The Relevance of the Augustana Heritage to the Crises in Education, Mariage and Family, and Globalization: Part One

Louis T. Almén

I begin with a few comments to explain the rationale for including my topic at this Gathering and why I think it is relevant and very important. One of my college and seminary friends of Swedish American and Augustana origins responded to the announcement of the first AHA Gathering at Chautauqua with the comment, "This is going to be nothing more than an expensive and extended Swedish/American ethnic picnic." At another but earlier gathering in the Tampa area sponsored by LSTC to gain support for the Augustana Memorial Chapel one of the clergy present, of Augustana seminary and Augustana Synod lineage, rose to proclaim his pleasure at finally being free of Augustana pietism and the naiveté of outdated Augustana theology and his hope that LSTC would represent greater sophistication. This has not been my experience of AHA Gatherings or my evaluation of our Augustana Heritage. In fact, the more I have attempted to understand what is going on in U.S. society and its primary institutions and what is happening around the globe, the greater respect I have gained for the wisdom resident in our heritage and its capacity to shed light on how we ought to deal with key crises in U.S. society and around the world.

My intention for this session is that together we can think about what has happened in our society in terms of public and private education in the last half-century and what has developed in the area of marriage and family, areas of U.S. life which are in crisis. Together, I hope, we will consider not only the guidance from our Augustana heritage but that each one of us will resolve to think through what he or she can contribute to resolving those crises, however small or large one's own individual contribution can be. The global issues, which we also plan to include, I sought to describe at the last AHA but was unable to finish. One of the reasons I accepted this assignment this year is to be able to finish what I had started and promised two years ago. So let us start!

Part I. The Relevance of the Augustana Heritage to Crises in Education

A. Crises in U.S. Elementary and Secondary Education.

In 1983 the U.S. Secretary for Education made a public statement that acknowledged that U.S. Elementary and Secondary education were in deep trouble. He entitled it "A Nation at Risk." There were many facets to the problems he articulated but they can be summarized by the standing of U.S. high school graduates on standardized tests given to students from other industrialized nations of equivalent ages. U.S. students, it was discovered, ranked near the bottom on their scores in science and math. Since science and math were deemed to be critical to maintaining leadership for the nation in technology, which in turn was critical in retaining U.S. economic pre-eminence in a world economy, the title "A Nation at Risk" was "right on" and startled government

> leaders at all levels into action. It has been on the political agendas of presidents, senators and representatives, governors, mayors and school board candidates to this day.

Beneath the surface of this warning signal were many distinct but inter-related problems. They included (1) the lingering effects of separate and unequal school opportunities for minorities and the difficulties of enforcing the equal education requirements of Brown vs. the Board of Education of 1954, (2) the race riots of the 60's and the chaos in inner city ghettos where average daily attendance was frequently 50% or less of registered students, (3) the great differentials in the per-pupil expenditures in economically stratified school districts together with (4) the crowding out of sufficient emphasis on basics by the addition of life skills training such as driver's education, preparation for motherhood, introduction to baby sitting, cheerleading, automobile body restoration, etc. Some of the problems emerged from lack of clarity about educational goals and objectives and experiments with different methodologies of instruction. Some critics held teachers colleges and schools of education in universities responsible for many problems. The remarkable surprising and disappointing aspect of the response to this awakening to crisis is that twenty three years and billions of dollars later, the standing of U.S. high school graduates relative to those of similar age in other industrial nations has only risen slightly

This is, however, but one crisis in U. S. public elementary and secondary education. A second crisis, even more disturbing to a very large section of U.S. citizenry has to do with the elimination of religious practices and references to and about religion in U.S. public schools. To appreciate the significance of the secularization that has occurred requires a brief historical background. Almost all elementary and secondary education in the U.S. during the colonial period and well into the early 19th century was in church-sponsored and private schools and what has been called the Protestant *paideia* prevailed in almost all except for those sponsored by Catholics and Jews. Interestingly, such a set of core Protestant studies was first set out by Luther and Melancthon and their associates, and then by John Calvin in Geneva, which spread with Calvinism to the Netherlands and Scotland and with the Puritans to Massachusetts and Connecticut and a very similar Episcopalian set of core studies accompanied the settlers in Virginia and elsewhere. In rough outline it followed the traditional liberal arts with the trivium of grammar, logic and rhetoric along with Cicero and Aesops Fables and the quadrivium of music, arithmetic, geometry, and astronomy, plus religion, mainly Bible stories and the lessons to be drawn from them.

It was not until the 1830's when Enlightenment thinking took root among a large number of the leading intellectuals in the U.S. that political pressure mounted for governments to guarantee a public elementary and secondary education for all citizens, a move that Luther had accomplished in Germany in the first half of the 16th century. This was perceived as a necessity for several reasons. First, it was deemed necessary to Americanize the growing number of immigrants. Second, it was believed to be the responsibility of government that was charged with advancing the civil society involving, of course, education of its citizens in the civilizing and practical arts. Third, rationalism as an intellectual movement had become dominant in Europe along with the

emergence of empiricism. With reason and the scientific method of confirming theories, objective knowledge, it was expected, would provide an education that would be an instrument of building a universal ethic and rational beliefs, superior to the disputed beliefs among denominational schools that were providing the existing education. Horace Mann in the 1830's was instrumental in the development of the common school in Massachusetts and publicly sponsored education became established gradually in the constitutions of all the states over the next few decades. This did not mean that religious practices, such as the study of the Bible and Biblical morals were eliminated in public elementary and secondary schools. In most places in the U.S. in the 19th century Catholic children and youth were in Catholic schools because of the Protestant aura that remained in public elementary schools and in the high schools. Morning prayer in many places, a Bible verse for the day, and the display of Biblically inspired moral maxims painted on the walls or written on blackboards were common and unquestioned. Many of us here recall the Ten Commandments painted on the walls of schools we attended as children. With industrialization and the move of populations from farms to cities where people of different faith traditions gathered, public education was forced to address religious pluralism in culturally mixed areas but adaptations were also made as in high school baccalaureate exercises where representations of the major faith communities alternated in leading prayers. Elements of what has been called "the Protestant Establishment" endured in many communities into the second half of the 20th century.

It was during the 19th century period of Protestant hegemony that Swedish Americans immigrated to the United States. Fritjiof Ander's book on T.N. Hasselquist, whom Ander believes was the primary influence in the development of the character of the Augustana Synod, evaluates the Augustana position on public primary and secondary education in the last half of the 19th century in the U.S. in these words, "Within the Augustana Synod there was never any opposition to public schools, and parochial schools were not considered a hostile move with respect to public schools, but a necessity in providing for children a religious education not secured in the public schools." [1] What Ander is saying is that the public schools with their respectful inclusion of religion were not hostile to the Christian faith but did not succeed in providing the level of instruction necessary to understand the Christian faith and a parochial education of greater depth was required. Thus, in the Augustana Synod, summer parochial education had developed as the "necessary" response to the need for a more adequate religious education. My father, who was born in 1891, often spoke of summer parochial schools in his youth that lasted from six weeks to two months, led by seminary students and school teachers earning additional income during their summer vacations. This was a testimony to Augustana's adaptation to U.S. public education by an augmentation system of considerable substance. The augmentation by a solid summer vacation Bible School or by released time programs was Augustana's response even after challenges to religious practices of any sort brought court decisions eliminating prayer, Bible reading, posting of the Ten Commandments, religiously oriented baccalaureate exercises and a seemingly impenetrable wall of separation between public education and religious instruction or practice.

The legal adjustments to religious pluralism that initiated the "strict neutrality" for public education on matters of religion resulted in purging public education of religious

practices and limiting any substantial academic engagement with religious history, or teachings, or ideas. This began with Everson vs. the Board of Education in 1946. Some historians believe this decision marks the dividing line in the relationship of religion to public elementary and secondary education, even though the Everson case dealt with the issue of government assisting parochial schools. The reason is that in Everson, the Court specifically used the words "a state's actions must have a secular purpose." That marker led to the increasing use of Jefferson's phrase "the wall of separation," implying the necessity of insuring that religion must be an individual choice made without coercion or external pressure. The Court's references to such a "wall" in cases decided after Everson have led to the elimination of religious practices previously unchallenged in the Courts and have in effect defined a legal line not previously developed. The Court's interpretation of the Establishment Clause in the Constitution has been contested by reputable constitutional historians. Just as the actual intention of the Founders is somewhat ambiguous, so also are the seemingly contradictory decisions of the Courts on religion in the public schools and the use of tax money vis-à-vis the education in church sponsored elementary and secondary education as the chart by Marie Failinger[2] clearly describes.

