

**THE PURITAN AND SOVIET SCHOOLS:
A COMPARATIVE STUDY**

By

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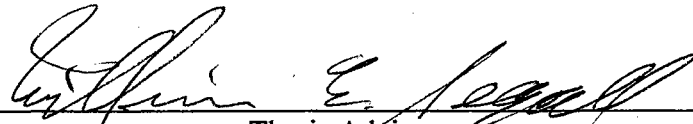
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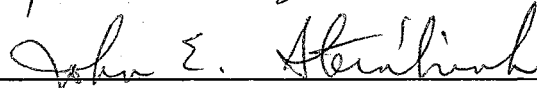
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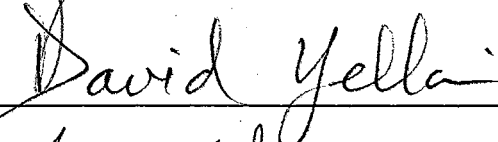
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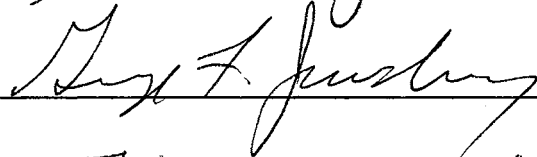
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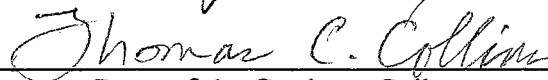
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

It was a cold, clear March day in 1988, when I first stepped onto Aeroflot, the Soviet Airliner, looked around and tried to find a seat that was not broken. I tripped over loose carpet as my carry-on and I rumbled about the airliner. There were no seat assignments to assure any of us that we would indeed have a seat. We had been herded aboard with all the care of cattle drivers. Up to this time, I had only read about the Soviet Union and had never experienced life Soviet style for myself. Already, I was beginning to wonder about the statements that I had read all of my life about the super power of the Soviet Union. What I experienced over the next few weeks as I traveled about the Soviet Union and the East Bloc changed forever my view of the Soviet Union. As I talked to the Soviet educators, Soviet students and others, I came to see the Soviet Union through the eyes of its own people. Today, of the millions of people in the Soviet Union, I am privileged to call a few, friends and colleagues, and a few others, acquaintances. It is at this time, that I bought many of the Soviet textbooks and other books that are included in this study. As I reflected on my conversations with the Soviet educators that I had met, I became uniquely aware of two threads or two common variables that seemed to stretch across time. These variables are isolationism and religiosity.

For the purposes of this study, variable is defined as a human characteristic that may differ over time (Brown, 1991). Isolationism is defined as cultural imprisonment or cultural exclusion (Erikson, 1966). Religiosity is defined in Webster's Collegiate Dictionary as intense, excessive, or affected religiousness. It does not refer to any of the major religions, i.e., Buddhism, Hinduism, Christianity, et. al.

However, in 1988 when I began to read the Soviet literature and meet the Soviet citizens, it was not with the notion of a study. The realization that these variables appear to exist came slower than that. It was, in fact, as I came to realize through the Soviet educators and the Soviet literature that the now former Soviet Union in many ways was much like other nations, past and present, that I had come to appreciate.

While it is a major leap to move from 1917 to 1989, the educational system of centralized governments consistently suppressed the freedoms of the schools and isolationism and religiosity were seemingly constants. To investigate these two variables through the primary and secondary sources of the former Soviet Union is a part of this study.

Since these variables appear to exist in other nations, primarily those that called themselves Utopian Societies or ideal societies, as the former Soviet Union (Dubrovsky, 1988) or the Calvinist Puritan Society in America during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (Cooke, 1976), these two variables can be looked at through research across international and iterative boundaries to judge whether the research developed a base in which the Puritans and the Soviets can be compared in relation to isolationism and religiosity.

Alistair Cooke, the British historian said, "There is no significant difference between the Puritans and the Communists." (1976, p. 86.). This statement as I read and then reread it caused me to consider again my own thoughts about the Soviet Union as I had traveled about their countryside. Then, I began to read other authors. Kai T. Erikson wrote in his book Wayward Puritans that both the Puritans and Marxists/Leninists societies created their own deviances in society by attempting to create and sustain Utopian societies (1966). In the Fall of 1992 after having looked back to the former Soviet Union literature that I had brought home with me during my last trek through the Soviet Bloc, the notion of a need for a baseline comparative study of these two variables, isolationism and religiosity, emerged. I was finally convinced recently of the need for this study after I read

Patrick Moynihan's book, Pandaemonium, as he showed how the struggles in the former Soviet Union and over the world that now absorb our attention have been going on since 1917 and earlier (1993). Ten years before the fateful day in November 1989, which in a very real sense marked the end of the Soviet regime, Moynihan stood almost alone in predicting the demise of the Soviet Union (Moynihan). Moynihan said, "There is surely something to be learned from the experience of the former Soviet Union (1993, p. 12)." A comparative study was needed to look at the variables, isolationism and religiosity, to judge whether the research developed a base in which the Puritans and Soviets can be compared in relation to isolationism and religiosity. This philosophical, sociological, descriptive study is an expression of that need.

Even if the research supports what Alistair Cooke, Kai Erikson, Patrick Moynihan, and others said, and what I seemingly perceived during my travels in the East Bloc, what possible significance could this have on education? In other words, why is this an important, even vital study to education, to schools?

Ultimately, the most important outcome of research is that which is contributed to society and its institutions. That is, it can be said that to list the contributions to society and its institutions of any research is to list the important outcomes of that research.

1. To understand our society and its institutions, i.e., educational system, in any sort of comprehensive manner, we must look outside of ourselves and into the world community. Hence, whatever the results of the research, the society and its institutions are improved by having seen themselves by looking at other systems (Moynihan, 1993). Cotton Mather several centuries ago said it like this, "History is the witness of periods of time, the messenger of antiquity, the light of truth, the life of memory and the instructress of life." (Mather, 1702/1977, p. 94). As we can see, Moynihan in 1993, had not come up with exactly a new idea.

2. Studying these two variables will enable educators to better understand the forces that shape the destinies of their students. This was actually illustrated recently in a descriptive study of Soviet students (Pearson, 1990).

3. Schools for the 21st Century by Phillip C. Schlechty is unusually important because it is endorsed by President Bill Clinton via a Foreword in the book. Schlechty describes the changes in schools needed for the 21st Century from a "top downward" or Utopian perspective (1991). This preventive research is a vital aspect of research in the behavioral sciences. This comparative study looks at two Utopian or ideal societies, that is, a top downward approach.

4. The two nations to be discussed are disparate; disparate in time and disparate in location. Yet, they both may have contained seeds within themselves from their beginnings for the demise of their own systems (Cooke, 1976; Erikson, 1966, Moynihan, 1993). That is to say, close examination of the variables, isolationism and religiosity, the potential seeds of demise, may cast light upon what can potentially happen in centralized, Utopian, or ideal societies, i.e., Calvinist Puritan Massachusetts Bay Colony and the former Soviet Union. By doing this, theoretically, we may be able to learn more about our present system of education and its potential for disillusionment. This makes this philosophical, sociological, descriptive study that is comparative vitally important to all educators.

What is Soviet education like? What is the Puritan system like? In order to describe them and to compare them this study is divided into five chapters. Chapter I is the Introduction, i.e., an overview as a way of introducing the who? what? and why? of the study. In this chapter, the reader is introduced to the sociological and philosophical positions of the study.

Chapter Two discusses the Puritans, their philosophies and their theology. As much as possible, these are discussed through writings by themselves about themselves. However, there have been many scholarly works on the Puritans and their benevolent tyrant, John

Winthrop, (Cooke, 1976), who sustained them. Some of these will be included in the study. I will look at them from a particular perspective; that is, I will look at them to judge the variables, isolationism and religiosity.

Chapter Three describes the Soviets, their philosophies and their theology in relation to isolationism and religiosity. These are discussed through writings by themselves about themselves in writings that were published in the former Soviet Union. This chapter, also includes primary sources that were collected from the country before and after the demise. These journals, diaries, and pictures are supplementary materials in this study. Yet, Coulson and Rogers in one of their textbooks on research said, "Openness to experiences can be seen as being fully as important a characteristic of the scientist as the understanding of a research design. And the whole enterprise of science can be seen as but one portion of a larger field of knowledge in which truth is pursued in many equally meaningful ways..." (1968, p. 8) .

Chapter Four is a comparative discussion of the Puritans and the Soviets in relation to the variables. While it is a major leap from the sixteenth to the seventeenth centuries of the Puritans and from 1917 to 1989 of the Soviet era; there appear to be common threads or variables that can be traced across these disparate societies. These common threads may or may not be, both, international and iterative. It is through this comparative discussion of chapter four that the research will be evaluated to learn whether or not there is a base on which comparisons can be made of these societies.

Chapter Five is the conclusion and summary on the following question: Has this research developed a base in which the Puritans and Soviet can be compared in relation to religiosity and isolationism. Can a conclusion be drawn? If a conclusion can be drawn based upon the research, where to, now?

Two variables and the questions about them are the threads that link each of the chapters, the first, of course, is isolationism; the second is religiosity.

I stepped off Aeroflot that first day into the cold March winds of Moscow; I felt extremely isolated and alone. I, also, felt as if I was being watched; but I saw no one until a smiling Moscovite, about age 40, walked up to me. Vaguely I wondered why he had two silver teeth among yellow ones. Later I learned that preventive dentistry did not exist anywhere in the Soviet Union, and the people simply waited for their teeth to rot before having them replaced with shiny silver ones. Since I had been warned by CIA officials at my Soviet travel briefing that seemingly friendly Soviets were probably KGB agents incognito, I was extremely reluctant as he whisked me into the old, dilapidated building, the International Airport, Moscow. However, after depositing my backpack on the conveyor belt to process my belongings through customs, he left me. After walking through customs, I turned and looked back; the monitor that the Customs Agent used was non-functional. The agent was simply pretending to process the carry-ons of all the passengers when, in fact, he was staring, unmoving and unsmiling at a blank screen. The sign overhead read, Welcome to the U.S.S.R. (CCCP), and I laughed for no reason in particular except that I was a long way from home and quite alone. It was cold, but more than that I was feeling the isolationism, the cultural imprisonment of the people, even before I left the airport for the In Tourist Hotel that had been assigned to me. All foreigners were assigned to a certain hotel and furnished three meals per day. No questions were permitted. Actually, it was probably best to ask no questions, at least, about the food.

On my first Monday in Moscow I, like millions of other foreigners, made my way across the city to the Kremlin, Red Square. No one knew where Gorbachev lived, but all of the locals had a general idea and proudly showed me. Moscovites were extremely friendly to me, an American, and were most curious about the United States. Everyone, young and old, tried to talk with me. The young ones were successful. They had learned street English even if they had not learned English in the schools. One of the teachers of

English at the university said to me, "The greatest dream of all Soviet men is to go to the United States. "Why?" I said, "Can you not come to the United States?"

"It takes a very long time to get a passport to any country in the West, especially, the United States. I cannot come for many years." As we parted that fateful day, I gave him Hershey's Chocolate for his three children, and he gave me a lovely doll. Isolationism?

Patrick Moynihan said, "The American government as far back as the 1970's...missed completely the onset of the instability in the region...There has been and there continues to be an inadequate understanding of what has made the world turn upside down..." (1993, p. 167). By definition, could this be isolationism of a society and its institutions?

The lines were long in Red Square outside Lenin's tomb. Several schools had brought students to pay homage to the man on that particular Monday, and the silence was one of respect as the students stood with backs rigid and faces forward. No one moved unnecessarily. No one really looked disinterested. Although I wondered how the students, who looked about nine to eleven years old could be interested in so somber an experience. As I spoke with one of the teachers, I learned that most of these students had come into Moscow from Kiev to visit the Tomb of Lenin. This was an annual visit, a pilgrimage, for all students of this age. It was a tradition. It was a considered very bad behavior for a student not to participate. The teacher said to me, "Everyone participates." This was religiosity?

At Easter time, 1989, I was in Moscow. Gorbachev had only recently reopened the churches. After waiting about an hour in a line about one mile long, I attended Midnight Mass at the Russian Orthodox Church. I was sandwiched tightly among Russians, young and old, as they celebrated the reopening of the churches after nearly seventy years. They had returned all of the precious Icons, at least most all, that had been removed from the churches and hidden by Soviet Christians for nearly seventy years. A proud cab driver said to me, "Over there in that building is where we hid Mary." The years, 1917 to 1989, were affected churchiness or religiosity. Because the Soviet Christians wanted Bibles, we

smuggled in thousands for them. The underground Bible railroad was not difficult but a bit risky at times. A person could never be sure what a bored KGB Agent might do for really no reason at all. This was religiosity.

Article 52 of the Constitution of the U.S.S.R. says that citizens of the USSR are guaranteed freedom of conscience, that is, the right to profess or not to profess any religion, and to conduct religious worship or atheistic propaganda. Incitement of hostility or hatred on religious grounds is prohibited (cited in Antonov-Ovseyenko, 1981). Yet to belong to the Marxist/Leninist Party, the ruling party, was to denounce religion. By definition Marxism/Leninism was atheistic. Gorbachev in 1988 permitted many of the churches to reopen with religious freedoms.

"The Soviet child is a planned product of communist society, a result of an explicit system of character training yet blossoming somehow under the universal maternity and love for children one encounters everywhere," said Elna Razan a school psychologist, who had observed soviet schools (cited in Moos, 1967, p. 24). By our definition of religiosity, Communism was a religion. A one sentence summary of religiosity might be the example above.

The Calvinist Puritans' System is not one that I have encountered personally since it died several centuries ago. Yet sometimes I feel that I have seen the system as I have seen it many times in the literature. John Winthrop was to the Puritans as Lenin was to the Soviet Union.

John Winthrop, the first Governor of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, held the colony in Puritan check and cultivated Puritan authority until 1649. Puritanism was a dogma that drew most of its vigor and strength from the militancy of the Old Testament (Erickson, 1966). Controllers were to check on the communities to assure that students were being sent to school because there was temptation to keep the children at home to help around the house and farm (1966).

The Calvinists' education system was to offer neither a tolerant nor an open education system. The Puritans had not come to America to be tolerant of anything except what they wanted to tolerate (Cooke, 1976). This is isolationism or cultural imprisonment.

Instruction was compulsory. It was believed that only the educated who could read the King James Version of the Holy Bible could properly reject the devices of the devil.

Governor Winthrop was committed to a campaign to end illiteracy through an instruction of Biblical truths as he saw them (Cooke, 1976). This was religiosity. According to Kai Erikson the Calvinist Puritan educational system was designed to prove that their religiosity could serve as a competent basis for their own society (1966), which of course included their educational system with absolutely no compromise in standards.

The Calvinist Puritan education system in the Massachusetts Bay Colony during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was designed as an effort to join abstract theory with practical experience, to seek perfection in a decidedly imperfect world (Cooke, 1976). This was an attempt to establish an Utopian society.

In an official publication, For Unity of All Anti-Imperialist Forces, of the Novosti Press Agency Publishing House at Moscow in 1970 the Socialist Communist Soviet Government summarized the advantages of socialism on pages 48 and 49 as the following:

The outstanding advantages of socialism have irrefutably been displayed. Among them are the abolition of exploitation of man by man, a planned national economy, and the absences of such vices inherent in capitalism... We should also mention here the creation of a social environment favorable for social activity and the full development of the personality; boundless opportunities ...maximum creative opportunities...All of these could emerge only under state leadership ...Marxist-Lenin theory and by the establishment of socialist ownership.

This could be the description of an attempt to create Utopia.

The question that will be discussed and considered is the following question: Has this research developed a base in which the Puritans and Soviets can be compared in relation to religiosity and isolationism?

The last week of February 1993, a friend from the East Bloc visited with us in our home. Chrisfried had many concerns about what had happened in the past in his country, the chaos of the present and the uncertainty of the future. He discussed at great length the educational system of his country. Along with his discussion, he read several articles on education from Die Zeitung, a German newspaper that is distributed across Europe. As he read and discussed these, many of the same problems that were discussed were problems of our own educational system as well. Both of us agreed, that it would be very difficult to predict what the year 2000 will be like. Chrisfried and I, both, agreed that we will face them together. The cold war is over! Chrisfried can travel about the world! In many ways, the future looks brighter than the past has ever looked.

CHAPTER II

THE PURITANS

History is the witness of periods of time, the messenger of antiquity, the light of truth, the life of memory, and the instructress of life. Cotton Mather (Magnalia Christi Americana, 1702).

Introduction.

The *Arabella*, a ship of 350 tons, during the Spring of 1630 brought to Massachusetts Bay the future leaders of the Puritans (Cooke, 1976), the English Protestants, who were one in their fundamental convictions with all Calvinistic Protestants of Europe (Miller, 1956). John Winthrop, the leader of the new community, the first Governor and benevolent tyrant (Cooke, 1976), while preaching to his fellow-passengers, stated the philosophy of the colony in his sermon. He prophesied,

"as a citty upon a Hill, the eies of all people ar uppon us; soe that if wee shall deale falsely with our god in this worke wee have undertaken and soe cause him to withdrawe his present help from us, wee whall be made a story and a by-word through the world." (Boorstin, 1958, p. 3).

No historian or philosopher, then or now, could have stated their theology more concisely than this statement by themselves about themselves. In describing the Puritans in this chapter, their philosophies and their theology, which in many ways were the same, will be discussed. Rather than a historical digest of events this is a study of Puritan philosophy

and theology in answer to the following questions: Was the Puritan Society one in which we might find an intense, excessive or affected religiousness, i.e. religiosity? Is the Puritan society one in which cultural imprisonment, i.e., isolationism is found? Was this a Utopian or ideal society, ergo, a top downward approach? Did the society affect the institutions, i.e., schools of the society?

The Puritans' Philosophy and Theology

The Puritan light for man was philosophy in action, an active theology, a "noble experiment in applied theology." (Boorstin, 1958, p. 5). The great experiment of philosophy in applied theology had begun. In New England, the Puritans maintained a curious mix of religious diligence in worldly businesses and yet deadness to the worldly pleasures (Miller, 1956). This complex mentality was scientifically analyzed by the sociologist, Max Weber and labeled as the "Protestant ethic".

Actually, it is a logical consequence of Puritan theology: man is put into this world, not to spend his life in profitless singing of hymns or in unfruitful monastic contemplation, but to do what the world requires....No activity is outside the holy purpose of the...covenant. Yet the Christian works not for the gain that may or may not result...but for the glory of God. He remains an ascetic in the world... (Miller, 1956, p. 171).

It was not until Cotton Mather, the Puritan Priest (Wendell, 1963), wrote the Magnalia Christi Americana that a history of the Puritan leaders was combined with instructions for the future and indictments of church backsliders into one large literary masterpiece. In his allusions, allegories, and numerous direct references to Bible scriptures, Mather many times referred to the Puritans as being like the children of Israel in the promised land (Mather, 1702/1977). The doctrines of the Fall of Man, of Sin, of Salvation, Predestination, Election and Conversion were the fundamental elements of

their everyday life. The Puritan society in America embodied the Truth that they already knew. They were not interested in a theory of theology, but they were interested in living the Truth that they believed (Boorstin, 1958). Alistair Cooke said that the Calvinist Puritan Society was designed as an effort to join abstract theory of particularly the Old Testament with practical experience in their daily lives and to seek perfection in a decidedly imperfect world (Cooke, 1976).

For the sake of simplification and for the purposes of this discussion of Puritan Philosophy and Theology, the Puritan Era has been divided into three sections represented by the lives and writings of three prominent leaders of each of those eras. These leaders are John Winthrop, Jr., First Governor of Massachusetts and perhaps, Father of American Puritanism (Cooke, 1976); Increase Mather, "the greatest of the native Puritans" (Mather, 1702/1977, p. 3); and Cotton Mather, the Puritan Priest (Wendell, 1963). It is as we look at their journals and diaries and sermons and other writings about themselves for themselves that we can discover whether or not the Puritan community practiced religiosity.

John Winthrop

On the deck of the Arabella in the middle of the Atlantic John Winthrop delivered his lay sermon that actually set forth the essence of the Puritan social ideal which unified the secular and spiritual lives of the Puritan followers.

...Thus stands the cause between God and us; we are entered into covenant with Him for this work; we have taken out a commission, the Lord hath given us leave to draw our own articles...Now if the Lord shall please to hear us and bring us in peace to the place we desire, then hath he ratified this covenant and sealed our Commission...Now the only way to avoid this shipwreck and to provide for our posterity is to follow the counsel of Micah; to do justly, to love mercy, to walk humbly with our God. For this

end, we must be knit together in this work as one man... We must consider that we shall be a city upon a hill... (Miller, 1956, pp. 82-83).

...That the Lord our God may bless us in the land whither we go to possess it, but if our hearts shall turn away so that we will not obey, but shall be seduced and worship...other gods, our pleasures and profits, and serve them, it is propounded unto us this day, we shall surely perish out of the good land whither we pass over this vast sea to possess it. Therefore, let us choose life, that we, and our seed, may live; by obeying his voice and cleaving to Him, for He is our life and our prosperity. (Miller, 1956, p. 84)

Though he was not a cleric, Winthrop spoke in the conventional form of a Puritan sermon in laying out the organizational plan of the Puritan community (Miller, 1956). By way of explanation, when the Puritan leaders undertook to explain human relations, whether in family, church, or state, they relied not simply on the injunctions of scripture but on a series of highly developed and widely accepted conceptual examples as the order of creation, the social orders, relationships, and the origins of relationships (Morgan, 1980). This can be readily seen as one looks at the journals, diaries and sermons.

According to Edmund S. Morgan, historian,

the Puritans came to New England not merely to save their souls but to establish a visible kingdom of God, a society where outward conduct would be according to God's laws, a society where a smooth, honest, civil life would prevail in family, church, and state. (1980, p. 3)

In other words, good conduct was the result of an indwelling faith in God. Good works, then could not lead to salvation, but salvation led to the good works in the family and the community. A pitfall of this philosophy was what plagued the Puritans day and night and distorted all of the "good works". The Puritans were haunted with a desire to see the evidences of an inward faith. As the society matured this was more and more evidenced by the excesses of the good works (Morgan, 1980).

Many Puritans kept diaries or journals. They were the reckoning books in which the Puritans measured themselves. Diaries and journals were written for themselves and for God. Perhaps, it can be said that much of the Puritan strength lay not in confidence of their goodness, but in lack of it; the very necessity of proving their faith to themselves was behind their self-assurance in the presence of evil. In other words, they practiced body and mind control to convince themselves that they were sanctified (Morgan, 1980).

In the journal of John Winthrop are the following entries:

September 25, 1638: The Court, taking into consideration the great disorder general through the country in costliness of apparel, and following new fashions, sent for the elders of the churches and conferred with them about it, and laid it upon them, as belonging to them, to redress it, by urging it upon the consciences of their people, which they promised to do...(Miller, 1956, p. 41)

December 15, 1640: About this time, there fell out a thing worthy of observation. Mr. Winthrop (Winthrop addresses himself in the third person), the younger one of the magistrates, having many books in a chamber where was corn or divers sorts, had among them one wherein the Greek testament, the psalms and the common prayer were bound together. He found the common prayer eaten with (by) mice, every leaf of it, and not any of the two other touched, nor any other of his books, though there were above a thousand (Miller, 1956, p. 41)

July 3, 1645: Divers free schools were erected...and Indians' children were to be taught freely, and the charge to be by yearly contribution, either by voluntary allowance, or by rate of such as refused, etc., and this order was confirmed by the General Court...(Miller, 1956, p. 45)

August 15, 1648: The synod met at Cambridge...about the midst of ...sermon there came a snake into the seat, where many of the elders sat behind the preacher...Divers of the elders shifted...Mr. Thomson, one of the elders (a man of much faith), trode upon the head of it, and so held it with his foot and staff with a

small pair of grains, until it was killed. ...The serpent is the devil; the synod, the representative of the churches of Christ in New England. The devil had formerly and lately attempted their disturbance and dissolution; but their faith in the seed of the woman overcame him and crushed his head. (Miller, 1956, p. 48)

John Winthrop had been born in England in 1588 to a successful lawyer and his wife, and was sent to Trinity College, Cambridge. Had he remained in England, this squire of Groton Manor would have become a very powerful man. Yet, King Charles's abrogation left John Winthrop without his attorneyship. So with a colonial charter in hand, he set out for the New England, i.e., the promised land. John Winthrop died in 1649 in his beloved homeland (Miller, 1956).

Winthrop, the first Governor of the Puritan Colony, has been referred to by some historians as a benevolent tyrant (Cooke, 1976). In part, he and other Puritans have been referred to as such because they regarded a concern for the morality of others as a sign of faith in the covenant of grace. That covenant had been originally with Abraham, and in applying it to themselves the Puritans retained all its original provisions. Thomas Shepard said that one and the same covenant, which was made to Abraham in the Old Testament, is for substance the same with that in the the New Testament (cited in Miller, 1956).

Abraham's covenant included not only himself but all of his descendants and his household servants as well. Therefore when the man of the house accepted this covenant, his household accepted it as well. This explains why when Anne Hutchinson and others were expelled from the Massachusetts Bay Colony for unseemly religious acts, their spouses were expelled also (Miller, 1956). According to Galatians 3:13 of the King James Version of The Holy Bible, which says that a nonJewish Christian in adopting the covenant undertook the same obligations and were accorded the same blessings. John Cotton, 1651, in The Way of Life, pointed out, "...it is thy part to see it, that thy children and servant be God's people." Cotton extended the obligation further when he later said, "...when we undertake to be obedient to God...we undertake in our owne names, and for

our owne parts, (and)...in the behalfe of every soule that belongs to us...our wives, and children, and servants, and kindred, and acquaintance, and all that are under our reach, eith by way of subordination, or coordination." (cited in Miller, 1956, p. 91). This duty to enforce good behavior and right conduct in the entire household was the center of all political and ecclesiastical authority. Since Abraham's covenant had included all his descendants, it became eventually the foundation for all God's dealings with his people. Christians had inherited the covenant, not only as individuals and as families but as nations. Puritans accepted this idea and formulated their political and ecclesiastical theory upon it (Miller, 1954).

In the Puritan community, it was assumed that there were some hypocrites, or pretenders of the faith. Since every group contained unbelievers, no group was collectively capable of salvation. However, the Puritans explained that by not breaking laws outwardly or publicly, God would prosper the people publicly. On the other hand, God had said that if any disobey me outwardly then, I will utterly destroy you as Sodom and Gomorrha. Consequently every Christian was bound to obey God for the sake of the community. If he failed, he not only demonstrated his own damnation, but he brought the wrath of God onto the community. In view of this belief, the reason for restraining and punishing sin is obvious. Since the whole group was in a covenant with God, then the whole group had broken covenant, if open sin was left unpunished. By publicly punishing a sinner, then the group was absolved of guilt and were not liable for God's wrath (Morgan, 1980). The laws of God, as the Puritans understood them and obeyed them, covered all areas of human life. Therefore, the Puritans had to learn to read and study every phrase of the Scriptures and extract from them the last ounce of meaning of each (Morgan, 1980). The impact of Winthrop on Puritan society can hardly be measured. This, by definition of religiosity, was religiosity.

Increase Mather

To consider these questions of philosophy and religiosity further, Increase Mather, who is called the greatest of the native Puritans (Mather 1702/1977, p. 3), is important. He was born in Dorchester in 1639 to Richard Mather, a leader of the first generation of Congregational ministers. He was ordained as minister of the Second Church of Boston in 1664 and was the most powerful divine in the colony at that time. He was influential in both ecclesiastical and political affairs. He was married to the daughter of John Cotton, who was also a powerful first generation Congregational minister. He became president of Harvard College in 1685. He was a Puritan leader. (Miller, 1956).

The following quotes are from a sermon delivered at Harvard after two undergraduates, skating on Fresh Pond, broke through the ice and were drowned. The year was 1697.

