AN ANALYSIS OF VIRGINIA'S PUBLIC SCHOOL POLICIES ON RELIGION: FROM HISTORICAL, PUBLIC POLICY, AND EVANGELICAL CHRISTIAN PERSPECTIVES

by

Louis Robert Rittweger

Dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the

Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University

in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF EDUCATION

in

Educational Supervision

APPROVED:

T. C. Hunt, Chairman

G. B. Hammond

R. T. Graham

D. J. Parks

M. D. Alexander

December, 1978

Blacksburg, Virginia

LD
5655
V856
1978
R53
c.2

Dedicated to

Ginger, Tom, Katie, and Buffy

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

It would be impossible to acknowledge all those who have contributed to this paper. To the numerous faculty members and graduate students who have offered help and encouragement, appreciation is hereby extended. However, special gratitude goes to the following members of the author's doctoral committee:

Dr. David Alexander for his assistance and commentary on legal issues dealing with the topic,

Dr. Guy Hammond for his remarks and challenging thoughts on the religious aspects of the study,

Dr. David Parks for his careful examination of the policy aspects of the project,

Dr. R. Terry Graham for his support and guidance throughout the author's graduate study, and

Dr. Thomas Hunt, special thanks, for his thorough and insightful direction as chairman of the author's doctoral committee and for his encouragement and backing from inception to completion of this study.

Further appreciation is extended to my parents who have provided support throughout this project and the preceding collegiate study. Certainly, the memory of the sacrifice made by my wife, Ginger, and children, Tom, Katie and Buffy, during my doctoral studies will always be an encouragement to me.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Page

DEDICATION ii

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS iii

LIST OF TABLES vii

LIST OF FIGURES viii

Chapter

1. HISTORY OF RELIGION AND EDUCATION: THE YEARS UNTIL THE TWENTIETH CENTURY 1

TWO COLONIAL PATTERNS 5

THE GREAT AWAKENING 11

THE NEW NATION 13

THE COMMON SCHOOL 19

THE GROWTH OF SECULARISM AND FUNDAMENTALIST REACTION 30

SUMMARY 43

2. HISTORY OF RELIGION AND EDUCATION: THE TWENTIETH CENTURY 54

THE COMMITTEE ON CHARACTER EDUCATION 56

INTRODUCTORY SUPREME COURT RULINGS 58

THE FLAG SALUTE CASES 60

AMERICAN COUNCIL ON EDUCATION 61

EVERSON 63

THE RELEASED TIME CASES 65

Chapter Page

EDUCATIONAL POLICIES COMMISSION 67

THE PRAYER AND BIBLE READING CASES 70

AASA COMMISSION 77

THE EVOLUTION CASE 79

WISCONSIN V YODER 80

COMMENTARY ON THE SUPREME COURT'S POSITION 81

THE LEGAL SITUATION IN VIRGINIA 88

SUMMARY 92

3. EVANGELICALISM 102

EVANGELICAL DOCTRINE 107

HISTORY OF EVANGELICALISM 113

EVANGELICALS AND PUBLIC EDUCATION 126

SUMMARY 136

4. PUBLIC SCHOOL POLICY 146

POLICY DESCRIBED 147

PROCESS CONSIDERATIONS FOR POLICY MAKING 153

EDUCATIONAL POLICY AND THE UNITED STATES SUPREME COURT 166

SUBSTANTIVE CONSIDERATIONS IN POLICY MAKING 168

SUMMARY 175

5. THE POLICY SITUATION IN VIRGINIA 182

CURRENT STATUS OF SCHOOL POLICIES ON RELIGION . . . 183

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS 200

POLICY PROPOSALS 201

RECOMMENDATIONS AND IMPLICATIONS 204

Page

BIBLIOGRAPHY 208

APPENDICES 224

APPENDIX A 225

APPENDIX B 226

APPENDIX C 227

APPENDIX D 228

APPENDIX E 231

VITA 233

ABSTRACT

LIST OF TABLES

Table		Page
1.	Respondents Negatively Answering Question: Do You Have a Policy Which Deals With the Relationship of Religion and the Public Schools? N = 79	186
2.	Respondents Positively Answering Question: Do You Have a Policy Which Deals With the Relationship of Religion and the Public Schools? N = 42	187
3.	Potential Policy Concerns Contained in Policies Submitted by Superintendents	189
4.	Written Policy and School Division Size	191

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure Page

1. A Systems Framework for Policy Making 155

Chapter 1

HISTORY OF RELIGION AND EDUCATION: THE YEARS UNTIL THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

Even a cursory overview of the history of education in the U.S. will reveal that "the church-state question lies deeply imbedded"[1] in the past events of public education. A study of these past events is a "significant means of discerning the pattern of evolving church-state relations in the United States."[2] This is true in light of the interaction of the institutions of the church and the state in the public schools. There have been such activities as Bible reading, prayers, baccalaureate services, Christmas pageants, and hymn singing besides instruction in morals, ethics, and values. In fact it has been suggested by Michael B. Katz "that public schools always have been more concerned with morals than with minds. In reality, moral and intellectual outcomes never can be severed."[3]

It will be demonstrated that religion has been and still is intertwined with the public education of American citizens. Religion has not been the only factor to motivate, or to mold public education. Industrialization, immigration, development of the responsibility for social welfare by the state, and societal changes such as the redefinition of the family have reshaped the public schools while reshaping North American society in the past hundred years.[4] Religion, therefore, is one pressure among many, but the one to be given consideration in this project.

Any study which involves terms such as "religion" and "church" accepts the danger of misinterpretation through lack of specific definitions. Many have attempted to interpret or define religion and the most reasonable conclusion that can be drawn is that there is not one, particular, acceptable to all, definition of "religion." "Central to the American understanding of religion" has been the belief in a supreme being.[5] However, even though this belief has been central, "there has been no general agreement on the nature of the supreme being or the direction of his will and the proper manner of his worship."[6]

The necessity for a supreme being, though, seems not to be necessary to a definition of religion. Martin Marty has noted that religion may be defined in terms of "final significance":

> Especially if they tell the story of this significance in the language of myths and symbols, if they gather for rituals and ceremonies to support it, give special explanations of what goes on behind the visible reality, prop it up in social forms, and produce special behavior patterns.[7]

Does a teaching or "ism" need the trappings of formal religion? Might not "any teaching or 'ism' (be) religious if it functions as a norm of supreme valuation, as a universe of meaning or world view and a way of life for the individual."[8] When one observes the role of religion in the public school and the lives of those who have had profound effect on public education, then the broadest definition is the most functional. The "religion" of the Puritans in Massachusetts is different from the "religion" of an educational mentor such as John Dewey.

Added to the problem of defining religion is the difficulty of defining "secular." If the meaning of secular relates simply to worldliness and the temporal, then is science to be considered secular? "When

science becomes the supreme norm of valuation and the ultimate interpreter of reality, when the individual makes it a way of life, then science becomes a religion."[9]

How to escape from this definitional mire? This study will recognize religion functionally and culturally: functionally, in the sense that it answers the questions and explains the situations out of which religious experiences arise, and culturally, in that religion manifests itself through institutional groups, societies, and other social structures.[10]

A goal of this study will be to analyze elements of public school policies on religion in a thorough enough manner so as to provide aid to the public schools through a proposed policy on religion. This policy will be carefully constructed. The steps to the finished product will be: (1) the historical position of religion in the public schools, (2) the theoretical and pragmatic implications of public policy, and (3) a description of one major religious group, evangelical Christians. The final product, a proposed policy, will be an attempt to weave these ingredients systematically into a usable resource for public school policy makers.

Chapter 1 will trace the history of religion in the public schools beginning at that point in America's past when varied forms of Christian churches were established in the European pattern. This overview will of necessity only scan the past and select salient events, people, documents and other resources to represent the total flow of history. The review will end in the 1920's which was a period in time when many institutions in American history were changing.

Chapter 2 will be a description of the place of religion in schools from the 1920's until the present time. A major change agent of the church-state relation during this fifty years was the Supreme Court. Recognizing the Court's significance during this period, the majority of this chapter will deal with the Court's opinions as it dealt with the flag salute as a religious act, release-time for religious education, religious practices in the classroom, and the rights of parents to train their children according to particular belief patterns.

The third chapter will define the evangelical Christian position. Tracing its history back to the Reformation, evangelicalism has played a major role in education in this country particularly in its encouragement of learning at all ages in order to produce people who are able to read the Bible. The belief structure of evangelicals will be defined in such a way as to make clear the rationale for a defense of what should be excluded or included in a policy on religion from this sectarian position.

Public policy will be the subject of Chapter 4. Public policy will be defined and its attributes considered in an attempt to describe the essentials for a functional policy for the public schools. The role of the Supreme Court as, what some are calling, a national school board will be considered. Finally, in this chapter policies respecting religion in the public schools will be discussed. Such questions as what are they, what is their purpose, and what would a useful school board policy on religion look like will be addressed.

The preceding four chapters form the foundation blocks for an analysis of public school policies in Virginia. This analysis will not only be in quantitative terms of who has what and of what kind, but also in qualitative terms based on the information presented in the first four chapters. The attempt will be to integrate Chapters 1 through 4 into a filter to sort out and organize policies in some orderly fashion.

Chapter 5 presents the conclusion and recommendation both in definitional form and in the form of a proposed policy for the state board of education and a policy for local boards of education. Throughout the study particular attention will be given to Virginia, its special place in the history of education, its legal position on the schools, and finally its unique position in relation to a proposed policy. This particular attention to Virginia is for a practical reason: the scope of this study prohibits proposing policies for each state, since state constitutions and bodies of law differ to a large degree in their definition of the separation of church and state.

TWO COLONIAL PATTERNS

The beginning of this historical review must be at the initiation of education during the colonial period, a period that lasted from seventeenth century Massachusetts and Virginia colonies until the Revolution. The origins of public education in America can correctly be traced back to the Puritan church schools in New England which "were taken over by the cities and towns and became public schools."[11] The Puritans perceived their coming to America as an opportunity to build a theocracy, "a city set on hill," which would be a beacon of Christianity to the world, "a

Model of Christian Charity." Also with purposeful intent, the Pilgrims "brought into being at Plymouth their version of the Church-State. It was by design, and in achievement the ecclesiastical and political community where they could live the godly life that their consciences and convictions dictated."[12] Religious liberty in the Puritan sense was religious liberty for Puritans alone. Since this was a theocracy, "they believed in full government regulation of economic life."[13] In Virginia the pattern of the established church was of a different sort, but as in Massachusetts establishment was the norm. The first half century of Virginia's history reveals two important facts: "the establishment of the Church of England in Virginia and the recognition of the bishop of London as diocesan of the colonies."[14]

The Puritans set about to accomplish their task of developing a godly order. This order would be a model for the regeneration of Christendom using God's will as revealed in the Bible as their guide.[15] As Protestants, the Puritans brought with them the concept "that every man was his own priest," the priesthood of believers, and as a consequence, "demanded both scholarly ministers and a literate people."[16] Here, then, is the motivator for general education in Puritan New England.

In Massachusetts the Act of 1647, the "Satan Deluder Act," depicted the impact that learning how to read the Bible had on education.

> It being one chief project of that old deluder satan, to keep men from the knowledge of the Scriptures, as in former times keeping them in an unknown tongue, so in these later times by persuading them from the use of tongues, so that at least the true sense and meaning of the original might be clouded with false glosses

> of saint-seeming deceivers; and that learning may not be buried in the grave of our forefathers, in Church and commonwealth, the Lord assisting our endeavors, - It is therefore ordered by this Court and authority thereof, that every township within this jurisdiction, after the Lord hath increased them to the number of fifty house holders, shall then forthwith appoint one within their town to teach all such children as shall report to him, to write and read, whose wages shall be paid either by the parents or masters of such children, or by the inhabitants in general by way of supply, as the major part of those who order the prudentials of the town shall appoint . . .[17]

The law went on to direct the setting up of grammar schools in larger towns and the penalty if the law was not fulfilled. One may argue about the effectiveness of the law on education, but there can be no argument about the effect of the perceived worthiness of reading the Bible as an incentive for writing the law. Education, it can be concluded in this situation, was motivated in large part by religious conviction.

Nine years after the "Satan Deluder Act," a law was published in New Haven, Connecticut, which stated that children and apprentices as soon as they were old enough should be taught "to read the Scripture and other profitable printed books in the English tongue, being their native language, and in some competent measure to understand the main grounds and principles of Christian religion necessary to salvation . . . ."[18] Again, the point of departure for education is the necessity for reading the Bible with the added virtue of understanding the plan of salvation. Later in 1701 the colonial legislature in Massachusetts provided "that every master for a grammar school must be approved by the town minister, and the town minister was always a dogmatic Calvinistic congregationalist."[19] This assured the soundness of the instructor doctrinally, if not pedagogically.

The textbooks of colonial New England also reveal the preponderance of religious ideology in the education of the public. The Hornbook was an early primer which consisted of a single page protected by a transparent sheet of horn. On the single page was the alphabet, vowels and vowel consonant combinations, a benediction, and the Lord's Prayer. This was the earliest reading text.[20]

The New England Primer, the basic text in the colonial era, was brought from England to the New World. It was "included in the curriculum of the schools in order that the early colonists could propagate their religious teachings."[21] The Primer presented the alphabet through such rhymed couplets as: "In Adam's Fall/We sinned all," and "Thy life to mend/This Book attend," next to a picture of the Bible. First printed between 1685 and 1690 the differences between successive eighteenth century editions of The New England Primer witnessed to the fact that schooling was slowly becoming more secular during the eighteenth century, not wholly secular but more secular.[22]

The pattern of education in Virginia was somewhat different than the pattern in colonial New England. Tyack has noted that in colonial Virginia, "formal instruction was relatively unimportant . . . . Customarily an individual planter or group of neighbors hired a tutor . . . to teach their children and to prepare the boys for college . . . ." This was education for the elite and not the general population. With the exception of a few charity schools, the poor had scarcely any opportunities for education. The great dispersal of population in the Tidewater made schooling costly and difficult.[23]

Although Virginia was settled for reasons other than as a model of Christian government as was the case in Massachusetts, the Church of England nonetheless was the established church. The first type of education for the general population was religious instruction on Sunday. The Law of 1632 required that every minister in Virginia give the necessary religious instruction each Sunday, and it ordered parents, masters, and mistresses to send their children, servants, or apprentices at the appointed time. Refusal to send or to learn was upon pain of censure by the county court.[24]

In a government with an established church it is not unreasonable for the government to fund the religious education of its citizens. In 1661 the Virginia General Assembly enacted a provision for a college to supply the church with ministers and to insure the growth of the faithful in piety. Act XX of the General Assembly is as follows:

> Whereas the want of able and faithful ministers in this country deprives us of these great blessings and mercies that always attend upon the service of God, which want, by reason of our great distance from our native country, cannot in probability be always supplied from thence. Be it enacted, that for the advance of learning, education of youth, supply of the ministry and promotion of piety, there be land taken upon purchases for a college and free school, and that there be with as much speed as may be convenient, housing erected thereon for entertainment of students and scholars.[25]

Although establishment was a commonality between Virginia and Massachusetts and the Bible was an important instrument for teaching in both colonies, the exact nature of the schools in the colonies was quite different. The Satan Deluder Act provided for schools for each town in Massachusetts but the counties of Virginia were dispersed,

parishes extended over a hundred square miles so that formal schools only appeared in more densely populated areas. Cremin has noted that this geographic dispersion caused four results: (1) "the household assumed additional burdens . . . and took unto itself educative functions . . ., serving as a community of devotion in the absence of churches and a center for teaching," (2) "the lines became blurred between and among other educative institutions. Churches took on the functions of schools just as families took on the function of churches," (3) "given the absence of a local college (until) the last years of the seventeenth century, Virginia sent more of its young men abroad for schooling . . .," and (4) "Virginia remained more dependent upon English printing and publishing for the maintenance of its cultural and educational life."[26]

In New England and Virginia the importance of educating children in a doctrinally correct manner was present. Bell has noted that:

> Legislation was passed in 1699 and reenacted in 1705, against those avowing 'Atheistical principles'--which were defined as denying 'the being of God or the holy Trinity,' or asserting or maintaining 'there are more Gods than one,' or denying the truth of the Christian religion or the divine authority of the Old and New Testaments. The most significant of the disabilities imposed by this act was the deprivation of the right of guardianship of children, no atheist father was to lead his children astray.[27]

As in New England the authorities saw it as proper for ministers to have oversight of the schools. In 1759 the Virginia legislature enacted a law providing for the regulation of the Eaton Charity-School, which provided that the board of trustees be comprised not only of justices of the peace but also of "ministers and church

wardens," who had by law the right to maintain the school, hire and fire the school master, and choose which poor children shall be enrolled as "the proper objects of the pious founder's charity." Not only was the interrelation between the County government and local Anglican parish accepted, but it was also mandated by law in the governance of the Eaton Charity-School.[28]

Through the middle of the eighteenth century, colonial education in New England and Virginia can be characterized by its concern with religion. Although the two systems were by nature different, the Bible was an important text in both and religious authorites had some responsibility for maintaining doctrinal soundness in the schools of the colony.

THE GREAT AWAKENING

The Great Awakening, referred to as the "great and general revival of religion," began in earnest in America after the arrival of George Whitefield in 1739. The devotional works of German pietists had reached England and had a profound effect on John and Charles Wesley and George Whitefield. Whitefield in turn came to America on a preaching tour between 1739 and 1741.[29] He was joined in effecting the Great Awakening by preachers such as Jonathan Edwards, a Calvinist from Massachusetts, Samuel Davies, and the Tennants. Their preaching can be characterized by the planting of a conviction of sin and the need of an "inner" religious experience. Jonathan Edwards is well

known for his portrayal of the plight of a "sinner in the hand of an angry God held as by spider webs over the pit of hell . . . ."[30]

What meaning does the Great Awakening have for American educational history? The Great Awakening affected not only the religious conditions in America, but also had an impact on education. The preachers of the Awakening "sought to transform every man, to give birth to a new consciousness which was neither under the shadow of the institutions and orthodoxies of the past nor confined to the twilight of narrow provincialism."[31] Each new man had an "inner experience" which was to be exhibited externally both morally and religiously. Schools were to be established and children of the colonies were to be raised up in "a common learning" as well as "vital piety," urged Jonathan Edwards in his Thoughts on the Revival.[32] The clergymen most active in the revival were themselves educated men and were the first to issue the plea for education in the new republic later. These leaders, as Michaelson has also noted, "were keenly concerned for education at all levels. This was not an obscurantist movement, as it has sometimes been pictured."[33]

Much of the force of the tradition of Christendom had been lost in America by the time of the Revolution.[34] With a multiplicity of religious groups by the end of the colonial period it was becoming obvious that no single church could reign supreme in a particular colony or state. In addition, men began to appeal "to reason and nature with as much zeal and certainty as they once had to revelation and supernature."[35] The Puritans had believed that America must be

religious to survive. Now men were beginning to argue that in order to survive as a free society "Americans must religiously follow the principles of republican government."[36] However, the education during the colonial period revealed that involvement with religious values and content was a dominant and universal characteristic although not every subject and every school were religious. The Great Awakening had spurred the interest in personal religion in the colonies to the degree that by the time of the Revolution both public and private schools typically included religious and moral instruction in their curricula. "Such instruction, indeed, held first place as the backbone of civic morality."[37]

THE NEW NATION

> The slow growth of secularism did not accelerate its pace until after the Revolution (1776-1783), when, the political ties with Britain having been broken, the new nation began to question seriously and then do away with the idea of an established church. This resulted in not merely the disestablishment in time of the Congregational Church in Massachusetts and Connecticut, and of the Episcopal (Anglican) Church in Virginia, but also in the prohibition of a religious establishment under the national Constitution.[38]

Although there was the movement in the direction of disestablishment, it was not complete in all states until 1833. Full disestablishment was a fact only in Virginia and Rhode Island at the time of the adoption of the federal Constitution, "other states had varying restrictions, ranging from taxation for one or several churches (single or multiple establishment) to religious requirements for public office."[39] There was a tendency in New York toward disestablishment, but the picture was not altogether clear. Pennsylvania, Delaware and

Maryland legislatively demanded different degrees of adherence to Christianity. New Jersey, North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia demanded Protestantism and the established church was maintained in New Hampshire, Massachusetts and Connecticut.[40]

The First Amendment of the Constitution stated in part that "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof . . . ." On face value the First Amendment seems to simply state that "the newly created nation was to have no national church. Beyond that the framers of the Constitution could not go, even if they had a mind to go further."[41] Comparing the above meaning given to the First Amendment and meaning given by recent Supreme Court decisions, the Amendment apparently was not given as broad an interpretation when it was adopted when one takes into consideration the fact that established churches did exist at the time of adoption. It seems then that "the states were left free to deal with the problem of religion and religious establishments as they saw fit, under the provisions of their constitutions."[42] There seems to be an argument then that on the date the Bill of Rights was accepted, the "wall of separation" of church and state had not been constructed.

In Virginia where disestablishment was a fact in 1786 "'An act for punishing disturbers of ReligiousWorship and Sabbath breakers' was passed . . . ."[43] Three years later the Massachusetts School Law provided that "it shall be the duty of the Minister or Ministers of the Gospel and Selectmen . . . to use their influence and best endeavors," to get the children in their towns to attend school. Also the ministers were required to "visit and inspect the several schools in their

respective towns and districts."[44] The Northwest Ordinance of 1787 legislated that "religion, morality, and knowledge being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall be forever encouraged."[45] The conclusion may be drawn that even at the time of the drafting of the Constitution religion was a proper concern for government. It is interesting to note, however, that even though half of the delegates who gathered to draw up the Constitution were college graduates, "none of them introduced educational resolutions during the proceedings . . . . Undoubtedly, most of the delegates were willing to have their respective states shape the educational destiny of the nation."[46] So that the constitution said almost as little about religion as it did about education.

It can be stated generally that "the revolutionary fathers were men of faith . . ., even though their faith took a different form with regard to ordering of life in this world."[47] They were confident of divine providence in the functioning of society and in "the affirmation that all men are created equal and that they are endowed by their creator with certain unalienable rights are more statements of faith than statements self-evident to reason."[48] Jefferson was just such a man, who in his natural rights philosophy had his own conception of God as the author of the universe and the giver of "unalienable" rights. As a deist he believed that God had created the world and set in motion the natural laws which governed the universe.[49] To his nephew he wrote about approaching the New Testament critically, advising: "Your own reason is the only oracle given to you by Heaven, and you are answerable, not for the rightness, but the uprightness, of the decision."[50]

Benjamin Franklin, through his pamphlets, newspaper articles, and almanacs, possibly contributed as much to American education as any single American of the time.[51] Like Jefferson, Benjamin Franklin was a man of faith, also a deist. In the history curriculum of his academy he proposed the teaching of "MORALITY by descanting and making continual Observations on the Causes of the Rise or Fall of any Man's Character, Fortune, Power, &c, mention'd in History; the Advantages of Temperance, Order, Frugality, Industry, Perseverance, &c, &c."[52] If history was the place to study morality, Franklin was nonetheless religiously biased. The study of history would reveal the necessity for a "Publick Religion" which would be useful in developing "Religious Character among private Persons"; and demonstrate the Mischiefs of Superstition, &s, and the Excellency of the CHRISTIAN RELIGION above all others ancient or modern."[53]

In whatever degree Jefferson and Franklin were men of religious conviction, they still separated religious indoctrination from public education. Tyack has commented that Franklin cared "about moral behavior, not theology" and that religion should not determine "the purpose and character of schooling."[54] Jefferson in his "Bill for Establishing Religious Freedom" argued against the "impious presumption" of those who would endeavor to impose their "opinions and modes of thinking as the only true and infallible" way. This religious freedom also excluded even forcing people "to support this or that teacher of his own religious persuasion."[55] So that it was not inconsistent to find in Jefferson's "Bill for the More General Diffusion of Knowledge" no mention of religious instruction or use of the Bible.

Religion was a major factor in the rise of formal education during the colonial period. After the Revolution, therefore, it would be quite natural to find many of the graduates of religiously motivated schools as teachers in schools of the new nation who were determined to perpetuate the combination of academic and religious life styles which they had adopted at their alma maters.[56] Benjamin Rush, founder of Dickenson College and later Franklin College and advocate of universal public education, was a type of these graduates. He matriculated as a junior at the College of New Jersey, then headed by the Reverand Samuel Davies.[57] Rush believed that universal peace could be promoted "by establishing free schools in every city, village and town, appointing principled and talented teachers, and developing curriculums that include religious instruction."[58] The religious instruction was more specific than Franklin would recommend in that instruction in the Bible was necessary so that each child would be insured of earthly piety and the knowledge of the way of salvation. In a broadside written "To the Citizens of Philadelphia" he recommended for tax supported schools that to "motivate a proper moral tone in the schools, ministers of the prevailing seats should supervise the schools of their respective orders."[59] Benjamin Rush as well as many Americans saw education in Cremin's words as "some proper combination of piety, civility, and learning . . . ."[60]

Another educator of the post-Revolution period was Noah Webster. Webster was the author of a speller and dictionaries; the most famous, the Elementary Spelling Book, was known widely as the "blue-back speller." The blue-back speller was probably the most widely used school book during the hundred years after the revolution.[61] Like Rush, Webster was

a pious man and spoke of the necessity for general education to "'guard against the approaches of corruption; the prevalence of religious error; and against the open assault of external foes.'" Unlike Rush, however, he opposed Bible reading in the schools because it was "'a prostitution of divine truth for secular purposes.'"[62] His "blue-back speller" which is reported to have possibly sold one hundred million copies[63] emphasized patriotic and moralistic sentiments.[64] Typical of the moralistic and religious contents of the "blue-back speller" are the following lines:

> No man may put off the law of God,
> My joy is in his law all day.
>
> We must pray for them that hate us,
> We must love them that love us not.
>
> What is the reward of the peace-maker?
> He shall be blessed and called the son of God.[65]

Americans, generally, in the post-Revolutionary period thought in Tyack's view that "education must be . . . an all-out effort to Americanize through the schools, the press, the pulpit, the work of the artist, the courtroom, the political assembly--by all means of shaping character and intellect."[66] By education they meant "the full panoply of institutions that played a part in shaping human character . . . ."[67] The schools themselves were not uniform throughout the new nation and continued to perpetuate particularly "the sectarian splintering which had begun before the Revolution . . ., and religious motivation remained a prime mover in the founding of schools."[68]

The last legal support for an established church in America ended in 1833 when Massachusetts enacted religious freedom. The amended Third Article of the Massachusetts Bill of Rights reads in part: "all

religious sects and denominations, demeaning themselves peaceably, and as good citizens of the Commonwealth, shall be equally under the protection of the law . . . ."[69] This amendment approximates the ending of one period in educational history and the beginning of another era, the Common School movement.

THE COMMON SCHOOL

> Though schools existed and frequently received some public support, the haphazard arrangements of the seventeenth, eighteenth, and early nineteenth centuries cannot be considered true progenitors of the school systems we know today. For by the latter part of the nineteenth century the organization, scope and role of schooling had been fundamentally transformed. . . . Within the space of 40 or 50 years a new social institution had been invented . . . .[70]

The new social institution as it developed was called the common school; "the school would be common, not as a school for the common people . . . but rather as a school common to all people. It would be open to all, provided by the state and local community as part of the birthright of every child."[71] In 1834 a legislative committee in Pennsylvania "proposed to let students all fare alike in the primary school, receive the same elementary instruction, imbibe the republican spirit and be animated by a feeling of perfect equality."[72]

The common school, because it was to be common to all children, performed many functions as Cremin has noted:

> It provided youngsters with an opportunity to become literate in a standard American English via the Webster speller and the McGuffey Readers; it offered youngsters a common belief system combining undenominational Protestantism and non partisan patriotism; it afforded youngsters an elementary familiarity with simple arithmetic, bits and pieces of literature, history, geography, and some rules of life at the level of the maxim and proverb; it introduced youngsters to an organized subsociety other than the household and

> church that observed such norms as punctuality, achievement, competitiveness, fair play, merit, and respect for adult authority; and it laid before youngsters processes of reasoning, argument, and criticism--indeed, processes of learning to learn--that were more or less different from thought processes proffered earlier and elsewhere.[73]

From the above description of the common school, it can be seen that teaching the three R's was not sufficient, but the schools also "had to promote a non-sectarian Christian morality and a non-partisan republicanism."[74] This search for and attempt at inclusion of a non-sectarian Christian religion created the dilemma of this practical consideration; how could the schools be common to all without in some sense engaging in their own kind of religious endeavor.[75]

The Great Awakening produced a general concern for and development of educationally oriented institutions by those engaged in the religious crusade. In the eighteenth century the various denominations had founded colleges, academies, charity schools, and other agencies of an educational nature. Most of these institutions and agencies muted major sectarian distinctions so as to attract students from other denominations. Thus, as Tyack observed, "a precedent had been set for a pro-Protestant public school. When the common school crusade spread across the nation, ministers were in the forefront of the movement in many states." In fact, the distinction between public and private schools was not as clear because "states gave money to denominational schools" and "most private schools accepted all comers and often were free for those who could not pay tuition."[76]

The fashioning of good men and women was one of the primary goals of the common school and keeping religion in the school was

thought to be essential to the achievement of this goal. The need for keeping religion in the schools was expressed by the Pennsylvania State Superintendent of Public Instruction as recently as 1958 "when he argued in his testimony in the Schempp case . . . that the practice of reading ten verses of the Bible was 'one of the last vestiges of moral value that we have left in our school system.'"[77] In the common schools of one hundred years prior to Schempp there existed "such school practices as reading the Bible without sectarian comment, singing hymns, saying prayers, and holding holiday rituals; reinforcing these were the pro-Protestant textbooks used in most schools."[78] William McGuffey, the author of the McGuffey graded reader which sold approximately "100 million copies in the half century after its publication,"[79] was concerned that among children there was "the most lamentable ignorance of the plainest facts of the Bible History."[80] The McGuffey readers would hopefully ensure "the teaching of the values of hard work and thrift (at least) to many generations of young Americans."[81] And this whole attitude toward religion in the schools was generally upheld by the courts. One particular state court case, Donahoe v. Richards, possibly the most favorable toward church-state entanglement during the era, was ruled on in Maine in 1854 when "the court concluded that the will of the majority, as expressed in the reading of the King James Bible, could not bow to the conscience of the minority."[82] However, the conclusion cannot be drawn that all schools were functioning at the same level of religiosity. For instance Bidwell says that:

> Where moral sentiments were strong and widely shared and where the town's life style uniformly reflected these beliefs, the common schools did indeed serve as moral instruments, their control secured by representatives of the moral order. But where moral community was weak, the common-school curriculum was secular, moral education was not in evidence, and the school committee was in lay hands.[83]

One example, although not typical, of the change from public supported church schools to tax-supported common schools is the New York City situation. Until 1825 the schools were primarily private, operated under the direction of churches with direct financial aid. A Free School Society was founded in 1807 and became in 1825 the Public School Society, the city council in that year having channeled all tax funds for education into that society. "Despite its name, the Society actually was a private philanthropic agency with a strong Protestant bias." Its religious practices included those Protestant practices familiar to the common schools. "Even its nonreligious textbooks were filled with derogatory references to Catholics and the Pope."[84]

The religious influence in the schools of New York City became an occasion for a committee of Roman Catholics to write in 1840 the "Petition of New York Catholics for a Share of the Common-School Fund." In the petition they wrote:

> Even the reading of Scriptures in those schools, your petitioners cannot regard otherwise than as sectarian . . . . Your petitioners have to state further . . . that many of the selections in their elementary reading-lessons contain matter prejudicial to the Catholic name and character. The term 'popery' is repeatedly found in them. . . . Both the historical and religious portions of the reading-lessons are selected from Protestant writers, whose prejudices against the Catholic religion tender them unworthy of confidence in the mind of our petitioners . . . .[85]

The perception by Catholics of religious bias in the common schools was in no sense limited to New York City. In fact as Michaelson

has stated Protestants began to look on the schools "as God's chosen instrument for religionizing and Americanizing the youth, and they resoundly castigated those who opposed it--chiefly the Roman Catholics." The opposition by Catholics to the religionizing in the schools increased to the point that Francis Adams, secretary of the National Education League, concluded after a survey of American public schools in the 1870's that "'there is one thing, and one thing only, which appears to threaten the common school--that is, the Catholic question.'"[86]

With Catholic concern with the common school developing, the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore decreed in 1884 that a parish school should be built and maintained near every church unless decided otherwise by the bishop. Catholic schools were to multiply until "every Catholic child in the land shall have within its reach the means of education." Catholic parents were furthermore "bound to send their children to a parish school" unless they received sufficient training at home or in other Catholic schools. This education was necessary to prepare children for "the great coming combat between truth and error, between Faith and Agnosticism . . . ."[87]

Protestant reaction to the "Catholic question" was strong in some areas. Four years after the Third Plenary Council a prominent New England Methodist clergyman argued in his book Romanism versus the Public School System "that all children must be required to attend the public schools if the health of the republic was to be maintained."[88]

In 1896 state superintendents across the country were surveyed about Bible reading, and it was found that "with the exception of a few

Western states, Bible reading was normal in the great majority of American schools."[89] Two state court cases ruled against religious practices in the school: Minor v. The Board of Education of Cincinnati (1872) allowed a resolution discontinuing Bible-reading exercises[90] and a Wisconsin case, State ex rel Weiss v. District Board of Edgerton (1890), ruled against Bible reading.[91]

Horace Mann, as secretary of the Massachusetts Board of Education, was so instrumental in the development of the common school that he became known as "the father of the common school." Consistent with the period, he promoted a policy for the Commonwealth of Massachusetts that united classroom instruction in morality and what Mann saw as true religion. This true religion was reflected in the teaching of the great common truths of the Christian faith in a manner that did not favor any particular sect.[92] In fact Mann considered "education as primarily a process of moral nurture in which a kind of generic religion was of central importance."[93] This generic religion included the reading of the Bible without comment or interpretation. He certainly did not want a secular school. To remove the Bible from the common school was rejected and hostility to religion he viewed as a crime.[94]

Horace Mann sought to include a "non-sectarian" Christian religion in the schools and exclude anything sectarian. He did this as McCluskey noted because he "viewed Christianity as almost exclusively an ethical religion--a practical and perceptive guide for moral conduct."[95] He also rejected atheism and religious neutralism in the schools, but what he failed to recognize "was that there is no such things as 'nonsectarian' Christianity or an undenominational religion."[96]

The heart of Mann's religious philosophy was his rejection of the Calvinist doctrine of the Fall and his belief that mankind had the opportunity for perfectability through education.[97] He wrote to an acquaintance in 1837 just prior to his appointment as secretary that he had faith not only "in the improvability of the race" but also faith "in their accelerating improvability."[98] To this end he avowed the ability of men to govern themselves and rejected the doctrine of the depravity of man. He said:

> If there be any heresy among men, or blasphemy against God, at which the philosopher might be allowed, to forget his equanimity, and the Christian his charity, it is the heresy and the blasphemy of believing and avowing, that the infinitely good and all-wise Author of the universe persists in creating and sustaining a race of beings, who by a law of their nature, are forever doomed to suffer all the atrocities and agonies of misgovernment, either from the hands of others, or from their own. The doctrine of the inherent and necessary disability of mankind for self-government should be regarded not simply with denial, but with abhorrence . . . .[99]

Mann looked to education for this self-improvement of the race, which would lead to self-government without "the atrocities and agonies of misgovernment." Education he felt would erase vice and crime because growth in knowledge also is equated to improvement in moral virtue. Education also was the equalizer of the populace as "nothing but universal education can counter work this tendency" of class domination. Education, Mann added, "does better than to disarm the poor of their hostility towards the rich: it prevents being poor." It would therefore "do more than all things to obliterate factitious distinctions in society . . . ."[100]

He correctly perceived the pluralistic nature of the common school and the impairment of freedom if one set of theological doctrines

were imposed upon all who attended the common school. However, as McCluskey has stated, "in his vigorous efforts to prevent sectarian control of the school systems he had to take a number of theological positions which, when summed up, come very close to a description of Unitarianism or the religious aspects of deistic phrenology."[101] Matthew Hale Smith said in an attack on Mann's position: "It is proper to keep dogmatic theology out of school. Let it be kept out on both sides--the dogmatism of unbelief, as well as the dogmatism of belief."[102]

The champions of the common school frequently rose to the position of the chief school officer in the state. In Virginia on March 2, 1870, Rev. William Henry Ruffner was elected state Superintendent of Public Instruction. As Horace Mann had, Dr. Ruffner defended the public schools against the charge that it would "incline people to religious error and impiety." He felt that the moral influence of the neighborhood should pervade the school. He supported this position because he felt that the majority of teachers were religious and active in church work. For these reasons he was convinced that religious devotion was not threatened by the public schools.[103] This varied from Mann's position in that it did not inculcate a particular form of piety for all schools, it became a local option. In commenting in The Education Journal of Virginia on the act of July 11, 1870, creating the Virginia public schools, he wrote:

> Dear Sir - The subject of religious worship in the public schools is one which has occasioned great trouble in other States, and I thought it best for the school law to be silent on the subject. I felt sure that our Virginia doctrine in regard to the

> rights of conscience is correct. Whilst it is proper for the State reverently to acknowledge the authority of the Supreme Being, it has no right to use, or allow to be used, its authority or its means to aid particular sects, or to inculcate any particular religious doctrine, or to enjoin any particular form or mode of worship. Yet it does not follow from this that all religious exercises should be rigidly excluded from public free schools any more than from the University, the Military Institute, or the halls of Legislation. Where it is agreeable to those concerned, and conducive to order and morals to have such exercises, I can see no objection to its being allowed, provided the exercises are fit and becoming as to manner and time, and no one is required to attend upon them whose conscience would be offended thereby. But if serious complaint, disorder, or trouble of any kind would be likely to result from their introduction, they ought not to be allowed. This can be decided only by the local authorities.[104]

Ruffner further defined this idea of local authorities deciding on what is acceptable to the community in a circular printed in 1876. He also seemed to present teachers as representing the community rather than the educational establishment. The state might instruct students in the accepted morality of the country, and teach them that the will of God is "the standard and ultimate authority of all morality." Teachers, he believed, could participate in any amount of worship and teaching of religion which did not offend parents and did not interfere with pupil rights and convictions.[105] In essence he gave local authorities and teachers the responsibility of defining the meaning of religion in the schools.

