

A HISTORY OF THE KANAWHA COUNTY TEXTBOOK CONTROVERSY,

APRIL 1974 - APRIL 1975

by

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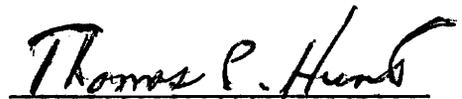
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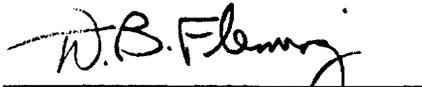
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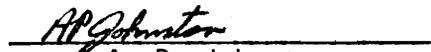
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## DEDICATION

This study is dedicated to two generations of "Doc" Candors who made it necessary and Andrew who made it worthwhile.

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

There were a number of people who were instrumental in the preparation of this study. Dr. Kenneth E. Underwood first suggested to me that a study should be done on the textbook controversy. Dr. A. P. Johnston helped me narrow the topic and define the approach to be taken. Dr. T. C. Hunt and Dr. Daniel B. Fleming were most generous with their time as they reviewed the study with me step by step. Their innumerable comments and constructive criticisms made the writing a learning process. A particular debt of gratitude is owed to Dr. Larry J. Weber, my advisor, who provided encouragement and positive suggestions from the beginning to the end.

Many people within the Kanawha County School system were also of great assistance. Mrs. Nell T. Wood edited the manuscript for spelling, punctuation and word usage. My secretary, Ruth H. Yarbrough, typed this study with her usual concern and critical eye, saving me considerable rewriting. Mrs. Charlene H. Byrd provided access to historical files and reviewed sections of the study as did Mr. Jake Moser. Mrs. Betty Elkins was most helpful in locating specific documents in the superintendent's files and in the Board minutes. Mrs. Edyth Martin and Mrs. Thelma Wood saved me countless hours by compiling a complete chronological file on all local newspaper clippings. Additional sources of information were provided by Mr. Michael Bell.

My friends and my family suffered with me through the preparation of this manuscript. Their concern, patience and understanding helped me immeasurably.

## PREFACE

There were a number of factors involved in the choice and writing of this dissertation topic. I moved to Charleston, West Virginia in March of 1973 to assume the position of Director of Research and Evaluation for the Kanawha County School system. I had been there one year when the list of language arts textbooks was presented to the Board of Education for their approval.

Although I was not an active participant in any phase of the textbook controversy, I was acutely aware of the events as they occurred. My office was on the front side of the Board of Education building, directly overlooking the area where protesters gathered on a daily basis for several months. In addition the office suite was shared with the Department of Public Information and was often the hub of activity for local and national media representatives.

Only events which could be documented through one or more sources are reported in this study. Personal recollections or reflections were avoided to eliminate subjective analysis of the controversy. There was no conscious effort on my part to include or exclude any information or to put forth a particular point of view. As a decision rule for the selection of data, I used all events that could be documented and actively sought information through personal interviews that was representative of the multitude of attitudes, values and viewpoints brought forth during the controversy. Undoubtedly there are some things that went on during the controversy which were never recorded and of which I am unaware.

Major sources of data utilized in this study were the two daily newspapers in the Charleston area, the Charleston Daily Mail (evening) and The Charleston Gazette (morning). Every article, advertisement, editorial, and letter to the editor in these papers between March of 1974 and April of 1975 related to the textbook controversy was reviewed. In addition, descriptions of the events during this period that appeared in other periodicals, magazines and journals, local and national, were analyzed for their perceptions of the events of the controversy.

Public statements by school officials, local textbook groups, school board members and outside groups were examined. Audio and video tapes of several television and radio programs were also available. Transcripts of television editorials on WCHS Television, Channel 8, Charleston, were reviewed. The minutes of the majority and minority Textbook Review Committee meetings provided another source of data of various groups and individuals and the final reports of these committees were used extensively.

Other sources of data include institutional records of the school system and personal documents in the possession of the former superintendent of schools. Board minutes and tape recordings of school board meetings document positions and actions by Board members as well as those of citizen delegations appearing before the school board. Letters written to the superintendent and school board members provided a source of information on the attitudes, values and beliefs of different groups and individuals over the course of the controversy.

Requests for personal interviews were sent to West Virginia Governor Arch A. Moore, Jr.; Col. R. L. Bonar of the West Virginia

State Police; United Mine Workers District 17 President Jack Perry; NAACP spokesman Bernard Hawkins; anti-textbook leaders Rev. Avis Hill, Rev. Charles Quigley, and Elmer Fike; Kanawha County Quality Education spokesman and Episcopal minister Rev. James Lewis, former Kanawha County Board of Education President Albert Anson, Jr.; J. D. Moore former president of the Charleston Area Chamber of Commerce; Kanawha County Sheriff G. Kemp Melton and State Superintendent of Schools Dr. Daniel B. Taylor. No response was received to either the initial request or the follow-up letter from Mr. Hawkins, Rev. Hill or Mr. Perry. The Governor indicated that his schedule would not permit a personal interview although he did respond to written questions. West Virginia State Police District Sergeant Lemmon was asked by Col. Bonar to respond to the request for an interview and the 1975-76 Charleston Area Chamber of Commerce President John A. Chapman was interviewed in place of J. D. Moore. All in all eight extensive personal interviews lasting one to four hours each, were conducted to clarify key points of the textbook controversy

The writing process, often difficult and tedious, required the checking and cross checking of various sources of information. The preparation of a historiography was a new venture for me, having come from a quantitatively-oriented, research background. I had to learn a great many things about how to write history. I found the process fascinating and am indebted to the members of my committee for their patience and guidance during the preparation of this manuscript.

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## Chapter 1

### INTRODUCTION

Everyone in the United States is affected directly or indirectly by the country's public educational system. As one journalist noted, "Whenever any issue or institution commands total citizen involvement in one way or another, controversy is inevitable. The educational arena is no exception."<sup>1</sup> The voices of protest concerning who should control the basic nature and purpose of public education are being heard more and more frequently across the United States. Authors critical of the schools are receiving increasing support in the public forum for their views. In hundreds of school districts across the country, differences in educational philosophy have led to confrontations started by parents who, in some instances, have not been hesitant to use their children in the struggle.<sup>2</sup>

According to some, "The decline of authority and effectiveness that has eroded public confidence in American institutions is especially noticeable in the schools."<sup>3</sup> In school districts across the country, especially in urban areas, standardized achievement test scores have been dropping while taxes and educational costs demand an increasing

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<sup>1</sup>Sunday Gazette-Mail, "Church, State Have Met, Clashed Over Textbooks," March 30, 1975

<sup>2</sup>Gus Tyler, "Try School Balance," Charleston Daily Mail, February 26, 1975.

<sup>3</sup>John Egerton, "Battle of the Books," The Progressive, June 1975, p. 16.

proportion of personal income. Employers complain that some high school graduates lack the skills to fill out a job application and colleges are reinstating basic skills classes in English and math. The recent National Assessment of Consumer Math found that eight out of ten Americans between the ages of twenty-five and thirty-six could not balance a checkbook and nearly 50 percent were unable to complete a simple income tax form without an error.<sup>4</sup> Parents complain of a lack of discipline in the classroom, and acts of vandalism and violence in the schools continue to increase.

Combined with this concern over the performance of the public schools was the rise of social activism in the American culture. The 1960's saw the beginnings of a new American protest movement with young people and representatives of minority groups on college campuses and in major cities picketing, boycotting and rioting for issues such as peace, civil rights and an end to poverty. The success of these protesters in bringing their concerns to the attention of the American public and getting some of the things they wanted was perhaps the beginnings of the larger activist movement of the 1970's.

The notion that "you can't fight City Hall" was dealt two devastating blows by the controversies over the Vietnam War and Watergate. It was demonstrated that powerful institutions could be challenged and brought to task for violating the fundamental beliefs and wishes of the American people. The feelings of a loss of control over one's life and increasing bureaucracy in public institutions are being

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<sup>4</sup>"How Much Do We Learn," Newsweek, August 18, 1975, p. 67.

countered by a new social activist movement. An article in Saturday Review stated that:

From Common Cause to small city consumer groups, from Nadar task forces to local professionals working pro bono publico, from housewives angry at children's television in Massachusetts, to retired people angry at unbridled growth in Colorado, volunteers are banding together to assault the system.<sup>5</sup>

The many successes of these groups have given a feeling of potency to those who think they have just reason to take on City Hall.

#### THE KANAWHA COUNTY CONTROVERSY

Reflecting both the growing concern over the nature, purpose and methods of public education and the social activist movement, the opening of school in the fall of 1974 in Kanawha County, West Virginia, marked the beginning of the national awareness of what was to be called the "Great Textbook Controversy." Three hundred and twenty-five books from textual series marketed by a cross section of the major textbook publishers in the United States were loudly and often violently denounced by various groups as being "filthy," "anti-American," and "anti-Christian."

The controversy in Kanawha County combined elements of both the middle class, peaceful social activism of the 1970's and the revolutionary violence of the 1960's. Dr. Ken M. Young, former Kanawha County Associate Superintendent for Curriculum and Instruction, described the situation as it was in October 1974:

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<sup>5</sup>"The Rise of Middle Class Activism: Fighting 'City Hall,'" Saturday Review, March 8, 1975, p. 12.

School buses are riddled with sniper bullets, gas lines are cut, windshields broken, and bomb threats disrupt schools daily. Students, parents, custodians, secretaries, bus drivers, teachers, administrators, board members, judges, and law enforcement officers continue to receive personal threats of all kinds. Teachers and custodians must remove nails and broken glass from their school parking lots each morning, and several school buildings have been damaged by early morning firebombs and dynamite.

One minister has prayed publicly for the death of three board members.

Workers have been shot and their cars destroyed when crossing picket lines. Coal mines, city transportation, major industrial plants, and businesses have been shut down for varying periods of time. Court injunctions have been issued, violators jailed, fined, and released, then jailed, fined, and released again. The state treasurer has estimated a revenue loss to date of \$50,000,000.<sup>6</sup>

On the more peaceful side representatives of such diverse national groups as the National Education Association, the John Birch Society, the International Workers Party, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Ku Klux Klan, Citizens for Decency Through Law, the Publishers' League and the Heritage Foundation made speeches or issued statements on the Kanawha County textbooks. Massive letter writing and telegram campaigns directed to school administrators and public officials at all levels were initiated by community groups holding opposing views of the controversy. Public meetings were held to discuss the issues and plan for future actions. Candidates for West Virginia State Legislature and Kanawha County governmental offices in the November 5, 1974 general election were surveyed and received political endorsements from anti-textbook groups based on the

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<sup>6</sup>Ken M. Young. "School Storm Centers: Charleston," Phi Delta Kappan, December 1974, p. 263.

candidate's position on the textbooks.

Virtually no segment of the community was left untouched by the events of the textbook controversy. The effects of this protest included closing of schools for several days, the removal of the controversial books from all classrooms during a review period, the resignation of the school board president, and the resignation of the superintendent of schools.

The months following the beginnings of the Kanawha County dispute saw the spread of the concern over textbook content to surrounding cities and states. In some areas the books in question were quietly removed from the schools, in others the protesters quickly accepted compromises and in others the furor is still brewing.<sup>7</sup> A May 1974 newspaper article reported that:

In Warren, Michigan, the school board dropped a top-rated junior high school social studies book.

In Essexville, Gordon Park's award winning The Learning Tree was taken out of the junior high curriculum.

And in Ferndale, Richard Wright's Black Boy was dropped from an English class reading list.

These are Michigan examples of what the American Booksellers Association calls a grave 'censorship crisis' in which schools and libraries across the country have dropped a variety of books as objectionable or obscene. . . .

A committee of publishers and book sellers recently warned in New York that the effect of the many decisions to ban books is 'to limit Americans' right to read.'

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<sup>7</sup>Washington County, Va., school officials and parents worked out a compromise on the "Responding" series. (Charleston Daily Mail, October 23, 1974). The Butler, Pa., School Board voted to destroy all school copies of an anthology of short stories used in an elective reading class. (Charleston Daily Mail, February 13, 1975.)

These problems seem to run in cycles nationally, and the publishers group blames much of the current book-banning mood on last year's U. S. Supreme Court decision saying that anything defined as obscene by 'prevailing community standards' could be banned.<sup>8</sup>

Much space in many diverse journals from Time, U. S. News and World Report and the New Yorker to the Phi Delta Kappan, The Christian Century and American Opinion (published by Robert Welch) had been devoted to an analysis of what happened in Kanawha County. Newspapers and other forums of public opinion proclaimed this cause or that issue to be the main thrust behind the 1974-75 textbook controversy. Editorials often proposed simple solutions to a set of complex problems that get at the heart of the nature of the educative process.

#### JUSTIFICATION AND PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

The scope of the protest against the textbooks in Kanawha County during the 1974-75 school year divided the community into pro-book and anti-book forces and brought to the forefront important issues with implications for education that extend far beyond the boundaries of West Virginia. The pronouncements of school boards and professional educators no longer go unchallenged. Public institutions such as school systems can expect increasing attacks on their legitimacy from the communities they serve.

No single issue can be pinpointed as the cause or uniting force behind the Kanawha County textbook controversy. Rather it was the interaction of several major issues that provided the impetus for this

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<sup>8</sup>The Charleston Gazette, "Book-Banning Mood Cycle High in School Systems," Charleston, WV, May 23, 1974.

movement. These issues cut across socio-political lines and encompass the dimensions of eternal philosophic disputes. It was this interaction that makes Kanawha County's turmoil relevant to school systems across the nation.

The controversy over school books in Kanawha County can be viewed in the larger context of social revolution and activism in the United States. The textbook controversy was but a single manifestation of the larger, widespread attack on the values and policies of our public institutions as well as an attempt to determine who should control these institutions. What happened in Kanawha County can serve as a case history of an educational system in reaction to a public challenge of its philosophy and operational procedures.

The purpose of this study was to document the events of the textbook controversy from April 1974 to April 1975. The major actions, reactions and occurrences during this period were organized chronologically. This study is limited to reporting and describing the events of the textbook controversy as it unfolded. Accounts from various sources were used to indicate positions taken by individuals, groups and organizations during this period.

#### ORGANIZATION OF THE STUDY

This study has been divided into seven chapters based on the chronological development of the textbook controversy. The content of the chapters is stated below as a guide to the reader.

Chapter 2 discusses the characteristics of West Virginia and the Appalachian heritage of much of its population. Data on demographic

variables for Kanawha County are presented and the structure and nature of the school system is described.

In Chapter 3 several occurrences prior to the beginning of the controversy are examined as possible precipitating forces. These include consolidation of schools, the sex education controversy of 1969-1970, the role of the county-wide Curriculum Council and West Virginia State Laws regarding textbook adoptions.

The events of the controversy are treated chronologically in Chapters 4, 5 and 6. Chapter 4 deals with the time from the first indications of the textbook problem in April of 1974, when the school board voted to adopt but not purchase the textbooks without further study, to the opening of schools in September.

Chapter 5 treats the most active period of the controversy from the first day of school until the November 8, 1974 school board decision to return all the controversial books to the schools.

In Chapter 6 the aftermath of the controversy from November 1974 through April of 1975 is detailed.

Chapter 7 briefly summarizes the main events of the textbook controversy. In reviewing these events several critical points at which school officials and staff might have taken different actions to reduce or avert the conflict are described and analyzed. Specific conditions that perpetuated the controversy in Kanawha County are described. The study ends with a section on the implications of these events for public educational institutions.

## Chapter 2

### DEMOGRAPHY OF THE AREA

#### WEST VIRGINIA

Children in West Virginia history classes are taught that West Virginia is the eastern most of the western states, the western most of the eastern states, the southern most of the northern states and the northern most of the southern states.<sup>1</sup> Completely land locked, West Virginia identifies itself with no specific geographic designation. A part of the Commonwealth of Virginia until the Civil War, West Virginia is divided by the Mason Dixon line that runs through the northern part of the state. It is the only state that lies entirely within the regional designation of Appalachia.

The early settlers of West Virginia were mostly Scotch-Irish as is characteristic of the entire Appalachian region. They came to the United States during the 18th Century to escape the oppressiveness of the British Crown. They became the frontiersmen leading the way westward through the Cumberland Gap into Kentucky, down the New River over into the Kanawha, into West Virginia and down the Ohio River into Ohio and Kentucky.<sup>2</sup> Marshall University sociologist, O. Norman Simpkins,

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<sup>1</sup>Phil Conley and William Thomas Doherty, West Virginia History, (Charleston, WV: Education Foundation, Inc., 1974), p. 15.

<sup>2</sup>NEA Teacher Rights Division, Inquiry Report, Kanawha County West Virginia, A Textbook Study in Cultural Conflict, (Washington, D.C.: NEA, 1975), p. 10.

remarked that each family of the settlers:

. . . typically lived on its own hillside farm in a subsistence pattern in which almost everything needed was 'home-made,' and were virtually independent of the towns except for those few items that could not be made or improvised. The major social organization of the neighborhoods and communities were the kin-based family outfits in which relationships with neighbors and others were determined by the principle that 'blood is thicker than water.' This is the older and original type of community in Appalachia and the culture developed here still colors the culture of contemporary Appalachia even though industrial towns in the North and mining towns in the South were later introduced.<sup>3</sup>

West Virginia is known as the "Mountain State" because it is characterized by rugged, beautiful countryside formed from the Allegheny Mountains, the oldest chain in the United States. The land is rich in natural resources with coal, natural gas and oil playing a major part in the state's economy.

In the late 1800's speculators, responding to the needs of the rapidly industrializing nation, began to gain control of the natural resources in the state of West Virginia. The rural people readily sold their land, mineral and timber rights to companies and individuals from other states, often at prices well below the fair market value. As Caudill notes:

From the beginning, the coal and timber companies insisted on keeping all, or nearly all, the wealth they produced. They were unwilling to plow more than a tiny part of the money they earned back into the schools, libraries, health facilities and other institutions essential to a balanced, pleasant, productive and civilized society. The knowledge and guile of their managers enabled them to corrupt and cozen all too many of the region's elected public officials and to thwart the legitimate aspirations

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<sup>30</sup>. Norman Simpkins, Transcript of Address given to ESAA Teachers. Charleston, WV, 1975.

of the people. The greed and cunning of the coal magnates left behind an agglomeration of misery for a people who can boast of few of the facilities deemed indispensable to life in more sophisticated areas, and even these few are inadequate and of inferior quality.<sup>4</sup>

The rugged terrain, in addition to providing valuable resources, has led to a general geographical isolation of the state. Modern thoroughfares across the state have been almost non-existent; and West Virginia, a cross roads of east-west and north-south, has been avoided by travelers. Major urban areas lie within short distances of the state's boundaries, but the mountainous land and the lack of good highways have kept West Virginia basically rural and isolated. Even within the state, travel is difficult and many places remain remote and isolated.

West Virginia was virtually untouched by the last great European migration of the period 1890-1920. In 1920 fewer than 10 percent of the population were born - or had a parent who was born - outside the limits of the United States. Most of the native West Virginians can trace their heritage back five or more generations in America. Until the economic recession of 1975, West Virginia had been experiencing an out-migration of its citizens to urban areas in neighboring states. In the 1970 census it was one of the few states to have shown a loss in population.

West Virginia was brought to national attention during the 1960 presidential primary campaign of John F. Kennedy. He campaigned across

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<sup>4</sup>Harry M. Caudill, Night Comes to the Cumberlands: A Biography of a Depressed Area (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1973), p. 326.

the state and saw first hand the conditions existing in the coal camps and other rural isolated areas. Caudill reports:

The spectacle of mass misery and mass surrender to it appears to have deeply impressed him, because in the general election campaign he repeatedly referred to the hunger and depression he had seen there. West Virginia is not far from the great population centers of the eastern seaboard where Mr. Kennedy grew up, and it may be cause for the wonder that this inquisitive and well-educated young man could have been unaware of the deplorable situation in which the West Virginia highlander finds himself in the seventh decade of the twentieth century.<sup>5</sup>

Magazines were filled with stories of the mountain culture and pictures of ragged, hollow eyed, hungry children. Much of the federal anti-poverty movement was initiated by the discovery of the rural Appalachian poor. However the Appalachian culture is strong, the people are proud, and the influx of outsiders to solve their problems was not favorably viewed. Appalachia became associated with a unique form of American culture characterized by poverty, illiteracy and ignorance.

This view of West Virginia does not adequately describe Appalachian culture. The state and its peoples are highly diverse. Many parts of the state are regarded as business or industrial centers. The larger cities are urban and cosmopolitan. According to psychologist Robert Coles:

Indeed, the contrast between these large towns--they are proper cities--and the small communities makes plain the fact that even within the Appalachian region there is a struggle, a clash of values and modes of living. In the urban centers the frontier man encounters the city man, the rural man encounters the factory worker or middle-

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<sup>5</sup>Caudill, op. cit., p. xi.

class business and professional man.<sup>6</sup>

Yet the Appalachian heritage is still in evidence. Some sociologists and educators familiar with the cultural patterns of Appalachia have indicated that the only way to understand the textbook controversy is to understand the Appalachian mountaineer. For example, West Virginia University sociologist Dr. Franklin Parker wrote:

To understand why the book battle erupted here rather than elsewhere, why it broke with such violence and intensity, and why the storm occurred just when it did--one must know the background of the Appalachian mountaineer: his fundamentalism, his fatalism, his religiosity, his fear of change, his frustrations, and his deep-seated angers . . . these are no ordinary people. They form a tinderbox of the old and the new in America, the fundamentalist antipathy to pragmatic materialism.<sup>7</sup>

#### APPALACHIAN VALUES

Everyone should certainly recognize that there is no set of values that can be uniformly associated with the Appalachian region. There are both a middle class and a professional class in the mountains as well as urban-suburban residents who have much the same characteristics as these groups or social classes anywhere else. As Coles notes:

In some areas the people live very much like those in other American cities, but in many other areas they live under circumstances that are all their own--and with values

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<sup>6</sup>Robert Coles, Migrants, Sharecroppers, Mountaineers (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1971), p. 494.

<sup>7</sup>Franklin Parker, "The Battle of the Books; The Kanawha County (W.V.) Textbook Controversy; Or, Who Controls the Schools." (unpublished paper outline, West Virginia University, 1975).

similarly a product of a special kind of existence.<sup>8</sup>

What is unique in this area is the Southern Appalachian mountain folk class which exists concurrently with these other groups. It is the values of this folk culture, which are generally in conflict with middle-class American values, that will be described.

Not all people who live in Appalachia can be identified as descendants of this folk culture. Yet most people in the area "have come out of this folk culture and share it as a background, if nothing else."<sup>9</sup> The influence of this subculture is still strong today in West Virginia, especially in the more rural and isolated parts of the state. According to Weller:

It developed to meet particular needs but is now seriously inadequate to prepare its people for the cooperative, inter-related society into which we have moved in the twentieth century. One of its most serious defects . . . is the extreme resistance to new ideas - which effectively squelches not only the ideas but those who bring them.<sup>10</sup>

In Yesterday's People many of the contrasting values held by the Southern Appalachian folk class and the middle or professional class are identified. The following summarizes some of the major differences in values between these classes:

Southern Appalachian

Man subjugated to nature and God; little control over destiny; fatalism

Middle Class American

Man can control nature or God works through man, basically optimistic

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<sup>8</sup>Coles, op. cit., p. 495.

