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Yves Krumenacker and Boris Noguès, eds., *Protestantisme et éducation dans la France moderne*. Lyon: Équipe Religions, Sociétés Et Acculturation (RESEA) du Laboratoire de Recherche Historique Rhône-Alpes (LARHRA, UMR 5190), 2014. Collection Chrétiens et Sociétés, Documents et Mémoires No. 24. 280 pp. Maps, tables, figures, and notes. 22€ (pb). ISBN 979-10-91592-09-3.

Review by Karen E. Carter, Brigham Young University.

The eleven essays in this collection (plus an introduction by the editors and a conclusion by Willem Frijhoff) are the result of a conference on Protestant education held in Lyon on 11-12 October 2013. The central question of the conference and hence the essays concerns the trajectory, efficacy, and influence of Protestant education during the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries. As Yves Krumenacker and Boris Noguès point out in their introduction, historians have long assumed the existence of a special tie between Protestantism and education since a focus on improvements in religious education and pedagogy was central to the reformers' programs and theologies. Yet is this assumption justified by the evidence? Were Protestant schools necessarily better than Catholic during this period? Were there Protestant pedagogical methods that held greater sway in educational circles? The contributors to this volume all attempt to answer these questions in their examination of Protestant schools, educational texts, and the educational paths taken by individual Protestant families. Interestingly enough, the overall conclusion gleaned from the essays as a whole is that this special tie between Protestantism and education is likely overstated. Although it is certainly true that the competition between confessions that resulted from the reformations acted as a catalyst of development for schools and pedagogical methods, the Huguenots were not necessarily the instigators or the beneficiaries of these changes. In fact, as Willem Frijhoff notes in his conclusion, for the Huguenots of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries, education was a subject that engendered both hope and despair (p. 266). This seems to be the case for the historians studying the subject as well, largely due to the scarcity of relevant sources.

The essays are organized chronologically. The first two, by Marianne Carbonnier-Burkard and Simona Negruzzo, deal primarily with the sixteenth century and the initial push for Protestant education. Carbonnier-Burkard examines the new types of *abécédaires* produced by Protestants. The new texts were in French and used Roman type, thus making them easier for children. They also clearly contained Protestant doctrine, and were meant to prepare children to read the Bible on their own. Negruzzo's essay presents the pedagogical theories and influence of Jean Sturm. Negruzzo places Sturm squarely in the center of humanist educational ideas of the sixteenth century. Heavily influenced by the *devotio moderna* and the style of Paris, Sturm believed that education should serve the needs of the community and that moral and religious education should be integrated within the educational system. Thus both of these authors demonstrate an active educational agenda within French Protestantism from the very beginning.

This drive for Protestant education continued after the religious wars—but only for a short time, it seems. Krumenacker's essay, the third in the volume, demonstrates that after the Edict of Nantes new Protestant schools began opening in regions of France that contained significant populations of

Huguenots. Krumenacker has combed the archives, looking for any traces of these schools, and argues that whereas in 1610 the Jesuits were running thirty-six of their *collèges* in France, in 1615 the Protestants had twenty-nine schools of their own. This was a significant feat, especially considering how small the Huguenot population was, but it was short-lived. Well before the reign of Louis XIV the network of Protestant *collèges* had been virtually dismantled: in 1630 there were only nineteen Protestant *collèges*, and by 1643 only eleven (pp. 77-78). The main reason for the failures of these schools was financial. For the most part, and primarily because of those financial difficulties, they functioned badly. Sometimes they didn't have fixed locations, and they had a hard time procuring qualified teachers. Krumenacker concludes with an important point that informs the remaining essays in the collection: he argues that the reason for the failure of the Protestant *collèges* is without a doubt due to the weakness of French Protestantism itself. Congregations could not convince their members to finance schools, and without the support of either their cities or the monarchy they simply could not compete with Catholic schools. No matter their ambitions, without schools there could be no particular Protestant style of education.

