



PhD Dissertation

Domain: Letters and Foreign Languages

Branch: English

Speciality: Langue Littérature et Civilisation

Protestant Fundamentalism and the Controversy over Evolution-Creationism in American Public Schools 1925-2005: An Illustration of the American Political Theology.

*A Dissertation Submitted in Partial Fulfilment for the Degree of an LMD Doctorate in
English Language, Literature and civilisation.*

Submitted by: Khenssa Cheriet.

Members of the jury:

Pr. Ghaouar Omar	President	University of Batna 2
Pr. Ben Barka Mokhtar	Supervisor	University of Valenciennes
Pr. Nedjai Mohamed Salah	Examiner	University of Batna 2
Pr. AboubouEl Hachemi	Examiner	University of Batna 2
Dr. Lanasri Ammaria	Examiner	University of Valenciennes

2022-2023

Abstract

The recent controversy over teaching Darwin's evolutionary theory in America's public schools has raised staple questions about its true origin. The strategy that Protestant fundamentalists, as disciples of a large religious group in America, espouse when dealing with such a conflict between 1925 and 2005 has changed pejoratively over time. By looking within the United States, Protestant fundamentalists have consistently adduced an uncompromising view towards an endless debate over evolution-creationism. As a theory that contradicts common religious beliefs, Charles Darwin's idea which doubts the existence or non-existence of a deity along with an introduction to a certain robust explanation of the origin of life, has made Protestant fundamentalists in the late 19th century fear this outlandish idea. A theory like Charles Darwin's one which suggests that human beings like other creatures on Earth, have a common form of lower ancestor, has frightened them for it threatens a familiar and infallible biblical exegesis of the universe origin. However, in order to understand their peculiarity and distinction, the study of Protestant fundamentalists and fundamentalism, as a phenomenon in relation to evolution, needs new explanations. For such, we opt to examine the origin of the fundamentalist movement, which arose after the spread of the evolutionary theory in American public schools, by neither referring to personality nor referring to psychology abnormalities. Our aim is to introduce a new perspective that permits us to examine the core beliefs of fundamentalists that shape their behavior. As a result, our theoretical framework is broadly social psychological which helps us spot light on the nature of fundamentalism, as a religious movement of societal and very important political importance in America.

الملخص

أثار الجدل الأخير حول تدريس نظرية التطور لتشارلز داروين في المدارس العمومية الأمريكية أسئلة أساسية حول أصلها الحقيقي. بمرور الوقت تغيرت الإستراتيجية التي تبناها الأصوليون البروتستانت (كتابعين لمجموعة دينية كبيرة في أمريكا) بشكل ازدراخي عند التعامل مع مثل هذا الصراع بين عامي 1925 و2005. من خلال النظر داخل الولايات المتحدة، قدم الأصوليون البروتستانت وباستمرار وجهة نظر لا هوادة فيها تجاه نقاش لا نهاية له حول نظريتي الخلق والتطور. إن فكرة تشارلز داروين التي تشكك في وجود أو عدم وجود الإله إلى جانب تفسير أصل الكون جعل في أواخر القرن التاسع عشر يخشون هذه الفكرة الغربية كونها نظرية تتعارض مع المعتقدات الدينية الشائعة. ان نظرية مثل نظرية تشارلز داروين أخافت الأصوليين البروتستانت لأنها تعتبر تهديدا لتفسير الكتاب المقدس الذي يعتبر معصوما عن الخطأ، من خلال الاعتقاد أن البشر مثل سائر الكائنات الحية الأخرى لديهم أصل مشترك من السلف الأدنى. إن دراسة الأصوليين البروتستانت والأصولية كظاهرة متعلقة أساسا بنظرية التطور تحتاج إلى تفسيرات جديدة وذلك من أجل فهم خصوصيتهم وتميزهم. لهذا السبب ننتقي ان نبحت في أصل الحركة الأصولية والتي نشأت بعد انتشار نظرية التطور في المدارس العمومية الأمريكية من خلال عدم الإشارة إلى الدراسات النفسية أو اضطراباتها. هدفنا هو تقديم منظور جديد يسمح لنا بفحص المعتقدات الأساسية للأصوليين التي تشكل سلوكهم. نتيجة لذلك، فإن إطارنا النظري هو سيكولوجي اجتماعي مما يساعدنا في تسليط الضوء على طبيعة الأصولية كحركة دينية ذات أهمية اجتماعية وسياسية مهمة للغاية في أمريكا.

Résumé

La récente controverse sur l'enseignement de la théorie de l'évolution de Darwin dans les écoles publiques américaines a soulevé des questions fondamentales sur sa véritable origine. La stratégie que les fundamentalistes Protestants, en tant que disciples d'une grande secte religieuse en Amérique, adoptent face à un tel conflit entre 1925 et 2005 a changé de manière péjorative au fil du temps. En regardant à l'intérieur des États-Unis, les fundamentalistes Protestants ont constamment présenté une vision sans compromis d'un débat sans fin sur l'évolution-crétionnisme. En tant que théorie qui contredit les croyances religieuses courantes, l'idée de Charles Darwin qui doute de l'existence ou de la non-existence d'une divinité ainsi qu'une introduction à certaines explications robustes de l'origine de la vie, a fait cette idée étrange craindre les fundamentalistes Protestants à la fin du XIXe siècle. Une théorie comme celle de Charles Darwin qui unifie l'origine des êtres humains à celle des autres créatures, en suggérant qu'ils ont une forme commune d'ancêtre inférieur, les a effrayés car elle menace une exégèse biblique familière et infaillible de l'origine de l'univers. Cependant, afin de comprendre leur particularité et leur distinction, l'étude des fundamentalistes Protestants et du fondamentalisme en tant que phénomène en relation avec l'évolution nécessite de nouvelles explications. Pour cela, nous choisissons d'examiner l'origine du mouvement fondamentaliste qui a surgi après la diffusion de la théorie de l'évolution dans les écoles publiques américaines en ne faisant référence ni aux anomalies de la personnalité ni à la psychologie. Notre objectif est d'introduire une nouvelle perspective qui nous permet d'examiner les croyances fondamentales des fundamentalistes qui façonnent leur comportement. En conséquence, notre cadre théorique est largement socio-psychologique, ce qui nous aide à mettre en lumière la nature du fondamentalisme en tant que mouvement religieux d'importance sociétale et politique très importante en Amérique.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank every person who has allowed the production of such a work. At first, an overwhelming support and an unprecedented assistance were given to me by my supervisor Pr. Mokhtar Ben Barka. Thus, I would like to thank him for his guidance throughout the process of writing this dissertation. I am particularly thankful for his kindness and his insightful comments and valuable suggestions at every stage of this research project.

I would like to extend my sincere thanks to Dr. Lanasri Ammaria for her exceptional and splendid help and for her unwavering support and belief in me. I am deeply grateful to her for her contribution to facilitating my stay in Valenciennes.

A special acknowledgment is offered to Pr. Mohamed Salah Nedjai whose expertise has a wonderful and profound impact on me notably the writing process of this research as well as methodology. A huge gratitude is extended to Pr. Ghaouar Omar and Pr. El Hachemi Aboubou for their great assistance during the formulation of my research topic.

A huge debt of gratitude is owed to my beloved mother and father who were my source of encouragement. I am particularly thankful to my husband, Guennouche Lotfi, for his support and confidence and to my beloved daughters Sidrat El Mountaha, and Nourhane who were my source of inspiration. I would like also to thank my brothers: Ali and Hamza, and my sisters: Samira, Warda, Meriem, Keltoum, Amina, and Nardjess for their collaboration and encouragements throughout the research process. Special thanks to my family in law and the staff of English department at Skikda University for giving me valuable feedback. Finally, I would like to thank my friend Abir Chaker for her extraordinary assistance, as well as my childhood friend Hermouche Khaoula for her unprecedented help and for being there whenever I am in need of her for all these years.

Dedication

I dedicate my work to whom I will cherish forever. To the one who has never complained about the difficulty and the long hours of work even when he was very close to his death. To the one who has passed away unexpectedly and his loss devastated us all. To your memory, father, I dedicate my work.

List of figures

- 1- Lienesch, Michael. *In the Beginning: Fundamentalism, the Scopes Trial, and the Making of the Antievolution Movement*. The University of North Carolina Press, 2007 (Figure 01)/ (Figure 04).
- 2- Marsden, George M. *Fundamentalism and American culture: The shaping of twentieth century evangelicalism 1870–1925*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1980. (Figure 07).
- 3- Melton, J. Gordon. *Protestant Faith in America*. Facts on File, Inc, 2003 (Figure 03).
- 4- Moore, John A. *From Genesis to Genetics: The Case of Evolution and Creationism*. University of California Press, 2002. (Figure 05).
- 5- Singham, Mano. *God vs. Darwin: The War between Evolution and Creationism in the Classroom*. Lanham, Md.: Rowan & Littlefield Education, 2009. (Figure 06).
- 6- Wikipedia the Free Encyclopedia. (Figure 02).
https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fundamentalist_Modernist_Controversy (accessed Mars 21, 2016).

List of Boxes

- 1- Jefferson, Thomas. “Notes on the State of Virginia.” In *Writings*, edited by Merrill D. Peterson. New York: Library of America, 1984, p346–347. (Box 1).
- 2- *Washington Post*, “The Great Monkey Trial,” May 18, 1995, p. A6. Quoted in Wilcox, Clyde, and Carin Robinson. *Onward Christian Soldiers? The Religious Right in American Politics*. Westview Press, 2011. (Box 2).

Table of Contents

Abstract.....	i
Acknowledgements.....	iv
Dedication.....	v
List of Figures.....	vi
List of Boxes.....	vi
Table of Contents.....	vii
Chapter one: Introduction and Aims.....	11
Chapter Two: Historical Understanding of the Rise of Protestant Fundamentalism in the United States and its Subsequent Links with Political Theology.....	32
1. Protestantism in the United States.....	32
1.1. The Significance of Early Protestant Reformation.....	32
1.1.1. The Legacy of Martin Luther.....	33
1.2. A Short History of Protestantism in the United States.....	36
1.3. The Rise of Fundamentalism among the Protestants in the United States.....	54
1.3.1. Definition of Fundamentalism.....	56
1.3.1.1. A Theoretical definition of the Term Fundamentalism.....	56
1.3.1.2. A Sociological Perspective of the Term Fundamentalism.....	59
1.3.2. Evangelicalism vs. Fundamentalism.....	61
2. Historical Understanding of the Rise of Protestant Fundamentalism in the USA and its Relation with Political Theology.....	63
2.1. The Belief in the inerrancy of the Scripture.....	64
2.1.1. The Significance of the Sacred Text: The Biblical Authority.....	64
2.2. Protestant Fundamentalism v. the Liberal Theology.....	66

2.3. The Fundamentalist Religious Energy and Revolt.....	73
2.4. Reasons behind Protestant Fundamentalists’ Fear of Evolution.....	76
2.4.1. The Belief in Political Theology.....	80
2.4.2. The Fundamentalist Political Uprising.....	80
2.4.3. The Christian Right and the Political Theology of White Evangelicals....	84
Chapter Three: When Protestant Fundamentalism Collides with Evolution in America’s	
Classrooms 1925-2005.....	89
1. Why do Theology and Politics intersect in America’s Classrooms?.....	89
1.1. Secularism and the Founding Fathers	89
2. The Theoretical Foundations of the American Public Education System and its	
Relation with Protestantism.....	98
2.1. Protestantism and the Role of Education in the US.....	98
2.2. What makes up the Cornerstone of the American Public Education System?.....	101
2.2.1. The Legacy of Thomas Jefferson and Horace Mann in the Pursuit of Non-	
Sectarianism in Public Schools.....	101
3. Darwin’s Evolution and the Challenge to Survive in America’s Classrooms....	111
3.1. A History of the Evolution Theory.....	111
3.1.1. The Emergence of Darwin’s Theory.....	111
3.1.2. The Problem of Inheritance and the “Eclipse of Darwinism.....	114
3.1.3. The Modern Evolutionary Synthesis.....	117
3.2. Public Schools as a Battleground for the Evolution-Creationism Controversy...119	
3.2.1. The Scopes Monkey Trial 1925 and the Dark Side of Protestant	
Fundamentalism.....	119
3.2.2. Protestant Fundamentalists and a “Recurring Conflict” over Evolution-	
Creationism between 1925 and 2005.....	121

4. Creationism and Beyond the Origin Controversy.....	133
4.1. Definition of Creationism.....	133
4.2. And so, what is Beyond Creationism in the United States?.....	136
4.3. Creationist Battles and the Violation of the First Amendment.....	139
4.4. The Significance of Adjusting Creationism: The Birth of Intelligent Design Theory	144
 Chapter Four: The Impact of Protestant Fundamentalism on Raising Conflicts over Evolution-Creationism in American Public Schools between 1925 and 2005 and its Pertinence to Political Theology.....	 151
1. Evolution can never merge with Protestant Fundamentalism.....	151
1.1. A theological Reason behind Protestant Fundamentalists' Rejection of the Theory of Evolution.....	151
1.1.1. The Argument from the Scripture.....	151
1.2. Why should Protestant Fundamentalists reject Evolution?.....	159
2. The Importance of Public-School Classroom for the Advancement of New Doctrines.....	164
2.1. The Devastating Effect of Teaching the Evolution Theory to Protestant Children in American Public Schools.....	164
2.1.1. Teaching Creationism as a Familiar Aspect instead of Evolution.....	168
2.1.2. The Fear of the Liberal Theology Spread in Public Schools.....	177
2.1.3. When Political Theology and Protestant Fundamentalists' Religious Behavior cooperate to resist teaching Evolution in American Public Schools.....	182

3. The Significance of the Discovery Institute and the legacy of Intelligent Design Movement in Present Day America	190
General Conclusion.....	200
Annex.....	210
Bibliography.....	221

Chapter One: Introduction and Aims

Introduction

The place that religion occupies in human life is undoubtedly very intrinsic and transcendent. Nonetheless, it has fueled remarkable issues throughout the world and has overshadowed the facts. By looking within the American landscape, an assumptive position of secularization along with a careful absence of any reference to a particular religious doctrine in the American Constitution has made it clear that the United States is trying to keep religion out of formal affairs since the time of the drafting of the Constitution by the founding fathers. But even if we take this view, there are still questionable issues in the country that have mushroomed as a result of a clash between religion and other fields of conflict such as education! Perhaps best known of these is the controversy over evolution-creationism in American public schools which remains one of the nation's most significant and still unfinished challenges.

This Controversy traces its origins back to the publication of Charles Darwin's theory of *evolution by means of natural selection*. His theory propels query about the true origin of the world and provides a reckless explanation for its diversity. In his *The Origin of Species*, Charles Darwin introduced a new phase in humankind's perception of the living world and has revolutionized the field of science by opening up a new prospect in the question of origins and how organisms would interact to sustain their survival and reproduction. According to Darwin, the different groups of living organisms experience modification over time thanks to the different pressing environmental conditions and natural selection as its ultimate mechanism without any divine benevolence.

Alas, this new theory was swimming in the opposite direction in the eyes of Protestant fundamentalists in America. As advocates of the biblical explanation of the origin of life

(Genesis), their strong opposition to teaching the heresies of the evolutionary scenario in the public schools was crystal clear. According to them, Darwin's evolution is merely a heterodox issue which does not give the true explanation of origins, but that defies the rules of nature in a nasty way. What makes it even worse than it looks is its pernicious idea of considering human origins from a certain form of lower ancestors. As a result, Protestant fundamentalists in the United States have struggled through time to prevent public schools from stumbling in Darwin's slope to disbelief.

I- Background of the Problem

The term *Evolutionism* has been utilized to describe a new assessment of the origins of the world. It indicates the duty of the straightforwardness of science which has resulted in an intricate and rational process that explains the world origins. By scrutinizing biological systems in organisms that are the product of a concatenation of evolutionary methods, natural selection and adaptation to environmental pressures were being labeled as the responsible mechanisms through which evolution may occur as it is first suggested in 1859 by Charles Darwin in his bestselling book *Origin of Species*.

Thus, in his pioneer theory of evolution, Charles Darwin notes, "Therefore I should infer from analogy that probably all the organic beings which have ever lived on this earth have descended from someone primordial form, into which life was first breathed."¹ This suggests that Darwin alleges that all organisms on earth have a common descent. Moreover, he suggests that living beings originate from an old ancestor having a set of inherited characteristics that would later pass on to the next generations. Hence, this will relatively produce new offspring with new ameliorated traits.

¹ Charles Darwin, *On the Origin of Species* (Pennsylvania State University: The Electronic Classics Series: Jim Manis, 2013), 428.

Darwin explains this as follows: “In living bodies, variation will cause the slight alterations, generation will multiply them almost infinitely, and natural selection will pick out with unerring skill each improvement. Let this process go on for millions on millions of years; and during each year on millions of individuals of many kinds.”² Charles Darwin explains that variation causes a set of significant and far-reaching changes in the genetic traits of individual organisms through natural selection. However, it is important to point out that natural selection, as an evolutionary mechanism, occurs throughout tandem generations and not during the lifetime of organic beings. Besides, species are subject to modification and reproduction over time thanks to natural selection and adaptation to the surrounding environment.

Right from the beginning, Darwin’s evolutionary theory has been broadly and overwhelmingly accepted in the scientific circles. It is regarded by many scientists as neatly and inclusive suggestion in the realm of science to understand the perplexities of the living world as a lighthouse to find a safe shore in a stormy sea. Salient, lineal, and counter-intuitive, Darwin’s evolution has been always described as so since the time the book was first published till modern times by its exponents.

David K. DeWolf, Stephen C. Meyer, and Mark Edward DeForrest in their *Teaching the Origins Controversy: Science, Or Religion, Or Speech?* have argued that Darwin suggests the only explanation for organisms’ adaptation to habitats is their random variation as a consequence of natural selection that is regarded as its actual responsible without the interference of a direct cause.³ In 1859 and soon after the introduction of *The Origin of*

² Ibid., 173.

³ David K. DeWolf and Stephen C Meyer and Mark E DeForrest, *Teaching the Origins Controversy* ([Salt Lake City]: University of Utah College of Law, 2000), 48.

Species Darwin's natural selection becomes the core of evolutionary thinking. It may explain the reproduction of new populations out of survived ancestors, firmly who have been able to adjust life in the different environmental conditions, with some characteristics that will be common in those new strains. In his *Summary of Chapter* Charles Darwin notes,

If, during the long course of ages and under varying conditions of life, organic beings vary at all in the several parts of their organization, and I think this cannot be disputed; if there be, owing to the high geometric powers of increase of each species, at some age, season, or year, a severe struggle for life, and this certainly cannot be disputed; then, considering the infinite complexity of the relations of all organic beings to each other and to their conditions of existence, causing an infinite diversity in structure, constitution, and habits, to be advantageous to them, I think it would be a most extraordinary fact if no variation ever had occurred useful to each being's own welfare, in the same way as so many variations have occurred useful to man. But if variations useful to any organic being do occur, assuredly individuals thus characterized will have the best chance of being preserved in the struggle for life; and from the strong principle of inheritance they will tend to produce offspring similarly characterized. This principle of preservation, I have called, for the sake of brevity, Natural Selection.⁴

This passage reveals how Charles Darwin in his summary explains the mechanism of natural selection by which evolution may happen and how it truly functions.

Daniel C. Dennett is another prominent advocate of this theory with his best-known *Darwin's Dangerous Idea*. He claims that: "Darwin's idea—bearing an unmistakable likeness

⁴ Charles Darwin, "On the Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection, or the Preservation of Favoured Races in the Struggle for Life," *London: John Murray, Albemarle Street* (1859): 127, quoted in Daniel C. Dennett, *Darwin's Dangerous Idea: Evolution and the Meanings of Life* (London: Penguin Books, 1995), 48.

to universal acid: it eats through just about every traditional concept, and leaves in its wake a revolutionized world-view, with most of the old land-marks still recognizable, but transformed in fundamental ways.”⁵ Dennett shows that the theory of evolution acts as a *universal acid* in the field of science that can destroy every classical view. He has also found that Darwin’s natural selection is typically an *algorithmic process*. What the evolutionary process disseminates in this respect is just like what algorithm is incontrovertibly about; if during the course of the *struggle for life* the right conditions are beautifully adjusted, the assured upshot will undoubtedly come out a definite mechanism.⁶

Moreover, life is an exchange of different processes that happen in nature through complex mechanisms between living organisms and their surrounding environment which creates equilibrium between them.⁷ Hence, this evolutionary process, which is called adaptation to habitats, permits organisms to survive essential traits, to reproduce, and to propagate inherited characteristics throughout tandem generations. It urges the acquisition of new traits or the dismissal of primitive inherited ones, however.

Therefore, Darwin’s theory provides a new understanding of biological systems within living organisms. It suggests that they all have one common descent; per se, one primitive ancestor who has an absolute set of characteristics passed on and conceived in the next progenies. For such, evolution is a modification that occurs in those inherited characteristics and Darwin has named this *variation*. It may result in the rise of biologically modified and fittest forms of organisms which could not all possibly survive. Only the one who adapts to

⁵ Daniel C. Dennett, *Darwin's Dangerous Idea: Evolution and the Meanings of Life* (London: Penguin Books, 1995), 63.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 49.

⁷ John Maynard Smith, *The Theory of Evolution. 3rd Ed* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 26.

survive may succeed in the emergent properties' retention to successive generations, and eventually to reproduction. But, would Darwin's idea always remain the anchor for understanding the world's origin and its mysteries?

Darwin's theory and natural selection have succeeded to gain the support of scientists like Thomas Huxley, Asa Gray, and Thomas Wollaston with their major reviews of *The Origin of Species*.⁸ However, major gaps in this theory start to loom on the horizon. Alas, natural selection as being the responsible mechanism for speciation and variations, has become no more considered as a sufficient and overarching one. For such, the phrase the *Eclipse of Darwinism* has been first used by the British evolutionary biologist Julian Huxley, in order to indicate the period prior to the *Modern Evolutionary Synthesis* when evolution as a new scientific theory has relatively lost its shine. Yet, Darwinism has greatly retreated for it lacked an effective mechanism for heredity. Some biologists, as a result, have stopped to accept that natural selection is the fundamental process by which heritable biological characteristics could survive and reproduce within a particular population of organisms. Peter Bowler, a historian of biology, once has pointed out in his *Theories of Human Evolution: A Century of Debate, 1844-1944*, that the post-Darwinian era has retreated for it lacks an effective estimation on origins along with an actual method for generating variations.⁹

By the end of the 19th century and under this confusing atmosphere, criticism of the Darwinian theory has reached its peak. The German botanist Eberhardt Dennert has said:

⁸ Keith A. Francis, *Charles Darwin and The Origin of Species* (Greenwood Press Westport, Connecticut : London, 2007), 67

⁹Peter J. Bowler, *Theories of Human Evolution: A Century of Debate, 1844-1944* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1987), 50.

“We are now standing at the deathbed of Darwinism.”¹⁰ So, Dennert’s phrase *the deathbed of Darwinism* reflected the beginning that marks the actual retreat of Darwin’s evolution. As a response to this situation that the Darwinian theory of evolution has reached, some scientists have suggested new alternative mechanisms instead of natural selection like *Neo-Lamarckism* and *Orthogenesis*; for they were renitent and ambivalent to confirm that *natural selection* is the only mechanism to explain organisms’ mutation and succession to new forms of offspring.

But change was underway. In 1900, a rediscovery of the *Mendelian Inheritance theory* of 1865 has occurred and which has latter formed when merged with Darwin’s natural selection, the *Modern Evolutionary Synthesis (Neo-Darwinism)*. This term has been first used in 1942 in Julian Huxley’s *Evolution: The Modern Synthesis* in order to spotlight on the modern consensus of biology scientists about their confession that gradual evolution is an entire proof that genetic mutations, having *natural selection* as its vigorous mechanism, virtually exists as Charles Darwin has suggested in 1859.¹¹

Despite a plethora of scholarly proofs demonstrating that evolution truly occurs thanks to natural selection, skirmishes over its teaching in America have increased in the 1900s with the outset of the *Fundamentalist Movement*. The rediscovery of Genetics has become the snowball that turns into an avalanche, and Darwin’s evolution will not have any chance of ever winning the approval of Protestant fundamentalists to be taught in American public schools. Now, Darwin’s theory in their eyes starts to deflect towards profaning common

¹⁰ Eberhard Dennert and Edwin V O’Harra and John H Peschges, *At the Deathbed of Darwinism* (Burlington, Ia.: German literary board, 1904), 120.

¹¹ Ernst Mayr and William B. Provine, *The Evolutionary Synthesis: Perspectives on the Unification of Biology* (Harvard University Press, 1998), 01.

beliefs in supernatural causation. As a result, the question of teaching the origin theory has escalated nationwide. Before the *Modern Evolutionary Synthesis*, the idea that all organic beings on earth, except man, are the descendants of a primordial ancestor was widely accepted by the end of the 19th century and at a certain time in history it has been even part of public schools' curricula.¹²

Michael Dummett in his *New Black Friars* has related the term *fundamentalism* to Christians who believe in a literal interpretation of the Bible, chiefly the truthful Old Testament.¹³ In the United States, the outset of the fundamentalist movement originates within the Protestant community as a result of an act of protest to protect theological interests by fighting modernist principles.¹⁴ Therefore, Protestant fundamentalism in the United States is a religious movement that invokes providential guidance in every aspect of life, and which has been known for its determined resistance against modernism. Indeed, it is estimated that because Protestant fundamentalists are anti-modern, they have related the theory of evolution to non-scientific issues like religious beliefs and public education.

The theory of evolution propounds a fortuitous world and calls for a lower form of human ancestors; thus, Protestant fundamentalists fear the outcomes that the theory of evolution may cause on students' minds. This idea has made them fear the loss of respect of their children to the Protestant Bible and the Genesis account of creation that have been reverent in public schools since ever. Thus, allowing their children to study the theory of evolution would be

¹² Mano Singham, *God Vs. Darwin: The War between Evolution and Creationism in the Classroom* (Lanham, Md.: Rowan & Littlefield Education, 2009), 10.

¹³ Michael Dummett, *New Black Friars* (Wiley, 2002), 242.

¹⁴ Ronald Burton and Stephen Johnsol and Joseph Tamney, *Review of Religious Research* (Religious Research Association, Inc, 1989), 345.

probably not only a system biased against themselves but also against the principles of public schooling and the legacy of Thomas Jefferson and Horace Mann in promoting non-sectarianism in schools (non-sectarianism in schools means that students must say the same prayer and read the same Bible, i.e., the Protestant Bible).

Similarly, the shadow of the Protestant fundamentalists' strong objection to teaching the theory of evolution starts to hover over the history of the evolution-creationism contention in America's public schools after that natural selection has gained more popularity with the rediscovery of Genetics. Now, even the creation story of Adam and Eve in the Garden of Eden has begun to be seen as incompatible with modern scientific findings illustrated in Darwin's theory. This was the reason behind the famous *Scopes Monkey Trial* of 1925 when substitute teacher of Biology John T. Scopes has allegedly taught the evolution of human begins in the *Rhea County High School* and was arrested for violating the *Tennessee laws* that prohibit the teaching of human evolution in the public schools. This event becomes a landmark in the history of the controversy over evolution-creationism in America.

Factually, the repudiation of Darwin's evolution by the Protestant fundamentalists has made them fight overtly for boycotting and eradicating its teaching in public education, be it in the *Butler Act*, the *Tennessee Laws*, various legal decisions and Supreme Court cases, or creationist organizations' involvement in the issue like the *Discovery Institute*. These can depict the strategy they espouse in dealing with such a dispute and which have led to making the origin problem a recurring conflict.

Two Supreme Court cases have tried to put an end to the evolution-creationism conflict by arguing that the First Amendment to the U.S. Constitution deprives any attempt to set up the

stakes of a national religion in America.¹⁵ First, the U.S. Supreme Court in *Epperson v. Arkansas* (1968) has repealed an Arkansas anti-evolution law that has been passed in the 1960s and aims at outlawing evolution teaching in public schools. Second is *Edwards v. Aguillard* (1987) which has abolished a Louisiana statute that calls for an equal time for teaching both theories of evolution and creationism in the classroom.

On the authority of *Edwards v. Aguillard*, the choice to introduce an alternative to Darwin's evolution with religious endorsement is considered defiance to the Supreme Court after its ruling that teaching creationism infringes the Establishment Clause of the First Amendment to the U.S. Constitution. Justice William Brennan has noted in his famous majority opinion that teaching creationism is unconstitutional for it advocates religion. Furthermore, he held that, "teaching a variety of scientific theories about the origins of humankind to schoolchildren might be validly done with the clear secular intent of enhancing the effectiveness of science instruction."¹⁶ Thus, by basing their arguments on Justice Brennan's opinion, creationists attempted to adjust creationism acceptance in public schools by replacing the 1980s creation science, with *intelligent design theory*. Essentially, this new alternative theory claims that the world is irreducibly complex to be understood and perceived as happening by chance and that it can only be best explained by a transcendent and intelligent cause.

But not surprisingly, the teaching of intelligent design theory will also contribute to forming the platforms of a recurring dispute over evolution-creationism. In 2004, the Dover Area School District in Pennsylvania introduced *Of Pandas and People*, a new textbook of

¹⁵ Corwin E. Smidt and Lyman A. Kellstedt and James L. Guth, *The Oxford Handbook of Religion and American Politics* (Oxford University Press, 2009), 231.

¹⁶ Randy Moore and Mark Decker and Sehoya Cotner, *Chronology of the Evolution-Creationism Controversy* (Greenwood Press, 2010), 303.

biology which contains the theory of intelligent design, and has required that teachers have to read aloud a statement presenting ID as an alternative to explain the world origins whenever evolution is being taught. One year later, the U.S. District Court for the Middle District of Pennsylvania has ruled that teaching intelligent design is unconstitutional. Moore, Decker, and Cotner have added that this rule was made on the grounds that ID “is nothing more than creationism in disguise.”¹⁷ This was in the famous *Kitzmiller et al v. Dover Area School District* of 2005.

Thus, one may reasonably question where the real cause behind such a recurring conflict truly resides. It is probably necessary to look at Protestant fundamentalism not only as a religious movement, but also as a social and political one. As a social movement, it has been the result of early settlers’ religious traditionalism and belief in the inerrancy of the scripture (early English Puritans). And by the time of the Scopes trial, it has pervaded the southern rural part of the country, having William Jennings Bryan as its respected spokesman. It is easier for any observer to recall how the Scopes verdict has opened America’s eyes to the fundamentalists’ intolerance and stubborn minds to remain within the biblical boundaries, viewing Darwinism as the work of the devil that they should crusade against it for its ultimate eradication.

However, after the Scopes Trial, the fundamentalist movement has not attracted much attention until the 1970s, this time with more growing political concerns. It is true that the movement has had always negative stereotypes and has entered a period of decline after the death of William Jennings Bryan, but it has soon rallied its troops by the beginning of the 20th century. Yet, this new fundamentalist political revival provokes inquisitiveness about the movement’s shift to politics. So, what has made the fundamentalist movement resurge on

¹⁷ Ibid., 380.

such a particular time in history when modernism and secularization have swept the world and not only the United States?

Although the decidedly secularization of the nation, the overlap between church and state in America is substantially noticeable and has always been questionable within a wider global comparative and historical analysis. As a result, the American paradigm has always been a good example of the interference of religion in public and social issues including the politics of education such as school prayer and the teaching of evolution. Moreover, it is important to remember that the unusual and endless quarrels generated by the Protestant fundamentalists against their liberal counterparts to ban teaching evolution in the United States are bizarrely inconceivable when talking about a post-industrial country. Yet, for sure there must be a certain reason for the continuing debate over what should be taught in American classrooms.

Thus, if the strategy of Protestant fundamentalists to deal with the controversy over evolution-creationism in America's public schools is explained in light of this, we may think of a cultural war between the fundamentalists and the liberals over the question of teaching the origin theory for the sake of influencing political decisions related to the issue. But what has made American Protestant fundamentalists in particular fight fiercely to eradicate evolution from public school curricula, and what are the real motives behind their strategy? The answer is to be found once looking deeply in the psychology of Protestant fundamentalists and the extent to which the depth of its theological and ideological dimensions is engraved in the American historical foundation.

At this point, it is necessary to spot light on the sociocultural context of Protestant fundamentalism in order to better understand the movement and the psychology of fundamentalists, how they relate to the surrounding world, and how they find meaning only within their sacred text. To consider the depth of a widespread belief in the infallibility of the

Bible, being the word of God that should be taken literally, is a paramount motive that helps in allocating the degree to which the sacred text is prevalent among Protestant fundamentalists in America. As historian George Marsden in his *Fundamentalism and American Culture* has emphasized that what is unique for Protestant fundamentalism as a new phenomenon that has flourished during the 20th century, is its militant resistance to Darwinism and all aspects of the modern world that made the movement different from its closest relatives such as Evangelicalism.¹⁸ Protestant fundamentalists in America, therefore, are willing to take a stand and fight fiercely against anything opposing the sacred, and anything opposing the sacred merits a strong resistance for the sake of its total elimination or even destruction.

Yet, by looking from within the strategy of Protestant fundamentalists during the course of the conflict, we notice that they mix with great fervor the problem of teaching evolution with religious beliefs. The general view is that distinct from other post-industrial countries in the world, the United States appears to be a religious exception where highly religious individuals (such as Protestant fundamentalists) believe that their government should adhere to the Christian morals to the extent that they should appear in every governmental action or policy although the clear distinction between the legal and the sacred. This is called *Political Theology*¹⁹ which denotes the factual demonstration of basic religious beliefs in the political dimension of a nation. In that sense, we may probably understand how embedded networks of Protestant fundamentalism in the United States shape the political rhetoric of public schools' debate to teach evolution. Through some organizations' involvement in the controversy such as the *Flying Fundamentalists*, the *Bible League of North America*, the *Bible Crusaders of America*, and the *Defenders of the Christian Faith*, Protestant fundamentalists aimed at

¹⁸ George M. Marsden, *Fundamentalism and American Culture* (Oxford University Press, 2006), 04

¹⁹ Daniel Philpott, *Explaining the Political Ambivalence of Religion* (The American Political Science Review 101, 2007), 505.

dominating the public-school scene starting from 1925 Scopes Trial to 2005 Kitzmiller et al v. Dover Area School District.

Seemingly what is at stake is more than meets the eye. In the United States, it is not the validity of Charles Darwin's unprecedented theory of evolution and its ultimate mechanism of natural selection to modern biology and genetics; but it is its legitimacy in the eyes of Protestant fundamentalists. For the fundamentalists, it is intolerable for them to have the evolutionary theory as part of the public schools' Biology curriculum. The crux of the problem revolves around the importance of public schools in enhancing new doctrines or dismissing older ones. Furthermore, their strategy and its hidden motives to chip away the grievances of evolution, which has now bubbled to the surface threatening the Genesis account of creation, by defeating its cause in the courtrooms are still questionable.

II- Statement of the Problem

It would be useful to know, in this context, whether the rise of Protestant fundamentalism and the depth of Protestant political theology is the real cause behind a long controversy over evolution-creationism in America's public schools.

Previous researches have shown that religion and its incompatibility with science is a risk factor in raising conflicts over the question of teaching the origin theory in the United States. Moreover, previous works have dealt with the role of religion in public schools and other governmental bodies, most notably their impact on directing the strategy of Protestant fundamentalists as anti-evolutionists, such as the work of historian Mano Singham: *God v. Darwin: the war between evolution and creationism in the classroom*. However, the roots of Protestant fundamentalism and its relation to political theology, as a predictor of such a recurring dispute in the public schools that results in taking the debate into the political arena, has not been dealt with before. This study, as a result, will address that gap in the knowledge.

The controversy over evolution-creationism traces its origins back to the emergence of Protestant fundamentalism, as a new phenomenon during the first decades of the twentieth century, and its relation to the belief in political theology and not to the evangelical heritage of the nineteenth century. The research problem, therefore, is to investigate whether the rise of Protestant fundamentalism and its relation to political theology are the predictors of this conflict. Because Protestant fundamentalists fear Darwin's outlandish idea that threatens the Genesis account of creation, this would make them fight tacitly if not overtly to eradicate its teaching from the public schools. Moreover, they would aim at propagating the teaching of creationism and divine truth instead.

III- Aims of the Thesis

This thesis is aiming at finding a new perspective to understand the real cause behind the controversy over teaching either Darwin's evolutionary theory or creationism in America's public schools. Previous works that have dealt with this problem, emphasized the role of religion when colliding with scientific proofs. Objecting to the teaching of evolution in the United States resulted in taking the debate over evolution-creationism into the political arena illustrated in various legal cases and Supreme Court decisions. This thesis, however, will add to the existing literature as an attempt to understand the perplexities of the true origins of this controversy by investigating a gap in the existent problem.

Therefore, this thesis aims at providing some thought-provoking facts on the vital events bounding the history of evolution-creationism in America's public schools, in addition to the strategy Protestant fundamentalists espouse between 1925 and 2005 when dealing with this issue. This would be as an illustration of the American political theology. It seeks to investigate how theological reasons behind the rise of Protestant fundamentalism, as a religious movement of societal and political importance, have made the dispute more and

more urgent. Similarly, it considers the depth of the roots of Protestant fundamentalists' political theology in the American political system, chiefly in the Southern states where they have succeeded in enacting laws favoring the teaching of creationism. Furthermore, it would be highly useful to look for the hidden motives that have made Protestant fundamentalists desire to propagate the teaching of the Genesis account of creation that makes human beings' special creators of God.

IV- Research Questions and Arguments

This thesis makes an attempt to answer the following questions: Why has there been a long controversy over teaching the evolutionary theory in America's public schools although the decided secularization of the country? Why do Protestant fundamentalists use the political machinery to settle such a dispute? What is the real cause behind this controversy? Why do Protestant fundamentalists relate the evolutionary theory to issues outside of science? Does analyzing the psychology of Protestant fundamentalists help in understanding the reasons behind the conflict? What are the reasons behind their attempts to eradicate the teaching of evolution in American public schools? Can we relate the strategy of Protestant fundamentalists during the course of the controversy between 1925 and 2005 to political theology? Where does the significance of public schools in America truly lie? What is the significance of the legal and Supreme Court cases in addition to some organizations' involvements in the issue in escalating the tensions of the conflict?

We argue that a primary factor contributing to escalating the tensions of the conflict over evolution-creationism in America's public schools is the rise of Protestant fundamentalism as a new weighty phenomenon of societal and political importance, and not the incompatibility between religion and science. Neither the decidedly secularization of the nation nor America's world position among post-industrial countries have prevented the

question over teaching evolution in the public schools from generating endless quarrels and debates.

V- Theoretical and Conceptual Framework

As an attempt to understand the reason behind such a recurring conflict over evolution-creationism in America's public schools, our study is going to be based on the social-psychological approach as the theoretical framework. In order to understand Protestant fundamentalism as a new phenomenon that has flourished as a result of the spread of the threatening theory of evolution as well as to understand the effects of Protestant fundamentalists' religiosity, we opt to apply the social-psychological approach. It helps in understanding Protestant fundamentalists' justifications for their behavior and strategy to strongly oppose to evolution. when the theory of evolution *by means of natural selection* has gained more popularity after the rediscovery of Genetics and Population Genetics, it has made arguments of special creation incompatible with the straightforwardness of science. As a result, we seek to explore the Protestant fundamentalists' hidden motives behind their strategy to discredit the evolutionary theory. These motives could be understood in light of the Bible as their highly important sacred text that through which they derive meaning of every aspect of life.

In this respect, it is also immensely important to understand the way Protestant fundamentalists affect the course of the evolution-creationism controversy in America's public schools. In addition, it is highly valuable to understand how they were successfully able to disseminate their beliefs and practices although the First Amendment to the U.S. Constitution forbids the advancement of a particular sectarian religious doctrine. The act of answering these questions is the key mystery for understanding the strategy of Protestant fundamentalists throughout the dispute; though, to provide this issue with a rational and

comprehensive explanation is the hardest thing in this study to pin down. By referring to the social context of fundamentalism in America, we will be able to explore the origin of fundamentalism. And through the social psychological approach, which relates the social structures to psychological constructs like beliefs and behavior, we can understand the effects of Protestant fundamentalists' belief in political theology on the course of the controversy over evolution-creationism in America's public schools.

In this context, it is highly important to conceptually define the main concepts related to the thesis:

-Evolution: Is a modification that occurs in the inherited characteristics of a particular population of organisms throughout tandem generations thanks to its process of *natural selection*. *The theory of evolution by means of natural selection* has been first published in Charles Darwin's *The Origin of Species* in 1859.

-Creationism: The strong religious belief in supernatural causation as being the real cause that creates the living world, and the strong rejection of the idea of a fortuitous world.

-Protestant Fundamentalism: Is a religious movement that has appeared in the late 19th century within the British and American Protestant community as a result of the spread of the liberal theology. The main reason behind the outset of the fundamentalist movement among the Protestants is the rejection of the biblical inerrancy and the acceptance of the liberal theology exemplified mainly in the belief in evolution.

-Political Theology: It is the degree to which religious symbols and rhetoric prevail over political systems and decision-making processes in many pre-industrial countries, though its existence in the United States as a post-industrial country is highly observable. In *Smith's*

Political Theology, however, the concept refers to all contemporary political ideas that are actually secularized forms of ancient theological ones.

Hypothesis

This study postulates the following hypothesis: the reason behind a long controversy over evolution-creationism in America's public schools is the rise of fundamentalism among the Protestants in the early 20th century and their strong belief in political theology. Because public schools have a great importance in molding students' minds for good or twisting them for evil, Protestant fundamentalists have feared the spread of the liberal theology exemplified in the belief in evolution (if it would mushroom in an indispensable sector like education). Their strategy to undermine the teaching of Darwin's theory in the public schools will result in a long history over evolution-creationism in the United States and which would remain always a good illustration of the American political theology.

Methodology

By opting for a descriptive and analytical approach, our study is intended to describe Protestant fundamentalism as a weighty phenomenon in the United States that has emerged as a result of the spread of the theory of evolution. Furthermore, our study will deal with the psychology of religious fundamentalism and its impacts on the course of the conflict over teaching evolution in the public schools and the way how it could be linked to political theology. Apart from describing the controversy, we opt to illustrate also the American public education system in order to show how it is important to advance a new doctrine through pedagogical strategies. Finally, we will end up with analyzing some primary documents namely the U.S. Constitution and Supreme Court decisions related to the evolution-creationism contention.

Thesis Structure

Chapter one presents an introduction to the thesis with a broad presentation of important events related to the problem of our study. Chapter two describes Protestant fundamentalism in the United States within a broad social-psychological framework so as to show how the sacred text and common religious beliefs among the Protestants act as a source of meaning. In addition to describing the Protestant fundamentalism phenomenon, chapter two is intended to deal with an introduction to Political Theology in the United States in order to make it possible to explain the controversy over evolution-creationism in light of it. Chapter three describes the history of the conflict with a special reference to the history of American public education system, knowledge of which is important to understand why such a controversy has been generated to control America's classrooms. Moreover, it stresses the way Protestant fundamentalism as a new phenomenon in the United States collides with evolution and its subsequent outcomes on the course of the conflict between 1925 and 2005. Chapter four will deal with the impact of Protestant fundamentalists on raising conflicts over teaching the origin theory in the public schools, and how the so-called issue can be explained in light of Political Theology. Chapter five, eventually, will be devoted to discussion, conclusions, and recommendations.

Conclusion

It follows that the world is full of mysteries and hodgepodes that we are living with and have to overcome. It is empiricism and logic, in this respect, that have put the undoubted and dogmatic matters into quarantine. Thus, for modernists in the United States, the theory of evolution has brought about change in how the human mind should accept and believe in the ways organic beings at their molecular levels come to interact to maintain their lives and that of their offspring in a way that is described as unusual and unprecedented at that time. Again, they are convinced that what the theory of evolution claims about at its first emergence in

terms of *gradual evolution, speciation, natural selection and adaptation*, is merely a scientific truth that humankind cannot deny or override, without the need for altering its meaning or providing doctrinal interpretations that would be inevitably tailored to the principles of a particular sectarian religious belief.

This is the duty of chapter two of our thesis to spot light on the centrality of religious beliefs among American Protestants. Moreover, it is its duty to demonstrate the impact of religious fundamentalism among them on raising conflicts over the question of teaching the evolutionary theory. This would be helpful to understand how the issue could be linked to Political Theology in America and to let the evidence to speak for itself.

