
Its Greying: Sophisticated Adulthood, 1910-

By 1910 the Sunday school had grown up. The exuberant, early teen-age years had been followed by turbulent later adolescence. The young adult had finally come of age. The twentieth century would bring rapid maturing.

From 1910 until the present will be treated in two separate sections. The last half of this address will deal with the future of the Sunday school as I perceive and project it.

From Triumph to Testing:

The Modernization of the Sunday School, 1910-1946

The progressive movement, which had been so much a part of America beginning at the turn of the century, continued unabated through the teens and into the 20's. Progressivism showed in everything from politics to individual persons. Wedded to the democratic principle, it placed an emphasis upon both individual achievement and social responsibility. A true democracy was one in which an individual was free to get ahead, but at the same time had responsibilities to the larger community.

By 1915, a "new America" was pretty well being shaped. In almost every area, ties with the past were being broken. This was particularly true in the area of the arts and of literature. American literature came into its own, at last shaking off its complete reliance upon Europe. Music also began to break away from traditional forms and themes and to give expression to a new spirit which reflected the social trends of the time. American painters and architects began to show their own imaginations. For America, it was really a cultural "coming of age."

Many looked to the physical sciences as their standard of measurement and philosophy of life. Psychology, philosophy, and education, all based upon the scientific method, moved more steadily

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into vogue. And perhaps one of the most significant developments was the new attention paid by scholars and writers to the social sciences. Emancipation from the past, enthusiasm for the present, and expectation for the future seemed to be the American norm.

The government became more involved in the lives of the citizenry ostensibly to guarantee, as much as possible, social equality in a pluralistic society.

By 1920, Protestantism was a declining force in American society. The strong Protestant tide, which ran throughout the 19th century, had clearly turned by the third decade of the 20th century. As Robert Handy concludes, "Despite its zeal and energy, Protestantism's dominance in culture and education, so evident at the mid-nineteenth century mark, had ebbed by the 1920's."⁴⁹ In fact, the years immediately following World War I marked the collapse of Protestantism as a dynamic force in American life. Winthrop Hudson, church historian, says of the period: "Discipline declined, evangelistic fervor faded, faith lost its force, and the churches living at peace with the world lost their sense of a distinct and separate vocation in society."⁵⁰

Among the several reasons for this decline of Protestantism, two stand out: the identification of mainline Protestant denominations within the American culture, and the historic "split" in the ranks of the Protestants between the liberals and the evangelicals.

Identification of Church and Culture

What had begun for the liberal church as an important social strategy ended in an impotent social stratification. By and large the mainline denominations had adopted the "new theology," which with its affirming view of man and its eminent view of God, was almost completely "this worldly." By identifying so closely with the world, the church had hoped to win the world. However, it lost both its own identity and its influence. Persons who saw no difference between the church and the world saw no reason to join the church. And the intellectuals to whom the liberal church hoped to appeal were the ones who largely left the church.⁵¹

In the words of Francis P. Miller, "a process which began with culture molded by religious faith" was to end "with a religious faith molded by a national culture."⁵²

In a pluralistic society, this track taken by a large majority of Protestantism led to its own downfall. As Will Herberg points out, it

was easy to make the step from “the religion of democracy” to “democracy of religion.”⁵³ “Democracy,” thus, became a type of “super-faith” above and beyond the traditional denominations and even the various faiths. From a Protestant civil religion, America had moved to a democratic civil religion.

The split in the ranks of Protestantism only added to its diminishing influence. Most Protestant ministers in the United States felt that the warfare between theology and science was over by the middle of the second decade, but they would soon be embroiled in another warfare. This one was between “modernism” and “fundamentalism.” The “modernist-fundamentalist” controversy was to divide the Protestant forces even further.

Leadership among the fundamentalists tended to represent a position further to the “right” than many of those who belonged to the movement would have taken. Consequently, a large number of conservative evangelical Protestants were left unrepresented by either group. Many of these persons belonged to churches which tended to be identified as liberal. Many others, while opposing the liberal position, could not identify with the radical theological positions of the fundamentalists. In 1922, before the controversy had been “full blown,” Protestantism was divided into three groups: the liberals; the fundamentalists who were mostly Calvinistic in theological orientation; and a large group of conservative evangelicals, largely Wesleyan-Arminian in theological stance.