Whereas Mann viewed religion as essential to education and Ruffner perceived of the relationship between religion and the schools in some degree as a local option, a third position is taken by William T. Harris, Superintendent of Schools in St. Louis and later United States Commissioner of Education. The major purpose for education as he saw it, lay in the preservation of civilization.[106] As Rushdoony states, he

perceived moral education as an "'initiation in the practice of what belongs to civilized man'" and intellectual education as "'an invitation into the ideas that lie at the basis of the practice.'"[107] McCluskey has remarked also that Harris "held that moral and intellectual education depended directly upon an acknowledgment of God's existence and man's immortal destiny."[108]

Schools are a reinforcing agency for the culture and reflect it rather than mold it. From this position he saw education as a "supplementary special institution." It supplemented the four cardinal institutions of family, civil society, state and church.[109] He favored religious education, but this should exclusively be the province of the church. The school was to be completely secular and was not competent to teach religious truth.[110]

The common school acting as a supplemental institution had an important role to play for the church as McCluskey commented:

> Fundamental to the Harris position was his principle that the development of moral habits in the school laid the groundwork for religious education: by inculcating moral discipline the school prepared the child to receive a superstructure of religious training in the Church.[111]

Harris then was a proponent of the common school and favored religious education. However, the role of public education was to supplement and encourage religion by developing moral discipline. Furthermore, the school should be secular by nature and purpose, reflecting the culture it functions in and placing religious education in the context of the church.

Directly related to the whole purpose of the common schools was the fact that "during the hundred years following 1815 over thirty-five

million people came to this country in the greatest migration in history . . . ."[112] The common schools were called to the task of transforming these millions of newcomers--speaking dozens of languages, clinging to diverse folkways, owing multiple loyalties into one people . . . ."[113] This transformation of Americanization included religion. Speaking at the Fifth Annual Meeting of the Western Literary Institute and College of Professional Teachers in 1836, Calvin Stone said, "Let us now be reminded, that unless we educate our immigrants, they will be our ruin. It is no longer a mere question of benevolence, of duty, or of enlightened self-interest, but the intellectual and religious training of our foreign population has become essential to our own safety . . . ."[114] The year before, Stone had stated that "it is altogether essential to our national strength and peace, if not even to our national existence, that the foreigners who settle on our soil, should cease to be Europeans and become Americans . . . ."[115] The Massachusetts Teacher editorialized that this was a "mission in which every Christian, every patriot, every philanthropist is bound to work . . . ."[116] The editorial expressed clearly why the burden of Americanization lay on the common schools: "With the old not much can be done, but with their children, the great remedy is EDUCATION."[117]

Throughout this period of immigration the Europeans that Stone spoke of were primarily Roman Catholic. The Irish Catholic Boston Patriot described the common school and compulsory education as "'radically unsound, untrue, Atheistical.'" The newspaper reasoned that if education was the work of the state and not of the church and the family that "schooling would weaken the ties of child to parent and would lead

to 'universal disobedience on the part of children.'" To cultivate group identity Irish parents entrusted their children first to Sunday Schools and by the mid-1850's to the developing system of parochial schools.[118]

A study by the U. S. Immigration Commission in 1909 revealed that "57.8 percent of the children in the schools of thirty-seven of the nations largest cities were of foreign-born parentage."[119] That same year in outlining the task of Americanization of immigrants Ellwood P. Cubberly urged his fellow educators that "their group and settlements" should be divided, their children should have implanted "the Anglo-Saxon conception of righteousness, law and order, and popular government," and "a reverance for our democratic institutions and for those things in our national life which we as a people hold to be of abiding worth" must be awakened.[120] For Horace Mann and many others this meant exposure to a common denominator Protestantism.

THE GROWTH OF SECULARISM AND FUNDAMENTALIST REACTION

To define "secular," as has been noted earlier, is as difficult as "religious." However, the definition of secularism as presented in The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language will be considered: "secularism: The view that consideration of the present well-being of mankind should predominate over religious considerations in civil affairs or public education."[121] This definition is worthy of consideration for the purposes of this study because it recognizes the point that American public education in some sections of the country

had arrived at or was drawing close to in the Twentieth Century. Although there had been a slow growth of secularism within the public schools prior to World War I, after the war, the submission of religious considerations in education increased in favor of "the present well-being of mankind."

During this period, it may be argued, secularism took on many aspects of a religion. Secularism as a faith, as McCluskey describes it, attempts to offer an "appreciation of the cosmic evolutionary process" to man as an aim in itself. "This new religion of humanity is the scientific living of social democracy in an industrial age whose highest value is the 'shared experience of democratic living.'"[122] John Dewey saw democracy as a spiritual fact and freedom in democracy as drawing spiritual meaning.[123] Edward L. Thorndike regarded human reason as the path to future perfection both within man and civilization. Changes in man's original nature and his environment would be the solution of societal problems such as delinquency and crime for Edward L. Thorndike[124] in contrast to George Whitefield who saw an "inner experience" with God as the basis for external change in morals and religion. In fact the secularist educator with his faith "in humanity as dynamically evolving in the American society" can believe that schools best serve the cause of religion in serving the cause of social unification." Therefore, the schools in this secularist sense can be "more religious in substance and in promise without any of the conventional badges and machinery of religious instruction than they could be in cultivating these forms at the expense of state-consciousness." However, the cause of religion spoken of here "has nothing to do with religion in the time-honored sense."[125]

A summarization then of the connotation of the term secularization in the education context of this century is aptly stated as:

> 'the removal of religious control from schools or of religious materials from the curriculum.' Basically, of course, a secularist Weltanschauung is one which regards Man, rather than God, as the source of wisdom and authority, and as the director of his own destiny. Concepts of sin, immorality, resurrection, divine intercession, and the like are alien to those who espouse a secularist philosophy of life.[126]

Columbia University and its Teachers College has been referred to by McCluskey as "the great source of the current secularist philosophy of education."[127] One of the most famous philosophers of education to teach at Columbia was John Dewey. It was Dewey's concern for the social importance of philosophy, among other concerns, that caused him to set up his Laboratory School at the University of Chicago in 1894. Another source of motivation for the lab school was in his opinion that educational methods of the time were at odds with his view of child psychology and development.[128] Dewey believed the human organization and the world in which human life functions were involved in a give-and-take. Influenced by changes in his world, man also produced changes. These changes can be regarded as "religious" when they are motivated by and in the direction of ". . . inclusive ideal ends, which imagination presents to us and to the human will responds as worthy of controlling our desires and choices." The pursuit and extension of justice, freedom and knowledge are examples of his "ideal ends."[129] However, Dewey abandoned religion in its traditional sense because "the set that has thus been given the general mind is much more harmful, to my mind, than are the consequences of any one particular item of belief . . . ."[130]

What then was Dewey's position on traditional religion and what were his religious beliefs? He took the perspective that his philosophic position was incompatible with theism. Theism, Dewey believed, did not fit our best method of inquiry. Dewey believed that empirical, open-ended, self-corrective testing that results in agreement about matters of fact is the "method of intelligence to be stressed." This method, largely due to its scientific success, is for Dewey ". . . the final arbiter of all questions of fact, existence, and intellectual assent."[131] He then, having rejected theism, the supernatural world, and all it entails placed his faith in the process of social evolution. McCluskey concluded that the hope of Dewey's faith lay "in the unlimited individual and social perfectability of the race through the medium of science, and its charity is found in the bonds uniting it to the fecund nature from which mankind is continually evolving."[132] Dewey applied inquiry, the scientific method, to morals when he spoke of the conflict between science and moral beliefs. Supernaturalism and traditional moral beliefs he called "'the expression of a prescientific stage of culture.'"[133] Dewey rejected what he called "a narrow and moralistic view of morals" and simply equated morals with "all aims and values which are desirable in education." Right and wrong then is associated with a situation not with "a list of definitely stated acts."[134] Dewey, it has been concluded by McCluskey, "placed his ultimate faith in values verifiable in experience, but since the supernatural signified precisely that which lies beyond experience, he renounced the extra-empirical."[135]

How did Dewey make application of his beliefs to education? The school, in one writer's opinion, he viewed as "the new ark of salvation . . ., the church that sheltered it was political democracy, and, in place of the wayward workings of the Holy Spirit, there was the generalized use of the scientific method."[136] Although the above picture of Dewey's belief may be too vivid, he did view education, in McCluskey's opinion, "as above all the handmaiden of democracy--democracy considered, not as a form of government, but as a 'spiritual community.'"[137] In A Common Faith he wrote:

> The ideal ends to which we attach our faith are not shadowy and wavering. They assume concrete form in our understanding of our relations to one another and the values contained in these relations. . . .Ours is the responsibility of conserving, transmitting, rectifying and expanding the heritage of values we have received that those who come after us may receive it more solid and secure, more widely accessible and more generously shared than we have received it. Here are all the elements for a religious faith that shall not be confined to sect, class, or race. Such a faith has always been implicitly the common faith of mankind. It remains to make it explicit and militant.[138]

What was the impact upon the public schools of Dewey's "common faith" in mankind, democracy and democratic values? Are his values "more widely accessible and more generally shared" as he put it? Tyack observed, relative to the progressive education movement, that "it is difficult indeed to say precisely what difference it made in actual classrooms . . . ." Although changes have come, educators may be "just now beginning to implement the full extent of Dewey's program, as in the new curriculum stressing the 'discovery approach' . . . ."[139]

If a precise statement about the effect of John Dewey on American education cannot be made, the effects of Edward L. Thorndike and his teachings and ideas are clear enough. Thorndike, a contemporary

of Dewey's at Columbia and author of scores of books and articles on educational psychology, had such an effect that Cremin has said that "certainly no aspect of public-school teaching during the first quarter of the twentieth century remained unaffected by his influence."[140] By stating "that the most common violation of human nature was the failure to reward desired behavior," Thorndike aided educational philosophers such as John Dewey "who wished to make schools more human and to have them better relate educational methods to the nature of childhood."[141] So that even if empirically the effects of a Dewey or Thorndike cannot be measured, it can be concluded that in concert with other secularist educators they had a profound effect on education.

Education for Thorndike was "the vehicle to institutionalize his social vision," training the most intelligent to be leaders and the masses for "following." Schooling, therefore, served as "an instrument of social control," with a function to "get individuals to submit themselves to the leadership of experts by teaching them whom to trust and what to believe outside their narrow sphere of competence."[142] In retrospect the function of education for Thorndike was not much different from its function for the Puritans. The Puritans had a transcendental absolute personal Being for followers to trust and believe in and Thorndike had man. The intelligent in the schools were to prepare to be leaders.

Thorndike was almost evangelistic in his regard for science, transfering "to science a religious-like belief in the possibility of personal and societal salvation. Science was, he said repeatedly,

'the only sure foundation for social progress.'"[143] So that not only were the methods of education improved through science but also the aims of education might be decided upon by science.[144]

The function of education was to have social progress through social control. As it appeared to Thorndike, the aim of education is to produce in man "the information, habits, powers, interests and ideals which are desirable." This he called, "changing him for the better." To educate man, however, we need to know what causes the changes, his original nature or his environment.[145] The knowledge of the causes comes through tests and measurement. This was so related to psychology that he said:

> A complete science of psychology would tell every fact about everyone's intellect and character and behavior, would tell the cause of every change in human nature, would tell the result which every educational force--every act of every person that changed any other or the agent himself would have. It would aid us to use human beings for the world's welfare with the surety of the result that we now have when we use falling bodies or chemical elements. In proportion as we get such a science we shall become masters of our own souls as we now are masters of heat and light. Progress toward such a science is being made.[146]

Thorndike believed he could control people as he felt science had mastered light and heat. In Human Learning he describes how man has evolved from lower forms of animals,[147] particularly the primates, which he says "man leads, not as a demigod from another planet, but as a king from the same race."[148] Further, he takes the theory of evolution to its logical conclusion in relation to education: "If it is our duty to improve the quality of what is learned and the means of learning it, it is doubly our duty to improve the original inborn ability of man to learn. There is no surer way of improving civilization

than by improving man's own nature."[149] Not only did he rejected "In Adam's Fall/We Sinned All," but he clearly believed that through science, properly manipulating people in education, man could not just improve his nature, but become master of his soul.

The role Thorndike saw for religion was to "teach man to want the welfare of the future as well as the relief of the cripple before his eyes" whereas "science must teach man to control his own future nature as well as the animals, plants and physical forces amongst which he will have to live."[150] How disappointed Thorndike must have been in 1928 to "acknowledge after 30 years of work that research had yielded only a few answers to the practical questions raised by the school operations."[151]

Michaelson made the following observation about the meaning the theory of evolution has had to many:

> The notion of a benevolent deity, and the whole American Weltanschauung, was dealt a rude shock by Darwinism . . . Overlooking the 'waste' and 'brutality' that seemed evident in the process of evolution, these men brought the benevolent God down to earth and made him one with nature. In the doing of it nature itself became benevolent. This tour de force laid the ground for a growing assurance that God is the provider of success and happiness in this world. In the words of H. Richard Niebuhr, 'A god without wrath brought man without sin into a kingdom without judgment through the ministrations of a Christ without a cross.'[152]

The theory of evolution blended with other social and religious forces to bear down upon the orthodox Protestant stronghold, the public schools. Just after the turn of the century conservative Protestants in the educational environment lashed back; this retaliation culminated in the Scopes Trial in Dayton, Tennessee, in 1925.

Virginia will be taken as a case in point. In 1904 a study by the U.S. Commissioner of Education concluded that "the usual Virginia custom of Bible reading, prayer, and songs prevailed. Although, occasionally, comment on the Bible was forbidden."[153] An article in the Virginia Journal of Education in 1912 indicated the kind of anxiety within the "fundamentalist-modernist" division. Being concerned with the moral and religious welfare of children, the author provided some qualifications for a teacher. The article stated that "it is a sad day when the young mind . . . comes in contact with . . . some socalled 'Doctor of Divinity' that poses as a 'Higher Critic.'" The author included in this category those who try to prove "that Moses did not write the Pentateuch or that the Book of Job is an allegory." His concern stemmed from his belief that teachers "are builders of character, not building for a day, but for eternity."[154]

Pressure was placed upon the legislatures to shore up the leaks in the Protestant stronghold. In 1916 the Virginia State Board of Education adopted the following resolution:

> In response to a widespread desire throughout the State, voiced by resolutions adopted by various religious and education organizations, the State Board of Education of Virginia hereby authorizes High School principals to give such pupils as fulfill the requirements set forth by the Official Syllabus of Bible Study prepared by committee by the Board, not less than half a unit, nor more than one unit of credit for Bible courses in lieu of regular High School electives of like credit values.[155]

Between 1916 and 1921, 572 pupils in 43 classes throughout Virginia had taken the prescribed examinations for credit, and by 1924, 2,350 students had taken the exam.[156] Additional action was

attempted in the Virginia General Assembly to insure that the Bible was attended to. A law making compulsory the reading of five verses of the King James Bible daily was defeated in 1924 and again in 1926. Twelve states and the District of Columbia authorized Bible reading in the public schools after 1913.[157]

The climatic event of the fundamentalist-modernist controversy was the trial of John T. Scopes in July of 1925, called "the monkey trial." It was made famous by the press "with its hundred reporters filing over 150,000 words daily (which) undoubtedly did much to dramatize the affair . . . ."[158] Three major issues brought the debate to a head at Dayton, Tennessee. First modernism, with its higher criticism of the Bible, discarded orthodox views of the Bible, thereby striking at the heart and foundation in the Scriptures of fundamentalism. Second, the theory of evolution denied God's creation and indirectly questioned the deity of Christ for there was no need for a supernatural being in Darwin's hypothesis. Last, the conservatives held the conviction "that modernism and evolution in questioning their cherished doctrines, would destroy Christianity as a moral force in the nation."[159]

The term "fundamentalist" comes from the idea that those who accepted the title also accepted the fundamental doctrines of orthodox Christianity, particularly "the verbal inerrancy of Scripture, the deity and virgin birth of Christ, the substitutionary atonement, the physical resurrection of Christ, and his bodily return to earth."[160] Although these doctrines had been debated from back in the nineteenth century, it was not until the 1920's that the debate became full-blown. A host of fundamentalist organizations were formed to defend

the faith during this period, numbering at least eighteen and including the World Christian Fundamentals Association, the Bryan Bible League and Winrod's Flying Defenders.[161]

The question in point at the Scopes trial was the Tennessee law enacted in 1925 which prohibited the teaching of evolution. Besides Virginia, anti-evolution legislation had been introduced in such states as Maine, New Hampshire, Delaware, Missouri, Kansas, North Dakota, California, Georgia, Kentucky, North Carolina, Florida, and Texas. In Oklahoma a school bill was passed in 1923 "which barred all volumes which taught the theory of evolution instead of the Biblical theory of creation." Mississippi in 1926 made it unlawful "for any teacher in any school supported in whole or in part from state funds to teach that mankind ascended or descended from a lower form of animals." The legislature in Florida "passed a joint resolution finding it 'improper and subversive' for any instructor in a public school to teach the Darwinian or any other hypothesis that links man in blood relation to any other form of life." Although Texas did not pass a law, the Governor "in her capacity as head of the State Textbook Commission, ordered all references to evolution deleted in the school books and arranged for the purchase of only those new books that remained silent on the subject." Legislation did not pass in Arkansas, but a petition successfully got a referendum placed on the ballot in 1928 and by direct vote, made the teaching of evolution as a scientific theory a statutory offense.[162]

The Scopes trial itself pitted Clarence Darrow against William Jennings Bryan, evolution against creationism and in a real sense,

modernist theology against fundamentalism. Bryan had waged a personal campaign against evolution since 1920, had become the national spokesman for fundamentalism, had given spirit to the crusade opposed to the evolution and modern innovations in theology and had made fundamentalism a potent force in American life by 1925.[163] He was such a significant figure that the Christian Century in June, 1926, stated that "had there been no such person as William J. Bryan in American Church life at that particular moment, fundamentalism as a threatening force of disruption would never have made its appearance."[164]

Legally, the Scopes trial was a victory for fundamentalism as Scopes was convicted. However, during the course of events Bryan was defeated and fundamentalism was dealt a climactic blow from which it never recovered. In fact, the three time Presidential candidate died shortly after the trial. What were the reasons that fundamentalism suffered defeat in the twenties? First, some of the more influential leaders used much sensationalism of methods and language. Second, "the cultural drift of the times . . . was moving in a more liberal direction," a direction against which fundamentalism stubbornly stood fast in its theology. Third, there was, admittedly a harsh attitude towards those who did not agree theologically on the fundamentals. Last, fundamentalism was not a united movement, its leaders had much difficulty working together.[165]

Bryan's death in 1925 left the fundamentalists without a leader. Without the unifying force of one distinguished person, the members of the movement tended to go their different ways. This

"dissipated their energies which if consolidated might have produced an organization capable of effective action in the 1930's."[166]

Another product of the defeat in the twenties was the disillusionment with political and social activism by fundamentalists. With much vitality fundamentalists had been involved in "earlier crusades of a progressive nature: women's suffrage, prison reform, prohibition, and finally the 'war to end all wars.' Now, their latest great crusade against evolution had fizzled . . . ." After 1925, they grew wary of social involvement and separated themselves generally from social concerns. The fundamentalists then began "to emphasize the individual and private at the expense of the corporate and public aspects of Christianity." So, after being a significant force in many areas of American society in the nineteenth century, fundamentalists in many sections of the country in the twentieth century "took on many of the earmarks of an unimportant and despised subculture." As an outgrowth "they were given little notice in history textbooks and they virtually disappeared from the generation following Bryan's death."[167] And so began the image presented "to the outside world--deserved or not--. . . of negativism, intolerance, and status quoism in all areas of life."[168]

At the end of the first quarter of the Twentieth Century, what was essentially a theological debate between modernist and conservative elements of Protestantism had spread into the public schools. The schools as a stronghold of conservative Protestants were involved in the debate because of their influence with maturing minds. Fundamentalists were not about to relinquish the schools to modernist theology.

Therefore many states, especially in the South, took legal steps to secure orthodoxy by making Bible reading lawful and where possible, outlawing the teaching of evolution. Religion continued to be entangled in public education.

SUMMARY

From the founding of schools in colonial America to the rise of the secular public schools of the Twentieth Century a thread of religion in the institution of education has been uncovered. Demonstration of this fact has been made through the selection of salient documents, writings, and people which have represented the flow of history. In colonial America two patterns of education were discussed. In colonial Massachusetts the Puritans were establishing a model theocracy and desired citizens able, particularly, to read the Holy Scriptures. Virginia had a dispersed population and relied more heavily on the home and church for education at first. As the colonies grew, the effects of the Great Awakening could be observed in America in the renewed interest in personal religion which was reflected in the schools in teaching of religion or in moral instruction. As America became an independent nation, the religion of the founding fathers also desired, if not Protestant Christian schools, at least schools which involved religious moral education.

The common schools were the real progenitors of public schools today. As indicated by the works of men such as Horace Mann and William H. Ruffner, the supporters of the common schools saw a place

for religion in the schools, specifically the Protestant religion. Another indication of the inclusion of religion in the common school was the backlash the schools received from Roman Catholics, particularly immigrants, who recognized the sectarian nature of the accepted religion.

William T. Harris represented a third position for those supporting the common school. He also might represent a type of transition influence from more pervasively religious to more secularly permeated. The growth of the secular school was indicated by the thoughts and ideas of such influential educators as John Dewey and Edward L. Thorndike. The theory of evolution that these men and others championed struck at the heart of orthodox Protestants who mounted an attack. This attack failed climactically in Dayton, Tennessee, and this was a real indication that the religion in the public schools during the first half of the Twentieth Century was significantly of a different form from that of the colonial period.

CHAPTER 1 FOOTNOTES

[1]David B. Tyack, "Church-State Relation in Education: History," The Encyclopedia of Education, Vol. 2, ed. L. C. Deighten (New York: Macmillan, 1971), p. 114.

[2]Robert Michaelsen, "Common School, Common Religion?" Church History, 38 (June, 1969), p. 201.

[3]Michael B. Katz, "The Origins of Public Education," History of Education Quarterly, 16 (Winter, 1976), p. 403.

[4]Ibid., p. 383.

[5]Robert Michaelson, Piety in the Public School (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1970), p. 15.

[6]Ibid., p. 17.

[7]Martin E. Marty, Pro and Con Book of Religious America (Waco, Texas: Word Books, Publisher, 1975), p. 20.

[8]Eulalio Baltazar, "T. M. and the Religion-in-School Issue," The Christian Century, 93 (August 18, 1976), p. 708.

[9]Ibid., p. 708.

[10]Philip Phenix, "Religion in Public Education: Principles and Issues," Journal of Church and State, 14 (Autumn, 1972), p. 421.

[11]Leo Pfeffer, "Editorial: Issues That Divide: The Triumph of Secular Humanism," Journal of Church and State, 19 (Spring, 1972), p. 208.

[12]William H. Marnell, The First Amendment (Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1964), p. 45.

[13]Ibid., p. 49.

[14]Ibid., p. 58.

[15]David B. Tyack, Turning Points in American Educational History (Lexington, Mass.: Xerox Corp., 1967), p. 1.

[16]Jack Allen, The American Public School (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1969), p. 4.

[17]J. H. Trumbull, ed., The Public Records of the Colony of Connecticut, I (Hartford, 1850), 554-5, cited in Elsie W. Parsons, Educational Legislation and Administration of the Colonial Governments (New York: Arno Press, Inc., 1971), p. 76.

[18]C. J. Hadley, ed., Records of the Colony or Jurisdiction of New Haven (Hartford, 1858), 583-4, cited by Parsons, ibid., p. 78.

[19]Paul Blanshard, Religion and the Schools (Boston: Beacon Press, 1963), p. 8.

[20]"A Hornbook of the Eighteenth Century," Education in the United States, I, ed. Sol Cohen (New York: Random House, 1974), p. 529.

[21]John C. Reynolds, "American Textbooks: The First 200 Years," Educational Leadership, 33 (January, 1976), p. 274.

[22]Lawrence Cremin, Traditions of American Education (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1976), p. 36.

[23]Tyack, Turning Points in American Educational History, op. cit., p. 34.

[24]William W. Hening, ed., Statutes at Large, Vol. 1 (Charlottesville, Va.: University Press of Virginia, 1969), p. 157.

[25]Hening, Vol. 2, ibid., p. 25.

[26]Cremin, op. cit., pp. 19-20.

[27]Sadie Bell, The Church, the State and Education in Virginia (Philadelphia: The Science Press Printing Co., 1930), p. 73.

[28]Hening, Vol. 5, ibid., pp. 317-8.

[29]J. M. Bumstead, ed., The Great Awakening (Weltham, Mass.: Blaisdell Publishing Co., 1970), p. 1.

[30]Robert Ellwood, One Way: The Jesus Movement and Its Meaning (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1973), p. 39.

[31]Michaelson, Piety in the Public School, op. cit., p. 48.

[32]Lynn R. Wessell, "Great Awakening: The First American Revolution," Christianity Today, 17 (August 31, 1973), p. 21.

[33]Michaelson, Piety in the Public School, op. cit., p. 49.

[34]Ibid., p. 36.

[35]Ibid., p. 46. The appeal to reason led for some to deism. Deism affirmed the existence of God by reason and that man should be virtuous, but it made no mention of the special work of Christ and was, therefore, not evangelical Christian.

[36]Allen, op. cit., p. 7.

[37]William W. Brickman, "The History of the Secularization of the Public School in the U.S.A.," ed. George Z. Bereday and Joseph A. Lauwerys, The World Year Book of Education-1966 (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1966), p. 137.

[38]Ibid., p. 139.

[39]Tyack, "Church-State Relation in Education: History," op. cit., p. 114.

[40]Marnell, op. cit., p. 98.

[41]Ibid.

[42]Ibid., p. 100.

[43]Bell, op. cit., p. 156.

[44]"Massachusetts School Law (789)," ed. Sol Cohen, Education in the United States, op. cit., p. 796.

[45]"The Northwest Ordinance and Education (1787)," ed. Sol Cohen, ibid., p. 809.

[46]Abraham Blinderman, Three Early Champions of Education (Bloomington, Indiana: Phi Delta Kappa, 1976), p. 7.

[47]Michaelson, op. cit., p. 38.

[48]Ibid.

[49]Jennings L. Wagoner, Thomas Jefferson and the Education of a New Nation (Bloomington, Indiana: Phi Delta Kappa Educational Foundation, 1976), p. 18.

[50]Cited in Wagoner, ibid., p. 19.

[51]Blinderman, op. cit., p. 16..

[52]Benjamin Franklin, "Benjamin Franklin Plans an Academy," ed. Sol Cohen, op. cit., p. 498.

[53]Ibid., p. 498.

[54]Tyack, Turning Points in American Educational History, op. cit., p. 54.

[55]Thomas Jefferson, "Bill for Establishing Religious Freedom," ed. David B. Tyack, ibid., p. 107.

[56]Michaelson, Piety in the Public School, op. cit., p. 50.

[57]Blinderman, op. cit., p. 17.

[58]Ibid., p. 19.

[59]Ibid., pp. 18-19.

[60]Cremin, op. cit., p. 43.

[61]Reynolds, op. cit., p. 274.

[62]Cited in Blinderman, op. cit., p. 28.

[63]Ibid., p. 31.

[64]Reynolds, op. cit., p. 274.

[65]Cited in Blinderman, op. cit., p. 29.

[66]Tyack, Turning Points in American Educational History, op. cit., p. 86.

[67]Cremin, op. cit., p. 43.

[68]Tyack, Turning Points in American Educational History, op. cit., p. 92.

[69]"Establishment of Religious Freedom in Massachusetts (1833)," Cohen, op. cit., p. 1149.

[70]Katz, op. cit., p. 383.

[71]Cremin, op. cit., p. 10.

[72]James P. Wickersham, A History of Education in Pennsylvania (Lancaster, Pa.: Inquirer Publishing, 1886), p. 312, cited in Josef J. Barton and John W. Briggs, "Immigrants, Education and Americanization of," ed. L. C. Deighton, op. cit., p. 542.

[73]Cremin, op. cit., p. 51.

[74]Tyack, Turning Points in American Educational History, op. cit., p. 125.

[75]Michaelson, "Common School, Common Religion?," op. cit., p. 201.

[76]Tyack, "Church-State Relation in Education: History," op. cit., pp. 115-116.

[77]Michaelson, op. cit., p. 55.

[78]Tyack, op. cit., p. 411.

[79]R. Freeman Butts and Lawrence A. Cremin, A History of Education in American Culture (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1953), p. 274.

[80]Bell, op. cit., p. 411.

[81]Reynolds, op. cit., p. 275.

[82]Tyack, "Church-State Relation in Education," op. cit., p. 116.

[83]Charles E. Bidwell, "The Moral Significance of the Common School," History of Education Quarterly, 6 (Fall, 1966), pp. 83-4.

[84]Marvin J. Taylor, Religious and Moral Education (New York: The Center for Applied Research in Education, Inc., 1965), pp. 83-4.

[85]Thomas O'Connor, "Petition of New York Catholics for a Share of the Common-School Fund," Cohen, op. cit., p. 1130.

[86]Michaelson, Piety in the Public Schools, op. cit., pp. 121-2.

[87]"Third Plenary Council (1884)," Neil G. McCluskey, ed., Catholic Education in America (New York: Bureau of Publications, Columbia University, 1964), pp. 89-94.

[88]Michaelson, Piety in the Public Schools, op. cit., p. 122.

[89]Tyack, "Church-State Relation in Education," op. cit., p. 116.

[90]Donald Boles, The Two Swords (Ames, Iowa: The Iowa State University Press, 1967), p. 87.

[91]Tyack, "Church-State Relation in Education," op. cit., p. 116. Other church-state cases upheld religious practices: Donahoe v. Richards, 38 Me. 376 (1854) Bible as a textbook, Spiller v. Inhabitants of Woborn, 94 Mass. 127 (1866) requiring heads bowed during prayer, Moore v. Monroe, 64 Ia. 367 (1884) Bible reading by the teacher.

[92]Neil G. McCluskey, Public Schools and Moral Education (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, Publishers, 1975), p. 261.

[93]Michaelson, Piety in the Public Schools, op. cit., p. 54.

[94]Tyack, op. cit., p. 115.

[95]McCluskey, Public Schools and Moral Education, op. cit., p. 87.

[96]Ibid., p. 261.

[97]Ibid., p. 19.

[98]Horace Mann, Horace Mann's Journal, The Collected Mann Papers (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, June 30, 1837) cited in McCluskey, Public Schools and Moral Education, op. cit., p. 87.

[99]Horace Mann, "Horace Mann Speaks in 1842 on the Perils of Popular Government," Tyack, ed., Turning Points in American Educational History, op. cit., p. 132.

[100]Horace Mann, "Horace Mann on the Relation Between Education and Prosperity, 1848," Edgar W. Knight and Clinton L. Hall, eds., Readings in American Educational History (New York: Greenwood Press, Publishers, 1951), pp. 165-6.

[101]McCluskey, Public Schools and Moral Education, op. cit., p. 89.

[102]Matthew Hale Smith, The Bible, the Rod and Religion in Common Schools (Boston: Redding and Co., 1847), p. 49, cited in McCluskey, Public Schools and Moral Education, op. cit., p. 89.

[103]Bell, op. cit., p. 419.

[104]Education Journal of Virginia, 2 (1971), p. 197, cited in Bell, op. cit., p. 419.

[105]William H. Ruffner, The Public Free School System (in Va. State Library), cited in Bell, ibid., p. 438.

[106]Rousas T. Rushdoony, Messianic Character of American Education, (Nutley, N.J.: Craig Press, 1963), p. 67.

[107]Ibid.

[108]McCluskey, Public Schools and Moral Education, op. cit., p. 265.

[109]Rushdoony, op. cit., p. 63.

[110]McCluskey, Public Schools and Moral Education, op. cit., p. 264.

[111]Ibid., p. 265.

[112]Tyack, Turning Points in American Educational History, op. cit., p. 228.

[113]Ibid.

[114]Calvin Stone, "Calvin Stone on Americanization of the Immigrant (1836)," Cohen, ed., op. cit., p. 993.

[115]Cited in Tyack, op. cit., p. 229.

[116]"An Editorial in the 'Massachusetts Teacher' on the Irish Immigrant (1851)," Cohen, ed., op. cit., p. 996.

[117]Ibid., p. 997.

[118]Barton, op. cit., p. 545.

[119]Michaelson, Piety in the Public Schools, op. cit., p. 150.

[120]Ellwood P. Cubberly, Changing Conceptions of Education (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1909), pp. 15-6.

[121]William Morris, ed., The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1969), p. 1173.

[122]Neil G. McCluskey, Catholic Viewpoint on Education (Garden City, N.Y.: Hanover House, 1959), p. 63.

[123]Arthur G. Wirth, "John Dewey in Transition from Religious Idealism to the Social Ethic of Democracy," History of Education Quarterly, 5 (December, 1965), p. 266.

[124]Edward L. Thorndike, Educational Psychology (New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1925), p. 3.

[125]Brickman, op. cit., p. 135.

[126]Ibid.

[127]McCluskey, Catholic Viewpoint on Education, op. cit., p. 62.

[128]McCluskey, Public Schools and Moral Education, op. cit., p. 191.

[129]John Dewey, A Common Faith (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1934), p. 33.

[130]Ibid.

[131]Ibid., p. 31.

[132]McCluskey, Public Schools and Moral Education, op. cit., pp. 218-9.

[133]John Dewey, Philosophy of Education (Totowa, N.J.: Littlefield, Adams & Co., 1971), p. 155.

[134]John Dewey, Democracy and Education (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1917), pp. 414-7.

[135]McCluskey, Public Schools and Moral Education, op. cit., p. 267.

[136]Robert E. Fitch, "Review," The Journal of Religion, 55 (April, 1975), p. 247.

[137]McCluskey, Public Schools and Moral Education, op. cit., p. 266.

[138]John Dewey, A Common Faith, op. cit., p. 87.

[139]Tyack, Turning Points in American Educational History, op. cit., p. 323.

[140]Lawrence A. Cremin, The Transformation of the School (New York: Vintage Books, 1964), p. 114.

[141]Geraldine J. Clifford, "Thorndike, Edward L.," ed. L. C. Deighton, op. cit., p. 233.

[142]Barry M. Franklin, "Social Perspective and Educational Knowledge: Edward L. Thorndike Re-examined," ERIC REPORTS, 1975, p. 5.

[143]Clifford, op. cit., p. 231.

[144]Cremin, op. cit., p. 114.

[145]Thorndike, Educational Psychology, op. cit., pp. 2-3.

[146]Edward L. Thorndike, "The Contribution of Psychology to Education," Cohen, op. cit., p. 2241.

[147]In the seventeen item bibliography to Human Learning Thorndike listed studies on the following lower animals: apes, cockroaches, monkeys, roaches, white rats, green crabs, earthworms, and crawfish.

[148]Edward L. Thorndike, Human Learning (New York: The Century Co., 1931), p. 182.

[149]Ibid., p. 200.

[150]Ibid.

[151]Clifford, op. cit., p. 232.

[152]Michaelson, op. cit., pp. 18-19.

[153]Bell, op. cit., p. 491.