CHAPTER TWO: Historical Understanding of the Rise of Protestant Fundamentalism in America and its Subsequent Links with Political Theology

Introduction

During the 16th century and after centuries of despair and tyranny in the Roman Catholic Church, in addition to the spread of the disastrous Black Plague, which has left a trail of ruin and death across Europe, Protestantism has begun to take root throughout the continent. On one part, it has been an attempt to find out a new way to offer religious explanations to religious concerns that have been left ambiguous for a long period of time. On the other part, it was an act of reformation to correct ills in the Roman Catholic Church that are commonly identified as being problems in the doctrines of papal supremacy and the sacraments.

1- Protestantism in the United States

1.1- The Significance of Early Protestant Reformation

The spiritual and political power of the Roman Catholic Church under the control of the Bishop of Rome was naturally unquestionable throughout Europe during medieval times. Nevertheless, quarrels and debates over the question of its efficiency to handle major issues, such as the spread of the Bubonic Plague into Europe, were beginning to overburden its back and even to undermine its supremacy. Moreover, thanks to the advancement in science and the spread of modern thoughts and philosophies and the diffusion of printed books, in addition to the contribution made by the printing press, as a new invention at that time, the everlasting power of the Roman Catholic Church and its absolute control over the populations throughout Europe was beginning to weaken.²⁰

However, the centuries preceding the reformation are a witness of how the Roman Catholic Church was an anchor of faith and a subject of unity that the European population

²⁰ J. Gordon Melton, *Protestant Faith in America* (Facts on File, Inc, 2003), 08.

had in common. Surprisingly, skirmishes over a remarkable spread of ecclesiastical tyranny like simony and particularly the selling of indulgences to lessen the time a person could possibly spend in purgatory, have started to pave the way for the Protestant Reformation. “In Roman Catholic theology, the church was said to possess a storehouse of grace built up from the lives of the saints, which it could dispense to sinners through indulgences. Indulgences could release people from punishments in purgatory.”²¹ Thus, the issue of selling indulgences is one of the prominent factors that set the stage for the Protestant Reformation.

But what makes it even worse than it looks, is the fact that indulgences are put into effect not only to reduce one’s sins in purgatory but also to help raise money to build St. Peter’s in Rome. Consequently, a massive discontent has followed the decision made by the Church throughout Europe, and a general alteration in the mode of religious behavior and acceptance has started to loom on the horizon. Thanks to Martin Luther’s bold exploit of publishing his famous 95 theses, the Protestant Reformation has begun for the first time to mushroom throughout Europe.

1.1.1- The Legacy of Martin Luther

The story of the Protestant Reformation has begun in Wittenberg, Saxony in 1517 by an enthusiastic monk called Martin Luther. Luther launched the protest as an attempt to challenge the selling of indulgences by publishing 95 theses.²² The 95 theses were Luther’s message to the suffering souls who sought forgiveness from the Lord and certainty about their fate without relating the matter to practices other than those elaborated in the Bible (the selling of indulgences). Accordingly, for Luther the crux of the problem within the Roman Catholic theology lies mainly in the unscriptural sacraments like the position priests have

²¹ J. Gordon Melton, *Encyclopedia of Protestantism* (Facts on File, Inc, 2005), 289.

²² J. Gordon Melton, *Protestant Faith in America* (Facts on File, Inc, 2003), 10.

reached and the role they played so that people could achieve salvation, in addition to the required notion of celibacy.

As a natural result, Luther was called before the Holy Roman Emperor to recant his new understandings of the scripture and to stop the spread of such an idea that would break the death grip of Catholicism. His refusal to do so has sparked events across Europe and a new dawn of religious reformation was breaking. Hence, a series of pillar outcry throughout Northern and Western Europe escalated more and more the tension; surprisingly, Martin Luther won backing from the Elector of Saxony.²³ Such a political support has been spread nearly throughout Europe: John Calvin in Geneva when he won the back up from the magistrates to go on through reforms, and King Henry VIII of England, after overthrowing the Catholic Church and transforming the country into a Protestant one. Eventually, Luther's alternative faith has been a great success for it gained an incredible and unprecedented political support.

Luther, in fact, has developed a new spirit and a kind of biblical canon laws that would give Protestantism an unparalleled personality and character. Mark A. Noll in his *Protestants in America* demonstrates that although the different Protestant denominations, churches, and movements, they all give particular emphasis and importance to the precepts of Protestantism.²⁴

Scripture Sola (the Bible alone): Luther stresses on the idea of the scripture alone as the supreme authority and the extreme source of divinely facts that are directed by God and from which all Protestants must derive meaning for every aspect of life. Intrinsically, He is

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Mark A. Noll, *Protestants in America* (Oxford University Press, 2000), 27.

convinced that all believers must become preoccupied with the Bible as the ultimate word of God.²⁵

By grace alone: Luther insists that salvation is a free gift granted by God. Only God's grace could grant faithful people salvation and not their works. This doctrine of salvation by grace alone through faith is a crucial feature that separates Protestantism from Catholicism.²⁶

The church as the believing people of God: Luther and early Protestants reject the institution of an organized church and see it as a symbol of disloyalty to the true faith. Hence, they view the church as the group of believers who are saved by the message of Jesus Christ and his saving blood. However, a variety of Protestant denominations and congregations have been created as a result.²⁷

The priesthood of all believers: It is the possibility of any individual to relate to God through Jesus Christ without a direct cause, i.e. professed Protestants do not need a priest in order to come before God. Randall Balmer and Lauren F. Winner in *Protestantism in America* describe Luther's doctrine of the priesthood of all believers as "the conviction that everyone was responsible directly to God, without the intermediary of the priest or the church."²⁸

The legacy Luther left behind to Americans involves religious pluralism and diversity, in addition to the precepts of Protestantism that have contributed to form the personality and character of the movement in America. From the doctrine of *sola scriptura* and *the priesthood of all believers*, Americans derive their old religious roots. Both of the two doctrines advocated the importance of individual authority, i.e., a person is responsible for his/herself in

²⁵ George M. Marsden, *Fundamentalism and American Culture* (Oxford University Press, 2006), 03.

²⁶ J. Gordon Melton, *Protestant Faith in America* (Facts on File, Inc, 2003), 13.

²⁷ Mark A. Noll, *Protestants in America* (Oxford University Press, 2000), 27.

²⁸ Randall Balmer and Lauren F. Winner, *Protestantism in America* (Columbia University Press, 2002), 24.

reading the Bible that has eventually led to different interpretations of the scripture, ergo, a split among the Protestants and a large variety of denominations and congregations began to spread in America.²⁹

The mainline denominations that have first emerged in Northeastern America where Evangelicalism is remarkably apparent, is considered as a symbol of religious diversity in the country. They have grown more and more over the years and have espoused increasingly the liberal theology. "...the United Methodist Church, the United Church of Christ, the Evangelical Lutheran Church of America, the Presbyterian Church, and the Episcopal Church"³⁰ are the main evangelical groups affiliated with the mainline denominations.

1.2- A Short History of Protestantism in the United States

Any observer of the history of Protestantism in the United States will arguably link its historical development to that of the nation itself. From early settlements to modern times, Protestantism has had a formidable evolution both in structure and influence and had a profound clout on public opinion, social problems, urgent and delicate issues and political matters. This influence has been exercised since the time of the making of the nation that has made the United States a country where religion contributes to its unique character and adds to its dynamism an extraordinary flavor of religious diversity and a great role in US history.

A new nation with remarkably great religious freedom and exposure to different cultures and ways of living has made for desperate groups of believers an excellent atmosphere to peacefully live and worship. As a result, Protestantism in the United States starts first to expand in the 1600s after the arrival of the Lutheran, Reformed, Anglican, Presbyterian,

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Ibid.

Congregationalist, and Baptist congregations from England to settle down along the Atlantic seaboard (mainly in the Northeast and Virginia).

At the same time, any description of the history of Protestantism in the United States would be probably incomplete if not dealing with the significance of the Pilgrims in the historical makeup of the Protestant faith in America and their centrality on God and a world ruled by his everlasting love. In 1620, a group of Christian adherents has arrived at Plymouth to settle in the new world coming from Scrooby, Nottinghamshire.³¹ In 1630, they have been joined by a large group of the Puritans coming from England on the Mayflower with their clear intent of building a “godly society headed by Christian magistrates and worthy ministers.”³² They were able to create for the first time in the American history, a strong system of government where the secular and the sacred work amicably to sustain order throughout the Puritan colonies. Moreover, they were even able to quell any disturbance that could become a threat to their ideals of achieving a utopian society that is governed by God’s rules and orders.

Hence, what is very important to understand about early Puritans is the idea of their virtual intention of colonizing America. As a suppressed group in England who wanted to purify the church, they have come to the new world with their primary goal of seeking liberty to worship and practice their faith in their own way in order to set up a society where God’s words can be taken literally for the ultimate welfare of the whole Puritan community.³³ John Winthrop, a great Puritan leader and the first governor of the Massachusetts colony, has made it clear while preaching a sermon before arriving at Massachusetts, that the purpose of the Puritan

³¹J. Gordon Melton, *Protestant Faith in America* (Facts on File, Inc, 2003), 25.

³² *Ibid.*, 26.

³³ Mark A. Noll, *Protestants in America* (Oxford University Press, 2000), 39.

settlement is to build “a city upon a hill” that could be achieved only by meeting the requirements of God and following his orders.

The way the Puritans view life in America is obviously a logical outcome of what they have lived in England. Seeking a new land where religious fulfillment cooperates with governmental systems to run the new nation is a central feature of their character. In order to create a kind of a system of checks and balances, they have emphasized on the idea that both church and state must work in harmony to establish a solid “Christian Commonwealth in which faith in God and a godly social order prevailed.”³⁴ Their primary aim is to build a country that will become an important paradigm for other nations seeking prosperity and stability. It is like John Winthrop has described it “The eyes of all people are upon us.”³⁵

But the degree of importance given to the fusion of church and state among the Puritans in Massachusetts has made them intolerant towards opposite ideas on that matter. Roger Williams, a Puritan minister and the founder of Rhode Island, objects the centrality of giving equal powers to government and church and has suggested instead, a total and clear separation between them. His vision has caused anger among the Massachusetts leaders to the fact that they have suppressed his ideas by expelling him from the colony. James H. Hutson in his *Church and State in America* has asserted that the Puritans, Anglicans, and Catholics all have emphasized on the necessity to merge the civil government with the church, an outdated practice from ancient times, and if it happens to have any objection, they will crusade against it for preventing the likelihood of uprising.³⁶ Till present times, these ideas are very crucial and have played a major role in the historical makeup of religion and government precepts in America.

³⁴ J. Gordon Melton, *Protestant Faith in America* (Facts on File, Inc, 2003), 27.

³⁵ Bryn O’Callaghan, *An Illustrated History of the USA* (Pearson Education, 2004), 18.

³⁶ James H. Hutson, *Church and State in America* (Cambridge University Press, 2008), 02.

Although the bad experience in Massachusetts, the issue of religious tolerance starts to bubble to the surface for the first time in colonial America with the landing of William Penn. He was an English Quaker who was granted a vast tract of land in America and wanted to bestow to his fellow Quakers and other religious dissidents coming from Europe, especially from Germany, a total freedom of religion and a haven-like life.³⁷ By this bold move, Penn has paved the way for other Christians from different denominations to settle down in his colony and even in the nearby colonies like the Dutch Reformed churches in New York which have been owned latter by the English in 1664. Other religious groups also have marked their presence in the new world: Mennonites and Lutherans in Pennsylvania, Calvinist Protestants in the middle colonies, Presbyterians in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Long Island, in addition to the Baptists in New England, New York, and the South.³⁸

At the turn of the 18th century, more new and diverse Protestant denominations and churches have begun to sew their roots in the new world. A new denomination called the Methodist will set the stakes for the First Great Awakening in America. It has been set off in the American colonies altogether with the Wesleyan revival in England.³⁹ In America, it is often associated with a Calvinist-Congregationalist minister called Jonathan Edwards, author of *Sinners in the Hands of an Angry God*, a famous sermon in America. He “was a typical New England theologian, a Calvinist concerned about piety in a local congregation.”⁴⁰ In addition to Jonathan Edwards, the Wesleys’ mission to Georgia has also set the stage for such a great religious revival in the country. Soon later, it has been spread throughout the 13 colonies thanks to a series of remarkable and uplifting inspirational speeches of a charismatic

³⁷ Mark A. Noll, *Protestants in America* (Oxford University Press, 2000), 46-47.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 47.

³⁹ Barry Hankins, *American Evangelicals: A Contemporary History of a Mainstream Religious Movement* (Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc, 2008), 04.

⁴⁰ E Brooks Holifield, *Theology in America* (Yale University, 2003), 102.

Methodist George Whitefield, best known for his marvelous skills in persuasion and argumentation.

By the 1740's, a remarkable shift in the organization of church among the dominant Protestant force in America starts to prevail. Certain differences based on dogmatic principles have generated a schism among the Protestants, and has dominated the mode of ecclesiastical ritualism related mainly to church leadership: "leadership by bishops (Anglican), by congregations (New England Congregationalists), or by elders (Presbyterians and Reformed.)"⁴¹ Thus, Christians in America have become divided into different denominations, and their loyalty to their family groups have made them separate and distinct.

Thanks to the great work of George Whitefield; however, all the barriers between Christians in America have begun to blow away. The way Whitefield preaches in the United States depicts the legacy he wanted to arise in the souls of every believer in America. By preaching outside of the church where people could possibly gather regardless of their belonging and loyalty to their different denominations, he addresses directly their hearts and souls and wants to create an ecumenical spirit among them. Through these, he succeeds in putting for the first time in history the cornerstone of the precepts of Evangelicalism in America.

But another issue has created a sort of schism within Protestantism again. By the time of the revolutionary war, the ideology of the American Revolution has been influenced by both Calvinism and Enlightenment Humanism. On the Calvinism side, one should remain faithful to the government, unless the government proves disloyalty to God's principles and orders. Consequently, it could be effectively overthrown and replaced by a more sufficient and duly one. On the Enlightenment side, most of America's founding fathers such as Thomas Jefferson and Benjamin Franklin were Deists and their Enlightenment philosophy was derived

⁴¹ J. Gordon Melton, *Protestant Faith in America* (Facts on File, Inc, 2003), 34.

and highly influenced by the works of John Locke and Voltaire. Enlightenment Humanism, as a result, urges the idea of liberalism and the rejection of religious dogmatism that has swept Europe during the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

In a state of rebellion, revolting against the government is a must. But the theological atmosphere prior to the American Revolution saw an extraordinary reluctance from the part of the clergy. Most of them have considered the act of rising up against the government means rising up against the rules of God.⁴² The Presbyterian John Witherspoon, who serves as the president of Princeton, was the only one to advocate the revolution and to sign the declaration of independence. However, loyalists have emerged as most Anglicans like the Episcopalians supported England, and Calvinists (Reformed) like the Congregationalists and Presbyterians supported the revolutionary cause.

The general view is that the American Revolution has promoted republicanism. Despite the ideological differences found between Orthodox leaders such as Witherspoon and the liberal figures of the revolutionary war (the founding fathers), they all agree on the fact that religion could play a vital role in the making of the new nation. Because religion and republican morality intersect, Protestant churches have contributed to the promotion of republicanism precepts and have eventually put those republican morals into effect as an attempt to help survive the newly sought republic.⁴³

More surprisingly, the founding fathers will continue to consider religion as the foundation of their republican aspiration while religious disestablishment was at the heart of the revolutionary cause. Derived from his deistic creed, Thomas Jefferson drafted the *Virginia Statute for Religious Freedom* in 1777 which guarantees religious freedom to all believers

⁴² Ibid., 38.

⁴³ Corwin E. Smidt and Lyman A. Kellstedt and James L. Guth, *The Oxford Handbook of Religion and American Politics* (Oxford University Press, 2009), 50.

regardless of their faith. The statute was enacted in 1786 and served as a forerunner of both the Establishment and the Free Exercise Clauses of the First Amendment to the US Constitution.

Hans J. Hillerbrand in his *The Encyclopedia of Protestantism* argues that the Baptists and their leader John Leland are the first advocates of religious liberty in America (and not James Madison as he is often credited for religious liberty in the country) through their strategy to disestablish the Protestant Episcopal Church and to propagate instead religious freedom. Yet, the support Jefferson gained from the Baptists would later contribute to the enactment of the Virginia law in 1786.⁴⁴ What is very important to know, however, is that the Virginia statute was not put to prevent potential collisions of religion and state; rather it was “because state interference would be bad for religion.”⁴⁵ Accordingly, religion has been regarded by the founding fathers as a prerequisite to survive the new republican government.⁴⁶

From another perspective, the disestablishment of religion in the post-revolutionary era has furthered the Protestant presence in the country more than it had ever before. From a radical point of view, the revolution has remarkably widened the Evangelical spread. The religion scholar Randall Balmer has asserted that regionalism and the rate of population density especially in urban areas have contributed to this and have shaped the Evangelical spread in the country.⁴⁷

After 1800, a remarkable mass mobilization of Evangelicalism and its carrying messages of egalitarianism, ecumenism, and the doctrine of *the priesthood of all believers* have swept the United States from northern to southern areas and attracted the attention of some desperate

⁴⁴ Hans J. Hillerbrand, *The Encyclopedia of Protestantism* (Routledge, 2004), 318.

⁴⁵ Randall Balmer and Lauren F. Winner, *Protestantism in America* (Columbia University Press, 2002), 49.

⁴⁶ Corwin E. Smidt and Lyman A. Kellstedt and James L. Guth, *The Oxford Handbook of Religion and American Politics* (Oxford University Press, 2009), 51.

⁴⁷ Randall Balmer, *Encyclopedia of Evangelicalism* (Baylor University Press, 2004), 49.

groups such as African Americans, white women, and Native Americans. Southern colonies saw more rapid and massive religious revivalism, based on Methodism and Baptism, than the northern ones typically because of the large numbers of African American slaves and their dominance over the Evangelical churches. Moreover, the assurance of spiritual equality of all believers black or white, based on the doctrine of *the priesthood of all believers*, and the new trend of democratic ideals have enticed African American slaves in addition to persecuted white women with sequential camp meetings and religious revivals from the different Protestant denominations.⁴⁸ However, their attempts to achieve equality and liberation through Evangelicalism have failed in the end (at least at this stage).

However, the centuries after 1800 have witnessed a more significant Protestant expansion thanks to the Methodist revivalism that has opened the door to what is referred to as the “Great Revival”. The First Bishop of the Methodist church in America, *Francis Asbury*, was the leading figure of the revival and none has made a major contribution like him. He traveled across the 13 colonies and even to Kentucky and Tennessee (about 300,000 miles) and preached 17,000 sermons. By 1816 and after *Francis Asbury*’s death, the Methodist expansion was extraordinary. “The Methodists had about 30 churches (or preaching stations) in 1780. That number rose to 2,700 by 1820, and to an incredible 19,883 by the start of the Civil War in 1861.”⁴⁹ This illustrates that the number of Methodist churches increased in a great manner between 1820 and 1861.

Yet, the core of the preaching delivery promoted by the Methodist circuit riders was to concentrate on emotionalism and spirituality more than rationalism. This was because most of the circuit riders come from the working-class milieu and did not receive the formal type of

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 50.

⁴⁹ Mark A. Noll, *Protestants in America* (Oxford University Press, 2000), 60.

education available at their times. Yet, resulted in a strange sprit-led worship incorporated with a strange physical aspect: *the jerks* that encompass the dancing, singing, barking, and laughing exercises. As Randall Balmer and Lauren F. Winner have put it “Evangelicalism challenged, however obliquely, the authority of the slave-owning gentry.”⁵⁰ By referring to this, the authors describe a new form of worship that was an outcome of the spread of evangelicalism in the South and aimed at revolting against the strategy of slaveholders.

In antebellum America, the issue of slavery has been always a dangerous undertaking and it has generated an urgent and troublesome trouble over the question of its abolition. A split among American Protestants, although not in terms of denominations, was extremely remarkable throughout the country and has made northern and southern regions more distinguishing.⁵¹

While northerners have used the Bible to support the abolition movement, southerners too have used the evidence from the scripture (Old and New Testaments) to pursuit their defenses of slavery. Pro-slavery southerners have considered this act as an explicit declaration and a direct proof that black Africans have to remain in bondage in order to accomplish God’s will.⁵² And as described by Randall Balmer and Lauren F. Winner: “Slavery, theologians from R. L. Dabney to James Henley Thornwell said, is allowed in both the Old and New Testaments. Paul specifically urges those in bondage to remain in bondage, and, in Philemon and elsewhere, he emphasizes servants’ duty to obey their masters. Another favorite text was the story of Ham, a son of Noah. In Genesis, Ham is punished and his descendants cursed; according to pro-slavery theologians, those descendants were Africans, whose enslavement

⁵⁰ Randall Balmer and Lauren F. Winner, *Protestantism in America* (Columbia University Press, 2002), 55.

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² Haynes, Stephen R. *Noah’s Curse: The Biblical Justification of American Slavery* (Oxford University Press, 2002), 67.

fulfilled the biblical curse.”⁵³ Hence, drawn from Genesis 9, southerners used the story of Noah’s nakedness and curse of his son Ham’s decedents (black Africans) to be servants.

Seemingly the issue of slavery has not only divided the country into two distinct societies with different ideologies and interests but also, soon after it has led to the American Civil War, a merely religious battle where both sides fight with the conviction that God is on their side. While southerners believed that the Bible permits slavery, northern abolitionists have eagerly refuted such a pretext.

From the beginning of the religious revivals and since Jonathan Edwards’s times, theology in America has deviated towards the belief in the doctrine of postmillennialism (the belief in Christ’s return to rule over the world after the millennium of blessedness). Therefore, most American evangelicals were convinced that if they succeed to alter the world into a godlier one, then the millennium could occur as quickly as possible. It was during the Second Great Awakening and a series of revivals led typically by Charles Grandison Finney, that postmillennialism has become popular in America. However, the Second Great Awakening has not only brought about theological changes in terms of postmillennialism endorsement but also it has fueled the issue of overthrowing Calvinism and inculcating instead the doctrine of Arminianism.

The rapid growth of Methodists and the successful organization of their churches throughout the United States have started a new dawn of theology in the country. Early English Puritans were Calvinists who adhere strictly to the tenets of Calvinism chiefly that of salvation and how it could be earned only by predestined individuals i.e. there is nothing an individual could do on his/her own for the sake of achieving salvation, for salvation is utterly in the hands of God, the only one who decides the elect. Nevertheless, the successive revivals of the Second Great Awakening have critically changed the core of theology that the

⁵³ Randall Balmer and Lauren F. Winner, *Protestantism in America* (Columbia University Press, 2002), 56.

American Protestants used to have faith in. Derived from Jacobus Arminius's idea, a Dutch theologian, the doctrine of Arminianism has become the bedrock of Protestant theology in the mid-nineteenth century and has even persisted to the present times.⁵⁴ This doctrine holds that salvation is available to anyone who has faith in God; in turn, God would grant salvation to anyone who sincerely sought it.

Finney's revivals have perfectly summarized the significance of Arminian theology, which they make inevitably no sense without, in the call to Christ. Arminianism encourages believers to take a stand in their salvation process rather than waiting for God to call upon predestined individuals, for God will certainly answer his people's call to him for salvation. In fact, Finney's strategies to persuade his clergy to bring about new converts after every single night of preaching, in addition to conducting religious meetings and publishing them in newspapers and distributing pamphlets, all have made the Second Great Awakening an organized collection of ritualized practices and resourceful revival meetings designed seamlessly to increase the number of new conversions.⁵⁵ After all, Finney's idea was not only to bring salvation to sinners but to reform the different aspects of society as well.

The interest in integrating the issue of perfecting society with revivalism appears at first glance as the paramount concern for Finney. But, Marianne Perciaccante has remarked that Finney with his antiformalist leaning had a major objective of increasing the frequency of attendance in the church as part of his evangelization agenda and had not much importance in encouraging benevolent reform.⁵⁶ However, because evangelicals see religion as inseparable

⁵⁴ Ibid., 58.

⁵⁵ Ibid., 59.

⁵⁶ Marianne Perciaccante, *Calling Down Fire Charles Grandison Finney and Revivalism in Jefferson County, New York, 1800-1840* (State University of New York Press, Albany, 2003), 101.

from good works and Protestant piety as the only remedy to purge the entire social corners, they have participated zealously in the practices set to achieve social reform in America.

The most popular benevolent practices aimed at reforming society were those initiated by Phoebe Palmer. Her aims to ameliorate the working, housing, schooling, and religious conditions of the worst slums in New York by establishing the Five Points Mission for the poor and needy, in addition to her contribution in the New York Female Assistance Society for the Relief and Religious Instruction of the Sick Poor, have made her one of the leading figures of the social reform movement in America.⁵⁷ However, it is very crucial to point out that Phoebe Palmer as an enthusiastic evangelist and Methodist; she anticipated the spread of the holiness movement by laying the emphasis upon the Holy Spirit and the way how it can lead to a sinless life.

The specifically benevolent attempts to perfect the world are by no means the product of Wesley's doctrine of the "second blessing" which leads at the end to Christian perfectionism. Perfectionism offers individuals the opportunity to live a sinless life through the Holy Spirit. However, the movement has become to be known as "Victorious Life" theology or "the Keswick movement", and which persisted in forming the personality of American Protestantism till the twentieth century, as Randall Balmer and Lauren F. Winner have stated: "Evangelicals, in particular, emphasize the importance of spiritual discipline-daily Bible reading, prayer, attendance at worship services-as a means of attaining "victory" over sin and leading godly lives."⁵⁸ In other words, evangelicals encourage evangelism in order to achieve a godly life.

Then, the duty of a Christian is to lead a perfect and sinless life in order to bring liberty and justice to the world. Therefore, the emergence of liberal Protestantism at the end of the

⁵⁷ Randall Balmer and Lauren F. Winner, *Protestantism in America* (Columbia University Press, 2002), 60.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 61.

nineteenth century will mark the beginning of a new phase in the history of Protestantism in America. As Liberals identify with the mainline denominations and are typically Social Gospelers, they emphasized the application of Christian ethics and the call to interpret biblical principles of justice and charity to correct social ills and achieve social reform by enacting child labor laws, reducing the number of working hours per week and attaining the right to organize, helping poor people and cleaning the slums, improving school conditions, and reducing war dangers.

The emerging era of liberal Protestantism witnesses a change in the philosophy of American Protestant eschatology and the social activism of evangelicals who denied the idea of Postmillenarianism and defended instead Premillennialism. They rejected to take the challenge to correct social ills by considering them as a hindrance to achieving a godly society. And so, they favored the idea that Jesus Christ will return before the millennium and will save the true Christians. Peter Herriot in his *Religious Fundamentalism: Global, Local and Personal* has affirmed that evangelicals' belief in Premillennialism makes them advocate "the strategy of withdrawal" and abandon the issue of perfecting society.⁵⁹ In drastically simplified terms, evangelicals believe that their primary goal in this world is "evangelism" and to raise the number of converts so that when Jesus Christ will return, he will rescue as many faithful Christians as possible and will judge against the unfaithful. Hence, the issue of improving society has been left behind by them.⁶⁰

In fact, the liberal Protestants' rise against social ills and their attempts to ameliorate the American society have ended up with a new understanding of the Gospel and its subsequent theological links. Perhaps the most challenging idea of the liberal Protestant strain was questioning the infallibility of the Bible. This idea in return will set the stage for other

⁵⁹ Peter Herriot, *Religious Fundamentalism: Global, Local and Personal* (Routledge, 2009), 221.

⁶⁰ Ibid.

theological issues that conservative Protestants would vigorously oppose like Darwin's theory of evolution which questions the extent to what the literal understanding of the Bible could resist empiricism and the straightforwardness of science, and the sympathy towards the German Higher Criticism which has challenged the dogma of the infallibility of the Bible and starts to doubt the reliability of the different authorships of several biblical books.⁶¹

Barry Hankins in his *American Evangelicals: A Contemporary History of a Mainstream Religious Movement* has related the rise of theological modernism that has developed within American Protestantism during the second half of the nineteenth century to adjustment (adjusting religious ideas to modern formulations of theological liberalism and Enlightenment rationalism), immanence (the idea that God is always close to his creatures), and progress (the progress of human civilization).⁶² Perhaps what would become very crucial in understanding American Protestant fundamentalism in the twentieth century is the idea of adjustment. The continuing threats of Darwin's evolutionary theory and German higher criticism of the Bible have made fundamentalists struggle eagerly to stop their evils, put an end to their slippery slope to disbelief, and resist the appeal of modernism and progress.

Modernism and the appeal to adjust to its material stances could in fact never merge with the principles of Protestant fundamentalism. However, as an attempt to revive the essentials of Protestant faith and to assert its continuity, two millionaire evangelicals Milton and Layman Stewart have published a series of pamphlets "*The Fundamentals*" between 1910 and 1915 to check the spread of modernist principles and enhance the teaching of the Protestant faith basics by arguing for the belief in the inerrancy of the Scripture, the authenticity of miracles, the virgin birth of Christ, Christ's substitutionary atonement, and the bodily resurrection of

⁶¹ Randall Balmer and Lauren F. Winner, *Protestantism in America* (Columbia University Press, 2002), 63.

⁶² Barry Hankins, *American Evangelicals: A Contemporary History of a Mainstream Religious Movement* (Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc, 2008), 19.

Jesus. The articles included in the booklets were written by conservative theologians from America and Great Britain who wanted to propagate the strategy how to triumph over the effects of evolution and higher criticism, to establish solid confines between faith and science, and to restore orthodox attitudes of evangelicals and evangelism.

It should be pointed out that the term “fundamentalism” has only been prefigured by *The Fundamentals* and that it is until 1920 that the movement starts to be referred to as so by the time Curtis Lee Laws, an evangelist editor of *The Watchman Examiner*, has coined the term. He identifies fundamentalists as those “ready to do battle royal for the fundamentals”⁶³, and his aim was to support orthodoxy and the centrality on the Bible’s truth only without emphasizing the importance of inerrancy and dispensationalism.⁶⁴ Nevertheless, Historian George Marsden has described fundamentalists as a group of enthusiastic conservative evangelicals who are ready to fight and fiercely oppose every aspect of modernism. Consequently, the idea of militancy would become a landmark in the characterization of fundamentalists and any description of the movement as a whole would be insufficient if not referring to it.

As a matter of fact, the fundamentalist movement will continue to object to the liberal mainstream and seem to have the upper hand in the fight between them. However, by 1925 the movement experienced a massive decline both in position and respectability after the infamous Scopes Monkey trial. Michael Lienesch in his *In the Beginning: Fundamentalism, the Scopes Trial, and the Making of the Antievolution Movement*, has stated that: “The mock trial included no cross-examination, no defense, and no verdict. Its purpose was not legal, but political and psychological, to encourage the audience to take more aggressive action against

⁶³ Ibid., 31.

⁶⁴ Randy Moore and Mark Decker and Sehoya Cotner, *Chronology of the Evolution-Creationism Controversy* (Greenwood Press, 2010), 170.

evolutionists.”⁶⁵ This event becomes a turning point in the history of the fundamentalist-modernist controversy of the twentieth century and has opened America’s eyes to the uncompromising nature of the fundamentalist mind and its real purpose was far beyond being legal.

So, as the substitute teacher of Biology John Thomas Scopes has allegedly taught human evolution in the Rhea County high school, he has been found guilty for violating the Butler Act (however, the verdict was overturned on a technicality). With the efforts of H. L. Mencken, the reporter of the trial for the *Baltimore Sun*, and Clarence Darrow, the lawyer for the defendant, evangelicals became a subject of ridicule and dismiss. William Jennings Bryan, a magnetic orator, and three times presidential candidate who has been designed as the counsel for the case by the fundamentalist leader William Bell Riley, has believed that the trial would end the controversy forever. However, Bryan has lost his dignity and showed his incoherence and scientific insufficiency in front of Darrow who has put him on the stand by questioning his ability to answer some questions relative to the truth of the Bible such as the age of the earth, the six days creation, and Jonah being swallowed by a whale. Although evangelicals won the case in the courtrooms, they have drastically lost their popularity in this cultural battle and their power and public reputation retreated significantly.

Historian George M. Marsden has contended that the fundamentalist movement has been through two changing eras in the wake of the Scopes trial: “The movement began in reality to conform to its popular image. The more ridiculous it was made to appear, the more genuinely ridiculous it was likely to become. The reason was simple. . . . Before 1925 the movement had commanded much respect, though not outstanding support, but after the summer of 1925 the voices of ridicule were raised so loudly that many modern Protestant conservatives quietly

⁶⁵ Michael Lienesch, *In the Beginning: Fundamentalism, the Scopes Trial, and the Making of the Antievolution Movement* (The University of North Carolina Press, 2007), 81.

dropped support of the cause rather than be embarrassed by association.”⁶⁶ Consequently, while the first era has considerably enhanced the stereotypical view of fundamentalists as rural, uneducated, and narrowly minded; the second described the movement as a condemn tradition which has retreated significantly to a marginal position in the American society.

The division of American Protestantism into two distinct frameworks between liberal and evangelical Christianity will, in fact, persist until 2005 and beyond, and the two frameworks will never amalgamate again. This was the product of the Scopes trial which has more widen the gap between them. Consequently, after the Scopes trail, evangelicals adopted a new strategy in order to affirm their continuity in the social and political arenas and to assert that their faith will remain always intact and far enough from the meddling of the liberal theology and the subsequent threats brought by evolutionary science. Their focus was on how to reinforce the pillars of their faith after that they have become a subject of scorn in the wake of the Scopes era. The strategy, however, was to remain “underground”, to build their own institutions, and to oppose worldliness in all its forms.⁶⁷

It should be pointed out that fundamentalists after 1925 will continue to denounce the world, object evolutionism, shape their personality and form a basic identity in order to carry on their anti-evolutionism campaign and to check the spread of modernism. In addition, for the rest of the twentieth century, they would persist in enjoying an explicit split between them and the liberals as did John Rice, a fundamentalist preacher, who alleges that there are two types of modernism or liberalism: one is referred to as theological modernism and the second as modernism in society.⁶⁸ One example of modernism in society is the radical changes

⁶⁶ George M. Marsden, *Fundamentalism and American culture: The shaping of twentieth century evangelicalism 1870–1925* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980), 191.

⁶⁷ Randall Balmer and Lauren F. Winner, *Protestantism in America* (Columbia University Press, 2002), 64.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 65.

designed to enhance the political, educational, workplace and home conditions for women that Rice and his fellow fundamentalists totally condemn and criticize. Still other aspects of photography, motion pictures, the use of cosmetics, and homosexuality will remain signs of worldliness in the eyes of evangelicals for they have destroyed the old American conservative society. Antievolutionist John Straton once wrote an article in the *American Fundamentalist* and has regarded the lifestyle of fundamentalists in southern states “where women are still honored, where men are still chivalric, where laws are still respected, where home life is still sweet, where the marriage vow is still sacred, and where man is still regarded, not as a descendant of the slime and beasts of the jungle, but as a child of God.”⁶⁹

As the world mocked fundamentalists after the Scopes era, they have retreated from the public eye and have enjoyed a strategy of building on their strength by focusing on developing camps, institutions, schools, and radio stations. But in the early 1950’s, Evangelicals started to increase their understanding of the world thanks to the great work of Billy Graham, a famous public figure. Graham’s initiative was to bring evangelicals back into the public square and the mainstream of American life. By preaching about the Bible and salvation in Jesus Christ, he made an ecumenical appeal to every believer even to Catholics. Moreover, he was famous for having good relations with the liberals. This has generated a general discontent among fundamentalists who considered his strategy and preaching style as a challenge to the fundamentalist prerequisite notion of remaining separate from the rest of the world.

The years after 1950 have witnessed the rise of mainline (liberal) Protestantism into a respectable position while evangelicals retreated relatively, as Will Herberg said: “the past quarter of a century has witnessed what is probably the most impressive renewal of Protestant

⁶⁹ Randy Moore and Mark Decker and Sehoya Cotner, *Chronology of the Evolution-Creationism Controversy* (Greenwood Press, 2010), 196.

religious thinking since the days of Jonathan Edwards.”⁷⁰ After years in the shadows, however, evangelicals are back in the spotlight thanks to the 1960’s counterculture which has stirred their political efficacy. Now, they are involved in the Christian right, an important voting bloc of the Republican Party, which resulted in the election of Jimmy Carter in 1976.

Randall Balmer and Lauren F. Winner have argued that: “Indeed, contrary to H. L. Mencken’s caricature of evangelicals as backwards country bumpkins, evangelicals have, from the earliest days of American history, been great technological innovators, beginning with open-air preaching and the eighteenth-century print revolution through Aimee Semple McPherson’s adoption of radio waves and Billy Graham’s use of television to spread the Gospel.”⁷¹ The authors suggest that we have to get rid of describing evangelicals as those aggressive and stubborn traditionalists and to look at them, instead, as a group of fundamentalists who have adapted to the different situations they have been through in a genius manner since the time they become visible to the public eye.

It is therefore highly noticeable that Protestantism remains always one of the most critical phenomena throughout American history for it represents the paramount religious force shaping the religious identity of the country and this has persisted till the twentieth-first century. The reason lies behind the dynamism of the Protestant faith and its ability to embrace the different changes by successfully adjusting its message to the various circumstances.

1.3- The Rise of Fundamentalism among the Protestants in the United States

Fundamentalism is typically an American phenomenon. It is extremely remarkable that among advanced industrial societies, a new theological trend commonly identified by a unique characterization of religious fundamentalism starts to pervade only the United States.

⁷⁰ Randall Balmer and Lauren F. Winner, *Protestantism in America* (Columbia University Press, 2002), 66.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 67.

This phenomenon serves as a paradigm for modern forms of fundamentalism and any attempt to understand them has to be explained in light of the American model.

Although the term is significantly used in different contexts, it usually refers to an internal contention in American Protestantism that has aroused over the issue of the interference of liberalism in biology and theology i.e., the growing threats initiated by evolutionary biology and biblical higher criticism that have shaped the Modernist controversy of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

First, what may be very crucial in dealing with fundamentalism as a dynamic concept is to give proper credit to fundamentalist thoughts and actions. Protestant fundamentalists in America believe in the inerrancy of the Bible as the ultimate word of God that should be strictly followed and literally interpreted. Nevertheless, living in an atmosphere that by the 1920's starts to deviate from God's path, has shaped the American fundamentalist experience in fighting against the new cultural trends and changes. Modernism and the theory of evolution, in a nutshell, have caused far-reaching transformations in the fundamentalist response and adjustment to new social and religious crisis of their time. As a result, fundamentalists in America can be simply and easily stereotyped as a militant evangelical group in opposition to the liberal theology that has calamitously eroded America's Christian heritage and biblical foundations and changed the country's cultural values.

Next, the Bible is more than a sacred text to the Protestant fundamentalists in America; it is always at the heart of their religious conviction and has even shaped their behavior from the outset of their most alarming experiences of the 1920's. The secret behind a strict insistence on Biblical inerrancy is the key to understand fundamentalism as a new movement in reaction against modernism. In fact, it would be incomplete if we narrow down the nature of fundamentalism only to the sociological perspective which views the fundamentalist phenomenon as merely a dying way of life in opposition with modernism in theology and

culture. The trick is to look far beyond this assumption and to regard in addition, the genuine doctrinal tradition of evangelical Protestants in America, as historian George M. Marsden has put it in his *Fundamentalism and American Culture*, “By far the most important manifestation of this shift was the interpretation of Ernest Sandeen, presented in its most complete form in 1970. Rejecting social explanations of fundamentalism, Sandeen found its roots in genuine doctrinal traditions. Basically, according to Sandeen, fundamentalism was the outgrowth of the "millenarian" movement that developed in late nineteenth-century America, especially through Bible institutes and conferences concerning the interpretation of Biblical prophecies.”⁷² Yet, the emphasis on Sandeen’s argument of the role of millenarianism (more particularly dispensational premillennialism) and Princeton theology in shaping the fundamentalist identity has beautifully made the idea of Biblical inerrancy more understandable. Accordingly, it would be highly valuable to group Sandeen’s awe-inspiring study of premillennialism and its pertinence to fundamentalism with the anti-modernist leaning of evangelical Protestants in order to understand fundamentalism as a new phenomenon that has become more visible since the 1920’s.

1.3.1- Definition of Fundamentalism

1.3.1.1- A Theoretical Definition of the Term Fundamentalism

“Fundamentalism” as a concept refers to a religious movement among the Protestants in America (evangelicals). It has occurred during the late nineteenth and early part of the twentieth century and was the result of sequential threats initiated by liberal theology and higher criticism. However, this concept may carry different pejorative connotations to a particular extent. As Leonard Weinberg and Ami Pedahzur have argued, fundamentalism revolves around a strict vision of the living world and which describes it typically with a

⁷² George M. Marsden, *Fundamentalism and American Culture* (Oxford University Press, 2006), 04.

Manichaeic interpretation, i.e., fundamentalists perceive the material world as being fundamentally evil. Besides, fundamentalist movements split the world into a rigid dichotomy between good and evil, and it is their duty to crusade against evil in favor of the good.⁷³ Consequently, fundamentalists are frequently thought of as being reactive against the growing liberalism in religion and the spread of modernizing influences brought by the belief in evolution and the disbelief in an almighty God. Furthermore, the fundamentalist reactions are generally perceived as being the result of a distinct version of evangelicalism in America deeply characterized by the early 20th century surrounding events and conditions.⁷⁴

Thus, defining fundamentalism is a difficult task. José Casanova in *The Journal of Religion* suggests that: “religious fundamentalism, a term historically associated with a branch of American Protestantism..., has been and is likely to remain a highly controversial and ambiguous concept.”⁷⁵ However, he defines the movement by stating that: “...antithetical reaction to modernity, and, therefore, such a definition will always contain some normative and ideological element borrowed from modernity’s understanding of itself.”⁷⁶ While Randy Moore, Mark Decker, and Sehoya Cotner have provided the movement with a more broad definition by arguing that: “In the United States, fundamentalism usually refers to a form of Christianity based on a strict and literal interpretation of the Bible.”⁷⁷ Leonard Weinberg and Ami Pedahzur have defined fundamentalism as a movement from a universal perspective by stating that: “Fundamentalism may thus be defined as a movement that is radical in terms of

⁷³ Leonard Weinberg and Ami Pedahzur, *Religious Fundamentalism and Political Extremism* (Taylor & Francis e-Library, 2005), 50.

⁷⁴ George M. Marsden, *Fundamentalism and American Culture* (Oxford University Press, 2006), 03.

⁷⁵ José Casanova, *The Journal of Religion* (University of Chicago Press, 1995), 287.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 288.

⁷⁷ Randy Moore and Mark Decker and Sehoya Cotner, *Chronology of the Evolution-Creationism Controversy* (Greenwood Press, 2010), 389.

its goals, extremist in terms of its methods and literalist in terms of its adherence to scripture.”⁷⁸ Accordingly, fundamentalism as a movement is generally perceived as having fanatical views that shape fundamentalists’ behavior and theology.

Most of the religious fundamentalist definitions share a view of radical responses to modernity and secularization in its general aspects. Ronald Burton, Stephen Johnson, and Joseph Tammey once have defined Protestant Fundamentalism in their *Review of Religious Research* as: “...a loose, diverse, and changing federation of co-belligerents united by their fierce opposition to modernist thought.”⁷⁹ Although the movement is a distinct version of protestant conservatism in America, it becomes a subject of generalization and application to other different fundamentalist experiences throughout the world since the American fundamentalist model serves as the basis that helps to articulate their relevance. Nevertheless, the linkage between fundamentalism and violence or militancy would remain a stereotypical viewpoint and can never be an accurate point of reference.

For such, real theoretical orientation for the study of “Fundamentalism” may be lacking because of the different perspectives that authors espouse when dealing with the movement as an analytical category. Ronald Burton, Stephen Johnson, and Joseph Tammey have stated that because of the complexity of American Protestant fundamentalism, there exists no valid definition for the phenomenon.⁸⁰ Since fundamentalism is generally perceived as a minefield, it generates various interpretations that yield some prominent insights. Thus, in order to understand fundamentalism, we should consider the movement in terms of its cultural, theological, and social backgrounds in which it has first become visible.

⁷⁸ Leonard Weinberg and Ami Pedahzur, *Religious Fundamentalism and Political Extremism* (Taylor & Francis e-Library, 2005), 74.

⁷⁹ Ronald Burton and Stephen Johnson and Joseph Tammey, *Review of Religious Research* (Religious Research Association, Inc, 1989), 344.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 345.