The core of the issue is that the wall of separation that now exists is made up of legal precedents which may help Courts make new decisions, but because of ambiguity on many issues creates difficulties for (1) public school administrators and instructors, (2) parents who take issue with school practices and curriculum, (3) text book authors, editors and publishers, and (4) a growing segment of the citizenry who see an education without reference to and respect of religion and the Divine Source of our liberty as inadequate, and (5) the forfeiture of the important moral element of education in public schools by being required to substitute individual values clarification for an established moral code reducing right and wrong to personal preference and thereby exchanging moral obligation, a universal, for legal obligation, effectively limiting necessity to what the enforcers of law can detect and enforce, and finally (6) leaving a critical sector of public life without a functional interaction with communities of faith replacing the respect and honor of communities of faith with a cool climate of caution about religion in any form, even information of historical character, all of which problems appear to be due to legal ambiguities and litigious watchdogs. It is for these and other reasons that churches have moved in the direction of church-related elementary and secondary education in order to insure an education in the faith with Bible study, and catechetical instruction integrated with the arts and sciences.

The most dramatic change in the ELCA in the last eighteen years is in the growth of church-sponsored early childhood and elementary education. This is in keeping with the principle of our Augustana heritage "the establishment of parochial schools is not a hostile move with respect to public schools, but a necessity in providing for children a religious education not secured in the public schools."[3] However, the changes in public education over the last sixty years from respect and relational accommodation to purging not only of religious practices but also of conveying accurate information about religion and its contributions as well as problems, needs to be challenged as an educational disservice to historical truth, and a neglect of what has been legally authorized.

In the March/April '06 edition of Lutheran Partners in an article by Mel Kieschnick, it notes that "congregation sponsored schools are a massive, if often unnoticed, ministry in the ELCA."[4] As of April of this year there were 1600 early-childhood centers with 100,000 children and 275 elementary schools with 50,000 students. There are currently 17 high schools, most of which are jointly sponsored with the LCMS. At the time of merger the LCA had fewer than 20 elementary schools located in large urban areas. The ALC, particularly in California was able to develop a few elementary schools prior to merger and sponsored a few academies. The AELC brought its LCMS tradition of parochial schools into the '88 merger with 19 elementary and 27 pre-schools. In the last 18 years, however, the number of elementary schools has moved from around 60 to 276. While the ELCA has been losing congregations and total numbers (for many different reasons), the number of elementary schools has grown by 450%. This response on the part of ELCA is surely supported by our Augustana heritage. In a 1963 Augustana Historical Society publication entitled The Swedish Immigrant Community in Transition, appearing after the LCA merger and dedicated to honoring Dr. Conrad Bergendoff on his retirement, Professor Paul Lindberg, former president of Luther Jr. College in Wahoo, Nebraska, authored a chapter on "The Academies of the Augustana Lutheran Church." He indicated that all of the colleges of Augustana started as academies and continued to provide academies but as U.S. schools, particularly high schools grew in numbers and quality during the era of what has been called "Protestant Ascendancy" or at times "The Protestant Establishment," the need for church-sponsored elementary and high schools dwindled and the academies related to the colleges were closed. Likewise, for lack of an Augustana educational rationale or educational philosophy justifying church-sponsored two year colleges, the public junior college movement led to the closing of its last Junior College, Luther Jr. College in Wahoo in 1959, merging it with Midland College to form Midland Luther College. In Dr. Lindberg's closing paragraph in 1963, he writes, "The foundations for real encounter with truth, and for the meeting of the Christian mind with the wider scope of human knowledge may be laid during the high school years. If this contention is valid, it may lead to a re-thinking of, and return to, an elementary and secondary program of education in the church. If such should occur, it need not be in opposition to the public schools, for this is contrary to the spirit of the church."[5] A third of a century later, Lindberg's prophecy is coming true as the need for church-sponsored elementary and secondary education has become more and more apparent. Pastors and other teachers of confirmation classes typically attest to a dramatic difference between the readiness of catechumens who attend church-sponsored elementary schools and those from public schools. Also those who have evaluated the results of the counter-culture movement on the religious views and loyalty of those who had attended church-sponsored elementary and secondary schools versus those who hadn't show the significant difference a solid Christian education makes in the clarity and stability of people's faith.[6]

Thus far we have covered primary and secondary education. If we were to leave it there, our analysis would fall far short. It is not only lower education that has been in crisis, but the crisis time line of higher education in the U.S. mimics that of the primary and secondary schools. In fact, in higher education the trumpet call come well before 1983.[7] In higher education there has been a half-century of significant changes together with

crises of different kinds in public and church-related higher education. Those changes and crises will be described and Swedish Lutheran and Augustana theological concepts that give guidance for confronting current cultural and political crises for facing both public and church-related higher education, will be presented.

B. Crises in Higher Education

Changes Influencing Public, Private and Church-Related Higher Education in the U.S. Over the Past Fifty Years.

First, the ratio of public to private and church-related higher education - The obvious and perhaps the most far reaching change in U.S. higher education is the shift in the ratio of students in state owned and operated universities and colleges and those in private and church sponsored universities and colleges. In 1950 the ratio was about 50% to 50%. By the end of the 20th century it was 90% public and 10% private and church-related.[8] If little else had changed from 1896 to 1996, this shift would have had less consequence. Because of several other changes, the impact of this ratio to the character of higher education in the U.S. is huge and consequential

Luther initiated state supported universal education, including religious education, in the 16th century in Germany, but publicly supported schools and colleges didn't become widespread until well into the19th century in the U.S. In the process a number of church-sponsored schools and colleges received public financial support and the curriculum for the most part consisted of what some have called the Protestant *paideia* initiated by the Protestant Reformers of the 16th century. As late as the 1890's President Angell of the University of Michigan was an enthusiastic promoter of Christianity on campus. He reported that twenty-two of the twenty-four state supported institutions of higher education in Michigan conducted chapel services and at twelve of those institutions chapel attendance was compulsory. Four even required church attendance. Angell also reported that "Most faculty were church members and were free to express their Christian perspectives in the classroom as long as they did so in 'a reasonable and courteous way and avoided sectarian proselytizing![9] The dominance of the Protestant *Paideia* obvious in President Angell's report was beginning to erode in those universities that were to follow the model of the German research universities starting with the University of Berlin in 1800. When U.S. research universities developed much later in the 19th century their focus was primarily on research with the aim of developing new knowledge in the various disciplines with the purpose of improving life in tangible, material ways. As a result the transmission of knowledge from the past was not the chief focus and preparation in a discipline for later graduate education ranked higher than the development of the whole person. Also, after the Morrill Act of 1862, education focusing on engineering and agriculture began to turn education to more pragmatic ends. As pragmatism in philosophy developed the general education was turned from concentrating on information and wisdom from the past to learning life skills for the

present. Progress defined as material advancement and adjustment to changing circumstances rather than development from an inherited tradition became dominant and the relevance of the Protestant liberal arts *paideia* began to fade.

Second, changes in High Court Interpretation of the First Amendment – Almost all of the institutions of higher education in the Colonial era were the products of Protestant and to a lesser extent Roman Catholic initiatives. The U.S. Constitution made no provision for education, neither elementary/secondary, or higher education. The first amendment to the Constitution did make clear that in the U.S., unlike the practice in Europe, there would be no established religion. Religious freedom would be guaranteed.

As immigration from northern, western and eastern Europe dwindled and shifted to southern Europe, Asia, and central America the traditional linkage of government supported education with the Protestant *paideia* and institutions become less viable and led to the high courts' attempt to respond to the growing pluralism in U.S. society, ethnic, cultural and religious, by turning what had been a metaphor used by President Jefferson in a letter to a Baptist congregation into a court doctrine by a series of decisions which did not automatically prevent financial assistance to private and church-related education but required strict neutrality, a completely secular purpose, a likely freedom from entanglement, and in some court decisions and legislative acts related to church-sponsored higher education a freedom from external church control and an institutional climate free from pervasive religiosity. Court decisions made clear to public higher education institutions that state involvement in higher education has only a secular purpose. The so-called "wall of separation" doctrine has significantly influenced the character of public, private, and church-related higher education.