[154]J. H. Kile, "Desired Qualities and Qualifications of a Teacher for the Moral and Religious Welfare of Children," Virginia Journal of Education, 5 (April, 1912), p. 319.

[155]Virginia State Board of Education, Official Syllabus of Bible Study for High School Pupils (Charlottesville, Va.: University of Virginia Record Extension Series, Vol. II, No. 1, 1961), p. 3.

[156]Bell, op. cit., pp. 505-7.

[157]Wood, op. cit., p. 402.

[158]Norman F. Furniss, The Fundamentalist Controversy, 1918-1931 (Hamden, Conn.: Archon Books, 1963), p. 5.

[159]Ibid., pp. 15-17.

[160]Winthrop S. Hudson, Religion in America (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1973), p. 283.

[161]Robert Miller, American Protestantism and Social Issues, 1919-1939 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1958), p. 156.

[162]Ibid., pp. 161-2.

[163]Furniss, op. cit., p. 6.

[164]Miller, op. cit., p. 156.

[165]C. Allyn Russell, Voices of American Fundamentalism (Philadelphia: Westminister Press, 1976), pp. 216-7.

[166]Furniss, op. cit., p. 179.

[167]Robert D. Linder, "Resurgence of Evangelical Social Concern (1925-75)," ed. David Wells and John D. Woodbridge, The Evangelicals (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1975), pp. 197-9.

[168]Ibid., p. 200.

Chapter 2

HISTORY OF RELIGION AND EDUCATION: THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

By the end of the first quarter of the Twentieth Century there were indications of a growing secularity within public schools, a trend that was to continue until the present time. The purpose of this chapter is to reveal that religion was and still is intertwined in the public schools. It will begin at the final point of Chapter 1. However, the testimony presented will not consist of the ideas of significant leaders in the educational enterprise, for the singling out of individual leaders is more difficult here than in earlier periods in the history of education. The reasons for this difficulty are related to several circumstances. Curti has observed that "the whole school business grew so big and so complex, and professional training so narrow" that educational administrators and theorists have become "increasingly specialized." Also, he notes "the growing tendency to attack intellectual problems through the joint efforts of members of committee . . . ." Last, Curti explains that there has been "increased lay participation in the formulation of educational aims and of ways of realizing them."[1] This is not to say that during the present period individuals such as George Counts, B. F. Skinner, Admiral Rickover, and James Conant have not had an impact on education. It is to indicate though that other methods might indicate the relation of religion to the public schools with a clearer testimony.

The approach that will be employed in this chapter will be principally to review the Supreme Court's rulings on the church-state question, particularly those dealing with religion and public elementary and secondary education which comprise a large portion of the landmark church and state decisions. Because the direction of this study is toward a policy proposal for public elementary and secondary schools, recent cases dealing with public funding of religiously affiliated educational institutions at all levels will not be discussed.

Legal issues related specifically to Virginia also will be considered. Although the Supreme Court decisions set forth the maximum allowable entanglement between church and state, states have the right to go beyond this federally imposed limit and say that there will be an even higher "wall of separation" between church and state. A second purpose will be accomplished by enumerating state and Supreme Court decisions in that the legal framework will be presented in which public school policy must be constructed.

Another method also will be used to define the role of religion in the present era. That will be the citation of the results of important educational commissions and committees. These committees were appointed by significant educational organizations and were comprised of educators and lay people who in many cases were leaders in the field. Again in this chapter, as in the last, there is no claim that religion is or has been the only or even the major molding force in public education.

THE COMMITTEE ON CHARACTER EDUCATION

The Committee on Character Education was formed in the 1920's within the National Education Association. The thirty-three members were with only a few exceptions either public school administrators or members of faculties in colleges of education. As the Committee understood them, the following are the objectives of character education:

> 1. To develop socially valuable purposes, leading in youth or early maturity, to the development of life purposes.
> 2. To develop enthusiasm for the realization of these purposes; and coupled with this enthusiasm, intelligent use of time and energy.
> 3. To develop the moral judgment--the ability to know what is right in any given situation.
> 4. To develop the moral imagination--the ability to picture vividly the good or evil consequences to self and to others of any type of behavior.
> 5. To develop all socially valuable natural capacities of the individual, and to direct the resultant abilities toward successfully fulfilling all one's moral obligations.[2]

The Committee in the first chapter of the report sets the framework for the whole. In that chapter the words of Jesus are quoted no less than six times to lend credence to the position taken. The report states that "the aim of life is life itself; the aim of morality is the same. The final test of all conduct is its tendency to enhance the totality of human life affected by it. The truly moral expression of the personality in action must fit into the total scheme of human life and advancement." The aim of all conduct is again expressed in the words of Jesus Himself: "That men may have life, and have it more abundantly."[3] The report continues:

> The true place of all moral commandments and of the types of conduct denoted by the names of the virtues is indicated by the discussion in the story of Jesus concerning the 'Great

> Commandments' 'Thou shalt love the Lord thy God . . . and thy neighbor as thyself'; upon this hang 'all the law and the prophets.' The commandments are not fundamental, nor are the 'virtues' good in themselves, but all of these are right and obligatory because they minister to personality and community and so enhance the common life.[4]

In the body of the report general statements were about the methods of dealing with pupils in classrooms, the desirability of civics courses and direct instruction in ethics, and also the benefits of Student Government and clubs which encourage character building. The Committee recommended that research be furthered on character education and delinquency and discussed the preparation of teachers. In the concluding section the report states that some methods which may be employed in character or moral education in the school are:

> (a) The example and personal influence of teachers and other school officers.
> (b) Indirect moral instruction through each and all of the school studies.
> (c) Direct moral instruction by groups and on some occasions through personal conferences.
> (d) Student participation in the management of the school community--sometimes called student participation in government.
> (e) All other varieties of extracurricular activities of the school; e.g., assembly periods, debating, musical and dramatical performance, athletic contests, parties, etc.[5]

The religious dimension of the report is further indicated in the concluding chapter when the report states that "the historical development of moral ideals and standards seems to show that the most accepted objectives of character education are derived from the teachings of the generally accepted spiritual leaders of mankind . . . (e.g., Socrates and Jesus). . . ."[6] The report goes on to say in its appendix on weekday religious education that "public school teachers and administrators should not make the mistake of assuming

that this activity on the part of the churches relieves them of their responsibilities for moral or character education." Character education must be carried on in the public schools because not every student will "receive or be directly benefited by the educational work of the church," and "because character education is a phase of all education and should never be handed over exclusively to any one teacher or set of teachers nor to any one institution."[7] It seems, therefore, that the responsibility of the school in character education was parallel to that of a weekday religious education program and derived its objectives and direction from some of the same sources as religious institutions derive their message.

INTRODUCTORY SUPREME COURT RULINGS

The first of the landmark decisions involving the religion-education issue took place in 1925 in Pierce v Society of Sisters.[8] At stake was the right of parents to educate their children in non-public schools; the Oregon statute in question forbade such a right. Mr. Justice McReynolds stated:

> The fundamental theory of liberty which all governments in this Union repose excludes any general power of the State to standardize its children by forcing them to accept instruction from public teachers only. The child is not the mere creature of the State; those who nurture him and direct his destiny have the right, coupled with the high duty, to recognize and prepare him for additional obligations.[9]

It is interesting that "Pierce is frequently cited in the construction of the First Amendment, though the opinion . . . says nothing about religious liberty beyond a referral to Meyer."[10] The decision

rested on "the right of a private school to exist and 'compete' with public education"[11] and "on the primary right of parents to make their choice of schools in the education of their children."[12]

Shortly after the Pierce decision, the Court originated the "child benefit theory" in the expenditure of public monies to private schools. The court case was Cochran v Louisiana State Board of Education.[13] Chief Justice Hughes in this case involving purchase of textbooks for use by children attending both public and private schools quoted the Louisiana Supreme Court:

> The appropriations were made for the specific purpose of purchasing school books for the use of the children of the state, free of cost to them. It was for their benefit and the resulting benefit to the state that the appropriations were made. True, these children attend some school, public or private, the latter sectarian or non-sectarian, and that the books are to be furnished them for their use, free of cost, whichever they attend. The schools, however, are not the beneficiaries of the appropriations. They obtain nothing from them, nor are they relieved of a single obligation because of them.[14]

Cochran may be considered a landmark decision because it opened the way for "parochiaid."[15] The Court, as Philip Kurland has noted, "was not concerned with the separation issue. At that time it was apparently thought to be a substantial question under the due process clause whether the state monies were expended for 'a public purpose.'"[16] In the decision the Court concluded that the monies were being expended for a public purpose and therefore valid under the Fourteenth Amendment. The legislation did not set apart private schools or their students for benefits specifically. "Its interest

is education, broadly: its method, comprehensive. Individual interests are aided only as the common interest is safeguarded.'"[17]

In 1940 the Court dealt specifically with the relation of the First Amendment religious freedoms and state laws. In Cantwell v Connecticut[18] the Court stated that "the fundamental concept of liberty in that Amendment embraces the liberties guaranteed by the First Amendment." The Court declared that "the Fourteenth Amendment has rendered the legislatures of the states as incompetent as Congress to enact such laws."[19] Also in this case, which involved a father and his two minor sons who were distributing religious literature of their sect "door-to-door" and on street corners, the Court made another important holding. It held that the First "Amendment embraces two concepts--the freedom to believe and the freedom to act. The first is absolute but, in the nature of things, the second cannot be."[20]

THE FLAG SALUTE CASES

At the time of World War II two cases were decided which involved rituals of patriotism that were interpreted by a certain sect, Jehovah's Witnesses, to be religious. The difference between the two cases was not what was questioned but the answer that the Court gave. In Minersville School District v Gobitis[21] the Court in an eight to one decision upheld the right of public schools to require the recitation of the pledge to the flag as a patriotic exercise. The Jehovah's Witnesses believed that this was a religious ritual and unacceptable to their interpretation of Scripture. The

Court, however, three years later reversed itself in West Virginia State Board of Education v Barnette.[22] It was held in the second case that "the action of the local authorities in compelling the flag salute and pledge transcends constitutional limitations on their power and invades the sphere of intellect and spirit which it is the purpose of the First Amendment to our Constitution to reserve from all official control."[23] The question presented to the Court was substantially the same in Barnette and Gobitis. Although there were several reasons for its changed opinion, in Barnette the Court ruled against compelling students to participate in this patriotic ritual.

The Court's opinion did not rest on grounds of whether or not religious freedom had been violated so the decision "left unrefined the principles applicable to that portion of the first amendment."[24] The importance of the case clearly lies in the idea of compulsion:

> Barnette was a case in which government used its schools to foster an idea--namely, allegiance to the state--which lies in the 'secular intellectual' realm. This is the sort of thing government does all the time, and is fully entitled to do, provided that it does not infringe the individual's right of intellectual nonconformity, religious or otherwise.[25]

AMERICAN COUNCIL ON EDUCATION

The American Council on Education created the Committee on Religion and Education in the 1940's. The Committee was to identify and define the issues and undertake "to analyze the existing situation and to state some broad principles which it is hoped will find a large measure of acceptance and which will stimulate constructive criticism and experimentation."[26]

After definition of such terms as "secular," "religion," and "teaching," the Council's Committee denied that the schools should teach a common core of religious belief because it "suggests a watering-down of the several faiths to the point where common essentials appear" and this could lead to "a public school sect." It recognized also that some were outside the churches and synagogues and that indoctrination was inappropriate to public education. However, the Committee upheld the right of the public schools to foster spiritual values because "democracy is a spiritual ideal" and "the discipline of the scientific method has a definitely ethical quality."[27]

Writing at a time just prior to the Court's major declarations on the relationship of schools and religion based upon the First Amendment freedoms, the Committee expressed the concern over the confusion as to the "clear and definite meaning to the doctrine of separation of church and state outside the educational field. The confusion in education is part of a larger confusion." To solve this problem the Committee discussed the meaning of the doctrine of separation in this way: "there shall be no ecclesiastical control of political functions; there shall be no political dictation in the ecclesiastical sphere except as public safety or public morals may require it."[28]

The Committee's findings may be summarized in nine items:

1. The problem is to find a way in public education to give due recognition to the place of religion in the culture and convictions of our people while at the same time safeguarding the separation of church and state.
2. The separation of American public education from church control was not intended to exclude all study of religion from the school program.

3. Teaching of a common core of religious beliefs in the public schools is not a satisfactory solution.
4. Teaching of 'moral' and 'spiritual' values cannot be regarded as an adequate substitute for an appropriate consideration of religion in the school program.
5. Teaching which opposes or denies religion is as much a violation of religious liberty as teaching which advocates or supports any particular religious beliefs.
6. Introducing factual study of religion will not commit the public schools to any particular religious beliefs.
7. The role of the school in the study of religion is distinct from, though complementary to, the role of the church.
8. The public school should stimulate the young toward a vigorous, personal reaction to the challenge of religion.
9. The public school should assist youth to have an intelligent understanding of the historical and contemporary role of religion in human affairs.[29]

In its conclusion to the report the Committee had the opinion that "religion is either central in human life or it is inconsequential."[30] They then indicated their view that it is "a responsibility of public education" to create an awareness of the importance of religious institutions. The school should build "durable convictions about the meaning of life" without dictating these convictions. It should also "foster a sense of obligation to achieve" these convictions. To foster these convictions the schools would also "bring its students into contact with the spiritual resources of the community." The report noted that to make "education complete" one needed "a strong faith that can resolve the perplexities of life and a lasting commitment to high purpose . . . ."[31]

EVERSON

As Cochran had defined the "child benefit theory," the 1947 Everson v Board of Education[32] decision refined the test of child

benefit. Everson challenged a New Jersey statute that allowed parents of children attending church schools to be reimbursed for bus transportation costs. In Everson Mr. Justice Black referred to Jefferson's "wall of separation between church and state" and stated that the wall had not been breached in this instance because the law "does no more than provide a general program to help parents get their children, regardless of their religion, safely and expeditiously to and from accredited schools."[33] The Court argued also that general welfare legislation did not violate the Establishment clause.[34]

In the same opinion Justice Black set up criteria for judging the separation known as the Everson Dicta: (1) Government cannot set up a church, (2) pass laws which aid one, aid all or prefer one, or (3) cannot force a person to go to or stay away from church; (4) No one is to be punished for his beliefs; (5) There is to be no tax support for religion; (6) The State cannot be involved in affairs of a religious organization.[35] The Court's attempt was a policy of strict separation of church and state: no aid. The aid in Everson was secular in purpose and was for all children required to attend the schools.

The Court did not deal with the statutes of other states in the case and only indicated that a state may permit public transport of church school students. Boles has noted that "the ruling in essence returned the issue to the states to determine if this practice was permitted by the state constitutions and statutes."[36]

THE RELEASED TIME CASES

The Court ruled on two released-time cases, McCollum v Board of Education (1948)[37] and Zorach v Clauson (1952)[38] as it continued to define the relationship between the public schools and church groups. Both cases involved the public schools releasing students from school to attend religious education classes on school time. The significant difference between the two cases was that in McCollum the classes were held in the school whereas in Zorach the students were released to classes held off school property. The court ruled the Champaign plan of released-time in McCollum unconstitutional because the tax-supported public schools were used for the religion classes and this constituted aid to religion. Mr. Justice Black delivered the opinion saying, "the operation of the State's compulsory education system thus assists and is integrated with the program of religious instruction carried on by separate religious sects."[39]

Prior to McCollum there had not been "a more forceful and unequivocal denunciation of church-state entanglements . . . the Court was adamant in abiding strictly by the 'separation of the Church and State' principle. It left no doubt in its upholding the impregnability of the 'wall of separation.'"[40] Mr. Justice Frankfurter wrote:

> Separation means separation, not something less. Jefferson's metaphor in describing the relation between Church and State speaks of a 'wall of separation,' not a fine line easily overstepped . . . In no activity of the State is it more vital to keep out divisive forces than in its schools, to avoid confusing, not to say fusing, what the Constitution sought to keep strictly apart.[41]

After the McCollum decision, there was a drop off in the number of released time programs. "The magnitude of the drop-off may have been on the order of 20 percent in terms of programs, about 10 percent in terms of pupils. Much of this loss was regained later (after Zorach). However, not all on-premises programs of religious education were discontinued." In fact a ruling in Virginia by the then Attorney General Almond stated that Virginia schools might continue released-time classes in the schools. Later released-time programs held in public school facilities in Virginia were struck down by a federal court ruling.[42]

In Zorach the neutrality test was advanced when Mr. Justice Douglas stated, "The government must be neutral when it comes to competition between sects."[43] Justice Douglas was stating in his opinion the basis for interpreting the First Amendment. The free exercise clause he defined as meaning that there will be no discrimination on religious grounds. The establishment clause relies on not giving aid for religious activities except where the aid rests on a legitimate secular basis. Mr. Justice Douglas also stated:

> When the state encourages religious instruction or cooperates with religious authorities by adjusting the schedule of public events to sectarian needs, it follows the best of our traditions. For it then respects the religious nature of our people and accommodates the public service to their spiritual needs.[44]

Justice Douglas interpreted the free exercise clause in a way that allows the state to accommodate itself to religious sects but at the same time retaining a posture of neutrality. Neutrality then becomes "a form of benevolent neutrality" with the concept of

accommodation as a result.[45] The Douglas opinion later in the Schempp decision further defined neutrality. Justice Douglas also commented in Zorach that "the constitutional standard is a separation of church and state. The problem, like many problems in constitutional law, is one of degree."[46]

In the Zorach case the Court weighed and appraised various competing interests and tried to strike a balance through the judicial process. The state gave freedom to parents to give their children religious instruction and weighed this above entanglement with the public schools. The Court was saying then that the public schools should accommodate themselves to the free exercise of religious beliefs. "No aid" and "neutrality" ask the question whether government is giving aid or is putting religion at a special disadvantage. The accommodation theory then "should be seen as a modification of the no-aid or neutrality concepts."[47]

The Zorach decision had two outcomes in relation to the public school released-time programs. The decision had a legitimizing effect in that it produced a calm in the released time scene, as the opponents of released-time programs recognized that the constitutional issue was settled and did not bring more litigation.[48] Also, even though Zorach allowed an acceptable program for religious education during the school day, "the programs in defiance of the Court continued."[49]

EDUCATIONAL POLICIES COMMISSION

In the period between McCollum and Zorach the National Education Association charged the Educational Policies Commission with developing

a study "to consider the role of the public schools in the development of moral and spiritual values."[50] The opening affirmation of its report specifically argued that although "the public schools of this nation must be non-denominational," and must "have no part in securing acceptance of any one of the numerous systems of belief . . .," the public schools are not "anti-religious" and are "in fact, hospitable to all religious opinions and partial to none of them."[51]

The Commission's report did not press for the strict separation of church and school. Public education should be "a common education" not inculcating a particular creed nor derived from a "synthetic patchwork" of many religious views, but rather it must respect "all religious opinions" and be developed from the moral and spiritual views "which are shared by the members of all religious faiths. Such education has profound religious significance."[52] The report went on to add:

> Our society leaves to the home and the church the responsibility for instruction designed to secure the acceptance of a religious faith. Thus the home, the church, and the school each share in moral and spiritual development, while each may make the contribution to that development for which it is peculiarly fitted.[53]

The Commission noted values on which it said, "the American people are agreed." The values, the report stated, "find political expression in the Constitution and Bill of Rights. Although these declarations are not couched in terms of rituals or other religious forms, the major religious groups can discover in their respective Bibles and creeds many statements which support them."[54] Human personality, moral responsibility, devotion to truth, respect for

excellence, brotherhood, the pursuit of happiness and spiritual enrichment were among those values listed as common to all Americans. The Commission commented that although American democracy cannot develop a religion based upon commonly held values, there are morals and values which command "the allegiance of all thoughtful Americans. . . . However we may disagree on religious creeds, we can agree on moral and spiritual values."[55]

The Commission, it may be argued, provided an indication of the religious nature of the common values when it noted that, "although assent to these values may be dictated by reason, their driving power is generated in large part by the spiritual and emotional loyalties which they create in the hearts of mankind."[56]

The Commission admitted that "many Americans find the ultimate sanctions for their system of values in religious convictions," but went on to state that historical precedent and social pressures were also viable sanctions for value systems. The report did not specifically state what would be the reference for accepting a certain set of values, giving instead three criteria. First, the sanction should not "bring the constructive moral or religious teaching of the home into contempt." Second, "the choice of sanctions should involve the largest possible freedom for the child's reason." And last, the Commission recommended that in any given situation a variety of sanctions be given.[57]

A program for implementing and promoting moral and spiritual values was tenuously provided in its report. The program included the following items:

1. Defining as goals the accepted moral and spiritual values in our society;
2. Encouraging and helping the individual teacher;
3. Giving attention to moral and spiritual values in teacher education;
4. Teaching these moral and spiritual values at every opportunity;
5. Utilizing all of the school's resources;
6. Devoting sufficient time and staff to wholesome personal relationships;
7. Assuming an attitude of friendly sympathy toward the religious beliefs and practices of students;
8. Promoting religious tolerance actively;
9. Teaching about religion as an important fact in our culture.[58]

The recommendations for the public schools fall into the trap of lacking specificity and concrete suggestions. An attitude of friendly sympathy by one person may be perceived as toleration, condescension, or outright persecution by another. The Commission as Michaelson has noted also "appeared to be saying that something beyond the merely moral is needed for a sense of imperative and a depth of conviction, or that the moral cannot be understood merely in terms of code."[59]

THE PRAYER AND BIBLE READING CASES

Well entrenched in the public schools from its earliest history were two religious practices, essentially Protestant in nature, that the Court ruled on within a short span of time in the early sixties. The first ruling dealt with the recitation of an official non-sectarian prayer and the second with the practice of reading the Bible and reciting prayer as a devotional exercise.

In 1961 the Court was called on to consider an official prayer adopted by the New York Board of Regents which read "'Almighty God, we

acknowledge our dependence upon Thee, and we beg Thy blessings upon us, our parents, our teachers, and our country.'"[60] The Court ruled in Engel v Vitale that "it is no part of the business of government to compose official prayers for any groups of the American people to recite as a part of a religious program carried on by the government."[61] The prayer was an "unquestioned religious exercise." This ruling further clarified the neutrality standard, but also considered a test of political divisiveness. Mr. Justice Douglas wrote in his concurring opinion that "once government finances a religious exercise it inserts a divisive influence into our communities."[62]

At the time of the Engel decision the District of Columbia required the use of the Lord's Prayer, three states permitted prayer by statute, and four by adjudication. An amicus brief written by the Attorney Generals of nineteen states supporting the use of the Regent's prayer, also gives indication that practice of prayer existed in the schools. Indeed, "the importance of the case rests in the fact that it voided practices common in many public schools since colonial times."[63]

As an interesting post script to Engel it should be noted that "about the only way in which a Supreme Court ruling would uphold the recitation of mandated prayers in the public schools would be by amendment to the Constitution."[64] That is exactly what was attempted. Within the two months after the decision approximately fifty proposals for Constitutional amendments relating to prayers in the schools were submitted in the House and Senate.

Two years after the Supreme Court ruled against the use of the Regent's prayer in Engel, it was again called upon to decide the fate

of the devotional use of the Bible and the Lord's Prayer in the public schools. In the companion cases of School District of Abington Township v Schempp[65] and Murray v Curtlett[66] which were ruled on in a single decision, the Court held that the exercises in question were unconstitutional under the Establishment clause.

Bible reading prior to Schempp had been a well established practice in public education. Michaelson has observed that "Bible reading has probably received more general support among Protestants than any other device designed to bring religion into the schools." It has been acceptable to Protestant groups "across the entire theological spectrum and to both layman and clergyman, denominational executive and man in the pew." He notes also that William Jennings Bryan and Harry Emerson Fosdick "could agree on the value of Bible reading even they were completely at odds in interpreting what they found in the book."[67] A 1946 survey of state superintendents indicated that only eight could answer "in the negative when asked whether Bible reading was permitted in their states."[68]

The general trend prior to the Schempp decision was for state courts to uphold Bible reading in the schools. Boles has stated the major premise of the courts was that:

> The Bible was not a sectarian book since they could see no significant differences between the King James Version of the Protestants and the Douay Version of the Roman Catholics. Since Christianity was so interwoven in the fabric of our government, these courts concluded, to prohibit such practices would violate our historic traditions. Moreover, the courts felt that Bible reading was important to an understanding of history and literature.[69]

In 1952 the Supreme Court was asked to rule on a Bible reading case, Doremus v Board of Education,[70] that brought into question a New Jersey law requiring the reading from the Bible each school day of a passage from the Old Testament. The Court held that the cause was moot because the child in the case had graduated and the taxpayers had not demonstrated facts sufficient to constitute a justifiable case. However, in his dissent Mr. Justice Douglas stated that "in the present case the issues are not feigned; the suit is not collusive; the mismanagement of the school system that is alleged is clear and plain." He added that "where the clash of interests is as real and as strong as it is here, it is odd indeed to hold there is no case or controversy . . . ."[71]

The other question raised in Schempp was the use of the Lord's Prayer. Justice Tom Clark has noted that "after Engel v Vitale came down, people--and lawyers in particular--began to read the cases in an effort to see if there was some way they might get around them." It was thought by some people that "part of the Bible that might be used in lieu of the prayer that had been written by the New York Board of Regents. So the Lord's Prayer was chosen for use in Pennsylvania's Abington school district."[72]

The programs, then, that were attacked in these cases were "prescribed as part of the curricular activities of students who are required by law to attend school." By noting that "alternate use of denominational versions of the Bible" was allowed, the states were admitting to the religious nature of the activities.[73] Also since

the passage read was chosen from the Bible and was required of all students except those who want to leave, the Court decided that the voluntary nature of the exercises was removed essentially by peer pressure.[74]

Mr. Justice Clark in writing the Schempp decision further defined the neutrality principle by stating two descriptors: (1) government cannot advance or inhibit religion, and (2) legislation must have a secular legislative purpose and a primary effect of neither advancing nor inhibiting religion.

It was significant that the Bible was not outlawed for secular educational objectives. In his concurring opinion, Justice Goldberg discriminated "between the legal practice of teaching about religion as contrasted with the illegal teaching of religion."[75] However, he didn't define precisely the difference between "teaching about" and "teaching of." Leo Pfeffer has noted that teaching about the Bible may not be neutral. If the Bible is taught in a course in literature and treated as a work of man expressly or by implication, this "implication of human authorship can hardly be deemed a manifestation of neutrality; certainly, the millions who ardently believed that the Bible is the sacred and immutable Word of God would not think it is so."[76]

Besides the question of genuine "neutrality" in the Court's position on Bible reading, the problem of the Schempp decision's establishment of a religion of secularism was raised. The Court declared that "the State may not establish a 'religion of secularism'

in the sense of affirmatively opposing or showing hostility to religion, thus 'preferring those who believe in no religion over those who do believe.'"[77] Justice Stewart in his dissent distinctly spelled out the problem. The argument is presented, he said, that if "parents want their children exposed to religious influence," they can fulfill their wishes outside school hours and other settings. However, refusing to allow religious exercises may be viewed as establishing "a religion of secularism" or at least placing "government in support of the beliefs of those who think that religious exercises should be conducted only in private." The problem is created because as Stewart noted "a compulsory state educational system so structures a child's life that if religious exercises are held to be an impermissable activity in schools, religion is placed at an artificial and state-created disadvantage."[78]

If this warning about the establishment of a religion of secularism has any meaning in terms of classroom instruction, it can, as Carl F. H. Henry sees it, "only mean that teachers in public schools have no license to indoctrinate students in comprehensive contingency, radical relativity, and total transiency of reality. Nor may they encourage student commitment to human autonomy as against divine authority."[79]

What was the impact of the Schempp decision on the public schools? In 1963 one author predicted "that a substantial number will make no move to comply until they find themselves the direct targets of court decrees, and it is entirely possible that in many

communities there will be no decrees because there are no willing plaintiffs."[80] This is particularly true where one religion predominates in an area or where religious sentiments are particularly strong.[81]

Several pieces of information seem to indicate the less than total turn around in public school practices after Schempp. A survey in Kentucky after Schempp revealed that only 61 of 204 school districts "had discontinued prayers and Bible reading, and 121 superintendents had unwritten policies permitting both, while in Indiana fewer than 6 percent of the boards had changed policies to come into compliance with the Court."[82] In Tennessee of 121 of the state's 152 which had some form of policy, "51 did change their policy somewhat, but only one eliminated devotional exercises; the others made student participation voluntary and left matters to the individual teacher as to whether the exercises should be held."[83] A survey by United Press International released on August 6, 1963 "indicated that 'prayer and Bible reading will continue this fall in many public schools despite the Supreme Court's ruling that such religious exercises are unconstitutional.'"[84] Another survey taken nationally of school administrators on the question "Will the ruling modify any current practices in your district?" resulted in 28 percent responding "yes" and 72 percent responding "no."[85] Lastly, in response to the question "Have the recent rulings by the United States Supreme Court concerning prayer and Bible reading in public schools caused any changes to be made in the policies and/or practices relating to religious activity in your

district?", 93.76 percent of 481 of Missouri's superintendents responded "no."[86] Each of these studies may have had individual flaws in design, but the sum total of their results seem to indicate that the Schempp decision did not cause unconstitutional public school practices to cease.

As with the aftermath of Engel, the Schempp decision brought on a vast number of measures to amend the Constitution to permit prayer, Bible reading, or both in the public schools. In fact there were 150 separate measures sponsored by 111 Congressmen to amend the constitution.[87] One of the more notable of these amendments was brought to the Judiciary Committee by Congressman Frank Becker within three months after the Schempp ruling. It read:

> Section 1. Nothing in this Constitution shall be deemed to prohibit the offering, reading from or listening to prayers or Biblical scriptures, if participation therein is on a voluntary basis, in any governmental or public school, institution, or place.
>
> Section 2. Nothing in the Constitution shall be deemed to prohibit making a reference to belief in, reliance upon or invoking the aid of God or a Supreme Being, in any governmental or public document, coinage, currency, or obligation of the United States.
>
> Section 3. Nothing in this article shall constitute an establishment of religion.[88]

The Becker amendment never left committee. Since then congressmen have continued to sponsor amendments. In 1977 seven individual amendments to the Constitution were introduced to allow prayer in public institutions or in public schools specifically.[89]

AASA COMMISSION

In the sixties the American Association of School Administrators (AASA) appointed a Commission on Religion in the Public Schools with

the intent that the Commission would "provide a set of guidelines for those who frame local school policy and those who administer and teach within such policy."[90] The report, published first in 1964, recognized the effect the Supreme Court decisions were having stating that the Court's decisions had "stimulated the public schools to search for appropriate means to deal effectively with religion as one of the great influences in man's history . . . ."[91] Neutrality was a significant topic in the report and the Commission said that "complete adherence to this concept of neutrality means not a denial of religion but rather a recognition of the religious integrity of each individual. It means that public schools carry a high obligation to ensure the individual freedoms essential to this goal."[92] The report went on to say that "the schools must be neutral in respect to the religious beliefs of individual citizens. But this does not mean in any sense that public schools are or should be irreligious."[93]

In addition to neutrality the Commission felt that the public schools had "the responsibility to provide an environment in which practices and values that are rooted in the homes and churches can flourish." Constructive public policies were the method to be used to accomplish this task. The Commission proposed that "constructive policy must be developed in every school district that will not only guarantee freedom from the establishment of religion but equally will foster for religion."[94]

To assist in accomplishing this task of developing constructive policy, the Commission dealt with "the problems and complexities

involved in establishing sound policy . . . ."[95] The following issues were discussed in the report:

(a) observations of religious holidays particularly Christmas and Easter,

(b) the demands of out-of-school and after-school religious activities,

(c) the composition of the teaching staff in public schools,

(d) ceremonies associated with schools such as baccalaureates, dedications, and invocations, and

(e) affirmative activities related to religion such as curriculum, materials, and associated practices.

Although the Commission may not have touched some of the most difficult problems such as the possible establishment of a "religion of secularism," it did recognize that "the task is challenging. No perfect answers have been found. But the Commission believes that better and more appropriate materials and methods will be developed as the nature of the challenge is more widely understood, and as educators themselves move to meet it."[96]

THE EVOLUTION CASE

For nearly a half-century since the fundamentalist-modernist controversy, "legislators, school officials, teachers and parents had been in a quandary regarding the legality of having the theory of evolution taught in the public schools."[97] Several states had enacted anti-evolution laws and in Epperson v Arkansas[98] the Court ruled one

State's law unconstitutional. The Arkansas law prohibited the teaching in its public schools of the theory that man evolved from other species of life.

Epperson was a dead-letter case because the sons of the plaintiff were no longer affected by the statute by the time the case reached the Supreme Court. Why did the Court rule? Pfeffer has commented:

> It is a reasonable guess that the Court was determined to place a seal of finality on a judgment--rendered in the McCollum case, deviated from slightly in the Zorach case, but reaffirmed in the Engel and Schempp decisions--that under the American Constitution public education must be secular in determining both what is included and what is excluded from its programs and curriculum.[99]

WISCONSIN V YODER

One final Supreme Court decision must be included in this historical review, because of the character of its questioning of both the nature of public secondary education and parental rights to raise their children. In Wisconsin v Yoder[100] the Court was called on in 1972 to decide whether a conviction under Wisconsin's compulsory attendance laws should be upheld. It recognized that "formal high school education beyond the eighth grade is contrary to Amish beliefs." The Court noted that "it places Amish children in an environment hostile to Amish beliefs with increasing emphasis on competition . . . and with pressure to conform . . ." to the peer group. It was also stated that high school "takes them away from their community, physically and emotionally, during the crucial and formative adolescent period of life."[101] The Court went on:

> As the record so strongly shows, the values and programs of the modern secondary school are in sharp conflict with the fundamental mode of life mandated by the Amish religion; modern laws requiring compulsory secondary education have accordingly engendered great concern and conflict. The conclusion is inescapable that secondary schooling, by exposing Amish children to worldly influences in terms of attitudes, goals, and values contrary to beliefs, and by substantially interfering with the religious development of the Amish child and his integration into the way of life of the Amish faith community at the crucial adolescent stage of development, contravenes the basic religious tenets of the Amish faith, both as to the parent and the child.[102]

Chief Justice Burger in writing the Court's opinion was very clear in pointing out the role and responsibility of parents in the upbringing of their children particularly in the area of religion. Justice Burger acknowledged what he called "the fundamental interest of parents," that is the desire "to guide the religious future and education of their children." The opinion stated:

> That if the State is empowered . . . to 'save' a child from himself or his Amish parents by requiring an additional two years of compulsory formal high school education, the State will in large measure influence, if not determine, the religious future of the child . . . ."[103]

Justice Burger seemed to want to place a seal of finality on parental rights when he added, "This primary role of the parents in the upbringing of their children is now established beyond debate as an enduring American tradition."[104]

COMMENTARY ON THE SUPREME COURT'S POSITION

At this point this review will concentrate on the suggested meanings given by the Court of the acceptable relationship between religion and the public schools. An eye will be focused on difficulties which arise out of the issue itself and the Court's opinions over

the past decades. Later in this project this commentary will of necessity be considered in developing functional public school policy.

It was not until 1940 that the Supreme Court applied the First Amendment religious guarantees to the states through the Fourteenth Amendment in Cantwell v Connecticut.[105] The Bill of Rights as Justice Tom Clark notes "was placed in the Constitution as a protection against the federal government, against federal encroachment rather than state encroachment."[106] Even taking into account the rulings by the Supreme Court since Cantwell, "the great bulk of controversy affecting public schools that has risen in this country has not reached the United States Supreme Court but has been settled on a state court level."[107] However, state court decisions are binding only to those states and on many issues a variety of state supreme courts have taken "diametrically opposed positions on the same religiously oriented practice . . . ."[108] The Supreme Court's decisions, however, may supersede a state court ruling and have generally provided the guidelines of public school practices.

