

# OHIO VALLEY HISTORY

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*Cover: View of Cincinnati from the Kentucky shore.  
The Filson Historical Society*

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# Religion in the Classroom: *The Great Bible Wars in Nineteenth Century Cincinnati\**

MARGARET DEPALMA

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Throughout his long episcopacy, Archbishop John B. Purcell took the cause of education as his great concern. The subject, he said in 1836, was “second only to that of pure religion, it enlists my sympathies, imperiously demands my humble co-operation, and receives my willing homage.”<sup>1</sup> Of particular importance to the priest was the question of how the Bible could be used as a textbook in the classroom. For many years, Purcell worked privately with various school boards to find a way to accommodate the needs of Catholic children, including their access to the Bible in the public schools. In 1852, however, the reading of scripture in the classroom became a public issue when a resolution was presented to the Cincinnati school board requesting that Catholic children be allowed to use their preferred Bible. When the board denied that request, it subsequently removed the Bible and all religious activities from local classrooms. The result fractured the local political party system and also broke down relations between Catholics and Protestants in Cincinnati in what was called the Bible War of 1869. It also dashed subsequent attempts at accommodation between local Catholics and Protestants. Indeed, when the Ohio Supreme Court upheld the school board’s decision, two separate and increasingly well-defined educational systems arose in the Queen City as Catholics and Protestants agreed to go their separate ways on matters of education.<sup>2</sup>

The importance of the Cincinnati Bible War can be seen in the headlines of today’s newspapers. For instance, after a New Jersey first-grader recently chose a selection from his Catholic “Beginners Bible” to read as a favorite story, the teacher refused to allow him to do so because it was “religious.” And throughout the country, the ACLU has filed numerous lawsuits seeking to remove from classrooms and courthouses all plaques en-



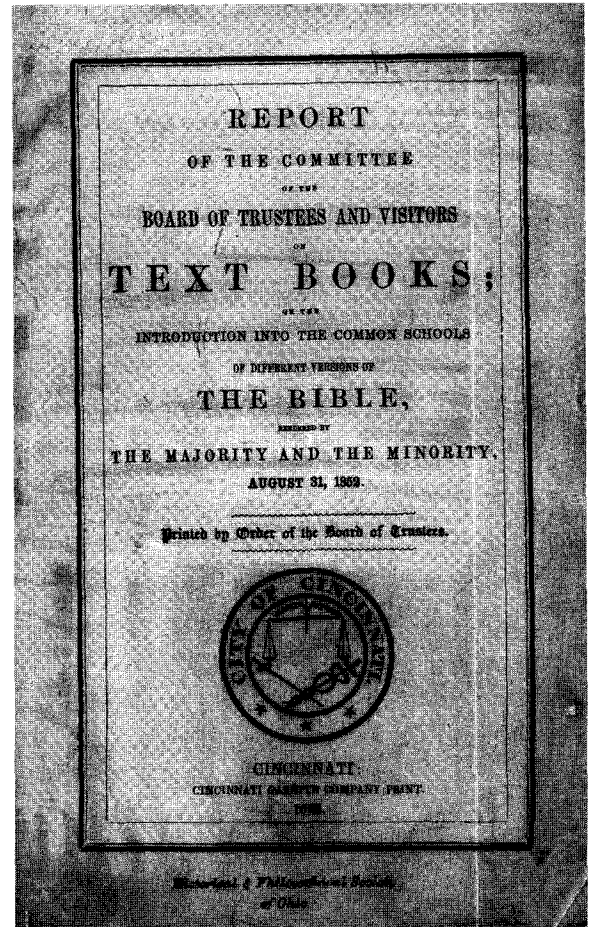
*John Baptist Purcell (1800-1883) became the second bishop of Cincinnati in 1833. Cincinnati Museum Center, Cincinnati Historical Society Library*

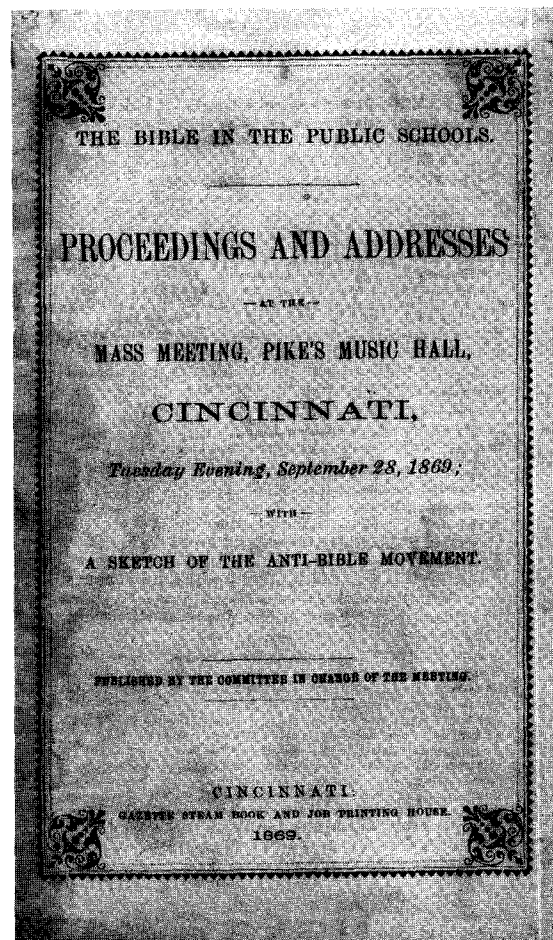
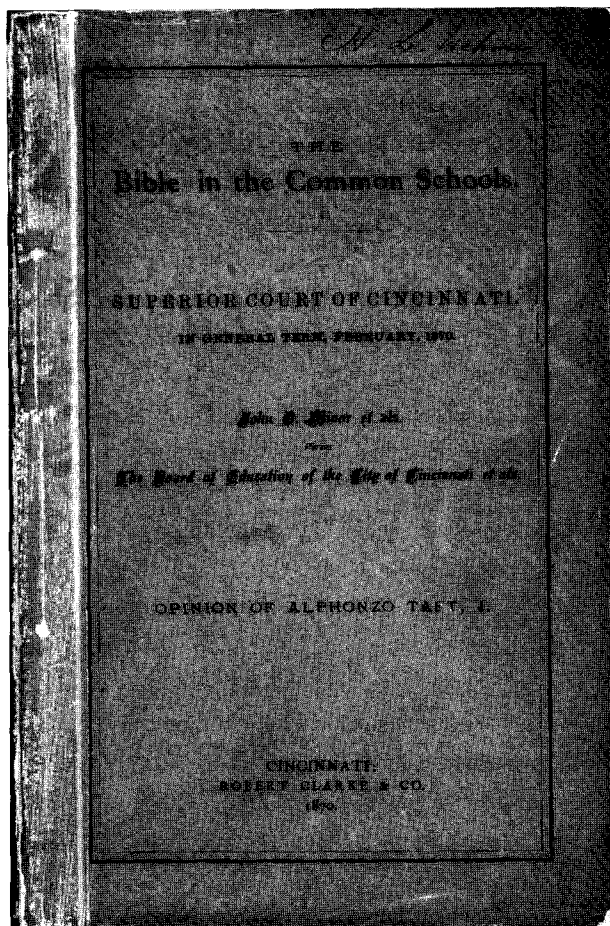
\* This article will appear in a different form in *Dialogue on the Frontier: Catholic and Protestant Relations, 1793-1883* forthcoming from Kent State University Press and is published with permission.

graved with the Ten Commandments. And while the U.S. Supreme Court has declared vouchers used by the Cleveland public school system to be “neutral” towards religion, opponents have vowed to continue the fight, arguing that vouchers are a means of channeling public tax monies into parochial schools. Finally, in February 2003, the U.S. Department of Education issued guidelines for conducting prayers in public schools and warned that failure to comply could jeopardize federal funding for errant districts.<sup>3</sup> Such recent controversies raise questions that have been with us since the nineteenth century. What are the reasons for the removal of the Bible, prayer, and displays of the Ten Commandments from the classroom? Why do people take such vehement positions on the issue of school vouchers and how is this issue connected to religion? The following essay will provide some historical context with which to think about these questions.