The Development and Objectives of the Sunday School

The progressive spirit in society and in public education permeated the Sunday school movement as well. Modernization efforts eventuated in broadening both the ministry and the objectives of the Sunday school.

By now recognized as a part of the educational work of the church, the Sunday school found itself in the secularizing process affecting the church.

The period from 1910 to 1922 also saw the Sunday school move from being the primary, and often the only, church instructional agency to being absorbed into a total church religious educational program. While in many churches, especially rural, it would retain its primary position, yet by and large its base was either broadened to include all of the church’s educational program or it became one of several agencies in the church program.

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The organizational development of the period was the concept that the church school was one inclusive agency through which the entire educational program was administered. It was recognized that the program could be carried out through the various agencies, such as the Sunday school, the weekday school, young people's societies and clubs, and other activities which would make for a total experience in the life of the pupil.

As the third decade began, this idea of the church school was expanded even further when it was recognized that many things which took place outside of the formal teaching hour of the church had educational value. The term "church school," which had marked the developmental phase of the Sunday school after the turn of the century, was beginning to give way to the term of the "church as a school." In effect, the Sunday school was "swallowed up" in a broader religious educational enterprise of the church.

Modernization of the Sunday school, then, was the theme of the second and third decades of the twentieth century. In whatever form, it was to be the church's instructional agency in the development of the moral and religious character of pupils within the church. This was in addition to religious teaching and Bible instruction. The question was whether the Sunday school, as a part of the expanded church school, could adequately discharge these new responsibilities.

During this period a new word appeared in the vocabulary of religious education. It was the word "efficiency." Borrowed from the public school it placed emphasis upon socialization. The ideal of efficiency was applied to every aspect of the Sunday school. Books, articles, and speeches of the period referred to the modern Sunday school which would be "socially efficient."

Part of the effort of efficiency was to improve the organization not only of the local school, but of all of the denominational, inter-denominational, and religious education associations which were attempting to influence and provide assistance to the local church school. The merger in 1922 of the International Sunday School Association, the historic lay-oriented organization; the Sunday School Council of Evangelical Denominations, largely clergy dominated; and the International Sunday School Council of Religious Education, was a big step in this direction. The merger effectively combined for the moment all of the forces promoting the Sunday school and the religious education movement into one single agency for the avowed betterment of religious instruction in the local

church. It also brought the Sunday school completely under the control of the increasingly liberal Protestant Church. From this point on, for better or for worse, the die was cast as far as the direction of the Sunday school was concerned for at least a quarter of the century.

The modernization of the Sunday school took basically three different tracks. The first was to upgrade the traditional Sunday school. Utilizing the latest approaches in Bible teaching, child study, educational reforms, and the psychology of religion, the curriculum aims and the organization of the traditional Sunday school were to be transformed. This approach was generally favored by traditionalists, made up of the more conservative and evangelical leadership in the religious education field. The second was to view the Sunday school as only one agency in a church program of religious education. This view saw the expanding of extra-Sunday school activities, such as the weekday religious instruction and the expressional-participational activities of the youth groups, as all being components of a larger church educational enterprise. Generally speaking, this was the route favored by the religious education movement leadership and Sunday school professionals in the mainline denominations. A third approach was to propose alternative educational methods altogether.

These basic three positions still exist today. For that reason we can easily cover this seventy-year period from 1910 to 1980 in a brief overview. The intervening years showed a great deal of activity, however. The International Council led by Dr. Hugh Magill provided strong educational leadership to the various denominations. The graded lessons begun earlier were refined and the Uniform Lessons continued. Modern methods and standards were adopted for teachers and leaders. Through its *Journal of Religious Education*, the Council became a leader in Christian education. Thus in liberal mainline denominations the religious education enterprise followed much of the program of the Religious Education Association. The Sunday school was restricted to teaching and became only a part of a broader educational program in the church.

The most significant work of the Council was the Revised Standard Version of the Bible; the revised New Testament came out in 1946. It caused as much of a furor with its launching as did the American Standard Version nearly fifty years previously.