The religion clauses of the First Amendment read: "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof . . . ." The free exercise clause has its concern as Justice Douglas observes that "every person worship as he please or worship not at all," and it implicitly recognizes "that men have a relation to God that is in their own keeping and free from interference by others."[109] This clause "has not been taken literally so as to include any practice a 'believer' embraces. While religious

belief may not be tested or challenged in court, religious practice may be."[110]

The establishment clause of the First Amendment indicates that "the state is unable to judge in religious matters and the church is incapable of judging in political matters. All sectarian groups flourish because none sets in authority over the others."[111] Though the primary concern may be with institutional religious pressures, there is also concern for the protection of individual prerogatives of conscience.[112] Sometimes in protecting individual prerogatives it may appear that there is a clash between the First Amendment free exercise clause and the establishment provision as Justice Douglas has commented:

> The use of public funds to build chapels and provide chaplains at military establishments for members of the armed services is one instance; and the furnishing of like facilities in state and federal penal institutions is another. Yet the people involved--members of the armed services and prisoners--have been deprived of their usual opportunity to worship as they choose. Therefore it is said that government may provide the facilities lest these groups be deprived of their free exercise rights. No coercion is involved; merely a gap is being filled which otherwise would lead to a denial of a constitutional right.[113]

In referring generally to freedom of religion the Court has developed a three fold frame of reference. First, the individual has the right to belief, this right is "absolute and cannot be abridged." Second, the right to advocate one's beliefs can be curtailed, "if there is immediate danger of substantial injury to others." Last, there exists the right to practice, but "Congress could, however, as a valid exercise of its duty to protect the health, welfare, and morals of the nation, impose reasonable regulations which might have the effect of restraining certain religious practices."[114]

In further clarifying religious freedom the Court has taken a case-to-case approach.[115] This approach has not produced a totally distinct pattern. In Cochran the Court seemed to see "a distinction among the People, the State, and the Church. If a piece of legislation aids the People and the State but does not aid the Church directly, it is constitutional." By 1947 the Court, as Marnell notes, saw less of a distinction between the three and seemed to see the People and the Church fused in contradistinction to the State.[116]

> Out of this fusion emerges the new pattern of thinking. Does the Constitution forbid an establishment of religion, or does it forbid an establishment of religion? (Emphasis in original) These subtleties are hard to grasp, and even harder to express on the printed page. A free bus ride is certainly not an establishment of religion; that phrase has a direct historical meaning. But is any aid, however slight, however indirect, that may accrue to a church through social legislation designed to aid the people and the State an establishment of religion?[117]

Even with the subtle difficulties the Supreme Court has begun to develop theories against which legislation and policies may be weighed. These theories may be defined as strict separation, neutrality, and accommodation.[118] The theory of strict separation is most clearly defined by Thomas Jefferson's idea of "the wall of separation" and first spoken of by Justice Black in Everson. This "wall of separation" allowed for no aid to religion. "Government can do nothing which involves governmental support of religion or which is favorable to the cultivation of religious interests."[119]

Justice Clark defined the neutrality theory in Schempp when he said that legislation should have a secular purpose and an effect that neither advances nor inhibits religion. The application of this theory is in practice very difficult because "it is frequently impossible for

government to act without having some effect on religion, either tending to abridge its free exercise or to establish it."[120] Wilber Katz has stated the problem in public schools as "'keeping the schools secular (i.e. ruling out any attempt to inculcate religious belief) and yet avoiding inculcation of secularism (i.e. a philosophy of life which leaves no place for religion).'"[121]

The third theory, accommodation, recognizes as Kauper notes that "any limitations derived from the establishment limitation cannot be rigidly applied so as to preclude all aid to religion or to require absolute neutrality . . . ." He says that establishment and free exercise cannot be viewed in isolation from each other, but "that in some situations government must, and in other situations may, accommodate its policies and laws in the furtherance of religious freedom."[122] Mr. Justice Douglas in Zorach stated:

> When the state encourages religious instruction or cooperates with religious authorities by adjusting the schedule of public events to sectarian needs, it follows the best of our traditions. For it then respects the religious nature of our people and accommodates the public service to their spiritual needs.[123]

Although the Court has applied each of the three theories in the past, the development of these theories and their application has not made clear what will be the future of the Supreme Court's stand on religion and the public schools. The issue then "is no longer whether the state may involve itself with religion . . . but, now, only to what degree may its 'entanglement' extend."[124] However, this "entanglement" could be on the side of secularism or against supernatural religion. Mr. Justice Rehnquist expressed in his opinion in Meek v Pittenger:

> I am disturbed as much by the overtones of the Court's opinion as by its actual holding. The Court apparently believes that the Establishment Clause of the First Amendment not only mandates religious neutrality on the part of government but also required that this Court go further and throw its weight on the side of those who believe that our society as a whole should be a purely secular one.[125]

In a footnote in Torcaso v Watkins in 1961 the Court noted that "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."[126] This definition of religion seems to indicate that "whenever a public school teacher deals with honesty as a moral value, for example, the teacher must not handle on the same basis the sanctions which come from revealed and supernatural religion as those sanctions which come from human experience."[127] Yet, Justice Rehnquist's comments in Meek indicate that this is not the case. In fact, the Court continues to use the secular-religious dichotomy and through it has eliminated religious observances from the public schools. However, it has as Stephen Arons writes in the Harvard Educational Review "implied that the secular content of schooling does not touch upon the basic beliefs and values of students or that such secular values are unworthy of protection."[128] The government must, therefore, walk a tightrope as it attempts to balance the pursuit of the secular function of government without "the promotion by default of a secularist philosophy . . . by the government and its institutions, particularly the public schools."[129]

A very intimately related problem to the rise of the potential for establishment of secularism is the situation that "an unyielding

'neutrality' in the First Amendment must inevitably result in the gradual shrinking of organized religion." This could create problems "simply because the 'neutralized' zone of governmental activity continues to expand, gradually squeezing religion from larger and larger areas of the total environment."[130]

In Yoder the Court admitted:

> Courts are not school boards or legislatures, and are ill-equipped to determine the 'necessity' of decrete aspects of a State's program of compulsory education. This should suggest that courts must move with great circumspection in performing the sensitive and delicate task of weighing a State's legitimate social concern when faced with religious claims for exemption from generally applicable educational requirements.[131]

The Court recognized in Yoder the need to proceed cautiously in addressing the religion-education issue. What specific reasons can be provided that would add credence to this position? First, the Supreme Court has not dealt with every issue with religious implications that may arise in the public schools. The AASA report recognizes that "there are still large gray areas on which the principal guidance to date may be the tests of 'purpose and primary effect.'"[132] Second, not only are there gray areas, but also the Court has not agreed on the proper relationship between education, the church, and the state. Some have suggested that "the elements of the problem preclude the possibility of composing a formula, or test, which is at the same time internally consistent, well-principled, and feasible in its application."[133] This is closely related to the fact that "the Supreme Court approaches matters in this area on a case-to-case basis rather than attempting to fashion a ringing absolute principle of law."[134] The lack of agreement on the

issue has thus produced the several theories described above which range from strict separation to accommodation. Third, as the Court proceeds case-to-case its decisions "do not finally resolve a controversy though they dispose of a particular case. In other words, the final disposition of a case (res judicata) does not necessarily mean the final resolution of a legal controversy."[135] Last, there is a need to balance national and local interests and balance unity and diversity within the educational arena. Michaelson has noted that "stress on the unifying role of the schools within the framework of a rigid separationism and a broad interpretation of 'establishment' might possibly contribute to an excessive nationalism and secularism."[136]

THE LEGAL SITUATION IN VIRGINIA

> No State has more jealously guarded and preserved the questions of religious belief and religious worship as questions between each individual man and his Maker than Virginia.[137]

The above opinion by the Virginia Supreme Court of Appeals summarized the constitutional position of the Commonwealth of Virginia in relation to religious freedom. The Virginia constitutional bars to aid that may benefit sectarian elementary and secondary schools are even stricter than those bars that have been set down by the Supreme Court.[138] Historically, the precedent has been made for a higher wall of separation in Virginia than through Supreme Court interpretation. Thomas Jefferson's "Bill for Establishing Religious Freedom" was enacted prior to the adoption of the First Amendment. James Madison was a Virginian and "shaped the final draft of the religion clause

of the First Amendment and thwarted attempts by Anglican and Congregational establishmentarians to weaken it."[139]

In Almond v Day[140] the Virginia Supreme Court of Appeals decided a case where Virginia law provided "tuition, institutional fees, board, room rent, books and supplies" for children who had a parent disabled or killed in a World War. The Virginia court ruled in a manner that allowed for no accommodation or entanglement. The court said that "these provisions in our basic law guarantee freedom of religion and complete separation of Church and State in civil affairs."[141]

A full reading of Section 16: "Free Exercise of Religion, No Establishment of Religion" of the Virginia Constitution will reinforce the point that the Virginia constitutional guarantees go several steps beyond the Supreme Court's interpretations of the First Amendment guarantees.

> That religion or the duty which we owe to our Creator, and the manner of discharging it, can be directed only by reason and conviction, not by force or violence; and, therefore, all men are equally entitled to the free exercise of religion, according to the dictates of conscience; and that it is the mutual duty of all to practice Christian forebearance, love, and charity towards each other. No man shall be compelled to frequent or support any religious worship, place, or ministry whatsoever, nor shall be enforced, restrained, molested, or burthened in his body or goods, nor shall otherwise suffer on account of his religious opinions or belief; but all men shall be free to profess and by argument to maintain their opinions in matters of religion, and the same in nowise diminish, enlarge, or affect their civil capacities. And the General Assembly shall not prescribe any religious test whatever, or confer any peculiar privileges or advantages on any sect or denomination, or pass any law requiring or authorizing any religious society, or the people of any district within this Commonwealth, to levy on themselves or others, any tax for the erection or repair of any house of public worship, or for the support of any church or ministry; but it shall be left free to every person to select his religious instructor, and to make for his support such private contract as he shall.[142]

It is true that Virginia provides no aid to non-public religious elementary and secondary schools in the typical forms. However, it is not true that all Virginia schools have attempted to build a high wall of separation between religion and the public schools of the state. As discussed in Chapter 1, although he felt indoctrination was improper, Dr. Ruffner, state superintendent of schools, felt that "it does not follow . . . that all religious exercises should be rigidly excluded." Three recent legal situations will help to reinforce this point.

After the McCollum decision on released time education, Attorney General Almond, as mentioned above, ruled that released time classes would continue in Virginia. The fact that they did continue is evidenced in the 1970 case, Vaughn v Reed.[143] Martinsville public schools were allowing the local Week-day Religion Education Council to send teachers into the third, fourth and fifth grades for one period a week. The court found that "the holding of the McCollum decision is overwhelming. The facts of both cases are similar. . . .At least part of the evils which the court was concerned with in McCollum result under the present system."[144] In Martinsville, then, for twenty years the public schools allowed a practice considered unconstitutional by the Supreme Court.

In 1975 the Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals ruled on a released time program in Harrisonburg. The court in Smith v Smith[145] upheld the program saying that "the case is indistinguishable from and controlled by Zorach."[146] Yet in this case the court stated that Week-Day Religious Education "had been providing religious instruction in

Harrisonburg since 1963. For forty years, the teaching took place in school classrooms. Since 1963, WRE classes have been held in trailers parked on streets adjacent to the schools or in nearby churches."[147] Thus, for forty years a group teaching a particular religious viewpoint continued to teach in public school classrooms and at least sixteen of those years had been after the Supreme Court had ruled the procedure unconstitutional.

A final indicator that a high wall of separation has not been built in regard to public schools is the "one minute of silence" law passed by the General Assembly of Virginia in 1976. The law reads:

> In order that the right of every pupil to the free exercise of religion be guaranteed within the schools, and that the freedom of each individual pupil be subject to the least possible pressure from the State either to engage in, or to refrain from, religious observation on school grounds, the school board of each school division shall be authorized to establish the daily observance of one minute of silence in each classroom of the division.
>
> Where such one minute period of silence is instituted, the teacher responsible for each classroom shall take care that all pupils remain seated and silent, and make no distracting display, to the end that each pupil may, in exercise of his or her individual choice, meditate, or pray, or engage in any other silent activity which does not interfere with, distract, or impede the other pupils in the like exercise of individual choice.[148]

The intent of the law, although obscure, seems to be to bring some neutrality in the political sense into the Commonwealth's role in regard to religion in the schools. The law allows a minute of silence for students to "meditate, pray, or engage in any other silent activity . . . ." The teacher is to see to it that the students "remain seated and silent, and make no distracting display . . . ." The minute of silence law seems to breach what Jefferson called the "wall of separation."

The Virginia Bill of Rights Section 16 says, "And the General Assembly shall not . . . confer any peculiar privileges or advantages on any sect or denomination . . . ." Also in light of the Supreme Court ruling in Everson, public schools are not to aid all religions. Within the scope of the minute of silence law is the legislative sanction to aid all religions which by their nature and understanding of ultimate values include prayer to a Supreme Being as an observance of faith. The daily observation of one minute of silence is established by the law "in order that the right of every pupil to the free exercise of religion be guaranteed." The meditation, prayer and silent activity is to encourage the exercise of religion. Another breach in the wall is instituted when the teacher is forced to decide what constitutes a distracting display particularly when the act of meditation in certain religions requires a particular posture. The law demands that the teacher personally interpret another person's actions: by what standard does the teacher judge what will "interfere with, distract, or impede other pupils . . . ." This is an example, however insignificant it may appear, of the excessive entanglement of the state and an individual's personal involvement in his religion.

SUMMARY

Although there was a growing secularization of the public schools through the middle fifty years of the twentieth century, it has been evidenced that religion remained intertwined with public education. The evidence was provided by investigating committee reports

from nationally recognized committees and by reviewing a series of court cases, particularly those of the U.S. Supreme Court, dealing with the education-religion controversy. A culminating section attempted to draw together some thoughts on Supreme Court rulings. Finally, the Virginia legal situation was defined in general terms.

In 1926 the Committee on Character Education decreed that public education had as much responsibility for character education as any institution including, presumably, the church. By 1947 the American Council on Education was giving the schools a catalytic role in the child's religious persuasion saying that "the school cannot dictate these convictions and commitments, but it can and should, foster a sense of the obligation to achieve them as a supreme moral imperative . . . ." The Educational Policies Commission study on religion recognized the need for the school to promote moral and spiritual values but lacked specificity in how the schools should deal with the promotion. By the post Schempp era the AASA Commission was recognizing that policy must be developed and that the construction of policy be based on the theory of neutrality but having schools as a place where a child's religious beliefs could flourish.

The flow of Supreme Court opinions does not reveal a particular test or theory upon which to decide on the constitutionality of a program. Instead at least three major theories have developed: strict separation, neutrality, and accommodation. The development of the theories has been less than systematic.

Prior to Cantwell the Court based its rulings on something other than the First Amendment, including parental rights and the benefit

to the child. After Cantwell and the flag salute cases the First Amendment freedom of religion was considered, but a single pattern was not forthcoming. However, by examining the flow of legal decisions one can at least see that religion and the schools are intertwined.

Although each Supreme Court case must be considered in terms of its precedent, possibly the cases of most immediate significance to public education are the released time cases in the fifties and the Schempp and Engel cases which essentially outlawed devotional religious activities in the classroom. Within a span of sixteen years the Court ruled against religious activities which were allowed and followed for three hundred years in schools in America. However, immediate reaction to these cases indicated total change was not forthcoming in public American education. Further indication that the change has not been complete is a study in 1972 in which 10.72 percent of superintendents nationally indicated that devotional exercises were held in schools in their system and 33.01 percent of superintendents in the South said "yes."[149]

What does all this mean? It indicates that the problem remains unsolved. The solution still has to be found. Although the Court may not be ruling on a case, this does not demonstrate that no discontent is present. The potential for conflict between religion and public schools exists because the two are still intertwined. Therefore, educators must continue to work toward answers and solutions acceptable legally, educationally, and philosophically to all the involved parties.

CHAPTER 2 FOOTNOTES

[1]Merle Curti, The Social Ideas of American Educators (Totowa, New Jersey: Littlefield, Adams & Co., 1974), p. XXV.

[2]National Education Association: Committee on Character Education, Character Education (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1926), p. 1.

[3]Ibid., p. 12.

[4]Ibid., p. 13.

[5]Ibid., p. 67.

[6]Ibid., p. 65.

[7]Ibid., p. 87.

[8]Pierce v Society of Sisters, 268 U.S. 510, 45 S. Ct. 571 (Oregon) (1925).

[9]Ibid., p. 535.

[10]Kenneth Mott and Stephen Edelstein, "Church, State, and Education The Supreme Court and Its Critics," Journal of Law and Education, 2 (October, 1973), p. 540.

[11]Robert J. Simpson, "Church and State Implications for Educators Continue," NOLPE School Law Journal, 4 (1974), p. 172.

[12]Paul G. Kauper, Religion and the Constitution (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1964), p. 101.

[13]Cochran v Louisiana State Board of Education, 281 U.S. 370, 50 S. Ct. 355 (1930).

[14]Ibid., p. 375.

[15]Edward C. Bolmeier, Landmark Supreme Court Decisions on Public School Issues (Charlottesville, Va.: The Michie Company, 1973), p. 32.

[16]Philip B. Kurland, Religion and the Law (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company, 1962), p. 31.

[17]Cochran, op. cit., p. 375.

[18]Cantwell v Connecticut, 310 U.S. 296, 60 S. Ct. 900 (1940).

[19]Ibid., p. 303.

[20]Ibid., p. 303.

[21]Minersville School District v Gobitis, 310 U.S. 586, 60 S. Ct. 1010 (1940).

[22]West Virginia State Board of Education v Barnette, 319 U.S. 624, 63 S. Ct. 1178 (1943).

[23]Ibid., p. 642.

[24]Kurland, op. cit., p. 45.

[25]Louis H. Pollock, "Forward: Public Prayers in Public Schools," Harvard Law Review, 77 (November, 1963), pp. 72-73.

[26]American Council on Education, The Relation of Religion to Public Education, Washington, D.C., 1947, cited in Nevin C. Harner, Religion's Place in General Education (Richmond, Virginia: John Knox Press, 1949), p. 89.

[27]Ibid., pp. 116-122.

[28]Ibid., pp. 126-129.

[29]American Council on Education Studies: Reports of Committees and Conferences, XI, No. 26, Washington, D.C., April, 1947, pp. 49ff, cited in James E. Wood, "Religion and Public Education in Historical Perspective," Journal of Church and State, 14 (Autumn, 1972), p. 410.

[30]Harner, op. cit., p. 167.

[31]Ibid.

[32]Everson v Board of Education (N.J.), 330 U.S. 1, 67 S. Ct. 504 (1947).

[33]Ibid., p. 18.

[34]Donald E. Boles, The Two Swords: Commentaries and Cases in Religion and Education (Ames, Iowa: The Iowa State University Press, 1967), p. 5.

[35]Everson, op. cit., pp. 15-16.

[36]Boles, op. cit., p. 26.

[37]McCollum v Board of Education, 333 U.S. 203, 68 S. Ct. 461 (Illinois) (1948).

[38]Zorach v Clauson (N.Y.) 343 U.S. 306, 72 S. Ct. 679 (1952).

[39]McCollum v Board of Education, op. cit., p. 209.

[40]Bolmeier, op. cit., p. 71.

[41]McCollum v Board of Education, op. cit., p. 231.

[42]Stephen L. Wasby, The Impact of the United States Supreme Court: Some Perspectives (Homewood, Illinois: The Dorsey Press, 1970), p. 127. The ruling was Vaughn v Reed, 313 F. Supp. 431 (Va.) (1970).

[43]Zorach v Clauson, op. cit., p. 209.

[44]Ibid., p. 313.

[45]J. Steven O'Brien and Richard S. Vacca, The Supreme Court and Religion-Education Controversy: A Tightrope to Entanglement (Durham, North Carolina: Moore Publishing Co., 1974), p. 24.

[46]Zorach v Clauson, op. cit., p. 314.

[47]Kauper, op. cit., p. 75.

[48]Wasby, op. cit., p. 129.

[49]Ibid.

[50]Educational Policies Commission, Moral and Spiritual Values in the Public Schools (Washington, D.C.: National Education Association of the U.S., 1951), p. V.

[51]Ibid., p. 4.

[52]Ibid., p. 6.

[53]Ibid.

[54]Ibid., p. 18.

[55]Ibid., p. 33.

[56]Ibid., p. 34.

[57]Ibid., p. 37.

[58]Ibid., p. 80.

[59]Robert Michaelson, Piety in the Public School (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1970), p. 53.

[60]Engel v Vitale, 370 U.S. 421, 82 S. Ct. 1261 (1962), p. 422.

[61]Ibid., p. 425.

[62]Ibid., p. 442.

[63]Boles, op. cit., p. 80.

[64]Bolmeier, op. cit., p. 118.

[65]School District of Abington Township v Schempp, 374 U.S. 203, 83 S. Ct. 1560 (Pa.) (1963).

[66]Murray v Curtlett, 228 Md. 239, 179 A 2d 698 (1962).

[67]Michaelson, op. cit., p. 169.

[68]Ibid., p. 168.

[69]Boles, op. cit., p. 116.

[70]Doremus v Board of Education, 342 U.S. 429 (1952).

[71]Ibid., p. 435.

[72]Tom C. Clark, "Personal Reflections on the Schempp Decision," Religion Studies in the Curriculum, ed. Peter Bracher et al. (Dayton, Ohio: PERSC, 1974), p. 14.

[73]Donald E. Boles, The Bible, Religion, and the Public Schools (Ames, Iowa: Iowa State University Press, 1965), p. 146.

[74]Clark, op. cit., p. 15.

[75]Bolmeier, op. cit., p. 128.

[76]Leo Pfeffer, God, Caesar, and the Constitution (Boston: Beacon Press, 1975), p. 225.

[77]Schempp, op. cit., p. 225.

[78]Ibid., pp. 312-313.

[79]Carl F. H. Henry, "Religious Education versus Academic Religion Studies," Religion Studies in the Curriculum, ed. Peter Bracher et al. (Dayton, Ohio: PERSC, 1974), p. 75.

[80]Pollock, op. cit., p. 63.

[81]Wasby, op. cit., p. 130.

[82]Ibid., p. 131.

[83]Ibid., p. 134.

[84]Burl A. McClanahan, "School Board Policy and Its Implementation Relating to Religious Activities in Missouri Public Schools," Unpublished Doctoral dissertation, The University of Missouri, Columbia, 1965, p. 74.

[85]Ibid.

[86]Ibid., p. 77.

[87]Pfeffer, God, Caesar, and the Constitution, op. cit., p. 213.

[88]Ibid.

[89]The following Joint Resolutions were submitted in the House of Representatives during the 95th Congress in 1977 introducing a Constitutional Amendment on prayer: H.J.R. 2; 8; 63; 143; 147; 161; 420.

[90]American Association of School Administrators, Religion in the Public Schools (New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1965), p. X.

[91]Ibid., p. 55.

[92]Ibid., p. 4.

[93]Ibid.

[94]Ibid., p. 28.

[95]Ibid.

[96]Ibid., p. 55.

[97]Bolmeier, op. cit., p. 158.

[98]Epperson v Arkansas, 393 U.S. 97, 89 S. Ct. 266 (1968).

[99]Pfeffer, God, Caesar, and the Constitution, op. cit., p. 224.

[100]Wisconsin v Yoder, 406 U.S. 205, 92 S. Ct. 1526 (1972).

[101]Ibid., p. 211.

[102]Ibid., pp. 217-218.

[103]Ibid., p. 232.

[104]Ibid.

[105]Simpson, loc. cit.

[106]Clark, op. cit., p. 13.

[107]Donald E. Boles, "Church-State Conflicts," Journal of Church and State, 14 (Spring, 1972), p. 316.

[108]Ibid.

[109]William O. Douglas, The Bible and the Schools (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1966), p. 4.

[110]Ibid., p. 6.

[111]Ibid., pp. 51-2.

[112]William W. Van Alstyne, "Constitutional Separation of Church and State," American Political Science Review, 57 (December, 1963), p. 874.

[113]Douglas, op. cit., p. 13.

[114]Boles, "Church-State," op. cit., pp. 301-302.

[115]Ibid., p. 303.

[116]William H. Marnell, The First Amendment (Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1964), p. 172.

[117]Ibid.

[118]Kauper, op. cit., p. 59.

[119]Ibid.

[120]Van Alstyne, op. cit., p. 882.

[121]Wilber G. Katz, "Freedom of Religion and State Neutrality," University of Chicago Law Review, 20 (1963), p. 438, cited in Mott, op. cit., p. 577.

[122]Kauper, loc. cit.

[123]Zorach, op. cit., p. 314.

[124]Mott, op. cit., p. 591.

[125]Meek v Pittenger, 421 U.S. 349, 95 S. Ct. 1753 (1975), p. 1778.

[126]Torcaso v Watkins, 367 U.S. 488 (1961), p. 495.

[127]R. L. Hunt, "Policy Problems Arising From Current Trends and Recent Court Decisions," Religious Education, 59 (July, 1964), p. 316.

[128]Stephen Arons, "The Separation of School and State," Harvard Educational Review, 46 (February, 1976), p. 97.

[129]Kauper, op. cit., p. 32.

[130]Van Alstyne, op. cit., p. 881.

[131]Wisconsin v Yoder, op. cit., pp. 234-5.

[132]American Association of School Administrators, op. cit., p. 25.

[133]Mott, op. cit., p. 585.

[134]Boles, The Bible, Religion and the Public Schools, op. cit., p. 210.

[135]O'Brien, op. cit., p. 7.

[136]Michaelson, op. cit., p. 205.

[137]Jones v Commonwealth, 185 Va. 335, 38 S.E. (2d) 444 (1946), p. 343.

[138]A. E. Dick Howard, Commentaries on the Constitution of Virginia (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1974), p. 301.

[139]Ibid., p. 293.

[140]Almond v Day, 197 Va. 419, 89 S. E. (2d) 851 (1955).

[141]Ibid., p. 429.

[142]Virginia Const. art. I, Section 16

[143]Vaughn v Reed, 313 F. Supp. 431 (Va.) (1970).

[144]Ibid., p. 433.

[145]Smith v Smith, 523 F. 2d 121 (1975).

[146]Ibid., p. 24.

[147]Ibid., p. 122.

[148]Code of Virginia, 22-234.1 (Appendix B).

[149]R. B. Dierenfield, "Religion in Public Schools: Its Current Status," Religious Education, 68 (Jan.-Feb., 1973), p. 107.

Chapter 3

EVANGELICALISM

In the decade of the seventies the phrase "born again" has come into the vocabulary of many. The President of the United States claims to be "born again." A popular religious book has been written by a defendant in the Watergate trials, Charles Colson, and entitled, Born Again. A 1977 Gallup Poll indicates that 34% of Americans 18 years of age or older claim to be "born again."[1] This figure may represent fifty million Americans. These are all hints of the strength of a segment of Protestant Christianity known as evangelicals.

"Evangelical" is an inclusive term "embodying conservatism and some elements of fundamentalism."[2] Evangelicals represent members of "a revitalized inter-denominational mood and movement in America."[3] By their very belief in the necessity of loyalty to Christ, they hold evangelical views. The term then "describes a theology, what the apostle Paul called 'the truth of the gospel.'"[4] John Gerstner, professor at Pittsburgh Theological Seminary, has noted that "to the evangelical, theological precision at least on essential matters is vital." He recognized that "evangelical" may be applied to any who show "religious earnestness," but he noted that "those who have self-consciously assumed this title, however, insist that they have done so on account of their theology."[5] At the same time, evangelicals

recognize not only the necessity of theological precision on essential matters, but see the necessity of this doctrinal soundness within the context of a right relationship with God. This relationship is the spiritual regeneration known as being "born again."

The derivation of the term evangelical is from the Greek euangelion. The evangel is the good news or the Gospel and in the New Testament represents the message of salvation. The Apostle Paul said that he was not ashamed of this gospel "for it is the power of God unto salvation to everyone that believeth; to the Jew first, and also to the Greek."[6]

John Stott, evangelical educator and author, has attributed to Martin Luther the adoption of the title. Luther wrote in 1524 that "'a truly evangelical man would not run here and there, he will stick to truth to the end.'" He also wrote a year later that "'people are good evangelicals as long as they hope that the message of the gospel will pasture and enrich them.'"[7] Later, the revivals associated with the Methodists during the eighteenth century became known as the "Evangelical Revival."[8]

Today the term evangelical is used to describe a Christian who holds or conforms to "what the majority of Protestants regard as the fundamental doctrines of the Gospel, such as the Trinity, the fallen condition of man, Christ's atonement by the Holy Ghost."[9] Although holding to fundamental doctrines, they call themselves evangelicals rather than fundamentalists because "they reject the image which fundamentalists have acquired."[10] Then as Harold J.

Ockenga, President of Gordon-Conwell Theological Seminary, has noted, the doctrinal basis of evangelicalism "is stated in the incorporation papers of the Church, namely the New Testament, and in the great creeds and confessions to Christendom. . . ." He added significantly that "only those who embrace these objective truths have the right to the name evangelical."[11]

Evangelicals separate themselves from three major branches of Christianity as Ockenga has observed. First, they separate themselves from sacerdotal Roman Catholicism because of Catholicism's reliance on tradition and salvation mediated by sacraments. Second from modernists and liberals because they do not hold to the "basic truths of historic Christianity." Last, evangelicals separate themselves from fundamentalists because of differences regarding intellectual and ecclesiastical attitudes.[12] With Catholicism and liberalism the differences are theological, however with fundamentalism the difference lies in the manner in which fundamentalism has played out its theology in the world. The fundamentalists have separated themselves from the unholiness of the world whereas evangelicals, as Stott has observed, "accept 'a true separation to God which is lived out in the world.'"[13] Also, spiritual regeneration, being "born again," implies a responsibility to action in this world. So that these brethren who agree theologically, by their view of how to live in the world see their interaction with society and public education in different light.

One evangelical author has divided evangelicalism into five categories: separatist fundamentalist, open fundamentalist,

establishment evangelical, the new evangelical, and the charistimatic movement.[14] A division or classification in any manner is difficult. The personal nature of evangelical convictions and the strong feelings that individuals hold have tended to either cause separation within groups or create overlapping between groups. Possibly a simplified categorization such as fundamentalist, evangelical and neo-evangelical might be more helpful.[15]

Elmer Towns, a leading fundamentalist spokesman, has spoken of a fundamentalist as one who "is committed to absolute obedience to the Word of God" and "as a result . . . attempts to separate himself daily from outward sin." There is also an emphasis, Towns noted, "on separation from apostasy on an individual and corporate basis." Other distinguishing characteristics of the fundamentalist are that "he gives very little attention to 'relevance.' The pulpit is God's tool to convince both head and heart to choose Jesus Christ . . . ."[16] The fundamentalist places his emphasis on "soul-winning" and "separation."

The neo-evangelical differs from both the fundamentalist and the evangelical particularly in his view of Scripture. The neo-evangelical holds to a limited view of inerrancy. He views the Scripture as inspired, but it is inerrant or infallible only in matters of faith and conduct "not necessarily in all its assertions concerning history and the cosmos."[17] This view of Scripture has practical outworkings which create significant cleavages with other evangelicals in practices such as the role of women in the church. Although the differences are not on matters of salvation, the

disagreements are great enough to be divisive. Harold Lindsell, editor emeritus of Christianity Today, has explained that "more and more organizations and individuals historically committed to an infallible Scripture have been embracing and propagating the view that the Bible has errors in it." This change in standpoint, he said, is "most noticeable among those often labeled neo-evangelicals."[18]

Evangelicals, who "are found in nearly all the Protestant churches,"[19] are recognizable in several ways. As was mentioned above they are similar to fundamentalists in their basic doctrinal creeds. In fact Ockenga noted that "evangelicals owe a debt to the leaders" of fundamentalism who have in years past maintained a faithful doctrinal stance.[20] Both "have a common source of life, for they belong to one family."[21] However, the evangelicals have been castigated by the fundamentalists for inclusion of holiness and Pentacostal groups into their fellowship.[22] The evangelical wishes to advance in terms of positive social action whereas the fundamentalist has taken a primarily defensive stance against modernism, apostasy, and worldliness. Evangelicals, as John Stott has observed, do not concentrate "exclusively on saving individual souls" but seek "to care for people as people, and will seek to serve them, neglecting neither the soul for the body nor the body for the soul."[23]

The difference evangelicals have with neo-evangelicals in the doctrine of inerrancy is further emphasized in a statement by the International Council on Biblical Inerrancy representing leading evangelical theologians from major seminaries. The Council, formed in

1977, has stated that "if the Bible is not without error when it speaks on historical and scientific matters, how can it be trusted when it speaks on other subjects such as the deity of Christ or the substitutionary atonement?" The evangelical church, the Council warned, must awaken to the situation or "it will probably not be able to stand for or recognize God's truth in an unbelieving and pluralistic world."[24] Lindsell emphasized though that "those who hold to a limited inerrancy are not excluded from the household of faith. But it does mean there is a real difference that should not be obscured . . . ."[25]

EVANGELICAL DOCTRINE

Evangelical thought has based itself upon the view that God's revelation to man is the source of Christian faith. If God has not chosen "to reveal Himself" as Harold Lindsell stated, "man could never have known Him." It is not possible for man to know God in His totality for that would place man above God. Therefore, "whatever knowledge of God is available exists solely because God has chosen to make it known."[26] This revelation is the basis for the evangelical's faith and doctrine. Although this revelation does not allow the evangelical to make any claims to omniscience, Stott has declared that Christians should not be doubtful or apologetic "specifically about those things which are clearly revealed in Scripture . . . ."[27]

Frank E. Gaebelein, evangelical scholar, has asserted that "there are some things of which Christians are sure. These things are the great verities of the faith."[28] He noted that Christianity being

"a revealed religion" is not "a human invention," so that "convictions of faith become more fully our own . . . ."[29] Evangelicals then are claiming to be "plain Bible Christians." In fact, it is necessary to be an evangelical Christian to be a biblical Christian. Stott has recognized that all this "may sound arrogant and exclusive," but it is "a sincerely held belief" and "the earnest desire of evangelicals to be neither more nor less than biblical Christians."[30]

What then are the key features of evangelical doctorine or theology? J. I. Packer, assistant principal in Trinity College, Bristol England, writing in Evangelicals Today said that the first feature is a Biblical perspective. Evangelicals accept "the canonical Scriptures as God's instruction . . .: clear, coherent, true, trustworthy." Second, he noted the importance of the triune God: the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit. Third, evangelicals hold to "a radical view of sin and grace." Man is in a fallen state of depravity without the ability to behave rightly toward God. Thus salvation is a gift by grace, is solely through Christ, and "is received by faith only" presupposing "nothing in man save total need." Evangelical theology must then reject "all views which graft salvation on to natural goodness or revelation on to natural knowledge;" those views fail to reflect "both the sinfulness of sin and the graciousness of grace." Fourth, evangelicals hold "a spiritual view of the Church." The Church is "a community of believers, chosen in Christ and united to Him in the Spirit through

faith. . . ." This makes the Church an invisible body, not an association which men can choose to join or not to join as some association or club.[31]

To further specify the doctrinal position of the evangelical, the following statement of faith of the National Association of Evangelicals is included:

> 1. We believe the Bible to be the inspired, the only infallible, authoritative Word of God.
> 2. We believe that there is one God, eternally existent in three persons: Father, Son and Holy Spirit.
> 3. We believe in the deity of our Lord Jesus Christ, in His virgin birth, in His sinless life, death through His shed blood, in His bodily resurrection, in His ascension to the right hand of the Father, and in His personal return in power and glory.
> 4. We believe that for the salvation of lost and sinful man, regeneration by the Holy Spirit is absolutely necessary.
> 5. We believe in the present ministry of the Holy Spirit by whose indwelling the Christian is enabled to live a godly life.
> 6. We believe in the resurrection of both the saved and the lost; they that are saved unto the resurrection of life and they that are lost unto the resurrection of damnation.
> 7. We believe in the spiritual unity of believers in our Lord Jesus Christ.[32]

Evangelicals stress doctrinal fundamentals, namely those things which are "fundamental" in biblical Christianity which are included in the above statement of faith. In their insistence on fundamentals, however, they do not insist on those things not clearly specified in Scripture such as the mode of baptism nor do they insist on a particular formulation of the fundamentals such as Calvinism or Arminianism.[33]

Another emphasis within evangelicalism in addition to the theological, is the concern for the individual to have a right relationship with God, known as being "born again." Doctrinally, evangelicals define being "born again" as regeneration by the Holy Spirit. Stott has noted that this "new birth is a profound inward change, the implantation by God of a new life, the bestowal of a new nature, the gift of a new heart."[34] David O. Moberg has contrasted a scientific interpretation of this new birth or conversion and the spiritual or evangelical view. The scientific explanation, he noted, looks on being "born again" "as a natural, human experience rather than as a supernatural phenonomenon" even though "its ultimate spiritual aspects are not directly amenable to empirical observation." He also noted that the scientific view of conversion considers being "born again" "as a dependent variable that is the effect of other influences rather than as an independent variable which causes them."[35]

As discussed in previous pages the doctrine of Biblical inerrancy or infallibility is a key to understanding today's evangelicals. The importance of the Bible to American society has been stated by Michaelson. He said that "the Bible might be claimed as America's sacred book . . ." because "most American religious groups have regarded the Bible as the special source of divine disclosure, and most have affirmed Biblical roots for their faith."[36] Lindsell has reflected that the Bible is "the only true

and dependable source for Christianity . . . ."[37] Ockenga has recognized that "the evangelical depends upon the Bible as the authoritative Word of God . . . ."[38] The doctrine of infallibility is "the only sure guarantee" that the other fundamental doctrines are true. One who denies this doctrine today in Lindsell's opinion "cannot truly be an evangelical."[39]

The evangelical position on the Bible has been given clear definition by Kenneth Kantzer, Dean of Trinity Evangelical Divinity School.

