicero did claim the "happy, perspicuous, and ornate style" with which the exposition is composed for his own.

Cicero echoed Aristotle when he said we must yield to our better natures, pursue the highest good with virtue, and measure that good by honor, not profit. He also echoed Aristotle when he said we cultivate friendship, justice, or liberality in these actions. In his statement about friendship--that it was "nothing else but an agreement in all things, divine and human, combined with good will and affection,"[74] we hear Aristotle's discussion of the unanimity of friends.[75] Indeed, Cicero showed himself to be intellectual friends with Aristotle, Plato, and Socrates in his love of order, consistency, and moderation. Both Aristotle and Cicero stated that acts of virtue differ given different contexts. Aristotle told his students they must infer how one must act, using the principle of the

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Cubberley, A Brief History, 26.

[72] William M. Smail, Quintilian on Education, (New York: Teachers College Press, 1938), pg. xx.

[73] Marcus Tullius Cicero, Basic Works of Cicero, ed. Moses Hadas (New York: Modern Library, 1951) 5.

[74] Marcus Tullius Cicero, On Old Age and Friendship, ed. Frank O. Copley (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1967) 73.

[75] Aristotle, Ethics, 293.

mean. Every new situation or context recalibrated the measure of excess and defect, and only wisdom could help one to clearly see the new calibrations. In a similar vein, Cicero wrote that sometimes actions which appear as eminently worthy of the just man, upon further inspection, might be seen to be not so: "It may at times be just not to return what is entrusted to our care, not to keep a promise, or to violate the laws of veracity and honour."[76]

Where these two thinkers differed most was in their style of argument. Cicero referred to anecdotes from actual cases in Rome's recent and not so recent past, and analogous stories of the gods. He followed the rhythm of dialectic less and spent less time sharpening the terms of discourse than Aristotle, and Plato before him, was wont to do. Recalling the work of Aristotle and Plato, one recalls being challenged and provoked. Cicero's work more often persuaded and inspired.

To the Roman mind, this ability to illustrate what was virtuous and what was not, using examples from everyday experience and knowledge, was a practical end that the orator and his power of speech could serve. Style in speech, disparaged by the Spartans, Laconians, and the more stoic or conservative Roman, came to be seen as another instrument which could be used to encourage citizens to work hard and, if need be, die for the state. Unlike the philosopher whose arguments were meant for other ardent thinkers, the orator needed to know intimately the emotions natural to humanity; his word had "to please, to move, to stir the mind of his hearer."[77]The orator's ideas were tested in the hearts and minds of his audience members, each one of whom was a touchstone for his

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[76] Marcus Tullius Cicero, Basic Works, 15.

[77] William M. Smail, Quintilian on Education, 129.

eloquence. Oratorical greatness lay in the power to give pleasure, inspire, and influence audiences with a speech. According to Quintilian, Cicero was as much concerned with the pleasure an audience derived from his words as he was with winning a case. The practical nature of the orator's work may have given dignity in the Roman mind to rhetoric, but rhetoric gave to the Romans a love and desire for pleasing speech.

Though it produced speech which was pleasurable to hear and consider, rhetoric should not be thought a trifling or meaningless subject. For Quintillian and Cicero such a study demanded great knowledge of all subjects, including philosophy, as well as the practical skill of speaking. For Cicero, speaking elegantly and well was "the most perfect philosophy."[78] He equated good speech with the pursuit of virtue, a pursuit that constrained one to the service of truth and goodness. The orator must be, to use Marcus Cato's famous phrase, Vir bonus dicendi peritas, the good man, skilled in speech. Quintilian, born a century after Cicero, said the perfect orator "cannot exist unless as a good man."[79] And virtue could not exist where discourse, the power of intellect, and copiousness of language were not present. Virtue was to Quintilian the object of an orator and the fruit of discourse. Discussions of justice, fortitude, temperance, and the like, were endless; therefore, who more than the knowledgeable and eloquent orator would know and be compelled by these virtues? Do not train men to become philosophers, he warned, for they withdraw themselves from the duties of citizenship; instead, ensure that the patriotic orator is schooled in philosophy. He would then derive his character and goodness from this training.

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[78] Ibid., XXI.

[79] Ellwood Patterson Cubberley, The Readings, 38.

Remarkable in Quintilian was the enlightened or what we would call progressive quality of this kind of training as he saw it. He denounced corporal punishment; spoke of the importance of a caring teacher-student relationship; recommended play and relaxation as important components of learning; and stressed the importance of modeling behaviors and attitudes that one would have students adopt as their own.

Perhaps most surprising, considering the time, was Quintilian's view of corporal punishment. Even the best and most caring form of the old Roman education, wherein fathers taught their own sons, included rebuke and pulling of the ears when the pupil was slow to learn.[80] Two epigrams from Martial show us that institutionalized forms of education were more brutal still. In the one, Martial tried to persuade a local schoolmaster "to postpone his savage scolding and blows" until some hour when they would not wake decent citizens. In another he tried to persuade him to put aside his cane, "the schoolmaster's scepter," and his scourge "with its formidable thongs," until summer's end.[81] Quintilian thought corporal punishment was a disgusting, useless, and unnecessary practice, fit only for slaves. If a student would not be corrected by reproof, then he would become more hard-hearted and unchangeable in the face of blows. Furthermore, astute and constant supervision would make this form of punishment quite unnecessary. A good education left little room for the student to learn, or form the intention to perform, unwanted and dishonorable acts.

Quintilian suggested the importance of caring for one's students. He recommended fathers conceive high hopes concerning their sons so that they would

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[80] William M. Smail, Quintilian on Education, 71.

[81] Ellwood Patterson Cubberley, The Readings, 42.

become more careful from the start, and he advised teachers to pretend young Alexander, "a child worthy of infinite care,"[83] had been committed to their charge. Such care was critical if one meant to create students with the virtues necessary for leadership and statesmanship, students who would serve their people and were destined to be great.

The seriousness of this enterprise did not keep Quintilian from stressing the importance of play and rest in the education of children. He suggested the teacher make a game of asking questions and giving answers, and recommended praising children for giving answers, and encouraging them to "compete sometimes with others and quite often think [themselves] victorious."[84] Give rewards for learning, he said. When the child is learning to read, give him ivory letters to handle, look at, and name. Include periods of relaxation in the student's time of study. Recreation refreshed and restored students so that they might bring "more energy to their studies and a keener mind."[85]

Though an advocate for playfulness and recreation in study, Quintilian did not brook a lack of self-control or selfishness in his students. He judged character formation and the principles of right living more important than those of the noblest oratory. "Let us remember that no child is so tender in years as not to learn at once the distinction between right and wrong."[86] Parents, he advised, should vigilantly correct their children and be models of propriety themselves. We should not wonder, he says, that spoiling would make them weak. We should not wonder at their language, if they hear it from us first, and we should not wonder at their viciousness, if they see courtesans and boy-favorites,

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[83] William M. Smail, Quintilian on Education, xxiv.
[84] Ibid., 6.
[85] Ibid., 31.
[86] Ibid., 84.

hear lewd songs at banquets, and are treated to shameful sights in their own homes.[87]

Death as the End of a Virtuous Life

For two reasons, it seems fitting that a brief discussion of ancient man's perception of death should close this chapter. First, death is the great finisher, and, second, the idea of death gives human life its poignancy and makes the question of character an important one. We are concerned with the quality of our lives because they eventually end. In the first of his Tusculan Disputations, "On Despising Death," Cicero said well what has been said differently by Greek philosophers and soldiers before him concerning death and ancient man's relation to it: that death should be welcomed as a great benefit, not feared as the bane of life. He noted that most people find this advice hard to follow. They dread the necessity of dying and are occasionally made miserable by the idea of it. So powerful is mortal fear of death that Plato tells us "the whole life of philosophers is simply a preparation for death."[88]

Indeed, the grim humor in jokes made by some of the famous noble and virtuous personages Cicero described in the Disputations depended on the irony of casually, even joyfully, brushing off what so many have feared so much. The stories of how Theramenes, a great Athenian statesman, and Socrates, the father of western philosophical thought, met their deaths are two good examples. Both men made a joke at the end. After having been sentenced to death by "The Thirty Tyrants" in 404 B.C., Theramenes quaffed his poison, "as if he were a-thirst," and made a toast to "the noble

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[87] Ibid., 23.

[88] Moses Hadas, Basic Works, 98.

Critias," his accuser.[89] His joke lay in the Greek tradition of naming in your toast the man to whom you intended to pass the cup. In Socrates' case, the hemlock had paralyzed the lower two thirds of his body when he suddenly uncovered his face and asked his friend, Crito, to offer a sacrifice to Asclepius, the god of healing. He used his last words to make this request, one that "implied--with a characteristic mixture of humor, paradox, and piety--that death is the cure for life."[90]

Cicero told us that to dread an untimely death was soft-headedness and trash. Giving credit to Plato for his argument, Cicero wrote that we need not fear what lies beyond death. He argued that either nothing lies beyond and death removes consciousness altogether, or death is a migration to another realm, which all who have died inhabit.[91] If death were the end of all consciousness, then it must be like that perfect sleep which is free even from the visions of dreams, both placid and restful. If it were a migration to a realm beyond, that realm must be preferable to this one. There, one would enjoy the company of those who have lived honorably and justly, and would be judged by those who are rightly called judges. To be judged by Minos and Rhadamanthes and Aeacus and Triptolemus was to know the true measure of one's life.

The fearfulness of the lower world with three-headed Cerberus, roaring Cocytus, the misty silence of transportation over the Acheron, and the endless torment of punishments inflicted by those same inexorable Greek judges had already been discounted. Cicero and his auditor, who represented the Roman intellectual status quo, deemed this view of the underworld unworthy of refutation. "What possible difficulty is

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[89] Ibid., 101.

[90] Plato, The Last Days of Socrates, trans. Hugh Redennick (London: Penguin Books Ltd., 1969) 199.

there in refuting such monstrosities of painters and poets?"[92] Cicero asked. For enlightened Romans of the time, the underworld was a place where true justice reigned and where death could no longer be a punishment for those unjustly judged, or it was nothing. Moreover, it was a place where, if the words of the poets were true, one could look forward to being once again in the presence of departed friends. Socrates reminded us in the Phaedo that one might be fortunate enough to meet supremely good, divine masters and men of legendary courage or strength or wisdom there.

For these reasons the philosopher looked forward to death and prepared his soul to be liberated from the body when death came. He disregarded the nominal pleasures of food and drink, smart clothes, and bodily ornamentation.[93] The body interfered with the soul's perception of the truth and of the true forms of things. The material world was illusory and desires associated with it were dangerous to the soul. It was the world of impermanence where no perfect thing exists. Only in the mind could one perceive the permanence of things; there would one find absolute and unchanging beauty or goodness or uprightness, not in the world before our eyes. This idea was a driving force in the moral world of the entire medieval period. From the fall of Rome to Charlemagne's time and until the Renaissance, men and women would believe that if they shunned the bodily pleasures of this world, they would stand a greater chance of receiving far superior heavenly rewards when their souls finally were liberated from their bodies after death. The kinds of rewards medieval men and women expected would differ greatly from those expected in the Graeco-Roman period. Both groups of people expected a kind of supreme

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[91] Moses Hadas, Basic Works, 98.
[92] Ibid., 67.

happiness. For the Greek philosopher, happiness laid in the soul's attainment of the truth. For medieval man-- whether he fulfilled the role of knight, peasant, craftsman, or monk-- the reward was final and everlasting unity with God, the Father.

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[93] Plato, The Last Days, 109.

CHAPTER 2

VIRTUE IN THE MIDDLE AGES

The Rise of Christian Faith

The Middle Ages are often dated from the beginning of the migration of Teutonic tribes in 375 A.D. or from 476 A.D. when Romulus Augustulus, the last Roman Emperor, was deposed by Germanic chieftain Odoacer. The time period ends sometime between 1200 and 1400 A.D. when the cultural rebirth now known as the Renaissance began. Intellectually and educationally, the period was considered to be a dark and narrow one. The individual in the Middle Ages considered his time an "enclosure lying in the shadows of two immense mountains: one, the great past with the ancient philosophers and Christ; the other, the apocalyptic millennium when Christ would finally reign on earth."[1] Much of the Greek intellectual life that lingered in the shadow of that first mountain was discounted as dangerous or of little purpose. Faith gradually replaced reason as a guide to conduct. It became the stepping stone to union with ultimate knowledge of one's world. The Greek love of politics was displaced as Christian church fathers denied the value of material and practical affairs and made the life of the spirit and its relationship to God their preeminent concern. Aristotle's idea that man was a composite being who could not be separated, except in thought, into body and soul was supplanted in the minds of the western church fathers by a more ethereal understanding.[2] They came to see the body and human nature as essentially sinful and in need of discipline. The Greeks believed that human nature and desire needed tutoring and

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[1] Robert Ulich, History of Educational Thought, 29.
[2] George Howie, Aristotle On Education (London: Collier-Macmillan, 1968), 18.

tempering; the early Christians believed human nature and desire needed to be controlled and punished.

In general during this period, the physical world and worldly desires were rejected, and the human capacity for spiritual transcendence was favored. In the first century A.D., Philo the Jew argued that the God of Judaism was the same abstract, transcendental spirit described by Plato. In the third century A.D., the Roman Plotinus described a mystical union of the individual with the divine that was both neo-platonic and characteristically early Christian. Paul exhorted individuals to a kind of Stoicism, recommending rigid discipline of bodily desire and unconcern for the vagaries and passing fortunes of the material world. Moreover, he expected those early Christians to take joy in the adversity and suffering they faced as Christians in the still powerful Roman Empire. He preached that faith would transport them from their mortal suffering at death to eternal life with God.

The persecution of Christians in the Roman Empire did not last many years. Culturally and educationally, the most significant event of the Middle Ages was the official recognition of Christianity as the state religion by the East Roman Emperor Constantine the Great. After his victory over Lucinius in 324 A.D., Constantine turned the tide for Christianity, establishing, with the first ecumenical council of the church at Nice, in 325 A.D., a unified body of dogma for the rising Christian church. Though tolerant of pagan and Jewish beliefs, Constantine promoted bishops of the church, lavishing wealth and privileges on them, and elevating them to the highest rank of

nobility.[3] By 380 A.D. the Codex Theodosianus made all non-Christian beliefs heretical or signs of dementia.[4] Apparent contradictions in Christian doctrine--the trinity and oneness of god, God's omnipotence and the existence of sin, and the finiteness and immortality of man--were quashed by the demand for faith in one God in heaven and one emperor on earth.[5] The triumph of Christianity seemed complete in 415 A.D. when the symbolic annihilation of Greek idealism occurred: a fanatical mob in Alexandria dared to murder, with the toleration of the bishop, the neo-platonic philosopher Hypathia. Much admired for her intellectual gifts and her physical attractiveness, she was one of the last living symbols of the ideal of wisdom and beauty combined.[6]

There were three dominant elements influencing education in the Middle Ages: loss of Greek idealism and the general social and moral decay that came with the fall of Rome; the incursion of various Germanic tribes (including those led by Odoacer); and the aim of the church to consolidate power and bring order to an increasingly unstable empire. With the end of Roman hegemony came the end of an urban life built on trade and surplus. Western society moved back to a more agrarian, marginal, and localized economy. Politically, Europe came to be organized under the systemized anarchy of feudalism. Social life was based on the tenure of land and military service. Civil war and barbaric invasion led to a devolution of defensive capability to the local level, and people willingly submitted to local men who could protect them. During this period of breakdown of centralized royal control, the church came to govern its own holdings.