...There is a season for a man to effect what he is undertaking...If they take hold of that nick of opportunity, they will prosper and succeed in their endeavors. It is a great part of wisdom to know that season. Hence it is said, "A wise man's heart discerneth both time and judgment" (Eccles. 8.5)...it is to civil affairs very frequently; men discern not the proper only season for them to obtain...so it is as to spirituals...A man knows not what afflictions shall come upon him whilst on the earth...God would not have His children to be anxiously solicitous about future events, but to leave themselves and theirs with their heavenly Father, to dispose of all their concernments, as He is His infinite wisdom and faithfulness shall see good... (Miller, 1956, pp. 184-190).

This illustrates the Puritans further concern with the problem of existence...a wide gulf between what is in life. i.e., a chronicle of accidents, blunders, afflictions and defeats

(Miller, 1956) and what the covenant people according to the Scriptures were to possess (Morgan, 1980) with seemingly no bridge to connect the two .

The occasion of a sermon in Puritan New England was totally unlike that of a sermon in the twentieth century. The sermon held a central place in the lives of all New Englanders at that time. There were two sermons on the Sabbath, and usually a lecture-sermon on Thursday. Attendance was required by law. There was hardly a public event that didn't have a sermon as the central feature. There were election-day sermons, artillery sermons, Fast Day sermons, and Thanksgiving sermons. The practice of preaching to a condemned man before the gallows took on a new meaning in Puritan New England. Even the condemned man participated actively in these sermons (Boorstin, 1958).

An account of the execution of James Morgan in Boston on 11 March 1686, illustrates the position sermons held in the society. "Morgan, whose execution being appointed...there was that Care taken for his Soul that three Excellent Sermons were preached before him, before his Execution; Two on the Lord's Day, and one just before his Execution." (Boorstin, 1958, p. 13). The two Sabbath sermons, each a full hour in length, were by Cotton Mather and another young minister; the sermon at the gallows was by Increase Mather. So large an audience gathered to hear, that when they assembled in the New Church of Boston the gallery cracked, and the people had to be moved to a larger hall. All the sermons were passionate and eloquent, calling on the criminal to repent while there was yet time and begging the community to profit by this example. In the final conversation between Morgan and Increase Mather, Morgan answered, "I hope I am sorry for all my sins, but I must especially bewail my neglect of the means of grace. On Sabbath days I us'd to lie at home, or be ill employ'd elsewhere, when I should have been at church. This has undone me!"

Standing before the ladder of the gallows, and looking at the coffin, which he was soon to fill, Morgan...seized his last opportunity to give the sermon which only he could give. It was taken down by one of the listeners.

I pray God that I may be a warning to you all, and that I may be the last that ever shall suffer after this manner...I beg of God, as I am a dying man, and to appear before the Lord within a few minutes, that you take notice of what I say to you. Have a care of drunkenness, and ill company, and mind all good instruction; and don't turn your back upon the word of God, as I have done...I have gone out of the meeting-house to commit sin, and to please the lust of my flesh...O that I may make improvement of this little, little time, before I go hence and be no more! ...O take warning by me, and beg of God to keep you from this sin, which has been my ruine! Such a sermon by a condemned man was by no means unique (Boorstin, 1958, pp. 13-14).

The New England Puritan sermons were the vehicles that brought God to bear on the minutiae of Puritan life. Theology was the instrument for planting the promised land in New England (Boorstin, 1958). "The great native Puritan", Increase Mather, (Mather, 1702/1977, p. 3) was a master sermonizer, a pioneer saint, and a man committed to the perpetuation of good and the extermination of evil (Miller, 1956).

It was Increase Mather in 1679, who stirred up his colleagues and the General Court to consider what evils had caused God to bring judgments, i.e., King Philip's War, the small-pox, and the two great fires, on New England. Evil was examined and in 1681 the year that followed the final session of the synod, The Reforming Synod, upon Mather's insistence the recording of "illustrious providences" was done. Such a method of arousing men to religion was nothing new (Burr, 1914). The upshot of this and other sermons and a book, Essay for the Recording of Illustrious Providences, by Increase and quoted from by his son, were the witch hunt crazes (Burr, 1914). This is not to say that either of the Mathers' intention was to incite the witch hunts. That would be a gross mis-interpretation of history and totally contrary to the writings of Cotton Mather, particularly, his 1702, Magnalia.

The evolutionary process of this theology and philosophy had, of course, already begun with the second generation of Puritans. This is reflected in the writings of Winthrop and the writings of Increase Mather. The evolutionary process continued in the next generation with Cotton Mather, the first born son and heir apparent of Increase Mather. These changes are obvious in the writings that have been included. Yet, the Puritan state remained a theocracy (Miller, 1956).

Cotton Mather

J'etais e'goiste mais maintenant je suis parfait (I was egotistical, but now I'm perfect) seems to be the most fitting description of the Puritan Priest, Cotton Mather, our final representative of the Puritan Philosophy and Theology. In studying the samples of their own writings, the variable to be examined will be religiosity.

Cotton Mather was born in Boston on February 12, 1662/63 to the influential, and saintly Mather family of Boston (Mather, 1702/1977). As the eldest son of Increase Mather, he was groomed from childhood for the Ministry. Unfortunately, a speech impediment nearly prevented him from entering this vocation. A kindly teacher and his best efforts allowed him to overcome the handicap, and he became the youngest student to be graduated from Harvard with an A.B. degree. In 1681, he received his M.A. The church was Cotton's central concern, and he never neglected his ministry (Mather, 1702/1977). Curiously, however, he and Ben Franklin, the antithesis of Puritanism, made many very similar contributions to their worlds (Boorstin, 1958).

It was during the years of the Mathers, Increase and Cotton, that Massachusetts was plagued with witch hunts. The magistrates and judges and others had seemingly gone mad with finding witches. One was found behind nearly every bush in Puritan New England. From the beginning as John Winthrop recorded concerning the excommunication of Anne Hutchinson (Miller, 1956) and Roger Williams, the founder of Rhode Island (Boorstin,

1958), the Puritans could not tolerate criticisms or deviances from the truths as they saw them. Yet, the witch hunts, which had begun in Salem Village, some twenty miles from Boston, gave new meaning to intolerance. Dozens of supposed witches were jailed, and a hysterical search for other witches was undertaken (Mather 1702/1977). It is to Cotton's credit that during the period of the witch trials and earlier he had argued that those tormented by evil spirits be examined privately. If possible they should be led to repulse Satan. He had at least on one occasion been successful in getting a child delivered from the influences of Satan. The position of his father and his position, also, was "It is better for 10 guilty people to go free than for one innocent one to be convicted." (Mather, 1702/1977, p. 10).

However, like many young, ambitious ministers, he allowed greed and power to color his vision as he wrote a shameful book of defense of the judges in the witch trials. Samuel Sewall, one of the judges about whom he wrote the defense, was the only one of the witch trial judges to confess guilt for his part in the Salem trials.

On 14 January 1697, "a day of prayer with fasting" which had been commanded by the General Court of Massachusetts, Sewall's request for pardon was read before the congregation in which he worshipped (Mather, 1702/1977, p. 336).

In Mather's defense, in one of the years of the epidemic of small pox in New England, he saved many lives because he almost single-handedly, through his sermons persuaded people to be inoculated by a new and unknown method (Mather, 1702/1977).

In his sermons and other writings, Mather prescribed rules for Christian conduct that tried to form the righteous into "societies" instead of one society. By doing this, Mather effectively ostracized the unrighteous. The section that follows describes the Christian's duty toward his "neighborhood". It succinctly marks the metamorphosis of the Puritan code between Winthrop and the eighteenth century (Miller, 1956).

...In moving for the devices of good neighborhood, a principal motion which I have to make is that you consult the spiritual interests of your

neighborhood as well as the temporal. Be concerned lest the deceitfulness of sin undo them, I beseech you, cure them of their idleness. Don't nourish'em and harden'em in that, but find employment for them. Find em work; set 'em to work; keep 'em to work...If any children in the neighborhood are under no education don't allow 'em to continue so...and be taught to read, and be taught their catechism and the truths and way of their only savior...if any are taking to bad course, lovingly and faithfully admonish them. If any in the neighborhood are enemies to their own welfare or families, prudently dispense your admonitions unto them. If there are any prayerless families, never leave off entreating and exhorting of them....Whatever snare you see anyone in, be so kind as to tell him of his danger... (Miller, 1956, pp. 218-219).

If these statements were platitudinous, they nevertheless expressed the assumption that the state is made up of families rather than by individuals and that families are responsible for families.

The Puritans, in other words, thought of their church as an organization made up of families and not individuals. A Massachusetts law was passed, as a matter of fact, that ordered every town to "dispose of all single persons..." (cited in Miller, 1954, p. 186). Cotton Mather said it, perhaps, more plainly when he said, "...the foundation of all societies and the nurseries of all Societies naturally produce good order. When families are under an ill discipline, all other Societies being therefore ill disciplines, will feel that error in the first concoction..." (Mather, 1699/1902, p. 3). This was religiosity.

The Witch Hunts. A Discussion.

Thousands of books have been written on the curious and interesting witchcraft craze of 1691-1692. Historians have taken various philosophical positions, and it has been

microscopically analyzed from many angles, sliced many ways. Scholars have been and are widely divided on the topic (Burr, 1914). This author is not a historian and will attempt to neither defend a historical position nor a psychological position. However, Leekey in his History of Rationalism, sets forth a significant law: "... whenever a religion which rests in a great measure on a system of terrorism, and which paints in dark and forcible colors the misery of men and the power of evil spirits, is intensely realized, it will engender the belief in witchcraft" (cited in Adams, 1898, p. 85)...

"The mania of 1691-1692 in Massachusetts was no isolated or inexplicable manifestation; on the contrary, it was a most noticeable instance of the operation of (the) law:--given John Winthrop's journal in 1630-1640, Salem witchcraft at a somewhat later period might ... be predicted. The community was predisposed to the epidemic..."(Adams, 1898, p. 86).

Whether it was predictable or not is not within the limits of this study. This study will look at the witch hunt trials through the eyes of our "typical representative" (Adams, 1898, p. 65) of the time, Cotton Mather and his father, Increase Mather.

An Essay For the Recording of Illustrious Providence by Increase Mather was a narrative of strange events that seemed to influence others to see strange events and to act on those events and react (cited in Burr, 1914). Whether this is the case or not is beside the point of consideration. The point is that this is religiosity by definition of the word.

If all of the strange and bazaar events that were recorded by Mather and others actually happened, then the whole New England coast was teeming with the supernatural (Burr, 1914). If all of the bazaar events that were recorded did not happen, then the executions were without cause and based solely on superstitions of the leaders of New England. Whichever is the truth and perhaps it is a bit of both, the fact that the mass religious executions in grotesque forms (Burr, 1914) happened, says perhaps plainer than anything else could that the answer to our question on religiosity, affected religiousness,

has to be Yes, Puritan Society was a society thoroughly influenced with the variable, religiosity.

Puritan Isolationism

Who was or was not included in the community of believers? Could anyone immigrate into the Massachusetts Bay area? Could anyone be a community leader? Could anyone even reside in the Puritan Colony and be a citizen? To answer these questions is to say that it was a community of intolerant individuals. The Puritans had not come to America to be tolerant of anything except what they wanted to tolerate (Cooke, 1976), and in late June of 1630, when the Arabella reached America, the cementing of the Puritan community had already begun.

The (Puritan) authorities had the right to send 'dissentients' away, and this right they were determined to exercise. This is the conclusion of the whole matter...Toleration, as the word is now understood, would not have been safe. The Puritan fathers of New England did not profess toleration; it would have been suicidal. (Adams, 1898, p. 47).

In 1637 the General Court passed an order that prohibited anyone from settling within the colony without first having his religious beliefs approved by the magistrates. Immigrants were required to be aseptic. John Winthrop was bold and clear in defense of the order. He said in part, "...May we not provide for our peace by keeping off such as would....infect others with...dangerous tenets?" (Boorstin, 1958, p. 7).

To understand this correctly understanding of the Puritan mindset is necessary. The Puritans believed that the men of a society entered into a covenant relationship by consent of one another, not in the terms of their own thinking, but according to the laws and rules of the Bible. Once this relationship had been entered then only death could break it. This, it was believed was a relationship similar to Christ and the Church. To differ was

tantamount to treason. Certainly no dissenters could be allowed into the community of believers (Miller, 1964). The Massachusetts Bay Colony was to the Puritans as the promised land was to Israel. With this in mind, it is considerably easier to understand Winthrop's fundamental doctrine on his idealistic society. It was not essentially a doctrine of prejudice in twentieth century terms. It was rather a coming to terms between men, that is, a covenant between them, as man comes to terms between himself and God (Miller, 1964). There are many comments that could be made about the Puritan brand of prejudice, but all must agree that this was a society of cultural imprisonment.

There are many discussions that could develop on the Puritan Society, but this paper is designed to look at only religiosity and isolationism. In this section only isolationism is discussed. To discuss isolationism further examples from the writings of John Winthrop, Increase Mather, and Cotton Mather will be examined. To answer the question on isolationism, diaries, sermons, and other writings by these men of the Puritan Society will be examined. There are many other examples as Puritans were avid record keepers, but these are typically representative of the period (Adams, 1898).

John Winthrop and Isolationism.

Winthrop explained the difference between civil liberty, the liberty all men have in nature, and moral liberty, the liberty that men have in God. He explained in his journal on page 239, "...liberty is the proper end and object of authority, and cannot subsist without it; and it is a liberty to (do) that only which is good, just, and honest." (Miller, 1964, p. 90).

In other words, the covenant that one has with God is similar to the one that one has with the community. The mutual consent is the "cementing together" of all societies, political or ecclesiastical; "for there is no man constrained to enter into such a condition, unlesse he will; and he that will enter, must also willingly binde and ingage himself to each

member of that society to promote the good of the whole." (Miller, 1964, p. 11). In this covenant community, there can be no one who is not a part of the covenant because to choose not to participate is to choose against the covenant itself. Hence, only those who are a part of the covenant can be a part of the community. Once agreed upon, the covenant cannot be broken. The Puritan Covenant, that is, The Abrahamic Covenant, and The Covenant of Grace, is ecclesiastical, political, and social. It is an all encompassing covenant according to Winthrop and all other writers during the Puritan Era. (Miller, 1964). From this journal entry and others, many avenues could be pursued, but, again, only one question must be answered. Is this cultural imprisonment, i.e., isolationism? The following quote illustrates plainly that it was, indeed, isolationism.

13 April 1645: Mr. Hopkins, the governor of Hartford...came to Boston and brought his wife with him (a Godly woman...) who was fallen into a sad infirmity, the loss of her understanding and reason, which had been growing upon her divers years, by occasion of her giving herself wholly to reading and writing, and had written many books. Her husband being very loving and tender of her was loathe to grieve her; but he saw his error when it was too late. For if she had attended her household affairs, and such things as belong to women, and not gone out of her way and calling to meddle in such things as are proper for men, whose minds are stronger...she had kept her wits, and might have improved them usefully and honorably in place God had set her. He brought her to Boston and left her with her brother... (Miller, 1956, p. 44).

Mistress Anne Hutchinson, wife of William and mother of many children, was a classic, if somewhat pathetic example of the psychological conditions in Massachusetts Bay Colony. She had been mesmerized by the preaching and teaching of John Cotton and so followed him with her family to Boston in 1634. Winthrop details in his journal the story of the tragic consequences of her devotion. There are many other accounts of the story of

the expulsion of Anne Hutchinson and her family, but Winthrop fought with ferocity the heresy that he felt Mrs. Hutchinson represented, so his account of the story is emotionally charged and quite interesting. According to Winthrop, Mrs. Hutchinson's admission before the General Court that she received special revelations direct from God was tantamount to admitting that she was collaborating with the devil. She and her family were banished to Rhode Island. After her husband's death in 1642, she moved with her family to New York, where she was promptly killed by Indians. Puritans, very self-righteously believed that her death proved that they were right all along and had indeed done the right thing by banishing the "heretic" (Miller, 1956). Once again, the Hutchinson case was the epitome of cultural isolationism.

Winthrop's beliefs and sermons may have inadvertently been summarized in the following, "...we must be knit together in this worke as one man, wee must entertaine each other in brotherly affection...always having before our eyes our Commission and community in the worke, our community as members of the same body." (Miller, 1964, p. 6). Winthrop warned of divine wrath if the community did not perform these terms of the law. However, to perform these terms according to Winthrop would be to establish a society so dedicated to God that success would prove incidental and triumph would not cause one member to be prideful or arrogant (Miller, 1964).

Increase Mather and Isolationism.

Increase Mather sermonized brilliantly. For the Puritans. sermonizing was seemingly an unending, monotonous wail over the degeneracy of the present as compared with the past, the decay of religious fervor, and the mournful pleas of the neglect of observances embellished with fearful warnings of the wrath of God to come unless evil was removed from the community of believers (Adams, 1896). Everyone participated in and listened to those sermons because attendance at these church services was mandatory.

An example of such a sermon delivered by Increase Mather, is entitled The Glory Departing from New England. Read and you can almost hear his bellowing voice as he mourns from his pulpit,

O New England! O New England! Look to it, that the Glory be not removed from thee. For it begins to go...The Glory of the Lord seems to be on the wing. Oh! Tremble for it is going, it is gradually departing.....they cannot but mourn when they remember what they Have seen, far surpassing what is present." Later, he sermonized, "...then know it is a terrible Thing, which God is about to bring upon the Land. (Adams, 1898, pp. 79-80).

The result of such teaching as this has to be to discourage one from asking questions and to invite punishment upon anyone who dares to hold a disparate view.

Apart from sleep and lawful recreation, a true Puritan spent his life in the performance of his work, his particular profession, and his calling, his church work. The industrious Increase Mather wrote in his diary, "I am not willing to allow my self above seven hours in four and twenty, for sleep; but would spend the rest of my time in attending to the duties of my personal or general calling (profession)." (Morgan, 1980, p. 71). This, perhaps, is the epitome of isolationism.

Cotton Mather and Isolationism.

Cotton Mather echoed the sermons of his father, Increase. Yet, as the writings are studied there are changes, and the Puritans move from a moderate radicalism with John Winthrop to a frenzied fear laden society of the later witch hunt years before moving into The Great Awakening of the 1730-1740's. This study of the Puritans ends with the writings of Cotton Mather in 1728, which were influential to the end of the Puritan Era in

the 1730's. However, Puritanism and the ideals of Puritanism did not die in the 1700's, and many are still alive today.

Cotton Mather and his colleagues were utterly convinced in the rightness of their cause and would suffer no breaches of compromise. To read the Magnalia is to know this. For example:

It hat been deservedly esteemed, one of the great and wonderful works of God in this Last Age, that the Lord stirred up the Spirits of so many Thousands of his Servants, to leave the Pleasant Land of England, the Land of their Nativity, and to transport themselves and Families over the Ocean Sea, into a Desert Land in America, at the Distance of a Thousand Leagues from their own Country; and this, meerly on the Account of Pure and Undeified Religion, not knowing how they should have their Daily Bread, but trusting in God for That, in the way of seeking first the Kingdome of God and the Righteousness thereof: And that the Lord was pleased to grant such a gracious Presence of his with them and such a Blessing upon their Undertakings, that within a few Years a Wilderness was subdued before them, and so many Colonies Planted, Towns Erected and Churches settled, wherein the true and living God in Christ Jesus, is worshipped and served, in a place where time out of mind, had been nothing before, but Heathenism, Idolatry and Devil-worship.....For the Lord our God hath contrived and established his Covenant, so as he will be the God of his People, and of their Seed with them, and after them, in their Generations; and in the Ministerial Dispensation of the Covenant of Grace...(Mather, 1702/1977, pp. 66-68).

Later Mather likened his book, Magnalia Chrisiti Americana, to the holy scriptures. He said, "And his Inventions next to Inspiration..." Many, many conclusions may be drawn from these writings, but rather, obviously, this is isolationism.

Cotton Mather never faltered in his belief that he was right. Two years before his death he made the statement that there were only differences in discipline in the church (Boorstin, 1958). If this is the case, then by their own words, the Puritans consistently practiced and wholeheartedly supported cultural isolationism. From their writings from John Winthrop through Cotton Mather one conclusion that can be drawn is that the Puritans were obviously isolationists.

Puritanism. An Utopian Society

Is this an idealistic society? an Utopian society? In other words, is this a society that has a top downward approach at government? First, it is probably best at this point to define "Utopian". This will allow us to proceed from this point with the same mindset. Utopia as used in this paper is defined by Webster's Third New International Dictionary as "a place, state, or condition of ideal perfection..." Utopian as used in this paper and defined by the same source means "...having the characteristics of Utopia. Ideal or perfection..." Webster's Third New International Dictionary gives the example of Karl Marx and Utopian Socialism as an attempt at the ideal or Utopian Society. However, any society that is organized in a top downward approach where more than 50% of the power is vested in a central committee, a ruling party, or a church an attempt at an ideal society is probable. A government that is controlled by the church and has its ministers as viceroys is generally called a theocracy (Miller, 1964). The Puritan Church, the Covenant Church, that was established as Cotton Mather said, "amidst a wilderness, where nothing was..." (Mather, 1702/1977, p. 66) and ruled with increasing fervor (Burr, 1914) was never intended to be tolerant of anything except what they wanted to tolerate (Cooke, 1976; Morgan, 1980). By the definition of Utopia, the Puritan society was, indeed, an Utopian society.

So from the beginning, this grand experiment in theology (Boorstin, 1958), this society that refused to allow anyone to remain aloof and demanded acquiescence (Morgan, 1980),

this state that allowed "no dissent from the truth" (Miller, 1964, p. 145), this "historical anomaly" (Adams, 1896, p. 88), was one that practiced religiosity, affected religiousness (Adams, 1898; Burr, 1914; Miller, 1964) and cultural isolationism (Cooke, 1976; Miller, 1956), until their ideal society, a society that was based on God's Covenant with man and God's Covenant for men with men became a nightmare of witch hunts. It was on the blood of these so-called witches that the society itself dissipated (Burr, 1914). Kai Erikson might be right in having said that the Puritans created their own deviances in their society (1966).

The Puritan Schools: A Discussion

Law and Philosophy:

Actually the 1642 Massachusetts Law was plain: Heads of families were required to teach their children and apprentices to read. As amplified six years later, the law required under penalty of fine that all household members must learn to read but not just read. They were required to be able to read the Bible. Also, it was required that heads of families, a minimum of once a week, must question their children and servants on matters of religion, the church, and the Holy Scriptures (Morgan, 1980). Although the words, compulsory education, were not used, this was, in fact, a compulsory education law because it compelled the parents or other heads of the households to educate their children.

The Puritans insisted upon education to transmit their religious beliefs to their children. They firmly believed that the insurance of religious welfare was the reason for learning to read. In 1647 the General Court of Massachusetts provided for the establishment of schools because "one chief project of that old deluder, Satan, to keep men from the knowledge of Scriptures" (Morgan, 1980, p. 88). This law is sometimes referred to as the "Old Deluder Satan Law" because the often quoted preamble refers to Satan as the one, who would keep the knowledge of the scriptures from men (Morison, 1936, p. 65). This

Act for the compulsory provision of common schools and grammar schools was an outgrowth of the realization that parents, even the most devout could not be depended upon to do their duty and teach their children to read and write; hence the towns must be forced by law to make proper provision for teaching the young (Morison, 1956). The earlier legislation, however, did not lapse. Parents were given the opportunity to provide home schooling or to send them to school. The Grammar (Boston Latin) School was the public school. Educational ideas in the Grammar School and all schools in New England "percolated from the top down, and did not rise from the bottom up." (Morison, 1956, p. 73). Cotton Mather in Cares about the Nurseries in 1702 on page 34 said, "Every grace enters into the Soul through Understanding...Ignorance is the Mother of Heresy."(cited in Morison, 1956). John Cotton, a contemporary of the Mathers said in his Practical Commentary upon John that parents should teach their children to read Scriptures (cited in Morison, 1956). Thomas Foxcroft was even more explicit in his explanation of the need for education. He said in Cleansing our Ways in Youth,

The word written and preacht is the ordinary medium of conversion and sanctification. Now, in order to obtaining these benefits by the word, it is requisite, that persons be diligent in reading and hearing of it; and in order to these, how expedient and necessary is it, that there be schools of learning;those of a lower character, for the instructing of youth in reading, and those of an higher, for the more liberal education of such, as may be devoted to the work of the ministry.(cited in Morison, 1956, p. 176).

The Puritans, therefore, sought learning as a means of salvation. For the Puritans, it was impossible to be illiterate and still be free from the delusions of Satan. In other words, the main business of education was to prepare children for conversion to God's Way. Cotton Mather said in his diary, "I purpose that I would grow yett more Fruitful...start more schools, to make more pastoral visits..." (Wendell, 1963, p. 128).

Later he commented further in his diary on educational philosophy. He said, "My two youngeer children, shall before the psalm and prayer answer a question in the catechism; and have their Leaves ready turned unto the proofs of the answer in the Bible, which they shall distinctly read unto us, and show what they prove. This also will supply a fresh matter for the prayer that is to follow. (Wendell, 1963, p. 182).

Richard Mather in Farewell Exhortation imagined children whose education had been neglected addressing their parents at the Day of Judgment in this way:

All this that we here suffer is through you. You should have taught us the things of God and did not, you should have restrained us from sin and corrected us, and you did not: you were the (epitome) of our originall corruption and guiltiness, and you never shewed any competent care that we might be delivered from it, for you we did receive it, by your neglect we have continued in it, and now, we are damned for it: Woe unto you that had no more compassion and pittty to prevent the everlasting misery of your OWN CHILDREN. (Mather, 1699/1902. p. 10-11).

Richard Mather demonstrated the terrifying fact that children untaught are probably doomed.

To teach the child the parents were hindered in another way as well. It was believed that children were not only born ignorant, but they were born very sinful and must be taught God's ways in order to receive him by faith. Learning to read the scriptures and memorizing and quoting the scriptures was the key to developing a life in faith (Morgan, 1980). Increase Mather said it this way in his sermon, Some Important Truths About Conversion, "Religion is the meer impression of a godly education without any special work of the Holy Spirit upon their Souls." (Morgan, 1980, p. 95).

Puritan Textbooks. A Discussion.

The school books were actually mini sermons within themselves and always wove the Bible and the scriptures into every lesson. What were the books that were used? Every child probably had what was called a hornbook, which was a printed alphabet sheet with a few words of one syllable and the Lord's Prayer, mounted in a wooden frame, with a sheet of horn to protect the surface. The other books were a spelling book, a primer, and a catechism (Morison, 1956). The New England Primer was a famous example of the religious sermons that were in each book. It taught the alphabet as: In Adams Fall We sinned all...Zaccheus he Did climb the Tree His Lord to see (Morison, 1936). Another famous example now at Edinburgh, Scotland, is John Eliot's Indian Primer of 1669. It contains the alphabet, the Lord's Prayer, the Apostle's Creed, the Ten Commandments, the Westminster catechisms, and the names and order of the books of the Bible (Morison, 1936).

In this brief description, it can be easily seen that these books had a religious bias. However, these books must not have been entirely "bad" as they were used extensively in New York and Pennsylvania, and more importantly as scantily as data is, it can be easily stated that New England was more than 50% literate. It was in many ways an oasis in the midst of a desert of illiteracy. Universal, compulsory education in seventeenth century New England was working if the measurement is eradication of illiteracy. Since it was the Puritan custom to teach the children first to read with the hornbook or primer before teaching them to write and "cipher", it is quite possible that a huge number, who could not write their names and were counted illiterate were quite able to read the Holy Scriptures and other religious texts. This means that nearly everyone, by reading standards only, were literate (Morison, 1936). Even though literacy was high in New England, higher than anywhere else in the colonies, people of means, as usual, fared better than the poor. The poor in New England, however, fared better than the poor elsewhere because they knew

their letters. (Meyer, 1967). If this is the case, whatever the religious bias, they were doing statistically quite better than modern America.

