

# 美国公共教育中的 宗教问题研究

姚运标 著

本书提出在国家与教会之间必须保持一种适当的距离，即国家与教会应保持一种“适当”的距离，国家与教会应保持一种“适当”的距离，国家与教会应保持一种“适当”的距离。

MEIGUO GONGGONG JIAOYU ZHONG DE ZONGJIAO WEN TI YAN JIU



安徽人民出版社

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A Study of Some Issues on Religion in  
American Public Education

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**作者简介：**姚运标，1962年生，安徽凤阳人。1982年就读于安徽师范大学教育系，1989年毕业获教育学硕士学位；2003年毕业于北京师范大学教育学院，获教育学博士学位。现为安徽师范大学教育科学学院教师。先后参编过《外国教育通史》（6卷本）、《城市教育论》、《外国教育思想通史》等学术著作，发表学术论文若干篇。主要研究方向为外国教育史、比较教育、教育基本理论和教育管理。



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## 中文摘要

在西方有宗教传统的国家，教育现代化的首要特征是教育的世俗化，教育的世俗化意味着政教分离。国内外对教育现代化的研究成果较多，但是把教育领域中的政教分离问题作为专题研究的并不多见，如果说宗教是历史的钥匙，它同样也是教育的钥匙，那么，对这一问题的研究就显得尤为必要了。本著作力图以美国教育中的政教分离作为个案和线索，探讨教育中政教分离的涵义以及美国教育中政教分离的特征。

美国的政教分离始于 18 世纪后期的《宪法》及其修正案颁布，而教育中的政教分离却始于 19 世纪初公共学校运动的诞生和发展。殖民地时期，移居美洲这块土地的原因多种多样，其中宗教是主要的原因。因此，移民们到来后便建立了政教合一的体制，形成了教育与宗教密切联系、政府资助宗教学校的教育传统。美国独立后，在基于理性而不是宗教建构的《宪法》及其修正案中规定国家不得确立国教，也不得禁止公民的宗教自由实践，即政教分离的原则，这条原则用杰斐逊的话来说，旨在国家和教会之间竖起一道隔离的墙，并成为解决宗教和公立学校关系问题的主要原则。19 世纪初，美国公共学校出现并很快地遍及全国各地，并最终发展成为由公立基础教育到公立高等教育的公立学校体系。公共学校是指由公共税收资助的、面向全体儿童的、普及并免费的、非教派的、灌输公共道德的一种学校形式。作为新教人士创建的一种学校类型，在新教占多数且相对较为同质化的社会里，新教内部各教派经过激烈的斗争后，赞成公共学校仍然保留祈祷和阅读圣经等宗教活动，但是圣经的阅读必须是不加评论或解释



的，并没有涉及到公共资金资助教会学校的问题。随着天主教移民的到来，黑人的解放和印第安人的被征服，美国文化越来越多元化，用基于新教伦理的公共道德来美国化这些非新教的信仰者必然会引起他们的不满，尤其是天主教信徒的不满。新教和天主教就公共学校使用何种圣经的问题展开了激烈的论争，在某些地区并由论争导致暴乱，这种暴乱被称为“圣经暴乱”。圣经暴乱并没有能够解决公共学校中的宗教问题，尤其是祈祷和阅读圣经问题，最后天主教建立了由教会资助的、主要招收信徒子女的教区学校（其他教派如犹太教、新教保守派等也建立了各自的教区学校）。教区学校建立后，天主教会一直以公正、公平的名义争取公共资金对教区学校的资助，而新教的霸权则以天主教信徒忠诚的是外国势力而不是美国为由，以及担心天主教接管学校后可能会导致教育中的集权化，拒绝对教区学校给予资助。因此，19世纪公共学校中宗教问题的论争主要集中在宗教活动如祈祷和阅读圣经以及公共资金对教区学校的资助，这种论争一直延续到了20世纪。进入20世纪，随着新教霸权地位的丧失，1962和1963年最高法院裁决阅读圣经和祈祷违宪。伴随着进化论的发展，以及国家直接或间接地资助教区学校，美国教育中宗教问题转向让宗教回到学校、进化论和神创论以及国家对教区学校的资助等论争，这种论争并将一直持续下去，政教分离这道墙不仅显得脆弱，而且越来越不牢固了。