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[3] Norman F. Cantor, Medieval Lives (New York: Harper Collins, 1994), 54.
[4] Ellwood Patterson Cubberley, Readings, 53.
[5] Norman F. Cantor, Medieval Lives, 21.
[6] Will Durant, The Age of Faith (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1950), 15.

Educationally, these two groups—the land-owning aristocracy and the church—were fundamental in defining virtue and character in this period. The palace schools of the nobility taught men of action to be courageous and kindly in the support of those who needed protection, and they taught women what it meant to be ladies of the court. The church encouraged its clergy and its monks in the more contemplative and peace-loving virtues. Of them it demanded unquestioning and unremitting obedience, service, and submission to the will of God, as defined by one's superiors within the church hierarchy.

Scholarship, limited though it was to ideas and documents deemed acceptable to church authority, was the province of the clerk, not the knight. H. A. L. Fisher noted, "in the ancient world culture and high birth went together." He lamented the misfortune of the European Middle Ages, which was that culture became separated from the high born: "The business of the knight was to fight and hunt; the duty of the clerk was to pray and learn."[7] The virtues, rituals, and practices of each group fit its particular aims and vocation. The knight was to be fearless in the active defense of his lord and his God. The clerk, monk, or disciple was to be equally fearless in the assertion of his faith and in his willingness to accept death rather than deny the will of the church fathers and his loving Christ.

Virtues of the Early Christians

> One great question arises again and again in the course of human history: to what extent can man live on his own reason, or to what extent does he need deeper resources of faith and inspiration.[8]

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[7] Ibid.

[8] Robert Ulich, History of Educational Thought, 47.

The Roman order, which lasted nearly 1200 years, began to decline after the reign of Marcus Aurelius, who died in 180 A.D. The decline of Roman civilization has been attributed to many factors. Corruption, mismanagement, administrative breakdown, and increasing divisions between classes formed. The Teuton races beyond the Rhine and Danube rivers threatened borders of the empire. Racial conflicts in Western and Northern Europe forced nomadic tribes inside Roman frontiers, and perhaps most importantly, the Christian church began to grow and strengthen. The rise of the Christian church would have dramatic implications for the future development of Western thought about education.

When Jesus first appeared, he brought a new message. He taught that men and women could find meaning and order in their lives by throwing themselves into the arms of the divine father. Their citizenship in an increasingly disordered empire could be replaced by membership in god's wondrous creation. He opened the kingdom of heaven to all who would be faithful. One's ability to reason and contemplate gave one no special place in heaven, nor did the thinking, educated man or those of a chosen race or social class have a special place reserved.

Access to heaven was within everyone's grasp. The humble, the meek and poor in spirit, everyone who hungered and thirsted after righteousness would be allowed to enter. Purity of heart and mind were more important than intellectual gifts or training. Knowledge proceeded directly from God to His faithful children. Servants of the Lord had only to knock on the door of knowledge and god would open it.[9] Jesus' famous Sermon on the Mount was characteristically simple and yet profound. Understanding of

logos, the Greek idea of spirit, meaning and order, once discovered in painstaking discussions and thought, could be found in the simple acceptance and love of God. Understanding was extended equally to those who faithfully loved the Father, and the faithful were thought to be wise.

Jesus was born into the monotheistic Jewish tradition and revived the "emotional fervor of Isaiah's and Jeremiah's idea of the covenant that existed the Lord and His people, that which lay dormant in a "rather cold and legalistic system of moral and ritual prescriptions."[10] Christ's teachings shifted the locus of individual responsibility from actions in service of the state or empire to those who demonstrated one's perfect and indestructible love for God and His creation. Men and women went to their deaths without fear or despair rather than betray that love and deny their God. Poverty, degradation, physical pain, the loss of pleasant society and worldly pleasures touched them not.

In the early days of Christianity, while the Roman empire was still strong, Christ's disciples faced harsh penalties for their refusal to worship the Roman emperor. Jesus exemplified acceptance of one's suffering and the unflagging love of Him for whom one suffered. Though he wishes to escape his fate, he accepts it as the fulfillment of God's will, saying, "O my father, if it be possible, let this cup pass from me: nevertheless not as I will, but as thou wilt."[11] The disciples were expected to follow the example of their leader. The martyrdom of Stephen revealed the same humble resignation to one's fate. Even while members of the Synagogue of the Freedmen stoned him, he

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[9] Mt. 7.7, NIV
[10] Robert Ulich, History of Educational Thought, 63

prayed for his Lord Jesus to receive his spirit, and then, with his last breath, begged forgiveness for them, saying, " Lord do not hold this sin against them."[12] The heroism of the faithful presented an alternative to the old mingled joy and sorrow of death in pitched battle, characteristic of Roman militarism. Faced with the problem of heroic faithfulness to this subversive God, Diocletian issued an edict in 303 A.D. that recommended church leaders be thrown into prison and tortured until they made sacrifice and prayer to the Roman emperor.[13] Many church leaders died because they would not revere the emperor in this way, and Tertullian, an early Roman historian, praised their obstinacy, calling it a preceptress:

> For who that contemplates [the Christian willingness to die for his faith] is not excited to inquire what is at the bottom of it? Who, after inquiry, does not embrace our doctrines? And when he has embraced them, desires not to suffer that he may become a partaker of the fullness of God's grace, that he may obtain from God complete forgiveness, by giving in exchange his blood?[14]

In another passage Tertullian wrote, "the blood of Christians is seed," that grows in number when it is mowed down. Therein laid the principle service of martyrdom to the early church. It demonstrated a mysterious courage and absolute belief that was powerfully attractive, especially to a disillusioned people living in a declining empire.

Virtue and the Beginnings of Monasticism

Not all of the early converts to Christianity accepted the death of a martyr, imposed by central Roman authority. In the third century A.D. many ardent Christians took refuge from pagan persecutions in deserted lands, where they searched for God in

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[11] Mark 15.34
[12] Acts 7.59
[13] Ellwood Paterson Cubberley, Readings, 45.

isolation. The monastic school movement began with these desert wild men, who retired from the world and isolated themselves from their fellows.[15] The term monasticism came from the Greek "mono," meaning "alone." St. Anthony was a good example of one who sought the solace and deprivations of a life outside society. In 286 A.D. he began a twenty-year period of isolated hermitage in the abandoned fortress of Pispir, tending his garden and making mats, which he sold. Theodore of Sikyon lived in a cave for two years. When he came out, his body was covered with sores and worms; his hair was matted and he stank horribly. St. Symeon lived the final forty years of his life on top of a pillar, praying among the ruins of paganism. Wulflaic, one of many stylites to adopt St. Symeon's manner of life, lost his toenails in the first winter atop a tall pillar at the old temple to Diana; his beard was often stiff with icicles. The stylite was "snowed on, rained on, and sun-shriveled, and many came out unto him."[16] Stylites were thought to be prophets who had control over the weather, and could be heard crowing at the rosy-fingered dawn.

Gradually, hermits like the stylites and cave-dwellers, drifted together, forming well-regulated communities that lived by monastic rule. First communities would build a church in common. Small boundary or garden walls were then built and, by the middle of the darkening fifth century, towers of refuge appeared in the larger communities. As communities increased in size and number, their architecture and members' skills became more specialized. One Egyptian monastery housed writing places, tanneries, bakeries,

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[14] Ibid.
[15] Peter Levi, The Frontiers of Paradise: A Study of Monks and Monasteries (New York: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1987), 36.
[16] Ibid., 47.

fifteen tailors, seven smiths, fifteen dyers, four carpenters, and twelve camel drivers. Monasteries were chief vehicles for vocational education in the early medieval period. They became known for literary activity, manual labor, and expertise in agriculture and horticulture, in time, specialized in a secondary schooling that incorporated the seven liberal arts.

By the second century A.D. the Gospels were written and studied. Subjects such as grammar, rhetoric, and philosophy were taught as handmaidens to the scriptures. Clement of Alexandria and Origen, two early Christian education theorists, believed the pagan literature and pedagogy could support church purposes. The former believed that higher learning could help consolidate the Christian message, and the latter advised students to extract from Greek philosophy what would prepare them for Christianity. Augustine was more suspicious of secular learning and held the view that man must believe in order to know. He warned "studious and able young men . . . not to venture heedlessly upon the pursuit of the branches of learning that are in vogue beyond the pale of the Church of Christ."[17] The Council of Carthage in 401 A.D. forbade clergy to read pagan literature. At this time Cathedral schools for theological training were established for each archdiocese and the pattern of Church suspicion of secular learning begun by Augustine became firmly entrenched. Catechumenal and Catechetical schools, also in existence at this time, provided instruction to new converts to Christianity, but the Catechetical schools served mainly as rudimentary theological training schools for clergy and church leaders.

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[17] Ellwood Patterson Cubberley, Readings, 51.

As the monasteries and monastic schools grew, the wild appearance and excessive asceticism of the hermit was denied the monk who lived the well-organized communal life within monastery walls. Basil, Augustine, and Benedict, founders of early monasteries, did not regard asceticism as necessary to the monastic life. Benedict shared Aristotle's love of moderation and was opposed to self-imposed extremities, such as the wearing of verminous rags or eating of spoiled food, as much as he was opposed to "flabby self-indulgence."[18] Though less extreme in their practice, monks still wished to share Christ's sufferings and live in His presence.[19] The spirit captured in Paul's words to his honored church brothers in Corinth exists still: "We are fools for Christ's sake . . . We are weak; you are so powerful. We are in disgrace; you are honored. To this day we go hungry and thirsty in rags; we are roughly handled . . . They curse us, and we bless; They slander us and we humbly make our appeal."[20]

The Virtues of the Monk

In 529 A.D., the year Justinian closed the school of philosophy at Athens, Benedict moved his disciples to Mount Cassino and built a monastery on the ruin of a neglected temple dedicated to Jupiter. In a time of mass destruction, social corruption, epidemic disease, and famine, Benedict attempted to build a little city of God on earth.[21] The way of life that he established there and the rule by which he and his monks lived became the model for many generations of Benedictine monks. "By the ninth century it

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[18] Walter Nigg, Warriors of God: the Great Religious Orders and Their Founders, trans. Mary Ilford (London: Secker and Warburg, 1959), 149.
[19] John Seward, "The Fool for Christ's Sake in Monasticism, East and West" in M. Basil Pennington, ed., One Yet Two: Monastic Tradition East and West (Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1976), 54.
[20] 1 Cor. 4.9 NIV

had become the dominant monastic rule in the west, a position that it holds today."[22] According to this rule, the monastic day was quiet and reverently filled with manual labor, bible readings, the saying, singing, or reading of prayers and praises to God, eating, and sleep. All else was silence. Manual labor took the form of farming, the making of baskets, lace and other handicrafts, and the weaving of mats. The Benedictine monastery was always a self-sufficient economic unit, and at Mount Cassino, Benedict was chagrined by the unavoidable accumulation of capital resulting from hard work and Spartan living. The poverty of the monks' lives "often stood in glaring contrast to the collective wealth of the monasteries."[23]

Reading was the primary intellectual work at a time when most people were illiterate; though restricted in Benedict's time to daily Bible readings, the monks profited more than the majority of people from the intellectual stimulation that these readings afforded. Benedict thought Bible readings served to inspire faith in god and reverence for His creation. After Benedict's death in 547 A.D., many Benedictine monasteries provided other avenues of intellectual stimulation as they became homes to eager copyists of classical works.

Before he was allowed to join a monastery, the monk first was turned away; his knocking at the gate was ignored. If he persisted in his attempts and demonstrated an ardent desire to enter, then he was allowed to submit to the abbot's authority if he made three vows. He made a threefold promise in the presence of God and His saints to observe

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[21] Walter Nigg, Warriors, 130.
[22] Patrick Geary, Medieval History, 79.
[23] Walter Nigg, Warriors, 144.

"stability, conversion of life, and obedience."[24] His vow of stability referred to the length of time he would spend there and the unswerving determination and character required to make such a choice. Having made that choice, the monk vowed to embrace a way of life that conformed to Christian principles. He gave away all that he owned, kept his body pure, and obeyed the will of his abbot and senior brothers. Like the first apostles, monks sold off their possessions, agreed to remain together, and owned everything in common. Living in poverty was a way of exercising one's faith. One had to believe God would provide the necessities of life, just as Jesus had done when he miraculously fed the multitudes with two fish and five loaves of bread.[25] Often poverty resulted from practicing the virtue of charity. The saints were well known for their willingness to give away food, property, and their own clothing so that the poor might be fed. Of Francis of Assisi, it was said that his disciples had much work in keeping him clothed, so likely was he to offer the cloak off his back to keep the cold from some beggar.[26]

To keep their bodies pure, monks were expected to rid themselves of sexual temptation, and Benedict took drastic steps to do so. Obsessed with the image of a beautiful woman and unable to stand the torment of his lust, he threw himself in a briar patch and rolled in it until his skin was ripped and hanging from his frame like rags.[27] Francis of Assisi considered eating meat an unclean act and had himself dragged naked before the people in the market place for the sin of eating meaty soup. His disciples had convinced him that eating the soup with meat would help him fight a bout with Quartan

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[24] Ibid., 140.
[25] Mark 6.30-44 NIV
[26] Will Durant, The Age of Faith (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1950), 670.
[27] Walter Nigg, Warriors, 130.

fever. Bernard of Clairvaux fasted so much that his superior at Citeaux had to command him to eat.[28] Any form of desire was an unwanted distraction for one who should "love the Lord with all one's heart, all one's soul, all one's strength and prefer nothing to the love of Christ."[29]

The monk was to have no will of his own. An abbot could make any request of the monk he liked so long as it helped bring the monk closer to the life of Christ. Abuse of this power by abbots probably occurred in some cases. In his rule, Benedict reminded abbots who would follow him that God judges all men. He warned the abbots that woe would befall the man who abused the power given to him as the embodiment of Christ among His disciples; that was the role Benedict said the abbot fulfilled in his monastery. Each monk submitted to his abbot's will with humility; this submission helped him to become meek, to be free of pride. In the Gospels, Christ preached that one had to die before one could truly live, and it was the death of the monk's willful spirit that left an emptiness where God's will, in the form of monastery rule and the authority of the abbot, entered in.

