

The History of Homeschooling

Milton Gaither

Introduction

When discussing the history of homeschooling two distinctions need to be made at the very outset. First, it is important to distinguish, as some do not (Jeynes 2012; Hill 2000), between homeschooling as a deliberately chosen alternative to institutional schools on the one hand and, on the other, the pragmatic use of the home to educate children. The latter practice has been central to many if not most human societies from ancient times. In this chapter we will label this “domestic education” and only deal with it cursorily. What we are mostly concerned with is the self-consciously alternative practice, and this emerged only in the 20th century in reaction to compulsory school laws and public school bureaucracies, at first in isolated instances but coalescing into a discernible political movement by the late 1970s.

The second distinction that needs to be made is between history as an academic discipline and history as an argumentative tool. Many polemics by homeschoolers against schools and by advocates of schools against homeschooling include historical claims. Many scholarly articles on homeschooling, especially those making legal or philosophical arguments, include historical claims or narratives as part of their overall argument. But very few polemicists or academics have approached the topic of homeschooling history from within the discipline of historical study itself with its requisite attention to primary source documentation, its careful consideration of context, and its feel for nuance and complexity. The result has been a series of oft-repeated but false claims about the homeschooling movement or some aspect thereof. Many of the most egregious and frequently reiterated false claims pertain to the legal history of homeschooling, including inaccurate assertions about the degree to which homeschooling was illegal in the past (Somerville 2001), misleading claims

about the basis for and easy acceptance of compulsory school laws (Curren and Blokhuis 2011), or misinterpretations of the meaning and scope of key Supreme Court cases such as *Pierce v. Society of Sisters* and *Wisconsin v. Yoder* (Kreager, Jr. 2010; Olsen 2009).

In what follows we will, after briefly discussing the historiography of home education outside the United States and the historiography of domestic education within the United States, survey all of the available scholarship on the history of the modern American homeschooling movement. We will not cover the many articles that contextualize their theme by providing a brief and entirely derivative historical introduction (e.g., Vieux 2014).

The History of Home Education Outside the United States

As of this writing no major work concerning itself exclusively with the history of the home education movement in any country outside of the United States has been published. As most European nations and their colonies had longstanding traditions of domestic education, there has been good recent work done on the pre-homeschooling period. English-language examples include articles about visual learning in the homes of early modern Italians (Evangelisti 2013), tutors in 19th century Brazil (Vasconcelos 2013), the British and French tutors and governesses of the Russian Aristocracy (Staroverova 2011) and rural Mongolia in the early 20th century (Marzluf 2015). Such work is typically performed by specialists in various historical fields and is typically not connected explicitly to home education movements in their respective countries today, though sometimes the connection is made (Staroverova 2011).

While we lack any complete account for a particular country, region, or continent, in general it can be asserted that movement homeschooling emerged in many countries outside the United States at roughly the same time as it did in the States, though usually on a much smaller scale. Occasionally the influence of the American movement was discernible; occasionally developments seemed to be more autochthonous. Until a fuller and richer historiography emerges it will be difficult to say with precision exactly what happened when and why. Until that literature emerges interested readers will have to make do with historical material that occasionally shows up in more general pieces about home education in particular countries. Recent examples of English-language works that include at least some information about the history of home education in a given locale include Olatunji's robust account of the emergence of home education in South Africa (2014), Paciorkowski's detailed description of the legal history of home education in Poland (2014), Drabsch's brief discussion of the history of home education in Australia (2013), Martin's summary of the history of the unique situation in Germany (2010), Staroverova's description of the reemergence of domestic education among the new Russian plutocrats who have emerged since the fall of communism (2011), and Zur Nedden's account of pioneering Canadian home educator Wendy Priesnitz (2008). This is not

by any means an exhaustive list. It is very common for articles about home education in some country other than the United States to include at least a brief history of the practice in the region under discussion.

Domestic Education in the United States

Like their European, African, Asian, and South American counterparts, specialists in various periods of American history have occasionally studied the use of the home to educate children. Huge fields of historical inquiry devoted to the history of childhood, of the family, and of femininity and masculinity, have all on occasion explored the use of the home as an educative institution. Most of this historical scholarship was synthesized by Gaither in 2008 in what remains the most complete account of the home as an educational institution. The first three chapters of that book deal respectively with domestic education in the colonial period, the early national and antebellum periods, and the late 19th and early 20th centuries. This chapter will not review the secondary works upon which that synthesis was based. Interested readers are invited to consult the endnotes therein for the sources available as of 2008 for such an account (Gaither 2008).

Since 2008 a fair amount of high level scholarship has been published on related themes that adds even more to our knowledge of domestic education practices prior to the expansion of compulsory schooling in the mid-20th century. Herndon and Murray's 2009 book *Children Bound to Labor* brings together the work of thirteen scholars who collectively tell the story of pauper apprenticeships in early America. The book's many case studies draw on archival and other primary sources to bring the common practice of placing orphaned, neglected, or simply poor children in the homes of other families to be taught trades. One component of the apprenticeship model was the requirement that host families teach basic literacy and numeracy to their charges, and the book provides a more detailed look at how various families did and did not do this than anything before it (Herndon and Murray 2009).

Several other recent works have examined various aspects of family life, all of which have connections with domestic education. Wilson emphasizes the degree to which stepfamilies were a pervasive phenomenon in colonial New England due to frequent spousal death dislocation (2014). Glover provides rich detail about the family lives of many of the United States' founding fathers, many of whom were taught at home and/or had their own children taught at home (2014). Hyde provides a remarkable synthesis of the history of the American West, using the family as organizing principle and revealing along the way how fluid were the boundaries between home and school on the frontier (2011). King's revised and expanded version of her classic study provides much new information about the lives of slave children in both the South and North (2011). del Mar's sweeping synthesis of US family history provides a fitting context for both the domestic education of early centuries and the emergence of homeschooling in more recent times (2011). Hampel investigates the dramatic rise of correspondence study-at-home programs in the early 20th century,

some sponsored by universities but many by profit-seeking firms often engaging in dubious practices (2010). Morice provides an early 20th-century case study of progressive home education as a reaction against industrialized institutional schooling (2012). Many other works could be listed, but these are standout examples of recent historiography with direct bearing on various aspects of domestic education.

History of The Homeschooling Movement – Early Contributions

For this chapter we will take Gaither's book *Homeschool: An American History* as a pivot point. Historical accounts written prior to Gaither's book will not be discussed in detail as they are all parsed and synthesized in that work (2008). Briefly, the most notable early works that tried to provide a history of the modern homeschooling movement fall into two categories. In the first place there are accounts of the early years of the national homeschooling movement or its manifestation in a particular locale by movement activists. While there is much of value in these memoirs and first-person narratives, they must be read with scholarly discernment. For the national movement standout examples of the genre include Klicka's celebratory account (2006) and Seelhoff's more critical appraisal (2000a, 2000b, 2000c, 2001a, 2001b, 2001c). Many local accounts by movement insiders, some book-length (Richman 1989; Meighan 2007; Griffith 2007), most brief (e.g., Lambert 1997; Smith 2007) have been published, though often only in a transient online format (Lepore 2015).

Very few scholarly works dealing exclusively with the homeschooling movement's history were published prior to 2008. Perhaps the most widely cited has been Knowles, Marlow, and Muchmore (1992), which laid out a five-phase model of the development of homeschooling in the United States. Their basic narrative structure was one of conflict between homeschooling advocates and public school personnel that gave way gradually to cooperation as laws were changed to make the practice more clearly legal, culminating in the consolidation of the movement as national networks emerged to group like-minded homeschoolers into rival camps. Carper's work, published in several articles, has also been influential, describing a grand, three-act historical arc beginning with educational pluralism in the colonial and early national periods, moving to the near-universal establishment of public schools in the mid-19th to mid-20th centuries, and concluding with a growing dissent against that establishment in the late 20th century (1992, 2000). Finally, a few early works provide good coverage of particular states or regions. McIlhenny (2003)'s study of the early history of Texas homeschooling is a standout example, as is Tyler and Carper's (2000) study of South Carolina.