John Reily opened the first schoolhouse in Cincinnati in 1792. By 1826 there were approximately fifty classical academies, female seminaries, evening and technical schools, and music and art academies, as well as other kinds of private educational institutions in the city.<sup>4</sup> By 1829, Ohio law mandated the establishment of publicly funded common schools. Among the founders of those schools were many Protestant ministers who hoped by becoming involved in common schooling to spread a Protestant ideology to the next generation. That ideology, the ministers believed, could make the nation more godly through the shaping and control of key social institutions. Local Protestant ministers also feared incipient Catholic power, a fact that can be seen in their special concern about what they considered to be the threat of Popish domination of the Mississippi Valley. To counter this threat, Protestants called for a shift from decentralized common schools to a state school system with schools that Protestants would almost certainly dominate.

The greatest single influence in shaping the early educational policies of Cin-





cincinnati and the Ohio Valley was the Western Literary Institute and College of Professional Teachers (hereafter the College of Teachers). Membership in this society, organized in 1831, included teachers, ministers, businessmen, writers and public officials from fifteen western states. A primary topic of discussion at the annual meetings was the purpose of education. Members of the College of Teachers generally agreed that schools should train good citizens because without knowledge universal suffrage might destroy rather than preserve democracy.<sup>5</sup> This subject became especially urgent in Cincinnati as waves of immigrants began pouring into the Queen City during the 1830s. In the opinion of Calvin Stowe, a prominent local educator and member of the College of Teachers, the first priority for local public schools must be to educate the Germans in Cincinnati, seven to eight thousand of whom were Catholic, because, if this group were properly trained, they would not be disposed to “set at defiance or undervalue existing institutions, or engage in popular commotions.”<sup>6</sup>

The development of the Catholic school system in Cincinnati began immediately after the arrival of Bishop Edward Fenwick in 1822. Fenwick’s initial problem was a lack of money and qualified teachers, a problem he shared

*Pamphlet covers.  
Cincinnati Museum  
Center, Cincinnati  
Historical Society Library*

with local public schools. To solve these twin difficulties, he persuaded Sister St. Paul of the Sisters of Mercy and the Colletine Poor Clares during a fund raising trip to Europe in 1824 to come to Cincinnati to oversee the education of young girls there. In 1829, the Sisters of Charity established the first permanent girls school in the city. The diocese's own first venture into secondary and higher education came with the foundation of the Athenaeum in 1831, which served both Protestant and Catholic boys. After 1840, the growth of Catholic schools in the city reflected the influx of Irish and German immigrants. By 1848, nine parishes in Cincinnati each had a school, altogether instructing slightly over 2,000 children.<sup>7</sup>

The increasing number of Catholic schools in Cincinnati did not go unnoticed among local Protestants, although opinions varied among Protestants as to the value of Catholics and their institutions to the local community. A letter to the editor of the *Cincinnati Journal* in 1835, for example, expressed concern about "the alarming progress of popish institutions throughout the United States." Another citizen more favorably inclined toward the development of Catholic schools, however, wrote to the *Daily Gazette* in 1836 saying that the Athenaeum certainly was "destined to occupy a distinguished rank for the literary and moral capacities of its Teachers and the superior advantages afforded the alumni." He also reported that many of the city's leading citizens, including General William H. Harrison, Judge James Hall, and General William Lytle, attended a recent commencement and afterward sat down to dinner with the students.<sup>8</sup>

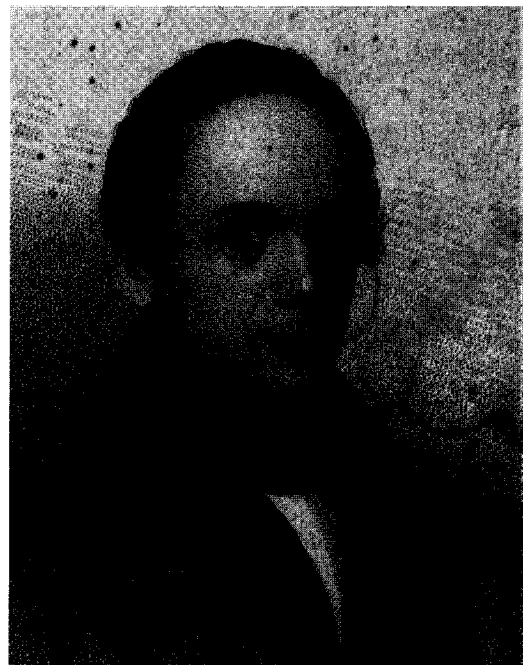
**W**ith the installation in 1833 of John Baptist Purcell, the second bishop of Cincinnati, a new era of Catholic school development began. In general, Purcell did not attempt to set his church apart from the larger community, but sought to integrate it into local society. Following this principle, he joined the College of Teachers and took part in many discussions regarding the nature of education. Father Stephen Montgomery, President of the Athenaeum, also took part in the deliberations of the College, and when he and Purcell attended their first meeting of the College of Teachers in October 1836, they did not like what they heard. Purcell especially took exception to the Reverend Joshua Lacy Wilson's lecture on the use of the Bible as a textbook, and he objected to Dr. Benjamin Aydelott's recommendation that no selections from the Bible, but the Bible itself, should be used as a class book in the common schools.

It was, however, Father Montgomery's lecture delivered before the College of Teachers and titled "Introduction of the Bible as a Textbook" that attracted the notice of the religious press. It also set the tone of debate between the Protestant and Catholic communities in Cincinnati for the next half century.<sup>9</sup> According to Montgomery, Catholics objected to the use of the Bible in the classroom for a number of reasons. First, they thought that such a practice

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would render it too common and thereby abuse the book. Secondly, the Church maintained there were things in the Bible that were not fit for the eyes and ears of children. And that raised questions about which parts should be taught, and who would make the selections. Montgomery also argued that allowing teachers to undertake the task of teaching the Bible in their classrooms would injure rather than benefit the schools, and consequently the children and community at large. He concluded, however, by conceding that, if concise and judicious selections could be made from the Bible that embraced “all that is most necessary for instructions on the principles of Christianity and morals,” the Catholic Church would concur with its use in public schools. In the meantime, he suggested that this subject be laid on the table for further discussion.<sup>10</sup>