美国政教分离这道墙之所以不牢固，是因为其根基本身具有的内在矛盾。基于理性的美国《宪法》试图严格地区分公领域和私领域，认为公领域的一切事务由政府解决，属于私领域的宗教则由教会和家庭解决，而人乃是公领域和私领域之载体，公领域和私领域本身就是交叉重叠的，而不是界线分明的。因此，作为宗教和学校关系问题最终裁决者的最高法院的法官们也没有能够理清国家——宗教——学校这三者的关系，他们的裁决也是前后矛盾；再者，美国从殖民地开始，到19世纪印第安人和黑人的教育，就存在着政府资助宗教和宗教学校的传统和现实，法院强行

地规定公共资金不得资助教区学校本身既没有法律依据，也不符合美国的现实；最后，无论是公共学校还是教区学校，其目的都是培养美国公民，而宗教乃是公民美德的基础，缺少了这根支柱，公共学校的存在也就受到了威胁，这也正是 20 世纪后期，公立学校学生退学、家庭教育出现、教区学校急遽发展以及政府资助教区学校的原因所在。当然，美国的宗教也是在不断发展和变化的，到 20 世纪时，美国宗教已经政治化了，出现了所谓的“公民宗教”。基于这种分析，美国教育中的政教关系意味着教育治权的分离，国家在宗教各教派之间、信仰者和非信仰者之间保持中立，并不意味着国家这个实体和宗教这种意识形态的分离，而这恰恰是 20 世纪美国教育中政教分离争论的焦点。

论著的主体共分六章。第一章考察殖民地时期政教合一的传统、宗教在教育中的作用，以及宗教自由的发展趋势；第二章介绍美国建国之父们的教育理想以及对教育中政教关系的理解；第三章分析《宪法》及其修正案中有关宗教问题的规定以及法官们对这一问题的分歧；第四章讨论宗教在公共学校运动中的作用以及公共学校的本质；第五章着重分析新教和天主教关于圣经阅读的论争，天主教教区学校的建立以及教区学校寻求公共资金的努力；第六章分析传教团体在黑人和印第安人教育中的作用，美国化的内容以及政府对传教团体的资助。

## Abstract

Secularization of education is the primary characteristic of educational modernization in those Western countries with a religious tradition. By secularization of education we mean the separation of the church from the state. Although much research has been done on educational modernization both at home and abroad, studies of the separation of the church from the state as a special topic in education can rarely be found in the literature. If religion is the key to history, then it is also the key to education. Therefore, the study of the separation of the church from the state in education is of particular significance. By taking the separation of the church from the state in American education as a special case and as an important clue, this dissertation is intended to explore the meaning of the separation of the church from the state in general and the major feature of the separation of the church from the state in American education in particular.

The explicit expression of the separation of the church from the state first appeared in the American Constitution and its Amendment in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century, but such a separation in education did not begin until the early 19<sup>th</sup> century when the common school movement started to develop. Colonial European settlers came to North American for several reasons, of which religion was the major one. After their arrival, they built up the politics that united the government and the church as one and gradually formed the tradition in which education was closely linked with religion and in which religious schools were funded by the govern-

ment. When the United States became independent, it constructed its constitution on the basis of the natural reason rather than religion. In the First Amendment to the Constitution, it is stipulated that the Congress shall make no law respecting the establishment of any national religion or prohibiting the free exercise of any religion. This is known as the principle of separating the church from the state. In Jefferson's words, such a principle aims at erecting a separating wall between church and state and it should become the main principle for dealing with issues between religion and public schools. In the early 19<sup>th</sup> century, common schools arose and quickly spread throughout the country. Out of these common schools evolved a public school system which consists of all the levels ranging from the public primary education to public higher education. Common schools refer to the kind of schools which are funded by public tax, oriented to all children, universal, and free of charge, and which are of the non - denomination and inculcation of public virtues in nature. In the homogeneous society where the majority were the Protestants, it was agreed, after serious debates among the different sects, that religious activities such as prayers and bible reading could be kept in the common schools. However, such activities must not be commented on or explained and thus did not become an issue of financing religious schools with public funds.