Cotton Mather composed a reader entitled, Good Lessons for Children, which was designed to " have the child improve in goodness at the same time, that he improv'd in reading" (cited in Morgan, 1980, p. 101). Probably Cotton Mather expressed the goal of most of the Puritan educators in the following:

Tutors, be strict, but yet be gentle too, don't be fierce, cruelties fair hopes undo,
Dream not, that they who are to learning slow...Blowes are but for the refractory
fool. But oh! first teach them their great God tofear; That you like me, with joy
may meet them here. (cited in Morison, 1936, p. 100).

It is a fact that book reading flourished, and some book companies even at this time made a good deal of money, but it is a fact, also, that what they read was almost entirely religious or religiously oriented. All ideas hostile to the official religion, whether written or spoken, were strictly banned, and persons who persisted in that sort of "heresy" were banished or worse (Meyer, 1967).

The Schools, Curriculum and Teachers.

A Discussion.

The New England Grammar Schools were the secondary schools of the sixteenth and seventeenth Puritans. The goal of the curriculum of the grammar schools was to make the boy completely at home in reading, writing, and speaking Latin as a living language, and to give him a good foundation in Greek (Morison, 1936). Massachusetts Bay in 1647 required every town of one hundred families to establish a grammar school. The school day was long and rigorous; the school year was more than the usual six months. Boys began grammar school at the age of approximately six or seven years, and seven years' time prepared them for the college. The Massachusetts School Law of 1647 required that

the grammar schoolmasters be "able to instruct youth so far as they may be fitted for the universitie" (cited in Morison, 1936). With the curriculum goals the same, the classes the same, length of day the same, length of year the same for each of the grammar schools, then it can be said that the Puritans had a national curriculum that was largely controlled by the church.

No appointments of teachers were made without the full approbation of the ministers. The textbooks, as noted earlier, were heavily laden with Puritanical doctrines. However, not a single penny of church money was used for the support of the school. Their support came entirely from taxation, tuition fees, and a few land rentals (Morison, 1936).

The education system was a universal, compulsory national education system that was supported mainly through taxation, but it was controlled by the church via the textbooks that were either written by the ministry or as in the case of the grammar schools, approved by the ministry.

All teachers were approved by the church. Even though most of the training that boys (girls did not go) received at the grammar school was of a secular nature providing him tools for acquiring religious knowledge rather than scriptures; it should not be thought that this schooling in any way conflicted with religion (Morgan, 1980).

When the Puritan boy had been catechised at home, taught at school, and then exhorted in church at least three times each week (attendance was mandatory), he was undoubtedly filled with doctrine. However, the Puritan leaders were not satisfied that this was enough doctrine. Parents were warned in the many sermons over and over again, to live the Faith. Live the Faith. It was not enough to send the children to school, but parents should be the living examples of a living faith. Eleazar Mather said in one of his 1671 sermons entitled A Serious Exhortation to the Present and Succeeding Generation in New England, "Precept without Patterns will do little good. You must lead them to Christ by examples as well as counsel... You must live religion as well as talk Religion." (Mather, 1699/1902, p. 20).

The Puritan Schools and Discipline.

A Discussion.

On the other hand, doctrine and a good example still were not enough to insure that the Puritan child would grow up in the Faith. Because the devil was always present to woo the child away from his faith and because of Adam's sin in the garden of Eden each child was born evil and had to be taught the ways of God; discipline was an integral part of the home and school. Cotton Mather's 1695 epigram in his *Help for Distressed Parents*, "Better whipt, than Damn'd" (Mather, 1699/1902, p. 28) expressed the basis of Puritan educational philosophy. John Eliot expressed discipline almost poetically when he said, "The gentle rod of the mother, is a very gentle thing, it will break neither bone nor skin: yet by the blessing of God with it, and upon the wise application of it; it would break the bond that bindeth up corruption in the heart." (cited in Morgan, 1980, p. 103). It would be a distortion of facts, however, to conclude that corporal punishment was used fiercely or too freely.

The aim of Puritan education had a vastly different focus than modern education, but the methods of discipline as expounded by the minister were strikingly modern. For the ministers who wrote and spoke on the subject counseled the parents to win children to holiness by kindness rather than try to force it by severity (Morgan, 1980). Even Cotton Mather's epigram can be more easily reconciled to his lifestyle by looking at his diary on the subject. He had a very detailed policy of the matter of discipline:

The first chastisement, which I inflict for an ordinary fault, is to lett the child see and hear me in an astonishment, and hardly able to beleeve that the child could do so base a thing, but beleiving that they will never do it again. I would never come to give a child a blow; except in case of obstinacy; or so gross enormity. (Proverbs says that stubbornness is as

witchcraft. This would be a gross enormity). To be chased for a while out of my presence, I would make to be look'd upon, as the sorest punishment in the family. The slavish way of Education, carried on with raving and kicking and scourging (in schools as well as in families) tis abominable; and a dreadful judgment of God upon the world. (Mather, 1702/1977, pp. 535-536).

Richard Mather, Cotton's grandfather, had expressed the same sentiments years before this time. Yet, each parent demanded respect. Each teacher and, of course, each minister demanded respect; if all else failed, then as one Puritan mother said one time, "I whipt him pretty smartly." (Morgan, 1980, p.105).

Each parent, teacher, and minister demanded and received a place of honor in the children's lives. The children approached the adults with an odd mixture of fear and awesome respect that was heard in the voice, seen in the eyes, and reflected in the standing position in which he always addressed his father, his teacher, and on the rare occasions that he addressed the minister, the minister, also. Familiarity was discouraged as this was seen to breed contempt, irreverence, and if left unchecked rebellion in the children (Morgan, 1980).

Perhaps, the best explanation of the principle of discipline as taught by the Puritans was by Cotton Mather when he said to the schoolmasters,

...prudently study the tempers of the children, they have to deal withal...When parents by wise observations do perceive the...vice as lying...admonish them...represent to them what God speaketh...after which watch them the more ...and spare them not for it, if they fall into typing again...

(Mather, 1702/1977)

The Puritan child was not free to learn anything other than Puritan ways, but the children were not subjected to a discipline without a degree of individuality. Puritan

education, in spite of all its biases, was intelligently planned and thoughtfully executed from a basic parental perspective of love and concern.

Now, that educational philosophy and disciplinary methods have been explained, it is important to look at these in relationship to the variables, religiosity and isolationism. Now, is the time to answer the questions: Were the schools practicing an affected religiousness? Were the schools practicing cultural imprisonment? Since the society is a reflection of the schools and the schools a reflection of the society, if the society practiced religiosity and isolationism then the schools were practitioners, also.

Religiosity in the Schools? A Discussion.

Were the schools practicing religiosity, i.e., an affected religiousness?

It is a fact that what the people read and what occupied their serious thought was almost entirely religious and theological....Their first and consuming concern was Puritanism, a stark and forbidding Calvinism, and for most of its believers a damnation that was inevitable and irreparable, says Adolphe E. Meyer (1967, p. 40).

The founders of New England had staked the success of their experiment on the success of their churches. They confined...rights to church members, so that the existence of the state depended upon the maintenance of a continuous supply of converts...The Puritan system failed because the Puritans relied upon their CHILDREN to provide the church with members and the state with citizens...they wrote, they preached, they prayed, they threatened, but to no avail, says Edmund S. Morgan in his book that had first begun as a dissertation on the Puritan family (Morgan, 1980, p. 185).

"Never was a people more sure that it was on the right track...Puritan New England was a noble experiment in applied theology..." according to Boorstin (1958, p. 9). "The

Puritan wished to bring his religion into harmony with science and reason..." according to Perry Miller's Errand into the Wilderness (1964, p. 96). "Because literary expression ... was so bound up with theology and with political and ecclesiastical concerns, it can hardly be isolated from the social context," says the late Perry Miller (1956, p. 336). Research in this study indicates there is no single place where education was mentioned and was not in some way connected with religion. Therefore, for the purposes of this study the educational system of Puritan New England was a system that was one of religiosity, i.e., affected religiousness.

Isolationism in the Schools:

A Discussion.

Were the Puritan New England schools, schools of cultural imprisonment, i.e., isolationism? Boorstin said,

The Puritans in New England were surprisingly successful for some years at keeping their community orthodox. In doing so, they also made it sterile of speculative thought...The failure of New England Puritans to develop a theory of toleration, or even freely to examine the question, was not in all ways a weakness (1958, pp. 8-9).

Meyer said that all ideas hostile to the official religion were strictly banned. To disregard the edicts of the church, i.e., the government, was to be banished or worse (Meyer, 1967).

The Puritan fathers of New England did not profess toleration; it would have been suicidal...Under the undisturbed theocratic regime the community along the New England coast, cut off from intercourse with Europe by the ocean on the one side and hemmed in by an unexplored wilderness on the other...They looked on change with suspicion and dreaded innovation as concealed heresy...They did not wish to be

disturbed...the minister and magistrate...failed to see in the 'intruders' a healthy stimulant (Adams, 1898, p. 48).

Many other historians have said the same things that Adams said at the turn of the century, but he said it so eloquently, almost poetically that nothing needs to be added. If historians can be believed, then the Puritan educational system like its society was an isolationist system that excluded all that it did not want to include and included only the truth as they saw the truth.

Summary. Religiosity and Isolationism in the Puritan Schools.

Each time a child went to school, that child was instructed in theology (Meyer, 1967, Miller, 1956; Morison, 1936) as well as secular subjects. The single-mindedness of the theology and the isolationism may have been the tools of Puritan intellectual survival (Boorstin, 1958). So the constant striving for perfection of the Puritans was not necessarily negative, it did illustrate that Utopia had not been reached. Actually, the Puritans never reached the state of perfection for which they desperately struggled. Yet what the Puritans had developed in America with their heavy reliance on the Bible had fixed the temper of American society and foreshadowed modern American life (Boorstin, 1958). Perry Miller, perhaps the foremost historian of Puritan thought, said it this way:

The Puritan Ideology has played a dominant role in America because descendants of the Puritans have carried these Puritan traits into a variety of pursuits all the way across the continent. Many of these have persisted even though the original creed is lost. Without some understanding of Puritanism,...there is no understanding of America...for better or for worse (Puritanism is)...one of the continuous factors in American life (education) and thought. (1956, p. ix.)

At this point, it might be well to remember what Thomas Lechford, a British visitor to the colonies said of the Puritans, "wiser men then they, going into a wilderness to set up another strange government differing from the settled government here, might have falne into greater errors than they..." (cited in Boorstin, 1958, p. 31).

Now, that the questions have been answered on Puritan religiosity and Puritan isolationism, and it has been answered with some degree of certainty that the educational system reflected these same variables so it can be stated that their educational system was a reflection of their society.

Conclusion A Discussion.

J'etais e'goiste mais maintenant je suis parfait (I was egotistical, but now I'm perfect) is the phrase that comes to mind when I think of the Puritan religiosity and isolationism. It was a theology and philosophy designed to be perfect because it was an active theology based soundly on the Bible. The axis of this theology and philosophy was a striving for perfection of the spirit, soul, and body of man. Yet the striving for this perfection i.e., the ideal, means that the ideal, the Utopia, had not been reached. So each time, the Puritan minister instructed someone on the need for improvement, and there were endless instructions on improvement in the mandatory sermons, the Puritans said clearly that their Utopia was somewhere beyond them because once Utopia has been reached, then striving ends. In the end, however, the Puritans like others were betrayed by the sin that Winthrop had warned them against before the Arabella had even landed. They had placed the love of the creature and its comforts above the love of their creator. Prosperity and comfort had proven to be the enemies of zeal. Theology had, again, bent to capitalism. So even though the Puritans were egotistical enough to say that they were to be a "Citty upon a Hill", the hill was never climbed. The plateau, Utopia, at the top of the hill was never reached. By the same token, to admit that the hill was not climbed and to accept into the community

opposing views is to acknowledge problems in the society, and to admit that is to admit that the ideal is not quite ideal. Hence, in an attempt to create an Utopian Society, it is not possible to admit other avenues of thought into the society. Cultural exclusion, that is to say, isolationism, must be practiced to maintain the illusion of the ideal.

In any case, these are the Puritans, the first settlers to New England. This is their theology and their philosophy. This is their society, one of religiosity and isolationism. The Puritan creeds have mostly been lost, and the name "Puritan" belongs only to the past and to those of us who enjoy studying the past. Yet, if historians are right, Puritanism is a part of our society and one of the continuing factors in our life today. Can we learn about ourselves from studying them? Probably. Yet the question at this time is not whether we can learn about ourselves, but more to the point can we take the variables, religiosity and isolationism, that were found in the Puritan society and find them in another idealistic society in the world. That is, however distinctive ideal societies are in place and in time, are those variables inherent in at least one other of them?

In Chapter Three, we will examine another attempt at an idealistic society at another time and in another part of the world. We will examine the former Soviet Union and its philosophy and theology in relation to religiosity and isolationism, and we will look closely at the educational system in the former Soviet Union in relation to those same variables.

CHAPTER III

THE FORMER SOVIET UNION

Introduction:

In describing the Soviets in this chapter, their philosophies and their theology, which in many ways were the same will be discussed. This is a study of their philosophy and theology in answer to the questions: Was the Soviet Society one in which we might find an intense, excessive or affected religiousness, that is, religiosity? Is the Soviet society one in which cultural imprisonment, i.e., isolationism is found? Was this a Utopian or ideal society, that is, a top downward approach? Did the society affect the institutions, specifically the schools of the society?

The wind was cold and the rain fell in thin, misty sheets that first day at the Kremlin. Two young guards were posing along the Kremlin wall with two, friendly, obviously American, girls of about 18 or 19. The local guide was saying, "Nothing has changed here, and nothing will ever change for us." The year was 1988. How contradictory the guide's words were to what was actually going on along the Kremlin wall. Yet, perhaps that was evidence that things had not changed at all. Afterall, official statements in the Soviet Union had rarely agreed with the facts (Moynihan, 1993).

"It was just about 8:40a.m. when a thundering wave of cheers announced the entrance...of Lenin, the great Lenin..." wrote John Reed, the American journalist, who followed the Bolshevik revolution in Russia for four years and eventually became the founder of the American Communist Party. According to Reed, Lenin said, "We shall now proceed to construct the Socialist order!" (cited in Khekalo, 1989, p. 11). While preaching to a thousand Soviet faces, Lenin stated the philosophy of the new order. The year was

1918, and he prophesied, "The Government of Russia proposes to all the belligerent peoples to conclude...a peace... A socialist coalition must be created. Only the socialists have a voice...We shall fulfill our destiny..." (cited in Khekalov, 1989, p. 11-15). No historian, then or now, could have stated their national philosophy, that is, their national theology, more concisely than Lenin stated it that fateful day in Moscow. The people were wild with acceptance that day. A grizzled old soldier was sobbing. A band played. Everyone sang, "The war is over! The war is over! All is peace! and the War is over!" The Soviets that day saw their peaceful destiny quite clearly. All workers were to be equal. It was to be a classless society based soundly on the doctrines of Marx and Engels as interpreted and enacted by Lenin (Kulikov, 1988).

The Soviets' Philosophy and Theology.

The Soviet light for man was the Marx/Engels philosophy in action, an active philosophy, and a noble experiment in applied philosophy. That is, the theory constructed by Marx and his close collaborator Engels and executed by Lenin and his Soviet successors became the Soviet light for man or Soviet-style Communism. The great experiment in Marxianism had begun (Lukes, 1987).

In the practical applications of the Marx/Engels philosophy that was purely theoretical there was a curious mix of ideologies. This thought is remarkably complex and many-sided, expressed at different levels and in different contexts with different speakers, and consequently many times open-ended. However, this paper looks only at the Soviet-style of Marxism, which evolved over perhaps seventy years and then died. This complex mentality has been analyzed by the sociologist, Steven Lukes, and was labeled as a paradoxical morality. Morality is defined as what the society addresses as good, right, fair, virtuous, obligatory, and behind these, assumptions about the nature of man, the preconditions for social life, the limits of possible transformations of man, the foundations

of practical judgment of man, and beyond that the judgment of what a good society is (Lukes, 1987). By our definition of religiosity in Chapter two, this morality as defined, is actually religiosity.

On the one hand, it was claimed that morality was an ideology, and social in origin, illusory in content and serving class interests; that any given morality arises out of a particular stage in the development of the society; that there are no objective truths or eternal principles of morality. The very form of morality and general ideas such as freedom and justice cannot completely disappear until there are no class antagonisms. Marx and Engels said that morality, law, and religion are prejudices bent to the demise of the workers (cited in Lukes, 1987). Therefore Marxism is opposed to all of the religious ideology and moral codes and even rejects as old fashioned all of the vocabulary of morality. Marxism is, therefore, not moral but scientific (Lukes, 1987).

On the other hand, in a brief look at the Marxist writings one notices that the writings are actually teeming with moral judgments, implicit and explicit. From his earliest writings, Marx expressed his hatred of servility and his fragmentary visions of communism exude with fragrances of what is and is not the ideal, like a strong, rather sweet smelling cheap perfume the smell of what is and what is not right lingered long past the time that the wearer disappeared. In Marx's writings, it is plain that he was so fired by outrage and indignation and the burning desire for a better world that it is hard not to see his morals and values written into each paragraph. The same is true of Engels. His works are full of moral criticisms of the social conditions created by what he felt was the archenemy, capitalism (Khekalo, 1989; Lukes, 1987). The same applies to Lenin from his compulsory education edicts to his social programs (Khekalo, 1989). The same applies to other writers and followers of the Marxian view right down to the present day (Antonov-Ovseyenko, 1981; Conquest, 1991). Open practically any of their texts, however scientific or academic, and there will be condemnation, exhortation, and the vision of a better world along with at least a hint of what will happen if the rules are not followed (Lukes, 1987).

As far as the socialist writers, most were inspired by their own moral visions of a better world and expressed in writings that their ideology somehow inhibited them from expressing in any other form. This hidden morality is actually a religiosity as defined in this paper. This will particularly be evident during the years of Stalin and his great bloody purge of the society (Antonov-Ovseyenko, 1981).

Notice that the paradox of the morality, i.e., the philosophy and religion, of Marx/Engels and those who followed them, lies at the level of general beliefs of the nation-state. On the one hand morality is condemned at all times in their writings. On the other hand, it is believed in, appealed to, and encouraged as being necessary in all writings at all the various stages of societal development. In brief, what is striking about the Soviet light for man is its apparent commitment to both the rejection and the adoption of codes of conduct (Lukes, 1987).

This paradox can be illustrated in the writings of the men involved. It can be traced through the lives and writings of Marx/Engels, Lenin, Stalin, and other Soviets even through the Gorbachev years. However, as this paradox is illustrated it is, important to remember that these will be looked at only from the two perspectives of religiosity and isolationism.

The moment anyone started to talk to Marx or any one of his followers about the ideas of morality, gales of laughter were heard, and a sneer appeared on their faces. More than once, Lenin raised an eyebrow at questions of morality (Khekalo, 1989). Because of this, it might be good to look back to Chapter One at the definition of religiosity before looking at the writings in detail. Religiosity as defined in this paper does not refer to a religion. It does not even refer directly to the worship of any sort of god. Religiosity is affected religiousness. To put it another way, it is an intense and consuming pathway by which one attempts to reach a stated goal. Examples of an affected religiousness are the following:

The Puritan's goal was Heaven and an Utopian State on earth. To reach these goals the Puritans set up a rigid set of standards whereby they could reach their desired end. All

activities outside of these rules was looked upon as aberrant by the society. This intense and consuming methodology that the Puritans practiced as described in Chapter Two was religiosity.

The Soviet's goal was an Utopian State on earth where all men were universally equal, i.e., an ideal society (Dubrovsky, 1988). To reach this goal the Soviets set up a rigid set of standards whereby they could reach the desired end. All activities outside of these rules were looked upon as enemies of the society (Conquest, 1991; Khekalo, 1989). This intense and consuming methodology that the Soviets practiced as described in this chapter was the religiosity of the society. Some writers as Lukes and others call this the morality of the society (Lukes, 1987). Yet as the works are examined it will become increasingly apparent that the writers sounded quite like the Bible. Das Kapital has been called the Bible of the Communist Party. So what Marx laughed at actually paradoxically was what he was, a moralist (cited in Lukes, 1987, p. 22). Lenin, Stalin, and others as most historians would agree would shudder to think of themselves as moralists or in terms of religiousness. Yet as their works are examined, it will become increasingly apparent that they spent a great deal of time moralizing (Lukes, 1987). To put it another way, they spent a great deal of time sermonizing, and eulogizing, and sometimes mournfully wailing.

For the sake of simplification and for the purposes of this discussion of Soviet Philosophy and Theology, i.e., Soviet Morality, the Soviet Era has been divided into three sections represented by the lives and writings of V. I. Lenin, the Stalin Era, 1930-1987, and the Gorbachev years. It is as we look at their journals, diaries, and other writings about themselves for themselves that we can discover whether or not the Soviet Union practiced a paradoxical morality, i.e., a religiosity.

V. I. Lenin.

The Communist Party holds that the moral code of the builders of communism include the following:

- a. Devotion to the cause of communism in the society;
- b Conscientious devotion to labor for the good of the society;
- c. A high sense of duty to the society;
- d. Collectivism or ownership of all for the mutual benefit of all;
- e Moral purity, which includes faithfulness to one's own wife, honesty, and integrity of character;
- f. An extreme concern for the upbringing of all children as if they were one's own children;
- g An uncompromising attitude to injustice, parasitism, or laziness, dishonesty, careerism or promoting self above the welfare of others or might be called egoism, and money grubbing or greed;
- h A common solidarity with the working peoples of the world (Pearson, 1990).

These were the ethical principles that were laid down as absolute and mandatory by Lenin. They were reaffirmed forty years later in Moscow (Pearson, 1990).

These laws as the Soviets understood them and obeyed them, covered all areas of human life, private and public. Therefore, the Soviets had to learn to read and study every phrase of the laws and extract from them the last ounce of meaning of each as explained by the government. Education in the Soviet Union was mandatory and universal as demanded by Lenin and his successors (Pearson, 1990).

In 1920 V.I. Lenin stood before the Komsomol Congress in Moscow, U.S.S.R., and said,

Morality is what serves to destroy the old exploiting society and to unite all the working people around the proletariat, which is building up a new, a communist society...To a communist all morality lies in this united discipline and conscious mass struggle against the exploiters. We do not believe in an eternal morality, and we expose the falseness of all the fables about morality (1920, pp. 291-294).

Yet on the other hand, Lenin's writings are full of passionate moral denunciations of the ills of capitalism, as when he said,

the (private) ownership of the land in Russia is the basis for immense oppression, and the confiscation of the land...is the most important step of our Revolution...The first stage was the crushing of autocracy and the crushing of the power of the ... capitalists and the landowners" (Khekalo, 1989, p. 20).

In 1917 Lenin denounced capitalism as "accursed, dregs of humanity, hopelessly decayed, atrophied (Lukes, 1987, p. 22).

(Socialism) It seeks out the sources of daily work-value and, out of those sources directly it creates the social control of the State. Our government...will triumph because it speaks the spirit, and releases and uses the spirit, of the age that now is (Khekalo, 1989, p. 42).

Lenin said that communism was the heartbeat of the people. That is, he said that a man who was hungry with his people did not need to be told what it was like to be hungry because he himself was hungry. This total equality of all was the ultimate goal of the Soviet government according to Lenin. Therefore, he ate only the rations of his soldiers and would not even when he was ill take a morsel more (Khekalo, 1989). Lenin demanded that the whole of the country adopt his standpoint of a definite social group. That was self-evidently morality, i.e., religiosity.

Trotsky observed Lenin's amorality this way,

...from devoting his whole being to the cause of the oppressed, from displaying the highest conscientiousness in the sphere of ideas and the highest fearlessness in the sphere of action; from maintaining an attitude untainted by the least superiority to an ordinary worker, to a defenseless woman, to a child. Does it not seem that amorality in the given case is only a pseudonym for higher human morality? (cited in Lukes, 1987, p. 23)

This is ultimately an affected religiousness, a theology of sorts.

This paradox of claiming no morality and being bent on morality is most apparent in all of the versions of Marxism, but particularly in the Institutes of Marxism-Leninism and taught in schools in the former Soviet Union. Marxism has remained, in its distinctive and curious way, both anti-moral, i.e., anti-religious, and moral, i.e., religious (Lukes, 1987).

On the matter of personal values, Edward Thompson has declared the silence of Marxism. Noting, as I have that Marx and Lenin were religiously bent to the core, it was possibly the fear of being called moralists which silenced them on the subject. However,

This silence was transmitted to the subsequent (Leninist) tradition in the form of repression... It was only necessary for (a) Marxist... to enter the kingdom of Socialism, and all else would be added thereunto. And Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism did... (that) (cited in Khekalo, 1989, pp. 363-364).

This is religiousness, a paradoxical morality.

Clare Sheridan, the niece of Winston Churchill, wrote vividly of Lenin, the man. It would seem from the writings that she did not share her uncle's view of V. I. Lenin. In a book that was published in the Soviet Union, she said,

Lenin's power of concentration was perhaps the most impressive thing about him, that and his ponderous and mighty brow that dominated all the rest, and gave him an unbalanced look, as if his head were too big for his body. His expression was always thoughtful rather than commanding. He seemed to me the real embodiment of le penseur...I saw in him the thinker, not the dictator. I imagine that he lived purely in the abstract and the intellectual, and had no personal life at all. He looked very ill...He took no exercise, and the fresh air reached him through a small revolving ventilator in an upper window pane. I believe he sometimes took a day off in the country... When the bust (she had sculptured Lenin) was finished they shook hands warmly...Soldiers carried the bust for her refusing paper

money that was worthless anyway. But it seemed to show their true value. Then they offered her cigarettes, which were worth more, and told her good-bye..She looked around at the beloved Kremlin..was dreadfully sad at leaving. (cited in Khekalo, 1989, pp. 80-81)

It is said that the British were extremely angry at her, hassled her, and her uncle Winston never again spoke to her because she had come to excessively appreciate Lenin and his new Communist State, the Soviet Union (Khekalo, 1989). This was the description of a moralist.

Since Marx was the author of the idea of society as a whole having been organized on the basis of the division of labor, socially controlled and regulated, rather than being subjected to competition, it would be good to look at his writings as Lenin is studied because Lenin took up those ideas and executed and refined them (Lukes, 1987).

Marx and Lenin envisaged communism,

not as the "love-imbued opposite of selfishness" (cited in Lukes, 1987, p. 41) but at the end of a cleavage between the particular and the common interest and of the division of the human being into a public man and a private man, as a state of interest of humanity and each man is given social scope for the vital manifestation of his being and in which the contradiction between the interest of the separate individual or the individual family and the common interest of all individuals who have intercourse with one another has been abolished. Under such conditions, the individuals consciousness of their mutual relations will, of course ... be completely changed, and, therefore will no more be the principle of love or devouement than it will be egoism (cited in Lukes, 1987, p. 96).

This an illustration of the paradox of a society that is adamantly against morality and adamantly for morality. This is religiosity.

This paradoxical duty to enforce good behavior and right conduct in the households, in the institutions, and in the society at whatever the cost as Lenin said with whatever revolutionary means possible (Khekalo, 1989) became the center of all the political and moralistic, i.e., ecclesiastical, authority of the Soviet Union. The Marxist/Leninist doctrine had included all of the citizens of the country. The Soviets had embraced the Marxists doctrines as executed by the leaders, not only as individuals and as families but as a nation. The Soviet Union accepted these ideas and formulated their political and moralistic, i.e., ecclesiastical theories upon them (Lukes, 1987).

Stalin and other Soviets 1930-1987

In this study, Stalin is looked at from only the perspectives religiosity and isolationism in the Soviet Union and comparing these to those same variables that were found in the Puritans of the United States during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. It might be good to remember Alistair Cooke said in 1976 that there was not a dime's difference between the Communists and the Puritans (1976). However, to understand what became the Soviet National Religion, Stalinism, to a degree one must understand the great antiChrist, Joseph Stalin (Conquest, 1991).

