

The Grinnell Public Schools 1880-1980

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1/ Introduction

Public schooling in Grinnell had come far in the quarter-century since 1855. The stereotypical one-room schoolhouse, a reality in the town's first years, was soon supplanted by a fledgling system of schools, bolstered by the creation of the Independent District of Grinnell in 1867. Even in 1880, the tenets of Congregationalism remained the guiding force of school administration in Grinnell, but one senses that a change was in the offing: the town was growing, and the New England background of the founders had become liberally mottled with Southerners, native **Midwesterners**, and European immigrants. The exigencies of diversity would soon demand that school serve all the public, and not just descendants of first-generation Grinnellians. To do this, a system of education more extensive and efficient had to be developed, and so it was. The emergence of Progressivism at the local level meant the passing of the old order of schooling in the town.

Of course, eventually the type of education established by the Progressives became the status quo, and it in turn was replaced. This suggests that over the past 125 years, patterns of change in the Grinnell public schools have been defined by two periods of frenetic attempts at reform; as it happens, both were centered around a dedicated core of citizen-activists. In the Progressive period, which can be loosely dated from 1880 to 1920 for the purposes of this paper, reform was aimed at refashioning the meaning and content of education to fit an emerging modern city; it was largely successful. In the second period, extending from roughly 1950 to the present, reform attempts were reactionary efforts to revert to or preserve traditional approaches to schooling; they generally failed. In between are years of apparent quietude; yet, as we shall see, the nature of administration, teaching, and the curriculum, as well as the problems the District have faced, have been continuously shaped, although the transformations seem to converge and peak in the above-named periods. One must conclude that Grinnell's public schools have experienced years of ferment and dormancy, but change has been confined to neither.

Part I -- A System of Schools

2/ Who's in School? The Year 1880

By 1880, only thirteen years after its founding, the Independent District had formulated an orderly and detailed course of study culminating in a three-year high school. Any citizen under age 21 could take advantage of the schools, and the overcrowding problems of the 1870s show that many did. Attendance, however, was not by any means synonymous with completing the entire eleven-year course; students simply did not begin at the same age and move up through the system for a minimum number of years as they do today. Compulsory education was not introduced into Iowa law until 1902, and then only for three months per year through the eighth grade.¹ This not surprising, since lengthy formal schooling was not a prerequisite for many respectable jobs at that time, partly because the subjects taught had little bearing on the practical skills needed for these occupations. An examination of attendance patterns in the Grinnell schools of 1880 illustrates how far the town was from a truly modern educational system.

Other researchers have addressed the subject of school attendance in the late 19th century, notably Selwyn Troen in his study of St. Louis.² The major source for the following analysis is the manuscript census of 1880,³ the only alternative being school censuses conducted by local district officials, which vary in quality. The format of the census suggests two basic measurements of school attendance: by age and by parent's occupation. In that year, children in school ranged from ages 4 to 21; their parent's occupations, from professionals to housekeepers to none at all. The enumerator used five different ways to denote the status of the children themselves in the "occupation" column of the census manuscript: they were listed either as "at college," music, or some other post-secondary school; employed in some manner; "at home"; "at school"; or the column was left blank.⁴ Obviously, the drawback here is that one has no indication of whether the children listed as "at school" attended the entire year or not. Yet there can be no doubt of the efficacy of such

a study, for basic differences in attendance of males, females, and different social classes are revealed.

One immediately notices the sheer width of range in the ages of children in school (refer to table, p. 4). Whereas today's public school student is almost invariably between 6 and 18 years old, in 1880 the parents of seventeen Grinnell children aged 4 and 5 sent them to school. This did not constitute the problem that it did in rural schools, where teachers had the almost impossible task of providing work and maintaining discipline at all levels in one room.⁵ But at the time Grinnell did not have a kindergarten, so these extremely young students had to begin with the six-year-olds in the first grade. A group of parents visited one of these classes in 1880, and one noted that the room "appeared. . .to be crowded and many of the pupils too young and small to attend school,"⁶ but efforts to exclude children under 6 from the town's classrooms would not succeed for many years.

Usually, however, Grinnell children began going to school at age 6, although a fraction remained at home for one to two more years. From ages 5 to 10 the percentages of males and females in school were substantially the same. For boys, the peak years of attendance were from 6 to 12, with over 84% in school at least part of the year. Beginning at age 13, the percentage of males in class dropped, first sharply, then steadily. By contrast, Grinnell girls in 1880 were almost universally in school one year longer than the boys, through age 13; from 14 to 17 the percentage of females attending declined rather gradually. At age 18, the percentage of the sexes in school was once again equal; from then to age 21, the percentage of girls in school fell more quickly than did that of boys. In what one might consider the prime attendance ages - 6 to 17 - 78.7% of the males and 85.3% of the females were listed as "at school."

Boys who left the classroom did not always go straight to work, for through age 17 significant numbers stayed at home, implying that some families felt young men need not go to school after turning 13 no matter what their employment prospects. Even

School attendance of Grinnell youth, aged 4 to 21
Year: 1880

age	in school				employed (including wives)				"at home" or unknown				total	
	#m	%m	#f	%f	#m	%m	#f	%f	#m	%m	#f	%f	TM	TF
4	2	7.14	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	26	92.86	24	100.00	28	24
5	8	33.33	7	31.82	0	0.00	0	0.00	24	66.67	15	69.18	32	22
6	24	85.71	19	86.36	0	0.00	0	0.00	4	14.29	3	13.64	28	22
7	29	90.63	20	90.91	0	0.00	0	0.00	3	9.37	2	9.09	32	22
8	26	100.00	19	100.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	26	19
9	27	100.00	25	96.15	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	3.85	27	26
10	24	96.00	26	100.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	4.00	0	0.00	25	26
11	16	84.21	24	100.00	2	10.53	0	0.00	1	5.26	0	0.00	19	24
12	21	95.45	23	92.00	1	4.55	1	4.00	0	0.00	1	4.00	22	25
13	26	76.47	24	96.00	5	14.71	1	4.00	3	8.82	0	0.00	34	25
14	9	69.23	22	78.57	3	23.08	1	3.57	1	7.69	5	17.86	13	28
15	10	52.63	15	71.43	6	31.58	3	14.28	3	15.79	3	14.28	19	21
16	7	31.82	10	55.55	11	50.00	3	16.67	4	18.18	5	27.78	22	18
17	2	14.29	10	45.45	9	64.28	9	40.91	3	21.43	3	13.64	14	22
18	5	18.52	6	19.35	21	77.78	15	48.39	1	3.70	10	32.26	27	31
19	3	13.64	1	4.55	19	86.36	14	63.63	0	0.00	7	31.82	22	22
20	2	8.33	2	5.55	22	91.67	24	66.67	0	0.00	10	27.78	24	36
21	1	4.17	0	0.00	23	95.83	23	67.65	0	0.00	11	32.35	24	34
tot	242	55.25	253	56.60	122	27.85	94	21.03	74	16.90	100	22.37	438	447

key: #m = number of males %m = percentage of total males that age (TM)
 #f = number of females %f = percentage of total females that age (TF)
 TM = total males that age TF = total females that age

Grinnell youths listed "at college", in music, or medical school
(not listed in other tables) Year: 1880

age	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	total
males	1	1	3	6	2	1	8	22
females	1	4	2	10	3	6	4	30
total	2	5	5	16	5	7	12	52

so, the percentage of boys with jobs rose steadily in each age bracket, and not one 19 or older was listed "at home." Girls leaving school followed a different pattern: at age 14 one notes an abrupt increase in the number at home, with the percentage of young women thus listed reaching a plateau from age 18 on. The percentage of women employed in Grinnell, including wives, rose rapidly to a level of about two-thirds working. In addition, fifty-two Grinnell youths were listed as attending college or some other post-secondary institution, although it is unclear whether this number includes young men and women enrolled in the Iowa College Academy, which took the place of high school for some college-bound students.

Several inferences may be drawn from this data. Perhaps most obviously, boys in 1880 Grinnell were not expected to stay in school much beyond the age of 15, if that long; girls, with less post-school options open to them, generally stayed in school for another year or two. Very few children took advantage of public education after age 17. Therefore, if these attendance patterns held for a decade, only a fraction of the males and less than a majority of the females would complete the eleven-year Grinnell course of study if they entered at age 6. Of course, the development of the high school as a mass institution during the Progressive era must have changed attendance customs. But in 1880 at least, the attitude in Grinnell was that some formal schooling was good enough for most, while high school attendance, not to mention taking a diploma, was unnecessary for most girls and the vast majority of boys.

Age alone cannot describe all the differences in attendance of Grinnell's youth, for going to school probably meant one thing to a lawyer's child and quite another to a drayman's. Sufficiently large enough in 1880 to support over sixty distinct occupations, Grinnell provided in its schools a curriculum too narrow to appeal to all the children of this broad spectrum of socioeconomic levels. Without studies geared toward their interests, and, just as importantly, because of the necessity to aid their families financially, the sons and daughters of lower-income parents drifted out of

schools and into jobs sooner than those born into wealthier families (refer to tables, pp. 7-8). The occupations of the town fall into five categories, of which the first pair may be designated higher-income, the second pair, lower-income, with the fifth remaining as a miscellaneous category. Within this last grouping the large number of children aged 18 to 21 not living with parents mostly represents young men who were on their own as apprentices or in service jobs and young women who were "working out" as domestics in hotels or private homes. The composition of these categories, although admittedly arbitrary to an extent,⁷ is useful for a general discussion of the effects of socioeconomic status on school attendance in late 19th-century Grinnell.

The value that parents placed on education is reflected in when they began sending their children to classes. Families of higher income were far more likely to send their four- and five-year-old boys to school than were parents in the next two categories: 25% compared to 10% did. A less pronounced difference between economic groups occurred in female early attendance; about one in five girls from the upper classes went to school before age 6, while only one in eight lower-class girls did. The tendency of higher-income Grinnellians to send their children to school earlier indicates the greater saliency of education in these homes. In general, most of the town's youth enrolled at age 6 and continued through age 13, regardless of family background. However, children who did leave before age 14 were twice as likely to have been from lower-class families, with the percentage of boys quitting twice that of girls in their respective socioeconomic groups.

These percentages prefigure the clear pattern which emerges in the 14-17 age bracket: column totals within each of the four income-based categories show that school attendance correlated inversely with income. Again, girls were more likely to stay in school longer. One notes that out-of-school males aged 14 to 17 first exceeds those in school in the third category; with females, this situation does not occur until the lowest-income category.

School attendance of Grinnell females by parent's occupation, 1880

age	4-5		6-13		14-17		18-21		row total	
	#fi	#fo	#fi	#fo	#fi	#fo	#fi	#fo	#fi	#fo
A. upper-class professional	0	2	10	0	2	1	1	3	13	6
B. mercantile	0	2	12	1	9	1	1	4	22	8
	0	4	22	1	11	2	2	7	35	14
C. service/food	0	3	8	0	2	0	1	5	11	8
D. middle-class professional	1	1	11	0	4	0	0	3	16	4
E. farmers	1	2	18	0	8	0	0	4	27	6
F. skilled tradesmen	2	7	31	2	10	3	1	13	44	25
	4	13	68	2	24	3	2	25	98	43
G. minor white-collar	0	6	16	1	4	2	1	2	21	11
H. semi-skilled	0	5	17	2	2	1	1	2	20	10
	0	11	33	3	6	3	2	4	41	21
factory/unskilled	1	8	38	2	6	9	1	8	46	27
J. fatherless/"keeping house"	2	1	13	0	1	2	2	8	18	11
	3	9	51	2	7	11	3	16	64	38
K. children not living with parents	0	1	5	0	8	13	0	35	13	49
L. married children	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	26	0	26
M. miscellaneous	0	1	1	1	1	0	0	1	2	3
	0	2	6	1	9	13	0	62	15	78
column total	7	39	180	9	57	32	9	114	253	194

KEY: #fi = number of females listed "in school"
#fo = number of females listed "at home" or employed

Occupation breakdown (continued)

- H) molders; plasterers; gardeners; painters; railroad workers
I) factory workers; pork packers; draymen; machinists; foundry workers; wire barbers; janitors; laborers; teamsters; lumbermen; servants
M) children whose parents are disabled, incarcerated, or unknown

All material from Population Schedules of the Tenth Census of the United States: 1880. Microfilm, vol. 27, 411-463, mach. #102.
Washington, DC: National Archives of the United States.

School attendance of Grinnell males by parent's occupation, 1880

	age --- 4-5		6-13		14-17		18-21		row total	
	#mi	#mo	#mi	#mo	#mi	#mo	#mi	#mo	#mi	#mo
A. upper-class professional	1	3	8	1	1	3	2	1	12	8
B. mercantile	1	4	16	0	4	1	1	1	22	6
	2	7	24	1	5	4	3	2	34	14
C. service/foods	1	1	12	0	3	1	0	1	16	3
D. middle-class professional	0	3	13	1	0	0	0	0	13	4
E. farmers	0	2	15	3	8	2	1	8	24	15
F. skilled tradesmen	4	8	29	1	4	4	0	13	37	26
	5	14	69	5	15	7	1	22	90	48
G. minor white-collar	1	6	19	0	1	2	1	2	22	10
H. semi-skilled	1	6	12	5	1	1	0	2	14	14
	2	12	31	5	2	3	1	4	36	24
I. factory/unskilled	1	14	43	6	2	9	1	12	47	41
fatherless/ "keeping house"	0	1	19	2	2	4	2	9	23	16
	1	15	62	8	4	13	3	21	70	57
K. children not living with parents	0	1	4	1	1	10	2	33	7	45
L. married children	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	3
M. miscellaneous	0	1	3	0	1	3	1	1	5	5
	0	2	7	1	2	13	3	37	12	53
column total	10	50	193	20	28	40	11	86	242	196

KEY: #mi = number of males listed "in school"
 #mo = number of males listed "at home" or employed

Occupation breakdown:

- A) city officials; dentists; lawyers; editors; ministers; physicians
 - B) merchants; manufacturers; lumber, cattle, grain, and coal dealers
 - C) hotel keepers; landlords; restaurant owners; grocers; butchers
 - D) teachers; professors; artists; druggists; real estate salesmen; lawmen; loan brokers
 - F) milliners; masons; shoemakers; coopers; carpenters; blacksmiths; harness makers; tailors; carriage makers; millers; printers; railroad engineers
 - G) insurance and ticket agents; cooks; bookkeepers; clerks; auctioneers; barbers; cashiers; railroad conductors; piano tuners; baggage masters; peddlers
- (continued next page)

Not surprisingly, for those aged 18 to 21 socioeconomic status had little bearing on enrollment, since then, as today, very few young people needed to take advantage of the final three years of public education available to them. The inverse correlation between income and attendance is borne out in the row totals: as one proceeds from the highest to the lowest income categories, the in-school percentage of all children declines for both sexes.

While one cannot say with certainty that these findings would be replicated in studies of comparable towns of the time, it seems assured that one of the reasons for the inverse correlation was the widespread notion that a complete course of schooling was not necessary to a young person's economic well-being: in Grinnell and elsewhere, amount of education was not equated with earning power. Because children from lower-income families tended to leave school sooner did not invariably mean they were doomed to a vicious cycle of low-paying jobs. For all but a very few, schools were for killing time until employment, and in 1880 employment with a minimal education could be quite good by contemporaneous standards. Yet the course of study offered in Grinnell's schools, catering to the fraction interested in post-secondary education, was imminently obsolete. People across the country, perhaps realizing the new complexities of an increasingly industrialized way of life, or perhaps disillusioned at the failure of humanity to achieve a rational convergence, would soon demand more relevance, more practicality, of their education. In the process, the overall value of extended schooling would be redoubled. The revaluation of education during the Progressive era, manifested especially in the emergence of the high school as a mass institution, would change the leisurely attendance patterns of 1880 irrevocably.

3/ Progressivism and the Grinnell Schools 1880-1920

When Josiah Bushnell Grinnell established the first public school in his town in 1855, he meant it to be a means of assimilation for newcomers. His vision of the school as a secular community center was derived from the philosophy of his personal

friend Horace Mann,¹ who was both impressed by the diverse cultural background of the American people and afraid that this diversity might also be the basis for divisive fragmentation. Common education was his instrument for the unification of a community. The second generation of national educators, while important, were primarily interested in consolidating the work of Mann.² However, by 1880 it was evident that the diversity of which Mann was wary could no longer be approached exclusively through the traditional, ossified structure of the schools. As was indicated in the census analysis, large portions of Grinnell youth were not being served adequately by a classical curriculum; Mann's aim, homogeneity, was certainly not being induced. But another generation of educators was arriving on the scene, both nationally and in Grinnell; their ranks included both professionals and concerned citizens. They came to the conclusion that Mann's solutions were outmoded, too simplistic for a time when self-doubt smoldered just under a surface of prosperity and tranquillity.³ The main accomplishment of these reformers was to introduce a curriculum that specifically accommodated rather than steamrolled diversity, thereby establishing schooling as a worthy pursuit among those who previously had no reason to obtain more than a cursory education.

Until the last two decades of the century, innovation in Grinnell education was almost entirely the province of those working in the schools with indirect participation of townspeople, such as through school elections. Tacit support of curriculum and policy decisions was expected and received by the school board, yet the first hints of change came under the auspices of one of the town's most respected organizations: the Women's Christian Temperance Union. Many of the women from the founding families of Grinnell — old-line Congregational families with a New England heritage — were members. Their primary goal had already been written into the town charter and endorsed by every community leader, but of course full temperance had never been achieved in Grinnell. Astutely, the WCTU realized the best way to fight a rear-guard action against the evils of drink was to

indoctrinate children, and so became the first of a number of local organizations to use the schools to disseminate and espouse their programs.

In the spring of 1882, the Grinnell chapter circulated a petition advocating a state law mandating the teaching of scientific temperance in the schools; not waiting for a response, the group later that year sent a representative before the board to discuss placing temperance textbooks in classes.⁴ In December the proposal was granted, with the texts "to be used by the teachers in instructing the pupils."⁵ However, temperance lessons were not part of the official course of study and may have been given only infrequently, for in 1892 members of the local organization interviewed teachers regarding their efforts on behalf of the cause and reported that progress was being made not through textual, but through oral instruction.⁶ Most probably the lessons were at the discretion of the individual instructor, and discretion was exercised: beginning in 1913, the schools were "regularly visited in the interests of temperance. Two ladies would visit a building. As they went to each room. . . the teacher would drop other work and give a temperance lesson. Temperance leaflets or blotters with a temperance sentiment were given to every pupil."⁷ The implication here is that the teachers obliged the WCTU only on the occasion of their visits. Other temperance activities launched by the group included donating magazines and pictures of WCTU leaders to the schools, awarding prizes for student anti-cigarette poster contests, and holding receptions and dinners for Grinnell teachers and board members.⁸ The local chapter also lobbied for more Bible-reading in the schools, noting that not all teachers held devotional exercises in their classes. When they took this request to Superintendent D.A. Thornburg, he handled it similarly to their inquiries on temperance instruction, replying that although he himself read the Bible in his room, it was not demanded of teachers.⁹

While the direct impact of the WCTU on education in Grinnell seems marginal at best, the type of activism they introduced to

the town opened the door for more specific reforms aimed at changing the curriculum and operation of the schools; by inculcating their views in the classroom, they opened educational channels to social purposes, beginning a redefinition of schooling in Grinnell. No less importantly, the ladies of the WCTU legitimized the role of women as school reformers in the town. Subsequently, much of the innovation that came about in the Progressive era in Grinnell was initiated by women, individually or collectively. Of the latter, one of the most important was the Julia Chapin Grinnell Maternal Association, named for the wife of the town founder. The organization was part of nationwide movement which blossomed in the last years of the century; Iowa Superintendent of Public Instruction Henry Sabin noted in his 1897 report that "during the last biennial period there has been a marked interest displayed by mothers in the schools which their children attend," and applauded the trend.¹⁰ Five years later the local association was formed; significantly, their first official act was to host a rally entertaining public school teachers. The group usually held annual conferences with a delegation of instructors to discuss school matters in "a calm, judicial way."¹¹ Primarily interested in upgrading sanitary conditions and facilities, the work of the Grinnell Maternal Association will be discussed in more detail below.

As individuals, women also contributed to the shaping of a school system by exercising their right to vote. It is difficult to ascertain when women first cast ballots in Grinnell school elections, for although nowhere in writing are they specifically excluded from the franchise, the first mention of women voting does not occur until the 1890s. An 1899 bond issue was contested with separate ballots and ballot-boxes for women; the ballots were identical except one set was marked "Woman's Ballot" at the top.¹² From that time until universal suffrage was attained in 1920, the number of women participating in school elections varied from as few as six to as many as 295. In 1915, some of the town's women tried to put together a coalition to elect

members to the school board; failing, the Grinnell Herald reported "The candidacy of two ladies, Mrs. E.B.T. Spencer and Mrs. R.E. Bates, backed by the Women's Civic League, caused a little flurry. The ladies were handicapped by the fact that their names had not been printed on the ballot, requiring that they be written in."¹³ The editors of the paper had not always had occasion to indulge in such patronizing bemusement at the prospect of a female voting bloc, for in 1904 women were instrumental in promoting and supporting at the polls a bond issue that resulted in the construction of a new high school. At the building's opening ceremony Superintendent Thornburg recalled the work of women when the proposition was first placed before the electorate and complimented them for their assistance in shaping public opinion and leading the way to passage at the polls. Professor Leonard F. Parker agreed, adding "Today we are reminded that woman is first in every good work and last to leave it," as did the Herald, naming Harriet Beecher Stowe and Julia Ward Howe alongside Washington and Lincoln as exemplars of patriotism.¹⁴

Although the new edifice was badly needed, it was not the most important undertaking of early female school activists in the town; an earlier project proved to have the most far-reaching consequences. In early 1887, "feeling desirous of promoting the welfare of the girls of Grinnell," a group of women opened an Industrial School "for the purpose of teaching them to be neat in their habits and [to be] desirous of becoming useful women. . .", holding the first classes in a rented room on 12 February of that year, with 45 pupils in attendance.¹⁵ A school devoted to domestic science for girls had been contemplated as early as 1880 in a WCTU meeting, but the Girl's Industrial School as it finally emerged was wholly independent of that organization.¹⁶ Grinnell may have pioneered domestic science teaching in Iowa, for in his definitive history of education in the state prior to World War I, Clarence Aurner does not identify any such instruction, in or out of a public system, prior to 1888, the year the Davenport schools introduced cooking classes to the ninth grade and above. Aurner

then describes a sewing and baking course first given by a ladies society in Oskaloosa in 1890 remarkably similar to the instruction offered in Grinnell, so he was apparently unaware of the Girl's Industrial School.¹⁷ Thus, if not the conclusively the earliest, classes given by the Girl's Industrial Society, as the board of directors called themselves, made up one of the first domestic science programs in Iowa.

Finding acceptance for their school was far from easy. At the outset committees had to be formed to canvass the town soliciting both financial support and students for the courses. Notices were placed in the public schools advising girls of the new classes being given.¹⁸ Money and enrollment were major problems — at times, almost fatal ones — in the early years, and the Industrial School never really reached a wide audience, with enrollment usually less than 100 and average class attendance of 20 to 30.¹⁹ Classes met ten months a year all Saturday afternoon; lessons included field trips to private homes for instruction in housekeeping, oral and practical teaching in cooking and sewing, and general discussions of all areas of domestic science, as well as musical and Scriptural interludes. Edification and charitable service were given great emphasis, with students providing holiday dinners for children and giving some of the garments they made in sewing courses to the needy.²⁰ Thus the importance of the Girl's Industrial School cannot be measured in numbers, but in the fact that it became a foundation for the public school's adoption of manual training and domestic science, establishing a tradition of schools in service to the town beyond merely educating its children.

Simultaneously with these reform programs, the town's professional educators attempted to effect changes in the rigid system. A number of ideas designed to streamline the course of study and broaden the curriculum were proposed, and some were adopted. Especially popular during the 1880s and 1890s were discussions of various standardized teaching programs, such as the Quincy system, the synthetic systems, and the Spears mathematics method. Although none caught on entirely in Grinnell,

elements of the Quincy system, with its emphasis on observation, description, and comprehension, were incorporated into later courses.²¹ More substantial were alterations in the grade hierarchy. The harsh transition from home to school was tempered somewhat by the creation of a kindergarten at the beginning of the 1890-91 school year. In its first years classes were held at locations apart from the school buildings to enhance the new grade's qualities as a buffer.²² Again, acceptance of the innovation was slow; even in 1906, anxious mothers were being familiarized with kindergarten in a series of meetings with teachers, who explained their methods and asked for advice on handling individual children.²³ The school board also began to show more flexibility in expanding school offerings beyond the strictest classical studies: separate singing and writing teachers were hired, magazine subscriptions were obtained for the high school, and geological and botanical specimens were shipped in from the Pacific coast, all free to students.²⁴ This new flexibility soon manifested itself in the most profound curriculum innovation of the Progressive era in Grinnell.

Throughout the first two decades of this century, Progressivists advanced various programs of reform, with the public school playing a large role in most of them. In turn, the introduction of manual training and domestic science played a large role in reforms of the schools themselves.²⁵ Institution of a relevant and broadly-appealing curriculum — exemplified by vocational education — was one major step in the emergence of a modern school system in Grinnell. Like all the other local reforms, free public industrial training was not a cut-and-dried issue. Within the professional ranks, some felt that the courses would become a refuge for students of low academic ability; others saw an opportunity for social uplift through learning, a means for the poor to economic salvation.²⁶ Reform was the domain of an energetic and principled few, and in Grinnell as elsewhere it often took evangelical efforts to promote industrial training. Nationally, the Douglas Report, issued from Massachusetts in 1906, was the basis for serious discussion and implementation of vocational

education in secondary schools.²⁷ Locally, such programs were achieved despite a considerable minority opposition. Indeed, as early as 1901 the question was being "agitated" in Grinnell, and had still not been resolved when, in 1909, some women's organizations began an affirmative effort. The board responded by sending a questionnaire to parents informing them of the bonded indebtedness of the Independent District and asking them whether they were willing to bear the cost of manual and commercial courses;²⁸ the straw vote was 384 to 167 in favor.²⁹

More discussion followed: in early 1911 an audience "of unusual size" listened as Professor J.D. Stoops argued that industrial education would help develop a student's motor skills, pointing out that "merely doing the thing is not education; it is the doing of it according to scientific principles which counts as education. . . . Manual training is not a question of tools and wood; it gives the experience which gives meaning to ideas."³⁰ Later that year the reformers finally prevailed, and manual training for boys was added to the curriculum; domestic science followed beginning in the autumn of 1912, with the Girl's Industrial School closing in deference, and a commercial course stressing shorthand and typing was added in 1914.³¹ Immediately popular, the new classes soon warranted longer hours, larger facilities, and greater room utilization.³² Their popularity can be traced not only to the economic benefits — or, in the case of domestic science, the social benefits — of the skills being taught, but to the emphasis on subject matter rather than mental discipline.³³

Two other developments of the same time illustrate a new willingness of reformers at the state level to address social needs through educational channels. Until 1896, the term "free schools" was a misnomer in Iowa, for only then did the State Legislature pass laws making it optional for districts to provide textbooks free of charge to students.³⁴ Previously, indigent parents had difficulty in purchasing these books, especially if they had large families, with texts constantly changing as their children progressed upward through the grades. It is quite possible

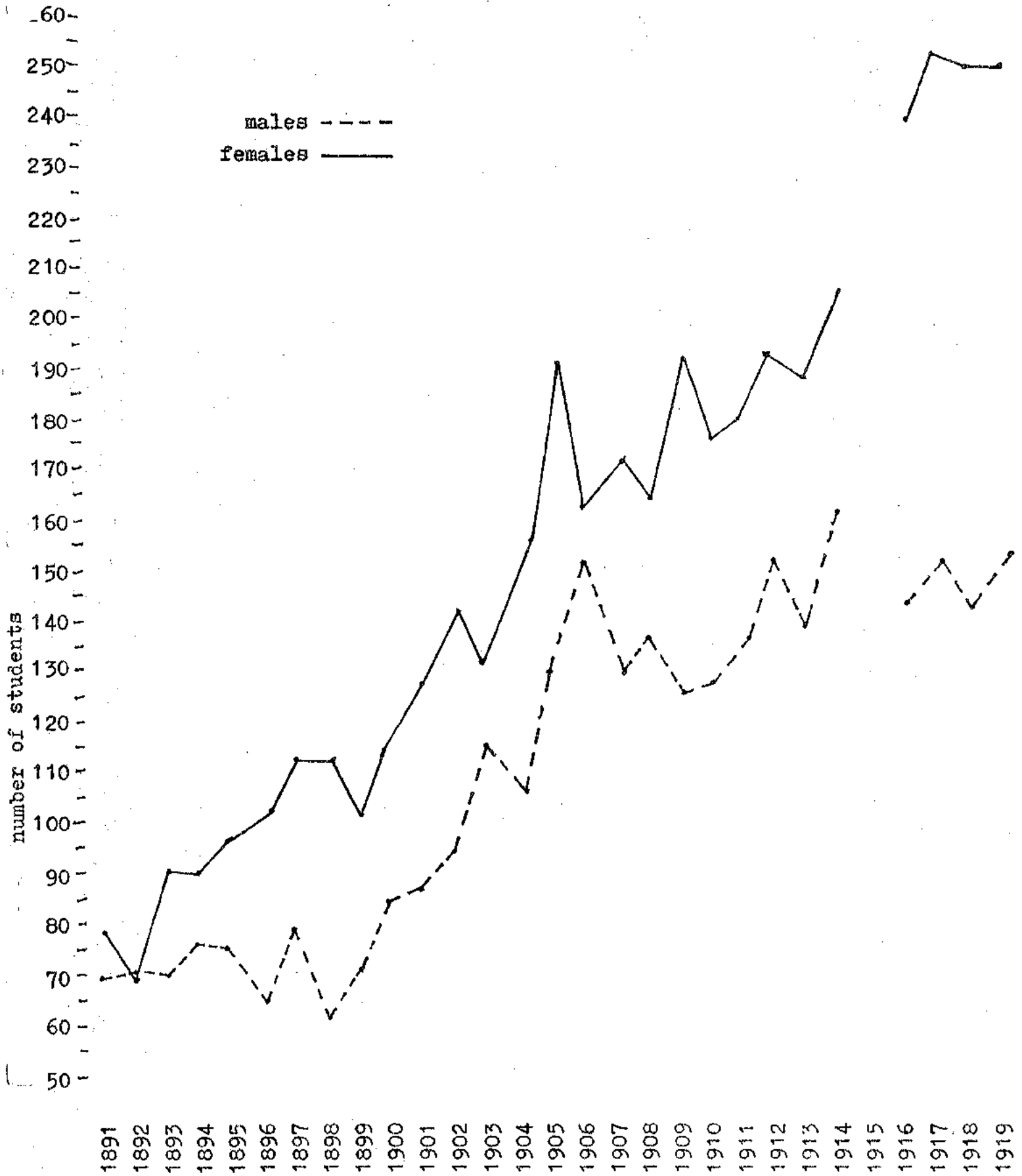
that some students from poor homes may have been deterred from continuing their education, particularly into high school, by the price of books, and in fact free-text advocates argued that the law would induce higher enrollment.³⁵ Apparently, spreading the cost of education equitably appealed to Grinnellians, for in 1901 more than one-third of the electorate signed a petition calling for free textbooks, and later that year the Independent District became one of only fifty-five in the state to exercise the option.³⁶ Another state-wide problem was dealt with when the 34th General Assembly in 1911 authorized a normal training department for high schools for the purpose of training teachers for rural schools. This program, aimed directly at nourishing impoverished rural Iowa education, continued until 1948, enrolling at its peak 6000 students.³⁷ A high school normal training certificate enabled the holder to teach in any rural school in the state. Consisting of two semesters of pedagogy and one semester each of agriculture, domestic science or manual training, and teaching methodology, the course was introduced into Grinnell High School in the 1913-14 school year, with an average enrollment of twenty-three.³⁸

Since most of the specific curriculum reforms took place at the secondary level, their cumulative impact, plus that of compulsory education laws and a changing job market, conspired to turn the high school from an appendage to the course of study desirable only to a few into a mass institution. When State Superintendent John Knoepfler in 1893 called high schools "the colleges of the common people"³⁹ he was correct only in the sense that they were the terminus of education for most. Relatively few small towns could support a high school prior to 1900; Grinnell's consisted of room number seven at the Center building.⁴⁰ Yet, more and more education came to be required of those seeking even minor white-collar employment. High schools responded by offering more than one track of study: by 1902 Grinnell had both a classical and an English course, with the latter substituting Bookkeeping, Zoology, Geology, Grammar, and Political Economy for Latin.⁴¹ All this is reflected in the constant climb in Grinnell

High School enrollment during the Progressive period (see chart, p. 19), but numerous state and national figures have been cited to show the fractional percentage of actual graduates,⁴² a fact well-realized by the Independent District board, who in 1913 expressed a desire to better serve the "95 per cent" of the student body who planned no more education than merely attending high school.⁴³ Thus Knoepfler's analogy was, at least in the case of Grinnell, misleading, and perhaps the result of wishful thinking; the education many "common people" received in the town's High School was not expressly designed to direct them toward a diploma, as was that of the colleges.