Even though life in the monasteries set monks in the presence of Christ's spirit and authority as embodied by the abbot and monastic rule, each monk was obligated to attempt to commune more directly with Christ through the practice of silence. In his silence and quietude, the monk may have received Christ much like the Olympic athletes of ancient Greece received the goddess Hesuchia. The monk may have experienced the same rest and peace that the Olympic athlete sought and expected to receive when his

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[28] Will Durant, Age of Faith, 791.
[29] Leonard J. Doyle, St. Benedict's Rule for Monasteries (Collegeville: 1948) in Patrick J.

efforts resulted in victory. It was then that he could enjoy the easy complacency of the gods. The monk's rest, though, was an active one. In rest he paid silent but vigilant attention to God, always listening for "the Word that came out of Silence,"[30] and he avoided evil thoughts that invited him to condemn others in his heart. He knew that if he let these thoughts enter his mind, he would not be truly silent.[31] True silence allowed the monk to enter into the activity of worship. His prayer became God; it was not something that he did so much as something God was doing within him.

Many of the practices and rules of the monasteries were adopted in convents and convent schools. The early part of the Middle Ages witnessed the remarkable development of convents for women, particularly in Germanic countries. Administered by women until the end of the seventh century A.D., the convents and their schools catered to the feudal elite. It became common practice throughout the Middle Ages for families to send their girls to the convent for training in manners and morals. Many girls went to the convent schools for instruction without any intention of taking holy vows. From the sixth to the thirteenth centuries A.D. no other opportunity for girls to learn existed. Instruction consisted of reading, writing, the copying of Latin, musical training, weaving, spinning, and needlework.

Until the close of the twelfth century A.D. in Western Europe monastic schooling remained a part of a society that consisted only of the Christian clergy, the feudal nobility, and the land-anchored serfs. Existing educational agencies, like the monastic

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Geary, Medieval History, 183.

[30] Archimandrite Kallistos Ware, "Silence in Prayer: The Meaning of Hesychia," in M. Basil Pennington, ed., One Yet Two: Monastic Tradition East and West (Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1976), 22.

schools, were designed for the training of the clergy for the sacred and secular roles they played. Little, if any, thought was given to the education of the medieval serf. For the nobility, however, a definite system of education emerged through the growth of a new social institution: Chivalry.

Chivalric Virtue and Education

To understand chivalry, one must understand its feudal origins. Concerned with both loyalty and property, feudalism has been described as organizing people's relations through the focus of land tenure and binding all, from the kind to the serf, together by responsibilities of defense and mutual service and sustenance. The serf provided sustenance and the noble class provided defense against thieves and marauders. The feudal system developed most thoroughly in France, Germany, Italy, England, and Scotland. Its cradle was in the empire of Charlemagne. A figure without equal in the political and educational landscape of the West, Charlemagne or Charles the Great, controlled France, Germany, the Low Countries, North and Central Italy, Bohemia, and Croatia. His reign ushered in what has been described as the "Benedictine Age," which lasts from the end of the Dark Ages to the beginning of the Renaissance.

Charlemagne attempted a wholesale restoration of learning during the time of his reign. He recruited scholars from all parts of the world to make the Frankish court a model for learned Europe. He rehabilitated the Palace School of his own court, made possible the systematic promotion of clerical education, and fostered teaching competence in both cathedrals and monasteries. His interest in the Palace School had two important ramifications. It came to form a centre of intellectual learning in Western

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[31] Ibid., 29.

Europe and brought all the major figures of Church and State into contact with scholarship. It also trained a generation of men who propagated the notion of learning throughout the Western world and whose presence kept the Carolingian tradition alive to the time of the Renaissance. Charlemagne brought scholarship to a system of education that aimed to teach the best ideals, social and moral, that the Teutons could understand. It attempted to take what good there was in an unprincipled fighting society and bring it into line with Christian beliefs. If "the great task of the Church, whether consciously felt or not, was to civilize the barbarian; chivalry, in essence, represents the Christianization of the Teutonic fighting man."[32]

Today, we see vestiges of gentlemanly behavior when a man performs some courtesy for a lady; perhaps he holds the door for her or offers her chair that she might sit down. These manners recall those of the courtly and warlike knight, a man who was distinguished by his gens or ancestry.[33] We remember Charlemagne and the Song of Roland, King Arthur and Camelot. Such courtesies are no longer offered with any self-assuredness; they are not the flourishes of virtus, what the ancient Romans called manliness, that were the marks of Europe's eldest noble sons living in the period between 1100 and the beginning of the sixteen century. These courtesies, and the rituals and vows of which they were marks, are no longer necessary in social life.

The symbolism of the knighthood ritual shows us what the knight valued and vowed to do.[34] After having his beard and hair dressed, the novice was brought to a bath. The bath represented courtesy, bounty, and purification; it was to remind him of his

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[32] Jarman, Landmarks in the History of Education
[33] Will Durant, Age of Faith, 591.

childhood baptism and innocence. Then he was brought to a fair bed, which signified "the repose of paradise," which is the object of every knight's chivalry. Raised from this bed, he is dressed in a white robe, to signify cleanness of the body; over the robe is placed a scarlet cloak, which reminded the knight of his duty to be ready "to shed his blood in defense of God's church. Brown stockings were placed on his feet to remind him of the earth which will cover him at death, "and to prepare in life for death." Around his waist was bound a belt of white that signified virginity and sexual self-restraint. Gold spurs reminded him to be swift as a pricked charger to follow God's commandments. At last, he was girded with a sword, which, double-edged, reminded the knight that justice and loyalty must go together, and that he must defend the poor from any strong oppressor. Once the knight was completely dressed and armed, he was given the collee, a light blow from the man who girded him with the sword; this blow was to be the last that would go without redress.[35]

When the ritual was finished, the knight accepted certain duties and commandments. He was never to consent to any false judgement or be a party to treason; he was to honor all women and give them aid to the limit of his power; and he was to hear, when possible, a mass everyday and fast on Fridays in remembrance of Christ's passion.[36] The knight's first duty was to defend the faith of Christ against unbelievers. He must also defend his temporal lord, judge people under the king, and supervise their labors. He was to school himself in the virtues of wisdom, charity, loyalty, and, above all, courage; he must prize honor and eschew pride, idleness, and lechery. As Geoffrey de

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[34] Maurice Keen, Chivalry (London: Yale University Press, 1984), 7.
[35] Will Durant, Age of Faith, 545.

Charny wrote, "No man should rest content with what he has achieved . . . [and he] should attribute all [his] glory and achievement to the grace of God and the Virgin."[37]

In most cases, of course, young men of action with the means to afford "the expensive appurtenances of chivalry" were given a practical, direct education. This education emphasized "the social and moral obligations that high status and a privileged way of life impose" long before its students accepted the duties and status that knighthood brought.[38] Theirs was not the bookish education of the cleric or the humble craftsmanship of the laboring class; these men were fitted for the dangerous physical trials, pomp and formality of jousts and tournaments. Ceremony and formality did not rob them of real martial skill; they drove the Moors into Granada, the Slavs from the Oder, and the Magyars from Italy and Germany. From the age of seven or eight to the time when he was received into the knightly order, the knight engaged in dangerous exercise and sports, learning by imitation and trial to handle the cumbersome weaponry of feudal war. He understood that his achievements would manifest themselves in external acts, that the true knight was a "man who has been at jousts and tournaments and at war in other besides his own, who has served his lord in arms and has crossed the sea in quest of adventure and fame."[39]

The historical mythology of chivalry found its sources in the stories of Charlemagne and Arthur and the classical histories of Troy and Thebes, Alexander and Caesar. These stories provided examples of wisdom and virtuous living for all levels of

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[36] Maurice Keen, Chivalry, 8.
[37] Ibid., 10.
[38] Ibid., 5.
[39] Ibid., 15.

Middle Age society; in the same way the Homeric epics showed young Athenians the ideal to which they should aspire. The Chansons de geste, Arthurian legends, and older Germanic and French epic literature extolled the virtues of military prowess, liberality, and pride in loyal service. The fragmentary song of Hildebrand and Hadubrand, perhaps the oldest extant continental Germanic heroic poem, shows us all three virtues in the aged but vigorous hero, Hildebrand. The song described the meeting of father and son after a separation of many years. Hadubrand, the son, did not know that it was his lost and highly reputed father whom he faced, on the verge of battle. Bragging about his famous lineage, he claimed that his father was to his lord "indispensable . . . such a reliable man . . . and the best of the swords with Dietrich."[40] Realizing that his own son has praised him, Hildebrand took from his arm a twisted ring of Emperor's gold which he received from the Lord of the Huns, and offered it to his new enemy, who was "so close a kinsman." Hadubrand refused the gift, suspecting some treachery, and guarding against cunning attack from the old hero before him. After realizing his destiny, Hildebrand joyfully engaged his son in battle, hand to hand, and as other allusions to the legend suggest, killed him. He did not refuse his son battle because he would have made himself repulsive in the eyes of his fellow soldiers, "the East people" who had enlisted him in battle.

In all the poems "there rings the same grimly exultant joy of battle."[41] Heroic poetry of the time transformed a harsh masculine world--the world of the camp, not the court—into a glorious and romantic dream. Swords and horses were treasured,

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[40] Siegfried Gutenbrunner, trans. Von Hildebrand und Hadubrand: Lied-Sage-Mythos (Heidelberg: 1976) in Patrick J. Geary, Medieval History, 136.

personified possessions that accompanied heroes as companions in the crush of battle. Noble cavaliers were mounted on silver-saddled steeds, "their bridles all of gold."[42] In the fatal battle of Pinabel and Thierry, near the end of Roland's song, sparks flew heavenward from brightly gilded clashing swords of the heroes in a fiery spray. Even when Thierry cleaved Pinabel's bejewelled gold helm to his brain and spilled it from his head, the vulgarity of the deed was covered over by Frankish enthusiasm for God's might made manifest. The simple rhyme and meter of the lines also had a softening influence. Providing a breath of honesty, Jean de Beaumont contrasted, in the Vows of Heron, the knight's dream of martial glory with "the realities of campaigning."[43] He described the tavern born desire, inspired by strong wine and white-throated ladies with sparkling eyes, to overcome Yaumont and Agolant. This desire abated, he wrote, when the knights on their chargers trotting felt the great cold "congealing [them] together," their limbs "crushed before and behind," and the enemy approaching; then did they wish to be back in the tavern, boldly dreaming.[44]

Jean de Beaumont's description introduced the powerful influence that women had on the practice of courtly love. William Durant wrote that "two influences moderated the barbarism of chivalry: women and Christianity."[45] Women, he argued, had more power than the church over the chivalric knight. Most knights "gaily ignored" church sanctions against tournaments, where ladies were shown great courtesy.

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[41] Maurice Keen, Chivalry, 104.
[42] Dorothy L. Sayers, trans. The Song of Roland (New York: Penguin Books, 1957), 199.
[43] Maurice Keen, Chivalry, 223.
[44] Political Song, ed. T. Wright (RS), I, 21 in Maurice Keen, Chivalry, 223.
[45] Will Durant, Age of Faith, 547

Knights manfully displayed their martial skill and devotion to the gentlewomen who attended these tournaments. It was customary, before the first contest of a tournament, for ladies to lead their devoted knights onto the field in gold or silver chains. "Usually each knight carried on his shield, helmet, or lance a scarf, veil, mantle, bracelet, or ribbon that his chosen lady had taken from her dress."[46] These articles of clothing and decoration betokened a knight's pledge of service to his lady. They revealed to tournament audiences for whom the knight bravely fought and proved himself.

It is important to note that he usually fought, and sometimes died, for some other lady than his spouse. Marriage, according to Marie of Champagne, was a necessary obligation that compelled people to dutifully submit to one another's wishes.[47] It could not engender the uncalculated, gratuitous appreciation and devotion between lovers that was characteristic of courtly love. Marital fidelity was not much in fashion. Even the pious Dante addressed his love poems to some other woman besides his wife, his beloved Beatrice, and the first of thirty-one "Laws of Love" removed the impediment of fidelity completely, stating, "Marriage cannot be pleaded as an excuse for refusing love."[48]

The rules of courtly love tamed the heart of the knight, softening his appearance, behavior, and will. Chaucer drew a picture of the mannerly young knight's apprentice or squire in his General Prologue to The Canterbury Tales. The young man he described was an unlikely combination of delicate beauty, modesty, and tempestuous passion. He served well in battle for one so young, could use a lance, write, draw well, and dance. Like that season of new growth to which Chaucer compared him, he wore "embroidered flowers,

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[46] Ibid.
[47] Ibid.

red and white,/ And [was] blazed like a spring meadow to the sight."[49] He sings and plays the flute all day; yet, he is "lusty as the month of May: So hot his love that when the moon rose pale/ He got no more sleep than a nightengale." Not because he was carousing all night long should the young squire have lost much rest. The twenty-third law of love supplies a more virtuous reason for the young squire's loss of sleep: those who were the prey of love, it said, slept and ate little.[50] Shakespeare's Romeo bore many of the same characteristics of this young squire. Love made Romeo delicate and melancholy when he pined for Rosalind, but it also lent him the untried skill needed to kill fiery Tybalt, when it was his duty to seek vengeance.

Were knights the mannerly, forthright, and loyal protectors they vowed to be? Could such vigorous men control their passions when not engaged in the contests of the tournament or battles with the infidel? What is known about their power and lustiness suggested that few of them could. Durant pointed out how little some knights fulfilled chivalric expectations, citing Froissart's accounts of their treachery and violence. They engaged in fisticuffs, incendiarism, adultery, and astonishing cruelty.[51] Still, chivalry has left its decisive mark upon European society of the Middle Ages. Over two hundred orders of knighthood spanned Britain, France, Germany, Italy, and Spain. Today, schools like Eton, Harrow, and Winchester still intertwine the chivalric ideal with their liberal arts program of study. Knightly themes and characters, have resurfaced in Miguel de Cervantes' Don Quixote and the Romantic movement of the eighteenth and nineteenth

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[48] "Tractatus de amore et de amoris remedio" in Will Durant, Age of Faith, 548.
[49] M. W. Knox, John C. Mcgalliard, and P. M. Pasinetti, editors, The Norton Anthology of World Masterpieces, Vol. 1 (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1979), 1114.
[50] Will Durant, Age of Faith, 548.

centuries. They have shaped much of the fantasy and science fiction literature and film of the late twentieth century. One need only look to the work of J. R. R. Tolkien or George Lucas to find examples of shining knights, the force of righteousness, near-sentient weaponry, damsels in distress, and lofty noble sentiment. Though few knights may have always lived according to their vows of knighthood, the ideal that made them glorious remains to this day.

The Return to Reason and the Ancients

Late in the Middle Ages, during the eleventh and twelfth centuries, there was a stirring of new life in Christian scholarship. The orthodoxy that originated in Augustine's idea that man's reason did not permit him to understand God, that one could only realize God through faith, had to respond to outside social pressures. With the return of the Crusaders from the East and the growing influence of Moorish Spain, the mood of uncritical acceptance that had characterized the Medieval mind came to an end. A new movement, Scholasticism, was born of the need to support the doctrines of the Church with rational argument, to justify faith by reason, and to substantiate theology by logic.

