Contents

Preface
Acknowledgments

Introduction
The Context of the Religion Clauses
  A. The Constitutional Context
  B. The Religion Clauses in Context
  C. Use of This Book and Supplemental Website

Part I
WHAT IS RELIGION?

Chapter 1
Malnak v. Yogi
Transcendental Meditation and the Definition of Religion
  A. Introduction
  B. TM: Its Appeal and Evolution
  C. Background to the Litigation
  D. The Trial Court
  E. The Third Circuit Court of Appeals
  F. The Concurrence Becomes Law
  G. The New New Religions

Chapter 2
United States v. Ballard
Government Prohibited from Declaring Religious Truth
  A. History of the I AM Movement
  B. Theological Influences on I AM
  C. The Proceedings Against the Ballards
  D. The Religious Freedom Argument in U.S. v. Ballard
  E. The Aftermath
  F. The Implications of the Case
Part II
FREE EXERCISE

Chapter 3  
**Wisconsin v. Yoder**  
*An Anthropologist Shapes a Supreme Court Decision*

A. Introduction
B. Social Issues and Social Upheaval in 1972
C. The History of Amish Persecution
D. The Beginnings of the Case
E. The Life of the Amish
F. The Oral Argument and Decision of the Supreme Court
G. The Decision Over Time

Chapter 4  
**Goldman v. Weinberger**  
*Religious Freedom Confronts Military Uniformity*

A. The Facts
   1. The Official Story
   2. Goldman’s Story
      a. Goldman’s Prior Military Service
      b. The Origins of the Dispute
      c. The Air Force’s Conduct
B. The Litigation
   1. The Official Story
      a. The District Court
      b. The Court of Appeals
      c. The Supreme Court
   2. The Unofficial Story
      a. Perspectives of Judge Robinson and Judge Starr
      b. The Government’s Strategy
C. Looking Back at the Case—Questions that Remain

Chapter 5  
**Bob Jones University v. United States**  
*A Journey Through Scripture and History*

A. Introduction
B. History of the Schools and their Policies
   1. History and Operation of Goldsboro Christian Schools
      a. In General
      b. The GCS Admissions Policy: Based on Race
   2. History and Operation of Bob Jones University
      a. In General
      b. The BJU Admissions Policy: Based on Conduct but Cognizant of Race
C. The Procedural Posture of the Case
D. The Substantive Legal Significance of the Case  
E. Analyzing the Case in Context: The Theological and Cultural Factors that Drove the Controversies  
   1. The Theological Context of the Case: The Purportedly Biblical Basis of GCS and BJU for Opposing Interracial Marriage  
   2. An Alternative View of What the Bible Really Teaches on Matters of Race and Nations  
   3. The Broader Cultural Context of the Case: Southern Fundamentalism in Twentieth Century America  
F. Epilogue

Chapter 6  
Employment Division, Department of Human Resources of Oregon v. Smith  
*The Battle for Religious Freedom*  
A. Introduction  
B. Al Smith  
C. An Appeal for Unemployment Benefits  
D. The Challenge in State Court  
E. The United States Supreme Court  
F. The Congressional Response

Chapter 7  
Church of the Lukumi Babalu Aye, Inc. v. City of Hialeah  
*Protection of Majority Religions’ Privilege at the Nexus of Race, Class and Ethnicity*  
A. Why This Case is Important: Then and Now  
B. From Church to Court—A Narrative of the Dispute  
   1. Pichardo Versus the City—Round 1  
   2. Pichardo Versus the City—Round 2  
C. The History of the Santería Religion  
D. Beyond Narrative and History: The Faces of Assimilation and Religion  
   1. The Plaintiffs: Ernesto Pichardo and the Church of Lukumi Babalu Aye  
      a. Ernesto Pichardo  
      b. The Church of the Lukumi Babalu Aye  
   2. The Defendants  
      a. The City of Hialeah  
      b. The Mayor of Hialeah  
      c. The Hialeah City Council  
E. Rules of Law that Emerged from the Case  
F. Aftermath
Part III