Therein lay one of the advantages to the college-bound student in attending the Iowa College preparatory department instead of Grinnell High School; Academy Principal J. Fred Smith observed that "Perhaps the most helpful influence of all [on the student] is the almost unconsciously acquired realization that the work [in the Academy] is but preparatory, an introduction to a higher course. The average High School graduate is more exposed to the danger of considering his education finished."⁴⁴ Such arguments must have made an impression on serious students in Grinnell contemplating higher education, for the Academy of Iowa College enjoyed a healthy enrollment for many years. Because of the wide range of quality in high school curricula, colleges gave their own entrance examinations, for which students could prepare privately or by attending a preparatory department;⁴⁵ the Iowa College (and after 1909, the Grinnell College) Academy was just that. Founded with the College in 1847, the preparatory department was operated solely as a feeder for the school, offering for most of the time only a rigorous classical course. But the Academy, which was closely associated with Grinnell High School in its earliest years, never hesitated to compete with the public schools for students: from 1871 to 1884, the pre-college department expanded its classes to include not only Latin, Greek, and ancient history, but modern languages, drawing, and didactics -- a direct challenge to the High School course.⁴⁶ The challenge often succeeded: a contemporary source recalled that the High School

Grinnell High School attendance by sex, 1891-1919



1915 figures not available.

lost many students who were planning post-secondary matriculation to the Academy.⁴⁷ Enrollment there, which occasionally exceeded that of the College itself, peaked at 259 in 1871, the year that Grinnell High graduated its first class. Over the years, as public high schools bettered their stature and courses, college preparatory departments were slowly undermined; by 1902, the town's high school Latin course satisfied all Iowa College entrance requirements except for a half-year of German, and the Academy was at last forced to close after the 1910-11 year.⁴⁸ Diversity introduced into the public system by Progressive reformers guaranteed the supremacy of the high school in Grinnell.

Also ensured by innovation and passing time was the dissolution of the two greatest influences on early Grinnell education: the Congregational Church and the New England ancestry of the founders. Congregationalism remained discreetly aloof from the administration of the schools during their first years, establishing a kind of benign patriarchy through which it exercised not monolithic control, but simply had the town's educators in its thrall. Prayers were said daily at the beginning of classes not by Congregational decree, but because the church and schools were so closely identified with one another that no one thought to dispute the practice. However, as Grinnell grew in population the staunch Congregational contingent of its citizens was slowly diluted by a broader mix of people, people whose widely-differing educational needs triggered changes not only in the operation of the schools themselves, but in the societal pressures shaping local education.

There was no single event that precipitated the end of the Congregational Church's influence on the schools of Grinnell; rather, the decline was an almost imperceptible ebbing-away. The visible signs are few and far between: Thornburg's preemptive brush-off of the WCTU in the devotional exercises matter; a 1904 public disagreement between school board and Church which in earlier years would never have been allowed to reach open debate; the determination of the Church in 1916 to construct a building near the High School against the expressed wishes of the board.⁴⁹

Lessening Congregational power was not measured by such picayune matters; the signs are ones of omission. In the newspaper, mentions of church-related ideals in connection with education dwindle. On the school board, members become less concerned with Josiah Bushnell Grinnell's dream of church and school as bulwarks of a temperance town and more inclined toward the pragmatic decision-making needed to create a modern public system. In classes, new students from new backgrounds made it more difficult, and finally too difficult, to justify the assumption that everyone held Congregational or similar beliefs. It is probably no coincidence that as Grinnell and other districts in Iowa began to ally themselves more closely with the state's educational apparatus in the first decades of the new century, the Church drifted away from the schools. New England influence followed the Congregational pattern for much the same reasons. With one exception, only superficial legacies were left from this twin heritage as Progressive education peaked in the years just prior to World War I.⁵⁰

The exception was the continuing emphasis on discipline. That "good order" in the public schools resulted partly from the identification of education with Congregationalism may be inferred from an observation made by one visitor to an 1880 classroom: in Grinnell, discipline prevailed "without the extra amount of machinery that consumes so much time in some schools."⁵¹ What is acknowledged here is the existence of a common fund of beliefs in the town, which had been built around the tenets of the Congregational Church. Everyone in the 1880 visitor delegations took for granted the desirability of good order as the paramount concern of the schools. Comments such as "I failed to see any want of good order," "All the schools are under good control, and are neat and thorough in their work," and "The discipline in the High School was especially good," are prominent in their evaluations, almost to the exclusion of genuine interest in academic progress. They expected teachers to keep a tight rein on their charges, and to do it without excessive displays; two instructors whose "manners were quiet and very pleasant" much impressed one

of the visitors.⁵² Congregationalism may have helped the schools maintain good order when its influence was still strong, but some historians assert 19th-century American teachers everywhere were so committed to discipline that "the acquisition of knowledge represented a triumph of the will as well as the intellect. Consistently, in every kind of teaching situation, we find that teachers treated academic failure, not as a reflection of their own inabilities as instructors, but as evidence of the student's personal and moral recalcitrance. . . ." ⁵³

In Grinnell, morality was not merely identified with academic failure, but acts of misconduct were treated as if they were breaches of an unwritten but implicitly understood contract, reflecting poorly not just on the individual but on the entire school and town. Two specific examples are illustrative. One young man, twice caught in acts of vandalism, drew an immediate and unequivocating reaction from the Superintendent: the boy's actions were "very serious and ought not to go without. . . being made odious." He was compelled to sign a formal agreement with the board putting himself on conduct probation, agreeing to behave "in a gentlemanly manner."⁵⁴ After a wave of vandalism in 1907, the board empowered the Superintendent to suspend students who were guilty of "displaying class of school spirit in any way that in his judgment will bring the High School into disrepute." A copy of the resolution was ordered printed and mailed to all parents.⁵⁵ Shaming students into compliance, not just before their peers but the whole town, was common disciplinary procedure in the Independent District.

Sporadic revisions ameliorating the harshness of these measures were enacted during the period, however. In 1891 the board sharply curtailed corporal punishment, stating that it "should only be administered for gross misconduct and only then when all other means fail, and always with moderation." The resolution made a point of excluding tardiness from the above category, hinting that in the past unspecified "severe methods" may have been used to enforce punctuality, while reaffirming steady attendance

as "a proper object of emulation."⁵⁶ So it was: into the first decades of the 20th century honor rolls featured not outstanding scholars but those who had managed to come to school every day, on time.⁵⁷ Still, by 1912 there is some evidence that Grinnell school reformers outside the administration were beginning to seek causes other than innate sloth or turpitude for student misconduct. In that year the secretary of the Social Service League, the town's clearinghouse for the distribution of charity, also served for a time as truant officer, in her estimation rightfully so because "This duty naturally connects itself with relief work as the same causes which lead to poverty often manifest themselves in truancy and juvenile delinquency."⁵⁸

With the influence of the Congregational Church waning as the Progressive education movement gathered strength, the original guiding force of the Grinnell schools was unconsciously supplanted by secular values. Emphasis on discipline remained in the administrative sphere; institutionally, religion was partly replaced by patriotism. Of course, patriotic values had always been part of Independent District schooling, but they never took precedence as they did during World War I. Trappings of the patriotic upsurge included school gardens, service flags, and commencement addresses on nationalistic subjects.⁵⁹ More importantly, in April 1918 the Grinnell public schools dropped German instruction, partly at the request of State Superintendent A.M. Deyoe, substituting a course in British history. According to the editors of the Herald, classes were quite small already because pupils simply were not enrolling, with those in class "taking the study mainly for the college credit needed. The state colleges have now agreed to accept other work to fill the entrance requirements and no reason remained for continuing the study."⁶⁰ This rather transparent explanation cannot suffice for the virtual elimination of German classes nationwide until 1922. Generally, dropping these courses weakened all language studies, because enrollment losses were not made up; less so in Grinnell, for in 1917 French became an elective study at the High School.⁶¹

A new broad-based concern with the health and safety of

schoolchildren also helped to replace the Congregational concern with developing an upright religious posture in the students of Grinnell. Many Iowa schools in the 1890s were literally disease-carriers: unwashed floors, vile odors emanating from cellars, ill-fitting seats, bad lighting — all contributed to an unhealthy atmosphere for learning and living. School historian Keach Johnson says, quite rightly, that it was perhaps the most serious but least understood problem in Iowa education of the time.⁶² In Grinnell, solutions came almost exclusively from secular sources. First steps toward improving sanitary conditions were taken by the District directors in 1894 when the schools connected into the city's water system, eliminating the need for wells.⁶³ But in general, throughout the Progressive period the board balked in the fight against health hazards. It took them more than a year to enforce Rule 3 of the 1902 State Board of Health regulations, which ordered all persons directly associated with schools to be vaccinated against smallpox.⁶⁴ Likewise, only after prolonged pressure from the officers of the Social Service League did the board vote to exclude those found to have a venereal disease from class until a physician testified to their full health.⁶⁵

Lobbying from the Social Service League, along with the Julia Chapin Grinnell Maternal Association, spearheaded the campaign to improve the well-being of schoolchildren; the two groups occasionally joined forces with other service clubs in the effort. The League was particularly interested in setting up recreation programs and playgrounds; because schools were "the inevitable instrument for community betterment" their goal was to make them "natural places for community social activities." Their recreation program provided organized exercise for many youngsters who might otherwise have done without, for the schools had no physical education programs or facilities. To that end, the League pushed for the construction of a gymnasium and hired a "play supervisor" to direct the activities of the 1915 summer recreation schedule.⁶⁶ Other programs sponsored by the group included the introduction of medical history questionnaires into school records and free medical treatment for needy schoolchildren, as well as proposing

a "civic psychopathic laboratory" to examine delinquent behavior in youths.⁶⁷ The playgrounds themselves were equipped after successful fund-raising by the Maternal Association, installing, with the consent of the board, "swings, teeter boards, and other amusement appliances."⁶⁸

A child-advocacy organization basically interested in the health of pupils, the Maternal Association in 1903 sent delegates to each building to check sanitary conditions, with reports then relayed to the directors. Later, they fought for the use of paper towels in school lavatories, and because the Independent District did not employ a nurse, a program in which a physician made infrequent checks for contagious illness among schoolchildren was started.⁶⁹ This was only a stopgap measure, and set the stage for the Maternal Association's greatest accomplishment. In the spring of 1915, with the assistance of the Parent-Teacher's Association, the women presented a petition of 500 signatures demanding the hiring of a graduate nurse by the board.⁷⁰ Their plea was seconded by the leaders of the Commercial Club, an association of prominent Grinnell businessmen.⁷¹ The directors tried to stifle the petition, burying their refusal in a terse statement issued six weeks later, but the pressure co-ordinated by the Maternal Association was too intense, and in October of that year the board relented. Health reforms were by no means limited to formal organizations; for example, an impromptu committee campaigned, partially successfully, for the discontinuation of basement classrooms at Center school because of water leaking in from the roof.⁷²

Secularity was not the only common denominator of school reformers in Grinnell. The sudden, almost consuming interest in the welfare of the town's school-age youth was a facet of a national obsession with juvenile misbehavior that became prominent around the turn of the century, an obsession that has been termed "child-saving."⁷³ Parents became over-concerned with their sons and daughters engaging in innocuous rites of passage; the targets of the child-savers were not only the fraction of children actually guilty of delinquent acts, but all teenagers. It was posited that

youngsters were inherently vulnerable to mischief and, if left unsupervised, would inevitably get into trouble. The attitude is exemplified by Jane Addams, who felt that teenagers who did no more than "gaily walk our streets" were contributing to their own delinquency.⁷⁴ Progressive-era reforms in Grinnell were circumscribed by a similar supervisory mind-set: no matter how much diversity was introduced into the curriculum, activists made quite sure the children were saved from their own self-destructive impulses. Not one innovation of the period was designed to allow mature young people to demonstrate independence or responsibility. Child-saving was already apparent in the continuing emphasis on discipline, and the new concern for the health of students may be regarded as a variation on this theme; a clean atmosphere must be created, for purity of body is a prerequisite for purity of deed. The sum total of child-saving in Grinnell is that the schools were slowly appropriating some of the child-rearing and socialization functions once handled by families, becoming, unconsciously, a third parent. As the old Congregational consensus of values evaporated, family and school became less certain and more apprehensive of their children's behavior. It is worth noting that this sort of attitude is by no means confined to the distant past, for it reappears in the arguments of book-banning advocates in a 1970s controversy in the Grinnell-Newburg District.

The experience of the town's schools from 1880 to 1920 certainly lends credence to the maxim "The Progressive mind is the educator's mind"; although school reform peaked just before the war,⁷⁵ changes wrought by the movement amount to nothing less than a transformation of public schooling in Grinnell. A truly modern school system, firmly under local control, had been established. Grinnell's schools in 1920 reached a wider group of young people for a longer period of time, offered a far greater number of curriculum options, and were less constrained by ecclesiastical ideology than in 1880. Developing into both a center for manual instruction and the sole college preparatory facility in town, Grinnell High School became a meeting-place for diverse elements of the population, and serves as a microcosm

for the evolution from 19th to 20th century education in the United States. The elimination of German in 1918 is equally illustrative of the new relationship between school and society: pristine old-style classicism in which contemporary problems and issues were kept at arm's length had given way to the acceptibility of education as social control.⁷⁶ Grinnell schools had even unwittingly compromised the sanctity of the family. The reformers themselves — usually upper-class, often women, and sometimes at cross-purposes with the District administration — are fascinating proof that Progressive activism in one Iowa town had all the vitality and immediacy that historians associate with the national movement. In Grinnell, the two minds were indeed one and the same.

4/ Seeds of Conflict

Ideas were not the measure of all things in Grinnell's educational evolution; the activist consciousness was affirmed in brick and mortar. The expanding services undertaken by the schools was paralleled by growth in the physical plant. The building of the High School, which housed all secondary grades, has already been noted; furthermore, three elementary facilities were constructed between 1880 and 1920 (refer to first table, p. 28). Bond issues, with few exceptions,¹ were passed almost as a matter of course, so on the surface it appears that District voters were amenable to new buildings. However, circumstances dictated their approval in the erection of Parker and Cooper schools, built in 1896 and 1899 respectively: a combination of Progressive innovations and the general increase in the public's valuation of education kept so many students in the classroom longer that enrollment literally went nearly through the roof. From the 1870s onward, crowded conditions were always a problem in Grinnell, but whereas they had previously been caused by sheer population growth, as the new century approached school officials were forced to restructure building utilization so the same students as well as newcomers would be served over a number of years. Taken completely by surprise, the administration improvised various

Summary of Grinnell school facilities as of January 1980

<u>names -- grades served</u>	<u>year built</u>	<u>last year used</u>
unnamed (U)	1855	1856 (demolished)
Center (A)	1856	1871 (destroyed - fire)
Center (A)	1871	1922 (sold; removed)
South (E)	1877	1917 (demolished)
Northwest (E)	1882	1896 (destroyed - fire)
Parker (E)	1896	1971 (demolished)
Cooper (E)	1899	1974 (sold; standing)
Grinnell High (J, S)	1904	1979 (standing)
(addition)	1921	1979 (standing)
Davis (E)	1917	in use
(addition)	1960	in use
Newburg (A)	1926	in use
(gymnasium)	1926	1977 (destroyed - fire)
Bailey Park (E)	1957	in use
Fairview (E)	1960	in use
(addition)	1979	in use
Grinnell-Newburg Community		
Senior High (S)	1961	in use
(Bissett addition)	1974	in use
Grinnell-Newburg Community		
Junior High (J)	1979	in use

Key to grades served: U = ungraded; A = all grades;

E = elementary (K-6); J = junior high (7-9); S = senior high (10-12)

Summary of elementary facilities in use, 1969, by year of construction

<u>decade built</u>	<u>number of classrooms</u>	<u>percent of total</u>	<u>cumulative percent</u>
1890-1899	12	21	21
1900-1909	0	0	21
1910-1919	10	17	38
1920-1929	8	14	52
1930-1939	0	0	52
1940-1949	0	0	52
1950-1959	13	22	74
1960-1969	12	21	95
temporary	3	5	100

temporary solutions. In 1896 some classes met in church basements and others in back rooms of a clothing store, and even the opening of Parker that year was just a weir in a flooding river, for by 1898 the same methods had to be used again until Cooper was built. The introduction of the new grade kindergarten only compounded the difficulty; in some years the overall situation was so bleak non-resident tuition pupils had to be excluded from certain grades for lack of space.² The enrollment bulge hit the high school level right on schedule, and by 1903 four classrooms had to be rented in private houses and nearly forty students were obliged to study at home and appear only briefly at Center building for recitation. A less spectacular but steady influx of youngsters continued throughout the Progressive period, causing Davis school to be constructed in 1917 in response to more overcrowding.³

These new buildings became testimonials to the inadequacies of the board's approach to structural problems. Lacking any apparatus for formulating long-range policy, the directors operated on a day-to-day basis, thus blinding themselves to the pragmatic and societal forces that engendered the enrollment boom. Implicit in the shortness of the period between the construction of Parker and Cooper, the board's tendency to commence building after a grossly inaccurate assessment of future needs was demonstrated again in 1915 when District voters were asked to approve \$100,000 in bonds to expand the eleven-year-old High School in order to accomodate the new manual training and domestic science classes. Director S.C. Buck acknowledged this in an open letter to the electorate, but also tried to spread the blame for poor planning: "Having once underestimated the needs of the district in the present high school building, let us [emphasis mine] not make the mistake of underestimating the growth of the district in the next twenty years."⁴ Apparently the town did not care to accept from Buck the onus of misjudgment, for the issue was defeated in a rare revolt against the board.⁵

In their rush to contain the enrollment boom the directors not only authorized schools far too small but allowed them to be constructed with something less than top-flight workmanship.

Some were left incomplete but functional, and others were not maintained properly. The days when the District could slap together a fresh-from-the-stand wood schoolhouse were long over, yet the same approach is evident in brick in Grinnell's facilities dating from the turn of the century. One year after it opened, an architect found Cooper shoddily-done, with imperfections in plastering, uneven floors and doors, and no pointing on the sills.⁶ Parker at age five received a professional evaluation little better: two local architects recommended that the out-houses be discarded and restrooms added to the interior, aside from finding the surroundings of the school to be "in a deplorable condition," with fences and sidewalks in disrepair and the entire grounds presenting a "very unsightly appearance."⁷ The 1915 bond proposal shows the lack of foresight in the building of the High School, but even the structure that was standing was not all finished, for lockers and house telephones went uninstalled and pipes protruded through the floor of one room, marking a proposed chemistry laboratory.⁸

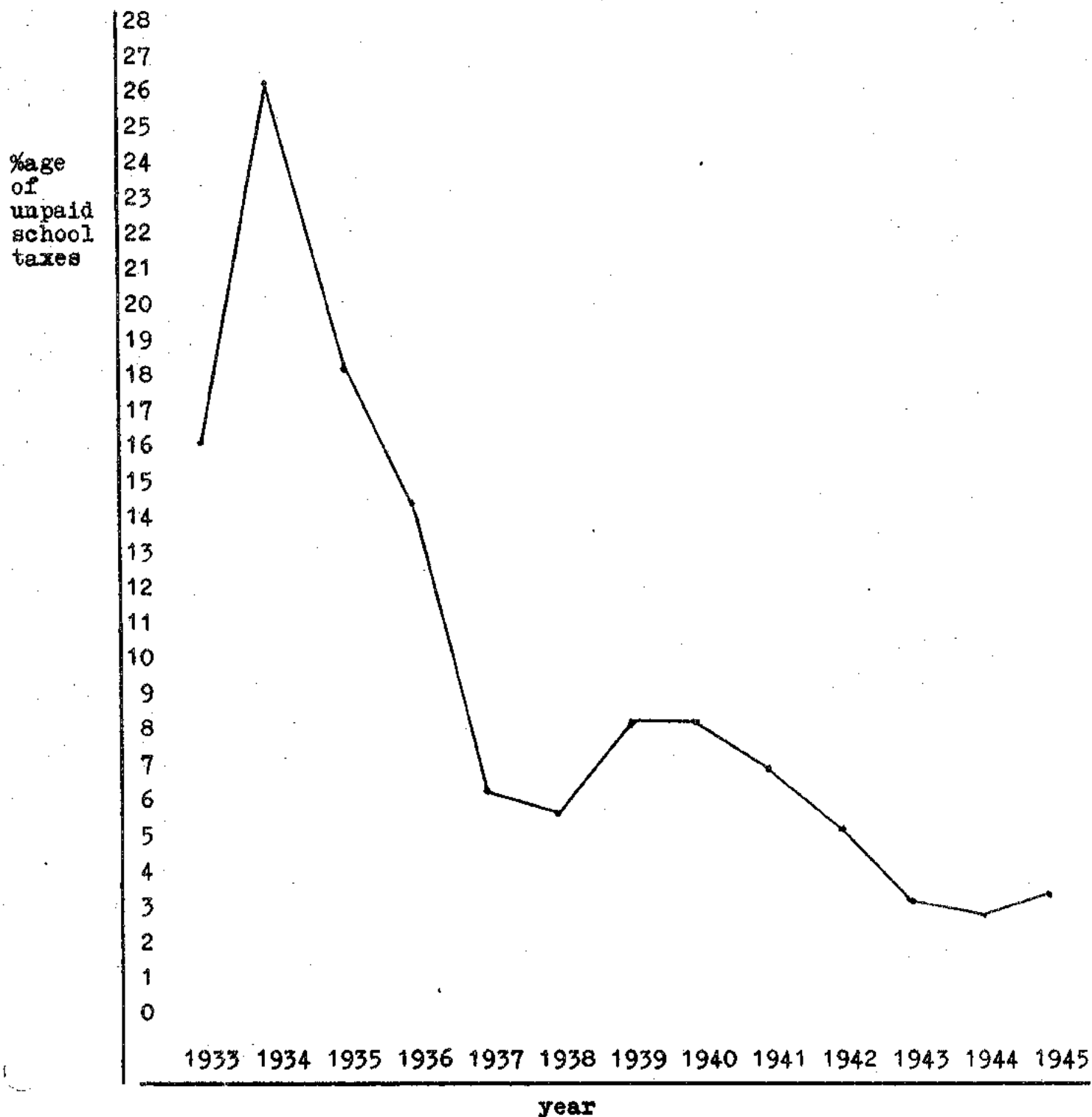
A repercussion of such haphazard planning, one which had currency far beyond the Progressive era, was a severe lack of facilities in certain curriculum areas. Hardest hit by space shortages were physical education and the natural sciences. Although the local armory was rented for a few events, formal physical education in Grinnell was impossible until a small gym was included in a 1921 addition to the High School. This allowed only the sparest of programs, with some varsity sports getting short shrift: partly because there was no convenient playing field, the District could not even support a baseball team until after World War II.⁹ Rather more damning was the neglect of the chemistry department, if one could be said to exist. Before the half-hearted attempt in 1904 to outfit a laboratory, little scientific equipment and less room were afforded the study in the High School,¹⁰ and as we have seen, this faltering commitment proved to be an exercise in futility. History repeated itself in 1935 when the District received a substantial bequest and planned to use the sum to buy equipment and establish a full-fledged

chemistry department. After a brief inspection, the board found that the proposed laboratory could not be installed as there was no room. Five years later, the directors decided to use the money to help pay for recreation rooms in two of the schools.¹¹

These examples of slipshod contracting and the resultant lack of facilities are harbingers of problems that eventually created a divisive climate in the community. The building controversies that have so occupied the District in recent years can be traced to the reactive policies of the board in the Progressive period. But the turmoil which has characterized Grinnell schooling in the last generation did not simply well up unpredictably in the 1950s, a random delayed reaction from mistakes made at the turn of the century. The town's school administration between the wars displayed a monumental indifference to signs of imminent trouble; the last thirty years of conflict are merely the end result of decades of neglect and missed opportunities.

For farmers and dependent communities, between the wars was Depression. The price deflation of 1920-21 turned into the collapse of 1920-23, from which agriculture hadn't fully recovered when the bottom of it all dropped out in 1929.¹² Although by no means entirely reliant on farm-generated income, Grinnell and its schools felt the effects of the slumping economy quite earlier than the margin calls when the Grinnell Savings Bank failed in the middle of the decade, costing the District over \$8000.¹³ Of course, the Great Depression itself had deleterious effects on school financing; for example, although total millage was cut from 79.40 in 1932 to 23.21 in 1933,¹⁴ the percentage of unpaid school taxes soared (see chart, p. 32). Evidently, paying for education was one of the first expenses to go in many personal austerity programs. As might be expected, this produced spot shortages of operating funds, and on at least one occasion teachers received their paychecks three weeks late.¹⁵ All in all, however, there were no major disruptions of routine during these lean years; in fact, the only overt response to the situation was the sponsorship of free daily distribution of milk to schoolchildren by

Percentage of delinquent taxes, general fund
Independent District of Grinnell 1933-1945



from Rupert A. Hawk, Budget Report 1946-1947, p. 45.

various civic groups such as the Kiwanis Club. The Milk Fund survived through the 1950s despite a shortage of paper cups and cartons during World War II, the lack of refrigeration units in the buildings, allowing milk to be served only in cold weather, and the opposition of some parents and teachers who felt the distribution had no place in an educational program, smacking of charity.¹⁶

Ironically, the impact of the Depression was in some ways more severe in the 1960s than in the 1930s because of the board's steadfast refusal to accept New Deal assistance in revitalizing the physical plant. While other districts seized the chance to expand or refurbish their facilities, the Grinnell school administration sat on its hands. A professional evaluation of the town's schools in 1969 cited the failure to take advantage of the Works Progress Administration building programs as a significant contributing factor in the general outmoded condition of the physical plant.¹⁷ Twice during 1935 plans for a WPA-funded fieldhouse were presented to the board — once by Grinnell College President John Scholte Nollen — and tabled.¹⁸ The extent of the New Deal in Grinnell's schools was a four-month-long WPA project which paid the jobless to paint and clean some of the buildings, and the acceptance of two WPA "matrons" for a short while.¹⁹ The reluctance of the board to accept federal money can perhaps be explained by a desire to maintain strong local control in financial matters, or possibly by a continuing inability to perceive the long-range needs of the District.

As Superintendent Rupert A. Hawk pointed out in 1947, the directors were equally unimaginative in fund-raising methods. Iowa law allowed boards in districts like Grinnell to vote an annual one-mill tax levy for constructing and equipping new schools without holding an election. Hawk argued that had the board made use of this provision for automatic revenue over the past fifteen years and invested the proceeds in government bonds, the District would have had \$40,000 toward expansion. Raised through conventional bonding, the same sum would have cost the taxpayers more than \$65,000. The law also allowed districts to go into debt for

building purposes to a maximum amount of 1½% of the total valuation of district property without an election, and up to 5% with the approval of the voters.²⁰ The board ignored Hawk's suggestions, and beginning five years later a series of bitterly-contested bond votes paralyzed the District. Yet, if the directors had decided to use the levy, the results might well have been chaotic, for the administration had enough trouble keeping existing tax records in order. Files on delinquent school taxes were not kept systematically before 1944, and what records existed did not designate the year of the delinquency, making it impossible for officials to ascertain whether they had received all the revenue due them in any particular year. Moreover, there were no extant written dispositions of property seized by the County Board of Supervisors in lieu of taxes, so some was sold for the full amount owed the District, some for less.²¹

To be sure, much of the financial confusion was beyond the board's control. Tax assessment methods, mandated by the state, especially irked the Grinnell administration. Hawk knew the District was susceptible to shortchanging, inadvertantly and intentionally, by non-professional local assessors who probably hadn't the expertise to discover hidden assets or may have glossed over some because they had "too many friends." He saw this assessment system, which was the basis for all school levies, as symptomatic of the hypocritical attitude of the electorate and the legislature regarding public schooling:²²

We pay lip service to the idea that our public education is one of the greatest assets in our whole state. Yet when it comes to legislation that would modernize our tax structure and distribute the educational burden over the state so that there could be a distribution of the advantages of public education, we are woefully lacking. We just can't become realistic about what needs to be done. Our belief in the doctrines of equal educational burden and equal educational opportunity is about like our religion. It is only a belief to be expressed at P.T.A. meetings and at Commencement times.

Sharing Hawk's concern, if not his cynicism, the directors in 1948

requested the Poweshiek County Board of Supervisors to employ professional appraisers to assist local assessors, hoping to eliminate the wide disparities in tax valuations of property.²³

They had little choice, for at the end of World War II these perennial financial difficulties converged to create a budget squeeze that demanded some sort of action. The core of the crisis — and, according to Hawk, it was nothing less than that — was an inadequate beginning annual balance, caused partly by the long-term effects of amateur tax assessment and record-keeping, but triggered by a high rate of inflation and large pay hikes for teachers. Most of the budget increases of the 1940 went into instructor payroll, accounting for between 68% and 105% of the rise in any one year.²⁴ The Grinnell board had to accomodate these increases in a budget that did not go above a low state-ordered ceiling.²⁵ If this task was not hard enough, the directors had to contend with a frustrating lag in the receipt of revenue. Grinnell schools operated on a fiscal year basis (July 1 to June 30), while tax levies and collections were done according to the calendar year. Because taxes imposed one year were not collected until the next, the board had to project their needs for a short period into the future — normally, not an insurmountable problem. But during the inflation of the immediate post-war years, costs rose so quickly they outstripped old levy revenues. Increased school expenditures could only be reflected in higher taxes within six months to a year after the increase occurred, making it difficult to keep a working balance; hence, in 1946 the beginning balance was about \$23,000, almost half that of 1940 and nowhere near the \$80,000 recommended by the State Comptroller's Office.²⁶ Although the crisis abated after two years, thanks to a more stable economy and better management methods, during the squeeze the District was forced to be under-insured by \$89,000 and twice had to borrow money from the county against future revenue.²⁷

So ended the tears between the wars. They were not fallow, although they appear so when compared to the fervor of the Progressive period; rather, their quiescence concealed the germination

of a number of problems that soon threatened to choke the base from which they grew, to obscure the real purpose of education. Such problems demanded activism suffused with Progressive-style enthusiasm, something long dormant in the town. But not dead: it re-emerged in the early 1950s in a loose coalition of professional and lay school advocates who pushed for a resolution of the issues in the name of better education. There the Progressive parallel ends, for a rival interest, the taxpayer advocates, arose to challenge long-held suppositions about the necessity to spend more to school more. The opposition did not prove to be a loyal one.

Part II -- The Schools Observed

5/ The Board

What happens in the Grinnell public schools can often be quite fairly traced to the actions and decisions of the directors who make up the board of education. The point is not so obvious as it may seem, for, like all else in the District, the nature of the board has changed radically with passing time. Deliberations which once took place without any outside consultation now occur in conference with school personnel both below and above the level of the board. What was once decreed is now debated, occasionally in court. Unalloyed consensus has given way to open disagreement. In some ways, the changes in Grinnell's board echo -- or perhaps prefigure -- those in the schools themselves.

As successive boards in the middle-to-late 19th century slowly established a solid routine, the directors of the Independent District delegated to themselves every power needed to run the system. Their basic authority was never really challenged; the state and parents didn't care to and local teachers and support staff were in no position to. Concerted defiance of the board was just not considered, although women teachers certainly had grounds to do so, at least by the standards of today. Early Grinnell boards were completely autonomous bodies by default -- the schools were indeed run as an independent district. This situation was assured from the start by the town's founders: by so completely identifying the public schools with the ideals of the Congregational Church, ideals which were the basis for the prevailing standards of morality in Grinnell, they gave later directors a sanctimonious cloak to wrap around their activities. This was squarely in the Mann tradition and was not uncommon around the country.¹ Furthermore, during these years board members were often some of the most powerful men in town;² no wonder the "etiquette of public conversation" prevailed, with attention centered on the collective success of the schools and its administration, rather than on the vicissitudes of the directors.

The supremacy of the board's position is reflected in the director elections of the period. Candidacies from outside a narrow range of respected male citizens, such as those mounted by women in 1915, were exceptions that proved the rule: for many years, who ran the schools didn't seem to make much difference to the townspeople. Dismal turnouts -- sometimes as few as 21 voters -- were the order of the day. The editors of the Herald, poking fun at the lack of interest in the 1912 election, printed the names of a number of prominent Grinnellians who failed to cast ballots under the headline "School Election is Marked by Breathless Apathy."⁴ Such disinterest is predictable, for voter turnout in school elections is directly related to determined efforts of a particular group to organize the electorate and the saliency of issues involved,⁵ best seen in the record votes generated by the Grinnell Taxpayer's Association in the 1950s. The seriousness with which earlier elections were taken is best indicated by the fact that until 1914 the directors themselves counted the votes for new board members, and could reject any ballots they considered improperly marked.⁶ An aura of self-fulfilling prophecy permeated their meetings, which were held at various informal locations, such as hardware stores and personal offices. Discussions were short, sometimes fanciful, and not infrequently off the record; the atmosphere was that of a social club, not a deliberative body.⁷ But easily the best illustration of the board's position is a short list of some specific powers they had and used: students were graduated "without conditions," pupils with disciplinary problems were required to earn higher grades than normal in order to graduate, and low bids on contracts from out-of-town companies were passed over in favor of local concerns.⁸ The autonomy of the board lingered far longer than the Congregational influence that engendered it.

Increasing demands on the board's time eventually made the delegation of some authority inevitable, however. Five part-time directors could not hope to run an expanding school system with any degree of effectiveness, so in 1936 they relinquished a number of powers to the Superintendent, such as purchasing authorization,

budget control, and jurisdiction in disciplinary matters. He became solely responsible for record-keeping and formulating the budget. The board even gave up their power of initiative in instructional decisions, although they retained approval of new types of teaching, major expenditures, and contracts.⁹ It has since been up to the individual board to decide how much freedom the Superintendent will have.¹⁰ Adding to the complexity of the director's job, and at the same time curtailing his or her powers, was steady growth in state and federal involvement in all phases of public education, which will be treated in detail below.