Other scholarly works not explicitly devoted to history nevertheless contained a good bit of historical information or analysis. Influential examples include Van Galen's many articles laying out her landmark dichotomy between "ideologues" and "pedagogues" (1986, 1987, 1988, 1991) and Stevens' pioneering ethnographic study

full of detail about homeschooler politics and practice in the 1980s and 1990s (2001). Provasnik's remarkable work on the legal history of compulsory education legislation is an important resource for the legal history of homeschooling in the United States (2006). Finally, a few of the many dissertations conducted on homeschooling during the 1990s and 2000s provided rich historical accounts of local homeschooling histories. Examples here include Bloodworth's study of North Carolina (1991), Cochran's study of Georgia (1993), and Kelly's study of Hawaii (2008).

All of this work and much else besides was synthesized in Gaither's 2008 *Homeschool: An American History*. The first three chapters of that book deal with domestic education in the colonial and early national periods and explain how and why nearly all Americans chose institutional schooling over the home in the 19th and early 20th centuries. Gaither draws on a wide range of historiography from various subfields of US social history to tell this story. Chapter four, with the help again of a large bibliography of US political and social history, lays out three broad contextual changes in the mid-20th century that set the stage for the homeschooling movement: the growth of the postwar suburbs and the anti-institutional ideologies they helped establish, the Civil Rights and women's movements, which popularized organized protest against the established order, and the polarization of the electorate into right and left wings in the late 1960s and 1970s, both of which were skeptical about established institutions like government schools. Chapter five provides detailed biographies of pioneer homeschooling leaders John Holt, Raymond and Dorothy Moore, and Rousas J. Rushdoony. Chapter six chronicles the rise of the Home School Legal Defense Association (HSLDA) in the mid-1980s and the fissuring of the homeschooling movement into rival camps of conservative Christians and everyone else. Chapter seven details the history of the legal and legislative battles fought over homeschooling in the 1980s and 1990s, and a final chapter describes trends in homeschooling up to 2008 (Gaither 2008).

Since Gaither's book a small but significant number of works on the history of homeschooling in the United States have been published. The rest of this chapter will summarize them. Some of the most interesting works in this regard make broad theoretical arguments. Historians regularly deal with the tension between constructing a coherent narrative or argument on one hand and faithfully reproducing the complexity and detail of the past on the other. In the next section we will summarize works that provide some sort of overarching argument or master story for the history of homeschooling. In subsequent sections we will turn to works that emphasize various details.

The Homeschooling Movement, Theoretical Constructs

Jones (2008) examines three traditions of private education crafted in opposition to the dominant US Public School system – 19th century Catholic parochial schools, mid-20th century Jewish day schools, and the contemporary homeschooling movement. For each his claim is that arguments made for and against the practice

have been remarkably consistent over time. Jones' account of the history of homeschooling in chapter one offers nothing new, but situating it in a longer tradition of oppositional education movements is enlightening, most notably his finding that for all three of his examples large, nationwide organizations and leadership were crucial for success.

Chapter two finds two common philosophical assumptions to undergird all religious private education, be it Catholic, Jewish, or Protestant homeschooling. First, all groups have argued that their faith traditions give them unique access to truth, for truth comes from God. Second, all of these religious traditions believe that God has charged parents, not the State, with the task of educating their young.

Chapter three looks at the continuity over time of arguments made against private religious education. There are two basic arguments. First, it has consistently been argued that private schooling and homeschooling pose a threat to public education by taking away both fiscal resources and social support from public schools. Second, critics claim that sectarian religious education poses a threat to the nation by isolating and segregating young Americans by creed even as it prepares these divided children to hate and fear people who disagree with them, and possibly to try to take over the country and impose their theocratic vision on all.

Chapter four shows that the various religious groups have responded to the arguments summarized in chapter three in remarkably similar ways over time. Catholics, Jews, and Protestants have all made the case that their efforts in no way drain resources from public schools. They have always argued, on the contrary, that they pay taxes to support public education even though they do not use the benefit. Their lack of support for public education is actually a civic good, they argue, for government-run public education is inefficient and ineffective. As for the charge that religious education threatens to balkanize and radicalize the country, private advocates have typically responded in two ways. They first point out that public schools are by no means models of diversity themselves – they are often just as segregated by race and class as are private schools. Advocates also argue that in fact it is they who are safeguarding the heritage of American democracy by “providing competition to the government monopoly” and thereby “protecting and ensuring” diversity and freedom (Jones 2008, 101–102).

Chapter five finds another longitudinal continuity in popular history textbooks from all three traditions, all of which both celebrate the United States and celebrate the particular religion's contributions to that greatness. For homeschooling Jones provides a careful examination of A Beka and Bob Jones, two of the most popular Christian curricula among homeschoolers. These books, like the Catholic and Jewish texts before them, encourage children reading them to believe that their particularistic tradition was “an integral part of American life all along” and that they are therefore “every bit as American as [their] public school counterparts” (Jones 2008, 131).

Andrade (2008) tests the thesis that homeschooling might not really have been a movement at all but was perhaps simply an inevitable outcome given “convergence of several global forces” (Andrade 2008, 12). Some of these forces include

the rising cost of schooling, the emergence of radically individualist notions of intelligence and self-fulfillment, the politics of privatization, the evolution of copyright law, and the changing status of women. But the changes in information and communications technologies that have transpired in the past three decades are Andrade's main target.

To justify his suggestion that homeschooling emerged not out of the dedicated work of grassroots organizers but as the inevitable outcome of social changes, Andrade notes that many countries outside of the United States have seen a sharp rise in homeschooling as well. He describes in great detail the rise of the post-industrial, communication technology-driven workforce and its trenchant critique of industrial-era public schools. He also cites much secondary literature that has stressed the technological savvy of homeschoolers.

To test his technological change hypothesis Andrade does not engage in conventional historical inquiry but conducts focus-group and individual interviews with 27 New York homeschoolers, carefully compiling and coding their responses. Few of those in his sample began homeschooling prior to 2000, and none of them mentioned technology as a factor in their journey to homeschooling until prompted by the researcher. Once prompted, many of his subjects did acknowledge the role computers played in teaching them about the topic of homeschooling, in connecting to other homeschoolers, and in providing some curriculum options. Veteran homeschoolers on the whole acknowledged the complementary role technology has played in helping homeschooling flourish, but they tended to cite other sources for the movement's true power.

Even with this lackluster finding in his own data Andrade persists in his deterministic conviction that technological change is what really caused homeschooling to emerge when it did. Andrade makes this claim despite the fact that his own subjects (none of whom were homeschooling when the movement really took off in the 1980s and early 1990s) failed to cite this as a factor and despite his lack of attention to forms of evidence most historians would find imperative for such a thesis as this – things like documents, visual and material culture, oral histories of actual participants in the period under discussion, and so forth, all of which would show that back when the movement was changing state laws and winning court cases all around the nation it was phone trees, mailing lists, newsletters, and conventions that informed and connected people, not personal computers.

Greenfield (2009) recapitulates the thesis of Ferdinand Tönnies, who argued that modernization causes society to move from what he termed *Gemeinschaft*, or tribal codes of honor and status appropriate to rural, agricultural living, passed down from generation to generation through osmotic folkways, to *Gesellschaft*, or modern, industrialized, urban codes of living premised on individualism, acquired through deliberate and systematic cultivation of the young in formal institutions. Greenfield summarizes many anthropological studies conducted among a wide range of population groups and finds that in general as societies move away from *Gemeinschaft* to *Gesellschaft* family practices shift significantly, profoundly affecting child development. Family size shrinks. Nuclear family is less connected to extended family.