**T**he College of Teachers accepted the challenge. Its members appointed Bishop Purcell and Dr. Benjamin Aydelott to report at its next meeting “On the Expediency of introducing selections from the Bible, instead of the Bible *itself*, into our schools.” While they agreed that selections from the Bible should not be substituted for the Bible itself, the priest and the doctor disagreed on whose Bible should be used. Therefore, each submitted his own report. The Bishop urged that Protestant Bibles not be placed in the hands of the Catholic youth in public schools, and that “teachers be strictly forbidden to give any sectarian bias to the minds of their pupils.”<sup>11</sup> Dr. Aydelott, for his part, had no problem with teaching the Bible in public school classrooms as long as everyone agreed on the definition of the word “Bible.” “We understand,” he said, “by the word *Bible*, the common English version, or that effected by public authority in the reign of James the First.” “This was how the term was always employed,” he continued, “both in conversation and writing and to attach any other meaning to the word was to do violence to the ordinary use of language.”<sup>12</sup> After presentation of these reports at a meeting of the College in October 1837, a motion was made to grant teachers the privilege of making selections from the Bible. But Purcell objected strongly. He felt the plan would “make religion a football and expose the youth to change their religion as often as their teacher changed.” An animated discussion ensued that resulted in the unanimous adoption of a resolution that deftly avoided any decision on the issues just raised. The members of the College agreed that it was the “deliberate conviction of this College that the Bible may be so introduced in perfect consistency with religious freedom, and without offense to the peculiar tenets of



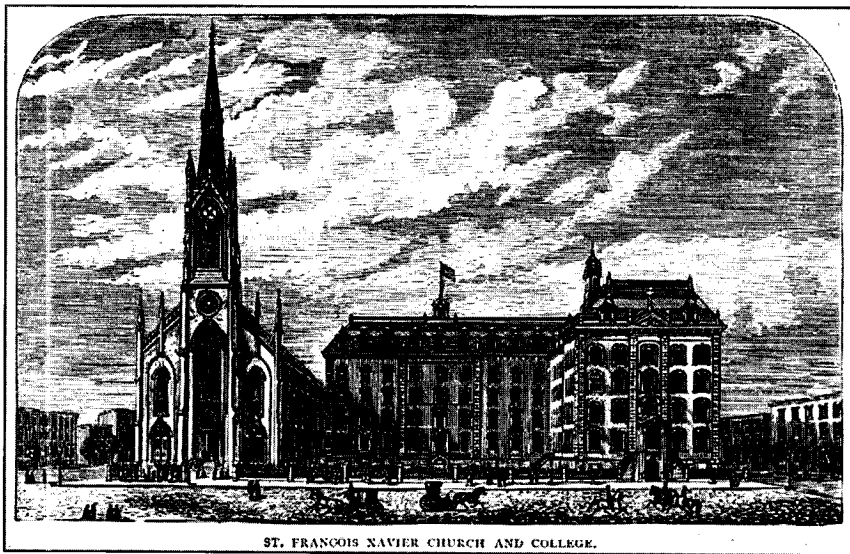
*Dr. Benjamin Aydelott.  
Cincinnati Museum Center,  
Cincinnati Historical  
Society Library*

any Christian sect.”<sup>13</sup>

In the spring of 1838, Bishop Purcell left Cincinnati to conduct a fund raising trip in Europe, and by the time he returned eighteen months later the College of Teachers was “all but defunct.”<sup>14</sup> Purcell, however, remained hopeful about cooperation with the public school authorities. In late October 1839, the *Catholic Telegraph* (published in Cincinnati and authorized by the Bishop) commended the trustees and visitors of the common schools for the “progress of education and their policy of leaving nothing undone to advance the interest of the schools.”<sup>15</sup>

Yet Purcell’s own words and actions began to take a more aggressive position on the connection between religion and education, particularly on the issue of public versus parochial schools. This change is apparent in a series of lectures he delivered in 1840 in which he reiterated the position taken by Father Montgomery four years earlier in his remarks before the College of Teachers. “Does the Church approve the use of the Bible as a schoolbook?” Purcell asked, and following Montgomery’s lead, he continued,

“For our part, we never did, we never shall like to see it *abused*. Let children read it, at home, under the eyes and direction of their parents, pastors, or circumspect tutors.”<sup>16</sup> But here Bishop Purcell went a step further in the debate over what students in public schools ought to read, this time challenging books that he deemed objectionable. Before 1870, textbooks used in public schools frequently depicted Catholicism as a false religion and a positive danger



ST. FRANCOIS XAVIER CHURCH AND COLLEGE.

*Xavier University was founded in 1831 as the College of the Athenaeum of Cincinnati. In 1840 Jesuits took over the school and re-named it St. Xavier College. From Illustrated Cincinnati by D. J. Kenny, 1875. Cincinnati Museum Center, Cincinnati Historical Society Library*

to the state. Indeed, these textbooks often argued that the Catholic religion subverted good government, sound morals, and education itself. In 1839 in order to counter the use and influence of such texts, Purcell announced the formation of the Roman Catholic Society for the Diffusion of Knowledge, the main purpose of which was to prepare a suitable series of schoolbooks for Catholic youth whether educated in public schools or parochial schools.<sup>17</sup>

In June 1842, as part of his campaign against offensive texts in the public schools, Bishop Purcell sent a private letter to Cincinnati school board president James H. Perkins. In the letter he complained that Catholic children

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were required to read the King James version of the Bible, and he voiced concern about continued use of textbooks that included obnoxious passages about the Church. Purcell also pointed out that these same Catholic children, without approval of their parents, had access to public school libraries that included books he deemed objectionable.<sup>18</sup> At its meeting on August 29, 1842, the board noted Purcell's concerns and invited him to examine the books used in Cincinnati's English and German common schools, and to point out all passages he found objectionable. In addition, the board adopted a resolution stating that no pupil could be required to read the Bible when their parents or guardians requested they be excused from that exercise. The resolution also stipulated that no child be allowed to take books from the school district's libraries without a written request from a parent or guardian.<sup>19</sup>

In spite of the school board's willingness to accommodate Bishop Purcell, by 1850 a climate of distrust had developed, at least among some Protestants. For Protestants, Purcell's position on textbooks together with his strong support of Catholic schools seemed an example of a "true sectarian spirit aimed at retarding the progress and usefulness of common schools."<sup>20</sup> Another contributing factor lay in local evangelical concern for Protestant youths being educated in local Catholic schools. St. Xavier College drew particularly heavy criticism. According to the *Western Christian Advocate*, the Jesuits planned to establish a free primary school in Cincinnati in which they would have an "opportunity to pervert the minds of the poor, as they now do the children of the wealthy in their higher seminaries."<sup>21</sup> Not all Protestants in the city, however, shared this view. More than half the students at St. Xavier, Purcell reported in 1843, belonged to Protestant families. And indeed, many Protestants considered St. Xavier a good school, wrote one commentator, because it was organized with a "sufficient number of teachers to attend closely to all pupils, both in their hours of study and recreation."<sup>22</sup>

**A**t this same time, the Catholic Church attempted to make local public schools more acceptable to Catholic children. In the autumn of 1852, Dr. Jerome Mudd, a Catholic school board member, consulted with the diocesan hierarchy and then offered a series of resolutions to the school board. First, he wanted the rule requiring the American Bible Society edition of the Bible to be read in classrooms altered so that the Bible preferred by Catholics and Jews could be introduced as well in the classroom. Second, he asked that all children be permitted to take an edition of the Bible selected by their parents or guardians to school with them and to be allowed to read it there. Finally, Mudd proposed that professors and teachers be entitled to read the Bible before their classes, without reciting any notes or comments corresponding with their religious views. But after studying Dr. Mudd's proposal, the school board committee on textbooks recommended that local public schools continue to use the King James version of the Bible exclusively. The

board's final report supported this position by arguing that the purpose of the public schools was to educate the youth "in such a manner as to prepare them to protect and defend the laws and institutions. Our country is republican, morally, politically, and religiously."<sup>23</sup> Evidently, a Catholic version of the Bible would not contribute to that goal.