No elected body could have operated the way the early boards of the Independent District did without the tacit approval of the electorate; in turn, such tacit approval can only exist in a rarefied atmosphere of general apathy. Where there is no public scrutiny, there is no accountability, inviting abuses of power. This is not to say the Grinnell board was guilty of excesses in the halcyon days of its independence; on the contrary, the town's directors displayed remarkable restraint for the most part, running their district soberly and in a manner perfectly acceptable at that time. As people became more aware of the importance of politics in local school issues, public attention increasingly singled out the board. Turgid rundowns of personnel and contract confirmations no longer sufficed as the only accounts of board action in local newspapers; far more was expected. And more was delivered. Within a short period of time the board was transformed from a mutual admiration society to a forum for often-volatile community debate. Docile meetings were replaced by "exercises in human dynamics" which were "pressure-packed and occasionally acrimonious."¹¹ At the height of the book ban controversy in the mid-1970s, regular board meetings turned into marathon sessions of over six hours, drawing 200 to 300 people, with speakers from the floor limited to five minutes time. Arguments would erupt, rules of order collapse, and the entire affair degenerate into name-calling.¹²

The politics of consensus were definitely dead by the 1950s, as factions among the directors developed, something previously unheard of. One board member bitterly resigned in 1955 after his

colleagues voted to break a long-standing contract with an architect in exchange for the support of an ad hoc committee of local businessmen in an upcoming bond election,¹³ and there was a well-publicized altercation between two board members after the failure of a bond issue and the subsequent resignation of the Superintendent in early 1975.¹⁴ The following remark is a neat summary of the transformed nature of the board:¹⁵

For many years it has been considered the next thing to heresy to oppose any proposal of the Grinnell School Board or teachers and administration staff of the school system, on the grounds that to do so is to be against 'good education.' I am becoming increasingly annoyed at being so identified.

From the early public acceptance of the board's attempts to identify school operation with morality, open skepticism of their motives had arisen.

Another facet of the transformation was end of a strictly short-range approach to problem solving. Early boards were not expected to establish goals, so none appear in the first volumes of the Independent District Minutes. It is not merely coincidence that the directors began to set goals for Grinnell education only after the onset of intensive public and media monitoring of school operation. The board wanted to put themselves on firm ground with the patrons of the District, and overt instead of covert decision-making was considered the best way to do so. Thus, in the last two decades, an official goal-planning system has evolved in the administration. It had its genesis in a far-reaching 1962 statement in which the Grinnell-Newburg instructional program vowed to be "actively engaged in"¹⁶

- 1) developing high moral and ethical standards as well as activities that emphasize the worth and dignity of the individual,
- 2) developing respect for law and order,
- 3) developing attitudes of civic responsibility,
- 4) developing open-mindedness,
- 5) developing aesthetic values,
- 6) developing respect for family living, and
- 7) developing a 'sound understanding of the basic differences between our own Democratic-Republican

form of government and communism, socialism, totalitarianism, and benevolent despotism.'

A remarkable statement, not for its rhetoric, but because it was made at all by a body that only a few years earlier was predicated on practicality.

A similar pattern can be seen regarding the announcement and codification of policy. Early directors did not bother to commit their practices or stands on various issues to the record, letting a massive unwritten code of conduct develop over the years. Recent state and federal intervention has precluded such informality, and over the last thirty years the board has stated its position on any number of matters in writing. Such public avowals by the directors may affect only the Grinnell schools, as did the mid-1950s acknowledgement of sex-based inequality in teacher's salaries; they may refer to proposed state legislation, as did a letter to the Iowa Association of School Boards putting Grinnell-Newburg on record as favoring the lowering of the majority needed to pass bond issues and the narrowing of the open meetings law to prevent mob debates; or they may be responses to federal policies, as when a multicultural nonsexist curriculum approach was adopted in 1978.¹⁷ Most of these new goals and policies have been arrived at with the help of lay committees, whose contributions will be discussed below.¹⁸

The culmination of the transformation of the board came when the District voted to change the method of electing directors. Since the creation of the Grinnell-Newburg Community School District in 1958, four of the five board members came from rural areas, each with a constituency of about 1000, while the fifth represented the 8000 residents of Grinnell. In 1977, a proposal to expand the board to seven members, with only one specifically representing the area outside Grinnell, three representing the town, and three more elected at-large, passed by a slim margin,¹⁹ alleviating the feeling some board members had that sometimes their colleagues stood for the interests of their director-areas rather than for those of the whole District.²⁰ Capping the movement toward openness in board activities, the equal representation reform has made behind-the-scenes maneuvering, with its implications of misconduct, far more difficult.

6/ The Teachers

One cannot begin to understand the nature of instruction in Grinnell by underplaying the impact of the inequity of treatment between men and women teachers. Discrepancies in promotion and attitude — for so long shrugged off as part of the status quo — remain one of the greatest hindrances to teacher performance in Grinnell-Newburg today. Simply equalizing salaries has not equalized treatment. The attitude of the male-dominated District administration toward serious-minded women educators has all too often been one of condescending tolerance, and it is neither limited to Grinnell or the recent past. At the beginning of the century there were two schools of thought among administrators on the subject of women teachers: in most grades, they were preferred since they were more likely to be subordinate to superintendents than men,¹ but in high school they "feminized" the curriculum too much by overemphasizing "softer arts" — subjects considered marginal, such as art and music. If only more male high school teachers could be found, the reasoning went, the female majority of high school students could be reversed.² Both these arguments exhibit a complete disdain for individual differences between women teachers reminiscent of the fears of some men of a monolithic female voting bloc if women were somehow given the franchise. Indeed, some type of paranoia is implicit in the second argument.³

Male educators of the time might well have contended that women teachers didn't deserve to be taken seriously because they were using the job as a stepping-stone to marriage, while males were more likely to make a career of education, and, factually, they were correct.⁴ What they did not consider, or chose to ignore, was the fact that young women contemplating a continuing career in teaching probably were dissuaded by the prospect of a low-paying, insecure job, even if they could withstand the societal pressure to become a full-time wife and mother. For a woman, there was no percentage or dignity in teaching when after five or ten or twenty years of work a young man with less training and no experience could enter the system at a similar level and immediately draw a higher salary. So a vicious cycle emerged, and male officials

were only too happy to slap together a teaching corps from the inexhaustible ranks of young women seeking temporary work before marriage, peppered with a few full-time spinsters. Of course, in the end the education of the children suffered: teachers who had no long-term stake in the profession had no reason to perform better than the minimum required for propriety's sake.

In Grinnell and elsewhere, the cycle was fueled by unequal pay for the same work. As one can see from the graph on p. 44, the gap between the wages of men and women fluctuated but was always substantial. Of the sixty largest towns in Iowa in 1907, Grinnell ranked second in highest average monthly salary paid male teachers, but only fifteenth in terms of wages paid women.⁵ This sort of overevaluation went on and on; as men began to dominate secondary school positions toward mid-century, their higher pay was rationalized by contending that these jobs were the most demanding. Aside from running roughshod over the importance of primary education, such an argument failed to acknowledge the inequities in pay between men and women at the same level.⁶ By 1954, males automatically received \$500 above the women's salary scale in the Independent District; two years later, the differential was cut to \$400.⁷ Changing mores made latent bitterness among some women teachers manifest,⁸ and old explanations were wearing thin. The board, forced to admit the state of inequality, went on record as favoring a single pay schedule, but came up with one last stale reason for delay: to equalize pay would mean a tax increase--anathema to the community. Finally, in the wake of approval of district reorganization, Grinnell established parity in teacher's salaries in April 1958.⁹

Sex bias was not confined to wages and thus did not end with their equalization. For example, a conception that women can only be something less than first-rate educators is still held by some schoolmen. As has been seen, this attitude is rooted in the 19th century, but is being reinforced, sometimes quite subtly, in the 20th: for years it was the policy of the Grinnell board that if any female employee were married during the school year, her contract would be terminated.¹⁰ Some of the current women staff

salary per month (in dollars)

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40

50

60

70

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90

100

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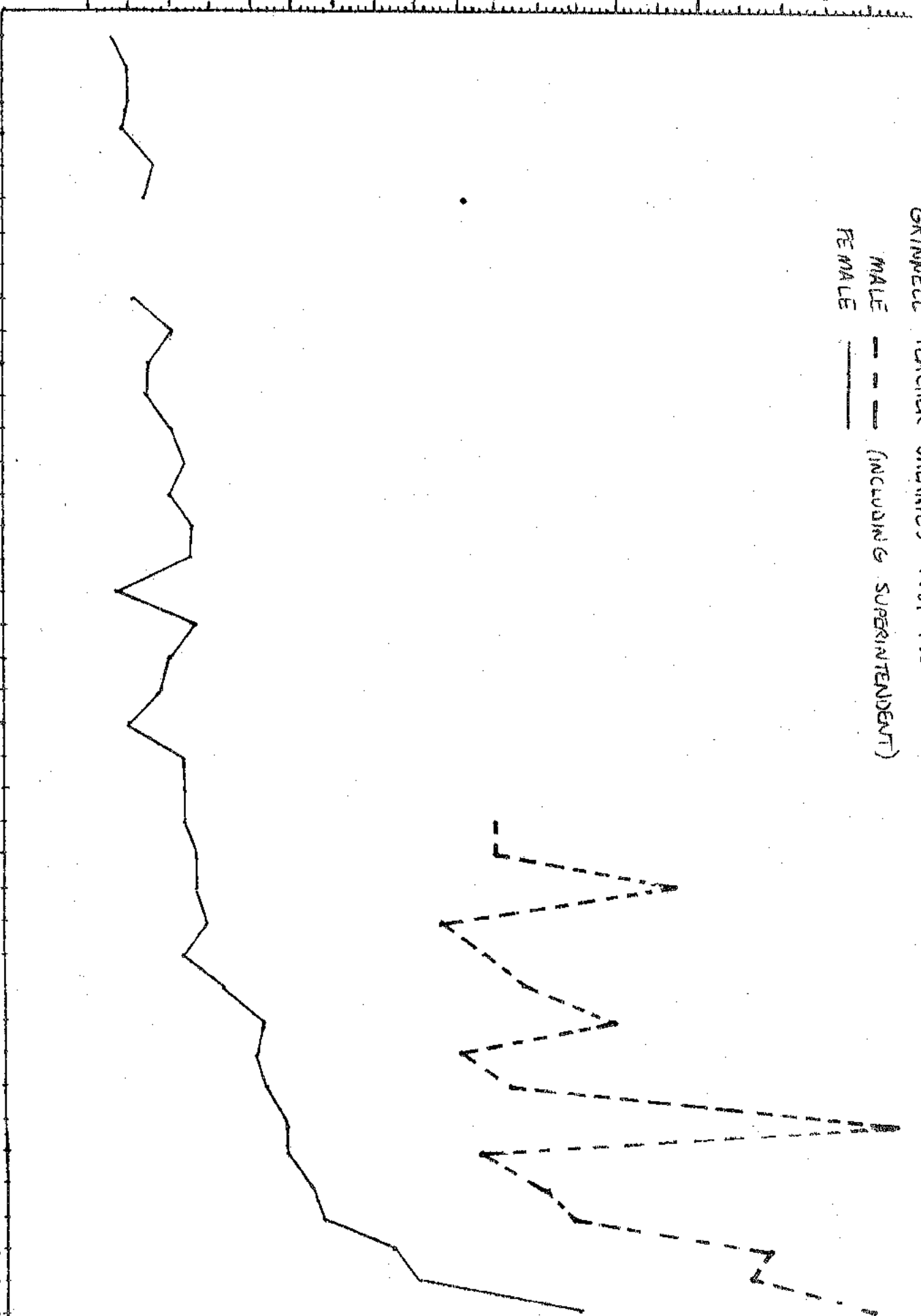
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YEAR ENDING

GRINWELL TEACHER SALARIES 1881-1920
MALE - - - (INCLUDING SUPERINTENDENT)
FEMALE ———



of Grinnell-Newburg still feel they are encouraged to act in a traditional feminine way if they wish to be taken seriously by the administration, which remains an all-male bastion. Secondary teaching positions are also dominated by men, particularly in science and mathematics. Conscious discrimination is probably not the cause of exclusion in these areas; rather, until very recently women have been so constrained by the stereotype of the female as primary-grade teacher that they simply haven't chosen to go into other areas. The lack of women at the high school level in general can also be partly explained by the desire of school officials in Grinnell and elsewhere to hire teachers with coaching certificates, which usually means a male candidate.¹¹ And it would be foolish to pretend that male-dominated administrations have been as diligent as they might in searching out women for their ranks; for instance, more than half of the educators in the state are women, but they comprise only a fraction of the executive board of the Iowa State Education Association.¹²

For teachers as a group, there have of course been advances. The Grinnell Teacher's Association, in existence since at least the early 1930s,¹³ became the Grinnell-Newburg Education Association after reorganization in 1958. For years both organizations did not function as unions per se, for it was a source of pride to the administration if every teacher became a member. Not until the late 1960s did any true adversary relationship exist between the GNEA and the board.¹⁴ In the absence of a union, it was up to the directors to develop pay scales; sometimes the determination was based upon arbitrary judgments. In 1911 the board adopted an evaluation system in which instructors were graded by the Superintendent. "A" grades brought fast advancements in salary, "B" meant lesser advances or maintenance of one's present rate, and those given a "C" took wage cuts or were discharged. The Teacher's Committee of the board recommended that grades be assigned according to "the general spirit and efficiency of the teacher. . .loyalty to school interests, interest in school affairs, interest in professional advancement, as well as general culture and ability as an instructor."¹⁵ Perhaps the order in

which the criteria are given is significant. At any rate, the method of salary assignment fifty years later was relatively unchanged. In 1963 instructors were classified by the Superintendent, curriculum director, and principal as either a "standard" or "incentive" teacher; the latter received an added 3% of the base salary to their contracts. To be designated as an incentive teacher, one had to be "more effective and valuable to the educational program than the good teacher." A combination of "technical teaching ability, knowledge of subject matter, and application of effective teaching methods -- all definitely attested to by pupil progress and improvement" formed the "basic definition" of incentive teaching.¹⁶

However well-intentioned these methods may have been, they were fundamentally flawed by the subjective basis of the evaluation. Personalities were finally eliminated from wage and benefit considerations when collective bargaining was instituted in the 1960s. For the first time, the teacher's association acted as a union,¹⁷ and early negotiations were often acrimonious.¹⁸ In less than a decade, the GNEA went from allies to opposition in salary matters. By 1974, Superintendent Buford Garner was advising board members to learn "confrontation tactics" because that was "really what negotiation is about." "In the early stages of negotiation," he advised, "the main purpose of the Representative of the Board of Education would be to 'diminish expectations' of staff employees." To keep concessions to a minimum, the directors must "sing out of the same hymn book."¹⁹ A unified front was absolutely necessary, since the board could no longer dictate their will on pay issues.

Through all their problems and setbacks, it is an indication of the ability and dedication of the Grinnell-Newburg teachers that outside evaluators, frequently critical of the administration of the District, concluded that they were doing a quite estimable job of instructing the youngsters of the community when compared to similar districts in Iowa.²⁰ Perhaps this is partly due to the staff's higher-than-average level of training. Grinnell teachers traditionally have been well-qualified: at the turn of

century, statewide only 5.4% of the instructors had graduated from and 19.7% had attended post-secondary institutions, while in Grinnell the respective percentages were 17.4 and 26.1.²¹ Even though as late as 1969 Grinnell-Newburg employed two teachers who had not graduated from college, this was still less than other similar districts in the state.²² The directors have always encouraged the trend with generous provisions for in-service training, such as the cash bonuses awarded during the 1940s to teachers who furthered their education.²³

In recent years there really can be no question as to the staff's willingness to work hard. Overburdened with students, Grinnell-Newburg teachers at the height of the building problems of the late 1960s and early 1970s had work loads which often prevented imaginative instruction. Two examples: since reorganization, elementary principals have at times been responsible for two or even three buildings while simultaneously teaching; and presently, only three librarians with no full-time clerical or support personnel serve the District.²⁴ Not until 1970 was any kind of assistance accorded the teaching corps; in that year, paid uncertified aides were introduced to the system. These para-professionals photocopy material, score quantitative tests, record grades, and do other routine chores. In 1971 they were joined by non-professional volunteer parents who perform tasks such as reading stories, preparing games, and setting up audio-visual equipment.²⁵

Beyond money, what rewards are there for a Grinnell teacher after years of hard work? Consider this statement:²⁶

Key people in all of the schools of this state have gone to other states. Teaching is more attractive there. The salaries are better and, what to my mind is much more important, the social position of the teacher is better. There must be more pay to a job than just money. Teachers want to work and work hard. However, they want to feel that their work is appreciated. It is a sad commentary on American Democracy that when a teacher has taught a boy how to read, how to write, how to think and how to act, the parent of that child accepts

it all as a matter of course. However, let little Johnnie's rudeness or selfishness or ill-mannerliness be reproved -- then father and mother are all for 'taking the school apart' and 'crucifying the teacher'. . . . I sometimes think my 24 years in this business have won me little thanks.

These are not the bitter musings of some long-time teacher just fired, but the words of Superintendent Rupert Hawk, a successful administrator of the Independent District. The length of time Hawk dwells upon this point in his Budget Report suggests that he meant to identify an attitude that was not only diffused across Iowa, but present also in Grinnell. Indeed, a lack of appreciation of the accomplishments of their teachers has been an unfortunate characteristic of many of the patrons of Grinnell's public schools.

The public's complacency is implicit in the delays in eradicating sex bias in the District (there was no clamoring for equal pay outside of the ranks of the teachers themselves), and such an attitude is partly responsible for the opposition to various construction proposals of the early and mid-1970s. Delapidated buildings were an indicator of the esteem in which teachers were held by the community. Predicatably, the rundown structures had a detrimental effect on staff morale: in a one-year period starting in June 1974, 17 of the 44 teachers assigned to the decaying old High School building, which then housed the Junior High, resigned, compared with one senior high and no elementary teachers. Although some left for purely personal reasons, clearly most were dissatisfied with their working conditions. Some were disgusted not only by the poor facilities, but by the entire "school situation." One specifically mentioned the "dirty conditions" of the school and the "squabbling over the building system."²⁷ The book ban controversy also unquestionably undermined teacher morale, and the blame can only rest with segments of the patrons, for with one exception the board and administration sided with the teachers in favor of open access.²⁸

The cumulative effect of an unappreciative public was too much for one frustrated teacher, who tendered his resignation,

asking "How then, does a teacher feel when some members of the community imply that our teachers are communists, that many are lazy, that most are unfair, that they are disloyal, incompetent, overpaid, and discourteous?"²⁹ Open ridicule by a minority of patrons was possible only with the complicity of a complacent majority. No doubt most Grinnell teachers can and do look back on their careers with satisfaction,³⁰ but it appears that more than a few can view the experience with, at best, regret.

7/ The Studies

In the succession of reforms and controversies and machinations that has characterized the development of public schooling in Grinnell, it is all too easy to underemphasize the heart of any educational program: its curriculum. Unfortunately for the community's students, in the last generation their studies have been obscured by a thick muck of hostile political conflict. It is also unfortunate for the observer of the Grinnell schools, because a major shift in the style and content of what is taught has taken place in these thirty years.

Students entering the Grinnell schools a century ago could look forward to a severely circumscribed, classically-based curriculum with heavy emphasis on rote learning at least through the junior high level. One visitor noted that learning under this system had a tendency to become bogged down:¹

One thing is evident in nearly every grade — the lack of time to properly finish the work of the grade. For example, one teacher said to me: 'My scholars have been only to the 150th page of this reader,' while next term they take a new book, leaving the more valuable part of the last grade untouched. At least a year should be added to the whole course. . . . It shows something wrong when a pupil, almost ready to enter the highest department, is unable to tell what potatoes are worth per bushel at 40 cents per peck.

Change was slow coming: over three-quarters of a century

after this observation was made, the primary curriculum was still basically traditional, and some pupils who were perhaps not ready for promotion were still being advanced to the next higher grade.² The first real innovation in Grinnell primary teaching methods came in 1970 with the institution of the continuous progress program in two elementary schools. In continuous progress, students no longer all do the same work within a grade; instead, within an age grouping they work at their own level and pace in each subject area. Thus, in any given age grouping a pupil may be doing advanced work in social studies while simultaneously be at a lower level in mathematics. Levels are determined starting in the annual pre-kindergarten evaluations.³ The goal of continuous progress -- "fit the program to the child, not the child to the program" -- is evidence of a radical move away from time-honored rote learning. Some of the advantages of continuous progress are that "pupils develop at their rate regardless of age. . .and make continuous progress. . .without repeating any part of the program. There are no gaps in instruction. . .and each child has a feeling of success, a chance to build self-confidence and thus a more favorable self-image."⁴ Concern for the individual youngster is paramount, and not just in theory: students strong in a certain subject assist the teacher in helping weaker ones. Since almost every child has an area in which he or she excels, the satisfaction of helping others is open to everyone on a daily basis.

If anything, recent changes in the secondary curriculum have been even more extensive. A repudiation of the old approach to learning runs throughout a 1961 lay-committee recommendation report that was adopted by the board as official policy. The junior high curriculum proposals were well-articulated, recognizing the unique transitional position of young adolescents in grades 7 through 9. The committee suggested that the junior high be planned for as an integrated unit, not a three-year limbo between grade and high school. Studies during these years were to accent exploration, the recognition of the differing cultures of peoples, self-appraisal, and socialization skills.⁵ Despite

such vows, specific curriculum changes have not really helped to establish a unique junior-high identity — they have paralleled innovations at the senior high level. For example, modular scheduling was introduced to both schools within a year of each other,⁶ while the on-site work program in office education at the Senior High was watered down into a 9th-grade career education course in which students worked at unpaid "training stations" in local businesses.⁷

As is intimated above, no level of school has changed as much as the senior high. From the pre-Progressive curriculum of strict classicism came the seminal broadening of the course offerings in the early 20th century. Once the high school attained mass appeal, the Latin and English courses mushroomed into a confusing array of study tracks, each with different graduation requirements: College Preparatory, Commercial, English, General, and Vocational Agriculture. Finally, in the early 1960s these were combined into a core course with satellite electives and a uniform number of required credits for a diploma.⁸ Throughout the rest of that decade and into the 1970s the High School introduced courses stressing an awareness of changing social relationships in the United States; one of the primary objectives of the American Civilization course became "to expose the student to as many viewpoints as possible. . . ."⁹ School programs in general sought some sort of relevance to the community, as when the Future Farmers of America in conjunction with the vo-ag department of the High School began a tree farm as a public service to local farmers who wanted windbreaks.¹⁰ The High School has also tried to reduce provincialism in student attitudes by encouraging foreign exchange programs run by non-sectarian civic organizations. Since 1957, the American Field Service and Rotary International have placed high school students from abroad with local families as well as sponsoring a semester in another country for young Grinnellians.¹¹

It should be understood that Grinnell-Newburg has never completely abandoned the traditional teacher-centered approach

to learning; as will be seen, an extensive 1969 professional evaluation of the District, anti-traditional in philosophy, criticized the curriculum as being too closely bound to a single textbook. Innovation has been begrudged, not encouraged, by the patrons of the schools, and some feel that those changes which have been made were done so for their own sake.¹² Currently, there are ^{signs of} retrenchment in the budget, to cut "frills" and go "back to the basics."¹³ For instance, an alternative education program operated by the Iowa Valley Community College in Grinnell, drawing full- and part-time students from the District, was recently cut by the board after only a year and a half;¹⁴ continuous progress, once operating in two schools, is now used in only one.¹⁵ So the old order of schooling has never been routed from the town, and perhaps never will be. But the theory and practice of curriculum in Grinnell today is so different from that of just 25 years ago that one must conclude that recent events have brought an utterly new classroom experience to the community's youth. Perhaps the change is best summarized by saying that what is studied in the District's schools today is far more predisposed toward accenting the intrinsic merit of differences between individuals.¹⁶ Courses now attempt to imbue students with a sense of self-worth in ways previously sublimated to an approach that emphasized an often-tenuous homogeneity within broad groups.

Services to students have also been strengthened in recent years. A focus of so much energy at the zenith of Progressive fervor, health care for schoolchildren after World War I reverted to specialized reactions to specific hazards, such as epidemics.¹⁷ Nurses were not permanently incorporated into the system until 1951 and only one was employed for the entire District until 1970; presently there are three on the full-time staff, one at each level.¹⁸ The Milk Fund program was expanded in 1958 into a complete lunch service without a murmur of the disapproval that had earlier been voiced against the distribution of food in the schools. The only obstacle proved to be the logistics of transporting the meals, since the older buildings had no kitchens.¹⁹ Before federal subsidies, free lunches for children from the poorest

families were paid for out of the local budget.²⁰

Perhaps more central to the educational climate has been the development of a comprehensive battery of tests given students all through their public school years. Intelligence and achievement tests are administered at regular intervals in the elementary grades beginning at the end of kindergarten; such examinations are continued into junior high with the addition of differential aptitude tests. In senior high, the focus shifts mainly to college boards and scholarship examinations. Fearing that students can be "over-tested," the Grinnell-Newburg program is designed to fall "in the middle of the spectrum regarding the number of tests given."²¹

Vastly less sophisticated were turn-of-the-century assessments of psychological differences among students. Standardized tests did not exist, so children with learning disabilities who today would be given special instruction were simply listed as "feeble-minded" in the school census and summarily dismissed from class.²² Those doing the judging were almost never trained professionals, but the directors of the Independent District. Only in extremely ambiguous instances did the board seek help from local doctors in making their assessment. The case of one Millie Hughes shows how absurd methods were. Unable to decide whether she was "feeble-minded," the directors referred her case to a physician in late 1903. He recommended she be removed from school after observing her and talking with her in class, and was assigned to find out if she should be sent to the state school at Glenwood. This cavalier examination was enough to keep the girl out of school until 1905, when the exigencies of her situation forced the board to re-investigate the matter with a second Grinnell doctor. Three weeks later he reported taking no action "because there was no need of action, the girl not now being an attendant in the school." Her case was never brought before the board again. The administration was obviously in a gray area here, with no local or state mechanism for the disposition of borderline special education cases. Lacking any alternative, they did not expedite the matter and willingly let it fade away. Tragically, they left Millie Hughes

in a gray area somewhere between Grinnell and Glenwood; her fate goes unmentioned in the Minutes.²³

A damning disinterest in the plight of Grinnell children with learning disabilities was the norm in the town's schools until the early 1950s, when, under the stewardship of Superintendent Kyle Jones, an in-district special education program was introduced. Government support funds did not exist, so Jones and the administration had to sell the idea to the public — hardly an easy task during a time when spending money on schools seemed to be last on the agenda of most Grinnell voters. But persistence paid off, and special education became a regular part of the curriculum.²⁴ Not without drawbacks: for seven years, the educable retarded class was sequestered at an isolated rural school near Malcom, where conditions deteriorated until the well-water was condemned and the furnace malfunctioned.²⁵ Such shortcomings were short-lived, however, and by 1966 Grinnell-Newburg had three special education classes, one each at the elementary, junior high, and senior high levels, in addition to a federally-funded Title I summer school session.²⁶ Less than a decade later the practice of distancing learning-disabled children from the "normal" school population was abridged with the beginning of supplementary mainstream classes.²⁷ For student problems of a less continuing nature, the District has availed itself of the services of the Poweshiek County Mental Health Center.²⁸

Extending the educational franchise to adults was less of a struggle. "Night study" was earnestly discussed by the directors as early as 1912, but a citizen's group was responsible for Grinnell's first ongoing adult education classes, organized in the trough of the Depression in 1931. To legitimize its efforts, the new Council for Adult Education co-opted the board leaders and the Superintendent onto its executive planning committee.²⁹ Not surprisingly, the state of the economy precluded any extensive offerings, and the organizers strove to keep a minimum of 25 in each of the two classes. With economic recovery came expansion, and by the early 1940s courses in typing, shorthand, public speaking,

and agriculture were given. Adult students might receive more than enrichment from their studies: by accumulating a certain number of credits, one could obtain a certificate from the board that could be used toward a regular high school diploma. Quite a few adults graduated in this way.³⁰ But a full-fledged, district-run continuing education program again had to await the tenure of Superintendent Jones. At his urging, Grinnell-Newburg in 1963 began sponsoring an expanded adult curriculum. Within a few years it covered a wide range of vocational and theoretical subjects, and included two courses that counted as college credit at the University of Iowa and Drake University. Separate classes tailored to adults who had not completed high school gave credits toward an Equivalency Certificate that took the place of a regular diploma.³¹

Special and adult education, coupled with the general curriculum revision and broader student-centered services, indicate the liberal role schools in Grinnell have taken on in the last generation. Functions once handled by the family are now routinely handled by the schools. Vital health and diagnostic services long ignored have been institutionalized. And classrooms are no longer only for "normal" children aged six to eighteen. In 1980, one could answer the question "Who's in school?" with "Almost anyone who wants to be."

Part III -- The Erosion of Local Control

8/ The Bond Issue 1952-1955

Undeniably, the signs were there. Grinnell's school administrators must have seen them -- surely the budget squeeze of 1946 alerted officials to a certain financial unrest in the District. Contemporary observers noted the system's maintenance program was keeping the school buildings just one step ahead of obsolescence.¹ In the absence of New Deal construction, space problems in the post-war period could only become more acute. "Center building," Superintendent Hawk admitted, "is inadequate. A modern, secondary educational program cannot be run therein today. . . . Ten years from now it will have to be abandoned as a high school. . . . In science and shop work we have good equipment stored in non-school buildings. We can't use it; we haven't the space. We have no lunch program and can have none. We haven't the space."² These comments could have fairly been applied to any of Grinnell's schools. So there were visible signs of an imminent crisis in the condition of the District's physical plant as mid-century approached. But they were ignored. Maintenance and curriculum-space problems had been with Grinnell's schools since at least the 1930s, and the District somehow muddled through. Perhaps the directors thought the same do-nothing policies would serve for another decade, and maybe two. Yet, only four years after the budget squeeze, the board formed a citizen's committee for a serious discussion about the possibility of immediate school construction.

The seemingly deathless indolence of the administration was shattered by the baby boom. By 1950, it was generally acknowledged that within five years elementary enrollment would begin to rise, exacerbating maintenance difficulties and turning curriculum-space shortages into pupil-space shortages. The District's arsenal against the impending onslaught consisted of four old buildings barely able to house all the existing students. Bills were coming due: the original sloppy workmanship on the structures, the directors' initial underestimation of future enrollment, the

later failure to use New Deal renovation and building money, and normal wear and tear on the property became the makings of a crisis. Bond issues were the only alternative open to the boards of the early 1950s, since their predecessors had not used the school tax provisions of Iowa law to amass reserve funds for construction.

There had been no bond elections since one which authorized an addition to the High School in 1921, and one senses that the directors thirty years later formulated their first bond proposal in either a state of near-desperation or complete flippancy, hoping that nobody would look too carefully at its contents. Calling for bonds of over a half-million dollars to build and equip one or more elementary schools on as-yet undetermined sites, the issue was crushed by an unprecedented margin (for details of all bond votes during this period, refer to table, p. 58). Vague as this may sound, the original proposal was even more nebulous to the point that it was ruled illegal, and the election had to be delayed one month while ballots were reworded.⁴ This April 1952 issue was little more than a clumsy attempt by the board to ram through a plan in a style better suited to the beginning than the middle of the century.

There is little doubt that the cloudiness of its text was the downfall of the proposal. "It is worded in such a way it leaves a lot of us in the dark," argued a "group of interested tax-paying voters" in a pre-election newspaper advertisement. "The price tag is there but we can't see the goods."⁵ Three weeks after the announcement appeared, this potentially powerful constituency was organized into the Grinnell Taxpayer's Association.⁶ The group's first official statements on the building situation were against "a wild expansion that will keep our nose to the grindstone for the next twenty years or more," taking the slogan "Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty."⁷ Intermittently from then to the present, the GTA and its successor have consistently opposed most of the building and some of the budget proposals of Grinnell school officials, quite often successfully. If there is any one phenomenon

Grinnell bond issue votes 1952-1955

8 April 1952 / \$505,000 for building and equipping one or more elementary buildings and acquiring sites for these buildings

YES --	787	31.62%
NO --	1613	64.81%
INV --	89	3.57%
	<u>2489</u>	

11 May 1953 / \$386,000 for building and equipping two elementary buildings

YES --	895	43.11%
NO --	1160	55.88%
INV --	21	1.01%
	<u>2076</u>	

26 October 1953 / \$386,000 for building and equipping two elementary buildings

<u>PRECINCT*</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>tot</u>
YES	598 62.42%	322 41.82%	78 18.22%	162 25.59%	1160 41.59%
NO	340 35.49%	420 54.55%	334 78.04%	461 72.83%	1555 55.76%
INVALID	20 2.09%	28 3.63%	16 3.74%	10 1.58%	74 2.65%
	<u>958</u>	<u>770</u>	<u>428</u>	<u>633</u>	<u>2789</u>

8 March 1954 / \$200,000 for building and equipping one elementary building

	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>tot</u>
YES	464 64.09%	279 46.04%	50 13.97%	125 25.93%	918 42.30%
NO	256 35.36%	302 49.83%	284 79.33%	350 72.62%	1192 54.93%
INVALID	4 .55%	25 4.13%	24 6.70%	7 1.45%	60 2.77%
	<u>724</u>	<u>606</u>	<u>358</u>	<u>482</u>	<u>2170</u>

26 July 1954 / \$432,000 for building and equipping two new elementary buildings, reconstructing and re-equipping Davis School, and building and addition onto Davis

	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>tot</u>
YES	389 62.54%	248 45.09%	44 14.06%	119 27.05%	800 41.56%
NO	229 36.82%	296 53.82%	265 84.66%	300 68.18%	1090 56.82%
INVALID	4 .64%	6 1.09%	4 1.28%	21 4.77%	35 1.82%
	<u>622</u>	<u>550</u>	<u>313</u>	<u>440</u>	<u>1925</u>

8 August 1955 / \$288,000 for building and equipping one elementary building

	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>tot</u>
YES	568 89.73%	442 84.84%	189 73.54%	223 71.25%	1422 82.48%
NO	64 10.11%	71 13.63%	65 25.29%	85 27.16%	285 16.53%
INVALID	1 .16%	8 1.53%	3 1.17%	5 1.59%	17 .99%
	<u>633</u>	<u>521</u>	<u>257</u>	<u>313</u>	<u>1724</u>

*Grinnell first divided into precincts for this election.

Affirmative vote of 60% needed to pass bond proposals.

of the past generation that stands out from the waves of controversies that have successively engulfed Grinnell's public schools, it is the emergence of a taxpayer opposition to official policy.