Formal schooling increases. Literacy rates climb. IQ scores go up. Children's individuality is nurtured even as familial commitments (such as that older children care for younger or that children care for elderly relatives) wane.

The shift from *Gemeinschaft* to *Gesellschaft* does not occur overnight. It has a generational component. Adults who were raised in a more *Gemeinschaft* context often try to parent in the old way even though the broader social context has shifted. This can lead to tensions within families. For example, parents may seek to perpetuate the ethos of a subsistence village by requiring all sorts of chores of their children when what the children really want is remunerative work so they can buy consumer goods. As the cultural shift takes place, children change. *Gesellschaft* children become better at recognizing abstractions (as opposed to memorizing details), handle novel situations more nimbly, think of themselves more as individuals (especially the girls, whose life choice options are significantly expanded), value sharing less and ownership more.

If Greenfield's grand theory is correct, homeschooling turns out to be a rear-guard effort by partisans of various *Gemeinschaft* virtues to pass those on to children who inhabit an increasingly *Gesellschaft* world. This explains in good measure both the countercultural vibe of so many homeschoolers and their political anxieties. It does not, however, apply to those families who choose homeschooling for its curricular flexibility and technological opportunities. For such "Creative Class" families, homeschooling more fully embodies *Gesellschaft* values than industrial-era formal schools (Gaither 2009; Griffith 2007). Another potential problem for this analysis is in its forecasting implications. Though Greenfield is clear in her text that she does not see *Gesellschaft* as inherently superior or historically inevitable, the general tenor of this distinction does suggest that *Gemeinschaft* practices are residual and headed for extinction. Yet homeschooling continues to grow every year. There must be more going on than mere pastoral nostalgia.

Wilhelm and Firmin (2009) provide a brief and derivative synthesis of the history of homeschooling in the United States. Given their audience in a journal devoted to Christian education, they stress the Christian foundations of both early American schooling and the public schools that emerged in the 19th century. In the late 19th century, however, bureaucratic and industrialized trends began to corrode this Christian influence, at least in some locales. It was not until the 1960s, however, especially with the key Supreme Court cases declaring school-sponsored prayer and devotional Bible reading unconstitutional, that Biblical authority was truly abandoned. As a result, homeschooling emerged as an alternative, first among leftists led by John Holt but then by a growing group of conservative Christians fleeing secularism, values-clarification, and other ills of the public schools.

Krause (2012) draws on literature about dissent traditions to argue that the homeschooling movement is a democratizing trend in an educational landscape that has in the past several decades grown increasingly bureaucratized and alienated from participation by ordinary citizens. She makes this argument by emphasizing two domains. First, she provides detailed examination of much of the legal and legislative history of the movement, with a special focus on the *Leeper* case and the

experiences of homeschooling pioneers in Texas, all of which show the power of grassroots activism and networking. Second, she provides a close reading of several Christian curricula, including Diana Waring, Beautiful Feet, Cadron Creek Christian Curriculum, and Cornerstone Curriculum, arguing that these illustrative cases represent homeschoolers' spirit of dissent against the system and repudiation of elite management. Homeschoolers' refusal to accept dominant epistemologies puts them at the heart of the democratic tradition, according to Krause.

Murphy (2012) is a book-length review of the scholarship on every aspect of the modern homeschooling movement. Though elements of the history of homeschooling can be found in other chapters, chapters three and four deal with history explicitly. In a separate article Murphy reprints his historical review, focusing especially on the material laid out in chapter four (2013).

In chapter three Murphy begins by explaining how most historians who have covered the history of homeschooling break the overall story down into three stages: a pre-compulsory school period characterized by institutional diversity and significant domestic education, a compulsory school period characterized by near-universal attendance at either public schools or private schools, and a post-compulsory period characterized by the growth of the oppositional homeschooling movement. Murphy does not engage in chapter three with the literature on stages one or two.

For stage three, Murphy explains that historians have consistently found two core founding traditions, each with its own key national leader. On one hand is the liberal left, whose founding father was John Holt. On the other is the conservative Christian right, whose founding father was Raymond Moore. Though they represented polar opposite political and often religious convictions, the two traditions in the early years of the movement worked hand-in-hand to facilitate homeschooler networking and to fight to make homeschooling easier to do by securing friendly court decisions and changing state laws.

After covering the founding generation, argues Murphy, historians tend to stress the increasingly mainstream nature of homeschooling in the 1990s and thereafter. By 1993 the legal battles were largely finished and homeschooling was accepted throughout the country. As more and more people turned to homeschooling, its public profile was raised, which led even more Americans to think of it as an acceptable educational option.

But why and how did this normalization occur? Murphy isolates five reasons from the historical literature. First, large social trends like the growth of privatization, localism, and deinstitutionalization have created a hospitable environment for homeschooling, as has the waning public commitment to the welfare state as the values of the market invade every sector of life, including education. Second, the growth of homeschooling has created for itself a sort of positive feedback loop, as more people are exposed to the phenomenon, leading some to embrace it, which exposes more to it, some of whom embrace it, and so on. Third, homeschoolers won their legislative battles decisively. This has given the movement a momentum and sense of inevitability that has enhanced its profile considerably.

Fourth, homeschoolers have generally had allies in the popular press, who typically love a good David and Goliath story, especially when David can be counted on reliably to win at the statehouse. Finally, homeschooling has grown because its product has been seen thus far to be a success – most Americans who know homeschooled children have found them to be responsible, hardworking, intelligent, and capable, which has only enhanced the movement's profile.

A good bit of homeschooling's normalization, therefore, can be attributed to the movement's success. But what gave the movement such success? Murphy points to the frequent finding among historians that homeschoolers were and are very good at grassroots organizing. Most homeschoolers have long been part of support groups that connect individuals at the local level, and many of these local groups are affiliated with state-wide and national umbrella organizations. The intense level of social capital among the homeschooling community has proven decisive over and over in battles with public school bureaucrats in legislatures around the country, since homeschoolers were able to overwhelm their critics both in number and enthusiasm. The group-forming tendencies of homeschoolers have the macro result of securing accommodating state legislation, and these tendencies also provide the micro benefit of meeting the social, academic, and spiritual needs of individual children and (usually) mothers.

Murphy next chronicles the legislative history of homeschooling, summarizing what many historians have explained as the remarkable victory of homeschoolers in state after state to change laws to make what they do clearly legal and relatively free of regulation, though some states regulate the practice more heavily than do others.

Chapter three concludes with a brief look at the growing diversity and hybridity of homeschooling, as more and more children experience a range of options such as dual enrollment programs, independent home-based public education (cyber charter schools, for example), and other alternatives.

In chapter four Murphy provides a summary of the various contextual factors and social forces that have combined to facilitate the growth of the homeschooling movement. He begins by returning us to the early days of the growth of public education, stressing how the changing economy, society, and politics of the 19th century were conducive to the spread of public schooling. Social, political, and economic changes in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, however, began to alter the character of the heretofore localized public schools in a more centralizing and bureaucratic direction. These developments in turn led to the growth of anti-statist ideologies and critiques of managerial expertise.

Just as economic, social, and political changes led to the rise of government schooling, so further changes in these three domains have contributed to the rise of homeschooling. Key political and social developments include decentralization, direct democracy, parental empowerment, and the ideology of choice, along with the rise of the religious right particularly and a more conservative national mood generally in the 1980s. The key economic factor is the rise of privatization and market-based ideologies and concomitant reduction of the public sector, a development frequently dubbed libertarianism.

Having canvassed all of the post-2008 scholarship that has attempted a grand narrative account, what can we conclude? With the exception of Andrade's technological determinism (2008), which on principle does not permit contingency, the macro historians tend to stress a combination of broad sociocultural forces *and* human agency when explaining the rise and growth of homeschooling in the United States. The difficulty for broad social forces-type arguments, however, is in demonstrating causality. The rise of homeschooling happened at the same time as or immediately after many social trends underway in the 1960s–1980s. But which of any of them were truly causal? History is not science and thus has a very difficult time proving causal assertions. It is much better at providing descriptive, evidence-based narratives about specific events in time, examples of which are discussed in the next several sections.