For the sake of clarity it will be a good idea to discuss the Soviet Union at the time of Stalin, whose Spiritual Father is said by many historians to be Karl Marx (Duncan, 1978).

Before V. I. Lenin died in 1924, he had established himself as head of the Soviet Union and had issued many paradoxical edicts for the Soviet people. In the power struggle that followed his death, the intellectual sophistication and charismatic appeal of Stalin's rivals was no match for the actual power that Stalin had consolidated from positions of direct control of the Communist Party machinery (Marrin, 1988). The Soviet Union had evolved from Lenin to a harsher theology and philosophy.

For a quarter of a century Stalin ruled unopposed, with a fist of iron and perhaps a heart of stone, the only free person among 190,000,000 (Marrin, 1988). Under Stalin's iron hand, Russia became a superpower. Even though he is now dead, his influence is not dead. In many ways Russia did not ever change much unless evolution toward death is counted as change (Wettlin, 1992).

During the late 1920's Stalin's doctrine of a monolithic power emerged. By 1929, most of Stalin's rivals had been killed or otherwise removed; the Lenin edicts that were unpopular with Stalin had been abolished, and all the axioms that remained were codified into laws that allowed no discussions by anyone. Persons opposed to these laws were accused of treason. Stalin knew only two punishments for disobedience: quick death by shooting or slow death by torture. No fewer than twenty million of his own people were killed in peacetime, while other tens of millions toiled in the "gulag" or his labor camps. He may justly be numbered among the two or three greatest exterminators, who have ever lived, outdoing Adolf Hitler (Marrin, 1988).

What came to be called the cult of personality developed as Stalin presenting himself as Lenin's heir, came to be recognized as the sole infallible interpreter of Soviet Marxism (Conquest, 1991). Stalin was much like one of those large, black clouds sometimes seen at a rather great distance vaguely ominous, but at first sight floating quietly across the panhandle sky; then, as the cloud gets closer, you notice the flickers which are signs of lightning deep inside it, the hidden churning of its central material. Deaths and devastation are in its enormous wake. Not merely did Stalin inflict death on a titanic scale, but he also showed a certain death of something that perhaps once was vitally human in his life (Marrin, 1988). Conquest says it this way, "...crude clay-like figure, a golem, with which a demonic spark has been instilled" (1991, p. xvii). Churchill uniquely called him an "unnatural man" (Conquest, 1991). Hitler called him "a beast, but one on a grand scale" (Conquest, 1991).

Whoever Stalin was in the beginning and why are for other studies. The questions to be addressed in this study are these: Did the Soviet Union practice religiosity? Was it an isolationist society?

Basic to Stalinism was the notion that collectivism of agriculture and industry was a workable societal plan that could be implemented within a certain geographic region while the region was surrounded with another societal plan. A class war was therefore called upon the rich farmers, and lands were rapidly confiscated and collectivism activated (Wettlin, 1992).

The need for technological sophistication led to a socioeconomic stratification that was heavy on the industrial side. Heavy industry and war machinery were emphasized to ensure Russia's economic sovereignty, and to insure that Stalin's iron hand was never subverted (Marrin, 1988).

Stalinism held that the enemies and those who criticized the government from within and without were dangerous to the success of the society. To face these enemies and to protect the cause, it was argued, the state must remain strong. Therefore, power became more and more centralized in Stalin (Conquest, 1991). In the late 1930's Stalin launched a bloody purge across the Soviet Union. Old Bolsheviks were exterminated. It is estimated that about 15 million people were sent to the forced labor camps that were an integral part of the Soviet Union. The word gulag became synonymous with slow death (Marrin, 1988). The exiles were numbered into the millions. A youngster named Leon Trotsky recalled his Siberian exile home:

Life was dark and repressed, utterly remote from the rest of the world. At night, the cockroaches filled the house with their rustlings as they crawled over table and bed, and even over our faces. From time to time we had to move out of the hut for a day or so and keep the door wide open, at a temperature of 35 degrees (Fahrenheit) below zero. In the summer our lives were made miserable to midges. They even bit to death, a cow which

had lost its way in the woods. The peasants wore nets of tarred horsehair over their heads. In the spring and autumn the village was buried in mud...I was studying Marx, brushing the cockroaches off the page (Marrin, 1988, p. 17).

In the 1930's and 1940's Stalinism became the national religion. No sphere of Soviet life was left untouched. In arts, in science, in education, in scholarship, even in the writing of history, Stalin's word was the gospel for all of the people of the Soviet Union. To contradict Stalin was to die a most hideous death or worse. Witch hunts, i.e., searches for those who dared to oppose Stalin's Army, were widespread. People were hauled into the national police (KGB) headquarters, questioned or not questioned, and sent away or exterminated depending upon the circumstances or the whims of the police (Antonov-Ovseyenko, 1981). Neighbors were against neighbors. Family members were against other family members. Everyone became suspicious of everyone else. By the 1950's spying seemed to be a national pastime for thousands (Wettlin, 1992). Bored KGB agents hauled this one or that one into headquarters for questioning. This was a curious mix of religiosity and philosophy. This was religiosity, i.e., affected religiousness. This illustrates excessive morality as described earlier.

During the Stalin years, the Soviets thought of their national religion, Stalinism, as an organization made up of groups and not individuals. Toleration of any individual rights was not even professed. To profess toleration of any individual rights would have been suicidal for Stalinism. The mindset for Stalinism was absolute loyalty to the society without question (Conquest, 1991). The Soviet individual understood that the laws covered all areas of human life. Therefore, each Soviet citizen had to learn to read and write to extract from laws the greatest meaning and to be of greatest importance to the society as a whole (Wettlin, 1992). In other words, for the common good of the society, the Soviet citizen had to learn to read and write. Universal and compulsory education for

all individuals was demanded (Pearson, 1990). This was preached by Lenin and perpetuated by Stalin (Khekalov, 1989). This was religiosity, i.e., affected religiousness.

Three years after Stalin's death in 1953, Soviet leaders, e. g. Khrushchev, Breshnev and others, denounced the craze of Stalinism and the terrorism perpetrated by his regime. These leaders for the most part decided to return to the kinder years of Lenin (Pearson, 1990). However, the nation saw no significant changes (Wettlin, 1992).

It is significant to, again, mention Leekey's It may be stated...that whenever a religion (philosophy) which rests in a great measure on a system of terrorism, and which paints in dark and forcible colors the misery of men... it will engender the belief in witchcraft (cited in Adams, 1898, p. 85).

In his description of the horrors of the Stalin years, Anton Antonov-Ovseyenko, the Soviet historian, who was a survivor of Stalinism, borrowed from Adams that term "witchcraft" in his extraordinary narrative of Stalinism and its "continuing legacy" (Antonov-Ovseyenko, 1981).

This study looks at Stalinism through the eyes of typical representatives of that time including the years following Stalin's death as nothing much changed during those years (Wettlin, 1992). However these years may be sliced the question to be answered is this: Was Stalinism affected religiousness as defined in the Introduction and later in the paper?

An interesting analysis was made of those years by a Soviet sociologist, Mr. E. A. Ambartsumov, who said:

Unlike the thaw that made itself felt following Stalin's death...that signaled a time of great... hopes prevailing in our society today are more realistic, more sober and at the same time, more profound views and judgments that testify to its increased intellectual potential. Today, decisions and assessments are better thought out, organic and purposeful; as they are being arrived at, there is no self-admirations and no extremes typical of the 1950's and 1960's when intellectual life was one day allowed

a degree of freedom, and another, shattered by noisy campaigns now against writers, now against artists. The country's present political leadership is actually pursuing a consistent policy of cooperation...(1988, p. 4).

It is obvious from Ambartsumov's analysis that nothing much actually changed in Soviet society. However different his phrasing was from Margaret Wettlin and her autobiography that described her fifty years in the Soviet Union, they agreed that nothing much changed in the Soviet Union during the years after Stalin's death. In her book, Fifty Russian Winters, Ms. Wettlin describes the hopes for change that were felt and then dashed during the great thaw of the Khrushchev years, the loneliness of the Brezhnev Era and finally she describes the Gorbachev Era. (1992).

The novels written and published in the Soviet Union between 1930 and 1987, e. g. The Best is Yet to Come, The Cause You Serve, The Zhurbins, were written with the same themes: Work for the good of the society makes the person happiest. There is no greater honor than to work for the good of one's own society. Family is second to this, and the individual's desires are third or not to be considered at all. The great enemy is always capitalism and looks for the most part like the United States. War is glorified, and its heroes are honored greatly. Dying for one's country is seen as a great honor. There are no variations to these themes. In a particular novel there may be one or more of them, but it is basically the same. (Aleichem, 1988, German, 1961; Iskander, 1978; Kochetow, 1953). Again and again the audience is told what is and what is not important what is good and what is not good. It would have been suicidal to venture off to another more creative theme (Wettlin, 1992). It is interesting that the society was not creative. Creativity was suppressed (Ambartsumov, 1988).

The Soviet sociologist, Ambartsumov, described it this way:

The attitude to Marxism matched the overall picture. Its classics...were generously, even excessively, cited; however, quotations were cut out of

the context and selected in such a way as to support the author's idea, not infrequently a puny one. At the same time, Marxism's creative, revolutionary substance, its ability for self-development were emasculated...A distorted and at the same time typical image of socialism was largely created...(1988, p. 7).

Since historians call Stalinism the Soviet Union religion, could the Soviet Union be paradoxically called religious?

In discussing the former Soviet Union from 1930-1987 it should not be thought that there were no distinction between the years that Stalin was alive and those that followed. The Soviet people were treated kinder under the reigns of Kruschev and others. Actually, had they not been treated in a kinder fashion none probably could have survived. After all genocide cannot continue indefinitely. To continue genocide indefinitely is to promote extinction. So to suggest that nothing much changed is not to say that genocide continued. It is simply to say that the basic structure of the society remained the same. That is, both conceptually and philosophically the society remained Marxist Socialist, but not just Marxist Socialist. To say that nothing much changed is to say that the structure of the Soviet society remained uniquely Soviet Marxist Socialist.

According to the Soviet literature that was published in the Soviet Union and is listed in the bibliography, according to Margaret Wettlin, who spent fifty years in the Soviet Union living and working and surviving, according to Soviet historians and philosophers including E. A. Ambartsumov, Anton Antonov-Ovseyenko and others, according to American historians and philosophers, Albert Marrin, Robert Conquest and others, all agree that the Soviet Society remained much the same after the years of Stalin.

Now, the question can be asked is this a society that practiced religiosity? For the reader, who has never thought of the Soviet Union as being religious, it might be good to review the definition of religiosity. Religiosity does not refer to a religion, denomination, or a church group rather it is an affected morality or religiousness. Perhaps, this is

paradoxical. A paradox according to the Webster's Third New International Dictionary is a "statement seemingly self-contradictory and absurd, though possibly well founded and essentially true." Yet the Soviet Socialist attitude toward religiosity, i.e., morality, was indeed paradoxical. The aim of the discussion was to illustrate this and suggest that the Soviet Socialist Society was, indeed, religious, i.e., a moralist society, as defined within the discussion.

Mikhail Gorbachev.

This discussion limits itself to Perestroika and Gorbachev as they relate to the philosophy and theology of the Soviet Union. Focusing more directly on Gorbachev's own thought, the discussion considers in turn his contrasting treatments of the ills that afflicted the former Soviet Union between 1987-1989. Finally, this discussion answers the question: Was the Soviet Union until the day of its death essentially a nation that practiced religiosity?

On my first day in Moscow, I went to Red Square. I had ridden the old, rickety bus that had once been forbidden to foreigners, but on this day in 1988, it like many other things was open to foreigners. It...this new freedom... made many locals leery but happy with the new sounds of freedom. Yet, I wondered if things had changed at all. Ahead of me was the cathedral of St. Basil the Blessed, built by Ivan the Terrible and named for a Holy Fool. Up, up, up and I saw nine magical multicolored domes. Onion and acorn squash, pine-cone and pineapple, striped, swirled and so foreign were the shapes. I was awed, and I was more than a little afraid. What was I doing in Moscow, I wondered. I felt alone, isolated, and for one terrifying moment I was paralyzed and wanted to go home to Germany to what was familiar.

Instead I said in an assorted pigeon German/Russian, "Where does Mikhail Gorbachev live?"

"Somewhere over there. No one knows exactly where his office is or where he lives. For security reasons. You understand?" Was the reply in perfect British schoolbook English.

The man looked friendly, and so I plunged ahead, "Please tell me about Mr. Gorbachev?"

"We believe that he is married, and we believe that he has children. No one has seen the children. He has many enemies. Many do not like his policies. They believe that he destroys our country. They will kill him. They will kidnap his wife, and they will kidnap his children. Only about 30% of our people like him and believe that he does what is best for our country. He is very popular in your country."

As we talked, I realized that I had more knowledge about his president, who he was and what he was, and his country than he had. I told him much about what was in the American papers about his president. He was fascinated, sometimes unbelieving. He could not believe that a country like our country existed, where there were no bread lines, no shoe lines, no empty grocery shelves, no significant persecutions for political reasons.

These were the years of Mikhail Gorbachev. He had given increasingly more power and more freedom to his people (Gorbachev, 1990). The moment this happened, there was no turning back. Whatever other issues divided the people, there was a certain coherent view that united very many of the Soviet people that is, freedom. Freedom could not be denied. From the Soviet soldier who was making a few bucks selling off parts of his uniform to the kid on the street peddling his wares, capitalism was on the move, and it would not be denied. However, those are not really the considerations of this discussion. The concern of this paper is religiosity. Gorbachev wrote,

The crux of the Party's renewal is the need to get rid of everything that tied it to the authoritarian-bureaucratic system, a system that has left its mark not only on methods of work and interrelationships within the Party, but also on ideology, ways of thinking, and notions of socialism" (Gorbachev,

1990, p. 5). The ideal he said was a "humane, democratic, socialism." He explained this to mean that the great legacy of Marx, Engels and Lenin should exploit creativity. Gorbachev continued, "The extensive democratization under way in our society is being accompanied by mounting political pluralism. Various ...movements may lead...to the establishment of different parties. The Soviet Communist Party is prepared to take due account of these...to cooperate and conduct a dialogue with all ...committed to the Soviet Constitution and the social system it endorses (1990, p. 5).

Gorbachev had not changed the basic structure of the society. The Soviet Union was to remain a socialist society with the same principles of Marx, Lenin, and others. Outside of the Soviet Union in magazine interviews, etc., Gorbachev spoke of freedom and in words Americans could understand. In the Soviet Union, Gorbachev wrote and spoke of Socialism and the light of a socialistic society. The book from which I was quoting was published in the Soviet Union and is sold only in the Soviet Union, and in it again and again Gorbachev spoke of what he called a "socialist democracy" (1990, p.32).

Mikhail Gorbachev, a son of a peasant farmer, born 2 March 1931, rose through the ranks, received two degrees from universities, and became head of the Soviet Union. It seems that he came from no where to fulfill a specific plan, and then he returned to obscurity after the demise of his own government. Who was this man? No one seems to know. After reading the book that he wrote that was published in the Soviet Union called, Towards A Humane and Democratic Socialist Society, it is possible to know Gorbachev less. Many Soviets knew and felt that the basic structure of their society had not changed during the Gorbachev years, and therefore, they did not believe him or trust him (Wettlin, 1992).

The unconscious motives of any man may be different from those which that man thinks he has. Conquest wrote "The conscience may slumber in a mixed and middle state

between self-illusion and fraud" (1990, p. 326). Vasily Grossman wrote "...these crimes, crimes never before seen in the universe...have been committed in the name of good" (cited in Conquest, 1990, p. 326). Whatever the motives of Gorbachev were, whatever his intentions were, for good or for evil, no one can say for sure, and it is, certainly, not within the scope of this study to determine motivation. The consideration of the study is this: The society was unchanged and one of religiosity, i.e., affected religiousness. i.e., paradoxically moralistic as described earlier.

The famous Soviet historian and sociologist, E. A. Ambartsumov, said,

As an adage has it, the new is the well-forgotten old. What we are talking about is, in fact, the need to revive Marx's understanding of socialism as an association, in which the free development of each is the condition for the free development of all. (1988, p. 9)

Mikhail Gorbachev said,

The platform states that our ideal is a humane, democratic socialism. Expressing the interests of the working class and all working people, and drawing on the great legacy of Marx, Engels, and Lenin. (1990, p. 5)

The Soviets, in other words, thought of their society as an organization made up of groups and not individuals. It was to have remained Marxist, Socialist, Leninist yet democratic, whatever that means. The concern of this paper is not to analyze this oxymoron. This paper is designed to ask the question: Although it is paradoxical, the Marxist morality, i.e., religiosity, is a tradition that positions itself through words against preaching morality while preaching its own morality. No one can anyone read Lenin, Stalin, and Gorbachev without seeing the morality of its own that has been preached to all Soviet citizens. It seems that these men enjoyed sermonizing. Sermonizing might be described as an unending, monotonous wail over the degeneracy of the present as compared with the past (Lenin), the decay of societal fervor, and the mournful pleas of the

neglect of present day observances embellished with fearful warnings of the archenemy, capitalism in the shape, usually, of the United States. Whether it is called a congress meeting, a lecture, an appearance, or a sermon for the most part they were mandatory. This is religiosity.

Soviet Isolationism

The Soviet Union was not created to be tolerant of anything except what they wanted to tolerate. Reed, the founder of the Communist Party in the United States, quoted Lenin as having said, "We shall now proceed to construct the Socialist order...A socialist coalition must be created" (cited in Khekalov, 1989, p. 11). The Soviets saw their peaceful destiny clearly. All were required to participate. It was to have been a classless society based soundly on the doctrines of Marx and Engels as interpreted by Lenin (Kulikov, 1988).

Kevin Klose describes the Soviet man as one who faces a struggle each day between the dictates of his society and the dictates of his own personal conscience. If he chooses to follow the dictates of his conscience then he risks peril to himself and his family. If he remains silent then in so many ways he has betrayed himself (Klose, 1984).

The Soviet's basic economic law of socialism and communism was described by Lenin. He said, "... (to insure the) full well-being and free, all-round development for all members of society" (cited in Kulikov, 1988, p. 116) The Supreme Soviet Court passed an order that prohibited anyone from settling in or migrating to the Soviet Union without having his political beliefs and his economic beliefs thoroughly examined. Immigrants were suspect and were required to be aseptic (Wettlin, 1992). Lenin was bold and clear in this. If Lenin, who was looked upon as benevolent, was bold and clear in his defense of Marxism, then Stalin and others were adamant, demanding and brooked no counter-discussion (Conquest, 1991).

To understand this correctly, understanding of the Soviet mindset is necessary. The Soviets had in 1917 come through years of suppression and torture under the tsarists' rule. To escape this, they sought for and believed in equality of mankind. Each person according to Marx and Lenin were legislated as equal to every other person. No person was to have less than any other person (Khekalov, 1989). Therefore, the state and the citizens entered into an unique relationship not in the terms of their own thinking but according to the laws and rules of the Marxist Leninist doctrine. Once this relationship had been entered then only death could break it. To differ was tantamount to treason. Certainly no disagreeers could be allowed into the community of Soviet citizens (Khekalov, 1989). The Soviet Union was to the Soviet citizens as Utopia was to Marx. With this in mind, it is considerably easier to understand Lenin's fundamental doctrine on his idealistic society. It was an idealist coming to terms between each man and his society and between his society and his government (Khekalov, 1989). This society, as described, was a culturally imprisoned society.

To discuss isolationism examples from the life and writings of Lenin, the men and their writings during the Stalin Era, and Gorbachev with Perestroika will be examined. To answer the question on isolationism, diaries, sermons (lectures), and other writings published by the Soviet Union have been used primarily. Scholarly, secondary sources published outside of the Soviet Union about the Soviet Union, will, also, be discussed. Personal, unpublished materials are supplemental and included in the appendixes.

Lenin and Isolationism

Lenin explained the liberties of Soviet man in the following most simple, yet profound, manner:

...We..(the Soviets)...are the protectors of the Soviets...The present government is a government of Soviets ...The Soviets are the most perfect

representative of the people...Anybody who attempts to destroy the Soviets is guilty of an anti-democratic and counter-revolutionary act...We shall not permit...(anyone)..to do this thing! (Khekalo, 1989, p. 19)

In other words, during those chaotic weeks only an iron will and iron nerve sufficed in the Soviet Union. Lenin, was quoted by Reed, as having quietly stated, "We will proceed to construct the Socialist order!" (cited in Khekalo, 1989, p. 11). However quietly it was said, Lenin moved to do just that. In the Soviet community, there could be no one who was not part of the community because to choose not to participate was to choose against the society, itself. Hence, only those who were a part of the society could be a part of the government. Once agreed upon, the constitution could not be broken. Whether in ecclesiastical or political or social or economic matters, it was an all encompassing government according to Marx and interpreted and executed by Lenin via Soviet style (Conquest, 1991). From these statements one might pursue many avenues, but, again, only one question must be answered. Is this cultural imprisonment, i.e., isolationism?

In 1932 Margaret Wettlin, the author of Fifty Russian Winters, arrived in Moscow to live one year and prove to herself and perhaps to a depression torn world that socialism was the better way. As it turned out, she spent fifty years, a lifetime, there. Through her astute observations and keen insights, the hopes, dreams, and faiths of the Russian people are revealed. We are made to understand how the lives of all those living in Russia turned from dreams of an ideal society to bitterness, sarcasm, and hatred...a reflection of their own evolutionary government. In the end, Ms. Wettlin realized that socialism did not work (Wettlin, 1992). Perhaps, idealism will never or can never work because a problem with the ideal is the problem, itself (Dubrovsky, 1988). That is, to make a society be ideal is to impose personal beliefs on that society. Some in the society do not want to be ideal; when one is made to be ideal one has lost the ideal (Dubrovsky, 1988). This opens many avenues for discussion. Yet, is this an example of cultural exclusion, that is, cultural isolationism?

In retrospect, from the vantage point of the 1990's, Lenin was a classic, rather pathetic, and most sincere example of his vision of Soviet life. He had been mesmerized by the teachings of Karl Marx and so followed his ideologies until it suppressed his own reasonings. On a certain cold day in a very famous room with velvet wall hangings, Lenin said to Raymond Robins, an American Colonel, "...Our method of social control must dominate the future. Political social control will die. Russian Revolution will kill it-- everywhere."

"But...Do you really mean that the ideawill destroy the democratic ideas of the government of the United States?"

"The American government is corrupt!... It is living in the age of Thomas Jefferson. It is not living in the present economic age. It is, therefore, lacking in intellectual integrity...I'll tell you," Lenin continued, "Our system will destroy yours because it will consist of a social control which recognizes the basic fact of modern life. It recognizes the fact that real power to-day is economic, and the social control of to-day must therefore be economic...Our republic is a producers' republic." (Khekalo, 1989, pp. 40-41). Lenin was intensely involved in the conversation. It was really quite difficult to get an audience with Lenin, but once a visitor had Lenin's attention they had all of Lenin. He gave every ounce of himself to that person who was facing him. This intensity and ability to concentrate was assessed as one of Lenin's greatest characteristics (Khekalo, 1989). In this conversation with Colonel Robins, Lenin was tenacious, sincere, dedicated, and wrong in his assessment of the future. In retrospect, he was a rather pathetic idealist. However historians and others might reflect upon these statements is beyond the scope of this paper. Was this leader, perhaps inadvertently, describing an isolationist society, ergo, an ideal society?

Lenin warned of dire consequences if the Soviet community did not subscribe to the socialists's beliefs. Marx, who in many ways was Lenin's spiritual father, summarized his ultimate goal in this way:

...an end to the exploitation of man by man, and thus to the division of society into a class of exploiters and exploited (which) will make civil wars, not only useless, but impossible. Thenceforward, mankind will advance by the sole power of truth and will no longer have occasion for the argument of the mailed fist. (Lukes, 1987, p. 20)

However, to perform these terms would be to establish an exclusive society so dedicated to what is right and moral and good (dare I say a god) that success would prove incidental and triumph would not cause one member to be prideful or arrogant. Wars, genocide, and worse have been concocted to reach this idealistic goal (Lukes, 1987). Many have analyzed this, but this paper, now, is only concerned with isolationism.

Isolationism: Stalin and other Soviets 1930-1987

Ivan the Terrible in one of his letters to Prince Kurbsky wrote, "We are to free to have mercy on our slave, and we are free to put them to death." (Antonov-Ovseyenko, 1981, p. 199). Stalin was free to put to death or to have mercy on whomever he wished. He was the freest man in his country. Actually, he was the only free man in his country of millions. A country cannot commit genocide on everyone in one's own country (20 million is a sizable number); but if everyone is killed, who is to work and advance the cause of the country? Thus necessity and caprice were in conflict; some people had to be left alive, but Stalin, alone, for whatever reasons, decided who and when. Mercy was completely at the disposal of the unnatural man, the antiChrist Joseph Stalin (Conquest, 1991).

At the funeral of his wife, Yekaterina who prayed much for him, Stalin said, "This creature softened my stony heart. She is dead and with her have died my last warm feelings for all human beings." (Conquest, 1991, p. 44). Truly that seemed to be the case. When Stalin ascended to the "throne" after Lenin's death, every aspect of Soviet life bowed to Stalin's iron hand (Anton- Ovseyenko, 1981).

Nothing was published outside of what Stalin wanted published. Stalin unleashed the full power of the party, the governmental structure, and the propaganda mediums against any unrepentant scholars or scientists. No one was outside of the touch of the hand of Stalin. A wrecking such as the world has hardly ever seen was undertaken. Divide and conquer was the theme. Scholar was against scholar. Scientist against scientist. No situation was safe from the kiss of Stalin's hand, no science or scholarly endeavor was sacred or beyond touch. Betrayal was the language of the society. Falseness was the theme. It seemed that Soviet society was in a monstrous wail of death and deceit at the whims of a bloodthirsty tyrant, I. V. Stalin, (Antonov-Ovseyenko, 1981).

Into the national anthem Stalin wrote himself: Stalin who raised us to trust in the people...It was he who inspired us to great words and deeds (Conquest, 1991, p. 296).

One final monument to Stalin was never to be completed, a Stalinized city, where travelers from over the world could pay homage and bow to the great antiChrist. Fortunately Stalin died before the Church of St. Basil and the Kremlin could be torn down and the Stalinized architecture erected (Conquest, 1991).

Stalin, fearing death, became increasingly interested in the prolongation of life. In 1948, a play, The Great Days, about the prolongation of life, was said to have been edited by Stalin himself. If Stalin was interested, it flourished. If he was not interested, it died. Our concern in this paper is with isolationism. This was isolationism, perhaps, at its worst.

Nothing much changed after Stalin's death. The society became kinder and a bit gentler as compared to the years before Stalin died. Yet, to study the novels, the books, as The Zhurbins, The Thirteenth Labour of Hercules, and The Seeker of Adventure Stories, that were published in the Soviet Union is to study the same theme, the advancement of the society. Apart from sleep and lawful recreation a true Soviet spent his life in the performance of his work, his particular profession and his "calling" (Wettlin, 1992).

The result of Stalinism and its cruelty has to be one that discourages anyone from asking any questions and invites punishment to anyone who dares to hold a disparate view.

The Soviet spent his life for the most part silently, in the performance of whatever work was necessary.

Since there was only one voice in the nation during the years of Stalin, since there was only one way of doing anything and that was Stalin's way, since there was only absolute tyranny, there was no creativity. Creativity was suppressed to nonexistence. The humanity of the society seemed to have been obliterated (Wettlin, 1992).

There is a true story of a young lady, who was going in for surgery. She agreed, but asked for anesthesia. The physician smiled sardonically and patted her hand. She was tied to the bed. Surgery was performed. No anesthesia. No explanation. The young lady was not really young anymore. The pain had aged her (Wettlin, 1992). Ironically, this seems to summarize the society. The Soviet Union was young, once. Stalin gutted the society. The society was not really young anymore. It had aged in its great pain. This is an isolationist society.

