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Religion and Education

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Thinking About Religion and American Education: An Interpretive Framework

by *F. Michael Perko, S.J.*

Introduction

Recent years have witnessed the reappearance of religion as a critical issue in American education. The attempt to pass a school prayer amendment in Congress, the Supreme Court decision on a Minnesota law allowing tuition tax credits for parents of children in private schools, and continuing battles over the teaching of evolution in the public schools are all indicative of the continued vitality of religious controversy over schooling (Boles, 1984). That educators were surprised unexpectedly by such antagonism from a new direction is seen in the attempts of professional periodicals to deal with this perceived threat (Brodinsky, 1982). From an historical perspective, however, continuing controversy over the relationship between religion and schooling in America is perfectly predictable. Moreover, the analysis of such controversy can go a long way in helping us to understand the basic issues at stake, and raise the possibility that history need not repeat itself in subsequent generations. It is to the use of history as a tool of policy analysis, then, that we turn in an effort to understand the roots of conflict in an attempt to deal more adequately with the problem (Hansot & Tyack, 1982; Mirel, 1986).

Religion and Education: A History of the Controversies

While Horace Mann was insistent on the establishment of a common school system which was religiously neutral, such a viewpoint was by no

means prevalent among the nation's common school pioneers. The vast majority of those who founded public education in the middle years of the nineteenth century were intensely religious and believed that real education without a religious base was impossible. Moreover, religion had a specific meaning for most of these men. Virtually all had backgrounds in mainstream evangelical Protestantism (Tyack & Hansot, 1982). For them, religion, almost by definition, meant the Protestant religion which they saw as the national faith. To be American, in their estimate, was to subscribe not only to republican political values, but also to those Protestant tenets held by the nation's evangelical mainstream.

Thus, common schooling took on an explicitly Protestant religious cast. The King James Bible was used as a textbook, the Our Father was said regularly at the start of the school day, and Protestant Christianity was held up to the children as the summit of religious revelation (Michaelsen, 1970). Unable to see their own faith as relative rather than normative, evangelical Protestants used the publicly supported institutions which they administered as agencies for the promotion of Protestant Christianity.

Not surprisingly, religious 'outsiders' took exception to the Protestant tenor of these schools. Faced with the threat that their own religious values would be eroded, Catholics, Jews, and others began to challenge the religious character of public education. Utilizing strategies which involved both litigation and legislation, they sought to end the overtly Protestant character of the common schools (Michaelsen, 1969; Hunt, 1981). By the end of the nineteenth century, most of the more blatantly Protestant features of public schooling had disappeared, to be

replaced by a fairly bland 'least common denominator' civil religion (Perko, 1986).

Ironically, however, the secularization of public schooling pleased neither side in the religious 'school wars.' While Catholic activists had fought to secularize the common schools, they were in basic agreement with their Protestant counterparts who felt that any form of genuine education virtually demanded a religious base. Even though explicit religion had been removed from public education, few were happy with the form of the institution which emerged (Perko, 1988).

The battle over religion in the public schools, however, was only one arena in which the struggle over the relationship between the state and religion was fought. Another was that of public funding for religious schools. Here, too, controversy would continue into our own day.

To understand the context of this argument, we must first appreciate how fluid the situation of common schooling was in the first half of nineteenth century America. As we have seen, almost all schooling had a religious component. Moreover, there was little, if any, distinction initially between public and private in American education. In cities like New York and Cincinnati, to cite only two examples, the origins of public schooling were to be found in institutions which had either been founded as proprietary or charity schools. Eventually, many of these became part of nascent common school systems. In the process, however, there was a considerable length of time, fifty years or more in some communities, during which public funds were used to subsidize institutions which would today be regarded as private (Perko, 1988; Ravitch, 1974).

Given this tradition, it was not surprising that Catholics would begin to agitate for a share of public school funds to support their own institutions when they saw de facto Protestant education supported at the public expense. Throughout the nineteenth century, Catholic critics argued that laws which required them to support two systems of schooling, one public and one parochial, in order to transmit their beliefs to their children, were fundamentally unjust. Many of these same arguments were marshaled in the early 1950s when the first federal legislation for educational funding was debated in Congress (Ravitch, 1983).

Schooling, then, has shown itself to be an arena in which the nation's ongoing attempt to understand the relationship of organized religion to a religiously neutral state has continually been played out. Given the whole nature of the schooling enterprise, this is hardly surprising. If the school is a major agency in the process of cultural transmission, then it is obviously of deep concern to members of any group. For those outside the culture of American Victorian Protestantism, the fear ran deep that their children would be socialized into an alien religious culture. Similarly, Catholics and others became involved in the development of parochial schooling as a way of insuring that their unique cultures would be transmitted to subsequent generations, once it became clear that it would not be possible to use state supported institutions for this task. Simply put, religion has continued to be an explosive issue in American education because it lies at the very heart of culture, the way in which people come to understand themselves and their experiences (Kaestle, 1982).

Religion and Schooling: Towards an Analytic Framework

Examination of the historical contexts within which the American debate on religion and schooling has taken place can, if carefully done, help us to understand the roots of the issue. Out of such insights, in turn, educational policies can emerge which really come to grips with the problem.

Much of the tension over the place of religion in American education is the result of a massive cultural shift which took place in the United States in the early years of the nineteenth century. During the period from 1865 to the beginning of World War I, America entered what has come to be termed as the modern era. This new America emphasized consumption and enjoyment over production and discipline, and was more marked by the rise of centrally controlled organizations (including schools) than by localism. Increasingly, the society separated sacred and secular into distinct spheres of activity (Brown, 1976).

The common schools were simultaneously products of the drive toward modernization and transmitters of the modern world view. Schooling was now seen as economically advantageous, a uniquely modern sentiment. Because of the immigrants' generally traditional world view, the common schools served an especially important need in nineteenth century urban America. For these children, their task was not only to transmit modernity but also to erase, as much as possible the vestiges of traditional culture. Thus public schooling became a critical agency in the propagation of modern culture, as well as one of its most potent symbols.

The whole notion of modernity, however, was by no means universally regarded positively. For many of those coming from traditional cultures, the 'modern' way of understanding things frequently stood in opposition to their own beliefs and practices. Nowhere was this more clearly apparent than in the opposition of Roman Catholics to secular public schooling. While they had been at the forefront of efforts to remove the more overt elements of evangelical Protestantism from the common schools, Catholics by no means saw the results as praiseworthy. Rather, they continued to insist that real education demanded the presence of a religious component (Benedik, 1924). The fundamentally modern notion that religion could be separated from civil life was something which this basically anti-modern denomination denied.

Similarly, the belief that the state had a controlling interest in the education of children was rejected by

Catholics and other conservative religious groups. Holding an anti- or pre-modern view of civil society, they saw the state at best as a kind of civic clearinghouse, regulating the activities of individuals and institutions. In education, its role was viewed as one of providing fiscal support and necessary regulation. That the state should be the major provider of educational services to the society at large was a proposition these groups soundly denied. Education, they insisted, was fundamentally the responsibility of parents in collaboration with organized religion ("The Vexed Question," 1888).

A predominant issue in controversies involving religion and schooling, then, is that of the attitude toward modernity of various groups in American society. Rarely have either educational historians or policy analysts viewed the conflicts from this perspective. While the political and theological models which they have constructed to explain such controversy are valuable tools in understanding, their usefulness is highly limited. Moreover, they go only so far in explaining the depth of feeling which motivates people to oppose the formidable educational structures of state and federal governments.

The basis in anti-modernity of skeptical attitudes toward the role of the state in society and the separation of religion from public life can aid greatly in our understanding of the enduring opposition of certain groups to secularized public education or to the continued refusal of government to subsidize religious schooling. For them, the very basis of the way in which they organize their experiences are threatened by a dominant culture which understands reality in a very different fashion. Such threat exists at a far more profound level than that of political conflict or theological controversy.

Also, such an analysis helps to explain phenomena for which other modes of inquiry prove inadequate. One example of such a previously inexplicable issue is that of the curious similarities between the positions taken by Catholics of an earlier era and contemporary conservative Protestants on many educational issues. In the case of both groups, aspects of the religious culture are highly traditional and anti-

modern, resulting in similar responses to the threats posed by schooling as product and transmitter of modernity.

Conclusion

While such analysis provides no easy solution to contemporary clashes over religion in the schools, it does point out that the issues are rooted far more deeply in the American experience than they seem at first glance. Furthermore, it demonstrates how differently those who classify themselves as 'outsiders' see American life and institutions. The perennial vigor of the opposition,

moreover, reminds us that 'outsiderness' is a very relative term, and that the dismissal or stereotyping of such groups is risky business indeed (Moore, 1986).

Certainly, the explosive history of such issues argues that questions of religion and schooling can be ignored cavalierly only at the peril of the increasingly fragile public school coalition. Within the next generation, the problem is likely, in fact, to become more serious. The influx of Indian, Middle Eastern, and Asian immigrants into America's urban schools may well raise religious issues in a context very different from the Judeo-Christian ones in

which most of the discussions have heretofore been framed. Only to the extent that these recurring issues, and the underlying concerns they express are faced squarely and sensitively is there any possibility of preventing other schisms as potentially serious as that which removed Catholics from the common school consensus in the nineteenth century. Only then is there any hope of averting the escalating and debilitating difficulties that inevitably develop as groups fight their 'culture wars' in the arena of American public policy on education.

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Evolution Theory: Testing a Scientific Revolution in the Public Schools

Kenneth L. Gardner and Frank P. Bazeli

When Charles Darwin published his theories about evolution in the *Origin of Species* in 1859, his work was immediately attacked by outraged religious groups and many scientists on a variety of doctrinal and philosophical as well as scientific grounds. One hundred and thirty years later, despite general acceptance among the scientific community, evolution theory is still at the center of vociferous controversy in public education.

Darwin's ideas conflicted with church doctrine which was derived from the description of the formation of the world in the book of Genesis. Rather than the world and its inhabitants being formed in six days in relatively recent times, Darwin implied, as did others, that the earth was many millions of years old. He maintained that the various species had been altered over time and offered evidence of how the process occurred (Darwin, 1961 reprint). In addition, although Darwin did not discuss humans in *The Origin of Species*, it was implied that humans had undergone similar processes. This proposition appeared to strip man and woman of their special place in nature and in God's plan.