<sup>9</sup>Jack E. Weller, Yesterday's People: Life in Contemporary Appalachia, (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1965), p. 7.

<sup>10</sup>ibid., p. 154.

Southern Appalachian

Attitudes strongly traditionalistic

Oriented to existence

Expert opinion not recognized

Separation of family and outside world

Ambivalence toward education

Fear of doctors, hospitals, those in authority, the well-educated

Antagonism toward government and law

Suspicion and fear of outside world

Middle Class American

Thoughts of change and progress; expectation of change, usually for the better

Oriented to progress

Recognition of expert opinion

Family a bridge to outside world

Emphasis on education

Cooperation with doctors, hospitals, and 'outsiders'

Use of government and law to achieve goals

Acceptance of the world<sup>11</sup>

Religion plays an important role in the Appalachian folk culture. As Betty Crickard noted, "One has to understand the religion of the mountaineer before he can understand mountaineers."<sup>12</sup> West Virginia, a part of the Bible Belt, is a stronghold of conservative fundamentalist religious beliefs. Caudill states:

A people whose only experience for generations had been with a world of hard realities unadorned by the arts, eloquence or imagination, it was inevitable that their folk churches should be founded upon fundamentalism of the starkest sort.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> Ibid., p. 6, 161-163.

<sup>12</sup> Betty P. Crickard, "Cultural Values Influencing Educational Programming in West Virginia," November 1974.

<sup>13</sup> Caudill, op. cit., p. 56.

The beliefs and practices of the Southern Appalachian folk religion cover a broad spectrum and a complete description of these is difficult since the mountaineer approaches religion with the same individualism as his other affairs. However, several characteristics of the mountaineer's religion can be identified.

As Coles notes, "There is nothing about the life of rural people that is less understood by their city-bred sympathizers and advocates than the nature of the so-called fundamentalist religious faith."<sup>14</sup> Fundamentalists reject moral relativism in favor of absolute standards based on the Ten Commandments. The Bible is interpreted literally and seen as the source of definitive answers about the history of man and the resolution of moral questions. Weller writes:

The mere reading of the Bible, even by non-believers, is thought to be a righteous act and worthy of Godly praise. Such use of the Bible, coupled with the mountaineer's individualism, results in a folk religion, not in a Biblical Christianity. This folk religion is based on sentiment, tradition, superstition, and personal feelings, all reinforcing the patterns of the culture.<sup>15</sup>

This does not mean that church is important as a formal institution in the mountaineer's culture. Revival services and radio evangelists remain popular as social events. But the people of Appalachia often avoid joining groups or organizations. It has been estimated that only 20 to 35 percent of the population is a member of any church.<sup>16</sup> The mainline American Protestant churches have be rela-

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<sup>14</sup>Coles, op. cit., p. 598.

<sup>15</sup>Weller, op. cit., p. 131.

<sup>16</sup>ibid., p. 124.

tively unsuccessful in establishing congregations in the rural areas of this region. However, there are multitudes of small churches associated with the folk religion that dot the countryside. The membership of one of these seldom is over seventy-five and the ministers are generally without formal religious training.

These folk churches, without competition from other religious ideas or doctrines, have become so deeply rooted in the mores of the Southern Appalachian culture that their beliefs have come to constitute unwritten law.<sup>17</sup> The mountain man's religion is congruent with his whole outlook on life. His religion, according to Weller, "is motivated by fear - the very real if intermittent, fear of eternal damnation."<sup>18</sup> Religion promises salvation and a better life in the hereafter to these people who continue to face, on a daily basis, the hardships of survival. Weller observes:

To work in Appalachia in any field, one must be vitally aware of these deep feelings of mountain people - their long history of failure and loss; their backward stance toward the only security they ever knew; their eager longing for a time and place where things will finally work out well for them for a change, when the reference group will be reunited in heaven. One who has not lived through such abysmal poverty, who has not faced such a deadened life, who has not lived year after long year in the midst of blasted hopes, cannot really understand the eager clutching of this people after the gracious promises of the faith. Those who come to work and to minister must do so with great sympathy for mountain religion. For many it is the only hope, and to destroy it without replacing it with a livelier hope is a great injustice to a people who have already suffered too much at the hands of outsiders.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>17</sup>Caudill, op. cit., p. 132.      <sup>18</sup>Weller, op. cit., p. 132.

<sup>19</sup>Ibid., p. 132.

## KANAWHA COUNTY

West Virginia state law requires that the school systems be organized on a county-wide basis. Kanawha County, named for an Indian tribe which once lived within its borders, comprises an area of 914 square miles. At the time of the 1970 census 229,515 people lived in the county which represented a population decline of 9.6 percent from the 1960 census figures. Approximately 48,000 students were enrolled in the public schools on October 1, 1974 in grades K-12. Kanawha County has about 4 percent of the area of West Virginia, 13 percent of its population and 13 percent of its public school students. Charleston, the seat of state and county government, is situated near the geographic center of the county and comprises about 3 percent of its area, 31 percent of its population and contributes about 28 percent of the public school enrollment. The considerable salt and fuel deposits in the area make Kanawha County a very desirable location for chemical and related industries. In fact, suburban South Charleston is known as the "Chemical Center of the World."

The people of the rural areas of Kanawha County are generally better off financially than those in other rural areas of Appalachia or West Virginia. According to data from the Appalachian Educational Laboratory, 15.8 percent of rural Kanawha County households with children under six have incomes below the poverty level compared to 16.6 percent in rural Appalachian regions and 21.4 percent in other rural areas of West Virginia.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>20</sup>According to The World Almanac and Book of Facts 1974, p. 162,

School district statistics in 1974 indicated that 40 percent of the county's population was rural non-farm with less than 0.5 percent categorized as rural farm. The remainder of the county's population was distributed as 7 percent in central city, low socio-economic areas; 23 percent in other central-city areas; and 30 percent in suburban communities such as South Charleston, Dunbar, Nitro and St. Albans, all located along the Kanawha River. A study in contrasts, the composition of Kanawha County is quite unique in its mixture of urban, suburban and rural as well as the variations in socio-economic and educational levels of the population.

During the 1974-75 school year the average teacher's salary and average per pupil expenditure were above West Virginia norms and below national norms. The educational achievement of Kanawha County students was also very close to the national average on standardized achievement tests although once again a great deal of diversity existed among the county's 120 elementary and secondary schools. According to data from the Educational Development Series (EDS), administered as a part of the West Virginia State-County Testing Program at grades three, six, nine and eleven, suburban schools tended to score the highest and rural and central-city schools the lowest.

An analysis of the sixth level battery composite of the EDS for the highest and lowest scoring schools in Kanawha County during 1974 reveals the following:

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the poverty level ranges from \$1954 to \$6468 based on number of family members.

<u>Type of School</u>	<u>Battery Composite Mean Achievement in Grade Equivalents</u>
<b>Highest Scoring Schools</b>	
Suburban	8.1
Suburban	7.9
Suburban	7.9
<b>Lowest Scoring Schools</b>	
Urban - Central City	4.3
Rural	4.3
Rural	4.5
Rural	4.5
Rural	4.5 <sup>21</sup>

In 1974 the Kanawha County School system with its eighty-two elementary schools, two special education centers, one juvenile detention home, twenty-two junior high schools, eleven senior high schools and two career and technical schools reflected the diversity of the population it served. Many of the schools were small and scattered throughout the remote, rural areas of the county. Twenty-four percent of the elementary schools had six or fewer professional staff members including the principal. In spite of the number of small schools remaining in Kanawha County, over fifty schools had been closed in the ten year period from 1964 to 1974. The average elementary school enrollment was 257 students with an average of 10.1 professional staff. Fifty percent of the elementary school students and 62 percent of the secondary students lived far enough from their schools that they had to be transported.<sup>22</sup> A map of Kanawha County, with the names and locations

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<sup>21</sup>"Educational Development Series, Sixth Grade, 1973-74 - 1974-75," undated (on file in Guidance and Social Services Offices, Kanawha County Schools).

<sup>22</sup>West Virginia State Law requires that elementary and secondary

of key sites during the textbook controversy, is included as Figure 1 for the reader's reference.

The rural Appalachian folk culture is still evident within Kanawha County by traveling only a few miles from the state's capitol city. For example, Cabin Creek, only twelve miles from Charleston, is a part of this culture and does not resemble a suburban community in its characteristics. Calvin Trillin observed:

Strings of bungalows and shacks and general stores and evangelical churches, all wedged into a narrow strip of land between two mountains, (these settlements) seem as remote as mountain coal camptowns that are hours from the nearest city.<sup>23</sup>

The school board, according to state law, is composed of five members elected by the voters of the county without reference to political party affiliation. No more than two members may be elected from any one of the seven magisterial districts within the county. Election to the school board is for six-year staggered terms of office. West Virginia law makes no provision for recall of members once they are seated. Elections take place during the May primary but successful candidates were not seated until the following January.<sup>24</sup> Candidates are elected by a plurality; those with the most votes are winners even though they may have received no more than 10 to 20 percent of the total vote. Generally the rural population of the county has been

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students living more than two miles from their school must be provided with free transportation to and from school.

<sup>23</sup>Calvin Trillin, "U. S. Journal: Kanawha County, West Virginia," The New Yorker, September 1974, p. 119.

<sup>24</sup>This State Law was changed during the 1975 legislative session so that school board members elected in May will now be seated in July.

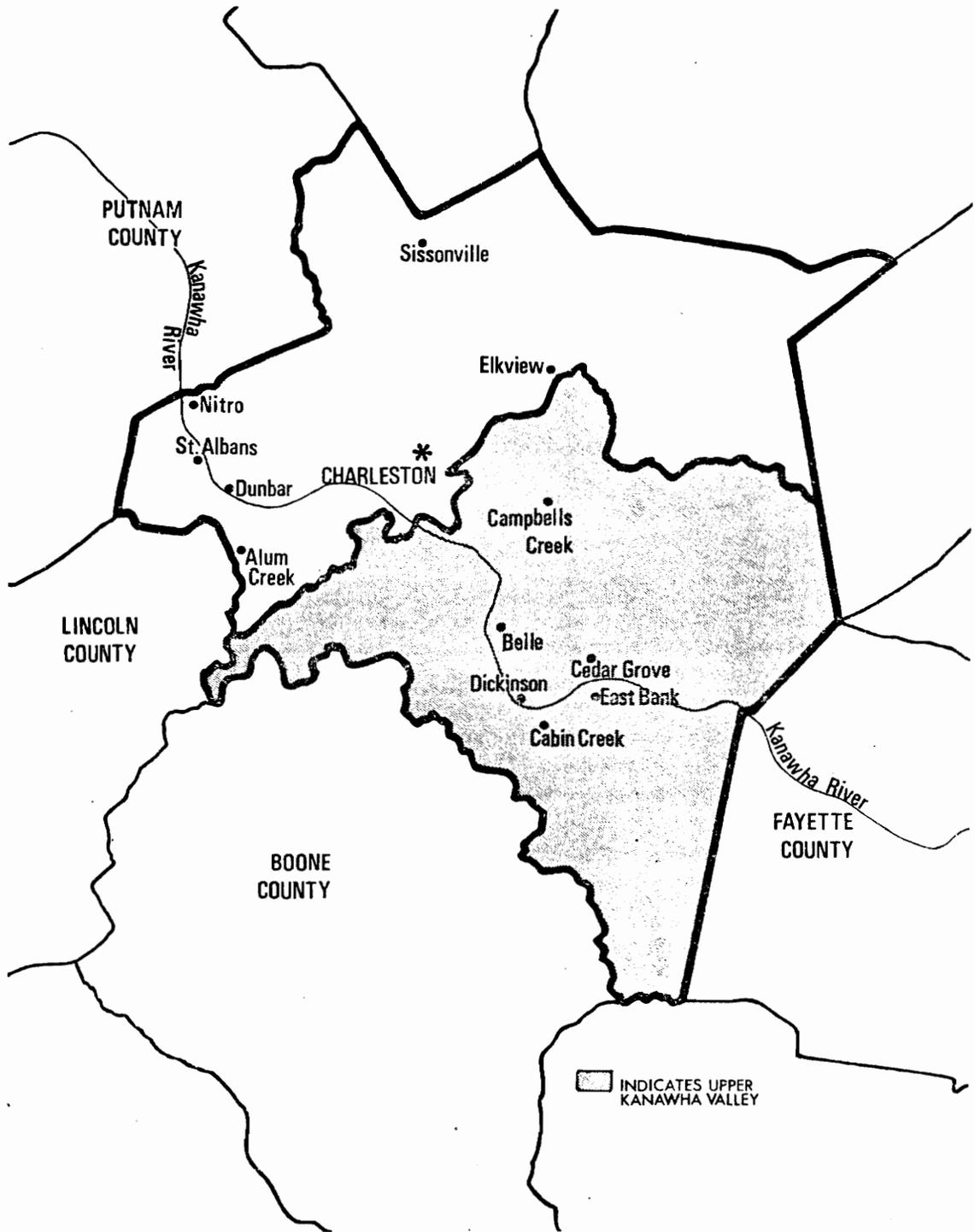


Figure 1

Key Sites in Kanawha County

under-represented on the school board.

Methodist Bishop D. Frederick Wertz noted that the county organization of school systems in the State of West Virginia has helped to create urban-rural conflicts. Referring specifically to Charleston and Kanawha County, Bishop Wertz commented:

For many of the people who live outside the city limits, there is a sense of powerlessness born of the absence of an adequate voice to influence the decision-making process. It is more than an economic or cultural gap. It is a feeling of being voiceless and powerless. For some the textbooks became a trumpet for voiceless people, and the protest became an instrument in the hands of powerless people.<sup>25</sup>

The contrasts between urban and rural life are pronounced and pervasive. Like the rest of West Virginia, some regions of the county are relatively desolate and wild, with settlements that were once coal camps located near the coal mines. Other urban-suburban areas are found along the highly industrialized Kanawha River Valley. Charleston as the commercial and industrial center of the State of West Virginia dominates this region. As Egerton observed:

The great division in Kanawha County is not between whites and blacks or Protestants and Catholics, it is between cultures and economic classes, between urbanities and Appalachians. Urbane Charlestonians--smarting, perhaps, from the barbs of sophisticated Easterners who sometimes treat 'West Virginia' as a synonym for 'hillbilly'--tend to put the greatest possible distance between themselves and the mountain folk around them. At best, the rural, hill-and-hollow residents of Kanawha County have been ignored; at worst, they have been ridiculed, scorned, exploited. They are, in local parlance, 'the creekers'--miners, truck drivers, factory workers, sectarian preachers, perpetuators of a mountain culture that many suburban South Hill upper-class residents ('the hillers') would just as soon forget.

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<sup>25</sup>Statement to the NEA Panel by Bishop D. Frederick Wertz, The United Methodist Church, Charleston, December 9, 1974.

And there the root of Kanawha County's bush of thorns is buried. Charleston rules, and the people who live in places like Campbells Creek and Cabin Creek and Coal Ford [sic] and Nitro are subjects. Charleston is Episcopalian, Methodist, Presbyterian; the churches in the narrow hollows are Free-Will Baptist, Pentocostal, Church of God in Prophecy. Charleston is double-knit suits, sports cars, cocktail parties, rural Kanawha is khakis, coal trucks, white lightning and abstention. Charleston aspires to a modern, affluent future; Cabin Creek struggles against heavy odds to preserve a hard but often heroic past.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>26</sup>Egerton, op. cit., p. 15.

## Chapter 3

### PRECIPITATING FACTORS

#### INTRODUCTION

Every controversy has a history that goes back further than the time when it first receives public attention. In the case of Kanahwa County's textbook protest, several occurrences prior to the beginning of the controversy need to be examined as possible precipitating forces. These include consolidation of schools, the sex education controversy of 1969-70, the role of the county-wide Curriculum Council and West Virginia state laws regarding textbook adoption procedures.

#### CONSOLIDATION

Historically, the rural Appalachian folk culture and the urban society of the larger cities seldom came into contact. But with the advent of mass media and better roads the rural areas have been exposed to an alien set of values promulgated by an emerging middle class and by outsiders attempting to enlighten the "hillbillies." Many rural people of West Virginia perceive this intrusion as an attempt to discredit their way of life and as an expression of contempt for their values.

This sense of alienation from the middle-class American mainstream evidenced by the folk culture has been carried over to the schools and intensified by school consolidation. As Egerton observed:

There has been, under the circumstances, suprisingly little open conflict along class lines in the past, however,

and a tenuous coexistence between town and country has prevailed. The one institution that embraces the entire county is the school system - a potential arena of conflict even in the best of settings - and it is perhaps inevitable that the schools have become Kanawha's theater of war.<sup>1</sup>

In the past fifty years educational systems have grown from small one-room community centers to large and complex county or metropolitan bureaucracies. As Edwards notes, "Time was when the teacher was a well-known local figure, directly accountable to the people he or she served. Today the walls of many schools are impregnably high."<sup>2</sup>

In rural areas, consolidation has transformed the schoolhouse from a cornerstone of the community to an element of a large bureaucracy dominated by professional expertise and middle class values. In many cases the schools are miles from home, the teachers are amorphous names without faces and the parents are removed from the educative process. This loss of parental control and involvement in education has led to increasing criticism of school systems across the country.

In Kanawha County alone, over fifty schools have been closed in the last ten years. Population loss and an attempt to upgrade the quality of schools led to the enlargement of attendance areas in order to do away with the many one, two and three-room schools that once served the county's rural areas. According to testimony at the National Education Association Teacher Rights Division's investigation hearings, the result:

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<sup>1</sup>Egerton, op. cit., p. 15.

<sup>2</sup>June Kirkhuff Edwards, "A Political Confrontation," The Christian Century, November 13, 1974, p. 1064.

. . . has been to improve the quality of education in these areas; but the way in which consolidations were effected -- without adequately involving the communities concerned -- did nothing to improve the quality of school community relations. The loss of their small community schools and the feeling that their interests had been ignored throughout the consolidation process . . . have contributed to a long-simmering resentment against school officials on the part of rural citizens.<sup>3</sup>

Of Kanawha County's situation, a member of the Textbook Review Committee said, "The protesters are a frustrated group of people who are not normally listened to. Now they're making themselves heard."<sup>4</sup> The weapon the protesters chose to make their voices heard was one associated with class warfare, the strike. "The common man don't know what to do except what he's done, and that's to go home and sit down," said Rev. Marvin Horan. "It's his strong back that keeps the system going, and when he don't like something he just goes on home and sits down."<sup>5</sup>

#### SEX EDUCATION

Mrs. Alice Moore, the member of the Board of Education who began the attack on the textbooks, was elected in 1970 by focusing her opposition on a sex education program being piloted in Kanawha County. Much of the protest over the content of the language arts textbooks was directly foreshadowed in the sex education controversy of 1969-70.

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<sup>3</sup>NEA Teacher Rights Division, op. cit., p. 37.

<sup>4</sup>Lee Strobel, "Hidden Issues Seen Behind Textbook Split," Chicago Tribune, October 21, 1974.

<sup>5</sup>Trillin, op. cit., pp. 121-22.

In 1969 Superintendent of Schools, Walter F. Snyder, under direction from the Board of Education announced the implementation of a K-12 health and family living program. The program selected was prepared by the School Health Education Study (SHES) under a grant from the United States Office of Education. This program was shared fully with the Kanawha County Curriculum Advisory Council, a group composed of eleven lay citizens and school professional personnel. The council, after a two year study, unanimously approved the use of the materials in Kanawha County Schools. The Board of Education was also unanimous in their approval and four elementary, two junior and two senior high schools were selected to pilot the SHES program during the 1969-70 school year.

Immediately after this announcement, groups opposed to sex education began to spring up in Kanawha County. Mrs. Moore, a housewife from the St. Albans area married to a fundamentalist minister, was outspoken in her opposition to this program and announced her candidacy for the school board elections of 1970, running against incumbent Dr. Carl Tully. The nature of the sex education controversy during the election campaign bears startling resemblances to the 1974-75 textbook protest. The campaign against sex education was well organized with many grass roots groups forming to vocalize their concerns. Incumbent Tully charged that these organizations were receiving support and distributing literature from the John Birch Society. Furthermore, he asserted that sex education was not the real issue but that rather it was being used as an emotional ploy:

. . . so that these organizations could gain control of

the school board and in turn dictate what textbooks will be used, what books to have in the library, and what subjects can be taught and who will teach them.<sup>6</sup>

The concerns raised by the anti-sex education groups, such as the Citizens for Parents' Action Committee (CPAC), Mothers Organized for Moral Stability and the Movement to Restore Decency Committee, in 1969, are very similar to many of the issues raised in the 1974 textbook controversy. The SHES materials were labeled as anti-Christian, anti-American and immoral, a charge also leveled at the language arts books. Those opposed to this program were critical of the purposes of education, new methods of teaching, the expanding curriculum and the myth of professional expertise. As in 1974, the 1969-70 sex education controversy also brought out disagreements over the role of the school in society. Some argued that schools are the transmitters of traditional cultural values while others felt that the schools should be transformers for social change. Reflecting the conservative view, the Citizens for Parents' Action Committee's first newsletter charged that:

Many of you are unaware that educators today no longer believe the main purpose of education is to teach academic subjects and produce patriotic citizens. The schools, paid for by your tax dollars, are being used to indoctrinate your children in ideas totally alien to the American way of life. . . .<sup>7</sup>

In the same newsletter the CPAC highlighted another area of concern, the role of parents in the educative process. Their argument

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<sup>6</sup>The Charleston Gazette, "Lies Inspired by Birchers Hit Campaign, Tully Says," April 2, 1970.

<sup>7</sup>Citizens for Parents' Action Committee Newsletter, Volume 1, undated, 1971.

was that the child belongs to his parents and that the school system has no right to include in its curriculum any materials that challenge parental values. The newsletter stated in part that:

It is entirely unacceptable to the Christian parent to have his child involved in classroom discussion that casts doubt on his belief in the absolute, unchanging law of God. Sex Education today does not mean the imparting of knowledge, but rather the forming of attitudes diametrically opposed to the moral and religious convictions of the vast majority of Americans. . . .