Specific Topics

Biography and autobiography

Since 2008 several biographies or autobiographies of significance for the history of US homeschooling have been published. This section summarizes some of the most important.

Aiken (2009) describes the childhood experiences of the renowned author Joan Aiken, emphasizing her early education at home between the years 1924 and 1936. She was taught by her mother, who emphasized a richly literary education. Transition at age 12 to institutional schooling proved a very traumatic experience, and the young Joan often retreated to the rich imaginative world she had formed during her childhood domestic education.

Rice (2010) is an autobiographical account by former Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice, the first African American woman to hold the position. She devotes a significant amount of time to her childhood in 1950s and 1960s Birmingham, AL, including material about her early childhood education in music and literacy and a first grade year taught at home by her mother. This was in 1960, well before the organized homeschooling movement, and in segregated Birmingham to boot. At the end of the year Rice took the school entrance exam and scored at the third grade level in math and the fifth grade level in reading, which more than qualified her to jump straight into second grade at her local segregated black school.

McVicar (2015) is a book-length, major study of one of the most important figures in the early history of American homeschooling, Rousas J. Rushdoony. Gaither (2008) had included Rushdoony in the pantheon of early homeschooling leaders alongside John Holt and the Moores, and for this he was criticized in a key review by Cochrane, who said:

while Gaither makes a good case for Rushdoony's interest, promotion, and support of home education, and even his influence on some of its leaders, it remains questionable

how much influence, if any, he had on parents' decisions to teach their children at home or to what extent his Christian Reconstructionist views were infused in the movement (Cochrane 2010, 69).

McVicar's book, far and away the most thorough and well-sourced account published on Rushdoony's life, work, and influence, lays the question to rest. In six powerful chapters grounded in a rich study of Rushdoony's personal papers and journals, oral histories, and other primary sources, McVicar explains in great detail the intellectual pedigree, connections and funding networks, and influence of Rushdoony and the Christian Reconstruction movement he founded.

Chapter one briefly covers Rushdoony's early life as his family narrowly escaped the Armenian genocide during World War I and as Rushdoony began his ministry among American Indians in Nevada. While on the reservation he established a wide-ranging correspondence with various Protestant thinkers, most notably Cornelius Van Til, whose Biblical Presuppositionalism proved foundational for Rushdoony's Reconstructionist vision. McVicar masterfully situates Rushdoony's intellectual development within the broader intellectual context of mid-20th century American life.

Chapter two chronicles Rushdoony's growing radicalism, as his unabashed sectarianism put him at odds both with the Presbyterian Church USA, under which he was ordained, and with the broader conservative movement developing in the 1950s and 1960s. Instead, Rushdoony allied with groups that have been little studied by historians but very influential among conservative intellectuals, groups like Spiritual Mobilization, the William Volker Charities Fund, and the Center for American Studies.

Chapter three explains Rushdoony's expanding reach as he worked with grassroots organizations in California and obtained funding from individuals like Walter Knott and groups like Women for America that enabled him to found the Chalcedon Foundation and to devote himself full time to writing and activism.

Chapter four provides an excellent summation of Rushdoony's Christian Reconstructionist philosophy, which seeks to write Biblical Law into American government so as to return the nation to what Rushdoony believed to be its historic founding mission as a Protestant Nation God intended to use to usher in the Christian Millennium.

Chapter five is perhaps the most significant for the history of homeschooling, for it explains the wide reach of Rushdoony's ideas among his many followers and imitators. McVicar is very clear on how the family was at the very heart of Rushdoony's project, and how many in the homeschooling movement understood what they were doing through his framework. Key figures in popularizing Rushdoony's vision among homeschoolers included the influential lawyer John W. Whitehead and Franky Schaeffer, son of the famous Christian apologist Francis Schaeffer, along with their financial backer, billionaire heir Howard Ahmanson. Through these and other second-generation reconstructionists thousands of Christian homeschoolers became exposed to Rushdoony's ideas. His books and speeches became fixtures of

many Christian homeschooling curricula, and Rushdoony was called upon many times to offer expert witness at key homeschooling court cases across the country.

Chapter six and a brief conclusion detail the sordid history of the various schisms, personality cults, and extremist factions that emerged out of Reconstructionism. Many of these movements emphasized and continue to emphasize homeschooling, and their radical brand of patriarchal sectarianism has exerted much influence among Christian homeschoolers, particularly those frequently dubbed “Quiverfull” (Joyce 2009).

Curriculum

Since 2008 several publications have shed light on the history of homeschooling curriculum. This section summarizes some of the most important.

Laats (2010) uses a rigorous historical methodology of intensive examination of archival primary sources, oral histories, and contextual historiography to tell the stories of the three most influential and long-lasting Christian curricular options. All three began as curricula for Christian day schools but eventually spread to homeschooling as well. All three were self-consciously created as alternatives to the “secular humanism” and “progressivism” of public education curriculum. Yet for all their similarities the three curriculum providers were often very forthright in their denunciations of one another for various transgressions.

The oldest, Accelerated Christian Education (ACE), consisted mostly of a series of workbooks students worked through at their own pace with only minimal supervision. Its low cost, early availability, and limited need for teacher supervision made it very popular, especially in the 1980s, though some criticized it for its dependence on tedious worksheets and others for its occasional use of non-Christian figures (Confucius, for example) or progressive-sounding language.

A Beka, a curriculum created by Arlin and Beka Horton originally for their Pensacola Christian Schools, became a popular alternative to ACE among fundamentalists looking for a more self-consciously conservative and Protestant alternative. Influenced by conservative educational theorists like Max Rafferty and Rudolph Flesch, the Hortons emphasized phonics, rote memorization, and authoritarian teachers to help students discipline their sinful natures. Entire lessons were scripted so that no open-ended discussion leading to questions that might challenge the Truth would occur. The Hortons rejected progressive ideals like critical thinking and learning by doing, arguing that such things are actually a by-product of subject matter mastery. The actual content of A Beka consisted largely of out-of-print textbooks from a time when American schools inculcated heavy doses of Protestant morality and patriotism.

In direct contrast to ACE’s drill-and-kill worksheets and A Beka’s “no fun” direct instruction in dated texts by unquestioned authorities, the Bob Jones curriculum was an original product, emanating from the professors at Bob Jones University (BJU). The guiding spirit of the endeavor was Walter G. Fremont, dean of BJU’s School of

Education from 1953 to 1990. BJU affirmed the importance of well-educated teachers, of conceptual learning in addition to memorization, of thoughtful discussions, field trips, and flexibility. BJU's school of education taught its student teachers Bloom's taxonomy, class management skills, and how to make school fun. Many homeschooling families have used BJU's complete curriculum, though homeschoolers have even more frequently chosen to do exactly what many Christian day schools did – choose eclectically from these and other curricula to suit their needs.

Krause (2012), whose theoretical argument was summarized earlier in this chapter, should also be mentioned in this section on curriculum. Her insightful history of the early years of Christian homeschooling curricula begins with the paucity of options in the early 1980s and the lack of openness to homeschoolers by established Christian curriculum providers like A Beka and Bob Jones. Many mothers during these early years created their own curricula, and some of them went on to publish and market their products to other homeschoolers. Krause pays special attention to four such products: Cornerstone Curriculum, Beautiful Feet Books, Diana Waring Presents, and Cadron Creek Christian Curriculum.