After reminding the board that a large portion of Protestants rejected the King James version of the Bible, Dr. Mudd then proposed a series of resolutions that bolstered his initial ones, and he admonished the board to strictly observe those that it had passed in 1842.<sup>24</sup> Finally, after a debate of nearly three hours, the entire board voted again to retain the King James version of the Bible in the public schools. The matter was not settled, however. On November 8, Dr. Charles Boyd suggested that children be permitted to use whatever version of the Bible their parents wished, as long as it did not contain notes and comments. Again Dr. Mudd strenuously objected pointing out that no Catholic edition could meet these conditions. As a compromise, a resolution was offered that allowed pupils to read a version of the scripture preferred by their parents, provided these wishes had been communicated to the child's teacher. Furthermore, teachers would not be allowed to read notes or comments on the text of any version of the Bible. The board adopted this proposal.<sup>25</sup>

The board's resolution did not arouse the interest of the secular press, but the religious press raised numerous questions about the new policy. The *Western Christian Advocate* demanded to know whether the Catholic Church would furnish Douay Bibles without notes for children to take to school, or whether it would allow them to receive such editions from Protestant sources. The *Catholic Telegraph* praised the board for its decision and expressed its gratitude that a respectable majority of the school board had passed the resolution despite the "most unscrupulous efforts made by malicious and ignorant men to poison the public mind."<sup>26</sup>

While the question of how and whether to use the Bible in Cincinnati's common schools had been settled amicably, the related question of how and whether to use tax funds for the support of parochial schools was not so easily resolved. The matter came to a head during an election campaign in the spring of 1853. At that

*Hughes High School was built in 1853 on Fifth Street. From Illustrated Cincinnati by D. J. Kenny, 1875. Cincinnati Museum Center, Cincinnati Historical Society Library*



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time, Dr. Mudd and eight hundred other Catholics addressed a petition to the Ohio legislature requesting an amendment to the state's basic school law that would establish a right for parents to educate their own children. This move, coming in conjunction with similar efforts in other dioceses about that time, looked like a plot to local Protestants. In the view of the *Daily Gazette*, Dr. Mudd's petition simply constituted an attempt to strengthen the weakening hold of the clergy on local politics. The *Commercial* offered a less conspiratorial opinion, arguing that religious controversies such as might be provoked by this petition could not be "productive of any good, either to the cause of vital piety, or the moral tranquility of the community." And the *Enquirer* argued against an allocation of a portion of the school fund to parochial education, since that action would ultimately harm the common school system that had been "conceived in wisdom which far transcends the scope of narrow minded and intolerant sectarianism."<sup>27</sup>

But the strongest anti-Catholic statements again came from the Protestant evangelical press. The *Western Christian Advocate* was particularly vivid in its language: "Nothing but an entire and utter control of the schools of the country will satisfy [the Church's] longings. How would it look for a gang of Americans to go to some foreign country and pledge themselves as good citizens, but set up a claim against the government, and give out threats that they would have that claim satisfied? So act the minions of the Pope, and they are ready to wade in blood knee deep, provided their ends are accomplished. In this city, they have commenced canvassing the wards, and are prepared to open the war, the first fire of which is to be heard in the coming spring city elections."<sup>28</sup>

**T**he climax of this controversy came with Archbishop Purcell's pastoral letter of March 26, 1853. Catholics, wrote Purcell who by now had been elevated to the position of Archbishop, were not opposed to public common schools. Moreover, he argued that Catholics would pay taxes willingly to support such schools if the schools were open to Catholic children on the same terms as they were to other children. In conclusion, Purcell suggested that members of his congregation exercise their privilege as American citizens to vote for candidates in the upcoming election who would "fairly represent the wishes and requirements of their constituents and redress the grievances of which they so justly complain."<sup>29</sup> The local press was enraged at Purcell's overt intervention in local politics. The *Western Christian Advocate* reported that "the Archbishop is not only angry, but in a rage," because he saw that "light and knowledge are doing their efficient work in the Popish church, in alienating multitudes of her children from her." The *Daily Gazette* took him to task for his lack of coherent argument and appeal to prejudice. The *Commercial* called his effort an attempt "to promote, not religious knowledge in any general sense, but the interest of a sect."<sup>30</sup>

In the end, the school funding issue fractured Cincinnati's political system into competing parties from which the Democrats emerged victorious by a narrow margin. However, the close vote allowed both Catholics and evangelicals to claim victory. The *Catholic Telegraph* professed satisfaction that local Whigs, who had fielded the most anti-Catholic candidates, had been defeated. But the *Western Christian Advocate* warned of a well-organized "foreign religious and political power in our midst." "The archbishops, bishops, inquisitors and clergy in the United States," the evangelical journal continued, "are the sworn officers of the papal crown. Let them be narrowly watched and guarded, so then they may not overturn our liberties."<sup>31</sup> Subsequently, accommodations that had been attempted in earlier disputes no longer seemed possible as the fires of nativism, fueled by economic and political rivalries, burned more brightly. The Catholic community fast became a beleaguered minority in the city. "In a real sense," writes historian Michael Perko, "everyone lost the election. A community which had thus far avoided overt public religious controversy was now plunged into sectarian rivalry of the most strident variety."<sup>32</sup>

In the late 1850s, relations between Catholics and Protestants remained strained as each side became more defensive and withdrawn. This shift is especially evident in Bishop Purcell's Pastoral Letters of 1858 and 1859 in which his earlier tone of optimism regarding Protestants faded, and he began to attack Protestant school policies vigorously. In a speech delivered on June 23, 1859, he especially attacked those who were attempting to tax the property of the church. During the next several years, the *Catholic Telegraph* printed editorials that reiterated the Archbishop's demand for part of the school fund, his condemnation of co-education, and his complaints about worldly Protestant influences in the public schools.<sup>33</sup> And his diocesan clergy in the first three Provincial Councils of Cincinnati confirmed these positions. Like the earlier such meetings in Baltimore, these councils initially confirmed policy pronouncements that encouraged the support of Catholic schools in the face of Protestant intransigence. In time, however, they became progressively more insistent on the obligation of parents to educate their children as Catholics and of pastors to build schools, citing the uncooperativeness of civil authorities as a major motivation.<sup>34</sup>

These controversies over religion and education in general, and use of the Bible in schools in particular, lapsed during the Civil War. However, conflict was never far below the surface, and afterward it emerged again in the Bible War of 1869, the "greatest school-related religious fight of the Victorian era," which pitted two irreconcilable ideological positions against each other and brought Protestants and Catholics into bitter conflict. The stakes were high. The winner would prevail in the formation of common school policy for all students in Cincinnati, and ultimately, in the salvation of the souls of the rising generation.<sup>35</sup> But the immediate cause of the Bible War lay in a pro-

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posal to consolidate public and parochial schools into one public system.