1.3.1.2- A Sociological Perspective of the Term Fundamentalism

A fertile and rich history of religious conservatism has shaped the background of religious fundamentalism in America and has provided the movement with a solid social basis. As the most influential group of early settlers were the Puritans, their legacy would remain always at the heart of the historical development of the Protestant faith in America and which leads afterward to the rise of the fundamentalist sentiment.

When the Puritans have first arrived in the New World, they came with the intent of establishing a godly society where they can interpret the guidelines found in the Bible and which they consider certainly infallible. Moreover, their coming to America was as a godsend to them, and their duty was to meet the requirements of God by strictly adhering to Christianity, the ultimate faith directed by God through the Bible. As a result, it is highly noticeable that the Puritan community stresses such doctrines which protestant fundamentalists in America hold dear till the present times. Such doctrines include: “the divinity of Jesus Christ, the sinfulness of humanity, the necessity of religious conversion, and the need for religious truths to affect one’s feelings and emotions.”⁸¹

Throughout the nineteenth century, Christianity in the United States flourished in a respectable position and seemed to dominate the development of American civilization. Moreover, the emphasis upon a “Bible-centered Christianity” defines the heritage left by the Puritans⁸² and has led to a strong Bible-based Protestantism that shaped, in return, American life. Thus, the centrality of religion in the American social life can be easily depicted in the 19th-century rise of revivalism, acts of evangelism, and social reform attempts. These

⁸¹ Ralph W Hood, Jr. and Peter C. Hill and W. Paul Williamson, *The Psychology of Religious Fundamentalism* (The Guilford Press, 2005), 50.

⁸² Ibid.

elucidate how Protestantism and American civilization are interrelated, and their relationship provides a significant historical basis for fundamentalism as a phenomenon.

However, using the 1920's era as another primary point of reference would provide the fundamentalist movement with another understanding of its social background. The Scopes trial has devastated the position Protestants reached throughout American history by offering a juxtaposition of rural and urban cultures. John Fea, in his *The History Teacher*, argues that two early scholars have initiated the rural-urban model to provide a notable description for the fundamentalist movement as a new phenomenon, H. Richard Neihbur and Charles Furniss. H. Richard Neihbur views fundamentalists as those agrarian southerners grouped under the leadership of William Jennings Bryan and who received little attention in urban areas as compared to rural ones where they were able to enjoy a significant strength. Charles Furniss, in his turn, has adopted Neihbur's vision and explicates the movement in light of the 1925 Scopes trial by arguing that fundamentalists are merely rural anti-intellectuals who have long been opposed to urban intellectual evolutionists.⁸³

Nevertheless, the interpretation of fundamentalism has been amply dealt with by George M. Marsden as well when he cited the most prominent scholars providing independent understandings of the movement. Stewart Cole, in his *The History of Fundamentalism*, wrote: "For a half century the church has suffered a conflict of social forces about and within it that accounts for the present babel of witnesses to Christian truth and purpose."⁸⁴ Two other important works stressing the rural-urban clash of cultures as an outcome of fundamentalist bigotry were the 1950's play *Inherit the Wind* and Ray Ginger's *Six Days or Forever?*⁸⁵ But the most careful analysis of fundamentalist intolerance, according to Marsden, was presented

⁸³ John Fea, *The History Teacher* (Society for History Education, 1995), 207.

⁸⁴ George M. Marsden, *Fundamentalism and American Culture* (Oxford University Press, 2006), 199.

⁸⁵ Ibid.

by Richard Hofstadter in his major works *Anti-Intellectualism in American Life* and *The Paranoid Style in American Politics* where he stated that: “it was painfully clear to fundamentalists that they were losing much of their influence and respectability.”⁸⁶ Besides, he confirms that fundamentalists’ anti-intellectual stance pushed them to adopt a strategy of retaliation by vigorously oppose evolutionism, higher and rational criticism, and the social gospel.⁸⁷

However, it would be insufficient if we narrow down the background of the fundamentalist movement only to social disturbances. Furniss Norman F. has assumed in his *The Fundamentalist Controversy 1918-1931* that the fundamentalist controversy of the 1920’s was the result of preceding events that arose after 1918 and shaped the so-called phenomenon.⁸⁸ This means that the movement must be studied apart from the 1920’s social upheaval that followed World War I. Ernest Sandeen has presented a much worthy analysis for understanding fundamentalism by providing a theological description and a more narrow definition for the issue by addressing the fact that the fundamentalist movement of the 1920’s is merely a new version of millenarianism, i.e., fundamentalism originally is a religious movement.

1.3.2- Evangelicalism vs. Fundamentalism

The term “evangelical” is derived from the Greek word “euangelion” which refers to “gospel” or “good news”.⁸⁹ That view of good news is shared by all Christians who believe in the eternal life and the forgiveness of sins by God. According to Randall Balmer the term Evangelical “applies to anyone who subscribes to the tenets of evangelicalism. In a generic

⁸⁶ Ibid.

⁸⁷ Ibid.

⁸⁸ Furniss Norman F., *The Fundamentalist Controversy, 1918-1931* (Yale University, 1950), 01.

⁸⁹ *Wikipedia, The Free Encyclopedia*, s.v. "Evangelicalism," (accessed August 10, 2016), <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Evangelicalism>

sense, an evangelical is someone who believes, first, in the centrality of the conversion or “BORN AGAIN” experience as the criterion for entering the kingdom of heaven. Second, an evangelical is someone who takes the BIBLE seriously as God’s revelation to humanity; an evangelical is inclined, more often than not, to interpret the BIBLE literally.”⁹⁰ Thus evangelicalism denotes a strict adherence to the Bible in addition to an emphasis on “Born Again” experience in receiving salvation.

Douglas A. Sweeney has stated that evangelicals ”comprise a movement that is rooted in classical Christian orthodoxy, shaped by a largely Protestant understanding of the gospel, and distinguished from other such movements by an eighteenth-century twist...twist was the revivalism of the Great Awakening, with its emphasis on conversion and emotional fervency.”⁹¹ Yet, this shows that although evangelicals are different and diverse, they have a shared foundation that marks their peculiarities and fashions their strategies.

However, the most influential definition of evangelicalism has been introduced by historian David Bebbington. In his *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain: a History from the 1730s to the 1980s*, Bebbington argues that there are four qualities to deal with when speaking about evangelicalism. “*conversionism*, the belief that lives need to be changed; *activism*, the expression of the gospel in effort; *biblicism*, a particular regard for the Bible; and what may be called *crucicentrism*, a stress on the sacrifice of Christ on the cross.”⁹² This definition demonstrates that those four elements are crucial in forming the basis of

⁹⁰ Randall Balmer, *Encyclopedia of Evangelicalism* (Baylor University Press, 2004), 236.

⁹¹ Douglas A. Sweeney, *The American Evangelical Story: A History of the Movement* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2005), 23-24.

⁹² David W. Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain: A History from the 1730s to the 1980s* (New York: Routledge, 1989), 2-3.

evangelicalism and are what all evangelicals have in common in spite of their differentiations in several characteristics.

But how could we distinguish evangelicals from fundamentalists? Jerry Falwell defines a fundamentalist as “an evangelical who is angry about something.”⁹³ For historian George Marsden Fundamentalism is “Militantly anti-modernist Protestant evangelicalism...a loose, diverse, and changing federation of co-belligerents united by their fierce opposition to modernist attempts to bring Christianity into line with modern thought.”⁹⁴ In the early twentieth century fundamentalism has emerged as a reactionary movement to the liberal theology that begun to spread in the mainline denominations. Although the strategy of fundamentalists has largely failed to check the spread of modernism and the acceptance of modern scientific discoveries they did not disappear, rather, they were building their own infrastructure of communication channels through constructing institutions, organizations, and radio channels. These were the platform of the 1970’s fundamentalist resurgence.

2- Historical Understanding of the Rise of Protestant Fundamentalism in the USA and its Relation with Political Theology

Although its true origin attracts the attention of many scholars, religious fundamentalism remains a paradoxical concept. The general view is that fundamentalists are different from other religious adherents and their mentality and behavior generate inquisitiveness and curiosity. At first glance, fundamentalists often seem to be violent; a stereotypical view which dates back to the Scopes era, but this vision is not what requires much attention. The primary question observers must deal with is why fundamentalists are fundamentalists, and to what

⁹³ George M. Marsden, *Understanding Fundamentalism and Evangelicalism* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1991), 1-6.

⁹⁴ Marsden, *Fundamentalism and American Culture: The Shaping of Twentieth-Century Evangelicalism 1870–1925* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980), 4.

extent their power permits them to exist in postmodern societies such as the United States in spite of the decided secularization of the nation. The rudimentary prelude is that Protestant fundamentalism in America provides a comprehensive system of meaning derived from the sacred text; the Bible.

2.1-The Belief in the Inerrancy of Scripture

2.1.1- The Significance of the Sacred Text: The Biblical Authority

The Bible is the sole spiritual authority for Protestant fundamentalists in America and it is through which they derive meaning of every aspect of life. Therefore, their belief in the scripter is intra-textual which implies that every single fact in life is included in the Bible and that those facts are comprehensive and easy to grasp by believers who would, in return, exhibit higher possibilities to understand the Bible's clues and to stick to God's revelation to them.⁹⁵ Fundamentalists view life in light of the gospel and they deem its rules, inspirations, and guidance as the paramount systems of their faith. Therefore, their religious conviction makes them emphasize the notion that "human beings are created by God" and that it is the duty of his creatures in return to worship and obey the Almighty God by strictly adhere to his words and literally interpret them i.e., the Bible.⁹⁶

More could be said, particularly about the set of regulations related to behavior and which define the fundamentalist belief in the inerrancy of the Bible and how it is the final arbiter that claims authority. Fundamentalists derive a meaning of prohibition of a set of behaviors which are often originated in and associated with the work of the devil like biblical views on sexual immorality or the surrendering of sexual purity which became extended by the

⁹⁵ Peter Herriot, *Religious Fundamentalism: Global, Local and Personal* (Routledge, 2009), 189.

⁹⁶ Ralph W Hood, Jr. and Peter C. Hill and W. Paul Williamson, *The Psychology of Religious Fundamentalism* (The Guilford Press, 2005), 31.

fundamentalists to other behaviors on the basis of their own interpretation of the sacred text. These may include earthly behaviors like the use of cosmetics, the drinking of alcoholic beverages in a social setting, dancing, smoking, or even card playing⁹⁷ which their prohibition is derived from scriptural interpretation of 1 John 2:15: “Love not the world, neither the things that are in the world. If any man love the world, the love of the Father is not in him.”⁹⁸ In biblical contexts, the term “world” refers to earthly humanistic and corrupt systems of human beings which are typically far from the path of God. Yet, the authority of the Bible as the only source of truth and meaning and the fundamentalist insistence upon its legitimacy is what gives the fundamentalist movement its peculiarity and authenticity.

Again, from this perspective, we may spot the light on the fundamentalist behavior towards modernism. As most scholars and historians of religion have agreed on, fundamentalists are frequently perceived as having defensive responses to modernist principles. Modernism and the theory of evolution have caused far-reaching outcomes to the centrality of the fundamentalists’ religious beliefs, and have begun to undermine the validity of truth the sacred text presents. As the theory of evolution contradicts common belief in supernatural causation, it jeopardizes what the fundamentalists hold so dear. As a consequence, they would not afford to stay inactive in front of what may put their faith in peril. In drastically simplified terms, the fundamentalists’ reaction towards what appears to challenge biblical truth is commonly asserted to be a natural result even though its nature is violent and feverish.

A typical response to the above account of being in discordance with modernism in general and evolution in particular is the issue of raising children in an atmosphere far from religion. A primary premise could be that the fundamentalists seek to educate their children starting

⁹⁷ Ibid., 33.

⁹⁸ Ibid.

from an early age how to find meaning only within the boundaries of biblical exegesis. The essential goal of Protestant fundamentalists is to keep the “covenantal theology” (which God has offered them), to guarantee that parental responsibility is accountable for children nurture and instruction which should be accomplished in light of the Protestant faith.⁹⁹ Thus providing the doctrinal basis for child-rearing will ensure that their children’s explanation of every aspect of life and their search for meaning and purpose are to be found only within the context of the scripture. By extending this view, we would probably understand the fundamentalists’ intention to send their children to Christian schools and to object the teaching of evolution in the public schools for it may undermine the divine truth and higher values parents try to inculcate in their children’s mind.

2.2- Protestant Fundamentalism v. the Liberal Theology

The liberal theology and Protestant fundamentalism can never merge together and if they collide, a grave repercussion will result eventually. So, responding to the liberal theology assaults on orthodoxy and the standards of Protestantism, a long-lasting controversy between evangelicals and liberals arose as a consequence. Initially, the growing violations of the liberal theologians led to the publication of a series of pamphlets entitled *The Fundamentals* which summarized the essentials of the Protestant faith and provided adherents with a devout and pious atmosphere. Through careful insistence upon the five precepts of fundamentalism: the inerrancy of the Scripture, the authenticity of miracles, the virgin birth of Christ, Christ’s substitutionary atonement, and the bodily resurrection of Jesus, a group of enthusiastic evangelicals start to be labeled as fundamentalists.

Though unexpectedly, the fundamentalists lost the fight to restore traditional Christian orthodoxy in the 1920’s after they seem to have a total control of the issue. This was because of major schisms within the Protestant denominations. Theological liberalism has caused far-

⁹⁹ Ibid., 32

reaching consequences in the organization of the different Protestant denominations by underscoring a vast gulf between them. In an attempt to check the spread of liberalism, some fundamentalists decided to stay within mainline denominations while others formed independent ones such as J. Gresham Machen's Orthodox Presbyterian Church.¹⁰⁰

But what has caused a vast decline in the position Protestant fundamentalists used to enjoy in the American political realm was the Scopes Monkey trial in Dayton, Tennessee in 1925. In spite of the fact that fundamentalists were represented by William Jennings Bryan, the most powerful orator in American history, they lost their respectability and became a subject of ridicule thanks to H. L. Mencken's coverage of the verdict. Mencken perpetuates stereotypes that will continue to describe fundamentalists as uneducated, backward, intolerant, and irrational throughout American history.

The trial reflects the clash between fundamentalists and liberals in the debate on evolution acceptance in America, and has given the issue of human evolution a central position in the debate between them. The day of the trial witnessed major stresses during the course of the verdict. Lawyer Clarence Darrow has defended high school teacher John Thomas Scopes against prosecutor William Jennings Bryan, and has successfully put him on an embracing situation.

Darrow picked up the Bible and began to read: ““And the Lord God said unto the serpent, Because thou hast done this, thou art cursed above all cattle, and above every beast of the field; upon thy belly shalt thou go and dust shalt thou eat all the days of thy life.’ Do you think that is why the serpent is compelled to crawl upon its belly?”

¹⁰⁰ Randall Balmer and Lauren F. Winner, *Protestantism in America* (Columbia University Press, 2002), 21.

“I believe that.”

“Have you any idea how the snake went before that time?”

“No sir.”

“Do you know whether he walked on his tail or not?”

“No, sir, I have no way to know.”

There was a howl of laughter from the crowd.

Suddenly Bryan’s voice rose, screaming, hysterical: “The only purpose Mr. Darrow has is to slur at the Bible . . . I want the world to know that this man, who does not believe in a God, is trying to use a court in Tennessee—”

“I object to your statement.” Darrow was contemptuous. “I am examining you on your fool ideas that no intelligent Christian on earth believes.”

Judge Raulston put an end to the argument by adjourning the court.¹⁰¹

Thus, as the world mocked fundamentalists, they condemn the world as a response. Besides, the strategy they espouse after the Scopes verdict has made them withdraw from national affairs and from the public scene. The Scopes trial has caused far-reaching outcomes in their number and influence. They went underground so as to heal its shattering results and significant lasting effects. However, what was immensely important, despite their careful withdrawal from the public eye, they did not vanish. On the contrary, they engage their attention and interest in taking the next step, building their own subculture. By doing so, they were preparing the platform for their political resurgence in 1970.

¹⁰¹ Mary Lee Settle, *The Scopes Trial: The State of Tennessee v. John Thomas Scopes* (New York: Franklin Watts, 1972), 108–109.

Box 1. The Great Monkey Trial

Journalists called it the “trial of the century,” for it involved a clash of two strong men and, more important, of two strong ideas. In Dayton, Tennessee, John Thomas Scopes stood accused in 1925 of teaching evolution in the public schools. A state law banned the teaching of any doctrine that contradicted creationism, and modernists had encouraged Scopes to teach evolution to provide a test case of the constitutionality of the Tennessee law.

In the sweltering July heat in a time before air conditioning, more than 100 newspaper reporters crammed into the courtroom, leaving only for quick gulps of lemonade from the stands outside. By July 21 more than 3,000 onlookers crowded the aisles and stood huddled outside, listening to accounts carried back from those who stood just inside. A jury of twelve farmers listened carefully to the testimony and to the arguments of two of the era’s biggest personalities.

Scopes was defended by Clarence Darrow, the premier trial lawyer of his day. Darrow was a longtime critic of creationism and a proponent of the philosophy of Nietzsche. William Jennings Bryan was a perennial Democratic presidential candidate who opposed the banks and monopolies and advocated inflating the currency to enable farmers and other debtors to pay off their loans with devalued money. Although Bryan’s economic views were more leftist than those of any major party candidate in history, he became one of the leading opponents of the teaching of evolution, perhaps because he thought Darwinism and Nietzsche’s philosophy had inspired German militarism that led to World War I.

Bryan and Darrow had disliked each other for years, and Darrow had published in the *Chicago Tribune* a long list of questions to Bryan about the Bible designed to undermine the position of biblical literalism. Bryan agreed to prosecute the Scopes case in part because it gave him a chance to take on Darrow. It proved to be a disastrous decision.

Bryan was in poor health, whereas Darrow was fit and energetic. The trial climaxed when Darrow called Bryan to the stand and questioned him about his belief in the literal interpretation of the Bible. Under Darrow’s sharp questioning, it became clear that Bryan had not thought carefully about many of the issues of biblical literalism, and in one portion of his testimony he angered fundamentalists by

admitting that the earth may have been created over a period longer than six days.

Darrow scored points in other portions of the questioning as well. At two points, he focused on apparent inconsistencies in the Bible. The following transcript omits some repetitious questioning but shows Bryan's difficulty.

- Darrow:** Did you ever discover where Cain got his wife?
- Bryan:** No, sir; I leave the agnostics to hunt for her.
- Darrow:** You have never found out?
- Bryan:** I have never tried to find out.
- Darrow:** The Bible says he got one, doesn't it? Were there other people on the earth at that time?
- Bryan:** I cannot say.
- Darrow:** There were no others recorded, but Cain got a wife.
- Bryan:** That is what the Bible says.
- Darrow:** Where she came from, you do not know?
- Darrow:** Do you think the sun was made on the fourth day?
- Bryan:** Yes.
- Darrow:** And they had evening and morning without the sun?
- Bryan:** I believe it was creation as there told, and if I am not able to explain it I will accept it. Then you can explain it to suit yourself.

The fundamentalist-modernist controversy which arose after the meddling of liberal theologians in the integrity of Scripture would be incompletely described if not giving proper credit to the effects of Darwinism. The theory of evolution has escalated the tension of the contention in America and raised staple questions about the relation between church politics and government policies such as public education. The problem evolutionary biology generated in the United States is its challenge to religion and the violations of divine truth. By presenting new biological evidence and sturdy interpretations of the world origin, Charles Darwin's theory seemed to attack the reverent doctrinal foundations of the Protestant faith.



Figure 01. *Another Pied Piper*, a cartoon attempting to slander modernists who embrace change and the new scientific findings, as well as who support secularization. It discredits them for their attempt to change the cultural atmosphere of America that eventually leads to disbelief in God.

Therefore, teaching Darwin's theory in America's public schools is unacceptable and intolerable for fundamentalists and their strategy to ban its teaching in the classroom and to

check the drift of such a poisonous idea will result in a long conflict over evolution-creationism with some cases that have even reached the US Supreme Court.

However, in order to examine the evolution-creationism controversy from a rational basis, a widespread consensus over the incompatibility between science and religion is considered absolutely necessary. Guillermo Paz-Y-Miño-C and Avelina Espinosa have argued that the reason behind this long dispute is derived from the incompatibility found between scientific rationalism and the belief in supernatural causation.¹⁰² Besides, this theory suggests that the degree of acceptance of evolution is higher among most religious individuals than among the least religious ones.¹⁰³

Hence, religiosity plays a vital role in shaping the level of evolution acceptance and in classifying adherents from highly religious to atheists and agnostics. This underlying assumption makes us understand why Protestant fundamentalists object to evolution being taught in the public schools because of its subsequent dangerous outcomes that would lead students to disbelief. This vision can be found in a cartoon designed by the fundamentalists to urge people about the effects of the spread of modernist beliefs which can lead to atheism.

¹⁰² Guillermo Paz-Y-Miño-C and Avelina Espinosa, “The Incompatibility Hypothesis: Evolution vs. Supernatural Causation”, in *Why does Evolution Matter? The Importance of Understanding Evolution*, ed. Gabriel Trueba (Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2014), 03.

¹⁰³ Ibid, 08.

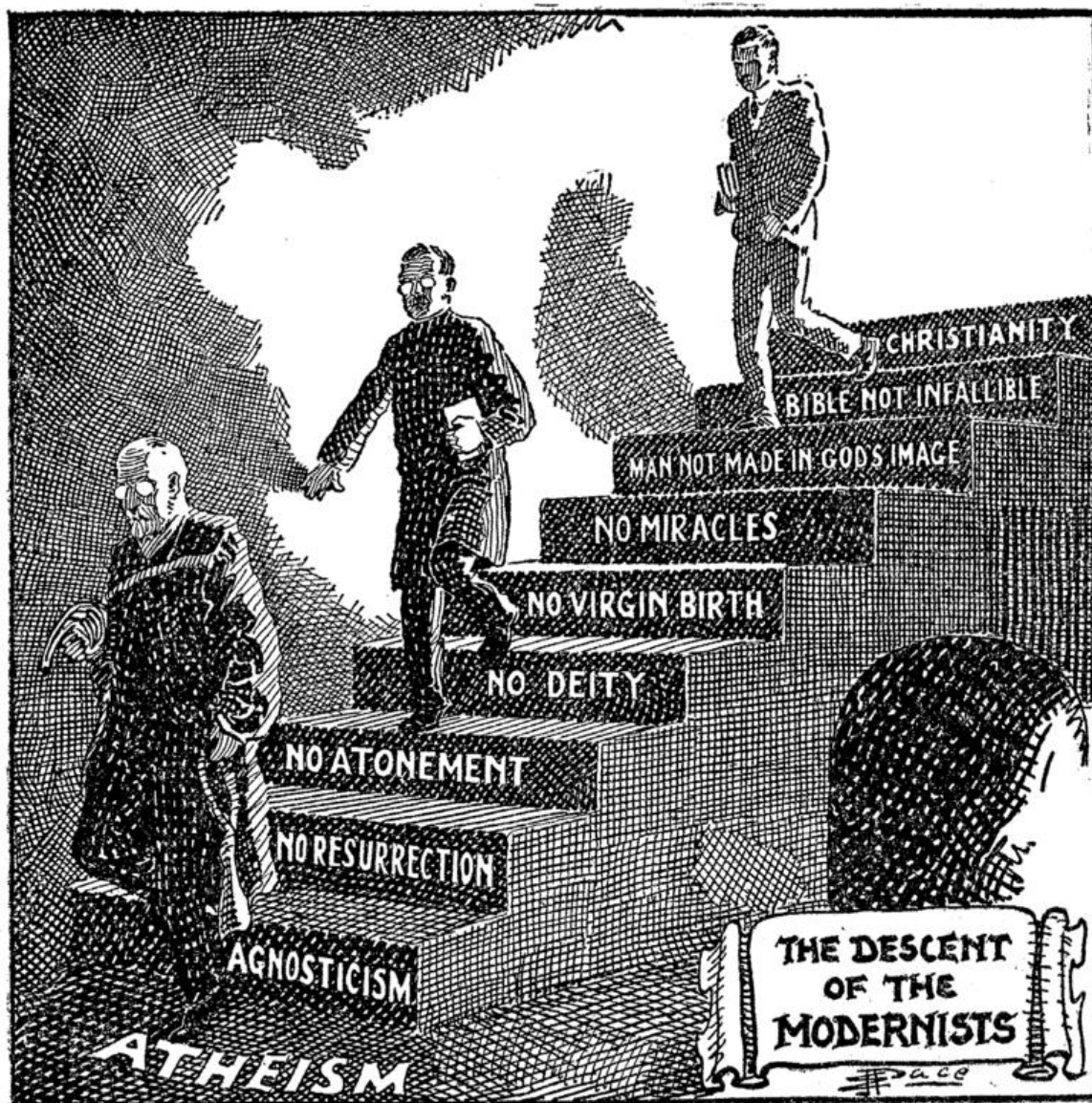


Figure 02. *The descent of the Modernists*, A fundamentalist cartoon describing modernism as the fall from Christianity to atheism.

2.3- The Fundamentalist Religious Energy and Revolt

At the heart of the struggle between fundamentalists and modernists lies the issue of how the church should deal with the validity of the modern arguments of science especially that of Darwin's theory of evolution. During the late nineteenth century, the largest Protestant denominations started to embrace latter modernist claims and sought to bring their faith into line with the new advances in the natural and social sciences. Moreover, many churches at the

turn of the twentieth century have begun to preach about the ways Christian ethics could be applied to social problems such as poverty, child labor, slums, and the danger of war in what is called the social gospel.

Nevertheless, the initial concerns of the social gospel seem to be very polemic to Christian conservatives for they undermine the notion of “saving souls”. Besides, in an effort to defend Orthodoxy, conservatives rallied their troops for the ultimate restoration of the essentials of their faith by publishing *The Fundamentals* in 1919. This collection of essays will give birth to “Fundamentalism”, one of the weightiest phenomena in American history. Moreover, leaders of the fundamentalist coalition have preached *The Fundamentals* throughout the United States where they emphasized the necessity to keep their faith intact and far from the meddling of the modernists, and even to remain pure and separate from the world. As a consequence, over the next decades a massive split among the Protestant denominations has marked the fierce religious struggle between fundamentalists and modernists.

According to historian Ernest Sandeen, there are three key components of fundamentalist doctrine: premillennialism, dispensationalism, and the inerrancy of scripture.¹⁰⁴ First, premillennialism refers to the belief in the second coming of Jesus Christ before the millennial would be established. This suggests that the world has to worsen first and that the Antichrist will reign over it until Christ will return and rescue the faithful Christians to heaven. Then, Christ will return to lead a successful battle against the Antichrist in what is called the *Great Tribulation*. Contrary to the doctrine of premillennialism, Postmillennialism has been advocated by the social gospel theologians. It denotes that Christ will return after the Millennium will be established.

¹⁰⁴ Ernest Sandeen, *The Roots of Fundamentalism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970), 115.

The debate between premillennialists and postmillennialists is based on theological backgrounds and has started to deviate latter on towards political concerns.¹⁰⁵ For postmillennialists politics is an essential obligation to help improving society and eventually establishing the millennium and the kingdom of heaven on earth. Whereas premillennialists view politics as a futile endeavor if the world will necessarily worsen before Christ will return to save the faithful. Thus, they believe that Politics will become a hindrance to Christian believers who sought Christ's rescue during the second coming and that they should remain separate from the rest of the world in order to avoid the temptation of the sinful world since Christ will soon come again and rescue the true Christians.¹⁰⁶ As fundamentalists embraced premillennialism, they have exhibited a strong resistance to any political involvement of their movement.

The second component of the fundamentalist doctrine according to Sandeen is dispensationalism. It refers to a certain type of Biblical interpretation systems which holds that Biblical history about humans is divided by God into different dispensations or eras. The fundamentalists' belief in dispensationalism presents an everlasting source of struggle between them and the other Protestant denominations and which prevents the Christian Right from achieving unity in the 1980s.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁵ Clyde Wilcox and Carin Robinson, *Onward Christian Soldiers? The Religious Right in American Politics* (Westview Press, 2011), 37.

¹⁰⁶ James L. Guth et al., "Faith and the Environment: Religious Beliefs and Attitudes on Environmental Policy," *American Journal of Political Science* 39, no.02 (1995):370.

¹⁰⁷ Garry Wills, *Under God: religion and American politics* (Under God: religion and American politics, 1990), 250.

Third is the belief in the inerrancy of scripture. Protestant fundamentalists share a high view of the Bible and consider the words of God as literally true. As a result of the growing threats initiated by the modernists who sought to embrace modern scientific findings, the teaching of creationism was the most critical issue at the turn of the twentieth century for it aimed at proving that the biblical story of creation included in Genesis is infallible. This issue was the most politically charged concern at that era when Protestant fundamentalists led a long and fierce battle for implementing the teaching of the Divine truth.

With the rediscovery of Genetics in 1900, Darwin's theory of evolution gained more scientific credibility and acceptance and it succeeded even to gain the publicity it craved. Moreover, modernist denominations attempted to make peace with the modern discoveries of science by suggesting that the Bible should not be taken literally and that the truth it contained about the story of creation is a metaphor. The fundamentalist response was a total rejection of modernism and an attempt to revive Christian orthodoxy by preaching extensively *The Fundamentals* throughout the South and Mid-west. By doing so, fundamentalists provided their movement with a remarkable and an "enormous religious energy."¹⁰⁸ Thus for the fundamentalists, the key doctrinal components of the Protestant faith and their advocacy of separatism have made them separate and distinct from their closest relatives in the other Protestant denominations.

2.4- Reasons behind Protestant Fundamentalists' Fear of Evolution

Any study of the American Protestant fundamentalist phenomenon would be incomplete if not giving special reference to the problem evolutionary theory has generated. One very rife misconception about Protestant fundamentalists is that of being unscientific. This view is the

¹⁰⁸ Clyde Wilcox and Carin Robinson, *Onward Christian Soldiers? The Religious Right in American Politics* (Westview Press, 2011), 34.

product of the 1920's Monkey Trial which has portrayed the fundamentalists as rural, uneducated, southern stubborn minded, and ignorant about the new advances in science. Although much has been said about the issue, contemporary descriptions of the movement have failed to present fundamentalists as being highly educated too. In fact, they are not ignorant about the new approaches in science, but the new meaning brought by science and evolutionary theory is entirely counteractive to what they derive from their sacred text. This is the reason why fundamentalists were required to mobilize against this new enemy.

Historically religion and science seemed not to have counter views or to be in disagreement. In the 19th-century, Christian theologians have validated and affirmed new scientific advances and exhibited great harmony with them. Moreover, natural scientists did not feel the danger of religion or its incompatibility with science on the validity and legitimacy of their achievements such as Newton, Galileo, and Descartes.¹⁰⁹ As Richard Tarnas has stated that: "their Christian presuppositions were intellectually pervasive, embedded in the very fabric of their scientific and philosophic theories."¹¹⁰ Consequently, a preliminary affirmation about the scientific validity of the scripture has given birth to the notion of "the inerrancy of scripture" in the 19th-century.

However, for fundamentalists, the set of truths the Bible includes presents the ultimate source from which they derive meaning. In 19th-century America, the assured set of attitudes generally held by Protestant fundamentalists has made them emphasize the notion that God directs the intention of believers to find the truth only within the scripture for issues related to everything in life including science. Thus, what science has suggested in the 19th-century as a new theory which provides new analysis and explanations for the origin of life has been

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., 54.

¹¹⁰ Richard Tarnas, *The passion of the Western mind: understanding the ideas that have shaped our world view* (New York: Harmony Books, 1991), 301.

rejected by the fundamentalists for it contradicts the truth the Bible contains and is merely the product of liberalism and which deserves to be totally objected and banned. In other words, 19th-century fundamentalists regard the teachings of the Bible the only truthful source of meaning that comes directly from God and any single fact that comes from other sources needs to be faced with immense resistance.

Thus, what the theory of evolution has suggested as a new rational and valid premise would generate a sense of fear among Protestant fundamentalists in America. As the new theory contradicts common belief in God, William Jennings Bryan has led the anti-evolution cause in order to object to the teaching of human evolution in the public schools. Although his opposition to Darwin's theory originates from his inner convictions and religious beliefs, Bryan's contradiction to evolution was remarkably fueled by his fear of the application of the evolutionary concept of natural selection to the social aspect of human beings. Such new ideas include Herbert Spencer's *Social Darwinism* which calls for using new explanations to the structures of human society by arguing that *survival of the fittest* and the *struggle for existence* legitimize acts of hard social conditions as an attempt to improve human society.¹¹¹ Bryan, as a result, viewed Darwin's theory of evolution as the source of all the evils that have swept the world when he stated that: "The Darwinian theory represents man as reaching his present perfection by the operation of the law of hate—the merciless law by which the strong crowd out the weak."¹¹² Still, another factor that has generated a sense of fear to Bryan is the rise of the inhumane "eugenics" which claimed that selective breeding could also be applied to human beings just like livestock in order to improve the genetic quality of the human race by

¹¹¹ Mano Singham, *God vs. Darwin: The War between Evolution and Creationism in the Classroom* (Lanham, Md.: Rowan & Littlefield Education, 2009), 14.

¹¹² Edward J. Larson, *Summer for the Gods* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997), 39.

preventing defectives from having children. This practice was highly regarded as an outcome of Darwinism.

Before the Scopes era in 1922 William Jennings Bryan has clearly declared in a newspaper essay the core of his, as well as of all conservative Protestants, objection to teaching evolution in American public schools:

The only part of evolution in which any considerable interest is felt is evolution applied to man. A hypothesis in regard to the rocks and plant life does not affect the philosophy upon which life is built. Evolution applied to fish, birds and beasts would not materially affect man's view of his own responsibilities, except as the acceptance of an unsupported hypothesis as to these would be used to support a similar hypothesis as applied to man. . . . Christianity has nothing to fear from any *truth*; no *fact* disturbs the Christian religion or the Christian. It is the unsupported *guess* that is substituted for science to which opposition is made, and I think the objection is a valid one.¹¹³

Again, in this essay Bryan has summarized the reasons why evolution is dangerous and its bad side effects if it would be taken seriously by arguing that:

It entirely changes one's view of life and undermines faith in the Bible. Evolution has no place for the supernatural. . . .

Evolution proposes to bring all the processes of nature within the comprehension of man by making it the explanation of everything that is known. . . .

Evolution attempts to solve the mystery of life by suggesting a process of development commencing "in the dawn of time" and continuing uninterrupted until now. . . .

If a man accepts Darwinism, or evolution applied to man, and is consistent, he rejects the miracle and the supernatural as impossible. . . .

¹¹³ William Jennings Bryan, "God and Evolution," *New York Times*, February 26, 1922, p. 84.

If he is consistent, he will go through the Old Testament step by step and cut out all the miracles and all the supernatural. He will then take up the New Testament and cut out all the supernatural—the virgin birth of Christ, His miracles and His resurrection, leaving the Bible a story book without binding authority upon the conscience of man.¹¹⁴

Thus, the conclusion Bryan wanted to draw is to warn people and especially parents and young children who are being exposed to the falsehood of evolution about the danger this theory could cause to Christian beliefs.¹¹⁵ Moreover, as Mano Singham has stated about Bryan's opposition to evolution: "But while he disliked evolution on religious grounds and because he felt that it led to abhorrent social policies, those were not his only reasons for opposing its being taught in schools. He said he also objected because he felt that the theory had not been shown to be true. And if it were not true, then those who taught it were merely teaching a doctrine, not scientific truth, and he saw no reason why they should have the right to teach in public schools what he considered an atheistic doctrine if religious doctrines were not allowed."¹¹⁶ This passage reveals that it is unfair to consider the teaching of biblical truth about the creation of humankind as unconstitutional on the grounds that it favors the advancement of a particular religious doctrine while teaching evolution too presents an atheistic belief system.

2.4.1- The Belief in Political Theology

2.4.2- The Fundamentalist Political Uprising

Whenever a crisis in religion is apparent, then political theology is addressed. Political theology differs from religion and it does not reflect the structure and norms of religious life.

¹¹⁴ Ibid.

¹¹⁵ Mano Singham, *God vs. Darwin: The War between Evolution and Creationism in the Classroom* (Lanham, Md.: Rowan & Littlefield Education, 2009), 17.

¹¹⁶ Ibid., 18.

Rather, it is concerned with that moment when religion becomes useless and secularization fails to minimize the power of religious rhetoric in the political corridors.¹¹⁷ Historically the concept “political theology” originates in ancient Rome thanks to the works of Marcus Terentius Varro (116–127 B.C).¹¹⁸ However, the phrase “political theology” is commonly linked to the German political theorist and jurist Karl Schmitt whose book *Political Theology: Four Chapters on the Concept of Sovereignty* has perfectly summarized the modern view associated with the phenomenon. His vision has advanced the idea that religious and political concepts are symmetric and that the political concepts are secularized versions of older theological ones. But Schmitt also emphasized how those two elements fuel remarkable debates and conflicts among nations.

Although its move towards politics was slow, the publication of the seventh volume of *The Fundamentals* in 1912 has marked the real beginning of the fundamentalist process of politicization.¹¹⁹ At first glance, the later volumes contained remarkable and extensive writings for fundamentalists about evolution and the threat of their Darwinist counterparts. However, the fervent language of fundamentalists to strongly object to teaching evolution in the public schools has no longer been apparent in the last four volumes. The reason for such retreat, according to David N. Livingstone, lies behind the editor Reuben Archer Torrey and his belief in the harmony of science and religion and his acceptance of theistic evolution.¹²⁰ It

¹¹⁷ Graham Hammill and Julia Reinhard Lupton, *Political Theology and Early Modernity* (The University of Chicago Press Chicago and London, 2012), 01.

¹¹⁸ Hent de Vries and Lawrence E. Sullivan, *Political Theologies: Public Religions in a Post-Secular World* (Fordham University Press, 2006), 25.

¹¹⁹ Michael Lienesch, *In the Beginning: Fundamentalism, the Scopes Trial, and the Making of the Antievolution Movement* (The University of North Carolina Press, 2007), 81.

¹²⁰ David N. Livingstone, *Darwin's Forgotten Defenders: The Encounter between Evangelical Theology and Evolutionary Thought* (Eerdmans, Grand Rapids, MI, and Scottish Academic Press, Edinburgh, 1987), 150-151.

should be pointed out, however, that by this time the fundamentalists were not ready enough to start a potential crusade against the threats of evolution despite the fact that they are in total disagreement with the core of evolutionary beliefs.¹²¹

Yet, with the final volume of *The Fundamentals* published in 1915 a coherent sense of identity has been created and an inclusive view of the fundamentalists' growing concerns to fight Darwinism has generated the need to act politically. With the formation of a clear identity after 1915, fundamentalists became ready to challenge the growing threats brought about by many contrary ideas among which evolution stands at its heart. Now political mobilization is necessary for the ultimate goal of generating an anti-evolution crusade. But in order to achieve this, fundamentalists had to go underground and to build a solid infrastructure of institutions and organizations that will in return pave the way for the most challenging political struggle of the 1920s.

Thus, social movements which seek to have constant and dynamic influences on their world must learn how to act and mobilize politically.¹²² In the 1920s, the fundamentalist movement started a new phase in American history by opting to shift to political participation. The political mobilization of fundamentalists aimed at challenging modernism in general and the teaching of the evolution theory in public schools in particular. Thus, the debate over checking the spread of evolution by its eradication from high schools' curricula and the advancement of teaching creationism as the divine truth has been widely fueled by some

¹²¹ Ronald L. Numbers, *The Creationists: From Scientific Creationism to Intelligent Design* (University of California Press, 1992), 38-39.

¹²² Taylor, Verta and Nancy Whittier. "Collective identity in social movement communities: Lesbian feminist mobilization," in *Frontiers in social movement theory*, ed. Morris, Aldon D., Mueller, and Carol McClurg (New Haven, CT, US: Yale University Press, 1992), 117-121.

creationist organizations. Organizations such as the Bible League of North America, the Bible Crusaders of America, the Defenders of the Christian Faith, and the Flying Fundamentalists have considerably crusaded against the teaching of evolution in American public schools.¹²³

Because anti-evolutionism arose out of fundamentalism, it is commonly perceived as being the product of the religious and political revolts that are the cornerstones of the Protestant fundamentalist movement in America. Thus, the strategy of anti-evolutionists to challenge the teaching of evolution reflects the movement's shift from theory to practice. The antievolution groups were deployed at strategic goals. In their efforts to gain the support of state legislators and the assent of public opinion, anti-evolutionist leaders aimed at enacting laws favoring the proscription of teaching evolution in the public schools.¹²⁴ Among the result of these efforts thirty-seven anti-evolution bills have been introduced but the vast majority were unsuccessful.¹²⁵ These acts of pressure and persuasion mirror the most polemic agendas of the Christian Right.

The 1925 Scopes Trial was the climax of the anti-evolution crusade headed by William Jennings Bryan. By that time, Darwin's evolution has become widely debated and vigorously opposed throughout the United States thanks to Bryan and his efforts to defend the fundamentalist cause. But, after his death the anti-evolution movement lost much of its prominence and influence and has retreated from politics. Most fundamentalists objected to the shift of their movement to politics; consequently, only extreme fundamentalists continued to advocate the agendas of the anti-evolution crusade.¹²⁶ Moreover, the fundamentalists after

¹²³ Clyde Wilcox and Carin Robinson, *Onward Christian Soldiers? The Religious Right in American Politics* (Westview Press, 2011), 37.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, 38.

¹²⁶ Stewart Cole, *The History of Fundamentalism* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1931), 102.

the Scopes Trial started to think of politics as a useless endeavor and they preferred instead to enforce the backbone of their movement by building organizations.

2.4.3- The Christian Right and the Political Theology of White Evangelicals in America

After a drastic collapse both in position and respectability in the wake of the Scopes era, evangelicals shied away from political activism. However, by the late 1970's, many white evangelicals and fundamentalists started a new dawn in American history by opting to mobilize politically in order to restore the old godly roots of their nation that have been devastated by a group they label "secular humanists" or "liberals". This political mobilization of the 1970's was not new. In fact, it has been the product of an ideology and a set of beliefs that are engraved in the history of the American Protestant faith and which started to bubble to the surface when the American Christian heritage felt the danger modernism has caused to America's religious legacy. The result was the emergence of a new group of conservative Protestants who saw the need to revive the old tradition that considered America's position and power as divine blessings. In simple terms, political activism is essential to healing the shattering consequences of the liberal theology and the Republican Party would be the most prominent and promising means by which the task could be accomplished.

Clyde Wilcox and Carin Robinson define the Christian Right as "a social movement that attempts to mobilize evangelical Protestants and other orthodox Christians into conservative political action."¹²⁷ The aim of the Christian Right movement was "...to mobilize a group of people who had traditionally avoided politics because they saw it as dirty, corrupt business... by convincing people that political involvement was a God-given responsibility."¹²⁸ Thus, like

¹²⁷ Clyde Wilcox and Carin Robinson, *Onward Christian Soldiers? The Religious Right in American Politics* (Westview Press, 2011), 08.

¹²⁸ Robert Zwier, *Born-Again Politics: The New Christian Right in America* (Downer's Grove, IL: Intervarsity Press, 1984), 9-10.

any other social movement, the Christian right seeks to mobilize as many people as possible. For leaders as Jerry Falwell and Ralph Reed, looking for a large constituency by appealing to “Catholics, Jews, Protestants, Mormons, and fundamentalists...mainline Protestants, Catholics, African Americans”¹²⁹ is at the heart of their agendas. Nevertheless, while the movement has succeeded to gain the support of many evangelicals as it aimed at reviving the old Christian bedrocks upon which America has been built, some have viewed the Christian right as merely an attempt to “baptize” a political theology in the name of Christianity.¹³⁰

Behind the political theology of the Christian Right movement, it exists an ideology that shapes its political actions. Daniel Bell defined ideology as “a way of translating ideas into action.”¹³¹ Thus, in order to understand the ideology of the Christian Right, we have to shed the light on the intent of its leaders to translate some old evangelical traditions into political actions. The key components of this ideology can be summarized in four essential elements.

First is the belief in the inerrancy of Scripture. The Christian Right considers the Bible as the soul and paramount source of authority. With direct access to God through the Bible, evangelicals see no need for human interventions in the framing of political insights. Indeed, they believe that their biblical interpretations must be applied to every aspect of human life including politics.

Second is the strong belief in the “covenant” which has prominent political implications for the Christian Right. The evangelical passion for “America is a Christian nation” and which has been established on Christian principles is derived from the Puritans’ belief that America

¹²⁹ Clyde Wilcox and Carin Robinson, *Onward Christian Soldiers? The Religious Right in American Politics* (Westview Press, 2011), 09.