What right does the teacher have to create in a child's mind doubts about a parent's judgement? Just how far will we allow the state to go in intruding into our private lives.<sup>8</sup>

Board of Education candidate Mrs. Alice Moore accused the educational system of promulgating atheism and secular humanism by teaching situational ethics and by eliminating prayer and Bible reading from the school program. As a fundamentalist, Mrs. Moore asserted that infringement of her belief in a literal interpretation of the Bible as God's infallible word was as much a violation of religious neutrality as prayer in school. And this is exactly what she felt the sex education program was doing in describing morality as social customs, capable of change. To quote Mrs. Moore in the CPAC newsletter, "A denial of absolutes and the humanistic approach of reasoning out right and wrong on the basis of circumstances is a denial of God. God's law is absolute!"<sup>9</sup>

The Board of Education countered these attacks on the sex education curriculum with arguments in favor of the expertise of professional

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<sup>8</sup> Ibid.    <sup>9</sup> Ibid.

educators and the responsibility of the schools in the areas of morals, values and judgment. Responding to the charge that the school was usurping the role of the parents, Kanawha County educators said that the schools sought only to complement and strengthen the teachings of the home and church in these areas. Additionally, their view of the role of the educational system in society led to the conclusion that:

. . . the public schools should assume responsibility for instruction in any important area of community or family living which is not being adequately assumed by home or other agency or institution. The Board considers it important that, at the appropriate time in the growing-up process, each child acquire essential information concerning human sexuality and its importance in his life and in the life of the total community. From a great number of research studies the Board had learned that this type of instruction, generally considered to be the responsibility of parents, is being completely neglected in some 85% of the homes. Therefore, in order that the great majority of children may be provided with appropriate information on this very important subject, the Board of Education decided to place more of the responsibility for instruction along this line on the schools.<sup>10</sup>

Albert Anson, Jr., President of the Kanawha County Board of Education in 1969 (and also in 1974), recognized the larger issues behind the sex education controversy in making the following remarks in a letter to Rev. Charles Meadows. Interestingly, the Rev. Meadows, a fundamentalist minister, was one of the critics of the language arts textbooks in 1974. The letter said in part:

The fundamental question in the four requests made by you at the Board meeting Tuesday, October 7, 1969, is really not sex education, but who will prescribe the course of study and curriculum of the public schools -- that is, whether a small group of people should dictate

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<sup>10</sup>"Health Education Program: Questions and Answers," Kanawha County Schools Memorandum, September 16, 1969.

to the Board of Education and to the majority of the parents its wishes and beliefs . . . Finally, no one group with vested interests should have equal representation [n.b. equal to the number already appointed to the Citizens Advisory Council] which in essence would give them censorship or veto rights to affect or dictate policies of all school programs.<sup>11</sup>

On Wednesday, May 13, 1970, The Charleston Gazette announced in large red headlines that Mrs. Alice Moore had defeated Dr. Carl Tully in the school board election. Incumbent Tully had campaigned for re-election by stressing the merits of the present school board. Calling himself an advocate of progressive education, he asked voters to keep county schools in the state's "best" by supporting him. Mrs. Moore, consistently endorsing a conservative platform, conducted a strong anti-sex education campaign and charged that elementary and secondary schools were being taken over by a "humanistic, atheistic attack on God."<sup>12</sup>

Mrs. Moore took her seat on the school board in January of 1971. The pilot health and family living program which was to have been expanded to additional Kanawha County schools was quietly dropped. The entire health education curriculum was rewritten and to date Kanawha County has no sex education program operating in its schools. Mrs. Moore emerged the victor of the sex education controversy becoming a heroine of the fundamentalist, conservative parents throughout the area by demonstrating that they can wield power and influence the school's

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<sup>11</sup>Correspondence between Mr. Albert Anson, Jr. and Rev. Charles Meadows dated October 20, 1969.

<sup>12</sup>The Charleston Gazette, "Mrs. Moore Unseats Tully," May 13, 1970.

curriculum.

Of the 1969-70 sex education controversy, the National Education Association concluded that:

This censorship effort was a harbinger of events to come in 1974; its success showed that by public protest -- even when that protest is based on distortions of truth and false accusations -- the people can make a difference in shaping or dismantling, public school programs.<sup>13</sup>

### CURRICULUM COUNCIL

Although the Kanawha County Curriculum Council was created during the 1964-65 school year, 1965-66 was its first full year of operation. The Council was formed as an advisory group to the Board of Education, through the Superintendent, regarding the direction of desired curriculum changes in the Kanawha County schools. According to the Council bylaws the purposes of this committee included:

To advise the Superintendent and Board of Education in matters concerning the scope of the County educational programs, especially in the area most directly concerned with the curriculum, with new experimental programs, with program deletions, with program additions or with program adjustments. . . .

To study curriculum problems of the school system.<sup>14</sup>

It was designed as a continuing committee of both lay and professional personnel with a revolving membership. The Council had the responsibility for study and recommendations concerning the curriculum and served as a liaison group to all county personnel.

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<sup>13</sup>NEA Teacher Rights Division, op. cit., p. 39.

<sup>14</sup>Curriculum Council By-Laws, Guidelines, Procedures, Section III Purpose, February 25, 1965.

During 1964-65 the Council consisted of only professional personnel. In 1965 eleven community representatives were recommended for membership. In the letter inviting these citizens to become members of the Curriculum Council, Superintendent Walter Snyder stated:

Never before have changes in what we should teach and how we should teach it been thrust upon us with such rapidity. Members of the Kanawha County Board of Education and I often need the recommendations of a Curriculum Council to guide us in major decisions concerning our educational program. Too often these decisions are made solely by the professional staff without any effort being made to get points of view from educated, interested lay people.<sup>15</sup>

Since all members of the Curriculum Council were appointed, they did not represent a cross-section of the Kanawha County population. There were no fundamentalist ministers, coal miners or under-educated rural people reflecting the values of the Appalachian folk culture. On the whole the citizens selected were well-educated, middle or upper-middle class and community leaders. During its existence the Kanawha County Curriculum Council dealt with relatively mundane matters with little or no disagreement with professional opinion or recommendations.

During the sex education controversy the Curriculum Council unanimously endorsed the SHES program. In addition, a Health Education Committee consisting of the eleven lay members of the Council and eleven professional members was formed. The county school administration recommended to the school board:

That (a) no school will be permitted to implement the SHES program until given approval by the Health Education Committee; and (b) school principals should seek approval

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<sup>15</sup>Correspondence between Mr. Walter Snyder and lay members of the Kanawha County Curriculum Council dated October 5, 1965.

of the program through PTA and other community groups, then present applications to the Health Education Committee.<sup>16</sup>

Despite this community involvement and the support of the Curriculum Council, controversy over the SHES program erupted.

In 1971 Walter Snyder, Superintendent of Kanawha County Schools, announced his retirement at the end of the 1972 school year. The West Virginia Constitution required that a county superintendent be a resident of the state for at least one year prior to assuming that office.<sup>17</sup> A national search was started in 1971 to recruit a new superintendent. Dr. Kenneth E. Underwood, an Illinois native and former Superintendent of Schools in Fargo, North Dakota, was hired for the position. On July 1, 1971, Dr. Underwood was appointed Deputy Superintendent to meet the state's residency requirements and assumed the active superintendent's role in July of 1972.<sup>18</sup> Dr. Underwood began his work with one strike against him, the animosity of some West Virginians towards outsiders.

Superintendent Underwood's former colleague in Fargo, North Dakota, Dr. Roger B. Worner joined him in Kanawha County as the Associate Superintendent for Planning, Research, Evaluation and Renewal. Dr. Worner began a massive program of continuous progress education

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<sup>16</sup>Memo to Mr. Walter Snyder from Mr. John Santrock, Subject: Recommendations to Board, April 1, 1969.

<sup>17</sup>In accordance with *Dunn v. Blumstein*, 405 U.S. 330 (1973), the West Virginia Attorney General issued an opinion dated July 31, 1973 reducing the residency requirement for state and county officials to 30 days.

<sup>18</sup>Mrs. Alice Moore was the only school board member to vote against his confirmation.

curriculum development through skill identification and the writing of educational learning packages. The Curriculum Council was informed of this new direction but was not asked to make recommendations regarding individualized instruction to the school board through the Superintendent.

By November 1972 the Kanawha County administration was suggesting changes in the Curriculum Council. The purpose of these recommendations was to clarify the advisory role of the citizen committee and create a new decision-making body of professional personnel. Director of Curriculum and Instruction, Mrs. Charlene H. Byrd proposed that:

1. The present Curriculum Council shall be an advisory body composed of lay citizens and representatives from all major areas of community life. The suggested name for this body is the Kanawha County Curriculum Advisory Committee.

2. To serve as a decision-making body for direction and implementation of all curricular areas, the proposal for creation of a new organization is made. This body, made up of personnel with expertise in curriculum, would be known as the Kanawha County Council on Curriculum and Instruction. Five members of this total of fifteen should be included as members of the Curriculum Advisory Council.<sup>19</sup>

In the spring of 1973 a few members of the Curriculum Council began to vigorously challenge the efficacy of the educational learning packages that had been written for Kanawha County's continuous progress education system. For the first time lay members of the Council were openly opposed to a curriculum program supported by the superintendent and the school administration. These citizens took their concerns about the learning packages to the public through the press. On

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<sup>19</sup>Memo from Mrs. Charlene H. Byrd to Mr. John F. Santrock, dated November 9, 1972.

April 4, 1973, The Charleston Gazette carried an article detailing their criticisms entitled, "School Learning Packages Bring 'Confusion, Despair'."

'I've never seen so much confusion, frustration and despair among elementary teachers, especially those who are usually most enthusiastic about new ideas,' said Mrs. Jean Pearson, a member of the council for six years and the most vocal critic of the learning packages.

The Curriculum Council is an advisory board for the Kanawha County Board of Education. Mrs. Pearson said she and other members -- Mrs. Mary Jane Vanderwilt, Mrs. Henry Shores and Dr. Warren Grace -- have decided to voice their opposition to the learning packages because teachers and principals are afraid to do so and most parents haven't seen the learning packages.<sup>20</sup>

After this article appeared, members of the Curriculum Council were invited by the Kanawha County administration to visit schools and observe the use of the learning packages. At the May 22, 1973 meeting a majority and a minority report, prepared by the lay citizens on the learning packages and continuous progress education were read. The Council remained divided on the use of the learning packages. This meeting, the last of the 1972-73 school year, was also to be the last meeting of the Curriculum Council as it had been constituted in 1964-65.

In July, 1973 Dr. Roger B. Worner recommended to the school board the creation of a new body called the Kanawha County Council on Curriculum and Instruction as proposed by Mrs. Byrd in November of 1972. Dr. Worner's memo stated in part:

This Council, comprised of administrators and teacher applicants from the school system, will aid the Kanawha

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<sup>20</sup>The Charleston Gazette, "School Learning Packages Bring 'Confusion, Despair'," April 4, 1973.

County central administrative staff in receiving information and deliberations from the grass roots level in the school system and will furnish a decision-making forum for administrators and teachers to use in recommending county-wide curricular programming, curricular course content, innovative programs, course additions and deletions and other pertinent curricular processes in the school system.<sup>21</sup>

In effect his memorandum replaced the previous Curriculum Council made up of both professional and lay members with a new council of professional personnel only.

It was also proposed that the old Curriculum Council should be an advisory body composed of lay citizens and representatives from major areas of community life with five professional representatives who would also sit on the Kanawha County Council on Curriculum and Instruction. The role of this committee was to be strictly advisory as indicated by the suggested name, the Kanawha County Curriculum Advisory Council. The main purpose of this group would no longer be to make recommendations to the Board of Education through the superintendent but to make recommendations to the professional Curriculum Committee.<sup>22</sup>

These two new committees, one professional and one lay, were approved unanimously by the Board of Education. During the 1973-74 school year requests for applications for membership were distributed for the Council on Curriculum and Instruction. Teachers and administrators reacted to this request with apathy and insufficient applications were received to initiate this Council. As a result, neither committee

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<sup>21</sup>Board of Education Memo #1-73/74 dated July 2, 1973.

<sup>22</sup>Memorandum to Dr. Kenneth E. Underwood from Mr. John F. Santrock and Dr. Roger Worner dated August 6, 1973.

was ever formally organized until the 1975-76 school year. The demise of the original Curriculum Council, disbanded prior to the 1973-74 school year, left the Kanahwa County school system without any other organized vehicle for community input. The National Education Association's Inquiry Report stated that:

Not only did the school system fail to inform or consult with parent groups in advance of the textbook adoption, in early 1974, but it eliminated the one group--the Curriculum Advisory Council--through which there could be some degree of parental involvement. As noted earlier, the superintendent stated that this was done with the intent of establishing a more effective method of consultation with parents. But whatever the reason, the timing was unfortunate since it could appear to a distrustful public that the Council was dissolved as a means of concealing from the community the contemplated textbook adoptions.<sup>23</sup>

#### TEXTBOOK ADOPTION PROCEDURES

West Virginia state law is very specific in terms of procedures for textbook adoption of county Boards of Education. Textual series for a given curriculum area are adopted on a rotating basis for a period of five years. The 1973-74 school year was designated as the adoption period for English Language Arts K-12, distribution education, driver education and industrial arts, K-6 handwriting, speech and journalism.

West Virginia state codes require that all elementary basal textbooks must be selected from the State Board of Education's multiple textbook list. To quote from the state law:

No textbook shall be used in any public elementary school in West Virginia as a basal textbook unless it has been approved and listed on the state multiple list of textbooks by

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<sup>23</sup>NEA Teacher Rights Division, op. cit., p. 60.

the state board of education. . . . The state board of education may upon request by a county board of education, approve the adoption of additional books to meet the needs of specific children which were not provided for in the original adoption. Nothing in this section shall apply to the supplementary books that are needed from time to time.<sup>24</sup>

Secondary texts and supplemental books however, may be included in a county adoption without prior approval of the State Board of Education.

West Virginia state law also requires that the textbook selection committees, making their recommendations to the Board of Education at the county level, must be composed solely of professional educators.

The law states:

The county board of education shall, upon recommendation of the county superintendent with the aid of a committee of teachers not to exceed five members . . . select from the state multiple list one or more book(s) or series of books for each subject and grade to be used as exclusive basal textbooks in the county for a period of five years.<sup>25</sup>

This law squarely places the responsibility for textbook selection in the hands of teachers. Lay citizens may not be a part of the committee that recommends the textbooks for adoption by the county Board of Education. West Virginia state law provides no mechanism for citizen input in textbook selection except for the final approval by the elected Board of Education. As a matter of fact when Kanawha County attempted to create such a mechanism for citizen input during the 1974-75 social studies textbook selection process, State Superintendent of Schools, Dr. Daniel Taylor, ruled that a citizen committee could

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<sup>24</sup>School Laws of West Virginia, (Charlottesville: The Michie Company, 1973), 18-2A-8, p. 35.

<sup>25</sup>*Ibid.*, 18-2A-5, p. 33.

neither delete books considered objectionable from the adoption list nor make binding recommendations to the five member professional committee.

The textbook adoption procedure begins early in the fall preceding the school year in which the texts are to be used. In September 1973 a memo was sent to all Kanawha County principals and teachers inviting them to apply for language arts textbook adoption study committees. Because of the proliferation of textbook series from publishing companies and the amount of time required to review the volumes on the state approved multiple textbook list as well as supplemental materials, a curriculum study team of professional educators was formed in addition to the five member K-12 county textbook committees. The Curriculum Study Committee was responsible for a review of all textual and related instructional materials although:

. . . the five-member textbook committee, in accordance with state law, will be the only official voting body and will submit final recommendations to the Superintendent for presentation to the Board of Education for action.<sup>26</sup>

The English language arts committees were appointed in October and began their study that same month. Between October and February ten full days and ten half days of review time were allocated for the secondary groups and five full days and five half days for the elementary groups. In January of 1974 two additional full days were added to the secondary schedule because of the scope of the programs offered at that level.

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<sup>26</sup>Administrative Memo #51-73/74 dated September 20, 1973.

According to the Manual of Administration, the Associate Superintendent of Curriculum and Instruction could appoint members from the Kanawha County Council on Curriculum and Instruction (professional) and the Kanawha County Curriculum Advisory Council (lay) to serve as liaison representatives to the textbook committees. Additionally in the past, members of the textbook committees and curriculum study teams were asked, mostly as a courtesy, to present an overview and orientation session for the Curriculum Committee and Advisory Council members prior to presenting recommendations to the superintendent. However, since neither of these two committees were operational during the 1974-75 school year, this avenue to citizen review of textbook adoptions was not utilized.

The language arts textbook committees were furnished with guidelines from the Curriculum and Instruction Division to insure that adopted texts would be consistent with the general philosophy of continuous progress education and the implications of that philosophy in Kanawha County classrooms.<sup>27</sup> In addition, the West Virginia State Board of Education had adopted the following resolution regarding inter-ethnic content, concept, and illustration in the selection of textbooks:

BE IT RESOLVED THAT: both state and local textbook committees and individual educators charged with responsibility for the selection of textbooks and other printed materials to be used in school programs K-12 shall select only those textbooks and materials for classroom use

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<sup>27</sup>Memorandum to Textbook Study Committee Members, Curriculum Study Committees and Other Interested Parties from Roger B. Worner, dated February 14, 1973.

which accurately portray minority and ethnic group contributions to American growth and culture and which depict and illustrate the inter-cultural character of our pluralistic society.<sup>28</sup>

In a memo to textbook publishers and county superintendents dated August 16, 1973, Dr. Daniel B. Taylor, State Superintendent of Schools stated that textbook publishers should be prepared to respond to the following questions regarding their English, Writing, and/or Correlated Language Arts series:

1. Does the content of the textbooks and related materials, for all grade levels clearly indicate, where relevant, that the United States is a multi-ethnic nation?
2. Are the viewpoints, attitudes, values, and contributions of various minority and ethnic groups portrayed in relationship to--
  - a. the formulation of American Institutions (e.g. family, church, school, courts, etc.)
  - b. the dynamic nature of American society (past and present)
  - c. the various processes of communication within and among groups.
3. Do the pictorial illustrations, where relevant, reflect the intercultural character of our pluralistic society?
4. Does the content assist students in examining their own self image?

This requirement for multi-ethnic, multi-cultural textbooks was to become a focal point for part of the controversy that was to erupt over the language arts textbooks in Kanawha County. Objections

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<sup>28</sup>West Virginia State Board of Education Resolution, December 11, 1973.

to illustrations and stories reflective of the multi-cultural nature of society as well as objections to the inclusion of works by black writers such as Eldridge Cleaver, Dick Gregory, Langston Hughes, Gwendolyn Brooks, Ralph Ellison and Malcom X brought charges and counter-charges of racism throughout the textbook protest.

During the 1973-74 school year, the Kanawha County school system was involved in the study of hundreds of language arts texts and supplemental materials in preparation for adoption recommendations to the Kanawha County Board of Education. All Kanawha County administrative regulations, state laws of West Virginia and the Resolution of the State Board of Education were strictly adhered to in the adoption procedure. After more than two thousand hours of study of texts and materials available on the market, presentations by textbook vendors and consultants, and thorough evaluation of all instructional materials, Kanawha County's five member Language Arts Textbook Committee and twenty member Curriculum Study Committee made their adoption recommendations to the Board of Education at the March 14, 1974 meeting.

The recommendations presented to the school board included approximately 325 different titles classified as either basic or supplemental texts. The following is a list of the basic series, their authors, publishers and the student population for which each series was recommended:

Language and Composition:

Communicating, 1-6

Author: Morton Botel and John Dawkins

Publisher: D. C. Heath Company

For use in all elementary schools

Dynamics of Language, 7-12 (average & above) For use by approximately  
 Author: Allan Glatthorn 80 percent of the stu-  
 Publisher: D. C. Heath Company dents

Contemporary English, 7-12 (below average) For use by approximately  
 Author: Vernon H. Smith, Violet 20 percent of the stu-  
 Neuschultz, and others dents  
 Publisher: Silver Burdett Company

Literature:

America Reads Series, 7-12 (average & above) For use by approximately  
 Author: Farrell, Miller and others 80 percent of the stu-  
 Publisher: Scott-Foresman Company dents

Galaxy Series, 7-12 (below average) For use by approximately  
 Author: Pooley, Dunning and others 20 percent of the stu-  
 Publisher: Scott-Foresman Company dents

It was the selection committee's intention that these basic texts would be of sufficient variety to provide for individual differences and constitute a schoolwide purchase. The majority of texts ordered would be for students on or above level; the remainder for students below level.

As for supplementary texts, the materials presented to the school board by the Textbook Selection Committee stated:

Supplementary texts, if ordered by schools, would be generally limited in number, ranging from 1-10 copies of a limited number of single titles. One exception would be titles chosen by schools having special and/or elective courses, where sets of 25 to 30 copies might be requested. In both cases, however, the large variety of titles insures teachers and students of multiple alternatives for implementing continuous progress education and individualized instruction.<sup>29</sup>

Schools were to select supplemental textbooks from the approved list to meet the diverse needs of their clientele. It was not intended that

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<sup>29</sup>Kanawha County School Board Minutes, April 11, 1974.

all schools or all students would use the same supplementary materials. The discretion was in the hands of the principal, department chairman and teachers to choose materials appropriate for a particular community.

The supplementary texts, comprising the bulk of the 325 titles included the following series:

Language of Man Series, Language 7-12  
McDougal, Littell and Company, 1971-1973

Interaction Series, Language and Literature 4-12  
Houghton Mifflin Company, 1973

Breakthrough Series, Language and Literature 7-12 (Reading levels 2-6)  
Allyn and Bacon, Inc., 1969-73

Man Series, Literature 7-12  
McDougal, Littell and Company, 1971-1972

Man in Literature Series, Elective Courses 10-12  
Scott-Foresman and Company, 1974

Other textbook companies represented on the supplemental textbook list included Webster/McGraw Hill; Harcourt, Brace & Jovanovich, Inc.; Prentice-Hall, Inc.; Kenneth Publishing Company; Educational Reading Service; Perma-Bound Books; Perfection Form Company; Globe Book Company; Doubleday and Company; and Scholastic Book Services. A complete listing of the Kanawha County language arts adoption is contained in the Appendix.

On March 14, 1974 when the textbook committee's recommendations for language arts textbooks were presented to the school board, there was no hint of the upcoming controversy. Newspaper reports of that school board meeting failed to even mention that these recommendations had been presented. The big issue then was the return of the school

system to its old time schedule rather than the one adopted for daylight savings time. A special room was set up during March for the school board members to review the texts. According to Mrs. Nell Wood, a teacher at George Washington High School and chairman of the Kanawha County Language Arts Textbook Selection Committee, no Board member came. Additionally between March 14 and April 11 all the language arts textbooks were placed on display in the Kanawha County Library for citizen review and comment. Few took advantage of this opportunity to preview the textbooks.

## Chapter 4

### THE BEGINNINGS OF THE CONTROVERSY

#### INTRODUCTION

In April of 1974, the Kanawha County Board of Education received its first notice that a potentially explosive protest over the content of the recommended language arts textbooks was brewing. The issues and concerns that would be repeated frequently throughout the next year began to be heard in public forums during these months. This chapter examines the events of the period from the Board's decision to adopt the textbooks in April of 1974 to the beginning of the 1974-75 school year in September.

#### THE CONFLICT TAKES SHAPE - APRIL TO JUNE 1974

##### April - May 1974

On April 11, 1974 members of the Kanawha County Board of Education after lengthy debate, approved the adoption of the language arts textbooks as recommended by the Textbook Selection Committee. Although Mrs. Moore raised heated objections to the shortness of time available to review textbooks by either the Board or the public and the use of dialects in proposed books, it was mandated by state law that textbooks be adopted at this school board meeting. The applicable section of this state law says:

After the county board of education has adopted the basal textbooks for use in the county, and not later than

April fifteenth, the county superintendent shall send to the state board of education and the respective publishers a complete list of books adopted, properly certified by the president of the county board of education, in such form as the state board of education shall prescribe.<sup>1</sup>

Complaining that she had not had adequate time to examine the books, Mrs. Moore did succeed in having the adoption motion worded in such a way that if there were objectionable sections in the books, the school board could delete them at a later date from the list of books approved for purchase. In effect, the April 11 action was for official adoption only with purchase of any language arts textbooks delayed until the school board had further opportunity to study them.

Between April 11 and May 23 most school related attention was centered on a parent-teacher-principal conflict at an elementary school and on the school board elections to be held on May 14, 1974. Seven candidates, including incumbents Matthew Kinsolving and Board President Albert Anson, Jr., were running for two, six-year terms on the Board. The adoption of the language arts textbooks was not a campaign issue, and press reports of the pre-election activities by the candidates never mentioned the books.