Thomas Aquinas, considered to be a mainspring of the educational revival that preceded the renaissance, rescued the world of ideas from the constraints imposed upon it by Augustine. Using the Socratic method, he allowed students to discover the truth of general principles by the natural light of their own reason. He showed that the use of reason no longer necessarily led to heresy. Because of his work, reason could now exist as a natural activity within and outside the framework of the Church.[52] Faith and reason

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[51] Ibid., 603.
[52] M. C. D'Arcy, Thomas Aquinas (Dublin, 1953), 33.

were never thrown into conflict in the Thomistic system, because arguments, when they seemed equally probable, were decided by faith. No final judgement in cases where uncertainty existed could be made by reason, for reason had limits beyond which it should never be stretched.

Like Aristotle, Aquinas conceived of man as both a material and spiritual being, composed of a body and a soul. He managed to reconcile what had boggled many theologians before him. He united the transitoriness of this world with the idea of eternity in God by claiming that the soul was part of man's form, that it was dependent upon the body for its experience and knowledge, except in matters of faith. Faith came from revelation and dealt with divine truths that were not accessible to reason. Aquinas succeeded in solving Alberta Magnus' problem of successfully incorporating Aristotle into Christian philosophy. The old world and the new came together.

CHAPTER 3

RENAISSANCE VIRTUE

The New Spirit of the Italian Renaissance

"Consider your birthright: think who you are. You were not made to live like brutes, but to pursue virtue and knowledge."

Dante

Dante Alighieri captures the discontent and skeptical stirrings that were inspired by the difficulties of the early renaissance. By the latter part of the fourteenth century, fifty-six years after he completed his Divine Comedy, the Church found itself in grave difficulty. "Heavy trouble weighed upon the papacy—for long years, in fact, even its existence trembled in doubt."[53] It was the time of the Great Schism when divisions within the Church resulted in two popes: one in Rome, the other in Avignon, France. William of Ockham, Marsiglio of Padua, England's Wycliffe, Bohemia's Huss, and even Florentine Dante "rained (criticism) upon the Holy See."[54] Outside church walls the Hundred Years War had already begun, and the Black Death was ravaging the population of Europe, paying no heed to walls of any kind.

Yet all was not darkness. Petrarch's discovery of Cicero, "cobwebbed by many centuries and long since strayed from human memory,"[55] his rounding up of ancient manuscripts fostered an ever-widening circle of interest in the legacy of Greece and

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[53] Adolphe E. Meyer, An Educational History of the Western World (New York: McGraw Hill Book Company, 1972) , 139.
[54] Ibid.

Rome. The economic pattern of recession and stabilization seen in the fifteenth century fueled the propensity of Renaissance man to escape reality in literary, philosophical, or mathematical diversions. Literature became dreamily utopian or bitterly satirical. Painting too became dreamy, idealized, emotional, and "compensatorily heroic or individualistic."[56] The Medieval commercial revolution undermined aristocratic power and the connection between nobility and birth. In the ensuing economic regression, humanistic culture came to serve as the new symbol of nobility, power, prestige, and wealth. The ideal of the "gentle heart," attained by the cultivation of one's soul anticipated the Renaissance notion that "humanistic culture is true noblesse."[57]

A general dissatisfaction with the medieval approach to thought accompanied the new humanistic interest. Monastic and Cathedral schools taught the Seven Liberal Arts—Grammar, Dialectic, Rhetoric, Music, Arithmetic, Geography, and Astrology—but "what passed for learning was little more than a memorizing of accepted knowledge."[58] The Church allowed "no free journeying of the mind."[59] Scholars were expected to defend and uphold what they learned from their teachers. They were not taught to conceive of the possibility that knowledge could be outdated. Fifteenth century geographical discoveries challenged this conception of knowledge and forced thinking men and women to revise old views. John of Glogan pointed out the discovery of Ceylon disproved the old idea of an uninhabitable torrid zone. Gianozzi Menetti praised the advance of navigational

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[55] Ibid., 140.
[56] Richard L. DeMolon, The Meaning of the Renaissance and Reformation (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1974), 35.
[57] Ibid.
[58] Adolphe E. Meyer, Educational History, 139.
[59] Ibid.

methods as nothing short of miraculous, noting the discovery of cultivated and inhabited islands "hitherto completely unknown."[60] And Antonio Galateo of Ferrara expressed pride in the new adventurous spirit of his age, giving "all glory to those valiant men . . . who dared to entrust themselves to an unknown and boundless sea, who dared to penetrate that vast void of nature."[61]

This spirit of adventure, so necessary to travel upon the open sea, rivaled and finally overcame the medieval tendency to protect what was known; the fifteenth century became increasingly appreciative of the virtues of the good traveler. The search for Greek books and learning combined travel with the new journeying of the mind. Guarino da Verona and Francesco Filelfo went to Constantinople in search of Greek knowledge, and Brunelleschi and Donatello earned the name of "treasure seekers," so indefatigable were they in "their excavations and examinations of buried capitals, cornices and other remains."[62] The pilgrim literature also illuminated ways in which travel affected thought: pilgrimage seemed to foster a questioning mood and to provoke comparison of local differences of costume, taste, behavior, and language. Travel became a recognized voyage of self-discovery, and "the pilgrimage to Jerusalem the epitome of life itself."[63] Dante's literary pilgrimage through hell, purgatory, and paradise dramatized metaphorically the paired increase of self and theological knowledge found on religious pilgrimage. Guided by Virgil and Beatrice, his young Florentine lady—worthy guides from the classical and medieval worlds respectively—Dante journeyed, morally and

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[60] Margaret Ashton, The Fifteenth Century: The Prospect of Europe (London: Thames and Hudson, 1968) , 46.
[61] Ibid., 47.
[62] Ibid., 181.

symbolically, from "confusion to clarity, darkness to light, sin to redemption, terror to beatitude."[64] Dante's journey through and escape from the realm beyond death bolstered the medieval concern for man's eternal soul, but it also marked a small triumph of mortal man over those dark forces which had been his chief threat and concern.

Individual power and courage, exemplified by Dante as pilgrim, flowered in the fifteenth century, when the artist would gain a new celebrity and honor. Individual creativity became a celebrated virtue that suggested the artist's expression of things divine. Analogies were drawn between artistic conceptions and ideas in the mind of the divine creator. These analogies found their origin in Cicero, Seneca, Plotinus, and other Neo-Platonic writers. It has been partly established that "the iconography of Botticelli, Raphael, and Michelangelo express[ed] philosophical ideas of Platonic origin."[65] Perhaps such creative work expressed the artist's experience of what Plato called divine madness, some supra-rational consciousness of the eternal forms. Certainly, man's superiority in a variety of arts was taken as evidence for the contention that his soul held a central position in the universal hierarchy. It lessened his concern for immortality through Christ and increased his faith in the possibility of artistic, literary, and economic preeminence.

Renaissance man saw the natural world that surrounded him as vitalistic, vibrating with the energy of God. The divine spirit infused everything external, and artists like Michelangelo, Leonardo da Vince, and Raphael possessed an overwhelming urge to understand the workings of the physical world. Anatomical drawings gave shape to their ruminations and the artistic possibilities of the human body. Sculptures of the human

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[63] Ibid., 92.
[64] Richard L. DeMolon, Renaissance and Reformation, 45.

form blended the appurtenances of rational control—balance, harmony, serenity, and clarity—with muscular explosiveness.[66] Italian humanists conceived of human nature in the same dynamic way: they gave man "no fixed nature, no metaphysical trappings or underpinnings."[67] Instead, they focussed on his human potential and the blessings of temporal glory rather than salvation.

No glory is possible without an admiring public, and for Renaissance man the public world was defined mainly by the walls, bridges, and gathering places of his city. Human traffic funneled through narrow streets and over crowded bridges as it approached the heart of the city, the circle or quadrangle of the main government palace. One encountered citizens of all classes, those of great privilege and the sometimes perilously disadvantaged. Expensively dressed and influential citizens flaunted their wealth before the envious, sometimes contemptuous, eyes of the city's more modest citizens, its craftsman, artisans, and tradesman. The really poor—the jobless, the wage laborers, the itinerant peddlers—perhaps felt little or no sense of membership in the life of a particular city, but the tenacious and prosperous middle class was profoundly attached to neighborhood, parish, and family seat. For members of this class, to be driven into exile was a kind of "dismemberment,"[68] just as it was for Greeks of Plato's and Aristotle's time. They found Aristotle's conception of man as a political and social being to be a sound one. Florentine thinker Remigio Girolami expressed a very Aristotelian sentiment

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[65] Ibid., 8.
[66] Ibid., 56.
[67] Ibid., 41.
[68] Ibid., 40.

when he said, "He who is not a citizen is not a man."[69] The emphasis on action in Aristotle's Ethics appealed to them also, as did Cicero's emphasis on eloquence, felicity, and the orator's powers of verbal expression.

Roman theatres, temples, altars, arches, palaces, and columns were not meant to be described and annotated merely. They were measured and analyzed to be rebuilt.[70] Leone Battista Alberti aimed to do what Vetruvius had done—to define principles of "harmony, beauty, and ornament in building."[71] The passion to recapture principles of antiquity coincided with a new love for rules. New languages needed new grammars in painting and building as much as in writing and composing. Brunelleschi and Masaccio asserted the necessity of painters knowing the mathematical laws of spatial diminution, if they were going to properly capture the eye's perception of distant horizons, those made so much more tangible by recent discovery of new and distant worlds. Reverence for past achievement and knowledge combined with the adventurous spirit of the time. The past was no longer viewed as a continuous process of decline leading from the Roman empire to ultimate dissolution in the reign of the Antichrist; it became a dynamic process of prosperity, decay and restoration of classical and republican virtues.[72]

The Social World

By the Sixteenth century, the renaissance had moved north and modified to suit the more pious northern character. Still, social norms, the everyday practices and behavioral limits informed by virtue, remained quite similar in countries with very

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[69] Ibid.
[70] Margaret Ashton, The Fifteenth Century, 192.
[71] Ibid.
[72] Ibid., 182.

different cultures. Those who broke social norms were pilloried, often at public festivals, by mobs of self-appointed agents of social control. Offenders faced what was called "rough music" in England, mattina in Italy, and the charivari in France. Discipline took the form of pot-banging, rough language, public beatings, and humiliation. It was a kind of social control from below.

Family life provided the theoretical centre for many social norms. It was normal for girls to marry, with consent, at the age of twenty-two; boys were married between their twenty-fourth and twenty-sixth years. Marriages in which husband and wife differed greatly in age, status, religion, or wealth were disparaged. Because death rates were high, widows and widowers often remarried; the inevitable rivalry over family money between children and new wives or husbands fostered stories of evil stepmothers and fathers. The family was the primary economic unit and focus of emotional life and, though extended families had given way to the conjugal or nuclear ones, households were crowded with servants and visiting relatives. Each family was regarded as a little monarchy, presided over by the father. He protected and provided for his household, serving as an example of piety and virtue. Wives tended the children, supervised the servants, and cared for their husbands. Children were not segregated from the adult world; they dressed and were addressed as adults. Ten and twelve year olds joined in carnivals and political riots. The concept of childhood as a carefree and innocent age developed only among the privileged classes, late in the sixteenth century.

Sexual contact outside of marriage was officially banned and, because late marriages were common, sexual continence was strained. In Erasmus' Colloquies, youths are warned against the use of prostitutes, and husbands and wives were expected to be

faithful to each other. The human body and its sexual functions came to be associated with shame and embarrassment in the sixteenth century. Catholic and Protestant reformers thought that frank discussions and artistic treatment of the subject led to indecency, and indecency was equated with impiety. Nudity in painting and art, it was thought, encouraged sins of the flesh. By the beginning of the Seventeenth century, decency and chastity had become entrenched in the new morality. Manners became more refined. The ban on such gross behaviors as blowing one's nose into one's hand, spitting, or eating with the bare hands reflected this new desire for refinement.

As society became more refined, structured, and hierarchical in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the need for a safety valve became more pressing. The carnival or festival supplied this need, providing outlets for youthful exuberance and strengthening the communal spirit that existed apart from birth and privilege. Carnival or festival time was a season when men and women could indulge themselves--a time when sin could be brought to light and gotten rid of before Lent. Gluttony was the order of the day; everyone drank and filled his belly full of meat. People costumed themselves and acted out roles as clerics, devils, or fools. Men dressed as women, servants as masters. The world was turned upside down, the social and natural order reversed. There were mock battles and foot races. Jews were forced to run nude to the jeers of thronging crowds. The charivari, naturally encouraged in its work by the carnival atmosphere, humiliated and beat transgressors. For a brief time, chaos was unleashed upon the populace, as it indulged in sex, food, and violence without limit.

Carnival time provided a release from the chaos wrought by disease, war, and omnipresent death. Death, salvation, and the future of man were pervasive

preoccupations. The times were bad: the plague would strike with deadly force, subside, and, with seeming arbitrariness, return again. Syphilis also, in the last years of the Fifteenth century, flared up, ravaged the human form, and terminated only with the death of the body it infected. Death came to be represented as a mummified, decayed body or as a skeleton rather than the avenging angel of God. It led a procession of pope and emperor through the orders of society to peasant and beggar. It was the great social leveler, making worm's meat of the high born and humble. Remember that Shakespeare's thoughtful Prince Hamlet showed his Uncle Claudius how the body of a king may run a course through the guts of a beggar thanks to all-consuming death.[73]

At the moment of death, the dying person was thought to witness a dramatic struggle between angels and devils that fought for his soul. Books of the Ars Moriendi, the Art of Dying, stressed the importance of resisting the devil's temptations "for those who gave in to him at this time of greatest human despair would have to spend endless years in Purgatory."[74]

Of course, the church provided a fund of magical assistance, giving blessings in the form of holy water, exorcisms, and charms. These purportedly warded off fire, disease, or sudden death. The saints of the church could also always be petitioned in sudden need. Magic was taken seriously as a practical undertaking, a way of making sense of the universe. Many, however, thought magical practices misguided and the church, for its participation in them, corrupt. The clergy were a constant target for ridicule. That God does not love worldly priests was an accepted idea. Reformers thought

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[73] Shakespeare, Hamlet 4.3.30

[74] H.G. Konigsberger, George L. Mosse, and G. Q. Bowler, Europe in the Sixteenth

the wealth of the Church, its political and administrative preoccupations, and its involvement in society and politics made it part of the corruption and decline of the period. All awaited a new messianic age that would follow the conversion of the misguided and the destruction of evil in the world.