The "wall of separation" between church and state, which developed over the last half-century is full of holes, crevices, variations in height, thickness and straightness. As many issues related to specific situations but relied on general principles, the decisions of the court often appear to laymen to be contradictory, even though they carry the authority of the court of final appeal in our constitutional system. It is not inconceivable that in some future political/historical configuration significant changes could occur that would be more in line with the idea of institutional separation but greater functional interaction. In its current state a few of those high court decisions have brought about a significant secularization in public, private and church-related higher education. For example, in the case of Everson vs. Board of Education, 330 U.S. 1 (1947), the Court said that "No tax in any amount, large or small, can be levied to support any religious activities or institutions, whatever they may be called, or whatever form they may adopt to teach or practice religion." Even though that was a case challenging the use of public funds for the support of private schools, it has been interpreted broadly and has had significant impact on the teaching of religion in public institutions of higher education. Now religious studies in public universities have had barriers erected to prevent any implication of endorsement of any religious teachings and religious studies have tended to become critical analyses of religion from outside perspectives, not an assistance "to faith in search of understanding." Further religious studies, rather than being recognized as an established academic discipline, a status it has held for centuries in Western universities

is typically categorized as an interest group accommodation as with Black Studies and Women Studies. Another Court decision Tilton vs. Richardson, 403 U.S. 672 (1971) which involved the funding of Catholic Colleges, but in effect, was related to all church-related institutions of higher education allowed funding for construction of buildings at church-related educational institutions but demanded that these institutions not be "pervasively sectarian." This Court decision led to an extensive conflict between the American Catholic bishops and the Vatican with the bishops contending that the U.S. Catholic Colleges and Universities were free from Vatican control and the Vatican contending that under the 1977 Canon law code, all Catholic Colleges and Universities are under the ultimate jurisdiction of the Vatican Congregation for Colleges and Seminaries. This conflict was provoked by the inability of lawyers to determine whether the ultimate authority of the Vatican Congregation would jeopardize Catholic institutions from getting the money they desperately needed to expand their campuses. Burchaell, in his book The Dying of the Light details the extent to which Catholic Colleges and other church-related institutions removed elements of Catholic (and other denominational) identity to conform to the ambiguous provision of "pervasive sectarianism."

A similar court and legislative action occurred in New York State. The New York State Legislature appointed a Committee headed by McGeorge Bundy to determine if private institutions needed state funding to insure their survival. The Committee recommended state funding and the legislature approved what was then popularly called Bundy Money. However, the State Constitution had earlier adopted what was called the Blaine amendment that forbade assistance to any institution that included among its essential purposes the teaching of religious belief. The committee then recommended that the State Department of Education would withhold Bundy Money until a religiously affiliated college or university could provide convincing evidence that religious considerations were of a non-binding character. For the Lutheran Church in America with two New York based institutions of higher education that meant the loss of one of them even though the LCA Board of College Education and Church Vocations developed a pattern of covenant making between synods and their related colleges to accommodate the N.Y. situation. Hartwich College in Oneonta, N.Y. decided the risks were too great and disaffiliated, while Wagner College on Staten Island proceeded with a Covenant and successfully received Bundy Money.

In sum there is much historical evidence that the U.S. Courts Church/State decisions delineating a wall of separation have had a corrosive effect on religious practices in church-related higher education, while at the same time providing needed money.

A third significant change in the last fifty years has been the move from a primarily industrial economy that required masses of assembly-line workers to a post-industrial economy that tended to require more workers with post-secondary training and college-level preparation. To make this possible, the U.S. and state governments from the end of WW II through the mid-sixties provided large amounts of public funding to build new public colleges and universities, particularly community colleges, through construction grants and loans as well as operating money, and scholarships. It also granted funds as well as government loans to private and church-related institutions. It was this big push to

provide the labor force for moving to a post-industrial economy that was responsible for the shift in the ratio from approximately 50% to 50% involved in Private and Church-related and public institutions in 1950 to 10% to 90% at the end of the 20th century. While attendance at private and Church-related institutions grew during this period, the growth of the percentage in public education grew at a dramatically greater rate, with the greatest growth being in public community colleges. Community colleges typically offered three programs. (1) Two year terminal programs in technical and semiprofessional areas, (2) a general education to acquaint students with different areas of study, and (3) liberal arts for those planning to transfer to four-year colleges and universities. Most students at community colleges were commuters. Evaluators have in general viewed their liberal arts programs as resembling a continuation of high school and the prevailing climate as vocational in orientation, different from that in a liberal arts college.

Public higher education in flagship universities was overall more traditional in orientation, but took on the character of a mass operation with student populations in the multi-thousands, with little direct personal contact with their professors, whose tenure was tied to publication, not teaching nor mentoring, on the undergraduate level. Institutional identity at these academic behemoths was closely connected to the success of their athletic programs not the achievements of their graduates. Educated in a mass educational operation they were equipped primarily to fill a role in the mass society developing in the U.S. whose values were shaped by the American dream of economic success, democratic tolerance, the conformity of organization man and the willingness to follow whatever was conventional. The development of firmly held, well thought out, basic personal convictions developed by a deep engagement with religious and philosophical thought, classical literature, and close engagement with mentors in the humanities, together with personal reflection was atypical in mass education.

A fourth significant change in the last fifty years has been the growth of cultural pluralism. Not only did immigration from northern Europe slow dramatically after 1910 while immigration from southern and Eastern Europe grew, but immigrants from Asia, Central and South America and the Middle East brought with them different cultural values and with those from Asia and the Middle East other religious traditions as well. In addition racial and gender social suppression, a black mark in U.S. history, was challenged by its victims within the last fifty years by organized movements whose grievances were aired through mass protests, issuing in legislation granting long denied civil rights and voice in the public square, including recognition in the curriculum of higher education.

A fifth change noticed more by sociologists and social critics of the pluralistic "mass society" in the U.S. is the development of cultural relativism as an *a priori* assumption together with the conviction that science and technology will be able to solve and fix not only technical problems, but human problems as well. Allan Bloom of the University of Chicago challenged U.S. society with his book, The Closing of the American Mind[10] and Robert Wuthnow, a sociologist at Princeton University, in his book on the Restructuring of American Religion,[11] detailed the growing assumption that a technical fix for all our

problems can be found. What both assert is that this world-view is widely held in the U.S. and what they infer is that American education has failed to develop a well-informed critical intelligence. Both Bloom and Wuthnow have been criticized by educators as over-reaching in their generalizations, but evidences to support their assertions abound.

A sixth change much more narrow than the previously mentioned shifts but very important, particularly to flagstaff public universities and private colleges and universities, are the educational policy shifts at both the federal and state levels regarding who will bear the cost of higher education. Since the 60's there has been a rather steady effort to shift from grants to loans for students and a cut-back in federal funding for plant construction. On the other hand, more money by both governments and corporations has been provided for research. The community colleges overall have not suffered as much and they have been able to keep tuitions relatively low. Those who attend public four year colleges and universities and particularly those attending private and church-related colleges have typically been forced to bear higher financial debts after graduation.

The Impact of the Counter-Culture Movement of the Sixties

The changes described above provide one set of significant developments in the last fifty years, important in understanding the context of higher education at the beginning of the 21st century. Their full impact, however, cannot be understood without recalling the societal turbulence in U.S. society, one significant aspect of which was the outbreaks on U.S. college and university campuses led by the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS). Rebellious students demanded changes in admissions standards in favor of more openness, revision of U.S. history to include the injustices to Native Americans, Black Americans and women and the inclusion of the cultural contributions of minorities in the curriculum. This was joined with a "put down" of the inherited culture that they described as the ideas of "Euro-centered, dead, white males." With their demand for curricular changes came the demand for freedom for students to choose their own course of general studies, for representation in governance, and for the elimination of institutional *in loco parentis* authority. While the sit-ins and campus take-overs were somewhat limited, they became headline and primetime news and the influence of SDS effected changes in most institutions of higher education. The Carnegie Council on Policy Studies in Higher Education after the Counter Culture Movement had slowed down in the mid-seventies determined that between 1967 and 1974 the percentage of the undergraduate curriculum devoted to general education had dropped dramatically and concluded that general education "is now a disaster area." The end of *in loco parentis* demanded by the student rebellions of the sixties became *de facto* in many fraternities and sororities across the country in the seventies and eighties. While efforts to curb excesses in behavior on campuses, particularly as it relates to alcohol and drugs, eventually ended the "Animal House" image of campus life that prevailed in the seventies and eighties, even though problems remain.

So how are these developments to be understood? Is it best explained as the evolution of pluralism and the end of the Protestant Establishment? Most analysts have recognized

those changes have happened in the last fifty years. Was the achievement of civil rights for Native Americans, other minorities, particularly Blacks, and for women a righting of some wrongs in U.S. history? Surely that is true although the process of legal and social rehabilitation still continues. Was it an unusual example of "coming of age," a generational show of force by post WW II Baby Boomers? That also was true but that "generational force" was given exceptional power by its linkage with long, multi-generational grievances whose time had come. The decade of the 1960's was a meeting point of many forces, a critical time, a shift in societal structures in our national economic and military power, the civil status of minorities and women, and the U.S. role in international affairs. In assessing those changes, however, we must also recognize what is frequently overlooked, namely, the effective removal of religion from the public square. By the draining from public education a close alliance with the faith and value system of Christianity, U.S. public life was effectively secularized. Strict neutrality in public educational practice does not mean not favoring one over the other; it means, in principle, avoiding religion wherever possible since public monies must be used strictly for a secular purpose. It is not *prima facie* hostility to religion or indifference, but a principled separation or secularization. However, the effect on the education of children and youth educated in public schools, colleges and universities is the absence from their education of the interweaving of faith and life, revelation and reason – the Athens/Jerusalem dialectic that has been critical to the development of western civilization. That interaction between faith and reason so important to the generation or development of western civilization is now effectively severed from U.S. public education. One of the two principle sources of our culture has been dropped. The Court's decisions and the legislatures' actions combined to produce a dramatic increase in the secularization of our culture.[12] These combined government actions have undoubtedly stimulated the growth in parochial education whose importance has increased in proportion to the degree of secularization. The Augustana position becomes all the more evident. Parochial education is a necessity in providing a religious education not available in public schools.[13]