The idea of consolidating the public and parochial systems had been discussed among Catholic and Protestant members of the school board as early as June 1840, when an outgoing Cincinnati school board suggested the possibility of incorporating a Catholic school into the common school system and supplying it with a teacher. In midsummer 1869, F.W. Rauch, a newly elected Catholic member of the board who was anxious to dispel popular suspicion that Catholics were enemies of a free school system, consulted with Father Edward Purcell, brother of the Archbishop, as to whether a consolidation might be possible. Heartened by the priest's personal disposition toward the idea, Rauch and nine fellow Catholic board members drew up a six-point program calling for the incorporation of church schools into the public educational system. Specifically, they advocated the purchase by the Cincinnati school board of all Catholic schools in the city, and consolidation of those schools with the public schools, provided that "no religious teaching, or reading or circulation of any religious books, papers or documents were permitted in them." In late August, a proposal to that effect signed by twenty-seven school board members was formally presented to Father Edward Purcell for his consideration.<sup>36</sup> Acting on behalf of his brother who was absent from the city, Father Purcell tentatively agreed to the proposal but sought two minor concessions. First, the schools would not be used for religious instruction during the school day. Second, Catholic teachers would be employed to teach Catholic children. After the board explained the impossibility of granting the second condition, the priest withdrew it and indicated that the Church would agree to the plan provided that public school buildings could be used for catechism instruction on weekends.

Considering Catholic opposition to consolidation in 1852 and the various decrees of the Archdiocesan Provincial Councils during the ensuing seventeen years, why did the Church hierarchy seem amenable to this idea? Perhaps because immigration had far outrun the Catholic Church's ability to meet the demands for a school attached to every parish. But another factor may have been support for consolidation among the Irish Catholics who generally favored putting their children into the public schools. To this group, parochial schools seemed a heavy financial burden indeed, and besides they believed that the Church had little chance of bringing Cincinnati's parochial schools up to the same standards as the city's public schools.

But while some Catholics may have looked with favor on these consolidation proposals, many Protestants in Cincinnati were not so agreeably inclined. The *Daily Gazette* called the attempted merger nothing less than "a Jesuitical scheme" calculated to either ruin the common schools or accomplish a division of the school fund between sectarian and public institutions. The *Daily Times* declared that if this proposal were adopted, Catholics would gain "com-

plete mastery of all they want in respect to the exclusive education of their own children, and all the expenses now paid by the Church are to come out of the school fund. What do they surrender? Nothing at all, but gain everything.” The *Western Christian Advocate* reiterated its long-standing opinion that there was no possibility of arranging an educational system in which Catholics and Protestants could harmonize. On the other hand, the editor of the Cincinnati *Commercial*, Murat Halstead, considered the merger proposal reasonable because it would return to the public schools fifteen thousand Catholic children whose “rudimentary education has hitherto been provided for by the Church itself.”<sup>37</sup>

**A**t a Cincinnati school board meeting on September 6, 1869, F.W. Rauch called for the creation of a committee to formally explore the idea of consolidating the city’s public and parochial schools. After this resolution was seconded, Samuel A. Miller offered an amendment that would have prohibited religious instruction and the reading of religious books, including the Bible, in the common schools of Cincinnati in order to “allow the children of parents of all sects and opinions in matters of faith to enjoy alike the benefits of the common school fund.”<sup>38</sup> Although these proposals for consolidation of public and parochial schools and for removal of the Bible from public schools had been made entirely independently of each other, they appeared before the public as a whole. And that created an impression among many Cincinnatians that use of the Bible in schools had become an obstacle to the entrance of Catholic children into local public schools. This fusion of issues doomed the consolidation plan and divided Cincinnati’s Protestant and Catholic communities.

The most vehement reaction to these proposals came from the city’s Protestant pulpits. On September 11, the *Daily Times* printed a lengthy list of ministers who intended to address the subject in their Sunday sermons. A high point in opposition to consolidation came on September 12, when six local ministers preached on the Bible question at the Wigwam in the Seventeenth Ward, a well-known gathering place for public meetings of all kinds. Combining an insistence on the Protestant character of American life with diatribes against Romish oppression, they asserted that the Bible must remain in the schools if morality were to be preserved. Evangelist Granville Moody also called for members of the audience to sign a petition to be presented to the school board opposing the proposals, and he urged them to stage a rally at the Catholic cathedral the next day.<sup>39</sup>

When the Cincinnati school board met on September 13, a letter from Archbishop Purcell was read in which he signaled his willingness to confer with a committee regarding the consolidation of the schools. However, the prelate made it clear he was perfectly satisfied with the Catholic schools as they now existed, and he thought it was unjust to impose restrictions on the rights of

Catholic children for the benefit of the public schools. Following some discussion of this letter, the board voted to establish a committee to work out a plan of settlement between the Catholic Church and the public schools. The board did not consider the controversial resolution offered by Samuel Miller.<sup>40</sup>

On September 20, after the committee had met with Purcell, another letter from the Archbishop was read to the school board in which he stated his terms for continued negotiations. First, Purcell wanted it clearly understood that the “entire government of Public Schools in which Christian Youth is educated could not be given over to the civil power.” Second, Catholics could not approve a system of education disconnected from instruction in the Catholic faith and teachings of the Church: therefore, instruction in this religion must be admitted to the schoolroom. Third, he wanted no teacher employed to whom the Catholic authorities could reasonably object. And finally, all textbooks used in the schools should contain nothing offensive to Catholic faith or sentiment.<sup>41</sup> Later in the same meeting, however, all hope for consolidation of the public and parochial schools were dashed when Joseph Carberry, leader of the liberal Catholics, informed the board that Purcell had stated he would need to seek the opinion of the Pope on this matter. The board members were outraged. Abner Fraser spoke for many when he said it seemed strange that an “Ohio School Board should be made to await the action of a representative of a church, who, without authority to act here at home, must go across the ocean and consult a foreign prince.” Frank Mack agreed that the “idea of asking the committee to wait another six months was ridiculous.”<sup>42</sup>

**W**hy did Archbishop Purcell backpedal on the issue of consolidation? There are three possible reasons for this change of heart. First, in light of his imminent departure for the Vatican Council in Rome, Purcell might have been reluctant to engage in still another controversy with the city’s Protestant elite. Second, the Miller amendment had cast an entirely new light on the issue. The Catholic Church had always maintained that religion could not be separated from education, thus if the Bible was removed from the public schools, these institutions would become truly godless. Finally, Purcell’s own clergy objected. In late August, a letter written by twenty-four local German priests appeared in the city papers that rejected the consolidation plan because they feared that their schools would lose their unique Catholic character and that valuable school property would be given away without adequate compensation.<sup>43</sup>

The focus of debate then shifted to the Miller resolution. On September 26, 1869, a meeting of two hundred persons opposed to the use of the Bible in the public schools was held at Greenwood Hall. One speaker attributed the great public stir and agitation to “misrepresentations and falsifications of the worst kind” in the press that stirred up conflict between Catholics and Protes-



Engraved by F. E. Jones Cincinnati, O.