Educational Leaders and Theory

Though education was seen as an instrument of conversion and progress toward this glorious age, it faced much opposition in the Sixteenth century. Poor families feared the loss of income involved in schooling a child. Nobles, gentlemen, and peasants did not see its relevance to their style of life. The ruling classes feared the effect learning might have on their volatile subjects. The clergy worried about the possibility of literacy leading to heresy. Would educating girls, as Luther proposed to do,[75] take them away from their domestic duties? Despite questions and concerns of this kind, education, responding to the demands of new national bureaucracies, made headway. Renaissance humanist pedagogy, one of three main streams in pedagogical speculation of the period, became important to the social and professional elite.[76]

Members of that elite sent their boys to court schools in Mantua and Ferrara. In Mantua, Vittorino da Feltre, the greatest of Italian schoolmasters,[77] oversaw a typical renaissance school of the humanities. Its goal was to develop the entire nature—physical, intellectual, and moral. The schoolmaster of such a school sought to establish a fully-rounded, harmoniously balanced character in students who would fulfill their roles

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Century, 2d ed. (London: Longman, 1989), 89.
[75] Richard L. DeMolon, Renaissance and Reformation, 19.
[76] H. G. Konigsberger, George L. Mosse and G. Q. Bowler, Sixteenth Century, 76.
[77] William Henry Hudson, The Story of the Renaissance (New York: Henry Holt and

privately as good men, and publicly as good citizens. He emphasized physical activities, manners, and morals. Boys fenced, wrestled, played football, ran, leaped, and danced. They studied Greek and Latin, and learned to combine some of the physical activities of the old chivalric education with the courtly ideal that was of so much concern in Baldesar Castiglione's, The Book of the Courtier. In Ferrara, Guarino da Verona also emphasized development of the fully rounded through physical, mental, and moral training. His students also studied Livy and Plutarch as guides to conduct; Cicero and Quintilian for prose; and virgil, Lucan, Horace, Seneca, and Claudian for poetry. He, more than Vittorino da Feltre in Mantua, was concerned with scholarship for its own sake. Indeed, in him could be seen certain pedantic elements which were later to gain ascendancy.[78]

The other two streams of pedagogical speculation of the period have been called religious revival—which was practical, democratic, and concerned more with moral training and social utility than classical culture—and realistic, which was influenced by the scientific thought of the day. Desiderius Erasmus, Martin Luther, and Johann Sturm were leaders who blended simple Christian piety with humanism in the pedagogical stream of religious revival. French thinkers Rabelais and Montaigne swelled the realistic current in pedagogy, criticizing the bookishness and pedantry of humanistic education and advocating a kind of practical-mindedness—study and learning "per inductionem et experimentum."[79]

By 1500, the talk of Italian intellectual superiority and transalpine barbarism hushed to a questionable murmur. Humanism spread northward, shifting the balance of

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Company, 1924), 150.
[78] Ibid.

learning significantly. The need to travel south for the civilizing influence of Italy became progressively less impelling. In the England of 1499, Erasmus found a group of cultivated men—Colet, Grocyn, Linacre, and More—who were well-acquainted with humanist learning. The fashion for antiquity seeped steadily northward, emerging rather strikingly in the names some aspiring humanists gave their children. Humphrey, duke of Gloucester, named his daughter Antigone, for example.[80] The arrival of the printing press made humanist teaching and learning less dependent upon formal institutional methods. Erasmus has left a vivid description of himself working against the clatter of Aldus's press.[81] With the help of various presses, northern humanists produced and published works of rhetoric, poetry, history, and epigraphy comparable to those of their Italian predecessors and contemporaries. And they took the lead in the field of theology. In Erasmus's work especially we see the tools, wisdom, and method of the studia humanitatis grafted onto the Christian piety of the North. In his written work and preaching, as well as Luther's, the delicate balance between the scholarly and evangelical shifted distinctly toward the evangelical side.[82]

The Brethren of the Common Life or Devotio Moderna school begins development of Christian humanism with the call to reform man's life on earth. The Sixteenth century humanists shared with popular piety the sense of an evil present and the need to move toward a golden age. Reform of the Church would only result from the

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[79] Ibid., 158.
[80] Richard L. DeMolon, Renaissance and Reformation, 79.
[81] Ibid., 80.
[82] Ibid., 123.

reform of individual lives.[83] The Devotio Moderna were literate, scholarly optimists who foresaw human perfection as man's ultimate earthly reward for following their simple set of recommendations and practicing virtue.[84] "Imitation of Christ" entailed a life of ssacrifice, study, and labor. In his essay on the imitation of Christ, Sileni Alcibiades, Erasmus observed Christ's humble origins, his poverty, the trials of his life and mockery of his death. Though an advocate of wide learning, he pointedly commented on the surprising veils held before knowledge, the concealment of truth in scripture. The parables of the Gospel seemed to be written by an ignorant, yet wise man, he suggested, noting that the apostles too were unschooled, unlettered, ridiculed, despised. In his Paraclesis, he says that the spirit imparts himself "to none more readily than to the simple of heart."[85]

Though decidedly against the worldly wise as Seventeenth century Puritan author John Bunyan would call them in his famous work Pilgrim's Progress, those who would claim too much of God's understanding for their own, Erasmus and other Christian humanists did not disparage learning. Students were arrayed on benches from 7:00 a.m. until the noon meal and then from 1:00 to 4:00 p.m., learning to become fluent in the Latin language. Classical literature was studied and schoolmasters believed such study would foster eloquence, critical skills, and moral responsibility in their students. Learning, though, had to be of the right sort; it was the tool and servant of a pruned and simplified piety that characterized some of the strongest spirituality of the time.[86]

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[83] H. G. Konigsberger, George L. Mosse, and G. Q. Bowler, Sixteenth Century, 78.
[84] Richard L. DeMolon, Renaissance and Reformation, 15.
[85] Ibid., 110.
[86] Ibid., 86.

Students were taught to turn away from outward ceremonial and to concentrate upon exploring and strengthening inner resources through quiet reading and meditation.

The Bible was the center of daily reading and meditation. At Zwolle, an hour each day was devoted to scripture. Discipline was maintained by masters and seniors students with liberal use of praise and shame, frequent examinations and competitions, and, ultimately, corporal punishment. Students were taught to revere parents and all figures of authority, suppress sexuality, and place the needs of society above their own.[87] In Johann Sturm's Gymnasium, which became a model for secondary schools throughout Europe, humanist pedagogy was influenced by Protestant religious content. Fathers were encouraged to participate in the education process by catechizing their children and repeating sermons to servants and offspring. One effect of the Reformation, which occurred simultaneously with the Renaissance in the North, was to strengthen the position of the public school at the expense of the family. Parents relied on the school and church to help them teach their children to know God's will, and became secondary agents of these institutions.

Humanist scholars such as Luis Vives, Roger Ascham, and Thomas More produced a generation of learned women in England, and Luther wanted girls to benefit from education also. Neither reformers nor humanists conceived of female education as leading to careers outside the home, however. Chastity was still viewed as a young woman's primary asset, and care was taken not to teach boys and girls together after primary school. Luther's belief that girls should be educated was part of his larger, boldly democratic view of education as a bridge between the individual and God, and a weapon

against the corrupt Holy Roman Church. He argued that it should be popular, free, and compulsory, and that ample provision should be made for all ranks and classes—rich and poor, high and low, girls as well as boys—to attend. He thought every child should be taught to read, write, and cipher.[88] Even children who were bound to work for wages should still receive a minimum of two hours daily instruction in letters, morals, and religion. Education of the young was the only secure basis of effective reform in home, church, and state. The church was already too corrupt to reform itself. Luther attacked the roman court, the greed of cardinals, papal officials, and pluralists; disputed clerical immunity from secular law; and suggested that secular rulers should establish national churches He denied the popes jurisdiction over any Christian and demanded a simplification of rites and ceremonies in church. He renounced and rejected "pious observances, utterances, and cash transactions; the purchase of pardons, prayers, and tributes to saints."[89] He denied the individual any power to contrive his own salvation. The believer could only appropriate some measure of Christ's righteousness and forgiveness through the strength of his faith,[90] and one's actions could be justified by faith and scripture alone.

Like Luther, Erasmus had been a monk of the Augustinian order and had served the cause of reform He too was a spirited individualist. Where Luther saw man as a culpable and depraved creature, totally dependent on God, Erasmus saw man's nobility. He granted man the free will Luther denied him and thought him capable of attaining

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[87] H. G. Konigsberger, George L. Mosse, and G. Q. Bowler, Sixteenth Century, 76.
[88] William Henry Hudson, Story of the Renaissance, 152.
[89] Richard L. DeMolon, Renaissance and Reformation, 18.
[90] Ibid.

perfection. Erasmus trusted learning more and the promptings of faith a little less. To set divine grace and the spirit so far above human reason seemed too dangerous to him. He feared a growing irrational spiritual assertiveness and the encroachment of inevitable conflict.

Inspired by Roger Bacon, representatives of the realistic school set aside what they called the bookishness and pedantry of humanistic education. They set aside classical authority and abandoned the practice of making pupils learn by rote. In every subject they proceeded from the concrete to the abstract, the simple to the complex. John Amos Comenius, one of Bacon's disciples, thought modern man should interpret facts for himself. Where Luther relied upon individual faith, Comenius relied upon examination and interpretation of evidence. He wrote, "Are we not as well as the old philosophers placed in Nature's garden? Why then should we not cast about our eyes, nostrils, and ears as well as they?"[91] He thought education should improve the faculties with which man is endowed by nature in order that he may develop full knowledge of himself and the world. Human beings should be made into reasonable creatures who would capably rule over other creatures and bear a likeness to the Maker. For the beauty of form and style of classical literature he had no sense whatsoever. "All authors," he said, "are to be banished from the schools, except those that give knowledge of useful things."[92]

Francois Rabelais, like Comenius, thought education should be useful, that it should prepare one for life "in the widest possible acceptation of the term."[93] In The

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[91] John Amos Comenius, Preface to "Natural Philosophie Reformed" (English Translation, 1651) in William Henry Hudson, Story of the Renaissance, 158.
[92] Ibid., 159.
[93] William Henry Hudson, Story of the Renaissance, 160.

Histories of Gargantua and Pantagruel he satirized the absurdity of old teaching methods, and he rejected the asceticism, servile obedience, and dogmatic theology of schools that were inspired by the religious revival of the time. He did not believe life's healthy, natural instincts should be repressed; instead, he encouraged a harmonious and well-balanced development of all the faculties. He argued that new, rational methods should be used in the training of boys and girls, both of whom should become models of surpassing physical health, comeliness, virtue, good breeding, grace, and sound scholarship. Having learned something by rote, students must then learn to apply their knowledge to practical problems and test them with the facts of experience. In The Histories again, the tutor and his student sit and, over their meal, discuss "the virtue, property, efficacy, and nature of all that was served on the table."[94] The arts of life, particularly music, are encouraged. The utmost attention is paid to all kinds of physical exercise, which is calculated to develop strength, agility, and self-control. Swaying far from the path of humanist educators Rabelais recommended that students be initiated into the mysteries of the workshop and the factory; they are taught corn threshing, wood-carving, and painting. Similarly, Juan Luis Vives broke "the humanist's measured tread"[95] by suggesting students should not be ashamed to enter shops and mills to ask craftsmen questions and get to know the details of their work.

Rabelais, though much concerned with the material world, did not neglect spiritual growth in his educational thinking. Each day was to begin with a reading from

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[94] Ibid., 161.
[95] Adolphe E. Meyer, Educational History, 156.

scripture. Thanks to God "for His Divine bounty and munificence"[96] followed every meal. At night praise was offered to God "for the time that is past," and students recommended themselves "to His Divine clemency for all the future."[97] In his utopian dream of the Abbey of Thelema, his ideal educational institution, Rabelais banned bigots, hypocrites, Pharisees, gold graspers, the cruel, the contentious, and the dissolute, but to those men and women whose hearts are pure and modest, and whose religion is rooted in simple faith and charity, he extended warmest invitations. For them, beautiful, orderly grounds would be created and strict attention to hygiene and raiment would be paid. No clock or sundial would be found among the well-pruned trees and manicured lawns, because "the greatest waste of time is to sit and count the hours."[98] No vows of chastity, poverty, and obedience were proposed; students would adhere to one clause only in the rule at Thelema: "Fay ce que voudras." Do what you will. Rabelais thought men and women whose natures were attuned to the moral law could be trusted always to do spontaneously what is right. Like Jean Jacques Rousseau after him, Rabelais had great faith in human nature, and thought properly educated youths and maidens could dwell together peacefully in mutual reverence and sympathy.

Montaigne was a skeptic, not a dreamer. Like Rabelais, he criticized the educational practice of the day, writing that "we toil only to stuff the memory, and leave the conscience and intelligence void."[99] He thought the best education should give wisdom in enterprise; integrity in action; modesty in gesture; justice in conduct;

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[96] William Henry Hudson, Story of the Renaissance, 162.
[97] Ibid., 163.
[98] Ibid., 163.
[99] Ibid., 166.

judgement and grace, not ornament, in speech; courage in sickness; moderation in sport; temperance in pleasure; and order and government in the house. He thought a man should learn to know himself, to live well and die well. He praised Sparta at the expense of Athens, because the Spartans educated their young to live and conduct themselves properly, not to be lovers of literature.

Renaissance Literature

By 1530, there were over two hundred printing presses in Venice; many of them were producing Baldesar Castiglione's The Book of the Courtier. Though court life was set apart from the lives of most men, manners and maxims were adopted by many who aspired to a more cultivated kind of life. The words courteous and courtesy in Romance and Germanic languages indicate the civilizing influence of courts on European society.[100] For Castiglione the courtier was the quintessential renaissance individual, a man who had developed his faculties to their fullest extent. The ideal courtier excelled in courage, piety, good manners, and the artistic and literary taste of the Italian and French Bergundian urban elites.[101] He was matched by the highly educated court lady to whom the male courtier's behavior was always to be acceptable and pleasing. In his praise of music and painting, Count Lodovico, one of Castiglione's learned characters, argues that they are valuable in part because they please the ladies and help men discern what is beautiful in them.

That women should be beautiful and their beauty deserving of admiration was a contention that inspired no debate. The role of music and painting in society was,

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[100] H. G. Konigsberger, George L. Mosse, and G. Q. Bower, Sixteenth Century, 81.
[101] Ibid.

however, worthy of discussion. Signor Gaspare disparaged these arts, saying "real men . . . should not indulge in pleasures which render their minds effeminate and so cause them to fear death."[102] Responding to this disparagement, the Count presented the ancient belief that the universe was "made up of music, that the heavens make harmony as they move." Already, he had reminded the charming and noble company gathered there that music helped "our bodies relax and our spirits recuperate." It sometimes stirred the great Alexander to rise from the banquet table "and rush to arms," and it, differently composed and played, soothed the "tender and gentle souls" of ladies, who were "susceptible to [musical] harmony and sweetness."[103] Painting revealed the beauty of living bodies and helped one to judge the merits of ancient and modern statues. It helped men who practiced the art to more fully appreciate the beauty every man sees in a woman who attracts him.