Efforts by church bodies, church-related colleges and universities, foundations and the National Council of Churches responding to secularizing forces - Before moving to a theological explanation of what it is in the Lutheran perception of the Christian faith that provides the motivation and the vision for the church's calling in education, a brief summary of how LCA Lutherans and other major Protestant denominations reacted to the dramatic changes in the last half century is in order. At Augustana College, for instance, in 1959 Augustana received a Lilly foundation grant to assist the college to integrate its education around its purpose, goals, and objectives as a Lutheran Christian College. The method chosen was to gather ten to twelve key faculty each year for three years who each would prepare a statement shared with their department colleagues expressing how the pursuit of courses in that discipline contributed to the purpose, goals and objectives of the college. This was shared with the colleagues in the group followed by extensive dialogue. What was revealed to the group were new insights about the unique contributions to the common purpose, goals and specific objectives of the college each discipline contributed. It did not result in the development of a common epistemology but provided a form of integration sometimes called imbrication, an overlapping as with a tile roof or like scales on a fish. The Augustana model has been used in other church-related

colleges/universities as a means of demonstrating to faculty with a strong sense of discipline independence how they are not alone but part of a larger actually integrated institution in the pursuit and communication of truth within a Christian world-view.

In 1966, Dr. Edgar Carlson, President of Gustavus Adolphus College was asked to prepare a document "describing our Church's current work in higher education, except for its seminaries and campus ministry, and proposing a strategy for effective participation in the future."[14] To assist Dr. Carlson an Advisory Committee was established of one LCA College President, one LCA Provost, two Board members of the LCA Board of College Education and Church Vocations, a top executive of the Association of American Colleges, the Director of the Institute of Higher Education, at Columbia, University and the President of the Foundation Library Center in N.Y.C. When the study was published, sufficient copies were sent to each college/university for faculty and staff and the presidents were requested to develop committees on each campus to put together a response from that campus. These were distributed during the academic year '67-'68 and the responses were returned by the end of '68. Not surprisingly, during that time of campus upheaval when some LCA campuses had experienced take-overs by rebellious students, and establishments of all kinds were being rejected, this study did not connect or seem to apply to the practical realities the institutions were facing. In the eyes of the BCECV Board and its advisors, this study was relevant and excellent, but the response from campuses tended to think of it as irrelevant. Nevertheless, under new executive leadership at the Board, two initiatives were undertaken. First, a program leading to building covenants between the colleges/universities and their sponsoring synods to insure engagement through discussions in this time of confusion, and second, a larger commission was established to develop a potential social statement vis-à-vis the relation of the church to its institutions of higher education. In the end, the President of the Church decided that the Board of College Education had sufficient authority to issue such a statement to its related institutions on its own, which it did, and a shorter social statement dealing with public funding for church-related institutions was presented and approved by the Church Convention in 1972.The ALC adopted a similar statement in that same period.

During the late fifties, sixties and early seventies other Protestant colleges were involved in coming to grips with the rapid changes in higher education

The Presbyterian Colleges did what the Lutherans did in the mid to late sixties, during the 1950's, when Fay Campbell was the executive of their board of higher education. Their study was done by Howard Lowry, the president of Wooster College in Ohio. Lowry in his study entitled <u>The Mind's Adventure</u> acknowledged that even then "…religion is not now for most colleges a practicable source of intellectual unity."[15] However, for those of the Hebraic-Christian tradition, Lowry saw it to be the source of integration and coherence whereas secularism was left with moral relativism and at the same time a short-sighted, uncritical cult of so-called "objectivity." In 1961 at Conference Point on Lake Geneva, Wisconsin the Commission of Higher Education of the National Council of Churches brought college presidents and church leaders together to assess the future for Protestant Colleges/Universities. The prime speaker was Merrimon Cunninggim of the

Danforth Foundation. It was here that the general usage of the term church-related was initiated to identify old-line Protestant colleges because it gave flexibility in identification which had many benefits in an era when governments were in need of discriminating between colleges under church control and those who could be considered independent. It was also a conference in which Cunninggim was very critical of the quality of church-related colleges leading him to the statement that "things are so bad that we must ask …do Protestants belong in the college business?"[16] Yet, he called for change and cited "…a belief in God as being the proper orientation and framework for education."[17] Such a general affirmation, he maintained, is neither piety, nor full, precise orthodoxy and yet as natural theology might be acceptable in public and non-church related higher education. Specifically church-related colleges, of course would add the doctrines of Christology and Soteriology. By separating the specifically Christian doctrines from monotheistic affirmation would, he thought, force the secularists to come to terms with the fact that "the university no more needs to be neutral about God than about democracy or morality or good manners."[18] In making this distinction Cunninggim believed that the Protestant colleges could still maintain some leadership for all of higher education. Cunninggim's proposals, unfortunately, though consistent with the Declaration of Independence, did not square with the Courts' insistence that tax money can only be used for a secular purpose.

Following through on these themes the Danforth Foundation created a fellowship program for future leaders and established scholars at Protestant colleges. It completed a study of campus ministry as well as a study that sought to delineate types of church-related colleges. When the Danforth Foundation decided to shift its focus in the early 1970's, Cunninggim resigned and by the mid-seventies Danforth was no longer providing a leadership role for Protestant higher education. Also, the "Religion in Education" program of the Yale Divinity School, which had helped to prepare chaplains and church college administrators, ended in the late seventies.

The wide divide within the ranks of Protestant colleges by the late seventies made the term church-related a very imprecise label and the formation of the Christian College Consortium in 1971 and the Christian College Coalition in 1976, composed of very conservative Christian colleges, tended to categorize very orthodox church-related colleges along with the non-orthodox as having only an historical connection with the church which was misleading. As a result of a 1978 "Wing-spread Conference" Cunninggim again offered a taxonomy of church-relatedness that moved from "Embodying College" to "Consonant college" – at the other end of the spectrum. This helped to provide colleges with a close relationship with the church a more adequate and distinctive designation.[19]

This short venture into what was happening to church-related colleges in the sixties, seventies, eighties and into the nineties provides a context for an attempt to indicate what is involved in being a college/university that embodies a Lutheran education. What would that be? And how would that be like other colleges/universities of that type?

C. The Augustana Theological Heritage Vis-à-vis Lutheran Embodying Colleges and Universities

The Augustana Theology from which its Role in Higher Education is understood – First, the central affirmation of Lutheranism is justification by grace through faith alone. Luther repudiated any religion that promoted the concept that by doing good works either alone or with the help of the Holy Spirit humans can achieve a righteousness that would qualify acceptance by God on merit alone. Even as Christians we remain sinners, *simul iustus et peccator*. The righteousness that brings acceptance is that which God provides through what is called "The Christ Deed," in which Jesus, the Christ, the only-begotten Son, through his suffering, death and resurrection, defeats sin, death and the devil. Salvation is being in Christ, united with Him by His invitation, following confession and absolution and continuing with fellowship. This sacrificial love of God is at the center of Lutheranism, an accepting, embracing, caring, giving, redeeming spirit embodied in the community of faith which is its spiritual energy source through the Holy Spirit, both its light and its human warmth.

The church-related Lutheran college/university is not itself the church, but is an institution directly devoted to the discovery and communication of the truth in all areas of existence and in the process giving expression to the affirmations of the Christian faith, and institutionally holding the abounding love of God in Christ as central to its life. That includes expressing that faith both in worship opportunities in the life of the community, and in classroom discussions, faculty and student life, and service. While it is not the church, its colleges and universities are part of the church's calling which includes both gospel and law. In Sweden, for example, oversight and involvement with education from kindergarten through the universities was a mission of the church for centuries.[20]

Second, the concepts of vocation and the folk church are also critical to understanding Augustana's theology of the church's commitment to higher education. Luther rightly understood that the gospel belongs to the church alone, whereas the law was everywhere. However, he also believed that the total message of the church included both gospel and law, and thereby also all the created orders and vocations including the order of education making education theologically inseparable from the church since, "only the gospel discerns the meaning of the law; only the resurrection explains the cross; only heaven enlightens the world."[21] It is in that union of gospel and law that the world view of Christian faith relates in meaningful ways to produce an integration of Jerusalem and Athens, faith and reason, the insights from Scriptural revelation and the conclusions of reason and science.