HON. BELLAMY STORER

tants. The meeting ended with the adoption of a resolution demanding the removal of the Bible from public schools as a “means of making the several people that reside in the United States a homogeneous nation.”<sup>44</sup>

An overflow crowd that attended a pro-Bible meeting at Pike’s Music Hall on September 28, 1869, however, reflected the sentiments of most Cincinnati residents. For the most part, they strongly favored the teaching of religion in public schools. For example, local lawyer Rufus King argued that it was not a question of whether the Bible should be taught in the schools, but whether the school system should be maintained at all if religion cannot be taught there. He thought it better there be no public schools at all rather than allowing them to become the “godless institutions” that would surely result if the Miller amendment were approved. But the pro-Bible forces also squabbled among themselves over how religion should be taught in the schools and who was responsible for raising the divisive issue in the first place. Another lawyer, William Ramsey pointed out that the Catholic Church could not be held responsible for holding up the consolidation plan because the Church could not “recognize any system of education of which religious instruction is not a part.” George R. Sage then took exception to Ramsey’s exoneration of the Catholic Church. He thought it entirely “proper to assign to the authorities of the Catholic Church their share of the responsibility in the matter.” Clearly, differences of opinion remained among those who favored religion in Cincinnati’s public schools.<sup>45</sup>

During the next month, the local citizenry continued to vigorously debate the question of removing the Bible from classrooms. Ministers expounded on the issue from their pulpits; editors expressed their opinions in print; and numerous meetings were held throughout the city. The anti-Bible forces, now led by Johann B. Stallo and Thomas Vickers, gathered at Pike’s Hall in mid-October. Judge Stallo expressed amazement at the contention of Dr. Amory Dwight Mayo, pastor of the city’s conservative Unitarian church, that the United States was a Christian land because Christianity was the prevailing creed of the population. “Has America ceased to be a

free republican country? Or has it ceased to be true that all freedom begins where the rights of the minority begins?" On the other hand, the address of the Reverend Vickers, pastor of the city's liberal Unitarian church, was more militant. "If there is any fighting to be done," he declared, "there are young men and old men in this country who are ready to shoulder the musket and the knapsack and fight for their religious freedom."<sup>46</sup>

The school board took up the question of retaining the Bible again on October 18, but no definite conclusion was reached. Finally, after considerable pressure to resolve the issue, the board voted at midnight on November 1, 1869, in favor of excluding Bible reading from the common schools. The final count was twenty-two to fifteen. As the *Commercial* had predicted, a number of Catholic school board members voted against removal of the Bible. Yet there were some Catholic members who voted for the Miller amendment, and the Archbishop was not pleased. The *Telegraph* specifically castigated Joseph Carberry for his open admission of the superiority of the free schools as opposed to the parochial schools in the city, and for expressing the desire of Catholic parents to educate their children in the best schools—which meant public schools.<sup>47</sup>

On November 3, 1869, thirty-seven citizens filed a petition with the Hamilton County Superior Court requesting an injunction to prevent the enforcement of the Miller amendment. They alleged that the board's action was a violation of the state constitution, which mandated the teaching of Christian religion in the schools. On the same day, Judge Bellamy Storer granted the injunction and set a hearing date to determine whether it should be made perpetual. The three judges selected to hear the case were Storer, a former president of the school board; Marcellus Hagans, an active worker in the advancement of Sunday schools and a benefactor of the Cincinnati Wesleyan Female Seminary; and Alphonso Taft, later secretary of war, attorney general, and United States minister to Austria and Russia.<sup>48</sup> The opening arguments were presented to the Superior Court on November 29, 1869. Representing the plaintiffs were George Sage, Rufus King and William Ramsey. The anti-Bible attorneys were George Hoadley, Stanley



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*Alphonso Taft*

*In February 1870, Hamilton County Superior Court Judges Marcellus Hagans (1827-1899), preceding page top, and Bellamy Storer (1796-1875), preceding page bottom, voted in favor of keeping the Bible in public schools while Judge Alphonso Taft (1810-1891), above, vehemently dissented. Cincinnati Museum Center, Cincinnati Historical Society Library*

Matthews, and Johann Bernard Stallo. Hoadley, a liberal Protestant, was a descendant of the New England divines Jonathan Edwards and Timothy Dwight.<sup>49</sup>

In their opening presentation to the court, pro-Bible attorneys asserted that since religion was necessary for good government, and Christianity was the religion of the United States, then it followed that schools must teach the Bible in order to fulfill the section of the Ohio Bill of Rights that required government to be concerned with the development of morality. On the other hand, defense attorneys argued that the school board had a perfect right to make such regulations, including removal of the Bible from public schools, and any intervention by the court thus would be an illegitimate usurpation of that body's legal authority. Furthermore, they insisted that neither the United States nor the State of Ohio were constitutionally Christian societies. To compel reading of the Bible in common schools would amount to the promotion of sectarian worship, something that was clearly forbidden by the Ohio constitution. On February 15, 1870, by a two to one majority, the Superior Court made perpetual the initial injunction denying the right of the school board to remove the Bible from the classroom. Given the religious backgrounds of Storer and Hagans, the result was not surprising. In a forceful dissent, however, Taft rejected virtually all of the contentions of his colleagues. He saw the action of the school board as a logical consequence of the Bill of Rights, seeking only to make the schools religiously neutral, as they were required to be under the law.

As might be expected, the city's newspapers were divided in their opinion of the court's decision. The *Daily Gazette* exulted that "for the present, the Bible is sustained, and our school system has been saved from a damaging, if not destructive, blow." But the *Commercial* reaffirmed its stance against Bible reading, insisting that it provided Catholics with a legitimate excuse for the establishment and support of a separate school system.<sup>50</sup> Throughout the controversy the ethnic press had been uniformly hostile to the notion of Bible reading in the schools, seeing it as the most blatant form of sectarianism. Thus the *Volksblatt* and *Volksfreund* expressed sorrow at the ruling, seeing it as an indication of the "dark spirit of intolerance." The *Courier*, an English language paper for Germans, saw the use of the Bible as an "artifice to cover sectarian designs."<sup>51</sup> Official Catholic reaction to the decision was disappointment. The *Telegraph* predicted it would be "a transient, momentary victory of the Evangelicals; a victory of popular prejudice over religious liberty."<sup>52</sup>

Following the Superior Court's decision to uphold the injunction to prevent removal of the Bible from classrooms, the case was appealed to the Ohio Supreme Court. While this decision was pending, another electoral battle, the spring election of 1870, was waged in Cincinnati with candidates immedi-

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ately labeled pro- or anti-Bible. This campaign was filled with all the bitterness that had characterized earlier struggles in Cincinnati over religion and schools. For example, the Reverend Mayo who led the pro-Bible group urged all patriotic Americans to vote for pro-Bible candidates in the coming election, and he charged the anti-Bible advocates with deliberately trying to undermine Cincinnati's common school system. In the municipal election of April 4, 1870, eight anti-Bible members of the school board who had voted for the Miller resolutions ran for reelection, and five emerged victorious over their "Bible Party" opponents.<sup>53</sup> And in June, 1873, the anti-Bible forces received another boost when the Ohio Supreme Court handed down a unanimous verdict maintaining that, because management of the public schools had been delegated to local boards by the state constitution, the courts had no lawful authority to interfere in determining what books should be read or what studies pursued. Therefore it was the prerogative of each board to decide the appropriate place of the Bible in the classroom. The opinion also declared that the use of term "religion" in the Ohio constitution could not be construed to mean Christianity because this would amount to a *de jure* establishment of religion.<sup>54</sup> In general terms, the Cincinnati press concurred with this decision. They also agreed that it was now the duty of the voters to select school board members who would return the Bible to its proper place in education, although they disagreed on what that might be. And ironically, the city's Catholic hierarchy also applauded the outcome. "If the Constitution does not enjoin religious instruction in the schools," said the *Telegraph*, "then it follows that is not a Christian State."<sup>55</sup>

**T**he battle over religion in local schools, however, had not yet ended. In the spring of 1873, Walker Meredith Yeatman, Hamilton County auditor, and John Gerke, the treasurer, placed the property of all parochial schools in the city on the tax roles, on the grounds that these could not properly be called free schools, and were not, as a result, tax exempt under Ohio law. Archbishop Purcell argued that state law provided for the exemption of common schools, and that the Church's schools fell into this category because they were "public and free, and any child, of whatever religious belief is received equally with the children of Catholic parents." In the trial that followed, Yeatman and Gerke attempted to demonstrate the essentially religious nature of the parochial school, but a three-judge panel ruled in Purcell's favor and ordered the Catholic schools perpetually removed from the tax rolls.<sup>56</sup> *Purcell vs. Gerke* represented the last major public clash over parochial schooling in nineteenth-century Cincinnati. While the subject still occasionally cropped up in local newspapers, attempts at accommodation and consolidation were over: two separate and increasingly well-defined institutions, parochial and public, took shape side by side.