The Duchess, who was the most powerful and revered character in the company present, then led the discussion to what, besides her physical comeliness, made a woman beautiful, i.e., what qualities of character or virtue. She imposed upon the Magnifico Giuliano to describe his perfect lady of the court. With the polite reticence and humility that befit a courtier, he agreed "with great fear that [he would] fail to please"[104] to offer opinions on so profound a subject, since it was the Duchess's wish. He argued that men and women of the court should have different qualities. Men should be robust and sturdy; women should "have a certain soft and delicate tenderness . . . a feminine sweetness in

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[102] Baldesar Castiglione, The Book of the Courtier (London: Penguin Books, 1967), 94.
[103] Ibid.
[104] Ibid., 210.

(their) every movement."[105] Men and women should have certain feature in common too. Both should shun affectation, be of good family, be naturally graceful, well-mannered, clever, and prudent. Neither should be proud, envious or evil-tongued, nor vain, contentious or clumsy. Women, more than men, should be good looking and know how to maintain their good looks. The lady of the court needed also to be more circumspect. Her actions should be beyond reproach and should not stir those more suspicious members of the court to speculation and rumor. She should be able to take care of her husband's belongings, house and children, and have all the virtues belonging to a good mother. Before all else she should possess "a certain pleasing affability."[106] She must be composed of contrasting qualities. Her serene and modest behavior should be informed with a quick and vivacious spirit. She must always be sociable and yet she should not speak immodestly; neither should she talk or listen to someone who speaks ill of others. Indeed, she "must observe a difficult mean."[107]

A certain manner and tact were as necessary to the man of the court as they were to the woman. He always must avoid foolish arrogance and to strive to please. He also was to avoid being the bearer of bad news and, when talking privately with his lord, should defer serious things to another time. He never should be obstinate or contentious or say things that would give offense. Instead, he should smooth over difficulties and, when making requests of his lord, leave out displeasing items. He should always take careful note of time and place. If he should be favored out of the ordinary, he should not

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[105] Ibid., 211.
[106] Ibid.
[107] Ibid., 212.

become "almost drunk with joy."[108] He should not value favor too highly or appear as one who cannot live without it. Nor should he decline favor; gratefully and humbly, he should accept it as evidence of his own worth to the court.

This concern with manner suggested a hint of artificiality for which court society later became notorious. Increasingly, court life became removed from the lives of ordinary citizens and the essentially military role of European aristocracy. Though expected by many to merely temper the violently competitive ruling classes, learning and manners of court life eroded many of the traditional ideals of what constituted manly behavior. The educated warrior became dandified. In Miguel de Cervantes's The Adventures of Don Quixote, published approximately seventy-five years after The Book of the Courtier, the deluded knight errant himself, in haughty response to the horseman Vivaldo, says, "Ease, luxury, and repose were invented for soft courtiers."[109] We laugh at Don Quixote's vaunting of himself and his adherence to a long absent chivalric code, for he was a character who tilted at windmills and mistook women of easy virtue for noble ladies sweet and pure. These mistakes provide comic irony throughout Cervantes's book, but at the center of that irony is a core of regret. We regret the loss of those ideals with which Quixote misguidedly adorned his simple and unromantic life. The thankless suffering he endures for his Lady Dulcinea, a mere farm girl who lives near his village, is foolish and touching at one and the same time.

This irony in Don Quixote points up the paradox of the Italian renaissance, in which devotion to learning and passionate love of beauty co-existed with private

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[108] Ibid., 127.
[109] Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, The Adventures of Don Quixote, trans. J. M. Cohen

profligacy and political corruption. The worst feature of Italian society of the time was its flippancy and laxity. According to William Henry Hudson Renaissance Italy needed a spiritual awakening to temper its lust for life, check the conversion of liberty into license, and give direction to its artistic energies.[110] The prevailing defect of its literature was its want of a lofty aim and moral fiber, its preoccupation with form a lack of "sound subject matter." Little of the idealism of chivalry remains in the romantic verse of Pulce's "Morgante Maggiore," or of Boiardo's "Orlando Innamorato," or of Ariosto's "Orlando Furioso." "Brilliant, vivacious, full of wit and fancy, overflowing with the zest for adventure, these poems have really nothing in them to remind us of the stock from which they sprang."[111] French literature lacked what the Italian offered in style and form but revealed a moral vigor and a vital power that amply compensated the reader for any artistic shortcomings. Its moral qualities were due "in large measure to the fact that in France the Renaissance came hand in hand with the reformation."[112] The spirit of the reformation had stirred deeply the best thought of France, and literature was filled, in consequence, with the strength and passion of life. Through Rabelais's irreverence and indecency runs a strong current of humanitarianism, seriousness, and faith.

England was influenced also by the spirit of the Renaissance and Reformation simultaneously. Its literature is also an admixture of genuine faith, spiritual exaltation, and a robust, though sometimes indecent, lustiness. At times in Christopher Marlowe's "Hero and Leander" or William Shakespeare's "Venus and Adonis," for example, the

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(London: Penguin Books, 1950), 96.
[110] William Henry Hudson, Story of the Renaissance, 250.
[111] Ibid.
[112] Tilley, The Literature of the French Renaissance: Introductory Essay, 33 in William

neo-paganism gives rise to brutal passion, crude violence, and quite salty amorous encounter. Venus, inflamed by passion for the tender Adonis, "pluck[s] him from his horse,"[113] and tucks him under her arm. Neptune, having fallen in love with poor Leander, who is almost drowned, calmed the sea and promised it would never do him harm. As Leander continued his swim to the beloved Hero, Neptune "wantonly" smiled and

> watched his arms, as they opened wide,
> At every stroke betwixt him would he slide,
> And steal a kiss, and then run out and dance
> And threw him gaudy toys to please his eye,
> And dive into the water, and there pry
> Upon his breast, his thighs, and every limb,
> And up again, and close beside him swim,
> And talk of love.[114]

When Leander finally reaches Hero's bedchamber high up in a solitary tower, the imagery is both sensuous and combative. Leander vanquishes Hero, "Poor silly maiden, at his mercy she was," for "Love is not full of pity, as men say,/ But deaf and cruel where he means to prey." After a brief show of protest Hero gives herself to Leander, who, "Like Theban Hercules,/ Entered the orchard of th' Hesperides,/ Whose fruit none rightly can describe but he/ That pulls or shakes it from the golden tree."[115] The violence of the vanquishers, be they god or man, is balanced with tender admiration for the objects of desire.

Both poems convey much about the trials of love and the natural, oftentimes torturous, emotions that are brother and sister to love's pleasure. The love depicted is

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Henry Hudson, Story of the Renaissance, 253.

[113] William Shakespeare, "Venus and Adonis," The Riverside Shakespeare, ed. G. Blakemore Evans (Atlanta: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1974) , 1705.

[114] Christopher Marlowe, "Hero and Leander," The Norton Anthology of Poetry, 3rd ed. (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1983) , lines 183-191.

earthy, not idyllic. In the developing dramatic art of the period there is this same return to real life and nature. The two great renaissance subjects are life and man. Literary pioneers like Boccacio and Chaucer made stories of common events, unencumbered by the didacticism, allegory, abstractions, and awkward personification of the medieval period.[116] Eventually religious drama evolved. The mystery and morality plays that once depicted popular religious thought, and the teachings of the church in dramatic form, in the hands of the trade-guilds now became comical. Cain wrangled with his boy, as did Noah with his wife. The two Shepherd Plays in the Wakefield Cycle arrived and were "rough, north country farces."[117] The personification of virtues and vices as seen in Everyman gave way to more human, complex, and comical characterization. Soon the "vehement, virile, and many-sided character of the Elizabethan age"[118] would be reflected in individual characters who stepped upon the boards laid down in local inn yards or those fixed within the great Globe itself. In Shakespeare's characters particularly, the Elizabethan vision of the human condition would come alive in all its pathos, beauty, sin, and ugliness—at once sensual, idealistic, brutal, and tender.

Niccolo Machiavelli, in The Prince, attempted to define the concept of virtue, excellently described necessary the princely virtues, and provided us with a bridge between discussion of the Renaissance virtues and twentieth century bureaucratic ones. Machiavelli's Italy suffered from such a decline in strength and spontaneity of feeling

> That men [were] unable to find in their own lives and consciousness the spiritual leavening that is the spur to action: as in all eras in which a multitude has grown

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[115] Ibid., lines 286-288 and lines 297-300.
[116] William Henry Hudson, Story of the Renaissance, 222.
[117] Ibid.
[118] Ibid.

> bored with itself finds its political passions and emotions stagnated, so that in the fifteenth century men searched among the ruins of another world for the foundations of the glory of their time.[119]

Italy was the scene of intense political conflict in which four dominant city-states—Florence, Milan, Venice, and Naples—attempted to protect themselves from the Papacy, France, Spain, and the Holy Roman Empire. The prince remained the one firm support on which regional life rested. Court life and humanistic culture served to inculcate a serene indifference to every form of violent emotion: "The diplomats now held the stage—in particular those merchants with hard, secretive profiles who live again in Masaccio's frescoes."[120]

The prince was to be "all sinew and thought, cold and impenetrable, like one of those fine suits of armor made of delicately-wrought steel in which warriors used to encase themselves before a battle."[121] He required wit, strength of will, warlike prowess, diplomatic wisdom, and the capacity for cold, incisive analysis. He had to have perfect poise, inscrutability, and a blending of cold calculation and ardent ambition. This ambition set him apart from diplomats who sought a balance in the ebb and flow of diplomacy. Machiavelli thought the prince should use his diplomatic skill in seeking a system which, "while availing itself to the maximum degree of the arts of government, human speculation, and back-room intrigue, aim[ed] not at a balance of forces but at its own undisputed supremacy."[122] The virtue of the prince was to be the supreme controlling factor of life. It alone would transcend the politically and morally bankrupt world in

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[119] Federico Chabod, Machiavelli and the Renaissance, trans. David Moore, with an introduction by A. P. d'Entreves (London: Bowes and Bowes, 1958) , 52.
[120] Ibid., 60.
[121] Ibid., 64.

which the prince strove to leave some imprint on an otherwise amorphous, scattered, and selfish public.[123]

For Machiavelli, virtue had shed all its contemplative connotations and its association with moral virtues.[124] Virtue was now simply military prowess and strength of arms. A citizen army was far more important to Machiavelli than a transcendent moral system. He conceived of religion as a coercive force, subjecting men's minds to a wise discipline and assisting them in their duty as citizens. Religious virtues like piety, mercy, charity, and faith could in certain circumstances be termed vices if, in pressing political circumstances, they led to defeat. Machiavelli thought virtue should always result in a politically successful society. Virtue denoted the strength and vigor necessary for the prince to master capricious fortune. His measure of virtue then was tied to the good fortune and successfulness of each prince. The virtuous prince was one who could exploit political opportunities, gain strength, and continue to triumph even in the face of a changeable and threatening world. For princes, failure always implied some lack of virtue.

Because he tried to tie his concept of virtue to fickle fortune, Machiavelli had difficulty saying what virtue was. Fortune, he said, represented that part of human affairs where man's own efforts proved either of little or no avail.[125] There were no rules to predict the winning or losing of Lady Fortune's favor, and so the path of virtue became harder and harder to follow. Sometimes it seems to lie among the traditional moral virtues

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[122] Ibid., 62.
[123] Ibid.
[124] Sydney Anglo, Machiavelli: A Dissection (London: Victor Gollancz, Ltd., 1969) , 229.
[125] Ibid., 227.

and be set in opposition to vices such as gluttony or dissipation. Sometimes it was equated with civic virtues or the fortitude of the chivalric knight. Sometimes it was associated with goodness as in Machiavelli's characterizations of Pope Leo X.[126] At other times he associated virtue more closely with vice, praising Cesare Borgia, Castruccio Castracani, and even Hannibal, each of whom triumphed over fortune by way of fraud, broken promises, and ruthless murder. However much the face of virtue changed for Machiavelli, the differences between his moral scheme and a Christian or classical one were clear; for him, the opportunities to be exploited were connected to fortune and necessity rather than to God's providence or some shared conception of the good.

[126] Ibid., 230.

CHAPTER 4

NORTH AMERICAN EDUCATION: THE MODERN PERIOD

Virtue in the Common School Era

The teacher in the one-room school "with its steeple-like bell tower," surrounded by farms and the rudimentary industrial systems of nearby towns, inculcated an ideology that John Higham termed Protestant-Republicanism.[127] The population of North America in the mid-nineteenth century was four-fifths rural; the family farm was the chief system of economic production. Industrial systems were composed of small firms, and in many industries old work techniques and shop cultures persisted. At school, students "were to be orderly, pay strict attention to all that was said, try to get their lessons, obey all the rules, and be able to answer perfect every evening."[128] The schools and churches produced a homogeneous moral and civic order and a providential prosperity.[129]

School promoters like Horace Mann saw the schools as instruments of redemption. To them, American land was God's country and her citizens, in their work and faith, journeyed toward a millennial future. The second most popular book, after the Bible, was Pilgrim's Progress. Mann and other educational leaders expected that in the hearts and minds of her citizenry there laid a hopeful longing for something better and worthier. They faithfully expected brighter skies and greener earth that only a return to God's paradise could bring. Educational leadership at this time was a calling similar to

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[127] David Tyack and Elizabeth Hansot, Managers of Virtue: Public School Leadership in America, 1820-1980 (United States: Basic Books, Inc., 1982), 3.
[128] David Tyack, "The Tribe and the Common School: The District school in Ashland, Oregon, in the 1860's" *The Call Number 27* (1966): 13-23 in David Tyack and Elizabeth Hansot, Managers of Virtue, 25.
[129] David Tyack and Elizabeth Hansot, Managers of Virtue, 19.

missionary work and John Dewey, another important educational leader who shared the millennial vision, saw the teacher as a "prophet of the true God and the sharer in the true kingdom of God."[130]

There was no doubt that Horace Mann would have shared John Dewey's vision of teacher as prophet, and yet the differences between educational leaders like Mann and Dewey cannot be over represented. Leaders of the common school movement were often gifted orators who used broadly pervasive language to promote civic unity. They used oratorical skill to create harmony when arguments arose, to find common ground in the midst of discord. They were averse to the conflict and incongruity of ideas, and had confidence in the then widely shared vision of a providential universe. They believed there could be little incongruity of thought and belief about patriotism, godliness, and prosperity. They reasoned from belief and founded their thinking on faith in God and the virtues of literacy, temperance, frugality, hard work, and good planning. Dewey placed his faith in a combination of reason and the scientific method. The road to his millennial vision was paved with observations, theories, experiments, measurement, and empirical evaluation.