The idea of variation had been discussed in the scientific community for at least one hundred years prior to Darwin's work by Leclerc, Lamarck, Cuvier, Saint-Hilaire and Charles Darwin's grandfather, Erasmus Darwin (Gardner, 1972). Building on these previous theories and newer work by Malthus, Darwin completed the theory of

evolution with the addition of propositions concerning natural selection and survival of the fittest as means for changes which occurred over time in the various species. Gradually through time, debate, and evidence gathered in the scientific community, the theory of evolution has become a key organizing generalization in modern biology. On the other hand, this has not led to its unchallenged acceptance in the wider society, and consequently, the teaching of evolution theory in the public schools continues to be controversial.

It is the thesis of this paper that, although a new scientific theory gains acceptance among the scientific community through a rather unique but thorough process of testing and debate, it then must stand a second test for acceptance by the general public. This second test is based on a somewhat different set of criteria and mechanisms than those used by the scientific community. It is possible to pass the first test but find serious difficulty with the second. In this paper, we will trace the processes of these two tests as they relate to the acceptance of or challenge to the teaching of evolution theory in the public schools.

The First Test: Scientific Revolutions

According to Kuhn's *Structure of Scientific Revolutions* (1970), science fields tend to focus on one or a closely related set of generalizations called paradigms to organize the body of knowledge in a major portion of the field. In order for a paradigm to be accepted, it must provide the best current explanation of the data. An accepted paradigm provides the basis for research and data gathering in the field.

Revolutions in the scientific community occur when an old paradigm can no longer explain important observations. Increasing numbers of anomalies spur a search for a new paradigm that will explain the anomalies. While the search is being conducted, the old paradigm continues to function as an organizer. Scientists during this period frequently turn to philosophical speculation which often leads to the development of new hypotheses. Hypothesis testing leads to competing explanations which are argued in the literature of the field first, by a few proponents and later, by the community in general. Eventually, the most viable paradigm becomes generally accepted. Textbooks are then revised to reflect current thinking and new research is conducted on lines determined by the new paradigm (Kuhn, 1970).

Acceptance of evolution theory by the scientific community in the United States followed the pattern outlined by Kuhn. The Laurence Scientific School, a part of Harvard College, seems to have been the point of introduction of Darwin's ideas to the United States in the 1860's. Asa Gray and Louis Agassiz, two professors at the school who corresponded with Darwin, debated these ideas before their students, the next generation of college professors (Peterson, 1971). Other points of entry included new textbooks which alluded to the theory and discussions in popular scientific journals and at meetings such as the American Association for the Advancement of Science.

The hiring of Thomas Huxley by Daniel Coit Gilman at the newly founded John Hopkins University added impetus to the spread of evolution theory. Huxley had defended and promoted Darwin's theories in England

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and so organized the biology curriculum at the new school around these ideas. Supported by the incorporation of the German University tradition of research and fair hearings to new ideas, Johns Hopkins University took the lead in promoting Darwinism. He industrial society in the United States, with a thirst for increased knowledge and with its emphasis on empirical problem solving, was a fertile field (Peterson, 1971). By 1900, except for some pockets of resistance, evolution theory had made its way solidly into college curricula. This was important in two ways. First, many who were trained in Darwinism took teaching positions in secondary schools. Second, college professors who taught Darwinism wrote the textbooks used in high schools. So, evolution theory began to enter public school curricula.

In the scientific community, the debate over evolution theory gave way to research studies based on the assumptions of the paradigm. Some of these are that all organisms including humans arrived at their present state through natural interactions with their environments over long periods of time, through the continuity of heredity, and by occasional disturbances of these regularities by chance (Dobzhansky, 1977). Evidence supporting subspecific level evolution (within species) is considered convincing by most biologists. These changes can be accomplished in a relatively short time through laboratory experiments. Transpecific evolution (change from one species to another) has been only partially demonstrated because of the length of time needed to research the process (Dobzhansky, 1977). Most biologists believe that evidence of evolution is found in organs which are homologous among species, vestigial organs that have lost their usefulness, embryos of various species that closely resemble each other in early stages of development, and the modification of animals through artificial selection and manipulation. This evidence is considered persuasive (Otto & Towle, 1973). These assumptions form the bases for most research conducted today.

The Second Test: New Criteria and Mechanisms

When evolution theory began to appear in high school curricula and textbooks, it encountered its second test for acceptance. This test was to be held in a variety of public arenas. Acceptance or rejection by the general public and in local communities would be based more heavily on criteria of religious doctrine and social values than on the efficiency of the paradigm to explain scientific phenomena. To a large measure the favored mechanisms of confrontation would be political, economic, social and legal. Later, an increasingly organized and sophisticated opposition would put forward a rival paradigm that might vie for acceptance if not in the scientific community then in the high school textbooks and curricula through which young students formed their world view.

Evolution Theory in the Public Schools

The pattern of the controversy over the teaching of evolution in the public schools can be traced through its treatment in biology curriculum and instruction and in biology textbooks. In the area of curriculum, a single course, called biology, had by the 1920's replaced three specialized, college oriented courses in zoology, botany, and physiology. Besides traditional topics, the new course emphasized human welfare, vocations, health, sanitation, avocations, and appreciation for and understanding of the environment. In Skoog's (1968) analysis of the treatment of evolution in biology textbooks prior to 1920, it was found that evolution was not stressed as an organizing principle. Emphasis was placed on the evidence supporting evolution as an occurrence rather than on its mechanisms. References to implications for the development of humans was to a degree avoided (Skoog, 1968).

Hellman (1965) also examined popular texts of this period and cited examples such as Sedgewick and Wilson's *An Introduction to General Biology*, edition 2 (1890), which contains a reference to evolution but not an

extensive discussion, and Hodge and Dawson's *Civic Biology* (1918) which contains brief reference to Darwin and natural selection in a chapter on evolution and genetics. By the late 1920's and 1930's, some books such as Holme's *Introduction to General Biology* (1926) and Fitzpatrick and Horton's *Biology* (1935) were treating evolution as a unifying paradigm for the field (Hellman, 1965). However, discussion of human evolution appeared in fewer than one-half of the available textbooks (Skoog, 1968).

Cautious writing about evolution theory stemmed from the rising wave of Christian fundamentalist efforts to regulate it through political and legal action on one hand and with social and economic sanctions on the other. Beginning in 1922 and for the following eight years, twenty state legislatures considered anti-evolution bills. Four states, Tennessee, Florida, Mississippi, and Oklahoma passed such legislation, while Arkansas passed a similar law by public referendum. Penalties for violation included fines, imprisonment and loss of employment (Wilhelm, 1978).

The most famous court case of the age, the Scopes trial, was based on a deliberate attempt in 1925 on the part of the American Civil Liberties Union to challenge the constitutionality of such laws. The test case was the violation of the Butler Act which prohibited the teaching of evolution in Tennessee schools by John Scopes, a 24-year-old science teacher, in Dayton, Tennessee. The trial, which drew international attention, featured Clarence Darrow for the defense and William Jennings Bryan for the prosecution. The jury took nine minutes to find Scopes guilty. However, the Tennessee Supreme Court threw out the conviction on a technicality precluding referral to the United States Supreme Court (DeCamp, 1968).

While the Scopes trial generated a great deal of interest in the controversy, widespread social pressures at the local school board and community level as well as the economic leverage of large scale textbook purchase decisions have appeared to be more effective in limiting the teaching of evolution. In 1942, Oscar Riddle reported the results of a national survey of biology teachers

regarding biology teaching in secondary schools (Riddle, 1942). Among the findings were that biology teachers listed evolution as one of the least preferred topics to teach. Categories of reasons listed included pressure from boards of education, school administration, a majority or minority of the community, the influence of state legislatures, and contradiction with personal beliefs. A sample of comments that accompanies the survey returns included:

Present as much as I can get away with.

Evolution is not based on any fact or reason and Biblical account fits in with every natural law of science and nature.

Fear of public reaction and lack of support of administrators.

State requirements disregard it almost entirely; we follow state course of study.

Riddle summarized his findings by stating that the principle of organic evolution, seriously affected and restricted by the religious views of individuals and communities, was taught to one or another extent by about 50% of teachers who replied to the questionnaire. Even when taught, it was frequently diluted beyond recognition (Riddle, 1942).

Post-Sputnik Controversy

When Sputnik was launched by the Soviets in 1957, it sparked the beginning of a major science curriculum reform movement. The goal of the movement was to build scientific and technical manpower by bringing current scientific knowledge to the public schools. Supported by the National Science Foundation, a federal program that utilized practicing scientists on college and university campuses to write the curriculum materials, was passed. These scientists were not subject to the forces of the marketplace as textbook publishers were. Nor were they subject to local community pressures as teachers were. In fact, the only community which exercised any control over university curriculum writing groups was the scientific community. The result was the production of biology curriculum packages that featured

evolution theory as a major organizing paradigm in the field. When marketed in 1963, the schools in several southern states refused to purchase them. New Mexico insisted that they be stamped with a statement that evolution was a theory, not a fact, and controversies over the materials raged in Texas during the summer of 1964. However, nearly 50% of American high schools did adopt the materials. The opposition surprised the scientists who had worked on the project. Being essentially isolated from the general public, they were unprepared for the controversy both in its force and by the means taken to oppose the materials (Nelkin, 1982).

The response of Christian fundamentalists in this next round of the controversy was more organized and sophisticated. The first strategy developed in the early 1900's to ban the teaching of evolution had been frustrated. In the Epperson vs. Arkansas (1968) case, the United State Supreme Court declared the Arkansas anti-evolution law to be unconstitutional. This in effect struck down legislative efforts to prevent the teaching of the topic. The fundamentalists replaced that strategy with a second which was to require equal treatment of the Genesis version of creation whenever evolution was taught. This strategy was a legal failure. Laws, such as Tennessee's Code Annotated Section 49-2008, requiring equal time for the teaching of the Genesis account of creation, were struck down because they violated the establishment clause of the U.S. Constitution. The third strategy was to develop a competing paradigm that is not explicitly religious in nature in explaining scientific phenomena. This paradigm, called creation science, has been developed by such groups as the Institute for Creation Research. These organizations began publishing materials in support of the paradigm, and biology textbooks for high schools began using the paradigm as their unifying theme. An example of such a textbook is Moor and Slusher's (1970) *Biology: A Search for Order in Complexity* (Fowler, 1982). This effort has continued with increasing force up to the present.