Matthew Kinsolving, the postmaster of Belle, WV and a two-term incumbent emphasized greater two-way communication within the school system and the initiation of competitive bidding on major school system purchases. Felix Black, an Institute, WV resident who ran unsuccessfully for the school board in 1972, put his priorities on a reduction in the number of administrative positions and elimination of the re-

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<sup>1</sup>School Laws of West Virginia, op. cit., 18-2A, p. 33.

cruitment of out-of-state personnel for Board positions. James Spriegel, who had lost elections in 1956 and 1972, campaigned against consolidation of schools and for a thorough indoctrination in the three R's. Working for higher salaries for school personnel and for elimination of discrimination against union employees by the Board were the two major issues for candidate Sam Shelton, a school bus driver from Cabin Creek, WV. F. Douglas Stump from Elkview, WV favored initiation of competitive bidding and retention of neighborhood schools. He also criticized communications between teachers and central office staff and was considered an anti-administration candidate. Adoption of textbooks presenting both evolution and divine creation as theories of man's origin was the major campaign issue for Reverend Charles Meadows, pastor of the Mount Pleasant Baptist Church. President Albert Anson, Jr. emphasized his twenty-two years experience on the Board and supported the major school programs in Kanawha County.<sup>2</sup>

A Charleston Gazette poll released in April, showed incumbents Kinsolving and Anson with strong leads in the school board race followed by Black. The other four candidates were close together and trailed considerably. On May 13, the Gazette reported that Stump of Elkview, WV appeared to be making a late surge into contention for the school board having moved from last place to third place behind Anson and Kinsolving in the most recent poll.

The polls underestimated Stump's strength. He proved to be the

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<sup>2</sup>Charleston Daily Mail, "Voters to Elect Two Tuesday to School Board," May 8, 1974.

top vote getter on May 14, 1974 when he successfully ousted Albert Anson, Jr. from his seat on the Kanawha County Board of Education. Matthew Kinsolving was re-elected but trailed Stump by nearly four thousand votes. The Kinsolving-Anson race was closer with fewer than four hundred votes separating these two contenders for the second seat on the Board. Analyzing the election results, The Charleston Gazette noted:

Pardoxically, voters chose two winners who campaigned on conflicting platforms.

Stump represented the 'anti-establishment' contingent, persons who oppose the administration of Superintendent of Schools Kenneth Underwood. He has been vocal in his criticism and charged incumbents with being deliberately inaccessible to parents and teachers.

. . . Kinsolving, on the other hand, campaigned on his record and accomplishments of the present administration.<sup>3</sup>

It was generally felt that Stump's overwhelming support resulted from adverse public response to the Kanawha County Schools' administration.

Although, according to state law, Stump would not be seated on the Board until January 1, 1975, he vowed to become familiar with Board procedures. The day after the election Stump stated:

Although I'm not on the board at this time, I want the citizens to know I'll be attending the board meeting Thursday and all functions of the board. In addition, Dr. Underwood has told me he will send me all agendas of the board and bring me up to date on agendas of the past two years.<sup>4</sup>

He attended his first Board meeting on May 16, 1974 as a member-elect.

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<sup>3</sup>The Charleston Gazette, "Stump Big Victor in Schools Race," May 15, 1974.

<sup>4</sup>The Charleston Gazette, "Stump Vows Board Input," May 16, 1974.

The textbooks were not a topic of discussion at the May 16 meeting but a special meeting was called for May 23 for members of the English Language Arts Textbook Committees to explain their selection of the proposed books to the school board.

During this period of time, the textbook controversy began to gain momentum. On May 21 The Charleston Gazette reported that Mrs. Moore was opposed to many of the textbooks under consideration. "My main objection is that they simply attack traditional philosophy of good grammar and English."<sup>5</sup> The same day the Charleston Daily Mail's editorial was concerned with the relationship between professional expertise and public opinion in educational decision-making. The editorial stated in part:

. . . At the showdown, whose input is decisive -- the teachers' or the school patrons?

In good and bad cause, this confrontation is becoming more and more common. And when it degenerates into a power struggle it is also more and more common just to suspend the educational program while the issues are kicked around.

As school patrons and taxpayers hope to retain any control over the education of their children and the expenditure of public funds, they cannot consent to this erosion of their authority. Once they do, the character and quality of public education pass to other interests who, whatever their cause and program, need not respond at all to the public interest.<sup>6</sup>

The May 23 special meeting of the Board of Education on the proposed textbooks was dominated by short tempers and heated debate. Mrs.

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<sup>5</sup>The Charleston Gazette, "Proposed Texts Opposed," May 21, 1974.

<sup>6</sup>Charleston Daily Mail, "At the Big Confrontation Who Makes the Decision?", May 21, 1974.

Thelma Conley, Secondary English Consultant for Kanawha County Schools, spoke on the behalf of the Textbook Selection Committee's philosophy in selecting the textbooks.

On the issue of whom should the school serve Mrs. Conley noted in a prepared statement that America is a complex society made up of people who hold a multitude of different values, views and opinions and that the school system has a responsibility for involving those holding values, views and opinions other than those of the white, middle class. The curriculum should include in its language arts programs written works that reflect the diversity of opinion that is typically American by providing vivid, real life pictures of our nation, the world and its people through the eyes of individual authors. The concern of the school is not to indoctrinate the student into a particular value system but rather, through a broad exposure to diverse literary opinion, allow the student "to reflect and make personal judgments - usually years after leaving the school system - on his personal view of the state of mankind and the world."<sup>7</sup> Providing students with a "decision-making base from which he/she can make better judgments about what is or is not personally acceptable to him or her in later life,"<sup>8</sup> should be a major emphasis of a language arts program according to the philosophy of the Language Arts Textbook Selection Committee.

Given this philosophy, Mrs. Conley commented that the inclusion

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<sup>7</sup>"Overview of the Kanawha County Schools Language Arts Adoption," Kanawha County Schools, May 23, 1974, pp. 2-3.

<sup>8</sup>ibid.

of the viewpoints of some authors whose opinions are not representative of the majority of common consensus does not make the language arts texts and materials filthy, anti-American, or anti-Christian. In educational programs author's views are treated as just that, a viewpoint, not as the final word or the truth. "Even at that," Mrs. Conley said, "school system Language Arts Programs are not, by any stretch of the imagination, anything but conservative. We do not really stray much to the right or left of center America."<sup>9</sup>

On the question of who should determine the content of educational programs and the role of parents in the educative process, Mrs. Conley argued:

Obviously, a decision on the best way for a school system to go on developing instructional programs and selecting content for those programs lies in the hands of its elected representatives, the Board of Education. Nonetheless, I would contend that the educational quality of instructional programs and content is a judgment that can best be rendered by professionally trained educators. In this instance, we have made out study and our recommendation. And we stand by them.<sup>10</sup>

Mrs. Moore, rejecting the philosophy of the Textbook Selection Committee, called the books, "trashy, filthy and too one-sided." She said she objected to the texts because she felt they presented a point of view of blacks and that there was nothing in the books representative of white, middle-class values. "I'm not asking for something anti-black, but we have got to have something from both sides. I want to see something patriotic in those books." Mrs. Moore also stated, "I am on this Board and represent a wide constituency of people who don't want this

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<sup>9</sup>ibid. <sup>10</sup>ibid.

trash." For the first time a second Board member, newly re-elected Matthew Kinsolving, took sides with Mrs. Moore. "I think you have picked on her long enough," he told the committee and audience at one point. "I agree with her. I have looked at this from a personal standpoint and I don't want it taught to my children. I don't want the Board to pass it."<sup>11</sup>

Although the audience, composed of parents and teachers, was primarily in favor of the books, several parents near the end of the three hour meeting rose to raise objections of the language arts textbooks. Because the Board did not have an opportunity to discuss all of Mrs. Moore's objections and since no action was taken on whether or not to purchase these texts, another meeting to continue the debate was set.

The article in the Charleston Daily Mail reporting the events of the May 23 school board meeting carried photographs of two textbook selections which Mrs. Moore had criticized. One was "The Teacher" by Eldridge Cleaver which Mrs. Moore found objectionable because of the "un-American and highly political views represented in such pieces." The other selection was a poem and photo representing the horrors of war from the text War and Peace showing a bloody dead body which Mrs. Moore termed, "disgusting."<sup>12</sup>

Letters to the editor from parents, students and teachers both in support of the recommended language arts textbooks and against them

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<sup>11</sup>Charleston Daily Mail, "Book Controversy Generates Heat at Board Meeting," May 24, 1974.

<sup>12</sup>ibid.

began to appear in The Charleston Gazette and the Charleston Daily Mail. Selected quotations from these letters indicate the positions that were taken by groups holding opposing opinions of the content of the textbooks.

Mrs. Linden Reed of St. Albans on the question of whom does the child belong to commented:

Parents, we need to stand up against this kind of thing before the minds of our children are warped into thinking this kind of stuff is normal and right. . . . In my opinion these books are anti-Christian, pro-Communist, anti-government and pure trash.<sup>13</sup>

Taking a different view, Donna Musgrave, a St. Albans High School senior wrote:

My parents who have read passages from the paper to which Mrs. Moore objects, find no fault with them and feel that it should be highly beneficial to high school students. The series is not anti-white, anti-Jew, anti-Christian or anti-anything. It presents all viewpoints equally and honestly and takes an adult approach to adult problems.<sup>14</sup>

Commenting on what should be included in the curriculum, Nancy L. Williams, a teacher at St. Albans High School, said of the language arts program that:

The books represent a look at all facets of American and world life. The beauty of the hillside is there but so is the bitterness and despair of the ghetto. Mrs. Moore feels we should show the beauty but not the ugliness of America, that we should present only a middle class white view of our society. I say we cannot shelter our middle class children. We cannot forget our ghetto brother. We cannot sterilize the picture of the world. We as teachers are obligated by our professional humanism; we must in the interest of democracy present a realistic picture of all men and all

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<sup>13</sup>The Charleston Gazette, Letter to the Editor, May 24, 1974.

<sup>14</sup>Charleston Daily Mail, Letter to the Editor, May 28, 1974.

human conditions or we will lose our children to prejudice, rebellion, stereotyped images, subjectivity and ignorance.<sup>15</sup>

On May 31, 1974 a group of six seniors from George Washington High School organized a "fair shake" club to encourage the Board members to view the textbooks objectively. The group was formed neither to support nor reject the controversial books but to urge the public to take an active interest in textbook choices. They also wanted the school board to know that they, as students, were interested in the content of the books used in the schools.

The six members of the student committee said that although they were not always in agreement with Mrs. Moore, they felt it was her duty to raise objections if she had them and they commended her for doing her homework by carefully reviewing the textbooks under consideration. Their greatest concern was that the school board would pass judgment on these series on the basis of passages or photographs lifted from context without taking the time to review the books in their entirety.

#### June 1974

Because of the concern aroused by the controversy over the Kanawha County language arts textbooks during the previous two weeks, WCHS Television, Channel 8 in Charleston, announced that beginning on June 2, 1974 and continuing for six successive evenings they would present editorials on "our position on whether the books are acceptable or are, in fact, trashy and filthy."

The first television editorial on June 2 criticized the method

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<sup>15</sup>Charleston Daily Mail, Letter to the Editor, May 29, 1974.

by which textbooks were selected in Kanawha County and recommended citizen input and review of proposed textbook adoptions. Speaking for the editorial board, Curtis Butler, station manager, agreed with Mrs. Moore that more time needed to be allocated for the study of proposed textbooks by Board members. It was suggested that Textbook Selection Committee reports and recommendations be given to Board members at least thirty days prior to the April 15 adoption deadline imposed by state law. It is interesting to note that this procedure had been followed in the 1974 adoption proceedings. The Board was given the language arts textbook recommendations for their study on March 14, 1974.

The June 3 editorial addressed two questions: whether the books were acceptable or in poor taste; and the difference between an author's viewpoint and an editorial stance by the publisher. The editorial stated in part:

It is our opinion that any one person could read these texts and find some parts of them, taken as separate entities, objectionable. Mrs. Moore has found some objectionable things from her perspective. They are things that might not be objectionable to others.

For instance, there is one selection in the series that deals with the body. One teacher associated with the textbook committee said she thought some people might find the E. E. Cummings selection objectionable. We have read that and we find the offering, for 10th through 12th grade students, mild indeed. It is not objectionable and treats the subject gently and with intelligence . . . something today's movies and television often do not do.

Our point is that, on the whole, the series is well rounded and should not be objectionable to any parent, especially those with children in the 10th through 12th grades, where the books that are in controversy are to be used.

Our conclusion: The books are well written, easy to read and stimulating. They correctly mirror our society in order to inform today's student as he learns the English language.

They are not trashy and filthy. They are excellent.<sup>16</sup>

On June 4 the WCHS editorial chided several of the school board members for not having read or studied the books although several opportunities had been provided. It was announced that Kanawha County Schools Superintendent Kenneth Underwood would see that each Board member received a complete set of the texts by the end of the week. It was also noted that the textbooks needed to be purchased prior to July 1 if students were to be assured of having the new books for the 1974-75 school year and that the deadline was rapidly approaching. Any delay on the part of the school board to approve the purchase of these texts could keep the books out of the schools for a year. The editorial continued:

Our message to board members is this. Review the set of books you will receive this week. Look at them from all inclusive standpoints and don't judge a series by one line from one author.

We also ask that you, upon making your decision, immediately inform the superintendent of schools that you want to see a purchase order delivered to the board for signature.<sup>17</sup>

After this editorial urging the Board to act quickly, Board member Kinsolving said in a newspaper interview that he had found both excellent and objectionable materials in the textbooks. Commenting on the WCHS television editorials calling for the adoption of the books, he stated that the Board should not be stampeded into making a hasty decision. He declared that the Board had a clear legal right to make

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<sup>16</sup>Transcript of WCHS-TV Editorial, June 3, 1974.

<sup>17</sup>Transcript of WCHS-TV Editorial, June 4, 1974.

textbook selections without outside pressures.<sup>18</sup>

The WCHS television editorial on June 5 noted the organization of the "fair shake" club at George Washington High School and urged Board members to adopt a positive attitude when reviewing the textbooks. On the use of four letter words in literature, the editorial staff commented that:

The day of shock for the four letter word is over. It is hard for us to believe but board member Alice Moore finds fault with the literary use of the word 'damn.'

We agree that it is not necessary to encourage youngsters to develop such a vocabulary--we also recall that Shakespeare said 'Out, damn spot.' And we contend that literature and learning should not be bound by anything but the ability of the youthful mind to learn.<sup>19</sup>

The editorial the following day included quotations from selected secondary language arts books. Before reading the passages, Curtis Butler informed the audience that parents might not wish to have their children listen to the material. After these quotations were read, the viewing audience was asked if they were shocked and then informed that each selection was contained in the current series of textbooks that had been used in Kanawha County for the previous five years. The editorial noted, "One point is graphically illustrated however; and that is that practically any series of textbooks in any school system could be labeled trash if self-imposed censors set out to look for filth as they see it."<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>18</sup>The Charleston Gazette, "Kinsolving Finds Good, Bad in Books," June 6, 1974.

<sup>19</sup>Transcript of WCHS-TV Editorial, June 5, 1974.

<sup>20</sup>Transcript of WCHS-TV Editorial, June 6, 1974.

The last of this series of editorials on June 7 summarized the previous commentary and included recommendations for parental involvement in future textbook selection and provisions for adequate time for textbook review by school board members. As for the proposed language arts books, the WCHS editorial board approved of the adoption saying, ". . . we find the textbooks, viewed as a complete package, an accurate mirror of society today, allowing students to learn the English language."<sup>21</sup>

The role of these editorials cannot be underestimated. Each of the six editorials was repeated on both the six and eleven o'clock news. Market data on viewing audiences provided by Mr. Taliaferro Simpson of WCHS Television indicated that ninety thousand households comprising a population of 153,000 people watch the early news and sixty thousand households view the late news. The editorial staff at WCHS was responsible for bringing the textbook controversy to the attention of a large segment of the Kanawha County community.

The editorials themselves generated a certain amount of controversy. The television station was flooded with phone calls from individuals in favor of and against their editorial stance. The two newspapers also received numerous letters regarding the editorials. For example, Mrs. D. Walls criticized Curtis Butler and the WCHS editorial board's philosophy of "Keeping up with society" as a rationale for approving of the textbook content. Mrs. Walls wrote in part:

Well, Mr. Butler, we all know that there are things done

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<sup>21</sup>Transcript of WCHS-TV Editorial, June 7, 1974.

today that were not done a few years ago, but that doesn't make them right. The morals of a minority of our society are very loose today but the morals of the majority of our population, I believe are still very high. . . .<sup>22</sup>

Some in Kanawha County felt that this series of editorials, in addition to bringing the controversy to the attention of the public, also served to coalesce those opposed to the textbooks.

On Tuesday, June 11, the Charleston Daily Mail published a series of thirteen short man-on-the-street, interviews with Kanawha County students on the textbook controversy. Polled on the questions "What do you think of the textbooks used in Kanawha County Schools? What is your opinion of the current textbook controversy and the inclusion of minority writers in texts?," all of the students commented that they were opposed to censorship of books on the junior and senior high school levels. Representative responses included the following:

Cathy Alston, 14, Third Avenue, Charleston: 'Where else are you going to learn this sort of thing? If you weren't aware of the ghettos you wouldn't realize what was going on around you.'

Frank Salisbury, 14, Route 3, Elkview: 'I think kids should know about these writings. I think it should be controlled a bit in elementary school. Works about black ghettos should be included in textbooks.'

Joe Pauley, 18, Elkview: 'I'm against Alice Moore. I don't believe in censorship at the junior high level. If they want to read it, they'll sneak it. If they ban books, kids will want to read it all the more.'

Paul Ross, 18, Payne Avenue, Dunbar: 'In regard to writings about black injustice in the ghetto, I don't think people should be prejudiced to black writers. Kids will learn about it some way or another. Books should be censored in grade school but after that, I think it's

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<sup>22</sup>Charleston Daily Mail, "The Point of View: One, Two, Three," June 14, 1974.

wrong for anything to be banned.'

Lucy Wang, 16, Shady Side Road, St. Albans: 'I am against textbook censorship. It's not fair to the kids. You can't hide that kind of thing from them. We can't grow up in our parents' world. Blacks are Americans too. They have a right to be in our textbooks. Eldridge Cleaver is okay too.'

Ronny Murad, 18, Kanawha Avenue, Charleston: 'I'm against the censorship of textbooks. In grade school it should be up to the parents. In high school there definitely should be no censorship. A student should read what his mind can take. If he thinks he is too immature to handle it, that's okay. Alice Moore should worry about her own children, not everybody else's. She's not representing me. I don't think she's representing most parents.'<sup>23</sup>

A school board meeting to discuss budget transfers was held on June 13, 1974. Parents turned out en masse for this meeting thinking that the purchase of the language arts textbooks was to be on the agenda. The Board agreed to hear two delegations protesting the textbooks but took no action on purchasing the books. Mr. Jerry Wellman, representing a group of citizens opposed to the textbooks, stated that information provided him pertaining to the textbooks led him to the conclusion that the material in the books was "rank."<sup>24</sup>

Mr. Mel Pennington, representing a group of citizens from the Nitro area stated:

Historically the goal of education has been to raise the level of society but these books take the reverse view and aim to level society to the lowest common denominator. If that is the goal of education, then we don't need to spend millions of dollars to do it. Let's just sit back and re-

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<sup>23</sup>Charleston Daily Mail, "Young Ideas: How Do You Feel About Textbook Controversy?," June 11, 1974.

<sup>24</sup>Kanawha County School Board Minutes, June 13, 1974.

lax and let it occur naturally.<sup>25</sup>

The standing room only crowd seemed reluctant to leave when the Board adjourned. Shouts of "No! You can't adjourn" came from the audience when the Board did so.<sup>26</sup> It was announced that the Board would take action on the purchase of the textbooks at the June 27, 1974 meeting.

The Twin City Shopping Guide, serving the St. Albans and Nitro area, announced that Mrs. Alice Moore would be speaking on the textbook issue at St. Paul's Methodist Church in Nitro on June 14. Mrs. Moore's presentation was sponsored by the Magic Valley Mother's Club of St. Albans. The notice in the paper urged all interested and concerned parents to attend this meeting. This was the first of many public meetings on the content of the language arts textbooks that Mrs. Moore was to address.

Members of the Magic Valley Mother's Club began making available to anyone wishing to see them copies of the proposed texts with objectionable sections marked and paper clipped. As sets of the books were circulated to parents, churches and other groups, a petition was included asking for endorsement of the statement that materials be prohibited from use in the public school system which "demean, encourage skepticism or foster disbelief in the institutions of the United States of America in western civilization." The institutions listed on the

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<sup>25</sup>Ibid.

<sup>26</sup>Charleston Daily Mail, "Books, Principal Protests Continue," June 14, 1974.

petition were:

The family unit.

Belief in a supernatural being, a power beyond humans or human comprehension.

Political system set forth in the Constitution.

System of free enterprise governed by laws of supply and demand.

Respect for property of others.

History and heritage of the United States as the record of one of the noblest civilizations that has existed.<sup>27</sup>

More and more parent and concerned citizens groups opposing the proposed language arts textbooks began to form around the county. To get information to these groups and other individuals, a one hour taped review of the books by Mrs. Moore was sold to the public for \$1.50. Mrs. Moore actively traveled across Kanawha County speaking out against the textbooks. Working with her husband, Darrell, she addressed various groups throughout the Kanawha Valley detailing her objections to the books and carrying with her a box of texts containing the selections she considered most objectionable.

Critical of the role of the public schools in society and the lack of parental involvement in the educative process, Mrs. Moore stated in her appearances that if materials included in Kanawha County Schools proposed textbooks were indicative of the way public education was moving, parents needed to consider sending their children to private schools. "It (private education) would put a tremendous burden on

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<sup>27</sup>Charleston Daily Mail, "Private School May Be Way: Alice Moore," June 19, 1974.

parents. But they can't put their children in public schools and allow them to have their beliefs torn away."<sup>28</sup>

On Wednesday, June 19, 1974 it was announced that seventeen of the twenty-five members of the Executive Board of the Kanawha County Council of Parents and Teachers (PTA) had voted unanimously on Friday, June 12, to oppose several of the English and literature textbooks including the Man, Interaction and Communicating series. PTA Council President L. W. (Bill) Seaman explained their position on the books by saying:

Many of the books are literally full of anti-Americanism, anti-religion and discrimination. Too, these books are woefully lacking in morally uplifting ideas. Many of the statements flout law and order and respect for authority. Several passages are extremely sexually explicit.<sup>29</sup>

This action marked the first time that a previously organized group in Kanawha County had taken a stand on the textbook issue. President Seaman also indicated that representatives of the PTA Council would be at the June 27 Board meeting to make their position known to the school board members.

During this period Elmer Fike, a Nitro businessman residing in neighboring Putnam County, who was to assume an active role throughout the controversy, began to speak out on the textbooks. In a personal interview with this writer, Mr. Fike said that he had become involved in the textbook controversy after receiving a phone call from Mrs. Alice

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<sup>28</sup>ibid.

<sup>29</sup>Charleston Daily Mail, "Kanawha PTA Board Opposes Certain Texts," June 19, 1974.