Cornerstone Curriculum, created by David and Shirley Quine for their own use and first sold to others in 1983, was heavily influenced by the popular worldview perspective of Francis Schaeffer, who believed that Christianity should be integrated into all areas of life and hence into every subject in the curriculum. Schaeffer also believed that the United States was founded as a Protestant nation with a special mission to the world, and Cornerstone's history curriculum reflects that conviction as well. Beautiful Feet Books, created by Rhea Berg, drew inspiration from 19th century British educator Charlotte Mason to bring out-of-print "living books" to children. Berg began selling her collection of old books in 1984 and quickly organized them into several comprehensive historical curricula whose purpose was to use mostly 19th century works of historical fiction to teach both historical understanding and Christian character. Diana Waring, also influenced by both Schaeffer and Mason, began creating her own history curriculum in 1992 and selling it in the late 1990s. Her histories emphasize the Providential direction of history by God from ancient times to the present, and she too draws upon a wide range of historical fiction and Christian biography to bring the story to life. Cadron Creek, created more recently by Margie Gray, takes a Unit Studies approach that unites all subjects around one common theme or text. For example, Gray's first curriculum grounds study of every subject in the famed *Little House* books. In her analysis Krause unpacks significant differences in tone and sense of Christian mission in these curricula.

Mazama and Lundy (2013, 2014) do not engage explicitly with the history of curriculum, but given the uniqueness of their subject some of the data they provide can help historians get purchase on one aspect of the phenomenon. In a series of five articles that were eventually combined into a book, Mazama and Lundy describe and analyze the results of a large-scale study they performed on a geographically diverse sample of African American homeschoolers. Two of those articles discuss how some African American parents approach curriculum.

In their 2013 article Mazama and Lundy reveal that about one quarter of their sample were explicitly Afrocentric in their pedagogical orientation. The authors provide a solid history of the fraught relationship between African Americans and the public school curriculum and include many engaging quotations from Black homeschoolers about why they find both the public school and much private Christian school curriculum unacceptable. These homeschooling parents are able to use their own home space to inculcate a more positive sense of self and of race consciousness in their children.

In their 2014 article, in contrast, Mazama and Lundy reveal that about 15% of their sample explicitly repudiated this Afrocentric perspective, describing their homeschooling motivations and practices in ways that were nearly indistinguishable from those of white conservative Christians. Though they do not discuss the precise curricular content of this group's homeschooling lives, the revelation that there is a significant group of African American homeschoolers who speak in color-blind terms and reject African heritage is of great historical significance.

Regions

Since 2008 several publications have shed light on the history of homeschooling in specific locales. This section summarizes some of the most important.

Millman and Millman (2008) includes an important chapter on the history of homeschooling groups in New Jersey. It begins by connecting homeschooling to the “emergence” scholarship of John H. Holland, explaining that homeschooling is an unplanned and uncontrolled system of networks built “from the bottom up by thousands upon thousands of individuals making free choices about education” who nevertheless coalesce into “educational communities that are as stable and distinctive” as the city neighborhoods studied by Jane Jacobs or the leaderless ant colonies studied by Deborah Gordon. The Millmans also draw on the “social capital” framework of Robert Putnam’s influential *Bowling Alone*. They explain how homeschool groups provide rich social bonds of connectivity and reciprocity for their members.

After laying out this context, the Millmans narrate the history of some of New Jersey’s most important homeschooling groups. Details are provided for Nancy Plent’s founding of the Unschoolers Network in coordination with John Holt in the late 1970s, one of the most important organizations of its kind until the early 2000s, when it faded from the scene. The Millmans also describe the much larger and tightly organized Friendship Learning Center, an exclusively Protestant organization. The Millmans conclude that despite ideological differences, when threats to homeschooler freedoms appear, as they did in 2004 in the New Jersey State Legislature, homeschoolers quickly put aside differences and rally to the cause with shows of such overwhelming force that regulators quickly back down.

Coleman (2010) provides a detailed account of the history of homeschooling in Delaware County (which includes the city of Muncie), Indiana, explaining how a

few isolated homeschoolers from very different perspectives came together in the early 1980s to secure homeschooling legal freedom. They did this through a favorable Seventh Circuit Court of Appeals ruling in *Mazanec v. North Judson-San Pierre School Corporation* (1985), which found that the Indiana school law's "instruction equivalent" language applied to homeschooling. Coleman describes how early Muncie-area homeschoolers were influenced by John Holt and Raymond Moore and worked together across religious lines. But by the 1990s those lines had hardened considerably. In 1993 the Delaware County Christian Homeschool Association (DCCCHA, later changed to DCCHC) was formed exclusively for Christians. In 1998 this already conservative Christian group amended its statement of faith to make it even more exclusive. Some disgruntled homeschoolers left and tried unsuccessfully to found an alternative group, but DCCHC continued to grow until its peak in 2001 with about 300 families in Delaware County, dominating the homeschooling scene and serving as the public face of homeschooling in the county and first contact for families thinking about starting. The DCCHC worked closely with the exclusively Christian state-wide Indiana group, which itself was closely affiliated with the Home School Legal Defense Association (HSLDA).

But then came the internet. By 2005 the internet had transformed the way homeschoolers communicated, and especially the way prospective homeschoolers got information. The DCCHC's monopoly was broken. In 2005 the DCCHC disbanded, partly because its key leaders had graduated from homeschooling, partly because the internet took over its functions. As Coleman puts it, the internet has "democratized the flow of information, eliminating the role once played by gatekeepers such as the DCCHC" (81). It has also fragmented the homeschooling community in Delaware County. Upon the demise of the DCCHC, many smaller cooperatives and support groups have been formed, often along religious lines.

Krause (2012) has already been mentioned twice in this chapter, but it is worthy of inclusion in this section as well for its many revealing quotations from pioneer homeschoolers in Texas and its extensive coverage of the *Leeper* case and other aspects of Texas homeschooling in the 1980s and 1990s.

Hoffman and Hoffman (2014) is an interesting book-length collection produced by a mother-daughter homeschooling team that relates some of the history of homeschooling in Minnesota through first person accounts. The Hoffmans begin with a timeline of the history of homeschooling in Minnesota that, based as it is upon first person recollections and opinions, is not always accurate in its chronological details or legal interpretations. They next present twenty-seven chapters, each of which features an interview with one or more Minnesota homeschooling pioneers. The Hoffmans themselves are conservative Christians, so their timeline and contributor list stress that side of the movement, though they do include an interview with Jeanne Newstrom, a more left-liberal homeschooling mother who appealed her homeschooling conviction to the Minnesota Supreme Court, which declared in 1985 that the Minnesota Compulsory Attendance Law was unconstitutionally vague.

The interviews are arranged in a roughly chronological fashion and collectively tell the story of the separation in the mid-1980s of conservative Christian

Minnesotans from other homeschoolers as they founded and grew the Minnesota Association of Christian Home Educators (MÂCHÉ). Interviews with founders of other Christian Minnesota Homeschooling organizations and resources like Teaching Effective Academics and Character at Home (TEACH), Home Grown Kids, Heppner and Heppner Construction (1985–2006), and Heppner’s Legacy Homeschool Resources (2006–present) are featured. The Hoffmans interview Michael Farris of HSLDA, who describes his early encounters with some key homeschoolers in Minnesota. They also interview State Senator Gen Olson, who was the central figure in the statehouse working to pass the first homeschooling law in Minnesota in 1987, to defeat a bill in 2001 that would have increased regulations, and to pass a bill in 2011 that significantly reduced regulations.

Legal

Martin (2010) offers a comparative study of the legal situation pertaining to home education in the United States and Germany. For this chapter we will ignore the Germany portion, which constitutes part one of Martin’s study. Part two begins with a review of the history of compulsory schooling in the United States, drawn largely from very dated historiography. Martin next summarizes the history of homeschooling litigation and legislation. Throughout his discussions of the standard court cases typically covered in historical accounts, Martin offers interpretations and asides that make it clear that he is approaching the issue as a friend of homeschooling with a libertarian, parental-rights orientation. His historical account is also mostly provided as a means for situating his discussion of the current legal situation. Professional historians tend to frown on this sort of thing as it tends to reduce history to a servant discipline of policy and to produce anachronisms, but in general Martin’s summaries are reliable despite his clear argumentative slant.