Other components of the current strategy include continued use of legal

means to permit the teaching of the creation science paradigm as a non-religious second explanation along with evolution in public school biology courses, to continue to publish new creation science high school biology textbooks, and to economically force other textbook publishers to de-emphasize the evolution paradigm in standard textbooks.

Finally, evolution theory has been coupled with other approaches, such as situational ethics and global education, as representation of secular humanism, called pseudo-religion which should not be taught in the public schools (Fowler, 1982; Bjorklund, 1988). While the Christian fundamentalists have been largely unsuccessful in court battles, they have achieved notable successes in the other arenas. A number of states, such as Georgia and Indiana, have creationist oriented books on approved textbook lists. Some local school districts, such as Dallas, have approached the two-model approach to teaching biology (Fowler, 1982). Probably the area of most success has been in reducing treatment of evolution in high school textbooks. Hughes' (1982) study of textbooks gives evidence of this retreat. For example, the popular 1981 edition of *Biology*, written by Smallwood and Alexander, reduced by 90% the material on evolution from the earlier 1974 edition written by Smallwood and Green (Hughes, 1982). These occurrences show that the fundamentalists might be losing the major court battles but they appear to be slowly winning the textbook war.

Conclusions

Kuhn's theory of the structure of scientific revolutions is a highly useful way to understand the nature of scientific progress. The replacement of earlier notions about the nature of biology by Darwin's theory of evolution in the scientific community was a classic example of the process of testing of a scientific revolution in that insulated body. Evolution theory became a major organizing paradigm in biology because it could explain more scientific phenomena better. As an organizing paradigm, it sets the world view of new scientists, determines the lines of re-

search, and dictates the processes of inquiry.

When a scientific revolution, such as evolution, is introduced into the public schools, it must face a second test. Acceptance or rejection is based more heavily on criteria of public values. The processes of testing take

place in political, economic, social and legislative arenas. It is not enough for the new paradigm to explain scientific phenomena. In the case of evolution theory Christian fundamentalists have moved through increasingly organized strategies of opposition to its teaching. While their efforts have been largely

frustrated in the courts, current fundamentalist strategy appears to be increasingly successful in reducing emphasis on evolution in textbooks and in promoting creation science as a competing paradigm in some local communities.

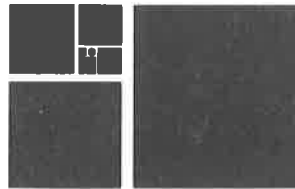
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An Analysis of Secular Humanism: A Problem Whose Time Has Come

by Robert M. Lang and Diann Musial

Introduction

Onalee McGraw (1976) states that secular humanism is a problem whose time has come. Since World War II there have been a myriad of attacks on academic freedom. These attacks have come from diverse sources such as indoctrination issues, censorship issues, and prayer in public school debates. Recently, however, an Alabama court case surrounding secular humanism (*Smith v. Board of School Commissioners of Mobile County*) emphasizes a single, central issue and gets at two fundamental questions—do secular values comprise a religion and what values can legally be taught in the public schools? The Alabama secular humanism case which attempts to make textbook statements into a religion brings academic freedom under especially heavy attack. In the Alabama court case, plaintiffs assert that nontheism is a religion, but making nontheism a religion makes everything a religion since theism and nontheism exhaust the universe. All things are either theistically religious or nontheistically religious. The ludicrousness of this position gives one hope that the case will ultimately fail. Thus far, the case against secular humanism was upheld at the lower federal court and reversed at the appellate court level.

This paper analyzes the secular humanism issue. It tries to make sense of a complex question—Why has the secular humanism problem come of age? Secondly, it examines the no-

tion of values—Are all values sacred and as such, inappropriate for public school educational materials? To understand these matters, it is essential to examine the meaning of humanism.

Humanism

The term humanism is now an 'in' word. But humanism is so charged with levels of emotion and rhetoric that its meaning is often vague and ambiguous. Actually, the term has no 'fixed' meaning. Humanism is not a descriptive word but a prescriptive word; that is, it expresses a normative ideal which is offered to guide and direct conduct. It is not a description of what is the case but what ought to be the case; how we ought to treat human beings, or interpret social institutions and what general model we ought to use for the future.

In a sense, humanism can mean whatever we want it to, but, at its root, any definition of humanism is an ideal definition, for it involves a recommendation of a normative goal. Humanists declare that they are for man, that they wish to actualize human potentialities, enhance human experience, and contribute to happiness, social justice, democracy, and a peaceful world. Humanists are opposed to authoritarian or totalitarian forces that dehumanize man. They profess compassion for human suffering and commitment to the unity of mankind.

Humanism as a philosophy is opposed to all forms of mythological illusions (religious or ideological) about man and his place in the universe. This means that humanism involves some scientific view of nature and man. Humanism is committed to the method

of reason as the chief means of solving problems and the belief that mankind can survive and humans can enjoy a significant life. This conviction and this belief, however, can be realized only if men continue to have confidence in their own natural powers and abilities.

Intrinsic to humanist morality is the desire to allow individuals as free agents to create and guide their own destinies as they see fit. Humanism is related to a doctrine of liberation and emancipation. It values the autonomy of free agents, not only in their intellectual beliefs but in their aesthetic experience, their romantic or sexual proclivities, their moral tastes and values. All men, as free persons, should be accorded some measure of respect, some dignity and value as individuals.

Secular Humanism

The phrase that is at the heart of the Alabama court case is not humanism, but rather, secular humanism. To understand this term, one must examine the formal humanistic organizations that have sprung from the 'philosophy' of humanism. An organized group of self-proclaimed humanists, members of the American Humanist Association (AHA) headquartered in Amherst, New York, has existed since the signing of the Humanist Manifesto in 1933. This small group (its membership of approximately 3,000 has been in decline, according to Corliss Lamont, a founder and honorary president of the association) publishes a bimonthly periodical called *The Humanist* which includes on its editorial board among others, B.F. Skinner, Kenneth B. Clark, Betty Friedan, Lester Mondale, and R. Buck-

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minister Fuller. The original (1933) manifesto used the word religious humanism and included among its signers John Dewey.

According to members of the AHA, humanist philosophy has undergone significant evolution since 1933. The original manifesto was explicit in its endorsement of a socialistic economic system and many of the association's prominent members, such as Lamont and Sidney Hook were also prominent socialists. In 1973, these humanists officially revised their creed to the Humanist Manifesto II. In the words of philosopher Paul Kurtz, who drafted the second document, "The 1933 manifesto had to be updated because many of its views had come into question with the growth of Fascism and Stalinism. The emphasis in the second is on democracy and civil liberties, on going beyond intolerant creeds to build a sense of world community." Humanist Manifesto II also endorses sexual liberty, including the right to birth control, abortion, and divorce. It also states that ethics are autonomous and situational.

Although the interests of most dues-paying humanists are secular rather than sacred, most do not call themselves secular humanists. The only people who choose to endorse that name are those who in the autumn of 1980 signed a Secular Humanist Declaration and established the Buffalo-based Council for Democratic and Secular Humanism. This document was also written by Kurtz, a professor of philosophy at the State University of New York at Buffalo, and it was signed by sixty-one scholars, scientists, and writers including philosophers Sidney Hook, the late Walter Kaufman, Nobel prize-winning biologist Francis Crick, and again, B.F. Skinner. The declaration differs from the two earlier manifestoes in being plainly critical of religion. In fact, the inaugural issue of the Council's publication Free Inquiry points out that the declaration was drafted to counter the prevailing attacks by Christian evangelical groups on 'secular humanism.'

The important aspect of this overview of secular humanism is the gradual openness and endorsement that learned individuals are giving to the term secular humanism. Not only is there an

attempt to discuss the phrase as if it had innate meaning, but there have been as many as three manifestoes in which specific tenets are publicly proclaimed and signed. This 'coming out' syndrome makes the secular humanism movement different from its broader, less structured humanistic origins.

Secular Humanism and the Courts

The organizations which believe that secular humanism is the religion of the public school frequently cite two Supreme Court cases as evidence that it is a religion. The first case, *Torcaso v. Watkins*, involved a man who had been appointed to the office of Notary Public by the Governor of Maryland but was refused a commission to serve because he would not declare his belief in God. He filed suit to complete issuance of his commission "charging that the State's requirements that he declare his belief violated the First and Fourteenth Amendments to the Constitution of the United States." In finding for *Torcaso* and declaring the Maryland religious test unconstitutional, the Supreme Court stated:

We repeat and again reaffirm that neither a State nor the Federal Government can constitutionally force a person to profess a belief or disbelief in any religion. Neither can constitutionally pass laws or impose requirements which aid all religions as against non-believers, and neither can aid those religions based on a belief in the existence of God as against those religions founded on different beliefs* (*Torcaso v. Watkins*, 1961).

Contained within this paragraph is a footnote that is often cited as proof that the Supreme Court considers secular humanism to be a religion. The footnote (*) follows in its entirety:

Among religions in this country which do not teach what would generally be considered a belief in the existence of God are Buddhism, Taoism, Ethical Culture, Secular Humanism, and others (Washington Ethical Society v. District of Columbia, 1961).

The second Supreme Court case that anti-secular humanists cite is *United States v. Seeger*. The Supreme Court agreed to hear the case of Seeger

and two other conscientious objectors who did not want to serve in the armed forces but refused to specify that they believed in a Supreme Being; however they indicated that they did believe in a religion. The Supreme Court upheld the decision of a lower court that Seeger did not clearly demonstrate what his beliefs were with regard to the usual understanding of the term 'Supreme Being.' This case does not ever mention secular humanism. Nonetheless, the opponents of secular humanism have seized upon another footnote in the Seeger case to support their contention that the Courts have declared secular humanism to be a religion. The footnote refers to the underscored clause in the following paragraph of the concurring opinion written by Justice William O. Douglas:

When the Congress spoke in the vague general terms of a Supreme Being I cannot, therefore, assume that it was so parochial as to use the words in the narrow sense...I would attribute tolerance and sophistication to the Congress, commensurate with the religious complexion of our communities In sum, I agree with the Court that any person opposed to war on the basis of a sincere belief, which in his life fills the same place as a belief in God fills in the life of an orthodox religionist, is entitled to exemption under the statute...His questions and doubts on theological issues and his wonder are no more alien to the statutory standard than are the awe-inspired questions of a devout Buddhist (*United States v. Seeger*, 1965).