Moore. A noted local conservative and prolific writer, Mr. Fike had written a newspaper column six months before Mrs. Moore's first call in support of the burning of the novel, Slaughter House Five, in North Dakota. Mr. Fike had commented, "Surely there must be some standards even in a course as subjective as English."<sup>30</sup>

After reviewing the language arts textbooks proposed for Kanawha County at Mrs. Moore's insistence, Mr. Fike told this writer that he immediately recognized the texts as political propaganda with the authors deliberately trying to indoctrinate students in philosophy inconsistent with the traditional consensus of values within a community. After his initial screening of the controversial books, Mr. Fike wrote the following column for the Kanawha Valley Leader, a weekly newspaper published in Nitro. Mrs. Moore, agreeing with the thinking of Mr. Fike, decided to read his column on WCHS Television in rebuttal to their series of editorials supporting the textbooks. Mr. Fike's column said in part:

I object to this literature because I see very little in it that is inspiring or uplifting. On the contrary, it appears to attack the social values that make up civilization.

Repeatedly it pits black against white, accentuating their differences and thereby stirring up racial animosity.

It dwells at length on the sexual aspects of human relationships in such an explicit way as to encourage promiscuity.

The theme of pacifism runs throughout. It repeatedly and continuously depicts the horrors of war without ever

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<sup>30</sup>Elmer Fike, "Sick Literature," Kanawha Valley Leader, December 20, 1973.

suggesting, so far as I could find, the possibility that men have fought wars because conditions were intolerable and that some things were worth fighting for.

It concentrates on the sordid aspects of life without ever suggesting that there is or can be, a beautiful aspect. By so doing it promotes hopelessness and fails to motivate upward.<sup>31</sup>

On June 19 the Executive Board of the Charleston Branch of the NAACP tabled a motion to support the textbooks because members felt that they had not had sufficient time to review the texts. Bernard Hawkins, Vice President of the area NAACP disagreed with the charges by other groups that the books discriminate against blacks by portraying them as illiterate slum dwellers. He also expressed concern over the NAACP's lack of action and urged a positive statement from that group prior to the June 27 Board meeting. He commented:

I personally don't see what all the controversy is about. I feel the books are a step in the right direction. The State Board of Education has asked school systems to move toward multicultural education. The selections give students a chance to look at the other side of the coin and make a determination as to which way to go.<sup>32</sup>

The churches in Kanawha County continued to be used as public forums for the textbook controversy. On Sunday, June 23, 1974, Mrs. Alice Moore spoke to between 300 and 350 people at the First Baptist Church of Dunbar. Fliers containing excerpts from some of the books and petitions against the purchase of the language arts texts were circulated after Mrs. Moore's ninety-minute presentation. Of the proposed

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<sup>31</sup>Twin City Shopping Guide, "Elmer's Tune: Must Education Corrupt?," June 19, 1974

<sup>32</sup>The Charleston Gazette, "NAACP Tables Move for Books Support," June 20, 1974.

texts Mrs. Moore said, "I can't read some of these things. I don't think a woman should stand up in front of a mixed audience and read it."<sup>33</sup> A great deal of her talk was centered on the contention that the textbooks subtly, but viciously, attacked religious faith. She also criticized the lack of parental involvement in textbook selection and urged parents to come to the June 27 Board meeting to protest the purchase of these books.

At the other end of the spectrum Reverend Richard H. Schmidt from St. John's Episcopal Church in Charleston went to the Board of Education and reviewed the textbooks at the request of his congregation. This early action was indicative of the active role played by the Episcopal clergy throughout the textbook controversy. In a letter to The Charleston Gazette on June 20, 1974 Rev. Schmidt said in part:

I have concluded, however, that the texts are excellent . . . given the fact that they are to be used as supplements . . . When used as intended, I feel that they would broaden the horizon of the eager student of English in a manner which would certainly be beneficial to him. By exposing him to attitudes which may differ from his own . . . they could greatly increase his tolerance and understanding of all sorts of conditions of men.

After reviewing all the texts in question, I can say that I wish I had had the benefits of texts such as these when I attended public high school and that when my children reach high school I hope they receive the educational enrichment and spiritual blessing which texts such as these can provide.

The protest was escalated by the distribution of an estimated fifty thousand fliers addressed to "Concerned Citizens - Be Aware of

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<sup>33</sup>Charleston Daily Mail, "Textbooks Offend Child's Religion," June 24, 1974.

School Book Controversy." This flier contained twelve excerpts from the proposed books. Of these twelve excerpts two were identified by title only, one was identified by title and the author's name with the comment "A black American poet," and one was identified only as having been written by Eldridge Cleaver. The other eight excerpts gave no indication of either the title or the author and in many cases started in the middle of a sentence. Nowhere did the name of the series or the grade level in which the material was to be used in appear. However the flier did note that the books would be on display at the St. Albans Library on June 24 for citizen review. As it turned out, these textbooks were Mrs. Moore's copies with passages marked to point out the objections. This display attracted considerably more attention than the one at the Kanawha County Library during the month of March.

On June 21 Don Rooney, a representative of McDougal, Littell and Company, publishers of two secondary supplementary series under attack in Kanawha County, commented that to the best of his knowledge they had only received one complaint from school systems using these books. Otherwise, he noted that the two series had won several awards and were used successfully on a relatively large scale in New York, Maryland, Virginia, Florida, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Washington, D. C. New Mexico, Oregon, Arkansas, North Carolina and Indiana.

On June 24 the Rev. David Anderson, Baptist Temple; the Rev. Hilarion Cann, Blessed Sacrament Church; the Rev. Joseph Carter, Missionary Baptist; Rabbi Samuel Cooper, B'nai Jacob Synagogue; the Rev. Ronald English, First Baptist Church; the Rev. John Price, Executive Secretary of the West Virginia Council of Churches; the Rev.

Richard Schmidt, St. John's Episcopal Church; the Rev. Bernard Vanderbeek, Kanawha United Presbyterian Church; the Rev. Farrell Walters, First Christian Church; and the Rev. Travis E. Wells, Jr., Christ Church United Methodist, issued a joint statement supporting the language arts textbooks. The statement read:

We the undersigned, though of different religious convictions, but prompted by a community concern, have taken the time to look into the current school text controversy in Kanawha County.

The following comments represent our considered conclusions from this experience:

We express complete confidence in the professionalism and competence of the selection committee that had been charged with the responsibility of studying available material and recommending texts.

Over-all, though anyone could raise an objection to one or more specific points, the whole program shows a great respect for the students of this county and their need to understand and communicate in the real world in which they live.

Any treatment, especially in the schools, of questions like war and peace, racism -- black and white -- religion, and patriotism, is bound to raise disagreements and stir emotional response. We are convinced, however, that these matters must be discussed openly if our students are to be exposed to the great variety of issues that characterize our modern society. We know of no way to stimulate the growth of our youth if we insulate them from the real issues. We feel this program will help our students to think intelligently about their lives and our society.

The material that has been considered, or called, objectionable by reason of its treatment of sexual themes represents a very small portion of the whole program. It does not treat sex sensationally nor for its own sake. Furthermore, it is to be used only for advanced senior high students in rare and selective situations. We reviewed some of the most criticized passages and found them not nearly as bad as portrayed. There will always be disagreement about the use of such material. In our judgment the material at issue is not at all harmful, especially given the limited use it will know.

We don't believe that citizens of Kanawha County are ready to settle for anything less than a complete education with the use of the most modern texts available, nor do we think the best interests of this community are being served by stirring the emotions and raising hysteria in our midst.

As the June 27 school board meeting and the vote to purchase the textbooks neared, groups supporting the textbooks began to issue statements to counter the growing opposition. Selected quotations from various national, state and local groups are indicative of the wide range of support for the language arts textbooks by members of the establishment community.

Commenting on the relationship between school and society, the Charleston Y.W.C.A. Board of Directors by majority action, wrote in a letter to Superintendent Underwood that "individual freedom and intellectual growth are threatened when censorship is at issue."<sup>34</sup> The National Council of Teachers of English responded to the question of whether citizens or professional educators should determine the content of educational programming by quoting from their policy statement from The Student's Right to Read. They said in part:

The community that entrusts students to the care of an English teacher should also trust that teacher to exercise professional judgment in selecting or recommending books. . . . The English teacher is better qualified to choose and recommend books for his classes than a person not prepared in the field.<sup>35</sup>

The Charleston Branch of the National Association for the

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<sup>34</sup>Correspondence between Mary Lee Bond, President of the Y.W.C.A. Board of Directors and Dr. Kenneth E. Underwood dated June 21, 1974.

<sup>35</sup>Correspondence between the National Council of Teachers of English and Dr. Kenneth E. Underwood dated June 25, 1974.

Advancement of Colored People unanimously supported the purchase of the language arts textbooks in the following statement on the role of the school in society:

We believe that adoption and subsequent purchase of these texts and their conscientious use will not only insure an upward social and economic mobility of Americans, which is largely depended upon their ability to get and use a quality education, but will help to accelerate America's goal--a multi-racial society, free of stereotypes, rejoicing in the variety of all its people, dedicated to developing the full potential of each of them, blind to no one.<sup>36</sup>

Addressing itself in part to the issue of what should be included in the curriculum, the West Virginia Human Rights Commission's press release supported the multi-cultural, multi-ethnic content of the language arts textbooks:

There has been criticism of the explicit character of some of the writings dealing with Blacks. A thorough examination of these portions reveal that they represent candid portrayals of the lives of a significant number of Blacks today. We believe this to be a positive rather than a negative attribute as it is essential that the educational system not turn its back on consequential issues but deal with them with honesty and thoroughness.

Traditionally, teaching materials have been monumentally deficient in the area of Black studies. This Commission is excited by the prospect that students will be exposed to voices from the past, from the ghetto and from other important areas of the Black experience. . . .<sup>37</sup>

The debate over the books was becoming highly charged and emotional. Individuals supporting the texts indicated that they were

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<sup>36</sup>Correspondence between Ms. Corrine Davis, Secretary of the Charleston Branch of the NAACP and the President of the Kanawha County Board of Education dated June 26, 1974.

<sup>37</sup>Press release by the West Virginia Human Rights Commission, June 26, 1974.

afraid to come forward and take a stand for fear of personal or property damage.<sup>38</sup>

In response to the statement of support previously issued by the ten Charleston area ministers representing Catholics, Jews and most mainline American protestant churches, Rev. Darrell Moore of the Washington Street Church of Christ and husband of Board member Alice Moore, commented that, "As a minister I believe their position is a shame to the name of God, an insult to our policemen, a discredit to our nation, and a disgrace to equal presentation of two sides of an issue in educational materials."<sup>39</sup> On June 26 twenty-seven ministers organized by Rev. Ralph Green, assistant pastor of Elkview Baptist Church, endorsed the following statement:

While there is much good in the textbooks that the Board of Education for Kanawha County is considering, there is also much that is immoral and indecent and thus, we object to their being used in our school system.<sup>40</sup>

Rev. Green, while issuing the statement, urged parents to express their concern and attend the school board meeting. Seven members of the Dunbar Ministerial Association issued a statement protesting the purchase of the textbooks saying: "We wish to go on public record as opposing the acceptance by the Kanawha County Board of Education of the

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<sup>38</sup>Charleston Daily Mail, "Book Endorsement Gets Reactions in Controversy," June 26, 1974.

<sup>39</sup>The Charleston Gazette, "Texts' Endorsement Blasted by Minister," June 26, 1974.

<sup>40</sup>The Charleston Gazette, "27 Ministers Join to Oppose Texts," June 27, 1974.

proposed textbooks that contain materials offensive to religion, morals, patriotism and common decency."<sup>41</sup>

Both The Charleston Gazette and the Charleston Daily Mail carried strong endorsements of the language arts textbooks in their editorials on June 27. The Gazette editorial responded to the PTA Council's charge that the textbooks portrayed blacks as illiterate slum dwellers by observing:

. . . It is hard to imagine Charleston's NAACP approving textbooks that typecast blacks. Nay, it is impossible to imagine this organization embracing so unnatural a role.

Additionally, it is hard to believe that 10 ministers, who serve every influential and numerically significant religious denomination in the Charleston area, from Catholic to Baptist, would extol textbooks likely to damage the mind or psyche of any public school enrollee.<sup>42</sup>

The Daily Mail, after reviewing the textbooks and talking with the Kanawha County English consultants, formed the following two conclusions:

1. If by some calculated interaction between inspiring teachers and encouraging parents open-minded students could be guided into this reading experience, they would gain far more than they could possibly lose.

2. For all of its sincerity and deep concern, the controversy over these texts is often niggling and hyperventilated. Speaking personally and thus subjectively, with liberty to eliminate perhaps a dozen examples, we find them an invitation to learning and lasting pleasure.<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>41</sup>The Charleston Gazette, "Dunbar Ministers Hit Books," June 27, 1974.

<sup>42</sup>The Charleston Gazette, "Intellectual 'Bite' Can't Hurt," June 27, 1974.

<sup>43</sup>Charleston Daily Mail, "With Exceptions Noted, A Treasury in Reading," June 27, 1974.

ing that contrary to rumor the meeting was not a public hearing and that only those delegations who had formally requested permission to speak would be heard by the Board.

Most of the audience was opposed to the textbooks carrying hand-lettered signs and banners that said so. Sheets of paper were passed through the crowd asking them to sign their name and indicate who they were representing. The Board minutes of this meeting included thirteen typed pages of names of those in attendance. The vast majority of names also carried a reference to their stance on the textbooks. Samples of notations under the column labeled "Representing" included the following:

Representing--

family against textbooks  
 children and church (against textbooks)  
 all young people  
 for God and country  
 all Christians and family  
 against approval of the books  
 against communism  
 church, home, country, and school  
 representing myself and children whom we don't want reading  
 this trash  
 honor, decency and standards  
 Jesus, King of Kings  
 souls, minds and protection of six and thousands of other  
 children  
 United States, Democracy and God  
 family, Christ, nation, decency and home  
 against, in God's name  
 my family, my God and my country  
 concerned parents against this trash  
 God first, country next, fellow man, love of neighbors  
 and myself

The rural, fundamentalist churches played an important role in generating concern over the textbooks. Church buses were used to bring parents to the Board meeting and the majority of the delegations speak-

## THE DECISION TO PURCHASE - JUNE 27, 1974

Tension prior to the school board meeting was very high. School officials were notified that groups opposed to the textbooks would arrive by bus loads. To accomodate the anticipated crowd that could easily overflow the space for 150 people in the Board of Education Auditorium, approximately 350 additional chairs were set up in the hallways. Television monitors and loudspeakers were located so that spectators inside the building could see and hear the proceedings.

People began arriving at 5 p.m. for the 7:30 meeting. All available space inside the building was quickly taken. Approximately half the crowd of almost one thousand stood outside the building during the four-hour meeting peering in windows and doors while the rain poured down on them.

The Charleston Daily Mail in that evening's edition had announced that three of Kanawha County's five Board of Education members thought that with few exceptions the English textbooks were excellent. The audience, many of whom had read this news article prior to the meeting, felt that Board of Education members had already made up their minds to purchase these books and that the notion that the Board meeting was a public hearing on the issue was a farce.

In fact there was some substance to these feelings. Some Board members in the face of a swelling protest had agreed previously to introduce a resolution calling for the removal of some supplemental texts in return for support of the over three hundred remaining books. School Board President Albert Anson, Jr. opened the meeting by announc-

ing before the Board opposed to the books were fundamentalist ministers. An analysis of the attendance rosters lists persons representing over thirty rural folk churches such as the Open Door Apostolic Church, the Spradling Gospel Tabernacle, the Sattes Community Church and the Ohley Missionary Baptist Church.

Of the sixteen persons who addressed the Board, ten were in favor of purchasing the books and six opposed this action. Board members then questioned the speakers, a privilege Mrs. Moore used extensively interspersing comments about her feelings toward the books in her questions. The atmosphere was emotional and debate was heated. Several times the communications process deteriorated into a three-way shouting match between the audience, the speaker and Mrs. Moore. Wild applause generally greeted those speaking against the books while those in favor were interrupted, booed and jeered. President Anson threatened to clear the room on several occasions if quiet and order was not maintained but he never carried out his threat.

After nearly three hours of testimony Board member Russell L. Isaacs, President of Hecks, a Charleston based corporation listed on the New York Stock Exchange, moved: "That the Board move forward with the purchase of the basic textbooks as adopted by the Board on April 11, 1974."<sup>44</sup> Dr. Stansbury, the Director of Comprehensive Health Planning for the Governor's Office of State and Federal Relationships, seconded the motion. Mr. Kinsolving made a motion to table Isaac's motion and was seconded by Mrs. Moore. The motion to table was defeated three-two

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<sup>44</sup>Kanawha County School Board Minutes, June 27, 1974.

with Moore and Kinsolving casting the two yes votes, setting the tone for the rest of the voting.

When the Board returned to the original question to authorize the purchase of the basic language arts texts, Dr. Stansbury asked to make a statement focusing on the relationship between the input of parents and professional educators in curricular decision-making.

Dr. Stansbury said:

. . . I think it is healthy for parents to be interested in the schools and what is taught in the textbooks. I have also developed a great respect for the competency and ability of the teachers in Kanawha County Schools. However, I feel very strongly that we should never turn over all the decisions in education to professional educators exclusively. I think we should work together. We should make the final decisions after hearing parents like we have tonight, and I hope you will all appreciate what a difficult decision we are facing. . . . I think we have to respect each other for our own opinions. In other words, when we do disagree let's agree to disagree. I am prepared to vote for this motion for that reason.

Then Mrs. Moore took the floor arguing that the school board would be violating the spirit if not the letter of the school laws of West Virginia by approving basal textbook series which in her opinion undermined the "teaching, fostering and perpetuating of the ideals, principals and spirit of Americanism. . . ."45 Mrs. Moore reiterated the position she had taken during the 1969-70 sex education controversy--that infringement of a person's belief that the Bible is God's infallible word was as much a violation of religious neutrality as prayer in school--as an additional reason for opposition to the language arts

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<sup>45</sup>School Laws of West Virginia, (Charlottesville: The Michie Company, 1975), 18-2-9, p. 11.

textbooks. She said:

If a simple song cannot be sung in public schools that states, 'We thank God for everything,' because it violates the separation of Church and State, then most assuredly books that teach that the story of Daniel and the Lion's Den is nothing more than a fable, violates the separation of Church and State and for this reason this Board should oppose the approval of this basic text series.<sup>46</sup>

Following Mrs. Moore's warning that the Board could face a suit for violation of neutrality of religion and West Virginia state law is mandate to teach Americanism, Matthew Kinsolving commented that no matter how the Board voted, the school system would be the loser because of polarization in the community over this issue.

Basically agreeing with Kinsolving's earlier defeated motion to table any action, Board member-elect F. Douglas Stump entered into the dialogue. In his previous commentary at the May 23 Board meeting, attended primarily by teachers and those in favor of the books, Mr. Stump had indicated complete support of professional teacher judgment in textbook selection. However this time in the face of a large, hostile crowd, he made the following statement:

. . . My recommendation is that we continue this year with our present textbooks--that we keep this same textbook committee from a professional status--they are good, fine and very qualified people but that we add to this committee the representation that has been missing--parents appointed by the Board--representatives and the Board must set the guidelines so that we can bring in March or April of next year a sound recommendation of textbooks that is needed. . . I believe the Board is under an obligation to add these units before they can feasibly make a proper recommendation and vote for the adoption of these.<sup>47</sup>

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<sup>46</sup>Kanawha County School Board Minutes, op. cit., p. 20.

<sup>47</sup>Ibid., pp. 20-21.

Following the comments of Stansbury, Moore, Kinsolving and Stump, the vote on the original motion to purchase the basic textbooks as adopted by the Board on April 11, 1974 was called for. The motion passed by a three-two margin with Stansbury, Isaacs and Anson voting "Aye," and Moore and Kinsolving "No."

The Board then turned its attention to the question of the language arts supplementary textbooks. Dr. Stansbury moved:

That this Board approve the purchase, with the following exceptions, the supplemental texts adopted previously on April 11, 1974. These exceptions are:

INTERACTION SERIES

1. Fictional Autobiography 2
2. Autobiography 2
3. Reader's Theatre
4. Essays in Generalization 2
5. Essays in Theory
6. Poetry
7. Sonnets
8. Hero/Anti Hero (from the books for elective courses)<sup>48</sup>

Isaacs seconded the motion. Mr. Kinsolving attempted to amend the motion to defer the supplemental list for additional review to a textbook committee made up of 50 percent teachers and 50 percent parents. His amendment was defeated three-two. The question was called for on the original motion and carried three-two.

The Charleston Daily Mail's front page article on the school board meeting published earlier that day had been prophetic. The voting on every motion had been three-two as predicted with Moore and Kinsolving in the minority. The resolution to delete what were considered to be most objectionable texts was intended to quiet the

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<sup>48</sup>Ibid., p. 21.

protest and increase public support for the over three hundred remaining books.

Immediately following this series of motions approving the purchase of all but eight books from the Interaction Series, two additional motions were made, seconded and unanimously carried. The first by Dr. Stansbury was that the administration should immediately develop guidelines for the future inclusion of parents on textbook selection committees. The second by Mrs. Moore proposed a textbook advisory committee made up of 75 percent parents and 25 percent teachers that would make recommendations to the adoption committee made up of 25 percent parents and 75 percent teachers with the Board developing guidelines to be used by the committees in future textbook selection.<sup>49</sup>

#### THE SUMMER OF 1974

After the June 27 school board meeting and the Board's decision to purchase all but eight of the books, the public sentiment in Charleston was that the "Great Textbook Controversy" had ended. The Charleston Daily Mail in its July 2, 1974 editorial was concerned with assessing the dividends of the controversy as if it were all in the past. This editorial, without proposing solutions, noted that school systems should be seeking answers to questions such as "What is the role of parents in the educative process?," "Whom should the school serve?," and "What should be included in the curriculum?" to avoid future controversies. In part the editorial said:

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<sup>49</sup>Ibid., p. 22.

It will be a long time before anyone in some administrative capacity for the public schools takes it for granted that the parents and taxpayers who meet all the costs have no other role in the educational process.

It will be as long before the school system proceeds casually along the line that its constituents are all of one mind on what they expect from the instructional program and equally satisfied with what they get.

This is the first full-blown textbook controversy to overtake the Kanawha County public schools in many years. It has, as everyone knows by now, many ingredients difficult to sort out--the so-called 'fundamentalists' vs. the so-called 'liberals' (these terms themselves are almost impossible to define), the conservatives vs. the progressives, the parents vs. the teachers, religion vs. humanism, the PTA (for the first time) in an open break with the educational establishment.

Somehow--and not altogether by accident--all this came together in a massive protest whose weight and impact cannot be mistaken. For our part, we thought many of the protestants protested too much and seized upon isolated and unfortunate examples to capitalize upon their advantage. These examples aside, we thought the texts far superior to anything we remember from our own experience in the public schools.

But the meaning of this dispute is clear: If the schools are not to be sacrificed in a running confrontation between this faction and that, they must seek a new consensus on what is their function.

The Charleston Gazette was even more definite that the controversy was over and stated in its July 6 editorial, "Now that the issue is mercifully over. . . ."