The next five pieces in the collection deal with Protestant education in its many varieties in the period before the Revocation. Jean-Paul Pittion and Didier Boisson examine the *collège* and *académie* of Saumur—one of the few institutions that has surviving records. Aurélien Behr's essay discusses the *académie* at Sedan, largely for the same reason. Noguès then branches out to look at Protestants who attended Catholic schools in the seventeenth century. This essay makes the important argument that not all Protestants who attended Catholic schools were forced to do so. Protestant fathers who wanted their sons to be successful in non-clerical professions willingly sent their sons to the Catholic *collèges*. Those who were training to become ministers were more likely to attend Protestant schools, either in France or elsewhere in Europe, but it was not absolutely necessary. Julien Léonard then takes a more narrow, but very useful, approach, and concentrates on the education of two Protestant brothers—the grandsons of Paul Ferry, a celebrated Protestant pastor from Metz. Léonard's conclusions echo those made by several other authors in the volume: that Protestant education was varied and flexible according to circumstances, location, and time period. For the most part, social considerations superseded religious considerations, and it had to be that way because of the lack of established French Protestant schools. International connections were common, and French Protestants did at times go abroad for their education. But this was not possible for everyone. Protestant parents thus had to be much more flexible and inventive than Catholics when it came to religious education.

This became even more apparent in the period after the Revocation. The essays by Chrystel Bernat, Amélie Lecoq, and Céline Borello all deal with this period. Bernat's fascinating essay examines the educational strategies suggested and employed by clandestine Protestants; primarily, Protestant leaders tried to make sure that their scattered flocks had access to preachers and pastors who would provide education (sometimes in the form of mobile schools), as well as texts that could provide that education when pastors could not. In the absence of a preacher, the faithful were encouraged to educate each other, with the elders in the congregation supervising. But in many cases the responsibility for instruction would have fallen primarily on the shoulders of the parents. Each family was thus a church, "un lieu d'éducation mutuelle et militante, partagée avec enfants et domestiques" (p. 218). Education was not supposed to be limited to a particular time or place, according to Protestant leaders; it was supposed to happen all the time, and in any circumstances. Lecoq's essay concentrates specifically on one text that Protestant families could have used—the catechisms of the pastor Simon Lombard. These texts were adapted for the Protestants of the Desert; not only did they contain important doctrinal instruction, they were also meant to sustain the faithful in the face of unstable and challenging religious circumstances. Finally, Borello concludes with an examination of the career of Jean-Paul Rabaut Saint-Étienne, the Protestant pastor-turned-Revolutionary. She argues that by the time of the Revolution ideas about national education had become more important than confessional goals or methods.

Perhaps the most common theme running through all of the essays deals with the difficulties of the sources. Education of any kind in the early modern period is notoriously difficult to study. Records from established schools are either scarce or unhelpful, and a great deal of education took place outside of schools. Children from both confessional backgrounds learned to read or write from clergy, religious, family members, and independent writing masters—none of which kept records. Religious education occurred in a variety of contexts as well, either in conjunction with instruction in reading and writing or not. Because of these difficulties, historians have had to use the sources creatively, and all of the authors reviewed here have succeeded admirably, finding evidence of education in a variety of contexts. But the lack of a discrete set of sources does seem to indicate that indeed there was no distinct style of Protestant education—at least not one that differed significantly from mainstream Catholic education. Or, as Frijhoff notes in his conclusion, Protestantism and education are in many ways two universes that encountered each other occasionally and in a variety of often fleeting ways (p. 265).

Frijhoff also points out, significantly, that no author in the volume has hazarded a vision of the complete trajectory of French Protestantism. Instead, we are left with trying to piece together a narrative from a variety of individual stories. In the final section of his conclusion, Frijhoff provides several suggestions for future research, and the first is the need for more individual stories so that we can create a more comprehensive narrative of Protestant education. This would include a greater picture of the types of teachers involved, either inside or outside of established schools. I would second this suggestion, and underscore his additional point that at least some of those stories should include women. Women's education receives, regrettably, only the barest mention in one or two of the essays presented here. Frijhoff also suggests that future research should enlarge the view beyond the borders of France. Since French Protestants did have significant international ties, this seems especially important for the field as well. Finally, Frijhoff argues that historians need to take a closer look at Protestantism and the formation of Protestant identity—another welcome suggestion. Certainly, Protestant education has overall been taken for granted, and this collection of essays is a much-needed first step in filling that historiographical gap.

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