¹³⁰ Erling Jorstad, *The Politics of Moralism: The New Christian Right in American Life* (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1981), 108.

¹³¹ Daniel Bell, “The End of Ideology in the West: An Epilogue,” in *The End of Ideology: On the Exhaustion of Political Ideas in the Fifties* (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1960), 370.

is a “city on a hill” or “new Israel”. Hence, originated from the Puritan heritage of transferring the “covenant” to America, American civil religion still emphasizes on the idea that America is “a chosen nation” where the rules and principles of God must be applied to various aspects of American life such as education, foreign policy, and military actions. Moreover, this complex version of American history provides a solid basis for the Christian Right political activism.

Third, evangelicals believe that America has not remained faithful to the divine commands and this resulted in bringing God’s judgment illustrated in the spread of “secular humanism”. Secular humanism is viewed by many Christian Right leaders as “a man-centered philosophy that attempts to solve the problems of man and the world independently of God.”¹³² This philosophy has pejoratively changed America’s conservative social principles including the growing power of government which has found in keeping away from God a new underlying support. However, Christian Right leaders and their views about secular humanism are deeply rooted in the fundamentalist doctrine of “premillennialism” which holds that the second coming of Christ will be preceded by a critical period when the world would worsen and the Antichrist will rule over it.

Fourth, the political arena is the most appropriate place for the Christian Right to fight against secular humanism and all its aspects. As a response to the new social problems heated by the new cultural trends brought about by secular humanism, the potential political energy of evangelicals and particularly fundamentalists has become more visible in politics. Nevertheless, their return to politics has been debated since the 1970’s when they rallied to protest social ills and change America’s culture through political mobilization and reactivation of their latent role in public life. It is very useful to know, however, that in the wake of the Scopes era until the 1970’s evangelicals’ role in American society was merely to

¹³² Tim LaHaye, *The Battle for the Mind* (Old Tappan: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1980), 27.

evangelize. They were convinced that revivalism is essential to correct the new social ills and that no political mobilization is recommended. Thus, the political resurgence of the 1970's is commonly viewed as a new version of their older reformist ideology.

Yet contrary to their own religious beliefs particularly the way the Bible should be read, evangelicals view their political goal as a moral one (though they still believe in the significance of their religious goal of evangelism). Many Christian Right activists aimed at making their agenda accessible to all Americans regardless of their religious affiliations despite the fact that it was known to be based on Protestant readings of the Bible. The reason behind this was to gain the support of non-evangelical groups such as Jews, Catholics, and Mormons and to assert that morality could be independent of religion and is essential in political ideologies. However, their primary goal of their moral vision was to restore traditionalism.

This seemingly technical vision has had one important political consequence. Behind their morality, evangelical political activists wanted to propagate some conservative ideas of older American values regarding issues related to family life, sexuality, feminism, abortion, and evolution. Hence, it is highly crucial to understand how they perceive the position of their old culture of political conservatism in the dilemma of their contemporary American politics. In order to answer this question defining the term "conservative" would be very substantial. It denotes a factual resistance to change or the preservation of something from damage or inevitable loss.¹³³ Consequently, while Christian Right activists appeal to restore old

¹³³David T. Koyzis, *Political Visions and Illusions: A Survey and Christian Critique of Contemporary Ideologies* (Downers Grove: InterVarsity Press, 2003), 72-73.

American life attitudes, they seem trying to overcome the effects of the older doctrine of “premillennialism” that calls for a strong resistance to political involvement.¹³⁴

Conclusion:

There is nothing intrinsically contentious than how evangelicals should respond to the new cultural and intellectual changes brought by modernism, namely the theory of evolution. The biggest question, however, was how evangelicals would legitimize their strategy to eradicate the teaching of evolution in the public schools and to advance, instead, the teaching of creationism. The result was an explicit split in American Protestantism between “Fundamentalists” and “Modernists”. The fundamentalists’ strategy during the course of the struggle over evolution-creationism will open the door to question their shift to political activism and the relation of their theological and political conservatism.

¹³⁴ Clyde Wilcox and Carin Robinson, *Onward Christian Soldiers? The Religious Right in American Politics* (Westview Press, 2011), 33.

CHAPTER THREE: When Protestant Fundamentalism Collides with Evolution in America's Classrooms 1925-2005

Introduction

Religion has played a vital role in shaping the American identity with all of its peculiarities and exceptionalities. On the necessity of building a nation where religion and politics can never collide, the United States tried to establish a solid “wall of separation” between church and state in order to enhance the secular republican framework and the new political freedoms and to avoid the potential danger of an established church. However, despite an apparent and sturdy separation between the two elements, the American democracy seems to be in crisis because of its incomplete process of secularization where religion and politics always fail to set the necessary critical distance between them.

1- Why do Theology and Politics intersect in America's Classrooms?

1.1- Secularism and the Founding Fathers

The term “Secularism” can simply mean an explicit separation between religion and government institutions or the absence of religious credence in the official affairs of the state. In the United States, the absence of religious belief is very rare because religious meddling in state matters is typically an American phenomenon. Besides, it is estimated that state secularism in America is designed to protect religion from governmental interference.

The story of American secularism and particularly the principle of the separation of church and state began with the efforts of Roger Williams, the founder of Rhode Island. His opposition to the intolerance of the Puritans has driven him out of Massachusetts in 1636. Williams was well known for his strong objection to establishing a “Christian Commonwealth” for he was deeply convinced that “state church” has no biblical endorsement

and that a good civil government could exist even in nations where Christianity is absent.¹³⁵ According to him, the civil magistrate should concern himself with providing the most comfortable and adequate conditions of the civil life of his citizens without any attempt to impose a particular religious doctrine. “The civil magistrate will be satisfied with the assurance that men completely lacking in religion may possess a civic morality that makes them honest and useful members of the commonwealth.”¹³⁶ Williams has found that civil governments must deal with their primary task of maintaining peace and justice for all the citizens of a commonwealth. Hence, Williams’s freedom of conscience has become applicable to all people: non-believers like atheists and believers including even the greatest enemy of the Protestant faith, the Catholics.

One of the most noteworthy outcomes of Williams’s “separation of church and state” was the elimination of the possibility of forming a “theocracy” in the new world. Williams believed in the doctrine of “free grace” of God, as did the most radical separatists, and this doctrine has shifted the primary meaning of Calvinist predestination by indicating that salvation is granted only by God despite sinners’ imperfection. In fact, the doctrine of “free grace” that Williams adopted has promoted the finest democratic appeal at that time. It suggested that no political leader has the right neither to penalize sinners nor to oblige people to follow a particular religious doctrine for no one could actually know whether the leader is chosen by God or not. Thus, political authority has lost its celestial nature in front of reason and logic that stood shoulder to shoulder with democracy.¹³⁷

¹³⁵ Denis Lacorne, *Religion in America: A Political History* (Columbia University Press, New York, 2007), 140.

¹³⁶ Jean-Fabien Spitz, *Locke, Lettre sur la tolérance et autres textes* (Paris : Garnier-Flammarion, 1992), 58.

¹³⁷ David Wootton, “Leveller Democracy and the Puritan Revolution,” in *The Cambridge History of Political Thought, 1450–1700*, ed. J. H. Burns (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 441.

The work of Roger Williams had been the basis for America's democracy because it prompted a system of government based upon democratic rules and tolerance. Surprisingly, despite the fact that Roger Williams was the first to coin the phrase "the separation of church and state", his greater successors such as Thomas Jefferson did not have direct access to his writings nor to his published works. A good reason was that his writings were published in London where they used to be considered obsolete. However, most of the writings of the American founding fathers are related to Williams's vision of a tolerant regime through the works of John Locke who was in turn influenced by him.

John Locke has largely influenced the American founding fathers and their vision of liberty. Through his "Letters Concerning Toleration" Locke has presented an excellent understanding of religious tolerance. He developed the idea that the civil government is concerned only with the civil life of his people and should have no business with religion. Moreover, he set rigorous boundaries between church and state and has emphasized that no overlap between them is recommended by asserting that they are nicely fixed and that any attempt to cross them is like trying to "jumble heaven and earth together."¹³⁸

Locke was one of the great influencers of the American democracy plan and his theory of the separation of church and state had a great influence on James Burgh, a British Radical Whig politician, who had in turn influenced the American founders. Burgh was best known for his "Political Disquisitions" which was a forerunner of free speech theory that Thomas Jefferson has recommended to James Madison. Besides, he advocated the abolition of the scandalous "Test Acts" which were considered as a religious test for public employment (both military and civil) that regarded the disciples of the established Church of England the only

¹³⁸ John Locke, "A Letter Concerning Toleration", in *The Selected Political Writings of John Locke*, ed. Paul E. Sigmund (New York: Norton, 2005), 129-138.

eligible persons to hold public offices. Because the practices of the “Test Acts” went against the stream of building a democratic nation, Thomas Jefferson had included in a letter to the Baptist community of Danbury the idea that Burgh has developed when he wrote about the necessity to build a wall of separation between church and state: “Build an impenetrable wall of *separation* between things *sacred* and *civil*. Do not send a *graceless* officer, reeking from the arms of his *trull*, to the performance of a *holy* rite of *religion*, as a test for his holding the command of a regiment. To *profane*, in such a manner, a religion, which you pretend to *reverence*, is an impiety sufficient to bring down upon your heads, the roof of the sacred building you thus defile.”¹³⁹

In fact, the American most effective and initial attempt to establish a secular nation is credited to Jefferson’s “A Bill for Establishing Religious Freedom” of 1777. Jefferson’s bill was adopted by the Virginia General Assembly in 1786 thanks to the effort of James Madison who had strongly supported it. When the Assembly enacted the law, it was twofold: it has provided a statement about both the freedom of conscience and the principle of separation of religion and state; in addition, it has opened the door to reconsider the conditions of public employment by eliminating all oaths of allegiance.

Box 2. An Act for Establishing Religious Freedom

Whereas, Almighty God hath created the mind free;

That all attempts to influence it by temporal punishments or burthens, or by civil incapacitations tend only to beget habits of hypocrisy and meanness, and therefore are a departure from the plan of the holy author of our religion, who being Lord, both of body and mind yet chose not to propagate it by coercions on either, as was in his Almighty power to

¹³⁹ Daniel L. Dreisbach, *Thomas Jefferson and the Wall of Separation between Church and State* (New York, New York University Press, 2002), 80-81.

do,

That the impious presumption of legislators and rulers, civil as well as ecclesiastical, who, being themselves but fallible and uninspired men have assumed dominion over the faith of others, setting up their own opinions and modes of thinking as the only true and infallible, and as such endeavouring to impose them on others, hath established and maintained false religions over the greatest part of the world and through all time;

That to compel a man to furnish contributions of money for the propagation of opinions, which he disbelieves is sinful and tyrannical;

That even the forcing him to support this or that teacher of his own religious persuasion is depriving him of the comfortable liberty of giving his contributions to the particular pastor, whose morals he would make his pattern, and whose powers he feels most persuasive to righteousness, and is withdrawing from the Ministry those temporary rewards, which, proceeding from an approbation of their personal conduct are an additional incitement to earnest and unremitting labours for the instruction of mankind;

That our civil rights have no dependence on our religious opinions any more than our opinions in physics or geometry,

That therefore the proscribing any citizen as unworthy the public confidence, by laying upon him an incapacity of being called to offices of trust and emolument, unless he profess or renounce this or that religious opinion, is depriving him injuriously of those privileges and advantages, to which, in common with his fellow citizens, he has a natural right,

That it tends only to corrupt the principles of that very Religion it is meant to encourage, by bribing with a monopoly of worldly honours and emoluments those who will externally profess and conform to it;

That though indeed, these are criminal who do not withstand such temptation, yet neither are those innocent who lay the bait in their way;

That to suffer the civil magistrate to intrude his powers into the field of opinion and to restrain the profession or propagation of principles on supposition of their ill tendency is a dangerous fallacy which at once destroys all religious liberty because he being of course judge of that tendency will make his opinions the rule of judgment and approve or condemn the sentiments of others only as they shall square with or differ from his own;

That it is time enough for the rightful purposes of civil government, for its officers to interfere when principles break out into overt acts against peace and good order;

And finally, that Truth is great, and will prevail if left to herself, that she is the proper and sufficient antagonist to error, and has nothing to fear from the conflict, unless by human interposition disarmed of her natural weapons free argument and debate, errors ceasing to be dangerous when it is permitted freely to contradict them:

Be it enacted by General Assembly that 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 that all men shall be free to profess, and by argument to maintain, their opinions in matters of Religion, and that the same shall in no wise diminish, enlarge or affect their civil capacities. And though we well know that this Assembly elected by the people for the ordinary purposes of Legislation only, have no power to restrain the acts of succeeding Assemblies constituted with powers equal to our own, and that therefore to declare this act irrevocable would be of no effect in law; yet we are free to declare, and do declare that the rights hereby asserted, are of the natural rights of mankind, and that if any act shall be hereafter passed to repeal the present or to narrow its operation, such act will be an infringement of natural right.

The state of Virginia acts as a model for religious freedom in the aftermath of Jefferson's Virginia Statute for Establishing Religious Freedom (1786). After voices were raised in opposition to the Constitution in an attempt to denounce the possibility of the meddling of the federal government in religious affairs, the First Amendment to the US Constitution has been first proposed by James Madison. Madison has suggested adding to the federal Constitution an amendment assuring religious freedom while disallowing the establishment of any particular religious doctrine. The reason behind the choice to disestablish religion in America was to protect the thirteen independent colonies from what could separate them forever: an

established national church.¹⁴⁰ Consequently, the First Amendment stipulated that “Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof.”¹⁴¹ Although the First Amendment was clear enough about the status of religion on the national levels, the debate on the role of the state legislatures had still continued. The general view was that the right of each state to keep its established church along with the religious privileges it possessed was still valid. However, the power that the Evangelical Baptist and Methodist churches, in addition to the Quaker movement and the Catholic Church have held, drive most states to abandon such an advantage.¹⁴² By 1833, all American states lacked an established church after taking the Virginia experience as a model.¹⁴³

It should be pointed out that the Virginia secular model became legitimate only after the passage of the First Amendment and it has made religious liberty valid for all the states. By the time Thomas Jefferson has become the third president of the United States in 1801, the Baptists in Connecticut were in discordance with the Congregationalists over the issue of religious liberty. To settle this dispute Jefferson met the representatives of the Baptists in order to explicate the true meaning of the First Amendment since the president at that time was the one who interprets the Constitution. According to him, the First Amendment forbids Congress from establishing a particular religious doctrine for the sake of giving people the

¹⁴⁰ J. Gordon Melton, *Protestant Faith in America* (Facts on File, Inc, 2003), 41.

¹⁴¹ Ibid.

¹⁴² Denis Lacorne, *Religion in America: A Political History* (Columbia University Press, New York, 2007), 152.

¹⁴³ Ibid.

right to build a wall of separation between church and state.¹⁴⁴ Consequently, the Baptists' disagreement with the Congregationalists in Connecticut was logical and rightful.

It should be noted that the principle of secularism in the United States has needed a bold move to be firmly founded. By the time the primary controversies over separating church and state in Virginia and Connecticut seemed to be at large archaic, one major Supreme Court decision has brought back into the scenes the issue of secularism after applying for the first time in American history the Establishment Clause to state law. It was the case of *Everson* in 1947 that has paved the way for an actual establishment of secularism in America.

At stake was a Supreme Court decision ruling that a New Jersey law providing reimbursement of the costs of transportation to parents of students in both public and private schools was constitutional.¹⁴⁵ Justice Hugo Black when writing the opinion of the court, he opted to base his argument on two preliminary documents that are seen as a significant part of the bedrock on which the wall of separation is erected: the bill for establishing religious freedom in Virginia, and Jefferson's letter to the Danbury Baptists. As a result, Justice Black wrote that, "The First Amendment has erected a wall between church and state. That wall must be kept high and impregnable. We could not approve the slightest breach. New Jersey has not breached it here."¹⁴⁶

¹⁴⁴ Thomas Jefferson, "To Messrs. Nehemiah Dodge and Others, a Committee of the Danbury Baptist Association, in the State of Connecticut January 1, 1802", in *Writings*, ed. Merrill D. Peterson (New York: Library of America, 1984), 510.

¹⁴⁵ James W. Fraser, *Between Church and State: Religion and Public Education in a Multicultural America* (St. Martin's Press, New York, 1999), 142.

¹⁴⁶ *Everson v. Board of Education*, 330 U.S. 1 (1947), in *Supreme Court and Education*, ed. David Fellman (Classics in Education, No. 4, Teachers College, Columbia Univ, 1960), 6-15.

In theory, the Establishment Clause applied only to laws passed by the Congress, but thanks to the Everson case the US Supreme Court has ruled for the first time that the First Amendment protection could be applied also to state laws. In this respect, Justice Black had the conviction that the so-called state law was neither discordant with schools' curricula nor with the Establishment Clause. Hence, he concluded that the law on school transportation reimbursement was addressed to public as well as private schools equally and did not foster any religion over the other.

Convinced that Justice Black's rule on the Everson case contradicts the First Amendment, Justice Jackson in his dissent argued that the case conclusion swims in the opposite direction of Jefferson's principle of secularism. But, in order to understand the scope of the law on school transportation, the Supreme Court's jurisprudence in the Everson case has called upon the necessity to go back to some important documents written by the two champions: Thomas Jefferson and James Madison (Jefferson's letter to the Danbury Baptists and the bill for establishing religious freedom in Virginia, in addition to Madison's petition against religious assessments). Consequently, Justice Black has concluded that the law did not favor a particular religious belief and that the First Amendment has never meant to provoke quarrels against religion: "It requires the state to be neutral in its relations with groups of religious believers and nonbelievers; it does not require the state to be their adversary. State power is no more to be used so as to handicap religions, than it is to favor them."¹⁴⁷

It is estimated that the debate on the separation of church and state was an old issue that dates back to the Puritan era. Perhaps the strongest criticism of the metaphor of the separation of church and state belongs to William Rehnquist, the 16th chief justice of the Supreme Court. Rehnquist was extremely well known for his advocacy of a literal interpretation of the

¹⁴⁷ Ibid., 18.

Constitution along with a careful and proper deference to the founding fathers' real objectives while drafting the US Constitution.¹⁴⁸ In this respect, he assumed that the notion of a separation between church and state is not literally mentioned in the First Amendment. It is important to know that Jefferson was serving as Ambassador to France by the time the drafters of the Bill of Rights were working on the document. Consequently, Rehnquist has developed the idea that the drafters of the Bill of Rights were not influenced by Jefferson and have had no interest in separating church and state the way Jefferson did in his letter to the Danbury Baptists which was a clear and direct appeal to a strict separation between church and state. Rehnquist explained this idea by arguing: "The 'wall of separation between church and State' is a metaphor based on bad history, a metaphor which has proved useless as a guide to judging. It should be frankly and explicitly abandoned."¹⁴⁹

However, it should be pointed out that both Jefferson and Madison shared the same views concerning the establishment of religious freedom in Virginia and had struggled together in the pursuit of separating church and state in America. Rehnquist, as a result, seems to be at fault when he suggested that the drafters of the Bill of Rights were not influenced by Thomas Jefferson and his thoughts. He probably forgot the degree Madison, the drafter of the first Amendment, and Jefferson were tied together behind their paramount objective of establishing religious freedom in Virginia and then throughout a federal America.

2- The Theoretical Foundations of the American Public Education System and its Relation with Protestantism

2.1- Protestantism and the Role of Education in the US

¹⁴⁸ Denis Lacorne, *Religion in America: A Political History* (Columbia University Press, New York, 2007), 156.

¹⁴⁹ *Wallace v. Jaffree*, Rehnquist, J., dissenting, 472 U.S. 38, 107 (1985).

Religion in the United States has always been an object of astonishment. From the early times of the Quakers to the rehabilitation of the Puritans, America has succeeded in maintaining an image of a virgin land worth to be discovered and a suitable laboratory for religious experimentation. The vast majority of Americans are fascinated by their early history especially that of the Pilgrims.

During the early 1600s, the pilgrims, as a group of people who travelled across the Atlantic Ocean for religious reasons, formed what is now known as the Plymouth Colony in New England. Their primary aim was to invade a region where they could practice their own religion freely and independently. Other settlers from Britain and other European countries also arrived and settled down in the New World in order to seek religious independence. Among those settlers who sought to practice their own religion freely, were the Puritans who established Massachusetts Bay Colony. They were the most important religious group that invaded America at that time. Consequently, their beliefs shaped the uniqueness of the American culture.

As for the Puritans, the most potent religious group that along with other religious groups invaded America, the primary aim of their travel was religion. The Puritans, as strict Calvinists, they rejected the precepts of the Church of England and opted to protest against it and wanted it to be pure (that's why they were called Puritans). As a result, in 1603 king "James I" obliged them to leave England if they would continue to object to his religious beliefs and the way he understood religion.¹⁵⁰ Because the Puritans believed the Church of England to be a corrupt and extravagant institution, they hoped to escape their own land in an attempt to establish a more perfect society based on equality and morality, and most importantly, religious righteousness. However, the first century of settlement in America

¹⁵⁰ Bryn O'Callaghan, *An Illustrated History of the USA* (Pearson Education, 2004), 16.

witnessed sporadic quarrels between the different groups of settlers over the question of religion.

Protestantism has had a critical role in the history of education in America. As the different settlers (the Puritans, the Pilgrims, and others) in New England gave much importance to education, religion became a central topic in New England. It should be pointed out that literacy was a fundamental element of Protestantism. A Protestant should be able to read and interpret the holy Bible in order to succeed in developing a personal relationship with God. Thus, this meant that Protestantism and education were strictly linked to each other. Becoming literate and being Protestant were two fundamental components of education in colonial America at that time.

In practice it appears that education in colonial America was practically linked to Protestantism (reading the Bible, catechism). The importance of education was enormous among the settlers in North America where they enacted laws to build schools and to educate colonial children. The Puritans were the most famous group of settlers who gave much importance to education. Upon their arrival, they had a primary concern of establishing certain institutions where they could guarantee the transmission and the preservation of their faith and culture. This was apparent when they established Harvard College in 1636.

Formal education was highly essential for colonial leaders who set special measures to control and organize schooling in New England.¹⁵¹ Schooling for them was a requisite means to enhance the Protestant purposes of formal education as well as to ensure the transmission of a vital set of religious principles and values from generation to generation. Yet, the school was the suitable place where religious instruction and reading were practiced freely in the same manner they were practiced at homes or churches. The primary aim of formal education

¹⁵¹ Cremin, L. A, *American education: The colonial experience, 1607–1783*. (New York: Harper & Row, 1970), 102.

in colonial America, then, was to ensure the development of reading and interpreting the scriptures skills so as to become able to form an individual relationship with God in a society ruled by religious morals and principles.

2.2- What makes up the Cornerstone of the American Public Education System?

2.2.1- The Legacy of Thomas Jefferson and Horace Mann in the Pursuit of Non-Sectarianism in Public Schools

The school is the place where Americans fight important battles not only about education, but also about the meaning and the practice of democracy itself, for a successful democracy depends greatly on an educated society.

Born of out of centuries of conflict, innovation, and experimentation, the American system of public schools remains one of the nation's most significant and still unfinished achievements. Throughout American history, public education had been through various pressing stages which helped to mold antebellum American mindset of reform and have contributed to form a solid and coherent educational system that will continue to reflect America's conceptualization of governmental involvements in the politics of education.

Between 1770 and 1890 only the larger towns and New England built schools in the thirteen colonies of pre-revolutionary America, but elsewhere education was neither free nor public. In order to get their children enrolled, many parents were ready to pay a fee to send them to Dame Schools where the teaching material was very simple and traditional. Grammar schools were designed for boys who were willing to study Mathematics, Latin, and philosophy, but only the most privileged had the means to continue on through college or university.

In the beginning, most schooling systems in America were closely linked to the Protestant Bible brought by early settlers to the new world. However, one of the major issues in that era was whether or not people would follow the laws of the state and the Scriptures since the overlap between school, church, and government was very common and the three elements were substantially inseparable. Despite the introduction of the first Amendment to the US Constitution which forbids the establishment of a particular religious doctrine, it has succeeded to set the dispute over the position religion held in the American public education system only four years after.¹⁵² The most popular school book was labelled *The New England Primer* that was used by instructors to teach reading and the Protestant catechism. Such an old textbook used Bible verses to help children learn and memorize their ABCs.¹⁵³

¹⁵² James W. Fraser, *Between Church and State: Religion and Public Education in a Multicultural America* (St. Martin's Press, New York, 1999), 23.

¹⁵³ J. Gordon Melton, *Protestant Faith in America* (Facts on File, Inc, 2003), 56.



Figure 03. An edition of *The New England Primer* shows how the Bible inspired education by using pictures and rhymes from the Bible in each letter of the alphabet.

Here is an example of the alphabet from A through F:

A: In Adam's Fall

We sinned all

B: Heaven to find

The Bible mind

C: Christ crucified

For sinners died

D: The Deluge drowned

The Earth around

E: Elijah hid,

By Ravens fed

F: The Judgment made

After achieving independence from Britain, Americans relied on the leadership of General Washington; the one who led the difficult task of building a nation out of thirteen former colonies. Many believed that schools could play a critical role. For Noah Webster, a teacher in Connecticut, the first step was to eliminate British textbooks from American classrooms. He was often called the school master of America. He believed that there needs to be a national history where Americans can feel that they have a unified culture and this national history had to be built upon the legends of the founding fathers. In 1783 Webster published a textbook known as *The Blue Back Speller* that was designed to teach students about the United States and its inhabitants. Webster's Speller promoted a new national language to be spelled and pronounced differently from British English. The Speller became America's textbook which has sold millions of copies over the years and was a forerunner to Webster's American dictionary of the English language.

“If a nation expects to be ignorant and free, in a state of civilization, it expects what never was and never will be.”¹⁵⁴ This suggests that Thomas Jefferson believed that educating the common people is the only way to preserve liberty because education and freedom present a perfect symmetry and are interrelated in civil societies. To a leader like Jefferson, the survival of the democracy depended on educating all Americans. His views about public education are always remembered uncritically for his democratic appeal to all American citizens compared to his own views about building a democratic nation. In 1778, as a member of the Virginia

¹⁵⁴ Reid Cornwell, “Thomas Jefferson on Educating the People”, The Center for Internet Research (TCFIR) <http://tcfir.org>, <http://tcfir.org/opinion/Thomas%20Jefferson%20on%20Educating%20the%20People.pdf> (accessed April 09, 2017).

Assembly, he drafted the proposal to guarantee three years of public schooling for all children with advanced education for selecting few. It should be pointed out that Jefferson's idea was a universal education that had two purposes: first to give people the democratic basics, and second to be an audition side for the small group of natural aristocrats who will receive a fortress university education in order to serve their country in the future just as Jefferson has done. Moreover, Thomas Jefferson did not consider the possibility of female geniuses, his plan allowed three years of schooling for white girls as enough to prepare them for marriage and motherhood. Additionally, he offered no education for slaves, for slaves' education was often a hidden and dangerous undertaking. Jefferson's plan has not been passed but the legacy it left reflects the importance revolutionary leaders attach to education.¹⁵⁵

Excepting his view on blacks and women, Jefferson's ideas about education were considered radical. In 1779, he continued on his plan for providing a system of education to all American citizens by introducing a new bill.¹⁵⁶ However, three times between 1779 and 1870, Jefferson's bill for the More General Diffusion of Knowledge came up for vote; each time it was defeated. Jefferson continued to push for public schooling even as he served as secretary of state, vice president and finally as a president. His final educational battle led to the creation of the state supported University of Virginia. Joseph Ellis has described Jefferson and his plan for public education in Virginia as "Pure Jefferson: magisterial in conception, admirable in intention, unworkable in practice."¹⁵⁷ Such a description emphasized the fact that

¹⁵⁵ John L. Rury, *Education and Social Change: Themes in the History of American Schooling* (Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Inc, 2002), 49.

¹⁵⁶ James Carpenter, "Thomas Jefferson and the Ideology of Democratic Schooling", *Democracy and Education*, 21, n°. 2 (2013): 4.

¹⁵⁷ Joseph Ellis, *American sphinx: The character of Thomas Jefferson* (New York, NY: Alfred A. Knopf, 1997), 281.

although the good qualities and intentions found in Jefferson's essential idea of a universal education in America, it did not have the chance to gain the attention it truly deserved. Nevertheless, his most powerful legacy was the argument that public education was essential to a successful democracy.

Throughout the 1830's and 1840's, Jefferson's dream of a state-wide school system began to take root, most notably in Massachusetts. It was thanks to the significant work of Horace Mann, the first secretary of the Board of Education in Massachusetts.¹⁵⁸ It is very interesting how Horace Mann had become the best crusader and America's paragon for the promotion of public schooling when he accepted the duties of his new office as Secretary of the Board of Education.¹⁵⁹ The state legislature's law that has created the Board of Education was "the first great movement toward an organized system of common education, which shall at once be thorough and universal."¹⁶⁰ Hence, the first step towards the achievement of Jefferson's dream of common education was the formation of the Board of education.

Horace Mann was riding his horse back from district to district reviewing the actual physical facility of schools. In 1837, he found a system of education built on iniquity where schools varied widely from town to town and which were supported by local taxes and fees charged parents. Moreover, wealthy children could stay at school longer; the poorest could not afford to go at all. Mann visited a thousand schools over the course of six years and wrote detailed reports on their physical conditions. He found the materials were incredibly inadequate, the reading books were awful and teachers had no training. The state takes better

¹⁵⁸ William J. Reese and John L. Rury, *Rethinking the History of American Education* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 26

¹⁵⁹ Ernest Stabler, *Founders: Innovators in Education, 1830-1980* (The University of Alberta Press, 1987), 49.

¹⁶⁰ Horace Mann, "Journal", in *Life of Horace Mann*, ed. Mary Mann (Boston, 1888), 70.

care of its livestock, Mann concluded, than of its children and school. Hence, he wrote about his views on the district schools and has concluded that:” In this Commonwealth there are about three thousand public schools, in all of which the rudiments of knowledge are taught. These schools, at the present time, are so many distinct, independent communities; each being governed by its own habits, traditions, and local customs. There is no common, superintending power over them; there is no bond of brotherhood or family between them. They are strangers and aliens to each other.”¹⁶¹

For Mann, public schools had been inadequate for educating children. People did not want supporting them and many were leaving public schools for private ones. Thus, Mann’s aim was to change the public schools and to make them better so that anyone could want to use them. He held a series of public meetings to promote a new system called Common Schools. “Education then, beyond all other devices of human origin, is the great equalizer of the conditions of men, the balance-wheel of the social machinery.”¹⁶² That equalizing capacity of the school was something that Mann has very much believed in and he articulated more than anyone else the idea that the Common School and the District School became for him the place where Americans have become real American citizens. Consequently, Common schools will be free of charge so that poor children could attend and be of highest quality in order to draw wealthier students away from private schools. The new system will be entirely funded with tax dollars.

“The public school, according to Horace Mann, is “indispensable” to republican government, because it gives everyone, rich or poor, the same education and hence the same

¹⁶¹ Horace Mann, *Lectures on Education* (Boston, 1855; reprint, Arno Press and the New York Times, 1969), 19.

¹⁶² Kern Alexander and M. David Alexander, *American Public School Law* (Thomson West, 2005), 29.

possibility for social mobility.”¹⁶³ Mann’s plan was instantly and vigorously opposed, however. Critics of Horace Mann at Massachusetts tried to get him ousted because a lot of people rejected his idea of tax-supported public education. He was carrying out his idea that all Americans should take for granted the basic idea of paying taxes for all the children in the country for the purpose of educating all of them (even if they are not their own children).

Mann’s writings were impressing on every American. He gained a wider audience through the annual reports he wrote while serving on the board of education. He standardized all aspects of the common school starting from the physical conditions of the classrooms when he recommended things that are now essential in every school: chairs with backs, a blackboard, and standardized textbooks. His first major report emphasized the school building and what it should be like.

Mann was read and debated from New England to the south-west and from Europe to south-America. His ideas on school reform made him one of the most influential writers of his time. He succeeded in the establishment of state bureaus of education, providing special training and regulation for teachers so as to make public education more academically challenging, and most importantly free tax support of education for all the children in the northern states. He is rightly the patron saint of public education not because of what he always managed to accomplish in Massachusetts, but because of what he said and those reports he wrote.

There is a deep connection between Mann’s vision and Jefferson’s. Both of them disliked the idea of the family a person was being born into determining how he/she will be ended up in the future. One passage in an old standardized textbook stated: “in the United States there is no nobility, every citizen is equal in civil and political rights. The son of the poorest man in

¹⁶³ Denis Lacorne, *Religion in America: A Political History* (Columbia University Press, New York, 2007), 75.

the country, if he attends his to learning and possesses abilities, may become President.”¹⁶⁴ Accordingly, Jefferson has already mentioned this idea before when he stated that high academic achievement is necessary and is the sole road to exercise independence and enjoy freedom.¹⁶⁵

By 1890, the United States was providing more schooling to more children than any other nation on earth, thanks in large part to the 19th century movement for school reform. While the majority of American children attend public school, they did not go to school together. Many Native Americans were sent to special government schools where they were forced to abandon tribal languages, customs and dress. African Americans also face exclusion and created their own schools. The great American experiment of universal education was well underway inspired by Thomas Jefferson, promoted and refined by Horace Mann, Katherine Beecher and others. America’s public schools offered promise for all. It remained to be seen how that promise would be met as schools faced the enormous challenges of the 20th century, perhaps most importantly the challenge to resist the evolution-creationism debate in which schools became the battleground.

Conflicts arose over the question of religion even as the common school movement gone underway. The growing numbers of immigrants arriving from Europe created sectarian disputes among citizens. By 1840, nearly half of New York City residents were foreign born. Many were Irish Catholics; they were generally poor and desperate from education. Yet, in New York they found the public schools while free and open to all, were effectively Protestant. The entire Protestant sect could feel very comfortable in American public schools

¹⁶⁴ Samuel Augustus Mitchell, *An Easy Introduction to the Study of Geography: Designed for the Instruction of Children in Schools and Families* (Thomas, Cowperthwait & Company, 1840), 38.

¹⁶⁵ Kern Alexander and M. David Alexander, *American Public School Law* (Thomson West, 2005), 267.

comparing to other religious adherents especially the Catholics. According to Horace Mann, the core idea of public education in America is non sectarianism in the schools. Students in the classroom should all read the same Bible, say the same prayers, and use religious ideas that are common to all of them (meaning Protestants).

While the Irish Catholic children were being expected to attend schools where the King James Bible was read, textbooks and the entire atmosphere of the teaching were very much anti-Irish and anti-Catholic. Consequently, Bishop John Hughes launched the protest against the myth of having a secularized public education system in America.¹⁶⁶ He was furious and uncompromising about public education in America: "...They say that their education is not sectarianism; but it is; and of what kind? The sectarianism of infidelity in its every feature."¹⁶⁷ "We are unwilling to pay taxes for the purpose of destroying our religion in the minds of our children, that such books should be put into their hands is unjust, unnatural, and intolerable."¹⁶⁸ Bishop Hughes demanded that the public-school society, the Protestant civic leaders in charge of education should make city funds available for Catholic schools. When Jews and Presbyterians also asked for funds, city leaders agreed to hold the debate. The debate continued in the press where many readers spoke out against public funding for religious schools.

One of the first principles of American freedom is to keep separate and distinct the institution of church and state, that's why the city denied Bishop Hughes request. Controversy over the use of the Protestant Bible in the public schools escalated nationwide, and has led to

¹⁶⁶ Denis Lacorne, *Religion in America: A Political History* (Columbia University Press, New York, 2007), 76.

¹⁶⁷ Stephen Macedo, *Diversity and Distrust: Civic Education in a Multicultural Democracy* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2000), 102.

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid*, 104.

the Philadelphia Bible riots of 1843 which left 13 people dead. In addition, the Catholic Church was burnt to the ground.

But change was underway. After the city holds debates, New York principles were ordered to search through textbooks for passages offensive to Catholics which they painstakingly removed by hands. Two years later, the public-school city was replaced by the New York City Board of Education as an elected body. Moreover, growing numbers of Catholic children enrolled. Meanwhile, John Hughes was named “Archbishop of New York” in 1850, and used his considerable power to help create a national system of Catholic schools. It became the major alternative school system in the United States. Hughes goal was to have a school system that did not erase religion. It should be pointed out that the issue of religion took its place alongside other issues facing the architects of public education, most notably the issue of race.

3- Darwin’s Evolution and the Challenge to Survive in America’s Classrooms

3.1- A History of the Evolution Theory

3.1.1- The Emergence of Darwin’s Theory

Sailing around the world during five years on board the HMS Beagle, English naturalist Charles Darwin has never expected that such a journey would later generate a point of tension and become the cause of a long struggle over his estimation about the world’s origin. The consequence of this famous voyage was the birth of a new theory that would change so many people’s most cherished convictions of nature: the origin or the creation of life.

Darwin’s theory is based on the different observations he made especially in the Galapagos Islands where he observed the different finches of birds and basically the considerable differences in their beaks. He suggested that those differences are the result of their adaptation

to their surrounding environments. In 1859, his views were first published in *The Origin of Species* to postulate that all living organisms are the result of an assured process which enables the production of a new species through variation over time.

Hence, according to Darwin all species are derived from a primitive predecessor and that “natural selection” is the mechanism by which this process can be explained. John Pojeta, Jr and Dale A. Springer have summarized Darwin’s theory in four points:”...Variation exists among individuals within species...Organisms produce more offspring than the environment can support...Competition exists among individuals...The organisms whose variations best fit them to the environment are the ones who are most likely to survive, reproduce, and pass those desirable variations on to the next generation.”¹⁶⁹ This suggests that the four elements in which evolution may occur can be summarized as follows:

1/ within a particular population of organisms there exists variation which permits individuals to carry the different traits that may become visible in the next generations.

2/ the number of progenies generated by living beings will exceed the capacity of the world if they all succeed to survive.

3/ competition is a constant element among living beings.

4/ if the surrounding environment is suitable for variation, living beings will be able to survive and propagate various heritable characteristics from generation to generation. This process is called natural selection.

Thus, the emphasis on Darwin’s theory was on “natural selection” and how this process could enable the production of new species. Because each species of organisms can have

¹⁶⁹ Pojeta John Jr and Dale A. Springer, *Evolution and the Fossil Record* (American Geological Institute, 2001), 7-8-9.

some natural variations, “natural selection” will choose the favorable characteristics and cause them to reproduce and then to adapt to the surrounding environment. In other words, variation causes a series of far-reaching modifications that occur in those transmitted traits of organic beings through “natural selection.” Over time this may result in the rise of a new species.

It should be indicated, however, that after Darwin’s evolution succeeded to relatively gain scientific credibility, major gaps in it started to loom on the horizon. At first, Darwin has failed to present an effective answer to a primary question like: how did the very first ancestor of a particular population of organisms come into existence? And how could life start from an inanimate object? Although Darwin has dealt with some of these awkward questions in his chapter “Difficulties of the theory”, he was unsuccessful to present valid explanations. Such skepticism may include uncertainties about the origin of life as well as the fossil record which lack actual evidences on the subject of gradual evolution.

Similarly, by the time Darwin’s evolution started to prevail, the doctrine of “spontaneous generation”, one of Darwin’s evolutionary theory backbones, was very widespread. Since the Middle Ages, the doctrine of “spontaneous generation” was extremely popular and widely accepted in the scientific circles. The dogma that living beings can be generated from non-living matters was commonly held to be an absolute fact. Such a fact included the belief that some sort of insects like maggots would appear in dead flesh and that mice have first come into existence from wheat.

However, shortly after the publication of Darwin’s *The Origin of Species* “spontaneous generation” has failed to resist new scientific experiments. In 1864 Louis Pasteur has successfully debunked this doctrine thanks to his striking findings. Sidney Fox and Dose Klaus in their *Molecular Evolution and the Origin of Life* have stated that Louis Pasteur has officially refuted the doctrine of “spontaneous generation” when he announced, “Never will

the doctrine of spontaneous generation recover from the mortal blow struck by this simple experiment.”¹⁷⁰ This suggests that Pasteur’s experiment has put an end to the concept of a coincidental life. Despite the proofs advanced by Pasteur’s experiment, proponents of evolution had continued to object to such findings. They continued to accept evolution as a fact even by the time “natural selection” entered a period of decay because of raising doubts about its efficiency to remain the fundamental mechanism of evolution.¹⁷¹

3.1.2- The Problem of Inheritance and the “Eclipse of Darwinism”

The different advances in science that showed the complexity of life have opened the door to an even greater dilemma associated with the mechanism of evolution. It was the problem of inheritance which has widened the gap between empiricism and dogmatic beliefs. After a long time of an actual acceptance that all inherited characteristics are passed on to the next generations through blood, one new scientific finding has made all the tables of Darwin’s explanations of inheritance turned.

Darwin’s evolutionary theory lacked an effective estimation on heredity. In his explanation of the issue of inheritance, Darwin regarded “natural selection” as the actual mechanism by which heritable traits could be selected and passed to offspring. James R. Moore has described Darwin’s difficulty to draw a logical assumption for heredity by stating, “the assumptions Darwin made about inheritance also created difficulties for his defence of natural selection. Like variation, inheritance to him was an enigma. Its laws were also 'quite

¹⁷⁰ Sidney Fox and Dose Klaus, *Molecular Evolution and the Origin of Life* (San Francisco, W.H. Freeman and Company, 1972), 4.

¹⁷¹ Peter J. Bowler, *The Eclipse of Darwinism* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1983), 12.

unknown'.¹⁷² This indicates the dilemma Darwin finds himself trapped in when he insisted on “natural selection” to be the actual mechanism of inheritance despite the ambiguities surrounding the issue.

Moreover, Darwin’s mechanism of “natural selection” was based on the idea of Lamarck to explain the whole evolutionary process. However, what was at stake is the lack of a logical and consistent answer to a question like: how could “natural selection” occur and enable the transmission of selective features to the next generations? “Lamarckism” or the theory of the “inheritance of acquired traits” was the foundation upon which Darwin has based his theory and its mechanism of “natural selection.” Lamarckism spins around the acquisition of some novel traits during the lifetime of a particular individual organism and which may become subject to transmission for this individual organism progeny as an inherited characteristic through the part of the body that is responsible for that process.¹⁷³

In 1868 Darwin published a book, *Variation of Plants and Animals under Domestication*, in which he formulated a theory called “Pangenesis.” The so called theory postulates that heritable features derived from the parental body including even those that were acquired during its lifetime are transmitted to “Gemmules” (heritable elements) which circulate throughout the body through the blood.¹⁷⁴ What can be noticed in Darwin’s estimation on heredity is that his theory bears a great resemblance to Lamarck’s evolution for he was profoundly influenced by him as Gordon Taylor has put it, “...By 1868...he gave a whole series of examples of supposed Lamarckian inheritance: such as a man losing part of his little

¹⁷² James R. Moore, *The Post-Darwinian Controversies: A study of the Protestant struggle to come to terms with Darwin in Great Britain and America 1870-1900* (Cambridge University Press, 1979), 130.

¹⁷³ Mano Singham, *God vs. Darwin: The War between Evolution and Creationism in the Classroom* (Lanham, Md.: Rowan & Littlefield Education, 2009), 10.

¹⁷⁴ Olivier Rieppel, *Evolutionary Theory and the Creation Controversy* (Springer, 2011), 79.

finger and all his sons being born with deformed little fingers, and boys born with foreskins much reduced in length as a result of generations of circumcision.”¹⁷⁵ Thus, Darwin’s centrality on Lamarck’s theory has driven him to base his evolution theory by “natural selection” on the mere pseudo theory that tried to convince the scientific realm that the acquisition of some characteristics during the lifetime of an individual organism may become observed in the next progeny.

In Darwin’s estimation, “variation” is unlimited and it is the key component that permits “evolution” to occur and even to produce new species by transferring a given population of the same kind into new and different one. Darwin explains this in his *The Origin of Species* by noting, “In North America the black bear was seen by Hearne swimming for hours with widely open mouth, thus catching, like a whale, insects in the water. Even in so extreme a case as this, if the supply of insects were constant, and if better adapted competitors did not already exist in the country, I can see no difficulty in a race of bears being rendered, by natural selection, more and more aquatic in their structure and habits, with larger and larger mouths, till a creature was produced as monstrous as a whale.”¹⁷⁶ This shows that Darwin believed in the possibility of changing one particular species into another through unlimited variation.