Thus footnotes in two court decisions have given anti-textbook forces ammunition to suggest that the Supreme Court has indirectly referred to secular humanism as a religion. Since it is a religion and since it is taught in the schools, the act of teaching it is unconstitutional. In their 1978 Texas Tech Law Review article, Whitehead and Conlan argue that, beginning with the Supreme Court's 1961 decision in *Torcaso v. Watkins* and continuing with several decisions regarding conscientious objection to war (*United States v. Seeger*), the official concept of religion has been continually diluted. They argue that the courts have finally resorted to Paul Tillich's view that the essence of religion is 'ultimate concern.' The *Torcaso* Court actually

named secular humanism as a religion along with Buddhism and Taoism. The result, Whitehead and Conlan argue, is that, while traditional religions are banned from the public schools, secular humanism has been established as the de facto state religion.

This classic argument has given impetus to the central case currently taking place in Alabama. The question raised by the Alabama controversy centers around one major issue—Can a religion reside in statements scattered throughout many different texts? These phrases include such terms as 'self-determination,' 'self awareness,' 'self-actualization,' 'self- fulfillment,' and 'positive self-concept.' These phrases and others life them imply that students must see a favorable picture of themselves independent of any need for a higher being. The case states that such terms are frequently used and leave students preoccupied with themselves, thereby creation a religion of selfhood—secular humanism. The ruling on this question shakes the very foundation of knowledge, for it implies that any set of constructs taken from varied sources could constitute a religion and hence be inappropriate for public school education. In the March 19, 1987 court proceedings, it was determined by the District Court that the philosophy known as secular humanism constituted a religion for First Amendment purposes and that public school textbooks which omitted reference to the significance of religion in American history and current American life, as well as textbooks which taught students that moral values were purely personal, impermissibly promoted the religion of secular humanism.

It should be noted that this case is really a continuation of other Alabama school prayer cases (*Jaffree v. Board of School Commissioners*). In May, 1982, Ishmael Jaffree brought an action on behalf of three of his children against the Mobile County School Board. He sought a declaratory judgment against certain classroom prayer activities conducted in the public school system. Jaffree contended that these prayer activities violated the establishment clause of the first amendment. In response to this request, Douglas T. Smith and others filed a motion to inter-

vene in the Jaffree action alleging that an injunction against religious activity in the public schools would violate their right to free exercise of religion. The district courts allowed them to intervene as defendants. Subsequently, the new Appellees filed a motion entitled "Request for Alternate Relief" in which they requested that, if an injunction were granted in favor of Jaffree, that injunction must be enforced "against the religions of secularism, humanism, evolution, materialism, agnosticism, atheism and others." A second alternative of this "Request for Alternate Relief" was that the Appellees be permitted to produce additional evidence showing that these religions had been established in the Alabama public schools.

The district court bifurcated the claims against the Mobile county and local defendants and the claims against the state officials. The district court granted Jaffree's motions for a preliminary injunction against enforcement of the two challenged statues but determined that Jaffree was not entitled to relief in either action because the Supreme Court of the United States had erred in holding that the establishment clause of the first amendment prohibits the states from establishing religion. In its opinion denying relief to Jaffree, the district court indicated that the issues not yet determined dealt with 1) the free speech rights of teachers and students who wished to pray in school and 2) the teaching of the religion of secular humanism in the schools. As a result of this ruling, the district courts realigned the parties, consolidated the cases, ad invited the parties to submit briefs in support of their positions and to petition the Court to reopen the record for the presentation of additional evidence. The original plaintiffs did withdraw, and the Appellees filed a position statement in which they asserted that the curriculum in the Mobile County School System unconstitutionally advanced the religion of humanism, unconstitutionally inhibited Christianity, and that the exclusion from the curriculum of "the existence, history, contributions and role of Christianity in the United States and the world" violated their constitutional rights of equal protection, teacher and student free speech, the student's right

to receive information, and teacher and student free exercise of religion.

A bench trial was held October 6–22, 1986 and the district court found that use of 44 textbooks violated the establishment clause of the first amendment. Judge William Brevard Hand permanently restrained the parties—defendant from using any of the following home economics, history, and social studies books in the Alabama public schools pursuant to Rule 65 of the Federal Rules of Civil Procedure (Table 1).

William Brevard Hand (the judge from the first District Court) held that use of these home economics, history and social studies textbooks in the public school system violated the Establishment Clause insofar as textbooks had primary effect of advancing the religion of secular humanism. Specifically, these books could not be used as primary textbooks, as the primary source for a course that is designed for use without a primary text, or as a teaching aid in any course, but may be sued as a reference source in a comparative religion course that treats all religions equivalently. Hand's order to remove the books from Alabama's schools was stayed by the U.S. Court of Appeals for the 11th Circuit on March 27, 1987 and an appeal on the merits ensued.

On August 26, 1987, Johnson, Circuit Judge of the Eleventh Circuit Court of Appeals, held that use of textbooks did not advance secular humanism or inhibit theistic religion in violation of the Establishment Clause, even assuming secular humanism was a religion. The Appeals Court held that the district court's conclusions to the contrary reflected a misconception of the relationship between church and state mandated by the establishment clause. What is required of the states under the establishment clause is not comprehensive identification of state with religion, but separation from religion. Yet implicit in the district court's opinion is the assumption that what the establishment clause actually requires is equal time for religion. The district court's opinion in effect turns the establishment clause requirement of lofty neutrality on the part of the public schools into an affirmative obligation to speak about religion. Hence the courts continue to battle over

the issue. Currently, we must wait to see if the case will be filed at the Supreme Court level.

Conclusion

It has been argued that secular humanism is simply a figment of the im-

agination created by fundamentalists (Wray, 1981). Whether this was or was not the case in the past is now a moot point. Rightly or wrongly, secular humanism seems to have 'come of age.' The phrase is used in the press, in the literature, and even in the courts. Although the courts have made no specific

determination concerning its religiosity, they have used the phrase in a variety of rulings and have chosen to rule on the Alabama case by 'assuming it to be a religion.' It is an issue that must be dealt with and can no longer be ignored.

Table 1

Titles	Authors/Grades	Publishers	Editions
Caring, Deciding, and Growing	Helen McGinley	Ginn and Company	1983
Contemporary Living	Verdene Ryder	Goodheart-Wilcox	1981
Homemaking: Skills for Everyday Living	Frances Baynor Parnell	Goodehart-Wilcox	1981, 1984
Teen Guide	Valerie Chamberlain	McGraw Hill	1985
Today's Teen	Joan Kelly	Bennett & McKnight	1981
History Books			
America Is	Frank Friedel	Charles E. Merrill	1978
The American Dream	Lew Smith	Scott Foresman	1980
Exploring Our Nation	Sidney Schwartz	Globe Books	1984
History of a Free People	Henry W. Bragdon	Macmillan	1981
A History of Our American Republic	Glenn M. Linden	Laidlaw Brothers	1981
Our American Heritage	Herbert J. Bass	Silver Burdett	1979
People and Our Country	Norma K. Risjord	Holt, Rinehart & Winston	1978
rise of the American Nation	Lewis Paul Todd	Harcourt Brace Jovanovich	1977
These United States	James P. Shenton	Houghton Mifflin	1981
Social Studies Books			
Social Studies Series	Grades 1-6	Rand McNally	1980
Social Studies Series	Grades 1-6	Scott Foresman	1979
Social Studies Series	Grades 1-6	Speck	1981

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The Aftermath of the Lemon Test—To Be or Not to Be a Religion

by Frances O'Neill

In efforts to promote their beliefs, fundamentalist Christians have sought to impose their views upon the curriculum of the public schools. In no arena has their effort been more strenuous than in that of science instruction. Sympathetic state legislators have tried to ban the teaching of evolution, have demanded equal time for creationism, and, most recently, have legislated the balanced treatment of 'creation-science' and evolution. However, fundamentalists have found these efforts consistently rebuffed by the seemingly impregnable Establishment Clause of the first Amendment to the United States Constitution. In large part, such failure is due to the so-called Lemon Test.

In *Lemon v. Kurtzman* (403 US 602, 1971), the Supreme Court formulated the three pronged test by which subsequent establishment challenges have been judged. The prongs are: a statute must have a 'secular legislative purpose'; 'its principal or primary effect must be one that neither advances nor inhibits religion'; and 'the statute must not foster an excessive governmental entanglement with religion' (LaFollette, 1983). Failure to satisfy any one of the prongs establishes unconstitutionality. This essay reviews the history of the 'balanced treatment' laws in Arkansas and Louisiana, considers the role of the Lemon Test in their judicial defeat, and speculates on the future direction fundamentalists may take to gain their end.

A student note in the Yale Law Journal of January 1978 provided the legal basis for legislation which, it was hoped, would succeed in circumventing the Lemon strictures. Wendell Bird, the author, argued that earlier Supreme Court interpretations of the Free Exercise Clause, in exempting Amish youth

from compulsory high school attendance and Jehovah's Witnesses from classroom flag ceremonies, applied to evolutionary teaching. Because some religious denominations affirmed "divine creation as a cardinal tenet of faith," teaching evolution to children of those denominations restricted their free exercise of religion (Larson, 1985).

Upon graduation, Bird joined the staff of the institute for Creation Research where he drafted a model resolution based on his Yale article. Cognizant of the ingrained American sense of fair play, Bird couched his resolution in terms of the 'balanced treatment' of two equally scientific but mutually exclusive theories of origins. Although the ICR repeatedly denied any intention to draft legislation, it was inevitable after distribution by 'the thousands' (Larson, 1985), that someone should recast Bird's resolution as legislation. Paul Ellwanger, a fundamentalist activist in South Carolina, did just that, sending copies of his model legislation to other activists. As a result, in 1980 and 1981 twenty-two bills based on the resolution came before state legislatures. Act 590, 73rd. General Assembly, State of Arkansas (1981) and Act 685, Louisiana Revised Statutes (1981) became law. These two laws were, fundamentalists hoped, the vanguard legislation which would survive Lemon and legitimize creationism.

In fact, the two acts were significantly different, both in legislative history and content. Act 590 closely followed the Bird resolution and was overwhelmingly passed by both the Arkansas House and Senate. Debate in both houses, unencumbered by prior committee hearings, proposed amendments, or advance public notice, lasted no more than 15 minutes (Larson, 1985). Arkansas Governor Frank White signed the bill two days after the House vote without, he later admitted, having read it.