Like the building problems of the Independent District, widespread disenchantment with school operation did not materialize out of the air. Although it is ironic that the board prompted the creation of their own worst enemy with the vagueness of the 1952 ballot, the vigor of the GTA's subsequent activity, ability to galvanize almost at will huge numbers of negative votes on bond issues, and longevity indicate that a larger dissatisfaction was the source and driving force of the organization. More and more, local control of public education was being usurped by outside agencies, a trend accelerated by the 1953 state order to reorganize schools (see below). In effect, local school boards and districts were being ushered toward an awkward semi-autonomous situation in which they found it hard to reconcile the new impersonal demands of the state educational machinery and the public's lingering expectations of personal responsiveness in school matters. Directors were caught in a paradoxical bind: no matter how much money and assistance school districts receive from the outside, financially they still basically depend upon those most likely to be alienated by lessening local control — the taxpayers.⁸ Bond elections proved to be a convenient venue for Grinnell taxpayers to register displeasure not only over higher taxes for new schools, but over the passing of a community-based institution. The vehemence of the bond issue struggle in Grinnell during the 1950s seems to transcend strictly monetary considerations; the tenor of the controversy was more that of a catharsis. Perhaps the energy drawn upon by the GTA was fueled by a collective frustration among some Grinnellians at the way society at-large was moving, for if communities alone were no longer deemed good enough to run their schools, then the integrity of the community itself was being threatened.

Learning from the April fiasco, the directors moved to elicit public support for new building from powerful local civic groups,

something that was apparently thought unnecessary prior to the first proposal. Answering the roll at the meeting were representatives of a Who's Who of small-city politics - the VFW, League of Women Voters, American Legion, Chamber of Commerce, PTA, Rotary, Kiwanis, Ministerial Association - and "everyone agreed. . . to return to their various groups and try to educate their members on the need for additional room space."⁹ The need was there: by July 1952 it became obvious that accomodating the incoming kindergarten class would require shifting enrollment around between the elementary school to achieve balanced class sizes, and as early as 1951 Cooper and Parker were rated as in "very poor" condition.¹⁰ So the Independent District administration scaled down and clarified their second bond proposal, counting on the leaders of this new civic organization coalition to deliver the votes of their members.

Entrenched on the other side was the Taxpayer's Association. Considering the brevity of their existence, the GTA become remarkably proficient remarkably quickly at special interest group politics. Their calls for austerity often took the form of newspaper alarums and excursions just prior to the election; the dexterity with which they used the media is testified to by the high voter turnouts in every bond issue they opposed during those years. They knew how to milk a subsidiary issue for their own ends, such as advocating holding off on building plans until the reorganization of surrounding schools was settled, knowing full well that many in the Grinnell community considered reorganization unfeasible until the Independent District solved some of its building problems.¹¹ Delay was the name of the GTA's game - bungalows, barracks, rural schoolhouses, anything would do for temporary classrooms, they recommended,¹² until the board came up with a more streamlined blueprint, or reorganization redefined the situation, or the bond issue just petered out.

Most of the group's advertisements blended high-flown appeals to one's sense of independence, denigrations of overcrowding claims, and gross exaggeration, such as their prediction of a 50% increase in school taxation if the May 1953 bond issue passed.¹³ Where hyperbole failed to impress, factual-sounding half-truths

might. One of the GTA's arguments in the above election was that Grinnell could not afford new taxes because the town already had the lowest median income of Iowa cities with populations between 2500 and 10,000. A week later, a letter-writer pointed out the fallacy of that statement: the Taxpayer's Association was using 1950 census figures, the first that included Grinnell College students in the total. The low income of the students unfairly weighted their figures, since the collegians paid no school tax. Actually, the median income of townspeople who would be affected by the bond issue was far higher than that quoted by the GTA.¹⁴ The effect of the rebuttal was diluted, however, since it was buried inside the third section of the Herald-Register; the Taxpayer's Association claim had run on the second page. The GTA also used more direct forms of persuasion, such as offering voting-day rides to the polls and posting "watchers" there to monitor possible electioneering.¹⁵

Needless to say, the May 1953 issue went down to defeat, and a pattern was forming. Grinnell school officials devoted much of their time to planning new proposals, rehashing them in an attempt to appease various portions of the electorate, promoting them, and ruminating on their rejection. All this was time away from the basic business of education. It seemed to matter little that the administration had the official support of organizations that were ostensibly the power base of the town;¹⁷ the GTA so effectively played upon the community's latent frustrations through the exploitation of a single concern that they could cool their rhetoric for the three bond elections that took place in a little over a year after the May 1953 vote and still command a devastating negative majority. Thus, the Taxpayer's Association could confidently refuse to debate a pro-building Citizen's Committee over the October 1953 proposal because there was "nothing to be gained by the discussion of the subject."¹⁸ The only political failure the GTA met with was in director elections: a number of candidates endorsed by the organization lost their bids to become board members.¹⁹ But if they could not dominate the board in name, they certainly did in practice, at least in the crucial area of school construction.

Ironically, the essential failing of the administration's strategy was inadvertantly pinpointed by the Taxpayer's Association when the group demanded and received a change in the polling procedure just before the October 1953 election. Previously, voting had taken place at one central poll; this was replaced by balloting in four precincts, each of which corresponded to the wards used for municipal elections.²⁰ One must commend the GTA here, for the division was long overdue and relieved an incredible congestion caused by recent record turnouts. But what was revealed in subsequent bond votes was a split between the north and south parts of Grinnell in school voting. As one can see in the three elections commencing with October 1953, precincts 3 and 4, representing south Grinnell, went overwhelmingly against the bond proposals. Grinnell's lower-income families are centered in these two precincts and presumably were the most receptive to the GTA's tirades on higher taxes. The administration's civic-group approach to the elections was aimed at people already likely to be in favor of more school spending, and their first proposals made no real attempt to speak to the concerns of the south end. Particularly irksome to the latter were plans to put a new elementary school in the northeast corner of town; indeed, the GTA flatly stated that the people of south Grinnell would never vote for a site that would benefit the professionals and people associated with Grinnell College who were clustered in the first precinct.²¹ Finally the directors caught on, and the July 1954 issue contained a direct sop to the south-enders in the form of money to refurbish and add onto Davis, the only school in that part of town. But the GTA withheld approval,²² and Grinnell's solid south remained unshaken.

Reaction from the board was swift. Abandoning the etiquette of public conversation, four of the five members²³ issued the first official public denunciation of the GTA, chastising the group for a form letter it sent to residents shortly in advance of the election. Calling its contents "misleading and untrue," the directors cited an example in which the Taxpayer's Association quoted figures purporting to show a drop in Independent District

enrollment from the previous two years. These figures were based on an enumeration of all children in the District aged 5 to 21, however; the number actually attending Grinnell's schools rose 10% during the same period. Denying an allegation that GTA-sponsored proposals had been summarily rejected by the administration, the directors accused the group of trying to strike a "deal" whereby a majority of the board would be Taxpayer's Association members. "Since it was formed in 1952," closed the statement, "the Grinnell Taxpayer's Association has used every means of misinforming and confusing the public concerning school matters."²⁴ The GTA quickly denied these charges, vehemently so regarding trying to gain control of the board.²⁵

The exchange seemed to clear the air. Perhaps frustrated at how easily the GTA commanded votes, the board needed to dissipate tension and make certain the patrons knew they had not lost control of the District. But at the same time the directors must have realized that without a rapprochement with the Taxpayer's, the required 60% affirmative vote could never be obtained, so another bond issue was not immediately proposed. What happened in the next few months is not entirely clear, but in October 1954 a heretofore unorganized group of businessmen objected to the board's architectural consultant; subsequently, they promised to support the construction of a thirteen-room school in northwest Grinnell if the directors changed firms.²⁶ Two points remain enigmatic: first, the origins of this self-styled committee, and second, the reasons why they felt changing architects was so important. Nowhere is it officially recorded that the board called for a reconciliation between the two sides after the post-election outburst, so perhaps the first point can be explained by the directors sending out word through unofficial channels that they were ready for compromise, and thus the businessmen's committee was formed. The objection to the District's architect — one that was not voiced in public previously — was supposedly aimed at bringing a fresh approach to the situation; as the Herald-Register editorialized, "To some, changing architects may

seem a small matter. But. . . many have said they could work more whole-heartedly for the school if a new architect were on the job."²⁷ Yet, the objection was probably nothing more than a pretext to get both sides together.

Board member Lyman Case thought so, for when his colleagues decided to give in to the request of the businessmen's committee in March 1955, he cast the lone dissenting vote for the following reasons:

1. Due to the fact that the architects were hired in good faith and have performed their duties as required of them.
2. Due to the fact that I do not favor spending money [for severance from the architect's contract] without getting some benefit in return.
3. Due to the fact that I think this question of the architect stems from the thinking of one or two individuals.
4. Due to the work of [The civic-group coalition] and the past boards who have worked hard; their work shouldn't be impeached.

Case then resigned his seat.²⁸ Although the break was not amicable, his departure did not dispel a new "general optimism" that prevailed at the meeting.²⁹

Clearly, by this time the businessmen were dictating their will to the directors in the building matter. The board acquiesced willingly, since four of this "Committee of Twelve" were GTA members, including the group's president, Eugene F. Holmes.³⁰ After reaching an out-of-court breach of contract settlement with the old architectural firm, a payment acknowledged openly as having been made in the name of "political expediency,"³¹ the directors chose a new architect in tandem with the businessmen's committee.³² Having fulfilled their part of the bargain, the administration then let the businessmen organize the electorate. In short order the "Committee of Twelve" became the Community Committee for Schools, designating block chairpersons who conducted a pro-building canvass of the entire District. One of the leaders of the new committee sensed a "material change"³³ in the thinking of the voters, and he was right, for less than a month after organizing

his group delivered to the board a petition requesting a new bond election with 1303 signatures, three times as many as on earlier efforts.³⁴ Holmes brought the GTA in line, telling members that the new proposal was the best that could be expected.³⁵

Looking down the list of bond votes from 1952 to 1955, one can only marvel at the incredible organizational ability of the businessmen's committee. Their success in manipulating public opinion, diametrically opposed in magnitude to the board's failure, speaks volumes about the volatility of politics in a small city. Part of the message of the August 1955 election was that Grinnell voters were no longer accepting broad school policy decisions made ex cathedra from the board. But most importantly, the events of those four years signalled the development of a strong opposition to the old guard of Grinnell town leadership, one that did not hold the time-honored ideal of education at any cost; rather, the Taxpayer's Association appealed to both the financial interests and the collective frustration of citizens on both sides of town. A rift between north and south Grinnell, long suspected, was confirmed as fact. Bailey Park School, the final result of the draining series of bond elections, stayed the shock waves of increasing enrollment only for awhile. Equally short-lived was the compact that made its construction possible.

9/ The End of a Little Neighborhood Affair

Even as the Progressive-era Grinnell public schools were evolving the possibilities of a locally controlled educational system, events elsewhere were beginning to undermine that form of management. Around the end of the 19th century, leading schoolmen began to argue that a community-dominated school system was essentially provincial and could not equip youth to deal with new demands of agriculture or the complexities of an increasingly technological society.¹ One of their solutions was to eliminate the smallest, most hidebound districts with the consolidated school -- simply a merger of any number of tiny rural schools into one large district with centralized facilities. Consolidation

became the visible manifestation in Iowa of the development of modern public school systems from the one-room schoolhouse.

The movement officially began in the state in 1897 when the General Assembly first allowed the use of contingent fund monies for the transportation of students. Some sort of reform of Iowa's rural schools was needed, for in 1872 the legislature had removed all population restrictions from schools wishing to become independent of the county subdistrict system, creating an avalanche of tiny local districts. By 1900 the number of independent systems had increased ninefold;² 3795 had less than 20 students, as did 15,447 subdistricts.³ Ten years later, the situation was nearly out of hand: one-quarter of Iowa's rural schools enrolled ten students or less, with 26 such in Poweshiek County.⁴ That rural schools in general, and especially small ones, had far lower standards than did those in towns is well-documented. Sometimes there was not even a basis for comparison: Grinnell High School, for instance, served many rural students, testifying to the accuracy of the National Council of Education Committee on Secondary Education's 1889 report which claimed that "for all secondary education, the mass of the rural population is generally dependent upon chance, or the favor of some city."⁵ Most of the tiny farm districts were one room presided over by a teacher who was possibly younger than the oldest students and probably had only a little more education than they; maintaining discipline was often the instructor's greatest task.⁶ These teachers were under the direction of boards whose word might hold sway in defiance of state regulations.⁷ Story County Superintendent Ole Roe was quite right when he characterized the small rural independent district as more of "a little neighborhood affair" than a public institution.⁸

Although county high schools existed in Iowa prior to the consolidation movement,⁹ the first township in the state to combine a number of independent districts was Buffalo Township in Winnebago County, which established a school complex at Buffalo Center in 1897. From this start, consolidation moved turgidly

until 1913, when the legislature offered various forms of state aid to consolidated districts, prompting an increase in their number from 18 in 1912 to 181 in 1916. Although slowed by the war, soon after a new permissive law set off another torrent of consolidations; at times, on the average more than one new district was created per day. The farm price deflation and following depression in effect ended the movement in Iowa.¹⁰ Consolidation never really caught on in Poweshiek County, however. Answering a 1901 questionnaire inquiring into each county's receptiveness to the idea, Poweshiek's Superintendent responded curtly¹¹

Sentiment in the county is generally opposed to the plan. The disadvantages are bad roads and carrying a number of children in one closed conveyance. The advantages are better teachers and better equipment, the companionship and stimulus due to numbers There has been a lack of sympathy because of financial interest. . . .

Consolidation was not tried in the county until Guernsey formed a new district in 1916, and only four existed at the time of the 1921 collapse.¹²

After World War II, the rising costs of education made another rush to eliminate small schools seem imminent, so in 1947 the General Assembly tried to head off a chaotic rapid dissolution of rural schools by declaring a six-year moratorium on consolidations unless approved by the state. After the moratorium expired, no more consolidations were allowed; instead, schools wishing to merge formed "community" districts.¹³ The distinction between the two is not an idle one, for it reflects an increasing willingness of the state government to usurp operating responsibilities of local districts. Consolidation, although urged by the state, relied on the initiative of the affected area; reorganization was done under the order and the supervision of the state itself.¹⁴ Reorganization was a compromise designed to be palatable to residents of the remaining small rural districts, for although the state took away the option of keeping their schools autonomous, community districts made provisions for several attendance areas as opposed to one central unit, thus allowing the assimilated

systems to retain a building as a community center. This is important, for rural areas receive both status and a collective identity from their schools, collective identity being the feeling of residents within a restricted geographical area that certain activities and organizations, often school-related, make them distinctive.¹⁶ The dual role of rural schools as both community focal points and as parts of a vast state-wide educational system embodies a latent conflict, one which is obscured until a consolidation is considered or a reorganization ordered. When the conflict does emerge, sentiment for local control proves to be formidable, if not ineradicable.¹⁷ Residents of small districts tend to feel that the school belongs to them, ignoring its legal status as an agency of the state.¹⁸

Not surprisingly, when reorganization was first discussed in the Grinnell area after the 1953 mandate, there was considerable opposition, centered in but not confined to rural districts. Of all the farm-based systems that were part of the various proposed community districts, Newburg had perhaps the most at stake: its school was larger than those in other townships adjacent to Grinnell, better-established, and was a valued community center. In fact, the Independent District of Grinnell was compelled to enter into a "gentleman's agreement" with Newburg promising there would always be an attendance center in the village before any reorganization including the two actually took place. Other farm residents objected to a merger with Grinnell because they felt they would have to carry a disproportionate burden of the per-pupil cost of schooling.¹⁹ This contention is not without merit: a 1941 study of consolidated districts containing both farm and town elements found that rural residents paid the entire cost of their children's education plus 61.6% of the cost of sending town students to class, with wealthier farmers hit the hardest.²⁰ Other arguments advanced against reorganization by rural people included the possibility that basic skills and individual attention might suffer, the length of time it would take to transport students, and the feeling that the proposals had been rushed, that not enough hearings had been held.²¹ One early straw vote taken at rural

subdistrict meetings showed a 289-249 numerical majority in favor of reorganization, but only 7 of 15 districts in favor.²²

In truth, for years the schools of Grinnell were, in a limited way, a de facto community district because of the substantial numbers of tuition students enrolled from outlying areas. From the first, the town's schools served "foreign" students who boarded during the week, as did districts all over the state. "Many farmers in Iowa send their children to towns to school on Monday morning and go after them Friday night. Thousands of children in Iowa are receiving their education in this way," noted the State Superintendent in 1901.²³ Grinnell's share of these thousands translated into an equally impressive number of dollars in needed revenue, money often slated for some specific purpose, such as library acquisitions.²⁴ But by the 1940s, difficulties with delinquent tuition and muddled accounting and registration procedure had sapped the profit from serving tuition pupils.²⁵

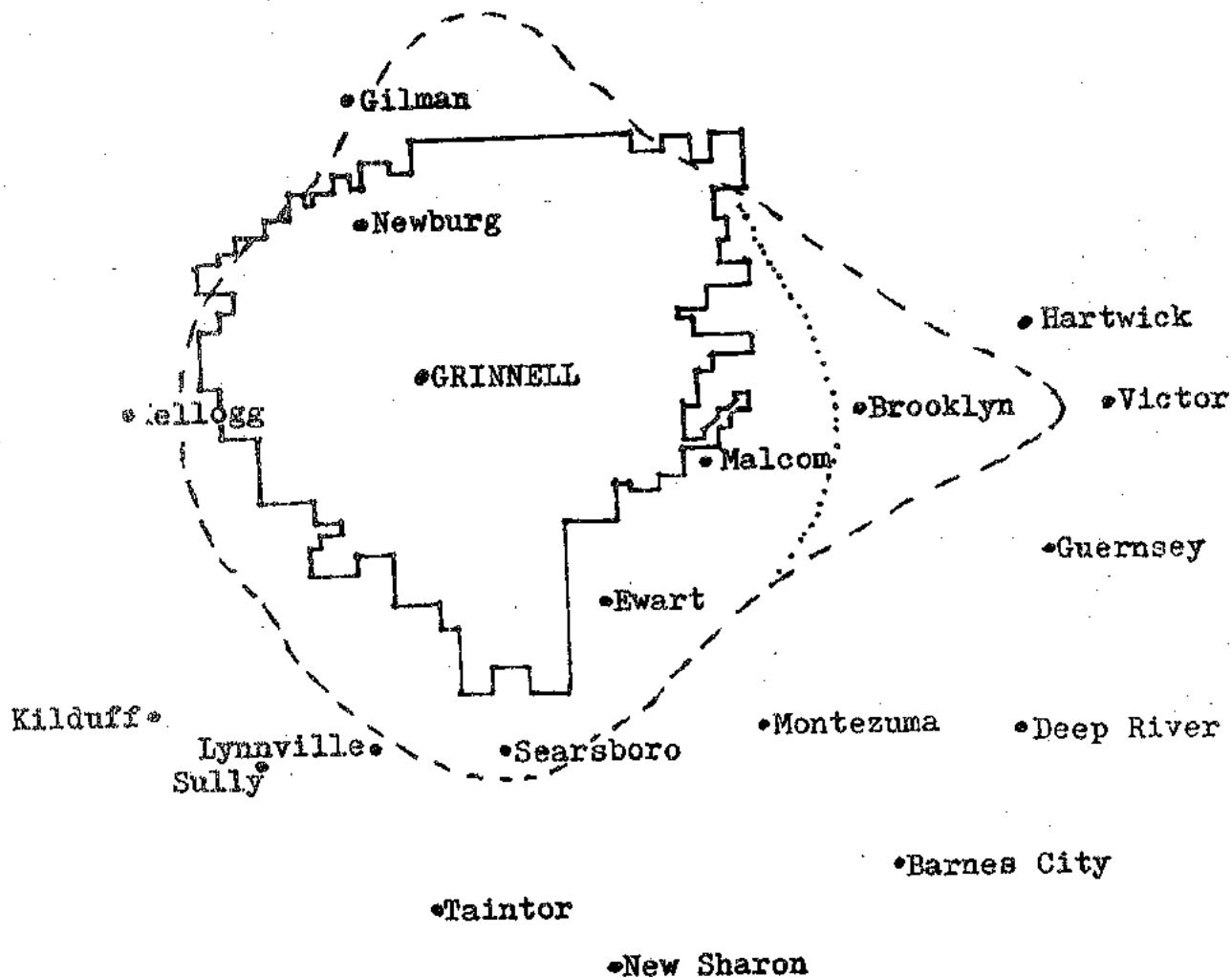
The tensions of impending reorganization brought the tuition issue to the fore. Soon after the 1953 order the Taxpayer's Association publicly suggested that the 103 rural students attending Grinnell schools should not return the next year because of crowded conditions in the schools. One GTA representative said "Leave out the rural students since they're not our obligation. Educating them is a luxury we can't afford at the present time."²⁶ The statement triggered an uncharacteristically swift and bold reaction from mainstream community leaders: a full-page advertisement in the next issue of the newspaper, containing the voluntary, unsolicited signatures of 56 Grinnell businesses, urged farmers to continue sending their children to the town's schools, saying in part "The statements made by the Grinnell Taxpayer's Association meeting and in their report last week DO NOT REPRESENT THE THINKING OF THE BUSINESS AND PROFESSIONAL MEN OF GRINNELL. . . . We know that farmers and townspeople are dependent upon each other. Grinnell is the focal point of an agricultural area and is here to serve the entire surrounding area. And part of that service is to provide. . . schools and

other services for this area."²⁷ A letter-writer put it more bluntly: "If we close the gate to [rural] students, and other towns accept [them], the trade dollar will move to some extent. . . . Farmers buy groceries, clothing, furniture, appliances. . . . They require the services of barbers, lawyers, doctors. . . it's impossible to list them all."²⁸

This furore illustrates the desirability of a district which encompasses something other than arbitrary government boundaries; namely, one that serves a natural trading area rather than polarizing a community into "town" and "country." So went the prevailing theory of the time as well, and in fact a majority of districts in some states already had boundaries which described a natural community — a service area.²⁹ At the start of the 1950s some Grinnell administrators professed a desire to better serve the town's trade area,³⁰ and as it turned out, whether by chance or design the Grinnell-Newburg Community School District that was formed in 1958 comes reasonably close to following the trade area of the town of Grinnell (see map. p. 71). For example, the Jasper-Poweshiek county line was ignored in the reorganization. All indications are that the new district was probably shaped mainly by default, since many schools had already reorganized; its final form was certainly not the first choice of Grinnell's board. As early as 1953 the Independent District wrote the County Board of Education in favor of a reorganization plan, and two years later Grinnell made a serious bid to join a new community district forming to the west, but was rejected by the participants.³¹ Faced with the prospect of being left out in the cold, by late 1957 even Newburg voters saw the futility of delay: one group urged passage of a reorganization plan because the next proposed district would be smaller, with a concomitant smaller tax base and consequent higher costs.³²

Finally in May 1958 a proposal came to the ballot, since far more than the minimum 20% of the total electors had signed petitions calling for the vote. The plan passed with a large numerical majority, which would have been meaningless had less than the required

Comparison of trade area of Grinnell, Iowa, and the
Grinnell-Newburg Community School District



———— Grinnell-Newburg boundaries

- - - - - trade area of Grinnell

. approximate farthest incursion of Cedar Rapids trade area

Trade area boundaries from Donald A. Anderson et. al.,
Preliminary Comprehensive Plan for Grinnell, Iowa (1962),
p. 52.

three-quarters of the districts involved approved. But eleven of the twelve did, and three months later the 91-year-old Independent District of Grinnell went out of existence, its schools becoming the centerpiece of the Grinnell-Newburg Community School District.³³ The change was not as marked as it first appears, for aside from individual tuition students a number of tiny rural districts had already closed their doors and melded into the Independent District. Eight years before reorganization, Grinnell schools were officially covering parts of seven townships.³⁴ The board made sure the transition to the enlarged district was eased by keeping thirteen one-teacher schools open in 1958-59 and six the next year before all rural buildings in the new district closed.³⁵ One of the first tasks of the directors — with one now elected from each of four rural precincts in addition to a Grinnell representative — was to settle a tiresome land squabble with the Brooklyn-Guernsey-Malcom Community School District. Eventually the dispute reached the Iowa Supreme Court, resulting in a fraction more land being added to Grinnell-Newburg,³⁶ whose boundaries have remained unchanged since.

10/ State and Federal Influence

Since the consolidation movement did not reach the Independent District, purely local administration of Grinnell's public schools peaked at the end of the Progressive era. A generation of reforms had been planned and executed entirely by the people of the town, and although some were members of national organizations or subscribed to theories and ideologies that were current across the country, the impetus for change basically came from local interests. Grinnell Progressives were only peripherally influenced by state government, such as by health codes or free textbook statutes. Policy was not dictated from Des Moines or Washington, revenue was generated within the community or not at all, and the directors were the last word in the operation of Grinnell's schools.

We have already seen examples of the erosion of this position

over the last sixty years: the increasing delegation of authority by the board, federal nonsexist policies and assistance for special education, and state-ordered reorganization of the schools. Evident too have been reactions against outside intervention; in the administration, the board's refusal to accept New Deal help, and in the town itself, the rise of the Grinnell Taxpayer's Association. The latter's appearance supports an observation made by school-politics theoreticians Laurence Iannaccone and Frank Lutz: ". . .it appears that some negative reactions to increases in taxation at state and federal levels of government may find an outlet in voting on financial issues at the local school district elections."¹ This is only part of the answer; it seems that, in essence, the phenomenon of the GTA can be explained by sentiment in Grinnell for local control of education. Such sentiment has sporadically been articulated, such as a 1955 Herald-Register editorial in favor of local spending for local school projects even if state funds became available,² but generally the townspeople's frustration at lessening control over their schools has found expression in concerted action, such as through the Taxpayer's Association or in the book ban controversy. In any case, since World War II the demands of running and funding a modern school system have been satisfied more and more at the federal and state levels rather than locally.

A pioneering experiment in state funding in Iowa was the Supplementary School Aid Bill of 1946. Although similar programs were tried earlier, this law was written to encourage easy access to the funds by most districts. It provided money to school systems that couldn't afford to spend \$75 per year per elementary student and \$125 per year per senior high student on schooling. The Independent District was in that category, and asked for \$7000³ and received \$1700 in the first year of statute.⁴ The rush for state money was on: by 1955 the Independent District was getting over \$11,000 in various forms of aid from Iowa.⁵

Money from outside was welcomed, but other examples of state legislation showed Grinnell administrators how laws only indirectly connected with schools could have effects on them vastly

greater. Passed alongside the Supplementary Aid Bill was the Old-Age and Survivor's Insurance Act, affecting all public employees in Iowa, including teachers. Superintendent Hawk worried that many on the public payroll would be entering their jobs relatively late in life and retire early, such as highway workers; whereas teachers would start in their occupation earlier and leave it later, thus paying more than their share into the retirement fund. He felt "teachers as a class are discriminated against" because they were lumped together with all public employees, declaring "the benefits to the small-contributing, early-retiring group will build up much faster than their contributions to the fund." Contributions from Grinnell, Hawk claimed, would never fully support more than a handful of retired teachers.⁶

Federal funding in the town was launched with Sputnik. In the scramble to close the "technology gap," the National Defense Education Act was created in 1958. Under this law, within three years Grinnell-Newburg received more than \$35,000 in matching funds for mathematics and science courses, counselling in these areas, and laboratory equipment.⁷ "Great Society" programs during the Johnson years widened the scope of money-giving. Title II-A of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 provided grants for Head Start pre-kindergartens, a possibility which very much interested the board. On the other hand, the directors did not even consider applying for Job Corps assistance under Title I-A of this act, apparently in part because that program was not supported by Governor Harold Hughes.⁸ The District went ahead with a pilot summer-long Head Start in 1965; that autumn, it was the consensus of the kindergarten teachers that children who had attended the pre-school were better able to cope with entering regular classes. So enthusiastic was the response to the program that it was made year-round in 1967.⁹ Other Grinnell-Newburg offerings made possible by "Great Society" money included a small-class summer school, remedial reading courses, an extended kindergarten class, and a free-lunch program.¹⁰

Johnson's decision not to seek re-election in 1968 did not

stem the flow of national revenue-sharing. More recently, the federal government has underwritten an evaluation of Grinnell-Newburg's secondary program and has provided grants for individual elementary teachers to develop self-contained learning centers in their rooms; the successful Orff-Kodály method of beginning music instruction was likewise funded.¹¹ If anything, the "Great Society" experiments have given way to even more extensive state-level participation in educational financing. Compare the following breakdowns of Grinnell-Newburg's revenue:

	State Appropriations	Federal Appropriations	Local Taxes	Total
1967-68 ¹²	\$475,164.82	\$35,825.31	\$1,368,313.07	\$1,879,303.20
1974-75 ¹³	\$1,188,183.60	\$54,421.11	\$1,886,413.43	\$3,129,018.14

From the end of the Johnson administration to the beginning of Ford's tenure, federal money to the District increased about 50%, a much larger percentage jump than that of local taxes. But during the same period state appropriations skyrocketed nearly 300%, more than tripling the rate of increase of the total revenue of the District and overtaking local money as its single greatest source. One can see in these figures a distillation of the shift away from local public school administration in Grinnell.

Yet, according to one former board member, the most important change of the last quarter-century in the way Iowa districts are operated was the institution of a state-mandated ceiling on school budgets in the early 1970s. Because the ceiling is fairly low, a large part of the local board's leverage in financial decisions has been usurped by the legislature. Most of the remainder evaporated with the acceptance of binding arbitration as a way to settle collective bargaining disputes with employees. Nearly all the salaries on the District's payroll are pegged proportionately to those of teachers, and if negotiations stall, their wages might be decided in binding arbitration with an outside mediator. Thus, it is possible that a decision by a person not normally connected with Grinnell-Newburg affairs could have a crucial impact on the vast majority of the school budget.¹⁴

As might be expected, the reaction of Grinnell school officials to increasing state and federal intervention into education has been mixed. As one administrator put it, "The entrance of the federal government into the local educational program with its multiplicity of programs aimed at what is considered to be local deficiency with its attendant required applications, justifications, structuring, recording, reporting, and researching is voluminous and time-consuming to say the least."¹⁵ And troublesome to say the most; for example, Grinnell-Newburg has had some problems in the past in following Title I reporting requirements.¹⁶ But no District administrator has seriously suggested forgoing state and federal help — although some understandably resent all the rules the bureaucracy imposes — and none harbor any illusions about the extent of their power. Some have openly acknowledged the erosion of local control;¹⁸ others imply it by noting the two insidious aspects of federal and state funding: to keep one's district comparable in quality to surrounding ones a director today must accept outside revenue, and once such money is received, a district must spend all its annual allotment in order to receive at least that much or a percentage increase thereof the next year.¹⁹ All that is left to the Grinnell-Newburg board is impassive acceptance of the situation, leavened with a little self-deprecating humor: according to one former director, when he and his colleagues were faced with a particularly difficult decision, they often facetiously referred it to the state legislature, saying "We'll let the big school board take care of this problem."²⁰

11/ Money and Buildings and Buildings and Money

Without question, the reorganization of 1958 changed the entire character of public schooling in the Grinnell community. A profusion of problems once the town's alone suddenly became the concerns of much of northwestern Poweshiek County. Creating a community school district only intensified space shortages, wear on schools themselves, and debate on the curriculum. Old methods of dealing with these issues, methods that too often had produced

results only haltingly, were discarded. The insularity of decision-making was replaced by an open-door policy: directors were joined by professional and lay evaluation committees.

Building conditions, both structural and spatial, received the lion's share of the attention of these evaluators. A citizen's committee was formed in 1950 when it became obvious that construction would soon be necessary, but it was more of a liaison between board and the civic groups than an advisory panel. The first solicited professional evaluation of the Independent District came only after the directors had reached the end of the tether. After the disastrous series of bond proposals, the board desperately needed some new ammunition for their side, and so brought in S.J. Knezevich, a University of Iowa school consultant. Knezevich delivered, calling the Grinnell building situation as serious as any he had seen in Iowa. Calculating the effect, he said "you are taking an outright gamble with the lives of children forced to attend school in these old buildings."¹ This rather blustery scare statement ultimately had far less to do with the passage of bonds in August 1955 than the arm-twisting of the businessmen's committee, but his evaluation had elements of truth in it, and three years later he reiterated this position.² Moreover, his indictment of the District's "gamble" gained currency with the years, and by the late 1960s would seem prophetic.