However, all Darwin’s claimed theories about evolution have been refuted by botanist Gregor Mendel who has discovered a theory that set up the stakes of genetics as an independent branch of biology that studies the laws bounding genetic variation and heredity. These genetic laws advanced by Mendel revealed that species are constant and cannot be

¹⁷⁵ Gordon Rattray Taylor, *The Great Evolution Mystery* (Abacus, Sphere Books, London, 1984), 41–42.

¹⁷⁶ Charles Darwin, *On the Origin of Species* (Pennsylvania State University: The Electronic Classics Series: Jim Manis, 2013), 168-169.

transformed into new kinds. In addition, they have put an end to certain archaic ideas most notably Lamarck's inheritance of acquired traits.

3.1.3- The Modern Evolutionary Synthesis

In the dilemma of Darwin's evolution two major issues have generated the need to improve the theory and to adjust its understanding in light of the latest scientific advances of that time. The science of genetics and the fossil record were the two actual stalemates Neo-Darwinists have been hankering to overcome.

In 1865 Gregor Johann Mendel has made a presentation in which he reported his findings from his experiments after several attempts of hybridizing pea plants. One year later he published his work in a scientific paper but unfortunately it did not succeed to gain the attention of the scientific community. It was until the beginning of the twentieth century that the efforts of Mendel became the core of evolutionary biology. Advanced by Darwin and refined by Mendel, the *Modern Evolutionary Synthesis* or *Neo-Darwinism* was the outcome of reuniting both theories of evolution by "natural selection" and "Mendelian genetics." In 1941, proponents of Darwinism have sought by anyway to prove the validity of Darwin's evolution by trying to group the theory with Mendel's laws of inheritance. Thus the "Modern Synthesis" was a reevaluation of Darwin's evolution and which has been formulated by a group of scientists that included: Ernst Mayr, Julian Huxley, G. Ledyard Stebbins, Theodosius Dobzhansky, Sir Ronald A. Fisher, Sewall Wright, George Gaylord Simpson and Glenn L. Jepsen.¹⁷⁷

First, the primary issue through which Neo-Darwinists sought to reconcile the theory of "natural selection" was by trying to prove that Darwin's allegations about mutation as being the actual responsible for "useful traits" is an accurate and absolute fact. However, all

¹⁷⁷ Lee Spetner, *Not By Chance!* (New York, Judaica Press, 1996), 20.

witnessed mutations in living organisms have showed that mutation, as an unexpected process that happens in DNA and causes considerable changes in the genetic information carried in the nuclei of cells, has mischievous effects. Thus, contrary to what Darwin claims about in terms of generating fittest forms of organisms thanks to evolution and “natural selection” the process of mutation has confirmed that evolution as a mechanism is inappropriate and invalid.

Mutations are due to external factors most notably radiation. It is a process that causes unusual compositions in the genetic makeup of organisms. Although genetic information is inherited from parents which may not carry any erratic structures, random mutations may occur accidentally causing destructive results in DNA. Phillip E. Johnson in his *Darwin on Trial* has stated, “Mutations are randomly occurring genetic changes which are nearly always harmful when they produce effects in the organism large enough to be visible.”¹⁷⁸ Hence, this shows that the effects of mutation are harmful and result in severe damages in the DNA of organisms. Because of the complexity of DNA, any potential harmful effect of mutation may damage its structure as Ranganathan postulates, “most mutations are harmful since they are random, rather than orderly changes in the structure of genes; any random change in a highly ordered system will be for the worse, not for the better.”¹⁷⁹ Accordingly, random mutations cannot be by any sort useful.

Second, the fossil record is a hindrance for evolutionists who strongly believe that there are intermediate species in nature or “transitional forms” of organisms that have inhabited the earth and experienced gradual evolution (millions of years). However, if this claim was true strange and fanciful creatures would have been existed and their remains must certainly appear in the fossil discoveries to indicate the continuous spectrum of life. For paleontologists, this issue was unquestioned for they succeeded to prove that species do not

¹⁷⁸ Phillip E. Johnson, *Darwin on Trial* (Regnery Gateway Publishing Co, 1991), 11.

¹⁷⁹ B G. Ranganathan, *Origins?* (Pennsylvania, the Banner of Truth Trust, 1988), 20.

change over long periods of time as Stephen Jay Gould has confirmed, "...1) **Stasis** – most species exhibit no directional change during their tenure on earth. They appear in the fossil record looking much the same as when they disappear; morphological change is usually limited and directionless; 2) **Sudden appearance** – in any local area, a species does not arise gradually by the steady transformation of its ancestors; it appears all at once and 'fully formed.'"¹⁸⁰ Unfortunately for evolutionists, no evidence of such “transitional forms” has been recorded till present times and this was a serious deadlock for evolution as a theory.

As for Darwin, he was completely aware of the lack of empirical proofs that would legitimize the idea of “transitional forms” when he dealt with this impediment in his *Difficulties of the Theory* Chapter by stating, “...But, as by this theory innumerable transitional forms must have existed, why do we not find them embedded in countless numbers in the crust of the earth? ... But in the intermediate region, having intermediate conditions of life, why do we not now find closely-linking intermediate varieties? This difficulty for a long time quite confounded me.”¹⁸¹ Hence, Darwin was anxious about recent discoveries led by the fossil record at that time and which have proved to be insufficient to resolve the clues of the mystery of the so called “transitional forms.” Instead, he opened the door for further research in the future.

3.2- Public Schools as a Battleground for the Evolution-Creationism Controversy

3.2.1- The Scopes Monkey Trial 1925 and the Dark Side of Protestant Fundamentalism

¹⁸⁰ Stephen J. Gould, “Evolution’s Erratic Pace”, *Natural History* 86 (1977): 5.

¹⁸¹ Charles Darwin, *The Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection* (The Modern Library, New York, 1998), 124-125.

The most disquieting experiences of the nineteenth century for fundamentalism, a new religious and social phenomenon at that time, are summarized mainly in the spread of modernism, biblical higher criticism, and evolution being a new scientific theory. These issues have created a sense of uncertainty and self-consciousness among Protestant fundamentalists, the most conservative and religious individuals in America, because of raising threats initiated by the so-called “intellectual revolution.” Thus, what generated visible attention as a direct response to the fundamentalists’ opposition to contemporary intellectual revolutions enhanced by the liberals was the debate on America’s public schools and what should legitimately be part of its curricula.

After seeking a complete prohibition of evolution in the primary, middle, and secondary schools, fundamentalists desired to ban the teaching of such a theory even at universities. Thereby, in addition to guaranteeing a respected college degree for students without the need to embrace the different aspects imported by the so called intellectual revolution; the primary goal of fundamentalists was not only outlawing evolution, but their biggest challenge was also preserving the Protestant faith regardless of how the task might be accomplished.¹⁸² In this respect, public schools were the actual battle-ground where fundamentalists fought their war against evolution in an attempt to sustain the dominance of their religious belief. The Butler Act was the most effective attempt that tried to ban the teaching of evolution comparing to earlier efforts. But what has made the law special and even more influential is the fact that it left no room for the possibility of denying the Biblical story of mankind’s creation. Instead, it provides criminal penalties for teaching any theory that undermines the story of the creation of humans included in the Bible.

¹⁸² Adam Laats, *Fundamentalism and Education in the Scopes Era: God, Darwin, and the Roots of America’s Culture Wars* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 43.

After the Scopes trial, negative stereotypes perpetuated about fundamentalists and which have maintained an image that described them as backward and stubborn minded who are ignorant about the latest scientific advances. Antievolution legislations have made the task even worse when school laws supported by fundamentalists failed to meet their required desire of prohibiting evolution from mushrooming in public schools and misleading students from the “Protestant faith.” Contrary, this has made the destructive stereotypes about fundamentalists persist. Ironically, fundamentalists thought the Scopes trial would end the debate on evolution-creationism at once. But the truth is that it has worsened the issue and brought new understanding about “Fundamentalism” as movement and “Fundamentalists” as conservative believers who are enthusiastically eager to defend their faith by any means. As a response, the strategy of fundamentalists to struggle against Darwin’s evolutionary theory has shifted from explicit and direct confrontations to implicit political crusades. The fundamentalists’ campaigns against school policy lessened noticeably in the decade that followed the infamous Scopes trial; however, their religious fanaticism has continued.

Therefore, the 1920’s educational struggles to control America’s public schools reflected the complicated nature of fundamentalists and their unusual school policy and activism. In fact, skirmishes over school laws have heated the debate and sparked the events surrounding the evolution-creationism contention. The darkest side of Protestant fundamentalists was highlighted in the political fights they were engaged in.

3.2.2- Protestant Fundamentalists and a “Recurring Conflict” over Evolution-Creationism between 1925 and 2005

What seemed likely to be central in the fundamentalists’ efforts to ban the teaching of Darwin’s evolutionary theory has been their strong desire to preserve the religious purity of public schools (the position of the Protestant Bible in the school). It should be pointed out that

religion in America seemed to be always at war with Darwin and his theory of evolution.¹⁸³ Thus, for Protestant fundamentalists their primary aim was to protect the Protestant faith from the new trends brought about by modernism and its subsequent generated ideas that are undoubtedly menacing to the belief in the revered Bible. The only way for fundamentalists to preserve the Protestant faith was by sustaining and ensuring their absolute domination of the American public schools.

1925 was the year that marked the real beginning of the fundamentalists' crusades against evolution. That same year in Texas, Governor Miriam Ferguson forbade the use of biology textbooks which include "evolution" and required that teachers could be "fired" or sued for using one of these "unproved" books.¹⁸⁴ Similarly, Tennessee Governor Austin Peay has signed the Butler Act into law in 1925. The law made the teaching of human evolution in Tennessee public schools illegal and has escalated the tensions of the debate on evolution by leading to the infamous Scopes Monkey Trial that became later the landmark of the evolution-creationism controversy. After the prosecution of Scopes and as an attempt to carry on William Jennings Bryan's initiatives to object to the teaching of evolution in America's public schools, two new antievolution organizations have been established the same year (1925): The Bible Crusaders of America, and the Bryan Bible League.

In 1926, the state of Mississippi succeeded to sign a law prohibiting the teaching of evolution in public schools throughout the state and remained in effect for 40 years. This law was an additional effort to Tennessee and Arkansas laws that were specifically designed to challenge Darwin's evolution at their schools. One year later in *John Thomas Scopes v. State*

¹⁸³ For more detailed information about religion and Darwin in America, please see the annex.

¹⁸⁴ Corwin E. Smidt and Lyman A. Kellstedt and James L. Guth, *The Oxford Handbook of Religion and American Politics* (Oxford University Press, 2009), 186.

of Tennessee, the Tennessee Supreme Court was convinced that the Tennessee Law that bans the teaching of human evolution remains constitutional and that the Scopes's condemnation will henceforth be ended.¹⁸⁵ Consequently, the Tennessee, Arkansas, and Mississippi laws continued to be lawful until 1970.

The year 1947 witnessed a real challenge to the fundamentalist religious fervor and marked the start of the fight against public support for religion in education. After the introduction of the New Jersey law providing the reimbursement of cost transportation for parents of students from public and private schools, skirmishes over tacit support for religion prevailed the scene and put the fundamentalists on trouble. The crux of the problem resides on the fact that most of the private schools were Catholic. As a result, plaintiff Arch R. Everson appealed for the US Supreme Court on the grounds that the New Jersey law violated the Establishment Clause of the First Amendment to the US Constitution. The Supreme Court decision in *Epperson V. Board of Education* confirmed the safe distance between state and religion and that the civil government has no legal authority in protecting any religious view.

Additionally, *McCollum v. Board of Education* was another challenge to religious instruction in public schools in 1948 that reaffirmed the limits for sponsoring religious instruction. The case spun around the unconstitutionality of the Champaign Council on Religious Education association, which offered public school students optional religious instruction. The Supreme Court decided that the civil government shall never permit or offer any approval for supporting any kind of sectarian religious instruction in public schools. It emphasized that: "The public school is at once the symbol of our democracy and the most pervasive means for promoting our common destiny. In no activity of the State is it more vital

¹⁸⁵ Ibid., 377.

to keep out divisive forces than in its schools.”¹⁸⁶ Thus, the Supreme Court decision on *McCullum v. Board of Education* accompanied the confirmation on the significance of public schools in educating children, the most important and vulnerable population in any society.

After the decision in *McCullum v. Board of Education*, public school classrooms became a real battleground for the controversy over legalizing or outlawing both evolution and creationism. Between 1952 and 1967, several attempts have heated the debate of the controversy by trying to repeal Tennessee and Arkansas antievolution laws. Until 1967, those attempts were ineffective. In 1968, The US Supreme Court invalidated the Arkansas Law that strived for the prohibition of teaching human evolution in public schools. This law has been passed through the general election in 1928 in a time the fundamentalist movement was so influential and controversial (the 1920s). The Supreme Court decision was based on the allegation that the First Amendment to the US Constitution forbids the advocacy of a particular religious doctrine over another. Hence, the decision in *Epperson v. Arkansas* made the Arkansas statute, the sole antievolution law in the United States that has passed by popular vote, unconstitutional for it favored a specific sectarian religious view.

The 1970s witnessed an increasing demand for equal time for creationism or the call for teaching both theories of evolution and creationism in public school science classes like in Ohio, Michigan, and Colorado. One legal decision in 1972 has dismissed an attempt to make teaching creationism in public schools lawful. *Willoughby v. Stever* was a legal case brought to court against the NSF (the National Science Foundation) because providing taxation to support evolution violates the Establishment Clause. The case was an effort to foster the teaching of creationism in science classes by providing similar tax money to support creationist education. The result was that the DC Circuit Court of Appeals ruled that the

¹⁸⁶ Ibid., 226

National Science Foundation is eligible to use tax money to promulgate new scientific findings, including even the evolutionary theory. In 1973, The US District Court in Washington DC upheld the opinion of the DC Circuit Court of Appeals that the NSF support for evolution promoted science, not religion. Moreover, the First Amendment interdicts the state to make education a reflection of a particular religious doctrine or belief.¹⁸⁷ The US Supreme Court has officially ended the case in 1975 after its refusal to hear the appeal.

Public school classrooms continued to be a battleground for the struggle over legitimizing the teaching of evolutionary theory and creationism. *Wright v. Houston Independent School District* (1973) was the first legal case brought to court by creationists. It tried to allow the teaching of creationism whenever evolution is referred to as fact. The case's premium interest was to find a way to enhance the teaching of alternative theories such as creationism. The plaintiffs argued against the unconstitutionality of the Houston Independent School District's opinion to present evolution as fact in science classes without indicating other theories of origins, including the creation story of human beings. Yet, for plaintiffs, by trying to prevent the teaching of Darwin's estimation, public schools will be protected from the dangers of "secular humanism" promoted by evolutionary theory. The decision of the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals was that: "...(1) the teaching of evolution does not establish religion, (2) there is no legitimate state in protecting particular religions from scientific information "distasteful to them," and (3) the free exercise of religion is not accompanied by a right to be shielded from scientific findings incompatible with one's beliefs."¹⁸⁸ The US Supreme Court has officially ended the case in 1974.

The decision in *Epperson v. Arkansas* of 1968 had ended all earlier attempts to check the spread of evolution in public schools (anti-evolution laws of the 1920s). However, creationists

¹⁸⁷ Ibid., 273.

¹⁸⁸ Ibid., 387

were not satisfied with the ruling of *Epperson v. Arkansas* and tried to adjust their strategy in the hope the Biblical story of creation could be legitimized and hence be part of public-school science curricula. In 1975 *Daniel v. Waters* was another legal case in which the Sixth Circuit Court of Appeals struck down a Tennessee's Genesis Bill of 1973 that tried to validate equal time for creationism whenever evolution is taught in public school science classes. The decision found the Tennessee's law unconstitutional for it violates the Establishment Clause of the United States Constitution.

The ruling in *Daniel v. Waters* did not minimize the creationists' efforts to prohibit evolution and advance creationism. Again in 1977, there was another legal case that ruled against the constitutionality of the West Clark Community Schools' decision in 1976 to embrace *Biology: A Search For Order In Complexity*, a creationism-based biology textbook, as the only biology textbook for Indiana's public schools' science classes. The case is labeled *Hendren v. Campbell*, which accused public schools use of textbooks that contain creationism to explain origins, as unconstitutional for it presents a direct profession to a specific religious doctrine.

By 1980 several state legislatures kept the same strategy of fighting older battles against the teaching of evolution and arguing for equal time for creationism. Initially in 1978, Congress has funded "The Emergence of Man: Dynamics of Evolution" as an exhibit at the Smithsonian Institution that would promote evolution.¹⁸⁹ Evangelist Dale Crowley, Jr. was not satisfied with this act and decided to sue the Smithsonian Institution for the sake of either cancelling the exhibit or providing similar treatment to the theory of creation i.e. financial and spatial support. The DC Circuit Court of Appeals in *Crowley v. Smithsonian Institution* (1980) made lawful for the federal government to put up money for public exhibits aiming at

¹⁸⁹ Ibid., 280

advancing the theory of evolution. The decision excluded the theory of creation from being funded by the federal government.

The Sacramento Superior Court of California courtroom in 1981 has witnessed another battle between evolution and creationism. That year Kelly Segraves sued the California Board of Education on behalf of his three schoolchildren on the allege that teaching the evolutionary theory in California public school oversteps the Free Exercise Clause of the First Amendment to the US Constitution. Segraves insisted that "Science Framework for California Public Schools," as an approved curriculum guide by California Board of Education and permitted by its antidogmatism policy, infringed the religious freedom of his children and made direct appeal to secular humanism whenever evolution is taught in science classes. Thus, the ruling of the lawsuit *Segraves v. California* as decided by Judge Irving Perluss urged anyone in California who would use "Framework for California Public Schools" to be aware of the antidogmatism policy. Besides, he ruled that the teaching of evolution in public schools does not violate the religious freedom approved by the Free Exercise Clause of the First Amendment.

Noticeably in the wake of *Epperson v. Arkansas*, the creationist movement sought to alter its strategy to legalize the teaching of creationism in public schools. After their desire to outlaw the evolutionary theory, creationists shifted their interest to claim an equal position as evolution inside public school classrooms. By the passage of the "Balanced Treatment for Creation-Science and Evolution-Science Act" (Act 590) in 1981, creationists sought to add a sense of scientific credibility to the Biblical story of creation in an attempt to gain the legitimacy they have been fighting long to obtain. Arkansas Senator Jim Holsted drafted the bill "balanced treatment for scientific creationism" and Governor Frank White has signed it into law on the pretext of, "if we are going to teach evolution in the public school system,

why not teach scientific creationism? Both of them are theories.”¹⁹⁰ Consequently, “creation science,” a branch of creationism that is supposed to be scientifically valid, became the newest form of creationism creationists intended to integrate into public-school science classes. Arkansas Act 590 required public schools to give equal time to teach both creation science and evolution. However, the Arkansas state law has angered so many people and organizations for they considered it an unconstitutional law that infringed the Establishment Clause of the First Amendment. As a response they brought the case to the United States District Court for the Eastern District of Arkansas (*McLean v. Arkansas Board of Education*). In 1982, Judge William Overton ruled that “creation science” is religion and has no scientific evidence or any direct relation with science. Therefore, the Arkansas law was made unconstitutional in the Eastern District of Arkansas.

After *McLean v. Arkansas Board of Education*, another important legal case has forced creationists to adjust “creation science” into a more modern, sophisticated, and convincing estimation that would be able to challenge the evolutionary theory on solid scientific grounds. In early 1980, Louisiana Senator Bill Keith introduced a bill to claim equal time for both theories of evolution and creationism; i.e., whenever evolution is taught in public schools, “creation science” must be referred to as well. In 1981, Louisiana State enacted the “Balanced Treatment” Act and argued that the law had a secular purpose and did not require the teaching of a particular theory. Accordingly, the law did not foster religion, but it aimed to preserve “academic freedom.” The law’s alleged secular purpose did not convince everyone. Don Aguillard, a high school biology teacher, has challenged the law and filed a lawsuit against the unconstitutionality of the Louisiana Statute because it violated the Establishment Clause. Governor of Louisiana Edwin Edwards was the defendant of the case; hence, the case was named *Edwards v. Aguillard*. In 1985, Judge Adrian Duplantier ruled that Louisiana’s law

¹⁹⁰ Ibid., 288.

was unconstitutional because it represented a direct appeal to a particular religious belief. Louisiana State appealed the decision of the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals to the United States Supreme Court. In 1987, The US Supreme Court ruled that Louisiana's law requiring "balanced treatment" for the evolutionary theory and creation-science was unconstitutional for it advanced religion and had no secular purpose. Besides, the law was made unconstitutional because it explicitly violated the Establishment Clause of the First Amendment to the United States Constitution.

Nevertheless, Justice William Brennan has held that teaching creationism in public schools is intolerable because it would foster religion. Surprisingly he added that teaching some scientifically based alternative theories to evolution might be acceptable in public schools. As a result, creationists believed that Brennan's decision could open the door to developing a new scientific theory that might be included in public school textbooks. The next step was to adjust "creation science" into "intelligent design" theory. The decision in *Edwards v. Aguillard* marked the end of older creationists' strategies to validate the teaching of creationism in public schools, i.e., "equal time" and "balanced treatment" strategies.

In 1990, another challenge to teaching creationism in the public schools was initiated by *Webster v. New Lenox School District*. It was a court case in New Lenox, Illinois, in which a school teacher proceeded against Illinois's New Lenox School District 122 after preventing him from teaching "creation science." He accused the school district of infringing on his right to "freedom of speech" guaranteed by the First Amendment. The court found that teaching "creation science" in public school classrooms is unlawful because it violates the Establishment Clause. Webster appealed the decision to the 7th Circuit Court of Appeals which in return ruled that a teacher does not have any right (granted by the First Amendment)

to teach creationism in public schools. Also, any school district has the right to prevent teachers from teaching creationism in the class.

In 1994, a creationist teacher named John Peloza sued the Capistrano Unified School District school board for obliging him to teach evolution. Peloza considered the requirement of teaching “evolutionism” violates his right to “freedom of speech” and presents a direct appeal to a particular religious doctrine (secular humanism). The 9th Circuit Court of Appeals ruled that requiring the teaching of the evolutionary theory in public schools cannot be a violation of the Establishment Clause of the United States Constitution since evolution is science and not religion. In 1995, the case was officially ended by the US Supreme Court after its refusal to hear the case.

In 1996 and 1999, creationism was challenged again by two separate legal cases. In 1996 *Hellend v. South Bend Community School Corporation*, the 7th Circuit Court of Appeals decided that schools have to stop teachers from referring to any particular religious perspective about the origin of human life in public school classrooms including creationism. Again, in *Freiler v. Tangipahoa Parish Board of Education* of 1999, the 5th Circuit Court of Appeals ruled against any attempt that would foster a particular religious viewpoint in public schools by considering teachers’ initiatives to read statements about creationism unlawful. Hence, existing explanations of origins were being restricted in Biology classes so as to consider any estimation about origins as a fact and not as a theory. This was the case in the state of Alabama where the State Board of Education required that Biology textbooks should include a warning disclaimer to urge students to believe that the story of origins suggested by various estimations should prove to be a mere fact and not necessarily a theory.

Between 2000 and 2005, three other separate legal cases have succeeded to resist creationism. At first, was the court case *LeVake v. Independent School District* of 2000, which

A MESSAGE FROM THE ALABAMA STATE BOARD OF EDUCATION

This textbook discusses evolution, a controversial theory some scientists present as a scientific explanation for the origin of living things, such as plants, animals and humans.

No one was present when life first appeared on earth. Therefore, any statement about life's origins should be considered as theory, not fact.

The word "evolution" may refer to many types of change. Evolution describes changes that occur within a species. (White moths, for example, may "evolve" into gray moths.) This process is microevolution, which can be observed and described as fact. Evolution may also refer to the change of one living thing to another, such as reptiles into birds. This process, called macroevolution, has never been observed and should be considered a theory. Evolution also refers to the unproven belief that random, undirected forces produced a world of living things.

There are many unanswered questions about the origin of life which are not mentioned in your textbook, including:

- Why did the major groups of animals suddenly appear in the fossil record (known as the "Cambrian Explosion")?
- Why have no new major groups of living things appeared in the fossil record for a long time?
- Why do major groups of plants and animals have no transitional forms in the fossil record?
- How did you and all living things come to possess such a complete and complex set of "Instructions" for building a living body?

Study hard and keep an open mind. Someday, you may contribute to the theories of how living things appeared on earth.

Figure 04: A warning label from an Alabama textbook.

ruled that a teacher does not have the right to teach a class in a manner contrary to that put ahead by the school board (the approved manner prescribed by the school board). After Rodney LeVake, a high school biology teacher, allowed himself to teach “evidence against evolution,” his school sued him for attempting to fudge the prescribed course. Thus, the Minnesota State District Court decision found that prohibiting a teacher from teaching any “evidence against evolution” is not a violation of his/her freedom of speech as well as academic freedom. The second was *Moeller v. Schrenko* of 2001. This court case revolved around the legitimacy of school boards to adopt certain biology textbooks including the phrase “creationism is not science,” and that this act cannot be by any sort a violation of the Establishment Clause of the First Amendment. The third was *Selman et al. v. Cobb County School District* of 2005. This court case dealt with the content of biology textbooks in public schools. It claimed that the use of some stickers in those textbooks may be damaging and irresponsible because it may endorse religion. Such stickers like “evolution is a theory, not a fact” might be considered a support for Christian fundamentalism.¹⁹¹

The *Dover Panda Trial* has taken place in Pennsylvania to present the first decisive challenge to intelligent design theory and creationism in general 80 years after the infamous *Scopes Monkey Trial*. The story of the case *Kitzmiller et al v. Dover Area School District* started in 2004 after that the Dover Area School District of Pennsylvania adopted the new biology textbook, *Of Pandas and People*, as an approved teaching curriculum for biology classes. However, what was at stake is the content of the textbook, which advocated intelligent design theory. Besides, the school district required the teaching of ID in science classes as an alternative to the evolutionary theory. As a result, eleven parents of students in the Dover School sued the school board for obliging teachers to read aloud a statement presenting ID as a new scientific theory that explains the origin of life from another

¹⁹¹ Ibid., 380.

perspective whenever evolution is taught. The lawsuit has been brought to the U.S. District Court for the Middle District of Pennsylvania in 2005. In his 139-page opinion, Judge John Jones found that “the secular purposes claimed by the Board amount to a pretext for the Board’s real purpose, which was to promote religion in the public school classroom, in violation of the Establishment Clause.”¹⁹² Hence, Jones concluded that the Board’s paramount motive was to advance a particular religious doctrine in public school science class and this proved to be unconstitutional for it infringes the First Amendment’s Establishment Clause. The court also decided that ID cannot be a valid scientific theory because it is a religious dogma, and that it is merely the newest form of creationism.

The controversy over what might have the complete legitimacy to be taught in the public schools has made America’s classrooms a real battleground for a “debate about values.” Many creationist groups and fundamentalist believers regarded the claims of the evolutionary theory as a direct attack on religion. Joel Spring asserted that: “To members of the religious right evolutionary theory is more than just a scientific dispute-it goes to the heart of the debate about values.”¹⁹³ Thus, the theory of evolution is far from being a mere scientific struggle; it proved to have considerable effects on the religious convictions of individuals.

4- Creationism and Beyond the Origin Controversy

4.1- Definition of Creationism

Robert Chambers in his *Vestiges of the Natural History of Creation* wrote,

To a reasonable mind the Divine attributes must appear, not diminished or reduced in any way, by supposing a creation by law, but infinitely exalted. It is the narrowest of all views

¹⁹² Ibid., 348.

¹⁹³ Joel Spring, *Political Agendas for Education from the Religious Right to the Green Party* (Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Inc, 2002), 13.

of the Deity, and characteristic of a humble class of intellects, to suppose him acting constantly in particular ways for particular occasions. It, for one thing, greatly detracts from his foresight, the most undeniable of all the attributes of Omnipotence. It lowers him towards the level of our own humble intellects. Much more worthy of him it surely is, to suppose that all things have been commissioned by him from the first, though neither is he absent from a particle of the current of natural affairs in one sense, seeing that the whole system is continually supported by his providence.¹⁹⁴

“Creationism” is the religious belief and the complete conviction that God creates the universe. It goes against any evolutionary claim that life has evolved and that it is the result of successive evolutionary processes. A basic definition of “Creationism” indicates the strong belief in the inerrancy of the Bible and its story of special creation. Besides, a pure conviction associated with creationism is the unconditional belief in God’s ability to create the universe with all its aspects of life. Randy Moore, Mark Decker, and Sehoya Cotner in their *Chronology of the Evolution-Creationism Controversy* define the term “creationism” as follows, “...the religious belief in a supernatural deity or force that intervenes, or has intervened, directly in nature. Some forms of creationism (e.g., young earth creationism) stipulate that each species (or perhaps higher taxon) was created separately and in essentially its present form rather than by natural processes such as evolution.”¹⁹⁵

A very important and distinct phase in the history of creationism in the United States is the emergence of Christian fundamentalism in the 1920’s. The movement’s primary aim is to

¹⁹⁴ Robert Chambers, *Vestiges of the Natural History of Creation* (London: David Price, 2014), 150.

¹⁹⁵ Randy Moore and Mark Decker and Sehoya Cotner, *Chronology of the Evolution-Creationism Controversy* (Greenwood Press, 2010), 386.

persist the idea that the Bible is both inerrant and infallible.¹⁹⁶ The emphasis is put on the arguments derived from the Bible that explain the origin of life and its history. These arguments include the Bible based stories of special creation and Earth geology (the Genesis creation narrative and the Genesis flood geology), which have become the basis for most creationists' beliefs especially Young Earth Creationists. According to them, the key ingredient for understanding life, Earth, and the universe as a whole is by accepting them in the way they are referred to in Genesis i.e., an absolute truth to be accepted. Perhaps the most important element in this sense is to literally interpret those facts.

As most fundamentalists exhibit strong belief in the superiority of the Bible, they were hostile to modernism and all its aspects most notably the German liberal theology and Darwin's Evolutionary theory. In view of this fact, the "creation science" movement has emerged as an attempt to restore old Christian belief in God's transcendent power to create the universe as well as the belief in the Bible's inerrant nature. The movement was well known of its leader George McCready Price who has revived the idea that the Bible is the ultimate source of knowledge from which every single fact must be applied literally. Price was the first to reject the idea of an ancient earth. Instead, he called for a young earth in which life has been created in six literal days (about 6000 years ago). Moreover, he generated a new understanding for the subject of Geology by suggesting that the Genesis flood is central in the history of earth geology. His famous book "The New Geology" has even penetrated in education as a textbook to be used in classrooms.

A direct consequence of seeking to integrate creation science in American public schools was a shift from the movement's primary aim. At first, the creation science movement sought a complete rejection and eradication of Darwin's evolutionary theory from public schools' curricula. Thereafter it claimed equal time to teach creationism in public school classrooms.

¹⁹⁶ Allene Phy-Olsen, *Evolution, Creationism, and Intelligent Design* (Greenwood, 2010), 60.

However, successive prosecutions have weakened the movement until its final retreat from the public eye. By doing so, creation scientists opted to move underground in order to build a solid infrastructure that would prepare for their future resurgence.

4.2 -And so, what is Beyond Creationism in the United States?

Fundamentalists and antievolutionists after the Scopes trial had entered a new stage in their history by opting to retreat from the public eye and the whole battle. In his study of fundamentalism and anti-evolutionism movement, Michael Lienesch claimed that a movement to persist in pressing situations must learn how to keep its feeling of adequacy and efficiency.¹⁹⁷ The dilemma of being invisible was thenceforth summarized in a renewed vitality to the fundamentalist infrastructures of institutions and organizations (though even anti-evolutionists had built their own infrastructures). It is often commonly held that antievolutionists and fundamentalists are strictly linked in terms of their dire opposition and hostility to the evolutionary theory. Their strategy was directed toward a twofold aim: to restore orthodox religion and put an end to America's moral decline, and to sacrifice their time and energy in to find the right audience who would help them legitimizing their cause through purely scientific ways. Thus, the question that may arise at this stage is what is beyond creationism in the United States?

To answer the above question, we first should look at the Creationists' major goal behind striving for the eradication of the teaching of evolution in America's public schools. Raymond A. Eve and Francis B. Harrold in *The Creationist Movement in Modern America* have stated: "in social movement theory, a movement requires an ideology and goals that will unify real

¹⁹⁷ Michael Lienesch, *In the Beginning: Fundamentalism, the Scopes Trial, and the Making of the Antievolution Movement* (The University of North Carolina Press, 2007), 200.

and potential adherents rather than divide them.”¹⁹⁸ This suggests that without a specific ideology and determined goals, any movement of that ilk could not persist. Hence, the power of creationists resides in their determined goal of addressing a wider audience rather than the scientific community in hope their argument against evolution would become heard and approved. In other words, creationists thought of a long-term solution in order to guarantee their presence in the struggle for ending the threats initiated by Darwinism and evolution. Their target audience consisted of Evangelicals and other conservative and non-conservative Christians.¹⁹⁹ Their ideology was mirrored in the various productions dealing with the debate over evolution-creationism and the integration of scientific creationism in public schools’ curricula by using a simple language that could be understood by a large audience.

Creationists had a determined goal. Their goal was neither to prove the validity of their scientific theory of creationism nor to disprove the theory of evolution and make it out of science classes. The invalidity of Charles Darwin’s theory and its dismissal from public schools per se is not the real issue, however. Their primary aim was looking for a suitable and legal tactic to make creationism inside public school classrooms. After several defeats of anti-evolution legislation, creationists sought to find new ways to legalize equal time for both theories (evolution and creationism). Consequently, creationists would opt to mobilize their resources in order to achieve their goals. Such resources are exemplified in the arenas (courts and legislation) they use to influence and promote their interests.

The First Amendment to the U.S. Constitution has been the underlying foundation for all court cases dealing with the debate on evolution-creationism, and most notably, for arguing against creationism. Both the “Establishment” clause and the “Free Exercise” clause are an

¹⁹⁸ Raymond A. Eve and Francis B. Harrold, *The Creationist Movement in Modern America* (Twayne Publishers, Boston, 1991), 86.

¹⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 86-87.

explicit declaration of the status of religion in America and the limits put for controlling possible violations of their actual meaning. Many creationists in various court cases tried to use the allegation of violating one's constitutional right to freedom of religion as an attempt to file lawsuits against evolution and secular humanism. One example is *Wright v. Houston Independent School District* of 1970, which was about Ria Wright's claim that the school district violates her daughter's rights to study a theory that contradicts her religious beliefs (the theory of evolution instead of creationism).²⁰⁰ The judge, in this lawsuit, ruled that inculcating scientific findings in public schools has the priority for the sake of promoting science instruction even if it could jeopardize religious beliefs.

Willoughby v. Stever and *Crowley v. Smithsonian Institution* are two separate court cases that can reflect creationists' failure to manage equal time for teaching creationism in public schools or even prove the religious nature of secular humanism. Both cases opposed federal support for evolution, while none has been offered for the enhancement of creationism. The result was that both cases had been turned down. The reason behind their rejection emphasized the secular purpose of institutions presenting exhibits for the promotion of the latest scientific findings. Accordingly, federal institutions advanced scientific findings, not sectarian religious beliefs.

“It was in state legislatures that creationists achieved their most prominent successes in the 1920's, and unsurprisingly, they turned to them in the 1970's to try to recover the ground they had lost to the BSCS textbooks and the Epperson decision.”²⁰¹ Creationists' noticeable legislation processes associated with creationism instruction and evolution eradication from science curricula had been a success during the 1920's, but, in the 1970's, their priorities and

²⁰⁰ Ibid., 145.

²⁰¹ Ibid., 146.

interests had been changing to a new strategy. It was a strategy that sought a balanced treatment for creation science. Creationists now believe that creationism must be taught as a “scientific theory” not a “simple fact” to gain the credibility it needed to be integrated into public school science classes without generating a single quarrel and useless debate.

4.3- Creationist Battles and the Violation of the First Amendment

When the spark has been lit by the fundamentalists and creationists to defeat the evolutionary theory and achieve equal time for creationism, state legislatures and public-school classrooms became their heated battleground. Between state legislatures corridors and court rooms, fundamentalists’ alleged arguments of violating their First Amendment rights to freedom of religion and speech had been very common and persistent. Several plaintiffs arguing against evolution stressed the idea that the legal rights provided by the First Amendment are subject to a violation whenever the evolutionary theory is being taught in the public schools without referring to creationism. This was utterly confusing to observers who would think of a different violation of the First Amendment on the part of fundamentalists and creationists.

Many state legislatures enacted laws favoring the teaching of creation science in public schools, while others passed laws banning the teaching of evolution. The most famous challenge to the constitutionality of a law that prohibits the teaching of evolution in public schools has begun in Tennessee. The challenge to the Tennessee laws marked the real beginning of the creationists’ battles towards ending the threats of Darwinism and evolution in American public schools. The Scopes Trial of 1925 was the result of this challenge. Meanwhile, creationists have continued to draw their path in the struggle for evolution eradication from public school science curricula. In 1928 the state of Arkansas enacted the

anti-evolution statute to ban the teaching of human evolution in its state-supported schools.²⁰² Later, in 1968 *Epperson v. Arkansas* asserted the unconstitutionality of a state law prohibiting evolution instruction in state-supported schools. Again in 1987, the Louisiana statute, which required balanced treatment for creation science and evolution science in American public schools, was declared unconstitutional. Therefore, the Supreme Court ruled that both laws violated the Establishment Clause of the First Amendment to the US Constitution.

So, the year 1987 has witnessed a challenge to Louisiana 's *Balanced Treatment for Creation Science and Evolution-Science in Public School Instruction* Act. The so-called act restricted the teaching of evolution in public schools and required that creation science must be taught alongside evolution science. "No school is required to teach evolution or creation science. If either is taught, however, the other must also be taught."²⁰³ Hence, The Supreme Court in *Edwards v. Aguillard* ruled that the Creationism Act violates the Establishment Clause, for it lacked a legitimate secular purpose and endorsed religion.²⁰⁴

The decision of the court declared the Creationism Act as violative of the Establishment Clause after failing to fulfill the requirement of a three-pronged test (*the Lemon Test*). The test examines different legislations and their relationship with religion. Therefore, the first prong of the *Lemon Test* requires that the legislature must provide the law newly adopted with an explicit secular purpose.²⁰⁵ Second, the essential effect of the law should never foster or restrain a particular religious doctrine.²⁰⁶ Third, the law must not lead to "excessive

²⁰² Kern Alexander and M. David Alexander, *American Public School Law* (Thomson West, 2005), 343.

²⁰³ *Ibid.*, 345.

²⁰⁴ Mano Singham, *God vs. Darwin: The War between Evolution and Creationism in the Classroom* (Lanham, Md.: Rowan & Littlefield Education, 2009), viii.

²⁰⁵ Kern Alexander and M. David Alexander, *American Public School Law* (Thomson West, 2005), 345.

²⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 345.

governmental entanglement”; otherwise, this will create a point of tension with religion.²⁰⁷ Kern Alexander and M. David Alexander have stated, “The Louisiana Creationism Act advances a religious doctrine by requiring either the banishment of the theory of evolution from public school classrooms or the presentation of a religious viewpoint that rejects evolution in its entirety. The Act violates the Establishment Clause of the First Amendment because it seeks to employ the symbolic and financial support of government to achieve a religious purpose. The judgment of the Court of Appeals therefore is affirmed.”²⁰⁸

Consequently, the first prong found no secular purpose for the Louisiana statute. It should be pointed out that the *Lemon Test*’s first prong examines governmental primary purpose. If the government is determined to promote religion by enacting laws in order to serve a particular religious end, it won’t comport with the Establishment Clause. Additionally, if the law proves to serve a religious purpose, there will be no need to evaluate it under the second or third criteria. Thus, in the case of *Edwards v. Aguillard*, the Louisiana legislature was accused of advancing a particular sectarian religious belief. It was designed to attack a scientific theory (evolution) and aimed at finding a legal and legitimate way to integrate creation science into the public-school science curriculum. Below is significant a quote from Justice William Brennan’s majority opinion of the case *Edwards v. Aguillard*,

The preeminent purpose of the Louisiana Legislature was clearly to advance the religious viewpoint that a supernatural being created humankind. . . . The legislative history therefore reveals that the term “creation science,” as contemplated by the legislature that adopted this Act, embodies the *religious belief that a supernatural creator was responsible for the creation of humankind. . . .*

²⁰⁷ Ibid., 345.

²⁰⁸ Ibid., 347.

The Creationism Act is designed *either* to promote the theory of creation science which embodies a particular religious tenet by requiring that creation science be taught whenever evolution is taught *or* to prohibit the teaching of a scientific theory disfavored by certain religious sects by forbidding the teaching of evolution when creation science is not also taught. . . . Because the primary purpose of the Creationism Act is to advance a particular religious belief, the Act endorses religion in violation of the First Amendment.

It is equally clear that requiring schools to teach creation science with evolution does not advance academic freedom. The Act does not grant teachers a flexibility that they did not already possess to supplant the present science curriculum with the presentation of theories, besides evolution, about the origin of life. . . .

We find no merit in the State's argument that the "legislature may not [have] use[d] the terms 'academic freedom' in the correct legal sense. They might have [had] in mind, instead, a basic concept of fairness; teaching all of the evidence." . . .

Furthermore, the goal of basic "fairness" is hardly furthered by the Act's discriminatory preference for the teaching of creation science and against the teaching of evolution.

While requiring that curriculum guides be developed for creation science, the Act says nothing of comparable guides for evolution. Similarly, resource services are supplied for creation science, but not for evolution. Only "creation scientists" can serve on the panel that supplies the resource services. The Act forbids school boards to discriminate against anyone who "chooses to be a creation scientist" or to teach "creationism," but fails to protect those who choose to teach evolution or any other non-creation-science theory, or who refuse to teach creation science.

If the Louisiana Legislature's purpose was solely to maximize the comprehensiveness and effectiveness of science instruction, it would have encouraged the teaching of all scientific theories about the origins of humankind. But under the Act's requirements, teachers who

were once free to teach any and all facets of this subject are now unable to do so.

Moreover, the Act fails even to ensure that creation science will be taught, but instead requires the teaching of this theory only when the theory of evolution is taught. Thus we agree with the Court of Appeals' conclusion that the Act does not serve to protect academic freedom, but has the distinctly different purpose of discrediting "evolution by counterbalancing its teaching at every turn with the teaching of creationism." . . .

In this case, the purpose of the Creationism Act was to restructure the science curriculum to conform with a particular religious viewpoint. *Out of many possible science subjects taught in the public schools, the legislature chose to affect the teaching of the one scientific theory that historically has been opposed by certain religious sects. . . .*

The legislative history documents that the Act's primary purpose was to change the science curriculum of public schools in order to provide persuasive advantage to a particular religious doctrine that rejects the factual basis of evolution in its entirety.²⁰⁹

The Supreme Court decision in *Edwards* showed an uncompromising opinion towards using religious rhetoric for the purpose of advancing creation science and undermining evolution instruction in public schools. Henceforth, every legislation attempt that tries to mandate the teaching of creation science in American public schools would fail to pass the *Lemon test's* prongs and is considered a challenge to the First Amendment's Establishment Clause and the Supreme Court decision in general. Therefore, *Edwards v. Aguillard* was noticeably significant because it ended explicit sectarian ways to introduce new alternative theories to evolution. Moreover, it will prepare for a new scientific theory that might survive

²⁰⁹ Mano Singham, *God vs. Darwin: The War between Evolution and Creationism in the Classroom* (Lanham, Md.: Rowan & Littlefield Education, 2009), 97-98-99.

the hindrances of constitutionality and the First Amendment's violation sanctions. The new alternative theory is called *Intelligent Design theory*.

4.4. The Significance of Adjusting Creationism: The Birth of Intelligent Design Theory

Creationists' efforts to legitimately make creation science inside public-school classrooms have been declared unconstitutional under the provisions of the First Amendment's Establishment Clause. Although the decision in *Edwards v. Aguillard* creationists continued to oppose the teaching of evolution. In 1990, the US Seventh Court of Appeals ruled in *Webster v. New Lenox School District* that the school district's decision to ban teaching creation science did not violate the First Amendment and teachers' right to freedom of speech. Another trial took place in the 1994 *Pelozo v. Capistrano Unified School District*. In this case, the US Ninth Court of Appeals ruled that evolution is not a religion and that Biology teachers are allowed to teach the evolutionary theory in public school.