The significance of the Cincinnati Bible War is threefold. First, it took on

national importance as a landmark test case involving the relationship between religion and public schooling that would be tested in hundreds of cases over the next several decades. For instance, in the late 1880s, Catholics in Edgerton, Wisconsin, sued the local school district in order to have public school teachers discontinue reading selections from the Bible each day. During the next century many similar cases came before the courts, the most famous among them being *Engel v. Vitale* that outlawed public school prayer in 1962 and *Abington School District v. Schempp* that proscribed Bible reading, the next year.<sup>57</sup> Second, it provided a clear articulation not only of the ideological differences between Catholics and Protestants in nineteenth century America but also between liberals and conservatives within each religious community. At the same time, it furthered the alienation of those unable or unwilling to subscribe to either religion, that is to say those who favored a strictly civil society and government.<sup>58</sup> “In bringing this civil view into sharp conflict with the more prevalent one which favored common religion,” historian Robert Michaelson has written, “the Cincinnati case marked an important point in the developing relationships between religion and the public school, and, more generally, between church and state in the United States.”<sup>59</sup> Finally, this struggle resulted in recognition of the implications of religious pluralism in the United States, if not an actual agreement on the part of all concerned about how conflicts over religion in America should be resolved. The ensuing change in public attitude led to a decline in the religious bigotry that had pervaded earlier generations in antebellum America. On this particular issue at least, Protestants and Catholics learned to live in quiet accommodation with each other. ¶

1. John B. Purcell, “On the Philosophy of the Human Mind,” *Transactions of the Sixth Annual Meeting of the Western Literary Institute and College of Professional Teachers*, October 1836, D.L. Talbott, ed. (Cincinnati: Published by the Executive Committee, 1837), 67.
2. The historiography of the debate over the use of the Bible in the classroom includes: Vincent P. Lannie, *Public Money and Parochial Education: Bishop Hughes, Governor Seward and the New York School Controversy* (Cleveland: Press of Case Western Reserve, 1968); Robert Michaelson, *Piety in the Public School: Trends and Issues in the Relationship between Religion and the Public Schools in the United States* (New York: Macmillan, 1970); R. Laurence Moore, “Bible Reading and Nonsectarian Schoolings: The Failure of Religious Instruction in Nineteenth Century Public Education,” *Journal of American History* 86 (2000): 1581-99, and “What Children Did Not Learn in School: The Intellectual Quickening of Young Americans in the Nineteenth Century,” *Church History* 68 (1999): 42-61; and David B. Tyack, “Onward Christian Soldiers: Religion in the American Common School,” *History and Education: The Educational Uses of the Past*, ed. Paul Nash (New York: Random House, 1970): 212-55. The nature of the controversy in Cincinnati was examined by Harold M. Helfman in “The Cincinnati ‘Bible War,’ 1869-1870,” *The Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Quarterly* 60 (1951): 369-86; Bernard Mandel, “Religion and the Public Schools of Ohio,” *The Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Quarterly* 58 (1949): 185-206; Robert Michaelson, “Common Schools, Common Religion? A Case Study in Church-State Relations, Cincinnati, 1869-1870,” *Church History* 38 (1969): 201-17; and F. Michael Perko in *A Time to Favor Zion: The Ecology of Religion* (DeKalb, Ill.: Educational Studies Press, Northern Illinois Press, 1988). Also central to understanding the Cincinnati struggle are *The Bible in the Public Schools. Arguments before the Superior Court of Cincinnati in the case of Minor v. Board of Education of Cincinnati, 1870, with the Opinions of the Court and the Opinion on Appeal of the Supreme Court of Ohio* (New York: DaCapo Press, 1967); and the *Transactions of the Meetings of the Western Literary Institute and College of Professional Teachers* (Cincinnati: Published by the Executive Committee, 1835-1838).
3. Roy Maynard, “Ruling Coming on Dispute Over Child’s Bible Story,” *Our Sunday Visitor*, August 1, 1999; “ACLU Challenges Posting of Ten Commandments in Kentucky Schools and Courthouses,” November 18, 1999, Press Release; “ACLU of Ohio Seeks Compliance from School Districts to Remove Ten Commandments from Four High Schools,” April 3, 2003, Press Release; Russell Shaw,