Obviously the influx of students in the 1958-59 school year was too much for the existing facilities, since Grinnell-Newburg kept a number of rural schoolhouses open for its first two years. This time it was apparent to all that new buildings were absolutely necessary, but, wary of charges that they had not consulted the townspeople in previous bond campaigns, the board convened a citizen's building study committee. Showing a remarkable facility for diplomacy, this committee recommended that Grinnell be showered with gifts: a new elementary school for the northeast, a west-side high school, and a five-room addition to Davis for south-enders. The directors readily accepted these suggestions, and with the Taxpayer's Association in dormancy after the reorganization, the April 1959 bond issue passed easily.³

Thus, by 1960 Grinnell-Newburg had new elementary facilities in Bailey Park and Fairview, a partially modern structure in Davis, and aging buildings in Parker, Cooper, and Newburg, along with a just-completed senior high and a nearly-obsolete junior high (refer to first table, p. 28). On the surface it appeared the District's physical plant problems were well in hand, yet a combination of poor planning, political considerations, and the desire of the board to get new buildings in operation as quickly as possible had caused all the city's elementary schools to be inadequately sited. An engineering firm hired to do a comprehensive study of Grinnell incidentally pointed out the situation. The following recommended areas were formulated by the company during this study:⁴

Elementary School	Minimum Recommended Site Area	Actual Site Area	Enrollment (1961-62)	Optimum Site Area*
Bailey Park	5 acres	2.1 acres	390	8.9 acres
Cooper	5 acres	1.9 acres	159	6.6 acres
Davis	5 acres	3.3 acres	360	8.6 acres
Fairview	5 acres	3.9 acres	213	7.1 acres
Parker	5 acres	1.2 acres	149	6.5 acres
*optimum site area is 5 acres plus 1 acre per every 100 students enrolled				

None of the sites came close to the minimum acreage, let alone the optimum, and to make matters worse, the schools with the smallest sites, Parker and Cooper, were located on busy U.S. Highway 6. These two buildings originally stood toward the outskirts of the town, but as Grinnell expanded, the residential areas they were meant to serve were pushed farther and farther out. The completion of Bailey Park and Fairview made for an absurd juxtaposition of tiny outdated schools only a few blocks from brand new ones, with a consequent overlap in service areas.⁵

If anything, the Junior High's siting shortfall was far more acute. At the time of the 1962 evaluation, 553 students were attending school in a building forty years old sitting on a plot less than one acre in size. Ten acres was the minimum recommended area for a modern junior high school, and for Grinnell-Newburg the

optimum area was 24.6 acres.⁶ The schoolyard consisted of a city park across the street, but for a long time a swale made it useless as a playing field until the District and the city jointly paid to have the ground levelled.⁷ Only the Senior High among Grinnell's schools was adequately sited.⁸

As enrollment kept rising, lack of space on the outside became lack of space on the inside. A citizen's committee in early 1965 urged additions be built on elementary schools; that autumn a shortage of classrooms forced the District to bus all sixth-graders to Newburg and within two years private homes near Davis had to be purchased for classrooms.⁹ Of course, as the children of the baby boom continually poured into Grinnell-Newburg's schools, the administration was caught between the devil and the deep blue sea: space was at a premium, yet the condition of Parker, Cooper, and Junior High was increasingly the "gamble" of which Knezevich had spoken. A regional consultant from the Iowa Department of Public Instruction was perfectly justified in calling for the abandonment of Parker because of its structural condition, dearth of facilities, and dangerous location¹⁰ — but where could the District have put its students? Portable classrooms were only a stopgap measure, so, reluctantly, the administration prepared another bond proposal, one calling for additions to Fairview and the Senior High (for all bond elections 1968-76, refer to tables, pp. 84-85).

Their reluctance can be attributed to a revitalized taxpayer opposition. The GTA became inactive after 1955, but under the leadership of Harold McCulloch, who has headed the opposition ever since, a Grinnell-Newburg Taxpayer's Association was formed in the early 1960s. Although the two groups were separate entities, they shared many of the same members. Like its predecessor, the GNTA existed solely to monitor the school administration. Coming off two unsuccessful but highly publicized budget protests¹¹ (see below), the organization showed that it had retained the GTA's deft political touch, charging that the classroom shortage was artificially created by over-hiring teachers and was "college-promoted,"¹² the latter being a sure-fire way to mobilize opinion

in south Grinnell against the proposal. The strategy worked; after the fact, in a message obviously aimed at the GNPA, the directors declared that the vote had "relegated a large number of boys and girls in the district. . .to begin their formal education in a situation that affords them something less than an equal opportunity, and in a building that is most inefficient from an economic standpoint, and highly unsatisfactory from a safety standpoint," and invited opponents to make their own suggestions for future construction.¹³

Things could have easily turned into a repeat of the 1950s, with a revolving-door of proposals and counter-proposals. Instead, the directors decided to pause and take stock, to look at all the facets of the District in an exhaustive outside professional evaluation before moving on. The effort would be the first attempt by the public schools of the Grinnell community to integrate comprehensive examinations of curriculum, instruction, student services, and building conditions while simultaneously creating a systematic, on-going means of setting up goals and judging progress. A team of university-based consultants headed by Richard P. Manatt was the board's choice for the task, and their findings, which appeared in December 1969 and quickly became known as the Manatt report, have been the primary basis for much of Grinnell-Newburg's administrative policy in the 1970s, as well as providing grounds for debate at the time of its publication. The Manatt report's importance is such that it would be worthwhile to digress briefly from the District's building problems and summarize its major points, first in curriculum and teaching areas, then regarding the physical plant.

Most of the criticisms of instruction were at the secondary level. Elementary classes in Grinnell-Newburg were found to be quite satisfactory and the teaching staff was warmly praised; the only suggestion was that continuous progress be tried as a replacement of the self-contained classroom approach as a pilot program.¹⁴ At the Junior and Senior High Schools, the evaluation was not so positive — it does not take the reader long to discover

the anti-traditional perspective of the team. They felt that all the basic subjects were too textbook-oriented: "The program of studies at both the junior and senior high school are somewhat traditional and limited in variety."¹⁵ The consultants wanted the District to turn away from education in which the teacher is constantly the center of the class' attention in favor of bringing more "outside experience" into the schools.¹⁶

A desire for less structured instructional methods prevades the evaluations of individual curriculum areas. Mathematics training in Grinnell-Newburg was closely bound to one sourcebook, precluding improvement and revision except for every five or six years when texts were changed. However, the consultant sensed the math staff was "reluctant to plan or innovate to any extent because of a highly restrictive financial climate."¹⁷ Language arts teachers also took a "stiff, traditional approach which seems almost incredibly textbook oriented and controlled. . . ." Here the evaluator noted that actual processes of communication, such as writing, speaking, and listening, didn't often come up in his talks with the District's English teachers; discussions were dominated by curriculum, work loads, and textbooks. He acknowledged the basic competence of these teachers, however, and admitted that their "solid, methodical approach to learning" did produce results in terms of test scores.¹⁸ Parenthetically, it should be noted that the very qualities of language arts instruction assailed in the Manatt report were held up as objects of emulation by North Central Association evaluators three years previously prior to a re-accreditation of the High School.¹⁹ Textbook orientation worked better in the sciences. The program was satisfactory; the teachers, enthusiastic and well-qualified.²⁰ Although the curriculum did not have the elective range he would have liked, the social studies consultant commended the staff for its innovative attitude and willingness to experiment, and intimated that whatever limitations existed in this area were caused by the constraints of inadequate facilities.²¹

As the team noted, it was "difficult to separate curriculum

needs from the physical plant limitations,"²² and here the severity of their indictment mitigates some of the above criticisms. The building analysis is systematic and thorough. Regarding elementary schools, the report called for the immediate abandonment of Parker and Cooper while finding Newburg and Davis "educationally obsolete." Since the structural shortcomings of the buildings were so glaring, Manatt listed only their "minor problems": lack of storage space, electrical outlets, blackboard space, and lighting controls; and the deterioration of floors, windows, doors, plumbing, rest rooms, and acoustics. According to the team, the layout of the three new elementary buildings — Bailey Park, Fairview, and Davis addition — indicated that only traditional programs would be carried out therein, since none contained an instructional materials center or flexible-use areas. "All of the elementary buildings," concluded the group, "are inadequate except for the most traditional educational programs."²³ Not surprisingly, the evaluation of the Junior High was quite similar. The site: "totally inadequate." Sanitation, storage space, structural integrity, heating, ventilation — all unsatisfactory. Home economics and music rooms were too small, the science room ill-equipped, and art was taught in a converted hallway. District offices were in cramped quarters on the first floor. In case of fire, the design of the building was unsafe. In short, Manatt urged Grinnell-Newburg to quit trying to squeeze more use out of the Junior High: "The building and the site should be abandoned as an instructional facility as soon as a new facility can be provided."²⁴ Of all the District's schools, only the eight-year-old Senior High was given an unalloyed satisfactory rating.²⁵

Even though they disagreed with the instructional style in Grinnell-Newburg, the Manatt team made it clear that the District's problems were not in personnel:

. . . the Grinnell-Newburg Schools are doing a better than average job of providing for the needs of the youth in these two Iowa towns. . . overall productivity is good, the morale of the students and teachers is adequate, and the community is proud of their youth and their

schools. . . . The board of education, the administration, and the teachers have a positive attitude. In the past few years Grinnell Community Schools have evoked much sympathy in educational circles for the extraordinary 'heat of criticism' from a few citizens who seem determined to foster a taxpayer's revolt.

The report concluded with five construction alternatives and the caveat that each year's delay in building would cost the patrons thousands of dollars.²⁶

Reaction to the volume was as one might expect. Having just paid for it, the board felt the study was essentially right in its observations,²⁷ and traces of Manatt philosophy can be discerned in the policy of later boards. Criticisms in the report have prompted curriculum innovations — the most obvious being continuous progress²⁸ — and learning is far less teacher-centered than it once was, but instruction in Grinnell-Newburg has never strayed a great distance from the time-tested "methodical" approach at which its teachers have excelled. Of course, the Manatt report was less well-received by the opposition. Taxpayer Association chairman McCulloch felt Manatt himself was "a little bit radical"; certainly the propensity of the evaluators for anti-traditionalism and building demolition flew in the face of the GNTA's stated goals.²⁹ One of the few points on which Manatt and the GNTA agreed was an impending decline in enrollment,³⁰ figures which no doubt lent authority to the Taxpayer's argument that repair and not construction was the answer to Grinnell-Newburg's building situation going into the 1970s.

Talk of renovating the older buildings was simply unrealistic, however; by 1969, one-fifth of the elementary classrooms were more than seventy years old (see second table, p. 28) and beyond saving. Three months after the publication of the Manatt evaluation the board was seriously considering contingency plans in case either Parker, Cooper, or the Junior High were closed by structural deterioration or state order. A year later they decided that Parker was not worth the continued risk, and beat state inspectors to the punch by closing and selling the structure.³¹ With even more strain

Grinnell-Newburg Bond Elections 1968-1976

9 December 1968/ \$571,000 for additions to Fairview Elementary and Grinnell-Newburg Community Senior High

Precinct	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>ABS</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
YES	323 30.1%	880 63.5%	38 17.8%	20 31.3%	15 12.2%	-	-	1276 44.63%
NO	750 69.9%	505 36.5%	176 82.2%	44 68.7%	108 87.8%	-	-	1583 55.37%
	<u>1073</u>	<u>1385</u>	<u>214</u>	<u>64</u>	<u>123</u>	-	-	<u>2859</u>

2 October 1973/ \$5,350,000 for upgrading all elementary schools, construct a new middle school, and adding on to the Senior High

	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>ABS</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
YES	328 31.7%	785 52.1%	42 20.5%	5 5.6%	12 11.3%	54 24.8%	-	1226 38.77%
NO	708 68.3%	722 47.9%	163 79.5%	85 94.4%	94 88.7%	164 75.2%	-	1936 61.23%
	<u>1036</u>	<u>1507</u>	<u>205</u>	<u>90</u>	<u>106</u>	<u>218</u>	-	<u>3162</u>

11 December 1974/ \$4,450,000 for a new senior high and additions to Fairview and Davis

	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>ABS</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
YES	445 26.2%	1204 59.8%	73 25.3%	16 9.9%	20 10.1%	86 24.9%	-	2016 39.31%
NO	1255 73.8%	811 40.2%	215 74.7%	146 90.1%	179 89.9%	260 75.1%	-	3113 60.69%
	<u>1700</u>	<u>2015</u>	<u>288</u>	<u>162</u>	<u>199</u>	<u>346</u>	-	<u>5129</u>

18 June 1975/ Issue 1: \$250,000 to allow junior high to meet Fire Marshal standards

	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>ABS</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
YES	299 52.1%	297 31.4%	64 50.8%	62 76.5%	52 57.8%	68 56.7%	22 19.8%	864 42.21%
NO	275 47.9%	648 68.6%	62 49.2%	19 23.5%	38 42.2%	52 43.3%	89 80.2%	1183 57.79%
	<u>574</u>	<u>945</u>	<u>126</u>	<u>81</u>	<u>90</u>	<u>120</u>	<u>111</u>	<u>2047</u>

18 June 1975/ Issue 2: \$1,500,000 to allow complete renovation of junior high

	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>ABS</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
YES	137 25.8%	144 15.6%	28 23.5%	35 41.2%	27 32.5%	21 18.1%	17 14.9%	409 20.75%
NO	393 74.2%	780 84.4%	91 76.5%	50 58.8%	56 67.5%	95 81.9%	97 85.1%	1562 79.25%
	<u>530</u>	<u>924</u>	<u>119</u>	<u>85</u>	<u>83</u>	<u>116</u>	<u>114</u>	<u>1971</u>

Grinnell-Newburg Bond Elections 1968-1976 (cont'd)

9 September 1975/ \$4,350,000 for new senior high school

Precinct	1	2	3	4	5	6	ABS	TOTAL
YES	377 44.4%	970 68.8%	83 40.7%	20 19.6%	16 11.0%	64 30.6%	50 44.6%	1580 52.10%
NO	473 55.6%	440 31.2%	121 59.3%	82 80.4%	130 89.0%	145 69.4%	62 55.4%	1453 47.90%
	<u>850</u>	<u>1410</u>	<u>204</u>	<u>102</u>	<u>146</u>	<u>209</u>	<u>112</u>	<u>3033</u>

23 March 1976/ Issue 1: \$400,000 to repair Junior High School

	1	2	3	4	5	6	ABS	TOTAL
YES	553 56.1%	526 38.2%	116 57.7%	116 85.3%	98 68.1%	147 61.0%	86 54.8%	1642 50.65%
NO	432 43.9%	852 61.8%	85 42.3%	20 14.7%	46 31.9%	94 39.0%	71 45.2%	1600 49.35%
	<u>985</u>	<u>1378</u>	<u>201</u>	<u>136</u>	<u>144</u>	<u>241</u>	<u>157</u>	<u>3242</u>

23 March 1976/ Issue 2: \$3,500,000 for new junior high in southeast Grinnell

	1	2	3	4	5	6	ABS	TOTAL
YES	534 53.0%	997 68.2%	110 55.8%	28 20.4%	56 38.6%	98 39.2%	89 56.7%	1912 56.99%
NO	474 47.0%	464 31.8%	87 44.2%	109 79.6%	89 61.4%	152 60.8%	68 43.3%	1443 43.01%
	<u>1008</u>	<u>1461</u>	<u>197</u>	<u>137</u>	<u>145</u>	<u>250</u>	<u>157</u>	<u>3355</u>

28 September 1976/ \$3,700,000 for new junior high in southeast Grinnell (\$200,000 of that sum to go to making Junior High meet Fire Marshal's standards)

	1	2	3	4	5	6	ABS	TOTAL
YES	571 55.2%	1123 71.2%	101 55.8%	19 19.0%	47 34.3%	99 43.2%	38 62.3%	1998 60.16%
NO	464 44.8%	455 28.8%	80 44.2%	81 81.0%	90 65.7%	130 56.8%	23 37.7%	1323 39.84%
	<u>1035</u>	<u>1578</u>	<u>181</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>137</u>	<u>229</u>	<u>61</u>	<u>3321</u>

Precincts (beginning with the October 1973 election):

- 1) south Grinnell and south Malcom Township
- 2) north Grinnell, north Malcom Township, and part of Chester Township
- 3) Newburg area
- 4) Sheridan Township
- 5) Washington Township and Richland Township (Jasper County)
- 6) Rock Creek Township (Jasper Township)

ABS: absentee ballots (first counted seperately in June 1975 election)

60% affirmative vote needed to pass bond proposals

being put on all the other elementary facilities, the directors again faced the prospect of a series of devisive bond votes.

But experience had taught Grinnell's board the futility of rushing to the polls. Careful planning and definition of the proposal were required simply to get it taken seriously by the voters. Thus, starting almost a year before the actual election, a detailed outline of steps designed to secure passage of bonds was drawn up, featuring the solicitation of a lay committee to study building needs and enlist community-wide support.³² This strategy bears a distinct resemblance to that used by the board in the 1952-1955 bond cycle; perhaps recalling the earlier string of failures, in the winter of 1973 the directors took advantage of the campaign's early beginning by changing its emphasis. Superintendent Buford Garner successfully argued that the board concede a bloc of intransigent "no" votes and concentrate on getting to the polls the large groups of potential affirmative voters, specifically school staff and their families and parents of elementary schoolchildren who would benefit most by the replacement of the Junior High. Board members should saturate themselves in the facts of the proposal, Garner urged, and defend it unemotionally.³³

Taking the Superintendent's advice meant a break with past practice, normally anathema to the administration. But in the wake of Manatt and in the midst of a crumbling physical plant, the directors decided to offer the residents of the District a real choice in the direction of their schools by proposing a complete restructuring of the system. Gone entirely would be the junior high level, replaced by a middle school of grades 5-8. Elementary schools would be attenuated to K-4, allowing newly-vacated space to be used for libraries, art rooms, and storage; the High School would absorb the ninth-graders.³⁴ The plan quickly received cautious but firm support from the previously-formed lay committee on construction.³⁵ In short order the board hired an architect to draw up preliminary facility plans for all levels, which were ready well in time for the election.

On the line was some of the most exciting and innovative

educational thinking ever considered in the public schools of the community. In the middle school plans, the latest in flexible room-planning was designed in conjunction with the requests and needs of the staff. For example, counsellors wanted their offices not only soundproofed, but to be located in a heavy student traffic area to encourage walk-ins and away from the administrative suite so those wishing to visit need not feel self-conscious. Librarians wanted shelving low enough so middle-schoolers could reach books without an adult's help.³⁶ This sort of subtle detail, mundane at first glance, is really an example of well-thought objectives whose purpose was to increase a youngster's sense of independence. On the primary level, it was proposed that Bailey Park operate on block-time within the grade, with one teacher handling mathematics and science while another taught social studies and language arts. If Newburg were to be continued in use, it was suggested that the interior walls be removed from the middle and top floors, creating an open-space atmosphere centered around an instructional materials area, with students participating in the pilot program voluntarily.³⁷

Almost immediately the plan became entangled in extra-educational squabbling. Director Vernon Graham announced he could not support the proposal because of the "politics" he felt were used to place the site of the middle school in the southeast corner of town.³⁸ In their advertisements just before the October 1973 vote, the Taxpayer's Association seemed care less about the high price tag of the issue and more about their perception of the board as being "pawns of school personnel, architects, and promoters"; mere "yes" men being led about by their noses.³⁹ Anti-intellectualism is rampant throughout these broadsides, such as chiding the directors for hiring a "professor" instead of a "superintendent" in Garner, and railing against efforts to mobilize Grinnell College students to vote in favor of the bonds.⁴⁰ As usual, the GNTA's tactics were all too effective, but after the defeat of the proposal the Grinnell-Newburg Education Association admitted that even some of its member teachers found it too complex

to understand.⁴¹ The size of the loss destroyed any possibility that subsequent bond issues could be used as vehicles of innovation.

Meanwhile, the condition of Cooper demanded attention. The structure was steadily failing, and facilities within were execrable: there were no fire alarms or escapes, the dining area was malodorously located between two rest rooms, physical education was held in a converted coal bin, and the principal's office consisted of a desk in a corridor.⁴² Before the 1973 vote, the board briefly considered spending \$7000 to shore up the building, but were dissuaded by parents who objected to the split-shifting that repairs would have entailed and by arguments that even if a limited renovation was made, children attending Cooper were receiving an education unequal to those attending Fairview only a few blocks away. On the strength of these and similar objections, the directors voted to close the building at the end of the school year,⁴³ their decision remaining unchanged by the outcome of the October election. It came none too soon, for in Cooper's final months the top floor had to remain unused because of safety considerations and two state inspectors called for its abandonment.⁴⁴

What they said about Cooper went double for the Junior High. Repeating the now-familiar litany of structural and equipment defects, both urged what Manatt had before them: give up the building as a school.⁴⁵ Obviously neither inspector could have been expected to fully understand the special circumstances of taxpayer opposition in Grinnell-Newburg, no matter how notorious the GNTA's "heat of criticism." One can fairly state that during these years the Taxpayer's Association could command 60% of the vote in a bond election without anything approaching an exhaustive effort. Even the proposal of December 1974, which drew the largest school election voter turnout in Grinnell history by far, never really seemed in danger of passage. Interest in this vote was fanned by the recent election of GNTA chairman McCulloch to the board, where he was subsequently made president. This unique situation not only pleased McCulloch, who had made quite a few attempts to get a seat on the board in order to voice Taxpayer's

Association opinion from within the administration, but must have intrigued a good number of the patrons of the District. If anyone thought McCulloch would sublimate his taxpayer interests to those of a director, they were mistaken, for he continued to staunchly defend and promote the GNTA within the board as well as run Taxpayer Association attacks on the board. Forming an alliance with the ad hoc Save Your Property Crusade Committee, the GNTA renewed its tactics of spreading skepticism about the motives of the administration, counselling delay until economic conditions improved, impugning the board's mathematics, quoting high prices from unnamed architects, and appealing to anti-College instincts.⁴⁶ The GNTA also charged the administration with dereliction in maintenance to the point of conscious neglect, alleging that the directors willingly let older schools run down because proper care would have jeopardized chances for new construction.⁴⁷ Never did the Taxpayers offer publicly any specific plan to deal with the building crisis.

Again, one must acknowledge the GNTA's proficiency in exploiting the issue and motivating voters favorable to their views. In the face of this expertise, even compelling advertisements of the pro-building forces stood no chance. One, for instance, showed how students on the third floor of the Junior High would have to escape in the event of fire. Those in the room with the emergency exit had to climb on a chair, out a window, and down a narrow, winding metal stairway. Students in adjacent rooms had to squeeze through a "crawl space," a short tunnel between rooms barely large enough for an average-sized child, before following the above procedure. Those two rooms away had to negotiate two crawl spaces.⁴⁸ Such advertisements seemed to have little impact, as did the creation of a "truth squad" to monitor fair campaign practices. A pro-bond group calling itself the First Responsible Grinnell-Newburg Taxpayer's Association formed,⁴⁹ but politically they weren't close to the genuine article. The bond issue was crushed in every precinct except north Grinnell.

But the deterioration of the Junior High could not be voted away. In January 1975 the State Fire Marshal's office inspected

the building, found a number of violations, and threatened to close the school whether the patrons wanted to or not if conditions were not rectified.⁵⁰ The board gave the voters one more chance, with two separate choices, to renovate; again, both were turned down. Within days the directors acted: they closed the Junior High themselves and put all the District's secondary students on split-shifts at the Senior High.⁵¹ Like the 1955 board's public denunciation of the GTA, the move shocked the community into re-evaluation. Split-shifting was extremely unpopular on both sides of the building issue, with students only going half-days and busses running after dark. The plan was awkward, unsatisfying, potentially unsafe — and perhaps just the sort of direct pressure needed to sway anti-construction votes. Suddenly in September 1975 a proposal that was practically the same as ^{the} one that had been decimated only nine months earlier received a slim majority, although short of the 60% needed for approval of bond issues. Heartened, the board came back a half-year later with proposals aimed at appealing either to those who wanted to restore the Junior High or to the long-standing sentiment for another school in south Grinnell.⁵² Finally, in September 1976 they hit upon the right combination: a new Junior High to be built in southeast Grinnell, and funds to allow a temporary re-opening of the old building, thus bringing an early end to split-shifting. The proposal passed with six votes to spare. According to GNTA leader McCulloch, split-shifting definitely undermined the group's solid constituency.⁵³

Things have moved smoothly since, with students moving back into the old school⁵⁴ for a year and a half prior to the completion of the new Grinnell-Newburg Community Junior High School in time for the 1979-80 school year. But the community has not entirely abandoned the former; in February 1980, by another bare majority, a \$1,765,000 municipal bond issue was approved that will turn part of the old school into the Grinnell Community Center. The 1921 portion of the building will be refurbished and added onto, while the part dating from 1904 will be demolished. Deeded to the city by the board before the election, the all-purpose center will include a much-needed modern administrative office suite for the District.⁵⁵

Before turning to a final assessment of taxpayer opposition to official school policy in Grinnell, one must note the budget protests that the two incarnations of the group and its leaders have sponsored in the last generation. Both Taxpayer's Associations have officially protested the District's annual school budget not merely in an attempt to get it reduced, but as a publicity ploy to evoke sympathy for their cause. For years, the board convened a perfunctory meeting to allow citizens to debate various aspects of the upcoming year's budget, and ended up looking at the walls for half an hour before giving up and going home. Indeed, it didn't make any difference what was on the agenda — people not connected directly with the schools didn't come to the board sessions. So the directors might be forgiven if they were a bit bewildered to find 29 in the audience at the 1953 budget hearing, and not just as spectators: four objected to the upcoming spending plans. When asked why, three remained silent and a fourth complained that she hadn't had enough time to study the budget, which was then approved unamended by the board.⁵⁶ Of course, the crowd and the objections were courtesy of the GTA, who, undaunted, carried their vague protest on up through the Poweshiek County Board of Supervisors to the State Appeal Board, losing at every turn. Although Superintendent Jones was "deeply gratified" that the state has upheld the Independent District's position,⁵⁷ neither he nor the board could relax, for the next few years the GTA crowded the annual budget hearings.⁵⁸

There is no doubt that recent budget protests under the auspices of the Grinnell-Newburg Taxpayer's Association were the inspiration of the group's leader, Harold McCulloch. After objecting on his own to the 1961-62 budget,⁵⁹ McCulloch led the GNNTA's protest of the 1966-67 proposed spending in the District, alleging that items were duplicated at the elementary, junior high, and senior high levels, and that Grinnell-Newburg spent more money per pupil than comparable districts.⁶⁰ Again, the protest went through channels until it was rejected by the State Board. At the 1967 budget hearing, "the purpose of the meeting

Decisions of the State Appeal Board on school budget protests under Iowa Code chapter 24

date of decision	school district	budget upheld	budget reduced
10/58	Baldwin Independent		x
10/60	Nashua Community		x
10/60	Otho Township		x
9/61	Cedar Falls Community	x	
10/61	Four Mile Township	x	
9/64	Davenport Community	x	
9/64	Kent Independent	x	
10/65	East Union Community	x	
10/66	North Mahaska Community		x
10/66	GRINNELL-NEWBURG COMMUNITY	x	
10/67	GRINNELL-NEWBURG COMMUNITY	x	
10/70	Prairie Community (Gowrie)	x	
10/70	Keokuk Community	x	
10/70	Madrid Community		x
10/70	Linn-Mar Community		x
10/71	Charles City Community		x
10/71	Sabula Community	x	
10/71	Linn-Mar Community	x	
10/74	Riceville Community	x	
		12	7

Source: State Appeal Board, letter to author, 4 December 1979.

strayed" and several protesters were accused of vilifying Superintendent Jones;⁶¹ this time, the GNTA lodged a formal protest over administration of the schools in general, increase of construction and transportation costs, maintenance of the physical plant, using tax money to pay for part of the school lunch program, and large increases in the budget over the previous year's actual costs. Although the District was again upheld all the way,⁶² McCulloch claimed that one member of the Appeal Board commented... publicly that many school budgets were padded and districts overstaffed and told him privately that, in the absence of political pressure, he would have voted to cut Grinnell-Newburg's budget.⁶³ The District thus became one of only two in Iowa to have their budgets appealed twice to the state level under recent law (see table, p. 92). In 1968, Jones was accused of submitting a "poor budget," but no further action was taken.⁶⁴

Ultimately, one must conclude that both Taxpayer's Associations had their own narrow interests and not those of the community's schoolchildren at heart. There is a great deal of difference between healthy loyal dissent and tactics of misrepresentation, spreading confusion, baiting, and even shoddy attempts at character assassination. In some ways the GNTA was less responsible than its predecessor, because the later group did not keep membership lists and allowed uncertainty over the times and locations of their meetings to persist, making independent public scrutiny of their activities impossible. A number of times this confounded attempts by District officials to attend GNTA meetings.⁶⁵ Although no systematic records were kept, it is generally agreed that the core of the group's support came from elderly and retired people, often homeowners, whose direct connections to the schools were limited to grandchildren attending; they could also devote a great deal of time to fighting school policy.⁶⁶ In many respects, their opposition is understandable. Not only are school taxes a heavy burden on those with a fixed income, but the turn away from traditional education, from long-held points of reference, must have been difficult to accept impassively for some. Yet, two points remain

inescapable: the activities of the Taxpayer's Associations have cost the District thousands of dollars in building costs by delaying bond passages, and just as importantly, have cost administrators, teachers, and concerned parents at least as many hours in trying to finance new and existing schools, time which would have been better spent in a concerted effort to improve the education of the community's youth.

12/ The Book Ban Controversy

In November 1974, Ben F. See, a Grinnell businessman and lay minister, came before the board to complain about three books in the Senior High library. Disturbed by Mario Puzo's The Godfather, William Blatty's The Exorcist, and Herman Raucher's The Summer of '42, See read a five-page statement that must have seemed a tirade to the listening directors, but actually served as a call-to-arms, tapping a previously-unrealized source of discontent in the community. When See charged "We have numerous books in our school libraries which are considered vulgar and obscene by most religious standards," he was far from alone in his thinking. Upset by recent trends toward permissability, a substantial number of Grinnell-Newburg residents were ready to back See's prescription for a cure; once again the public schools became the battleground for a larger normative conflict. Since the ensuing controversy over banning books was predicated on the reasoning of See, it would be worthwhile to describe his opening accusations at some length.

See began his indictment by saying that neither the local newspaper or the radio station would print or air excerpts from these books that he found objectionable. He went on to declare that he could not approve of material "which inflames the passion of children, children who are neither mature enough or in a marital situation which will enable them to lawfully, morally, or spiritually relieve the pressures these highly inflammable books create," and buttressed the point by quoting figures reporting rising percentages of unwed mothers and rates of venereal disease.

"If the tax payers, the School Board, and the teachers permit this material to be accessible to High School and Junior High age children," he continued, "our society shall pay for it by a continuing [sic] decrease in morality and a continual increase in law violations, both civil and spiritual."¹ This statement seems to indicate that See's real quarrel was with the path he perceived society taking, and that certain books in Grinnell-Newburg's libraries were agents or symptoms of that decline.

Suggesting that merely having these books on the shelves constituted condonement by District administrators, teachers, and parents of the actions portrayed therein, See urged the board to practice "preventive medicine for the Spiritual Man." "If these books were responsible for just one case of VD or just one young lady getting pregnant, and the person involved were your child, what then?" he asked the board. "People go bad when they are laden with a greater burden than they can handle." See also objected to the presentation of "the sordid, vulgar, and perverted thoughts" he felt were in the books without "a constructive follow-up of instruction" by teachers in refutation. He closed by paraphrasing an editorial by popular radio commentator Paul Harvey which attacked liberal lifestyles in general, by referring to his own interpretation of the Bible, calling it an instruction manual for "spaceship earth," and by making a number of statements loosely based on the Ten Commandments to consolidate his arguments. After presenting the board with a petition of 72 signatures that demanded "The removal from our school libraries of any and all books, magazines, movies, filmstrips, etc., which describe, explain, or elude to [sic] sexual intercourse of or between humans," "That our schools abide by the obscenity laws of this state," and "That a committee be formulated to review the purchase of any and all media material,"² See also submitted photocopied excerpts from the three novels, with protested passages clearly marked.

Interestingly enough, only one of these passages, specifically in The Summer of '42, was a first-person description of intercourse, and it was couched in quite indirect language by the author. In

other parts of that novel, See objected to third-person conversations about intercourse and foreplay, passing references to homosexuality and contraceptive devices, and the use of various slang terms. In The Godfather, he was offended by similar slang in a conversation between a prostitute and one of the Corleone wives. In The Exorcist he singled out a passage in which a character reads a description of a Black Mass where the act of communion, priests, the Virgin Mary, and Jesus Christ are associated with sodomy and intercourse.³

See's charges were not the first of their kind in the schools of Grinnell. As early as 1880, one visitor to a classroom felt that some texts contained "crude and wholly inappropriate language" such as "he 'poked' his hair out of his eyes." He maintained that such phrasing negated the teacher's work, and wanted these books "purged of the crudities referred to."⁴ There is no record of any action being taken in response. However, in November 1959, after conferring with a small group of mothers, Superintendent Jones removed Drums Along the Mohawk by Walter Dumaux Edmonds from the Junior High library "because of certain passages in it that were considered objectionable by some."⁵ On the other hand, the board tabled and thus killed a 1963 request by Joe See, a relative of the lay minister, to remove Louis Joseph Halle's textbook Men and Nations on the grounds that it "contains false teaching - Catholic teaching."⁶ Therefore, if it so chose the directors in 1974 could have referred to one of these isolated precedents to rule in favor of or against banning books; to their credit, they did not rely on past cases but instead activated a procedure that had been developed explicitly to deal with challenged materials. The process, dating from January 1973, required the complainants to file their objections in writing, preferably on a standard form prepared by the National Council of Teachers of English. Complaints were then taken before a media review committee, whose recommendations on the challenged material were subject to board approval. Pending the completion of the review, all material in question was to be removed from the library.⁷ Less than three weeks after

Ben See appeared before the directors, a Reconsideration Board was convened to review his challenge.⁸

Merely the act of creating a review committee was enough to incite vehement disagreement. Supporters of See's position contended that a reconsideration board was totally superfluous as it was the responsibility of the school board to make decisions on the usage of books; moreover, once the advisory body was formed, they claimed it had been unfairly weighted in favor of open access with no members who were avowedly pro-See, from rural areas, or from south Grinnell.⁹ In this latter point they were technically correct, but it must be remembered that Superintendent Buford Garner appointed the Reconsideration Board in accordance with a policy designed for fairness by the American Library Association and in haste; there is no hard evidence that member selection was deliberately stacked one way or another.¹⁰ Indeed, no member was avowedly for open access, and there was no guarantee that even if rural or southside residents had been included on the Reconsideration Board they would have necessarily been for banning books.