Under these circumstances, creationists finally understood that their strategy of confronting evolution with direct religious endorsed theories had become no longer efficient. Now, they came to realize that their message has to evolve; otherwise, no room will be left for their dream. What was at stake is the different court rulings against creation science and its religious language that can never attain constitutionality. When the Supreme Court, in the wake of *Edwards*, has required that teaching secular and scientific theories other than evolution can be allowed in the classroom, creationists thought of a new strategy (the Wedge Strategy). Their newest strategy expelled the use of religious language and avoided terms like the Bible, God, or even creationism.²¹⁰ Hence, the Intelligent Design theory was the newborn of creation science that would challenge the evolutionary theory in purely secular and scientific ways.

²¹⁰ Ibid., 102.

“Since creationists could no longer defend creation science, argued Johnson, a onetime criminal prosecutor, they should instead put evolution on the stand.”²¹¹ The creationists’ famous argument that evolution promotes a particular religious doctrine, secular humanism, became no more effective; as a result, they had had to adjust creation science into a more efficient supposition. Their strategy focused on discrediting the theory of evolution by raising staple questions about its scientific status and the efficiency of its mechanisms.

In the 1980’s, Charles B. Thaxton has come up with the idea of “Intelligent Design” to refer to complexity in some organisms that seem quite impossible to be explained in terms of evolution and natural selection.²¹² Michael Behe and William Dembski have also added to the principles of Intelligent Design by stressing the notion of an “intelligent designer” who is the sole responsible for complexity in organisms.²¹³ Michael Behe’s *Darwin’s Black Box* popularized the term “irreducible complexity” and became one basic argument under the intelligent design theory. William Dembski, for his turn, has become famous for his “specified complexity” argument. The latter stresses that specified complexity when it is observable in something would become an entire proof of the existence of an intelligent designer, rather than being the result of chance and natural processes. Therefore, Michael Behe and William Dembski are the most prominent advocates of intelligent design theory who have spotted the light on the inefficiency of Darwin’s natural selection to explain complexity in organisms; both of them emphasized the role of a “designer” who must be the only responsible for order and complexity.²¹⁴

²¹¹ Michael Lienesch, *In the Beginning: Fundamentalism, the Scopes Trial, and the Making of the Antievolution Movement* (The University of North Carolina Press, 2007), 220.

²¹² Ibid.

²¹³ Ibid.

²¹⁴ Leslie A. Muray, *Liberal Protestantism and Science* (Greenwood Press, 2008), 101.

Consequently, creationists had overwhelmingly accepted the newest version of creationism as it became the next vehicle through which evolutionary theory would lose its position and respectability in public education. By accepting ID, proponents of this new theory ensured that their objective of fighting evolutionary theory begun anew. The decision in *Edwards* has relatively ended the creationists' dream of eradicating the teaching of evolution in the public schools, but the introduction of intelligent design theory was considered a brilliant attempt to get rid of older stereotypes associated with creationism and fundamentalism. Biblical literalism was a major hindrance to creationists. Creation science was often accused of being too related to literalism, which has made the theory never attain scientific credibility. Thus, what was at stake for creationists is to find a solid scientific basis for the newest estimation about origins. Olivier Rieppel in his *Evolutionary Theory and the Creation Controversy* pointed out,

Intelligent Design is a sophisticated version of Creationism that does not tie God to particular space–time regions. The argument is more of a “First Cause→secondary causes” type. The idea is that natural selection does or can work, but this theory takes us only so far. It is said that there are structures in nature that are simply too complex to be the result of chance variation and contingent natural selection. Therefore, some other forces must be at work in nature that lead back to the First Cause. The issue centrally at stake here is the notion of the “explanatory power” of scientific theories. It is often said that proponents of “Intelligent Design” redefine science. What proponents of “Intelligent Design” in fact do is to gloss over the step where they “go meta”; they blur the proper distinction between different levels of discourse.²¹⁵

There is a constant myth that the relationship between evolution and creationism has been dominated by conflict and prejudice. Their collision is well illustrated in the courtrooms,

²¹⁵ Olivier Rieppel, *Evolutionary Theory and the Creation Controversy* (Springer, 2011), VIII.

where they seem to be always at war. In practice, however, it was creation science which has received defeat and humiliation. Darwin's theory, on the contrary, has always enjoyed a better position because of its scientific credibility. Thus, in order to achieve both credibility and constitutionality, creationists became convinced that they should break the connection to religious fanaticism by overturning their religious language and fervor.

Intelligent design has forced creationists to alter their language from religious to scientific as an attempt to gain the legitimacy they were looking for since the Scopes era. In 1998, The Discovery Institute, a non-profit think tank designed specifically to sponsor ID and to provide political and educational support for the work of ID creationists, released the "Wedge Document" to trace the goals of ID movement.²¹⁶ Below is an extract from the Wedge document introduction which outlines the strategy of intelligent design creationists:

The proposition that human beings are created in the image of God is one of the bedrock principles on which Western civilization was built. Its influence can be detected in most, if not all, of the West's greatest achievements, including representative democracy, human rights, free enterprise, and progress in the arts and sciences.

Yet a little over a century ago, this cardinal idea came under wholesale attack by intellectuals drawing on the discoveries of modern science. Debunking the traditional conceptions of both God and man, thinkers such as Charles Darwin, Karl Marx, and Sigmund Freud *portrayed humans not as moral and spiritual beings, but as animals or machines who inhabited a universe ruled by purely impersonal forces and whose behavior and very thoughts were dictated by the unbending forces of biology, chemistry, and*

²¹⁶ Mano Singham, *God vs. Darwin: The War between Evolution and Creationism in the Classroom* (Lanham, Md.: Rowan & Littlefield Education, 2009), 105.

environment. This *materialistic conception of reality* eventually infected virtually every area of our culture, from politics and economics to literature and art.

The cultural consequences of this triumph of materialism were devastating. Materialists denied the existence of objective moral standards, claiming that environment dictates our behavior and beliefs. Such moral relativism was uncritically adopted by much of the social sciences, and it still undergirds much of modern economics, political science, psychology and sociology.

Materialists also undermined personal responsibility by asserting that human thoughts and behaviors are dictated by our biology and environment. The results can be seen in modern approaches to criminal justice, product liability, and welfare. In the materialist scheme of things, everyone is a victim and no one can be held accountable for his or her actions.

Finally, materialism spawned a virulent strain of utopianism. Thinking they could engineer the perfect society through the application of scientific knowledge, materialist reformers advocated coercive government programs that falsely promised to create heaven on earth.²¹⁷

To a certain extent, it is very obvious that the document's primary aim was to resist materialism and its subsequent byproducts. These may include political, cultural, and moral declines brought about by scientific materialism. Moreover, the document extends its views on natural explanations of creation to focus on the belief that the universe and all creatures on earth had been created by one omnipotent deity (God).

Although its explicit aim of discrediting evolution, ID proponents did not want to withdraw evolutionary theory out of the public schools. They sought equal time for both

²¹⁷ Ibid., 106.

theories, where students would be presented two different explanations about origins (evolution and ID theory).²¹⁸ In 1989, the ID movement published a textbook named *Of Pandas and People: The Central Question of Biological Origins* in which the word creationism is referred to as intelligent design. Consequently, students at schools will be exposed to arguments in favor of intelligent design alongside evolution.

Skirmishes over teaching intelligent design arose over its scientific skepticism. After scrutinizing its earlier drafts, the word creationism and its derivatives were replaced with intelligent design after the decision in *Edwards*. In fact, this was a challenge to the Supreme Court decision in 1987 which ruled that creation science is religion. The ID movement and the Wedge strategy wanted to avoid falling in the same older trap. They opted to draft a secular policy that could achieve constitutionality. Unfortunately, their strategy failed once again and the Dover decision, that “scientific intelligent design theory” was essentially religious in nature, is still a witness. The decision in the Dover trial wrote by Judge John E. Jones III states the following:

By comparing the pre and post *Edwards* drafts of *Pandas*, three astonishing points emerge: (1) the definition for creation science in early drafts is identical to the definition of ID; (2) cognates of the word creation (creationism and creationist), which appeared approximately 150 times were deliberately and systematically replaced with the phrase ID; and (3) the changes occurred shortly after the Supreme Court held that creation science is religious and cannot be taught in public school science classes in *Edwards*. This word substitution is telling, significant, and reveals that a purposeful change of *words* was effected without any corresponding change in *content*.²¹⁹

²¹⁸ Allene, Phy-Olsen, *Evolution, Creationism, and Intelligent Design* (Greenwood, 2010),16.

²¹⁹ Mano Singham, *God vs. Darwin: The War between Evolution and Creationism in the Classroom* (Lanham, Md.: Rowan & Littlefield Education, 2009), 126.

Conclusion

A more sophisticated resistance to evolutionary theory has been initiated by proponents of intelligent design. The so-called theory was the result of years of backwardness and humiliation. In the wake of *Edwards*, seeking to introduce new scientific theories for students in the public schools was tolerated unless those theories advance religious endorsement. Attempting to present an alternative to evolution using scientific language was, in itself, a challenge to intelligent design proponents. They tried to keep their theory within the scientific boundaries and out of Biblical literalism. Moreover, their primary aim was to find a place inside public school science classes without seeking to eliminate Darwin's evolution from the science curriculum. Proponents of ID were convinced of their newest version of creationism, but their strategy was not ready enough to resist scientific scrutiny.

CHAPTER FOUR: The Impact of Protestant Fundamentalism on Raising Conflicts over Evolution-Creationism in American Public Schools between 1925 and 2005 and its Pertinence to Political Theology.

Introduction

Protestant fundamentalists' rejection of Darwin's evolutionary theory has been intrinsically based on theological reasons. Contrary to what the theory of evolution by natural selection has brought about in terms of new scientific advancement, its core idea has challenged the literal understanding of the Bible and raised skepticism about divine-human relationships as included in the Biblical stories of creation (special creation of humans). The result was a long fight between fundamentalists and modernists as an attempt to stem the tide of Darwin's theory by bringing the issue to the political field. The argument from the scripture has been a matter of importance that presents valuable insights into an ethical struggle between fundamentalists and modernists.

1- Evolution can never merge with Protestant Fundamentalism

1.1- A theological Reason behind Protestant Fundamentalists' Rejection of the Theory of Evolution

1.1.1- The Argument from the Scripture

Several diverse stories and explanations developed by preliterate societies as an attempt to explain the process of the creation of human life and nature resulted in the formation of a sort of complex mythology that tried to set the stakes of an assured explanation of the origin of life on Earth. These explanations of the world origins remained a part of elder societies' traditions as well as a solid part of its sacred beliefs which have been successfully transmitted from generation to generation. In the Protestant culture, most notably among the fundamentalists, the Genesis account of creation is considered unquestionable when light is spot on the issue of nature and human creation.

The Protestant Church as well as the Protestant teachings will never sympathize the idea that an evolutionary creation marks the beginning of human life. In other words, life cannot be summarized in terms of evolutionary mechanisms, and the claim that it has been the result of successive evolutionary processes is an impossible fact in the eyes of Protestants adherents. As a direct result, the Protestant church promoted various intensive teachings of Scripture to reaffirm the story of special creation and the creation of Adam and Eve in the garden of Eden.

As for Protestant fundamentalists, they strongly resisted Darwinism and all its fallacies of evolutionary thinking. They have never tolerated such devastated ideas that contradicted the biblical account of creation which seemed to them always inerrant. The psychology of Protestant fundamentalists in the United States makes them maintain a literal interpretation of the Bible as well as a literalist interpretation of their religious beliefs.

Two different accounts of creation that are included in the Bible (Genesis) exhibit slight and little noticeable differences between them. Readers of Genesis may not notice that it is made up of two separate versions: the P scrolls and the J scrolls versions.²²⁰ This theological issue has been a subject of anxiety and the early fathers of the Christian Church tried to fix it so as to avoid dilemma and uncertainty. But early theologians have solved the issue by accepting both versions of the Genesis account of creation. They argued that Genesis with its two different versions must be accepted since it remains the Word of God. As historian Andrew Dickson White has mentioned, “Serious difficulties were found in reconciling these two views, which to the natural mind seem absolutely contradictory; but by ingenious manipulation of texts, by dexterous play upon phrases, and by the abundant use of metaphysics to dissolve away facts, a reconciliation was effected, and men came at least to

²²⁰ John A. Moore, *From Genesis to Genetics: The Case of Evolution and Creationism* (University of California Press, 2002), 30.

believe that they believed in a creation of the universe instantaneously and at the same time extended through six days.”²²¹ Thus, for believers like Protestant fundamentalists, they are likely to accept both versions of the account of creation found in P and J scrolls simply because they believe in the inerrancy of the Bible.

It should be pointed out that the most apparent difference between the P and J versions of the account of creation is the use of two different terms to refer to “God.” The term *Elohim* is utilized in the P version, while *Yahweh* appears in the J version. Moreover, the P version tells the most famous story of creation that God creates the universe over six days.

On the first day, when the earth was dark, wet, and formless, God (Elohim) created light and night and day.

On the second day God made a firmament (heaven or sky) to separate the waters above from the waters below.

On the third day, God separated land and water and created plants.

On the fourth day, God created the sun, moon, and stars.

On the fifth day, God created aquatic creatures and birds.

On the sixth day, God created other animals and man.

On the seventh day, God ceased all his work.²²²

On the contrary, The J version suggests that God did not create earth and man and all the other remaining elements of life in six literal days. When reading the J version, one can notice the absence of the term day in the creation story. Consequently, The P account and the J account of creation differ in terms of telling the exact time God spent to create the universe. Below is a table describing the process of creation, as well as illustrating the difference between the two accounts.

²²¹ Ibid, 37.

²²² Ibid, 36.

P VERSION

J VERSION

CHAPTER 1.

1 The creation of heaven and earth, 3 of the light, 6 of the Firmament: 9 the earth separated from the waters, 11 and made fruitful. 14 The creation of the sun, moon, and stars, 20 of fish and fowl, 24 of beasts and cattle. 26 Creation of man in the image of God; and his blessing. 29 The appointment of food.

In ^athe beginning ^bGod created the heaven and the earth.

2 And the earth was ^cwithout form, and void; and darkness *was* upon the face of the deep. ^dAnd the Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters.

3 ¶ ^eAnd God said, Let there be light: and there was light.

4 And God saw the light, that *it was* good: and God divided the ¹light from the darkness.

5 And God called the light ^fDay, and the darkness he called Night. ²And the evening and the morning were the first day.

6 ¶ And God said, ^gLet there be a ³firmament in the midst of the waters, and let it divide the waters from the waters.

7 And God made the firmament, and divided the waters which *were* under the firmament from the waters which *were* above the firmament: and it was so.

8 And God called the firmament Heaven. And the evening and the morning were the second day.

9 ¶ And God said, ^hLet the waters under the heaven be gathered to-

CHAPTER 2.

. . . in the day that the LORD God made the earth and the heavens,

5 And ^cevery plant of the field before it was in the earth, and every herb of the field before it grew: for the ^dLORD GOD had not caused it to rain upon the earth, and *there was* not a man to till the ground.

6 But ²there went up a mist from the earth, and watered the whole face of the ground.

7 And the LORD GOD formed man ³of the dust of the ground, and breathed into his nostrils the breath of life; and man became a living soul.

8 ¶ And the LORD GOD planted a ^egarden eastward in Eden; and there he put the man whom he had formed.

9 And out of the ground made the LORD GOD to ^fgrow every tree that is pleasant to the sight, and good for food; ^gthe tree of life also in the midst of the garden, and the tree of knowledge of good and evil.

10 And ^ha river went out of Eden to water the garden; and from thence it was parted, and became into four heads.

11 The name of the first *is* Pison: that *is* it which compasseth the whole land of ⁱHavilah, where *there is* gold;

12 And the gold of that land *is*

P VERSION

gether unto one place, and let the dry *land* appear: and it was so.

10 And God called the dry *land* Earth; and the gathering together of the waters called he Seas: and God saw that *it was* good.

11 And God said, ¹Let the earth bring forth ⁴grass, the herb yielding seed, *and* the fruit tree yielding fruit ²after his kind, whose seed *is* in itself, upon the earth: and it was so.

12 And the earth brought forth grass, *and* herb yielding seed after his kind, and the tree yielding fruit, whose seed *was* in itself, after his kind: and God saw that *it was* good.

13 And the evening and the morning were the third day.

14 ¶ And God said, ³Let there be lights in the firmament of the heaven to divide ⁵the day from the night; and let them be for signs, and for seasons, and for days, and years:

15 And let them be for lights in the firmament of the heaven to give light upon the earth: and it was so.

16 And God made two great lights; the greater light ⁶to rule the day, and the lesser light to rule the night: *he made* the stars also.

17 And God ¹set them in the firmament of the heaven to give light upon the earth,

18 And to rule over the day and over the night, and to divide the light from the darkness: and God saw that *it was* good.

19 And the evening and the morning were the fourth day.

20 ¶ And God said, ⁷Let the waters bring forth abundantly the ⁸moving creature that hath ⁸life, and ⁹fowl *that* may fly above the earth in the ¹⁰open firmament of heaven.

21 And God created great whales, and every living creature

J VERSION

good: there *is* bdellium and the onyx stone.

13 And the name of the second river *is* Gihon: the same *is* it that compasseth the whole land of ⁴Ethiopia.

14 And the name of the third river *is* ⁷Hiddekel: that *is* it which goeth ⁵toward the east of Assyria. And the fourth river *is* Euphrates.

15 And the LORD GOD took ⁶the man, and put him into the garden of Eden to dress it and to keep it.

16 And the LORD God commanded the man, saying, Of every tree of the garden ⁷thou mayest freely eat:

17 But of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, thou shalt not eat of it: for in the day that thou eatest thereof ⁸thou shalt surely die.

18 ¶ And the LORD GOD said, *It is* not good that the man should be alone; I will make him an help ⁹meet for him.

19 And out of the ground the LORD GOD formed every beast of the field, and every fowl of the air; and ⁸brought *them* unto Adam to see what he would call them: and whatsoever ¹⁰Adam called every living creature, that *was* the name thereof.

20 And Adam ¹¹gave names to all cattle, and to the fowl of the air, and to every beast of the field; but for Adam there was not found an help meet for him.

21 And the LORD GOD caused a ¹deep sleep to fall upon Adam, and he slept: and he took one of his ribs, and closed up the flesh instead thereof;

22 And the rib, which the LORD GOD had taken from man, ¹²made he a woman, and ⁷brought her unto the man.

P VERSION	J VERSION
<p>that moveth, which the waters brought forth abundantly, after their kind, and every winged fowl after his kind: and God saw that <i>it was good</i>.</p> <p>22 And God blessed them, saying, Be fruitful, and multiply, and fill the waters in the seas, and let fowl multiply in the earth.</p> <p>23 And the evening and the morning were the fifth day.</p> <p>24 ¶ And God said, <i>Let the earth bring forth the living creature after his kind, cattle, and creeping thing, and beast of the earth after his kind: and it was so.</i></p> <p>25 And God made the beast of the earth after his kind, and cattle after their kind, and every thing that creepeth upon the earth after his kind: and God saw that <i>it was good</i>.</p> <p>26 ¶ And God said, <i>Let us make man in our image, after our likeness: and let them have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over the cattle, and over all the earth, and over every creeping thing that creepeth upon the earth.</i></p> <p>27 So God created man in his <i>own</i> image, in the <i>image</i> of God created he him; <i>male and female</i> created he them.</p> <p>28 And <i>God</i> blessed them, and God said unto them, Be <i>fruitful</i>, and multiply, and replenish the earth, and subdue it: and have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over every living thing that ¹¹moveth upon the earth.</p> <p>29 ¶ And God said, Behold, I have given you every herb ¹²bearing seed, which <i>is</i> upon the face of all the earth, and every tree, in the which <i>is</i> the fruit of a tree yielding seed; <i>to you it shall be for meat</i>.</p>	<p>23 And Adam said, <i>This is now bone of my bones, and flesh of my flesh: she shall be called ¹³Woman, because she was taken out of ¹⁴Man.</i></p> <p>24 Therefore ^oshall a man leave his father and his mother, and shall cleave unto his wife: and ^pthey shall be one flesh.</p> <p>25 And they were both naked, the man and his wife, and were not ^qashamed.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">CHAPTER 3.</p> <p><small>1 The serpent deceiveth Eve, 6 Man's fall: 9 God arraigneth them. 14 The serpent cursed: his overthrow by the woman's seed. 16 Mankind's punishment; and loss of paradise.</small></p> <p>Now the serpent was more subtil ^athan any beast of the field which the LORD GOD had made. And he said unto the woman, ¹Yea, hath God said, Ye shall not eat of every tree of the garden?</p> <p>2 And the woman said unto the serpent, We may eat of the fruit of the trees of the garden:</p> <p>3 But ^bof the fruit of the tree which <i>is</i> in the midst of the garden, God hath said, Ye shall not eat of it, neither shall ye touch it, lest ye die.</p> <p>4 And the serpent said unto the woman, ^cYe shall not surely die:</p> <p>5 For God doth know that in the day ye eat thereof, then your eyes shall be opened, and ye shall be as gods, knowing good and evil.</p> <p>6 And when the woman saw that the tree <i>was</i> good for food, and that it <i>was</i> ²pleasant to the eyes, and a tree to be desired to make <i>one</i> wise, she took of the fruit thereof, and did eat, and gave also unto her husband with her; ^dand he did eat.</p> <p>7 And the eyes of them both were opened, and they knew that they <i>were</i> naked; and they sewed fig leaves together, and made themselves ³aprons.</p>

P VERSION

30 And ^uto every beast of the earth, and ^sto every fowl of the air, and to every thing that creepeth upon the earth, wherein *there is* ¹³life, *I have given* every green herb for meat: and it was so.

31 And ^yGod saw every thing that he had made, and, behold, *it was* very good. And the evening and the morning were the sixth day.

CHAPTER 2.

1 The first sabbath. 8 The garden of Eden. 17 The tree of knowledge forbidden. 19 The creatures named. 21 The making of woman, and institution of marriage.

Thus the heavens and the earth were finished, and all the host of them.

2 And ^aon the seventh day God ended his work which he had made; and he rested on the seventh day from all his work which he had made.

3 And God ^bblessed the seventh day, and sanctified it: because that in it he had rested from all his work which God ¹created and made.

4 ¶ These *are* the generations of the heavens and of the earth when they were created. . . .

J VERSION

8 And they heard the voice ^cof the LORD GOD walking in the garden in the ⁴cool of the day: and Adam and his wife ^fhid themselves from the presence of the LORD GOD amongst the trees of the garden.

9 And the LORD GOD called unto Adam, and said unto him, ^gWhere *art* thou?

10 And he said, I heard thy voice in the garden, and ^hI was afraid, because I *was* naked; and I hid myself.

11 And he said, Who told thee that thou *wast* naked? Hast thou eaten of the tree, whereof I commanded thee that thou shouldest not eat?

12 And the man said, ⁱThe woman whom thou gavest *to be* with me, she gave me of the tree, and I did eat.

13 And the LORD GOD said unto the woman, What *is* this *that* thou hast done? And the woman said, The serpent beguiled me, and I did eat.

14 And the LORD GOD said unto the serpent, Because thou hast done this, thou *art* cursed above all cattle, and above every beast of the field; upon thy belly shalt thou go, and ^jdust shalt thou eat all the days of thy life:

15 And I will put ^kenmity between thee and the woman, and between thy seed and her seed; it ^lshall bruise thy head, and thou shalt bruise his heel.

16 Unto the woman he said, I will greatly multiply thy sorrow and thy conception; in ^msorrow thou shalt bring forth children; and thy desire *shall be* ⁵to thy husband, and he shall rule over thee.

17 And unto Adam he said, Because thou hast hearkened unto the voice of thy wife, and hast eaten of

P VERSION	J VERSION
	<p>the tree, of which I commanded thee, saying, Thou shalt not eat of it: cursed <i>is</i> the ground for thy sake; ^ain sorrow shalt thou eat <i>of</i> it all the days of thy life;</p> <p>18 Thorns also and thistles shall it ^abring forth to thee; and thou shalt eat the herb of the field;</p> <p>19 In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread, till thou return unto the ground; for out of it wast thou taken: for dust thou <i>art</i>, ^aand unto dust shalt thou return.</p> <p>20 And Adam called his wife's name ^rEve; because she was the mother of all living.</p> <p>21 Unto Adam also and to his wife did the LORD GOD make coats of skins, and clothed them.</p> <p>22 ¶ And the LORD GOD said, Behold, ^rthe man is become as one of us, to know good and evil: and now, lest he put forth his hand, ^aand take also of the tree of life, and eat, and live for ever:</p> <p>23 Therefore the LORD GOD sent him forth from the garden of Eden, to till the ground from whence he was taken.</p> <p>24 So he drove out the man; and he placed at the ^reast of the garden of Eden ^sCherubims, and a flaming sword which turned every way, ^tto keep the way of the tree of life.</p>

Figure 05: The P version and the J version of the Bible presenting the creation story.

Accordingly, for Protestant fundamentalists, every single word mentioned in the Bible is considered true and presents a complete and accurate source of information from which they derive meaning of every aspect of life and not only of the issue of creation. Their strong belief in the inerrancy of the scripture makes them convinced of what Genesis has said about the account of creation.

1.2-Why should Protestant Fundamentalists reject Evolution?

The worldview of evolutionism implies the belief in the scientific theory of evolution as the sole rational explanation of the world origins. The so-called theory insists upon the idea that all living organisms that exist now and even those that have once existed on earth, evolved from some sort of a lower ancestor. This lower ancestor evolved over time and throughout tandem generations to finally result in the present form of living organisms. According to evolutionism, the process of evolution occurred throughout vast geological ages and varied conditions that made the process take long periods of time to reach the present form of life.

The core of the problem within evolution as a scientific theory is the exclusion of the work of a supernatural designer (God). It should be pointed out that the atmosphere of evolution instruction, whether in schools or at universities, would be totally materialistic. Any reference to supernatural causes is unacceptable within academic settings for it remains an unscientific, insufficient, and irrelevant act to explain natural phenomena. Thus, For Protestant fundamentalists, natural materialistic views of the world origins would never account for the existence of life including that of human beings. In simpler terms, Protestant fundamentalists would never tolerate the teaching of evolution as a theory for it contradicts biblical prophecies related to creation.

Evangelist Dwight L. Moody, one of the founding fathers of fundamentalism in America, has insisted upon the idea that the church and the world must remain separated so as to avoid

earthly sins especially on Sundays. These may include activities like smoking, dancing, drinking alcohol, card playing, and teaching materialistic evolution.²²³ Dwight's vision mirrored the fundamentalists' vehement opposition to the theory of evolution. If comparing the creation story provided by Genesis account of creation to that provided by the evolutionary theory, the protestant fundamentalists' reaction towards evolution would be a very natural result. According to them, the two accounts are extremely different and the estimation suggested by evolution is an apparent violation of the holy Bible.

Darwin's evolution has undermined the position of the scripture by causing a sense of unrest and doubt when calling into question the authenticity of the Bible and the Genesis account of creation. It has provided scientific evidences and empirical logical conclusions that struck the credibility of the biblical stories. Hence, the reliability of the Bible and its credibility became now subject to quarrel and the Protestant fundamentalists' belief in its inerrancy and literacy became viewed as nonsense. The general view was that the Protestant belief in the authority of the scripture noticed extreme hostility and prejudice, and has even become a subject of ridicule.

Darwinism and the German higher criticism were the two major factors contributing to the decline of the fundamentalists' strong belief in the authority of the Bible. In the 1920s, a new trend swept the Protestant denominations and has resulted in the emergence of a group of modernists who believed in the liberal theology. In addition to accepting biology, sociology, and geology as new sciences, modernists accepted the evolutionary theory as an alternative to the literal reading of Genesis. Fundamentalism, as a result, became a dominant force with valuable weight in American Christianity thanks to its efforts to fiercely object to the principles of modernism. Moreover, the religious fervor it has generated resulted in a long

²²³ George M. Marsden, *Fundamentalism and American Culture: The Shaping of Twentieth-Century Evangelicalism, 1870–1925* (New York: Oxford University Press. 1980), 147.

dispute against Darwinian principles and the German liberal theology. This was an attempt to defend and reaffirm the biblical inerrancy and reliability both in history and geology.

The major concern for the fundamentalists was how to stop evolution spread and its subsequent ideas like atheism. Opposition to evolution was extremely fundamental. Voices were raised as an attempt to put an end to Darwin's evolution and the famous theologians in America who tried their best to control its spread include Dwight L. Moody, Louis Agassiz, and Charles Hodge. The American Evangelist Dwight L. Moody was famous of his preaching about the "four temptations that threatens us today" as he cites evolution as one of the major threats that may confront the American society. "These were the theater, failure to keep the Sabbath, Sunday newspapers, and atheism, including evolution."²²⁴ Thus, he considered evolution as one of the major threats that swept the modern world and has even made the concept equal to atheism.

Behind the famous scenario that evolution is a major threat for the American society lies the bigger issue of American millennialism. Because fundamentalists are premillennialists, they would never accept Darwin's evolutionary theory. They have fiercely rejected evolution and exhibited an unnatural response in order to get rid of its subsequent possible threats. The ideas of American exceptionalism and the chosen people have been always engraved in the minds of the protestant fundamentalists, and are part of their religious beliefs as well. Thus, as premillennialists, protestant fundamentalists believe in the second coming of Jesus Christ before the establishment of the millennium. Accordingly, the world will worsen and the Antichrist will reign over it until Jesus Christ will return and rescue the faithful.

In the eighteenth and nineteenth century, the belief that America is a chosen land with chosen people was accepted nationwide. Americans believed that their revolution was part of

²²⁴ Michael Ruse, *Evolution-Creation Struggle* (Harvard University Press. 2005), 154.

God's plans to his chosen people and the best illustration was "The Battle Hymn of the Republic" which Americans believed that it was a metaphor of Revelation.²²⁵

Mine eyes have seen the glory
 Of the coming of the Lord;
 He is trampling out the vintage
 Where the grapes of wrath are stored;
 He hath loosed the fateful lightning
 Of His terrible swift sword;
 His truth is marching on.²²⁶

Postmillennialism, on the other side, has been advocated by liberal Christians who exhibited greater comfort to the postmillennialist eschatology. They embraced the newest scientific findings even those which dealt with the origin of life and humans, and have accepted the nonliteral stances when dealing with biblical truth. "As applied to the development of life upon the earth, the scientist calls it evolution; as applied to the story of mankind we call it history; as applied to God's supreme purpose we call it the development of the Kingdom of God."²²⁷ For conservative Christians, progress and evolution were highly sensitive and rejected ideas.

In the nineteenth century, while premillennialists viewed politics as a futile endeavor since the world will necessarily worsen before Christ will return to save the faithful Christians, postmillennialists have considered politics as an essential obligation to help improving society and eventually establishing the millennium and the kingdom of heaven on earth. Thus,

²²⁵ Ibid, 157.

²²⁶ Ibid, 157.

²²⁷ Moorhead, J. H, *World without End: Mainstream American Protestant Visions of the Last Things, 1880–1925* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1999), 44.

premillennialists believed that Politics will become an obstacle to Christian believers who sought Christ's rescue during the second coming. They showed a very pessimistic vision of the world and thought that they should remain separate from it in order to avoid its temptations. As fundamentalists embraced premillennialism eschatology, they have strongly resisted political involvements.

The apocalyptic books of the Bible gave premillennialists this pessimistic view of the world. They believed that political involvement would be an unnecessary tool if the world will certainly worsen before the Second Coming of Christ. But with the growing threats of the sinful world especially that of evolution, premillennialists started to view politics as a useful means through which they might stop poisonous ideas generated by evolutionary thinking most notably the dangerous idea of atheism. Consequently, they believed that they should be prepared to face any new threat at any time since they would never know when the worst events will start. "...this word to the man who would be free from unclean personal sin: the next time temptation comes, fix your mind on the hope of His coming . . . Can I be caught on the verge of that sin, if I am expecting at that very moment Jesus Christ may come?"²²⁸

The premillennialists were becoming eager to fight any issue or aspect of the sinful world so as to triumph the good over the evil before the Second Coming. Prohibition gave premillennialism its exceptionality. Premillennialist theology and philosophy found in prohibition a means to show its American commitment, patriotism, and most importantly its centrality on individual salvation as well as focus on human welfare. Thus, it might become understandable how premillennialists are enthusiastic to find a cause, although not necessary a cause that reflects their theological interests, in order to fight the devil and promote the good. If applying this view, evolution will be an ideal cause, and at the same time, an absolute

²²⁸ Timothy P. Weber, *Living in the Shadow of the Second Coming: American Premillennialism, 1875–1982* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1983), 59.

nightmare that premillennialists were eager to fight. Thus, the fight has been enthusiastic against evolution and the field of education is the most suitable arena where the task could nicely be done.

2- The Importance of Public-School Classroom for the Advancement of New Doctrines.

2.1- The Devastating Effects of Teaching the Evolution Theory to Protestant Children in American Public Schools.

Education was an ideal arena where evolution and creationism were striving to survive one own interest. From the evolutionary point of view, as a scientific premise, the explanation of the origin of the world can merely be accomplished if referring to the work of chance, natural selection as well as the various laws of nature cooperating together to form the actual living world. Hence, the evolutionary explanation of the entire cosmos requires the belief in a material world. This poses a real problem for Christian believers in America, most notably for Protestant fundamentalists, who believe in the direct action of God in the process of creation i.e., divine creation as a primary cause to the existence of the natural world. Thus, the attempt to inculcate both theories in the students' minds has fueled a remarkable dispute over which theory merits to survive in America's classrooms.

Both theories are two worlds apart. This was and will always remain a fact. "We cannot say: creation or evolution. The proper way of putting it is creation and evolution."²²⁹ Divine creation presents a mere different account of origins if comparing to evolutionary change and its meaning of altering already existing creatures to a new form of beings through natural processes. Supernatural causation, on the contrary, invokes the work of a sole divine creator as being the responsible for the creation of the entire cosmos. Consequently, creation and

²²⁹ Joseph Cardinal Ratzinger, *In the Beginning* (Our Sunday Visitor Press, 1990), 65.

evolution are two separate subjects and represent contradictory issues that will never become complementary to each other.

The core problem of evolution for Protestant fundamentalists is its dangerous effects on the Christian faith, morality, and the American society as a whole. The main concern, however, is the spread of such a theory in America's public schools. The realm of education is a suitable arena where the advancement of particular ideas and ideologies could perfectly be achieved. Yet, the devastating effects of a theory like Darwin's evolution will first mushroom from the classrooms. Students at the public schools, as innocent and eager young minds, will be influenced by the principles of evolutionary thinking which contradict the traditional American religious doctrine.

In the early 1920's, America's public schools have become more vulnerable as ideas associated with progress, secularity, and evolution started to spread significantly. Traditional religious views were becoming subject to doubt and have been undermined systematically by the rapid spread of earthly pleasures like music, games, and the use of cosmetics. Yet, something was seriously wrong. Fundamentalists start to fear the whole atmosphere of the American public education system which seems to lose early respect for religion. The solution was to start an anti-evolution campaign so as to check the spread of such threats within public schools. These tensions within the educational community about how to act against the Darwinian menace and the new cultural trends brought about by modernism were the core of the anti-evolution crusade initiated by fundamentalists and approved by William Jennings Bryan, the leading figure of the campaign against evolution in the 1920's.

More could be said especially about Bryan's geniuses to lead the campaign against destroying the faith of American students whenever human evolution is being discussed or referred to in the classroom. He became the most recognized voice of the rising fundamentalist movement, though he was not a fundamentalist, thanks to his remarkable

efforts to stop the threats of evolution at the public schools. Fundamentalists then found a sense of strength and wisdom in Bryan's powerful speeches and excellent articles to operate the campaign against evolution for their ultimate goal of eradicating the teaching of evolution in America's public schools.

In fact, as an attempt to understand the reason behind the fear of evolution and its potential devastating effects on students in the public schools, it would be immensely important to understand the development of the fundamentalist sentiment. As premillennialists, Protestant fundamentalists view secularity as a direct result of both evolutionism and modernism. Hence, to get rid of those remarkable threats, fundamentalists were required to mobilize rapidly and to start a full-scale campaign against evolution. In order to start the campaign against evolutionary science in the public schools, evolution as a theory must be turned into an issue. Therefore, fundamentalists have first started to urge people of the dangers of Darwin's theory on Christian moral values and the traditional set of American religious beliefs. Once the dangers of evolution were clear to everyone believes in God and the Bible, it became known as a major threat that should be fiercely opposed and oppressed. Now, evolution has successfully become identified as an issue and a direct target for the fundamentalists, who rally their troops alongside William Jennings Bryan, for their ultimate crusade to suppress the teaching of evolutionary science.

"...the more fundamental struggle took place over the role of Protestant belief at those schools... In short, fundamentalists battled to maintain the traditional hegemony of Protestant belief."²³⁰ Adam Laats suggests that preserving the Protestant faith was the real motive of fundamentalists to crusade against evolution in schools. Thus, here stands the most polemic issue within evolution. If its spread will start from a vulnerable sector like education,

²³⁰ Adam Laats, *Fundamentalism and Education in the Scopes Era: God, Darwin, and the Roots of America's Culture Wars* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 43

evolution seems to attack religion itself and not only Christian orthodoxy. ‘The real attack of evolution, it will be seen, is not upon orthodox Christianity or even upon Christianity, but upon religion—the most basic fact in man’s existence and the most practical thing in life. If taken seriously and made the basis of a philosophy of life, it would eliminate love and carry man back to a struggle of tooth and claw.’²³¹

Yet, public schools in America are the place where higher values and scriptural principles can be inculcated. The importance of public schools in the advancement of particular doctrines plays a critical role. Students are vulnerable and the classroom should remain a safe place where they learn not only academic skills, but also moral, cultural and civic values. As Chief Justice Earl Warren has wrote in his opinion in *Brown v. Board of Education*, “Today, education is perhaps the most important function of state and local governments... It is the very foundation of good citizenship. Today it is a principal instrument in awakening the child to cultural values, in preparing him for later professional training, and in helping him to adjust normally to his environment. In these days, it is doubtful that any child may reasonably be expected to succeed in life if he is denied the opportunity of an education.”²³²

In order to stop the threats of the evolutionary theory in Biology classes, the introduction of a familiar aspect would be useful as an attempt to combat the teaching of evolution. To Provide an alternative to such a theory is a challenge to the whole scientific circle in which evolution has succeeded to gain the credibility it needed to survive in public schools. Thus, the introduction of creationism is the only solution to check the spread of Darwin’s theory which seems now impossible to be excluded from schools. Creationism, in this case, would present a suitable estimation that will suit the children of Christian believers who would feel

²³¹ Michael McGough, *A Field Guide to the Culture Wars: The Battle over Values from the Campaign Trail to the Classroom* (Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data, 2009), 30.

²³² *Ibid*, 94.

comfortable at Biology classes whenever the Biblical truth is being referred to as a justifiable interpretation of the origin of life and its history.

2.1.1- Teaching Creationism as a Familiar Aspect instead of Evolution

“Fundamentalists know they are right because they have read the truth in a holy book and they know, in advance, that nothing will budge them from their belief. The truth of the holy book is an axiom, not the end product of a process of reasoning. The book is true, and if the evidence seems to contradict it, it is the evidence that must be thrown out, not the book.”²³³ Fundamentalists then will never accept evolution, this is a fact. If we apply this view on education, they would never accept teaching their children in an atmosphere where biblical virtue is questioned by evidence-based science education.

Faced with remarkable restrictions by the Supreme court to introduce religion in public schools, fundamentalists felt the need to adjust their aim of finding a suitable way to make creationism part of Biology classes. Whenever the subject of origins is raised in the classroom, students must have the opportunity to check both sides of the controversial issue over origins i.e., both theories of evolution and creationism. Thus, fundamentalists after the Scopes’ era wanted to introduce creationism as an alternative theory to evolution without the need to ban its teaching in the public schools. This shift in the fundamentalists’ attitude marked the beginning of the newest strategy of fundamentalists to preserve the Protestant faith in schools.

The elimination of the teaching of evolution has become no more the goal of Protestant fundamentalists. Their strategy has evolved and seemed to be now more tolerated. Their aim shifted from seeking a total eradication of evolution to an equal time or balanced treatment policy. The latter, provides equal time to the biblical theory of creation whenever evolution is

²³³ Richard Dawkins, *The God Delusion* (Transworld Publishers, 2006), 282.

being referred to in science classes. Thus, this alternation in the fundamentalists' primary aim against evolution marked the real beginning of their newest form of the crusade against Darwin's theory.

Earlier attempts to ban the teaching of evolution in America's public schools were faced with determined objection by the Supreme court on the allegation that evolution is a mere scientific theory, that would never cause any harm to religion. The question over whether government is acting against religion in favor of secular humanism was raised with great concern, and has provoked inquisitiveness about its violation of constitutional neutrality between religion and nonreligion. This concern was raised by Justice Hugo Black in the *Epperson* case, when he questioned governmental actions against religion and in favor of mandating the teaching of scientific theories.²³⁴ According to him, such governmental actions present a real violation of constitutional secularity.

But the case *Lemon v. Kurtzman* has settled this issue in 1971 by setting the stakes of the standards upon which a law is checked if it violates the Establishment Clause or not. Accordingly, the duty of the Lemon Test is to check the constitutionality of a given law. On one hand, if a scientific theory like evolution is being taught in public schools without referring to its counter religious doctrine, it is not considered as unconstitutional because the primary aim of education is the advancement of science instruction and not religious beliefs. On the other hand, if religion is challenged by teaching specific scientific theories like evolution in the public schools, this presents an incidental effect. Eventually, teaching certain theories which have a primary religious purpose is considered unconstitutional since the advancement of a particular religious doctrine is clearly intolerable.²³⁵

²³⁴ Mano Singham, *God vs. Darwin: The War between Evolution and Creationism in the Classroom* (Lanham, Md.: Rowan & Littlefield Education, 2009), 87.

²³⁵ *Ibid*, 88.

Yet, teaching a familiar aspect, practically teaching creationism, instead of evolution would not be an easy task. Now, fundamentalists understand that in order to make the theory of creationism part of public schools' science curriculum, they should make it a good alternative to evolution with avoiding any religious language in its endorsement.

Rather than seek the elimination of the teaching of evolution, a strategy that had not worked earlier, the emphasis now shifted to what was called a “balanced treatment” approach to the teaching of science. Creationists argued that the theory of evolution was just that, a “theory” and not a proven scientific fact. While conceding that this alone did not disqualify it from being taught in schools, they asserted that simple fairness demanded that other theories of life (such as creationism) that also had not been proven should be given equal time in the classroom. Students would then be able to evaluate for themselves which theory made the most sense.²³⁶

A balanced treatment strategy would be a useful tool to integrate the theory of creationism in the public schools. At least, this will provide the creationist cause with valuable backup to continue its strategy to fight evolution. However, the trick was to avoid religious language and references to the Bible, in addition to any explicit appeal to religion in the framing of laws favoring the teaching of creationism alongside evolution. This is to meet the requirement of not stepping over the standards of the Establishment Clause to the First Amendment of the US Constitution.

The book *The Genesis Flood* has marked the outset of what becomes known as “creation science” in the classroom. It sets the basic conceptions of creation science theory and

²³⁶ Mano Singham, *Quest for Truth: Scientific Progress and Religious Beliefs* (Bloomington, IN: Phi Delta Kappan Educational Foundation, 2000), 5.

underlines its clear secular intent by presenting nonreligious language throughout the book. Thus, creation science in this case proves to be a good alternative to the evolutionary theory.

After the bad experience in the state of Tennessee, Arkansas took the initiative to start the integration of creation science theory in science classes. In 1981 the “Balanced Treatment for Creation-Science and Evolution-Science Act” was signed into law. The Arkansas law allows the teaching of creation science theory in public schools’ science classes for it endorses scientific inferences and presents a good scientific alternative to evolution. The framing of the law was carefully done so as to avoid any religious language that may result in its dismissal.

Creation Science versus Evolution Science

<p>“Creation science” includes the scientific evidences and related inferences that indicate the following:</p>	<p>“Evolution science” includes the scientific evidences and related inferences that indicate the following:</p>
(1) Sudden creation of the universe, energy, and life from nothing	(1) Emergence by naturalistic processes of the universe from disordered matter and emergence of life from nonlife
(2) The insufficiency of mutation and natural selection in bringing about development of all living kinds from a single organism	(2) The sufficiency of mutation and natural selection in bringing about development of present living kinds from simple earlier kinds
(3) Changes only within fixed limits of originally created kinds of plants and animals	(3) Emergence by mutation and natural selection of present living kinds from simple earlier kinds
(4) Separate ancestry for man and apes	(4) Emergence of man from a common ancestor with apes
(5) Explanation of the earth’s geology by catastrophism, including the occurrence of a worldwide flood	(5) Explanation of the earth’s geology and the evolutionary sequence by uniformitarianism
(6) A relatively recent inception of the earth and living kinds	(6) An inception several billion years ago of the earth and somewhat later of life

Figure 06: A comparison between creation science and evolution science definitions.