This dimension of societal involvement has suffered during this last half-century of increased secularization. The importance of government financial support has dramatically increased and church support for its colleges/universities and its social welfare institutions has dwindled. The church relationship and the understanding of the importance of its institutions to the church and of the importance of the church to those

institutions were tested. Fortunately, an awareness of their need for each other as essential to the identity of each has emerged as a result of an on-going re-examination by each of its place in the *civitas*.[22] It is from this perspective that Lutheranism both motivates and shapes its sponsorship of higher education. This, by the way, is not doctrinally different from the relationship expressed in the encyclical Ex Corde Ecclesiae, although Lutheran polity is significantly different from that of the Roman Catholic Church.

To be religious in the world of Luther's day meant leaving the world of family, business and government and entering a monastery or a convent. Luther tried that until his *eureka* moment of discovering that salvation was a gift of God, not an otherworldly pathway of adding to the treasury of merits for the church to distribute earned by the performance of rituals. God was to be served in the world by service in Christ's name meeting human need in the family, in one's work in the economy, and in other services in church and community. Flagellation and denial in Christ's name in the monastery was not the way Christ wanted his followers to serve him but sacrificial service to others in his name was the way to serve the will of God.

In Lutheranism it was not only the individual but the church itself that had a calling to serve in the world. Edgar Carlson in his book describing Swedish Lundensian theology asserts that Luther's concept of *beruf* has had its fullest embodiment in Swedish Lutheranism.[23] It is in the calling that the substance of Luther's theology of the Cross is revealed and while sponsoring the church-related college/university is the church's calling, what the college is to do is to develop individuals who have examined themselves in terms of what they believe, what is important, and what mission in life they feel and think they should prepare to undertake in service to God and the world.[24] That is the personal development goal of the education the church-related institution of higher education is called to provide and the second goal is to prepare the student to accomplish the mission that is chosen. Church-related higher education thus becomes the instrument for development of a cosmos of callings which is a spiritual kingdom, an objective spiritual reality of which Christians are members, an expression of mind, but "objectified in the producing and assimilating of cultural objects."[25] To quote Woltersdorf who in turn was quoting Jellema, "…Education is by a kingdom and for citizenship in that kingdom"[26]

The Dutch Reformed Calvin College understands its embodying of the Christian faith in higher education in a similar fashion. Woltersdorf, in his book Educating for Shalom, attributing this view to his teacher at Calvin, William H. Jellema, wrote "It was Jellema's view that if we want to understand the fundamental pattern and dynamic of history and culture, then what is most important to attend to is not individuals, or even social institutions, but the spiritual kingdoms of which individuals are members and institutions are expressions. In thus interpreting history, Jellema saw himself as standing in the lineage of Augustine who viewed human life in time as the interaction between the City of God and the City of the World…Jellema saw these spiritual kingdoms as objective realities…Determinative of every *civitas* is a worldview, or mind, as Jellema was fond of calling it… it too has a determinative center. …Every human being, according to Jellema,

is forced to give some answer to the question of God as God. …The answer one gives shapes the mind with which one thinks; and this mind in turn determines one's particular way of being – in-the-world. …All formal education, {says Jellema} even such as professes to be neutral, reflects some *civitas*. …The difference between Christian and non-Christian education is, therefore, not that religious faith is in the one and not in the other; the difference is between the Christian definition of God and a non-Christian definition' and is thus a difference and opposition between kingdoms."[27]

This broader theological view of the mission of the church-related college/university is seldom used in the everyday chit chat of professors or students, but it is understood and appreciated by those whose lives as Christians have been dedicated to contributing to Christian higher education as professors, administrators, counselors and people working with students who see the difference the college makes to individual students and traces the difference they make in their missions in life. In the perspective alumni gain over time, they, too, appreciate the gifts from Alma Mater that have derived from its character as a Lutheran College.

Third, Luther's vocation or *beruf* is to be understood in an eschatological setting - Wingren says, "From the beginning, as early as 1519, Luther viewed it in its eschatological setting and as the fulfillment of baptism…Its mission is to discipline …before he sent his Son, God was at work in his created world. He raised the law and worldly orders as a barrier against sin. But they did not change the hearts of men as only Christ and his gospel can do that."[28] "For it is in the moment when the gospel proclaims and demonstrates God's love that the depravity of man is truly revealed. Then, for the first time man really knows himself as a sinner."[29] "When God disciplines one, he does so to give one eternal life. So in this way too the law is an expression of God's love, hidden behind its opposite. Only he who has heard the gospel can see the law in this light. Only he who trusts in the promise of the resurrection can endure the crucifixion. Only he whose hope lives in heaven can stand up under the fact that the whole world is what it is, the power of all this lies in the fact of the new man. For through faith Christ lives in the heart, and he is God's own creative love. But with faith the Holy Spirit is given, and in the Holy Spirit one loves one's neighbor, purposes his well-being, and bears his burdens…Thus God makes his world new through the gospel, faith, and Holy Spirit."[30] "…But above all other things, it is love born of faith which is the great transformer, a door through which God enters into the world to change family, business, legislation, government. This he does, not by changing the externals, but by the regeneration of those who occupy this position or that."[31] The explanation Wingren gives of *beruf* understands the transformation created by faith active in love not as something out of the created world, fallen as it is, but as a new creation, as belonging to the Christ who lives within, as the ontological union with the living Christ, as belonging to the new age, the eschaton, moving toward the promised consummation of a new heaven and a new earth.

Since Vatican II the Roman Catholic Church has made changes which brings its understanding into close alliance to what Wingren has written. Both the Lutheran eschatological understanding of vocation and the Roman Catholic understanding of its

church's role in history, as a result of Vatican II provide profound insights into the role Christian colleges and universities play in God's plans for humanity.

Father J. Bryan Hehir in a lecture given at the University of Dayton in response to receiving the 1995 Marianist Award, entitled "The Church in the World: Responding to the Call of the Council" addresses "the issue of how the Church of Christ understands its place in history, how it defines its posture in relationship to secular institutions and how it speaks, by word and example, to the principal political, economic and social issues of the day."[32] Hehir develops his address on the basis of Gaudium et Spes, the last and longest of the documents of Vatican II and in particular focuses upon the theologies of Yves Congar, the French Dominican and Henri de Lubac, the French Jesuit whose work laid the foundation for Gaudium et Spes. Congar's Lay People in the Church and Lubacs Catholicism: A Study of the Corporate Destiny of Mankind together demonstrated "the essentially social character of Catholicism"[33] In Lay People in the Church Congar acknowledges the validity of what he calls "the dualist-eschatological view," the monastics desire to conform in this world with "The City that is to come," but he finds "more convincing as a basic position for the church, {a certain continuity between the humans work of this world on the one hand and the kingdom of God on the other.}"[34]

There is much similarity here between Luther, Jellema Wingren and Congar. Hehir believes that he advocates "…a transformative view of ecclesiology and eschatology: The Kingdom ultimately is a work of the Spirit, a gift of God, but the Spirit transforms what has been prepared in history by human work through culture, scholarship, politics, art, economics and law."[35] He goes on, "The kingdom is both present in history and transcends history; it is within us and ahead of us. The created world, while ambivalent and ambiguous in terms of its orientation toward the kingdom because of sin, provides the raw material for the heavenly Jerusalem. The work of human intelligence and creativity which perfects the created order points toward the culmination of history in the eschaton—hence the lasting value of human work."[36] Acknowledging that the kingdom of God is not a human creature, the argument of Gaudium et Epes is that it is "anthropological in its foundation, eschatological in its culmination, ecclesiological in its focus and Christological in its content."[37] It is Gaudium et Spes which represents a move "from a political-juridicial conception of the church's role in the world to an anthropological perspective. The person is the link between church and world."[38] It is here that Hehir sees the connection with Catholic higher education not only as it provides through this eschatology an horizon, a consummation of the kingdom, in which the work of scholarship and teaching, the work of dedicated human intelligence and creativity have lasting value and even now "give some foreshadowing of the new age."[39] He finishes his lecture by concluding that "..It is essential to the purposes of Catholic higher education to assist the church in responding to the world in all its complexity and challenge."[40] In essence this is consonant with article 17 and article 20 of the Augsburg Confession and is to be the subject of the current bi-lateral Lutheran/Catholic Dialogue scheduled to result in another doctrinal statement of agreement to be announced October 31, 2017, the 500th anniversary of Luther's 95 Theses.