Whatever the background of its members, it soon became apparent that See and his followers were going to have little luck in securing favorable responses from the Reconsideration Board, for they were in complete disagreement on two major points. To the proponents of book removal, reading the entire text of the work in question was irrelevant, because "if you have a couple of rotten apples in the bushel and you don't do something about it you're going to have the whole bushel rotten."¹¹ The Reconsideration Board, however, refused to look just at the contested passages,¹² reasoning that the context of the book as a whole was the most important consideration and in fact might pass judgment negatively on actions and events which, when taken in isolation, may appear to be condoned. See's supporters also wanted the reviewers to involve themselves in questions of obscenity, which the committee steadfastly declined to do. When See questioned the Reconsideration Board's legal right to exist, the fact that the committee was not involved in judging whether a book was obscene, but only whether

it was "educationally appropriate," was cited as the foundation of its legality.¹³

In this charged atmosphere, the deliberations of the review board were sure to be maligned. Their work was not made easier by the board's reaffirmation of removing challenged materials from circulation until their cases were resolved; this drew a counter-protest from students, teachers, and parents in favor of open access who challenged dictionaries, encyclopedias, and other reference works containing entries on sex and demanded their removal from the library.¹⁴ More symbolic than substantive, this counter-protest was soon obscured by the furious debate on censorship that enveloped the District. Organizations only peripherally involved split over the question: an open letter signed by seven members of the Grinnell Ministerial Association supporting freedom of choice in books prompted three of their colleagues to resign from the group.¹⁵ Dozens of letters to the editor, pro and con, filled the pages of the Herald-Register in the first months of 1975. Many students wrote in favoring open access, and some pointed out that the controversy had kindled a sudden interest among their peers in reading.¹⁶ Through it all See plugged away, and, like the leaders of the Taxpayer's Associations, found a legion of previously unmobilized people who agreed with him. Just before the Reconsideration Board handed in their first opinions, he presented a petition with 533 names calling for the removal of all books "which vainly use the name of God or Christ" or which depict or describe "the genitals, sex acts, masturbation, excretory functions, or sado-masochistic abuse" from the school libraries and curriculum.¹⁷

Commendably, the Reconsideration Board reached a decision on the first three protested books without dawdling and without undue bickering among themselves. Every indication is that their meetings were devoted to thoughtful considerations of the merit of the entire book, and when disagreements occurred, they were without rancor. Thus, in early February 1975, they recommended overwhelmingly that The Godfather, The Summer of '42, and The Exorcist be

permanently returned to the shelves.¹⁸ The recommendation, and its acceptance by the directors with only Harold McCulloch dissenting, set a pattern that was followed throughout the succession of challenges over the next three years (see summary, p. 100). See of course did not let the matter go at that, deciding to take the protest beyond the board through the appeals system of the state educational hierarchy; the viability of his challenge would be decided in hearings on these three books.

The first step was the Marshall-Poweshiek County Joint Board of Education. See began testimony in the quasi-judicial hearing, presided over by Superintendent Richard Ploeger, by repeating his extensive original charges and accusing the Reconsideration Board of being "biased." F.W. Tomasek, defending Grinnell-Newburg, rebutted this by reading passages from the Bible and from Shakespeare's Troilus and Cressida and A Comedy of Errors that used language obscene by See's standards. See retorted that the Bible was "the inspired word of God" and thus not obscene, but found the Shakespeare quotes offensive and urged people to "read quality material." He + i his position somewhat by withdrawing his unconditional to printed sexual references; treatment of the subject textbooks was acceptable because it was discussed "i s." Witnesses for both sides appeared, and cross-exam heated.¹⁹

After a two testimony resumed, devoted mainly to the appearance of l-Newburg directors who had voted to accept the Reconsideration Board's recommendations. The hearing closed with summations by the opposing attorneys. Howard Life, representing See, called the three books an example of "a foreign, polluted psychology" that had "crept into this country," and compared the morals of the United States to those of the late Roman empire, citing their disintegration as the cause of that civilization's decline and fall. Tomasek concluded that the book appeal was the "effort of misguided, self-righteous people to impose their personal views. . . on other people" and contended that the profession of education had been "demeaned" by this effort.²⁰

Decisions of the Reconsideration Board on challenged books
in the Grinnell-Newburg Community School District

date	title/author	¹ vote: NR	SU	RM	² School Board vote
2/12/75	<u>The Godfather</u> Mario Puzo	7	2	1	4-1, accept
2/12/75	<u>The Summer of '42</u> Herman Raucher	9	0	1	4-1, accept
2/12/75	<u>The Exorcist</u> William Blatty	6	2	2	4-1, accept
3/5/75	<u>Flowers for Algernon</u> Daniel Keyes	6	1	1	4-1, accept
3/5/75	<u>One Flew Over the Cuckoo's Nest</u> Ken Kesey	8	0	1	4-1, accept
4/9/75	<u>Soul On Ice</u> Eldridge Cleaver	7	1	1	4-1, accept
5/14/75	<u>Black/White Sex</u> Grace Halsell	2	6	1	4-1, accept
5/14/75	<u>Medieval and Early Modern Times</u> Carlton Joseph Humphrey Hayes and Frederick F. Clark	8	1	0	4-1, accept
5/14/75	<u>The Grapes of Wrath</u> John Steinbeck	8	0	0	4-1, accept
5/12/76	<u>Go Ask Alice</u> Anonymous	10	0	0	4-1, accept
5/26/76	<u>Kookanoo and the Kangaroo</u> Mary Durack and Elizabeth Durack	8	0	0	4-0-1, accept
7/27/77	<u>The Naked Ape</u> Desmond Morris	5	3	2	3-1, accept
9/14/77	<u>Black Boy</u> Richard Wright		n/a*		4-1, accept
9/28/77	<u>Laughing Boy</u> Oliver LaFarge	7	0	1	7-0, accept
11/9/77	<u>Slaughterhouse Five</u> Kurt Vonnegut	4	4	2	7-0, voted for structured use**
12/14/77	<u>A Hero Ain't Nothin' But a Sandwich</u> Alice Childress	5	0	1	6-0-1, accept
1/11/78	<u>The Fixer</u> Bernard Malamud	8	0	0	7-0, accept

¹Key to Reconsideration Board votes:

NR = no restrictions on use of book

SU = structured use (for definition see text)

RM = removal from library

²This column lists the outcome of the School Board's votes on the Reconsideration Board's recommendations (accept or reject)

*No Reconsideration Board vote breakdown for this book is available, but this body did vote to allow unrestricted use of Black Boy.

**Full School Board here voted to break tie in Reconsideration voting.

In announcing his decision upholding the District some two months later, Floeger remarked that Life and See failed to prove the three books obscene just because they contained possibly objectionable passages. Floeger's background as an educator, which perhaps was the key to his decision, comes through in his declaration that "censorship of any kind must be regarded with aversion."²¹ Unbowed, See gamely appealed this ruling to the review panel of the Iowa Department of Public Instruction, but the futility of the move was almost a foregone conclusion. After a second hearing based entirely on previous evidence, the state board in October 1975 ruled against See, this time entirely on jurisdictional ground. Protecting the autonomy of the educational hierarchy over which they presided, the panel decided that "the appropriateness of educational material for use in schools is primarily the responsibility of the school district board of directors";²³ by extension, they legitimized the decisions of authorized deputies of local directors, such as the Grinnell-Newburg Reconsideration Board. Perhaps realizing the vested interest Floeger and the state board had in the matter, supporters of book removal tried to launch a simultaneous appeal through the courts. A Poweshiek County Grand Jury was formed to investigate the situation in school libraries for possible violations of obscenity codes, but refused to return any indictments against the District.²³

These decisions did irreparable damage to the campaign for restricted access, destroying any realistic hope of overriding the Reconsideration Board and the directors, but See and his supporters believed deeply in their cause and continued to press it at the local level despite dim chances for success. Some later examples illustrate how far apart was the reasoning of See and the Reconsideration Board. The lay minister objected to Soul On Ice by Eldridge Cleaver because of the author's background and because he felt students should concentrate on "great" instead of "inferior" literature; education's role should be to point students "toward the mountain tops of life and not toward the gutter of despair and vulgarity." The Reconsideration Board voted for open access,

maintaining that "the book presents the life of the black man in America from the point of view of a black person and is therefore a valid perspective. . . ." ²⁴ Ignoring See's objections to the language of The Grapes of Wrath, the committee refused to remove Steinbeck's novel because it is "recognized by critics as the best work of a great American writer." ²⁵ See objected to nudity in the juvenile book Kookanoo and the Kangaroo; the panel instead thought it "highly desirable that children be exposed to cultures and traditions different than their own." ²⁶ Persistent rejection bred frustration in the opposition; before one board vote approving open access to a text dealing with teenage drug problems, See urged the directors — "If you gentlemen are Christians" — to remove the book, intoning "You cannot serve God and Satan, you cannot serve two masters. Think seriously [about] who you will be serving, if you vote to retain this filth in our library. . . ." ²⁷

There were two partial victories for proponents of book banning. Black/White Sex by Grace Halsell was put on "structured use" by the board on recommendation of the Reconsideration Board. Structured use entailed establishing a special reserve area in the library; students who were minors had to have their parents' written approval before borrowing material from this area, and any students wishing to work there had to have approval from a parent or teacher. ²⁸ Ostensibly, the Reconsideration Board put Halsell's book on structured use because "the author draws broad conclusions without sound factual support," ²⁹ but it has been acknowledged that the move was made partly to appease book-ban proponents. ³⁰ Kurt Vonnegut's Slaughterhouse Five was also put on structured use by the board after a deadlock in Reconsideration voting. ³¹

Although as late as August 1977 petitions were circulating calling for a ban on all books that "promote vulgarity, profanity, or obscene words," ³² the defeat of the various appeals, the consistency of the Reconsideration Board's recommendations favoring unrestricted access, and Ben See's decision to move from Grinnell

left the book banners discouraged and without leadership. The end of the controversy may also have been hastened by all the news media attention given the situation, most of it adverse. The publicity hurt the community's pride; as one former director said, the front-page airing in the Des Moines Register of the District's in-fighting "helped shape up Grinnell-Newburg and drove the community away from book banning somewhat."³³

The institution most directly affected by the conflict was the library system of the District. If See had been successful in his book removal campaign the effect would have been devastating, for the libraries in the community's schools were vulnerable, having just recently gained some long-overdue measure of respectability; until the 1960s, development of resource centers had been a low priority. For students in Grinnell in 1890, the library was "a small case of books in the corner. . . .it contained uniform sets of English and American classics, some of the standard poets, and quite a number of ponderous histories, most of them somewhat out-of-date. . . ."³⁴ The situation did not improve much with time; for years the Independent District shared facilities and personnel with Stewart Public Library in town before forming their own system in 1941.³⁵ But by the 1960s a foundation was finally being laid for solid library service in the public system. In fact, the very object of the book ban protests, works of current interest in the Junior and Senior High libraries, were cited as the strong point of these collections by the Manatt evaluator in 1969.³⁶

The controversy that broke out five years later threatened to wipe out all this recent progress. Staff morale was severely undermined by the See campaign; indeed, during and after the height of the conflict District librarians were reluctant to select potentially controversial materials they otherwise would have routinely ordered. For a time, every new book had to be accompanied by a review source before it was purchased for the collections - a heavy research task for the already overworked library staff.³⁷ Although palpable damage to the District libraries

in the form of compromised collections was minimal, the book ban controversy did considerable intangible harm to the staff and slowed the development of first-rate resources that had taken so long merely to begin.³⁸

One of the corollary issues of the book access campaign — one that presents an interesting historical parallel — is the question of student responsibility. Although never specifically addressed by either side, their arguments are built upon a skepticism of or belief in the ability of teenagers to make responsible decisions for themselves. When See spoke of books which "inflamed the passion of children" not mature enough to deal with their own feelings or of people "laden with a greater burden than they can handle," he revealed a blanket mistrust of all young people on the verge of adulthood quite similar to that of the Progressive-era child-savers. To Jane Addams, teens walking down the street were instantly corrupted; to See, those who read The Exorcist were no less immutably tainted by its contents. In the heyday of child-saving, near-constant supervision was the only cure; that no longer being practical, See's "preventive medicine" was to minimize the opportunities for corruption by taking temptation from the library shelves.

Conversely, those in favor of unrestricted access almost invariably conveyed a trust in the basic goodness of their children and of Grinnell-Newburg students in general. In arguing against the first wave of book banning fervor, director Maynard Raffety declared "I also trust, respect, and have confidence in the students of our district to conduct themselves in a responsible manner."³⁹ The same sentiment was the centerpiece of the most eloquent defense of the right of students to free access to resources. In a statement to a board meeting made during the white heat of the controversy, Robert Sheeder, a member of the Reconsideration Board, staked out a position opposite that of See. He admitted that he could presume to speak for no one other than himself and that respect for other opinions was the keystone of a democratic society, as well as being central to one's individual responsibilities.

These responsibilities, however, had been obscured by people in the community sniping at each other about their rights. In the end, Sheeder contended, such selfishness would impinge upon the rights of Grinnell-Newburg students to expand their experiences.

Of his own children, Sheeder said "For them to know good, they are going to have to experience some bad. For them to fully know truth, they are probably going to have to suffer some betrayal and hypocrisy." He felt that school, church, and society were partners in the quest to fulfill adult responsibilities to youth. Arguing that children should be given credit for good judgment, he found the parent's role was to counsel them after the inevitable mistakes, to extend "unwavering trust and confidence and love" to them in these situations. As for the protested passages, Sheeder had confidence in a student's ability to look at the work as a whole: "I do not want my children to take something out of context or in part — they must be able to make a moral judgment on the entire content." His words prompted a long discussion, after which the directors first turned back the book ban proponents by accepting the initial recommendations of the Reconsideration Board.⁴⁰

In the final analysis, much of the controversy surrounding banning books had less to do with the printed word than with a concern over changing mores and the direction of society as a whole. Personal disputes, public harangues, media hoopla — all clouded the fact that once again education in the Grinnell community was getting a rude shove into the background. The book ban issue was never as serious as the District's building problems: See never came close to commanding 60% of the electorate in concerted action, and so it seems assured that the campaign was an intense concern of a fairly small number of people.⁴¹ But because it is a distillation of the type of divisiveness that has characterized the community's public schools over the last generation, the book ban controversy symbolizes how different the institution of education is in the town today than 125 years ago at its founding.

13/ Conclusions

It seems to me that when one looks back over the history of public schooling in the Grinnell community, two periods of ferment, of ongoing change, are readily apparent. Both involve a rethinking, on the part of the public, of the value and role of education in general; their thoughts and ideas have in turned caused enormous alterations in the way schools were operated and taught. The Progressive period saw the opening of public education to Grinnell children of all interests and socioeconomic backgrounds and the emergence of a modern school system under unfettered local control. Over the last thirty years, old educational values have been supplanted by a new broadening of the curriculum — in its own way just as radical a reconstruction as the Progressive revolt against the 19th-century classical course — so that it emphasizes an awareness and acceptance of differing points of view. Schooling no longer supports insularity, and insularity no longer supports schooling, since local control has been replaced by a federal-state-community amalgam of administration and funding.

I find this last point significant, for much of the conflict that has proved so devastating correlates with the erosion of local control. It is a very tenuous proposition to posit a collective frustration on the part of any group, but I cannot help but feel that the intensity of recent school struggles in Grinnell suggests something more deep-rooted than the clash of personalities or strictly pedagogical concerns. In many respects, the schools of this town have been used as a venue for the fight against the passing of an old community-centered way of life. What the Taxpayer's Associations and the book ban proponents were really reacting to was the state of flux: in an ever-changing world, they wanted schools to remain a constant, a touchstone.¹

Another reason given for the vigor of recent disagreement, one that I also find compelling, is the evolution of a "sporting mentality" in Grinnellians toward the operation of their schools. Former board member Laynard Raffety felt that many in the community

"stood on the sidelines" watching others fight the school board for their own amusement. Of the opposition itself, Raffety said "some people golf, some people drink beer, and some people fight school boards."² Retired Superintendent Kyle Jones also sensed the dissent was partly recreation: ". . .I don't know why, but you kick up a controversy and people will join in for the fun of it. Turkey shoot."³ In 1911, Superintendent Eugene Henely could declare that there was a "splendid spirit of the people of the town, when it comes to matters of education."⁴ The comments of Raffety and Jones seem to indicate that this spirit has flagged somewhat, although it would be a disservice to those who have fought to improve the quality of education in the Grinnell community over the past thirty years to say that it has been completely extinguished. Yet, many of the residents of the District would have done well to heed the words of yet another Superintendent, Rupert Hawk:⁵

. . .all the citizens of this community contribute to the education of the young. The financial contribution is the smallest part. The churches, the business houses, the colleges, the city government, the newspapers, yes, even what the citizens say and do on the streets and in their homes — determine, to a large extent, the education of our children.

Too often in the recent past what the citizens of the Grinnell community have said and done has obscured, rather than enhanced, the true purpose of the public schools.

Appendix 1

Elected School Board Members, Grinnell: 1889-1979

All the below names are taken from school board minutes which are unobtainable before 1889. Footnotes follow at the end of the appendix.

Key: underlined names denote a board member who was elected in that year.

+ died in mid-term

* resigned in mid-term

@ resigned at end of year (year beginning and ending in March)

- 1889-1890: E.W. Clark (president); D.S. Morrison; David W. Norris; J.C. Walker; C.R. Morse; H.P. Proctor. (1)
- 1890-1891: E.W. Clark (president); D.S. Morrison; David W. Norris; J.C. Walker; C.R. Morse; H.P. Proctor. (2)
- 1891-1892: E.W. Clark (president); J.C. Manly; David W. Norris; H.P. Proctor; C.R. Morse; J.C. Walker. (3)
- 1892-1893: E.W. Clark (president); J.S. Bailey, Jr; Ed Kemmerer; David W. Norris; J.C. Walker; J.C. Manly. (4)
- 1893-1894: J.C. Manly (president); George B. McGuin; W.G. Ray; David W. Norris; J.S. Bailey Jr; Ed Kemmerer. (5)
- 1894-1895: W.G. Ray (president); A.C. Harriman; Dr. A.J. Harris; J.S. Bailey, Jr; Ed Kemmerer; George B. McGuin. (6)
- 1895-1896: W.G. Ray (president); H.I. Davis; J.S. Bailey Jr; A.C. Harriman; Dr. A.J. Harris; George B. McGuin. (7)
- 1896-1897: J.S. Bailey Jr. (president); W.G. Ray; George B. McGuin; H.I. Davis; A.C. Harriman; Dr. A.J. Harris. (8)
- 1897-1898: J.S. Bailey Jr. (president); A. McIntosh; A.C. Harriman; H.I. Davis; W.G. Ray; George B. McGuin. (9)
- 1898-1899 — new law enacted: one full-term director elected; two drop off. Treasurer now elected, but has no voting power, so effective size of board goes from 6 to 5.
- 1898-1899: George B. McGuin (president); L.F. Parker; A. McIntosh; A.C. Harriman; W.G. Ray; H.F. Lanphere (treasurer). (10)
- 1899-1900: L.F. Parker (president); Will C. Rayburn; D.S. Morrison; A.C. Harriman; A. McIntosh; H.F. Lanphere (treasurer). (11)
- 1900-1901: L.F. Parker (president); O.T. Frisbie; Mrs. Addie Ricker McIntosh; Will C. Rayburn; D.S. Morrison; H.F. Lanphere (treasurer). (12)

- 1901-1902: Will C. Rayburn (president); C.A. Swisher*; O.T. Frisbie; Mrs. Addie Ricker McIntosh; D.S. Morrison; H.F. Lanphere (treasurer). W.T. Fuller elected by board in October to replace Swisher. (13)
(14)
- 1902-1903: O.T. Frisbie (president); G.L. Sanders; W.T. Fuller; J.P. Lyman; Mrs. Addie Ricker McIntosh; S.J. Pooley (treasurer). (15)
- 1903-1904: W.T. Fuller (president); Dr. S.A. Cravath; David W. Norris; G.L. Sanders; J.P. Lyman; S.J. Pooley (treasurer). (16)
- 1904-1905: J.P. Lyman (president); W.T. Fuller[®]; G.L. Sanders; David W. Norris[®]; Dr. S.A. Cravath; S.J. Pooley (treasurer). (17)
- 1905-1906: Dr. S.A. Cravath (president); J.P. Lyman; G.L. Sanders; H.A. Graham; Dr. S.C. Buck; S.J. Pooley (treasurer). (18)
- 1906-1907: J.P. Lyman (president); H.A. Graham; J.T. Cessna; Dr. S.C. Buck; G.L. Sanders; S.J. Pooley (treasurer). (19)
- 1907-1908: J.P. Lyman (president); H.A. Graham; J.T. Cessna; Dr. S.C. Buck; G.L. Sanders; S.J. Pooley (treasurer). (20)
- 1908-1909: Dr. S.C. Buck (president); J.P. Lyman; W.T. Moyle; H.A. Graham; J.T. Cessna; S.J. Pooley (treasurer). (21)
- 1909-1910: H.A. Graham (president); Dr. S.C. Buck; J.T. Cessna; W.T. Moyle; J.P. Lyman; S.J. Pooley (treasurer). (22)
- 1910-1911: J.T. Cessna (president); V.G. Preston; J.P. Lyman; Dr. S.C. Buck; W.T. Moyle; S.J. Pooley (treasurer). (23)
- 1911-1912: Dr. S.C. Buck (president); J.P. Lyman; W.T. Moyle; J.T. Cessna; V.G. Preston; S.J. Pooley (treasurer). (24)
- 1912-1913: W.T. Moyle (president); Dr. S.C. Buck; J.T. Cessna; V.G. Preston; J.P. Lyman; S.J. Pooley (treasurer). (25)
- 1913-1914: J.P. Lyman (president); V.G. Preston; J.T. Cessna; Dr. S.C. Buck; W.T. Moyle; S.J. Pooley (treasurer). (26)
- 1914-1915: J.P. Lyman (president); W.T. Moyle; V.G. Preston; Dr. S.C. Buck; J.T. Cessna; S.J. Pooley (treasurer). (27)
- 1915-1916: J.P. Lyman (president); Dr. S.C. Buck; J.T. Cessna; V.G. Preston; W.T. Moyle; S.J. Pooley (treasurer). (28)
- 1916-1917: W.T. Moyle (president); F.P. Marvin; J.T. Cessna*; Dr. S.C. Buck; J.P. Lyman; S.J. Pooley (treasurer). V.G. Preston elected by board to fill Cessna's vacancy until the end of the year (i.e., until March). (29)
- 1917-1918: Dr. S.C. Buck (president); Fred R. Morrison; W.T. Moyle; Mrs. W.B. Wilson; F.P. Marvin; S.J. Pooley (treasurer). (30)
- 1918-1919: W.T. Moyle (president); Adelaide (Mrs. Harry) Harris; F.F. Almy; F.P. Marvin; Fred R. Morrison; S.J. Pooley (treasurer). (31)

- 1919-1920: W.T. Moyle (president); F.P. Marvin; Adelaide Harris[@];
F.F. Almy; Fred R. Morrison; S.J. Pooley (treasurer). (32)
- 1920-1921: F.P. Marvin (president); Grant Ramsey; Fred R. Morrison; J.C. Goodrich; F.F. Almy; S.J. Pooley (treasurer). (33)
- 1921-1922: F.P. Marvin (president); F.F. Almy; J.C. Goodrich;
Fred R. Morrison; Grant Ramsey; S.J. Pooley (treasurer). (34)
- 1922-1923: F.P. Marvin (president); F.F. Almy; J.C. Goodrich;
Fred R. Morrison; Grant Ramsey; S.J. Pooley (treasurer). (35)
- 1923-1924: F.P. Marvin (president); Evelyn Spencer Bray;
Grant Ramsey; F.F. Almy; J.C. Goodrich; S.J. Pooley (treas.) (36)
- 1924-1925: F.P. Marvin (president); F.F. Almy; J.C. Goodrich;
Evelyn Spencer Bray; Grant Ramsey; S.J. Pooley (treasurer). (37)
- 1925-1926: F.P. Marvin (president); F.F. Almy; J.C. Goodrich;
Evelyn Spencer Bray; Grant Ramsey; S.J. Pooley (treasurer). (38)
- 1926-1927: F.P. Marvin (president); Evelyn Spencer Bray;
Dr. W.R. Kinzer; F.F. Almy; J.C. Goodrich; J.E. Bach (treas.) (39)
- 1927-1928: F.P. Marvin (president); J.C. Goodrich; C.A. Blair;
Dr. W.R. Kinzer; Evelyn Spencer Bray; J.E. Bach (treasurer). (40)
- 1928-1929: J.C. Goodrich* (president); Glenn Anderson; C.A. Blair;
Dr. W.R. Kinzer; Evelyn Spencer Bray; J.E. Bach (treasurer). (41)
Dr. W.R. Kinzer elected by board to fill Goodrich's presi-
dency for year; G.S. Lannom elected by board to take
Goodrich's place on board. (42)
- 1929-1930: Evelyn Spencer Bray (president); Dr. O.H. Gallagher;
G.S. Lannom; Glenn Anderson; C.A. Blair; J.E. Bach (treas.) (43)
- 1930-1931: Evelyn Spencer Bray (president); G.S. Lannom;
J.G. Shifflett; Glenn Anderson; Dr. O.H. Gallagher;
J.E. Bach (treasurer). (44)
- 1931-1932: Evelyn Spencer Bray (president); Louis Ent; G.S. Lannom;
J.G. Shifflett; Dr. O.H. Gallagher; J.E. Bach (treasurer). (45)
- 1932-1933: J.G. Shifflett (president); Dr. O.H. Gallagher;
Mrs. C.L. McNally; G.S. Lannom; Louis Ent; J.E. Bach (treas.) (46)
- 1933-1934: J.G. Shifflett (president); G.S. Lannom; Louis Ent;
Mrs. C.L. McNally; Dr. O.H. Gallagher; J.E. Bach (treas.) (47)
- 1934-1935: J.G. Shifflett (president); Mrs. C.L. McNally;
Louis Ent; Dr. O.H. Gallagher; G.S. Lannom; George C. Murray
(treasurer). (48)
- 1935-1936: J.G. Shifflett (president); Mrs. C.L. McNally;
Dr. R.T. Mills; G.S. Lannom; Louis Ent*; George C. Murray (49)
(treasurer).
Board elected F.W. Sprung to fill Ent's year. (50)
- 1936-1937: Dr. R.T. Mills (president); Howard Edwards; F.W. Sprung;
Walter Oberst; Mrs. C.L. McNally; George C. Murray
(treasurer). (51)

- 1937-1938: Dr. R.T. Mills (president); F.W. Sprung;
Walter Oberst*; Howard Edwards; Mrs. C.L. McNally;
George C. Murray (treasurer). (52)
Board elected Hugh McCleery to fill Oberst's year. (53)
- 1938-1939: Dr. R.T. Mills (president); Mrs. C.L. McNally;
Hugh McCleery; F.W. Sprung; Howard Edwards;
Helen Hargrave (treasurer). (54)
- 1939-1940: Mrs. C.L. McNally (president); Hugh McCleery*;
Howard Edwards; Dr. R.T. Mills; F.W. Sprung;
Helen Hargrave (treasurer). (55)
Board elected O. Dale Smith to fill McCleery's year. (56)
- 1940-1941: Mrs. C.L. McNally* (president); F.W. Sprung;
O. Dale Smith; Dr. R.T. Mills; Howard Edwards;
Helen Hargrave (treasurer). (57)
Board elected Dr. J.T. Padgham to fill out McNally's
year; also elected Dr. R.T. Mills to fill her year as
president. (58)
- 1941-1942: Dr. R.T. Mills* (president); Dr. J.T. Padgham;
O. Dale Smith; F.W. Sprung; Howard Edwards;
Helen Hargrave (treasurer). (59)
Board elected Mrs. C.M. Manly to fill Mills' year;
also elected Howard Edwards to fill his year as
president. (60)
- 1942-1943: Howard Edwards (president); O. Dale Smith;
Mrs. C.M. Manly; F.W. Sprung; Dr. J.T. Padgham;
Helen Hargrave (treasurer). (61)
- 1943-1944: Howard Edwards (president); Howard Dimit;
O. Dale Smith; Mrs. C.M. Manly; Dr. J.T. Padgham;
Helen Hargrave (treasurer). (62)
- 1944-1945: Howard Edwards (president); Mrs. C.M. Manly;
Charles P. Vogel; Howard Dimit; O. Dale Smith;
L.N. Lanning (treasurer). (63)
- 1945-1946: Howard Edwards (president); O. Dale Smith;
Mrs. C.M. Manly; Charles P. Vogel; Howard Dimit;
L.N. Lanning* (treasurer). (64)
Board elected Anna May Brown to fill Lanning's year. (65)
- 1946-1947: Howard Edwards (president); L.G. Keeney;
O. Dale Smith; Charles P. Vogel; Mrs. C.M. Manly;
Helen Hargrave (treasurer). (66)
- 1947-1948: O. Dale Smith (president); Mrs. Fred Ramsey;
Verl Sammons; L.G. Keeney; Howard Edwards;
Helen Hargrave (treasurer). (67)
- 1948-1949: L.G. Keeney (president); G. Lester Duke;
Donald Loudon; Verl Sammons; Mrs. Fred Ramsey;
Helen Hargrave (treasurer). (68)
- 1949-1950: L.G. Keeney (president); G. Lester Duke;
Donald Loudon; Verl Sammons; Mrs. Fred Ramsey;
Helen Hargrave (treasurer). (69)

- 1950-1951: G. Lester Duke (president); Verl Sammons; Mrs. Harold Ent; L.G. Keeney; Donald Loudon; Helen Hargrave (treasurer). (70)
- 1951-1952: G. Lester Duke (president); Lyman Case; L.G. Keeney; Mrs. Harold Ent; Verl Sammons; Helen Hargrave (treasurer). (71)
- 1952-1953: G. Lester Duke (president); L.G. Keeney; Lyman Case; Mrs. Harold Ent; Verl Sammons; Helen Hargrave (treasurer). (72)
- 1953-1954: Lyman Case (president); Mrs. Stanley Brown; Floyd E. Beaver; L.G. Keeney; G. Lester Duke; Helen Hargrave (treasurer). (73)
- 1954-1955: Lyman Case (president); Carl Benson; L.G. Keeney; Mrs. Stanley Brown; Floyd E. Beaver; Helen Hargrave (treasurer). (74)
Board elected Phyllis Armstrong to fill Brown's year. (75)
- 1955-1956: Floyd E. Beaver (president); Robert Mitchell; Carl Child; Carl Benson; Lyman Case; Helen Hargrave (treasurer). (76)
Board elected Clair Strand to fill Case's year. (77)
- 1956-1957: Floyd E. Beaver (president); Robert Mitchell; Clair Strand; Carl Benson; Carl Child; Helen Hargrave (treasurer). (78)
- 1957-1958: Floyd E. Beaver (president); Clair Strand; Carl Benson; Robert Mitchell; Carl Child; Helen Hargrave (treasurer). (79)
Board elected Max Smith to fill Beaver's year and Benson to complete Beaver's term as president. (79a)
- 1958: Carl Benson (president); Dr. Bill Grimmer; Keith Vosburg; Robert Mitchell; Clair Strand; Helen Hargrave (treasurer). (80)
- July, 1958: Grinnell-Newburg Community School District is organized; divided into five director-areas, each represented by a director living within that area but elected by a district-wide vote. Roman numerals below indicate director-areas.
- 1958-1959: Carl Benson (III)(president); Donald Renaud (I); Eldon Petersen (II); Paul Pedersen (IV); Wilbur Molison (V); Helen Hargrave (treasurer). (81)
- 1959-1960: Carl Benson (III)(president); Donald Renaud (I); Paul Pedersen (IV); Eldon Petersen (II); Wilbur Molison (V); Helen Hargrave (treasurer). (82)
- 1960-1961: Wilbur Molison (V)(president); Eldon Petersen (II); Donald Renaud (I); Carl Benson (III); Paul Pedersen (IV); Helen Hargrave (treasurer). (83)
- 1961-1962: Wilbur Molison (V)(president); Dr. Bill Grimmer (III); Donald Renaud (I); Eldon Petersen (II); Paul Pedersen (IV); Helen Hargrave (treasurer). (84)
Board elected Al Meacham to fill Molison's year; also elected Renaud to fill his year as president. (85)
Board elected James Higdon to fill Pedersen's year. (86)

- 1962-1963: Eldon Petersen (II)(president); Don Pederson (I);
Warren Lincoln (IV); Alfred Meacham (V);
Dr. Bill Grimmer (III)*; Helen Hargrave (treasurer). (87)
Board elected D.S. Poynter to fill Grimmer's year. (88)
- 1963-1964: Eldon Petersen (II)(president); John Pfitsch (III);
Alfred Meacham (V)*; Don Pederson (I);
Warren Lincoln (IV); Helen Hargrave (treasurer). (89)
Board elected Ernest Swanson to fill Meacham's year. (90)
- 1964-1965: Eldon Petersen (II)(president); John Pfitsch (III)@;
Ernest Swanson (V); Don Pederson (I);
Warren Lincoln (IV); Helen Hargrave (treasurer). (91)
- 1965-1966: Eldon Petersen (II)(president); Don Pederson (I);
John Eickelberg (III); Warren Lincoln (IV);
Ernest Swanson (V); Helen Hargrave (treasurer). (92)
- 1966-1967: Eldon Petersen (II)(president); Maynard Raffety (V);
Don Pederson (I); John Eickelberg (III);
Warren Lincoln@ (IV); Helen Hargrave (treasurer). (93)
- 1967-1968: Don Pederson*(II)(president); Beryl Wellborn*(III);
Clifford Thompson (IV); Eldon Petersen (II);
Maynard Raffety (V); Helen Hargrave (treasurer). (94)
Board elected Larry German to fill Wellborn's year; (95)
Board elected Warren Loudon to fill Pederson's year
and Petersen to fill Pederson's year as president. (96)
- 1968-1969: Maynard Raffety (V)(president); Warren Loudon (I);
Larry German (III); Barbara Reedy (IV);
Eldon Petersen*(II); Helen Hargrave (treasurer). (97)
Board elected Harvey Mikel, Jr., to fill Petersen's year. (98)
- 1969-1970: Maynard Raffety (V)(president); Harvey Mikel, Jr., (II);
Warren Loudon (I); Larry German (III);
Barbara Reedy (IV); Helen Hargrave (treasurer). (99)
- 1970-1971: Maynard Raffety (V)(president); James McNally (III);
Warren Loudon (I); Harvey Mikel, Jr., (II);
Barbara Reedy (IV); Helen Hargrave (treasurer). (100)
- 1971-1972: Maynard Raffety (V)(president); Howard Warner (I);
William Waddell (IV); Harvey Mikel, Jr., (II);
James McNally (III); Helen Hargrave (treasurer). (101)
- 1972-1973: Howard Warner (I)(president); Vernon Graham (II);
Maynard Raffety (V); James McNally (III);
William Waddell*(IV); Helen Hargrave (treasurer). (102)
Board elected Kenneth Keenan to fill Waddell's year. (103)
- 1973-1974: Howard Warner (I)(president); James McNally (III);
Kenneth Keenan (IV); Vernon Graham (II);
Maynard Raffety (V); Helen Hargrave (treasurer). (104)
- 1974-1975: Harold McCulloch (I)(president); Kenneth Keenan (IV);
Vernon Graham (II); James McNally (III);
Maynard Raffety (V); Helen Hargrave (treasurer). (105)
- 1975-1976: Kenneth Keenan (IV)(president); Vernon Graham (II);
Maynard Raffety (V); Harold McCulloch (I);
James McNally (III); Helen Hargrave (treasurer). (106)

1976-1977: Maynard Raffety (V)(president); Tom Latimer (III);
Kenneth Keenan (IV); Harold McCulloch (I);
Vernon Graham (II); Helen Hargrave (treasurer). (107)

In 1977, voters approved a plan that expanded the board to seven members, with the district organized into four new director-areas; three members were also elected at-large (AL). Director-area 1 was all the district outside of the city of Grinnell, with the town itself comprising areas 2, 3, and 4.