After providing the historical background, Martin investigates in more detail two recent homeschooling cases, the 2008 *Jonathan L.* decision in California that caused such an uproar and the 2008 *Combs* case in Pennsylvania that unsuccessfully sought to argue that homeschoolers with a First Amendment religious objection to regulations did not have to abide by them. Martin’s careful examination of these recent cases and their implications for First Amendment jurisprudence need not concern us in this chapter on the history of homeschooling, though it is a notable contribution to the broader legal scholarship. Martin goes on to provide more analysis of parental rights jurisprudence and to offer predictions about future trends both in the United States and in Germany.

Waddell (2010), whose political outlook is the polar opposite of Martin’s (2010), covers much the same ground as Martin’s text just summarized. He begins with a history of the homeschooling movement itself, describing how activist homeschoolers have been so successful in transforming the legal and political landscape in their favor since the 1980s. He explains in some detail the key role of HSLDA in all of this, noting especially how they have claimed over and over, for years now, that

the First and Fourteenth Amendments give parents a constitutional right to homeschool and that state regulations violate this right.

Next Waddell claims that we are perhaps in the midst of a gradual process of re-regulation, a claim that the last six years of legislative history have not borne out, as many states have in fact loosened regulations in recent years. But Waddell asserts that as homeschooling continues to grow the practice is coming under increased scrutiny. He mentions efforts (all unsuccessful) in New Jersey, Michigan, and New Hampshire to increase regulations and focuses especially on Washington, DC which in 2008 became “the first jurisdiction in the United States in over 15 years” to successfully increase regulations (2010, 554).

Like Martin, (2010) Waddell’s history is simply a prop for his own arguments, but also like Martin (2010), he does a good job summarizing the major cases typically covered in historiography of homeschooling jurisprudence: *Meyer*, *Pierce*, *Yoder*. Like Martin, he wades into the murky waters of First Amendment jurisprudence that will not concern us here. Together Martin (2010) and Waddell (2010) illustrate an important stream of historiography of homeschooling, namely that of lawyers without historical training and not particularly interested in the fine contours of historical contingency nevertheless delving into the history of jurisprudence as prolegomena to their own proposals for the increased or decreased regulation of homeschooling today. This summary will not cover all of the recent legal articles in this vein. Martin (2010) and Waddell (2010) serve as exemplars of the genre, one advocating less regulation and the other arguing for more.

Krause (2012) should be mentioned yet again for its excellent and thorough treatment of the legal and legislative battles in Texas in the early and mid-1980s. Krause briefly compares developments in Texas with those in Oregon and Arizona, whose homeschooling activists employed different strategies but were no less successful.

In a lengthy footnote Krause offers helpful summaries of most of the early 20th century cases related to homeschooling, and in the main body of her text she analyzes thirty legal cases spanning twenty-two states from the late 1970s on, featuring cases with a human-interest element and a Religious Freedom claim. The general thrust of the decisions covered show that state courts have consistently found that the famous *Yoder* Supreme Court decision about Amish education did not mean that homeschoolers have a First Amendment free exercise right to flout government homeschooling regulations. Homeschoolers, having lost in the courts, turned to state legislatures to realize their deregulatory agenda.

Mawdsley and Cumming (2012) covers the background and current legal situation pertaining to state regulation of private schools, of whom homeschools are a part in many states. They begin with the famous *Dartmouth College* decision of 1819 and work through the other relevant Supreme Court cases to set the stage. They then offer a topical summary of several aspects of jurisprudence on private schools and homeschools: homeschooling regulations, participation by non-public school students in public school extracurricular and curricular activities, special education services, federal regulations (mostly pertaining to civil rights issues).

The general conclusion reached is that courts have generally upheld the state's right to regulate private (and home) schools, but that state legislatures have typically been very lax in their regulations and slow to prosecute violations. The one exception is in cases of race or gender discrimination, where courts and legislatures have generally held private entities to the same standards as public institutions even if religious belief is cited as the justification for violations.

Homeschooling Historiography – Needs and Opportunities for Study

In this section I would like to lay out nine topics in need of scholarly attention to enhance our understanding of the history of home education in the United States. I will work from the specific and limited to the grand and abstract.

1. **Biographies.** I described above McVicar's (2015) excellent recent study of Rousas J. Rushdoony. We need similarly rich and comprehensive biographies of Raymond and Dorothy Moore and of John Holt, studies that go beyond their published work to examine the fullness of their lives. Though no other figures loom so large in the history of homeschooling as Holt and the Moores, there are several second-tier individuals whose contributions merit serious academic study as well. Mary Pride, John W. Whitehead, Bill Gothard, Gregg Harris, Michael Farris, Cathy Duffy, Mark and Helen Hegener, David and Micki Colfax, Linda Dobson, and many other influential figures would be worthy candidates for biographical coverage that would shed light on their homeschooling practice and influence.
2. **State histories.** I noted earlier in this chapter that historians have provided excellent coverage of the legal and legislative history of the homeschooling movement in a few key states. Texas, Hawaii, Georgia, the Carolinas, and Indiana have all been studied in depth by at least one scholar. But the histories of the other states are wide open territory. Activists and insiders have published (sometimes self-published) accounts from their own point of view in some states, but for many states there is not even that. It would be a wonderful thing were every state's story to be covered by a historian dedicated to the topic. With such knowledge in place it would then be much easier to tell the national story, as chronology, themes, key individuals and organizations, and legal and legislative trends would be much easier to map out.
3. **Curriculum.** As described earlier, Laats (2010) provided excellent coverage of the early histories of the ACE, A Beka, and Bob Jones curricula, and Krause (2012) did the same for Cornerstone Curriculum, Beautiful Feet Books, Diana Waring Presents, and Cadron Creek Christian Curriculum. Though not described above, the classical education movement has received at least some historical assessment as well (Liethart 2008). Many other specific curricula and/or curricular approaches would be great topics for historical study. Potential

examples of specific curricula are legion, but they include Alpha Omega, Apologia, Sonlight, Rod and Staff, Tapestry of Grace, Saxon Math, Singapore, and Math-U-See. Potential examples of approaches whose histories need to be told include the Charlotte Mason Method, the Unit Study approach, and unschooling.

4. **Groups.** Much has been written about the Protestant Christian homeschooling community and movement. But far less is known about the histories of other groups of homeschoolers. A good study of the history of home education among Mormons would be most welcome, as would a history of homeschooling among Seventh-Day Adventists. Both groups have long utilized the home for the education of their children. While African American homeschoolers have been studied quite a bit, there has been little to no work, historical or otherwise, on homeschoolers of Latino/a descent or on Native Americans, Asians, Catholics, or Jews.
5. **Networks and strategies.** As with many other political issues, though the legal and legislative history of homeschooling took place largely at the state level, very similar developments happened in many if not most states at about the same time. Study of the political networks and organizations that fomented these trans-state developments is desperately needed. HSLDA, which became a significant player in such developments in 1985, is certainly an important part of the story, but, especially for the earlier period, we need to know more about how, and why homeschooling burst onto the scene like it did in the early 1980s, and who made that happen. How did state leaders keep track of what was happening in other states? How were the national networks of Holt, the Moores, and Rushdoony maintained? How did they change over time? How did the lawyers and lobbyists go about furthering their sides of the movement through establishing connections at the state and court houses? What role did churches and other community organizations play in it all?
6. **Domestic education.** Tutoring and other non-movement forms of domestic education did not disappear when homeschooling burst onto the scene in the late 1970s and early 1980s. Aside from the homeschooling movement itself, how was the home used to educate children and adults? Private, live-in tutors, online distance education, self-study using various forms of technologically mediated instruction, the architecture and geography of the home itself as education, and much else would fall into this broad category.
7. **Social history.** Scarcely anything has been written about such topics as the actual practices in which children and (usually) their mothers engaged as homeschoolers, the impact of the decision to homeschool on the family and the family's social networks, and the ways daily homeschooling changed over time within individual families and across the decades more generally. Little of the published scholarship from the past will be of much help here, for survey questions about parental motivations and so forth cannot take us very far. Oral histories, especially of adults who were homeschooled as children, will need to

be collected and analyzed. Visual and print media from old practical magazines might yield insight. Documentary evidence such as meeting minutes or other relics kept by some of the larger state-wide organizations (especially recordings of old sessions) could prove insightful.