For the conservative evangelicals, the period from 1922 to 1946

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could be termed the “modern dark age” of the Sunday school. There still remained vestiges of the old convention system in the area and state association, but there was no leadership nationally. Many of the smaller denominations which had looked to interdenominational leadership had not yet developed their own program sufficiently to fill the void. Evangelicals within the mainline denominations resented the high-handed leadership of the International Council and their own bureaucrats, but really did not know which way to turn. Without leadership, the evangelicals still carried on the Sunday school much as it had been done in the past.

From Edification to Experimentation:

Questing and Questioning of the Sunday School, 1946-1980

For the evangelicals, 1946 saw the organization of the National Sunday School Association based upon strong evangelical principles. The NSSA had three basic purposes: the restoring of the Bible, of evangelism, and of spiritual power to the Sunday school. Many evangelicals felt that the Sunday school had been submerged under a faceless Christian education and had lost its spiritual power.

In the late 40's and 50's, the NSSA led the way to a revival of the Sunday school in America. It held annual national conventions and established local, regional, and state conventions. It began to once again rally the laity. Under the umbrella of NSSA were included several independent publishers of Sunday school curriculum material and new youth movements such as Youth for Christ. The NSSA had its own evangelical, uniform lesson series used by its five million member constituency. It also included professors of Christian education and local directors of Christian education.

Largely due to the efforts of the NSSA, Sunday school in America reached its peak in 1965. Since that time, it has declined in most denominations.

The breakup of the NSSA came largely through the uneasy alliances between the independent publishers and the denominations, both of whom began to sponsor their own conventions, seminars, and workshops. The NSSA has recently been renamed the National Christian Education Association and now represents only member denominations of the National Association of Evangelicals.

One of the local associations begun by the NSSA was the Michigan Sunday School Association which meets annually in Detroit. About five years ago, it took the name of the International

Christian Education Association, since it had a large constituency in Canada as well as in the United States. Much like the old International Sunday School Association, it is almost totally lay-led and oriented. It has therefore in the last 10 years competed almost directly with the parent NSSA. (This is basically the same development which has taken place between the old International Sunday School Association and the Denominational Council.) The ICEA takes its direction from the past. It seems to want to revive all the old forms, activities, and platforms of 100 years ago. At the convention in commodious Cobo Hall, however, there are changes. Racks of attractive up-to-date literature by hundreds of exhibitors and some two hundred workshops point to new methods.

The decline in Sunday school attendance in the evangelical churches may have reflected the adoption of more modern Christian education, organization, and philosophy. But probably, it was due to less promotion. Many evangelicals reacted against the campaigns and contests of the late 50's when bicycles, ponies, and free trips to Disneyland were given away. Pastors resented large Sunday schools of children and sparse morning worship attendance. Leaders wanted to adopt a more in-depth educational approach. Even the National Sunday School Association sponsored a film entitled, "More Than Sunday School," showing the relationship and need for other educational agencies. As a result, the Sunday school effort suffered.

The period of 1946 to 1980 in the mainline denominations saw a continuation with alternatives to the Sunday school. "Released time" in the public schools received a great deal of attention for a while, but never really got off the ground in most communities. Some denominations experimented with Saturday and week-night efforts. For the past decade, most played down the Sunday school or basically gave up on it. One denomination gave up on the Sunday school entirely. As a result, not only did church membership decline but also Sunday school enrollments.

It would appear at present that there is new enthusiasm for the Sunday school. Belatedly, the religious education leaders in the mainline denominations are realizing that over half of their churches are small and rural in location. In these churches the Sunday school is the primary instructional agency.

On the other hand, there are the fundamentalists who view the Sunday school much as it was viewed in the 1880's and 1890's. It is totally Bible centered, and evangelism is the aim. These are the

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churches still busing in many children. Their activity follows basically their theological persuasion.

In most fundamentalist related churches, the Sunday school is the central Christian education agency out of which all others spring and to which all agencies relate.

Between these two extremes are the conservative evangelicals. For them the Sunday school is the primary agency for teaching the Bible. But there are other agencies, particularly the midweek children and youth activities. Generally speaking, the evangelical conservatives also make more use of modern methods. They endeavor to relate nurture to conversion in a more consistent pattern. My personal feeling is that this three-way alignment will continue in the foreseeable future.

From the Past and Present to the Future: Principles for the Sunday School

As we have noted, the major theme of the period is modernization. This has followed three main emphases.