The law mandated the balanced treatment of creation science and evolution in all materials used in the teaching of courses which dealt in any way with origins. Section II prohibited religious instruction and reference to religious writings. The Legislative Findings of Fact in Section VII were, in the absence of hearings, an attempt to declare creationism a legitimate science by legislative fiat. The Bill had hardly reached the governor's desk before legal challenges to its constitutionality were filed.

The twenty-three plaintiffs in *McLean v. Arkansas*, tried in United States District Court on December 7, 1981, included leaders of Arkansas's major religious denominations, parents, the Arkansas Education Association, the American Jewish Congress, and the National Association of Biology Teachers. Expert testimony was given by members of the clergy, sociologist Dorothy Nelkin, who presented the religious history of the creationism movement and several scientists, who disputed the scientific claims of the creationists.

The defense had hoped that the Legislative Findings of Fact would establish the secular nature of the Act and the scientific legitimacy of creation-science. However, Judge William Overton was not constrained by such 'facts.' "Courts are not bound," he wrote, "by legislative statements of purpose or legislative disclaimers... In determining the legislative purpose of statutes, courts may consider evidence of the historical context of the Act... the specific sequence of events leading up to passage of the Act, departure from normal procedural sequences, substantive departures from the norm... and contemporaneous statements of the legislative sponsor" (LaFollette, 1983).

In his opinion, Judge Overton reviewed not only the history of legislative attempts to get creationism into the schools, but also the development and

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religious philosophy of such creationists organizations as the ICR. He quoted copiously from subpoenaed correspondence between Paul Ellwanger and various supporters of the Act. Finally, he noted the 'unusual circumstances' surrounding the passage of the Act, the "lack of any legislative investigation, debate or consultation with any educators or scientists" (LaFollette, 1983). The evidence was clear: Act 590 failed the first prong of the Lemon test, that of a secular legislative purpose.

Although this was sufficient to establish unconstitutionality, Overton further suggested that Act 590 had as its primary purpose the advancement of religion. He demonstrated that no secular value could accrue in teaching as science a subject which was patently not a science. Defining science tautologically as 'what scientists do,' he adumbrated five essential characteristics of science: 1) it is guided by natural law; 2) it has to be explanatory by reference to natural law; 3) it is testable against the empirical world; 4) its conclusions are tentative, i.e., are not necessarily the final word; and 5) it is falsifiable (LaFollette, 1983). Referring to the various paragraphs in which Act 590 had defined creation science, Judge Overton could not reconcile the essential nature of science with that definition. "Since creation science is not science, the conclusion is inescapable that the only real effect of Act 590 is the advancement of religion" (LaFollette, 1983).

Finally, in Judge Overton's opinion, Act 590 violated even the third prong of Lemon. Ironically, Section Two, prohibiting religious teaching and included specifically to prove the Act's secular nature, suggested to Overton the possibility of excessive government entanglement in religion. Pointing out the "pervasive nature of religious concepts in creation science texts," Overton noted the problems inherent in screening texts for religious references, prohibited in Section II. He observed that "the need to monitor classroom discussion in order to uphold the Act's prohibition against religious instruction will necessarily involve administrators in questions of religion" (LaFollette, 1983). This constituted excessive en-

tanglement and violated the third prong of Lemon.

Undaunted creationists believed that Act 685 would fare better, and indeed there was reason for hope. The debate in the Louisiana legislature, although often heated, was deliberate. The final draft was much shorter than that of 590. It simply required that whenever evolution was taught, creation science should also be taught, both as theories rather than as proven scientific facts. In Section 289.5, it was pointed out that the act did not require instruction on origins, did not advocate the removal of any textbook or censorship of individual lectures. The word religion did not appear anywhere in the act. Such reasonableness was, however, tempered by the inclusion of two brief, but telling, clauses. Section 286.4 guaranteed freedom from discrimination for those who chose to teach creation-science; no such guarantees were extended to teachers of evolution. Similarly, Section 286.7 provided for the establishment of a seven-member board of creation scientists to assist in curriculum development; no provisions were made for evolution science.

The act was signed into law by a reluctant Governor David Treen, who assuaged his doubts by observing that in any case, the act served the cause of academic freedom. Confident that in Act 685 they had a law which could withstand Lemon, fundamentalists moved quickly. On December 2, 1981, Bird filed suit in Federal Court to compel compliance. The next day the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) filed suit challenging the act's constitutionality. Bird's suit was held over pending the outcome of the ACLU suit, which after much legal maneuvering arrived before Federal Judge Adrian Duplantier in 1985. Waiving the necessity for a trial, Duplantier entered a pretrial summary judgment against Act 685 as a "patently unconstitutional establishment of religion" (Larson, 1985). His decision was appealed before the Supreme Court on December 10, 1986 (*Edwards v. Aguillard*).

Wendell Bird argued for the appellants, noting that academic freedom was the sole purpose of the act. "It seems only clear and reasonable," he argued, "that if one science, evolution, is taught,

another—creation science—should also be taught" (Life, 1987). He cited the lengthy legislative deliberations as indication of secular purpose and the differences between Act 685 and the discredited Arkansas law.

Jay Topkis of the ACLU represented the defendants who were joined by seventeen state academies of science, the National Academy of Science, and seventy-two Nobel Laureates who filed briefs as *amicus curiae* (*Physics Today*, 1987). Topkis adopted the same strategy which had succeeded in McLean. Citing Paul Ellwanger, who helped draft the Louisiana law ("I view this whole battle as one between God and anti-God forces" (*Science*, 1987). Topkis sought to demonstrate the religious purpose behind the secular rhetoric.

On June 19, (1987, the Supreme Court affirmed the judgment of the Court of Appeals; Act 685 was unconstitutional as it "serves no identifiable secular purpose...and has as its primary purpose the promotion of a particular religious belief" (*Edwards v. Aguillard*, 107 S.Ct. 2583, 1987). Writing for the majority, Justice Brennan required more than the legislators' word that the purpose of Act 685 was secular. "It is required," he wrote, "that the statement of such purpose be sincere and not a sham." Noting the apparent special protection afforded creation-science teachers in sections 286.4 and 286.7, Brennan questioned the sincerity of the defense claim that Act 685 was designed solely to promote academic freedom.

Both Brennan and Justice O'Connor, in separate opinions, considered the historical context and legislative antecedents of Act 685. Both reached similar conclusions; "...there is a historic and contemporaneous link between the teaching of certain religious denominations and the teaching of evolution...the pre-eminent purpose of the Louisiana legislature was clearly to advance the religious viewpoint that a supernatural being created mankind." As O'Connor observed, "whatever the academic merits of particular subjects or theories, the Establishment Clause limits the discretion of state officials to pick and choose among them for the purpose of promoting a particular

religious belief." Act 685 had failed the first and second prongs of Lemon; efforts to promote creationism in the public schools had once more proved unconstitutional.

Three observations on the outcome of McLean and Edwards are in order. First, the validity of examining both context and circumstances within which legislation is drawn has been established; protestations of secular purpose are insufficient to blunt the first prong of Lemon. Further, Judge Overton's analysis of what is, and is not, science will make it more difficult for creationists to avoid the second Lemon prong. McLean clearly establishes that the primary effect of teaching creation science would be to advance religious views, not scientific knowledge. Finally, the importance of Lemon in Es-

tablishment tests is clearly demonstrated. It has become the keystone in the Jeffersonian "wall of separation between church and State." The Edwards decision provides some evidence to suggest that it is at this vital point that creationists can be expected to mount their next assault against that wall.

Chief Justice Rehnquist and Justice Scalia dissented in Edwards. In his opinion, Scalia questioned the court's ability to know what was in the mind of each legislator who voted for Act 685. In the absence of certain knowledge of what individual legislators believed to be the purpose of the bill, Scalia observed that the first prong of Lemon is in fact an inappropriate test of Establishment violation. He alluded to the "pessimistic evaluation Chief Justice Rehnquist has made of 'the totality of

Lemon'" and called it a "fundamentally unsound rule." Suggesting that the purpose test 'exacerbates the tension between the Free Exercise and Establishment Clauses," Scalia advocated its abandonment.

Success in discrediting Lemon would negate the precedent established in McLean and Edwards; what constitutes a breach of First Amendment prohibitions would be open to new interpretation. Should that reinterpretation follow more conservative lines, the fundamentalists' arguments for creation-science might appear more plausible. Pressure to abandon Lemon is the next logical strategy and one for which concerned educators and civil libertarians must be prepared.

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Black Christian Schools in the United States: Carolina Central Christian's Headmaster as a Case Study

by Alan Wieder and Jack Layman

This essay is a small part of a research project on Black Christian day schools in the United States. Although there has been a surge of recent literature on Christian education, there has been very little written on Black Christian day schools. This is somewhat ironic given the importance of the Black Church in this country. At the same time, Black people in the United States have historically supported the public schools and Nevin and Bills (1976) have documented the segregationist tendencies of Christian academies. Although the Christian segregationist academy is still an American reality, there has also been a recent growth in Black Christian schools. Black Christians have long been involved in the Christian school movement. A major motivation in the founding of Christian schools was the perception that public education was becoming unacceptably secularized and that traditional Christian values were being set aside. This was true for both white and black Christians.

In 1977, Jeffrey Dorsey affirmed the Christian school philosophy as applicable to the black community, and observers have reported black participation in many Christian schools. John Holmes (1983) has studied the expectations black parents have of Christian day schools in Los Angeles and Paul Persons (1987) has written on the rising interest of blacks in Christian day schools. He provides a portrait of First Christian Academy, an all black Christian day school which was founded by Dr. Melvin Hodge in Baton Rouge, Louisiana. Glenda Colbert (Parsons, 1987), the dean of the school, spoke to

Parsons about public and Christian schools: "I don't think the public schools will make it. God has come out of the public schools. We'll turn again to the churches to educate the children."

This trend is also noted by the Institute for Independent Education, a Washington based organization committed to encouraging and improving independent schools in minority communities. By the spring of 1988, the ITE had over 260 schools on its list, with a third or more of these being Christian schools. Dr. Joan Davis Ratteray (1987), president of ITE, compares the rise of independent black schools, most of which have been founded in the last ten years, to another underground railroad. "Helping inner city youth all across this country escape the slavery imposed on them by traditional mass education."