8. **History of ideas.** Several overlapping ideological orientations have swept the Christian homeschooling movement. Though Joyce (2009) and others have begun to bring together the various strains that make up what she calls the “Christian Patriarchy movement,” much more could be said about the intellectual roots of these beliefs and their connections to broader themes in American history. Even less has been written about the history of ideas like unschooling. Homeschooling’s connection to so many diverse ideological orientations makes it a particularly fascinating subject for intellectual history.
9. **Longitudinal study.** Many if not most homeschooling parents choose this approach to education largely out of the desire to cocoon their children away from what they believe to be harmful outside influences emanating from the broader culture and to prepare their children to be faithful Christian adults (Vigilant, Trefethren, and Anderson 2013; Hoelzle 2013). Homeschoolers are not the first Americans to try to concoct a childhood educational experience that will ensure a desired adult outcome. A history of such efforts, whether through homeschooling or other strategies, would be most welcome.

A history like this could take several possible forms. It could consist of longitudinal studies of homeschooled children. Many of the qualitative studies done in the 1980s and 1990s would be wonderful bases for a follow-up study now or in the future. A very few studies of this nature have already been published, and the results are intriguing (Bolle-Brummond and Wessel 2012; Hanna 2012). Something similar was attempted by Bengtson and colleagues in a thirty-five-year longitudinal study of the religious beliefs and practices of three generations of families (2013). While generalizations about homeschooling as such cannot be made from what are essentially life-spanning or even generations-spanning anecdotes, if many small-scale studies come to similar conclusions then we are getting somewhere.

A second possible approach would be to look at the deeper history of American family life to see if there are discernable patterns in terms of what parenting strategies succeeded in passing on parental values to children and what failed. Specific subgroups like the Amish, Mormons (especially the FLDS (Fundamentalist Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints)), Jehovah’s Witnesses, and other religious outsiders would make for powerful cross-generational study. Population study using census data or ancestry databases might prove fruitful. Case studies of well-documented families might yield promising results. Such “collective biography” could shed important light on the likely impact homeschooling will or will not have on the children who experience it, making historical conclusions, if not actually predictive, at least suggestive of what the future might hold (Davies and Gannon 2006).

References

- Aiken, Lizza. 2009. "Growing Up with Joan Aiken: A Daughter's View." *Horn Book Magazine*. May/June: 253–258.
- Andrade, Albert G. 2008. "An Exploratory Study of the Role of Technology in the Rise of Homeschooling." PhD diss., Ohio University, Athens.
- Bengtson, Vern L. 2013. *Faith and Families: How Religion is Passed Down across Generations*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Bloodworth, Robert Harrison. 1991. "A Legal History of Home Schooling in North Carolina." EdD diss., University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.
- Bolle-Brummond, Mary Beth, and Roger D. Wessel. 2012. "Homeschooled Students in College: Background Influences, College Integration, and Environmental Pull Factors." *Journal of Research in Education*, 22: 223–249.
- Carper, James C. 1992. "Home Schooling, History, and Historians: The Past as Present." *The High School Journal*, 75: 252–257.
- Carper, James C. 2000. "Pluralism to Establishment to Dissent: The Religious and Educational Context of Home Schooling." *Peabody Journal of Education*, 75: 8–19.
- Cochran, Casey Patrick. 1993. "The Home School Movement in the United States: Georgia as a Test Case, 1979–1984." PhD diss., Emory University, Atlanta.
- Cochran, Casey Patrick. 2010. "Homeschool." *History of Education Quarterly*, 50: 97–100.
- Coleman, Rachel E. 2010. "Ideologues, Pedagogues, Pragmatics: A Case Study of the Homeschool Community in Delaware County, Indiana" MA thesis, Ball State University, MA.
- Curren, Randall, and J. C. Blokhuis. 2011. "The Prima Facie Case Against Homeschooling." *Public Affairs Quarterly*, 25: 1–19.
- Davies, Bronwyn, and Susanne Gannon, eds. 2006. *Doing Collective Biography*. New York: Open University Press.
- del Mar, David Peterson. 2011. *The American Family: From Obligation to Freedom*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Drabsch, Talina. 2013. "Home Education in NSW." *NSW Parliament E-Brief*, NSW Parliamentary Research Service, 7: 1–15.
- Evangelisti, Silvia. 2013. "Learning from Home: Discourses on Education and Domestic Visual Culture in Early Modern Italy." *History*, 98: 663–679.
- Gaither, Milton. 2008. *Homeschool: An American History*. New York: Palgrave MacMillan.
- Gaither, Milton. 2009. "Homeschooling in the USA: Past, Present, Future." *Theory and Research in Education*, 7: 331–346.
- Glover, Lorri. 2014. *Founders as Fathers: the Private Lives and Politics of the American Revolutionaries*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Greenfield, Patricia M. 2009. "Linking Social Change and Developmental Change: Shifting Pathways of Human Development." *Developmental Psychology*, 45: 401–418.
- Griffith, Mary. 2007. *Viral Learning: Reflections on the Homeschooling Life*. Morrisville, NC: Lulu Press.
- Hampel, Robert L. 2010. "The Business of Education: Home Study at Columbia University and the University of Wisconsin in the 1920s and 1930s." *Teachers College Record*, 112: 2496–2517.
- Hanna, Linda G. 2012. "Homeschooling Education: Longitudinal Study of Methods, Materials, and Curricula." *Education and Urban Society*, 20: 1–23.

- Herndon, Ruth W., and John E. Murray. 2009. *Children Bound to Labor: the Pauper Apprentice System in Early America*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Hill, Paul T. 2000. "Home Schooling and the Future of Public Education." *Peabody Journal of Education*, 75: 20–31.
- Hoelzle, Braden R. 2013. "The Transmission of Values and the Transition into Adulthood Within the Context of Home Education." *Journal of Research on Christian Education*, 22: 244–263.
- Hoffman, Given, and Eileen Hoffman. 2014. *The Voices of the Pioneers: Homeschooling in Minnesota*. Bloomington, IN: AuthorHouse.
- Hyde, Anne F. 2012. *Empires, Nations, and Families: A New History of the North American West, 1800–1860*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.
- Jeynes, William. 2012. "The Rise of Homeschooling as a Modern Educational Phenomenon in American Protestant Education." *International Handbook of Protestant Education*, edited by William Jeynes and David W. Robinson, 77–92. New York: Springer.
- Jones, Steven L. 2008. *Religious Schooling in America: Private Education and Public Life*. Westport, CT: Praeger.
- Joyce, Kathryn. 2009. *Quiverfull: Inside the Christian Patriarchy Movement*. Boston: Beacon.
- Kelly, Anita E. 2008. "Pioneers on the Home Front: An Exploratory Study of Early Homeschoolers in Hawaii." PhD thesis, University of Hawai'i.
- King, Wilma. 2011. *Stolen Childhood, Second Edition: Slave Youth in Nineteenth-Century America*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Klicka, Christopher J. 2006. *Home School Heroes: The Struggle and Triumph of Home Schooling*. Nashville: Broadman and Holman.
- Knowles, J. G., S. E. Marlow, and J. A. Muchmore. 1992. "From Pedagogy to Ideology: Origins and Phases of Home Education in the United States, 1970–1990." *American Journal of Education*, 100: 195–235.
- Krause, Jean M. 2012. "Homeschooling: Constructing or Deconstructing Democracy?" MA thesis, California State University Long Beach.
- Kreager, Ronald, Jr. 2010. "Homeschooling: The Future of Education's Most Basic Institution." *University of Toledo Law Review*, 42: 227–233.
- Laats, Adam. 2010. "Forging a Fundamentalist 'One Best System': Struggles Over Curriculum and Educational Philosophy for Christian Day Schools, 1970–1989." *History of Education Quarterly*, 49: 55–83.
- Lambert, Tim. 1997. "A Home School History Lesson." Texas Home School Coalition. Accessed April 29, 2016. <http://www.jcharper.net/index.php/interesting-maybe-useful/17-home-school-history.html>
- Lepore, Jill. 2015. "The Cobweb: Can the Internet be Archived?" *The New Yorker*. 26 January. Accessed April 29, 2016. <http://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2015/01/26/cobweb>
- Liethart, Peter J. 2008. "The New Classical Schooling." *Intercollegiate Review*, 43: 3–12.
- Martin, Aaron T. 2010. "Homeschooling in Germany and the United States." *Arizona Journal of International & Comparative Law*, 27: 225–282.
- Marzluf, Phillip P. 2015. "The Pastoral Home School: Rural, Vernacular and Grassroots Literacies in Early Soviet Mongolia." *Central Asian Survey*, 34: 204–218.
- Mawdsley, Ralph D., and J. Joy Cumming. 2012. "Government Regulation of Nonpublic Schools in the United States." *International Journal of Law & Education*, 17: 39–55.
- Mazama, Ama, and Garvey Lundy. 2013. "African American Homeschooling and the Question of Curricular Cultural Relevance." *Journal of Negro Education*, 82: 123–138.