> God in his providence so guided the authors in the choice of their words and the use of their sources, without in any way negating the individuality, that their words are also and really his (verbal inspiration). And this guidance extends to the whole of Scripture not merely to its more 'elevated' or more 'religious' parts (plenary). The result of this is that Scripture is incapable of stating error (infallible) or of wandering from the truth (inerrant).[40]

Evangelicals are accused of taking the Bible literally. If by this one means that evangelicals believe what the Bible purports to say, then evangelicals do "take it literally." They realize however that figures of speech are figures of speech and "no evangelical takes figures of speech literally."[41] When Jesus said believers are the salt of the earth, no evangelical would take this to mean people are salt.

Historically, Biblical inerrancy seems to have been the standard, although some may disagree. Lindsell stated that "there is no evidence to show that errancy was ever a live option" in the first eighteen hundred years of church history except in those

branches that had "gone off into aberrations."[42] The New Hampshire Baptist Confession of 1833 declares that "the Holy Bible was written by men directly inspired, and is a perfect treasure of heavenly instruction. . . ." It goes on to note that the Bible is "truth without any mixture of error for its matter . . . ."[43] As recently as 1977 Billy Graham in response to an interview question about inerrancy said, "My view is that the Bible is without error in its totality. I can't prove it. I base it on faith." He added that "the only logical conclusion that I can come to is that we either have to accept all of it, or each one of us decides what the Bible is for himself. And that approach brings chaos."[44]

Clark H. Pinnock, evangelical theologian, has presented the basis for the evangelicals' concern for a defense of Biblical inerrancy. He said that "if ever an age needed a sure Word from God, it is our own . . . . People are searching for a place to stand" and the evangelical knows of a God who by His invasion of the world "has left us a Word of truth and transforming power. The Bible possesses the most extraordinary relevance for the twentieth century."[45]

The definition of evangelical being used in this paper connotes a person who holds to the position of an inerrant Bible as the source of authority and doctrine. He also recognizes the necessity for living the Christian life in the world and not being separated out of it. This social concern by the evangelical does not mean a compromise of fundamental beliefs, because he

holds that belief in basic doctrines is essential to being a biblical Christian.

HISTORY OF EVANGELICALISM

Although a complete history of evangelicalism is not possible within the space limitations of this section, it is possible to specify a few prominent events or individuals which help to give a fuller definition of evangelicalism. This section will secondarily indicate some of the roots of evangelicalism, its social concern and its interest in education.

Of first note is the fact that evangelical Christianity descends from the Reformers such as Luther, Calvin, and Knox.[46] The Reformers, as Francis Schaeffer, an evangelical scholar, has noted, "took seriously the Bible's own claim for itself--that it is the only final authority." They saw in the Bible the answers given by God for man's needs, how to have "an open relationship with God" and "how to have final answers in distinguishing between right and wrong."[47] Schaeffer has also observed that "the Reformers went back to the teaching of the Bible and the early Church . . . . The individual person, they taught, could come to God directly by faith through the finished work of Christ."[48] By the finished work of Christ on the cross they meant that there was nothing people could do or needed to do to come to God, salvation could only be "accepted as an unearned gift." Sydney Ahlstrom has called this recognition of the

centrality of the cross the "evangelical principle."[49] These Reformation doctrines today are essential to evangelical theology.

By the eighteenth century "a great international Protestant upheaval" was taking place and being "manifested in pietism on the Continent, the Evangelical Revival in Great Britain, and the Great Awakening in America . . . ." Speaking of the Great Awakening in America, Ahlstrom observed that "evangelicalism was abroad in the land, and its workings had a steady internal effect . . . ."[50]

The Great Awakening as it was noted in Chapter One began in earnest after the arrival of an associate of John Wesley, George Whitefield, who came to America on a preaching tour from 1739 to 1741. Wesley believed in the inerrancy of Scripture and wrote in his Journal, "Nay, if there be any mistakes in the Bible there may as well be a thousand. If there be one falsehood in that book, it did not come from the God of truth."[51]

George Whitefield after a visit to Harvard noted that "Discipline is at a low ebb, Bad books are become fashionable . . ." and students read those instead of "evangelical writers . . . ." Therefore Whitefield said, "I chose to preach from these words--'We are not as many, who corrupt the Word of God.'"[52]

Nationiel Leonard, a New England pastor, was to write in 1741 about the preaching of a Presbyterian minister from Princeton who succeeded Whitefield. He wrote as follows:

> The subjects chiefly insisted on were these following, viz: The sin and apostasy of mankind in Adam; . . . the

> sovereignty of God . . .; the way of redemption by Christ; justification . . . received by faith; . . . the nature and necessity of regeneration . . . . These things, together with pathetical invitations to sinners, to come and embrace the Lord Jesus Christ as offered in the Gospel, made a wonderful impression on the minds of all sorts of people at the first.[53]

The preaching that Nathaniel Leonard described was profoundly evangelical. Although not specifically mentioning inerrancy, he apparently held a high view of Scripture because the Lord Jesus that sinners were to come to and embrace was the Christ "offered in the Gospel." Jesus was offered in the Gospel and that was specific enough.

The Great Awakening not only spurred the interest in personal religion but in Ahlstrom's view had two other significant results. One was to establish revivalism as an institution in America and the other was the beginning of two denominations which were to become the nation's largest, viz.: Baptist and Methodist.[54]

In the early years of the nineteenth century revivalism again sprang up. The revivals that emerged at Yale under Timothy Dwight, Lawrence Cremin has noted, "early linked with the revivalism that emanated from Cane Ridge (Kentucky) . . . ."[55] This period of revival was called the Second Awakening. Referring to the revivals in New England, Ahlstrom has noted that the preaching was about the "plain gospel truths" which included "God's absolute sovereignty, man's total depravity, and Christ's atoning love."[56] In Logan county Kentucky the revivals which broke out in August,

1801 brought people from as far away as a week's journey and the crowd may have exceeded 10,000 at times.[57]

The revivals become, as Robert Ellwood noted, "an instrument for social change . . . ."[58] While Jefferson, the author of the Declaration of Independence, was President and a slave holder, the revivals at Cane Ridge were attended and led by both blacks and whites.[59] The revivals which preached man as a sinner "urged repentance and dependence on God's grace, and demanded lives dedicated to moral purity."[60] The abolishment of slavery was one of the concerns to grow out of revivalism. One revivalist, Charles G. Finney who later become president of Oberlin College, was a leading abolitionist.[61]

Interest in education among evangelicals was expanding during the Second Awakening. In fact American college education in the nineteenth century was dominated by evangelicals.[62] Finney declared that "young converts should be taught to do all their duty . . . ." This was social responsibility which led to a duty "to their families, the church Sabbath schools, the impenitent around them, the disposal of their property, the conversion of the world."[63] One of the ways that Finney said would distinguish a backslider was his loss of interest "in good government, in Christian education, in the cause of temperance, in the abolition of slavery, in the provisions for the poor, and in every good word and work . . . ."[64] In 1868 Finney included education among "the great objects of Christian benevolence."[65]

Ahlstrom has noted that for evangelicals of the time of the Second Awakening, education became as much an object of concern in the association sense as was the publishing of Christian literature. Other types of voluntary associations of private individuals were organized around missionary, reformatory or benevolent purposes. The movement within higher education "achieved national form as the American Education Society." Evangelicals also actively promoted Sunday schools on a local basis, frequently for the poor. In 1824 the American Sunday School Union was organized and became a major publisher of literature and educational materials required in Sunday Schools.[66]

Charles Trumbull, former editor of The Sunday School Times, wrote in The Fundamentals that one of the purposes of the Sunday school was "to train up those who are in Christ into a full-grown knowledge and appropriation of the riches which are theirs because they are Christ's . . . ." He added that Sunday schools were to send Christians "out into the world fully equipped, victorious soul-winners . . . ."[67]

In 1846 evangelicals joined together to organize an inter-church association called the World Evangelical Alliance. Formed in London the Evangelical Alliance included Americans, British and European representatives. After being taken over by liberal elements, the U.S. branch became the Federal Council of Churches in 1908. At its founding, however, the Evangelical Alliance held

to the following doctrinal platform as Gerstner has noted:

> (1) the inspiration of the Bible, (2) the Trinity, (3) the depravity of man, (4) the mediation of the divine Christ, (5) justification by faith, (6) conversion and sanctification by the Holy Spirit, (7) the return of Christ and judgment, (8) the ministry of the Word, and (9) the sacraments of baptism and the Lord's Supper.[68]

Michaelson has recorded the observation that Dwight L. Moody "in his rage to save souls . . . traveled more than a million miles, addressed more than a hundred million people, and personally prayed and pleaded with seven hundred and fifty thousand sinners." Moody, one observer concluded, "probably 'reduced the population of hell by a million souls.'"[69]

Although an evangelist and possibly best known for his organized evangelistic campaigns in Great Britain and the United States, Moody was involved with education. In 1859 Moody began a Sunday school in Chicago, which, appealing to adults and children alike, grew to possibly a 650 student average attendance. The school was purposefully located in a district called the Sands which was "infested with saloons, gambling establishments and miserable wooden shanties." Although evangelism was the major motivator, the educational purpose of the school may be indicated by its 700 volume library. It is also significant to note that Moody personally "bought clothes for his young charges and purchased baskets of food for the needy families of which they were a part."[70]

Another biographer of Moody has noted that after seeing three impoverished young girls near his home, Moody was inspired

to begin a boarding school for women. He is attributed with believing that rural girls "ought to have more opportunity, by education, to extend their horizons, mental, spiritual, and practical."[71] In his home town of Northfield, Mass. Moody was to establish private secondary schools for both men and women.

Moody's concern for urban evangelism led him to begin a college in Chicago which would produce "gapmen" as he called them. "Gapmen" were workers without seminary degrees but with Bible training who could go into city mission work. His Bible Institute which opened in 1889 was to emphasize practical experience in the urban environment with an individualized plan of study.[72]

James Findley, a Moody biographer, has commented that "for a man with no more than a grade-school education to establish three educational institutions and then for the last two decades of his life to . . . support these same schools says a great deal about his vision and breath of view." He added that the flourishing of these schools once Moody "had set them in motion enhances his achievement."[73] It may be concluded then that not only was Moody concerned about preaching the Gospel, but also about the lives of those in need around him.

Shortly after the beginning of the twentieth century, two major works were published by associates of D. L. Moody that have a significant place in the history of evangelicalism. The Scofield Reference Bible, published in 1909, has been called by

Ernest Sandeen "the most influential single publication in Fundamentalist historiography." The Scofield Bible integrates the dispensational theology closely associated with fundamentalism into "an attractive format of typography, paragraphing, notes and cross references . . . ."[74] Ahlstrom has noted the long term effect of this work when he writes that "for over half a century this Bible, with its explanations and annotations, has been a faithfully used resource of conservative Sunday school teachers, preachers, and churchgoers." Scofield, who pastored the "Moody Church" in Northfield, Mass. for seven years and wrote the annotations, produced a work which "for millions of people in diverse denominations its dogmatically phrased annotations became an indispensable guide to God's Word."[75]

The Fundamentals, published between 1910 and 1915 in twelve volumes, were edited by A. C. Dixon, pastor of Moody Church in Chicago, Louis Meyer, and R. A. Torrey, Dean of the Bible Institute of Los Angeles and the first dean of Moody Bible Institute. The cost of publishing the entire set was underwritten by Lyman and Milton Stewart, two brothers who were only known as "two laymen" in the series. The volumes were sent free of expense "to every pastor evangelist, missionary, theological professor, theological student, Sunday school superintendent, Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A. secretary in the English speaking world, so far as the address of all these can be obtained."[76] In all, nearly three million copies of the twelve volumes were sent. Sandeen notes

that The Fundamentals which were "regularly referred to as the epitome of Fundamentalist belief" had as its major impact "the commencement of the vigorous campaign to discredit Modernism which eventually culminated in the controversy of the 1920's."[77]

In 1920 the term fundamentalist was coined "to designate those who were prepared to battle for the 'fundamentals' of the faith . . . ."[78] Essentially the fundamentalist of the 1920's would today be called an evangelical. During the twenties several factors had an important impact on fundamentalism. The general population felt that fundamentalism had lost at the Scopes trial. The struggle "to gain religious-political control of the mainline Protestant denominations" was repulsed. Reflecting this defeat was the reorganization of Princeton (to represent a more liberal theological position) in spite of the efforts by the Princeton scholar J. Grehsam Machen in the later part of the decade. Last, the attempt "to establish a closely knit world association of fundamentalists" was frustrated "despite the attempts of William Bell Riley," a well known fundamentalist leader.[79]

In 1942, recognizing that evangelicals were having "very little contact with one another across denominational lines" and that "the impact of evangelicalism was at a low ebb,"[80] evangelicals banded together to form the National Association of Evangelicals (NAE). The NAE exists as "a voluntory association of evangelical denominations, church schools, organizations and individuals."[81] At present it "provides evangelical identification for 30,000 churches and 3.5 million Christians . . ." and "represents 35

complete denominations" and "individual churches from 30 other groups . . . ."[82] Through its commissions and affiliates it serves in such areas as world relief, Christian day schools and higher education, home and foreign missions, and religious broadcasting among others.

One of the groups affiliated with the NAE is Youth for Christ. Billy Graham was "recruited by Youth for Christ in 1945 to serve as an itinerant evangelist at its rallies."[83] George Williams, Harvard professor of divinity, has commented that "no other figure better embodies the postwar renascence of evangelicalism" than does Billy Graham.[84] A Southern Baptist, he is widely known for his mass evangelism. Ockenga has noted that in Graham "we have seen the phenomenon of an evangelical who crossed all theological lines in his work while maintaining a strictly orthodox position."[85] Generally, it is Graham's policy not to undergo city wide campaigns unless supported by local church councils made up of Protestant clergy of that city.[85] This policy has separated him from radical fundamentalists but is in keeping with the practices of evangelicals.

Billy Graham has said of himself that "in the eyes of most informed Christians I am a theological evangelical. I gladly take my stand with them."[87] He has said that God has called him to be "a New Testament evangelist." His purpose is not to be "a social reformer or political activist," but "a proclaimer of the

message of God's love and grace in Jesus Christ and the necessity of repentance and faith."[88] He noted too that evangelicals "have a social responsibility" and "have to identify with the changing structures in society and try to do our part." The possible lack of social concern he attributed to an over-reaction to modernism beginning in the 20's. Fundamentalists were "defending the redemptive Gospel to the exclusion of the great social content of Scripture."[88] Thus by his own admission Billy Graham is evangelical in both his theology and his social concern.

By way of summary the term evangelicalism, Ahlstrom has argued, "does in fact refer to a fairly unified tradition." Although he observed that it has "undergone considerable change," evangelicalism "has nevertheless maintained its identity and looked back to its origins with considerable sympathy and respect."[90] Placing its doctrinal roots in the Reformation, evangelicals nonetheless reflect back to the social concern of their theological forefathers. Looking back to the fundamentalism of the twenties, the evangelicalism of today is "a horse of a different color." Although still concerned about doctrine, "they are much more concerned about the impact of the Gospel on the secular society that surrounds them."[91] What then is the present condition of this movement?

Trinity professors Wells and Woodbridge in their introduction to The Evangelical held that the evangelical "movement now can no

longer be regarded as simply reactionary, but is vigorously and sometimes creatively speaking to the needs of the contemporary world . . . ."[92] Ellwood noted that although "evangelicalism can never be the religion of America . . ., it is far more than simply a minority sect."[93] The Gallup poll of August, 1977 has given some indication of the strength of evangelicalism. According to the poll 34% of Americans 18 or over claim that he or she is "born again" and this figure is equal to approximately 50 million Americans. The poll defined "hard-core" evangelicals as those who "have had a born again experience, believe in the literal interpretation of the Bible, and have witnessed to their faith"; 18% of Americans share these characteristics. The poll gave an interesting, but disappointing to evangelicals, view of the typical evangelical. That person is female (63%), over 50 years old (50%), white (77%), lives in the South (50%) and in the smallest towns or rural areas (44%) has no political allegiance (86% are independents) and is Protestant (87 percent). Possibly the categories in the above description which least fit a stereotype are that the vast majority are independents and not affiliated with a conservative political party and 13% of evangelicals by the Gallup definition are not Protestants. The last point of interest from the Gallup poll is that even though 34% of the adult population would say they are "born again" only 58% of the population could respond at all when asked to describe an evangelical and many of those in vague terms.[94]

Dean Kelley in his sociological study, Why Conservative Churches Are Growing, has given at least one explanation among many for the growth of conservative religious organizations which includes evangelical churches. Kelley proposed that conservative churches provide meaning for people that is "central and ultimate" to their lives and takes "precedence over all things . . . ."[95] The commitment that is found in conservative churches is "commitment to a particular explanation or formulation of meaning and to the stream of collective experience or religious organization that bears it."[96] The intense commitment found in conservative churches "creates absolutism; that is, commitment to one particular faith and 'against' all others."[97] Certainly within evangelicalism one can observe how faith in Christ can provide meaning which is central and ultimate in the life of the believer. Also as has been described in this chapter, commitment within evangelicalism is required to a particular set of doctrinal beliefs. In Kelley's view this could explain the growth of evangelicalism.

Donald Tinder, associate editor of Christianity Today, has provided other possible explanations for the growth of evangelicalism. One reason may be that "it flourishes because the institutions which give it visibility have only lately reached maturity." He also has argued that "while serving the doctrines at the heart of Christianity . . ., it is innovative in a wide variety of other ways."

Lastly in a very realistic view he has noted that "it appears to flourish more than it otherwise would because other expressions of Protestantism have lost some of the preeminence which they enjoyed for two or three generations."[98] On the one hand evangelicalism is providing meaning and reason for commitment, on the other its growth is accentuated by its relative position of growth within Protestantism. While there are a number of reasons for the growth, evangelicalism appears to have a substantial foundation on which to base its present desire to be recognized as a factor in the lives of individual Americans and in the corporate health of America itself.

EVANGELICALS AND PUBLIC EDUCATION

To begin a discussion of the evangelical position on education, particularly public education, one must return to evangelical social concern. A lack of social concern would encourage the abandonment of non-Christian public education whereas an honest desire to be a moving force for positive social change would be a motivating force to remain within that public educational system.

The concern for society from the evangelical viewpoint developes from two points of responsibility. The individual Christian has a responsibility to social action. Frank E. Gaebelein, noted evangelical scholar, has stated that "the moment a person takes the position that all truth is God's truth, he is committed

to doing something." The importance of God's truth revealed in the Bible is that "the Bible knows no such thing as truth that is merely theoretical; in the Bible the truth is linked to the deed."[99] John Stott observed that even though the new birth is indispensable for entering into God's kingdom, "it is not the be-all and end-all of Christian life and responsibility. We have other duties to both . . . Christians and non-Christians."[100]

As the individual has social responsibility so does the corporate body of believers, the church. Carl F. H. Henry, founding editor of Christianity Today, has admonished evangelicals "to speak not only of the grace God proffers, but also of the righteousness God demands - personal holiness, social righteousness and public justice." The message to speak to humanity he said is for "the whole man in his total need." This message is that God can "make all things new" and that this newness is through Jesus who extends "His victory over sin and injustice and oppression and exploitation through His body, the regenerated Church."[101] Billy Graham in his book World Aflame said that "Christian citizens have no right to be content with our social order until the principles of Christ are applied to all men." He attributed the "appalling moral and spiritual" state of our society to the fact that the Church has lost its preserving character. The evangelical must not only "follow Christ and learn of Him, but he must also act." He attributed salvation of society not to education, science or evolution, but salvation of society coming

"by the powers and forces released by the apocalyptic return of Jesus Christ."[102]

The evangelical is concerned about working within the society for social change and specifically in this situation within the public educational system of American society to be a preserving agent. What then is the evangelical Christian view of education?

The evangelical begins with a world view built on the assumption that "there is a supernatural world created by God who has revealed Himself to man through nature and spoken to man through the Bible and His Son."[103] Edwin Rian in Christianity and American Education noted that "a Christian theory of education is an exposition of the idea that Christianity is a world and life view and not simply a series of unrelated doctrines. Christianity includes all of life."[104] Education then must be "concerned with the whole man" as H. W. Byrne has recognized. He said that "the Christian view pictures man as an integrated personality . . . the physical, mental, social and spiritual elements are inter-related and all interact on man." Therefore education in the evangelical perspective "is a process of man-making, not merely mind-training." Education in this concept of the whole-man is incomplete if it only considers the intellect. Since, as Byrne observed, "there are other aspects of man's personality besides the mental, . . . erudition may be achieved at the expense of the other elements of personality . . . ."[106]

If education is for the whole man, then the aim of education is redemptive-that is, in Byrne's works, "to restore the image of God in man through Christ which leads to Christlike character and conduct." The purpose of education for the evangelical, he argued, is "not merely the preservation and perpetuation of the social heritage, nor is it the development of the individual to the highest possible human excellence . . . ." He stated an evangelical view:

> Its goal is to excite and direct the self-activities of the pupil that he will volitionally strive for the best possible integration of personality on the human level, but directed toward the ultimate objective of the "perfect man in Christ."[107]

Education from an evangelical viewpoint must begin with the family. Rousas Rushdoony has noted that "the family is sociologically and religiously the basic institution . . . . Man's basic emotional and psychic needs are met in terms of the family."[108] Byrne has said that "education is not restricted to the public school system." In fact parents are "obligated by God to see that their children are properly cared for and educated." He continued that even though four agencies bear some responsibility for educating children (the home, the church, the school, and the state), "there is only one agency - the home - while the others are assistants in this responsibility." Teachers only "have delegated responsibility to assist parents" in the process of education.[109]

Although education begins with the family, the evangelical Church also "has a legitimate and necessary stake in education" in

Carl Henry's view. This is true because education is "a means of preserving what is worth preserving in the present social order." He also noted however that evangelicals must "rely on spiritual regeneration" as the basis for any change in society.[110]

Shortly after the Schempp decision in 1963, the National Association of Evangelicals passed a resolution indicating the degree of concern evangelicals have with public education. The resolution recognized that the "revolutionary changes in long established practices are beginning to create a moral and religious vacuum in our educational system in which secularism, humanism, practical atheism and amorality are beginning to take root and thrive . . . ."[111]

The significance of public education for young people from evangelical homes lies in the fact that "the vast majority are in public schools, where a consistent Christian world view cannot be imparted, however good the emphasis upon conduct and character may be."[112] Even though the Christian home and church have vital programs of education, Gaebelein has stated that "the tide of secularism in America has risen so high that it is difficult to give children in the impressionable years a thorough-going Christian view of life."[113] Byrne also has been concerned that "the influence of the home will be overwhelmed by the social pressure and secular tendencies of the public school."[114] Evangelicals, it can be concluded, are concerned about the effect public education is having on children.

A familiar argument against private Christian schools is that they shelter their students from the real world. However, evangelicals believe that understanding the world must begin with understanding God. Therefore Roy Lowrie, director of the National Christian School Education Association stated that "students in the public schools are sheltered from the real world." He recognized this because "an introduction to the real world begins with an introduction to God. God is, and He can be known." He went on to add that "enrolling your children in the Christian school does not mean that you are a crusader against the public school system. It means that you want an education that can not be given by the public school."[115]

Elmer Towns, well-known Christian school advocate, has noted that one of the purposes of the public school is "to speed and enrich the process" of learning the culture and communicate "the cultural heritage from one generation to another." However, he accused the public schools of "creating itself into a culture, entirely different from the society in which it exists."[116]

It may be unfair to say that the public schools are entirely different. The N A E resolution of 1963 was of the opinion that secularism, humanism, practical atheism and amorality had become part of the public educational system. Some feel, as G. C. Berkouwer has noted, that "our own time is characteristically relativistic, that we do not dare to speak of absolutes . . . ."[117] A denial of absolutes and acceptance of

relativity may not only match the leanings of public schools but also may fit with a segment of American society. Therefore, in some sense the schools are reflecting our society.

Some evangelicals have brought forth strong charges against public education. Mark Fakkema, evangelical educator, has stated that "secular instruction is a blunt denial of the centrality of our God . . . . Not only has the Creator been banished from His creation but God has been dethroned and man has been enthroned."[118] Towns has gone so far as to state that the public schools are developing their own "religionless society" based upon secular humanism.[119] Rushdoony said that progressive education "with its emphasis on educating the whole child, becomes immediately and inevitably a religious doctrine and salvationist program." This is all "directly in contradiction to Christian faith."[120]

Francis Schaeffer has summed up this situation in which public education finds itself in the "profound rule: If there are no absolutes by which to judge society, then society is absolute." He observed that "absolutes can be this today and that tomorrow . . . . Arbitrary absolutes can be handed down and there is no absolute by which to judge them."[121] The absoluteness of truth is viewed as the issue by Kenneth Gangel. Writing for the Evangelical Teacher Training Association, he questioned whether God has "spoken authoritatively on some issues, or does each generation determine truth for itself?" He went

on to answer his own question by recognizing that "the most significant event of history is that God has spoken and revealed Himself to man."[122] The evangelical feels then that there are absolutes, there is absolute truth revealed by God to men and God must be accepted as the basis for this truth not man.

Another difficulty evangelicals have with public education is depicted by Michael McMahon writing in Intellect magazine as "the myth of neutrality." He has noted that the teacher who hopes "to establish a 'neutral' mode of inquiry" "by dismissing student appeals to intuition, revelation and faith" may remove the basis for charges of indoctrination and inculcation, but is certainly not being neutral. He observed that "a forum that excludes dimensions of phenomena and experience because they elude public observation and logical explanation" is not being neutral.[123] Therefore a philosophy of education "based on naturalistic suppositions" which are "the result of human reasoning" becomes essentially in Byrne's opinion a theology of education. Byrne felt that "by deliberate efforts to suppress the teaching of Biblical truths in public education, educators are expressing a negative theology." Through the guise of neutrality teachers who leave God unmentioned are virtually testifying to their unbelief.[124]

As opinionated as evangelicals may be about the theology reflected in public education, they are in agreement with the

staunch Christian school advocate, Elmer Towns. He has said that he does "not want to see the public schools destroyed . . . . America needs a vibrant public school system to communicate our historical past and thus insure a stable future."[125] Evangelicals also do not believe that Christian values, as Schaeffer has stated, should "be accepted as a superior utilitarianism, just as a means to an end."[126] The Bible "demands a commitment to truth, . . . the truth that gives a unity to all of knowledge and all of life."[127] Evangelicals then do not desire their values simply tacked onto education in the public sector. What recommendations do they have for public education?

Public education in Town's opinion should commit itself "to truth, academic excellence, the American way of life, free enterprise, rugged individualism and decency." Although possibly reflecting his fundamentalist bias in the desire for individualism and patriotism, he has provided recommendations upon which evangelicals generally could agree. Public education must recognize that "parents are responsible for the health, education, and welfare of their children." Operation of the schools should not be at the level of the "lowest complaint." In recognizing their strengths and weaknesses public education must forgo its messianic role. Certainly, since discipline is a concern of all parents, there needs to be a "re-examination of the role of discipline in education." Many evangelicals desire that creationism be allowed "to be taught as one explanation for the cause of the world."[128]

The NAE in its 1963 resolution recommended that public schools should do "full justice to the large place of the Judeo-Christian heritage in our American heritage." It stated that "there should be in all areas of subject matter an objective presentation of the contribution made by the Christian faith to the development of that heritage."[129] This resolution parallels the recommendation of one evangelical writing to other evangelicals in Christianity Today:

> Learn to live as a Christian minority in an increasingly non-Christian society. Evangelicals are fifty years past the time when they could manipulate legislatures to achieve their goals. We can no longer dominate the political, social, or cultural structures of our country. But we can demand that our beliefs not be discriminated against . . . . We must apply the basic rule for life in a democracy: The liberty we deny to others, we deny ultimately to ourselves.[130]

The evangelical educator then has social responsibility and should be encouraged to remain with public education so as to be a preservative, a light to the world. However, since the public schools are not able to develop the whole child, which includes the child's spiritual needs, children from evangelical homes are forced to seek a complete education elsewhere. A complete education is one which recognizes God as central. This education begins in the family, where the primary responsibility lies, and with the church.

Evangelical parents whose children remain within the public education system must consider the pressures that the public

schools, both in its value laden atmosphere and in its curriculum, place upon the child and the changes in thought patterns that these pressures can have. Lindsell has spoken of children from evangelical homes on Christian college campuses who have been "exposed to non-Christian or anti-Christian teaching in the secular high schools of America . . . ." He recognized that many of these young people "have built up a resistance to anything that smacks of authoritarianism . . . ." He also noted that "steeped in a relativistic thought pattern, they find it difficult if not impossible to accept a view of Scripture that is absolutistic and demands the submission of mind, body and life to its world view."[131] Since not all children are able to have a Christian education, public schools must be awakened to their infringement on the belief structures of evangelical Christians and encouraged to make appropriate changes.

SUMMARY

Evangelicalism is an inter-denominational movement among conservative Christians who hold to the fundamental doctrines of the Bible. The evangel is the good news or the Gospel which in the New Testament represents the message of salvation. Significant within the framework of evangelical beliefs is the doctrine of Biblical inerrancy. Holding this high view of Scripture separates evangelicals from those Christians who hold a more liberal view

of Christianity. Evangelicals also are concerned that their faith make an impact on society.

Tracing their history from the Reformation, evangelicals claim a historical foundation and social concern which has played a role in America's past. Acknowledging such men as Wesley, Whitefield, and Moody in the past and Billy Graham in the present, evangelicals have had through the years people of national renown among their ranks. Their present strength is alluded to in a recent Gallup poll which states that approximately one-third of the American adult population claims to be "born again."

Evangelicals are particularly concerned about public education. Since evangelicals desire to have their faith make an impact on society, they do not want to abandon the public schools. However, neither do they desire to have their beliefs ignored by an educational system called public. Their wish is not for their convictions to predonomate but only to be recognized in a system they claim to be biased against belief in absolutes, and in God and His revelation to man. Evangelicals in the present time only desire that public education not discriminate against their faith.

CHAPTER 3 FOOTNOTES

[1]Religion in America: 1977-78 (Princeton, N.J.: The Gallup Opinion Index, 1977), p. 41.

[2]Edward L. Hayes, "Evangelicalism and Christian Education," Foundations for Christian Education in an Era of Change, ed. Marvin J. Taylor (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1976), p. 198.

[3]Ibid.

[4]John R. W. Stott, Christ the Controversialist (Downers Grove, Ill., Inter-Varsity Press, 1970), p. 27.

[5]John H. Gerstner, "Theological Boundaries of Evangelical Faith," The Evangelicals, ed. David J. Wells (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1975), p. 33.

[6]Romans 1:16.

[7]Stott, op. cit., p. 30.

[8]Ibid., p. 31.

[9]Harold J. Ockenga, "Resurgent Evangelical Leadership," Christianity Today, ed. Frank E. Gaebelein (New York: Pyramid Books, 1968), p. 169.

[10]Ibid., pp. 30-31.

[11]Ibid., p. 169.

[12]Ibid., pp. 169-170.

[13]Stott, op. cit., p. 191.

[14]Richard Quebedeaux, The Young Evangelicals (New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1974), pp. 19-45.

[15]Any classification must recognize that the categories are not mtually exclusive. Difficulties arise in classifying groups such as Roman Catholic charismatics, certain cults, and fundamentalists with social concern.

[16]Elmer Towns, "Trends Among Fundamentalists," Christianity Today, 17 (August 31, 1973), p. 12.

[17]Quebedeaux, op. cit., p. 198.

[18]Harold Lindsell, The Battle For the Bible (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Zondervan Publishing House, 1976), p. 20.

[19]Stott, op. cit., p. 29.

[20]Ockenga, op. cit., p. 172.

[21]Ibid., p. 173.

[22]Warren L. Vinz, "The Politics of Protestant Fundamentalism in the 1950's and 1960's," Journal of Church and State, 14 (Spring, 1972), p. 236.

[23]Stott, op. cit., p. 188.

[24]International Council on Biblical Inerrancy, "ICBI?," Oakland, California; undated.

[25]Lindsell, op. cit., p. 139.

[26]Ibid., p. 28.

[27]Stott, op. cit., p. 15.

[28]Frank E. Gaebelein, The Patterns of God's Truth (Chicago: Moody Press, 1968), p. 4.

[29]Ibid.

[30]Stott, op. cit., p. 32.

[31]James I. Packer, "Taking Stock in Theology," Evangelicals Today, ed. John C. King (London: Lutterworth Press, 1973), pp. 21-23.

[32]National Association of Evangelicals, Cooperating Together For the Faith of the Gospel, Wheaton, Illinois: undated, p. 2.

[33]Stott, op. cit., pp. 42-45.

[34]Ibid., p. 143.

[35]David O. Moberg, "Fundamentalists and Evangelicals in Society," The Evangelicals, ed. David J. Wells (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1975), p. 152.

[36]Robert Michaelson, Piety in the Public School (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1970), p. 32.

[37]Lindsell, op. cit., p. 17.

[38]Ockenga, op. cit., p. 170.

[39]Lindsell, op. cit., p. 210.

[40]Kenneth S. Kantzer "Unity and Diversity in Evangelical Faith," The Evangelicals, ed. David J. Wells (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1975), p. 40.

[41]Lindsell, op. cit., p. 37.

[42]Lindsell, op. cit., p. 69.

[43]The New Hampshire Baptist Confession (1833) Article 1 cited in Clark H. Pinnock, Biblical Revelation (Chicago: Moody Press, 1971), pp. 157-158.

[44]William F. Graham, "Taking the World's Temperature," Christianity Today, 21 (September 23, 1977), p. 18.

[45]Pinnock, op. cit., p. 230.

[46]Kantzer, op. cit., p. 38.

[47]Francis A. Schaeffer, How Should We Then Live? (Old Tappan, N.J.: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1976), p. 81.

[48]Ibid., p. 87.

[49]Sydney Ahlstrom, A Religious History of the American People (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1973), p. 74.

[50]Ibid., p. 288.

[51]John Wesley, Journal cited in Lindsell, op. cit., p. 69.

[52]George Whitefield, "Personal Journal," The Great Awakening, ed. J. M. Bumsted (Waltham, Mass.: Blaisdell Publishing Company, 1970), p. 72.

[53]Nathaniel Leonard, "Nathaniel Leonard's Testimony," The Great Awakening, ed. J. M. Bumsted (Waltham, Mass.: Blaisdell Publishing Company, 1970), p. 108.

[54]Ahlstrom, A Religious History of the American People, op. cit., p. 263.

[55]Lawrence Cremin, Traditions of American Education (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1976), p. 48.

[56]Ahlstrom, A Religious History of the American People, op. cit., p. 417.

[57]Robert Ellwood, One Way (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1973), p. 40.

[58]Ibid., p. 41.

[59]Ibid.

[60]George M. Marsden, "Evangelical Social Concern - Dusting Off the Heritage," Christianity Today, 16 (May 12, 1972), p. 8.

[61]John L. Hammond, "Revival Religion and Antislavery Politics," American Sociological Review, (April, 1974), p. 185, and Ellwood, op. cit., p. 42.

[62]Marsden, "Evangelical Social Concern," op. cit., p. 9.

[63]Charles G. Finney, Revivals of Religion (Chicago: Moody Bible Institute, 1962), p. 294.

[64]Ibid., p. 319.

[65]Ibid., p. 221.

[66]Ahlstrom, A Religious History of the American People, op. cit., pp. 422-425.

[67]Charles G. Trumball, "The Sunday School's True Evangelism," The Fundamentals, ed. R. A. Torrey, Vol. 12 (Chicago: Testimony Publishing Compnay, 1915), p. 45.

[68]Gerstner, op. cit., p. 24.

[69]Michaelson, op. cit., p. 24.

[70]James F. Findlay, Dwight L. Moody (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1969), pp. 74-79.

[71]Janet Mabie, The Years Beyond (East Northfield, Mass.: The Northfield Bookstore, 1960), p. 57.

[72]Findley, op. cit., pp. 325-338.

[73]Ibid., pp. 337-338.

[74]Ernest R. Sandeen, The Roots of Fundamentalism (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1970), p. 222.

[75]Ahlstrom, A Religious History of the American People, op. cit., p. 810.

[76]A. C. Dixon, ed., The Fundamentals. Vol. 1 (Chicago: Testimony Publishing Company, 1910), p. 4.

[77]Sandeen, op. cit., p. 189.

[78]Winthrop S. Hudson, Religion in America (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1973), p. 368.

[79]C. Allyn Russell, Voices of American Fundamentalism (Philadelphia: Westminister Press, 1976), p. 216.