ESTABLISHMENT

Chapter 8

Lemon v. Kurtzman

The Parochial School Crisis and the Establishment Clause

A. Introduction
B. Background
   1. The School Aid Question
   2. Establishment Clause Precedents
   3. The Catholic School Crisis
C. Legislation and Litigation
   1. Pennsylvania
   2. Rhode Island
   3. The Parties and Lawyers
   4. The Pennsylvania Case (Lemon): Religion and Race
   5. The Rhode Island Case
   6. The Colleges Case (Tilton)
D. The Cases in the Supreme Court
   1. Briefing and Oral Argument
   2. Deciding and Opinion Drafting
E. The Supreme Court’s Opinions
   1. Lemon
   2. Tilton
   3. The Racial Segregation Issue
F. Lemon’s Regime
   1. School Funding Cases
   2. Establishment Clause Cases Generally
G. Lemon’s (Partial) Decline
   1. Funding Cases
   2. The Establishment Clause Generally

Chapter 9

Lynch v. Donnelly and Allegheny County v. ACLU

“Christ is Not a Turkey”

A. The Crèche in the Context of Other Christmas Symbols
   1. Lynch v. Donnelly
      a. The Lower Court Decisions
      b. The Arguments in Favor of the Crèche Display
      c. The Arguments Against the Crèche Display
      d. The Oral Argument
      e. The Justices’ Deliberations and Opinions
   2. Application of Lynch in the Courthouse Context: County of Allegheny v. ACLU
      a. The Lower Court Decisions
      b. The Arguments at the Supreme Court in Favor of the Crèche Display
c. The Arguments at the Supreme Court Against the Crèche Display
d. The Oral Argument
e. Distinguish or Follow Lynch?—The Justices’ Deliberations and Opinions

B. Discussion and Analysis of the Crèche Cases

Chapter 10

Board of Education of Kiryas Joel Village School District v. Grumet

A Religious Group’s Quest for Its Own Public School

A. Introduction: The Creation of Kiryas Joel
B. The Issue: Is Creating a Public School District in/for a Religiously Homogeneous Community a Violation of the Establishment Clause?
C. The Facts: The History of the Satmars and Kiryas Joel
D. The Parties, the Lawyers, and the Lawsuit
E. The Arguments
F. The Court’s Decision: The Holding and Its Ambiguities
G. Issues, Resolved and Unresolved
   1. Neutrality: Intent v. Effects
   2. Neutrality: Non-Preferentialism (Not Preferring One Religion to Another) v. Neutrality Among All (Religious and Non-Religious) Beliefs
   3. Neutrality and Accommodation
   4. Neutrality and Delegation (the “Fusion” Theory)
   6. Religion in the Public Square
   7. Religious Gerrymandering: Justice Kennedy’s Concurrence
11. The Tension Between Equal Opportunity Separatist Opt Outs (Accommodation) and the Anti-Gerrymandering and Anti-Line-Drawing Principles
12. Anti-Separatism: Justice Steven’s Concurrence
13. Anti-Anti-Separatism
14. Contradictions and Confusions: The Court’s Convoluted Reasoning

H. The Aftermath

Chapter 11

Edwards v. Aguillard

Evolution and Creation in the Legal Crucible

A. The American Saga of Darwin Versus the Bible
B. The Early Legal Clashes
C. The Origins of Creation-Science
D. The Arkansas Statute and Trial
Chapter 12
Rosenberger v. Rector of University of Virginia
The Triumph of the Neutrality Principle
   A. The Background to Rosenberger
   B. In the Lower Courts
   C. Before the U.S. Supreme Court
   D. The Supreme Court’s Decision
   E. The Impact of the Rosenberger Decision

Part IV
ACCOMMODATION AND TOLERANCE

Chapter 13
Presiding Bishop of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints v. Amos
Addressing Tensions Between the Free Exercise and Establishment Clauses
   A. Frank Mayson and The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints
   B. Religious Discrimination
   C. Bringing Suit
      1. Beehive Clothing Mills
      2. Deseret Industries
      3. The Lawyers
   D. Amos in the Federal District Court
   E. At the Supreme Court

Chapter 14
Freeman v. Dep’t of Highway Safety and Webb v. Philadelphia
Accommodation Tangles in the Laws About Hair
   A. Introduction
   B. Rethinking Concepts Relevant to the Debate
      1. Accommodation and Tolerance
      2. Hair and the Cloth that Covers It
   C. The Cases
      1. The Freeman Case
      2. Webb v. City of Philadelphia
   D. Remaining Legal Tangles

Index