- Mazama, Ama, and Garvey Lundy. 2014. "African American Homeschoolers: The Force of Faith and the Reality of Race in the Homeschooling Experience." *Religion and Education*, 41: 256–272.
- McIlhenny, Ryan. 2003. "The Austin TEA Party: Homeschooling Controversy in Texas, 1986–1994." *Religion and Education*, 30: 62–83.
- McVicar, Michael J. 2015. *Christian Reconstruction: R. J. Rushdoony and American Religious Conservatism*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.
- Meighan, Roland. 2007. *John Holt*. London: Continuum.
- Millman, Gregory, and Martine Millman. 2008. *Homeschooling: A Family's Journey*. New York: Penguin.
- Morice, Linda C. 2012. "A Place Called Home: Educational Reform in a Concord, Massachusetts School, 1897–1914." *History of Education*, 41: 437–456.
- Murphy, Joseph. 2012. *Homeschooling in America: Capturing and Assessing the Movement*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Corwin.
- Murphy, Joseph F. 2013. "Explaining the Change in Homeschooling, 1970–2010." *Home School Researcher*, 29: 1–13.
- Olatunji, Michael Olalekan. 2014. "Contemporary Homeschooling in the Republic of South Africa: Some Lessons for Other African Nations." *Middle Eastern and African Journal of Educational Research*, 9: 4–16.
- Olsen, Chad. 2009. "Constitutionality of Home Education: How the Supreme Court and American History Endorse Parental Choice." *B.Y.U. Education and Law Journal*, 2: 399–423.
- Paciorkowski, Szymon. 2014. "Homeschooling in Poland? Legal Status and Arguments Used in Polish Debate over Home Education." *Social Transformations in Contemporary Society*, 2: 153–162.
- Provasnik, Stephen. 2006. "Judicial Activism and the Origins of Parental Choice: The Court's Role in the Institutionalization of Compulsory Education in the United States, 1891–1925." *History of Education Quarterly*, 46: 311–347.
- Rice, Condoleezza. 2010. *Extraordinary, Ordinary People: A Memoir of Family*. New York: Crown Publishers.
- Richman, Howard. 1989. *Story of a Bill: Legalizing Homeschooling in Pennsylvania*. Kittanning, PA: Pennsylvania Homeschoolers.
- Seelhoff, Cheryl L. 2000a. "A Homeschooler's History, Part I." *Gentle Spirit Magazine*, 6(9): 32–44.
- Seelhoff, Cheryl L. 2000b. "A Homeschooler's History, Part II." *Gentle Spirit Magazine*, 6(10): 66–70.
- Seelhoff, Cheryl L. 2000c. "A Homeschooler's History of Homeschooling, Part III." *Gentle Spirit Magazine*, 6(11): 38–47.
- Seelhoff, Cheryl L. 2001a. "A Homeschooler's History of Homeschooling, Part IV." *Gentle Spirit Magazine*, 7(1): 54–60.
- Seelhoff, Cheryl L. 2001b. "A Homeschooler's History of Homeschooling, Part V." *Gentle Spirit Magazine*, 7(2): 1–6.
- Seelhoff, Cheryl L. 2001c. "A Homeschooler's History of Homeschooling, Part VI." *Gentle Spirit Magazine*, 7(4): 1–6.
- Smith, Manfred. 2007. "A Lifelong Journey: Twenty Years of Homeschooling." Maryland Home Education Association. Accessed April 29, 2016. <http://www.mhea.com/features/journey.htm>

- Somerville, Scott W. 2001. "The Politics of Survival: Home Schoolers and the Law." Home School Legal Defense Association. Accessed April 29, 2016. <https://www.hsllda.org/docs/nche/000010/PoliticsOfSurvival.asp>
- Staroverova, T. I. 2011. "Home Education in Russia." *Russian Education and Society*, 53: 23–36.
- Stevens, Mitchell L. 2001. *Kingdom of Children: Culture and Controversy in the Homeschooling Movement*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Tyler, Zan P., and Carper, James C. 2000. "From Confrontation to Accommodation: Home Schooling in South Carolina." *Peabody Journal of Education*, 75: 32–48.
- Van Galen, Jane Ann. 1986. "Schooling in Private: A Study of Home Education." Ph.D. diss. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina.
- Van Galen, Jane. 1987. "Explaining Home Education: Parents' Accounts of Their Decisions to Teach Their Own Children." *Urban Review*, 19: 161–177.
- Van Galen, Jane A. 1988. "Ideology, Curriculum and Pedagogy in Home Education." *Education and Urban Society*, 21: 52–68.
- Van Galen, Jane. 1991. "Ideologues and Pedagogues: Parents Who Teach Their Children at Home." *Home Schooling: Political, Historical, and Pedagogical Perspectives*, edited by Jane Van Galen and Mary Anne Pitman, 63–76. Norwood, NJ: Ablex Pub.
- Vasconcelos, Caria Celi Chaves. 2013. "Domestic Education in Nineteenth Century Brazil: Aspects of European Influence on the Performance of Tutors and Private Teachers." *Social and Education History*, 2: 1–22.
- Vieux, Andrea. 2014. "The Politics of Homeschools: Religious Conservatives and Regulation Requirements." *Social Science Journal*, 51, 556–563.
- Vigilant, Lee Garth, Lauren Wold Trefethren, and Tyler C. Anderson. 2013. "You Can't Rely on Somebody Else to Teach Them Something they Don't Believe': Impressions of Legimitation Crisis and Socialization Control in the Narratives of Christian Homeschooling Fathers." *Humanity and Society*, 37: 201–224.
- Waddell, Timothy Brandon. 2010. "Bringing It All Back Home: Establishing a Coherent Constitutional Framework for the Re-regulation of Homeschooling." *Vanderbilt Law Review*, 63: 541–597.
- Wilhelm, Gretchen M., and Michael W. Firmin. 2009. "Historical and Contemporary Developments in Home School Education." *Journal of Research on Christian Education*, 18: 303–315.
- Wilson, Lisa. 2014. *A History of Stepfamilies in Early America*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.
- Zur Nedden, Natalie. 2008. "Reflections on Homeschooling, Mothering, and Social Change: The Life History of Wendy Priesnitz." PhD thesis, University of Toronto.