- “Voucher Battle Now Shifts to State Legislatures: U.S. Supreme Court Finds Cleveland Program ‘Neutral’ Towards Religion, But Opponents Won’t Give Up the Fight,” *Our Sunday Visitor*, July 14, 2003; E. J. Dionne, “Beyond Vouchers,” *Washington Post*, July 25, 2003; Ben Teller, “Guidelines for School Prayer: Resistance Could Jeopardize Federal Funds, Education Department Says,” *Associated Press*, February 9, 2003.
4. Henry A. and Kate B. Ford, *History of Cincinnati, Ohio* (Cleveland: L.A. Williams & Company, 1881), 172-202. See also Daniel Aaron, *Cincinnati: Queen City of the West, 1819-1838* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1992).
  5. *Cincinnati Chronicle*, September 1, 1838.
  6. Calvin E. Stowe, “On the Education of Emigrants,” *Transactions of the Fifth Annual Meeting of the Western Literary Institute and College of Professional Teachers*, October 1835 (Cincinnati: Published by the Executive Committee, 1836), 74.
  7. John H. Lamott, *History of the Archdiocese of Cincinnati, 1821-1921* (New York: Pustet, 1921); Edward A. Connaughton, *A History of Educational Legislation and Administration in the Archdiocese of Cincinnati* (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 1946); Roger A. Fortin, *Faith and Action: A History of the Catholic Archdiocese of Cincinnati, 1821-1996* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2002).
  8. *Cincinnati Journal*, March 27, 1835; *Daily Gazette*, July 4, 1836.
  9. Stephen H. Montgomery, “Introduction of the Bible as a Textbook,” *Transactions of the Sixth Annual Meeting of the Western Literary Institute and College of Professional Teachers*, October 1836 (Cincinnati: Published by the Executive Committee, 1837), 67-79.
  10. *Ibid.*, 158.
  11. John B. Purcell, “On the Expediency of Introducing Selections from the Bible, Instead of the Bible Itself, Into Our Schools,” *Transactions of the Seventh Annual Meeting of the Western Literary Institute and College of Professional Teachers*, October 1837 (Cincinnati: James R. Allbach, 1838), 118-20.
  12. Benjamin P. Aydelott, “Report on the Expediency of Introducing Selections from the Bible, Instead of the Bible Itself, ... Into Our Schools,” *Transactions of the Seventh Annual Meeting*, 121.
  13. *Catholic Telegraph*, October 12, 1837; *Transactions of the Seventh Annual Meeting*, 13; Anthony Deye, *Archbishop John Baptist Purcell of Cincinnati, Pre-Civil War Years* (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 1956), 195.
  14. John B. Purcell to John Hughes, October 13, 1840, Archdiocese of New York Archives.
  15. *Catholic Telegraph*, October 31, 1839.
  16. *Ibid.*, March 7, 1840.
  17. Ruth Miller Elson, *Guardians of Tradition: American Schoolbooks of the Nineteenth Century* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1964); Marie Leonore Fell, *The Foundations of Nativism in American Textbooks, 1783-1860* (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 1941).
  18. Edward A. Connaughton, *A History of Educational Legislation*, 39-41. See also *Twenty-Fifth Annual Report of the Board of School Trustees and Visitors* (Cincinnati, 1853), 11-12.
  19. *Catholic Telegraph*, April 15, 1847.
  20. *Western Christian Advocate*, October 27, 1852.
  21. *Ibid.*, February 18, 1848.
  22. John B. Purcell to Propagation of the Faith, February 10, 1843, University of Notre Dame Archives, Society for the Propagation of the Faith, Lyons (MPFL) 6; John P. Foote, *The Schools of Cincinnati, and Its Vicinity* (Cincinnati: C.F. Bradley & Co., 1855), 122-23.
  23. *Western Christian Advocate*, October 27, 1852.
  24. *Ibid.*
  25. *Daily Gazette*, October 22, 1852; *Commercial*, November 2, 1852; *Catholic Telegraph*, November 13, 1852; *Commercial*, November 9, 1852; *Daily Gazette*, November 9, 1852.
  26. *Western Christian Advocate*, November 24, 1852; *Catholic Telegraph*, November 13, 1852.
  27. *Daily Gazette*, March 16, 1853; *Commercial*, March 15, 1853; *Enquirer*, March 22, 1853.
  28. *Western Christian Advocate*, March 2, 1853.
  29. *Catholic Telegraph*, March 26, 1853.
  30. *Western Christian Advocate*, March 30, 1853; *Daily Gazette*, March 26, 1853; April 2, 1853; *Commercial*, March 26, 1853.
  31. *Catholic Telegraph*, April 9, 1853; *Western Christian Advocate*, April 13, 1853.
  32. Perko, *A Time to Favor Zion*, 153.
  33. *Catholic Telegraph*, July 9, 1859; August 13, 1859; September 17, 1859; December 3, 17, 22, 1860.
  34. *Pastoral Letter of the First Provincial Council of Cincinnati*, (Cincinnati: John P. Walsh, 1855), 8; Connaughton, *History of Educational Legislation*, 51. See also Urban J. Stang, “A History of Conciliar Legislation in the Province of Cincinnati, 1852-1861” (M.A. thesis, Catholic University of America, 1940).
  35. Perko, *A Time to Favor Zion*, 154.
  36. *Council of Cincinnati, for the School Year Ending June 30, 1840* (Cincinnati, 1840), 4. Accounts of the early deliberations and negotiations are given in the *Commercial*, August 27, September 23, 1869; *Daily Gazette*, August 27, 28, 29, September 1, 1869.
  37. *Daily Gazette*, August 27, 1869; *Daily Times*, August 27, 1869; *Western Christian Advocate*, June 30, 1869; *Commercial*, August 27, 1869.
  38. *Commercial*, September 7, 1869; *Daily Gazette*, September 7, 1869.
  39. *Daily Times*, September 11, 1869; *Commercial*, September 13, 1869.
  40. *Commercial*, September 14, 1869; *Daily Gazette*, September 14, 1869.
  41. Meeting of the Catholic Clergy on the School Question, September 16, 1869, Archdiocese of Cincinnati Archives.
  42. *Commercial*, September 21, 1869.
  43. Meeting of the Catholic Clergy on the School Question, September 16, 1869, Archdiocese of Cincinnati Archives.
  44. *Commercial*, September 27, 1869.
  45. *Commercial*, September 29, 1869; *Daily Times*, September 29, 1869.
  46. *Commercial*, October 17, 1869. Several months after his

arrival in the city in 1867, Vickers became engaged in a debate with Archbishop Purcell in the newspapers. This controversy was published as *The Roman Catholic Church and Free Thought: A Controversy between Archbishop Purcell and Thomas Vickers* together with an appendix containing the Encyclical Letter and Syllabus of Pope Pius IX, dated December 8, 1864 (Cincinnati: Published by the First Congregational Church, 1868). His views on religion and public schooling are contained in *The Bible in The Public Schools*, 107-211. For an account of Vicker's later life, see Reginald C. McGrane, *The University of Cincinnati* (New York: Harper and Row, 1963), 81.

47. *Catholic Telegraph*, September 15, 22, 1869.
48. A complete record of this case is contained in *The Bible in the Public Schools, Arguments in the Case of John D. Minor et. al. Versus the Board of Education of the City of Cincinnati et. al.* (Cincinnati: Robert Clarke, 1870).
49. For the personal and public toll the decision to represent the school board took on these lawyers, particularly Matthews, see William R. Wantland, "Jurist and Advocate: The Political Career of Stanley Matthews, 1840-1889" (Ph.D. diss., Miami University, 1994): 117-23.
50. *Enquirer*, February 16, 1870; *Daily Gazette*, February 16, 1870; *Daily Times*, February 16, 1870; *Commercial*, February 16, 1870.
51. The *Volksblatt* and *Volksfreund* for February 16, 1870, are quoted in the *Daily Gazette*, February 17, 1870. The *Courier's* statement is found in *Some of the Arguments that Have been Made in Favor of Abolishing Religious Instruction in the Public Schools* (Cincinnati, 1870), 13.
52. *Catholic Telegraph*, February 17, 1870.
53. Amory Dwight Mayo to the *Daily Gazette*, March 30, 1870; *Commercial*, March 28, 1870.
54. *The Board of Education of the City of Cincinnati v John D. Minor et al.* 23 Ohio State Reports 211. Although this is listed on the calendar of the December 1872, Supreme Court term, the decision was not formally announced until June 24, 1873.
55. *Daily Gazette*, June 25, 1873; *Enquirer*, June 25, 1873; *Commercial*, June 25, 1873; *Catholic Telegraph*, June 26, 1873.
56. *Superior Court of Cincinnati, John Baptist Purcell v John Gerke, Treasurer of Hamilton County, Ohio* (Cincinnati: Robert Clarke and Company, 1873); *Catholic Telegraph*, July 10, 1873; Perko, *A Time to Favor Zion*, 222-25.
57. R. Laurence Moore, "Bible Reading and Nonsectarian Schooling: The Failure of Religious Instruction in Nineteenth-Century Public Education," *Journal of American History* 86 (2000): 1581-99.
58. Perko, *A Time to Favor Zion*, 6. See also Helfman, "The Cincinnati Bible War," 369-86; Mandel, "Religion and the Public Schools," 185-206; and Michaelson, "Common Schools, Common Religion," 201-217.
59. Michaelson, "Common Schools, Common Religion," 217.