1. *Professionalism*. True professional leadership is needed more than ever in the Sunday school. A more sophisticated, more knowledgeable, more aware populace is expecting better religious education.

There must be a new professionalism in the Sunday school of the future. For too long the Sunday school amateur approach has been an excuse for mediocrity. The Sunday school is big business. It should require *excellence!*

The job of the professional in the Sunday school is not to supplant the lay volunteers. Rather, it is to motivate, mobilize, and train them. I would personally like to see every church employ a professionally trained, sensitive, and sensible director of Christian education with specific responsibilities for the Sunday school.

The task of the professional, however, is not to dictate, but to facilitate. He or she is to be a servant/minister — not lording over, but leading with. Kingdom business requires team effort.

Professionals must not only be academically prepared but practically experienced. Laymen are pragmatic. They want a leader who not only knows how, but who does it as well.

2. *Acceptance by and inclusion in the church program and leadership by the clergy*. In most cases the Sunday school is seen as an important ministry of the total mission of the church.

At the same time, it has remained largely a step-child in the

household of faith. While its importance is being realized, it is still not a priority in most denominations or in most local churches. It is endured but not endowed.

Similarly, most clergy do not give it the attention it should have. Though the instructional, nurturing task should require up to one-half of the pastor's time, a recent survey showed that most gave leadership of the Sunday school about the same amount of time as they gave to the janitor.

Seminaries, in their preparation of pastors, do not do much better. Compared to other requirements, where does any significant study of the Sunday school come out?

Until the clergy take the task seriously, the Sunday school will remain in trouble and in most churches be less than the effective instrument it should and could be.

Because it is so closely tied to the church, it should also be noted that the Sunday school tends to rise and fall with the church politic. For that reason the problems faced by the Sunday school are problems *indemic* in the total church structure. It could also be said that the potential for the Sunday school remains as well the potential for the church.

3. *Person-centered life-long teaching and learning.* The major fault of the traditional Sunday school was its impersonal approach. Persons were numbers to be counted, and the Bible was material to be imparted. A factory may mass produce cars, but a Sunday school cannot mass produce model Christians.

The aim of the Sunday school is not a product to turn out, but a person to turn on. Our ministry is persons not programs. We have too often peopled programs when we should be programming for people.

Thankfully, there is a growing awareness of the importance of continuing education. In too many Sunday school adult classes persons sit and soak and sour. They do not keep growing.

Except for the last section related to the future, we have finished our grid.

Let us review it together briefly:

We have viewed the progression of the Sunday school from its birth to its present form through three basic time frames. We have also endeavored to note the impact of culture and public education.

Incidentally, we have traced the relationship of the Sunday school through the Methodist movement. Let me say at this point that I

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believe the Wesleyan way is the best theological framework in which the Sunday school can operate effectively. With its emphasis upon the authority of the Word, the authenticity of personal experience and accountability in personal ethics, there is a balance of the cognitive, affective, and behavioral domains. Therefore, the Wesleyan-related theorists, educators, leaders, and practitioners will hold in large measure the key to the survival of the Sunday school as a viable, religious instructional agency. Naturally, I am prejudiced, but I still think there are grounds for my position.

More importantly, perhaps, have been the nine characteristics which have been pointed out as necessary in the work of the Sunday school. If the Sunday school is to be successful, these nine characteristics will have to be present:

1. Meeting the needs of persons and society
2. An emphasis upon the conversion experience and the spiritual welfare of individuals
3. Bible-centered teaching and living
4. An expanded use of trained lay volunteer workers
5. An emphasis upon the community of faith
6. Clear-cut organizational patterns and goals and enthusiastic promotion
7. Professionalism in leadership and relationships
8. Acceptance by and inclusion in the church program and leadership by the clergy
9. Person-centered life-long teaching and learning

From Innovation to Integration: The Future of the Sunday School, 1980-

The Sunday school has matured. It has also aged. After 200 years it appears to be tottering. It may have rheumatic joints and bad eyesight, but it still keeps going on. Today it is neither dead nor dying. So, what of the future?

We are in a transition period. I foresee the last two decades of the twentieth century to be much like that of 100 years ago. There will be challenge, change, and transition in the Sunday school as well as in the church.