In spite of the careful framing of the Arkansas Law in terms of using a secular language when defining the principles of creation science theory, it was challenged in 1982 in *McLean v. Arkansas Board of Education*. The law was declared unconstitutional on the grounds that it failed to meet the requirements of the *Lemon Test*, and which proved to be nonscientific.

Another attempt to make creation science part of public-school curriculum was initiated by Louisiana's "Balanced Treatment Act" of 1981. It required the teaching of both theories in public schools i.e., if one theory is being taught, the other must be too. Supporters of this act believed it has an apparent secular purpose, thus the introduction of creationism theory could easily be achieved. However, not surprisingly, the Louisiana statute has been also ruled unconstitutional by a US district court. The ruling stated that "The Act's intended effect is to discredit evolution by counterbalancing its teaching at every turn with the teaching of creationism, a religious belief. The statute therefore is a law respecting a particular religious belief . . . and thus is unconstitutional."²³⁷

The ruling was appealed to the US Supreme Court and the case has become known as *Edwards v. Aguillard*. One more time, the Louisiana statute was declared unconstitutional for creation science theory has failed all the three prongs of the Lemon test. This case became a landmark in the history of the struggle against evolution and the attempt to undermine its teaching in the public schools. It set the stakes of the next strategy to fight evolutionism teaching in America.

In its decision, the Supreme Court decided that teaching creationism is a direct violation of the Establishment Clause of the First Amendment because the Louisiana statute was intended to advance a particular religious doctrine. Below is an excerpt from Justice William Brennan's majority opinion written about the case.

The preeminent purpose of the Louisiana Legislature was clearly to advance the religious viewpoint that a supernatural being created humankind...The legislative history therefore reveals that the term "creation science," as contemplated by the legislature that adopted this Act, embodies the religious belief that a supernatural creator was responsible for the creation of humankind.

²³⁷ Edward J. Larson, *Summer for the Gods* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997), 259.

The Creationism Act is designed *either* to promote the theory of creation science which embodies a particular religious tenet by requiring that creation science be taught whenever evolution is taught *or* to prohibit the teaching of a scientific theory disfavored by certain religious sects by forbidding the teaching of evolution when creation science is not also taught...Because the primary purpose of the Creationism Act is to advance a particular religious belief, the Act endorses religion in violation of the First Amendment.

It is equally clear that requiring schools to teach creation science with evolution does not advance academic freedom. The Act does not grant teachers a flexibility that they did not already possess to supplant the present science curriculum with the presentation of theories, besides evolution, about the origin of life...

We find no merit in the State's argument that the "legislature may not [have] use[d] the terms 'academic freedom' in the correct legal sense. They might have [had] in mind, instead, a basic concept of fairness; teaching all of the evidence."...

Furthermore, the goal of basic "fairness" is hardly furthered by the Act's discriminatory preference for the teaching of creation science and against the teaching of evolution. While requiring that curriculum guides be developed for creation science, the Act says nothing of comparable guides for evolution. Similarly, resource services are supplied for creation science, but not for evolution. Only "creation scientists" can serve on the panel that supplies the resource services. The Act forbids school boards to discriminate against anyone who "chooses to be a creation scientist" or to teach "creationism," but fails to protect those who choose to teach evolution or any other non-creation-science theory, or who refuse to teach creation science...

If the Louisiana Legislature's purpose was solely to maximize the comprehensiveness and effectiveness of science instruction, it would have encouraged the teaching of all scientific theories about the origins of humankind. But under the Act's requirements, teachers who

were once free to teach any and all facets of this subject are now unable to do so.

Moreover, the Act fails even to ensure that creation science will be taught, but instead requires the teaching of this theory only when the theory of evolution is taught. Thus we agree with the Court of Appeals' conclusion that the Act does not serve to protect academic freedom, but has the distinctly different purpose of discrediting "evolution by counterbalancing its teaching at every turn with the teaching of creationism."

In this case, the purpose of the Creationism Act was to restructure the science curriculum to conform with a particular religious viewpoint. Out of many possible science subjects taught in the public schools, the legislature chose to affect the teaching of the one scientific theory that historically has been opposed by certain religious sects...

The legislative history documents that the Act's primary purpose was to change the science curriculum of public schools in order to provide persuasive advantage to a particular religious doctrine that rejects the factual basis of evolution in its entirety.²³⁸

Consequently, legislative efforts to discredit the teaching of evolution in America's public schools were specifically challenged by the Supreme Court. From the Scopes trial to *Edwards v. Aguillard*, Protestant fundamentalists tried their best to undercut the evolutionary cause by using religion as a weapon to crusade against it. Their strategy shifted from seeking a total elimination of evolution from the public schools (the Scopes trial), to a strategy of sympathy and accommodation (balanced treatment), in addition to arguing that evolution is a religious doctrine (*Webster v. New Lenox School District*, and *Peloza v. Capistrano Unified School District*), and finally to using the wedge strategy (intelligent design theory).

Yet, the hurdles that the Protestant fundamentalists have been through throughout their struggle against evolution did not succeed to make them abandon their cause. Rather, they

²³⁸ Mano Singham, *God vs. Darwin: The War between Evolution and Creationism in the Classroom* (Lanham, Md.: Rowan & Littlefield Education, 2009), 97-98-99.

were enthusiastically eager to defend their religious beliefs that seemed at peril from the time evolution has made its path in the public schools. In order to triumph their cause, they have worked very hard and made remarkable legislative efforts so as to sustain the existence of creationism theory in public schools. Their last trial to maintain religion in schools was the introduction of intelligent design theory.

Earlier efforts to eliminate or undermine the theory of evolution in America's public schools proved to be insufficient and have resulted in a drastic loss on the fundamentalists' strategies to combat the teaching of such a dangerous theory. Now, they are convinced that in order to bring religious views on the subject of creation back to public-school science classes, they had to find a new suitable way that could triumph over the temptations evolution generated in the scientific realm.

From those concerns arose the need to adjust creationism acceptance in America's public schools. A careful estimation on the idea of creationism generated the need to introduce a new theory that would guarantee a God's view of creation in public schools. Earlier attempts called for either a total ban on teaching the evolutionary theory or the integration of religious ideas under the strategy of a balanced treatment to teach both theories of evolution and creationism. Unlike these attempts, the newest strategy avoided any single reference to religion including the concept creation-science so as to prevent falling in the trap of unconstitutionality.

The next step was to adjust the religious idea of creationism into a scientific-based theory that would discredit evolution and its credibility as a scientific theory. Hence, Intelligent Design was designated to destroy Darwinian evolution scientifically. It was the product of a collaboration between famous thinkers including: Phillip Johnson, named the father of the intelligent design creationism movement, Michael Behe, Steven Meyer, and Jonathan Wells.²³⁹ The *Berkeley Science Review* has carefully dealt with the outset of the ID movement

²³⁹ Ibid, 101.

and wrote about this: "...Johnson organized a meeting at Pajaro Dunes near Monterey to bring like-minded thinkers together. Its participants would become the major public figures in intelligent design: Scott Minnich and Michael Behe, who would testify on behalf of ID in Dover, Steven Meyer, who would direct the Discovery Institute's Center for Science and Culture, and Jonathan Wells, who pursued a PhD in molecular and cell biology at Berkeley after becoming convinced that he 'should devote [his] life to destroying Darwinism.'"²⁴⁰ Thus, the ID movement was a mere fundamentalist attempt to foster religion and give it a standard position in public-school science classes using scientific credibility as a curtain to deploy its strategic goal i.e., getting religion back in America's public schools. It needed some political entanglements to achieve its goals that have been set beforehand by the Wedge document.

2.1.2- The Fear of the Liberal Theology Spread in Public Schools

Because of a mixture of the belief in naturalism and God creation of the universe, liberal Christians accept the entire Darwinian theory with all its deepest implications along with a divine process that guided the creation of the living world. For Protestant fundamentalists, their liberal counterparts seem to be tied to the principles of evolutionism which lead to a massive destruction on morality and religion. At the heart of the liberal theology precepts stands some worldly ideas that are significantly important to its adherents like the worldly idea of progress. "Evolution is tied to a philosophy of action and attitude that leads straight to all the woes of modern life—homosexuality, crossdressing, promiscuity combined with fornication and adultery, easy divorce, abortion, lack of respect for duly constituted authority, socialism, and more (single mothers, state welfare, absent fathers, and jail time for teenage sons)." ²⁴¹

²⁴⁰ Ibid.

²⁴¹ Michael Ruse, *Evolution-Creation Struggle* (Harvard University Press. 2005), 259.

The fundamentalists intolerance towards the liberal theology came from a sense of anxiety among them. This feeling of anxiety was the product of the most alarming experiences of the 1920s, most notably the Scopes trial of 1925. Richard Hofstadter in his *The Paranoid Style in American Politics* wrote about fundamentalists and argued that their anti-intellectualism and anti-liberalism sentiments were "shaped by a desire to strike back at everything modern—the higher criticism, evolutionism, the social gospel, rational criticism of any kind."²⁴²

The fundamentalists' centrality on the Bible explains their fierce opposition to modernism and the liberal theology in general. Rejecting worldly amusements, as suggested by fundamentalist John Roach Straton, is a response to the fear of overthrowing Christian principles and the biblical foundations upon which America is built. Thus, the struggle to maintain the biblical foundations is a struggle to maintain civilization as a whole. The need to defend the Bible, especially at schools, is a crucial element in order to preserve the faith of America and the American civilization in general.

Therefore, the attack on the Bible is destructive and provokes substantial mobilization in order to bring back the fundamentals of the traditional Protestant faith. These tensions are the reason why the Protestant fundamentalists scarified their time and energy to fight for stopping the teaching of Darwin's evolutionary theory in the public schools. What the theory of evolution has brought about is intolerable and is considered a weighty challenge to the word of God and the scriptures. In simpler terms, Protestant fundamentalists opposed the liberal theology in premise and conclusion and they would never tolerate its basic ideas that lead to no viable compromise with religion especially when the field of education is addressed.

²⁴² Richard Hofstadter, *Anti-Intellectualism in American Life* (New York, 1962), 121.



Figure 07: An image describing the threats of the liberal theology on church and school.

The liberal theology has remarkably fueled the fundamentalist movement of the 1920s. Its eccentric ideas led the fundamentalist movement to adapt reactionary actions as an attempt to check its spread throughout America. Modernism endorsed “intended adaptation of religious ideas to modern culture...the idea that God is immanent in human cultural development and revealed through it...a belief that human society is moving toward realization...of the Kingdom of God.”²⁴³ Therefore, Protestant fundamentalists felt the need to strive for preserving their faith against the liberal theology and its subsequent assaults on the fundamental assumptions of the American traditional faith i.e., American Protestantism. Then, the option of Protestant fundamentalists to act violently against modernism is a very natural result if taking into consideration the circumstances that have led to the emergence of the fundamentalist movement.

What is at stake for Protestant fundamentalists is the call to adapt their own religious beliefs to the new standards of intellectual and social turmoil that have swept America thanks to the rapid spread of the liberal theology. In addition, Liberal theologians urged Protestant fundamentalists to change their views on modernism and Darwin’s scientific estimation about origins, in order to stay in step with the newest academic and scientific advancements of that time. In simpler terms, Protestant fundamentalists were asked to accept the newest scientific findings, as well as to adapt their traditional religious beliefs to modern standards of the American society. The result was devastating. A sense of strong anxiety and uncertainty had been created among Protestant fundamentalists that shaped their thoughts and actions in the coming decades when dealing with modernism and evolution. Their opposition to the liberal theology and Darwinism is fervent and intense because of their appeal to overthrowing the bedrocks beliefs of the traditional Christian faith in favor of modern American culture.

²⁴³ William R. Hutchison, *The Modernist Impulse in American Protestantism* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1976), 2.

A fuller understanding of fundamentalism and Protestant fundamentalists' objection to evolutionism and theological liberalism is their strong belief in dispensational premillennialism. The effects of this belief are way too deep among them. Their strong belief in the Bible and its inerrancy boosted their embrace of the doctrine of premillennialism. It is true that dispensational premillennialism views social and political involvements as useless endeavors; nevertheless, Protestant fundamentalists seemed eager to react against social and political issues. This view provokes inquisitiveness about the attitude of fundamentalists who prove to possess a violent spirit and a reactionary stance when dealing with cultural and political conflicts.²⁴⁴ This idea has deep roots, among them it stretches its origins back to the times of the holiness movement. Thus, fundamentalism was a reactionary movement that attempted to defend the traditional Protestant belief against the threats of evolution, the German higher criticism, and the liberal theology.

According to scholar Gresham Machen, the liberal theology is a major threat to Christianity. It tried to link the newly acquired religious belief (liberal) to the traditional Christian religion. Thus, the result was an uncompromising treatment between the traditional and the liberal. In addition, a sort of fierce opposition as well as a long-lasting battle had shaped their relation which seemed to be vulnerable because of the liberal destructive ideas to the traditional Christian faith. The most polemic issue that has arose from the discordance of fundamentalists with the liberal theology is the race to control America's public schools. If the evolutionary theory mushrooms in the public schools, the liberal theology will spread throughout the nation.

²⁴⁴ Ernest R. Sandeen, *The Roots of Fundamentalism: British and American Millenarianism, 1800–1930* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1970); 268.

The struggle for driving the liberal theology, in general, and evolution, in particular, out of America's public schools is a struggle for the soul of the American nation as a whole.²⁴⁵ This struggle for school in America is a very sensitive subject since it endorses a skirmish for morality and a battle over conservatism and modernism. It attracted the attention of so many scholars as historian Lawrence Cremin who argued that, "Many of the great twentieth century battles over traditionalism and modernity were ultimately framed as educational issues."²⁴⁶ Thus, this subject matter has been framed as an educational issue in America especially with the growing concerns of the Protestant fundamentalists to put an end to the liberal theology spread in schools. It should be pointed out that the reason behind its framing into an educational issue is the significant importance public schools have in the advancement of particular views and ideas. Consequently, this resulted in the creation of a special fundamentalist educational policy known as the fundamentalist antievolution crusade.

Although the fundamentalists' school policy and public activism seem to begin with the growing concerns to ban the teaching of evolution in public schools, its primary cause was not only the fear of evolutionary theory. Rather, the fundamentalists' central aim was the role of the Protestant belief in public schools. They struggled to restore the position Protestant belief has once enjoyed and aimed at overthrowing the liberal theology and materialism philosophy. In short, it was a culture war in America with public schools as its arena fought to ban the teaching of materialistic evolution that may lead students away from their faith.

2.1.3- When Political Theology and Protestant Fundamentalists' Religious Behavior cooperate to resist teaching Evolution in American Public Schools

²⁴⁵ Benjamin Justice, *The War that Wasn't: Religious Conflict and Compromise in the Common Schools of New York State, 1865–1900* (Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 2005), 2–10.

²⁴⁶ Lawrence A. Cremin, *American Education: The Metropolitan Experience, 1876–1980* (New York: Harper & Row, 1988), 12.

Religion is a complex phenomenon. It is a very particular and unique kind of ideology that remains a significant part of human culture. It is “that part of culture which is actively concerned with the establishment and defence of patterns of beliefs and values.”²⁴⁷ Religion involves a set of beliefs: real and imagined (divine or supernatural power), claims, and actions that have a paramount sacred position among the adherents of a particular religious belief. Thus, apart from this standard definition which describes religion as a system of beliefs, practices and rituals, there exists the common shared belief between all religions, the belief in spirits of an invisible world.²⁴⁸

Religion has meant many things in human history: but when from now onward I use the word I mean to use it in the supernaturalist sense, as declaring that the so-called order of nature, which constitutes this world’s experience, is only one portion of the total universe, and that there stretches beyond this visible world an unseen world of which we now know nothing positive, but in its relation to which the true significance of our present mundane life consists. A man’s religious faith...means for me essentially his faith in the existence of an unseen order of some kind in which the riddles of the natural order may be found explained.²⁴⁹

The basic premise that an invisible world truly exists is commonly shared between the different religious adherents of the different religious groups. The idea of a supernatural world controls thoughts and behaviors of people regardless of their religion and is definitely valid to all of them. Thus, religious beliefs and practices are a reflection of the basic idea of supernaturalism.

²⁴⁷ Clifford Geertz, “Ideology as a cultural system,” in *Ideology and Discontent*, ed. D.E Apter (New York: Free Press, 1964), 64.

²⁴⁸ Leonard Weinberg and Ami Pedahzur, *Religious Fundamentalism and Political Extremism* (Taylor & Francis e-Library, 2005), 14.

²⁴⁹ William James, *The Will to Believe* (New York: Dover Publications, 1956), 51.

By extending this view on Protestant fundamentalists, we may understand their fear of evolution which controls essentially their religious behavior. As advocates of the biblical view of creation, they would never give up their struggle against modern science that seem to undermine biblical truth about the exceptionality of human beings' creation. Therefore, their religious behavior can be depicted in their unique anti-evolution crusade. It is commonly perceived as being the product of pressing religious and political revolts that arose from the need to purify public schools from the heresies of modern scientific findings.

The pillar of the Protestant fundamentalist movement in America, as a result, was the campaign against evolution. The religious behavior of fundamentalists has successfully been tied to convince state legislatures to forbid the teaching of Darwin's evolutionary theory in the public schools. Thus, the strategy of fundamentalists to challenge the teaching of evolution reflects the anti-evolution movement's shift from theory to practice. The antievolution crusade had at its heart the intention to interdict the use of textbooks that mention Darwin and his latest theory of origins. In their efforts to gain the support of state legislators, as well as public opinion, anti-evolutionist leaders aimed at enacting laws favoring the outlawing of teaching evolution in the public schools.

The famous encounter between theology and science for the ultimate crusade against evolution was the trial in Dayton in 1925. By that time, Darwin's evolution has become widely debated for it suggests a direct challenge to the literal reading of the Bible, most notably, the creation story. Thanks to Bryan and his efforts to defend the fundamentalist cause, the trial gained much popularity. But, after his death the anti-evolution movement lost much of its prominence and influence and has retreated from politics. Most fundamentalists objected to the shift of their movement to politics as a direct result of their belief in the doctrine of premillennialism. Extreme fundamentalists, on the contrary, continued to advocate the anti-

evolution crusade agendas because they became convinced that political activism and involvement would be the sole means by which the Protestant faith could be preserved.

Thus, a drastic collapse both in position and respectability pervaded the fundamentalist movement after the death of William Jennings Bryan. Protestant fundamentalists shied away from political activism until the late 1970's. However, they started a new dawn in American history by opting to mobilize politically in order to restore the old godly roots of their nation that have been devastated by liberal theologians. In fact, the fundamentalists' political resurgence of the 1970's was not new. It has been the product of an ideology that is tightly linked to the history of American Protestantism. When the American Christian heritage felt the danger that the liberal theology has caused to America's religious exceptionalism, the result was the emergence of a new group of conservative Protestants who saw the need to revive the old tradition that considered America's position and power as divine blessings. In drastically simplified terms, political activism is crucial and inevitable to overcome the shattering consequences that the liberal theology has caused to America's Christian faith.

One of the prominent Christian Right movement's aims was the mobilization of people to accept political involvement and consider it as a God-given responsibility. For leaders as Jerry Falwell and Ralph Reed, looking for a large constituency by appealing to the different religious groups, other than Protestants, is the platform of their agendas. Although the movement has succeeded to gain the support of many fundamentalists and evangelicals, the Christian right became viewed as a means to practice political theology in America.

There is an ideology that shapes the political actions of the political theology of the Christian Right movement. As an attempt to understand the ideology of the Christian Right leaders, we should examine their translation of some old evangelical traditions into political actions. The key components of this ideology can be summarized in four essential elements: the belief in the inerrancy of Scripture, the belief in the "covenant," the belief that America

has not remained faithful to the divine commands, and the belief that the political arena is the most appropriate place for the Christian Right to fight against the liberal theology and secular humanism. Consequently, while Christian Right activists appeal to fight the effects of evolutionism and to restore older American Christian heritage, they seem trying to overcome the effects of the doctrine of premillennialism that calls for a strong resistance to political activism and involvement.

The continuing anti-evolution crusade against evolution has resulted in the creation of a new theory that would continue the battle to restore older Christian faith. The theory of intelligent design assumes that the universe as a whole has one omnipotent creator who put the standards of the living world. This idea of superior intelligence was not new. It has been dealt with, before in the nineteenth century, by mathematician Thomas Chalmers who was convinced that every single object in the universe is designed by a certain intelligent designer to satisfy special needs and fulfil specific purposes.²⁵⁰

One of the most prominent advocates of intelligent design theory was Biochemist Michael J. Behe who contributed to propagate the fundamentals of ID at the end of the twentieth century. His famous example of irreducibly complexity, the eye as a complex organ, aimed at refuting gradual evolution and enhancing the idea of a complex system that would never leave a room for evolutionary thinking. Hence, Behe and other scientists who advocated the idea of superior intelligence, intended to oppose some evolutionary claims like organisms' genetic makeup which seem impossible to be the result of gradual evolution. Behe wrote about intelligent design and argued that, "Irreducible complexity is just a fancy phrase I use to mean

²⁵⁰ Thomas Chalmers, *On the Power, Wisdom and Goodness of God as Manifested in the Adaptation of External Nature to the Moral and Intellectual Constitution of Man*, Vol. 1 (London: William Pickering, 1834), 30–31.

a single system which is composed of several interacting parts, and where the removal of any one of the parts causes the system to cease functioning.”²⁵¹

The general view is that intelligent design as a new sophisticated theory that aims to discuss origins, succeeded to have its limits only within the scientific language and far from theology. Proponents of ID were aware of the standards of the US Supreme Court and tried their best to satisfy its requirements. As the Supreme Court permits the teaching of a variety of scientific theories with a clear secular intention in Biology classes, ID proponents were very vigilant during the formulation of this theory. They carefully avoided any reference to religion and God, and stressed on the idea of superior intelligence instead.

Kitzmiller v. Dover Area School District (2005) was a famous case dealing with the constitutionality of teaching intelligent design theory in the American public schools. The school board in Pennsylvania allowed students’ exposition to certain alternative scientific theories such as intelligent design whenever they confront gaps in Darwin’s theory. However, Judge John E Jones III ruled that it is unconstitutional to teach intelligent design theory as an alternative to evolution in Biology classes at the public schools. Moreover, he considered the Dover policy as a clear violation of the US Constitution and the establishment clause when he wrote:

...this case came to us as the result of the activism of an ill-informed faction on a school board, aided by a national public interest law firm eager to find a constitutional test case on ID [intelligent design], who in combination drove the Board to adopt an imprudent and ultimately unconstitutional policy. The breathtaking inanity of the Board’s decision is evident when considered against the factual backdrop which has now been fully revealed through this

²⁵¹ Michael J. Behe, “Evidence for Intelligent Design from Biochemistry,” speech to God and Culture Conference, Discovery Institute, Seattle, WA, August 10, 1996, www.arn.org/docs/behe/mb_idfrombiochemistry.htm (accessed April 15, 2019).

trial. The students, parents, and teachers of the Dover Area School District deserved better than to be dragged into this legal maelstrom, with its resulting utter waste of monetary and personal resources.²⁵²

Behind the strong personality intelligent design theory succeeded to have, lies the role of the discovery institute, a think tank based in Seattle. Through its Center for Science and Culture, The Discovery Institute has at its heart three crucial elements for its ultimate support for research and scientific credibility. “The center (a) challenges scientific evolution, (b) supports intelligent design, and (c) explores the impact of scientific materialism on culture.”²⁵³ Moreover, the Discovery Institute primary aim covers everything has a relation with Darwin’s evolution in order to draw inferences about its effectiveness and weaknesses as well as to foster its teaching in the public schools.

The Center for Science and Culture has been widely accused of having its primary goal as discrediting evolution and enhancing the integration of intelligent design theory in America’s public schools without having a clear scientific identity. Still another issue was that it was criticized for its unscientific leaning because of its call to challenge evolution. Hence, these acts are clear indication of unscientific credibility and bias.

The Discovery Institute also was accused of inaccuracy, bias, and academic dishonesty especially when raising funds for the Center for Science and Culture. One famous fund-raising proposal gave an inaccurate description of how human beings were created. The document accused Charles Darwin, Karl Marx, and Sigmund Freud of portraying human beings as “animals and machines” without using accurate arguments. The aim of this

²⁵² *Kitzmiller v. Dover Area School District*, 400 F. Supp. 2d 707 (M.D. Pa 2005).

²⁵³ Michael Ryan and Les Switzer, *God in the Corridor of Power: Christian Conservatives, the Media, and Politics in America* (Praeger: ABC-CLIO, LLC, 1951), 341.

portrayal was to draw the attention of Christian conservatives and mainly fundamentalists by referring to Charles Darwin, the first enemy of the Discovery Institute.

It should be pointed out that political activists who advocate intelligent design theory are always working to impose their religious views on the framing of governmental policies associated with education. It is by continuing to pressure school boards to include intelligent design in public schools' textbooks. Their efforts can be summarized in undermining the scientific credibility of the different scientific theories that contradict biblical accounts of the origins of humanity and the natural world as a whole.

By examining this view, it would be obvious to notice that Protestant fundamentalists in America are the famous advocates of political activism, in spite of their belief in the doctrine of premillennialism, even when the issue is purely educational. Although now they seem to have lost their traditional ability to manipulate public school policy, they still remained a valuable political force for educational policy. American Protestant fundamentalists, in a nutshell, fought for control of public schools as an attempt to preserve their Protestant faith. Their most polemic experiences associated with this issue, was how to keep public schools safe for their own children. Their next strategy, as a result, was the formation of a new independent school system such as Dallas Theological Seminary and Bob Jones University.

In short, the 1920s fundamentalist school campaigns shifted the whole American educational system by generated a cultural war over education that lasted throughout the twentieth and into the twenty-first centuries. Their apparent goal was to triumph biblical accounts of the natural world over the newest scientific findings, most notably Darwin's evolutionary theory. By doing so, they will guarantee the preservation of their reverent Protestant Bible. Consequently, their strategy to eradicate evolution from the public schools' curricula, as well as the use of religious rhetoric and political agendas to frame school policies, remains an excellent example of their political theology.

3. The Significance of the Discovery Institute and the legacy of Intelligent Design Movement in Present Day America

In the beginning, the Discovery Institute was founded in 1990 and based in Seattle, Washington. It was a non-profit think tank. Its primary aim was to offer a great backup to the theory of intelligent design (ID) by allowing its teaching in the American public-school science classes instead of teaching Darwin's evolutionary theory. The campaign against evolution was at the heart of the Discovery Institute's agendas as an attempt to discredit the teaching of evolution while promoting Intelligent Design theory.

The Discovery Institute's ultimate goal of undermining evolution and endorsing intelligent design principles has generated the need to teach the so-called controversy so as to fuel a remarkable dispute between the scientific community and advocates of ID theory. The scientific community was convinced that no scientific controversy between evolution and the newest version of creationism (intelligent design) should be mentioned or referred to since there is no compatibility between the two theories. Besides, according to the scientific community, the validity of Darwin's theory of evolution is unquestioned within a broad scientific perspective if compared to the principles of intelligent design.

The scientific community viewed the controversy over evolution-creationism as a political and religious dispute rather than a scientific one. The reason behind this view was the Discovery Institute's manipulation of the status of evolution within the scientific circles where they claimed that evolution as a theory still lacks validation, and that it is a mere "theory in crisis." Consequently, creating a sense of doubt about evolution among the students at public schools will open the door to find a way to teach a set of alternative theories that deal with life and the issue of creation.

The integration of intelligent design theory has opened a new phase in the controversy over evolution-creationism in the United States. However, it should be pointed out that this

will become remarkably the last significant battle where ID proponents would fight their case against evolution. The crux of the problem within the intelligent design movement is its apparent religious nature. It endorses the idea of a religious campaign in order to promote the teaching of ID theory in public-school science classes. The ruling of *Kitzmiller v. Dover Area School District* in 2005 has validated the claim that intelligent design is a pseudoscience that will never succeed to separate itself from its closest relatives i.e., religious creationists.

The main goal behind teaching the intelligent design theory is a cultural one. ID proponents aimed at putting an end to evolution and its subsequent dangerous ideas like atheism and materialism. They believed that Darwin's theory of evolution has caused far-reaching cultural consequences on American morality and spirituality by calling for the use of a materialist world view and natural explanations to understand the living world. Consequently, as an attempt to restore elder American cultural values and morality, ID proponents sought to promote intelligent design theory alongside teaching the controversy. By doing so, evolution as a scientific theory would be discredited so as to encourage teachers and students to explore alternative theories to evolution even though they are non-scientific alternatives (ID theory).

In the end, proponents of intelligent design movement were guiding such a controversy towards achieving specific political purposes. The primary goal of the movement was certainly not the promotion of scientific discoveries; rather, it was the advancement of a particular religious dogma. More precisely, the essential goal of ID movement was to reshape the American public policy associated with education to become tailored to the principles of Protestant fundamentalists political thought. In short, Through the wedge strategy, ID proponents aimed at overthrowing materialism and restoring elder American conservative fundamentalist Protestant values.

The Wedge document highlighted the real religious intent of ID proponents which showed an apocalyptic vision of the future of the world especially that of the United States if evolution and its subsequent ideas like materialism would continue to dominate public schools.²⁵⁴ Here is an extract from the introduction section of the Wedge document that set the strategy of ID proponents in front of evolution:

The proposition that human beings are created in the image of God is one of the bedrock principles on which Western civilization was built. Its influence can be detected in most, if not all, of the West's greatest achievements, including representative democracy, human rights, free enterprise, and progress in the arts and sciences.

Yet a little over a century ago, this cardinal idea came under wholesale attack by intellectuals drawing on the discoveries of modern science. Debunking the traditional conceptions of both God and man, thinkers such as Charles Darwin, Karl Marx, and Sigmund Freud *portrayed humans not as moral and spiritual beings, but as animals or machines who inhabited a universe ruled by purely impersonal forces and whose behavior and very thoughts were dictated by the unbending forces of biology, chemistry, and environment.* This *materialistic conception of reality* eventually infected virtually every area of our culture, from politics and economics to literature and art.

The cultural consequences of this triumph of materialism were devastating. Materialists denied the existence of objective moral standards, claiming that environment dictates our behavior and beliefs. Such moral relativism was uncritically adopted by much of the social sciences, and it still undergirds much of modern economics, political science, psychology and sociology.

²⁵⁴ Mano Singham, *God vs. Darwin: The War between Evolution and Creationism in the Classroom* (Lanham, Md.: Rowan & Littlefield Education, 2009), 106.

Materialists also undermined personal responsibility by asserting that human thoughts and behaviors are dictated by our biology and environment. The results can be seen in modern approaches to criminal justice, product liability, and welfare. In the materialist scheme of things, everyone is a victim and no one can be held accountable for his or her actions.

Finally, materialism spawned a virulent strain of utopianism. Thinking they could engineer the perfect society through the application of scientific knowledge, materialist reformers advocated coercive government programs that falsely promised to create heaven on earth.²⁵⁵

As a consequence, the Discovery Institute's strategy might be summarized in three points. First, the Discovery Institute aimed at overthrowing the core idea of materialism, upon which evolution by natural selection is fundamentally based, and attempting to legitimize the idea of supernatural causation that might give valid explanations to some evolutionary processes. Second, is the challenge to advance the theory of intelligent design as an alternative to evolution in the public schools, and the attempt to integrate its teaching in Biology classes in order to explain the origins of some species excluding the origin of human beings. Third, to restore moral values in the schools; hence, throughout the United States as an attempt to save the world from the perilous effects of materialism and evolution by discrediting its validity and struggling to bring some religious elements back into schools like the Bible readings and prayer.

There seem to be no other options for Protestant fundamentalists to challenge Darwin's evolutionary theory after the defeat in the Dover case. All their efforts throughout the history of the struggle over evolution-creationism have been faced with severe treatment and were all ruled unconstitutional by the U.S. Supreme Court on the grounds that the Establishment

²⁵⁵ Ibid.

Clause of the First Amendment to the U.S. Constitution prohibits the advancement of religion. In the Dover case, Judge John E Jones III ruled that all the Supreme court rulings associated with evolution-creationism were based on the allegation that the U.S. Constitution forbids the teaching of religion and any attempt to do so is considered a violation of the Establishment Clause. Thus, it would be unconstitutional to teach intelligent design theory as an alternative to evolution in a public-school classroom. Judge Jones wrote in his Dover ruling that the Establishment Clause outlaws both the perspicuous teaching of religion, in addition to any governmental action that may advance a particular religious doctrine.²⁵⁶

While it seems to be impossible to overcome the defeat in Dover as well as the hindrances of the Establishment Clause, Protestant fundamentalists and ID proponents sought a new way to carry on their objectives of discrediting the theory of evolution and finding a possible way to make ID theory back to the public schools and Biology classes. But, what type of strategy fundamentalists and ID advocates would espouse in order to realize their dream. Such a question is essentially paradoxical. The problem for Protestant fundamentalists and ID proponents is their religious fervor and enthusiasm. Despite their efforts to hide their religious language when framing laws favoring the teaching of creationism and later on ID theory, they failed to fulfil the standards of the Establishment Clause of the First Amendment to the U.S. Constitution and its scrutiny. Their hidden religious intention always bubbles to the surface and becomes visible whenever their cause is in crisis.

Yet, the only way to overcome the theory of evolution, being the soul problem for the fundamentalists, is to undermine the Establishment Clause. However, this option is quite impossible for them. The standards and boundaries set by the U.S. Constitution are the equalizer of the American society. America is built upon the principle of an explicit division between church and state which guarantee a full separation between the work of the

²⁵⁶ Ibid, 131.

government and the national religious liberty of the American citizens. The latter, is a crucial component of the American civil rights.

Thus, the logical question that might be asked at this stage is what happened to the intelligent design movement following all the circumstances it has been through in the wake of the Dover verdict? The ID movement has retreated remarkably from the public eye in the same way the creationist movement has had in the wake of the dramatic defeat in Dayton, Tennessee. The position that the ID movement has reached thanks to the Dover verdict in 2005 has made it unheard. In his article *What happened to the Intelligent Design movement?* historian Mano Singham, wrote that: “In my book *God vs. Darwin*, I said that the massive legal defeat in 2005 suffered by the ID movement as a result of the ham-handed efforts by the Dover School Board had left them with nowhere to go, their stealth Wedge Strategy pretty much in a shambles. And so it has proved, with little heard from them since. Whereas before one heard of ID all over the place, now one has to seek them out by visiting the Discovery Institute which has become kind of a refuge for the last holdouts.”²⁵⁷ This suggests that the ID movement has suffered a great loss following the Dover trial in 2005. Since then, no one could ever hear about the movement’s news. The only means to do so is by visiting the Discovery Institute and check on their latest news if any.

But the question that might be arisen now is what is the role of the advocates of the ID movement after the defeat in Dover? The key advocates of ID were Phillip Johnson, a law professor at Berkeley who thanks to his work *Darwin on Trial* was named as father of the intelligent design movement, Michael Behe, Steven Meyer, Scott Minnich, Jonathan Wells, and William Dembski. All those key figures who have done a great job to try to undermine

²⁵⁷ Mano Singham, “What Happened to the Intelligent Design Movement,” Free Thought Blogs, <http://freethoughtblogs.com/sngam/2017/02/04/what-happened-to-the-intelligent-design-movement/> (accessed November 21, 2019).

and discredit the teaching of the evolutionary theory in addition to advance ID theory in public schools, have vanished quite completely in the wake of the Dover trial.

The key figures of intelligent design started to retreat from the movement shortly after the drastic defeat in Dover. In 2006, Phillip Johnson declared his resignation in an interview when he said:

I also don't think that there is really a theory of intelligent design at the present time to propose as a comparable alternative to the Darwinian theory, which is, whatever errors it might contain, a fully worked out scheme. There is no intelligent design theory that's comparable. Working out a positive theory is the job of the scientific people that we have affiliated with the movement. Some of them are quite convinced that it's doable, but that's for them to prove...No product is ready for competition in the educational world...I think the fat lady has sung for any efforts to change the approach in the public schools...the courts are just not going to allow it. They never have. The efforts to change things in the public schools generate more powerful opposition than accomplish anything.²⁵⁸

In 2016, It was William Dembski who has officially announced his retreat from the ID movement in an interview too when he said:

I would say that the church broadly and even the evangelical community has — on balance — been somewhere between useless and downright counterproductive to the success of ID. I know this may sound strange, but note my qualification: on balance. Of course, a crucial nucleus of support for ID has come largely from the church and especially evangelical Christians. But that nucleus is small. By contrast, the opposition to ID in the church is large.

²⁵⁸ Ibid.

On the one hand, there are the theistic evolutionists, who largely control the CCCU schools (Council for Christian Colleges and Universities), and who want to see ID destroyed in the worst possible way — as far as they're concerned, ID is bad science and bad religion.

And then there are the young-earth creationists, who were friendly to ID in the early 2000s, until they realized that ID was not going to serve as a stalking horse for their literalistic interpretation of Genesis. After that, the young-earth community largely turned away from ID, if not overtly, then by essentially downplaying ID in favor of anything that supported a young earth.

The Noah's Ark theme park in Kentucky is a case in point. What an embarrassment and waste of money. I've recently addressed the fundamentalism that I hold responsible for this sorry state of affairs.

So, how much good has the Christian community really done in advancing ID? Sure, there have been pockets of genuine support in the Christian community. But why is the first and only ID think-tank/research center at a Christian college or university Baylor's Michael Polanyi Center (which I founded in 1999, and which was dismantled the following year — thanks in this case not to young-earth creationists but to theistic evolutionists)? And why is the \$100M spent on a Noah's Ark theme park several times more than has been spent on all ID efforts over the last 20 years? Let's get some sense of proportion.²⁵⁹

To sum up, the air in the ID movement has altered considerably after the bitter loss in Dover and the retreat of its major advocates. The ID movement has lost much of its position and respectability after 2005 in the same way the creationist movement has temporarily vanished following the dramatic events in Dayton. The difference between Dover and Dayton lies in the ability of the creationist movement to adopt itself with the new circumstances. After 1925, the creationist movement has succeeded to make her message evolve by

²⁵⁹ Ibid.

introducing a more sophisticated theory (ID theory). However, the path was certainly not easy. In order to do so the movement went underground to prepare for its resurgence (1970s).

Conclusion

Inspired by the new wave of personal transformation of contemporary political movements, the fundamentalist movement in America has succeeded to offer its members a sense of identity and belonging that made the movement an exceptionality in the country. By offering its members the cultural tools to identify themselves among the larger community, they would develop a common purpose for their own movement, eventually to provide meaning to every aspect of their lives.

Thus, the American Protestant fundamentalism is a very complex phenomenon. In large part, the fundamentalist movement of the 1920s in America was the product of Neo-Darwinism, in addition to the growing threats of theological liberalism. At first glance, the movement can be easily portrayed as a backward understanding of the new advances in science that attempts to restore the lost image of a Protestant golden age in America. In fact, this understanding of American Protestant fundamentalism is a very simple portrayal of the movement. A fuller understanding of American fundamentalism requires the need to look at a set of elements that contributed to its formation. Dispensational premillennialism, and the holiness movement are two crucial elements that shaped the background of fundamentalism in America.

The theology of dispensational premillennialism endorses the dismiss of both social and political activism. However, this view may seem paradoxical if one looks at the religious and political energy of Protestant fundamentalists in America. The reason behind this view is the rise of theological modernism, evolutionism, and higher criticism that have fueled the

fundamentalists' need to act politically in order to overcome the influence of these ideas and to defend the traditional Protestant belief.

When it came to public campaign against evolution, the fundamentalist movement in America exhibited greater energy to fight the teaching of evolution in the public schools. This broad spectrum of enthusiasm generated the need to use the political machinery in order to crusade against evolutionary theory and to put an end to its expansion. Thus, Protestant fundamentalists' strategy to object to teaching evolution in the public schools is a mere illustration of their deep belief in political theology.

General Conclusion

In an attempt to understand the story of the controversy over evolution-creationism in America, it would be significantly useful to step back and look at the very beginning of the subject matter. In fact, the dispute over origins has tackled an abnormal path if one examines the way Protestant fundamentalists, as highly religious individuals, have dealt with the issue of evolution teaching in the public schools. Their policy was mixed with great fervor to the point that they brought their important battles against evolution to the political arena where their belief in political theology has become more visible and understandable.

The option to discredit the theory of evolution was an extremely hard endeavor. During the course of the contention between evolution and creationism, all the efforts of Protestant fundamentalists to undermine Darwin's evolutionary theory were weakened and suppressed by the standards of the First Amendment. As a direct outcome, this has made the issue a recurring conflict thanks to the Supreme Court legal decisions.

For Protestant fundamentalists, the secret behind their discomfort towards evolution lies in their strong belief in Biblical literalism. Thus, they exhibit great comfort towards the literal interpretation of the Bible because they feel comfortable whenever they are standing within the Biblical boundaries, through which they derive meaning of every aspect of their lives. In this respect, Protestant fundamentalists would never accept Darwin's theory of evolution which hypothesizes that certain features of the universe are the product of chance. In addition, they would never tolerate the idea of human evolution for they strongly believe that human beings are created specially by God.

At the spectrum of religious beliefs associated with the issue of evolution, we may observe three types of religious people. At first, we have those biblical literalists who show strong belief in the word of God and the scriptures. They are convinced that human beings, like any other creatures on Earth, are specially created by God. Therefore, they are in discordance with

the theory of evolution since the time it has been first emerged. The theory of evolution has made them fear the potential outcomes it may cause on their own religious belief. They saw it as a disastrous threat on religion as a whole; that's why, they would never tolerate such a theory.

Second, are those who exhibit great comfort with the estimation that life has evolved from some sort of a primordial form in which all creatures on Earth have a common ancestor. However, in their understanding of an evolved world they exclude with great certainty the idea of human evolution. They believe that human beings are special creatures of God. Thus, the issue of human origins is unquestionable among them too although their views and conviction on an evolved world.

Third, is the group who accepts the idea that all features of the universe, including human beings, are the product of series of evolutionary processes. They believe in the Darwinian mechanisms of natural selection and mutation, which provide a complete image of materialistic reasoning, but at the same time they still owe a belief that the human soul remains a special quality that differentiate human beings from other creatures on Earth. Such group of religious people want to reserve a special position for humans in spite of their evolution acceptance.

The crux of the problem within evolution is its core ideas upon which the Darwinian model is essentially based. If one accepts the principles of Darwin's theory including human evolution, he/she will certainly overthrow religion. Evolution acceptance leaves no room for religious beliefs. Hence, the belief in evolution leads to the disbelief in God and the supernatural. The world is viewed as a materialistic object produced by materialistic mechanisms that exclude the work of God and lead eventually to atheism.

Attempts to fight the teaching of the theory of evolution in America have been through different stages in the long view. The strategy of Protestant fundamentalists during the course

of the conflict has changed pejoratively over time. From the time of Willam Jennings Bryan and the infamous Scopes trial to the Dover verdict, all efforts to undermine the teaching of evolution were to save religion. Because such a theory is dangerous to religion, the tactics ranged from either limiting its threat or eradicating its teaching from the public schools or even attempting to balance its teaching with religious scientifically based theories. Unfortunately for the Protestant fundamentalists, all their efforts are unworkable and inadequate to the principles of the Establishment Clause of the First Amendment to the U.S Constitution.

The Establishment Clause plays the role of the observer who decides whether a policy is within the constitutional boundaries or not. However, one famous argument that has been persisted by the Protestant fundamentalists was the violation of their First Amendment rights to freedom of religion and speech. Several plaintiffs in opposition to evolution hypothesized that the legal rights provided by the First Amendment are subject to violation whenever the evolutionary theory is being taught in the public schools if not giving proper credit or equal time to creationism. It should be pointed out that this issue was bizarrely confusing to observers who examine the course of the contention over what should be taught in American public schools' classrooms.

In a nutshell, in order to pass a given law, a policy must succeed to meet the requirements of the Establishment Clause. It must have a clear secular purpose with a clear intent of not entangling the government with religion. Most importantly, it must not advance a particular religious doctrine. For the strategy of Protestant fundamentalists, they tried their best to meet the restrictions of the Establishment Clause throughout the course of the struggle, but all their efforts have been failed.