In Canada, as in America, before progressive educators like John Dewey had much influence in the schools, children were enjoined to lean upon the Lord. The citizens of this young country believed they lived only by God's grace. Daily Bible readings were not uncommon. These, it was believed, taught children to gratefully celebrate and praise God as the fountain of mind and intellect. Children were encouraged to work hard; be

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[130] John Dewey, My Pedagogic Creed in David Tyack and Elizabeth Hansot, Managers of virtue, 3.

humble, prudent, and courageous; and use their time well. Time, they were told, flew on eagle's wings. Indolence, disobedience, miserliness, and envy were said to have immediate, catastrophic results.[131] Stories exhibited the Golden Rule and were unambiguous about what was right and wrong. In America, storybook heroes were often modeled after early pioneers who were gifted woodsmen and pure-hearted lovers of liberty and equality, like honest Abe Lincoln. In Canada, heroes were styled after British officers or Generals. "The typical British officer was clean-cut, frank, fearless and kindly, and he showed love of honor, contempt for danger, and pride of race."[132] His leaders, men like Wolfe and Nelson, displayed a moral greatness based on love of virtue and truth; devotion to duty, freedom, and religion; and defiance of peril.[133] Both American and Canadian heroes completed an idyllic rural picture of friendly cows, pretty blossoms, happy brooks, and healthy, spotlessly dressed children.

Canadian and American children were taught that labor was a privilege and that hardship could be overcome through sheer determination. They learned that prosperity and happiness came to those who were energetic, ambitious, self-reliant, skillful, and enterprising. With the turn of the century patriotism superseded God in its claim upon virtues such as these. Prosperity and happiness became associated with the life of the good citizen, and each country's national flag now served to inspire school pupils to be brave, pure, and true. References to religion became less frequent, and their emphasis shifted from honoring of God to exemplifying proper Christian conduct and responsibility. Christian teachings still enriched national life because they played some

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[131] Harro Van Brummelin, 33 on page 20.
[132] Ibid., 102 on page 27.

part in improving moral and social conditions of the time. Less and less, however, did they deepen the faith of the God-fearing, or bring light to the lost.

New Views of Change, Usefulness, and Virtue

The spirit and purposes of the common school did not change in the progressive era. Progressive educational leaders still looked optimistically on the schools as instruments to be used in bringing about the dawning of the millennial day. They believed the schools could increase opportunity, teach morality and citizenship, maintain social mobility, and promote popular responsiveness to the idea of social evolution. New methods of inquiry and scientific findings did ripple the once placid ideological pond, however.

Horace Mann's faith was a mixture of early American progressivism, combining elements of Jeffersonian republicanism, Christian moralism, and Emersonian idealism. Mann understood the relationship between self-government, freedom, and universal education.[134] Free citizens had to be intelligent and good if they were to make decisions that would promote the collective prosperity of American democracy. Mann sought a public school philosophy that would give Americans of varied racial backgrounds and culture a sense of community. He believed that education could build a good society by improving the character of individual children. It could teach them the self-discipline that citizens of a free self-governing society must possess, and it could induce a voluntary

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[133] Ibid., 36 on page 20.
[134] Lawrence A. Cremin, Transformation of the Schools, 3.

compliance with the laws of reason and duty. Like Jefferson, Franklin, and Lincoln before him, he believed that liberty of this kind required belief in God.[135]

By the late nineteenth century, educational leaders like William Torey Harris, the U. S. Commissioner of Education from 1889 to 1906, were suffering through a profound religious crisis.[136] Harris and others were looking for a way to reconcile boyhood Christian beliefs with the new methods and findings of science. At the center of the conflict between Christian theology and science was the notion of change. Plato's problem of explaining change and permanence in one's worldview had resurfaced and modern science was tilting the scale in favor of change. The world, according to many scientists, was in constant flux. Eventually, absolutism came to be abandoned in every scientific field. In rural areas, the protestant-republicanism of Mann's day thrived for many years. Within urban areas, people came to accept continuous change in intellectual and moral realms, though ethical practices remained essentially the same. "The two generations after 1890 witnessed a transition from certainty to uncertainty, from faith to doubt, from security to insecurity, from seeming order to ostentatious disorder."[137]

No longer founded on permanent features of human nature or divine law, social institutions were thought to be merely "prevalent habits of thought with respect to particular relations and particular functions of the individual and community."[138] It was now acceptable to think of moral tradition as something that became outmoded when society changed and social institutions evolved, leaving their primitive beginnings

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[135] Francis Fukuyama, History and the Last Man, 326.
[136] Lawrence A. Cremin, Transformation of the School, 15.
[137] Henry Steele Commager, The American Mind, 407.
[138] Ibid., 92.

behind. In a society pervaded by change Harris found a way to confirm what was worth conserving in Hegel's rationalism. Hegel opposed the anti-social naturalism of Rousseau, saying it was "the greatest heresy in educational doctrine."[139] And taught that educational institutions were not opposed to man's fulfillment; rather, they enabled man to achieve his truest expression. The temper of Harris' pedagogy was conservative and formal. He emphasized order rather than freedom, work rather than play, effort rather than interest, and prescription rather than election. He believed regularity, silence, and industry preserved civil order.[140]

Unfortunately, few of his fellow educators wanted the preservation of present ideals and conditions within the schools. Harvard educated New Englander, Calvin M. Woodward, charged the schools with adherence to outmoded ideals of gentlemanliness and culture. American manufacturing, "spurred on by protective tariffs, cheap labor, abundant raw materials, and a spreading network of railroad communication,"[141] was expanding at a phenomenal rate. Woodward recognized the "growing demand not only for men of knowledge, but for men of skill, in every department of human activity."[142] Businessmen wanted practical trade training from the schools to free them from growing union regulation of apprenticeships, and students themselves wanted manual-training to help them to escape to higher technical occupations. Criticisms generated by the sheer growth of school populations were added to those arising from the expanding industrial sector. Problems surfaced in the schools.

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[139] Lawrence A. Cremin, Transformation of the School, 18.
[140] Ibid., 20.
[141] Ibid., 15.
[142] Ibid., 7.

Many schools were poorly lighted and heated, frequently unsanitary, and bursting at the seams. Superintendents spoke hopefully of reducing class size to sixty students per teacher.[143] Local, intermittent, and frequently innocuous protests against these conditions and outmoded ideals in the seventies and eighties brought a nation-wide torrent of interest in the nineties, and by the turn of the century a revolution was clearly at hand.[144] It began with Herbert Spencer, a philosopher who offered fresh insight into the mysteries of the universe.

Spencer's broadly comprehensive worldview was admirably suited to a generation uncertain of its religious convictions, one that sought solace in the revelations of science, especially those revelations that supported the new theory of evolution. By 1882, when Spencer arrived in America to attend a series of lectures and celebrations in his honor, Charles Darwin had already been to the Pacific coast of South America. Among the rock crystals and skeletal remains of coral organisms, he found support for the idea that things in nature change with time and evolve spontaneously.

In 1859, an abstract of Darwin's theory of evolution by natural selection upset the established belief that species were unchanging and specially created by God. Darwin proposed the idea that human beings are one species among many that evolved from a more primitive state. His proposal put man's special relationship to God and his ontological status in jeopardy just as Galileo had with evidence and theories supporting the view that the earth was not at the centre of the universe and heavenly bodies were not

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[143] Ibid., 22.
[144] Ibid., 91.

perfect spheres. Controversies and debates about Darwin's theory raged all over England, Europe, and the United States.

It was Spencer, however, who became the great proponent of evolution to the American people, and teacher of what later became known as Social Darwinism. In Social Statics (1850), published nine years before Darwin's Origin of the Species, he stated his own evolutionary thesis: history is the progressive adaptation of the constitution to conditions, or, put another way, the adjustment of human character to the circumstances of living."[145] His pedagogical maxims fell naturally in line with modernists like Bacon, Locke, Pestalozzi, and Rousseau. Education should be a preparation for life; it should begin with objects not abstractions; the health of the body is essential to the health of the mind; play is a central activity of childhood and should be encouraged; and morals are best taught by connecting acts with consequences. Moral acts were to be measured by their effects and usefulness. The validity of moral acts was measured by the degree to which they promoted survival of the individual and the species. Nature would select appropriate behaviors in the same way it selected genetic characteristics. In Spencer's moral scheme, the individual's need to survive held the dominant claim upon the virtues. Wisdom, courage, temperance, and justice were also measured by the degree to which they fulfilled this particular need.

The doctrines of evolution were applied to the world of the mind, also. In 1890, William James applied these doctrines to mental phenomena in his epochal work Principles of Psychology. James saw the human ability to voluntarily react and form constructive habits to changing circumstances as the determinants of social and personal

character. Resourcefulness became a necessary virtue in changing social and moral worlds, which adapted themselves continuously to meet the challenges of new tests of usefulness and survival. James saw intelligence as the ability to adapt to circumstances, and change them. For him, useful ideas had value. Theories, for the pragmatist, were instrumental, and truth of propositions was measured by the consequences that resulted from their being held as true. One held a belief because it was productive to do so, not because it reflected some core conception of reality, something eternal and absolute. "On pragmatic principles," writes James, "we cannot reject any hypothesis if consequences useful to life flow from it."[146] He argued that the tender-minded hypothesis of an eternal perfect edition of the universe—such conceptions as Mount Olympus, Platonic forms, and Christian heaven—can not be discounted if it has proven useful. Because human religious history documents the use of the Absolute, it is therefore as real as particular sensations are to the pragmatist. Though it may have had no scientific use, it had emotional and spiritual ones. "For a hundred and fifty years," says James, "the progress of science has seemed to mean the enlargement of the material universe and the diminution of man's importance."[147] Certainly, he was by no means the only thinker of his time who avoided metaphysical ground, preferring to see ideas and ideals as byproducts of material forces and relationships. For John Dewey, ideas were plans of action, not mirrors of reality; he thought philosophical endeavor should be devoted to social engineering.

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[145] Cremin, 93.
[146] William James, Pragmatism:A New Name for Some Old Ways of Thinking (London: Longman, Green, and Co., 1911), 273.
[147] William James, Pragmatism, 16.

Virtue and the Cult of Efficiency

Industrial expansion and the very practical concerns arising form it influenced the schools as much as the intellectual climate of pragmatism, empiricism, materialism, and historicism. America became saturated with business-industrial values and practices. The status of industrial and financial leaders, such as Andrew Carnegie, John D. Rockefeller, J. P. Morgan, and Edward H. Merriman, made the acquisition of material wealth an exciting prospect for the common man.[148] The McGuffey Reader of his childhood had taught him that such material success was within reach of the honest, hardworking man. Even the derogatory muckraker's presentation of certain "leaders of industry" as "exalted thieves" did not dampen his zeal for success. The exploitative tyrants of modern industry were seen as exceptions. Popular magazines like McClure's, Mansey's, The Ladies' Home Journal, and The Saturday Evening Post extolled "modern business method," "efficiency," and other features of present day capitalism.[149]

Leading education administrators began to identify themselves with successful business executives instead of the scholars and statesmen of Horace Mann's day. In 1907, William C. Bagley, one of America's leading educators for the next three decades, published a textbook called Classroom Management. For him, the problem of classroom management was a "problem of economy [which sought] to determine in what manner the working unit of the school plant may be made to return the largest dividend upon the material investment of time, energy, and money."[150] Frederick W. Taylor's system of

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[148] Raymond E. Callahan, Education and the Cult of Efficiency (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962), 2.
[149] Ibid., 3.
[150] Ibid., 6.

"scientific management," made famous in a hearing before the Interstate Commerce Commission in September, October, and November of 1910,[151] eventually infiltrated North American home life. In August of 1911, Francis E. Leupp's article entitled "Scientific Management in the Family," published in Outlook magazine, asked its readers if their homes paid? Did they make a fair return on investment? As factories for the production of citizenship, were they successful?

The cost benefit analysis implicit in questions about dividends required that investment of resources and net results was measured precisely, and that attempts to eliminate waste were made. In schools, the impetus to measure lead to numerous standardized tests, school survey, score cards for buildings, and elaborate systems of records and reports. Attendance, time required for units of work, and the percentage of students who completed their schooling was reported. Increase of plant productivity was encouraged. It was believed that ideally all schoolrooms would be used for the longest possible portion of the day. The number of workers was to be kept to a minimum and each was to work at the maximum of his working efficiency. In 1927, after fifteen years of public and professional admiration for mass production techniques and the values of efficiency and economy, teachers found themselves saddled with impossibly high teaching loads. Classes in the classics or foreign languages were doomed because, traditionally, they were taught in smaller classes of ten to fifteen students. Educational administrators participating in the "cult of efficiency"[152] did not think about the intrinsic value of courses that they eliminated form school programs for financial reasons. Nor did

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[151] Ibid., 19.

[152] This term was made of educational history by Raymond E. Callahan's book, which is

they consider the quality of teaching or depth of learning that occurred in their large, economical classrooms. Benefits that could not be measured in terms of a dollar were forgotten.

Challenges to Conventional Wisdom

By the 1920's a small rebellion against factory-styled education was forming. For many, criticism and self-doubt became the currency of their intellectual lives. Across the Atlantic in England, the intellectual families that intermarried in the latter part of the nineteenth century flowered between the wars. Their children became the radicals of the thirties. Educated at traditional public schools like Eton, Winchester, Wellington, and Lancing, they nevertheless turned against the public school ethos. Women were on the threshold of triumph for their gender, as the suffragette movement surged ahead. The experience of the Great War had made many critical of what Henry Fairlie called the Establishment—a conspiracy of self-preserving institutions that defined social life and public perception. Its stuffy and self-satisfied members were accused of speaking for their professions and institutions rather than themselves. The depression in North America and Europe gave rise to national guilt. Persecution of Jews on the Continent, the class system in Britain, and treatment of blacks in America stirred feelings of shame rising from self-criticism. The integrity of human will was put into question. George Bernard Shaw and E. M. Forster warned their readers and play audiences about the dangers of egotism. Perhaps the world had seen enough of great men, they suggested.[153] E. M. Forster's skeptical prayer, "Lord, I disbelieve," conveyed rather bitterly the idea that the brave new world

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cited above.

[153] Noel Annan, Our Age: Portrait of a Generation (London: Weidenfeld Nicolson, 1990),

was to be one that must accommodate many disparate views. It would have to be a more tolerant, pluralistic world. Clothes became less formal, travel cheaper. The modernist movement, the routine of office and factory, was held in contempt. Support for the Arts grew. "The cardinal virtue was no longer to love one's country. It was to feel compassion for one's fellow men."[154]

Intellectual assumptions and claims abounded. Rationalists regarded appeals to tradition as obscurantist and arbitrary. Technocrats applied the scientific method to social problems. Marxists and structuralists maintained that scientific methods would not help us know, analyze, or change society. Revolutionaries regarded the world as a battlefield between good and evil. Popularists believed ordinary people were wiser than elites. Authoritarian intellectuals favored censorship, and to one side of the intellectuals stood the bohemians and hippies, crying out for freedom. Occam's razor cut away many accepted concepts and terms in its zealous attempt to penetrate intellectual difficulties.