In a book written in honor of the centennial of the University of Chicago, in 1992, entitled The Idea of the University – A re-examination[41] , Jaraslov Pelikan, the author, examines the role higher education plays in current society and also its role in communicating the past to the rising generation. The dialogue on the current issues uses as a point of reference Cardinal Newman's 19th century book, The Idea of the University. His first chapter is entitled "The Storm Breaking Upon the University" which he cites as the negative criticism of the early 1990's to which reference was made earlier in this essay. In response Pelikan asserts that the deeper crisis is that which exists in the state of the world and describes it through the image of the "Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse" who "were given power to kill (1) with the sword, (2) with famine, (3) with pestilence, and (4) by wild beasts of the earth."[42] Later, Pelikan adds (5) ignorance as the fifth horseman with the power to kill. Basically, Pelikan's explanation of higher education and what it produces is that it is the institution that has led in the battle to defeat (1) war, (2) famine, (3) pestilence, (4) the wild beasts (the primitive state of things), and (5) ignorance. Not only does the world turn to higher education after wars to overcome alienation by the exchange of students and professors and through cooperation, but has been and continues to be the research source out of which came the "Green Revolution" to overcome famine, the principle research source to secure vaccines and other pharmaceuticals to stem pestilence, the development of science, technology and mechanical arts to allow humans to dominate nature, and the provision of the literacy which overcomes ignorance and makes possible the battles over all the powers to kill. Pelikan's description of the role of higher education using the image of the horsemen of the apocalypse is particularly fitting when linking the work of Christian higher education to the eschaton. Pelikan bends the nail that Hehir, Luther, Wingren, Jellema, and Woltersdorf used to unite scholarship, research and teaching to God's work in overcoming the cosmic conflict in the consummation of all things. It is only fair to say that not only Christian institutions but all institutions of higher education and other human instruments contribute to overcoming the five horsemen of the Apocalypse, but increasingly only church-related institutions affirm this view of the nature and destiny of humans and their institutions by upholding the affirmations of the Christian faith.

Fourth, there is another Christian teaching that is important in defining the nature and character of Christian higher education. Lutherans, like all Christians who affirm the ecumenical creeds understand the nature of God to be One, but Trinitarian, Father, Son and Holy Spirit. It has been compared to the divisions in the human mind of reason, memory, and imagination (Augustine), three different expressions of mind, but one mind. While affirmable on Biblical grounds, and analogies help, the inner mystery of the Trinity appears to be beyond our full understanding. However, Biblical descriptions of the image of God possess a relationship to the oneness or unity for which we yearn in human relationships, particularly in intimate unions and close communities. These characteristics of the Trinity have been called the *peri-cardia*. They are (1) loving purpose, (2) distinctive functions, (3) equality, and (4) mutuality. These characteristics of the Divine Trinity of Father, Son and Holy Spirit are lifted up as belonging to marriage, and Christian communities in the Scriptures, and are often cited by those who seek to describe human virtues. An institution of higher education embodying the faith, will reflect in its life, loving purpose, acknowledge and respect different functions, honor our

equality as humans in spite of differences of gifts, and assist one another in responsible regard of belonging together. Reflection of the image of the Triune God is consistent with the centrality of God's grace, the source of our calling which emerges from the personal appropriation of that grace and from continuing fellowship in Christ that is faith active in love in the orders of this world, seeking the spiritual kingdom of Christ as a reality on earth, and works towards realizing the potentialities of the created world, the quality of humanity which reflects the gifts of the Spirit, and moves forward to claim God's promise of fulfillment in the consummation of the future, the Eschaton.

D. Wither the Augustana Heritage and its Embodying Educational Institutions

The Existential Decisions We Face - The critical existential decision that we face at this point in history is similar to that of the situation T.S. Eliot faced with the clash of civilizations in 1939, with a different but no less determined enemy. In a series of radio addresses to the British public, later edited into a book entitled The Idea of a Christian Society he explored the options that included (1) submission to the Nazis and Fascists, (2) a way of life dedicated to material wealth without spiritual guidance and ultimate meaning and, (3) the renewal of Christian culture. In his book and addresses he advocated powerfully for the renewal of Christian culture.[43] We need to ask ourselves what kind of future options we have and which one of them we are willing to put our lives and our resources on the line to preserve and promote. For Eliot it was not secularized society without either spiritual or intellectual depth, caught up in hedonism and competitive materialism, nor was it statist fascism with triumphal goals of world domination without regard for human rights. The only future worth putting himself and all his resources on line for is what he wrote about in his book The Idea of a Christian Society, the realization of a culture based on the Christian religion, its beliefs, spirit and values. For that to become the future three things were required, (1) a parish system with the capacity to maintain moral and spiritual leadership in the community, (2) a significant strengthening of Christian education in schools and universities to maintain a local and national leadership with sufficient numbers of Christian statesmen to insure Christian principles and values would prevail in governmental decisions, and (3) an intellectual elite which could include clergy, theologians, writers, scientists, artists, professors and recognized leaders in government, business, and sports who could keep the genius of western society alive, namely, the Athens-Jerusalem dialog.[44]

This is what Jeffrey Peter Hart in his recent book Smiling Through Cultural Catastrophe advocates as he describes the crisis in U.S. higher education. He writes, "The dialectic between Graeco-Roman and Judaeo-Christian cultures represents two distinctive ways of looking at the World that developed in each more broadly. They are metaphors referring to philosophy/science and to the disciplined insights of Scripture…philosophy/science pursues knowledge through an investigation of the world and Scripture represents received insights into the constitution of reality. The insights are not true because they are recorded in Scripture, but are recorded there because, finally, they are true."[45] Hart, after expatiating on the importance of continuing this dialectic, encapsulates the case in this

quotation from Leo Strauss, one of the most widely respected philosophers of the twentieth century. Strauss wrote, "Western man became what he is through the coming together of biblical faith and Greek thought. In order to understand ourselves and to illumine our trackless way into the future, we must understand Jerusalem and Athens."[46] When we realize that only ten percent of those involved in post-secondary education are in institutions where they are likely to engage in some sustained fashion the dialectic between biblical faith and philosophy/science, we realize how in our secularization we have become marginalized from the genius of western society. We are almost completely severed from our intellectual roots and our spiritual destiny. Yet another center for public education has not been found. We have severed our civic life from the foundations in Graeco-Roman culture and Judaeo-Christian Biblical sources and many of the Enlightenment assumptions on which our society has been based have been eroded leaving us without a public philosophy, a cultural consensus from which to arbitrate conflicting interests. The direction of the nation vis-à-vis the pathway to the future seems focused on the partisan balance on the judicial court of final appeal, nine persons who are bright and learned in the law of the land based on a constitution, a break-through for its time, and flexible through amendments allowing for adjustments, but dependent in its authority upon the higher authority of justice and truth, the precedents of which emerged from the dialectic between Graeco-Roman and Judaeo-Christian cultures. However, one partner of that dialectic (Judaeo-Christian) we have ceased to recognize or officially "own" as a result of the wall of separation between church and state. As T.S. Eliot reminded us "Political philosophy derives its sanctions from ethics, and ethics from the truth of religion." As Eliot says, "…it is only by returning to the eternal source of truth that we can hope for any social organization which will not, to its ultimate destruction, ignore some essential aspect of reality."[47] The confrontation we face from an aggressive, offended and consequently united Islam, requires more than trade agreements, territorial lines of demarcation and militarily defended buffer zones. Its goal is our soul and not our wealth. What is in the end being challenged is our Christian faith and its culture. Unfamiliar with the separation of church and state, they see our secularized culture and view us as weak, as corrupted, as without spine, without the frame on which to build a righteous culture. They see the West as a mission field for conversion. Christian schools, colleges and universities are the spine of a Christian culture. The secularization of public education and the change in the ratio of enrollees in private and public higher education from 50%/50% in 1950 to 90%/10% in 2000 has caught us ill equipped to understand what is going on in the world today. David Brooks of the New York Times summarized the situation in these words, "Secularism is not the future; it is yesterday's incorrect vision of the future. This realization sends us recovering secularists to the bookstore or library in a desperate attempt to figure out what is going on in the world."[48] What U.S. education has left behind, Augustana higher education which is our living legacy continues and remains relevant to today's world, all the more critical to the future of our fragmented and spiritually challenged society.