Nonetheless letters to the editor indicating disapproval of the textbooks continued to appear in both Charleston newspapers. New fliers were made and circulated throughout the county urging citizen's to "stand up now . . . . let's take the textbooks to court." These fliers, in addition to reprinting excerpts from the textbooks also contained commentaries in large print such as "undermining parents!;"

"Elementary books undermine faith in God and make Bible stories seem like myths!!!;" "State Board of Education in Texas considered Galaxy Series: Scott-Foresman: Unfit for their state. Why did Anson, Isaacs, Stansbury want them?"

In an effort to keep the public informed the Kanawha County Language Arts Textbook Selection Committee displayed the textbooks at the Board of Education Annex during the week of July 8. All interested persons were invited to attend. Mrs. Nell Wood, Chairman of the Textbook Selection Committee, was on hand to answer any questions parents or citizens might have. Mrs. Wood related to this writer that even at this early date visitors to the annex were told that no child would have to read any book that his parents objected to.

Although the school board meeting on July 11, 1974 was quiet and peaceful as far as the textbook protest, the July 14, 1974 Sunday Gazette-Mail carried an article reporting that members of the Kanawha County Board of Education had declined to discuss the possibility that Superintendent Underwood's contract would not be renewed after June 30, 1975. Dr. Underwood was supposedly told to begin looking for another job during an executive session of the Board prior to the meeting on July 11. When asked about the report, member-elect Stump commented:

I'm shocked that that got out but I won't deny it. I simply can't discuss the situation until the superintendent has an opportunity to comment. I know the privilege of an executive session. . . . I was dissatisfied with the superintendent's performance and my two months of working with the board haven't changed that.<sup>50</sup>

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<sup>50</sup>Sunday Gazette-Mail, "Board Ducks Axing Queries," July 14, 1974.

Anson, Stansbury and Isaacs, the same three members who voted to purchase the textbooks, expressed shock at this announcement. In a personal interview Albert Anson, Jr. refused to comment on specific discussion during the executive session but he did verify the accuracy of the Sunday Gazette Mail's account of what transpired.

Many Kanawha County School administrators felt that member-elect Stump played a key role in keeping the textbook controversy alive after the Board's decision to purchase the language arts textbooks. His statement during the June 27 Board meeting led some of those opposed to the books to the conclusion that Stump, after he assumed his school board seat on January 1, 1975, would vote with Moore and Kinsolving to take the books out of the schools for further study. In addition his comments on the superintendent's performance led many to believe that Underwood's contract would also be terminated when Stump took office. The fact that Stump would replace Anson, the school board president, who had voted with the three-two majority, kept alive the notion that a new vote would have a three-two majority disapproving of the controversial texts.

On July 27 a newly formed committee called Christian-American Parents released to the press a prepared statement stating that the purpose of their organization was to "restore traditional American values to our public school system so that our children will have a decent community and world to live in."<sup>51</sup> Their first formal activity was to announce a meeting at Charleston's Municipal Auditorium on

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<sup>51</sup>Sunday Gazette-Mail, "Texts Foes to Explain Stand," July 28, 1974.

August 2 for all parents and citizens opposed to the language arts textbooks to brief them on progress made in the movement to keep the texts out of the classroom. Area clergymen were asked to provide church buses to transport citizens to the meeting.<sup>52</sup> Both the August 1 Daily Mail and the August 2 Charleston Gazette carried paid advertisements for the "mass rally for those opposed to the texts."

The Rev. Harold Roberts, president of Christian-American Parents, wrote letters to Kanawha County Board of Education members Isaacs and Stansbury asking them to resign. A carbon copy of the certified letter was also sent to Kanawha County Court members. In this letter Rev. Roberts wrote that this parents' group "which claims fourteen thousand members in Kanawha County," was investigating procedures for the removal of Isaacs and Stansbury from the school board.<sup>53</sup>

At the August 2 rally the Christian-American Parents organization called for a boycott of all Heck's, Inc. businesses in an effort to force Board member Isaacs, president of Heck's, Inc., to either resign from the school board or change his stand on approval of the textbooks. A newspaper account of this rally reported:

Encouraged by shouts of 'Amen, brother,' Harold Roberts, president of the group, told the audience approval of the textbooks by a majority of the school board proved parents have no say in what their children learn in school.

'We who furnish the money were finally made aware that we have no voice in what our children are taught. The board members who voted in favor of the textbooks have insulted us. . . . By adoption of these books they have

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<sup>52</sup>Ibid.

<sup>53</sup>Charleston Daily Mail, "Resign? No," August 2, 1974.

admitted that West Virginia has low moral standards,' Roberts said.<sup>54</sup>

During the meeting \$719.75 was collected in Colonel Sanders chicken buckets passed through the audience. Rev. Roberts said the money would be used to pay for legal fees and establish county-wide offices to fight against the textbooks. The Rev. Charles Quigley, minister of education for the Cathedral of Prayer Baptist Church announced the September 3 opening of a Christian School as another means of defeating the textbooks. Commenting that enrollment was already close to seventy-five, he said, "We will offer all subjects required by law. We will teach history as 'His Story.' We will start where the Bible starts, not with a bunch of monkeys or tadpoles."<sup>55</sup>

Saturday, August 3 pickets were reported at Heck's stores across the county. The protest continued throughout the week with pickets carrying signs such as "Let's Take the Textbooks to Court," "Boycott Heck's" and "Are Bible Stories a Myth? President of Heck's Thinks So." In a biting editorial on August 8, 1974 the Charleston Daily Mail's editorial staff commented on the Heck's boycott:

It is a non sequitur. It doesn't follow at all. Heck's didn't choose the school texts. It bears no responsibility for the wisdom or the folly of the choice. It is simply an innocent bystander to the dispute. It should not intervene, and if it did it would surely be censured for meddling in matters which are none of its business.

What are these righteous people trying to tell us, then-- that in their insistence upon their right to select the texts they have abandoned persuasion, petition and election as use-

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<sup>54</sup>Charleston Daily Mail, "Parents Group Planning Boycott, Book Campaigns," August 3, 1974.

<sup>55</sup>ibid.

less and rely instead upon coercion as an acceptable weapon?

Saturday, August 17, 1974, Christian-American Parents moved their protest to the Governor's Mansion. Several adults and children carrying hand-made signs and banners, gathered in front of the mansion to demonstrate against the textbooks. This group also began running an advertisement in the newspaper soliciting contributions of time and money under the guise of a "textbook opinion poll." Readers were asked to respond to the following questions and mail their replies to Christian-American Parents. The advertisement read:

Are you opposed to the textbooks?	_____ Yes	_____ No
Are you in favor of Boycotting Hecks?	_____ Yes	_____ No
Will you help Boycott Hecks?	_____ Yes	_____ No
Can you help make phone calls?	_____ Yes	_____ No
Can you help distribute petitions?	_____ Yes	_____ No
Can you help distribute hand bills?	_____ Yes	_____ No
Will you help financially?	_____ Yes	_____ No <sup>56</sup>

On August 24, 1974 for the second Saturday in a row, thirty to fifty picketers showed up in front of the Governor's Mansion to protest the textbooks. The demonstrators waved signs at motorists on Kanawha Boulevard, a main thoroughfare, and waited to see if West Virginia's Governor, Arch A. Moore, Jr., would talk to them. One of the protesters commented, "We believe the Governor ought to take a stand. Maybe he can't get the books out of the schools, but as the leader of our state, he should be made to take a stand one way or the other."<sup>57</sup>

On August 27, 1974 a new book protest group called Concerned

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<sup>56</sup>Advertisement in the Charleston Daily Mail, August 20, 1974.

<sup>57</sup>Sunday Gazette-Mail, "Antitext Group Still Picketing," August 25, 1974.

Citizens held rallies in St. Albans and Campbells Creek. The Rev. Darrel Beach, spokesman for the group, said about three hundred persons attended the Campbells Creek meeting and two hundred to three hundred in St. Albans where both groups voted overwhelmingly to boycott the opening of school on September 3, 1974. The next morning representatives of Concerned Citizens began picketing for the removal of the language arts textbooks in front of the Board of Education offices in Charleston. A mid-morning meeting with Superintendent Underwood produced no resolution to their concerns.

During the months of July and August, school officials had been quietly trying to provide an opportunity for parents to review the textbooks. Attempts were made to counter rumors circulating through the community about the content of these books without stirring up another controversy. Discussions between top school administrators and community leaders had been held in an informal manner. The general consensus seemed to be that a wide spread protest against the textbooks would never get off the ground. School officials were totally unprepared for what was to happen when school opened on September 3.

## Chapter 5

### BOYCOTTS AND VIOLENCE - SEPTEMBER TO NOVEMBER 8, 1974

#### THE SCHOOL BOYCOTT BEGINS

On Labor Day, September 2, 1974 more than two hundred persons attended a rally sponsored by Concerned Citizens at Campbells Creek Community Park to discuss plans for boycotting Kanawha County Schools. Rev. Marvin Horan, a self-taught clergyman and spokesman for the group, asked the crowd to "pray for victory over those corruptible books . . . when the books go out, the children go in."<sup>1</sup> The protest which had initially been directed at specific quotations or selections from the textbooks, was now expanded to an expression of disapproval of "the books." Community opinion was frequently split as for or against the books, failing to recognize the diversity of content represented in the 325 textbook titles.

During the late summer rallies new fliers, containing purported excerpts from the textbooks, had been circulated in the community by protest groups. These fliers contained selections not only from the eight books that were deleted from the approved purchase list at the June 27 Board meeting but also excerpts from other books, such as Kate Millet's Sexual Politics, that were never a part of the language arts adoption. For example one part of the flier contained a page from a

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<sup>1</sup>The Charleston Gazette, "More than 2,000 Plan School Boycott," September 3, 1974.

book identified as Facts About Sex for Today's Youth dealing with sexual intercourse. This selection showed a picture of the male sex organ and defined several "street words" for vagina with the admonition that although these words are not polite, they are sometimes used and there is no need to be embarrassed by not knowing what they mean. Another part of the flier contained a pictorial demonstration of how to use a rubber.<sup>2</sup>

These fliers, containing blatantly sexual material that had nothing to do with the language arts textbooks adopted in Kanawha County, served to fuel the flames of the controversy. The shock in the community was tremendous and rumors about the content of textbooks were abundant.

In the first public announcement of the school year regarding the textbooks, Kanawha County Superintendent of Schools, Dr. Kenneth Underwood, said that all students would be taking the controversial language arts books home to their parents during the first week of school, so each parent could have an opportunity to review these materials first hand. The reasoning on the part of the administration behind this move was that most parents would find nothing objectionable in any of the books, and thus armed with first hand knowledge these parents would form an effective contingent of informed citizens to counteract rumors circulating in the community. The idea backfired, however, when some parents, unable to locate many of the selections

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<sup>2</sup>This flier put out by Concerned Parents protesting textbooks was printed as a public service by the American Opinion Bookstore, Reedy, WV 25270.

reprinted in the protest fliers, accused the school administration of sending home the wrong books.

Tuesday morning, when students returned to their classes to begin the new school year, school officials estimated that the textbook boycott, organized by Concerned Citizens, resulted in an attendance drop of about 20 percent of the projected 1974-75 county-wide enrollment of forty-five thousand. On the opening day of school the Charleston city schools and those in the western part of the county reported near normal attendance while the Upper Kanawha Valley--Campbells Creek and Cabin Creek areas--reported considerable absenteeism. Boycott activity required Kanawha County Sheriff's deputies to respond to several calls at schools where parents were picketing and blocking the entrance of students, teachers and school buses. Most protesters were peaceful, walking back and forth in front of the school buildings carrying signs such as: "I believe in God and the Bible," "We Care Enough To Want The Very Best," "Even Hillbillies Have Constitutional Rights," and "When The Books Go Out, The Kids Come Back."

By Wednesday, September 4, 1974 the boycott was in full force. All of the coal mines in Kanawha and some in Boone and Fayette Counties, affecting more than 4500 workers, were shut down when miners refused to cross picket lines manned by textbook protesters. Many miners, expressing sympathy with the protest, joined the ranks of the picketers and in turn put up picket lines at other businesses and industries across the Kanawha Valley. By late that afternoon the Kanawha County coal operators had received a temporary restraining order from U. S. District Judge Dennis R. Knapp prohibiting members of Concerned Citizens and

other protesters from picketing coal mines.

One of the hardest hit locales was the Belle area with the Kroger grocery store and Walker Machinery Company, Inc., a Caterpillar equipment dealer, virtually shut down by anti-textbook picket lines. Additional protesters picketed the bus garages at Elkview, Dickinson and East Bank preventing many school buses from making their scheduled runs. Other buses did not operate because drivers refused to go out either out of fear for their safety or in sympathy with the protest. Sheriff's deputies were again called to several county schools where protesters were interfering with normal operations. As to what could be expected in future days, one protester commented, "Before the week is out everything in this valley is going to be out even down to Greyhound."<sup>3</sup>

Attendance figures for Wednesday remained at 80 percent despite the increased protest activities. Several parents who sent their children to school received anonymous threats of personal harm if they did not keep their children out in support of the boycott. Superintendent Underwood, announcing that the county would seek an injunction to prevent persons from blockading bus garages and school entrances said, "I think we have no choice. The idea of holding people out of school when parents want to get their children in is ridiculous."<sup>4</sup>

That same evening Rev. Marvin Horan proclaimed to a group of two hundred protesters from behind the pulpit at Kanawha Two-Mile

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<sup>3</sup>Charleston Daily Mail, "Miners Go Out in Supporting Books' Boycott," September 4, 1974.

<sup>4</sup>ibid.

Mountain Mission that, "God has revealed to me a victory speech!"<sup>5</sup> in the battle against the textbooks. Rev. Horan, spokesman for Concerned Citizens, was emerging as a major leader of those fighting the controversial new books. The audience cheered and applauded his forty-five minute speech including comments such as, "If somebody in our group goes to jail for doing something good, then we all go to jail."<sup>6</sup>

The Thursday, September 5, 1974 editorial in The Charleston Gazette took a strong stand against the picketers and boycotters disrupting operations in Kanawha County and urged the school system to seek legal action against those persons. The editorial stated in part:

As for the absurdity of mature men -- United Mine Workers -- leaving their jobs and running around the county closing up businesses in no way related to the school board, teachers, students, or the textbook controversy, perhaps the compulsory school law ought to be changed and made applicable to them, to teach them civility and what living in a democracy is supposed to be all about. Assuredly Arnold Miller, the UMW president, condemns such bizarre misconduct.

Antitextbook partisans are engaged in reprehensible behavior that violates common sense, common decency, and the common law.

Some authorities promptly should go to court to obtain an injunction that will hold these partisans accountable for their misdeeds. Both parents who break the law keeping their children out of school and leaders of the illicit boycott who urge parents to break the law should be required to explain their wrongdoing in a court of law.

Neither the editorial nor the coal operators' temporary restraining order diminished the strength of the boycott on Thursday.

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<sup>5</sup>Charleston Daily Mail, "'The Flock' Certain of Victory," September 5, 1974.

<sup>6</sup>*Ibid.*

Miners in Kanawha County and some in Boone and Fayette Counties stayed off the job. Coal companies claimed that miners were attempting to use social and economic disruption to force the Board of Education to change its stand on the textbooks, estimating the cost of the walkout to coal companies at \$250,000 a day.<sup>7</sup> Others intimated that these wildcat strikes were an effort to lower coal stockpiles prior to the expiration of the current United Mine Workers contract in November of 1974.

Despite these intimations and being named in the temporary restraining order, the United Mine Workers claimed that they had nothing to do with the walkout and officially denounced the protest. Bernie Aronson, press secretary to UMW President Arnold Miller, issued the following statement:

This has nothing to do with labor trouble or coal mining. We are outraged that people who have private concerns which have nothing to do with coal miners would deprive miners of their wage earnings over an issue that has no bearing on coal miners' work. We expect and call on the men to go back to work and ignore this foolishness.<sup>8</sup>

Both old and new sites were affected by boycott activities. Walker Machinery Company remained shut down and the president of that company, Richard Walker, threatened disciplinary action against employees who refused to return to work. Appalachian Power Company reported that approximately three hundred construction workers at the John Amos

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<sup>7</sup>The Charleston Gazette, "Miners Hit in Boycott Over Texts," September 5, 1974.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid.

Power Plant in neighboring Putnam County walked off the job after a group of men carrying anti-textbook signs appeared at the plant. Workers also refused to cross picket lines at the Penn Cental Railroad's Dickinson Yard in Charleston.

The Thursday school attendance figures dropped to 76 percent with nearly twelve thousand students out of school. Although Sheriff's deputies were able to clear protesters from the county's seven bus division garages, buses in the East Bank, Sissonville and Dickinson areas did not operate because drivers once again refused to make the scheduled runs.

Protesters appeared at a number of schools in the outlying areas such as Cabin Creek, Campbells Creek and Alum Creek. Parents from across the county continued phoning school officials to complain that children, attending school, had been threatened. Teachers were refused admittance to several school buildings. In response to these protest activities Dr. Underwood said, "It's getting to the point where it's deplorable when people who are supposed to be Christians and anti-Communists resort to mob rule."<sup>9</sup>

In a newspaper interview on Thursday, September 5, with school board members, Alice Moore and Matthew Kinsolving denied any involvement in the school boycott. Mrs. Moore said:

I haven't been involved in this in any way, and I didn't know Mr. Horan (the Rev. Horan, leader of the boycott) until yesterday (Wednesday). I'm not encouraging the boycott.

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<sup>9</sup>Charleston Daily Mail, "School Boycott," September 5, 1974.

I discuss it with people, but I'm a board member and feel it would jeopardize my position on the board to encourage the boycott.

But on the other hand, I sympathize with these people. Where else are they to go and what are they to do? One thousand people stood in the rain during a board meeting and saw the books adopted anyway. What can they do?<sup>10</sup>

Kinsolving also expressed sympathy with the concerns of the protesters but said that he could not condone any violation of the law. Board member-elect Stump, who had urged the Board to delay purchase of the textbooks at the June 27 meeting, offered his suggestion to alleviate the boycott: that the controversial books be removed from the schools for a twenty or thirty day cooling off period during which time children would be sent to school.

Mr. Stump, explaining his proposal, also expressed his attitudes toward the new language arts textbooks by commenting:

I can't see a great amount wrong with the elementary textbooks but I personally, as an individual don't like them. But that's just my position. I wasn't real fond of the ones we had last year, but obviously textbook companies are writing in more modern language today.

I frankly don't see the value of secondary supplemental books. But generally speaking, I don't see a great amount wrong with the basic textbooks. You must remember though that I'm still against those textbooks being in the schools because they were adopted outside the method and procedure of our recommended flow charts for adoption.<sup>11</sup>

To many protesters these comments, by Mrs. Moore, Mr. Kinsolving and member-elect Stump, seemed to indicate that come January of 1975 when

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<sup>10</sup>The Charleston Gazette, "Two Book Foes Deny Fueling School Boycott," September 6, 1974.

<sup>11</sup>ibid.

Mr. Stump would take office, they would have a majority on the school board opposed to the textbooks.

Although on Thursday afternoon Special Circuit Judge John Charnock had granted the Kanawha County Board of Education a preliminary injunction prohibiting persons demonstrating against the textbooks from interfering with the operation of Kanawha County Schools, crowds of protesters appeared at the Dickinson, East Bank and Sissonville bus division garages Friday morning, September 6, 1974. Several buses were prevented from making their runs and three people were arrested at Sissonville. Work stoppages continued at various sites across the Kanawha Valley including the John Amos Power Plant, the Carbide Alloy Plant, the Dupont Belle Plant, Walker Machinery, Penn Central Railroad and the St. Albans Shopping Mall. A joint statement, issued by the Charleston Building and Construction Trades Council and Kanawha Valley Builders Association, asked workers to return to their jobs saying, "This is no part of a labor problem and we aren't taking sides. Citizens may have grievances against the school board but they have other means to settle their grievances."<sup>12</sup>

School attendance Friday remained about the same as it had been all week. In a morning news conference Superintendent Underwood lashed out at the protesters and at Sheriff G. Kemp Melton for failing to see that school buses ran. Commenting that the tactics of the anti-textbook groups reminded him of his childhood "when I read about Hitler and the

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<sup>12</sup>The Charleston Gazette, "Jail Threatened in Books Protest," September 7, 1974.

things he was trying to do,"<sup>13</sup> the superintendent said the Sheriff's Department should seek the assistance of additional law enforcement agencies if they could not get the buses out by themselves. "I've heard Mr. Melton said he doesn't need the state police. If he doesn't, why aren't our buses running?" Underwood continued, "Nothing has made me angrier than to see a group actually intimidate parents and students to the point they won't go to school. If this is American, I guess I am anti-American."<sup>14</sup>

This was the beginning of a two month battle over who had the responsibility for law enforcement during the textbook controversy. Generally there was a close working relationship between the school administration and the Sheriff's Department. In a personal interview with this writer, Sheriff Melton said he did not interpret Underwood's comments as a criticism of his department but rather as a political plea to secure the aid of the West Virginia State Police.

Later that day Rev. Marvin Horan announced that Concerned Citizens had cancelled their plans for a rally at the State Capitol so they could spend the day working with the group's lawyer in an attempt to have a temporary restraining order issued to keep the books out of the schools. In an interview with The Charleston Gazette Rev. Horan said that since businesses and industries in the Upper Kanawha Valley were shut down, he was looking forward to expanding the protest to the western part of the county. He commented:

I suspect by the middle of next week we'll have the

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<sup>13</sup>ibid. <sup>14</sup>ibid.

West side shut down. But I want to say I never instigated this. This book [sic] is a controversial thing. People have called me by the hundreds telling me the west end of the county is next. We'll shut it down all the way to Putnam County. . . . They want us to defeat this book [sic] that's in the school. All I do is sit at the house and people call me. It's the people as a whole that's involved. It's no one person that's instigating this.<sup>15</sup>

Rev. Horan admitted that he hadn't read any of the language arts books in question. He repeatedly referred to the "book" and when asked by the Gazette reporter which "book" this was, he replied, "the ones that are controversial."<sup>16</sup>

Two meetings with school personnel occurred at the Board of Education on Friday while several hundred protesters were lined up in front of the building. Dr. Paul W. Thomas, Associate Superintendent of Business for Kanawha County Schools met with school bus drivers from the Dickinson and East Bank areas and told them they would not be forced to drive their buses if they did not want to. Those choosing not to drive would be placed on temporary leave with substitute drivers hired until they were ready to return to work. In another meeting Deputy Superintendent John Hughes met with twenty-one principals from the Upper Kanawha Valley who asked that use of the new textbooks be delayed until all parents had had an opportunity to review them. These principals from the schools hardest hit by the boycott said that the motivation behind their proposal was to get students back in the classrooms.

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<sup>15</sup>The Charleston Gazette, "Minister Wants Newer 'Flock'," September 7, 1974.

<sup>16</sup>ibid.

On Sunday, September 8, a press release announced that a group called Citizens for Education was being organized to counter the groups opposed to the textbooks and the tactics of the boycotters. Led by L. W. (Lee) Platt of South Charleston, this group set out to encourage persons, supporting the textbooks and the legal right to an education, to make their views known to the school board, the Sheriff's Department and the news media. Mr. Platt said:

Parents who want their children to attend school are fearful for their safety and children have been subject to threats and verbal abuse from the protesters. Opponents of the books are claiming that they are Communist inspired, yet the protesters' actions are certainly not consistent with those of a democratic society.