To moral philosophy, Hume introduced his own brand of ethical relativism, suggesting we can never prove the value or rightness of anything, that ultimately our desires guide our reason.[155] Most moral philosophers were Utilitarians in the English tradition. They sought "the greatest happiness for the greatest number."[156] Pragmatism triumphed over competing philosophies because of its superior utility and relevancy. Qualitative and moral differences became easier to ignore. Henry Commager argued that the American character had not changed much since it was delineated by Tocqueville: it

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[154] Ibid, 53.
[155] Ibid, 309
[156] Ibid, 305.

was still primarily concerned with quantitive and material problems. American genius was still inventive, experimental, and practical, lacking the sense of sin and awareness of evil that was almost instinctive with most of the world's peoples.[157]

Virtues of the Progressive Era in Education

In educational theory, the bohemianism of the 1920s and radicalism of the 1930s paralleled the new child-centered pedagogy. Schools were to promote self-expression, liberty, and a confident iconoclastic individualism.[158] Every student was thought to have uniquely creative potentialities, and schools that encouraged children to freely develop were seen as the best guarantee of a larger society that truly devoted itself to human worth and excellence. The intellectual roots of the child-centered movement were Rousseauian. Jean Jacques Rousseau celebrated the natural goodness in children. His belief that society was responsible for the corruption of individuals harmonized easily with the early twentieth century expressionist revolt against Victorian formalism. It was easy for devotees of this new pedagogical movement to see that the task of schools should be to surround the child with an environment that would draw out his natural creative power, not one that would oppress his instincts to learn and grow. Freudian psychology also had an influence here: teachers were urged to recognize the unconscious as the real source of motivation and behavior in themselves and their students. The task of education was to sublimate the child's repressed emotions into socially useful channels. To achieve this purpose, teachers required knowledge of instincts and had to create

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[157] Henry Steele Commager, The American Mind, 409.
[158] Lawrence A. Cremin, Transformation of the School, 202.

situations that would sublimate these instincts and guide character formation.[159] At the Walden School, there was no attempt to define syllabi for given age levels; instead, educators provided a rich variety of resources and let their students do the rest. The child became the authority in the classroom. William Heard Kilpatrick's Project Method set the purposeful act, an act consonant with the child's own goals, at the heart of the educative process.[160] For Kilpatrick, the critical element in education was to ensure that school purposes and plans were those of the learners, not the teachers. The subject matter should not be fixed in advance, he warned.

John Dewey's contention that sweeping economic and social changes set in motion by scientific and industrial advance necessitated a complete transformation of the schools supported the innovations of a child-centered approach. Dewey meant to develop a new curriculum, however. He saw the need for a new subject matter, better ordered and better designed. It would begin with the learner's experience and culminate in organized subjects that represented the cumulative experience of the race.[161] As Dewey critiqued the progressive education movement, arguing for some systematic organization of activities and subject matter, Kilpatrick attacked any such organization. Dewey's comment that "baby does not know best" echoed sentiments implicit in comments made by other progressive education critics who suggested that "in classrooms license began to pass for liberty, planlessness for spontaneity, recalcitrance for individuality, obfuscation for art, and chaos for education."[162]

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[159] Ibid., 209.
[160] Ibid., 217.
[161] Ibid., 220.
[162] Ibid., 207.

In 1942, the National Opinion Research center registered general public criticism of Progressive schools. Walter Lippmann observed that among the many schools that could be labeled progressive there was no common faith, no common body of knowledge, and no common moral and intellectual discipline.[163] In 1949, Bernard Idding Bell described "the unsatisfactory state of our life and culture" and claimed that elementary schools had failed to transmit the elemental wisdom of the race; high schools coddled young minds; and colleges, having surrendered to a vague utilitarian mediocrity, had "deprived the nation of a humanely educated leadership."[164] Mortimer Smith insisted that education had not fulfilled its historic role as moral and intellectual teacher, and Hollis L. Caswell described general public awareness of the need for "a searching reappraisal of the whole philosophy of progressive education."[165]

The apparent disconnection of progressive schools from what Smith and Bell might describe as the Western moral and intellectual tradition did not prevent progressive educators from trying to impart certain virtues to their students. These educators wished to develop creative students who were able to investigate and explore subjects that interested them. Subject matter was re-organized around student interests to promote natural inclinations the student had to learn certain things. Ancient barriers between departments and disciplines crumbled in this re-organization. They were seen as hindrances to the development of intellectual curiosity, drive, and resourcefulness.[166] The spirit of progressive education tended toward a fluid and dynamic view of knowledge;

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[163] Walter Lippmann: "Education without Culture," Commonweal, XXXIII (1940-1), 323 in Lawrence A. Cremin, Transformation of the School, 326.
[164] Lawrence A. Cremin, Transformation of the School, 339.
[165] Ibid., 343.

universality was associated with rigidity. Students were expected to be supple and adaptable and to avoid rigid interpretations of the world. Traditional ideals were viewed as anachronistic and of little use. Part of the vocation of the intelligent man, according to Dewey, was to bring his intelligence and good will to the task of creating new values that suited the time.[167] The scientific-industrial-technological revolution and the suffering of the Depression supported a new impetus to inculcate a devotion to the masses in both boys and girls. George S. Counts exhorted progressive educators to move beyond the development of individuality to the development of social consciousness in their students. Traditionally held regard for competition shifted to cooperation. The widely accepted influence of the upper middle class in the progressive movement was questioned, and the bogeys of imposition and class indoctrination reared their monstrous heads.

Difficulty Finding Common Ground

In spite of concerns excited by the scientific-industrial-technological revolution, large school systems experienced increased bureaucratization and regimentation. By 1935 urban schools became factory-like in their appearance and operation. The economy had entered upon an era marked by the harnessing of vast new resources of energy and rapid extension of automatic controls in production.[168] New information generated at a phenomenal rate as mass media continued its advance upon the collective consciousness of the growing post World War II North American population. The central effort of educational leaders in the 1950s was to define more precisely the school's responsibilities in a culture that increasingly defined itself as pluralistic. As knowledge proliferated, the

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[166] Raymond E. Callahan, Cult of Efficiency, 255.
[167] Ibid., 260.

need to organize and interpret it meaningfully intensified. "The imminence of atomic war merely dramatized the difference between knowledge and intelligence."[169] Glaring educational inequalities along class and race lines cried out for alleviation, and educational leaders held to a vision of a democracy of culture at a time when the contradiction between racism and democratic values became increasingly apparent.[170]

Educational debate in the 1960s centered on race, class, and social justice. Educational reformers came to see themselves as advocates of the dispossessed. Radicals claimed that schools reflected and perpetuated the racism and class bias of capitalist political economy. Liberal reformers and neo-conservatives had little good to say about the "educational establishment," and educational managers of the educational system found themselves in the midst of conflict, exaggerated expectations, and angry rhetoric. Most of the literature read by school board members and school administrators "dealt with the problem of avoiding conflict."[171] Community groups, boards of education, and the courts challenged the authority of the American superintendent. Principals found their freedom of action narrowed by teachers' unions and were sometimes subject to openly hostile attacks from members of the community outside the school. Blacks, Hispanics, and feminists in the civil rights movement wanted desegregation and heterogeneous school populations. Numerous categorical programs were designed to address a host of social problems. As social groups pressed for resolutions to their particular issues, it became increasingly difficult to maintain the integrity of public education. Claims of

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[168] Lawrence A. Cremin, Transformation of the Schools, 351.
[169] Ibid., 353.
[170] Tyack and Hansot, Managers of Virtue, 214.
[171] Ibid., 234.

single-issue reformers made the job of finding common ground exceedingly difficult. Faith in the ability to maintain a belief system that could make parts of the education system coherent began to die,[172] and sensitivity to minority issues made the task of enforcing the views of the dominant group impossible for social institutions. Public schools declared themselves value-neutral.

The two most pervasive moral education theories and practices of the late twentieth century had the advantage of being inoffensive in a purportedly value-neutral school culture. They were founded on a narrow view of the human being as naturally virtuous and supremely rational. Lawrence Kohlberg's cognitive moral development method focused on human rationality. Kohlberg thought that developing students rationally would improve their moral state, making it more likely that they would act morally. Around the same time, Louis Raths, Sidney Simon, Merrill Harmin, and Howard Kirschenbaum developed a second approach, commonly known as values clarification. Through values clarification activities, this approach sought to make students more aware of the values they already had. Advocates of the values clarification method believed that mere knowledge of one's values improved one's moral state.[173] Cognitive moral development and values clarification had little sustained educational success. Educational critics generally agree that Kohlberg's method improves an individual's reasoning power but does little to affect his behavior.[174] In the 1970s Kohlberg tried to operate a democratic school in which students, as rational and autonomous members of the school

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[172] Tyack and Hansot, Managers of Virtue, 8.
[173] Kevin Ryan, Questions and Answers on Moral Education (Bloomington: Phi Delta Educational Foundation, 1981), 16.
[174] Thomas Lickona, "The Return of Character Education," Educational Leadership V1

community, would themselves develop and implement the school's policies and procedures. Unfortunately, democratic meetings of the student body proved chaotic and poorly attended. Students seemed to lack commitment to rules they had established. In his last book, published posthumously, Kohlberg concluded his reflections upon the 1970s, writing that that time "may be remembered as a decade of failed educational experimentation."[175] Values clarification was criticized for being superficial and relativistic. Critics complained that it would be fruitless or even dangerous to encourage students to discuss opinions about essential moral issues without careful "scrutiny of evidence, examination of the lessons of history, or the testimony of experts." They argued that students might lead students to believe that moral issues did not require careful analysis, or that they were just matters of opinion after all.[176]

Certainly, the prevailing ethos of relativism required that students accept the notion that moral issues could only be resolved by individuals, who must form personal opinions related to them. Students could not be exhorted to value certain ends or means of achieving those ends because the validity of those ends and means could not be established. Instead, students were taught to be tolerant of other people's opinions and open to their views. Education and social critic Alan Bloom argued that this openness was the only virtue to which primary education had dedicated itself for more than fifty years.[177] He complained that his college students refused to engage each other in

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N3 (Nov 1993): 9.

[175] Martin Morse Wooster, "Can character Be Taught?" The American Enterprise V1 N6 (Nov/Dec 1993): 53.

[176] Kevin Ryan, Questions and Answers on Moral Education (Bloomington: Phi Delta Educational Foundation, 1981), 19.

[177] Alan Bloom, The Closing of the American Mind (New York: Simon and Schuster,

philosophical debate. They almost universally contended that absolutism lead to intolerance and that the relativity of truth was a condition of free society, its grounds as inalienable as natural rights used to be.[178]

By the mid-1980s in North America violence and misbehavior in schools prompted many to question the validity of a value-neutral stance in public education.[179] A pamphlet written by The Character Education Partnership, founded in 1992, described increasing family breakdown, poverty, racial injustice, alienation, cynicism, media glorification of sex and violence, materialism, and greed as causes of a moral crisis in the United States. Writers of the pamphlet observed a growing recognition that American society must help "young people develop the good character that is essential to their own well-being and to that of our local, national, and global communities."[180] William Hague's paper, entitled "Teaching Values in Canadian Schools," discussed a new direction in the moral education debate, which contributed to the "pressure on today's teacher from all sides."[181] He argued that the prevailing moral education methods—the teaching of traditional values, values clarification, and Kohlberg's cognitive development method—had not met often strident public demand that children be given good values at school.

Inc., 1987), 25.
[178] Ibid.
[179] William Hague, "Teaching Values in Canadian Schools," Contemporary Education Issues: The Canadian Mosaic, 2nd ed., Leonard L. Stewin and Stewart F. H. McCann ed.s (Toronto: Copp Clark Pitman Ltd., 1993), 161 and "Character Education: Questions and Answers" Character Education Partnership, 1.
[180] Character Education Partnership, "Character Education," 2.
[181] William Hague, "Teaching Values," 161.

This new direction, wrote Hague, leads into the past and returns the modern character educator to Aristotle and Aquinas, proponents of what he calls a multiple-virtue approach.[182] The approach that Hague described was derided by advocates of other moral education methods for being undemocratic and doctrinaire or naïve. The failure of these other methods and the perception of moral crisis among students in North American schools have fueled desires to return to the long tradition of teaching character and virtues in an educational milieu that still clings to its progressive identity. To the writers and thinkers at the Character Education Partnership this kind of education also seemed to provide a solution to the problems presented by pluralism and relativism. Their claim that "core ethical values are shared across political, religious, and socioeconomic lines" implied some common moral ground between special interest groups within educational systems could be found.

As the new millennium approaches, many commentators have suggested that finding common ground may be the essential task of educators who would sustain some shared sense of a moral life within schools and the larger society of which they are a part. The new character educators have realized the importance for local schools and school districts, in consultation with parents, teachers, and representatives of the community they serve, to decide which virtues should be taught and how character education should be provided.[183] Education historians, David Tyack and Elizabeth Hansot, have stressed the importance of clarifying and strengthening the grounds of commitment to public schooling in a time of "growing skepticism and concern about almost every kind of

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[182] Ibid., 172.
[183] Character Education Partnership, "Character Education," 2.

institution."[184] Philosophy professor at Vanderbilt University, Alisdair MacIntyre, has argued that we have reached a moral turning point, that it is time for people to work together to construct "local forms of community within which civility and the intellectual and moral life can be sustained."[185] Historically, these shared visions and commitments have given the life of virtue its shape. From them, each particular virtue derived its beauty and strength.

[184] David Tyack and Elizabeth Hansot, Managers of Virtue, 259.
[185] Alisdair MacIntyre, After Virtue, 263.

CONCLUDING COMMENTS

Noblit and Dempsey divided the evolving moral history of Western Europe into halves. They placed virtue-seekers in two camps. Those in the citizen-orator camp believed virtue was reposed in the knowledge of thinkers who preceded us. Those in the philosophical skepticism camp believed instead that knowledge lay just beyond the grasp of the intellect, that we carved out tentative descriptions and embodiments of it as we lived. It was knowledge without repose, they said. Later in their book they came quite close to conceding what I believe to be true: neither view of the process of acquiring virtue is entirely correct; each tells only part of the truth. Knowledge of a virtuous kind of life is dynamic: we don't always know how to act or what virtue or virtues would serve us best in each particular situation. However, powerful clues do repose in the conceptions of virtue that have lived in the history of modern educational theory and practice. The ancient heroic societies established a picture of the virtuous life as one of allegiance to family and friends. Love of the beauty and distinctiveness of Athens, the warring spirit and rugged simplicity of Sparta, the pride and paternalism of Rome, the monk's ever-vigilant attentiveness to God's word, the medieval knight's promise to defend women, children, the poor and God have all had their claims upon the virtues. The intellectual vibrancy of the Italian Renaissance and the Northern spirit of social and religious reform have left their stamp upon the history of virtue in Western education. The millennialism of the mid-nineteenth century and the materialism and faith in natural human inclination have also influenced what modern North American educators see as their moral task in public education. The virtues, though defined and redefined in times much different from

our own, still have "a strange and powerful appeal to the human heart."[186] Though our view of the moral and educational history of which they are a part has dimmed, their power to motivate human action lives in us still.

[186] Philippa Foot, Virtues and Vices (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1978), 28.

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