Three Sources for Evaluating the Faithfulness of Augustana Colleges - So how have our Augustana contributions to Christian higher education come through the secularization of U.S. higher education in the last half-century? We will look to three sources for that evaluation. First, we will apply the criteria used by Father Burchaell in his book The

Dying of the Light[49] whose title clearly registers his conclusions. These criteria were deduced from the text of his book by Sinclair Goodlad, who did a study on English Christian Universities. There were five factors on which Burchaell, reputedly, based his analysis. First, "reductions in staff and students from a particular denomination thereby changing the nature of the institution; (2) a movement from the inculcation of religious beliefs and practices toward academic theology and eventually toward religious studies so that the curriculum becomes detached from the institution's Christian aims; (3) compulsory worship giving way to optional worship, thereby changing the nature of communal unity; (4) the lifting of restrictions on student behavior so that "moral" and "religious" forms of life become independent of intellectual activity; (5) a move from clergy or religious to lay presidents (principals or rectors)"[50] Judged by these criteria former Augustana Colleges could be judged to have been secularized judging from catalog descriptions and the religious affiliation of students and faculty as well as by the movement from clergy to lay presidents. It must be remembered that Burchaell was a Roman Catholic priest and the requirements of Tilton vs. Richardson provoked a major change in the external elements in Catholic higher education to meet the criteria of not having a "pervasive sectarian presence" in the academic environment. It is also true that the shift from the student activism of the sixties to student hedonism and navel gazing in the seventies made *in loco parentis* impossible but most church-related colleges instituted controls and enforced behavioral standards during the late seventies and eighties. Also the movement from the inculcation of religious beliefs to academic theology was not a response to court decisions or away from Christian commitment but away from prejudice and toward greater objectivity in treating the material studied and away from denominational misrepresentation of other communions of faith. This was the requirement of honesty and fairness when addressing the increasing religious pluralism in the student body. Theologians were expected to be both objective in pursuit of truth and free to express their own convictions. As to whether clergy or lay occupied the office of president was not as significant in Protestant colleges and universities as it was for Catholic institutions. Vis-à-vis worship there is no question that the absence of required chapel was overall a loss if the responses of alumni can be believed. Nevertheless, daily worship continued at Gustavus and regular worship, even a student congregation continued at Augustana. Chaplains have played major roles in both institutions. Augustana institutions as well as other Lutheran colleges have given up important elements in their programs in order to adjust to the requirements of court decisions and counter-culture pressures. Their student bodies are more varied in religious affiliation; the faculty typically has more non-Lutherans, the theology departments have more lay theologians, and not all are Lutherans, the presidents are more frequently lay persons, etc. At the same time the campuses have been enabled to grow, a higher percentage of faculty have terminal degrees, and the character and quality of the education the students have received remains at a high level of excellence.

(2) The second instrument we will use to evaluate whether our Augustana institutions of higher education have kept the faith and remain a prime resource for producing leaders capable of relating faith and reason, law and gospel, church and state, freedom and responsibility with a calling to serve God in and through their separate callings is the recent study of Lutheran Colleges done by an independent research firm Hardwick/Day

Higher Education Management Company, for the Lutheran Educational Conference of North America, the oldest continuing cooperative Lutheran organization which includes the colleges and universities of the Wisconsin Synod, the Lutheran Church Missouri Synod and the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America, as well as Canadian Lutheran Colleges. The study was undertaken for several reasons but was focused on a comparison of Lutheran Colleges and Universities with flagship public universities, as earlier studies indicated flagship public universities were the prime competition Lutheran institutions had in recruiting students. The comparisons were undertaken in three general areas (1)the quality of the education offered in each, (2) involvement in community and personal growth, and (3) the communication of faith and values. A random sample of graduates from flagship public and Lutheran higher education institutions was developed with over six hundred extensive interviews done with graduates of public flagship universities and 600 graduates of Lutheran institutions of higher education. This professionally done evaluation on the basis of interviews with graduates from both flagship public and Lutheran colleges and universities confirms what those whose education included both have already known, namely, that based on the recognized criteria for excellent instruction, personal growth and socialization, and relating faith to life, the relatively small, liberal arts, Lutheran church-sponsored colleges and universities offer a superior education. The Hardwick-Day results provide a sound basis for the assertion that while many challenges to the religious practices of church-related colleges/universities have brought changes to conform to court decisions and social pressures, Lutheran Colleges, on the whole, have reviewed and renewed their church relationship and remain effective as communities where faith in pursuit of understanding, and education to pursue a calling from God to serve the needs of humanity and the created world faithfully are realized. (Appendix B)[51]

(3) The third instrument to use in evaluating how well our Augustana Synod institutions of higher education have survived the overall secularization of U.S. higher education is in the church/faith relationship statements from two of the three remaining Augustana Synod Colleges – Augustana and Gustavus. Information from Bethany is not available at this point, but observations and reports indicate that a strong liberal arts and religious education continues at Bethany as well. The Augustana statement entitled "Five Faith Commitments of Augustana College" approved by the Augustana College Board of Trustees, May 6, 2005 came about as a challenge by the Trustees to the college community to "speak as clearly and forthrightly as one might about what it means to be church-related." The campus community discussions were given further focus by survey responses from thousands of alumni, students, faculty and staff. The five faith commitments are (1) Augustana College offers every student the opportunity to develop a life-shaping spirituality; (2) Augustana College encourages our campus community to wrestle with ways in which faith and reason challenge and enrich each other; (3) Augustana College affirms that work and career – indeed all human effort – are aspects of an understanding of vocation, which the Lutheran tradition in higher education helps illuminate; (4) Augustana College celebrates God's regard for the worth of all persons; and (5) Augustana College encourages the development of a campus community which seeks justice, loves kindness and acts with love and humility."[52] Each faith commitment includes descriptive statements intended to specify its meaning. The attendees at the

Augustana Heritage Gathering in 2006 will have the opportunity of discussing Augustana's commitments with President Bahls during which they will be able to evaluate how well the mission of Augustana College continues. To be fair to these statements it is important to evaluate them after reading appendix one on their historical context and appendix two containing statements by President Bahls about the Lutheran Expression of higher education at Augustana College. The five faith commitments taken alone tend to be general and lacking in context, couched in the language of goal planning,, and subject to several possible interpretations, hence, not in themselves capable of adequately describing what belongs to the character of an Augustana education. The appendices are critical to their proper interpretation. President Bahls will, I am sure, make that clear. Taken together they constitute a very positive faith commitment consistent with our Augustana Heritage.

The Gustavus statement entitled "The Third Path, Gustavus Adolphus College and the Lutheran Tradition" by Professor Darrell Jodock was published in the 2003 summer edition of the Gustavus Quarterly. The report in the Quarterly was adopted from the presentation Professor Jodock made to the Gustavus Board of Trustees. Jodock's description of the third path is defined in part by delineating two other stereotypical paths as "sectarian" and "non-sectarian." The "sectarian" sees itself as a "religious enclave" in the midst of a secular society and is definitively denominational. The "non-sectarian" self-definition" is too superficial to nurture any particular sort of identity. Jodock asserts that a Lutheran identity commits a college to a third path that "takes a religious tradition very seriously and seeks to build its identity around it, exploring the riches of that tradition as a part of its contribution to the community as a whole."[53] However, unlike the "sectarian" college it welcomes persons from other religious traditions into its midst and seeks to work with them, taking religious diversity seriously. Jodock interprets this as Lutheran in character because Luther's dialectic was a "both – and," law and Gospel, church and state, free lords of all subject to none and servants of all subject to all, at the same time justified and a sinner, etc. Practically, Jodock justifies it as follows "without rootedness, accommodation occurs, societal assumptions are not questioned…Without engagement, isolation occurs, the church's formulation of the religious tradition is not questioned, and no one is challenged to investigate it very deeply."[54] This definition of Gustavus' relationship to the Lutheran Church, its theology and practice is followed by five reasons for adopting the third path. They are: (1) because there is no evidence that there is a downside to it, (2) because connection with the Lutheran tradition keeps alive a dynamic connection with the past and hope for the future, (3) because the Lutheran tradition gives focus to academic inquiry allowing it to nest within the framework of service to neighbor and encourages a sense of vocation and gives ethical priority to what serves the community, (4) because the Lutheran understanding of undeserved grace encourages a sense of awe and gratitude which are also at the heart of scientific inquiry, ecological awareness and necessary for any humane ethic, and (5) because maintaining the link to the Lutheran tradition is crucial to the future of the contemporary church which needs an educated laity which has explored the relationship between faith and life.

I am convinced that our Augustana heritage lives on most clearly and effectively in Augustana, Bethany and Gustavus. They deserve our support; they embody the

Augustana heritage in education. They, together with Lutheran pre-school, elementary, and secondary schools in former Augustana congregations, represent the relevance of our Augustana Heritage to the crises in education in current U.S. education.