The 1980's have been projected as the "decade of discontent." It will be a time of testing, with all institutions being threatened. Whether the Sunday school can stand the test remains to be seen.

Factors in the Future

Someone has quoted what purports to be an old Chinese proverb, "To prophesy is extremely difficult, especially with respect to the future!" So I may be in some danger to suggest some of the factors that will impinge upon the Sunday school in the foreseeable future. However, let me suggest a dozen or so.

1. The culture for the next several years will reflect the pendulum swing back to conservatism and patriotism. We are on a "conservative kick in this country." Witness Ronald Reagan, the moral majority, etc. A mobile society in search of "roots" will trust in secure institutions. The main reason the Sunday school may make a significant comeback in the next few years is that the culture will be conducive to it.

2. There is a resurgence of religion, particularly the experimental variety. Evangelicalism is popular. It will continue to confirm the scriptural basis of truth and emphasize the experience of conversion. The old evangelicalism is now appearing under the term, "church growth." The educational enterprise will be viewed by the church much as it was in the 1800's as a major means of evangelism and conversion. Even the mainline denominations recognize this and are beginning to put resources into this enterprise. In some cases this may bring about tension between the thrust of education and evangelism.

I attended the 200th anniversary forum on the Sunday school in Nashville this summer. The main body was made up of mainline representatives. It was interesting to note that those present emphasized a return to the basics in the Sunday school: evangelism, Bible centered, lay volunteers.

3. There will remain a plurality in this country because of immigration and population shifts. It will not be the Italians and the Irish who challenge the Sunday school but the Asiatics and Hispanics who will provide both problems and possibilities.

4. The population shift is to the small towns. The Sunday school is seen as promulgating those virtues that relate more to the small town than to the urban centers. And the Sunday school has traditionally done better there. For that reason the Sunday school should grow.

5. After a declining birth rate in the past, it seems that in 1980 it is increasing once again and probably will for the next few years.

6. The burgeoning private Christian school movement may speak well for the future of the Sunday school. Basically, Christian schools

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have supported the Sunday school. They may also share some of the teaching load.

7. The almost total sell-out of the public school system to secular humanism. The Sunday school may be increasingly viewed as the last bastion of the church. Moral value education will have a strong place in it.

8. The pressure of ad hoc and para-church activities and programs will continue. This means that the Sunday school in most denominations will be looked to more and more for the teaching of definite sectarian doctrine.

9. The country is in an increasingly media-run age. TV is only one indication. Whether the Sunday school can utilize the opportunities the media affords is a question, and the impact of the electronic church is a factor.

10. The “ecumenicity of economy” will be a major factor in the Sunday school. Growing cooperative curriculum projects will make for more of a unified approach. The differences between the educational and developmental theories of the liberals and conservative evangelicals is not that great. We will therefore see more dialogue between religious educators on the national scene to discuss together methods, materials, and theories. The major obstacle will be basic theological and philosophical positions, but interaction will come about. And when it does each local Sunday school will have to pick up particular sectarian teaching.

11. The breakdown of the nuclear family would seem to mitigate against the family-oriented Sunday school. The Sunday school has traditionally shared the same values as the family.

On the other hand, single parents may look to the Sunday school to give the training which would usually be given within the family. The Sunday school can become the “cluster family,” or “family of God.”

12. Volunteer lay ministry will be mixed. Service types of projects will continue to grow due to the altruistic emphasis in society and the earlier retirement of individuals. At the same time it will be more difficult to recruit lay volunteer workers for local Sunday school positions due to more working women (now more than one half of the women in the United States) and husbands who hold two jobs.

What is the Future for the Sunday School?

John Westerhof says, “I do not see a place of significance for the

Sunday school in the future. It is too bound to the past to meet the needs of a new age.”⁵⁴ He may be right, but I do not think so.

I tend to agree more with historians Martin Marty and Bob Lynn that however much we would like to change the Sunday school, it will remain the primary, and in many cases the only, religious instructional agency in most Protestant churches for the foreseeable future.

A great deal depends upon the position taken by the leadership in the mainline denominations. Presently it would appear that the leadership is cognizant of the need for the Sunday school. Those of us who call ourselves evangelicals would like to take credit for any resurgence of the Sunday school, but let’s face it, evangelical denominations make up only about 15 to 20 percent of the Sunday school enrollment in the country.