With the arrival of the Catholic immigrants, the liberation of the blacks, and the conquest of the native Indians, American culture became more and more diversified. Attempts to naturalize the non - Protestant believers with the public virtues based on the Protestant ethic would naturally lead to dissatisfaction, particularly from the Catholics. Regarding the choice of bibles in public schools, the Protestants and the Catholics had a series of intense debates. In some areas, such debates eventually led to riots, which are commonly referred to as the "Bible Riot". As the "Bible Riot" did not resolve the religious issues

in common schools, the Catholics set up parochial schools which were funded by their own church and which were oriented to the children of the Catholics. After the establishment of the parochial schools, the Catholic church attempted to gain support for the parochial schools from public funds in the name of justice and impartiality. However, the Protestants refused to fund the parochial schools because they believed that the Catholics were loyal to some foreign force instead of America, and they were afraid that control of schools by the Catholics would lead to centralization of education. Therefore, religious debates in common schools in the 19<sup>th</sup> century were basically focused on prayers, bible reading, and public funding to parochial schools. Such debates lasted late into the 20<sup>th</sup> century. With the decline of Protestant dominance in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the ruling of bible reading and prayers in schools as unconstitutional by the Supreme Court in 1962 and 1963, the development of evolutionism, and direct and indirect public funding to parochial schools by the government, the debates on religious issues in American education shifted to a focus on issues such as the return of religion to public schools, the distribution of time between evolutionism and creationism, and government funding to parochial schools. Issues like these will continue for some time to come and the wall that separates the church from the state is becoming more and more fragile.

The major cause for the fragile wall between church and state is deeply rooted in the inherent contradiction of its foundation. The Constitution which is based on the reasons, seeks to set apart the public sphere from the private one strictly, arguing that all affairs in public sphere belong to the government, and that religious issues which belong to the private sphere should be handled by the church and the family. However, as man is a media for both the public sphere and the private sphere, the two spheres necessarily overlap and there can be any clear – cut boundary between them. Consequently, the Supreme Court

has not been able to delineate the relationship among the state, religion, and school. Its rulings are often contradictory to one another. In addition, starting from the colonial time to the education of the native Indians and the blacks in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, it had become a tradition and a reality for the government to finance religion and religious schools. The fact that the Supreme Court ruled arbitrarily against financing parochial schools lacks any lawful support and it is against the reality in America. Finally, both common schools and parochial schools aim at training the citizens. The fact is that religion is the foundation of public virtue in America. Without the support of such a foundation, the existence of common schools was threatened. This is the major reason why students dropped out from public school; home schooling arose; parochial schools developed rapidly; and the government funded parochial schools in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Of course, religion in America had been constantly changing until it became politicized; hence the so-called "Civil Religion". Based on the above analyses, the separation of the church from the state means the transfer of the power for the control of public education from the church to the secular authority, while the government keeps neutral position in the relationship between various religious sects, and believers and nonbelievers. However, this does not mean the entity of the state is set apart from religion as an ideological form. And this was exactly the central focus of the debates on the separation of the church from the state in American education in the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

The dissertation mainly consists of six chapters. Chapter One traces the relationships between education and religion, and the religious role in education and the trend of religious freedom. Chapter Two introduces Founder Fathers' educational ideals and their thoughts on the relationship between education and religion. Chapter Three deals with the religious regulations stipulated in the First Amendment to the Constitution and va-

rious Judges' different positions on religious issues. Chapter Four analyses the role of religion in the common school movement and the nature of common schools. Chapter Five focuses on the debates on bible reading between the Catholics and the Protestants, the establishment of Catholic parochial schools and their efforts to seek public funding. Chapter Six analyses the role played by religious groups in the education of the Blacks and the Indians, the content of Americanism, and the government funding to religious groups.