Gorbachev and Isolationism

American military planes landed on Soviet airfields for the first time since World War II, while air traffic controllers in western countries gave landing instructions to giant transport aircraft with the insignia CCCP. United States Air Force planes were permitted to fly over Soviet territory without a Soviet navigator aboard (Gorbachev, 1990). Yet however hopeful these events were, does this signify any significant changes in the Soviet Union?

Gorbachev said, "I want to draw your attention to the fact that the central idea of the proposed platform is to approach the solution of the immediate and strategic tasks of Soviet society by way of renewing socialism." (1990, p. 32).

Gorbachev in his book outlines many social programs. He summarized his goals that touch on every aspect of Soviet life with the following statement: Democratization is both

the goal and the means of perestroika. The creation of a law-governed state and a self-governing SOCIALIST society is necessary....(1990, p. 32).

Since Socialism is a structure in which ownership is concentrated in the hands of the government, then individual ownership is not possible without the changing the form. So for Gorbachev to have said a self-governing socialist society seems to be like many other Marxist's statements, paradoxical. The upshot of Gorbachev's statements in relationship to this paper is this: The Soviet Union to remain socialist had to remain an isolationist society.

Wettlin, who lived in the Soviet Union for about fifty years, was convinced that the Soviet Union had not changed much until November 1989, when the infallible wall fell without a shot having been fired (Wettlin, 1992).

Gorbachev never faltered in his beliefs that he was right, and the Soviet Union should remain socialist. Since this is the case, then by his own words, the Soviets consistently practiced and supported cultural isolationism. From V. I. Lenin through Gorbachev many conclusions may be drawn, but certainly, one that is drawn is that the Soviet society was obviously an isolationist society. Even though it is a major leap from 1917 to 1989 and there were many changes, it is possible to disregard chronological years and concentrate on major threads of the society because the structure of the society remained the same, one of religiosity and isolationism.

The Former Soviet Union.

An Utopian Society?

The Soviet society was an idealist, an Utopian society. In other words, this was a society that had a top downward approach at government. First, it is probably best at this point to redefine "Utopian". This will allow all of us to emerge from this point with the same mindset. Utopia as used in this paper is defined by Webster's Third New

International Dictionary as "a place, state or condition of ideal perfection..." Utopian as used in this paper and defined by the same source means "...having the characteristics of Utopia. Ideal or perfection..." Webster's Third New International Dictionary gives the example of Karl Marx and Utopian Socialism as an attempt at the ideal or Utopian Society. However, any society that is organized in a top downward approach where more than 50% of the power is vested in a central committee, a ruling party, or a church, is an attempt at a Utopian Society.

The spiritual father of V. I. Lenin, Josef Stalin, Mikhail Gorbachev and many others in the Soviet Union was Karl Marx, the ultimate Utopian builder. By definition of Utopia the Soviet Union could be nothing but an Utopian society.

So from the beginning, this grand experiment in socialism (Khekalo, 1989), this society that refused to allow anyone to remain aloof and demanded acquiescence (Antonov-Ovseyenko, 1981), this state that allowed only "party dictatorships" (Koenker, Rosenberg, Suny, 1989, p. 385), this "communist utopia" (Duncan, 1978, p. 207), was one that practiced religiosity, a paradoxical morality, (Conquest, 1991; Lukes, 1987;) and cultural isolationism (Conquest, 1991; Duncan, 1978; Lukes, 1987; Marrin, 1988;), until their ideal society (Dubrovosky, 1988), a society that was based on Marx's Utopian Society and the Marxist's doctrines as they relate to man and man's relationship to them, became a nightmare of witch hunts with Stalinism. It was on the blood of these so-called Stalin witch hunts that the society, itself dissipated (Conquest, 1991). Then without being able to fully recover, it died. Duncan said, "the main features of the Russian experiment appear to be the necessary consequences of that theory" (Duncan, 1978, p. 206). Perhaps that is true. Could Kai Erikson be right in this case, in having said of another society at another time, they created their own deviances in their society (1966)?

The Soviet Schools. A Discussion.

Law and Philosophy:

Actually one of the first decrees of the new government in 1917, signed by Lenin, established the right of the Soviet people to education. Lenin believed that only an educated people could build a socialist state, and so the state immediately set about implementing the decree. According to Lenin, literacy was a precondition for participation in political life. Goals were clearly expressed: schools were to be free, universal, coeducational with a national curriculum (Moos, 1967).

In 1919, at the Eighth Congress of the Communist Party, the aims were formulated in detail. It was urged that kindergartens and nurseries be established so that women could more freely enter the work force. The government was instructed to provide free clothing and board if needed, free textbooks, and free school materials. Universities were forced to open their doors to anyone over 16 years, who wished to study. Such drastic action was considered necessary in order to change the composition of the student body (cited in Moos, 1967).

The new Soviet was intended to be a "healthy, hardworking, happy collectivist, unselfishly devoted to ...(Soviet Union)... and to the building of communism" (Pearson, 1990, p. 41). However, reality is quite a bit different from this illusion of what should be.

To stimulate the assimilation, Lenin in 1919 issued a statement calling on the entire population to learn to read and write in Russian or in their own language. Young people from the minority groups were sent to Moscow or Leningrad for training so that they could return to their own areas and teach their own people. Socialist emulation was used to stimulate learning in the same way that it was used to increase the production lines (Moos, 1967).

By 1936, when the new Soviet Constitution, with its Article 121, The Education Act, was adopted 85 per cent of the Soviets were literate (Moos, 1967). Article 121 says:

Citizens of the U.S.S.R. have the right to an education. Their right is ensured by universal compulsory eight-year education...by free education in all types of schools; by a system of state stipends; by instruction in the school in the native languages...(cited in Moos, 1967, p. 11)

The Soviet schools resembled the European schools, yet they were intensely and highly centralized. For a few years tests were introduced. In the controversy over their use, it was decided that tests categorized children, in effect, setting limits in advance to their achievement possibilities. This undermined the basic principle of universal education Soviet style, which holds that every child not suffering from severe handicap or brain damage can complete the school if given proper teaching and help (Moos, 1967).

A school psychologist, Mrs. Elena Razan, writes: "The Soviet child is a planned product of communist society, a result of an explicit system of character training, yet blossoming somehow under the universal maternity and love for children one encounters everywhere." (cited in Moos, 1967, p. 24).

Dr. Benjamin Spock concluded that the lack of tensions and the security which seem to characterize Soviet children are largely due to the clarity of goals for character training and agreement between family, home, and society. "Genuine trust and love of children seem to work," he writes (cited in Moos, 1967, p. 24). Dr. Spock apparently never met the many street urchins that I encountered in Moscow and other places in the Soviet Union. However, unbelievable this statement may be, it illustrates the vast differences in Soviet education. That is, the vast differences in what is planned and legislated and what is executed is illustrated.

In 1984, in the introduction to the decree on educational reform, virtues of a good communist citizen are listed. They are honesty, truthfulness, kindness, devotion to principle, steadfastness, and courage of character, as well as, exactingness toward one another (Pearson, 1990, p. 23). The moral code, also, emphasizes Lenin's attitudes toward

work. Lenin said that work gives meaning and justification to life; those who can work but don't are parasites.

The Party holds that the moral code of the builder of communism includes...devotion to the cause of communism...conscientious labor... public duty...collectivism...moral purity...concern for the upbringing of children...an uncompromising attitude to injustice, parasitism, dishonesty, careerism and money-grubbing.(Pearson, 1990)

The preamble to the decree on school reform on 4 April 1984, states rather concisely the educational philosophy:

The immense tasks posed by the final years of this century and the early years of the next one will be accomplished by those who are sitting at school desks today. They will have to continue the cause...they will bear the responsibility for the country's historical destiny, and for the all-round progress of society, and its successful advance along the path of communist construction. (Pearson, 1990, p. 21)

With the 1984 reform, complete secondary school education had become compulsory for everyone. This meant that the teachers faced the challenge of retaining the interest of every student in the class, including the 30 percent, who used to be allowed to drop out of their own accord (Pearson, 1990).

The idea of the collective was very much a part of the Soviet schools. Even in pre-schools and nurseries there were playpens for groups of children, sharing of toys, ergo joint ownership of toys, and a team spirit that prevailed in all of the activities (Pearson, 1990). This notion of collective ownership was an integral part of the socialist society, i.e., schools.

The Soviets sought learning as a means of salvation of their heritage and their society as a whole. For the Soviets, it was impossible to be illiterate and still be involved in the political life of the country. Soviet psychologists said, "Education...is especially useful in

the struggle against... excessive individualism which may affect youth." (Moos, 1967, p. 45). In other words, the main business of education was to prepare children for conversion to the Soviet way. Lenin said, "Education is the right of all..." (Moss, p.6).

Vasily Sukhomlinsky was the director of a school in a small Ukrainian village. He found that war had robbed many children of their childhood, and to recover some of the lost youth he opened his "School of Joy". He was a believer in the power of education. He believed, also, that for each child there was a period of play without which the child was handicapped in later learning. He defined education broadly, "Every moment of life...is educationally importantevery person encountered...in ...formative years, even those encountered by chance." (cited in Pearson, 1990, p. 385). The task of the educator is to make all those moments useful in the child's development. His efforts led him to make many discoveries about what would and what would not work with children. Textbooks from his school will be discussed in the following section (Pearson, 1990).

It was believed in Soviet society that the child was good. Corporal punishment was outlawed in the school (Moos, 1967). The child's nature only had to be developed and conformed to the collectivism of the society. It was the responsibility of the society to educate the children of the society. Education of all of the children was the duty and responsibility of all of the citizens of the society. The responsibility rested on the society. In one sense, it was as if the society had all of the children, and the children were the children of the whole society (Pearson, 1990).

The Former Soviet Union

Textbooks. A Discussion.

The school books were actually mini sermons (lectures) within themselves and always wove the Soviet philosophy and the Marxist's theology into every lesson. The lessons and the themes were always the same. Work is the best. There is no joy like the joy of work.

The community must come before the family, and the family must come before the individual. War was seen as very bad, and it was waged by capitalists, the enemy. All of the books preached this theme to the youngsters.

The state supplied all of the materials that the child needed. Every child probably had what was called a tablet. The other books were a spelling book, a primer, and a painting set. The old Russian proverb "Sun, fresh air, and water are our best friends" was often quoted (Moos, 1967, p. 25). Oral expression was much emphasized. Games similar to "show and tell", dramatizations, descriptions, story telling were all a part of the child's school day (1967).

Liselotte was a pre-school textbook that was translated to German and used in the Russian schools in East Germany. It is a classic lesson in what a child should or should not do when confronted with adverse conditions (Liselotte, 1989).

Vasily Sukhomlinsky, the teacher mentioned in the previous section, wrote many textbooks. His most famous work is called To Children I Give My Heart. His thesis was that, when he gave his heart to his school children, they gave him wisdom in return. This is what he had to say about children and work (cited in Pearson, 1990):

Work becomes a great teacher when it enters the lives of our students and gives the joy of friendship comradeship, develops inquisitiveness and curiosity, gives birth to the excitement at the overcoming of difficulties, opens the way to ever new beauties in the surrounding world and awakes the first feeling of citizenship (Pearson, 1990, p. 386).

Most of Sukhomlinsky's students came from the farms so he started teaching them agriculture first. He helped six year olds to plant vegetables. Then he introduced animals into their lives. He built bird hospitals. Older children were given the responsibility of caring for the farm animals. He varied their tasks, and he introduced them to what we call vocational education. He strongly believed that the source of talent in children was in their fingertips and that working with their hands on complex difficult tasks developed intellectual skills. This connection between the hand and the mind is an important

component in the Soviet education. Since he was a committed Soviet citizen, the needs of the state were ever before him (Pearson, 1990). In his view, all meaningful activities had a social dimension. Work for the whole of society had the highest value of all.

Sukhomlinsky fully expected that his students would grow up and work on the nearby collective farm. His task was to educate them so that they would love their work there, no matter what the circumstances, work and be proud of it. It was very honorable to work (Pearson).

The Heroic Path is a supplemental text for older students that was translated into English, but it was published in the Soviet Union. It is an unrealistic glorification of Lenin and his policies. Lenin's thoughts, ideals, and reflections were the backbone of the textbooks, without these the texts would not exist. It is not an overstatement to say that the philosophy of Lenin was the Bible of the school system.

In this brief description, it can be easily seen that these books had a moralistic, socialistic, ergo, religious bias. However, these books served to educate the masses. It can be said that the Soviets were easily 85% literate up from 24% under the tsarists's rule (Moos, 1967). Soviet education was working if the measurement is eradication of illiteracy. Even though literacy among the masses was high, people of means, as usual, fared better than the poor, but the poor had improved intellectually because they knew their letters (Wettlin, 1992). However, as in all Utopian Societies, all ideas hostile to the official philosophy of Marxism-Leninism (national religion) whether written or spoken, were strictly banned, and persons who persisted in that sort of heresy were banished or worse (Antonov-Ovseyenko, 1981).

Schools, Curriculum, Teachers. A Discussion.

The appendixes describe the hierarchy of the schools of the former Soviet Union and the Curriculum of the schools. The nurseries were for children three months to three years.

The kindergartens were for children three years to seven years. All children, except those with handicaps, who attended special schools, then went to an Eight Year School from ages seven to fifteen or sixteen years. From this school, there were several tracks. The tracks were the following:

General education, polytechnical, secondary schools grades 9-10. General and Vocational. Evening, 1-3 years; also in this track are the polytechnical schools, evening and correspondence grades 9-10. General educational polytechnical for working, grades 9-10. Higher Education is above those tracks and includes universities, institutes, and specialized schools. (Moos, 1967, p. 20).

In 1992, a colleague in the Soviet Union, outlined the structure of the schools. It has changed hardly at all since the 1920's. See appendixes for a comparison of the schools in the years before 1989 and the years after 1989 as described by a teacher in the former Soviet Union.

The Soviet education law required that the schoolmasters be able to instruct so that all students might reach their fullest potential (Moos, 1967). Students began the Eight Year School at about the age of 7 years, and in approximately seven years time the students were prepared to enter the universities, the institutes, or a special school for ballet, drama, etc. The goal of the curriculum of the Eight Year School was heavy in history, literature, geography, foreign languages, mathematics and science. The historical studies, geography, literature etc., include a heavy emphasis on morality and socialism or Marxist/Leninist Philosophy (theology) (Moos, 1967). The curriculum was a national, standardized curriculum that is weighted to produce the perfect Soviet man (Pearson, 1990). The classes were long and rigorous. The school year was about ten months. Students attended classes six days per week. The goal of the Eight Year School was to prepare pupils both for practical work and for continuing education (Moos, 1967).

No appointments of teachers were made without the full approbation of the state. The textbooks, as noted earlier, were heavily laden with Marxist's doctrines. The financing

was done centrally. Each local committee on education prepared an annual budget. Procedure for meeting each budget was standard, and the budget was met from a national fund. The amounts allocated by the federal budgets make up about half of the amount spent on education. The other half comes from the local budgets (Moos, 1967).

The educational system was an universal, compulsory, national educational system that was supported through taxation. It was a socialized system controlled entirely by the state via the textbooks, the teachers, and the laws that were either written by the government or else directly approved by the government. There were no exceptions.

All teachers were approved by the state. Even though most of the training received at the Eight Year School was of a secular nature providing them tools for acquiring knowledge later or a job later, it should not be thought that this schooling in any way conflicted with the philosophy of the society (Pearson, 1990).

When the Soviet child had been taught at home, taught at school, and then exhorted in lectures during the school day, that child was undoubtedly filled with Soviet doctrine. However, the Soviet leaders were not satisfied that this was enough socialist training. Parents were told over and over that they must be excellent examples for the children of the society. The children must see the leaders living the "faith" (Khekalo, 1989). Anton Makarenko said, "In well-adjusted families punishments are not used... (as the child grows)... will actively carry it out (the mission) to the best of his ability." (Pearson, 1990, p. 51). If this happens, then the maintenance of the values of the society will have shifted from parent or surrounding adults to the child, who has come of age (Pearson, 1990).

The Soviet Schools and Discipline: A Discussion.

On the other hand, doctrine and a good example still were not enough to insure that the Soviet child would grow up to be the "good" Soviet man who was healthy, hardworking, happy socialist, childlike in his approach to his job. Since corporal

punishment was unacceptable, the Soviet experts recommended that the child be replaced in an environment so carefully structured that the child will internalize the norms of acceptable social behavior. Starting from the Marxist's philosophy that it is man's activity (labor) that constructs the environment, that environment in turn shapes him. Hence, there is a great need for the child to acquire self-mastery as quickly as possible, which is viewed as the natural outcome of a successful societal management program (Pearson, 1990).

Parents were urged to be good examples, patient and kind with their good children. Most experts in the former Soviet Union condemned authoritarian methods of child discipline. Explanations and reasons, logical and well planned, should prevail in the classroom and in the home. However, there is a method that was widely used particularly during the 1940's and 1950's and was still practiced through the 1980's. Old texts still recommend it. It is the method loosely called "the withholding of love". The mother who was usually the disciplinarian of the family and was correcting her son, might say, "If you do that...I will not love you anymore." Of course, the little boy repents and reforms. Or at least, the Soviet pedagogue claim that the child will feel remorseful and repent (Pearson, 1990).

Corporal punishment was used in the Soviet Union as were other more barbaric methods of discipline even though these methods were condemned. Conquest and Marrin, who were both biographers of Stalin, related tales of Stalin and others having suffered mercilessly under the hand of an abusive father (Conquest, 1991; Marrin 1988).

The aim of Soviet education had a focus that in many ways was contrary to western education, but the methods of discipline as expounded by the educators and psychologists were strikingly western. For the experts who wrote and spoke on the subject counseled the parents to win children to the values of the society by kindness and example rather than by severity.

Perhaps the best explanation of the Soviet approach to discipline is by Anton Makrenko. "He stressed that if family life is well structured there will not, if fact, be any

need for punishment. In well-adjusted families punishments are not used and this is the best, most correct path for child care" (cited in Pearson, 1990, p. 51). Margaret Wettlin seems to have practiced this method in her home, and it seems to have worked relatively well in that particular situation (Wettlin, 1992). However divorce in the Soviet Union was rampant, and this destabilized the home in many situations. Poverty, alcoholism, lack of adequate housing, lack of medical care, and other social ills created formidable maladjusted families and family situations.

The Soviet child was not free to learn anything other than the Soviet ways, but the children were not subjected to an inhuman discipline. Soviet education, in spite of all its biases, was intelligently planned and thoughtfully executed from a basic perspective of love and concern for the children of the society.

Now, that the educational philosophy and disciplinary methods have been explained, it is important to look at these in relationship to the variables, religiosity and isolationism. Now is the time to answer the questions: Were the schools of the Soviet Union practicing a paradoxical morality, i.e., religiosity? Were the schools of the Soviet Union practicing isolationism, i.e., cultural imprisonment? Finally, the schools were a reflection of the society in which they existed; and conversely, the society was to a degree a reflection of the school. So, if the society practiced religiosity and isolationism, then the schools also were practitioners.

Religiosity in the Soviet Schools

There were no textbooks, no teachers, no academics, no scientists, or any other intellectual that was not strictly approved by the state. These men and women were severely monitored and were permitted to teach only the morals of the society. Their first and consuming concern was Soviet Socialism, a forbidding Utopian philosophy that was stark, cold, and excessively cruel dependent entirely upon the whims of an elitist group at the top (Antonov-Ovseyenko, 1981). If the benefactor was benevolent as Lenin, then the

society was less harsh. If the benefactor was beastlike as Stalin, then the society was most harsh. If the benefactor was excessively benevolent as Gorbachev, then the society was less, less harsh. Yet, on a continuum of extreme socialism to capitalism the Soviet Union remained on the side of socialism. It never even claimed to do otherwise. Therefore, the society at all periods of its history can be said to have practiced a paradoxical morality, i.e., an affected religiousness, ergo, religiosity.

Never was a people more sure that it was on the right track. The former Soviet Union was an experiment in applied Marxism (Khekalo, 1989). The Soviets wished to bring its philosophy into harmony with academics and create an Utopian paradise, where all were made to be equal through the laws set down by the top. This cream of the society, the top, would decide what is best for the rest of society (Antonov-Ovseyenko, 1981).

There were many factors in the failure, but one of those reasons for failure is the very nature of mankind. There are a group of individuals in any society, who are not satisfied with being equal with the masses of that society. These individuals will claw their way to the top by whatever means are available. Erikson said this in his book, Wayward Puritans, but he was talking about another society at another time (Erikson, 1966). Yet, this is equally true of the Soviet Union.

Based upon the research, it can be said that the Soviet Union practiced a paradoxical religiosity in the society and in the schools. The educational system of the former Soviet Union was a system that was one of religiosity.

Isolationism in the Soviet Schools

Moos said, "Leaders of the new state (Soviet Union) knew what they wanted in education; they had long planned and thought of socialist mass education..." (1967, p. 6).

It is hard to think calmly or write coherently about...building at No. 2 Lubyanka Square...It became the focal point...all the horrors of his inhuman regime. All of

his power over the government, the party, (Education) and the people was concentrated...(there). (Antonov-Ovseyenko, 1981, p. 149)

Many scholars discussed the isolationism in all intellectual pursuits (Wettlin, 1992), but the words of someone who was actually a part of the mass servility were the most convincing. If historians can be believed, then the Soviet Union educational system like its society was an isolationist system that excluded all that it did not want to include and included only the truth as they saw the truth.

Summary. Religiosity and Isolationism in the Schools.

Each time a child went to school, that child was instructed in the Soviet religiosity (Antonov-Ovseyenko, 1981; Moos, 1967; Pearson, 1990; Wettlin, 1992;) as well as secular subjects. The single-mindedness of the religiosity and the isolationism may be tools of survival in any society. That is, the deviances that single-mindedness obviously creates are sometimes survival vehicles (Erikson, 1966). So the constant striving for perfection of the Soviets was not necessarily negative, it did illustrate, however, that Utopia had not been reached (Dubrovsky, 1988). Actually, the Soviets never solved the problems of the ideal for which they desperately struggled. Yet, what the Soviets inadvertently contributed to American philosophical thought cannot now be measured. Perhaps, it can never be measured, but certainly not at this early date. As previously unknown materials have been released by the new government of the former Soviet Union new slants and new insights and new conclusions are being reached by historians, sociologists, psychologists, and educators. The story of the contributions of this great experiment in applied Marxist's philosophy is still being written.

Now, that the questions have been answered on Soviet religiosity and Soviet isolationism, and it has been answered with some degree of certainty that the education

system reflected these same variables so it can be stated that their educational system was a reflection of their society.

Conclusion? The Former Soviet Union.

J'etais e'goiste mais maintenant je suis parfait (I was egotistical, but now I'm perfect) is the French phrase that comes to mind when I think of the Soviet religiosity and isolationism. It was a religiosity and philosophy designed to be perfect because it was an active philosophy based soundly on the Marxist's mythical Utopian society. The axis of this religiosity and philosophy was a striving for perfection in the perfect society. Yet the striving for this perfection, i.e., the ideal, means that the ideal, the Utopia has not been reached. Perhaps, this is what Dubrovsky was trying to say in his book that described the problems of the ideal (1988). This mythical Utopian philosophy described by Marx and executed by Lenin perhaps cannot be reached by striving because once it has been reached striving ends and problems cease. Humanity perhaps in itself cannot stop striving for improvement or cannot cease looking for answers to problems. In the end, the Soviet society bent to capitalism. So even though the Soviets were egotistical enough to say that socialism was the answer (Khekalo, 1989), the mythical Utopia was never reached. By the same token, to admit that there were problems and to accept into the community opposing views was to acknowledge the failure of the ideal. Hence, in an attempt to create an Utopian Society, it was not possible to admit other avenues of thought. Cultural exclusion, isolationism, had to be practiced to maintain the illusion.

In any case, these are the Soviets. This is their philosophy. This is their society, one of religiosity and isolationism. The Soviet Union is no more. The name belongs only to the past and to those who enjoy studying the past. Yet, if historians and sociologists are right, socialism is a part of our society and one of the continuing factors in our life today. Can we learn about ourselves in studying the Soviets? Probably. Yet, the question at this time

is not whether we can learn about ourselves, but more to the point can we take the variables, religiosity and isolationism, that were found in the Soviet society and the Puritan society as described in chapter two, and compare them to one another. That is, however disparate ideal societies are in place and in time, are those variables if found in both as they were found in the Puritans and the former Soviet Union, comparable?

Chapter four will compare the two idealistic societies that were discussed in chapters two and three in relationship to the two variables, religiosity and isolationism. The schools, the philosophies of the schools, the textbooks, the standardized national curriculum of each system and discipline in both the Puritan schools and the Soviet schools have been compared in relationship to those same two variables, religiosity and isolationism.

In the appendixes there are several comparative charts of the Puritan schools and the Soviet schools, a scheme of the structure of the Soviet school system written by a Soviet educator, a journal entry, and photos of Soviet classrooms and teachers that will help in making the comparisons of the two seemingly divergent societies, the Puritans of Massachusetts Bay Colony in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and the former Soviet Union, 1917 - 1989.. Before reading Chapter four, the reader is referred to the Appendixes for comparisons and explanations.

CHAPTER IV

THE PURITANS AND SOVIETS: A COMPARISON

Introduction:

In this sociological, philosophical study, the Puritans of America in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and the former Soviet Union from 1917 to 1989 are compared via two variables, religiosity and isolationism. Comparisons will both encourage and help others to look more closely at these variables in other societies as well as their own. In some cases, the author has compared quotes that were found in Chapters two and three; and therefore some of the quotes may be familiar to the reader already. This has been done purposefully so that accurate and concise comparisons can more easily be made. It is not the objective of the study to quote many authors, many times in a variety of ways to confuse the issue, but the objective has been to compare two international and iterative societies that were disparate in time and location via two sociological variables, religiosity and isolationism. Since the variables, religiosity and isolationism, existed in both the Calvinist Puritan Society and the former Soviet Union as discussed in chapters two and three, these two variables can be reviewed comparatively through primary and secondary research across international and iterative boundaries to better understand both societies, and ultimately to better understand ourselves.

Alistair Cooke, the British historian said, "There is no significant difference between the Puritans and the Communists." (1976, p. 86). However disparate these two cases are in time and place, they both illustrate the variables, religiosity and isolationism. In addition, both were idealistic societies, that is, Utopian states with top downward approaches at

government, that reflected those same variables in their respective institutions, i.e., schools.

Someone once said, "To learn about ourselves, we must look beyond ourselves." Hopefully, in this study as we look beyond ourselves and compare two societies from another time and another place we will learn about ourselves, also.

For the sake of simplification and for the purposes of this comparative study the discussions have been divided into three major sections:

- a. The Writings of V. I. Lenin and John Winthrop: A Comparison.
- b. The Writings of Stalin and other Soviet Writers - 1930-1987 and the Writings of Increase Mather: A Comparison.
- c. The Years of Gorbachev and Perestroika - 1987-1989 and the Writings of Cotton Mather: A Comparison.

Primary and secondary sources are examined as a comparison between the two disparate societies, the Puritans and the Soviets, is made. Scholarly, contemporary, supplementary resources will also be used as needed in the text. For clarification the reader is referred, again, to Chapter Two: The Puritans and Chapter Three: The Soviets and to the appendixes that are attached.

The Puritans' and the Soviets' Philosophy and Theology: A Comparison.

It is important for there to be a clear definition of the words: morality and religiosity. Morality as defined in this paper and used to describe the Soviets is defined as what the society addresses as good, right, fair, virtuous, obligatory, and behind these assumptions about the nature of man, the preconditions for acceptable social life, the limits of possible transformations of man to better man, the foundations of practical judgments of man, and beyond that the judgment of what a good society is. In this definition there are illusions to what happens to man if right actions are not taken to secure right results (Lukes, 1987).