1977-1978: Maynard Raffety (1)(president); Beryl Wellborn (3);
James North (4); Donna Tedford (AL); Philip J. Yount (AL);
Tom Latimer (2); Vernon Graham (AL). (108)

1978-1979: Vernon Graham (AL)(president); Howard McDonough (2);
Tom Latimer (2); Beryl Wellborn (3); James North (4);
Donna Tedford (AL); Philip J. Yount (AL). (109)

1979-1980: Vernon Graham (AL)(president); Carol Nielsen (2);
Philip J. Yount (AL); Howard McDonough (1); Beryl Wellborn (3);
James North (4); Donna Tedford (AL). (110)

Notes to appendix 1 (all dates quoted are from Minutes)

- | | |
|--|--------------------------------------|
| 1) 22 October 1889, unp. | Book, 1920-1938 |
| 2) 17 March 1890, unp. | 34) 21 March 1921, p. 22. |
| 3) 16 March 1891, unp. | 35) 20 March 1922, p. 46. |
| 4) 21 March 1892, unp. | 36) 19 March 1923, p. 67. |
| 5) 20 March 1893, unp. | 37) 17 March 1924, p. 85. |
| 6) 19 March 1894, unp. | 38) 16 March 1925, pp. 107-108. |
| 7) 18 March 1895, unp. | 39) 15 March 1926, pp. 140-141. |
| 8) 16 March 1896, unp. | 40) 21 March 1927, p. 165. |
| 9) 15 March 1897, unp. | 41) 19 March 1928, p. 189. |
| 10) 21 March 1898, unp. | 42) 5, 12 October 1928, pp. 204-205. |
| 11) 20 March 1899, unp. | 43) 18 March 1929, p. 216. |
| 12) 19 March 1900, unp. | 44) 17 March 1930, p. 237. |
| 13) 18 March 1901, unp. | 45) 8 April 1931, p. 257. |
| 14) 21 October 1901, unp. | 46) 6 April 1932, p. 280. |
| 15) 31 March 1902, unp. | 47) 20 March 1933, p. 302. |
| 16) 21 March 1903, unp. | 48) 19 March 1934, p. 411. |
| 17) 21 March 1904, unp. | 49) 18 March 1935, p. 430. |
| 18) 20 March 1905, unp. | 50) 2 October 1935, p. 441. |
| Book, 1905-1920 | 51) 16 March 1936, p. 448. |
| 19) 19 March 1906, pp. 18-19. | 52) 15 March 1937, p. 473. |
| 20) 18 March 1907, p. 43. | 53) 26 January 1938, p. 490. |
| 21) 16 March 1908, p. 68. | 54) 21 March 1938, p. 492. |
| 22) 15 March, 19 April 1909, p. 96. | Book, 1938-1954 |
| 23) 21 March, 18 April 1910, pp. 120-122 | |
| 24) 20 March 1911, p. 143. | 55) 16 April 1939, p. 11 |
| 25) 18 March 1912, p. 168. | 56) 11 May 1939, p. 14. |
| 26) 17 March 1913, p. 196. | 57) 8 May 1940, p. 30. |
| 27) 16 March 1914, p. 221. | 58) 28 January 1941, p. 41. |
| 28) 15 March 1915, p. 245. | 59) 2 April 1941, p. 44. |
| 29) 20 March 1916, p. 281. | 60) 4, 21 January 1942, pp. 53-54. |
| 30) 19 March 1917, p. 334. | 61) 24 March 1942, p. 56. |
| 31) 18 March 1918, p. 371. | 62) 15 March 1943, p. 74. |
| 32) 17 March 1919, p. 407. | 63) 22 March 1944, p. 87. |
| 33) 15 March 1920, pp. 446-447. | 64) 19 March 1945, p. 99. |

Notes to appendix 1 (cont'd)

Book, 1938-1954

- 65) 12 September 1945, p. 106.
- 66) 18 March 1946, p. 112.
- 67) 17 March 1947, p. 126.
- 68) 15 March 1948, pp. 141-142.
- 69) 21 March 1949, p. 157.
- 70) 20 March 1950, p. 169.
- 71) 19 March 1951, p. 182.
- 72) 17 March 1952, p. 195.
- 73) 16 March 1953, p. 210.
- 74) 15 March 1954, p. 230.

Book, 1954-1958

- 75) 15 September 1954, p. 9.
- 76) 2 March 1955, p. 20.
- 77) 4 April 1955, p. 23.
- 78) 19 March 1956, p. 50.
- 79) 18 March 1957, p. 75.
- 79a) 8 January 1958, p. 94.
- 80) 17 March 1958, p. 100.

Book, 1958-1962

- 81) 1 July 1958, p. 1.
- 82) 16 March 1959, p. 26.
- 83) 19 September 1960, p. 92.
- 84) 18 September 1961, p. 143.
- 85) 14 February 1962, p. 162.
- 86) 25 April 1962, p. 173.

Book, 1962-1966

- 87) 17 September 1962, p. 188.
- 88) 12 June 1963, p. 220.
- 89) 16 September 1963, p. 234.
- 90) 25 March 1964, p. 257.

- 91) 21 September 1964, p. 277.

- 92) 20 September 1965, p. 319.

Book, 1966-1968

- 93) 19 September 1966, pp. 371-372.

- 94) 18 September 1967, p. 424.

- 95) 15 May 1968, p. 463.

Book, 1968-1970

- 96) 10 July 1968, pp. 2-4.

- 97) 16 September 1968, p. 8.

- 98) 30 June 1969, p. 50.

- 99) 15 September 1969, p. 63.

Book, 1970-1974

- 100) 14 September 1970, p. 14.

- 101) 20 September 1971, p. 78.

- 102) 18 September 1972, pp. 150-151.

- 103) 20 April 1973, p. 201.

- 104) 17 September 1973, pp. 238-239.

- 105) 16 September 1974, p. 315.

Book, 1975-1979

- 106) 15 September 1975, p. 409.

- 107) 20 September 1976, pp. 496-497.

- 108) 19 September 1977, p. 602.

- 109) 18 September 1978, p. 692.

- 110) Grinnell Herald-Register,
17 September 1979, p. 1; and
20 September 1979, p. 1.

Appendix 2

Grinnell school board members 1889-1929 (individual list)

(T)-treasurer (first elected in 1898)

After 1958, Roman numerals indicate the director-area the board member represented. Any overlap occurs because of resignations or deaths. Some of the early school board members served before 1889.

	<u>years served</u>	<u>years president</u>
E.W. Clark	1889-1893	1889-1893
D.S. Morrison	1889-1891; 1899-1902	
David W. Norris	1889-1894; 1903-1905	
H.P. Proctor	1889-1892	
J.C. Walker	1889-1893	
C.R. Morse	1889-1892	
J.C. Manly	1891-1894	1893-1894
I.S. Bailey, Jr.	1892-1898	1896-1898
Ed Kemmerer	1892-1895	
George B. McGuin	1893-1899	1898-1899
W.G. Ray	1893-1899	1894-1896
A.C. Harriman	1894-1900	
Dr. A.J. Harris	1894-1897	
H.I. Davis	1895-1898	
A. McIntosh	1897-1900	
Leonard F. Parker	1898-1901	1899-1901
H.F. Lanphere (T)	1898-1902	
Will C. Rayburn	1899-1902	1901-1902
O.T. Frisbie	1900-1903	1902-1903
Addie Ricker McIntosh	1900-1903	
C.A. Swisher	1901	
W.T. Fuller	1901-1905	1903-1904
G.L. Sanders	1902-1908	
J.P. Lyman	1902-1917	1904-1905; 1906-1906; 1913-1916
S.J. Pooley (T)	1902-1926	
S.A. Cravath	1903-1906	1905-1906
H.A. Graham	1905-1910	1909-1910
Dr. S.C. Buck	1905-1918	1908-1909; 1911-1912; 1917-1918
John T. Cessna	1906-1916	1910-1911
W.T. Moyle	1908-1920	1912-1913; 1916-1917; 1918-1920
V.G. Preston	1910-1916; 1916-1917	
F.P. Marvin	1916-1928	1920-1928
Fred R. Morrison	1917-1923	
Mrs. W.B. Wilson	1917-1918	
Adelaide (Mrs. Harry) Harris	1918-1920	
F.F. Almy	1918-1928	
Grant Ramsey	1920-1926	
J.C. Goodrich	1920-1928	1928
Evelyn Spencer Bray	1923-1932	1929-1932
Dr. Walton R. Kinzer	1926-1929	1928-1929
J.E. Bach (T)	1926-1934	
C.A. Blair	1927-1930	
Glenn Anderson	1928-1931	
G.S. Lannom	1928-1936	
Dr. O.H. Gallagher	1929-1935	

	<u>years served</u>	<u>years president</u>
J.G. Shifflett	1930-1936	1932-1936
Louis Ent	1931-1935	
Mrs. C.L. McNally	1932-1940	1939-1940; 1940
George C. Murray (T)	1934-1938	
Dr. R.T. Mills	1935-1942	1936-1939; 1941; 1941-1942
F.W. Sprung	1935-1943	
Howard Edwards	1936-1948	1942-1947
Walter Oberst	1936-1938	
Hugh McCleery	1938-1939	
Helen Hargrave (T)	1938-1944; 1946-1958	
O. Dale Smith	1939-1948	1947-1948
Dr. J.T. Padgham	1941-1944	
Mrs. C.M. Manly	1942-1947	
Howard Dimit	1943-1946	
Charles P. Vogel	1944-1947	
L.N. Lanning (T)	1944-1945	
Anna May Brown (T)	1945-1946	
L.G. Keeney	1946-1955	1948-1950
Mrs. Fred Ramsey	1947-1950	
Verl Sammons	1947-1953	
G. Lester Duke	1948-1954	1950-1953
Donald Loudon	1948-1951	
Mrs. Harold Ent	1950-1953	
Lyman Case	1951-1955	1953-1955
Mrs. Stanley Brown	1953-1954	
Floyd E. Beaver	1953-1958	1955-1958
Carl Benson	1954-1958	1958
Phyllis Armstrong	1954-1955	
Robert Mitchell	1955-1958	
Clair Strand	1955-1958	
Carl Child	1955-1958	
Max Smith	1958	
Dr. Bill Grimmer	1958	
Keith Vosburg	1958	
(1 July 1958: last meeting of the Board of the Independent District of Grinnell; replaced by newly elected Board of the Grinnell-Newburg Community School District.)		
Donald J. Renaud (I)	1958-1962	1962
Eldon Petersen (II)	1958-1969	1962-1967; 1968
Carl Benson (III)	1958-1961	1958-1960
Paul Pedersen (IV)	1958-1962	
Wilbur C. Molison (V)	1958-1962	1960-1962
Helen Hargrave (T)	1958-1977	
Dr. Bill Grimmer (III)	1961-1963	
Al Meacham (V)	1962-1964	
James Higdon (IV)	1962	
Don Pederson (I)	1962-1968	1967-1968
Warren Lincoln (IV)	1962-1967	
D.S. Poynter (III)	1963	
John Pfitsch (III)	1963-1965	
Ernest Swanson (V)	1964-1966	
John Rickelberg (III)	1965-1967	
Maynard Raffety (V)(1)	1966-1978	1968-1972; 1976-1978
Beryl Wellborn (III)(3)	1967-1968; 1977-1979	
Clifford Thompson (IV)	1967-1968	

	<u>years served</u>	<u>years president</u>
Larry German (III)	1968-1970	
Warren Louden (I)	1968-1971	
Barbara Reedy (IV)	1968-1971	
Harvey Mikel, Jr. (II)	1969-1972	
James McNally (III)	1970-1976	
Howard Warner (I)	1971-1974	1972-1974
William Waddell (IV)	1971-1973	
Vernon Graham (II)(AL)	1972-1979	1978-1979; 1979
Kenneth Keenan (IV)	1973-1977	1975-1976
Harold McCulloch (I)	1974-1977	1974-1975
Tom Latimer (III)(2)	1976-1979	
James North (4)	1977-1979	
Donna Tedford (AL)	1977-1979	
Philip J. Yount (AL)	1977-1979	
Howard McDonough (1)	1978-1979	
Carol Nielsen (2)	1979	

Appendix 3

Superintendents of the Independent District of Grinnell and
the Grinnell-Newburg Community School District, 1879-1979

	<u>years served</u>
A.T. Free	1879-1882
O.F. Emerson	1882-1884
A.C. Hart	1884-1887
W.G. Ray	1887-1890
G.W. Cowden	1890-1899
Dennis A. Thornburg	1899-1904
Eugene Henely	1904-1928
C.E. Humphrey	1928-1936
V.D. Patterson	1936-1937
Rupert A. Hawk	1937-1947
Burton C. Holmes	1947-1952
Kyle C. Jones	1952-1972
Buford W. Garner	1972-1975
Michael Slusher	1975-1978
Terry Peters (interim)	1978
Dale Rauch	1978-

Notes

2/ Who's in School? The Year 1880

¹Keach Johnson, "Elementary and Secondary Education in Iowa, 1890-1900: A Time of Awakening," (part I), Annals of Iowa, Fall 1979, p. 105.

²Selwyn K. Troen, "Popular Education in Nineteenth Century St. Louis," History of Education Quarterly, Spring 1973, pp. 23-40.

³Population Schedules of the Tenth Census of the United States: 1880, microfilm, vol. 27, 411-463, mach. #102. Washington, DC: National Archives of the United States.

⁴The fact that the "occupation" column was occasionally left blank was taken to mean not at school. This assumption is based on the fact that blanks occur almost exclusively in the cases of children not yet six years of age, while the enumerator does list a small number of four- and five-year-olds as "at school." The handwriting throughout the Grinnell section is the same, making the consistency of the enumeration technique probable.

⁵L.E. Raffety, "I remember when. . . .", Unpublished manuscript, 1978, p. 1.

⁶Grinnell Herald, 20 July 1880, p. 3.

⁷Farming is especially difficult to categorize. Rather than set it apart from all other occupations, I placed it in the higher-income bracket, considering that those listed as "farmer" were more likely to be owners of land than farmhands, who were listed as "labors on farm."

3/ Progressivism and the Grinnell Schools 1880-1920

¹Iowa Normal Monthly, February 1889, vol. XII, no. 7, p. 294.

²Lawrence A. Cremin, The Transformation of the School: Progressivism in American Education 1876-1957, (New York: Knopf, 1961), pp. 9-20.

³For a discussion of the superficiality of tranquillity during those years, see Ray Ginger, Age of Excess: The United States from 1877 to 1914, (New York: MacMillan, 1975), passim, but especially pp. 151-159 and 330-339.

⁴Record of the Women's Christian Temperance Union, Grinnell, Iowa: September 1878-September 1884, (book II), 24 January and 16 May 1882, unpaginated.

⁵Ibid., 19 December 1882, unpaginated.

⁶Julia Chapin Grinnell and Jennie Bailey, History of the Women's Christian Temperance Union of Grinnell, Iowa, from 1874-1924, N.p., c. 1924, p. 4.

⁷Ibid., p. 9. See also Record of the Women's Christian Temperance Union, Grinnell, Iowa, November 1899-January 1913, (book IV), October 1909, p. 99.

⁸Grinnell and Bailey, pp. 9-10.

⁹Record of WCTU, (book IV), April 1903, p. 41, and May 1903, p. 42.

¹⁰Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction 1896-1897, (Des Moines: F.R. Conaway, 1897), p. 106. Hereafter in the notes these reports will be given as RSPI with the year following after an initial full citation. Mary Grinnell Mears was vice-president of the Maternal Association's parent body, the National Congress of Mothers, from 1905 to 1924 and attended its first convention in 1897. Mrs. F.R. Kinison and Mrs. Irve Carlson, "Iowa Congress of Parents and Teachers: Functions and Finances," The Palimpsest, November 1950, pp. 433-434.

¹¹Minutes of the Julia Chapin Grinnell Maternal Association, Unpublished book, September 1902 and 4 October 1903, unpaginated.

¹²Minutes of the Independent District of Grinnell 1889-1905, Unpublished book, 8 May 1899, unpaginated. Hereafter in the notes

the various volumes of board minutes will be given as Minutes IDG with the years following after an initial full citation.

¹³Grinnell Herald, 11 March 1919, 17 August 1915, and 9 March 1915.

¹⁴Ibid., 29 November 1904.

¹⁵Secretary Book of the Industrial School of Grinnell 31 January-1887-8 June 1892, (vol. I), Unpublished book, 30 March, 31 January, 7 and 12 February 1887, unpaginated.

¹⁶Record of WCTU (book II), 16 March 1880; Secretary Book, Industrial School (vol. I), both unpaginated.

¹⁷Clarence R. Aurner, History of Education in Iowa, vol. II, (Iowa City: The State Historical Society of Iowa, 1914), pp. 276-283.

¹⁸Secretary Book, Industrial School (vol. I), 31 January and 12 February 1887, unpaginated.

¹⁹Secretary Book of the Industrial School of Grinnell 24 August 1893-25 May 1907, (vol. II), 26 August 1896 and 23 July 1898, unpaginated.

²⁰Secretary Book, Industrial School (vol. I), 30 March 1887, 30 January 1891, and 31 October 1891, unpaginated; Secretary Book, Industrial School (vol. II), 10 August 1893, 24 August 1894, and 22 June 1899, unpaginated.

²¹For discussion of the Quincy system, see Grinnell Herald, 2 March 1880, p. 3, and Cremin, pp. 129-130. For synthetic system, Grinnell Herald, 25 February 1887. For Spears method, Minutes IDG 1889-1905, 24 November 1899, unpaginated.

²²Minutes IDG 1889-1905, 19 June 1890, 21 August 1890, and 26 August 1895, unpaginated.

²³Grinnell Herald, 8 June 1906.

²⁴Minutes IDG 1889-1905, 25 May 1891, 18 December 1898, and 15 December 1902, unpaginated.

²⁵Cremin, pp. 85, 88.

²⁶Edward A. Krug, The Shaping of the American High School 1880-1920, (Madison, WI: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1969), p. 228.

²⁷Ibid., pp. 248, 218-243. Another national impetus to industrial training was the "cult of efficiency," an administrative trend in which educators considered themselves as "school executives" running schools as businesses. Based partly on Frederick W. Taylor's system of scientific management, the rise of business ideology in education bolstered both the practicalization of curricula and the devaluation of "mere scholastic education." See Raymond E. Callahan, Education and the Cult of Efficiency, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962), pp. 1-30 and especially pp. 7-8. The movement seems to have had little effect in Grinnell, with a rare possible example being a 1908 lecture to high school boys on "The Science of Life." Minutes of the Independent District of Grinnell 1905-1920, Unpublished book, 16 March and 20 April 1908, pp. 68-71.

²⁸Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction 1900-1901, (Des Moines: N.p., 1901), p. 442; Grinnell Herald, 12 February 1909.

²⁹Minutes IDG 1905-1920, 15 February 1909, p. 93.

³⁰Grinnell Herald, 13 January 1911.

³¹For institution of manual training, see Minutes IDG 1905-1920, 26 May 1911, p. 147. For domestic science, see Ibid., 5 June 1912, p. 175, but for last-minute hesitation see also 20 and 31 May 1912, pp. 172-174. For the end of the Girl's Industrial School, see Secretary Book, Industrial School (vol. I), postscript. No minutes of the Industrial Society after 1907 are extant. For commercial course, see Grinnell Herald, 21 April 1914.

³²S.C. Buck, "Plans and Hopes of the Grinnell School Board," official statement of board's position in letter to Grinnell Herald, 14 February 1913.

³³Krug, pp. xii, 229.

³⁴RSPI 1900-1901, pp. 205-209.

³⁵Johnson, part I, p. 105.

³⁶Minutes IDG 1889-1905, 6 February 1901, unpaginated; and RSPI 1900-1901, pp. 205-209.

³⁷John Purcell Street, "Iowa Department of Public Instruction: Its Origin and Development," Annals of Iowa, October 1950, pp. 425-426.

³⁸Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction 1916-1918, (Des Moines, State of Iowa, 1918), p. 34; Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction 1912-1914, (Des Moines: Robert Henderson, 1914), p. 82.

³⁹Keach Johnson, "Elementary and Secondary Education in Iowa, 1890-1900: A Time of Awakening," (part II), Annals of Iowa, Winter 1980, p. 172.

⁴⁰See David B. Tyack, The One Best System: A History of American Urban Education, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1974), pp. 56-57; and T.O. Douglass, "Old No. 7 - That Was G.H.S. in 1890," Grinnell Herald-Register, 16 May 1940, p. 1.

⁴¹Regulations and Course of Study of the High School, Grinnell, Iowa, (Grinnell: The Grinnell Gazette, 1902), p. 10. See also Krug, pp. 5-6.

⁴²See Krug, pp. 13-14.

⁴³Buck, op. cit.

⁴⁴John Scholte Nollen, Grinnell College, (Iowa City: The State Historical Society of Iowa, 1953), pp. 135-136.

⁴⁵Krug, p. 7.

⁴⁶Nollen, pp. 133-135.

⁴⁷Douglass, p. 1.

⁴⁸Nollen, pp. 133-134; Regulations and Course of Study 1902, p. 12. Grinnell High graduates received credit at Iowa College for solid geometry.

⁴⁹Minutes IDG 1889-1905, 3 September 1904, unpaginated; and Minutes IDG 1905-1920, 20 November 1916, p. 314.

⁵⁰Grinnell Herald, 2 June 1916 and 12 June 1917; and Laurence Iannaccone and Frank W. Lutz, Politics, Power, and Policy: The Governing of Local School Districts, (Columbus, OH: Charles E. Merrill, 1970), p. 10.

⁵¹Grinnell Herald, 10 December 1880, p. 3.

⁵²Ibid., 20 July 1880, p. 3.

⁵³Barbara Joan Finkelstein, quoted in Tyack, p. 55.

⁵⁴G.W. Cowden, letter to board of Independent District, 14 February 1899; and George B. McGuin, formal agreement with John Patton, Jr., 16 February 1899, both unpaginated; both affixed to Minutes IDG 1889-1905, 20 March 1899, unpaginated.

⁵⁵Minutes IDG 1905-1920, 20 May 1907, p. 46.

⁵⁶Minutes IDG 1889-1905, 21 April 1891, unpaginated.

⁵⁷For example, see Grinnell Herald, 3 July 1906.

⁵⁸Social Service in the Small Town: First Annual Report of the Social Service League 1912-1913, (Grinnell: Grinnell Register, 1913), p. 11.

⁵⁹See Ada M. Palmer, Centralized Community Service: Fourth

Annual Report of the Social Service League 1915-1916, (N.p., 1916), p. 22; and Grinnell Herald, 8 February 1918.

⁶⁰Grinnell Herald, 30 April 1918.

⁶¹Krug, pp. 407-409. For French as an elective, see Minutes IDG 1905-1920, 27 December 1917, p. 362.

⁶²Johnson, part II, pp. 192-193.

⁶³Minutes IDG 1889-1905, 17 September 1894, unpaginated.

⁶⁴Iowa State Board of Health, Rules and Regulations for the Restriction and Prevention of Contagious Diseases in the Public and Private Schools of Iowa, circular no. 3, third edition, (N.p., 1902), unpaginated; and Minutes IDG 1889-1905, 19 September 1904, unpaginated.

⁶⁵Minutes IDG 1905-1920, 17 March 1913, p. 195.

⁶⁶Social Service League Report 1912-1913, pp. 11-14; and Community Social Service: Third Annual Report of the Social Service League of Grinnell, Iowa, 1914-1915, (N.p., 1915), pp. 24-25.

⁶⁷Ada M. Palmer, Social Service in the Small Town: Second Annual Report of the Grinnell Social Service League 1913-1914, (Grinnell: Grinnell Herald, 1914), pp. 16-17.

⁶⁸Minutes IDG 1905-1920, 18 January 1915, p. 240.

⁶⁹Minutes, Julia Grinnell Maternal Ass'n, 1 December 1903, unpaginated; Minutes IDG 1905-1920, 18 January 1915, p. 240; and Minutes, Julia Grinnell Maternal Ass'n, 2 February 1904, unpaginated.

⁷⁰For presentation of petition, see Minutes IDG 1905-1920, 3 May 1915, p. 250; for PTA's role, see Grinnell Herald, 27 April 1915.

⁷¹W.S. Dodge, letter to Independent District board, undated, but affixed to Minutes IDG 1905-1920, 3 May 1915, p. 251.

⁷²Minutes IDG 1905-1920, 21 June 1915, p. 255; 27 October 1915, p. 265. The nurse also served as truant officer during the war years. See Ibid., p. 354. For unofficial delegations, see Minutes IDG 1889-1905, 15 June 1896, and 19 June 1891, unpaginated.

⁷³David Nasaw, Schooled to Order: A Social History of Public Schooling in the United States, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979), p. 89.

⁷⁴Ibid., pp. 93-96.

⁷⁵Cremin, pp. 85, 324.

⁷⁶Krug, pp. 407-409.

4/ Seeds of Conflict

¹For exceptions, see Minutes IDG 1889-1905, 5 February 1895, unpaginated; and Grinnell Herald, 17 August 1915.

²Grinnell Herald, 15 September 1896; Minutes IDG 1889-1905, 18 December 1898, unpaginated. For kindergarten, see Ibid., 20 August 1894, unpaginated. For tuition students, Ibid., 17 June 1895, unpaginated.

³For the High School, see Grinnell Herald, 30 January 1903. For Davis, see Ibid., 17 September 1915.

⁴Buck, op. cit.

⁵Grinnell Herald, 13 and 17 August 1915.

⁶O.O. Smith, letter to Independent District board, undated, affixed to Minutes IDG 1889-1905, 9 January 1900, unpaginated.

⁷Minutes IDG 1889-1905, 17 June 1903, unpaginated. Parker eventually cost \$10,612.77 to build; Cooper, \$12,361.61. See respectively Ibid., 24 September 1897 and 16 April 1900, unpaginated.

⁸Eugene Henely (Superintendent of District), letter to

Independent District board, undated, affixed to Minutes IDG 1905-1920, 9 June 1911, p. 149.

⁹R.A. Hawk, Grinnell Public Schools, Grinnell, Iowa: Budget Report 1946-1947, (Grinnell: N.p., 1947), p. 76.

¹⁰Douglass, p. 1.

¹¹Minutes of the Independent District of Grinnell 1920-1938, Unpublished book, 4 March 1936, p. 447, and 3 June 1936, p. 455. Minutes of the Independent District of Grinnell 1938-1954, Unpublished book, 28 January 1941, p. 40.

¹²For a discussion of this point, see Gilbert C. Fite and Jim Reese, An Economic History of the United States, (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1959), pp. 547, 561. For possible connections between agriculture and bank failures in the 1920s, see Peter Temin, Did Monetary Forces Cause the Great Depression?, (New York: Norton, 1976), pp. 88, 146-149.

¹³Minutes IDG 1920-1938, 1 July 1931, p. 265.

¹⁴Hawk, Budget Report, p. 8. Millage began to fall slowly from 88.4 in 1928, levelling off in the low-to-high 20s in the Depression, finally climbing to the low 30s by the end of World War II.

¹⁵Minutes IDG 1920-1938, 12 September 1934, p. 422.

¹⁶Hawk, Budget Report, p. 77. The extent of the program can be seen from the totals of January-April 1946, when 31,000 free portions were served. Ibid., p. 78.

¹⁷Richard P. Manatt et. al., A Master Plan for the Grinnell-Newburg Community School District, (N.p., 1969), pp. 43-45.

¹⁸Minutes IDG 1920-1938, 28 May 1935, p. 433, and 25 July 1935, p. 437.

¹⁹Ibid., 15 March 1937, p. 473; 14 June 1937, p. 479; and

Minutes IDG 1938-1954, 8 February 1939, p. 8.

²⁰Hawk, Budget Report, pp. 37-38. The law to which he refers is Section 4363 of the 1939 Iowa Code, but apparently that statute or one similar was on the books earlier. Recent boards in Grinnell have also disdained later versions of this law. See Manatt, p. 156.

²¹Hawk, Budget Report, pp. 36, 43.

²²Ibid., pp. 43, 44.

²³Minutes IDG 1938-1954, 19 May 1948, p. 147.

²⁴Hawk, Budget Report, pp. 57-58. The teacher's payroll in Grinnell rose from \$67,613.33 in 1941 to \$118,840.82 in 1946. Ibid., p. 58.

²⁵R.A. Hawk, letter to teachers of the Independent District of Grinnell, 16 December 1946, p. 2.

²⁶Hawk, Budget Report, pp. 43, 39.

²⁷Ibid., pp. 104, 2.

Part II - The Schools Observed

5/ The Board

¹Tyack, p. 80.

²For just one example, directors D.S. Morrison and A. McIntosh operated the local glove factory. Minutes IDG 1889-1905, 5 May 1899, unpaginated.

³For a discussion of this point, see Arthur J. Vidich and Joseph Bensman, Small Town in Mass Society, (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1960), pp. 43-46.

⁴Grinnell Herald, 11 March 1890 and 12 March 1912.

⁵Iannaccone and Lutz, pp. 22, 29.

⁶Minutes IDG 1905-1920, 26 February 1914, p. 218; and Minutes IDG 1889-1905, 8 May 1899, unpaginated.

⁷For examples, see Minutes IDG 1889-1905, 24 April 1899, unpaginated; Minutes IDG 1920-1938, 17 January 1921, p. 13; and Minutes IDG 1938-1954, 8 August 1938, p. 2.

⁸See respectively Minutes IDG 1889-1905, 17 May 1898 and 16 January 1899, unpaginated; Minutes IDG 1920-1938, 20 March 1933, p. 301; and Minutes IDG 1889-1905, 19 August 1903, unpaginated.

⁹Minutes IDG 1920-1938, 8 April 1936, p. 450.

¹⁰Personal interview with Kyle Jones, 1 October 1979.

¹¹The G.-N. Report, vol. III, #2, April 1968, p. 3.

¹²Personal interview with Maynard Raffety, 13 February 1980.

¹³Minutes of the Independent District of Grinnell 1954-1958, Unpublished book, 29 March 1955, p. 22.

¹⁴For descriptions of the choking incident, see the Des Moines Register, 21 February 1975, and Raffety interview. For reasons behind Garner's resignation, see Grinnell Herald-Register, 12 December 1974, p. 1; Minutes of the Grinnell-Newburg Community School District 1975-1979, Unpublished book, 15 September 1975, pp. 409-410; and Raffety interview. Hereafter in the notes the Grinnell-Newburg minutes will be referred to as Minutes GNCSD with the dates of the volume following after an initial full citation.

¹⁵Jeanie H. Weiser, letter to board president Howard Warner, 14 December 1973, affixed to Minutes of the Grinnell-Newburg Community School District 1970-1974, Unpublished book, 14 November 1973, p. 251.

¹⁶Minutes of the Grinnell-Newburg Community School District 1958-1962, Unpublished book, 28 February 1962, p. 164.

¹⁷See respectively Minutes IDG 1938-1954, 25 March 1954, p. 232; Minutes GNCSD 1975-1979, 7 March 1979, pp. 730-731; and Ibid., 11 October 1978, p. 697.

¹⁸The board has even allowed an ex officio student member from the High School to sit in on meetings. The student serves on subcommittees, and although his or her votes have no weight, they are recorded in the Minutes. Ibid., 25 May and 27 July 1977, pp. 570, 585.

¹⁹Ibid., 26 February 1975, p. 354; and 13 July 1977, p. 580.

²⁰See Minutes GNCSD 1970-1974, 11 September 1974, p. 310, and Raffety interview. Some rural residents felt cheated after the passage of the proposal. Personal interview with Harold McCulloch, 16 February 1980.

6/ The Teachers

¹Tyack, p. 60.

²Krug, pp. 171-172.

³A little paranoia on the part of male educators may have been justified, for they were a distinct minority in their profession nationwide: in 1870, 41% of American teachers were men; in 1900, 30%; in 1920, just 14%. Tyack, p. 61.

⁴Johnson, part II, p. 123.

⁵Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction 1907-1908, (Des Moines: N.p., 1908), pp. 280-281.