## 序

近些年来，现代化问题一直是我国学界关注的一个重要的问题，作为现代化组成部分的教育现代化问题自然也就成为了教育界的一个热点。综观我国学界有关教育现代化的研究不难发现，学者们关注较多的是有关教育现代化的特征问题，而在教育现代化的特征中尤为关注的是教育的科学化、民主化、法制化、实用化等。考察西方教育的发展历史我们又可以发现，有着宗教传统的西方教育现代化发展的历程是曲折多变的，而在这一历程中，教育世俗化问题乃是一个至关重要的问题，甚至可以说教育世俗化乃是教育现代化的第一要义，没有教育的世俗化也就谈不上教育现代化的其他特征。然而，令人遗憾的是教育世俗化的研究在我国学界还不多见。姚运标同志 2000 年投入我的门下之后，便有志于教育现代化的研究，选取了美国 19 世纪公共教育发展过程中的宗教问题作为个案，抓住了西方教育史研究中的核心问题之一，用丰富的史料和具体深入的分析，揭示了宗教与教育的关系及在近代以后的历史变化。经过艰辛的研究，姚运标同志取得了可喜的成果，其论文顺利地通过了答辩委员会的答辩。

宗教自由以及国家和教会分离的思想最先出现在欧洲，而在美国则得到了具体的体现。作为欧洲人后裔的美国人在其发展的早期，宗教同样渗透在社会生活的各个方面，包括教育领域。美国独立后，如何解决宗教问题一直是个棘手的问题。建国之父们本着现实的态度，在制订宪法的过程中回避了宗教问题，后又在宪法修正案中确立了国家既不设立国教也不干涉信仰自由的原则即政教分离的原则，用杰斐逊的话来说，在国家和教会之间树立



起一道隔离的墙。该原则成为了指导美国学校教育和宗教关系的根本原则。姚运标同志的著作正是基于政教分离的原则，从理论、法律规定和个案的角度，分析了美国了公共学校中的宗教问题。

19 世纪初，在众多原因的促成下，美国出现了由新教徒推动的公共学校运动。在该运动的初期，新教内部就公共学校中宗教的地位问题达成了共识，并确立了不加评论地阅读圣经的策略。随着 19 世纪中叶移民的不断涌入尤其是天主教信徒的到来，公共学校中宗教的地位问题没有受到质疑，但是就阅读谁的圣经的问题，新教和天主教展开了激烈的争论，甚至爆发了流血事件。在天主教为圣经争论未果情况下，天主教建立了自己的教区学校，在双重税收的压力下，天主教信徒又为争取公共税收资助问题展开了激烈的斗争。由此可见，美国公共教育中的宗教问题主要涉及到公共学校中的宗教地位问题、要不要和要谁的圣经问题以及公共税收能不能资助宗教学校问题。美国解决公共教育中宗教问题的运行机制是：“《宪法》修正案有关宗教问题的规定——学校按有关宗教规定运行——学校宗教问题出现后由各级法院尤其是美国最高法院裁决并形成案例法——学校根据法院的裁决运行的过程中再次出现宗教问题——法院再次裁决并形成案例法……”。到 1962 年和 1963 年最高法院对“恩格尔诉维塔尔案”和“阿宾顿诉谢普案”的判决，上帝被踢出了公立学校，美国公立学校出现了“关注头脑”甚过“关注心灵”的现象。

20 世纪后期，由于美国公立学校中学生道德滑坡现象严重，“关注头脑”甚过“关注心灵”带来了严重的后果，强化公立学校的道德教育再次引起了美国上下的关注，于是美国有人呼吁“让宗教回到学校”，而在实践中美国的许多做法也大有宗教回归学校以及政府公共税收资助宗教学校的趋势。这种趋势说明美国政教分离的根基并不牢固，同样还说明“学校祈祷、政府对宗教组织尤其是宗教学校资助之未来，显然将会永远是国会、遍布全国各地的学校委员会、教会和聚会所的主要议题”。

姚运标的这部著作不仅在观点上，而且在研究方法上也有创