[80]Billy A. Melvin, "Together in the Nation" United Evangelical Action, 34 (Winter, 1975), p. 19.

[81]N A E , op. cit., p. 1.

[82]Ibid., p. 2.

[83]Hudson, op. cit., pp. 383-384.

[84]George H. Williams and Rodney L. Peterson, "Evangelicals: Society, the State, the Nation (1925-75)," The Evangelicals, ed. David J. Wells (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1975), p. 226.

[85]Ockenga, op. cit., p. 172.

[86]Ahlstrom, A Religious History of the American People, op. cit., p. 957.

[87]William F. Graham, "Watergate," Christianity Today, 18 (January 4, 1974), p. 14.

[88]William F. Graham, "A Clarification," Christianity Today, 17 (January 19, 1973), p. 36.

[89]Graham, "Watergate," op. cit., p. 16.

[90]Sidney Ahlstrom, "From Puritanism to Evangelicalism," The Evangelicals, ed. David J. Wells (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1975), p. 271.

[91]John C. King, ed. Evangelicals Today (London: Lutterworth Press, 1973), p. 11.

[92]David J. Wells and John D. Woodbridge, ed. The Evangelicals, (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1975), p. 9.

[93]Ellwood, op. cit., p. 27.

[94]Gallup, op. cit., pp. 41-42.

[95]Dean M. Kelley, Why Conservative Churches Are Growing (2d ed.; New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1977), p. 162.

[96]Ibid., p. 158.

[97]Ibid.

[98]Donald Tinder, "Why the Fundamentalist Resurgence?" Religious Media Today, ; (Spring-Summer, 1977), p. 6.

[99]Gaebelein, The Pattern's of God Truth, op. cit., p. 35.

[100]Stott, op. cit., p. 145.

[101]Carl F. H. Henry, "The Future of Evangelical Christianity," World Vision, 22 (January, 1978), pp. 15-16.

[102]William F. Graham, World Aflame (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1965), pp. 187-188.

[103]H. W. Byrne, A Christian Approach to Education (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Zondervan Publishing House, 1961), p. 43.

[104]Edwin H. Rian, Christianity and American Education San Antonio: 1949 cited in Gaebelein, op. cit., p. 16.

[105]Byrne, op. cit., p. 53.

[106]Ibid., p. 154.

[107]Ibid., p. 101.

[108]Rousas Rushdooney, Intellect Schizophrenia (Philadelphia: Presbyterian and Reformed Publishing Company, 1961), p. 41.

[109]Byrne, op. cit., p. 202.

[110]Carl F. H. Henry, Aspects of Christian Social Ethics (Grand Rapids, Mich.: W. B. Eerdmans, 1964), p. 16.

[111]National Association of Evangelicals resolution passed in October, 1963, cited in Williams, op. cit., p. 230.

[112]Gaebelein, The Patterns of God's Truth, op. cit., p. 111.

[113]Ibid.

[114]Byrne, op. cit., p. 205.

[115]Roy W. Lowrie, Students Sheltered From the Real World In the Public School System, Newton Square, Pennsylvania: National Christian School Education Association, no date.

[116]Elmer Towns, Have the Public Schools "Had It"? (New York: Thomas Nelson, Inc., 1974), p. 136.

[117]G. C. Berkouwer, "The Temptation of Relativism," Christianity Today, ed. Frank E. Gaebelein. (New York: Pyramid Books, 1968), p. 245.

[118]Mark Fakkema cited in Byrne, op. cit., p. 8.

[119]Towns, Have the Public Schools "Had It"?, op. cit., p. 137.

[120]Rushdooney, op. cit., p. 46.

[121]Schaeffer, op. cit., p. 224.

[122]Kenneth O. Gangel, Understanding Teaching (Wheaton, Illinois: Evangelical Teacher Training Association, 1974), p. 78.

[123]Michael B. McMahan, "Religion, Scientific Naturalism, and the Myth of Neutrality," Intellect, 102 (April, 1974), p. 432.

[124]Byrne, op. cit., p. 242.

[125]Towns, Have the Public Schools "Had It"?, op. cit., p. 157.

[126]Schaeffer, op. cit., p. 252.

[127]Ibid.

[128]Towns, Have the Public Schools "Had It"?, op. cit., p. 174.

[129]Williams, op. cit., p. 231.

[130]Belden Menkus, "Evangelical Responsibility in Public Education," Christianity Today, 15 (February 12, 1971), p. 11.

[131]Lindsell, op. cit., p. 134.

Chapter 4

PUBLIC SCHOOL POLICY

Educational policy is playing an increasingly more important role in the functioning of public schools in America. William Dickinson, Director of Consulting Services for the National School Boards Association, has stated that "written policies--kept up-to-date and responsive to the needs of students, the community, the state, and the nation--provide tangible evidence that school boards can indeed govern . . . ." After noting several benefits, he also said that "most importantly, they give the public a means to evaluate board performance. Publicly pronounced policy statements prove that the board is willing to be held accountable for the way it exercises its governance responsibilities."[1] Considering policy in a broader light, Smith and Smittle have noted that "policy making and policy application are in operation in all school systems regardless of whether or not an official compilation of these policies exists."[2] The importance of the study of public policy is also indicated by Donald Thomas' editorial comment that "educational systems are regulated by policy, both internally and externally. Therefore, no educator can avoid policy; every educator is involved in policy."[3]

This chapter will develop a framework for model policies on religion based upon an examination of the literature on public

policy, and, in particular, policy development and application within an educational setting. This review will include a description of policy itself, process considerations in policy-making, the role of the U.S. Supreme Court in educational policy, and finally, substantive considerations in policy making.

POLICY DESCRIBED

The term "policy," as Stephen Miller has noted, "is largely ambiguous. It may imply a variety of meanings by itself."[4] One definition for educational policy states that it is "whatever is decided by an appropriate political authority through procedures previously established for the purpose of producing policy."[5] This definition lacks specificity and does not operationalize the term for the educator.

A second definition which begins to provide direction has been furnished by Aaron Wildavsky. He stated that "a policy may be defined as a hypothesis: If certain things are done, then others predictably will follow . . . . A policy hypothesis includes both means and ends, not merely one or the other."[6] This definition begins to indicate that certain processes and actions are inherent in educational policy.

A definition by Charles Lyons continues to sharpen the meaning of policy. He noted that "educational policy is an important course of action . . . which is deliberately chosen through political processes . . . ."[7] Lyon's definition indicates

that policy provides direction, is a deliberate act, and is accomplished through a series of actions.

The National School Boards Association (NSBA), in its Educational Policies Reference Manual, provided the following definition for educational policy:

> Policies are principles adopted by the School Board to chart a course of action. They tell what is wanted; they may include why and how much. Policies should be broad enough to indicate a line of action to be followed by the administration in meeting a number of problems; narrow enough to give clear guidance. Policies are guides for action by the administration, who then sets the rules and regulations to provide specific directions to school district personnel.[8]

The NSBA definition provides sufficient information about educational policy to be of use to an educator. It describes what policy is, who legitimizes policy, and separates policy from the rules and regulations of implementation.

A description of educational policy correctly includes certain characteristics which determine the boundries of the policy environment. Thomas F. Green has noted the existence within policy situations of five characteristics of policies: (1) policy is applicable only where there is a choice, (2) there must be a choice among alternatives, (3) policies are made in the public realm as contrasted to personal policies, (4) policy involves compromise, and (5) policies do not decide moral questions.[9]

Policy is applicable only to those things about which there is a choice. The necessity of a choice is indicated by Meehan in that he defined policy as "the instrument used to apply

a priority structure to a particular choice situation."[10] Mann perceived decisions as "a response to situations of choice in which the choice is guided by standards extrinsic to the alternatives."[11] Educational policies provide the extrinsic standards which guide decisions by educators. Without a choice there is no reason to establish policy because there is no decision.

The choices, however, must be among alternatives because essentially there is always a take-it-or-leave-it choice which could be made. Policy is necessary where there is a conflict of goals whether or not those goals are physical commodities or social values. The desired outcome of policy is to select the best mixture of economic goods or social values that will provide the maximum satisfaction among the affected parties. Meehan noted in this regard that the evaluation for a particular choice "will lie in a comparison of the outcome chosen with outcomes that might have been chosen instead." Policies, he also argued, ultimately are weighed "in terms of their respective consequences for human populations . . . ."[12]

With the issue of religion in the public schools there is a choice situation and a wide variety of alternatives. The pervasive and personal nature of religion insures that in any school district there will be numerous beliefs about religion, those things of final significance in life. The alternatives in any given policy situation have been limited by the U.S. Supreme Court, other courts, and legislatures which have acted on the church-state issue.

However, there still remains a wide range of alternatives because courts and legislatures usually state what cannot be done rather than what can be done.

It is significant to note that the consequences for policy lie with the human population. Green noted that "the concept of policy has no meaning except when there exists something that we would call a public."[13] Public here includes all people whose lives are affected by a certain policy. Educational policy, as Thomas noted, may involve courses of action dealing with "learning, interpersonal relationships, knowledge, values and attitudes, even beliefs."[14] Policy in the public school setting by its nature affects human actions.

The education-religion issue is very definitely a public question, indeed more a public question today than in nineteenth and early Twentieth Century America when schools were looked upon to serve the meltingpot function. Today, the schools must operate in a culturally pluralistic environment where "various ethnic groups are seeking to preserve their cultural heritage."[15]

Because individuals have different interests, educational policy must involve compromises. Competing factions must adjust to the different interests within public education. Each party may not receive maximum satisfaction of its interests, but each party should have optimal satisfaction when weighed against the desires of others. People may also be able to agree on a process for decision making without agreeing on the best decision.

An important consideration for school boards as they examine religion's role is that compromise must be a reality. Michael B. McMahan has noted that "the promulgation of any single faith in the public schools of a pluralistic society is indefensible . . . ."[16] If the schools are going to function within pluralism, one position cannot dominate to the exclusion of all others. John Rich has stated that "an educational issue occurs whenever two or more contrasting or conflicting educational positions are publicly expressed and debated." He went on to observe that issues exist because "certain segments of the community are not apathetic."[17] Lack of apathy on the part of certain patrons of public education reinforces the notion that the resolution of the religion-education issue must be a compromise, recognizing the religious beliefs of all the concerned groups.

The last factor in this discussion of characteristics of policy is that policy is not called on to decide personal questions of morals, ethics and values. Policies deal largely with issues of a practical nature. Although they may influence belief, they are not to decide in an educational environment what people are to believe, but instead what action is to be taken. It is true however, that public policy cannot always be value-neutral. Feldman has noted that whenever an administrator "evaluates policy alternatives and prescribes a choice, he imposes his own values to derive an ordering of preferences . . . ."[18] Yehezkel Dror

has stated that since values are so involved in policy making, the academic study of the policy process should help policy makers "make more 'responsible' value judgements on the basis of clarification of the fullest meanings of the involved values."[19]

The American Association of School Administrators (AASA) in their 1964 commission report, Religion in the Public Schools, stated that "commitments, or values, are both taught and caught. They are everlastingly expressed and implied in the child's environment--in school and out. They literally permeate the public school . . . ."[20] From an evangelical perspective at the very core of the education-religion issue is the question of how to deal with moral and spiritual values in public school classrooms. Neil McCluskey has commented on this question as follows:

> Disagreement over the function of any common moral and spiritual values program is the inevitable result of the irreconcilable differences among conflicting religions or philosophies or schemes of ultimate values, so that after many decades of experimenting, the problem of moral education in the common public school is more defiant of solution than ever--is in fact insoluble.[21]

Public school policy, in summary, is a guide to a course of action, legitimized by a School Board, and differentiated from rules and regulations. Policy is applicable only where there is a choice which is among alternatives. Being in the public realm, public school policies involve compromise. They should not be called on to decide moral questions for individuals. Since religion is a significant factor in the lives of individuals,

public school policy has serious ramifications when one considers the position of religion in a pluralistic society.

PROCESS CONSIDERATIONS FOR POLICY MAKING

Policy in Charles Lindblom's view is "not made once and for all . . . ." He stated that "policy-making is a process of successive approximation to some desired objectives in which what is desired itself continues to change under reconsideration." Because policy makers do not yet "know enough about the social world to avoid repeated error in predicting the consequences of policy moves," Lindblom has speculated that "making policy is at best a very rough process."[22] Policy-making also has been described by Yehezkel Dror, international policy expert, as "a very complex, dynamic process whose various components make different contributions to it."[23] However, since policy is the topic of consideration, a framework will be developed to define the policy making process.

The policy process fits neatly into a single input-throughput-output systems model or framework. Hodgetts described this process as follows:

> A problem is analyzed in terms of input (initial problem), output (the solution we would like to see), and throughput (what steps need to be taken to attain a given solution). When the output is attained, it is examined and a feedback loop provides additional information for the resolution of the same problem at a different location or a similar problem at the same location.[24]

The functional activities of policy making have been categorized by Jones into five steps: problem identification, policy formulation, legitimation, application, and evaluation.[25] Applying these five categories to the systems framework one can develop the system diagrammed in Figure 1.

The advantages of developing a systems framework have been described by Hodgetts. First, it helps in identifying variables in the problem. Second, it aids in formulating potential steps toward a solution. Third, it assists in examining a problem without full-scale operations. Last, it provides a logical, systematic way of attacking societal issues without trying many different approaches.[26]

The input stage in the systems framework diagrammed in Figure 1 includes all those aspects of the policy process associated with the identification of the problem. In the public educational environment this means getting the board of education to perceive the issue. The problem can be brought to the board from sources within the school setting or from outside. Campbell and Layton have recognized that many others in the system besides the board of education should be involved throughout the policy process including problem identification. They stated that "communication with teachers, principals, and others within the school system and with parents and other patrons outside the school system often needs to be more complete."[27] Since it is valuable, as Bowser said,

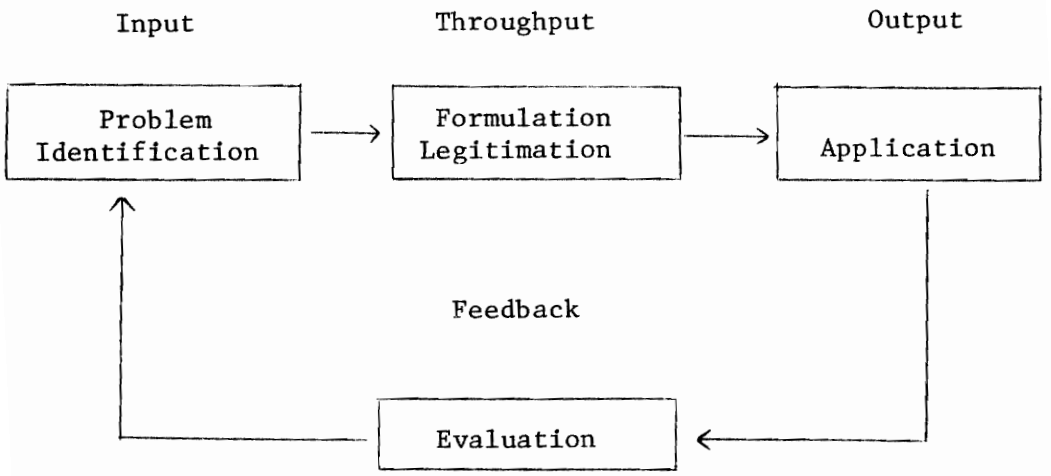

Figure 1

A Systems Framework For Policy Making

"to arrive at a policy handbook that is feasible, acceptable and workable for a school district, one must necessarily involve all interested and affected individuals and groups."[28]

Deriving input from within the educational system is an important first step in policy making. When the local board initiates action, board members are provided the opportunity "to thrash out their differences long before angry citizens have gathered at ringside."[29] Smith and Smittle noted several years ago that getting the necessary participation of school employees in policy making is a problem.[30] Besides getting their participation Campbell and Layton have recommended that "since teachers and teachers' organizations are playing a greater part in policy formation, additional training opportunities for teachers on major policy questions should be provided . . . ."[31] Teachers as well as administrators should provide knowledgeable input to the policy process.

Input from outside the public school system is a necessity. Campbell and Layton have noted that there should be "development of new forms of cooperation between lay and professional leadership in the formulation of educational policy."[32] They would encourage special interest groups as well as individuals to provide their views. Campbell and Layton have also suggested that although "competing views do not simplify the life of educational policy makers," it does prove productive in the long run to have such competition.[33]

One frequently used source of outside input is from advisory boards or ad hoc committees. School systems that have such groups demonstrate that their school officials want to be "informed about the current wishes, priorities, or dissatisfactions of citizens with respect to schools . . . ."[34] There are several reasons for having input from the public in policy making, as noted by Coombs and Merritt. First, our democratic system requires the direct participation or representation of all segments of society. Second, the public will goad education into being more efficient. Third, a system which is unresponsive to the needs of the public will lose public support and, conversely, a system which is responsive to needs will gain support.[35] Last, silence on the part of the public can be interpreted as contentment or as stifled discontent. Public participation assures to a greater extent that individual and group preferences will be uncovered.[36]

Mentioned above were school board members, administrators, teachers, pupils and citizens. These people represent a broad group of variables in the policy process which must be considered in policy development. The impact that individual actors or groups will have on policy will vary from locale to locale. In the religion-education issue key actors are the superintendent as chief administrator, the principal as the local school administrator, teachers, and parents whose children are immediately affected

by the issue. Talmage and Ornstein have concluded that "the superintendent, as he functions within a given social system, is relating and reacting to a host of local issues and inter-related variables which override any effects of size, location, and composition of the student body."[37] The parents' and patrons' beliefs come into consideration, as Ratsoy has noted, because "the religious composition and sometimes the ethnic character of the school's clients and other community members also play an important role in educational policy making."[38]

An example of a group of citizens who play an important role as actors in the policy process at the state level has been suggested by Hutcheson and Taylor. They have noted that "identification with fundamentalist religious groups represents an important factor in state political systems." They stated that fundamentalist Protestant groups "do influence the internal actors and functions" at the state level.[39] At the local level as well as at the state level there are indications that people with other religious persuasions are a variable in the religion-education policy issue.

Following the input stage in the policy process comes the point where the problem is resolved. This throughput stage involves formulation and legitimation of the policy. Formulation may be defined as the development of "a plan, a method, a prescription . . . for solving some problem."[40] During formulation the policy maker considers the problem, the alternative courses of action, the interaction of the actors involved, and the information

in both quality and quantity that is needed before legitimation of the policy. Certain contraints will operate on the policy decision in this stage. There are always some legal, institutional, and political factors which must be considered as fixed, so that "the set of feasible alternatives" to be considered will be limited "with a corresponding simplification of the choice problem."[41] Since school boards are subject to state laws particularly, "the board must make sure that policies established and in the process of being established do not conflict with procedure prescribed by mandatory laws."[42] School divisions also must insure that policies do not conflict with the opinions of courts having jurisdiction over their districts.

The legitimation step is essentially "getting policy on the books."[43] Jones noted that "once legitimation has occurred, government goes on to meet the problems. When that happens, all sorts of things turn up . . . ."[44] Policy makers must recognize that policies which have been legitimated will have long term effects and some of those effects may not be positive.

Within the educational policy-making process boards of education are the groups most responsible for making policy legitimate. The policies they develop as means for making choices should "be developed in a way which they perceive will be acceptable to various significant publics."[45] Meehan also has noted that "in all cases, the policy must be stated in a way that

will force a choice in a specified situation . . . ."[46] Policy then should be formulated and legitimated in a form which will cause those choices to be made that are most acceptable to as large a segment of the population as possible.

Once a policy has been legitimated it is necessary to implement or apply the policy to the decision situation. Jones notes that "applying policy to problems is a separate and distinguishable activity that may or may not be performed . . . ."[47] An educational policy may be legitimated, but never applied by teachers or administrators. Dror also states that formulation of policy and execution "are two different phases" and "the second does not necessarily follow from the first."[48]

To facilitate implementation a local school board should be sure that policy statements are in writing, published, and circulated. Hooker notes that "in addition to the superintendent and the staff, many other individuals and groups have a right to know what course has been selected to guide decision making."[49] Frequently circulation is in the form of a policy manual available for public inspection.

After policy is adopted, its application, as Jones noted, involves two dimensions.[50] One dimension encompasses policy administration by those agencies designed for that purpose, including establishing rules and regulations. Smith and Smittle have stated that "any 'rules and regulations' established by an administrative officer in the area of school operation must be consistent

with the general overall policy established by the board of education."[51] Part of administration is providing the incentive to have the policy applied. Dror in this situation explained that "some 'motivation' (in the organizational rather than the psychological sense) must be introduced for executing the policy, which includes the formal approval of the policy, allocating resources to the executing, and 'pushing' the executing."[52]

The second dimension to application is the interaction "between administrative actors and the subjects or objects of administration . . . ." Their interplay and exchange "is crucial in determining what is actually done" in applying policy.[53] Without sufficient motivation, administrative rules and regulations, and proper interplay of personnel policy, may not be applied and noncompliance may not be penalized.

Although an important consideration throughout the policy process, institutional and organizational variables are particularly significant during the throughput and output stages. Several of the many possible variables in this category are size and number of units, hierarchical complexities, authority given, the newness of the organization, and the rules that the organization must follow. Recognizing that all these variables affect a school division's policy development process, the size variable, however, will be selected for study in a later section of this paper.

The final stage in the policy-making system is the feedback loop. Although possibly not the final step in actual practice, the feedback step involves evaluation and judgment as to the effect of policy on the issues concerned. Smith and Smittle have observed that "all too often, elaborate statements of policy are prepared, formally adopted at a regular school board meeting, and promptly forgotten." They argue that "a statement of policy can have no real value unless it is constantly used, constantly revised, and subject to constant scrutiny."[54] Constant scrutiny and revision essentially define the feedback stage.

Effective educational policies, in Thomas Shannon's opinion, "should have adequate provision for review and amendment. Policies of the board, no matter how carefully they are drafted, are not immutable."[55] Since policies undergo change, the evaluation process should begin when implementation begins and continue through the completion of any necessary remaking of the policy. The constant evaluation should be based on comparison of actual output with expected output. This type of evaluation will help "to correct policymaking, to supplement the data on which future policymaking is to be based, and to improve the policymaking phases and structures themselves."[56]

Although school boards should constantly consider evaluation of policy, certain circumstances may necessitate policy

revision without detailed evaluation procedures being used. Typical situations may include the following: (1) a new law may be passed by the state legislature or Congress which would change the legality of a policy, (2) changes in state board of education or federal agency regulations could compel remaking, (3) courts with jurisdiction over the local district might issue new rulings weighing on policy, and (4) students, staff or community members raising repeated concerns to the board or superintendent could initiate change.[57]

It is true, as Bullock has noted, that with "even little or poor feedback, defects may be remedied through chance tinkering with the system." However, he also observes that "to most efficiently make necessary changes" policy-makers must receive information which approximates reality.[58] James S. Coleman has also observed that "feedback must provide information relevant . . . to the goals and interests of all interested parties."[59] So that all parties affected by the policy will receive data with which to evaluate.

The information required to evaluate may come from those who are called on to implement the policy. However, their involvement in implementation may distort their perspective. Evaluation, then, may be accomplished most effectively by those outside the organization since they may be more objective. Just as ad hoc advisory committees comprised of the patrons of education were valuable for problem identification, so also are citizen

committees advantageous to the feedback mechanism. Citizen component evaluation, as Caputo has noted, would have those citizens directly and indirectly benefited by a program reviewing that programs impact and future needs.[60] From a perspective outside the administrative operation, citizens can give input into evaluation which can shed light on whether or not a policy is accomplishing its intended objectives.

The output of evaluation may have several results on adopted policy. Recommendations may range from total support of the policy and administrative procedures to recognition that the policy was based on an erroneous interpretation and a completely new policy approach needs to be taken. In any case policy makers should be encouraged to institute "whatever remaking of policies is shown to be necessary by the feedback from the executing of those policies."[61] Evaluation and remaking of policy are necessary because, as Majone stated, "policy problems are not 'solved' once and for all, but repeatedly attacked in a series of meliorative steps."[62]

One last aspect of policy needs to be acknowledged which affects each stage of the policy development process, but particularly the evaluation stage. There exist conflicting and contradictory views among the citizens of this country regarding the purposes of education. These views make it impossible to have a consensus of opinion across all issues. Charles Lindblom argued that typically values are stated prior to policy development and

frequently there can be no uniform agreement among competing interests or values. He states that lack of agreement forces administrators to choose "among alternative policies that offer different marginal combinations of values."[63] Policies that provide marginal combinations of values exist when policy makers are attempting to minimize disagreements among competing interests instead of maximizing policy goals. This, Lindblom went on to note, causes policy to become not only the means to some end or objective but the end itself. And if policy is the means-ends, then "agreement on policy . . . becomes the only practicable test of the policy's correctness."[64]

Policy makers in education, as Campbell and Layton have observed, "have long realized that there are no magic formulas to resolve those value conflicts . . . ." As the various interest groups and individuals seek to maximize their values in policy situations "policy makers will have to take value positions as given, seek the greatest consensus possible, and develop strategies to meet the more vexing consequences of policies which are not completely acceptable to certain minority groups."[65]

A practical summary of the policy process within the local school division has been provided in The American School Board Journal. The journal recommended the nine-step method of developing policy as follows:

1. Anticipate community feelings.
2. Study the issues.

3. Propose a written policy to both the school people and the public.
4. Notify interested persons of impending board action.
5. Read the proposal at a prior meeting before action is taken.
6. Adopt the policy.
7. Review administrative rules for implementing the policy.
8. Disseminate the policy thoroughly to those who will have to administer it.
9. Evaluate the policies because "few policies need or should be policies forever."[66]

EDUCATIONAL POLICY AND THE UNITED STATES SUPREME COURT

Although it is clear that the United States Supreme Court has played a role in educational policy making in the U.S., the specific interpretation of that role is disputable. The high court has played perhaps three roles in relation to educational policy: (1) as a legitimator of policy, (2) as an actor in the educational policy process, and (3) as a force restricting the available choices from which educators can select.

Considering the U.S. Supreme Court a legitimator of policy "it is typical to think about the dramatic pronouncements regarding constitutional interpretation,"[67] as Jones has noted, particularly in the area of church-state relations. In its seeming role as legitimator, Donald E. Boles accused the Court of "taking upon itself the role of the nation's school board . . . ." Although, he admitted, "the role was foisted upon the Court by the public education system itself . . . ."[68]

Clark Spurlock stated that the Supreme Court "determines the course that education will take . . . in a direct and positive way" when it hands down a decision or when it refuses "to intervene when a key situation develops." However, the Court has not become a national school board in Spurlock's opinion, because it "remains as reluctant as ever to interfere in most matters subject to the will of state legislatures and local school boards."[69] Agreeing that the Court is not a national school board, Chester Nolte supported the U.S. Supreme Court in its direction giving role because "someone or some institution must act to keep the nation on its social course, to remind us as Americans that freedom must be re-born with each passing generation . . . ."[70]

Members of the Court itself are aware of its potency in policy matters, as Justice Frankfurter wrote in Barnette:

> The uncontrollable power wielded by this Court brings it very close to the most sensitive areas of public affairs. As appeal from legislation to adjudication becomes more frequent, and its consequences more far reaching, judicial self-restraint becomes more and not less important, lest we unwarrantly enter social and political domains wholly outside our concern.[71]

Another possible interpretation of the U.S. Supreme Court's role in policy making is as an actor in the policy process. Daryl Fair noted that "because the policy process is cyclical, Court pronouncements made during . . . one cycle become inputs to the processes of getting problems to government and formulating proposals in subsequent policy cycles."[72] Another way the Court

has functioned as an actor is in indirectly encouraging individuals and interest groups to approach policy makers. Fair recognized that not only do people like Madalyn Murray O'Hair and groups like Americans United, American Jewish Congress, and the ACLU "suggest doctrine to the courts in which they bring cases, but they also propose policies to other decision makers."[73]

The last role of the Court to be discussed here is its function in restricting choices that policy makers can select from in developing policy. Niels Nielson has written that the Supreme Court in "legal judgments rendered in a particular situation can set negative limits . . . ."[74] Fair has noted, by example, the effect the Court had on released-time policies in its rulings in McCollum and Zorach. These cases defined as acceptable released-time programs in classes held off school property. Mr. Justice Jackson, again in Barnette, indicated the restrictive power of the Court in educational policy matters when he wrote:

> . . . the Fourteenth Amendment, as now applied to the States, protects the citizen against the State itself and all of its creatures, Boards of Education not excepted . . . . That they are educating the young for citizenship is reason for scrupulous protection of constitutional freedom of the individual . . . .[75]

SUBSTANTIVE CONSIDERATIONS IN POLICY MAKING

Before presenting substantive considerations for a model policy on religion several words of caution need to be offered.

Public policymaking, as Dror has observed, "tends to follow the line of least resistance . . . . Creativity, imagination, and innovation in policies are generally rare . . ." unless forced by acute problems.[76] The policy considerations under discussion are an attempt at innovation without a crisis situation being present.

It has been questioned whether the public schools can be "predicated on the assumption that the religious can be separated from the secular . . . ."[77] Kauper has stated that "if the public schools disregard the religious factors in the educational process, they are not neutral."[78] It is not proper or even possible for school policy to direct schools in an either-or situation; either expounding the religious or removing the religious in favor of the secular. People with strong religious convictions, as Kauper noted, "have grounds for complaint if the public schools by studied indifference teach that belief in God is irrelevant to life."[79] Nor can the state put its force behind the position that all religions are alike and "there is no difference between religions."[80] This type of tolerance, as R. L. Hunt has observed, "easily becomes a creed, intolerant, towards those who radically disagree . . . ."[81] Policymakers in education must, therefore, be sensitized to the various sides of the debate.

What are the particular factors related to public schools that a policy on religion should consider in its basic framework?

The factors have to do not only with teaching about religion and devotional activities, but also with other less visible elements of interaction between religion and public education. Policy should consider such subjects as developing empathy and understanding in educators for the problem, dealing with educational resources that may exhibit biases, relating to the personal religious beliefs of students, and recognizing a hidden curriculum which teaches moral and spiritual values unintentionally or covertly. These factors are necessarily considered both for state and local policy although the state may have specific jurisdiction in certain areas.

Of prime consequence to the successful implementation of educational policy is having knowledgeable and empathic implementors. To accomplish this goal for teachers and administrators a policy needs to specify appropriate pre-service and in-service preparation. Philip Phenix has stated that "religion should be part of any teacher's preparation regardless of his specialty. Every teacher ought to know something about religion from a disciplined academic approach . . . ."[82] The AASA Commission on Religion also recommended that teacher preparation institutions "undertake the kind of investigations, experimentation, and alteration in teacher education . . . ."[83] that provide academic preparation in religion for teachers. This preparation should be particularly concerned with providing an understanding of the belief structures of major religious groups in the teacher's anticipated region.

Growth in understanding should not be limited to pre-service teachers, but should include thorough in-service programs for teachers and administrators already employed by the schools. The in-service program, as Hogan noted, should be designed "to sensitize the present faculty to religious implications of their subject matter . . . ."[84] These programs should also help teachers and administrators fully comprehend the beliefs of the groups represented in their attendance zones.

The overt expression of religion in public schools through objective teaching about religion is the second factor that a policy must address. The AASA Commission on Religion believed that schools should "deal directly and objectively with religion whenever and wherever it is intrinsic to the learning experience in the various fields of study . . . ." The Commission further stated that educators should find "appropriate ways to teach what has been aptly called 'the reciprocal relation' between religion and the other elements in human culture."[85]

Teaching about religion, whether in a separate course or included as a portion of another course, is supposed to be objective. Philip Phenix has observed that "'objective' does not mean value-free, abstracted from the domain of human interest. It is better interpreted as disciplined intersubjectivity." This form of teaching is an entering into "the subjectivity of persons other than oneself in a disciplined way."[86] This would require competent teachers and, as Phenix also realistically noted,

"teachers who are really competent are in short supply in any subject."[87] Besides the lack of competent teachers, Whittemore has noted that teachers would have to be well-trained even to the degree of having "the equivalent of a theological school education."[88] Therefore, the objective teaching of religion must be approached with careful study.

Another consideration in the study of religion in the public schools is the ability of students to apply higher level cognitive skills to the understanding of religion. Recognizing that the teaching about religion is "a most demanding, relevant, interesting, and valuable academic discipline," Daniel O'Connor stated that the teaching of religion should begin when "the student is of an age that the subject matter can be presented without that type of oversimplification which may easily result in misconception and misunderstanding . . . ."[89] O'Connor noted that religion then should not be taught until high school. Brickman further refined the level at which religion should be taught when he noted that "a pupil should have mastered the form and content of his own religious belief before he attempts to study religion from a comparative point of view."[90] For Brickman, teaching about religion essentially should be excluded from compulsory public education at the elementary and secondary levels. In either instance teaching about religion must be carefully considered.

Other sensitive topics should be examined by policy makers within this area of teaching about religion. What place should and could the Bible take in such courses? Brickman noted that "if the Bible is to be studied as literature, we might expect that pupils should be familiar with the Bible as Bible, that is as a religious document."[91] If a teacher deals with it as a religious document, as would represent the beliefs of evangelicals, does this infringe on the beliefs of others? The policy must also consider holidays, music, and origins, topics which are immersed in religious beliefs.

Integrated into the question of teaching is the factor of what materials are used. Policy should give direction in this sensitive area, not only when dealing specifically with religion as a subject but in each curriculum area. Textbooks, library books, and supplementary materials should be reviewed to consider matter that may be offensive and to insure that it includes matter that will be objectively supportable. Hogan stated that the library and media center should not be devoted to just "excluding materials that offend any faith, but to including materials which will rightly celebrate a full range of faiths."[92] The review of materials could be handled by committees of teachers, parents, and community members.

A fourth factor that needs to be dealt with in policy is the noninstructional activities that are supported by public schools yet may not require student participation. Such activities

as assembly programs, prayer before athletic events, baccalaureate services, invocations at ceremonies, and silent meditation as allowed in Virginia. Although these items appear insignificant, each one and others of similar nature can create unpleasant circumstances when not addressed appropriately.

The place of released time education programs becomes a fifth factor to be considered by itself. Although allowed by the U. S. Supreme Court when the teaching is out of the school, each district has to decide whether it will permit such a program within its jurisdiction and specify the procedures to be followed in allowing such a program.

The last factor may be the most elusive to the policy maker. American public education has always admitted the need to teach some form of morals and values. In a pluralistic society the question that is raised is whose morals and values do we teach. Smith and Smittle have provided a "Model Set of Board Policies."[93] Within that set of policies a sample statement of philosophy was provided which allowed that each individual develop moral and ethical values to his capacity. However, nowhere in that model is there an indication of how this is to be accomplished. If one accepts the AASA's Commission on Religion view that values are both "taught and caught," it behooves policy makers to illuminate this hidden curriculum.

SUMMARY

By way of summary a written school policy on religion should exhibit the following characteristics. First, recognizing that the policy is a guide to actions that will be taken by school administrators and teachers, it must recognize the seriousness of the choices it will direct. The decisions it guides may affect beliefs which are central to people's lives. Therefore, a diverse sample of those affected by policy should be directly involved in the policy formulation and evaluation process. Second, the policy must indicate sensitivity to the fact that it cannot prescribe or regulate any individual's religious beliefs; it must respect a pluralism of beliefs. Third, policy makers must encourage input into problem identification rather than skirt the issue until conflict arises. Fourth, the policy as written must be clear, concise, and readily available to the patrons of public education as well as school board employees. Last, proper formulation of policy must involve considerations of the evaluation process. Policy as a guide needs to be reflective of changes both in those things that contain policy decisions and the needs and desires of public school constituents.

CHAPTER 4 FOOTNOTES

[1]William Dickenson, "The Process of Developing Written School Board Policies," (paper presented at the Annual Conference of the National School Board Association, Miami Beach, Fla., April 1975), p. 8.

[2]Max S. Smith and W. Ray Smittle, The Board of Education and Educational Policy Development (Ann Arbor: Edward Brothers, Inc., 1954), p. 7.

[3]Donald R. Thomas, "New Urgencies in Educational Policy," Journal of Teacher Education, 27 (Summer, 1976), p. 98.

[4]Stephen I. Miller, "Social Research and Educational Policy Making," Policy Issues in Education, ed. Allan C. Ornstein (Lexington, Mass.: D. C. Heath and Company, 1976), p. 30.

[5]Thomas F. Green, "What is Educational Policy?," Educational Policy, ed. Janice F. Weaver (Danville, Illinois: Interstate Printers and Publishers, Inc., 1975), p. 2.

[6]Aaron Wildavsky, "The Strategic Retreat on Objectives," Policy Analysis, 2 (Summer, 1976), p. 501.