Our definition of religiosity as defined in Webster's Third New International Dictionary is affected religiousness. To put it another way, it is an intense and consuming pathway acceptable to the members of the society by which one attempts to reach a stated acceptable goal of the society. By definition these two words, religiosity and morality, have the same meaning. Examples are the following:

The Puritans' goal was Heaven and an Utopian State on earth. To reach these goals the Puritans set up a rigid set of standards whereby they could reach their desired end. All activities outside of these rules were looked upon as aberrant by the society. Violators were banished or worse. This intense and consuming methodology that the Puritans practiced as described in Chapter Two was religiosity. It was, also, the morality of the Society (Adams, 1898).

The Soviet's goal was an Utopian State on earth where all men were universally equal, i.e., an ideal society (Dubrovsky, 1988). To reach this goal the Soviets set up a rigid, harsh set of standards whereby they could reach the desired end result. All activities outside of these rules were looked upon as enemies of the society (Conquest, 1991; Khekalo, 1989;). This was the morality of the society, and this was the religiosity of the society (Lukes, 1987). Alistair Cooke said, "There is no significant difference between the Puritans and the Communists" (1976, p. 86).

John Winthrop and V. I. Lenin:

Religiosity. A Comparison

On the one hand, Lenin says that

...In the name of peace and Socialism, (Socialism) shall win and fulfill its destiny...The Socialist political party... it must lead the masses, using the Soviets as organs of revolutionary initiative...We must fulfill our destiny.

(Khekalo, 1989, by Reed quoting Lenin pp. 15, 21)

On the other hand, Winthrop says that

... To avoid shipwreck and to provide for our posterity is to ... to justly, to love mercy, to walk humbly... we work as one man... we must consider that we are a city upon a hill... We must fulfill our destiny... (Miller, 1956, pp. 82-85)

Lenin's projected future coincides with the idea of a higher form of human society to which he saw the Soviet society progressing. His appeals were to the higher and best in mankind where equality would be actually practiced in everyday life in every corner of the society. He made this claim again and again in his writings and his discourses that sounded more and more like mournful sermons (Khekalo, 1989). He wrote many times that the highest being for man was man and that anything that debased or enslaved man should be overthrown and denounced (Lukes, 1987).

Winthrop's projected future for the Puritan society was an appeal to the higher and best in mankind where the Bible was actually practiced in everyday life in every corner of the society. He saw the Puritan society progressing toward the reliance not simply on the injunctions of scripture but on a series of highly developed and widely accepted conceptual examples as the order of creation, the social orders, relationships, and the origins of relationships (Morgan, 1980). Winthrop wrote many times that the society was to be a smooth, honest, civil life of equality in family, church, and state and touching even the miniscular of life (Miller, 1956).

For the most part, Lenin saw capitalism with the face of Uncle Sam, as corrupt and worthless. Hence all of the passages in his writings about the selfishness, oppression, brutal exploitation, and misery paradoxically became moralistic and even religious as he repeatedly preached against the sins of the corrupt capitalists sprinkled with warnings of the wrath that would be incurred unless his pronouncements were agreed upon immediately (Khekalo, 1989).

How, indeed, can one fail to see the religious force of all the Lenin passages in which Lenin speaks of transforming the Soviet society into an intellectual, viable machine that

utilizes the essence of freedom and education, where the masses are uniformly equal and no one excels beyond the machine whose goal was ultimately to satisfy all human life with all needs, wants, and desires. This lifeless machine, the Soviet Society, was to exist independent of individuals; it was to exist as one body with many members where the many members serve as individual workers for the common good of the machine, the Soviet Society (Kartashkin, 1989; Khekalo, 1989; Lukes, 1987).

On the other hand, Winthrop's archenemy was anyone who defied the unbreakable covenant of Abraham that he felt the Puritans had voluntarily joined. This covenant not only included oneself, but everyone he "owned", that is, his wife, children, slaves, and servants. So the duty to enforce good behavior and right conduct in the entire household was the center of all political and ecclesiastical authority (Miller, 1954). Hence, sinners, i.e., anyone who broke the covenant, was repeatedly denounced. The sermons were sprinkled with warnings of the wrath that would be incurred unless the covenant was obeyed (Miller, 1954).

Few cannot see the religious force that all of Winthrop's lay sermons held as he spoke passionately of the transformation of mankind and the establishment of a city upon a hill. This was a great experiment in theology, where all of the people of the society were to have shared equally, willingly, and with enthusiasm, where education was the right of the society, and where each person looked on the other with warmth, kindness, love, and mercy. John Winthrop spoke passionately of a society where that society existed as one body with many members for the common good of the body according to the Apostle Paul's letter to the Corinthians (Miller, 1956; Morgan, 1980).

In his speeches and writings before his death, Lenin had sketched the outlines of what he believed was the perfect Marxist moralist society. In this society, not only was it a classless society where everyone was equal, sharing equally, wealth and poverty, but in this society the society and everyone in it will have even forgotten class antagonisms in everyday life. This he felt would to some degree be accomplished through mass, universal,

and compulsory education. Other methods for working the society into this classless state was to be the eradication of all the capitalists and their deviant ways (Khekalov, 1989).

His writings were as replete as those of Marx and Engels, his socialist fathers, with sharp, condemning moral judgments of capitalists and capitalist societies and were prophetically laden with dire warnings of what the end of these corrupt societies would be. Of his chief enemy, the so called corrupt, capitalist United States, he said, "...Our system will destroy yours! ..." (cited in Khekalov, 1989, p. 41).

Since Lenin spoke of himself as a Marxist heir, a Socialists' son, it might be well to quote what Vorlander said of socialism. "Socialism can divorce itself from ethics (religiosity, morality) neither theoretically nor factually." In support of this statement Vorlander cited Marx's value-laden language that permeates his writings (cited in Miller, 1956, p. 23).

On the other hand, in his speeches and writings before his death, Winthrop, detailed what he believed was the perfect Puritan Society. In this society, not only was it a classless society according to Acts 4:34 where everyone was equal, sharing equally, wealth and poverty, but in this society, the Puritan Covenant Society, everyone was to have been transformed into one group that cleaves to God, obeys his voice (according to what the leader says that God has said), loves mercy and does justly, not even remembering the ills done to it. Looking forward to the section on education, this Winthrop felt would to some degree be accomplished through mass, universal, and compulsory education of all citizens (women in this sense were not citizens but were possessions of the husband). Other methods for working the society into this classless state was to be the eradication of all of the ones, who disagreed with the Covenant, and therefore practiced deviance, heresy, or worse (Miller, 1956; Murdock, 1977).

Winthrop's writings and sermons were peppered with sharp, condemning, moral judgments of all those outside of the covenant, and they were prophetically laden with dire warnings of what the end of all of those would be. Of those outside the covenant,

Winthrop wrote in his journal on 15 August 1648, that "...the devil had ...attempted their disturbance and dissolution; but (the men's) faith ...overcame him and crushed his head..." (Miller, 1956, p. 48).

What is clear at this point is that Winthrop and Lenin sounded very much alike in their attempts to establish an ideal society. Taken together, it can be said that under certain conditions, human beings, however disparate their societies are, can achieve a transparent, common form of social unity, in which both physical and social comes under control. That is, both, Winthrop and Lenin, however divergent their beliefs, because of a common goal, the establishment of an ideal society, there was at least one common variable, religiosity, and it is highly comparable. As one looks beyond the centuries that separate the two men, beyond the language barrier, beyond the environmental conditions, beyond the social conditions, and looks at the message, one hears the same message of religiosity.

Winthrop's writings were full of passionate, moral denunciations. In 1648 he wrote that the enemy "had formerly and lately attempted their disturbance and dissolution, but... faith.. overcame him and crushed his head." (Miller, 1956, p. 48). He further said, "No activity is outside the covenant... Labor is not performed for gain, but for the common good." (Miller, 1956, p. 171).

Lenin's writings were full of passionate, moral denunciations. In 1917 he wrote that capitalists were the "dregs of humanity, hopelessly decayed and atrophied,...ulcer that socialism inherited." (cited in Lukes, 1987, p. 22). Later, Lenin said,

In the process of development... man can take the necessary step for cleansing... to reach the ideal... Our aim is to ease the lives of the people and improve their welfare... Labor...is for the common good and not the gain.(cited in Lukes, 1987, pp. 22-23)

If a continuum was drawn and religiosity was on one end and nonmoralistic on the other and the former Soviet Union during the Lenin Era and the Puritan Society of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in America during the Winthrop Era were plotted on

this continuum, then they would be both heavy on the religiosity end and closely located for degree of religiosity.

I. Mather, J. Stalin,
other Soviets 1930 - 1987.
Religiosity: A Comparison.

At this point the thesis will look at Stalinism through the eyes of typical representative of that time including the years following Stalin's death as nothing much changed during those years (Wettlin, 1992). An interesting analysis was made of those years by a Soviet Sociologist, E. A. Ambartsumov. He said, "...extremes typical of the 1950's and 1960's when... one day allowed a degree of freedom, and another, shattered..." (1988, p. 4). However different his phrasing was from Margaret Wettlin, they agreed nothing much changed in the Soviet Union during the years after Stalin's death. For this reason, while it is a major leap to move from 1930 to 1987, the pattern remained constant and the basic structure of the government was unchanged. That is not to deny that at varying points of time the tyranny shifted from benevolence to genocidal to benevolence.

In the 1930's and 1940's Stalinism became the national religion. In arts, in science, in education, in scholarship, even in the writing of history, Stalin's word was the gospel for all of the 190,000,000 people in the Soviet Union. To contradict Stalin was to be banished to a labor camp or worse (Antonov-Ovseyenko, 1981). Witch hunts, i.e., searches for those who dared to oppose Stalinism, were widespread (Wettlin, 1992). It was a time of intensive spying, and one might say that the nation became obsessed with spying (Antonov-Ovseyenko, 1981).

As we know from Chapter two, it was Increase Mather in 1679, who stirred up his colleagues and the General Court to believe that the epidemics and natural disasters were actually the result of Satanic plots. The upshot was the witch hunt crazes (Burr, 1914).

That is not to say that Mather's intention was evil. However, the evolutionary process of this theology and philosophy had begun with this second generation of Puritans, and with the evolution there came a stricter philosophy/theology that was enforced by stricter and stricter measures. To disobey meant to be banished from Massachusetts Bay or worse. To be convicted of witchcraft was to die a very painful death along with your family and others in your household (Burr, 1914).

The national religion was Puritanism. In arts, in science, in education, in scholarship, even in the writing of history, the Bible as interpreted by the Puritan leadership was the gospel for all of the 10,000 plus people in the Massachusetts Bay Colony during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. To contradict Puritanism was to be banished from the colony or worse (Miller, 1956). Witch hunts, i.e., searches for those who dared to criticize or even seemingly oppose Puritanism began in Salem and became widespread (Burr, 1914). Neighbors were against neighbors. Family members reported upon other family members. At the height of the massive witch hunts, spying seemed to have become a national pass time (Burr, 1914).

As illustrated in these two societies religiosity was nearly synonymous with the societies. Therefore, the two were highly comparable in terms of religiosity.

Stalinism was made up of groups and not individuals. Toleration of individual rights was not even professed. To profess toleration of any individual rights would have been suicidal for Stalinism. The mindset for Stalinism was absolute loyalty to the gospel as preached by Stalin (Conquest, 1991). The Soviet individual understood that Stalinism touched all areas of human life (Wettlin, 1992). Therefore, each Soviet citizen had to learn to read and write to extract from laws the greatest meaning and to be of greatest importance to the society as a whole (Wettlin, 1992). In other words, for the common good of the society, the Soviet citizen had to learn to read and write, but only those materials said by the government to have been acceptable. Stalin was not of a mind to tolerate anything except what he wanted to tolerate (Antonov-Ovseyenko, 1981).

Universal and compulsory education for all citizens was demanded (Pearson, 1990). This was preached by Lenin and perpetuated by Stalin (Khekalo, 1989).

Puritanism was made up of one covenant for the entire group. Toleration of individual rights was not even professed and was actually thought to be sinful. The mindset for Puritanism was as one body with many members with absolute loyalty to the gospel as preached by the Puritan leadership (Miller, 1956). The Puritans understood that Puritanism touched all areas of human life. The great sermonizer Increase Mather was a man committed to the perpetuation of good (what Puritanism said was good) and the extermination of evil (what Puritanism said was evil) (Miller, 1956). Since Puritanism touched every area of human life, each Puritan citizen (women were owned by the husbands/fathers), had to learn to read and write and to extract from the laws the greatest meaning and to be the greatest importance to the society as a whole (Morgan, 1980). In other words, for the common good of the society, the Puritan citizen had to learn to read and write, but only those materials acknowledged by the church, i.e., the government, as acceptable. Puritans had not come to America to tolerate anything except what they wanted to tolerate (Boorstin, 1958). Universal and compulsory education for all citizens was demanded (Morgan, 1980). This was preached by Winthrop and perpetuated by Increase Mather (Miller, 1956).

The novels written and published in the Soviet Union between 1930 and 1987 were written with the same themes. Examples of these novels are The Zhurbins and The Cause You Serve. A more comprehensive list of Soviet books and novels has been included in the bibliography. Work for the good of the society was glorified. Family was secondary to the society and to the work done for the society. War against the enemies of the society was magnified, and the victories reported again and again. Victories over the enemies of socialism and the Soviet society were greatly honored. Capitalism, selfishness of an individual, and laziness were examples of these enemies of socialism (Khekalo, 1989). In a particular novel, there might be one or more of these themes, but there were no

variations from these (Aleichem, 1987; German, 1961; Iskander, 1978; Kochetow, 1953). It would have been suicidal to venture off to another more creative story line (Wettlin, 1992). Creativity was suppressed (Ambartsumov, 1988).

The sermons, diaries, journals, and other works spoken, written, and published by the Puritans had the same themes: The covenant community was the only right community. There were no exceptions. There was no honor greater than the high calling of working for the community. The society, i.e., the community was first and to be honored first. Family was second to this, and the individual's needs for the most part were looked upon as sinful, worldly, and covetous and should be disregarded. Dying in the covenant was simply a passageway to a better life and was seen as a great and honorable state. The sermons were the vehicles that brought God to bear on the minutiae of everyday life. Theology was the instrument for planting the promised land in America (Boorstin, 1958). The readers, the textbooks, the sermons, the journals, and diaries reeked with statements of what was and what was not important, what was and what was not good. Conversely, the Puritans were told again and again what was bad and what was deviant. To vary from these themes was not permitted (Miller, 1956; Morgan, 1980. Murdock, 1977). Creativity was severely suppressed (Adams, 1898).

These two societies are highly comparable in terms of religiosity. The Soviet sociologist, Ambartsumov, described Stalinism, in part, this way,... classics ... were generously, even excessively, cited... quotations were cut out of the context and selected in such a way as to support the author's (Stalin's) ideas, not infrequently (these were) puny ones. (Ambartsumov, 1988, p. 7).

.On the other hand, from a sermon by Increase Mather a quote from Ecclesiastes 8:5 of the King James Holy Bible was lifted from the context and quoted in such a way as to support the author's Puritan views. In this case, at the death of two young undergraduates, the audience is admonished not to be anxious about the future... but to dispose of all their concerns (Miller, 1956, pp. 184-190).

It is rather obvious from these quotes and from many others that the former Soviet Union and the Puritans were, indeed comparable, highly comparable, in terms of religiosity.

In his description of the horrors of the Stalin years, Anton Antonov-Ovseyenko, the Soviet historian, who was a survivor of Stalinism, borrowed the 1896 Puritan historian, Adams, term "witchcraft" in his extraordinary narrative of Stalinism and its "continuing legacy" (1981). Anton borrowed the term, witchcraft, in his descriptions, but he did not compare the Soviets to the Puritans. For him, this was simply the term that seemed to aptly fit the Stalin years.

It can be said that both of these societies, although not changing their foundational structures, became kinder and gentler. The genocidal years of Stalin dissipated as Khrushchev moved the Soviet Union into a more tolerant socialism/communism. The witch hunts, although continuing during the first years of Cotton Mather subsided and eventually died. Perhaps in both cases, had the genocide of the Stalinist Era and the witch hunts not subsided then no Soviet or no Puritan would have been left alive. This was religiosity, perhaps, at its worst.

Gorbachev, Perestroika - 1987

-1989. C. Mather. Religiosity.

A Comparison.

This discussion limits itself to Perestroika and Gorbachev as they relate to the philosophy and theology of the Soviet Union, and to the philosophy and theology of the Puritans of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Focusing more directly on Gorbachev's own thoughts and Cotton Mather's own sermons, the discussion answers the question: Since the Soviet Union was found in Chapter three to be a society that practiced a paradoxical religiosity even during the Gorbachev Years, is this comparable to the late

years of the Puritans, particularly during the later years of Cotton Mather as discussed in Chapter two?

To review, the philosophies and the theologies of the Soviets and the Puritans had evolved from benevolent tyrannical governments under Lenin and Winthrop to the manias of the Stalin Era and the witch hunts to what will be comparatively discussed in this section: the later years of both societies, the Gorbachev Era and the later writings of Cotton Mather.

Gorbachev said, "...the ideal is a humane, democratic, socialism...The great legacy of Marx, Engels and Lenin should exploit creativity..." (1990, p. 5). Continuing further, Gorbachev said that Perestroika meant vigorous action...for all that was now and essentially socialist (cited in Yakovlev, 1988, pp. 129-130). In an interesting interview that Armand Hammer held with Mr. Gorbachev among other very interesting statements, he said, "...The West (the United States) must realize that it will never destroy socialism...." (Hammer, 1987, p. 499).

To Lenin, Stalin, Khrushchev, Breshnev and others, and finally to Gorbachev, the society that was progressing toward the ideal, demanded to be first place in the minds and hearts of its citizens, and loyalty to that society was demanded above all else. There were no exceptions to this golden rule. The manner in which the society attained this loyalty was sometimes benevolent, sometimes harsh, sometimes benevolent, but at no time did the society change to the point that its basic structure was changed. It remained a society of groups not individuals. Individualism was discouraged, at the least, and at its worst, individualism was linked with heresy.

In comparison, Cotton Mather said, "the foundation of all societies...are families under ... discipline (to the church)." (Mather, 1699/1902, p. 3). The Puritans, in other words, thought of their society as an organization made up of families and not individuals. A Massachusetts law was passed that ordered every town to "dispose of all single persons..." (cited in Miller, 1956, p. 186). The covenant community was a community of believers in

one law. In order for the community to function properly and to be blessed, it was necessary for the entire community to conform to the law. Mather said, "If any in the neighborhood are enemies to their own welfare...dispense your admonitions unto them....never leave off entreating and exhorting of them...Whatever snare you see anyone in, be so kind as to tell him.." (cited in Miller, 1956, pp. 218-219).

From Winthrop to the dissolution of the Puritan Society, the society remained an Utopian Society that was haunted by the imperfections that it saw in itself. Yet it was driven benevolently, then not so benevolently with the witch hunts, to benevolence again with the later years of Cotton Mather to find a route to the ideal. Throughout the years, it remained a society of the community and not the individual. To be individualistic was to be banished or worse (Burr, 1914). The Puritan Society died, but it did not change its basic structure.

At this point, it is important to remember that this is a study that deals only with two variables and within this section only one variable is being considered, religiosity. From the illustrations, it is obvious that the former Soviet Union during the benevolence of the Gorbachev Era was highly comparable to the Puritan Society of the later years of Cotton Mather. Both of the societies functioned within a paradoxical religiosity and both were highly comparable. If one looked at the continuum, again, with religiosity on one end and secular on the other, and both societies were plotted, then both would be plotted near the religiosity end of the continuum.

This is a philosophical, sociological, descriptive study that is comparative. It is therefore important to take a bird's eye view of the two societies that are being discussed. It is distinctly important to disregard the language differences and to translate the languages into a common language and not to merely transliterate words. In both cases, the interaction on both the governments' and the societies' parts tend to be the result of the structure of the societies themselves. However, that is not the issue in this study. These societies should be looked at from an overview with the variables, religiosity and

isolationism, in mind. For the purpose of argument, chronological time is not important. these two leaps, can be made because variables that are both iterative and international are being compared.

Religiosity of the Gorbachev years and the religiosity of the Cotton Mather years are highly comparable. From Chapters two and three and from the preceding comparative section, it can be said that there is no significant difference between them in terms of religiosity. Both societies, for whatever reasons, practiced a paradoxical religiosity, i.e., paradoxical morality.

Puritans. Soviets. Isolationism.

A Comparison

Isolationism means cultural imprisonment or cultural exclusion (Erikson, 1966). The Puritan Society and the former Soviet Union, were societies of intolerance. The founders of each said this, perhaps, better than anyone else. John Winthrop said that the Puritans had not come to the United States to be tolerant of anything except what they wanted to tolerate (Cooke, 1976). V. I. Lenin said that the Soviets were destined to create a Socialist order, a classless society (Kulikov, 1988). The founders were, apparently, making the same statements about two very divergent societies centuries and worlds apart.

Kevin Klose described the Soviet man as one, who faced a struggle each day between the dictates of his society and the dictates of his own personal conscience. If the Soviet man chose to follow the dictates of his conscience then he risked peril to himself and his family. If he remained silent then in so many ways he has betrayed himself (Klose, 1984).

The Puritan man believed that the men of a society entered into a covenant relationship by consent of one another not in the terms of their own thinking but according to The Holy Bible. If the Puritan man chose to follow the dictates of his conscience then he risked

peril to himself and his family. If he remained silent then in so many ways he has betrayed himself (Miller, 1964).

The Puritans believed that the men of a society entered into a covenant relationship by consent of one another not in the terms of their own thinking but according to the laws and rules of the King James Version of The Holy Bible. Once this relationship had been entered then only death could break it. This it was believed was a relationship similar to Christ and the Church. To differ was tantamount with treason. Certainly no dissenters were permitted in the society (Miller, 1964). The Massachusetts Bay Colony was to the Puritans as the promised land was to Israel. With this in mind, it is considerably easier to understand Winthrop's fundamental doctrine on his idealistic society.

On the other hand, the Soviets believed that the men of a society entered into a covenant relationship by consent of one another not in the terms of their own thinking but according to the laws and rules of the doctrines of Karl Marx. Once this relationship had been entered then only death could break it. To differ was tantamount with treason. Certainly no dissenters were permitted in the society (Khekalo, 1989). The Soviet Union was to the Soviet citizens as Utopia was to Marx. With this in mind, it is considerably easier to understand Lenin's fundamental doctrine on his idealistic society. It was idealism coming to terms between each man and his society and between his society and his government (Khekalo, 1989).

These two societies were both, idealistic and isolationist, and highly comparable.

Winthrop and Lenin Isolationism.

A Comparison.

Winthrop explained in his journal that the liberty and freedom of all men is a liberty to

do only that which is good and just and honest as defined by that society under the laws and dictates of the Bible. Winthrop further stated that this freedom is to be exercised only for the good of that society, and that all men must be willing to bind themselves for their lifetimes to each of the other members of that society to promote the common good of the society (Miller, 1964).

Lenin explained in his speeches that the liberty and freedom of all men is a liberty to do only that which is good and just and honest as defined by that society under the laws and dictates of that society. Lenin further stated that this freedom is to be exercised only for the good of that society and that all men must be willing to bind themselves for their lifetimes to each of the other members of that society to promote the common good of that society (Khekalo, 1989).

Since the writings of the two founders of these two societies illustrate that the two societies were founded upon the same fundamentals, the societies are comparable; however divergent they were in terms of time and place.

In the Puritan community, there could be no one who was not a part of the community beliefs because to choose not to participate was to choose against the community itself. Hence, only those who were in agreement with the community could live in the community. All of the others had to be excluded. Winthrop stated in his journals and diary that the Puritans would tolerate only what they desired to tolerate (Miller, 1956). This was isolationism by definition.

In comparison, Lenin said of the Soviet society in his speeches and writings exactly the same things about his Soviet community. Reed quoted him as having said, "We will ... construct the Socialist order!" (cited in Khekalo, 1989, p. 11). In the Soviet community, there could be no one who was not a part of the community because to choose not to participate was to choose against the society itself. Hence, only those who were a part of the society could be a part of the government. Whether in ecclesiastical or political or

social or economic matters, it was an all encompassing government according to Marx as interpreted and executed by Lenin (Conquest, 1991). This was isolationism by definition.

Winthrop said, "... (man) ... must also willingly binde and ingage himself to each member of that society to promote the good of the whole." (Miller, 1964, p. 11). Lenin said that the Soviet government was a representative government established for the common good to promote the common good of all of the people (Khekalo, 1989). These men obviously established the same form of government. Both of these governments were isolationist.

If a continuum was drawn with isolationism on one end and intimacy on the other and the former Soviet Union at the time of Lenin and the Puritans at the time of Winthrop were plotted then it would be closely related and heavy on the isolationist end. In other words, both of the societies were established from the beginning as isolationist societies and both of the societies are highly comparable. As a matter of fact, in some texts it is easy to be confused about which society one is reading. The words may be different but the meaning is the same. At the times of Lenin and Winthrop, these societies were highly comparable in terms of isolationism.

I. Mather, J. Stalin, other Soviets 1930-1987.

Comparison. Isolationism.

The theology and philosophy of the Soviet society had evolved from a benevolent tyranny under Lenin to a harsh tyranny under the unnatural man, Joseph Stalin (Conquest, 1991). Nothing was written or spoken outside of what Stalin wanted. Stalin unleashed the full power of the government against any unrepentant person. To disagree meant death by the most gruesome means (Antonov-Ovseyenko, 1981).

On the other hand, the theology and philosophy of the Puritan society had evolved from a benevolent tyranny under Winthrop to a colder and harsher society under the hand of

Increase Mather (Adams, 1896). It was during the years of Increase Mather and later his son that the Puritan Colony was plagued with the witch hunts (Burr, 1914). The magistrates and judges and others had seemingly gone mad with finding witches. The Puritans could not tolerate criticisms or deviances from the truths as they saw the truths. To differ was tantamount with heresy and punishable by roasting in a fire or worse (Mather, 1702/1977).

What had begun as isolationist societies had at the times of Increase Mather and Joseph Stalin evolved into societies that were absolutely isolationist. It seemed that the Soviet society was in a monstrous grip of death at the whims of the Antichrist, Joseph Stalin (Antonov-Ovseyenko, 1981). It seemed that the Puritan society was in a monstrous wail of death and deceit during the witch hunt mania (Burr, 1914). What the witch hunts were to the Puritan society Stalinism was to the Soviet society. The epitome of isolationism was evident in both of the societies.

Nothing much changed after Stalin's death. The society became kinder and a bit gentler as compared to the years before Stalin died. Apart from sleep and lawful recreation a true Soviet spent his life in the performance of his work, his particular profession and his calling (Wettlin, 1992).

Nothing much changed after Increase Mather died. After the witch hunt years the society became kinder and a bit gentler as compared to the witch hunt years. Apart from sleep and lawful recreation a true Puritan spent his life in the performance of his work, his particular profession and his calling (Morgan, 1980).

There is a true story of a young man being led to the gallows. He begged for mercy, just a bit of kindness. The minister smiled and patted his hand. The noose was tightened around his neck; the rope was yanked. The young man died (Boorstin, 1958). Ironically, this seems to summarize the Puritan society. The society was young once with all of the aspirations and ideals of youth. Then there was a wave of harshness and cruelty, and the

society gasped for breath, and then it died. The philosophy and theology of the Puritan society at that point was isolationism at its worst.

There is another true story that happened centuries later that seemed to summarize that society as well. There was a young lady, who was going in for surgery. She agreed but asked for anesthesia. The physician smiled sardonically and patted her hand. She was tied to the bed. Surgery was performed. No anesthesia. No explanation. The young lady was not really young anymore. The pain had aged her (Wettlin, 1992). The Soviet Union was young, once. Stalin gutted the society. The society was not really young anymore. It had aged in its great pain. This was isolationism at its worst.