---

[1] Ander, Fritjiof, T.N. Hasselquist, Augustana Book Concern, 1931, p. 229.
[2] Almén, L.T. and Failinger, Marie, Two Essays on Educational Choice: Lutheran Perspectives, Evangelical Lutheran Church in America, Augsburg Fortress, Minneapolis, 1996, P. 34, cf. Appendix A.
[3] op. cit. Ander, p. 229 cf. "Our Calling in Education, a Lutheran Study", p. 42. "This means that religion is largely 'bracketed out' of their textbooks and classroom instruction. Students in public schools may earn a high school (and university) diploma without ever confronting a live religious idea. We take it for granted that students can know everything they need to know about whatever they study without knowing anything about religion." Cf. also Warren A Nord, Religion and American Education: Rethinking a National Dilemma, , Un. of North Carolina Press, 1995, Chapel Hill, pp. 138-159.
[4] Kieschnick, Melvin, "A Brief History of Lutheran Schools," in Lutheran Partners, Box 1209, Minneapolis, Mn. Vol. 22, number 2, March/April 2006, p. 40.
[5] Lindberg, Paul, "The Academies of the Augustana Lutheran Church" in The Swedish Immigrant Community in Transition Essays in Honor of Dr. Conrad Bergendoff, Augustana Press, 1963, p. 105.
[6] c.f. Roof and McKinney, American Mainline Religion: Its Changing Shape and Future, also in particular, Roof, A Generation of Seekers.
[7] Immediately after WW II, two leading thinkers of British lineage and status, Walter Moberly and Christopher Dawson sought to analyze problems in higher education in Britain and the U.S…Moberly's book entitled The Crisis in the University and Dawson's The Crisis of Western Education, both revealed higher education's hesitation to engage the claims of the Christian faith, its illusions about objectivity, and the growth of cultural relativism. It was an early description of what was to materialize in public higher education in the last fifty years in the U.S.
[8] This information was taken from Lucas, Christopher J., American Higher Education – A History, St. Martins Press, N.Y., 1994, pp. 227-233. Most of Lucas' numbers were taken from the National Center for Educational Statistics.
[9] Marsden, George M. and Longfield, Bradley J., ed. The Secularization of the Academy, Oxford University Press, New York-Oxford, 1992, Marsden, "The Soul of the American University," p. 11.
[10] Bloom, Allan, The Closing of the American Mind, How Higher Education Has Failed Democracy and Impoverished the Souls of Today's Students, 1987.
[11] Wuthnow, Robert, The Restructuring of American Religion, Society and Faith Since World War II, Princeton University Press.
[12] Ibid. p.322. In the last paragraph of this well documented analysis, Wuthnow concludes, "The ways in which American religion has been restructured since World War II, therefore have been conditioned by the cultural, social and political environment in which it functioned and by the internal resources with which it was able to respond to these challenges. As the social role of the state has expanded, American religion has been exposed to the vagaries of political life in ways far more complex than at almost any time in its history. …Although these influences have made themselves felt simultaneously with the Supreme Court's espousal of a strong policy of 'strict neutrality' toward religion, the policies the state has initiated have been anything but inconsequential for American religion."
[13] Ander, op. cit., p. 229, in a letter from John A Evander to Hasselquist, Chicago, Il. June 7, 1874.
[14] Carlson, Edgar M., Church Sponsored Higher Education and the Lutheran Church in America, Board of College Education and Church Vocation, Lutheran Church in America, 231 Madison Ave., New York, N.Y., 72 pages.
[15] Marsden, George M. and Longfield, Bradley J., op. cit., quoted in the chapter "The Survival of Recognizable Protestant Colleges," Reflections on Old Line Protestantism 1950-1990, by Robert Wood Lynn, p. 176.

[16] Cunninggim, Merrimon, "The Protestant Stake in Higher Education", p. 31, published by the Council of Protestant Colleges and Universities, 1961 at the Councils Gathering at Lake Geneva, Ws.
[17] Ibid., p. 60.
[18] Ibid., p. 63.
[19] Cf. Parsonage, Robert, ed., Church-Related Higher Education, Perceptions and Perspectives, Judson Press, Valley Forge, Pa. 1978.
[20] Carlson, Edgar M., The Reinterpretation of Luther, The Westminster Press, Philadelphia, 1948, p. 21, "Instruction was a function of the Church from the earliest period of the Reformation. Until the middle of the nineteenth century the *domkapitel*, composed of teachers, ministers, and bishops, was responsible for the whole educational program."
[21] Nygren, Anders, This Is The Church, Muhlenberg Press, Philadelphia, Pa. 1953, "The Church and Christian Vocation," by Gustaf Wingren, p. 290. The quote can be found in (WA, 34, I, 511, 5).
[22] The current ELCA social statement in process is appropriately entitled, "Our Calling in Education." With the 1988 merger creating the ELCA, the organization of church-wide offices raised higher education from a department to division status where it was also given oversight of the growing number of parochial early childhood programs, elementary and high schools. The merger documents also provided for *ex officio* status on each related college/university board of trustees, increased involvement in the choice of presidents, and sufficient resources to add new programs including workshops for professors from all academic disciplines to assist in relating the faith to issues discussed in the classroom. These changes represented a genuine effort on the part of the ELCA to strengthen the relationship with its institutions of education, a move to fight back the secularization forces of the last half of the twentieth century.
[23] Carlson, Edgar M., The Reinterpretation of Luther, op. cit. Carlson writes, "There are two implications of the Reformation faith that have entered into the life and thought of the Swedish Church to a degree not found elsewhere. One if the idea of the 'calling;' the other is the concept of the folk church. The former involves the conviction that the believer is to work out his Christian faith in the particular vocation in which he finds himself. In doing well his daily job, investing his talent and training in his part of the total task of the community, he is serving God. Hence there can be no distinction between sacred and secular activities. The whole of the believer's life is set into that spiritual context which is the Church. The folk Church concept may be said to be the equivalent of the idea of the individual calling in the area of community and national life. As the faith of the individual is to work itself out in the total life of the individual, and as all his activities thereby come to possess religious character, so the faith of the congregation is to work itself out in the total life of the community, and all its activities thereby come to possess religious quality. Church and State are not two separate entities; they are two expressions of the community that is the Swedish people and at the same time, 'a people of God'." See also Luther's Lectures on the Song of Songs 1530-1531). He explains that Solomon is offering thanks for the blessing of polity where God is known and worshipped. Of that polity he writes "…such a kingdom or polity is rightly called the people of God." He goes on to say, "It is a song for all polities, which are the people of God, that is, which have the Word of God and reverently worship it and truly believe that the power of the magistrates is of God." Quoted from Edward Cranz, An Essay on the Development of Luther's Thought on Justice, Law, and Society, Harvard University Press, 1959, pp. 152,153.
[24] Hall, Douglas John, Lighten Our Darkness – Toward an Indigenous Theology of the Cross, TheWestminster Press, Philadelphia, 1976. Hall affirms that only a theology of the cross, not a theology of glory, is relevant to the human and social situation, because it doesn't contradict experience. Of Luther he writes, "He wanted a gospel that drove men into the world, not away from it; that opened their eyes to what was there. The theology of the cross calls the thing what it really is. …The gospel is for him not the good news of deliverance from the experience of negation so much as it is the permission and command to enter into that experience with hope." p.. 233
[25] Woltersdorff Nicholas, Educating for Shalom – Essays on Christian Higher Education, William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, Grand Rapids, Mi. and Cambridge, U.K., 2004, p. 16.
[26] Ibid., p. 19.
[27] Ibid., pp 16,17,18. The Quotations from Jellema are from Calvinism and Higher Education.
[28] Nygren, Anders, ed. Op cit., Gustaf Wingren, "The Church and Christian Vocation," p. 282.
[29] Ibid., p. 284.
[30] Ibid., p. 285.
[31] Ibid., p. 286.

[32] Heft, Father James L. S. M., ed. Faith and the Intellectual Life , University of Notre Dame Press, N.D. and London, 1996, p. 101.
[33] Ibid., p. 107.
[34] Congar, Y.M.J., Lay People in the Church: A Study for a Theology of the Laity, Westminster, Md; Newman Press, 1957, p. 78.
[35] Op. Cit., Heft, Father James L.S.M., ed. Faith and the Intellectual Life, p. 109.
[36] Ibid., pp. 109,110.
[37] Ibid., p. 113.
[38] Ibid., p. 113.
[39] Ibid., p. 118.
[40] Ibid., p. 118. Cf. Pope John Paul II, Ex Corde Ecclesiae – On Roman Catholic Universities.
[41] Pelikan, Jaraslov, The Idea of the University – A Re-Examination, Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 1992.
[42] Ibid., p. 15.
[43] Eliot, T.S., The Idea of a Christian Society, in Christianity and Culture, A Harvest Book, Harcourt, Brace and Company, New York, 1940,1949.
[44] Ibid. "As political philosophy derives its sanction from ethics, and ethics from the truth of religion, it is only by returning to the eternal source of truth that we can hope for any social organization which will not, to its ultimate destruction, ignore some essential aspect of reality." P. 50.
[45] Hart, Jeffrey Peter, Smiling Through Cultural Catastrophe, Toward the Revival of Higher Education, Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 2003, p. 4.
[46] Ibid., p. 8.
[47] Eliot, T.S., op. cit., p. 50.
[48] Brooks, David, quoted in the 12/27/03 issue of *The Christian Century,* p.A 6. *The Century* took this quote from the *Atlantic Monthly*.
[49] Burchaell, James Tunestead, The Dying of the Light, University of Notre Dame Press, South Bend, In.
[50] D.Costa, Gavin, Theology in the Public Square, Blackwell Publishers, London, 2004, pp. 55,56.
[51] See Appendix B for selected and relevant results of the Hardwick-Day study.
[52] Bahls, Steven, "Five Faith Commitments of Augustana College Board of Trustees, May 6, 2005.
[53] Jodock, Darell, "The Third Path, Gustavus Adolphus College and the Lutheran Tradition," Gustavus Quarterly, summer edition, 2003, p. 16.
[54] Ibid., p. 17.