We believe that it is time for the responsible citizens of Kanawha County to speak out against this outburst of anarchy which has been inspired by individuals who claim to be community and religious leaders.<sup>17</sup>

The second week of school opened quietly on Monday, September 9, 1974. Although attendance remained down at 77 percent, most county school buses were able to make their scheduled runs. Approximately four thousand miners remained off the job and the United Mine Workers District 17 office in Charleston was closed by pickets.

A large group of approximately 250 protesters gathered in front of the State Capitol and moved to the Board of Education offices where they spent the day. Many carried signs expressing their disapproval of the English texts but the crowd remained peaceful. Dr. Underwood met with four spokesmen from this group and expressed a willingness to discuss the new textbooks with both sides. He said he would like to

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<sup>17</sup>Sunday Gazette-Mail, "New Parents Group to Counter Protesters," September 8, 1974.

arrange a meeting with some of those opposed to the books to isolate their concerns rather than trying to deal with "the shotgun approach that everything is bad."<sup>18</sup>

Monday afternoon, Judge Dennis R. Knapp agreed to call in U. S. Marshals to enforce the court prohibitions against further attempts to close down industry in the Kanawha Valley. In the day long contempt of court proceedings against several women protesters, Judge Knapp commented, "If this continues you will create a situation where violence is going to occur and someone's going to get hurt. If you don't use reason, it's going to happen and you'll have someone's blood on your hands."<sup>19</sup>

The Upper Kanawha Valley Mayors Association adopted a resolution calling for a withdrawal of the controversial textbooks and an end to picketing of businesses and industries by opponents of the books until the issue could be settled in the courts. The Charleston Gazette contacted other area mayors to determine their positions on the textbook controversy. South Charleston Mayor J. Alfred Poe, a former school principal, said he had not read the books yet, "but if it has the kind of material that was in the newspaper, then I'm certainly 100 percent against them. I don't think we have to feed our youngsters filth." Dunbar Mayor Frank Leone, a former school teacher, agreed with the Upper Kanawha Valley Mayors' proposal for a cooling off period during

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<sup>18</sup>Charleston Daily Mail, "School Boycott Activity Quieter," September 9, 1974.

<sup>19</sup>The Charleston Gazette, "U. S. Marshals to Enter Dispute," September 10, 1974.

which use of the textbooks would be suspended pending further review. The Mayor of St. Albans said he had not looked at the books but that it was the peoples' right to protest as long as they did not infringe on the rights of others. Charleston Mayor John Hutchinson and Nitro Mayor Bill Gibson failed to respond to repeated phone calls.<sup>20</sup>

#### THE DECISION TO REMOVE THE TEXTBOOKS

Tuesday morning, September 10, 1974 textbook protesters once again prevented many school buses from running. Sheriff Kemp Melton said he had requested state police assistance from Governor Moore but that his request was refused. In a new arena of boycott activity bus drivers employed by the Kanawha Valley Regional Transit Authority (KRT) honored picket lines at their headquarters leaving an estimated eleven thousand KRT customers without transportation. One KRT driver said the "pickets and God" kept him from working.<sup>21</sup>

About five hundred persons, among them miners, ministers and concerned parents, turned out for a noon rally at Coonskin Park near Charleston to plan a demonstration at the Board of Education offices. It was rumored that miners from Pennsylvania and Kentucky were being brought in to help in the fight against the textbooks. One miner said, "They (the outside miners) will have this (the textbook controversy) cleared up in two days or they will tear Charleston apart."<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>20</sup>Ibid.

<sup>21</sup>Charleston Daily Mail, "Public Bus Drivers in Boycott," September 10, 1974.

<sup>22</sup>Charleston Daily Mail, "Miners, Local Ministers, Parents Join

Approximately three hundred protesters were on hand at the Board of Education building throughout the day. School officials met with eight representatives of this group, including Rev. Horan, to try to resolve the conflict. Critics of the textbooks had issued a statement demanding that: 1) all language arts books and supplemental material be removed from the classrooms; 2) that a committee of Board members and representatives of the protest groups be formed to study all books and tapes; and 3) that all people who had been fired as a result of their participation in the boycott be reinstated to their former positions. After many hours of meetings, Superintendent Underwood and representatives from the protesters issued a joint statement saying:

As a result of meetings held jointly between Kanawha County Schools and speakers for Concerned Citizens of Kanawha County this morning and evening we have drafted a proposal that will be submitted to the board of education within 18 hours.

Within this period of time, we hope to have children back in school and everyone back to work.<sup>23</sup>

Meanwhile the dispute between the Kanawha County Sheriff's Department and the West Virginia State Police over law enforcement related to the textbook controversy was growing. Col. R. L. Bonar of the state police said his office had no objections to helping the Sheriff's Department but first a request had to be made that law and order had broken down and that the Sheriff and his deputies could no longer handle the situation without assistance. Sheriff Kemp Melton said he had sent

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in Protest," September 10, 1974.

<sup>23</sup>Joint Statement issued by Kanawha County Schools and Concerned Parents, September 10, 1974.

a telegram to Governor Moore on September 8 urging the Governor to have additional state troopers present in Kanawha County saying that in the event of violence, "I am not certain that the number of men in my department will be sufficient to assure law and order in every area of the county."<sup>24</sup> The Sheriff received no response from the Governor's Office. Repeated phone calls to the Governor's Office and the state police from school officials requesting assistance in emergency situations also produced no results. Norman Yost, Governor Moore's Press Secretary, and Col. Bonar commented that the telegram from Sheriff Melton was insufficient to secure state police intervention since it did not declare that law and order had broken down. "Kemp's telegram did not indicate that things were completely not under control."<sup>25</sup>

Later Tuesday afternoon Governor Moore issued the following statement urging interested parties in the textbook dispute to submit to an arbitration process and noting that the West Virginia State Police would respond to requests for assistance only at his direction:

It is past time for the Kanawha County Board of Education to sit down and measure the gravity of the situation that the textbook problem has caused and is causing the citizens of Kanawha and neighboring counties.

Despite numerous telephone calls, letters and telegrams that have urged me as governor to act in a positive manner, it is difficult for state government to move in a situation where state government itself has no control over the parties or the subject matter involved.

It is evident that the feelings in this protest have

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<sup>24</sup>Western Union Telegram from Sheriff Melton to Governor Moore. A copy was sent to and is in the possession of Dr. Underwood.

<sup>25</sup>The Charleston Gazette, "Behind Text Fight Simmers Another," September 11, 1974.

grown extremely intense. In several instances the safety and welfare of the citizens of the area have been threatened. As governor, I cannot permit threats to persons or to property to be tolerated. The safety and welfare of the citizens of the area will be protected.

The West Virginia State Police at my direction have been increased in the area and directed to monitor the situation. They are immediately available to respond at my direction if the event warrants such action and when authority to act is provided by law. Any violations of the law will be dealt with in a firm manner. However, that in itself does not solve the problem or resolve the issue in this instance.

What is involved here is the welfare of thousands of school children enrolled in the school system of Kanawha County. Their interests are at stake. Therefore, I urge the parties involved to agree to an arbitration process as a fair and unbiased means to resolve this most pressing matter.

I urge all parties to respond affirmatively to this suggestion so that reason and moderation can once again prevail in public education in Kanawha County and the State of West Virginia.

Mature and thoughtful consideration by all citizens is needed now.<sup>26</sup>

Churches and their clergy continued to play an active role in the controversy. Following an address to the Charleston Ministerial Association by Dr. Underwood, the Episcopal clergy of Kanawha County issued the following statement in response to the published pronouncements by several churches opposed to the textbooks. Signed by the nine area clergymen and the Bishop Coadjutor and the Bishop of the Diocese of the State of West Virginia, the statement said:

We the undersigned Episcopal clergy of Kanawha County, do hereby affirm, and support and commend the Kanawha

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<sup>26</sup>Press release, Governor Arch A. Moore, Jr., September 10, 1974.

County Board of Education and its curriculum selection committee for its courageous action in selecting creative and timely textbooks for use in our County School system and we trust the Superintendent of Schools and his staff will persevere in maintaining such high standards of literary knowledge in light of the heated disapproval which is currently being generated by other fellow residents of Kanawha County.

For those who feel that they have responded to a higher authority than man's, we support them in joining such a distinguished group of ancient and modern martyrs and we remind them of the consequences when laws are violated. We affirm that those who choose to stand against the law must stand under the law and its consequences.

We support our judicial system and all law enforcement agencies in guaranteeing the due process of law and order, so that education and commerce can continue uninterruptedly in our county.<sup>27</sup>

After this statement, these ministers were accused of being in favor of everything from "taking the Lord's name in vain to fornication in the halls."<sup>28</sup>

On Wednesday, September 11, 1974, following the action of the Episcopal clergy, the Charleston Ministerial Association called for all persons involved in the textbook controversy to:

. . . specify points of dispute and to discuss them in a reasonable manner so that a solution may be reached according to the normal orderly processes of community government.

We emphasize that nothing less than the educational system is at stake and that reason and calm must prevail or else it will be the children who are hurt the most.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>27</sup>Press release, Episcopal Clergy of Kanawha County, September 10, 1974.

<sup>28</sup>The Messenger, St. Luke's Episcopal Church, September 11, 1974.

<sup>29</sup>The Charleston Gazette, "Board to Get Protest Demands Draft," September 11, 1974.

These statements by the Charleston Ministerial Association and the Kanawha County Episcopal Clergy were countered by resolutions adopted by the Church of Jesus Christ and published as a half page advertisement in both newspapers on Wednesday. These resolutions said in part:

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that parents be advised that to allow their children to read or study these books, or to attend classes where said books are being taught, is not in keeping with the standards of good Christian conduct as set forth in the articles of Faith of our Church and would be considered an offense against God and the Church.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that the Church of Jesus Christ, North Charleston, W. Va. do everything in its power, within the law, to see these textbooks removed from the Kanawha County Schools, knowing that we cannot attend school as long as the books are there, if it means forever.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that we advise our people to stand for their religious convictions, regardless of the sacrifice or the price we might have to pay.

Despite the agreement reached Tuesday between school officials and the Concerned Citizens group, protesters kept children out of schools on Wednesday. Demonstrators appeared at businesses and industries throughout the county and only twenty-one of the forty-six KRT buses ran. All coal mines in Kanawha and Boone Counties remained closed at an estimated loss in production of one hundred thousand tons of coal a day. About three hundred protesters, moving from a rally at the State Capitol complex to the Board of Education offices, successfully demanded that steel workers at an interstate construction site stop work. Loud cheers were heard as the workers left their jobs.

This group met others at the Board office and approximately one thousand persons waited on the streets for official word from the school board on their demands. The crowd set up a loudspeaker system

outside the building where protest leaders gave speeches, sang hymns and prayed. Traffic was tied up as drivers agreeing with the protesters slowed down and honked their horns as they went by.

Because of the crowds and threats of violence, the school board met in private, special session at the Heck's, Inc. offices in downtown Charleston. Following two and one-half hours of deliberation, the Board announced shortly after noon that:

All books of the language arts adoptions will be submitted for review to a committee appointed by the Board of Education and representative of a cross-section of the community. All supplemental texts plus the Galaxy and D. C. Heath Series will be removed from the classroom during the review period. The committee will be requested to complete its assignment within 30 days and make its recommendations to the Board. Board members will serve as ex-officio members of the committee. Each board member and the board member elect will be allowed to appoint three members to the committee and F. Douglas Stump will serve as committee chairman.

It was further agreed that an extension of the 30 days should be granted if necessary.

In good faith the Superintendent immediately ordered the principals to remove the books from the classrooms. All books have been moved from the classrooms.<sup>30</sup>

This agreement was signed by the five Board members, member-elect Stump and Rev. Marvin Horan representing Concerned Citizens. It was hoped that this action would restore calm to the valley and get the students back in school. School board member Alice Moore told the crowd in front of the Board building that the agreement was "more than I ever thought we would accomplish. I think this is the best we can

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<sup>30</sup>Untitled document on file in Superintendent's Office, Kanawha County Schools.

expect."<sup>31</sup> The crowd jeered Mrs. Moore.

#### THE COMPROMISE FAILS TO HALT VIOLENCE

A late night meeting on Wednesday, September 11, at Watt Powell Park, home of the Charleston Charlies baseball team, an estimated one thousand persons decided to reject the Board's offer to remove the books from the classrooms for a review period. Rev. Marvin Horan, whose signature appeared at the bottom of the Board agreement said he changed his mind:

. . . because we were rushed into it too much. . . .  
The people agreed that they aren't going to allow their children to go to school until the books are taken out for good, with out a moratorium. As far as we're concerned, the boycott is 100% on.<sup>32</sup>

By 10:30 Wednesday evening it was obvious that the Board's compromise decision to remove the books was not going to ease the controversy. Over three hundred protesters barricaded the Smith Transfer Company's truck terminal in Belle, throwing rocks, breaking windows and preventing trucks from being dispatched. During the night, all trucking operations were halted at the Kroger Company warehouse in Kanawha City. Thursday police reports also indicated incidents of fighting or rock throwing at a Union 76 bulk plant at Cabin Creek, Walker Machinery in Belle and Pennzoil's Elk Refinery at Falling Rock. Pickets closed mines in Kanawha, Boone, Fayette and Raleigh Counties.

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<sup>31</sup>The Charleston Gazette, "Text Protesters Reject Board's Review Offer," September 12, 1974.

<sup>32</sup>ibid.

Kanawha County School administrators were also forced on Thursday, September 12, to cancel school bus runs in the Upper Kanawha Valley due to threats of violence. Students at East Bank High School were sent home when trouble began brewing at the bus garage there. At Dupont Junior High forty Sheriff's deputies in riot gear were called out when a large crowd began to gather outside the school. George Washington High School in Charleston saw a different turn of events when 1200 students walked out of the school after they were asked to turn in their English books according to the Board agreement. Students said their action was to protest the removal of the books from the classrooms.

The dispute between the Sheriff's Department and the West Virginia State Police continued with Sheriff Kemp Melton commenting that, "We have the East Bank-Belle situation under control now. How much longer we can keep things across this big county under control is questionable. We need help from other lawmen."<sup>33</sup> Superintendent Underwood, agreeing with Sheriff Melton also criticized the state police saying, "Apparently the State Police are not interested in the situation because repeated efforts of the Sheriff and Kanawha County School officials to secure State Police help have not resulted in assistance."<sup>34</sup>

Fearful that the violence associated with the textbook protest would degenerate into anarchy, several Kanawha Valley business and community leaders, following a kick-off gathering for the Charleston Area Chamber of Commerce-Committee of 100 fund raising drive, met with

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<sup>33</sup>Charleston Daily Mail, "50 Deputies Need Help," September 12, 1974.

<sup>34</sup>Charleston Daily Mail, "Violence Threats Continue," September 12, 1974.

Governor Moore to advise him of the seriousness of the situation. The Governor assured the group that although he was following the situation closely, he had no legal authority to have the state police intervene in a labor dispute. In a personal interview Chamber President John Chapman said, "We didn't know the law. We left the meeting recognizing how ignorant we were."<sup>35</sup>

In another meeting Thursday morning between Governor Moore and Sheriff Melton, the request for state police assistance was renewed. Melton reported that Governor Moore had hesitated to permit state police to get involved because of political implications. Melton quoted Moore as saying, "A man could get himself in a box."<sup>36</sup>

By Thursday afternoon fears of violent outbreaks were turning to reality when a man was grazed by a bullet and another man severely beaten during a picket line incident at the Smith Transfer Company. Hundreds of calls saturated the Capitol switchboard from persons who complained of no police protection or expressed fear of harm to life and property. They were told, "We're sorry it's a county problem."<sup>37</sup>

Although state troopers began arriving in Charleston late Thursday afternoon, school officials in consultation with the Sheriff's Department announced that they were closing down the school system for Friday and cancelling all extra-curricular activities for the weekend.

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<sup>35</sup>Statement of John Chapman, President of the Charleston Area Chamber of Commerce, December 16, 1975.

<sup>36</sup>Statement of G. Kemp Melton, Sheriff, December 3, 1975.

<sup>37</sup>Charleston Daily Mail, "Moore, Melton Sniping Catches Public in Middle," September 13, 1974.

Dr. Underwood said, "There's apparently no way that we can have law and order if mobs are ruling and we're extremely afraid somebody will be hurt. The safety of children is our paramount objective."<sup>38</sup>

In a scathing editorial on Friday, September 13, 1974, The Charleston Gazette strongly criticized government officials for failing to provide strong police protection. The editorial stated in part:

How such an incredible circumstance could manifest itself in a civilized community is easily explained. Civil authorities have failed in their sworn duty to protect the people from mobs.

When, as it is inevitable, deaths occur, state and municipal government must share equally in the blame with the handful of religious fanatics who encouraged their venomous followers to reverse with bluster and threat a school textbook decision arrived at in open and democratic fashion by elected representatives. . . .

The issue of the textbooks is lost amidst the competition for acclaim on the part of fundamentalist clergy, a not-too-subtle effort to reduce coal stockpiles, a rebellion of frustrated have-nots, and the exhibitionism of the plainly crazed.

Nonetheless, when the madness has passed, those who must be brought to account are those who first plotted to defy the textbook decision and those who withheld the police presence that would have ended quickly the lawlessness that now rages out of control.<sup>39</sup>

About 9 a.m. Friday morning, Phillip Cochran of Rand was shot in the chest and critically wounded at the United Parcel Service Depot in Rand. William Noel, a leader of Citizens for Education, which supported keeping the textbooks in the schools, was accused of the shoot-

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<sup>38</sup>The Charleston Gazette, "County Schools Closed in Face of Text Fight," September 13, 1974.

<sup>39</sup>The Charleston Gazette, "Strong Police Needed But Cannot Be Found," September 13, 1974.

ing. Noel's lawyer said that he had panicked and fired a gun when he was caught in the middle of an angry mob at the United Parcel Service Depot.<sup>40</sup>

The fact that no law enforcement personnel were in the area when the shooting occurred renewed the dispute between the Governor's Office and the Sheriff's Department over police protection. Governor Moore issued a statement saying, ". . . the responsibility for the mass picketing that is occurring in Kanawha County rests upon the shoulders of the Sheriff and the courts of the county."<sup>41</sup> Echoing the sentiments of many citizens and the Kanawha County Schools' administration, The Charleston Gazette disagreed with Governor Moore's assertion in its Saturday, September 14 editorial which stated:

Continuing acts of violence are the inevitable result of the failure of police to maintain law and order, and this failure can be charged directly to Governor Moore, to his assistant Norman Yost, and to his State Police Superintendent, R. L. Bonar.

Late Friday evening, September 13, 1974, the Rev. Marvin Horan, leader of Concerned Citizens, after meeting with the Upper Kanawha Valley Mayors, once again changed his opinion of the compromise reached earlier in the week with the Board of Education. Rev. Horan said that the agreement to remove the books from the classrooms for review by a citizen committee was fair and under the Concerned Citizens rally cry of "Books out, Children in," protesting parents should send their children back to school on Monday. By 10 p.m. Friday pickets began with-

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<sup>40</sup>The Charleston Gazette, "Man Panicked, Fired Gun, Lawyer Believes," September 14, 1974.

<sup>41</sup>ibid.

drawing from local business and industry. Horan urged all citizens to return to work. The Saturday Charleston Daily Mail carried front page headlines of "'It's Over,' says Book Protest Leader."

On Saturday, September 14 nearly one thousand members of the Kanawha County Association of Classroom Teachers, KCACT, met at Morris Harvey College, under heavy protection from the Charleston City Police and county Sheriff's Department, to discuss action they should take in the textbook controversy. Dr. Underwood addressed the group in a highly emotional speech that urged the teachers to do nothing to disturb the calm that had been in the valley for less than twenty-four hours. He also said that schools would not be re-opened until it was certain that the safety of parents, teachers, students and citizens could be assured. Although the teachers voted against a one-day sick-out in protest of the Board's removal of the textbooks, they did pass a resolution demanding that Governor Moore guarantee the civil rights of all county citizens even if it meant calling out the National Guard.

In a related event Saturday the Board of Directors of the West Virginia Council of Churches issued a prepared statement rebuking the acts of violence and lack of law enforcement that had occurred in association with the textbook controversy. Advancing arguments for open-mindedness and tolerance for different viewpoints, their prepared statement said in part:

It is only by having respect for persons who differ from us and by allowing the maximum opportunity to consider ideas that are sometimes conflicting that our efforts can be imbued with the integrity of the God we profess to serve.<sup>42</sup>

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<sup>42</sup>Press release, West Virginia Council of Churches, September 14,

In a sermon on Sunday, September 15, the Reverend James Lewis, Rector of Saint John's Episcopal Church in Charleston, criticized school board member Alice Moore and protest leader Rev. Horan for condoning the violence associated with the controversy. He said, "Crying that our children must be protected from godless anarchy, they have led their loyal band of Bible carrying, flag waving followers into the streets breaking the very laws they pretend to uphold."<sup>43</sup> The Rev. Lewis also blamed the United Mine Workers for continuation of the textbook protest. He charged that:

Looking for any issue as an excuse to strike, preparing themselves for a big fall strike, the mine workers just joined the bandwagon and called for the books to be banned and burned. Today, it happens to be books, next studded tires, any excuse for a strike. More obscene than any textbooks material is the sight of fundamentalist Bible wavers jumping into bed with the miners who couldn't care less about the issue of the books.<sup>44</sup>

Later that day Dr. Underwood announced that although peace and quiet appeared to have returned, all county schools would remain closed on Monday, September 16, 1974, because of inadequate law enforcement should the protest escalate. Manuel Arvin, Assistant Superintendent of neighboring Boone County, said that all classes in that county were also cancelled indefinitely.

The relative calm achieved over the weekend was shattered Monday as the protest was continued by the miners. With negotiations

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1974.

<sup>43</sup>Sermon delivered by Rev. James Lewis, St. John's Episcopal Church, Charleston, WV, September 15, 1974.

<sup>44</sup>Ibid.

for the new United Mine Workers' contract underway and the strike deadline less than two months away, many analysts saw the continuation of the controversy as an attempt to reduce the industrial coal stockpiles to strengthen the miners bargaining position. Textbooks were at best a secondary issue. According to Richard Hass, Business Editor of the Daily Mail and Bob Adams of the same staff, "The two-week old Kanawha County textbook dispute was transformed today into an outright coal mining strike as miners in four counties resisted the back-to-work appeals of union officials and protest organizers."<sup>45</sup>

On Tuesday, September 17, 1974 schools in Kanawha County reopened but absenteeism remained high in the Upper Kanawha Valley; Boone County Schools remained closed because of the miners' wildcat strikes. Superintendent Underwood indicated that conversations with Charleston Mayor John Hutchinson and Sheriff Kemp Melton had assured him of the safety of students and teachers. Charleston Police Chief, John Bailes, wrote a congratulatory memo to members of the force for their performance in the face of the textbook controversy. Speaking of those who had heckled officers during demonstrations Bailes noted, "Those who attempted that are but puny pimples on the posteriors of police protection."<sup>46</sup>

The re-opening of schools on Tuesday brought out between seven hundred and one thousand textbook protesters to the State Capitol where

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<sup>45</sup>Charleston Daily Mail, "Miners Take Over on Text Picketing," September 15, 1974.