Two true stories about two true societies that existed centuries apart...so different, yet so alike.

Cotton Mather. Mikhail Gorbachev .

Comparison. Isolationism

Cotton Mather echoed the sermons of his father, Increase. He and his colleagues were utterly convinced in the rightness of their cause and would suffer no breaches of compromise or deviances from the truth as they saw the truth (Mather, 1702/1977). The Puritans, however, had moved from a radicalism to a frenzied fear laden society of the later witch hunt years to a kinder and gentler tone after the witch hunts (Miller, 1964). The Great Awakening of the 1730-1740's seems to mark the end of the Puritan society. Without a shot being fired the infallible, psychological wall around the Massachusetts Bay Colony fell. However, Puritanism and the ideals of Puritanism did not die in the 1700's, and many are still alive today.

Gorbachev echoed the lectures of his Socialist father, Lenin, when he said, "I want to draw your attention to the fact that the central idea of the proposed platform is to approach the solution of the immediate and strategic tasks of Soviet society by way of

renewing socialism" (1990). Gorbachev in his book on Perestroika and socialism outlines many social programs. He summarized his goals that touch on every aspect of Soviet life with the following statement: The creation of a law-governed state and a self-governing SOCIALIST society is necessary... (1990, p. 32). The Soviets had moved from a benevolent tyranny to a fear laden, manic Stalinism, then to a kinder and gentler Socialism. However, the structure of the society remained the same, a Socialistic and isolationist society, until in November 1989 the infallible concrete wall fell without a shot having been fired (Wettlin, 1992).

Cotton Mather never faltered in his belief that he was right. Two years before his death he made statements supporting his beliefs on the matter (Boorstin, 1958). By their own words, the Puritans consistently practiced and supported cultural isolationism. From their writings from John Winthrop through Cotton Mather many conclusions may be drawn, but certainly, one that is drawn is that the Puritans were obviously isolationists, sometimes gently and sometimes harshly, but always isolationists.

On the other hand, Gorbachev never faltered in his beliefs that he was right, and the Soviet Union should remain a Socialist nation. By his own words, the Soviets consistently practiced and supported cultural isolationism. From their own writings from V. I. Lenin through Gorbachev many conclusions may be drawn, but certainly, one that is drawn is that the Soviet society was an isolationist society.

Therefore, these two societies, the Soviet society and the Puritan society, however disparate they were in terms of time and place, are highly comparable in terms of isolationism

Utopian Societies: Puritans. Soviets.

A Comparison.

As defined in Chapters two and three, an Utopian society is one that has a top

downward approach to government where more than 50% of the power is vested in a central committee, a ruling party, or a church. A government that is controlled by the church and has its ministers as viceroys however socialistic or even genocidal it is, is generally, referred to as a theocracy (Miller, 1964).

Utopia as used in this thesis is defined by Webster's Third New International Dictionary as "a place, state or condition of ideal perfection...". Utopian as used in this thesis and defined by the same source means "...having the characteristics of Utopia. Ideal or perfection..." Webster's Third New International Dictionary gives the example of Karl Marx (Lenin's spiritual father) and Utopian Socialism as an attempt at the ideal or Utopian Society.

The Puritan Church was established "amidst a wilderness, where nothing was..." (Mather, 1702/1977, p. 66) and ruled by the church with increasing fervor (Burr, 1914). It was never intended to tolerate anything except what the church wanted to tolerate. It had never planted itself on American soil to be tolerant. It had, in fact, intended from the beginning to establish itself as an oasis in the desert or as a "citty upon a hill..." (In Boorstin, 1958, p. 9).

To restate from Chapter two, it can be said that from the beginning, this grand experiment in theology (Boorstin, 1958), this society that refused to allow anyone to remain aloof and demanded acquiescence (Morgan, 1980), this state that allowed "no dissent from the truth" (Miller, 1964, p. 145), this "historical anomaly" (Adams, 1898, p. 88), was one that practiced an affected religiousness (Adams 1898; Burr, 1914; Miller, 1964), and cultural isolationism (Cooke, 1976; Miller, 1956). To perfect this society and create an Utopia based entirely on the King James Version of The Holy Bible as understood by its church leadership this Puritan society blindly refused to accept any truths outside of its own (Miller, 1956). As it looked deeper and deeper within itself to find answers to why the Utopia was failing, the society evolved into a nightmare of witch

hunts (Miller, 1956). Kai Erikson was right in having said that the Puritans created their own deviances in their own society (1966). Whether one agrees with Erikson or not, is not the question. It is rather obvious that this was an attempt at an Utopian society.

Many things could be restated concerning Soviet Utopianism but nearly every scholar agrees that the Soviet Union from the beginning was as stated by Lenin an attempt to implement the theories of Karl Marx (Khekalov, 1989). The spiritual father of V. I. Lenin, Joseph Stalin, Nikita Khushchev, Mikhail Gorbachev, and many others in the Soviet Union was Karl Marx, the ultimate Utopian builder.

By definition of Utopia in Webster's Third New International Dictionary the Soviet Union was an attempt to build an Utopian society. Karl Marx was the example used by that dictionary to explain Utopia. Therefore, it is rather obvious without further explanations that the Soviet Union was an Utopian Society.

To restate from Chapter three, from its beginning in 1917 to its last days in 1989, this grand experiment in socialism (Khekalov, 1989), this society that refused to allow anyone to remain aloof and demanded acquiescence (Antonov-Ovseyenko, 1981), this state that allowed only "party dictatorships" (Koenker, Rosenberg, Suny, 1989, p. 385), was a "Communist Utopia" (Duncan, 1978, p. 207), an ideal society (Dubrovosky, 1988).

The Puritans and the Soviets attempted to establish Utopian Societies obviously very similar to one another. Perhaps, Alistair Cooke was right when he said that there was no difference between the Puritans and the Soviets (1976).

Puritan Schools. Soviet Schools.

Comparative Discussion.

Law, Philosophy. Puritan -
Soviet Schools.

In 1642 the Massachusetts Bay Colony passed the law that demanded compulsory

school attendance of all of its citizens. To be effective citizens and to conform to the laws of the community and to be able to participate in the government, it was believed that education was necessary (Morgan, 1980). On the other hand, in 1919 at the Eighth Congress of the Communist Party, the government was instructed to provide universal, free, public education (cited in Moos, 1967). Therefore, it can be stated that both societies believed that education was extremely important, and both societies demanded that its citizens be educated in accordance with the laws of that society. Both societies believed that compulsory education was the vehicle through which each society's values would be sustained.

To believe in compulsory, free education and to believe that this education is the vehicle through which the society is preserved is simply to take education very seriously and to give priority to the interests and obligations of education. It in fact says nothing of the methodology used to carry out this belief. However, in briefly looking at the methodology used by both of the societies many similarities occur. It is as if both societies locked themselves, paradoxically, into the same methodologies.

On the one hand, the Puritans to carry out the laws that demanded compulsory education brought to bear on the lives of its citizens all of the psychological and sociological tools at its disposal. To be good citizens and to know how to conduct oneself in the community one had to be educated. Parents were lectured weekly at the mandatory church services about the importance of education; and they were fined severely by the local magistrates if their children were not in school (Morgan, 1980). Parents were instructed to report any violations of school attendance laws by other family members or friends to the local authorities. At its worst, violators were liable for public whippings or imprisonments (Miller, 1956). Schools were seen as institutions that were necessary to prevent the children in the society from being damned by God (Morgan, 1980).

On the other hand, the Soviets to carry out the laws that demanded compulsory education brought to bear on the lives of its citizens all of the psychological and sociological tools at its disposal. To be good Soviet citizens and to know how to conduct oneself in Soviet society one had to be educated. Parents were instructed through bulletins, statements, and lectures on the importance of education. The parents were fined, imprisoned, or in the case of the Stalinist Era executed for breaking the law and not educating one's own children (Conquest, 1991). Schools were seen as institutions that were necessary in the prevention of chaos and rebellion (Moos, 1967).

Paradoxically, the methodology was the same for both societies. Compulsory education was the law, and the law had to be obeyed without compromise.

Puritan and Soviet Textbooks.

A Comparison.

Just as, paradoxically, the methodologies for carrying out the laws on compulsory education were the same for both societies; the textbooks when looked at closely have more than a few similarities and "preach" the same sermon to the students. In the appendices one can take a look at copies of texts from both societies for further clarification of the points to be compared. To make the comparisons more succinctly, statements from Chapters two and three have been pulled together in the following paragraphs. Also, it would be a good idea to look back at both Chapters two and three for greater understanding of the discussions that follow.

On the one hand, in the Puritan system the school books were actually mini sermons within themselves and always wove the Bible and the scriptures into every lesson. The New England Primer was an example of the religious sermons that were in each book. It taught the alphabet as: A is for Adams Fall and we sinned all ... to Z is for Zaccheus he did climb the tree his Lord to see (Morison, 1936, p. 77). Since it was the custom to teach the

students to read the scriptures first, it is quite possible that the students who could neither write nor "cipher" could read the Holy Scriptures and other religious texts. This means that nearly everyone by reading standards, only, were literate (Morison, 1936, pp. 81-82). It is a fact, that almost everyone could read; however, the reading material was almost entirely religious or religiously oriented. All ideas hostile to the official religion, whether written or spoken, were strictly banned and persons who persisted in that sort of heresy were banished or worse (Meyer, 1967).

On the other hand, in the Soviet system the school books were actually mini sermons (lectures) within themselves and always wove the Soviet philosophy and Marxist's theology into every lesson. The lessons and the themes were always the same. Work was best. There was no joy like the joy of work. The community must come first, and the family must come before the individual. The old Russian proverb "Sun, fresh air, and water are our best friends" was often quoted in the textbooks (Moos, 1967, p. 25). Oral expression was much emphasized. Games similar to "show and tell", dramatizations, description, and story telling were all a part of the child's school day (1967). Liselotte was a Soviet pre-school text that was translated to German for the East German system, illustrated what should or should not be done in adverse conditions. The Heroic Path was a supplemental text for older students that was translated into English. To summarize it is to say that it is an unrealistic glorification of Lenin and his policies. Lenin's thoughts, ideals and reflections were the backbone of the textbooks, without these the texts would not exist. It is not an overstatement to say that the philosophy of Lenin was the Bible of the school system. Soviet education was working if the measurement is eradication of illiteracy. However, all ideas hostile to the official philosophy of Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism, the national religion (Anton-Ovseyenko, 1981), whether written or spoken was strictly banned. Persons who promoted other ideas were banished or worse (1981).

Paradoxically, the textbooks preached the same doctrine. That is, all textbooks from both of the societies promoted to the exclusion of all else the national religion of that

society. All persons who promoted other ideas than those approved by the leaders of the society were banished from the society or worse.

The Schools, Curriculum, Teachers.

Soviets, Puritans. A Comparison.

For a detailed discussion of each of the school systems please read Chapters two and three. For comparative purposes, there are charts in the appendixes, which outline the structure of each of the school systems, and which describe and compare the two systems. Please refer to these as needed for additional clarification during the discussions.

On the one hand, the New England Grammar Schools were the secondary schools of the sixteenth and seventeenth Puritans. Puritan children had already learned the fundamentals of writing and ciphering at the time they began this secondary school. The national laws required that every town of a hundred families establish a grammar school. The school day was long and rigorous; the school year was more than the usual six months. Boys began grammar school at the age of approximately six or seven years, and seven years' time prepared them for the college. The goal of the New England Grammar School was to prepare pupils for the university (Morison, 1936).

On the other hand, the former Soviet students began the Eight Year School at about the age of seven years after having completed kindergarten, and in approximately seven years time the students were prepared to enter the universities, the institutes, or a specialized trade school. The classes were long and rigorous. The school year was about ten months. Students attend classes approximately six days per week. The goal of the Eight Year School was to prepare pupils both for practical work and for continuing education.

From the aspects of goals and length of day and length of the school year and the years of attendance the New England Grammar School are highly comparable to the Eight Year School.

On the one hand, the curriculum of the New England Grammar School was a national curriculum with the curriculum goal of making the boy completely at home in reading, writing, and speaking Latin as a living language and to give him "a good start in Greek" along with teaching him more about ciphering (Morison, 1936, p. 86). The laws required that the grammar school curriculum fully prepare each student for the university. The curriculum was a national curriculum that was largely controlled by the church, the ecclesiastical arm of the government. There was a heavy emphasis on the truths as the Puritans perceived the truth. That is, it was weighted to produce the perfect Puritan (Morison).

On the other hand, the curriculum of the Eight Year School was a national curriculum with the curriculum goal of making each student completely at home in the foreign languages, mathematics, sciences, and the social sciences. The social sciences included a heavy emphasis on morality and socialism or Marxist/Leninist Philosophy (theology) (Moos, 1967). The curriculum was weighted to produce the perfect Soviet man (Pearson, 1990).

Paradoxically, the curricula of the New England Grammar School and the Eight Year School are highly comparable. In general, the curricular was structured to produce the "perfect" man in the "perfect society" in a decidedly imperfect world. This was accomplished via the same methodology, a heavy emphasis on the social sciences and humanities, which included massive daily doses of doctrine. For both societies, this brainwashing technique stagnated the schools and discouraged any student from asking any questions. To differ was tantamount with treason or heresy and in some cases was punishable by death, but in all cases, was punishable. In both cases, the curricula became not a reflection of the society as it actually was, but a reflection of what the leaders of the society wanted the society to be. In many ways, this contributed to the dissolution of both societies. However, that is not a question to be answered in this comparative study. It is for much later consideration.

On the one hand, teachers in the Puritan Schools were appointed only with the full approbation of the ministers and the churches, who were the leaders of the government. Religious affiliation was of most importance. The teachers had to be circumspect, above reproach, and of the Puritan mindset. The national laws set the curriculum standards, and the teachers met those standards without question. To question was to be accused of heresy (Morison, 1936). During the witch hunt years to infer or insinuate or otherwise intimate disagreement was sometimes to be accused of witchcraft (Burr, 1914).

On the other hand, the teachers of the former Soviet Schools were appointed only with the full approbation of the leaders of the government. Party affiliation was of most importance. The teachers had to be party members, above suspicion, and of the Soviet mindset. The national laws set the curriculum standards, and the teachers met those standards without question (Moos, 1967). To question the party was to be accused of heresy (Antonov-Ovseyenko, 1981). During the witch hunt years of Stalin to infer or insinuate or otherwise intimate disagreement with the party was to be accused of heresy or worse (Antonov-Ovseyenko, 1981).

It is rather clear from the above paragraphs, that there were many similarities between the Puritan teacher and the Soviet teacher. Both had to be approved by the leaders of their respective governments, both had to teach a standard, national curriculum, and neither was free to question the leadership and to change the curriculum at will. Although centuries and thousands of miles apart, they were, in fact, sisters of a socialist kind.

Since money played a key role in the schools, then as it does now, both of the systems were paid for through taxation. In the Puritan schools, even though the schools, the books, the curriculum, the teachers were controlled by the church, not a single penny of church money was used for the support of the school. Their support came entirely from taxation, tuition fees, and a few land rentals (Morison, 1936). The financing of the Soviet system was done through a process whereby the federal government funded one half of

the budget and the other half came from the local taxation (Moos, 1967). It can be said that both systems were controlled by the government and paid for through taxation.

On the one hand in the Puritan Schools, the law required a universal, compulsory, national curriculum that was supported mainly through taxation but was controlled by the church, the governing body of the society. The philosophy was one that promoted the Puritan beliefs, and the goal of the schools was to produce a perfect Puritan (Morgan, 1980; Morison, 1936). The textbooks were either written by the ministry or as in the case of the grammar schools, approved by the ministry. The teachers were approved by the ministry and required to teach the national curriculum (Morison, 1936).

On the other hand in the Soviet Schools, the law required a universal, compulsory, national curriculum that was supported mainly through taxation and was controlled by the party, the government. The philosophy was one that promoted the Marxist/Leninist beliefs, and the goal of the schools was to produce a perfect Soviet (Pearson, 1990). The textbooks were approved by the national party, the government. The teachers were approved by the government, and they were required to teach the national curriculum (Moos, 1967).

Incredible as it may seem to some who have never compared the Puritan educational system to the Soviet educational system, there were obviously many similarities. It can be said without making an overstatement: What the Marxist/Leninist doctrine was to the Soviet education system, the Bible was to the Puritan education system. Alistair Cooke was right after all when he said that there was no difference between the Communists and the Puritans (1976).

Discipline. Puritan and Soviet Schools.

A Comparison.

The attitude of the schools toward discipline is paradoxical. At first glance, it seems

that the methods of discipline in the Puritan and Soviet schools are at opposite ends of a continuum because the basic philosophy of the Puritan school assumes that the child is bad because of Adam's sin (Morgan, 1980); and the basic philosophy of the Soviet school assumes that the child is good and society makes the child bad (Pearson, 1990). Yet that is not the case. Paradoxically, even though the approaches appear opposite one another, they are, in fact, only seemingly opposite, and both offer the same consistent and distinctive approach to discipline in the schools. The discipline in both of the school systems, first of all, was essentially good in that it had the welfare of the child in mind. That is, whatever disciplinary measures were taken or not taken, it was with the good of the child in mind and the future of the child in view. For this reason, anyone has to judge the goals good and well founded and generally successful, if order and results are the measurements of success.

On the one hand, the Puritan schools were thought to be harsh and brutal institutions where corporal punishment was used fiercely and too freely. However, the ministers who wrote and spoke on the subject of discipline counseled the parents to win the children to holiness by kindness rather than try to force it by severity (Morgan, 1980). Probably the best description of a policy of discipline was written by Cotton Mather and accepted by all of the leaders. He said that the first step should be verbal correction and the harshest would be solitary confinement, with corporal punishment falling somewhere in between. However, he denounced harsh punishment in the schools (Mather, 1699/1902, pp. 535-536). Mather further stated that the schoolmasters should study the temperament of each child and deal with each of the children individually according to the personality of each child (Morgan, 1980). So even though the aim of Puritan education had a vastly different focus than modern America, the methods of discipline in the schools as expounded by the ministers in the schools were strikingly modern.

On the other hand, the Soviet schools many times have been thought to be harsh and fiercely brutal institutions. However the Soviet experts who wrote and spoke on the subject of discipline counseled the parents to be good examples, patient and kind with their good children. Explanations and reasons, logical and well planned were to prevail in the classroom and in the home. Soviet experts recommended as the first step to good discipline to place the child in an environment carefully structured to show the child what normal behavior was expected. The harshest punishment recommended was withholding of love. The child was told that if he committed certain behaviors then he would not be loved (Pearson, 1990). This isolation and solitary confinement was meant to make the child repent. In well-adjusted families it was assumed that no punishment of the child would ever be needed (1990). The aim of Soviet education had a focus that in many ways was contrary to western education, but the methods of discipline as expounded by the educators and psychologists were strikingly western.

As can be seen, no one can fail to notice the similarities between the discipline of the students in the Puritan Schools and the discipline of the students in the Soviet Schools. Some of the similarities are these: Both of the schools believed that the students should be shown patience, kindness, and love at home. Both believed that the parents should be good examples for these children. Both believed that if the parents were good examples and created a proper environment at home, then the students would respond. The Soviets, however, extended this response to say that the discipline problems would be solved. Both believed that the first response to a discipline problem should be a discussion with the child. The Soviets extended this to include a proper environment. Both believed that the harshest form of punishment was the separating of the child from the parent. The Soviets included telling the child that the child was no longer loved. The Puritan child may have felt unloved, but, apparently, he was not told of this. The Puritans practiced corporal punishment, whippings, and it was sanctioned by the leaders. The Soviets practiced corporal punishment, beatings, at least in some of the households, but it was

outlawed by the state (Conquest, 1991). Notice that the differences in the disciplinary methods lie at the points and extents of degree. That is, one society may to a greater degree practice one form of discipline or another, but that is not to say that it is not practiced by both of the societies. The disciplinary methods of the schools in both of the societies were closely related, and both would have distinctly western and modern characteristics.

The Puritan children and the Soviet children were not free to learn anything other than the ways of their own society, but the children were not subjected to a discipline without a degree of individuality. Puritan education and Soviet education, in spite of all biases, were intelligently planned and thoughtfully executed from a basic parental perspective of love and concern (Morgan, 1980; Pearson, 1990). Paradoxically, the Puritan children and the Soviet children were subjected to very similar methods of discipline.

Now, that educational philosophies and the disciplinary methods of both systems have been compared and found to be highly comparable; it is important to look at these in relationship to the variables, religiosity and isolationism.

Religiosity. Puritan and Soviet Schools.

A Comparison.

A detailed study of each of the societies that will have been discussed can be found in Chapters Two and Three of this thesis. If more details are needed please read those chapters and/ or read the appendixes, which include comparable charts of the school systems.

Historians have said of the Puritans, "...their first and consuming concern was Puritanism...(Meyer, 1966, p. 40)." "...Puritan New England was a noble experiment in applied theology..." said Edmund S. Morgan (1980, p. 185). Boorstin said, "...Puritan New England was a noble experiment in appliedd theology...(1958, p. 9)" According to

Perry Miller, "...The Puritan wished to bring his religion into harmony with science and reason...(1956, p. 96)." The list of historians that could be included on Puritan religiosity in the schools is nearly endless. Many historians disagree on many points, but perhaps none disagree on the statement that the Puritans practiced an affected religiousness that affected all of their institutions, particularly their schools. Puritanism occupied nearly every serious thought and was so "bound up with political and ecclesiastical concerns, it can hardly be separated from the social context" (Miller, 1956, p. 336). Therefore, it must be concluded that the Puritan New England educational system was one that practiced religiosity, an affected religiousness.

Now, consider the Soviet system of education. Never was a people more sure that it was on the right track. The former Soviet Union was an experiment in applied Marxism (Khekalo, 1989). The Soviets wished to bring its philosophy into harmony with academics and create a utopian paradise, where all were made to be equal through the laws set down by the top (Antonov-Ovseyenko, 1981). There were no textbooks, no teachers, no academics, no scientists, or other intellectual that was not strictly approved by the state code of ethics. Their consuming concern was Soviet Socialism, a forbidding Utopian philosophy that was stark, cold, and excessively cruel dependent entirely upon the whims of those at the top (1981). This consuming desire of the Soviet leadership that infiltrated every thought pattern of every Soviet citizen was an affected morality, i.e., an affected religiousness, that permeated every institution, including the schools. The schools only preached this state religion, Socialism. This was, by definition of religiosity, an affected religiousness.

Isolation. Puritan and Soviet Schools.

A Comparison.

On the one hand the Puritans were "surprisingly successful for many years at keeping

their community.... (free) ... of speculative thought," said Boorstin (1958, p. 8). "All ideas hostile to the official theology... were under prohibition," said Meyer (1966, p. 40). "The Puritan fathers ... did not profess toleration... looked on change with suspicion and dreaded innovation as concealed heresy... They did not wish to be disturbed," said Adams (1898, p. 48). By definition of the word, isolation, this is isolation. So if historians are to be believed, then the Puritan educational system, which was a reflection of the society, was an isolationist system that excluded all that it did not want to include and included only the truth as they saw the truth.

On the other hand, the Soviets " ...knew what they wanted in education; they had long planned and thought of socialist mass education..." (Moos, 1967, p. 6). "...No. 2 Lubyanka Square ... became the focal point .. all of his power over the government, the party, (Education) and the people was concentrated ... (there)," said Antonov-Ovseyenko (1981, p. 149). Many scholars have discussed the isolationism of the schools in the former Soviet Union, but a few scholars lived through it, and then wrote about the isolation (Wettlin, 1992). If historians are to be believed, then the Soviet education system was an isolationist system that excluded all that it did not want to include.

In many ways, as far as isolationism is concerned, the two educational systems were surprisingly alike. Both included only the truth as they saw the truth; and both excluded all else. To do otherwise in either of the school systems was to suffer the wrath of the leaders of that society.

Perry Miller said, "Without some understanding of Puritanism...there is no understanding of America... for better or for worse (it) is one of the continuous factors in American life (education) and thought." (1956, p. ix.). Puritan education was both one of affected religiosity and isolationism.

What the Soviets inadvertently contributed to American philosophical thought cannot now be measured. Perhaps, it can never be measured but certainly not at this early date.

As previously unknown materials have been released by the new government of the former Soviet Union new slants and new insights and new conclusions are being reached by historians, sociologists, psychologists, and educators. The story of the contributions of this great experiment in applied Marxist's philosophy is still being written. Soviet education was both one of affected religiosity and isolationism.

In terms of religiosity and isolationism, the Puritan Schools and the Soviet Schools were nearly synonymous. However disparate they were in time and place, they were both school systems that practiced religiosity and isolationism. In many ways, they were systems that reflected the illusions that the societies desperately attempted to perpetuate. That, in any case, is not the subject of this thesis. The subject is the variables, religiosity and isolationism. These were variables that existed in both of these societies and in both of the school systems of the societies.

The Puritans and The Soviets.

Comparative Conclusion

In the next paragraphs, the name of the society will be omitted. Read the paragraphs first substituting "Puritan", then read the paragraphs with the word "Soviet". In this way, one can actually feel how similar these two societies actually were.

J'etais e'goiste mais maintenant je suis parfait (I was egotistical, but now I'm perfect) is the phrase that come to mind when thinking of the ----- religiosity and isolationism. It was a theology and philosophy designed to be perfect because it was an active theology and philosophy based soundly upon the Bible of the society. The axis of this theology and philosophy was a striving for perfection in the perfect society in a decidedly imperfect world. Yet the striving for this perfect, that is the ideal, means that the ideal, the Utopia has not been reached. Perhaps, it cannot be reached by striving because once it has been reached striving ends, and problems cease. Humanity perhaps in itself cannot stop striving

for improvement or cannot cease looking for answers to problems. By the same token to admit that there are problems and to accept into the ----- society opposing views is to acknowledge failure of the ideal. Hence, in an attempt to create the ideal, it is not possible to admit other avenues of thought. Isolation and religiosity must be practiced to maintain the illusion.

In the end ----- society bent to capitalism with all of its problems and failures and hopes and dreams. Yet the ----- society is still a part of this society because it is within this society that we can see types and shadows of the -----society. We are who are in part because of the ----- society's contributions to us.

These two societies are comparable to a remarkable degree. Perhaps, Alistair Cooke was right in having said that there is no difference between the Puritans and the Communists (1976).

In any case, these are the Puritans and the Soviets. This is their theology and their philosophy. This is their societies, societies of religiosity and isolationism. Neither society is any more. The names belong only to the past and to those who enjoy studying the past. Yet, both of these societies are a part of our society and one of the continuing factors in our society.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION/FINDINGS/SUMMARY

Conclusion/Findings:

In an effort to construct a new, resurrected species, a comparison between the sixteenth and seventeenth century Puritans and the former Soviet Union in relation to religiosity and isolationism, the writer had to sift through volumes of distinguished works by both theocratic historians as Charles Francis Adams and revisionist historians as Perry Miller and Soviet historians as Anton Anton-Ovseyenko and American born Soviet historians as Robert Conquest. In the sizable effort from the comparative historian's viewpoint, the construction may resemble one of those grinning skeletons that are imperfectly wired together and ominously standing in a corner of all physicians's offices, making altogether too exorbitant a demand upon the imagination of the patient to carry the conviction that the construction lived at all.

However by identifying with the Puritans and the Soviets, individually, as in Chapters Two, The Puritans, and Chapter Three, The Former Soviet Union, by seeing the subjects from within their own communities, by remembering that these societies were made up of living human beings, one, even historians, can emerge with fresh understanding of both of the societies and then a true comparison as in Chapter Four, The Puritans and The Soviets: A Comparison, can be made because the reader is suddenly "there" in the society and alongside the individuals of the society. This is exactly what this new resurrected species, this comparative, sociological study did with the focus on two variables,

religiosity and isolationism, of each of the societies, individually, and then collectively and comparatively.