Carolina Central Christian Academy is a black Christian day school in Columbia, South Carolina. I suspect that its headmaster, Ted Myers, would have no hesitation in including Dr. Rafferty's statement in the school's philosophy. This essay is a modest attempt to begin telling the school's story. The essay will use the beginning of Alan Peshkin's (1986) recent work—*God's Choice: The Total World of a Fundamentalist Christian School*—as a model. More specifically, we will center on the headmaster of the school—Reverend Ted Myers—much the same way Peshkin began his story through the words of the Bethany Christian pastor. Peshkin's reasoning—"Pastor Muller is the key to his church community's growth"—is similar to ours. It will become evident in the pages that follow that Ted Myers is the key to Carolina Central Christian Academy. Our purpose in the limited space provided is to

provide a portrait of the school through the eyes of the headmaster.

The authors interviewed the headmaster in his office at the school. The school has a campus atmosphere and although it is not showy, the campus is large as are the classrooms, which also are window filled, (the windows even open which is rare in schools today). Carolina Central Christian started the year with 170 students in K-12 plus 35 in the day care center. The school employs the headmaster, a secretary, a janitor, and fourteen teachers. Jack Layman has spent many hours at the school and has now begun to interview teachers and parents. Alan Wieder has spent time photographing students and was responsible for most of the interviewing of the headmaster. The headmaster, Rev. Ted Myers, is both energetic and thoughtful. Although he appears to always have something to do or somewhere to go, he was comfortable describing the school—its philosophy, its past, its present, and its future. This description can't help being autobiographical because Myer's spirituality and energy is embedded in both the school's founding and its continuing growth. Like Peshkin's pastor, Ted Myers speaks of being reborn, praying about a school, secular immorality and amorality and also societal and Christian school racism. His words provide the best introduction to the school.

CCC's story begins with Myer's preparation for the ministry. Myers went through segregated schooling and graduated from high school in the early 1960s with aspirations of becoming a lawyer, but he was diverted to the Navy. The Navy was the first of four occupational experiences that Myers is convinced prepared him for the ministry. "Everything I see in my life lead to

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being a pastor even though I never thought about it." Rev. Myers speaks of Navy racism, but the Navy also opened up the world for him.

It was awful in respect to racial conditions, but even that taught me so many lessons and helped to build me because I got to travel a lot and to visit Europe and see a great many places that were very important, and all that time I read a lot and had a chance to see some of the things that I deal with first hand.

After leaving the Navy, Ted Myers enrolled in Benedict College—a predominantly Black College in Columbia, South Carolina. Navy racism and racial isolation influenced his choice.

At that time, I was ready to get back into an all Black situation. I needed to feel that because I was only one of seven Blacks on ship, and I had spent a lot of time in Europe and didn't see any—I just didn't feel my culture.

Myers graduated from Benedict College in less than three years and took a job in the admissions office of the college. This job provided the second experience important for the ministry. "The idea is that it all leads to the ministry. I had to persuade students to go to college. I had to reach out to students and parents. It helped me to communicate verbally and built an assurance in me." Rev. Myers left Benedict to work in the personnel department of the state government. This job provided the third ministry skill. "What I was doing was learning the skills of writing. Being very precise and concise in what I was doing because you have to be able to defend issues. I had to learn how to do it just right." Myers went from state government to Morris College where he was in charge of long range planning and fund raising. "I didn't realize it, but from the military all the way through, I'd been trained for the ministry. The three things you need—verbal communication, written communication, and planning."

The preparation would be moot and our story would end if Ted Myers would not have 'received salvation.' Myers told us that he was an 'environmental

Christian.' "I was in the environment but Christianity was not in me." For the CCC story to be complete, Myers' salvation and his move to the ministry need to be told in his own words.

I did receive salvation right before I was getting ready to go to college. I learned then what Christ in your life means. I found out that it wasn't a matter of saying it. I found something that was so different, so new, and so much me. It allowed me to find out where I was and who I was, and to find a peace that I had searched for for years. Everywhere through foreign countries I had been looking. I would visit places (churches) and I would look for something and I couldn't find it. One day, my brother invited me to this meeting, and I met these people, and saw something I had never seen before. As we talked, things began to happen and I saw some things that just blew my mind about this other world. When I saw Christ in this, it was really unbelievable and then one day Christ came to me. I received Him in my life and ever since then, it has been another world for me.

Rev. Myers was called to the ministry by God and put his life and his family's life into founding a Bible Way Church in Gaston—a town just on the outskirts of Columbia. A school was in the church's long term plans and according to Myers, "God had quicker plans." Analyzing Myers' words, the need for a school was accelerated by factors that combined religion, race, and family. "My younger sons were in Christian school. It was such a racist atmosphere, so I just couldn't leave them there. I transferred to Good Shepherd. The first place had few blacks—they didn't want them there."

Rev. Myers spoke at length of 'segregationist Christian academies' and then spoke of his children's schools eminent closing. He told us that God advised him not to purchase Good Shepherd. It might be added that the

banks were not enthused about providing financing.

A lot of things came out later with strong racial overtones. The banks just didn't pick up on that place. Somebody from that group called the bank. I don't know what they said, but it blocked our loan—we couldn't get it.

Although Good Shepherd fell through, Myers became more and more convinced of the need to start a school. He told the Gaston congregation that they would have a school by 1986. Besides racial discrimination in 'Christian schools,' Myers spoke at length on public school immorality—he sounded very much like the people at Peshkin's school.

I was so moved when I saw what was happening in the public schools. I saw kids come in necking. I heard kids use profane words. I saw the kind of attitudes that nourished those acts. I saw faculty members who were afraid to go in to the rest rooms because they didn't want to see kids smoking pot. I learned about a young person who witnessed a sexual act at a middle school that was a very gross situation.

Myers and the Gaston Bible Way Church purchased the present school site in July, 1986—school doors opened in August. "We were going to have one and we didn't care if the kids were black, white, blue, gray, or green. Our students would be brought under the Christian banner and Christ would be the head of our program." "Christ is the head of our program" was repeated by Mr. Myers as we spoke about faculty, students, and parents. It is part of the philosophy of the school.

Our philosophy was to create a school where people can understand that Christ is the foundation of what you are doing. You can help people to grow in academics, but your underlying principle is the spiritual part of it. If you train someone academically, you give him knowledge, but if you teach him who Christ is, you point

him to wisdom.

Wisdom, of course, is connected to God and it was part of all phases of our discussions. We spoke about selecting faculty, saved/unsaved families, rules and regulations, and, of course, race. While race deserves close attention, allow us a small discussion on each of the other topics so that we might point out how wisdom and God are elements of each at CCC. Teachers are interviewed and must have beliefs that concur with the religious philosophy stated by Rev. Myers.

We have inservice in which we share with teachers the basic philosophy of the school and let them know that we base our teaching program on love. If you love the students, you don't just come in—this is not a job. This is not just a vocation—this is life. In order to do what you are doing, you have to live it.

It should be added that teacher salaries average only \$130 per week, which re-enforces teacher commitment—people do not teach at CCC because of the salary. Rev. Myers' thoughts on saved/unsaved families is unique. While many Christian schools stress being saved as an admission policy or offer strident proselytizing for the unsaved, Myers' philosophy is very different.

There is no discussion on who is saved and who is not saved. It is not a matter of saying—you're saved, you're not. With parents, it's the same. Parents have visited our church, and they have enjoyed it. They have said, "I really enjoyed being in a Christian atmosphere."

CCC provides a handbook that lists rules and regulations, but Rev. Myers'

discussion of what he refers to as 'guidelines' is more instructive.

Our whole thing is that we are flexible, but students are to remember that the teacher is the head of the class and Christ, the head of the teacher. Teachers are to remember that Christ is the head of the class. All things done in there are for the glory of God. Now this is an unwritten statement, but it is written in the hearts and minds of people because it is continually re-enforced.

Re-enforcement includes chapel, stage performances, and continual classroom analogies. Myers was observed connecting a math lesson on interest to God's investment and interest in the students. One thing that is striking about the children at CCC is that in spite of a definite order of authority they appear to seldom wear frowns. Student perceptions will be examined as we continue this study. Our purpose now, though, is to conclude this essay with a short discussion of race—again through the eyes of the headmaster. Although there are a handful of white children and white teachers at CCC no one would argue with the fact that it is a predominantly black school. Like other selections of this paper, the relationship of race and CCC is best understood through Rev. Myers' words.

I saw the need for a school for kids. I saw our society and I believe in America. It might be corny. They got to have dreams. I believe in America and I don't think America is going to operate being black or white. The cost to maintain a racist system is phenomenal. I told some white parents who came

in with children that I am not anti-white but I'm pro-black. There is a tremendous difference in that. You see the way society is going to make it. The black kid walks into a store and he walks a certain way and he's suspect. I don't care how you cut it—even if he walks into my store. If a white kid walks in, the storeowner is going to feel empathy. There is a difference. I'm pro-black because of this. I want to raise the level of black mentality and I want to raise the level of black people. If you do that, you have to raise white people. How can you do any different? The same thing is true with the school. They said, ya—that nigger school over there. There is a mentality. Whether we like it or not, or whether we accept it or not, there is a mentality that blacks can't do anything. This whole thing of us not being able to think and us being lower than whites is still here. So they think with a black administration, the school is going to bomb out in no time—that you are going to be second rate.

What appears above is but a small part of the CCC story. There is a great deal of data to collect and analysis to complete. We offer this as a small, however important, part of the CCC story. We are also hopeful that by putting it in print, however incomplete, that it will stimulate interest and research in a topic that has not received a great deal of attention.

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The Paradox of Public Education and Native American Sacred Tradition

by Guy Senese

Somewhere the human life began. There are many stories of this beginning. The Hopi believe that Maasau, the Great Spirit, was the leader and Creator of our land. Maasau placed upon us, the obligation to follow his way of life; being known by the works we do and by our promise never to abandon the good and peaceful way that would be Hopi. We made a vow that day never to forsake it so long as we are Hopi (Josephy, 1971).

This statement is a reflection of Hopi belief structure and suggests the complex relationship between Native American religion and intellectual life, where spiritual understanding and a 'way of life' are closely connected. For most American school children, the increasing secularization of public education poses few problems. Some issues arise when, for example, parents and students argue about whether to enforce brief silences to be used for prayer. In some quarters, relations have become more hostile between community and school authorities when curricula are seen to contradict sacred teaching regarding the origin and genesis of humanity. Others argue about the inclusion of moral education during school time. These disputes often arise from doctrinal differences within the Judeo-Christian tradition. Fierce loyalties to individual doctrine and the fear of State interference in religion led to the establishment clause of the First Amendment and to a history of dispute over the role of religion in school.