Also, the conservative evangelicals who have saved the Sunday school over the years may well be the ones who kill it. Their trust in institutions and intransigence may preclude the innovative changes necessary. In that case, Westerhof may be right. Ironically, the evangelicals who profess to trust most in the Spirit’s leading also trust in forms and institutions. The ministry is swallowed up in the method. While old forms may work for a while, there is trouble ahead.

And what is my position? What would I like to see?

Sunday school in particular and religious education in general still relies too heavily on secular education for direction. It also reacts to the culture rather than fashioning the culture. Most Sunday schools are about 10 to 15 years behind the times in methodology and response. Few church-related theorists are having much of an impact upon it.

To be prophetic, the Sunday school needs to move ahead of both the culture and public education. It needs to design its own future. And what is that future?

I would suggest a redesigned Sunday school program of professional quality based upon a biblical model. Sunday school would be restricted to the major instructional agency in a total Christian Education program. Let us keep and affirm what is right with the Sunday school but let us get rid of what is not. Let us use the agency, but not let the agency use us. Let us define, refine, and confine the aim, role, and ministry of the Sunday school so that it becomes superior Christian education producing mature Christians.

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I submit that the key to the Sunday school in the future will be how well we amalgamize the various alternative proposals and still keep the essentials. It may mean an entirely new or at least a largely altered approach.

My own position is that the future will call for integration. A synthesis of the best could well be the answer. Perhaps we can discover the truth which will set the Sunday school free. Free to be an agency used by the church for the instruction of persons and to meet the needs of a new age. If so, the Sunday school will continue as an unfinished enterprise. If not, we could see the beginning of the end of a fabled institution. But just as the Sunday school has met growth situations in the past, I believe it will continue, at least, well into its third century as an “endless experiment.” ■

Footnotes

¹F.D. Huntington, *The Relation of Sunday School to the Church* (Boston: Henry Hoyt, 1980), pp. 3-4.

²Robert W. Lynn and Elliot Wright, *The Big Little School* (New York: Harper and Row, 1971), p. x.

³Robert W. Lynn, “The Uses of History: An Inquiry Into the History of American Religious Education,” *Religious Education*, Vol. LXVII, No. 2 (March-April 1972): p. 85

⁴William Bean Kennedy, *The Shaping of Protestant Education* (New York: Association Press, 1966), p. 77.

⁵See Thomas Cummings Hall, *The Religious Background of American Culture* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1930), p. 243; Addie Grace Wardle, *History of the Sunday School Movement in the Methodist Episcopal Church* (New York: The Methodist Book Concern, 1918), pp. 11-15; and Clifton H. Brewer, *Early Episcopal Sunday Schools (1814-1816)* (Milwaukee: Moorehouse Publishing Company, 1933), p. 3.

⁶C.N. Adkins, “The Formation of the Sunday School: Its Development and Growth in the United States,” an unpublished paper, 1980, p. 14, in which Adkins quotes W.A. Candler, *History of the Sunday Schools*, p. 15.

⁷*The Works of John Wesley* (New York: J. Emory and B. Waugh, 1831), Vol. IV, p. 599.

⁸For a thorough discussion on the first Sunday schools in America, see footnote in H. Clay Trumbull, *The Sunday School: Its Origin, Mission, Methods and Auxiliaries* (Philadelphia: John D. Wattles, 1893), pp. 122-123. This volume is commonly known as the Yale Lectures on the Sunday School and will, hereafter, be referred to as Trumbull, *Yale Lectures*. See also E.M. Fergusson, *Historic Chapters in Christian Education in America* (New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1935), pp. 14-17 and Edwin W. Rice, *The Sunday-School Movement and the American Sunday-School Union* (New York: Arno Press and The New York Times, 1971 reprint), pp. 42-46. The notation concerning Bishop Asbury is included in Adkins, p. 26.

⁹William Warren Sweet, *Religion in the Development of American Culture 1765-*

1840 (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1952), p. 262.

¹⁰For a comprehensive coverage of the American Sunday School Union, see the standard history in Rice, *Sunday School Movement*. A fresh approach is given on the beginning of the organization in Ralph Ruggles Smith, Jr., "In Every Destitute Place: The Mission Program of the American Sunday School Union 1817-1874" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Southern California, 1973.) A newer and more popularly written history of the Sunday School Union is Galbraith Hall Todd, *The Torch and the Flag* (Philadelphia: American Sunday School Union, 1966). For the reference to Francis Scott Key, see page 17.