In Chapter two, The Puritans, the entire construction of the society was found through a close look at the society to be both, excessively religious and inordinately isolated. It was well understood that the Puritans had not come to America to tolerate anything except what they wanted to tolerate (Cooke, 1976). This is the epitome of isolationism. The Puritan society was religious not to be dogmatically religious, but because the living, breathing humans in that society sincerely believed that they were a chosen people that were set apart by God to be examples of him in every area of their lives (Miller, 1956). Hence, Max Weber, the German sociologist, was able to coin the phrase "Protestant Ethic", which referred, generally, to the Puritanical notion of certain values in economics and even in government (Weber, 1973).

Today, this is a part of the government's human rights movement in trade agreements. When our government demands that another government treat its citizens in a certain manner before our government recognizes it in matters of economics, we are hearing Max Weber's "Protestant Ethic", and ultimately, we are hearing from the sixteenth and seventeenth New England Puritans. In every sense of the definitions of the variables, religiosity and isolationism, both were imbedded in the society, and perhaps, in our society, today, although that is for another study at a later date.

In Chapter three, The Former Soviet Union, the entire construction of the society was moralistic, i.e., religious, (Lukes, 1987) and the epitome of isolationism (Conquest, 1991). When Chapter three was examined the words delivered from the podiums were by living men to living ears, who sincerely believed that they were upholding an Utopian society, it can be seen that they were not developed as points in a formal lecture, or expounded as curious and technical problems; they were not said as doctrines, or contentions, or theories but as vivid facts (Khekalo, 1989). In every sense of the definitions of the variables, religiosity and isolationism, were imbedded in the society.

In Chapter four, The Puritans and The Soviets: A Comparison, in terms of religiosity and isolationism, it was found that the two societies, however disparate they were in time and place, were highly comparable.

As it was stated early on in the study, it is a giant leap across the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries of Puritan New England, and it is a giant leap from 1917 to 1989 in the former Soviet Union and much happened of significance in both of these societies. Yet these two leaps can be made and are comparable, highly comparable, when measured by two iterative and international, sociological variables, religiosity and isolationism, that existed in both of these societies. This was looked at in great length in Chapter four, The Puritans and The Soviets: A Comparison, and was seen again and again to be the case.

If contributing factors to the disillusionment of both societies were isolationism and religiosity, it would be well to examine our own society to determine whether or not these sociological factors are in our own society. Hence, another study is indicated to determine if, and to what degree these factors may or may not be in our own society.

Summary.

On my last day in Moscow, I woke up early. Slipping out of bed, I scooted across the cold, bare floor of my In Tourist Hotel, drew back the heavy, slightly faded curtains, and peered down to the street two floors below. Peering down at the street, I felt weighted down with the sadness of it all. My Soviet friends and colleagues I would leave behind (only last night Frau Rosler had taken me to a very nice dinner at an uptown restaurant, which I calculated must have cost her a month's wages) were just part of it. I was concerned about the political situation, the economic situation, the entire country seemed on the brink of destruction. In retrospect, it was on the brink of disintegration as this was early 1989.

Yet the air that day was teeming with chaos and excitement, as if on the edge of the unknown. It was as if chaos and confusion were in the air. An aura of impending danger was everywhere. Vaguely, I wondered if the country once, again, would be gutted. Suddenly, I felt a tremendous need to leave this place. I knew, somehow, that the entire city was unsafe. In retrospect, I cannot say how I knew. Yet, I put off last minute travel trappings and settled myself to watch from the window a group of teenagers ambling along the street below.

As I peered out of that dirty window I remembered a comparative study that had been done of American and Soviet teenagers under the auspices of the Department of Psychiatry of Harvard Medical School, the Center for International Studies at MIT, and the Soviet Academy of Sciences, published in 1988, pointed out an interesting contrast between the two groups of teenagers. The Soviet teenagers were considerably more optimistic about their futures and felt generally that the problems of the future were problems that could be solved. 71 percent of the Soviets thought life would be better for their children, whereas only 50 percent of the American teenagers had the same expectation (Pearson, 1990, p. 470). Yet, how did this happen in an isolated, moralistic society? It would seem that the United States teenagers would be more optimistic if we are not an isolated society? Could it be that the United States society contrary to many beliefs perpetuates a society more isolated and moralistic, i.e., religious, than the former Soviet Union? That is not a question to be answered in this study, but it does indicate that another study is needed later to address this possibility.

Yet, that day the teenagers moved along, and I sat quietly watching first one strange sight and then another as I reflected upon the education of that society.

The education system of the former Soviet Union was a universal, compulsory, national educational system with a national, standardized curriculum that was supported through taxation. It was a socialized system controlled entirely by the state via the

textbooks, the teachers, and the laws that were either written by the government or else directly approved by the government. There were no exceptions (Moos, 1967).

All teachers were approved by the state. Even though most of the training received at the Eight Year School was of a secular nature providing them tools for acquiring knowledge or a job later, it should not be thought that this schooling in any way conflicted with the philosophy of the society (Pearson, 1990).

When the Soviet child had been taught at home, taught at school, and then exhorted in lectures during the school day, that child was undoubtedly filled with Soviet doctrine. However, the Soviet leaders were not satisfied that this was enough socialist training. Parents were told, again and again, that they must be excellent examples for the children of the society. The children must see the leaders of the society living the faith (Khekalo, 1989).

The Soviet schools practiced religiosity, a paradoxical morality, an affected religiousness. There were no textbooks, no teachers, no academics, no scientists, or any other intellectual that was not strictly approved by the state. These men and women were severely monitored and were permitted to teach only the morals of the society (Antonov-Ovseyenko, 1981).

Moos said, "...leaders of the new state (Soviet Union).... had long planned and thought of socialist mass education..." (1967, p. 6). Wettlin discussed the isolationism in all intellectual pursuits (1992). The former Soviet Union Educational System like its society was an isolationist system that excluded all that it did not want to include and included only the truth as they saw the truth (Antonov-Ovseyenko, 1981).

I sat there on that window ledge that day and watched Soviet society, the young and the old hurry, hurry, hurry, to, I supposed, no where in particular.

Finally, an inspired volunteer moved into view. This intensely religious man was gathering a small crowd. I wished that I could hear what he was saying, but I could not. Yet, I watched. He was ecstatic, but not insanely ecstatic. It was controlled. He employed

self-analysis, meditation, and incessant soul-searching to persuade the crowd. Then, he moved along. Even though the Soviet society was paradoxically religious (Lukes, 1987), what this inspired volunteer was doing was probably illegal, and no one wanted to irritate the local police. Communism was the religion of the Soviet Society, and the society was not apt to accept another, at least not yet (Anton-Ovseyenko, 1981).

As I watched the Soviet society move past me on that cool day in early 1989, I wondered about the past. Are there international and iterative sociological variables that are comparable? The answer, I now realize, is emphatically, yes. Religiosity and isolationism are two of these variables. In Chapter two, The Puritans, and in Chapter three, The Former Soviet Union, it can be said that both of the societies are highly religious and highly isolated. In Chapter four, The Puritans and The Soviets: A Comparison, it can be said that the two societies were not only comparable, but highly comparable, in relation to religiosity and isolationism.

Alistair Cooke, the British historian, said, "There is no significant difference between the Puritans and the Communists." (1976, p. 86). Kai T. Erikson wrote in his book, Wayward Puritans, that both the Puritans and Marxists/Leninists societies perpetuated their own deviances in society by attempting to create and sustain Utopian societies (1966). I thought about these things, and I watched the local Moscovites move hurriedly along the street as I sat, alone, that day in the In Tourist hotel room and peered out of that old, dirty window down onto the street.

The Calvinist Puritans' System is not one that I have encountered personally except as an influence or shadow since it died several centuries ago. Yet sometimes as I have walked alongside the Puritan ministers in their sermons, journals, and diaries, I have felt the heartbeat of the society. To them their religion which resulted in isolationism, was an all pervading sensibility, a depth of feeling, and a way of life. It was not only a mindset, but it was of the heart and the passions. The Bible was believed and preached as fact. There could be no deviations in this heartfelt covenant walk of the grandest and most

noble proportions. The ministers did not take a doctrine to preach upon, but they took a scripture and deciphered its meaning with concrete illustrations to bring to bear the facts on the listeners (Miller, 1956).

John Winthrop, the first Governor, a benevolent tyrant, of the Massachusetts Bay Colony held the colony in Puritan check and cultivated Puritan authority (Cooke, 1976). Puritanism made every man an expert psychologist, to detect all makeshift reasonings of the mind, to shatter without pity the sweet dreams of individualism and imagination. Many sermons were devoted to the differences between the hypocrite and the saint and between the different types of hypocrites (Miller, 1956). The Puritans had not come to America to tolerate anything except what they wanted to tolerate (Cooke, 1976).

The Puritan educational system of the sixteenth and seventeenth century Massachusetts Bay Colony was an universal, compulsory, national educational system that was supported through taxation. It was a socialized system that was controlled entirely by the church, that is to say, the government, via the textbooks, the teachers, and the laws that were either written by the church or else directly approved by the church. There were no exceptions (Morgan, 1980).

All teachers were approved by the church. Even though most of the training received in the Latin Grammar School was of a secular nature providing them tools for acquiring more education at the university or a job later, it should not be thought that this schooling in any way conflicted with the philosophy of the society (Morgan, 1980).

When the Puritan child had been taught at home, taught at school, and then exhorted in the mandatory sermons, that child was undoubtedly filled with Puritan doctrine. However, the Puritan leaders were not satisfied that this was enough Puritan training. Parents were told, again and again, that they must be excellent examples for the children of the society. The children must see the leaders of the society living the faith (Miller, 1956).

The Puritan schools practiced religiosity, an affected religiousness. There were not textbooks, no teachers, no academics, or any other intellectual that was not strictly

approved by the church. These men and women were severely monitored and were permitted to teach only the morals of the society (Morgan, 1980).

The Puritan schools were isolated. The Puritans had come to America to only tolerate what they wanted to tolerate (Cooke, 1976). The Puritan community was a city that had been set upon a hill by God to illustrate his truths as interpreted by the leaders of the community (Boorstin, 1958). "All ideas hostile to the official theology, whether they fell from the pen or from the lips, were under prohibition...the free journeying of the mind was hazardous, indeed it was impossible," said Meyer (1967, p. 40). This was the epitome of isolationism and Utopianism.

The bent of the sixteenth and seventeenth New England Puritans was to portray God as a stern disciplinarian but not as an unfair savage. The deity was looked upon as the source of peace and light toward which all men strive (Miller, 1956). As one walks alongside these ministers through their journals, diaries, and sermons, the heartbeat of the society can be felt. It was a heartbeat with the most noblest intentions. It was a heartbeat of religiosity and isolationism. It can be felt and read in every word of their journals, diaries, and sermons, and there were many of each.

That last day in Moscow, I had not completed the study. It was only a seed planted and beginning to germinate. Yet today, in summary, after the research has been completed, it can be stated that the Puritans and Soviets can be compared in relation to religiosity and isolationism. In terms of religiosity and isolationism, the Puritan Schools and the Soviet Schools were nearly synonymous. However disparate they were in time and place, they were both systems of religiosity and isolationism. Perhaps, Alistair Cooke and Kai Erikson were correct in their analyses. These two societies, societies with the most noble intentions, were remarkably similar (Cooke, 1976; Erikson, 1966).

It is this writer's hope that you, as the reader, have come alongside the ministers, the lecturers, and that you have been for a brief moment in time stood beside Cotton Mather as he delivered some of his most famous sermons (Miller, 1956), and that you for a brief

moment in time were a part of the audience as Lenin stated the philosophy of his new, Utopian society (cited in Khekalo, 1989).

It is this writer's hope that for a short time you were a part of these two societies. If this has been the case, then you have a fresh insight into the societies and the skeletons that were ominously wired together in the physicians's offices and could never have lived, actually lived and breathed, at least for a moment or two. If this is the case, then you were able to compare the two societies in Chapter four with this writer, and this study has been successful.

As I boarded Aeroflot that last day, and our flight headed for the flughafen, Frankfurt, Germany, an incident happened that seemed to summarize the entire trek across the, now, former Soviet Union.

An elderly, Soviet man became extremely ill (He had probably been eating the food on board). The flight attendants ignored him. Everyone ignored him. No one seemed to care. I watched the poor, old man grab his chest one final time and lean forward in his seat. He had died. An old, Soviet man directly across from me on this Aeroflot flight #5445 from Moscow, Soviet Union to Frankfurt, West Germany (now, Federal Republic of Germany) in May 1989 had died, and absolutely no one, except me, even noticed. Since then, I have vaguely wondered about the incident: Who was that old man? What happened to his body? I have never seen anyone else die. It is rather a sad sight.

I had been reading one of the Puritan sermons, and I thought of it:

You know the dog must stay till his Master comes in.... he has nothing but the crumbs... You must be content with the crumbs....lie under the table...till the crumbs fall.....(Hall, 1968, p. 8).

The old, Soviet man's death that day on Aeroflot #5445 was an unfortunate, yet vivid illustration of the sixteenth century sermon.

Perhaps, it was, indeed, a summary of this study.

Into the Future:

In any case, these are the Puritans and the Soviets. This is their theology and their philosophy. This is their societies, societies of religiosity and isolationism. Neither society is any more. The names belong only to the past and to those who enjoy studying the past. Yet, both of these societies are a part of our society and one of the continuing factors in our society. Can we learn about ourselves in learning about other societies and other educational systems. Certainly. Perhaps, we can even avoid some of their mistakes by learning from them. However disparate these ideal societies were in place and in time, these societies were very much alike, and if we are honest with ourselves we can learn about our society from both of them.

A decade before the collapse of the Soviet Union, one man, Patrick Moynihan, stood mostly alone in his scholarly warnings of the demise of the Soviet Union. No one listened. No one heeded his warnings and listened to his reasonings. The intelligence community, the cold war analysts, the hundreds of United States military spies in Europe, churned out masses of statistics on the Soviet Union that created and perpetuated the myth of the superpower's invincibility. The cold war became colder (Moynihan, 1993). If we as Americans had been honest and truthful with ourselves, much could have been learned from Mr. Moynihan and, perhaps much money could have been saved.

What can we learn from these societies about ourselves? That is not in the scope of this study, but let us hope that, later studies at later times perhaps even in other places, will be done so that we will learn about ourselves. A Moynihan situation does not need to exist again.

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APPENDIXES

APPENDIX A

COMPARATIVE LIST OF CHARACTERISTICS

COMPARATIVE LIST OF CHARACTERISTICS:

Soviet and Puritan Schools

Soviet Schools

1. Top downward approach.
(Moos, 1967)
2. Compulsory education.
(Moos, 1967)
3. Universal education for all citizens.
(Moos, 1967)
4. Education to transmit societal values.
(Khekalo, 1989)
5. Goal was irradiation of illiteracy.
Almost 100% literacy.
(Khekalo, 1989)
6. School books were mini sermons,
i.e. lectures.
(Moos, 1967)
7. Goal of Eight Year Shool was to pre-
pare youths for the University.
(Moos, 1967)
8. National curriculum largely con-
trolled by the church, i.e. state.
(Moos, 1967)
9. No appointment of teachers with-
out the approval of the state, i.e.
church.
(Moos, 1967)
10. Schools supported by taxation.
(Moos, 1967)
11. Parents counseled to be examples
for students - to be won by kindness.
(Pearson, 1990)
Corporal punishment outlawed, but
was still used by some.
(Conquest, 1991)
12. Under the iron hand of the
(state/church), the free journeying
of the mind was hazardous, indeed it
was impossible.
(Conquest, 1991)
(Antonov-Ovseyenko, 1981)

Puritan Schools

1. Top downward approach.
(Morison, 1956)
2. Compulsory education.
(Morgan, 1980)
3. Universal education for all citizens.
(Morgan, 1980)
4. Education to transmit religious beliefs.
(Morgan, 1980)
5. Goal was irradiation of illiteracy.
Almost 100% literacy.
(Morison, 1936)
6. School books were mini sermons.
(Morison, 1956)
7. Goal of Grammar School was to prepare
youths for the University.
(Morison, 1936)
8. National curriculum largely
controlled by the church, i.e. state.
(Morgan, 1980)
9. No appointment of teachers with-
out the approval of the church, i.e. state.
(Morgan, 1980)
10. Schools supported by taxation.
(Morison, 1936)
11. Parents counseled to be examples
for students - to be won by kind-
ness; but corporal punishment
was used to enforce rules, if needed
(Mather, 1699 1902).
12. Under the iron hand of the
(state/church), the free journeying
of the mind was hazardous, indeed it
was impossible.
(Meyer, 1966)

APPENDIX B

COMPARATIVE: CURRICULA

COMPARATIVE:

CURRICULA

Soviet Schools (1917-1989)

Kindergartens

Basic Education

Eight Year Schools

History, Literature, Geography, Foreign Languages, Mathematics, Science. Historical studies included a heavy emphasis on morality and socialism (Moos, 1967).

Purpose: To produce the perfect Soviet man (Pearson, 1990).

Goal: To prepare pupils for practical work and higher education (Moos, 1967).

Vo-TechJob Training

Apprenticeships, college preparatory, and other.

University or Institutes

General training for state leadership, with heavy emphasis on Humanities, Foreign Languages, Math, and Science (Moos, 1967).

Puritian Schools (1500-1600)

Common Schools or Home Schooling

Basic Education

Grammar Schools

Literature, Writing, Latin, Greek, Mathematics (Morison, 1936), heavy emphasis on religion and morality (Morgan, 1980).

Purpose: To produce the perfect Puritian (Morison, 1936).

Goal: To prepare pupils for higher education (Morison, 1936).

University or other Institutes

General training for the church, i.e. state leadership.

Heavy emphasis on Greek, Latin, and Bible Studies (Morgan, 1980).

APPENDIX C

COMPARATIVE CHART

COMPARATIVE CHART:

Soviet Schools & Puritan Schools

Structure of Soviet Schools (1917-1989)

Kindergartens
Ages 3-7 yrs
Basic Education



Eight Year School
Ages 7-16 yrs
University or Job Preparation



Vo-Tech; Jobs; Specialty;
University Preparation
Approximately 2 yrs



The University or other Institutes
of Higher Education.

Structure of Puritan Schools (1500-1600)

Common Schools or Home Schooling
Ages 5-7 yrs (approx.)
Basic Education



Grammar (Boston Latin) Schools
Ages 7-15 yrs (approx.)
University Preparation



JOBS



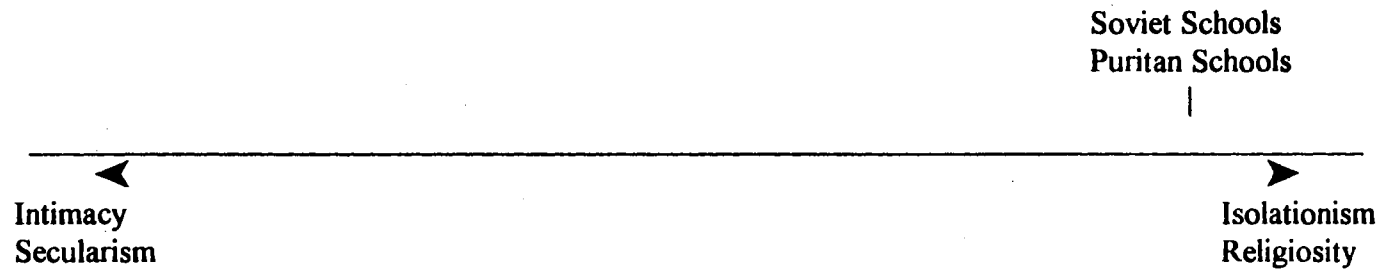
University or Institutes in Europe.

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APPENDIX D

EDUCATIONAL CONTINUUM

EDUCATIONAL CONTINUUM *



* On an educational continuum, Soviet Schools and Puritan Schools are closely related in terms of Isolationism and Religiosity.

APPENDIX E

**SOVIET SCHOOL STRUCTURE CHART
BY A TEACHER IN SOVIET UNION**

Pre-school Education

Nursery schools (for children from 1.5 years old) 5-25%

Mostly state schools.

Children go to these schools 5 times a week

from 7:30 a.m. till 5-6 p.m.

They have breakfast lunch (as you had

in the Pulkovskaya hotel) and dinner (dinner like lunch in America)

They go for a walk twice a day

They have bedrooms there they sleep after

breakfast and after lunch

There are about 10-15 children in one group

and 2 adults (one teacher and one nurse)

Everyday children have one class or

two classes (language development, physical

training + sort of math, drawing, music

Parents pay for children but not if's

expensive about 500 rubles

Kindergartens

They used to be state but now there are

many private kindergartens

(for children from 3,5 years old)

They used to be cheap now prices are

getting higher and higher so groups

are smaller now. There are about 20 children in one group and one teacher. Unfortunately the salary for nurses is not enough so not each group has a nurse. Children go to kindergartens 5 times a week (there are special kindergartens for 7 days).

Their parents who work every day) They are there from 7 a.m. till 5-6 p.m. They have 3 meals and go for a walk for 1 hour and a half after morning classes and for 1 hour and a half after dinner.

They have 2-3 classes every day.

20-40 minutes each. Physical development, language development, art and painting, science, math, story-telling, music.

There are many kindergartens where children study English or dances or art, or music. There are some kindergartens for handicapped children in the city and in the environments.

For many years kindergartens and nursery schools worked for one curriculum but now it's different. Maybe some schools have no curriculum at all. Especially private ones.

= Orphanages for young children and for teenagers.

- Music schools and different clubs for children

They used to be free of charge

Different sport sections for children

Church schools out only for Sundays

Pre-school Education is not compulsory

↳ Nursery School and a Kindergarten are situated in one building.

● - Elementary Schools

Children from 6-7 years old for 3 or 4 years.

They study for 5 or 6 days a week each class for 45 minutes

There are 25-40 children in one group.

One teacher for all subjects but specialists for music and physical training.

Now we have private schools but not all of them are good

There are ordinary schools here and schools specialised on English or Spanish for an example

- Middle Schools

Children from 10-15 years old

There are about 30-40 children in one group

Different teachers for different subjects

Now students have choice to have more physics or more literature, or more languages.

It's really hard to say how about the system, because it's not a system any more. Each school wants to have its own curriculum. There are some private schools where students study 2 or 3 foreign languages.

One school

High Schools

Students study there for 2 years, from 15 till 17 years old

It is not compulsory
Students can go to High school or to Colleges

Education at state schools is free of charge
Students can have a free dinner.

They can attend sport schools music schools
and different clubs and studies
Elementary Schools Middle School and High Schools are in one building

③ High Education

- Institutes
 - Universities
 - Military Schools
 - Private Universities
 - At the universities we study for 5 years for 5 or 6 days in a week he can't choose subjects. Education is free and students get stipends (or scholarship)
- Universities are mostly in the center of the city but they have dorms. Students live with parents mostly.
- Full-time departments
- Past-time departments - student study in the evening 9 times a week after work
- Mural department - student work and pass exams twice a year. They don't study at the university.

Students of Past-time Departments and Mural Departments don't have stipend because they work

Each semester students have exams.
About 3-4 with grades and 5-6 - pass or
fail. Success of exams depends on student.
The student depends on the exams.

For graduation students write the diploma
paper and pass exams.

To enter the University is not easy.
Children have to pass entrance exams.
Some departments are fashionable so, you
should get only A. There are 25-30 people for 1
vacant seat for example, at the Department of
Physiology or at the Department of Foreign Language.

APPENDIX F

PAGES FROM A PERSONAL JOURNAL

THE COLLAPSE OF THE SOVIET UNION

Outside of McDonald's, Moscow, I waited. It had been three weeks. I had had a decent meal, and I was hungry. The golden rule, the golden rule of the American Ambassador was a very welcome site as I stood dreaming of big meals, fries and strawberry sundae. I watched the Canadian and European flags alongside the Soviet red one. No official recognition of this as an American economic venture was there, but it grew, as others knew, that this was American capitalism triumphing. Just food had taken on a new face, that of a gourmet restaurant.

As I waited, and the wait was over a block long and a 1/2 hour wait time, I looked around: The buses were broken down, lines held. Streets were empty, rutted with potholes as deep as rat traps. Cabs were almost dinosaurs. Of the 4 1/2 million Moscovites, few owned cars; and most of those cars were the "infamous" "Jambies". An auto meant a hefty bribe plus ten years. An old woman made her way down the roadway center in a motorized wheelchair. The line into McDonald's inched forward. The Trotskyites, ever accustomed to long lines, smiled at me; wide grins that showed yellowing teeth spotted with silver ones, vaguely I thought "I'll always recognize Russians by their silver teeth." Preventive dentistry didn't exist. Even silver teeth were premiums. A huge sign across the roadway read: Open, Kala. This was a joke, too. There were no cars in Moscow for Mark 12.000 except at McDonald's.

A slowly KGB agent pushed, shoved the line along, ^{repeated} ~~repeated~~ out a filthy, ^{empty} ~~empty~~ hand. I turned away. All gloves, including KGB, were guaranteed a wage, a tiny apartment and appliances as they were available. The problem was that nothing much was produced. And nothing much was available except on the black market. Yemen was ^{empty} ~~empty~~. Long lines with waiting times of 6-8 hours were on each block. Witi. Witi. Witi!

It was obvious that without competition, without a free market, without an attitude of survival of the fittest, this country was in its final death throes. I could see fear etched on the faces of the old. I longed to reach out and touch the sea of leathery faces. At that exact moment, I had stumbled upon what they knew already: that they were too old, too crippled, too frightened to compete in a change. These old ones had never been taught economic self-determination. The thought came to Gaim-pul. I looked away from them. Then, I smiled.

A horde of young, energetic Maskovites were descending upon me. I then, I was wealthy personified: fur coat, hat, scarf, gloves, sturdy leather boots. I was obviously western. As they approached, I watched their faces cloud; and I saw the exact moment at which they realized my country of origin. In another "street" English the uncles wanted to sell me trunks, Russian dolls, et. al. I pretended to bargain hard while watching their eager, intelligent faces. I listened as they calculated in English the needed systematic of the transaction. At last, I allowed the lady my "ruff" to sell me two trunks, "God, what will I even do with so many skins?"

Once again, I was impressed with their astute business sense and their command of English. These intelligent, young Mucklovites had intuitively learned to practice what no school had taught them: Capitalism. These, and others like them, had learned what we must not forget to teach: Competition, survival of the fittest, economic determinism. A never-imperfect these concepts are, they are the only roads to a healthy economy. Somehow it seemed that many of these young capitalists, these unswerving gamblers, sensed that there is a fortune to be made in the fall of a civilization. Suddenly, as if snaggled from a 2 1/2 hour review, I said loud to no one in particular, "My God! I must get out of this powder keg before it blows and collapses around me... Without question, whatever costs, these New capitalists will rise to the top!" At that moment, I could feel, quite smart much the tension in this great city; and I breathed a prayer for all of them, the young and the old.

Standing there, outside Mr. Donald's M. cow, in the blustering, cold wind I knew these young, intelligent Mucklovites were leaving their own behind from the school of their civilization and I knew that I was watching... observing W.W.R. my own eyes the end of a civilization and the beginning of a "new world order."

Economic suppression is the main reason for the collapse of the Soviet Union, and this is probably fortunate to have been there and to have seen it happening.

Epilogue: Any society as a whole is a reflection of its schools. The schools are a micro-organism within a society. So to look at the society, in essence, is to look at the schools. A school produces the society in which it exists. Conversely, the society produces the schools.

APPENDIX G

**PERSONAL PHOTOS OF SOVIET CLASSROOMS
AND SOVIET TEACHERS**



PUBLIC SCHOOL #82

St. Petersburg, Russia (The former Soviet Union)



PUBLIC SCHOOL #82

St Petersburg, Russia (The former Soviet Union)



PUBLIC SCHOOL #82

St Petersburg, Russia (The former Soviet Union)



VITA

Sundra Kaye Girard

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