Earlier in American history, education in America was closely linked to the Protestant Bible (King James Bible) brought by early settlers to the new world. However, one important

issue was the overlap between school, church, and government and the dilemma of what to follow: the laws of the state or the word of God? With the introduction of the first Amendment to the U.S. Constitution which forbids the establishment of religion, formal religious instruction, school prayer, and the Protestant Bible have been all removed from public schooling by the end of the nineteenth century. Hence, by that time religion became officially disestablished in the United States.

When the theory of evolution started to prevail the scientific community, it has become widely taught in public school biology classes. This fact has frightened highly religious people, most notably the Protestant fundamentalists, who fought fiercely to stop the spread of such a dangerous theory.

In order to discredit the teaching of the evolutionary theory and in an attempt to achieve equal time for creationism, state legislatures and public-school classrooms became the battleground of the conflict. Many state legislatures enacted laws either to advance the teaching of creation science or to ban the teaching of evolution in public school classrooms. The most famous challenge to the constitutionality of a law that counters the rising influence of the evolutionary theory in public schools has begun in Tennessee with the 1925 Butler Act. This challenge to the Tennessee laws is considered the real outset of the creationists' battles towards counteracting the threats of the Darwinian ideas in American public schools. Consequently, this challenge has triggered the Scopes Monkey Trial, a landmark of the controversy over evolution-creationism in America.

It was in 1968 that earlier attempts to challenge the theory of evolution have begun officially to be declared as unconstitutional. *Epperson v. Arkansas* was the first case that affirmed the unconstitutionality of a state law outlawing evolution instruction in state-supported schools. In 1987, the Louisiana statute required balanced treatment for creation

science and evolution in American public schools, but was declared unconstitutional too. Interestingly, the Supreme Court ruled that both laws, requiring either to neutralize the teaching of evolution or to achieve a balanced treatment, violated the Establishment Clause of the First Amendment to the U.S. Constitution.

The final strategy to undermine the teaching of evolution in public schools was the attempt to not only question the validity of Darwin's theory, but also to query its credibility as a scientific theory. In order to fight the evolutionary theory on solid scientific grounds, a more sophisticated theory must be crafted so as to challenge evolution scientifically. Unlike earlier efforts, the theory of intelligent design has addressed the scientific community by offering a new understanding of the universe along with novel explanations to natural systems.

The theory of intelligent design claims that irreducible complexity is a common feature in living organisms and that it is the work of an intelligent designer being its sole responsible. If complexity becomes observable in something, it will become an explicit substantiation of the existence of an intelligent designer, God. Consequently, creationists had overwhelmingly accepted the newest version of creationism because they thought it would become an excellent way to confront the theory of evolution on pure scientific grounds.

But the decision in *Edwards* has relatively ended the creationists' dream of discrediting the teaching of evolution in public schools. Although the introduction of intelligent design theory was considered a brilliant attempt to undermine evolution teaching, it has failed to maintain an image of a pure scientific theory. The verdict in *Kitzmiller v. Dover Area School District* of 2005 has dashed the creationists' dream when ID theory was named a religious belief that will never attain scientific credibility. The U.S district court ruled that it was unconstitutional to teach intelligent design as a scientific theory in public school biology classes for it represents a sectarian religious belief rather than a valid and credible scientific theory.

As a matter of fact, Biblical literalism was a great obstacle to creation science and intelligent design theory. It seems as though now fundamentalists have lost the fight against evolution both in the legal and the scientific field. Since the times of the Dover verdict, little has been heard from the ID movement or its proponents. They went underground to pursue their hidden objectives, while others have officially abandoned the movement. The reason is simple, to believe in evolution means to believe in materialism and liberalism. However, ID proponents and Protestant fundamentalists can never tolerate evolution and its subsequent ideas. If they collide, a grave repercussion will result.

Going back in history, the growing threats of the liberal theology has resulted in the publication of a series of pamphlets entitled *The Fundamentals* which had set the stakes of the precepts of the Protestant faith: the inerrancy of the Scripture, the authenticity of miracles, the virgin birth of Christ, Christ's substitutionary atonement, and the bodily resurrection of Jesus. These Protestant principles has provided adherents with a pure religious atmosphere and has resulted in the emergence of a group of enthusiastic evangelicals who became known as fundamentalists.

Protestant fundamentalists enjoyed a great position in the American political field. Thanks to the Scopes Monkey trial of 1925, the position Protestant fundamentalists used to enjoy in the American political realm started to weaken. William Jennings Bryan, the most powerful orator in American history, was the famous public figure of the fundamentalist cause. He guided the antievolution movement and gave it a weighty position throughout America. But, thanks to H. L. Mencken's coverage of the verdict, fundamentalists lost their respectability and became a subject of massive ridicule. Mencken perpetuates stereotypes that will penetrate in American history by describing the fundamentalists as those frozen out from the main stream of science and modernity. As a consequence, Protestant fundamentalists went

underground after the Scopes verdict in order to hide from national affairs and from the public scene. This was to prepare for their political resurgence of the 1970s.

The secret behind the Protestant fundamentalists' shift to mobilize politically is the new meaning brought by science and evolutionary theory that is entirely different from their sacred text. For fundamentalists, the set of truths included in the Bible is the ultimate source from which they derive meaning of every aspect of their lives. In 19th-century America, they emphasized the notion that God directs the intention of believers to find the truth only within the Bible even for issues associated with science. In short, Protestant fundamentalists view the Bible as God's only truthful source of meaning, and any single fact that comes from other sources merits great opposition for the ultimate promotion of the word of God.

Thus, the theory of evolution generated a sense of fear among Protestant fundamentalists in America for what it calls for seems to them very dangerous to the Protestant belief. As it challenges the belief in God, William Jennings Bryan has led the anti-evolution cause in order to object to the teaching of human evolution in the public schools. Like any other fundamentalist, his objection to evolution was due to his fear of the application of evolutionary concepts to the social aspect of human beings. In order to improve human society, Herbert Spencer in his *Social Darwinism* made an application of the *survival of the fittest* and the *struggle for existence* to the structures of human society as an attempt to legitimize hard social conditions. It should be pointed out, however, that at this stage the fundamentalists were not ready enough to start a potential crusade against the threats of evolution despite their fierce opposition to the core of evolutionary beliefs and the subsequent devastating ideas they may generate.

It was in 1915 that the fundamentalists became ready to challenge the growing threats of evolution and to fight Darwinism as the need to act politically became a must. Political

mobilization becomes necessary for the Protestant fundamentalists to lead an anti-evolution crusade. In the 1920s, the fundamentalist movement started a new phase in the American history by opting to shift to political participation. The political mobilization of the fundamentalists aimed at challenging modernism and materialism in general and the teaching of the evolution theory in public schools in particular. Organizations such as the *Bible League of North America*, the *Bible Crusaders of America*, the *Defenders of the Christian Faith*, and the *Flying Fundamentalists* have considerably fueled the debate against evolution in American public schools.

The strategy of the Protestant fundamentalists to undermine the teaching of evolution reflects the movement's shift from theory to practice and echoes the most polemic agendas of the Christian Right. In the wake of the 1925 Scopes verdict, the anti-evolution movement lost much of its prominence and has retreated from politics. Most fundamentalists objected to the shift of their movement to politics, because they are premillennialists, and viewed politics as a useless endeavor. Only extreme fundamentalists continued to advocate the agendas of the anti-evolution crusade.

By the late 1970s, many white evangelicals and fundamentalists started to mobilize politically in order to restore the American Christian heritage that has been devastated by a group they label *secular humanists* or *liberals*. Consequently, Protestants fundamentalists felt the need to revive America's position and power that are considered as divine blessings by using the political machinery. In simple terms, the Republican Party is the only means to heal the shattering consequences of the liberal theology by using political activism.

The aim of the Christian Right movement was to persuade evangelicals to accept politics as a useful business in an attempt to revive the old Christian bedrocks upon which America has been built. It is widely hypothesized that the Christian Right aimed at finding a way to

enhance their political theology. At this stage light must be spotted on the ideology of the Christian Right that shaped the strategy to object to the teaching of evolution in American public schools. The Christian Right leaders aimed at translating old evangelical traditions into political actions.

Yet, the identity of the anti-evolution movement led by the Christian Right remains Christian and conservative with a strong belief in the authority of the Bible. Moreover, their message remains remarkably consistent since the time it has first emerged in the 1920s. They have developed an immense opposition to Darwin's evolutionary theory, and have provided their cause with a vast variety of arguments (both theological, and scientific arguments) to attack the theory. Hence, their return to politics in the 1970s was to protest social ills that evolution has caused since its spread in the public schools becomes remarkable. So, it was the political arena which is the most suitable place for the Christian Right to fight against evolution and all aspects of secular humanism.

The political energy of Protestant fundamentalists has become more noticeable in politics. They view their political goal as a moral one and their agenda, being based on the Protestant Bible, as accessible to all Americans regardless of their religious affiliation. The reason behind this was to gain the support of non-evangelical groups and to assert that morality could be independent of religion and is essential in political ideologies.

This seemingly technical vision has one important political consequence. Behind their morality, Protestant fundamentalists political activists wanted to promulgate important conservative ideas of older American values like issues that are commonly related to family life, feminism, abortion, sexuality, gay marriage and most notably evolution. Therefore, it would substantially vital to understand how they perceive the position of their old culture of political conservatism in the dilemma of their contemporary American political stance.

Meanwhile between 1925 and 2005, the controversy over what should be taught in America's classrooms continues persistently although some eras of failure that the Protestant fundamentalists and creationists have been through. Overcoming failure becomes a major fundamentalist trait. Each time they fail to succeed a policy, they reassert themselves anew.

All of this research highlights four major findings. First, Protestant fundamentalism is a prominent and exceptional religious phenomenon in America. Second, religion is not only a weighty political phenomenon in America, but also a powerful decision maker in the framing of political insights although the decidedly separation of church and state. Third, religion matters considerably in the American political sphere not through its direct influence but through the formation of predisposition of political elites. Fourth, through embedded networks of creationist organizations and high levels of belief in the Bible combined with widespread belief in political theology, the controversy over evolution-creationism in the United States became a recurring conflict. In order to better understand the uniqueness of such a struggle in America, the door is still opened to understand how the United States is a religious exception when comparing to post-industrial countries, in particular, the notion of American political theology.

Annex

Darwin and religion in America

America's Difficulty with Darwin

Thomas Dixon

Does anything still need to be said about Charles Darwin, two hundred years after his birth and a hundred and fifty years after the publication of his world-changing book, *On the Origin of Species*? There does not seem to be any danger of the world forgetting who Darwin was, or how his theory of evolution by natural selection permanently altered our understanding of the history of life and our place in it. Many of us even carry miniature reproductions of the great evolutionist around with us in our pockets: an iconic image of Darwin, looking like a cross between Socrates and Moses, is printed on the reverse of every ten-pound note. Darwin has not been forgotten. But he has, in some respects, been misremembered. That has certainly been true when it comes to the relationship between his theory and religion.

Recent years have witnessed a resurgence of enthusiasm for the idea of a conflict between Darwin and God. Battle has been joined with equal vigour by scientific atheists and religious fundamentalists. To imagine, however, that skirmishes between Richard Dawkins and religious anti-Darwinists are just the latest phase of an age-old warfare between science and religion would be a mistake. Creationism, and its most recent variation, 'Intelligent Design', are not a throw-back to the Middle Ages, nor are they evidence of some general and timeless antagonism between faith and reason. Rather, they are the products of a particular place and a particular time: the United States of America since the end of the Second World War. But before we examine the peculiarly American religious response to Darwin in more detail, let us return briefly to 1859.

Charles Darwin himself hated religious controversy. Apart from anything else, it exacerbated his chronic bowel problems. At a more cerebral level, it shed little light on the scientific questions that most fascinated him. He was driven by a passion for understanding beetles and barnacles, not the Bible. His wife's religious beliefs also had to be handled gently: the issue of her faith and his doubts was a sensitive one throughout their marriage. Religious controversy would also, Darwin knew, be inimical to the acceptance of his ideas within the scientific establishment. For all these reasons, he did his utmost, when he published *On the Origin of Species*, to present his theory of evolution as an idea that was compatible with belief in God.

We can, thanks to the labours of a group of Darwin scholars at Cambridge University who have made Darwin's complete works available online, try to recreate the experience of Victorian readers as they opened *On the Origin of Species* for the first time. Having admired the gold lettering on the dark green cloth cover of the book, and turned passed the title page, the first words we read are two epigraphs about God. One is a statement by the Anglican clergyman and philosopher William Whewell, to the effect that God does not act by constant miracles but 'by the establishment of general laws'. The second is an aphorism from the seventeenth-century philosopher and scientific pioneer, Francis Bacon, suggesting that true understanding must be sought both in the book of God's word and in the book of God's works: in both scripture and nature. At the foot of the page are the words: 'Down, Bromley, Kent, October 1st, 1859.' Down House was Darwin's home, a rural retreat where he conducted experiments and constructed theories over a period of forty years. The message from Bromley was clear. This book, the work of a respectable gentleman naturalist, was not a manifesto for atheism. Darwin had read the book of nature and found God therein, acting through the laws of variation and natural selection.

Turning to the closing pages of the *Origin of Species*, we find the same message restated. Darwin wrote that ‘it accords better with what we know of the laws impressed on matter by the Creator, that the production and extinction of the past and present inhabitants of the world should have been due to secondary causes... When I view all beings not as special creations, but as the lineal descendants of some few beings which lived long before the first bed of the Silurian system was deposited, they seem to me to become ennobled.’ In the famous final sentence of the book, Darwin concluded: ‘There is grandeur in this view of life, with its several powers, having been originally breathed into a few forms or into one; and that, whilst this planet has gone cycling on according to the fixed law of gravity, from so simple a beginning endless forms most beautiful and most wonderful have been, and are being, evolved.’ From the second edition of 1860 onwards, Darwin altered the phrase ‘breathed into a few forms or into one’ to ‘breathed by the Creator into a few forms or into one’. God was there on the first page of the *Origin*, and also on the last.

But there were nonetheless those who were troubled by the theological implications of the Darwinian view of nature, including Darwin himself, who, in private, was prepared to be more open about his religious doubts. In a letter written late in his life (one of thousands that can now be read online thanks to the Darwin Correspondence Project), he wrote that on religious questions his judgment was subject to fluctuation: ‘I have never been an atheist in the sense of denying the existence of a God. – I think that generally (and more and more so as I grow older), but not always, – that an agnostic would be the most correct description of my state of mind.’

Whatever Darwin’s own doubts, by 1882 most believers seemed to have got over the initial shock of his theories. Although there were plenty of religious worries about evolution, and a famous spat between Darwin’s friend Thomas Huxley and the Bishop of Oxford in

1860, by the time Darwin died, his theory had been accepted by the scientific establishment and was well on the way to being accepted by the Church too. Darwin was granted the honour of a funeral in Westminster Abbey, and the sermon by the reverend Frederick Farrar assured the assembled dignitaries that Darwin's theory posed no threat to belief in God. Farrar took as his text a passage from the Bible describing the wisdom of Solomon, which he applied to Darwin: 'He spake of trees, from the cedar-tree that is in Lebanon even unto the hyssop that springeth out of the wall: he spake also of beasts, and of fowl, and of creeping things, and of fishes.' The work of this great man of science, Farrar said, had enabled people to read 'many hitherto undeciphered lines in God's great epic of the universe'.

Religious believers seemed to have come to terms with Darwinism by the end of the nineteenth century. Why, then, do opinion polls in modern America routinely find that about half of the population deny the truth of Darwin's theory and believe, instead, that human beings were created supernaturally by God at some point within the last few thousand years? The answer to that question lies in the unique political and constitutional history of the United States. Creationism became a popular movement there thanks to a particular historic religious culture, in combination with changing interpretations of the First Amendment to the US Constitution.

Many of the European settlers who arrived in North America in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were fleeing religious persecution. Prominent among these were non-conformist Protestants, whose Christian faith, unlike that of the Anglican and Roman Catholic churches, gave primacy to the relationship of the individual believer with God, and to the reading of the Bible. The intense faith of these Puritans, Congregationalists, Quakers, Methodists, and Baptists gave the British colonies in America, which after 1776 became the United States of America, a distinctive religious culture.

The most significant political doctrine that arose from this culture was the need for a strict separation between Church and state. In a country with so many various and passionately committed religious groupings, it was imperative that the state was not seen to support one over the others. The idea of a national or established Church was anathema to the Founding Fathers. It was for this reason that the First Amendment to the US Constitution forbade Congress from passing any law ‘respecting an establishment of religion.’ The First Amendment, which Thomas Jefferson hoped would build a ‘wall of separation between Church and state’, was not intended to create a secular country – far from it – but rather to prevent the state from favouring any one religion over another.

Although some individual states initially had their own established churches, the last of these (the Congregationalist Church of Massachusetts) was disestablished in 1833. By the beginning of the twentieth century the doctrine of the separation of Church and state had also led to religious instruction being banned from publicly funded schools in many states. Again, the motivation was to prevent one denomination imposing its version of Christianity on others, not to produce religiously ignorant children. It was believed that religious instruction would take place at home and at Sunday school.

It was this distinctively American attempt to solve the problem of inter-denominational religious strife that led directly to the confrontation between Darwinism and creationism in the later twentieth century.

The first sign of trouble came in 1925 in the small town of Dayton, Tennessee. Tennessee was one of several states to pass a law banning the teaching of evolution in their public schools in the 1920s. A local schoolteacher, John Scopes, volunteered to take part in a test case that the American Civil Liberties Union hoped would result in anti-evolution laws being declared unconstitutional. But that was not quite what happened. What did take place was an

internationally reported bonanza of evolutionary and religious debate in Dayton during the summer of 1925. The sensational ‘Monkey Trial’, the first to be broadcast on national radio, also provided a platform for one of the most famous politicians of the day, William Jennings Bryan, who came to Dayton to lead the prosecution case against Scopes.

Bryan had run three times for President as the Democratic Party candidate. On each occasion he was unsuccessful, but he became known as ‘the Great Commoner’ as a result of his determination to speak for the normal working people of America. In the case of the Scopes trial, Bryan spoke as the leader of the Christian ‘fundamentalist’ movement, which had come into existence in the wake of the First World War, to protect America’s Christian culture from erosion by the forces of modernism. What Bryan and his supporters objected to was not the fact that science was taught in the public schools, but that a view widely perceived as materialistic and anti-religious could be taught in the very same classrooms from which all religious instruction had been banned. American parents in the 1920s objected to their children returning from school talking like ‘little atheists’ about the animal ancestry of humanity, but without any knowledge of the fundamentals of Christianity.

The fundamentalists won at Dayton in 1925. Scopes was duly convicted and, although the conviction was later overturned on a technicality, the anti-evolution law remained on the statute book. Evolution was quietly dropped from most American science curricula, and the debate about Darwinism receded into the background for a time. But when it re-emerged it did so with renewed vigour and acrimony.

By the 1960s, the situation had become more polarised. The representatives of traditional biblical faith felt under attack. The Supreme Court had ruled in 1947 that the First Amendment separation of church and state applied to individual state governments as well as to Congress. This meant that wherever biblical instruction had persisted in public schools, it

now had to be removed. It also led to the banning of such things as public prayers in schools, or the posting of the Ten Commandments on classroom walls. At the same time, the surprise success of the Russian space programme, with the first Sputnik mission being launched in 1957, led to a national panic over American scientific standards from school level upwards. The post-Scopes settlement could no longer be tolerated.

The American courts started to look again at anti-evolution laws that had been put on state statute books in the Scopes era. In 1968 a case brought by a young Arkansas biology teacher, Susan Epperson, finally made its way to the Supreme Court. The Court ruled in favour of Epperson and against the Arkansas law, declaring that it was in violation of the First Amendment because ‘fundamentalistic sectarian conviction was and is the law’s reason for existence’.

The decision of the Supreme Court to adopt a much more strictly separatist, as opposed to non-denominational, interpretation of the First Amendment, and to apply this at the state as well as the federal level, led to a deep cultural divide. The Court was acting in direct opposition to the wishes of that large swathe of the American electorate who continued to follow William Jennings Bryan in wanting children’s religious beliefs to be protected by the state. Like Bryan half a century earlier, these American parents saw the theory of evolution as both cause and symbol of a wide range of modern, secular social ills. One creationist image of the 1970s entitled ‘The Evolution Tree’ graphically represented this view. It showed a tree, whose roots were fed by unbelief and sin, with a trunk representing the theory of evolution, and bearing many and various fruits including abortion, drugs, alcohol, relativism, ‘dirty books’, ‘hard rock’, and even terrorism. The axe trying to cut down the tree was called ‘Scientific Creationism.’

The route from these developments in the 1960s and 1970s to recent debates about ‘Intelligent Design’ is a very direct one. If the allegedly anti-Christian theory of Darwinian evolution was going to be taught in public schools, then the fundamentalists were determined they would find a way to get religious instruction into the classroom too. This was a difficult challenge. The whole basis of the problem was the fact that such instruction was no longer allowed. And it was to this problem that ‘Scientific Creationism’ and ‘Intelligent Design’ were the answers. These were both attempts to dress God up in scientific clothing.

Initially, state legislators sympathetic to creationism mandated that there should be equal time devoted in science classes to ‘evolution science’ on the one hand and the alternative theory of ‘creation science’ on the other. The latter did not mention the Bible, but asserted a separate ancestry for man and apes, a ‘relatively recent inception of the earth and living kinds’, and an explanation of geology by ‘catastrophism, including a worldwide flood’. Laws such as these were passed by various states in the 1970s and 1980s. But they did not survive long. The Supreme Court ruled in 1987 that the purpose of such laws was to ‘advance the religious viewpoint that a supernatural being created humankind’ and that they therefore contravened the First Amendment.

The idea of ‘Intelligent Design’, dreamed up by a lawyer, Phillip E. Johnson, and a biochemist, Michael Behe, in the 1990s, was the latest answer to the problem of how to get God back into the American classroom. The theory of ‘Intelligent Design’ states that some complex biochemical structures must have been intelligently designed because they could not have evolved by variation and natural selection alone. Like ‘Scientific Creationism’, this has been presented as an alternative theory to Darwinism which should be taught alongside evolution in science classes in a ‘balanced’ way. But it did not take the courts long to see through this. In a landmark case in Pennsylvania in 2005, Judge John E. Jones ruled that the

Dover Area School Board's policy of requiring biology teachers to read out a statement about 'Intelligent Design' in a science class was religiously motivated, and thus in breach of the First Amendment. The original decision of the board to adopt this policy, Jones commented, showed 'breathtaking inanity'.

In the school board elections in Dover, Pennsylvania that took place in the wake of Jones's ruling, all eight members of the board who had adopted the controversial policy were defeated. This provides an interesting echo of a comment made eighty years earlier by the tub-thumping fundamentalist Democrat, William Jennings Bryan. He had seen that the central question at issue in the Scopes trial was not the relationship between science and religion but rather, 'Who shall control our public schools?' Bryan's answer was that it should not be an unaccountable intellectual elite, but rather the taxpayers themselves. If people wished their children to be taught the Bible in school, Bryan argued, then that is what they should be taught. He went on to predict that 'school board elections may become the most important elections held, for parents are much more interested in their children and in their children's religion than they are in any political policies.' Judging from the Dover case (and from the distinct lack of interest in creationism displayed either by the new President of the United States, Barack Obama, or by his defeated rival, John McCain), the democratic process, with the support of the Supreme Court, will continue to keep religiously motivated anti-Darwinism out of American science classes.

In 1925, the British press reported the Scopes trial in a tone of amused detachment and superiority. The general view was that such a thing could only happen in America. What British journalists in the 1920s had in mind was the supposed cultural backwardness of some American rural communities (the evolution question had, after all, been answered in the affirmative many decades earlier in England) and also the showmanship and consumerism

associated with the carnival surrounding the trial. Although this explanation might have served to reassure British readers of their intellectual superiority, the real reasons why such things only happened in America were deeper-lying historical differences.

Britain possessed none of the necessary ingredients for an American-style clash between Darwinism and creationism. The problem of inter-denominational rivalry had never arisen in the same way, thanks to the supremacy of the Church of England, which ruled over religious matters through Parliament and the press with a mixture of condescension and toleration. The Anglican religion had also always been characterised by a certain rationalism and doctrinal latitude that was less prevalent among the non-conformists of America. Fundamentalist Christianity, which took off in America in the wake of the First World War, never became a popular movement in Britain. Here religion was practised by a smaller proportion of the population, and then with less fire, less intensity, and with a less literalist approach to the Bible. But the most important difference came in the sphere of education. This whole debate, after all, has always been about what should be taught in American schools. Religious instruction, far from being banned from the British classroom, was always a mandatory part of the curriculum in publicly funded schools in this country, from the establishment of the first state schools by the 1870 Education Act onwards. There was never any danger that parents here would feel that their children were not being taught about religion. In fact, the only concessions the state had to make to British parents during the twentieth century were the replacement of exclusively Christian instruction and worship in schools by a more multi-faith approach, and allowing parents the option of withdrawing their children from the religious instruction that schools are required to provide.

The moral of the story of the American conflict between Darwinism and creationism is twofold. First, it alerts us to the fact that conflicts of ideas are rarely merely intellectual. If

there were some essential incompatibility between religion and science, it would be felt in the same way in all times and in all places. But it is not. The Constitution and culture of the United States in the twentieth century provided a unique context within which 'Scientific Creationism' and 'Intelligent Design' could be manufactured, and from which they could subsequently be exported. The second moral is that if the United States wants finally to come to terms with the scientific discoveries of the great Englishman whose anniversaries are being celebrated this year, the best thing they could do is follow the English example and introduce mandatory religious education into their schools.

Bibliography

Primary Sources:

Ackerman, Paul D., *In God's Image After All: How Psychology Supports Biblical Creationism*, Grand Rapids, Baker, 1990.

Alexander, Ker, and M. David Alexander. *American Public School Law*. Thomson West, 2005.

Anderson, Bernhard W. *Understanding the Old Testament*, NJ, Prentice-Hall Inc., 1966.

Asimov, Isaac, and Montagu, Ashley, *Science and Creationism*. Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1984.

Aviezer, Nathan, *In the Beginning: Biblical Creation and Science*, Hoboken, NJ, KTAV, 1990.

Awbrey, Frank, and Thwaites, William M, *Evolutionists Confront Creationists*, San Francisco, CA, American Association for the Advancement of Science, 1984.

Axtell, J. *The school upon a hill: Education and society in colonial New England*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1974.

Bailyn, B. *Education in the forming of American society: Needs and opportunities for study*. New York: Random House, 1960.

Balmer, Randall, and Lauren F. Winner. *Protestantism in America*. Columbia University Press, 2002.

Balmer, Randall. *Encyclopedia of Evangelicalism*. Baylor University Press, 2004.

Bauman, Michael. *Man and Creation: Perspectives on Science and Theology*, Hillsdale, Hillsdale College Press, 1993.

Bebbington, David W. *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain: A History from the 1730s to the 1980s*. New York: Routledge, 1989.

- Behe, Michael J., *Darwin's Black Box: The Biochemical Challenge to Evolution*, New York, Free Press, 1996.
- Bell, Daniel. *The End of Ideology: On the Exhaustion of Political Ideas in the Fifties*. Glencoe: The Free Press, 1960.
- Ben Barka, Mokhtar. *Les Nouveaux Rédempteurs : Le Fondamentalisme Protestant aux Etats-Unis*. L'Éditions de l'Atelier, 1998.
- Berra, Tim. *Evolution and the Myth of Creationism: A Basic Guide to the Facts in the Evolution Debate*, Stanford, CA, Stanford University Press, 1990.
- Bird, Wendell R. *The Origin of Species Revisited: The Theories of Evolution and of Abrupt Appearance*. Nashville, Tenn, Regency, 1991.
- Bliss, Richard, *Origins: Creation or Evolution*, Green Forest, AR, Master Books, 1988.
- Bowler, Peter J. *The Eclipse of Darwinism*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1983.
- Bowler, Peter J. *Theories of Human Evolution: A Century of Debate, 1844-1944*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1987.
- Brooke, John Hedley and Cantor, G N. *Reconstructing Nature: The Engagement of Science and Religion*. Edinburgh, T&T Clark, 1998.
- Brown, E. E. *The making of our middle schools: An account of the development of secondary education in the United States*. New York: Longmans, Green, 1902.
- Brown, Walt, *In the Beginning: Compelling Evidence for Creation and the Flood*, 6th ed., Phoenix, AZ, Center for Scientific Creation, 1995.
- Bryan, William Jennings. "God and Evolution". *New York Times*, February 26, 1922, p. 84.
- Bube, Richard H. *The Human Quest: A New Look at Science and the Christian Faith*. Waco, Word Books, 1971.

- Burke, Derek, and Andrews. E H., *Creation and Evolution: When Christians Disagree*, Leicester, Inter-Varsity Press, 1985.
- Burton, Ronald, Stephen Johnson, and Joseph Tammey. *Review of Religious Research*. Religious Research Association, Inc, 1989.
- Cafferky, John. *Evolution's Hand: Searching for the Creator in Contemporary Science*, Toronto, East End Books, 1997.
- Camp, Ashby L., *The Myth of Natural Origins: How Science Points to Divine Creation*, Tempe, AZ, Ktisis Publishing, 1994.
- Carpenter, James. "Thomas Jefferson and the Ideology of Democratic Schooling", *Democracy and Education*, 21, n°. 2 (2013): 4.
- Casanova, José. *The Journal of Religion*. University of Chicago Press, 1995.
- Chambers, Robert. *Vestiges of the Natural History of Creation*. London: David Price, 2014.
- Cole, Stewart. *The History of Fundamentalism*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1931.
- Craig, William and Smith, Quentin, *Theism, Atheism, and Big Bang Cosmology*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1995.
- Cremin, Lawrence. A. *American Education: The colonial experience, 1607–1783*. New York: Harper & Row, 1970.
- Cremin, Lawrence A. *American Education: The Metropolitan Experience, 1876–1980*. New York: Harper & Row, 1988.
- Curtis, William M., *Specific Revelation: The Gospel Prior to Moses*, Columbus, GA, Brentwood Christian Press, 1993.
- Custer, Stewart, *The Stars Speak: Astronomy and the Bible*, Greenville, SC, Bob Jones University Press, 1977.
- Dawkins, Richard. *The God Delusion*. Transworld Publishers, 2006.

- Dembski, William A., and Kushiner, James M. eds. *Signs of Intelligence: Understanding Intelligent Design*, Grand Rapids, Mich, Brazos Press, 2001.
- Demick, David A., “The Blind Gunman”, *Impact*, no. 308, February 1999.
- Dennert, Eberhard, Edwin V O'Harra, and John H Peschges. *At The Deathbed of Darwinism*. Burlington, Ia.: German literary board, 1904.
- Dennett, Daniel C. *Darwin's Dangerous Idea: Evolution and the Meanings of Life*. London: Penguin Books, 1995.
- DeWolf, David K, Stephen C Meyer, and Mark E DeForrest. *Teaching the Origins Controversy*. [Salt Lake City]: University of Utah College of Law, 2000.
- Dreisbach, Daniel L. *Thomas Jefferson and the Wall of Separation between Church and State*. New York, New York University Press, 2002.
- Dummett, Michael. *New Black Friars*. Wiley, 2002.
- Durant, Dr John, “How Evolution Became a Scientific Myth”, *New Scientist*, 11 Sept. 1980.
- Ellis, Joseph. *American Sphinx: The Character of Thomas Jefferson*. New York, NY: Alfred A. Knopf, 1997.
- Eve, Raymond A., and Francis B. Harrold. *The Creationist Movement in Modern America*. Twayne Publishers, Boston, 1991.
- Fea, John. *The History Teacher*. Society for History Education, 1995.
- Francis, Keith A. *Charles Darwin and the Origin of Species*. Greenwood Press Westport, Connecticut: London, 2007.
- Fraser, James W. *Between Church and State: Religion and Public Education in a Multicultural America*. St. Martin's Press, New York, 1999.

Fox, Sidney and Klaus Dose. *Molecular Evolution and the Origin of Life*. San Francisco, W.H. Freeman and Company, 1972.

Gould, Stephen J. "Evolution's Erratic Pace". *Natural History* 86 (1977): 5.

Guth, James L., John C. Green, Lyman A. Kellstedt, and Corwin E. Smidt. "Faith and the Environment: Religious Beliefs and Attitudes on Environmental Policy." *American Journal of Political Science* 39 (1995): 364–382.

Hammill, Graham, and Julia Reinhard Lupton. *Political Theology and Early Modernity*. The University of Chicago Press Chicago and London, 2012.

Hankins, Barry. *American Evangelicals: A Contemporary History of a Mainstream Religious Movement*. Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc, 2008.

Haynes, Stephen R. *Noah's Curse: The Biblical Justification of American Slavery*. Oxford University Press, 2002.

Herriot, Peter. *Religious Fundamentalism: Global, Local and Personal*. Routledge, 2009.

Hillerbrand, Hans J. *The Encyclopedia of Protestantism*, Routledge, 2004.

Hofstadter, Richard. *Anti-Intellectualism in American Life*. New York, 1962.

Holifield, E Brooks. *Theology in America*. Yale University, 2003.

Hood, Ralph W, Jr. Peter C. Hill, and W. Paul Williamson. *The Psychology of Religious Fundamentalism*. The Guilford Press, 2005.

Hutchison, William R. *The Modernist Impulse in American Protestantism*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1976.

Hutson, James H. *Church and State in America*. Cambridge University Press, 2008.

James, William. *The Will to Believe*. New York: Dover Publications, 1956.

- Justice, Benjamin. *The War that Wasn't: Religious Conflict and Compromise in the Common Schools of New York State, 1865–1900*. Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 2005.
- John, Pojeta Jr, and Dale A. Springer. *Evolution and the Fossil Record*. American Geological Institute, 2001.
- Johnson, Phillip E. *Darwin on Trial*. Regnery Gateway Publishing Co, 1991.
- Jorstad, Erling. *The Politics of Moralism: The New Christian Right in American Life*. Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1981.
- Kitzmiller v. Dover Area School District, 400 F. Supp. 2d 707 (M.D. Pa 2005).
- Koyzis, David T. *Political Visions and Illusions: A Survey and Christian Critique of Contemporary Ideologies*. Downers Grove: InterVarsity Press, 2003.
- Laats, Adam. *Fundamentalism and Education in the Scopes Era: God, Darwin, and the Roots of America's Culture Wars*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2010.
- Lacorne, Denis. *Religion in America: A Political History*. Columbia University Press, New York, 2007.
- LaHaye, Tim. *The Battle for the Mind*. Old Tappan: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1980.
- Landes, D. S. *Unbound Prometheus: Technological change and industrial development*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1969.
- Landes, D. S. *The wealth and poverty of nations: Why some are so rich and some so poor?* New York: W. W. Norton, 1998.
- Larson, Edward J. *Summer for the Gods*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997.
- Lienesch, Michael. *In the Beginning: Fundamentalism, the Scopes Trial, and the Making of the Antievolution Movement*. The University of North Carolina Press, 2007.

- Livingstone, David N. *Darwin's Forgotten Defenders: The Encounter between Evangelical Theology and Evolutionary Thought*. Eerdmans, Grand Rapids, MI, and Scottish Academic Press, Edinburgh, 1987.
- Macedo, Stephen. *Diversity and Distrust: Civic Education in a Multicultural Democracy*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2000.
- Marsden, George M. *Fundamentalism and American Culture*. Oxford University Press, 2006.
- Marsden, George M. *Fundamentalism and American culture: The shaping of twentieth century evangelicalism 1870–1925*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1980.
- Marsden, George M. *Understanding Fundamentalism and Evangelicalism*. Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1991.
- Mayr, Ernst, and William B. Provine. *The Evolutionary Synthesis: Perspectives on the Unification of Biology*. 1st ed. Harvard University Press, 1998.
- Melton, J. Gordon. *Encyclopedia of Protestantism*. Facts on File, Inc, 2005.
- Melton, J. Gordon. *Protestant Faith in America*. Facts on File, Inc, 2003.
- McGough, Michael. *A Field Guide to the Culture Wars: The Battle over Values from the Campaign Trail to the Classroom*. Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data, 2009.
- Mitchell, Samuel Augustus . *An Easy Introduction to the Study of Geography: Designed for the Instruction of Children in Schools and Families*. Thomas, Cowperthwait & Company, 1840.
- Miller, P. *Errand into the wilderness*. Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1956.
- Moore, James R. *The Post-Darwinian Controversies: A study of the Protestant struggle to come to terms with Darwin in Great Britain and America 1870-1900*. Cambridge University Press, 1979.

- Moore, John A. *From Genesis to Genetics: The Case of Evolution and Creationism*. University of California Press, 2002.
- Moore, Randy, Mark Decker, and Sehoya Cotner. *Chronology of the Evolution-Creationism Controversy*. Greenwood Press, 2010.
- Moorhead, J. H. *World without End: Mainstream American Protestant Visions of the Last Things, 1880–1925*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1999.
- Murray, Leslie A. *Liberal Protestantism and Science*. Greenwood Press, 2008.
- Noll, Mark A. *Protestants in America*. Oxford University Press, 2000.
- Norman F., Furniss. *The Fundamentalist Controversy, 1918-1931*. Yale University, 1950.
- Numbers, Ronald L. *The Creationists: From Scientific Creationism to Intelligent Design*. University of California Press, 1992.
- O’Callaghan, Bryn. *An Illustrated History of the USA*. Pearson Education, 2004.
- Perciaccante, Marianne. *Calling Down Fire Charles Grandison Finney and Revivalism in Jefferson County, New York, 1800-1840*. State University of New York Press, Albany, 2003.
- Philpott, Daniel. *Explaining the Political Ambivalence of Religion*. *The American Political Science Review* 101, 2007.
- Phy-Olsen, Allene. *Evolution, Creationism, and Intelligent Design*. Greenwood, 2010.
- Ranganathan, B G. *Origins?* Pennsylvania, the Banner of Truth Trust, 1988.
- Ratzinger, Joseph Cardinal. *In the Beginning*. Our Sunday Visitor Press, 1990.

- Ryan, Michael, and Les Switzer. *God in the Corridor of Power: Christian Conservatives, the Media, and Politics in America*. Praeger: ABC-CLIO, LLC, 1951.
- Reese, William J., and John L. Rury. *Rethinking the History of American Education*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2008.
- Rieppel, Olivier. *Evolutionary Theory and the Creation Controversy*. Springer, 2011.
- Rury, John L. *Education and Social Change: Themes in the History of American Schooling*. Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Inc, 2002.
- Ruse, Michael. *Evolution-Creation Struggle*. Harvard University Press, 2005.
- Rutman, D. B. *The Great Awakening: Event and exegesis*. New York: Wiley, 1970.
- Sandeen, Ernest R. *The Roots of Fundamentalism: British and American Millenarianism, 1800–1930*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1970.
- Settle, Mary Lee. *The Scopes Trial: The State of Tennessee v. John Thomas Scopes*. New York: Franklin Watts, 1972.
- Singham, Mano. *God vs. Darwin: The War between Evolution and Creationism in the Classroom*. Lanham, Md.: Rowan & Littlefield Education, 2009.
- Singham, Mano. *Quest for Truth: Scientific Progress and Religious Beliefs*. Bloomington, IN: Phi Delta Kappan Educational Foundation, 2000.
- Smidt, Corwin E., Lyman A. Kellstedt, and James L. Guth, *The Oxford Handbook of Religion and American Politics*. Oxford University Press, 2009.
- Smith, John Maynard. *The Theory of Evolution*. 3rd ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993.
- Spetner, Lee. *Not By Chance!* New York, Judaica Press, 1996.

- Spitz, Jean-Fabien. *Locke, Lettre sur la tolérance et autres textes*. Paris: Garnier-Flammarion, 1992.
- Stabler, Ernest. *Founders: Innovators in Education, 1830-1980*. The University of Alberta Press, 1987.
- Sweeney, Douglas A. *The American Evangelical Story: A History of the Movement*. Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2005.
- Tarnas, Richard. *The passion of the Western mind: understanding the ideas that have shaped our world view*. New York: Harmony Books, 1991.
- Taylor, Gordon Rattray. *The Great Evolution Mystery*. Abacus, Sphere Books, London, 1984.
- Thomas Chalmers, *On the Power, Wisdom and Goodness of God as Manifested in the Adaptation of External Nature to the Moral and Intellectual Constitution of Man*, Vol. 1. London: William Pickering, 1834.
- Vries, Hent de, and Lawrence E. Sullivan. *Political Theologies: Public Religions in a Post-Secular World*. Fordham University Press, 2006.
- Weber M. *The Protestant ethic and the spirit of capitalism*. New York: Scribner, 1930.
- Weber, Timothy P. *Living in the Shadow of the Second Coming: American Premillennialism, 1875–1982*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1983.
- Weinberg, Leonard, and Ami Pedahzur. *Religious Fundamentalism and Political Extremism*. Taylor & Francis e-Library, 2005.
- Wilcox, Clyde, and Carin Robinson. *Onward Christian Soldiers? The Religious Right in American Politics*. Westview Press, 2011.
- Woody, T. *Quaker education in the colony and state of New Jersey*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1923.
- Zwier, Robert. *Born-Again Politics: The New Christian Right in America*. Downer's Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 1984.

Secondary Sources:

Behe, Michael J. "Evidence for Intelligent Design from Biochemistry," speech to God and Culture Conference, Discovery Institute, Seattle, WA, August 10, 1996, www.arn.org/docs/behe/mb_idfrombiochemistry.htm (accessed November 21, 2019)

Cornwell, Reid. "Thomas Jefferson on Educating the People". The Center for Internet Research(TCFIR).<http://tcfir.org>,<http://tcfir.org/opinion/Thomas%20Jefferson%20on%20Educating%20the%20People.pdf> (accessed April 09, 2017).

Darwin, Charles. *On The Origin of Species*. Pennsylvania State University: The Electronic Classics Series: Jim Manis, 2013.

Darwin, Charles, *The Descent of Man, and Selection in Relation to Sex*. New ed., revised and augmented ed., New York, Appleton, 1889.

Darwin, Charles, *The Origin of Species: A Facsimile of the First Edition*, Harvard University Press, 1964.

Darwin, Charles. "On the Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection, or the Preservation of Favoured Races in the Struggle for Life," *London: John Murray, Albemarle Street (1859): 127*. Quoted in Daniel C. Dennett, *Darwin's Dangerous Idea: Evolution and the Meanings of Life*. London: Penguin Books, 1995.

Darwin, Charles. *The Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection*. The Modern Library, New York, 1998.

Darwin, Francis ed., *The Life and Letters of Charles Darwin*, Vol. 11, London: John Murray, 1959.

Dixon, Thomas. "America's Difficulty with Darwin." University of Cambridge. Last modified March 24, 2019. <https://www.darwinproject.ac.uk/commentary/religion/darwin-and-religion-america>. (accessed July 07, 2019).

Everson v. Board of Education, 330 U.S. 1 (1947). In *Supreme Court and Education*, edited by David Fellman. Classics in Education, No. 4, Teachers College, Columbia Univ, 1960.

- Geertz, Clifford. "Ideology as a cultural system." In *Ideology and Discontent*, edited by D.E Apter. New York: Free Press, 1964.
- Jefferson, Thomas. "To Messrs. Nehemiah Dodge and Others, a Committee of the Danbury Baptist Association, in the State of Connecticut January 1, 1802." In *Writings*, edited by Merrill D. Peterson. New York: Library of America, 1984.
- Locke, John. "A Letter Concerning Toleration." In *The Selected Political Writings of John Locke*, edited by Paul E. Sigmund. New York: Norton, 2005.
- Mann, Horace. "Journal". In *Life of Horace Mann*, edited by Mary Mann. Boston, 1888.
- Paz-Y-Miño-C, Guillermo and Avelina Espinosa. "The Incompatibility Hypothesis: Evolution vs. Supernatural Causation". In *Why does Evolution Matter? The Importance of Understanding Evolution*, edited by Gabriel Trueba. Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2014.
- Singham, Mano. "What Happened to the Intelligent Design Movement." Free Thought Blogs. <http://freethoughtsblogs.com/sngam/2017/02/04/what-happened-to-the-intelligent-design-movement/> (accessed November 21, 2019).
- Verta, Taylor, and Nancy Whittier. "Collective identity in social movement communities: Lesbian feminist mobilization." In *Frontiers in social movement theory*, edited by Morris, Aldon D., Mueller, and Carol McClurg. New Haven, CT, US: Yale University Press, 1992.