⁶Hawk, Budget Report, p. 66; Grinnell Herald-Register, 8 March 1954, p. 1.

⁷Minutes IDG 1938-1954, 25 March 1954, p. 232; Minutes IDG 1954-1958, 14 March 1956, p. 49.

⁸Personal interview with Avis Tone, 14 February 1980.

⁹Minutes IDG 1954-1958, 20 March 1957, p. 76; Grinnell Herald-Register, 21 March 1957, p. 1; and Minutes IDG 1954-1958, 9 April 1958, p. 105.

¹⁰Minutes IDG 1938-1954, 4 January 1942, p. 53. More recently, such constraints are much weaker, but not missing altogether: as of 1968, Grinnell-Newburg teachers could be granted maternity leaves, but without pay. Minutes of the Grinnell-Newburg Community School District 1966-1968, Unpublished book, 24 January 1968, p. 439.

¹¹Personal interview with Harriet Adelberg, 21 February 1980.

¹²Ibid.

¹³I have not been able to find an exact date for the creation of the GTA; it is first mentioned in Minutes IDG 1920-1938, 8 March 1933, p. 300.

¹⁴Adelberg interview.

¹⁵Minutes IDG 1905-1920, 25 April 1911, p. 145.

¹⁶Minutes of the Grinnell-Newburg Community School District 1962-1966, Unpublished book, 14 March 1963, p. 208.

¹⁷Membership in the GNEA is not mandatory, although the majority of the teachers in the district at present have chosen to join. The GNEA exists mostly as a bargaining unit, but the organization has the capabilities to do far more. For example, a committee to handle teacher grievances exists, but as of this writing it has not been necessary to utilize it. Adelberg interview.

¹⁸For example, see Minutes GNCSD 1966-1968, 1 February 1967, pp. 388-389; and Minutes of the Grinnell-Newburg Community School

District 1968-1970, Unpublished book, 25 March 1969, pp. 36-37.

¹⁹Buford W. Garner, Memorandum to the Grinnell-Newburg board, 14 October 1974, affixed to Minutes GNCSD 1970-1974, 23 October 1974, pp. 323-324.

²⁰Manatt, p. 108. The point will be elaborated below.

²¹Johnson, part II, p. 172; RSPI 1900-1901, p. 268.

²²Manatt, p. 78.

²³Hawk, Budget Report, p. 70, and Minutes IDG 1938-1954, 7 April 1943, p. 76. For early examples of in-service training, see Minutes IDG 1889-1905, 19 October 1903, unpaginated, and Minutes IDG 1905-1920, 19 November 1906, p. 35. The board today has maintained this generosity: leaves of absence are given readily if it appears the recipient intends to return to Grinnell-Newburg. Adelberg interview.

²⁴For overburdened staff, see Manatt, p. 108. For elementary principals, see The G.-N. Report, vol. VI, #4, April 1971, p. 1, and Tone interview. For librarians, Adelberg interview.

²⁵For paraprofessionals, see The G.-N. Report, vol. V, #3, May 1970, p. 2; for school aides, see Ibid., vol. VI, #3, February 1971, p. 2, and Ibid., vol. VII, #2, December 1971, p. 4. Some mention should be made of the cooperative student-teaching program between Grinnell College and the town's public schools which has operated from since at least 1902 to the present: see Minutes IDG 1889-1905, 31 March 1902, unpaginated, and The G.-N. Report, vol. VI, #3, December 1970, p. 4. The relationship has been more than cordial: in the early 1950s, the College and the public schools shared a music faculty and some town teachers were listed in the College catalogue as "critic teachers." See Minutes IDG 1938-1954, 20 January 1954, pp. 226-227; and 21 October 1953, pp. 221-222.

²⁶Hawk, Budget Report, pp. 1-2.

²⁷Grinnell Herald-Register, 30 June 1975, pp. 1, 5. The latter respondent commented that trying to repair the junior high school was "like trying to prop up 300 tons of warm jello."

²⁸Adelberg interview.

²⁹Mike Peterson, Statement to Grinnell-Newburg board, undated, affixed to Minutes GNCSD 1975-1979, 9 April 1975, pp. 369-370.

³⁰See, for example, the Jones and Tone interviews.

7/ The Studies

¹Grinnell Herald, 20 July 1880, p. 3.

²C.E. Kingsley, letter to Grinnell-Newburg board, 3 November 1958, affixed to Minutes GNCSD 1958-1962, 12 November 1958, p. 13; and Ibid., 14 October 1959, p. 49.

³Tone interview.

⁴The G.-N. Report, vol. VI, #3, February 1971, p. 2. A prototype of continuous progress was tried in 1959 when the District grouped students in selected classrooms on the basis of reading ability. Grinnell Herald-Register, 26 February 1959, p. 1.

⁵Kyle C. Jones, "The Grinnell-Newburg Resumé of Study and Development of Secondary Curriculum: Grades 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12," Unpublished paper, 1961, affixed to Minutes GNCSD 1958-1962, 17 April 1961, p. 123.

⁶The G.-N. Report, vol V, #2, March 1970, p. 2, and Ibid., vol. VI, #3, December 1970, p. 4.

⁷Manatt, p. 100, and Minutes GNCSD 1970-1974, 14 August 1974, pp. 303-304.

⁸Jones, Resumé of Study and Development.

⁹LeRoy Martin, "New and Revised Senior High Curriculum Offerings 1965-66," The G.-N. Report, vol I, #2, January 1966, p. 3.

¹⁰Douglas Hovenden, "Grinnell F.F.A. Evergreen Project," in Ibid., p. 2.

¹¹The G.-N. Report, vol. III, #2, April 1968, p. 2; and Alice Renaud, "Foreign Students in G-N," The G.-N. Report, Vol. VII, #1, October 1971, pp. 2-4.

¹²See Raffety interview.

¹³See McCulloch interview.

¹⁴Minutes GNCSD 1975-1979, 25 October 1978, p. 701, and 27 June 1979, p. 762.

¹⁵Tone interview.

¹⁶One of the first elementary school counsellors exemplifies the point in her description of objectives: "Some of the objectives of elementary school guidance are to develop within individuals an awareness and understanding of self, an acceptance of self, an understanding of others, an understanding of their environment. . . to develop within 'significant others' an awareness, an understanding, and acceptance of pupils." [Audrey Pederson], The G.-N. Report, vol V, #3, May 1970, p. 2.

¹⁷For examples. see Minutes IDG 1920-1938, 7 January 1925, p. 102; and Minutes IDG 1938-1954, 11 and 23 September 1940, pp. 35-36.

¹⁸The G.-N. Report, vol. VII, #4, May 1972, p. 2.

¹⁹Betty Snider, "A Look at Grinnell's Largest Food Service: The G.-N. School Lunch Program," vol. VII, #3, February 1972, pp. 1-2.

²⁰Minutes GNCSD 1958-1962, 12 November 1958, p. 14.

²¹William Ferguson, "Testing Pupils in G-N," The G.-N. Report, vol. VI, #4, April 1971, pp. 3-4. Testing in earlier years was

geared more toward a narrow purpose, such as the admission test of the late 1940s and early 1950s for prospective kindergarten students less than five years old, designed on request of the board by the Psychology Department of Grinnell College. This examination caused "a great deal of discussion both at the regular [Board] meetings, and also in the community" with some of the patrons questioning the directors' right to make such rulings. The test remained intact. Minutes IDG 1938-1954, 25 May 1949, pp. 160-161, and 23 June 1952, p. 199.

²²For example, see Minutes IDG 1889-1905, 15 October 1900 and 23 September 1901, unpaginated. That so few children are listed as "feeble-minded" in the above examples (2 and 3, respectively) may be an indication that marginally competent students who today would be in a special education class remained in regular studies, probably to their detriment.

²³Minutes IDG 1889-1905, 23 November 1903, 19 December 1903, 20 March 1905, and 17 April 1905, all unpaginated. See also Ibid., 21 April 1902, unpaginated.

²⁴The G.-N. Report, vol. VII, #4, May 1972, p. 1; Minutes IDG 1954-1958, 15 December 1954, p. 14; Jones interview.

²⁵Minutes GNCSD 1958-1962, 16 March 1961, p. 116; and Minutes GNCSD 1966-1968, 28 February 1968, p. 445, and 19 June 1968, p. 465.

²⁶The G.-N. Report, vol. I, #3, 9 May 1966, p. 2. It must be noted that the administration argued for more local funding of special education not by dwelling upon the advantages to the children participating, but by appealing to the selfish instincts of parents of children without learning disabilities: an extra elementary classroom for the purpose meant "The teacher of the regular classroom does not have to divert time from her regular pupils." For E.S.E.A. summer school, Minutes GNCSD 1966-1968, 11 May 1966, p. 351.

²⁷Minutes GNCSD 1970-1974, 27 March 1974, pp. 273-274.

²⁸The Mental Health Center was paid a stipend for its services. Minutes GNCSD 1970-1974, 25 May 1971, p. 58. This practice has been discontinued: Minutes GNCSD 1975-1979, 23 May 1979, p. 753.

²⁹See respectively, Minutes IDG 1905-1920, 27 December 1912, p. 188; and Minutes IDG 1920-1938, 5 and 26 August 1931, p. 267.

³⁰For early classes, see Minutes IDG 1920-1938, 27 January 1937, p. 470. For later offerings, Minutes IDG 1938-1954, 10 December 1941, p. 52; and 9 December 1942, p. 71. For certificates and diplomas, Ibid., 5 October 1938, p. 4, 10 May 1939, p. 13, and 8 October 1941, p. 51.

³¹For Jones' role, Minutes GNCSD 1962-1966, 21 August 1963, p. 227, and Jones interview. For curriculum, Minutes GNCSD 1962-1966, 9 October 1963, p. 236; Grinnell Herald-Register, 5 September 1966. For Equivalency Certificate, Ibid., 16 January 1969.

8/ The Bond Issue 1952-1955

¹Hawk, Budget Report, p. 96.

²Ibid., p. 118.

³Minutes IDG 1938-1954, 19 April 1950, p. 170.

⁴Ibid., 3 March 1952, p. 195.

⁵Grinnell Herald-Register, 3 March 1952, p. 4. See also Ibid., 14 February 1952, p. 7.

⁶Ibid., 24 March 1952, p. 1, and 24 April 1952, p. 1.

⁷Ibid., 3 April 1952, p. 2.

⁸Robert R. Alford, "School District Reorganization and Community Integration," Harvard Educational Review, Fall 1960, p. 368.

⁹Minutes IDG 1938-1954, 23 April 1952, p. 197.

¹⁰Ibid., 14 July 1952, p. 202; and Grinnell Herald-Register, 25 October 1951, p. 7.

¹¹Grinnell Herald-Register, 4 December 1952, p. 1, 16 March 1953, p. 6, and 26 March 1953, sec. 2, p. 4.

¹²Ibid., 22 January 1953, p. 1, and 23 March 1953, p. 4.

¹³Ibid., 7 May 1953, sec. 2, p. 2.

¹⁴W.S. Smiley, letter to Grinnell Herald-Register, 30 April 1953, p. 2; and Thomas F. Sawyers, letter to Grinnell Herald-Register, 7 May 1953, sec. 3, p. 2.

¹⁵Grinnell Herald-Register, 7 May 1953, sec. 2, p. 2; and 14 May 1953, p. 1.

¹⁶A survey of the Minutes from 1952 to 1955 bears this out. See also Kyle Jones' month-long series of promotional articles beginning in the Grinnell Herald-Register, 16 March 1953.

¹⁷Fifteen civic organizations publicly supported the May 1953 proposal; later that year, the Kiwanis voted 42-3 to back the District in an October election. See respectively the Grinnell Herald-Register, May 1953, p. 1, and 15 October 1953, p. 1. In 1954 the Kiwanis Club paid for a Chicago building consultant to come to Grinnell and make a short evaluation of the town's schools. Minutes IDG 1954-1958, 20 October 1954, p. 10.

¹⁸Grinnell Herald-Register, 8 October 1953, p. 1.

¹⁹Ibid., 5 March 1953, p. 1, and 11 March 1954, p. 1. In the 1954 director election, eight unauthorized filing papers were received by the board in "a surprise political maneuver by one faction" which remained unnamed. The point of such a maneuver escapes me. Ibid., 1 March 1954, p. 1.

²⁰Minutes IDG 1938-1954, 21 September 1953, p. 220.

²¹Mrs. D.L. Ross, letter to Grinnell Herald-Register, 5 July 1954, p. 3.

²²Grinnell Herald-Register, 22 July 1954, p. 1.

²³The exception was Carl Benson, a member of the GTA.

²⁴Grinnell Herald-Register, 29 July 1954, pp. 1-2.

²⁵Ibid., 12 August 1954, p. 2.

²⁶Minutes IDG 1954-1958, 20 October 1954, p. 11, and 15 December 1954, p. 14.

²⁷Grinnell Herald-Register, 7 April 1955, sec. 2, p. 2.

²⁸Minutes IDG 1954-1958, 29 March 1955, p. 22.

²⁹Grinnell Herald-Register, 31 March 1955, p. 1.

³⁰Ibid., 23 June 1955, p. 1.

³¹Minutes IDG 1954-1958, 6 and 18 April 1955, pp. 23, 25.

³²Ibid., 23 May 1955, p. 28. For the record, the "Committee of Twelve" consisted of Holmes, Homer Richardson (who appears to have been the leader of the group), Henry L. Gordon, Howard Sage, Robert Hamilton, Elvie Longnecker, Milton Scandrett, Will Barnes, Eldon Olds, Robert Kinsey, and Mel Van Wechel. I have been unable to find out the twelfth member or the other three GTA members. Ibid., 10 June 1955, p. 29.

³³Grinnell Herald-Register, 16 June 1955, p. 1.

³⁴Minutes IDG 1954-1958, 6 July 1955, p. 30.

³⁵Grinnell Herald-Register, 23 June 1955, p. 1.

9/ The End of a Little Neighborhood Affair

¹Tyack, p. 14.

²George S. May, "Iowa's Consolidated Schools," The Palimpsest, January 1956, pp. 13, 5.

³Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction 1900-1901, (Des Moines: N.p., 1901), p. 30.

⁴May, pp. 6-7, and Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction 1909-1910, (Des Moines: N.p., 1910), p. 42.

⁵Krug, p. 180.

⁶L.E. Raffety, "I Remember When. . .," p. 2.

⁷Tyack, p. 17.

⁸Johnson, part II, p. 185.

⁹Just prior to becoming Superintendent of Grinnell's public schools in 1887, W.G. Ray worked at the only existing county high school in Iowa (Panora, Guthrie County). Iowa Normal Monthly, February 1889, vol. XII, #7, pp. 481-482.

¹⁰May, pp. 18, 28-29, 31, 33, 55-56.

¹¹RSPI 1900-1901, p. 66.

¹²RSPI 1916-1918, p. 205; May, p. 34. The Newburg Consolidated District, which eventually was the major entity involved in the Grinnell reorganization of 1958, was established under the direction of Omen Bishop in 1918. RSPI 1916-1918, pp. 322-323. See also L.E. Raffety, p. 4. Transportation to these early Iowa consolidated schools was provided by horse-drawn hacks, some outfitted in winter with stoves, robes, and blankets; however, by 1920 a substantial number of busses were in use. See May, p. 25; Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction 1918-1920, (Des Moines: State of Iowa, 1920), p. 50.

¹³May, pp. 61-62.

¹⁴Alford, p. 355.

¹⁵Leslie L. Chisholm, "School District Reorganization Today," State Government, May 1956, p. 87.

¹⁶The definition of "collective identity" is Alford's. See Alford, pp. 351, 358. See also L.E. Raffety, p. 3.

¹⁷Alford, pp. 350-351.

¹⁸Iannaccone and Lutz, p. 15.

¹⁹Interview with Harold McCulloch, 16 February 1980; interview with Avis Tone, 14 February 1980. See also Minutes GNCSD 1970-1974, 11 October 1972, p. 153. As of this writing, all sixth-graders in the District attend classes the Newburg building.

²⁰May, pp. 40-41. State-wide, it was not unheard of for tenant farmers to be coerced into voting against reorganization. See Ibid. For specific objections along this line from Newburg residents, Grinnell Herald-Register, 27 February 1958, p. 1.

²¹See respectively McCulloch interview; Grinnell Herald-Register, 27 February 1958, p. 1; and Grinnell Herald-Register, 31 March 1958, p. 1.

²²Ibid., 7 March 1955, p. 1.

²³RSPI 1900-1901, p. 41.

²⁴See Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction 1904-1905, (Des Moines: N.p., 1905), p. 80; and Minutes IDG 1889-1905, 19 February 1890, unpaginated. It was possible to pay for tuition with labor. Hawk, Budget Report, p. 50.

²⁵Hawk, Budget Report, p. 52. The Independent District actually ran bus routes in the rural townships for tuition students. Grinnell Herald-Register, 21 November 1955, p. 1.

²⁶Ibid., 16 April 1953, pp. 1-2.

²⁷Ibid., 20 April 1953, p. 4.

²⁸Ibid., sec. 2, p. 2.

²⁹Charles P. Loomis and J. Allan Beagle, Rural Social Systems, (New York: Prentice-Hall, 1950), p. 493. Michigan exemplifies the point: J.F. Thaden and Eben Mumford, "High School Communities in Michigan," (East Lansing, MI: AES Special Bulletin 289, January 1938), p. 4, quoted in Loomis and Beagle, p. 492. See also Lowry Nelson, Rural Sociology, (New York: American Book, Co., 1948), p. 390. Some residents of Newburg argued against a reorganization plan with Gilman to the north because their trading center was Grinnell and not Marshalltown. McCulloch interview.

³⁰Grinnell Herald-Register, 27 April 1950, sec. 2, p. 1.

³¹See respectively Minutes IDG 1938-1954, 23 February 1953; Minutes IDG 1954-1958, 14 September 1955, p. 35; Grinnell Herald-Register, 17 October 1955, p. 1, and 5 December 1957, sec. 2, p. 2. Why the community district which formed in 1955 rejected Grinnell's bid to be included is not clear, but perhaps their thinking was similar to that in the Malcom Independent District when it decided to form the B-G-M district with Brooklyn and Guernsey in 1958. Malcom turned down an offer to join the then-forming Grinnell-Newburg district partly because of fears that Grinnell's size would raise tax rates, school directors would be weighted in favor of Grinnell, and Grinnell's facilities were already overcrowded. Grinnell Herald-Register, 16 January 1958, p. 1.

³²Ibid., 22 May 1958, sec. 2, p. 2.

³³Ibid., 23 January 1958, p. 1; 24 January 1958, p. 4; and 29 May 1958, p. 1. Grinnell-Newburg entirely absorbed Grinnell Independent, Grant Township, Sheridan Township #s 2, 5, and 8, and Newburg Consolidated. It took in parts of Sheridan #s 1 and 7, all of Grinnell Rural Community except for three farms, part of the Hickory Grove District, and about half of the Rock Creek Township District. Undated memo, affixed to appendix of Minutes IDG 1954-1958.

³⁴Grinnell Herald-Register, 11 January 1951, p. 2.

³⁵Ibid., 14 August 1958, p. 1; 21 August 1958, p. 1; 12 January 1959, p. 1; and 26 May 1960, p. 1. By the end of 1960, only 12 sections of land in the county had not been incorporated into community school districts. Ibid., 29 December 1960, p. 1.

³⁶For new board election procedures, see Ibid., 19 June 1958, p. 1. For B-G-M dispute, see Ibid., 25 December 1958, p. 1; Minutes GNCSD 1958-1962, 28 January 1960, p. 63; and Grinnell Herald-Register, 22 December 1960, p. 1.

10/ State and Federal Influence

¹Iannaccone and Lutz, p. 16.

²Grinnell Herald-Register, 19 December 1955, sec. 2, p. 2. See also Jones interview.

³Hawk, Budget Report, p. 114.

⁴Hawk, letter to Grinnell teachers, p. 3.

⁵Grinnell Herald-Register, 12 December 1955, p. 1.

⁶Hawk, Budget Report, pp. 115-117.

⁷Grinnell Herald-Register, 22 December 1960, p. 1.

⁸Minutes GNCSD 1962-1966, 31 March 1965, p. 299.

⁹The G.-N. Report, vol. I, #1, 1 October 1965, p. 2; Beryl Wellborn, "Head Start," The G.-N. Report, vol. I, #2, 5 January 1966, p. 1; Minutes GNCSD 1966-1968, 24 May 1967, p. 411.

¹⁰The G.-N. Report, vol. II, #1, 26 October 1966, p. 2; Ibid., vol. II, #2, 30 January 1967, p. 1; and Ibid., vol. V, #2, March 1970, appended card.

¹¹Minutes GNCSD 1970-1974, 1 December 1971, p. 89; and Tone interview.

¹²Manatt, p. 154.

¹³Edgar J. Pearce and Gary W. Smith, Grinnell-Newburg Community School District, Grinnell, Iowa 50112: Official State Auditor's Report, July 1, 1974 Through June 30, 1975, (Des Moines: Office of the Auditor of State, 1975), pp. 3-4.

¹⁴Raffety interview.

¹⁵The G.-N. Report, vol. II, #2, 30 January 1967, p. 2.

¹⁶Pearce and Smith, p. 3.

¹⁷See McCulloch interview.

¹⁸Michael Slusher, "Superintendent's Annual Report 1975-1976," Unpublished paper, 28 July 1976, p. 6.

¹⁹Raffety interview.

²⁰Ibid.

11/ Money and Buildings and Buildings and Money

¹Grinnell Herald-Register, 10 March 1955, p. 1.

²Ibid., 16 October 1958, p. 1.

³Ibid., 30 October 1958, pp. 1-2, and 16 April 1959, p. 1.

⁴Donald A. Anderson, et. al, Preliminary Comprehensive Plan for the City of Grinnell, Iowa, (Des Moines: Anderson Engineering Company, 1962), pp. 229-233.

⁵Ibid.

⁶Ibid.

⁷Jones interview.

⁸Anderson, pp. 229-233.

⁹See respectively The G.-N. Report, vol. I, #1, 1 October 1965, pp. 2-3, and Minutes GNCS D 1966-1968, 22 February 1967, p. 393.

¹⁰Paul Spurlock, letter to Kyle C. Jones, 9 March 1967, pp. 1-3, affixed to Minutes GNCSD 1966-1968, p. 403.

¹¹McCulloch interview. According to McCulloch, as of February 1980 the group was still organized but inactive.

¹²Grinnell-Newburg Taxpayer's Association leaflet, December 1968.

¹³Minutes GNCSD 1968-1970, 16 December 1968, p. 22.

¹⁴Manatt, pp. 73, 77, 84, 86.

¹⁵Ibid., pp. 171, 96.

¹⁶Lawrence J. Geisler, "Language Arts Evaluation," in Manatt, p. 110; and Manatt, p. 101.

¹⁷Jack Wilkinson, "Mathematics," in Manatt, pp. 137, 138-139.

¹⁸Geisler, in Manatt, pp. 107-108.

¹⁹Minutes GNCSD 1966-1968, 26 October 1966, pp. 375-376, and 8 May 1968, p. 460. In 1898 the Iowa State Teacher's Association began accrediting high schools that met their criteria, allowing graduates of these institutions to enter colleges in the state association without conditions or examinations, except in a few special subjects. Grinnell High School was one of 124 fully accredited high schools in Iowa in 1901. RSPI 1900-1901, pp. 260-262, 266-271. Although a member of the North Central Association since 1904, the first formalized evaluation of the High School came in 1965. Minutes GNCSD 1962-1966, 27 October 1965, p. 322.

²⁰R.J. Vanden Branden, "Survey of Science Education," in Manatt, pp. 113-117.

²¹Ted Curtis, "Social Studies," in Manatt, pp. 125-126, 119-121.

²²Manatt, p. 103.

²³Ibid., pp. 41-45.

²⁴Ibid., pp. 46-56.

²⁵Ibid., pp. 69-70. However, in 1977 two people working in the Senior High called the building an anachronism which represented a period of time in education characterized by "six one-hour class meetings per day, small curricular offerings, energy wastefulness, and a basically disinterested constituency." J.W. Penne and W.A. Rixen, "Spatial Adjustments Implementing the Educational Facility at the Senior High School," Unpublished paper, 10 June 1977, p. 1.

²⁶Manatt, pp. 169-170; 185.

²⁷For example, see Raffety interview.

²⁸Tone interview.

²⁹McCulloch interview. See also Weiser.

³⁰Manatt predicted, with reasonable accuracy, a District-wide drop of 25.2% in enrollment from 1970-1980. Manatt, p. 30.

³¹The G.-N. Report, vol. V, #2, March 1970, p. 2; Ibid., vol. VI, #3, December 1970, p. 1.

³²Minutes GNCSD 1970-1974, 8 November 1972, pp. 160 ff.

³³Ibid., 10 January 1973, p. 173.

³⁴Ibid., 14 and 22 March 1973, pp. 190-191, 195.

³⁵A.C. Eisenman, letter to Grinnell-Newburg board, 18 April 1973, affixed to Ibid., 25 April 1973, p. 203.

³⁶Smith, Voorhees, Jensen Associates, Grinnell-Newburg Middle School: Facility Program, (Grinnell: N.p, 1973), unpaginated.

³⁷Smith, Voorhees, Jensen Associates, Grinnell-Newburg Elementary Schools: Facility Program, (Grinnell: N.p., 1973), unpaginated. The authors also executed a similar study of the Senior High.

³⁸Minutes GNCSD 1970-1974, 14 March 1973, p. 191.

³⁹Grinnell Herald-Register, 1 October 1973, p. 8.

⁴⁰Ibid., and Ibid., 27 September 1973, p. 14.

⁴¹Minutes GNCSD 1970-1974, 10 October 1973, p. 242.

⁴²Gayle C. Obrecht, letter to Buford W. Garner, 8 February 1974, affixed to Minutes GNCSD 1970-1974, 13 March 1974, p. 269; and Tone interview.

⁴³Minutes GNCSD 1970-1974, 13 and 20 June 1973, pp. 217-221, and 14 November 1973, p. 248.

⁴⁴Ibid., 6 June 1973, p. 212; and Carl Miles, letter to Buford W. Garner, 19 April 1974, affixed to Minutes GNCSD 1970-1974, 8 May 1974, p. 283; and Obrecht.

⁴⁵Miles and Obrecht.

⁴⁶For example, see Property Crusade Committee's advertisements in Poweshiek County Pennysaver, 13 and 27 November 1974, and the angry reaction to GNTA ad contents in Minutes GNCSD 1975-1979, 12 February 1979, pp. 349-350. McCulloch personally felt that the December 1974 proposal was a porkbarrel, with favors passed out to everyone. McCulloch interview. It must be noted that there was also anti-College sentiment in some of the pro-building groups, one of which wanted the next bond vote to be held during the summer to minimize the impact of locally-registered but non-resident Grinnell College students: "Local people will be deciding a local issue." Philip R. Yount, letter to Harold McCulloch, 28 May 1975, p. 2, affixed to Minutes GNCSD 1975-1979, 28 May 1975, pp. 379-380.

⁴⁷McCulloch interview.

⁴⁸Grinnell Herald-Register, 25 November 1974, p. 6.

⁴⁹Ibid., 13 October and 9 December 1974.

⁵⁰Minutes GNCSD 1975-1979, 20 January 1975, pp. 343-345.

⁵¹Grinnell Herald-Register, 26 June 1975, p. 1.

⁵²As early as 1915, just prior to the construction of Davis, there has been a desire among southenders to get a school in their part of town. Grinnell Herald, 22 October 1915. More recently, Jones interview; Minutes GNCSD 1966-1968, 25 January 1967, p. 387; unpublished GNTA questionnaire, 1975; and McCulloch interview.

⁵³McCulloch interview.

⁵⁴Minutes GNCSD 1975-1979, 9 February 1977, p. 538.

⁵⁵Des Moines Register, 14 February 1980, p. 16A; and Grinnell Community Center Committee, circular, c. January 1980, pp. 2-3.

⁵⁶Minutes IDG 1938-1954, 31 July 1953, p. 219.

⁵⁷Grinnell Herald-Register, 3 September 1953, pp. 1-2, and 15 October 1953, p. 1.

⁵⁸Minutes IDG 1954-1958, 30 July 1954, p. 5.

⁵⁹Minutes GNCSD 1958-1962, 28 July 1961, p. 137.

⁶⁰McCulloch interview.

⁶¹Minutes GNCSD 1966-1968, 31 July 1967, p. 418.

⁶²O.C. Mason [Poweshiek County Auditor], letter to State Appeal Board, 6 September 1967, affixed to Ibid., 13 September 1967, p. 423; and Ibid., 11 October 1967, p. 426.

⁶³Minutes GNCSD 1968-1970, 14 May 1969, p. 42; and McCulloch interview.

⁶⁴Minutes GNCSD 1968-1970, 10 July 1968, p. 2.

⁶⁵Ibid., 11 July 1969, p. 54; and Raffety interview.

⁶⁶Jones interview and McCulloch interview. McCulloch also claims that many local businesses financially supported the GNTA but wished to remain anonymous, fearing a boycott by school personnel if their support was made public. McCulloch interview.

12/ The Book Ban Controversy

¹Ben F. See, statement to Grinnell-Newburg board, 26 November 1974, pp. 1-3, affixed to Minutes GNCSD 1970-1974, 26 November 1974, pp. 329-330.

²Ibid., pp. 3-5.

³Minutes GNCSD 1970-1974, 26 November 1974, pp. 329-330.

⁴Grinnell Herald, 20 July 1880, p. 3.

⁵Minutes GNCSD 1958-1962, 11 November 1959, p. 52.

⁶Minutes GNCSD 1962-1966, 24 April 1963, p. 213, and Jones interview.

⁷Minutes GNCSD 1970-1974, 26 November 1974, pp. 329-330.

⁸Ibid., 12 December 1974, p. 331.

⁹McCulloch interview.

¹⁰Adelberg interview. Of the ten original members of the Reconsideration Board, there were two ministers, two teachers, and two students. Harriet Adelberg, the chairperson of the review committee, had seen a similar panel in operation in Cedar Rapids.

¹¹McCulloch interview. McCulloch himself doubts if many of those who, like him, were in favor of banning books had read the work they proposed to remove from the shelves in its entirety.

¹²Des Moines Register, 22 January 1975.

¹³Grinnell Herald-Register, 6 February 1975.

¹⁴Minutes GNCSD 1975-1979, 9 January 1975, p. 337; and Grinnell Herald-Register, 13 January 1975.

¹⁵Philip J. Ramstad et. al., letter to Grinnell-Newburg board, 9 January 1975, affixed to Minutes GNCSD 1975-1979, 9 January 1975, p. 337, and Grinnell Herald-Register, 21 January 1975.

- ¹⁶For example, see Grinnell Herald-Register, 10 February 1975.
- ¹⁷Minutes GNCSD 1975-1979, 12 February 1975, pp. 349-350.
- ¹⁸Ibid., p. 350.
- ¹⁹Grinnell Herald-Register, 7 April 1975, pp. 1, 5.
- ²⁰Ibid., 21 April 1975, pp. 1, 5.
- ²¹Ibid., 19 June 1975, pp. 1, 5.
- ²²Ibid., 13 October 1975, p. 1.
- ²³Ibid., 24 April 1975, p. 1, and 3 July 1975, p. 1.
- ²⁴Minutes GNCSD 1975-1979, 4 April 1975, pp. 369-370.
- ²⁵Ibid., 14 May 1975, pp. 375-376.
- ²⁶Ibid., 26 May 1976, p. 469.
- ²⁷Ibid., 12 May 1976, pp. 465-466.
- ²⁸Ibid., 14 December 1977, p. 622. Structured use has faded out of use as the controversy has died down. Adelberg interview.
- ²⁹Minutes GNCSD 1975-1979, 14 May 1975, pp. 375-376. A clinical psychologist sitting on the review committee said the book contained statements which were "psychologically unsound." Grinnell Herald-Register, 15 May 1975.
- ³⁰Adelberg interview.
- ³¹Minutes GNCSD 1975-1979, 9 November 1977, p. 612.
- ³²Ibid., 5 August 1977, p. 588. See also Ibid., 7 March 1979, p. 730.
- ³³Raffety interview.
- ³⁴Douglass, p. 1.
- ³⁵Minutes IDG 1920-1938, 4 January 1938, p. 185; and Minutes

IDG 1938-1954, 14 May 1941, p. 46.

³⁶Judy Cherveney, "Library and Media Service," in Manatt, pp. 129-130.

³⁷Adelberg interview. Because of the recent spate of book ban movements, some book companies now place warning slips in materials that have drawn complaints so that individual librarians may review them after their receipt. Ibid.

³⁸Grinnell-Newburg's libraries have at this writing not yet reached the minimum standards set by the Iowa DPI. Aside from the local book ban setback, the major problem of getting collections up to a viable level has been state-wide. In Iowa, the federal largesse of the 1960s was not invested in individual district libraries; instead, the state government put the money into regional media resources. Until 1976, all the Title 4B money that might have gone into the Grinnell-Newburg District went to Area 6 of the Area Educational Agency's Media Center Facility collection. Regional facilities theoretically equalize district libraries by dispersing material among them, but in practice the system has not worked so well, since AEAs handle expensive media (16mm film, graphic materials, and so on) more efficiently than books. Adelberg interview.

³⁹Minutes GNCSD 1975-1979, 26 February 1975, p. 356.

⁴⁰Robert G. Sheeder, statement to Grinnell-Newburg board, 12 February 1975, affixed to Minutes GNCSD 1975-1979, 12 February 1975, pp. 349-350.

⁴¹Raffety, McCulloch, Jones interviews.

13/ Conclusions

¹Significantly, Harold McCulloch equates local control of schools with a traditional, basic education. McCulloch interview.

²Raffety interview.

³Jones interview.

⁴Eugene Henely, letter to Independent District board, undated, affixed to Minutes IDG 1905-1920, 9 June 1911, p. 149.

⁵Hawk, Budget Report, p. 4.

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