I would argue that, as serious as these disputes are, the structure of dominant culture monotheism and its

relationship to the quest for education, do not seriously threaten either religion or schooling as either is generally practiced in European-American culture. Yet, for Native American children and parents who wish to retain a hold on Indian identity within a tribal structure, disestablishment of spirituality threatens not only to erode religion but undermines the very structure of knowledge constitutive of North American Indian culture. There are many varieties of Indian religious expression, yet all are fundamentally bound to the search for and the possibility of knowledge. The pursuit of knowledge is a unity with the pursuit of individual spiritual enlightenment. The practical understanding of nature, in the traditional American Indian belief structures, is unified with the understanding of the spiritual meaning of nature. Indeed, the importance of a meaningful understanding of one's place in nature and the nature of one's place lies at the heart of a journey to full personhood for tribal cultures. For example, the maintenance of natural balance through ceremony and daily practice is essential to the Navajo conception of what it means to be a person at all (Brown, 1982). Similarly, vision quests for the Plains tribes signify a life-long effort to attain both spirituality and truth. For the Hopi, indeed, to live the Hopi life way is the definition of human teleology.

Indian education has from its origins reflected the dualism of European Judeo-Christian thought. This continues today in reservation and urban Indian public schooling, and that directed by the federal Bureau of Indian Affairs. Even tribal and community controlled contract schools are being forced by state and federal regulation, in step with the push of opinion on effec-

tive schooling reform, to abandon a 20 year effort to fashion a semblance of true Native American education.

Started in 1966, the Rough Rock Demonstration School was the first and has become the most widely known example of a North American Indian community controlled school. It is not, however, a private school, and while the community school board has great latitude over curriculum and staffing, the federal government provides virtually all the funding for the school in the form of a school contract.

Rough Rock was the forerunner of the 60 or so community controlled contract schools which followed. It was also a leader in the area of bilingual and cross-cultural education. The community controlled school movement to establish, in part, education programs for Indian children which reflect the spiritual commitments of their communities, has developed against great odds and significant Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) opposition. At Rough Rock, the community has made bilingual, bicultural education the main emphasis of instruction. Courses in Navajo religious life and cultural practice are required for all students who choose to attend. In recent years, due to accreditation pressure and funding cutbacks, the traditional schooling activities in contract schools have lost in the attempt to satisfy increasing State and Federal mandates for uniformity (Platero, 1978).

Native American schooling has developed on the fringes of American public education. However, Indian people have watched, with other Americans, as the symbols and alterations of educational reform were developed during the 1980s.

Opinion leaders argued during the early 1980s that we are a 'Nation at

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Risk' due to foreign economic competition and because of a national security weakened by scarcity of scientifically and mathematically competitive students. Indeed, participation of a school teacher on the Challenger shuttle was an effort to model for the American people the importance of an education most highly dedicated to producing the expertise to offer technical solutions to our human problems. All American school children were encouraged to excel in the quest for technical expertise. Native American school children and educators, both rural and urban, are inheritors of a special trust relationship with the Federal government, and many, such as the community of Rough Rock, are locked in a struggle for cultural maintenance, survival, and remembrance of traditions. In light of this, efforts to reform education in the search for technical superiority may seem either misguided or ironic or both. For many, an increased emphasis on the kind of education argued for in recent reform reports carries with it a dark message. The very emphasis on the dominant academic culture causes a concomitant devaluation of the complex forms of cultural transmission which have been established against the backdrop of traditional public school curricula—for example, study in tribal myth and legend, sacred music and dance, language study and use, traditional medicine, sports and games. All these tribal and community efforts to make some connection between 'being human' and schooling, have been devalued and underfunded during the 1980s—they have become a victim of the rhetoric of excellence.

Three hundred and forty years before Challenger, the Puritans of New England were finding their way toward the conquest of an earlier frontier. To that end, on July 27, 1649, the Long Parliament passed an Act which created the New England Company, now the oldest Protestant Missionary Society (still existing in Canada today). This society represented an early powerful and paradigmatic effort to educate Indians for participation in European Christian colonial society. Indian teachers and ministers were trained and much money was spent in the creation of Indian language psalters and general education

books. Yet, by the time of King Phillip's Way of 1675, this great effort at conversion and education had failed. It fell victim to resistance by sachems and general disinterest in the new religion, and the fact that Indians were dying from European disease (Hoover, 1976).

Since that time, Indian education has proceeded despite varying degrees of resistance and unsuccessful. It has been built upon a premise that Indians have much of importance to learn from Europeans. The curriculum of the dominant culture, both secular and religious, has been heavily influenced by Judeo-Christian ethics, myths and dogma. Indian children have been subject to the indoctrination of White moral values through formal schooling. Educational success has been and continues to be defined largely in terms of an agenda written by representatives of Euro-American society. For 300 years, those Indians who fell under White rule were largely unable to directly influence the formal education of their children. Indian languages, custom, culture and expression were all but eliminated from this agenda.

Largely conceived within the Education Office of the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA), federal education of Indians has witnessed perhaps only two really significant periods of variance from this process of dominance acculturation. During the decades of the 1930s and 1960s, Bureau Educators began fledgling efforts to introduce bilingualism and biculturalism into Indian school curricula. These efforts were not widespread nor were they community based. The BIA education division represents these efforts as an attempt to encourage more willing participation in the dominant linguistic and cultural curriculum. Today in the eyes of the BIA, Indian children must be more, not less, involved in the dominant culture's economic educational agenda for the 1980s. In the words of its 1988 Report on Education, the BIA argues that tribal hopes must be one with national goals, "They must look to the school system as the main source of their formal education—to help raise their tribe's and their own economic status" (Bureau of Indian Affairs, 1988).

Like all American children, Indian boys and girls must be harnessed to the sputtering engine of the American economy. They, too, must see a high purpose and possibility for increased economic and scientific power through their public education.

The 'problem' of persistent Indian failure to profit from instruction and the continued low achievement of Indian children is well documented. Varieties of reasoning have been offered, from arguments of intellectual inferiority and moral laxity to disadvantage and poverty. Often the 'alienating' quality of the impersonal Anglo institution is blamed for Indian failure and dropouts.

The relentless structural and functional secularity of academic knowledge and schooling is seldom blamed as the cause of Native American 'failure' to profit from instruction. Yet clearly, the corrosive effect of schooling on the traditional Indian child, it could be argued, has less to do with alienation and foreignness than the threat it poses to the child's fundamental belief structure. Secularized structures of meaning, as much as the lack of religious instruction, may be responsible for the student's reluctance to be involved with those structures in a meaningful way. For the traditional Indian child, despite the pressures of prior schooling, missions, media, and outside influence, to be a person is to be a 'religious' person (Brown, 1982). 'Knowledge' is simply about the understanding of the individual relationship to a Nature animated. For example, consider the purposeful act of hunting. To be fully educated as a hunter in Indian societies, is not only to catch game. Hunting is conceived as a "complex of meditative acts—infused with the sacred—representing life's quest for ultimate truth" (Brown, 1982).

Both European science and religion have lost what Joseph Epes Brown calls a 'metaphysic of nature.' It is this loss which renders much of both academic schooling and Western religion confusing and meaningless to the inheritor of even a struggling tribal tradition. European intellectual activities are built upon the foundation of understanding and manipulating Nature but not upon an understanding of the relationship between all the 'peoples' in

nature and the human person. Indeed, the ironic pinnacle of our efforts to spur education toward solving problems on earth, is represented by a vehicle pointed at space. The apotheosis of material success on earth is thus to be, in some important sense, our escape from it. Arnold Toynbee, in one of the last pieces he wrote before his death, connected the quest for power over nature with the rise of a prideful, monotheistic European religious culture, "Man's greedy impulse to exploit nature," he wrote, "used to be held in check by his pious worship of nature. This primitive inhibition has been removed by the rise and spread of monotheism" (Brown, 1982). Here Toynbee argues not against religion, but a religion which neglects both the power and the needs of the one 'being' we can see, Nature, in the service of a purported immediate relationship with Nature's Author. For Native Americans, the Great Spirit, by whatever name, was an assumed

presence to be spoken to through the 'persons' one deals with in nature. Nature is that host of 'beings' to whom we must do homage.

European culture has done much to suggest power and mastery over nature. Yet, failure to solve or even seriously address our most pressing human problems—through the gross alteration and destruction of nature, has uncovered the flaw in this Faustian bargain.

For a member of the dominant society, a study of the relationship between our own and American Indian conceptions of education tells us much about the value of our studious quest for an understanding of both nature and spirituality. For us, these domains are separate. Our educational agenda has served our knowledge when it leads to power over nature as the solution to our problems. Our quest for God is a quest for his Word—which is different for our various 'cultures' and even this has not been a shared public school search. In

both domains, we have placed ourselves between God and nature. For the traditional Native American, when one does this, one tempts fate and diminishes one's humanity; for to be human, by definition, is to achieve not a knowledge of nature, but an understanding of the relationship between man and nature.

This teaching is not lost on those who watch the earth now. They see an educational agenda which highlights scientific and technical power. This occurs while the web of nature is more and more deeply torn. Given the structure and uses of knowledge, there may finally be no saving the relationship between man and earth. An understanding and appreciation of tribal Natural metaphysic, both its clarity and its poetry, may at least offer us the consolation of beauty and insight to a life of balance lived for us, in imagination only, as we witness and suffer the destruction.

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*Season's
Greetings*

Finding Sources on the Forgotten Women of the Sunday Schools

by Lucy F. Townsend

During the nineteenth century, Protestant ministers and laypersons planted over a hundred thousand Sunday schools in cities and frontier communities across America. Many of these 'Sabbath schools,' as they were often called, were forerunners of public schools. Volunteer teachers from various Protestant denominations taught illiterate children and adults to read and write. As district schools were established, Sunday school teachers gradually confined their curriculum to Bible study and morality. Through the Sunday schools, millions of books and magazines were published and hundreds of thousands of people were taught basic literacy skills (Tyack & Hansot, 1982; Rice, 1917; Lynn & Wright, 1980; Eavey, 1964). The contributions of women to this movement were significant (Miller, 1980; Boylan, 1978; Boylan, 1984). Women might be prohibited from preaching, but they could establish Sunday schools, administer them, and teach classrooms full of children. In so doing, countless women realized that they were capable of successfully preparing lessons and teaching. From Sunday schools, many women moved to paid teaching positions in district schools. Others became involved in temperance, the social settlement movement, and women's suffrage (Thomas & Keller, 1981; Ruether & McLaughlin, 1979).