[7]Charles H. Lyons, "Educational Policy, Educational Expertise and the AESA," Educational Studies, 7 (Summer, 1976), p. 148.

[8]National School Board Association, Educational Policies Reference Manual (Washington, D.C.: National School Boards Association, 1975), p. BF.

[9]Green, op. cit., pp. 3-11.

[10]Eugene J. Meehan, "Philosophy and Policy Studies," Policy Studies Journal, 2 (Autumn, 1971), p. 39.

[11]Dale Mann, Policy Decision-Making in Education (New York: Teachers College Press, 1975), p. 20.

[12]Meehan, op. cit., p. 46.

[13]Green, op. cit., p. 11.

[14]Thomas, op. cit., p. 98.

[15]Eulalio Baltazer, "T. M. and the Religion-in-School Issue," The Christian Century, 93 (August 18, 1976), p. 709.

[16]Michael B. McMahon, "Religion, Scientific Naturalism, and the Myth of Neutrality," Intellect, 102 (April, 1974), p. 432.

[17]Rich, op. cit., pp. 28-29.

[18]Elliot J. Feldman, "An Antidote for Apology, Service and Witchcraft in Policy Analysis," Problems of Theory in Policy Analysis, ed. Philip M. Gregg (Lexington, Mass.: Lexington Books, 1976), p. 23.

[19]Yehezkel Dror, "Some Features of a Meta-Model for Policy Studies," Problems of Theory in Policy Analysis, ed. Philip M. Gregg (Lexington, Mass.: Lexington Books, 1976), p. 55.

[20]American Association of School Administrators, Religion in the Public Schools (New York: Harper and Row Publishers, 1965), p. 64.

[21]Neil G. McCluskey, Public Schools and Moral Education (2d ed., Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, Publishers, 1975), p. 261.

[22]Charles E. Lindblom, "The Science of Muddling Through," Policy-Making in American Government, ed. Edward V. Schneier (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1969), p. 34.

[23]Yehezkel Dror, Public Policy Reexamined (San Francisco: Chandler Publishing Company, 1968), p. 12.

[24]Richard M. Hodgetts and Max S. Wortman, Administrative Policy (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1975), p. 23.

[25]Charles O. Jones, An Introduction to the Study of Public Policy (Belmont, California: Duxbury Press, 1970), p. 23.

[26]Hodgetts, op. cit., p. 22.

[27]Roald F. Campbell and Donald Layton, Policy Making for American Education (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1969), p. 97.

[28]Robert A. Bowser, "Developing School Policies," The Pennsylvania Executive Academy Monograph Series No. 2 (Harrisburg, Pa.: Pennsylvania State Department of Education, 1976), p. 8.

[29]"How to Make Board Policies that Save Money and Misery," The American School Board Journal, 159 (October, 1972), p. 34.

[30]Smith, op. cit., p. 7.

[31]Campbell, op. cit., p. 102.

[32]Ibid., p. 100.

[33]Ibid., p. 101

[34]Fred S. Coombs and Richard L. Merritt, "The Public's Role in Educational Policy-Making," Education and Urban Society, 9 (February, 1977), p. 190.

[35]Ibid., pp. 169-170.

[36]Ibid., p. 192.

[37]Harriet Talmage and Allan C. Ornstein, "School Superintendents' Attitudes Toward Community Participation," The Journal of Educational Administration, 14 (October, 1976), p. 171.

[38]Eugene W. Ratsoy, "Policy Making in Educational Organizations," The Canadian Administrator, 16 (December, 1976), p. 2.

[39]John D. Hutcheson and George A. Taylor, "Religious Variables, Political System Characteristics, and Policy Outputs in the American States," American Journal of Political Science, 17 (May, 1973), pp. 417-418.

[40]Jones, op. cit., p. 46.

[41]Giandomenico Majone, "The Role of Constraints in Policy Analysis," Quantity and Quality, 8 (March, 1974), p. 74.

[42]Smith, op. cit., p. 8.

[43]Jones, op. cit., p. 86.

[44]Ibid.

[45]Ibid., p. 72.

[46]Meehan, op. cit., p. 42.

[47]Jones, op. cit., p. 90.

[48]Dror, Public Policy Reexamined, op. cit., p. 188.

[49]Richard L. Hooker, "An Introduction to Policy Development," Policymaking: A Challenge for School Board Members (Austin, Texas: Texas Association of School Boards, 1976), p. 3.

[50]Jones, op. cit., pp. 96-7.

[51]Smith, op. cit., p. 8.

[52]Dror, Public Policy Reexamined, op. cit., p. 188.

[53]Jones, op. cit., p. 97.

[54]Smith, op. cit., p. 46.

[55]Thomas A. Shannon, "The Effectiveness of Written Board Policies," (Paper presented at the Annual Convention of the National School Boards Association, Minneapolic, Minn.: April 22, 1966), p. 10.

[56]Dror, Public Policy Reexamined, op. cit., p. 161.

[57]National School Board Association, "The School Administrator's Policy Portfolio," Educational Policies Reference Manual, 8 (February, 1977), p. 2.

[58]Charles S. Bullock and Harrell R. Rodgers, "Impediments to Policy Evaluation," Social Science Quarterly, 57 (December, 1976), p. 518.

[59]James S. Coleman, "Policy Decisions, Social Science Information and Education," Sociology of Education, 49 (October, 1976), p. 305.

[60]David A. Caputo, "The Citizen Component of Policy Evaluation," Methodologies for Analyzing Public Policies, ed. Frank P. Scioli (Lexington, Mass.: Lexington Books, Inc., 1975), pp. 29-31.

[61]Dror, Public Policy Reexamined, op. cit., p. 191.

[62]Majone, op. cit., p. 74.

[63]Lindblom, op. cit., p. 28.

[64]Ibid., p. 30.

[65]Campbell, op. cit., p. 30.

[66]"How to Make Your Policies Work For You," The American School Board Journal, 163 (September, 1976), pp. 36-37.

[67]Jones, op. cit., p. 91.

[68]Donald E. Boles, "Church-State Conflicts," Journal of Church and State, 14 (Spring, 1972), p. 297.

[69]Clark Spurlock, "Supreme Court of the United States and Education," Encyclopedia of Education, ed. Lee C. Deighton (New York: The MacMillon Co., 1971), p. 560.

[70]M. Chester Nolte, "Are the Courts Determining Policy," (Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Association of School Administrators, February, 1976), p. 10.

[71]West Virginia State Board of Education v. Barnette, 319 U.S. 624, 63 S. Ct. 1178 (1943), p. 666.

[72]Daryl R. Fair, "The Supreme Court and Church-State Policy," Civil Liberties, ed. Stephen L. Wasby (Lexington, Mass.: D. C. Heath and Company, 1976), p. 57.

[73]Ibid., p. 59.

[74]Niels C. Nielson, God in Education (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1966), p. 14.

[75]West Virginia State Board of Education v. Barnette, op. cit., pp. 636-637.

[76]Dror, Public Policy Reexamined, op. cit., p. 87.

[77]Baltazar, op. cit., p. 708.

[78]Paul G. Kauper, "Prayer, Public Schools and the Supreme Court," Michigan Law Review, 61 (April, 1963), p. 1054.

[79]Ibid., p. 1066.

[80]R. L. Hunt, "Policy Problems Arising From Current Trends and Recent Court Decisions," Religious Education, 59 (July, 1964), p. 317.

[81]Ibid.

[82]Philip H. Phenix, "Religion in Public Education," Journal of Church and State, 14 (Autumn, 1972), p. 429.

[83]AASA, op. cit., p. 61.

[84]Robert T. Hogan, "Has Religion Any Place in Public Education," Religious Education, 68 (July-August, 1972), p. 57.

[85]AASA, op. cit., p. 61.

[86]Phenix, op. cit., p. 61.

[87]Ibid., p. 429.

[88]Lewis B. Whittemore, The Church and Secular Education (Greenwich, Conn.: The Seabury Press, 1960), p. 38.

[89]Daniel W. O'Connor, "Should Religion Be Taught in the Public Schools," Educational Leadership, 30 (April, 1973), p. 651.

[90]William W. Brickman, "Symposium: Religion in the Public Schools," Religious Education, 59 (November-December, 1964), p. 458.

[91]Ibid., p. 458.

[92]Hogan, op. cit., p. 57.

[93]Smith, op. cit.

Chapter 5

THE POLICY SITUATION IN VIRGINIA

In a 1970 report the National School Public Relations Association (NSPRA) concluded from a national canvass of state and local school districts on "written general policies on religion and public education" that "general policies are scarce . . . ."[1] If public school policies on religion are as scarce as the NSPRA report concludes, school administrators and teachers may be lacking the necessary guides to action in the sensitive areas of religious concern. Although having adequate guides for educators to deal with religion may prevent the religion-education issue from being divisive, the lack of solution may rest squarely with educators. Justice Tom Clark, author of the Schempp decision, speaking to a conference of educators, was of the opinion that the education-religion controversy has been deliberately evaded. He stated the problem as follows:

> The reason we still have a problem about prayers and religion in the public schools lies in ourselves. We have not devoted ourselves to trying to solve this problem as we have other problems that have confronted us. We sweep it under the rug; we don't want to talk about it. It's something that we don't want to get involved in; it's something that involves things that we are sometimes a bit loath to try to straighten out.[2]

This chapter will attempt to integrate the information presented in previous chapters into a unified and usable whole with particular attention given to Virginia. The current status of public school

policies on religion in Virginia will be described by employing the results of a questionnaire submitted to all the superintendents of local divisions in the state. The prominent traits of the policies received from local divisions will be evaluated. This evaluation will sift the policies through a filter developed from a knowledge base developed in earlier sections of the study which considers a legal perspective, a public policy framework, and considers the concerns of one major religious constituency of public education, evangelical Christians. Then, following the summary of the study, elaboration of objective school policy proposals for local school divisions and the Virginia Board of Education will be presented. These policy statements will be developed with consideration of an evangelical viewpoint on education. Finally, implications and recommendations will be set forth.

CURRENT STATUS OF SCHOOL POLICIES ON RELIGION

Determination of the status of public school policies on religion for local divisions in Virginia is of fundamental concern to this study. It was hypothesized that the majority of the school divisions in the state did not have written policies regarding religion in the schools. Second, it was supposed that absence of a policy on religion would not be related to school division size. Third, it was hypothesized that those divisions that did have a policy on religion would not by legal, evangelical, and public policy standards adequately

specify provisions for dealing with the large number of situations where religion might interact with the activities of public schools.

To study these questions a questionnaire (Appendix A) was sent to each school superintendent in the state. Each superintendent of a local school division in the state (133) received an initial letter (Appendix B) and where necessary a follow-up letter (Appendix C). The assumption was made that superintendents would respond due to the importance of the topic, the brevity of the questionnaire, and the ease of response. It was also assumed that superintendents in their position as chief school administrator would be familiar with their division's policies and the manner in which they were formulated.

The instrument used to survey the superintendents included only five items, though several items had multiple parts. In addition, the instrument contained a request for a copy of the local division's policy on religion if it was indicated that the division possessed such a policy. The questionnaire also attempted to elicit information about the policy making process for those divisions indicating that a policy existed.

The data gathered were based upon the total population of local school divisions in the state. Since the data were describing a total population using largely nominal measurement, analysis relies on frequencies and percentages. Categorization of individual items in the policies provided by the school divisions proved difficult, because written statements were frequently broad and a single policy statement may have encompassed several categories.

Of the 133 school superintendents surveyed, 121 replied in some way to the questionnaire for a 91.0 percent return. Two school divisions did not return the questionnaire. One division only sent a copy of their policy and the other sent a letter describing policies related to religion. These two divisions were considered as having responded "yes" to question one on the questionnaire. Forty-two (42) divisions responded "yes" to the question about having a policy and seventy-nine (79) divisions responded "no." Therefore, 65.3 percent of those responding did not have a policy on religion. The superintendents responding "no" to the questionnaire also represented 59.4 percent of the total population of school divisions in the state. The single most frequent reason given for not having a policy on religion (58.8%) was that the issue had not been raised (See Table 1). The belief that the Supreme Court had answered the question completely was held by 16.5 percent of the superintendents. Additional reasons and non-respondents to question two represent the remaining 24.7 percent of superintendents' responses.

The superintendents responding that their divisions have a policy on religion (42) represent 34.7 percent of the total respondents. Approximately half of these (52.4%) answered that the policy was not developed in response to the specific issue (See Table 2). Policy formulation did not have input from the religious community in 61.9 percent of the divisions responding.

The item which requested information on policy derivation listed four categories: (a) another school division's policy, (b) a

Table 1

Respondents Negatively Answering Question: Do You Have a Policy Which Deals With the Relationship of Religion and the Public Schools? N = 79

	No. of Responses	Percent
Issue has not been raised	50	58.8
Issue has been raised, but policy is not part of the solution	6	7.1
Supreme Court has answered the question completely	14	16.5
The issue is too controversial	1	1.2
Other	10	11.8
Non respondents to this item	4	4.7
TOTAL	85*	100.1%

*Total includes respondents who responded to more than one item.

Table 2

Respondents Positively Answering Question: Do You Have a Policy Which Deals With the Relationship of Religion and the Public Schools? N = 42

Policy Developed in Response to a Specific Issue

Yes		No		No Response		Total	
12	28.6%	22	52.4%	8	19.0%	42	100%

Policy Input From Religious Community

Yes		No		No Response		Total	
9	21.4%	26	61.9%	7	16.7%	42	100%

Policy Was Derived From
(several respondents marked more than one answer)

		Percent of Responses
Another school division's policy	7	15.2
A Model policy	2	4.3
Our own thoughts and ideas	23	50.0
Other	8	17.4
Non respondents	6	13.0
TOTAL	46	99.9

model policy, (c) our own thoughts and ideas, and (d) other. Although one-half (50.0%) of the responses to this item indicated that policy had been derived from "our own thoughts and ideas," at least four of those responding had essentially the same wording. A review of the local division policies sent in reply to the questionnaire appears to indicate that fifteen (15) school divisions (38.5%) include similar wording in some form as a whole or part of their policy. The wording is apparently from the Policy Manual Guide published by the Virginia Department of Education. The pronouncement reads as follows:

> No time shall be set aside in the schools for religious instruction. Pupils shall not be released during school hours for group or private instruction which is not a part of the regular school program.[3]

In addition to the Virginia Department of Education pronouncement, two other sources of model policies were described: Wright State University, which is the location for the Public Education Religion Studies Center, and the National School Boards Association (NSBA), which has published the Educational Policies Reference Manual.[4] Only two superintendents specified that their divisions had used one or the other of these model policies, however.

To evaluate the existing policies as a group, a frequency table (See Table 3) was developed from the superintendents' responses as they related to potential categories of concern that could be included in policy statements. The categories were established considering the policies received, concerns stated previously in this report, Virginia law, and the author's knowledge of public school

Table 3

Potential Policy Concerns Contained in Policies Submitted by Superintendents

Category	Number of Times Cited
Teaching of or about religion	25
Released-time	21
General statement of purpose and/or philosophy	7
Bible and other sacred books: academic use	5
"Controversial subjects" policy as policy on religion	5
Holidays, as part of curriculum	5
Holidays, as acceptable excuse for absence by student or faculty	5
Minute of silence	5
Prayer apart from minute of silence	4
Use of facilities	4
Religious music, as part of required curriculum	2
Assembly programs	2
Teaching about morals, ethics and values	2
Bible and other sacred books, devotional use	1
Devotional displays and religious symbols	1
Distribution of printed material for a religious nature for other than academic reasons	1
Instructional materials	1
Religious music, as part of voluntary programs	1
Religious exercise (undefined)	1
School attendance excused due to religious belief	1
Statement about dealing with citizen concerns	1
Use of advisory committees	1
Baccalaureate services	0
Dual enrollment/shared time	0
Evaluation	0
Library books	0
Textbooks	0
Origins	0
Other (not categorized above)	1
Total	102

curriculum and instruction. No intent was made to decide whether negative or positive statements were more valuable, but simply that a statement was made. For instance, policy statements were made both supporting and excluding released-time programs associated with the public schools and both types of policies were included in the category entitled "released-time." Three superintendents responded on the questionnaire that their divisions had policies but failed to enclose a copy of the policy. Four divisions enclosed items that might not be included in a policy manual: (a) one superintendent specified written statements that had been distributed, (b) another superintendent sent a general policy statement plus the division's administrative regulations regarding religion, and (c) two superintendents enclosed copies of memos that had been distributed within their divisions.

Public school policies must serve as a guide to action for school administrators and teachers. To fulfill this function policies must guide the various activities where religion and public education interface. Table 3 noted twenty-nine (29) categories, yet the average policy covered only 8.3 percent of the choices among these categories. The majority of the policies submitted provide less than adequate guidelines for the myriad of decisions to be made by public schools in the education-religion arena.

As described in Table 3, the teaching of or about religion in the classroom and released-time education received the most attention, 24.5 percent and 20.6 percent of the total responses respectively, from those divisions submitting policies. The number of divisions

Table 4

Written Policy and School Division Size

Average Daily Membership	Responses to Questionnaire: Yes	No	Non-Respondents	Total	Cumulative Total
21000 & above	8	4	0	12	12
19500 - 20999	0	0	1	1	13
18000 - 19499	0	0	0	0	13
16500 - 17999	0	0	0	0	13
15000 - 16499	2	0	0	2	15
13500 - 14999	0	0	0	0	15
12000 - 13499	2	0	1	3	18
10500 - 11999	3	3	0	6	24
9000 - 10444	4	3	0	7	31
7500 - 8999	2	5	1	8	39
6000 - 7499	1	5	1	7	46
4500 - 5999	3	8	2	13	59
3000 - 4499	5	14	3	22	81
1500 - 2999	11	23	2	36	117
0 - 1499	1	15	1	16	133
	42	79	12	133	

using the State Department of Education statement (15), which is concerned just with these two policy items, provides a possible reason for their prevalence in this item count. Of the thirty-nine (39) divisions submitting policies a total of only 102 policy items were categorized. On the average a local division policy covered items from only 2.6 categories which represents merely 8.3 percent of the total possible choices from Table 3.

To resolve the question of whether school division size was related to whether or not a division had a written policy, a frequency table (Table 4) was developed using Average Daily Membership (ADM)[5] as a measure of size. Of the school divisions in the smallest category (0-1499) only one (1) replied "yes" to having a policy on religion. At the opposite extreme of divisions, the 21000 and above category, eight (8) out of twelve (12) replied "yes." There appears, therefore, to be a relationship between division size, at the extremes of the continuum, and the presence of a written policy on religion. However, further inspection of Table 4 reveals that ADM of school divisions in Virginia tend toward the lower ends of the scale, 53.4 percent had ADM in 1976-77 between 1500 and 5999. Within these same categories 45.5 percent of the divisions responded "yes" and 57.0 percent of the divisions responded "no."

Previous chapters in this study have considered the issue of religion in the public schools from a public policy perspective, a legal perspective, and an evangelical Christian viewpoint. This section also will discuss the results of the questionnaire and the

policies received in view of criteria developed from the three perspectives.

Criteria which must be a standard for public school policies on religion ought to represent process considerations as well as substantive considerations. Substantive considerations reflect a wide variety of problem situations which may occur. As discussed above regarding Table 3, a policy ought to provide positive guidance in such areas as instruction, teacher preparation, religious materials in the curriculum, non-instructional activities, released-time programs and other similar concerns.

Process considerations for public policy criteria begin with the input stage in problem identification. Has the issue been perceived by the local school board and what groups have been encouraged to provide input? During the throughput stage formulation ought to reflect input from the religious community. The legitimated policy ought to represent U.S. and state constitutional positions, reveal thorough consideration of the issue, and cause choices to be made that are acceptable to the largest segment of the population as possible regardless of the size of the school division. There ought also to be some avenue to evaluate the effectiveness of a policy and the need for remaking. Last, a policy ought to be applied. However, this study did not attempt to measure the degree to which public school policies have been applied in local school divisions in Virginia.

Two of the foremost variables in policy making in education are the actors involved in the process and the size of the organization.

It is assumed that larger divisions will have a larger and more diverse group of people involved in the policy process and a larger organizational structure. In the smallest divisions with less than 1499 Average Daily Membership only one of fifteen divisions responding had a policy. It would appear in these smaller and presumably more homogeneous divisions that policies are not perceived as being necessary guides in choice situations. The reasons for this may relate to any of a number of factors not discovered in this study. The opposite appears to be true for large divisions with many actors and large organizational structures. Common sense would indicate that written policies would be more valuable in providing consistency in decision making in large organizations.

The findings in the study indicate that the process used in developing public school policies on religion in Virginia may not follow precisely the criteria stated above. First, it has been assumed in this study that there is a problem in the relationship of religion to public education. And yet 58.8% of superintendents without policies say that the issue has not been raised. Similarly in 52.4% of the responding divisions with policies their policies were not developed in response to an issue. If an assumption of an identified problem is correct, there may be a breakdown in problem identification. Two possible explanations may be that those patrons of public education recognizing the problem are not communicating the problem to policy makers or those in policy making positions are not admitting the problem. Another

explanation may be, however, that administrators prefer to deal with the issue in other forms than through policy adoption.

Second, the formulation stage has not had the appropriate input from affected groups. Superintendents responded in 61.9 percent of the cases that developed policy had not had input from the religious community. As broadly stated as this question was, even insignificant input could have been considered. It may be noted that 50.0 percent of the responses by superintendents indicated that policies were their own thoughts and ideas. The formulation and legitimation of policies on religion appears to rely largely on input from policy makers themselves.

Last, the evaluation stage may be used only infrequently. No policy indicated any formal measures for evaluation or remaking of the policy, although informal evaluation and remaking may occur. However, a division which evaluates its policy manual on a regular basis, might feel that additional comments on evaluation are not necessary for a policy on religion.

One additional observation should be noted about the policies submitted. Frequently those policies were stated in negative ways, specifying the behaviors that are not allowable. A policy that singles out only forbidden items does not provide guidance for all the other areas not singled out. A similar situation is encountered when one assumes that the U.S. Supreme Court has resolved the issue of religion in the schools. The Court has not dealt with every issue, but has ruled on those cases before it. The Court has, therefore, left many

ramifications of the education-religion issue unanswered. A policy based upon a negative statement, such as "no time shall be set aside in the schools for religious instruction," leaves many considerations unresolved. Combining this problem with the fact that the policies submitted are limited in the substantive considerations discussed above and generally lacking in statements of purpose and/or philosophy, one can possibly conclude that the policies submitted do not provide adequate guidance.

Before reflecting on legal considerations of the policies submitted in this study, it should be observed that a policy may not be followed even though it is legitimized. Because policy is only a guide to action, decision makers may implement bad choices or fail to punish those who act in opposition to policy. Therefore, although stated policy may be clearly within the realm of legality, it does not necessarily follow that the actions of educators will be consistent with the law, court decisions, or the policy itself.

Legal criteria for evaluating public school policy should recognize the First Amendment freedoms which disallow the establishment of a state religion and allow the free exercise of religion. Under free exercise a policy on religion should recognize that a person has a right to believe, advocate his beliefs and engage in the practice of his beliefs as long as there is not the immediate danger of substantial injury to others or to the health, welfare, and morals of the citizenry. A policy should also consider that certain areas of school activity require strict separation such as in the advocacy of religion through

teacher sponsored devotional activities. Also certain school activities indicate a need for neutrality, a secular purpose which neither advances nor inhibits religion. The teaching about religion in an academic setting is an example of neutrality. In addition a policy may accommodate its guidance function to the furtherance of religious freedom. When a policy allows students to be released from the public schools for religious education, it is accommodating the public schools to the religious needs of its students.

Only one policy was submitted which could be perceived as violating a U.S. Supreme Court ruling related to the First Amendment. The policy on released-time read as follows:

> Religious education is provided by the Council for Religious Education in certain grades, all the records are handled by the Bible teachers. The parents must give written consent before a child may attend classes.[6]

If "in certain grades" means held in school the above policy statement violates the U.S. Supreme Court's ruling in McCollum on released-time education held on school premises. However, more important than a single violation is the absence of programs which have been approved by the Court. Of the twenty-five (25) policies with a section on the teaching of or about religion 68.0 percent are prohibitive. Of the twenty-one (21) released-time statements, 71.4 percent are prohibitive. Although the U.S. Supreme Court has ruled unconstitutional programs such as the teaching of religion and released-time programs on school grounds, a policy which does not guide acceptable actions discourages allowable programs which might rightly be permissible under the free exercise clause.

It is true, as mentioned in Chapter 2, that Virginia's constitutional standards of separation of church and state are stricter than those stated by the U.S. Supreme Court. However, Virginia has enacted a law which allows local divisions to adopt a policy of a daily minute of silence to encourage the exercise of religious freedom. Only five of the policies submitted noted adoption of such a policy. It should be noted that some non-controversial written policies such as "controversial subjects" (5), Holidays as acceptable excuse for absence by student or faculty (4), received as much attention as policies on a minute of silence or the academic use of the Bible (5).

Evangelical parents, who have the primary responsibility for educating their children, believe that a complete education must begin with an understanding of God and His centrality in the universe. Since the Bible is God's revealed Word to man, there is a standard by which to measure life's questions, thus eliminating a relativistic view of the world. Faith, then, for the evangelical provides meaning for life; the Gospel is for the whole man in his total need. Public school policy, therefore, ought to allow for the existence of the supernatural, ought not to oppose evangelical theology, and ought to be non-discriminatory either for or against evangelical beliefs and the free exercise thereof.[7]

As mentioned above the First Amendment religious freedoms deal not only with prevention of a state established religion, but also insure the free exercise of religion. Although, historically,

evangelicals have been involved in public education, there is no advocacy here of evangelical control of public education. However, evangelicals feel that their religious beliefs cannot be separated from their lives and yet the majority of the school districts in the state do not recognize religion's role through policy. Also of concern to evangelicals is that their children in many instances are spending many hours a week in school and additional hours each week out of school with secular assignments and yet the majority of Virginia's public policies do not allow released-time education nor make provision for programs of instruction that might recognize evangelical faith. The state is therefore adding obligations which force a certain scheduling of the time otherwise scheduled by the home. The state does this without allowing for provisions to balance the time obligated.

Evangelical concerns with public education as compared with the policies submitted indicates the severe inadequacy of the policies from an evangelical view. Education is the prime responsibility of parents and secondarily of the church from an evangelical perspective. Of the policies submitted, only one made a statement about using citizen advisory committees and just one specified how to deal with citizen concerns. Also, 61.9 percent reported no input by the religious community into the process of developing the policy on religion. Educational policy makers, it appears, generally have not given evangelical parents and members of the evangelical community adequate

input into the policy process. Nor have educators ensured that evangelicals will not be excluded in the future from a policy viewpoint.

Another major concern for evangelicals is the subtle inculcation of views which are not compatible with evangelical Christianity. Evangelicalism is based upon the belief that God exists and that He has revealed Himself to man. When public schools remain silent about God, when they teach by implication the centrality of man, when they place the clarification of values on the child and implicitly deny the presence of absolute values, and when they teach the theory of evolution and ignore the creation theory, public schools conflict with evangelical beliefs. However, only two policies comment on teaching morals, ethics, and values, none mention origins, only five (5) cite the academic use of the Bible, and five (5) prefer to include religion simply as a controversial subject. By failing to deal overtly with the religion-education issue through public policy, educators are aggravating, not reducing, the controversial aspects of the conflict.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The data in the above discussion indicate answers to several questions. The response by 91.0 percent of local division superintendents in Virginia indicates that the majority of divisions do not have a policy regarding religion in the schools. Secondly, there

is a connection between division size as measured by ADM and the presence or absence of policy, but only at the extremes of division size. The majority of the largest districts have policies whereas the vast majority of the smallest districts do not have policies. Last, by the policy standards defined above, after consideration of many legal questions and by evangelical standards, the policies submitted in response to the questionnaire are less than satisfactory as a whole. From the results of the questionnaire and the analysis of the policies submitted one could conclude that in Virginia the policy situation regarding religion in the public schools is less than adequate to deal effectively with the issue.

POLICY PROPOSALS

It is not enough to say that local school divisions and the Virginia Board of Education are not providing the guidance through policy that teachers and administrators should have to deal with religion in the schools. A study of this nature should go beyond simple analysis of surface conditions and provide potential remedies for the condition. This section will propose policies for consideration by both local school divisions and the state board. These proposed policies recognize concerns raised by evangelical Christians. Other religious groups, particularly conservative bodies within the Judeo-Christian heritage, might also have similar concerns. A major limitation of this study is that it has not or cannot take into

consideration every religious group or even all of the major religious bodies in Virginia. Therefore, even if these proposed policies may by nature have certain predilections, it cannot be assumed that they would be acceptable or unacceptable to other religious groups. It is also important to note that the policies proposed reflect only some of the myriad legal interpretations and opinions handed down nationwide in recent years on the religion-education issue. So prior to adoption, these proposed policies would require careful review by legal experts and those religious groups in a school division's constituency. Although leanings are inherent in the proposed policies, the policies themselves will attempt to be legally sound, objective, and developed with regard for workable policy as described in earlier sections of the study.

Article VIII Section 4 of the Constitution of Virginia provides that "subject to the ultimate authority of the General Assembly the Board shall have primary responsibility and authority for effectuating the educational policy set forth in this Article . . . ." The Constitution of Virginia, therefore, gives the Virginia Board of Education authority to effectuate policy and these policies are largely set forth in Regulations of the Board of Education of the Commonwealth of Virginia. This booklet purports to contain "all the general regulations adopted" by the board.[8] Significant by its absence, there is no statement of policy concerning religion in the schools. Since the state board has the responsibility and authority for the development and achievement of policy, policy recommendations should begin with this body.

The proposed state policy presented in Appendix D is patterned after policies in Regulations of the Board of Education of the Commonwealth of Virginia. It is meant to be brief, specific, and complete in terms of the above discussions about policy. It incorporates the findings of the study in a form that the Virginia Board of Education could use to consider in developing its own policy.

Even though a state may have a specific policy, local school divisions are not exempted from policy statements in the same area of concern. Certain policy issues are rightly the concern of the state, for instance teacher-education, and certain questions should remain at the discretion of the local division, such as the use of ad hoc advisory committees. Since division population, locale, expertise within a school division, and other such descriptors will vary from division to division, each local board of education must formulate policy which will consider these individual differences at its level.

The local division is addressed in the proposed policy presented in Appendix E. Patterned after the proposed state policy, it duplicates the state policy in those areas where appropriate. However, it eliminates portions such as teacher certification requirements which are state responsibility and would not be necessary in a local division policy. By the nature of this study the local division policy assumes that the state would adopt the recommended policy items. Both policies are proposals and whole adoption of either policy would be inappropriate without careful consideration of their legal, policy, and religious ramifications by school division policy makers.

RECOMMENDATIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

The proposed policies developed in this investigation represent the summation of the knowledge gleaned through the study. However, several recommendations can be made which reinforce points incorporated into the policy proposals. Implications for needs beyond the limits of written policy should be considered.

The following recommendations can be drawn from previous discussions in this project.

1. The Virginia Board of Education should take a more positive leadership role in approaching the questions raised by the issue of public education and religion. Initially, the Board should implement a thoroughly developed policy on religion. The proposed policy transmitted in this project could act as a catalyst in the formulation of a state policy.

2. The Virginia Department of Education should support the study of religion by pre-service teachers by allowing such studies as humanities electives. It should also encourage institutions of higher education in Virginia to prepare courses dealing with major religious groups in the state.

3. Local school divisions should take steps to implement policy in some form that more fully deals with the religion-education issue than the general nature of the policies submitted. To accomplish this end, divisions should chance arousing problems by inclusion of community members in policy formulation, particularly as ad hoc

committee members. Likewise, after policy is written and prior to legitimation, policy should be submitted to the public. This citizen input should be considered before adoption of a proposed policy because such policies cannot reflect pecularities of each division's specific situation.

4. Historically, public education and the Protestant Christian religion have had a close relationship and in the opinion of many evangelical scholars a relationship with religion still exists. If a close relationship does in fact still remain, then public educators should acknowledge this potentially discriminating situation and take corrective action where discrimination is a fact.

This project also has implications which go beyond the recommendations drawn. These deal not only with the policy process and its actors, but also with further research in this area.

1. Further study needs to be done from the perspective of other religious bodies and also the policy situation in other states if a more complete picture of the relationship of religion and public education across the country is to be developed.

2. Additional research would be valuable to determine the relationship between adopted policy statements on religion and action taken within school divisions in the religion-education issue. If policy is developed as a guideline and then allowed to be ignored, its value is negated.

3. Public educators must be educated about religion, the religious beliefs of patrons, and the entire spectrum of past and

present relationships between public education and religion. Only if educators are aware of the problem will they see value in seeking solutions.

4. Evangelicals must press to have the issues aired, if changes are to come. Public education is not solely the domain of evangelicals and evangelicals should act accordingly. Educators have a responsibility to be aware of evangelical concerns as well as the concerns of members of other religious bodies and those of no religious affiliation.

5. The issue of the correct relationship of religion with the public schools may be beyond a final resolution. However skeptical one may be about the final outcome of the issue, educators must proceed with the possibility of an ultimate solution in mind. In our pluralistic society a solution should be sought which considers the beliefs of students, parents and the citizenry in general and is equitable to all.

CHAPTER 5 FOOTNOTES

[1]National School Public Relations Associations, Religion and the Schools (Washington, D.C.: National School Public Relations Association, 1970), p. 31.

[2]Tom C. Clark, "Personal Reflections on the Schempp Decisions," Religion Studies in the Curriculum, ed. Peter Bracher (Dayton, Ohio: Public Education Religion Studies Center, 1974), p. 16.

[3]State Department of Education, Policy Manual Guide, Richmond: Commonwealth of Virginia, 1973, p. 28.

[4]National School Boards Association, Educational Policies Reference Manual, (Washington, D.C.: National School Boards Association, 1975), Vol. I and II.

[5]Average Daily Membership figures for 1976-77 taken from Virginia Education Association ABC's of School Finance (Richmond, VA: Virginia Education Association, 1976), Appendix B.

[6]To respect anonymity the name of the county is omitted. The policy was submitted in response to the questionnaire submitted in this study.

[7]Although it is recognized that other religions have an equally valid concern with the relation of public education and their religious views, this paper has selected for study just one major religious group because of the author's knowledge of that group, the historical role that group has played in American public education, and the vast numbers of constituents of public education in that group.

[8]Board of Education, Commonwealth of Virginia, Regulations of the Board of Education of the Commonwealth of Virginia (Richmond, VA: Commonwealth of Virginia, 1975), p. iii. Dr. E. B. Howerton, Assistant Superintendent for Administrative Field Services, in a telephone interview with the author stated that a revision of the regulations which is now being printed contained no mention of religion and that the State Board had not addressed the issue, October 2, 1978.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Single Volume Works

Ahlstrom, Sidney. A Religious History of the American People. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1973.

Allen, Jack. The American Public School. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1969.

American Association of School Administrators. Religion in the Public Schools. New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1965.

Anderson, James E. Public Policy-Making. New York: Praeger Publishers, 1975.

Bell, Sadie. The Church, The State and Education in Virginia. Philadelphia: The Science Press Printing Company, 1930.

Blanshard, Paul. Religion and the Schools. Boston: Beacon Press, 1963.

Blinderman, Abraham. Three Early Champions of Education: Benjamin Franklin, Benjamin Rush, and Noah Webster. Bloomington, Indiana: Phi Delta Kappa, 1976.

Bloesch, Donald G. The Evangelical Renaissance. Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1973.

Boles, Donald E. The Bible, Religion, and the Public Schools. Ames, Iowa: Iowa State University Press, 1965.

_____. The Two Swords: Commentaries and Cases in Religion and Education. Ames, Iowa: Iowa State University Press, 1967.

Bolmeier, Edward C. Landmark Supreme Court Decisions on Public School Issues. Charlottesville, Virginia: The Michie Company, 1973.

Bumstead, J. M., ed. The Great Awakening: The Beginnings of Evangelical Pietism in America. Waltham, Massachusetts: Blaisdell Publishing Company, 1970.

Butts, R. Freeman. The American Tradition in Religion and Education. Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1974.

_____ and Lawrence A. Cremin. A History of Education in American Culture. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1953.

Byrne, H. W. A Christian Approach to Education: A Bibliocentric View. Grand Rapids, Michigan: Zondervan Publishing House, 1961.

Campbell, Roald Fay and Donald Layton. Policy Making for American Education. Chicago: University of Chicago, 1969.

Clark, Tom C. Religion Studies in the Curriculum: Retrospect and Prospect, 1963-1983, eds. Peter Bracher and others. Dayton, Ohio: Public Education Religion Studies Center, 1974.

Conant, James Bryant. Readings on the School in Society, ed. Patricia C. Sexton. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1968.

Cremin, Lawrence A. The Transformation of the School. New York: Vintage Press, 1964.