¹¹Lynn and Wright, op. cit.

¹²Smith, op. cit., p. 21.

¹³Ibid., p. 21.

¹⁴Anne Mary Boylan, "The Nursery of the Church: The Evangelical Sunday School Movement, 1820-1830" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1974), p. 18.

¹⁵Smith, op. cit., p. 25. See also p. 24 and Boylan, *ibid.*, pp. 18-19.

¹⁶Lawrence A. Cremin, *The Republic and the School: Horace Mann on the Education of Free Men* (New York: Teacher's College, Columbia University, 1957), p. 8. This is a particularly seminal monograph on the whole proposition of public education in a democracy.

¹⁷Lynn and Wright, op. cit., p. 18.

¹⁸Robert T. Handy, *The Protestant Quest for a Christian America: 1830-1930* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1967), pp. 7 and 10.

¹⁹For an excellent treatise regarding the implications of immigration, see Vincent P. Lannie, "Alienation in America: The Immigrant Catholic and Public Education in Pre-Civil War America," *Review of Politics*, 32 (October, 1970), pp. 503-521.

²⁰William A. Clebsch, *From Sacred to Profane America* (New York: Harper and Row, 1968), p. 18.

²¹Ibid., p. 199.

²²Winthrop S. Hudson, *American Protestantism* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1961), p. 99.

²³Whether the story is true or apocraphal is not known. See Marianna C. Brown, *Sunday School Movements in America* (New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1901), p. 23.

²⁴Lynn and Wright, op. cit., p. 25.

²⁵Randolph Crump Miller, *Education for Christian Living* (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1963), p. 28.

²⁶Sara Little, "Dreaming a Possible Future for the Sunday School," unpublished paper, p. 8.

²⁷Arthur M. Schlesinger, Sr., *A Critical Period in American History, 1875-1900* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1967), p. 1.

²⁸Clebsch, op. cit., p. 18.

²⁹Charles H. Hopkins, *The Rise of the Social Gospel in American Protestantism 1865-1915* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1940), p. 42.

³⁰*Official Report, Fourth International Sunday School Convention*, 1884, p. 43.

³¹Boylan, op. cit., p. 316.

³²*Fourth Convention*, op. cit.

³³*Official report, Fifth International Sunday School Convention*, 1887, p. 35.

³⁴*Official Report, First International Sunday School Convention*, 1875.

Footnotes

³⁵Trumbull, op. cit., p. 142.

³⁶Ibid., pp. 132 and 133.

³⁷Ibid., p. 133.

³⁸Fergusson, op. cit., p. 128.

³⁹*First Convention*, p. 35.

⁴⁰William R. Moody, *The Life of Dwight L. Moody* (New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1900), p. 97.

⁴¹Henry S. Cope, *The Evolution of the Sunday School* (Boston: Pilgrim Press, 1911), p. 95

⁴²Sydney E. Ahlstrom, *A Religious History of the American People* (Garden City, New York: Image Books, 1975), Vol. 2, p. 199.

⁴³Lynn and Wright, op. cit., p. 71.

⁴⁴See William Bean Kennedy, "Christian Education through History," *An Introduction to Christian Education*, ed. Marvin J. Taylor (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1966), p. 28.

⁴⁵Religious Education Association, proceedings of the *First Convention of the Religious Education Association* (Chicago: Executive Office, 1903), p. 334.

⁴⁶Ibid., p. 64.

⁴⁷Lynn and Wright, p. 76 and 79.

⁴⁸*U.S. News and World Report*, September 8, 1980, p. 49.

⁴⁹Handy, op. cit., pp. 17-18.

⁵⁰Winthrop S. Hudson, *The Great Tradition of the American Churches* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1953), pp. 198, 225.

⁵¹Ibid., pp. 220-221.

⁵²Ibid., p. 202.

⁵³Will Herberg, *Protestant-Catholic-Jew* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1955), p. 101.

⁵⁴John H. Westerhoff, III, "The Sunday School of Tomorrow," *The Christian Century*, June 4-11, 1980, p. 641.