The Sunday school has been equated with women for so long that it is considered the 'ghetto' of female religious service, the place where women are expected to serve, so long as they do so quietly and obediently (Bordin, 1986; Cott, 1977). Yet religious historians have largely neglected

women's contribution to the movement. To research the forgotten women of the Sunday schools, I have used four kinds of sources: histories, standard reference works, a network of historians and archivists, and manuscript collections.

Gleaning the Histories

To the growth and development of Sunday schools, more than to any other cause is due the advent of women into those wide fields of religion and philanthropy and of social service wherein she has wrought such incalculable blessings to our humanity (The Development of the Sunday School, 1905).

This statement, from an important early history of the Sunday schools, acknowledges woman's important role in the movement. Yet, like most other histories, it devotes most of its space to the activities of men. A few women are mentioned, however. For example, Miss Hannah Hill and Miss Joanna B. Prince, of Beverly, Massachusetts, are listed among those who began early Sunday schools. Katy Ferguson, a black woman, founded a Sunday school in New York City. Mrs. W.F. Crafts, a popular writer of primary lesson helps, formed the New York Union in 1871, an organization which became the National Primary Union. From such histories, I have gleaned the names of women that I can explore further.

With the proliferation of scholarship devoted to women's contributions to religion, one might expect recent church histories to include more women. Such is not always the case. For example, historian Page Putnam Miller calls Joanna Bethune the 'mother of the Sunday school.' However, the male authors of the most recent Sunday

school history published by the prestigious Religious Education Association ignore Miller's statement (Lynn & Wright, 1980). Instead, they highlight Lyman Beecher, a noted nineteenth century evangelical Protestant minister, calling him one of the 'pragmatic founding fathers' who saved the institution from ruin by encouraging middle class parents to send their children to Sunday schools to study with the poor children. The authors say, "Women were notable in this company," but specific women are mentioned only in passing. A recent Black church history continues this tradition. The volume includes fifty-one 'outstanding church leaders' from the eighteenth through twentieth century, only three of whom are women (Hurt, 1987).

I thought that perhaps histories that focused exclusively on the contributions of women to various denominations might be useful sources. Before the 1970s, such histories were usually published by Presbyterian and Methodist denominations (Stevens, 1866; Taft, 1825, 1828; Church, 1949; Cavert, 1948; Irvine & Eastwood, 1923; Hayes, 1952). In recent years, other denominations have added theirs to the list (Hummel, 1970; Ruether & McLaughlin, 1979; Brubaker, 1985; Ruether & Keller, 1981). But these histories largely neglect women's contribution to the Sunday school movement. For example, a recent history of women's participation in the Church of the Brethren devotes only three of 222 pages to Sunday school work. The same omission is found in Rosemary Radford Ruether and Rosemary Skinner Keller's important history of women's contributions to religion in America. Instead, what these histories focus on is women's work that is devoid of male interference. Sunday schools might be founded and taught largely by women, but until recently, most Protestants have

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believed that males had the 'divine right' to take over Sunday school leadership whenever they desired. And males usually did. Thus, histories devoted to 'women's work' overlook the place where a majority of church women have served.

Nevertheless, recent women's histories do sometimes contain references to the women of the Sunday school movement. For example, a short biography of the black church leader Mary McLeod Bethune details much of Bethune's life and mentions that she was an 'outstanding Sunday school worker.' In the footnotes are references that might lead me to a more thorough treatment of her Sunday school experiences (Newsome, 1981). In the same volume is an article about nineteenth century religious training schools founded by and for women. A large part of the curriculum of these schools was devoted to religious education (Brereton, 1981). Such bits of information were added to the list of items that I might explore further.

Sifting Through Standard Reference Works

A second way to find sources is to explore indexes, bibliographies, and other standard reference works such as Women's Studies: A Recommended Core Bibliography (Steineman, 1979); Women Religious History Sources (1983); Notable American Women, 1607-1950 (1971); Women: A Bibliography of Bibliographies (1980); Women in Particular (1984); Religion Index (1978), and Women's History Sources (1978). The last of these is a gold mine of information. Under Sunday school headings are forty-five entries from archival collections around the country. For example, the records of the Waseca County Sunday School Association, housed at the Minnesota Historical Society, are described this way: "Minutes and programs of annual conventions and meetings are Methodist, Congregational and Evangelical churches and reports of individual Sunday schools." I perused the descriptions of all forty-five entries and found the names of Sunday school societies and associations usually overlooked by historians. There were also diary entries,

letters, and minutes of meetings of Sunday school teachers. I decided to contact the libraries with documents that might be photocopied. I could not ask for the photocopies of eleven feet of papers, but I could ask for photocopies of specific items. For example, a Sunday school teacher's class book is part of the Mary Blanche Hays Papers, stored at the Iowa State Historical Library. Since such an item might prove interesting, I will write to obtain photocopies of its contents. I also starred archives that are housed in nearby libraries. For example, the Newberry Library, located in Chicago, contains the Robert Everett Family Papers. According to Women's History Sources (Hinding & Chambers, 1978), Cynthia Everett (1839-76), daughter of Robert Everett, taught in Sunday schools for black freedmen in Virginia and South Carolina. If Cynthia Everett's work is described in letters or diaries, her papers might add another dimension to my study.

A microfiche collection entitled Women and the Church in America, lists the titles of printed documents specifically related to the role of women within organized religion in America (Bass, 1973). Although none of these documents refer exclusively to women's work in Sunday schools, a number of them discuss women's church work generally. Included in their discussions is usually some mention of Sunday school work. For example, an 1891 article points out that Episcopalian women dominated the church's early ministry in America (Twing, 1891). Women opened their homes for the community's first worship services, put up buildings, collected offerings to support the minister, visited the sick, and rang the church bell. Only a few facts are included about women's work in Episcopalian Sunday schools, but the article places such work within the context of women's other religious efforts. In addition to hand searches of indexes and bibliographies, I conducted computer searches of ERIC (a fruitless effort), and Religion Index (Petersen, 1978). The latter search produced a list of thirty-nine references, only a few of which were really useful (Boylan, 1978; Boylan, 1984; Miller, 1980).

Tapping into the Network

A third way to find sources is to network with feminist historians and archivists. The American Association of University Women recently published a director of national women's organizations (Felmley, n.d.). I found in the index a list of organizations devoted to women's history (National Women's Hall of Fame, Research Center on Women, Schleisinger Library, Sophia Smith Collection). I wrote letters to the ones that I thought might contain archival collections related to my topic. Three informed me that they had documents that I might find useful and were willing to send me photocopies of them. For example, the Curator of the Sophia Smith Collection wrote to say that the collection is quite large, but it is not indexed in such a way that she could discover which women served in Sunday schools. However, she did have a handwritten volume by Elizabeth Cady Stanton entitled "Johnstown Union Sabbath School Register, 1826-1845," and she would let me know more about it if I were interested. I considered this an excellent find.

I also wrote to the archivist of Women's History Network. She responded by suggesting helpful indexes as well as a short bibliography of secondary articles related to my topic. Third, I contacted archivists at leading denominational seminaries for addresses of denominational archives and any leads they might give me from their research on women. All have responded with helpful sources and addresses of collections.

Spading Archival Collections

The largest collection of primary documents about the Sunday school movement is the American Sunday School Union Papers, 1817-1915, in the archives of the Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. The American Sunday School Union was founded in 1824 by lay Baptists, Episcopalians, Methodists, Presbyterians, Moravians, Dutch Reformed, Congregationalists, Lutherans, German Reformed and Friends. In its 102 year history, Union missionaries established

131,814 Sunday schools in which 700,000 teachers taught over five million students. It has been the largest and most influential of all Sunday school organizations, and its annual reports have served as the basis for several standard Sunday School histories. It would be expensive for me to travel from Chicago to Philadelphia to explore these papers. However, the archivist of the Women's History Network told me that microfilmed copies of the papers are found at the Billy Graham Center in nearby Wheaton. These microfilmed papers will provide me with considerable information to use as a basis for a more inclusive history of the Sunday schools. The collection contains annual correspondence and reports, administrative records, and copies of a popular children's publication. Since the reports of this organization have evidently served as the main primary sources for standard Sunday school histories, I can interpret the documents myself as well as supplement them with the Sunday school work of states and individual denominations.

A collection of documents usually overlooked by Sunday school histories is Sunday school publications. Such

collections can be found, not only in denominational libraries but also in publishing houses. One extensive collection is located in the archives of David C. Cook Publishing Company, Elgin, Illinois. This inner-denominational company has remained one of the leading Sunday school publishers since its founding in 1875. Especially during its early years, the company published articles and stories by and about women. I have studied a popular young adult publication, Young People's Weekly, issued weekly from 1886 to the present day. Its pages contain pictures of Sunday school classes, descriptions of their activities, and short biographies of Sunday school leaders, many of whom were women. For example, in an article published in 1891, I discovered that in 1791, Mary Bird Lake founded the first Sunday school 'in the Northwest Territory,' and centennial exercises were being celebrated at her grave site ("A Sunday-School Century," 1891). The David C. Cook Archives also contain annual volumes of curriculum for all ages of children as well as teacher training materials, weekly papers, and religious books.

Conclusion

In 1891, a church magazine quoted the letter of an Episcopalian missionary which read:

If it were not for the ladies, there would not be either parish, church, or minister. The ladies not only provide for such support as is given pecuniarily, but superintend the Sunday Schools. I have under my charge four schools, with not one male teacher in any of them, two of them conducted entirely by females, and two having only male superintendents. Woman's work! Yes, it is all woman's work, as far as my experience goes.

Much of the work of these women has been forgotten. But vestiges remain in the pages of Sunday school magazines, letters, diaries, class books, and convention reports. By gleaning histories of the movement, sifting through standard references, networking with archivists, and spading collections of papers, I will continue to unearth the stories of the forgotten women of the Sunday school movement.

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