_____. Traditions of American Education. New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1976.

Cubberly, Ellwood P. Changing Conceptions of Education. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin Company, 1909.

Curti, Merle. The Social Ideas of American Educators. Totowa, New Jersey: Littlefield, Adams and Company, 1974.

Dewey, John. A Common Faith. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1934.

_____. Democracy and Education: An Introduction to the Philosophy of Education. New York: The MacMillan Company, 1917.

_____. Philosophy of Education (Problems of Men). Totowa, New Jersey: Littlefield, Adams and Company, 1971.

Douglas, William O. The Bible and the Schools. Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1966.

Dror, Yehezkel. Problems of Theory in Policy Analysis, ed. Philip M. Gregg. Lexington, Massachusetts: Lexington Books, 1976.

_____. Public Policymaking Reexamined. San Francisco: Chandler Publishing Company, 1968.

Educational Policies Commission. Moral and Spiritual Values in the Public Schools. Washington: National Education Association, 1951.

Elder, Carl A. Values and Moral Development in Children. Nashville: Broadman Press, 1976.

Ellwood, Robert S. One Way: The Jesus Movement and Its Meaning. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1973.

Feldman, Elliot J. Problems of Theory in Policy Analysis. ed. Philip M. Gregg. Lexington: Lexington Books, 1976.

Findlay, James F. Dwight L. Moody: American Evangelist, 1837-1899. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1969.

Finney, Charles G. Revivals of Religion. Chicago: Moody Bible Institute, 1962.

Furniss, Norman F. The Fundamentalist Controversy, 1918-1931. Hamden, Connecticut: Archon Books, 1963.

Gaebelein, Frank E., ed. Christianity Today. New York: Pyramid Books, 1968.

_____. The Patterns of God's Truth: The Integration of Faith and Learning. Chicago: Moody Press, 1968.

Gangel, Kenneth O. Understanding Teaching. Wheaton: Evangelical Teacher Training Association, 1974.

Graham, William F. World Aflame. Garden City: Doubleday and Company, 1965.

Green, Thomas F. Educational Policy, ed. Janice F. Weaver. Danville, Illinois: Interstate Printers and Publishers, Inc., 1975.

Griffiths, William E. Religion, the Courts, and the Public Schools. Cincinnati: The W. H. Anderson Company, 1966.

Harner, Nevin C. Religions Place in General Education. Richmond: John Knox Press, 1949.

Henry, Carl F. H. Aspects of Christian Social Ethics. Grand Rapids: W. B. Eerdmans, 1964.

_____. Religion Studies in the Curriculum: Retrospect and Prospect, 1963-1983. Dayton, Ohio: Public Education Religion Studies Center, 1974.

Hodgetts, Richard M. and Max S. Wortman. Administrative Policy. New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1975.

Hooker, Richard L. Policymaking: A Challenge for School Board Members. Austin: Texas Association of School Boards, 1976.

Hudson, Winthrop S. Religion in America. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1973.

Jones, Charles O. An Introduction to the Study of Public Policy. Belmont, California: Duxbury Press, 1970.

Kauper, Paul G. Religion and the Constitution. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1964.

Kelley, Dean M. Why Conservative Churches Are Growing: A Study in Sociology of Religion. 2d ed. New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1977.

King, John C., ed. Evangelicals Today: 13 Stock-taking Essays. London: Lutterworth Press, 1973.

Kurland, Philip B. Religion and the Law. Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company, 1962.

Lindblom, Charles E. The Policy-Making Process. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1968.

Lindsell, Harold. The Battle for the Bible. Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing House, 1976.

McCluskey, Neil G. Catholic Viewpoint on Education. Garden City: Hanover House, 1959.

_____. Public Schools and Moral Education: The Influence of Horace Mann, William Torrey Harris, and John Dewey. 2d ed. Westport: Greenwood Press, Publishers, 1975.

Mabie, Janet. The Years Beyond: The Story of Northfield, D. L. Moody and the Schools. East Northfield, Massachusetts: The Northfield Bookstore, 1960.

Mann, Dale. Policy Decision-Making in Education. New York: Teachers College Press, 1975.

Mann, Horace. Readings in American Educational History. eds. Edgar W. Knight and Clinton L. Hall. New York: Greenwood Press, Publishers, 1951.

_____. Turning Points in American Educational History, ed. David B. Tyack. Waltham: Blaisdell Publishing Company, 1967.

Marnell, William H. The First Amendment: The History of Religious Freedom in America. Garden City: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1964.

Marty, Martin E. The Pro & Con Book of Religious America. Waco: Word Books, 1975.

Michaelson, Robert. Piety in the Public School. New York: The MacMillan Company, 1970.

Miller, Robert M. American Protestantism and Social Issue, 1919-1939. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1958.

Nielson, Niels C. God in Education: A New Opportunity for American Schools. New York: Sheed and Ward, 1966.

O'Brien, J. Steven and Richard S. Vacca. The Supreme Court and the Religion-Education Controversy: A Tightrope to Entanglement. Durham: Moore Publishing Company, 1974.

Orlich, Donald C. and others. Guide to Sensible Surveys. Olympia: Washington State Commission for Vocational Education, 1976.

Ornstein, Allan C. and Steven I. Miller, eds. Policy Issues in Education. Lexington, Massachusetts: D. C. Heath and Company, 1976.

Packer, James I. Evangelicals Today: 13 Stock-taking Essays, ed. John C. King. London: Lutterworth Press, 1973.

Parsons, Elsie W. Educational Legislation and Administration of the Colonial Governments. New York: Arno Press, Inc., 1971.

Pfeffer, Leo. Church, State and Freedom. Boston: Beacon Press, 1967.

_____. God, Caesar, and the Constitution. Boston: Beacon Press, 1975.

Pierard, Richard V. The Unequal Yoke: Evangelical Christianity and Political Conservatism. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1970.

Pinnock, Clark H. Biblical Revelation: The Foundation of Christian Theology. Chicago: Moody Press, 1971.

Quebedeaux, Richard. The Young Evangelicals: Revolution in Orthodoxy. New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1974.

Ramm, Bernard L. The Evangelical Heritage. Waco: Ward Books, 1973.

Rich, John Martin. New Directions in Educational Policy. Lincoln: Professional Educators Publications, Inc., 1974.

Rushdooney, Rousas. Intellectual Schizophrenia. Philadelphia: Presbyterian and Reformed Publishing Company, 1961.

_____. The Messianic Character of American Education. Nutley, New Jersey: Craig Press, 1963.

Russell, C. Allyn. Voices of American Fundamentalism. Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1976.

Sandeen, Ernest R. The Roots of Fundamentalism: British and American Millenarianism 1800-1930. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970.

Schaeffer, Francis A. How Should We Then Live?: The Rise and Decline of Western Thought and Culture. Old Tappan, New Jersey: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1976.

Scioli, Frank P. and Thomas J. Cook. Methodologies for Analyzing Public Policies. Lexington, Massachusetts: D. C. Heath and Company, 1975.

Smith, Max S. and W. Ray Smittle. The Board of Education and Educational Policy Development. Ann Arbor: Edward Brothers, Inc., 1954.

Stott, John R. W. Christ the Controversialist: A Study in Some Essentials of Evangelical Religion. Downers Grove, Illinois: Inter-Varsity Press, 1970.

Streiker, Lowell D. and Gerald S. Strober. Religion and the New Majority. New York: Association Press, 1972.

Taylor, Marvin J., ed. Foundations for Christian Education in an Era of Change. Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1976.

_____. Religious and Moral Education. New York: The Center for Applied Research in Education, Inc., 1965.

Throndike, Edward L. Educational Psychology: A Briefer Course. New York: Teacher College, Columbia University, 1925.

_____. Human Learning. New York: The Century Company, 1931.

Towns, Elmer L. Have the Public Schools "Had It"? New York: Thomas Nelson, Inc., 1974.

Tyack, David B., ed. Turning Points in American Educational History. Waltham, Massachusetts: Blaisdell Publishing Company, 1967.

Wagoner, Jennings L. Thomas Jefferson and the Education of a New Nation. Bloomington: Phi Delta Kappa Educational Foundation, 1976.

Wasby, Stephen L., ed. Civil Liberties. Lexington, Massachusetts: D. C. Heath and Company, 1976.

_____. The Impact of the United States Supreme Court: Some Perspectives. Homewood, Illinois: The Dorsey Press, 1970.

Weaver, Janice F., ed. Educational Policy. Danville, Illinois: Interstate Printers and Publishers, Inc., 1975.

Wells, David F. and John D. Woodbridge. The Evangelicals. Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1975.

Whelan, Charles M. Religion Studies in the Curriculum: Retrospect and Prospect, 1963-1983, eds. Peter Bracher and others. Dayton, Ohio: Public Education Religion Studies Center, 1974.

Whittemore, Lewis B. The Church and Secular Education. Greenwich: The Seabury Press, 1960.

Multivolume Works

Bereday, George Z. and Joseph A. Lauwerys, eds. The World Year Book of Education--1966: Church and State in Education. New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc., 1966.

Bowser, Robert A. Developing School Policies. The Pennsylvania School Executive Academy Monograph Series, No. 2. Harrisonburg: Pennsylvania State Department of Education, 1976.

Cohen, Sol, ed. Education in the United States. 5 Vols. New York: Random House, 1974.

Deighton, Lee C., ed. The Encyclopedia of Education. 10 Vols. New York: The MacMillan Company, 1971.

Dixon, A. C. and Reuben A. Torrey, eds. The Fundamentals: A Testimony. 12 Vols. Chicago: Testimony Publishing Company, 1910-1915.

Hening, William Waller, ed. Statutes at Large: Being a Collection of All the Laws of Virginia, From the First Session of the Legislature In the Year, 1619. 13 Vols. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1969.

Howard, A. E. Dick. Commentaries on the Constitution of Virginia. 2 Vols. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1974.

National School Boards Association. Educational Policies Reference Manual. 2 Vols. Washington, D.C.: National School Boards Association, 1975.

Periodicals

Arons, Stephen. "The Separation of School and State: Pierce Reconsidered," Harvard Educational Review, 46 (February, 1976), 76-104.

Baltazar, Eulalio. "TM and the Religion-in-School Issue," Christian Century, 93 (August 18, 1976), 708-709.

Bidwell, Charles E. "The Moral Significance of the Common School," History of Education Quarterly, 6 (Fall, 1966), 50-91.

Boles, Donald E. "Church-State Conflicts: Public Policy Dilemmas of the School Administrator," Journal of Church and State, 14 (Spring, 1972), 297-317.

Brickman, William W. "Symposium: Religion in the Public Schools," Religious Education, 59 (November-December, 1964), 456-58.

Bullock, Charles S. and Harrell R. Rodgers. "Impediments to Policy Evaluation: Perceptual Distortion and Agency Loyalty," Social Science Quarterly, 57 (December, 1976), 506-79.

Butts, R. Freeman. "The Public Purpose of Public School," Teachers College Record, 75 (December, 1973), 207-21.

Coleman, James S. "Policy Decisions, Social Science Information and Education," Sociology of Education, 49 (October, 1976), 304-12.

Coombs, Fred S. and Richard L. Merritt. "The Public's Role in Educational Policy-Making," Education and Urban Society, 9 (February, 1977), 167-96.

Dierenfield, R. B. "Religion in Public Schools: Its Current Status," Religious Education, 68 (January-February, 1973), 96-114.

Fitch, Robert E. "Review: George Dykhuizen's 'The Life and Mind of John Dewey'," The Journal of Religion, 55 (April, 1975), 247-54.

Golding, Joanne. "State Aid to Nonpublic Schools: A Legal Historical Overview," Journal of Church and State, 19 (Spring, 1977), 231-40.

Gove, Samuel. "Educational Policy," Policy Studies Journal, 1 (Autumn, 1972), 41-44.

Graham, William F. "A Clarification," Christianity Today, 17 (January 19, 1973), 36.

_____. "Our Mandate From Lauzanne '74," Christianity Today, 19 (July 4, 1975), 3-6.

_____. "Taking the World's Temperature," Christianity Today, 21 (September 23, 1977), 18.

_____. "Watergate," Christianity Today, 18 (January 4, 1974).

Hammond, John L. "Revival Religion and Antislavery Politics," American Sociological Review, (April, 1974), 175-86.

Hendrick, Irving G. "A Reappraisal of Colonial New Hampshire's Effort in Public Education," History of Education Quarterly, 6 (Summer, 1966), 43-60.

Henry, Carl F. H. "The Future of Evangelical Christianity," World Vision, 22 (January, 1978), 14-16.

Holder, Angela Roddey. "Old Wine in New Bottles? The Right of Privacy and Future School Prayer Cases," Journal of Church and State, 12 (Spring, 1970), 289-307.

"How to Make Board Policies that Save Money and Misery," The American School Board Journal, 159 (October, 1972), 33-37.

"How to Make Your Policies Work for You," The American School Board Journal, 9 (September, 1976), 36-39.

Hunt, R. L. "Policy Problems Arising From Current Trends and Recent Court Decisions," Religious Education, 59 (July, 1964), 313-21.

Hutcheson, John D. and George A. Taylor. "Religious Variables, Political System Characteristics, and Policy Outputs in the American States," American Journal of Political Science, 17 (May, 1973), 414-21.

Katz, Michael B. "The Origins of Public Education: A Reassessment," 16 (Winter, 1976), 381-407.

Kauper, Paul G. "Prayer, Public Schools, and the Supreme Court," Michigan Law Review, 61 (April, 1963), 1031-68.

Kile, J. H. "Desired Qualities and Qualifications of a Teacher for the Moral and Religious Welfare of Children," Virginia Journal of Education, 5 (April, 1912), 312-20.

Kucharsky, David. "The Year of the Evangelical '76," Christianity Today, 21 (October 22, 1976), 12-13.

La Pota, Margherite. "Religion: Not 'Teaching' but 'Teaching About'," Educational Leadership, 31 (October, 1973), 30-33.

Lasswell, Harold D. "Some Perplexities of Policy Theory," Social Research, 41 (Spring, 1974), 174-89.

Lindblom, Charles E. "The Science of Muddling Through," Public Administration Review, 19 (Spring, 1959), 24-37.

Lyons, Charles H. "Educational Policy, Educational Expertise and the AESA," Educational Studies, 7 (Summer, 1976), 143-54.

McMahon, Michael B. "Religion, Scientific Naturalism and the Myth of Neutrality," Intellect, 102 (April, 1974), 430-32.

Majone, Giandomenico. "The Role of Constraints in Policy Analysis," Quantity and Quality, 8 (March, 1974), 65-75.

Marsden, George M. "Evangelical Social Concern--Dusting Off the Heritage," Christianity Today, 16 (May 12, 1972), 8-11.

_____. "Fundamentalism as an American Phenomenon," Church History, 46 (June, 1977), 215-32.

Matthews, Howard A. "Differentiate Between 'Rules' and 'Policies'," The American School Board Journal, 154 (May, 1967), 15+.

Meehan, Eugene J. "Philosophy and Policy Studies," Policy Studies Journal, 2 (Autumn, 1971), 43-47.

Melvin, Billy A. "Together in the Nation," United Evangelical Action, 34 (Winter, 1975), 19-21.

Menkus, Belden. "Evangelical Responsibility in Public Education," Christianity Today, 15 (February 12, 1971), 10-12.

Michaelson, Robert. "Common School, Common Religion? A Case Study in Church-State Relations, Cincinnati, 1869-70," Church History, 38 (June, 1969), 201-17.

Michel, George J. "Schools as Discriminant Policy-Making Systems," Planning and Change, 6 (Summer, 1975), 81-93.

Mott, Kenneth and Stephen Edelstein. "Church, State, and Education: The Supreme Court and its Critics," Journal of Law and Education, 2 (October, 1973), 535-91.

O'Connor, Daniel W. "Should Religion Be Taught in the Public Schools," Education Leadership, 30 (April, 1973), 649-51.

Pfeffer, Leo. "Editorial: Issues That Divide: The Triumph of Secular Humanism," Journal of Church and State, 19 (Spring, 1972), 203-16.

Phenix, Philip H. "Religion in Public Education: Principals and Issues," Journal of Church and State, 14 (Autumn, 1972), 415-30.

Plowman, Edward E. "Evangelical America," Christianity Today, 21 (October 8, 1976), 52.

Pollock, Lewis H. "Forward: Public Prayers in Public Schools," Harvard Law Review, 77 (November, 1963), 62-64.

Quebedeaux, Richard. "The Evangelicals: New Trends and New Tensions," Christianity and Crisis, 36 (September 20, 1976), 197-202.

Ratsoy, Euguene W. "Policy Making in Educational Organizations," The Canadian Administrator, 16 (December, 1976), 1-5.

Reynolds, John C. "American Textbooks: The First 200 Years," Educational Leadership, 33 (January, 1976), 274-76.

Rich, John Martin. "The Dimensions of Educational Policy," Educational Studies, 7 (Winter, 1976-77), 337-43.

Roth, John K. "William James, John Dewey, and the 'Death-of-God'," Religious Studies, 7 (March, 1971), 53-61.

Ruscoe, Gordon C. "Some Questions About Educational Policy and the Social Sciences," Educational Studies, 7 (Summer, 1976), 135-42.

Said, Kamal E. "A Policy-Selection/Goal-Formulation Model for Public Systems," Policy Sciences, 5 (March, 1974), 89-100.

Simpson, Robert J. "Church and State Implications for Educators Continue," NOLPE School Law Journal, 4 (1974), 170-77.

Smith, Thomas B. "The Policy Implementation Process," Policy Sciences, 4 (June, 1973), 197-209.

Story, M. L. "Education and the NEW PURITANISM," The Clearing House, 47 (May, 1973), 515-18.

Sutherland, Arthur E. "Establishment According to Engel," Harvard Law Review, 76 (November, 1962), 25-52.

Talmage, Harriet and Allan C. Ornstein. "School Superintendents' Attitudes Toward Community Participation: Advisement versus Control," The Journal of Educational Administration, 14 (October, 1976), 162-75.

Thomas, Donald R. "New Urgencies in Educational Policy," Journal of Teacher Education, 27 (Summer, 1976), 98+.

Tinder, Donald. "Why the Fundamentalist Resurgence?," Religious Media Today, 1 (Spring-Summer, 1977), 3-6.

Towns, Elmer L. "Trends Among Fundamentalists," Christianity Today, 17 (August 31, 1973), 12-14.

Vinz, Warren L. "The Politics of Protestant Fundamentalism in the 1950's and 1960's," Journal of Church and State, 14 (Spring, 1972), 235-60.

Wessell, Lynn R. "Great Awakening: The First American Revolution," Christianity Today, 17 (August 31, 1973), 11-21.

Wildavsky, Aaron. "The Strategic Retreat on Objectives," Policy Analysis, 2 (Summer, 1976), 499-526.

Wirth, Arthur G. "John Dewey in Transition from Religious Idealism to the Social Ethic of Democracy," History of Education Quarterly, 5 (December, 1965), 264-68.

Wood, James E. "Religion and Public Education in Historical Perspective," Journal of Church and State, 14 (Autumn, 1972), 397-414.

_____. "Editorial: The Role of Religion in Public Education," Journal of Church and State, 10 (Spring, 1968), 183-92.

Court Cases

Almond v. Day, 197 Va. 419, 89 S.E. (2d) 851 (1955).

Board of Education v. Allen, 392 U.S. 236, 88 S. Ct. 1923 (1968).

Cantwell v. Connecticut, 310 U.S. 296, 60 S. Ct. 900 (1940).

Cochran v. Louisiana State Board of Education, 281 U.S. 370, 50 S. Ct. 335 (1930).

Committee for Public Education and Religious Liberty v. Nyquist, 413 U.S. 756, 93 S. Ct. 2955 (1973).

Donahoe v. Richards, 38 Me. 379, 61 Am. Dec. 256.

Doremus v. Board of Education, 342 U.S. 429, 72 S. Ct. 394 (1951).

Earley v. DiCenso (R.I.), 403 U.S. 602, 91 S. Ct. 2105 (1971).

Engel v. Vitale (N.Y.), 370 U.S. 421, 82 S. Ct. 1261 (1962).

Epperson v. Arkansas, 393 U.S. 97, 89 S. Ct. 266 (1968).

Everson v. Board of Education (N.J.), 330 U.S. 1, 67 S. Ct. 504 (1947).

Hunt v. McNair, 413 U.S. 734, 93 S. Ct. 2868 (1973).

Jones v. Commonwealth, 185 Va. 335, 38 S.E. (2d) 444 (1946).

Lemon v. Kurtzman (Pa.), 403 U.S. 602, 91 S. Ct. 2105 (1971).

Levitt v. Committee for Public Education and Religious Liberty, 413 U.S. 472, 93 S. Ct. 2814 (1973).

McCollum v. Board of Education (Ill.), 333 U.S. 203, 68 S. Ct. 461 (1948).

Meek v. Pittenger, 421 U.S. 349, 95 S. Ct. 1753 (1975).

Meyer v. Nebraska, 262 U.S. 390, 43 S. Ct. 625 (1923).

Minersville School District v. Gobitis (Pa.), 310 U.S. 586, 60 S. Ct. 1010 (1940).

Minor v. The Board of Education of Cincinnati, 23 Ohio St., 211 Am. Rep. 233.

Murray v. Curlett, Constituting the Board of School Commissioners of Baltimore City, 228 Md. 239, 179 A. 2d 698 (1962).

Norwood v. Harrison, 413 U.S. 455, 93 S. Ct. 2804 (1973).

Pierce v. Society of Sisters (Ore.), 268 U.S. 510, 45 S. Ct. 571 (1925).

School District of Abington Township v. Schempp (Pa.), 374 U.S. 203, 83 S. Ct. 1560 (1963).

Sherbert v. Verner, 374 U.S. 398, 83 S. Ct. 1790 (1963).

Sloan v. Lemon, 413 U.S. 825, 93 S. Ct. 2982 (1973).

Smith v. Smith, 523 F 2d 121 (1975).

State ex rel. Weiss v. District Board of Edgerton, 76 Wis. 177, 44 N.W. 967.

Tilton v. Richardson, 403 U.S. 672, 91 S. Ct. 2091 (Conn.) (1971).

Torcaso v. Watkins, 367 U.S. 488, 81 S. Ct. 1680 (1967).

U.S. v. Seegar, 380 U.S. 163, 85 S. Ct. 85 (1965).

Vaughn v. Reed (Va.), 313 F. Supp. 431 (1970).

Walz v. Tax Commission, 397 U.S. 664, 90 S. Ct. 1409 (1970).

West Virginia State Board of Education v. Barnette, 319 U.S. 624, 63 S. Ct. 1178 (1943).

Wisconsin v. Yoder, 406 U.S. 205, 92 S. Ct. 1526 (1972).

Zorach v. Clauson (N.Y.), 343 U.S. 306, 72 S. Ct. 679 (1952).

Government Documents

Board of Education, Commonwealth of Virginia. Regulations of the Board of Education of the Commonwealth of Virginia. Richmond: Commonwealth of Virginia, 1978.

Code of Virginia, 22-234.1 (Appendix B).

Franklin, Barry M. Social Perspective and Educational Knowledge: Edward L. Thorndike Re-examined. U.S., Educational Resources Information Center, ERIC Document ED 120 037, 1975.

National Education Association: Committee on Character Education. Character Education. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1926.

Nolte, M. Chester. Are the Courts Determining Policy? U.S., Educational Resources Information Center, ERIC Document ED 116 357, February, 1976.

Shannon, Thomas A. The Effectives of Written Board Policies. U.S., Educational Resources Information Center, ERIC Document ED 043 095, April, 1966.

State Department of Education. Policy Manual Guide. Richmond: Commonwealth of Virginia, 1973.

Virginia State Board of Education. Official Syllabus of Bible Study for High School Pupils. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Record Extension Series, Vol. 2, No. 1, 1916.

Other Sources

Dickinson, William F. "The Process of Developing Written School Board Policies." Paper presented at the Annual Convention of the National School Board Association, Miami Beach, April, 1975.

International Council on Biblical Inerrancy. "ICBI?" Oakland: undated (Pamphlet).

Lowrie, Roy W. "Students Sheltered From the Real World in the Public School System." Newton Square, Pennsylvania: National Christian School Education Association, undated (Pamphlet).

McClanahan, Burl A. "School Board Policy, and Its Implementation Relating to Religious Activities in Missouri Public Schools." Unpublished Doctoral dissertation, The University of Missouri, Columbia, 1965.

National Association of Evangelicals. "Cooperating Together for the Faith of the Gospel" Wheaton, Illinois, undated (Pamphlet).

National School Public Relations Association. Religion and the Schools: From Prayer to Public Aid. Washington, D.C.: 1970.

Religion in America: 1977-78. Princeton: The Gallup Opinion Index, Report 145, 1977.

Virginia Education Association. ABC's of School Finance. Richmond: 1976.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

STATEWIDE RELIGION POLICY SURVEY

Return Questionnaire To:
Louis Rittweger
112 War Memorial Gymnasium
College of Education
VPI & SU
Blacksburg, Virginia 24061

School Division _____

1. Do you have a policy which deals with the relationship of religion and the public schools? _____ yes _____ no

   Note: a. If the answer is NO, complete only item 2.
   b. If the answer is YES, please send a copy of your policy and answer items 3 through 5.

2. A policy on religion has not been implemented because

   _____ a. the issue has not been raised

   _____ b. the issue has been raised, but policy is not part of the solution

   _____ c. the Supreme Court has answered the question completely

   _____ d. the issue is too controversial

   _____ e. other (please specify) _____
   _____

3. The policy on religion was developed in response to a specific issue. _____ yes _____ no

4. The policy had input from the religious community. ___ yes ___ no
   If yes, please elaborate _____
   _____

5. The policy was derived from

   _____ a. another school division's policy. Whose: _____

   _____ b. a model policy. What source: _____

   _____ c. our own thoughts and ideas

   _____ d. other (please specify) _____
   _____

Please feel free to use the other side of this page for comments or to elaborate on any item.

APPENDIX B

COLLEGE OF EDUCATION

VIRGINIA POLYTECHNIC INSTITUTE AND STATE UNIVERSITY

Blacksburg, Virginia 24061

DIVISION OF CURRICULUM AND INSTRUCTION

The proper relationship between religion and the public schools in years past has been an explosive issue in several parts of Virginia. This project is surveying superintendents in the State to determine the extent to which local school divisions have developed written policies to deal with the question of religion in the schools. The findings will be used in defining needs and developing a model written policy which might be used by those school divisions interested in developing a policy of their own.

By sending a copy of your policy on religion you will be making a major contribution to this study. The questionnaire has been made purposefully brief to take a minimum amount of your time. I would greatly appreciate your returning the questionnaire at your earliest convenience.

May I thank you in advance for your cooperation.

Sincerely,

Louis R. Rittweger

Attachment

APPENDIX C

COLLEGE OF EDUCATION

VIRGINIA POLYTECHNIC INSTITUTE AND STATE UNIVERSITY

Blacksburg, Virginia 24061

DIVISION OF CURRICULUM AND INSTRUCTION

As of April 13 more than ninety (90) superintendents in the state have responded to the Statewide Religion Policy survey, a copy of which I sent to you on March 24. It is essential that a high percentage of the questionnaires and copies of written policies on religion be received to avoid a biased selection.

Your assistance is vital to the successful conduct of the study. Would you please fill out the enclosed questionnaire and return it to me at your earliest convenience?

May I thank you in advance for your cooperation.

Sincerely,

Louis R. Rittweger

Attachment

APPENDIX D

A Proposed State Policy for Virginia

(The proposed policy below considered several court opinions and legal positions in its development. However, no presumption is made that this policy completely reflects all possible legal considerations. The policy is only proposed as a catalyst in the policy making process.)

Religion in Classrooms and Schools

I. Generally
II. Instruction about topics of religious concern
    a. Objective teaching about religion
    b. Recognition of religion in history
    c. The Bible as literature and history
    d. Religious music and recognition of holidays
    e. Origin of man
    f. Released-time programs
    g. Morals, ethics, and values
III. Involvement with religion
    a. Preparation of pre-service teachers
    b. In-service teacher and administrator training
    c. Recognition of religious significance of books
    d. Textbook adoption
IV. Evaluation
    a. Required of Division Superintendents
    b. Policy revision

I. Generally

The purpose of this policy is to define the relationship that religion may play in the activities of the public schools. This recognizes the pluralism of religious beliefs of the citizens of the Commonwealth, the significance of religion in Virginia's history, and the value-laden nature of education. It assumes the freedom of the individual to believe or disbelieve, to exercise this freedom, and not to be coerced by the State into believing any set of religious doctrine or coerced into abandoning any set of religious beliefs.

II. Instruction about topics of religious concern

This section provides a framework for acceptable inclusion of religion within the curriculum of the public schools and represents the freedoms as defined and interpreted in the U.S. Constitution and the Constitution of Virginia.

a. Objective teaching about religion

Teaching about religion, not instruction in religion, may take place as a separate course, in an appropriate part of another course, or in an enrichment program. Separate courses about religion are deemed appropriate as electives in the secondary curriculum. Any new course offering must be approved by the Division Superintendent.

b. Recognition of religion in history

A unit recognizing the role of religion in U.S. and Virginia History courses should be included where these topics are presented in the curriculum.

c. The Bible as literature and history

The Bible is recognized as a historical work and is accepted for its literary merit. The objective study of the Bible at the secondary level in appropriate courses is deemed acceptable. When studied, attention should be given to the beliefs of some that the Bible is viewed as the Word of God and inerrant.

d. Religious music and recognition of holidays

Religious music and holidays are a recognized part of our cultural and historical background and may be incorporated as a part of the curriculum and in special programs not of a devotional nature.

e. Origin of man

In appropriate curriculum settings the major theories of the origin of life, i.e. evolution and creation, should be presented as theories about the beginnings of life and man.

f. Released-time programs

Division Superintendents are to make every reasonable effort to accommodate released-time programs whereby pupils with parental permission may be excused from school to attend instruction in religion off school premises.

g. Morals, ethics, and values

The teaching of morals, ethics and values is a parental responsibility. However, discussion of these topics may take place provided that the environment is sensitive to and recognizes the religious background of the pupil and is absent of any partisan religious or anti-religious sanctions.

III. Involvement with religion

This section is to increase the awareness of educators about the religious training of the pupils in their charge and provide an environment which neither advances nor inhibits religious beliefs of pupils.

a. Preparation of pre-service teachers

Pre-service teachers are encouraged to have at least one course which will familiarize them with the beliefs of religious groups in the geographical area in which they may teach.

b. In-service teacher and administrator training

Division Superintendents are to provide biennially in-service training for teachers and administrators about the beliefs of the major religious bodies within their division.

c. Recognition of religious significance of books

Textbooks, supplementary books, library books, and other instructional material may contain matter of a sensitive nature. Teachers, librarians, and administrators are to be aware of the nature of the content of books used in the schools, and take appropriate action to insure that student and parent concerns are given consideration.

d. Textbook adoption

Before a book is placed on the approved list its content will be reviewed to insure that it is unbiased in regard to religion or toward any particular religious position.

IV. Evaluation

This section deals with the need for policy revision in recognition of the changing society that policy attempts to function in.

a. Required of Division Superintendents

Division Superintendents are to submit to the State Superintendent a biennial report stating their division's written policy, how and in what courses teaching about religion is conducted, the number of students enrolled in released-time programs, and a description of the in-service training about religion for teachers and administrators.

b. Policy revision

Division Superintendents are to include in the biennial report recommendations for the revision of this policy and these recommendations are to be reviewed at least biennially by the State Board of Education.

APPENDIX E

A Proposed Local Division Policy for Virginia

(The proposed policy below considered several court opinions and legal positions in its development. However, no presumption is made that this policy completely reflects all possible legal considerations. The policy is only proposed as a catalyst in the policy making process.)

Religion in Classrooms and Schools

Philosophy and Purpose

This policy recognizes the pluralism of religious beliefs of citizens, the significance of religion in Virginia's history, and the value-laden nature of education. It assumes the freedom of the individual to believe or disbelieve, to exercise this freedom, and not to be coerced by the State into believing any set of religious doctrine or coerced into abandoning any set of religious beliefs.

(1) Instruction about Topics of Religious Concern

(a) Objective teaching about religion. Teaching about religion, not instruction in religion, may take place as a separate course, in an appropriate part of another course, or in an enrichment program. Teachers must be adequately prepared to teach about religion. Separate courses about religion are deemed appropriate as electives in the secondary curriculum. Any new course offering must be approved by the Superintendent.

(b) Recognition of religion in history. A unit recognizing the role of religion in U.S. and Virginia history should be included where these topics are presented in the curriculum.

(c) Bible as literature and history. The Bible is recognized as a historical work and is accepted for its literary merit. The objective study of the Bible at the secondary level in appropriate courses is deemed acceptable. When studied, specific attention should be given to the beliefs of some that the Bible is viewed as the Word of God and inerrant.

(d) Religious music and the recognition of holidays. Religious music and holidays are a recognized part of our cultural and historical background and may be incorporated as a part of the curriculum and in special programs not of a devotional nature.

(e) Origin of man. In appropriate curriculum settings the major theories of the origin of life, i.e. evolution and creation, should be presented as theories about the beginnings of life and man.

(f) Released-time programs. Principals are to make every reasonable effort to accommodate religious organizations seeking to establish released-time programs off school premises.

(g) Morals, ethics, and values. The teaching of morals, ethics and values is a parental responsibility. However, discussion of these topics may take place provided that there is an environment sensitive to and recognizing the religious background of the pupil and absent of any partisan religious or anti-religious sanctions.

(2) Involvement with Religion

(a) Teacher and administrator training. Beginning teachers are encouraged to have at least one course which will acquaint them with major religious beliefs within the district. Teachers and administrators are to participate in a biennial workshop to be held in the beginning of the year to acquaint them with religious beliefs of division patrons, to review the proper role or religion in the classroom, and review other related matters.

(b) Recognition of religious significance of books. Teachers, librarians, and administrators are to be aware of the nature of the content of textbooks, library and supplementary books and other instructional materials used in the schools. They are to take appropriate action to insure that student and parent preferences are given consideration in adoption and use.

(c) Devotional activities. Devotional and other activities directed at proselytation as they are led by faculty, students, or community members during the hours of compulsory attendance shall be excluded.

(d) Student activities. Personal activities by students of a religious nature such as silent prayer and reading the sacred religious books are allowed where they do not infringe on the rights of others.

(3) Evaluation

(a) Required reporting. The Superintendent shall develop a biennial report including information on written policy, in what courses teaching about religion is conducted, the number of students enrolled in released-time programs, and a description of the in-service training about religion.

(b) Ad hoc advisory committee. An ad hoc advisory committee shall be appointed by the Superintendent with recommendations from experts in the field and the religious community representing the broadest spectrum of beliefs possible. The committee shall review the effectiveness of this policy, make recommendations for improvement, and provide counsel to the Superintendent and his representatives.

(c) Policy revision. This policy is to be reviewed at least bienially for the purpose of revision.

VITA

Personal Data:

Born: November 25, 1944 Plainfield, New Jersey

Family: Married with three children

Education:

Ridge High School, Basking Ridge, N.J. (1962)

VPI & SU, B.S. (1967)

VPI & SU, M.A. (1973)

Employment:

Business administration positions (1967-1972)

Education positions:

Giles County Public Schools, teacher (1972-1973)

Montgomery County Public Schools, teacher (1973-1976)

VPI & SU, G.T.A. (1976-1978)

Bland County Public Schools, administrator (1978-)

Louis Robert Rittweger

AN ANALYSIS OF VIRGINIA'S PUBLIC SCHOOL POLICIES ON RELIGION: FROM HISTORICAL, PUBLIC POLICY, AND EVANGELICAL CHRISTIAN PERSPECTIVES

by

Louis Robert Rittweger

(ABSTRACT)

Throughout the history of public education in the United States religion has been an important factor in the schooling process. From the inception of public schools until the present time the Bible's inclusion is but one indication of the interrelationship of religion and education. The major legal questions that this relationship has raised have generally dealt with the First Amendment clauses dealing with the free exercise of religion and the separation of church and state. One major religious constituency, evangelical Christianity, in recent years has begun to vocalize its concern about this relationship. Evangelicals, although not necessarily wanting to return to the days of the Protestant public schools, do want this relationship corrected and articulated. One method of articulation is through effective public school policies.

The major portion of this study specified the relationship between religion and public education and developed a framework for analysis from a historical, evangelical and public policy perspective. A descriptive study was then made of Virginia's public school policies that dealt with religion. A questionnaire, developed by the author,

was submitted to all the local school divisions in the state to solicit a policy and information about that policy. Conclusions, recommendations and implications were stated based upon the information provided in the study. Proposed public school policies on religion for local and state school boards were provided as a prescription for partial solution to the problem of the correct relationship between religion and public education.