<sup>46</sup>The Charleston Gazette, "Police Skills, in Protest is Cited," September 17, 1974.

they once again decided to reject the compromise decision to remove the textbooks for a thirty-day review period. The Rev. Marvin Horan who has signed the original agreement, then rejected it and then accepted it, was replaced as the protest leader by the Rev. Ezra Graley, part-time pastor of the Summit Ridge Church of God in neighboring Lincoln County and owner of Graley Roofing and Remodeling in St. Albans. At the rally Graley announced, "Personally, I'll eat grass from the State-house lawn and drink water from the Kanawha River before I'll lay down and let those textbooks in the schools."<sup>47</sup>

The protest group left the Capitol grounds and marched to the Board of Education offices, tying up traffic along Washington Street, a main artery in Charleston, for more than fifteen minutes. Upon arriving at the Board offices the demonstrators wrote, "Rejected by the people" on the back of the signed agreement for a thirty-day review period and returned it to school officials with a new list of demands including books out permanently; the withdrawal of all injunctions, federal, state, county and city; reinstatement of all workers without loss of seniority or reprisal; and no reprisals for children absent from school because of the protest. As a postscript, their demands also called for the resignation of Superintendent Underwood.<sup>48</sup> One woman in the crowd, referring to the mob action leading to the earlier compromise agreement with the Board of Education members, laughingly

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<sup>47</sup>Charleston Daily Mail, "Text Protest Renewed at Capitol," September 17, 1974.

<sup>48</sup>Document in possession of Kanawha County Schools officials.

told a companion, "This is what we did the other day and got away with it."<sup>49</sup>

Prior to noon on Wednesday, September 18, 1974, Deputy Superintendent John Hughes met with the Reverends Graley, Hill and Beach representing the group gathered outside the Board of Education offices to hear the school board's response to their new demands. Mr. Hughes point by point explained why each of the demands submitted by the protesters was being rejected and reaffirmed the Board's position to uphold the original agreement for removal of the books for a thirty-day review period. During the meeting with Hughes, Rev. Graley indicated his unwillingness to compromise when he yelled out the window to the crowd below, "I'm with you people all the way, even if I have to be nailed to the cross."<sup>50</sup>

The Rev. Avis Hill, owner of Hill Plumbing Company, and pastor of the Freedom Gospel Mission, appeared with Rev. Graley as a new protest leader, replacing Rev. Horan who was reported to be exhausted. After the meeting with Hughes the three representatives, Graley, Hill and Rev. Darrel Beach, announced to the protesters in front of the building that they rejected the Board's rejection of their demands.

Meanwhile Kanawha Circuit Judge John Goad, who had been appointed to fill a vacancy on the bench less than a week earlier, issued an injunction strictly limiting the number of persons who could gather on Board of Education property to five or less. Although Judge

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<sup>49</sup>Charleston Daily Mail, op. cit., September 17, 1974.

<sup>50</sup>Charleston Daily Mail, "Protesting Parents Tired," September 18, 1974.

Goad instructed Sheriff Melton to make provisions for the arrest of any and all violators, the three to four hundred protesters refused to move from in front of the Board of Education after the injunction was read. Shortly afterwards Charleston Police moved in to enforce the injunction and eleven men, including Rev. Graley and Rev. Hill, were arrested. In contempt of court hearings that afternoon Rev. Graley was sentenced to thirty days in jail and fined \$250. Judge Goad commented, "If you think I've been tough now, wait until the next time. It's going to get worse."<sup>51</sup>

While Wednesday saw schools in Kanawha County re-opened for the second day in a row, schools in Boone County remained closed and some buses in Fayette County were unable to make their runs. Picketing at area mines intensified and protesters once again showed up at scattered businesses in Kanawha County. Rev. Wilburn Campbell, President of the Executive Board of the West Virginia Diocese of the Episcopal Church, and J. D. Moore, 1974-75 President of the Charleston Area Chamber of Commerce, in separate statements called on governmental agencies to maintain strict law enforcement during the dispute. Arnold Miller, President of the United Mine Workers Union issued a prepared statement urging miners to return to work and denying reports that the miners involvement was an excuse to reduce coal stockpiles. Miller said, "The union cannot tolerate any weakening of its position during sensitive national negotiations because of the actions of a few."<sup>52</sup>

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<sup>51</sup>Charleston Daily Mail, "Book Protesters Arrests Continue." September 19, 1974.

<sup>52</sup>Charleston Daily Mail, "Miller's Return to Work Appeal

Thursday, September 19, 1974 appeared to be a lull in the boycott. Boone County Schools re-opened and attendance in Kanawha County returned to near normal. Lee Platt, founder of a pro-textbook group called Citizens for Education, announced the formation of a new group called the Kanawha Coalition for Quality Education (KCQE). In a five point statement on KCQE, Mr. Platt said that the group supported: law enforcement to insure the right of every child to an education; return of the textbooks to the classrooms; the philosophy of the Textbook Selection Committee; the professional integrity of teachers; and enforcement of the rights of students.

#### THE TEXTBOOK REVIEW COMMITTEE

September 20 - September 30, 1974

By Friday morning September 20 picketing activity had come to a virtual standstill and some miners who had been off the job for nearly three weeks were able to return to work. School attendance reached 93 percent, a figure above the 1973-74 average daily attendance of 92 percent and the highest attendance figure of the 1974-75 school year. Board member-elect F. Douglas Stump, chairman of the citizens Textbook Review Committee, announced that the first committee meeting would be on Monday, September 23, 1974. Although the names of the three committee members appointed by each Board member and Mr. Stump were not released, Mr. Stump said he felt all segments of the county would be represented. "There's youth on the committee, retirees are

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Ignored By Most," September 19, 1974.

on the committee, there are people who are civic leaders, there are mothers and there are representatives of all segments of the economic ladder."<sup>53</sup>

Weekend rallies by anti-textbook groups showed signs of dis-sention among the movement's leadership. At a Saturday rally at Watt Powell Park, attended by five hundred persons, the Rev. Graley urged the crowd to continue to stay off their jobs and keep their children out of schools. Rev. Avis Hill and Rev. Marvin Horan favored returning to work and schools while legally challenging the use of the books. The Rev. Darrel Beach, who had arranged the meeting, said after the meeting that the clergymen associated with the anti-textbook protest would "hold a preachers' meeting soon" to iron out their differences.<sup>54</sup>

On Sunday, September 22, nearly five hundred persons showed up at the State Capitol for a rally of Christian-American Parents, an anti-textbook splinter group of Concerned Citizens, led by the Rev.'s Graley and Quigley. Rev. Quigley addressed the crowd first saying he felt the county should be closed down but that because of the dissent in their ranks there did not seem to be much point in it. Rev. Graley called for a voice vote for support of his leadership and urged the crowd "to be man and woman enough" to continue the boycott by staying off their jobs and keeping their children out of school.<sup>55</sup>

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<sup>53</sup>The Charleston Gazette, "Text Panel to Start Work," September 20, 1974.

<sup>54</sup>Sunday Gazette-Mail, "Protest Factions Remain at Odds," September 22, 1974.

<sup>55</sup>The Charleston Gazette, "Continued Boycott Urged," September 23, 1974.

At a Monday morning rally at the State Capitol, Rev. Graley announced that the anti-textbook group would begin receiving support from outside groups. The Hard Core Parental Group, A Louisiana anti-sex education organization claiming followers in all fifty states, volunteered to send food, supplies and cash to aid in the fight against the textbooks. Saying, "God is sending us a man who has won civil rights cases," Rev. Graley indicated that the protest group would also receive free legal service from James McKenna, lawyer for the Washington, D. C. based Heritage Foundation.<sup>56</sup>

Although attendance was near normal and pickets had left most county sites by Monday, September 23, the protest movement was still active. That morning Mrs. Moore announced that she would not appoint representatives to the textbook committee. Although she had originally supported citizen review of the textbooks and had told protesters that it was the best they could expect, Mrs. Moore now questioned the process. Board members Anson, Isaacs and Stansbury had appointed solidly pro-textbook citizens to the committee while Stump and Kinsolving had appointed neutral representatives. According to Mrs. Moore this action by those who had voted to purchase the books led to a situation where the pro-book forces would win if any one of Stump's or Kinsolving's appointees sided with them. Mrs. Moore commented, "I have people who would be willing to serve on the committee, but why should I ask them to waste their time."<sup>57</sup> The organizational meeting of the Textbook

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<sup>56</sup>Charleston Daily Mail, "Cash, Aid Promised Text Group," September 23, 1974.

<sup>57</sup>Charleston Daily Mail, "Alice Moore Won't Select Reviewers,"

Review Committee originally scheduled that evening was delayed indefinitely because of this action.

A special afternoon school board meeting was called on Tuesday, September 24. One hundred and fifty people, mostly textbook protesters and plain clothes policemen, attended this meeting where a large part of the discussion centered on Mrs. Moore's unwillingness to appoint her three members to the Textbook Review Committee. Open hostility was apparent between Mrs. Moore and member-elect Stump. She accused him of not being truthful to her by not appointing the Rev. Charles Meadows to the committee after he had indicated he would. Following Mrs. Moore's accusations, Mr. Stump called for a vote of confidence on his chairing the Review Committee saying the Board certainly would not want a liar acting in this capacity. The Board, including Mrs. Moore, gave him a unanimous endorsement.

Wednesday morning, Mrs. Moore agreed to name her representatives to the committee as long as their findings would only be recommendations to the school board. Mrs. Moore commented, "I reserve the right to reject any recommendations the committee might make."<sup>58</sup>

During a Wednesday meeting, the Kanawha County Association of Classroom Teachers (KCACT) voted to oppose any recommendation of the Textbook Review Committee that was contrary to the original Board of Education adoption. They also approved a resolution denouncing the removal of the textbooks from the schools during the thirty-day review

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September 23, 1974.

<sup>58</sup>Kanawha County School Board Minutes, September 24, 1974.

period and chastized the school board for abdicating "its rightful and legal responsibility for the selection of textbooks through the processes established in statutes and regulations."<sup>59</sup> The teachers also called for a vote of their membership to determine whether or not they should use any books at all in the classrooms until the controversy was resolved saying that they could no longer trust their professional judgment of what was acceptable material.

The Charleston Area Chamber of Commerce also unanimously endorsed the Kanawha County Board of Education's formation of the Textbook Review Committee to resolve the textbook dispute. J. D. Moore, Chamber President, proposed by-laws giving head of that organization the right to speak without the approval of the Executive Committee in case of future conflicts. Moore blamed the lack of previous action of the Chamber's part to the inability to get the Executive Committee together. However the 1975-76 President, John Chapman said in a personal interview that the Chamber's lack of involvement was caused by insufficient disruption of the business community in Charleston proper to ignite them to action. According to Mr. Chapman, at this point in time in 1974 the protesters were thought of as "rabble rousers."

On Thursday, September 26, 1974, the Textbook Review Committee held their first meeting to discuss organizational matters. The eighteen member committee agreed to begin their review with the secondary texts while seeking a legal opinion on the removal of the elementary texts. The committee rejected a motion to conduct a poll of

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<sup>59</sup>The Charleston Gazette, "Alice Moore Appoints Three to Text Panel," September 26, 1974.

community members to determine whether or not the majority was in favor of or opposed to the books. Committee member Rev. Ronald English said, "The task of this committee is already ambitious enough without getting into the Gallup business."<sup>60</sup> The group also agreed to hold two public meetings, one for those in favor of the books and one for those opposed.

As the Textbook Review Committee began its work, a new set of demands from the textbook protesters were released to the news media by James McKenna, Heritage Foundation lawyer. The demands were endorsed by the Rev. Avis Hill, the Rev. Charles Quigley, the Rev. Ezra Graley and the Rev. Marvin Horan, all leaders of the protest movement at one time or another. The demands which carried an October 7 date for compliance included: total removal of all controversial books; the resignation of the superintendent; the resignation of Board members who voted to purchase the books and member-elect Stump; a review of all other books in the school system by a committee of seven people, four parents selected by the protesters and three by the school board; an investigation by the Governor of the selection and qualifications of the state textbook committee; exoneration of all arrested during the textbook controversy; no penalties to people off work or children out of school because of their feelings about the books.

James McKenna, legal counsel for the Heritage Foundation, a Washington, D. C. based organization opposed to liberal, socialistic ideas, according to Library of Congress researchers, was one of the first outsiders to take an active role in Kanawha County's controversy.

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<sup>60</sup>Charleston Daily Mail, "Review of Secondary Texts First; Ruling About Others," September 27, 1974.

McKenna, who characterized himself as "a fella who rides around trying to make sense of an insane system,"<sup>61</sup> said the books themselves were not the issue, but rather it was the role of parents in the educative process. Arguing for parental responsibility in curricular decision-making, McKenna said of the books that, "The only thing that matters here is that the parents want them out. . . . If the parents call for them to go, they have the right and they should go."<sup>62</sup>

Meanwhile the Rev. Ezra Graley, the Rev. Avis Hill, the Rev. Marvin Horan and the Rev. Charles Quigley announced plans to expand their protest against textbooks throughout the state. Commenting that "bad" books had been discovered in use elsewhere, Rev. Graley said, "We found one book in Lincoln County that was so pornographic, it would make Playboy magazine look like the Bible."<sup>63</sup> A state-wide rally was scheduled to be held in Charleston on October 6, 1974 and the boycott leaders predicted that the county would be shut down again the following week.

On Saturday, September 28, 1974, the Kanawha County community was shocked when the Rev. Charles Quigley announced that he was praying God would strike dead school board members Anson, Isaacs and Stansbury who had endorsed the purchase of the textbooks. Quigley said, "I am asking Christian people to pray that God will kill the giants who have

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<sup>61</sup>The Charleston Gazette, "Cost of Textbook Fight to County Tops \$300,000," September 28, 1974.

<sup>62</sup>Ibid.

<sup>63</sup>Charleston Daily Mail, "Board Gets No List of Demands," September 30, 1974.

mocked and made fun of dumb fundamentalists."<sup>64</sup> He also criticized member-elect Stump for an apparent change of position at the last school board meeting. Quigley noted, "People are upset with Stump because they voted for him thinking he was conservative enough to serve with Mrs. Moore. Now, he's making fun of Mrs. Moore."<sup>65</sup> In a personal interview Rev. Quigley said that although he knew there were scriptural grounds for his statement about the death of Anson, Isaacs and Stansbury he probably would not have made the comment had he been aware of the adverse publicity it would generate.

On Monday, September 30, 1974, The Charleston Gazette released the results of a county-wide poll that supported the protesters' contention that a majority of the citizens were opposed to the textbooks. In response to the question, "How do you stand in the Kanawha County textbook controversy?" 41.2 percent of the 386 voters surveyed checked against the textbooks, 27.2 percent checked for the textbooks and 31.6 percent indicated they were undecided or unconcerned. If the unconcerned-undecided category were to be eliminated, the results would show 60.2 percent opposed to the books and 39.8 percent in favor. Of those saying they were against the books the most common reasons cited for their views were anti-religion (22.6 percent), books obscene, immoral (11.3 percent), haven't read the books, but heard bad things (8.8 percent), books don't meet educational needs (6.3 percent), books are communistic (5.7 percent). Feelings about the textbooks varied by

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<sup>64</sup>Sunday Gazette-Mail, "Minister 'Praying God will Strike 3 Dead'," September 29, 1974.

<sup>65</sup>Ibid.

county location with heaviest opposition in the Upper Kanawha Valley and the southern part of the county and strongest support from the Dunbar-Institute area and the Loudon Heights-South Hills section of Charleston.<sup>66</sup>

Speaking on WSAZ radio's "Newsmaker '74" program over the weekend, Republican State Chairman, Thomas E. Potter, was publicly critical of Republican Governor Arch Moore's lack of action in the Kanawha County textbook controversy. In a response to a question from a reporter on Governor Moore's refusal to send in state police Potter replied, "We did have a time when anarchy prevailed in Kanawha County and I think he (Moore) misjudged the situation. . . . I think he (Moore) had a wrong interpretation of the law."<sup>67</sup> This action marked the first time a state official, and a Republican at that, had taken issue with Governor Moore's stand during the early days of the textbook protest.

#### October 1 - October 13, 1974

On Tuesday, October 1, 1974, the Textbook Review Committee held its second meeting. Representatives of the West Virginia State Department of Education, the Textbook Selection Committee and Kanawha County Schools provided information to the review team on textbook selection procedures and the philosophy of the county's language arts program. Mrs. Moore criticized the slow start of the review process saying that the main issue of the content of textbooks had not been addressed yet.

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<sup>66</sup>The Charleston Gazette, "More Appear to Oppose Controversial Textbooks," September 30, 1974.

<sup>67</sup>The Charleston Gazette, "Truthful Tom," October 1, 1974.

Both Mrs. Moore and Mr. Stump felt that if the pace of the first two meetings was indicative of the speed with which the Textbook Review Committee would proceed, it would be nearly impossible to complete the review process in the allotted thirty days.

The pro-textbook Kanawha Coalition for Quality Education (KCQE) held its first in a series of public meetings on the textbooks at George Washington High School on October 2, 1974. The KCQE's purpose in sponsoring this meeting and eleven others to be held in different areas of the county was to inform the public of the reasons why these textbooks were selected and how they fit into the county's educational program. KCQE hoped that by making citizens aware in this manner they could garner support for the textbooks to counter the already organized and vocal opposition. Kanawha County language arts consultants and KCQE members were on hand at George Washington to answer questions from the audience of 350 to 400 persons, most of whom felt that the books should be kept in the schools. Speaking for the KCQE, Virgil Matthews, Charleston councilman-at-large, said that although the KCQE was in favor of returning the books to the classrooms, they recognized the need for compromise to settle the controversy. Those attending the meeting were urged to contact the school board members and review chairman member-elect Stump to let them know their opinions of the textbooks.

On Thursday, October 3, 1974 State Superintendent of Schools, Dr. Daniel Taylor, responding to a request from Mr. Stump, issued an opinion on the legality of removing the elementary basal textbooks from the schools. In his letter Dr. Taylor said that although the law is silent in regard to changing an adoption once it has been made, "It must

be concluded the legislators did not intend for boards of education to modify, change or rescind the decision."<sup>68</sup> However any book or series need not be used by every child and additional texts could be used to supplement the program. Section 18-3-6 of the School Laws of West Virginia gives the state superintendent the statutory authority to interpret school laws. According to William Toussaint, the Administrative Assistant to Dr. Taylor, the courts will overturn these interpretations only if a legal, not factual, error is found. Dr. Taylor's letter seemed to indicate that the Kanawha County Board of Education had in fact erred in removing the elementary basal series from the classrooms.

Beginning Friday evening, October 4, 1974, textbook protest activities began to intensify. An eighteen hour fund raising telethon sponsored by Concerned Citizens began Friday at 6:00 p.m. on Kanawha Cable Television Company's Channel 12 in the St. Albans, Nitro and Cross Lanes areas and on WKLC radio in St. Albans. The protesters hoped to raise \$15,000 to fight legal battles, pay off outstanding debts and purchase or print literature on textbooks to be circulated throughout the State of West Virginia. At the conclusion of the telethon Rev. Charles Quigley announced that at least \$10,000 was pledged to the textbook protest.

On Sunday, October 6, 1974, the state-wide textbook rally called by Rev. Hill, Rev. Graley, Rev. Horan and Rev. Quigley was held at Watt Powell Park. Estimates of attendance ranged from 3,300 by the police

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<sup>68</sup>Correspondence between Dr. Daniel B. Taylor, State Superintendent of Schools and Mr. F. Douglas Stump dated October 3, 1974.

to 6,000 or 7,000 by Rev. Horan. The crowd was addressed by representatives of three outside groups: James McKenna of the Heritage Foundation pledged all of his "time, money and knowledge" to fight the textbooks; Mel and Norma Gabler, textbook critics from Longview, Texas said that objectionable books in West Virginia could be removed "in one whoosh;" and Robert Dornan of the Citizens for Decency Through Law from Los Angeles said that although the Kanawha County textbooks are not pornographic, they do "undermine America's Judeo-Christian ethics."<sup>69</sup> The meeting ended with a pledge to keep children out of schools and picket businesses in Kanawha, Boone, Lincoln, Fayette and Putnam Counties. Rev. Horan said, "We'll just keep the schools closed and whatever happens on the industry end will happen. I just want to control the school system."<sup>70</sup>

On Monday, October 7, 1974, 20 percent of Kanawha County's students were absent from school. Police assistance was necessary to move schools buses from the terminals in the Sissonville, Dickinson and East Bank areas. Nineteen persons including Rev. Ezra Graley and Rev. Avis Hill were arrested in St. Albans for interfering with operations at that bus terminal. Sherman High School in Boone County was closed when students refused to cross picket lines there and absenteeism was 15 to 20 percent in Lincoln County. However there was no picket activity at area businesses and industries and all coal mines were open. Although many school related activities were cancelled, approximately two

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<sup>69</sup>The Charleston Gazette, "2nd Boycott of Schools Advocated," October 7, 1974.

<sup>70</sup>ibid.

hundred persons turned out for the Kanawha Coalition for Quality Education's second meeting at Stonewall Jackson High School on the positive aspects of the textbooks.

The anti-textbook protest continued to escalate. On Tuesday, October 8, 1974, fifteen Kanawha County mines were shut down, three women picketers were arrested, tacks and roofing nails were strewn across roadways and school bus gasoline lines were cut. One protester said that the textbooks would stay out of the schools, "if it takes violence to get it done. . . . We will set buses on fire, tear up state police or deputy cars and tear up hell if necessary."<sup>71</sup>

Although review committee chairman Stump had said the Textbook Review Committee could not continue to meet if boycotts resumed, the Tuesday meeting was held as scheduled and members completed their first evaluation of a controversial series. By a vote of eleven for, six against and one abstention the committee approved the use of the D. C. Heath Company's Dynamics of Language Series for grades 7-12. Both a majority and minority report were to be presented to the school board for their decision. Mrs. Moore called the increased boycott activity foolish and said that although she felt the majority of the review committee would support the texts, the minority report should provide useful insights into the resolution of the conflict.

Tuesday evening after seven hours of courtroom testimony, the Rev. Ezra Graley was given a \$1500 fine and sentenced to sixty days in jail by Judge John Goad for contempt of court. Bond was denied pending

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<sup>71</sup>Charleston Daily Mail, "3 Jailed in Protest, Mines Closed," October 8, 1974.

appeal and the minister was sent immediately to jail under heavy police escort while a crowd of 150 protesters sang "Hallelujah" and the "Battle Hymn of the Republic." Judge Goad was also given a police guard to leave the courtroom. The others including, Rev. Avis Hill, arrested on Monday at the St. Albans bus terminal were ordered to return to court on October 16.

Early Wednesday morning, October 9, 1974, Wet Branch Elementary School on Cabin Creek was dynamited and Midway Elementary on Campbells Creek was firebombed. Several school buses were damaged by rock throwers at the Dickinson terminal and most buses in the Upper Kanawha Valley were unable to run. Twenty-five hundred miners were off work and all but two mines in Kanawha County were closed. School attendance remained at 80 percent and Dr. Underwood said the schools would stay open despite the increased violence in the Upper Kanawha Valley. Lack of adequate law enforcement was still a problem. The Superintendent commented, "If the upper end of the valley wants to be ruled by a mob, there's not much we can do about it."<sup>72</sup>

Kanawha County Sheriff G. Kemp Melton once again urged Governor Moore to provide state police help. He said, "This isn't a political issue. This isn't a movement. It's a matter of preventing anarchists from taking over the county."<sup>73</sup> Late Wednesday evening agents from the Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms Division of the United States Treasury

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<sup>72</sup>Charleston Daily Mail, "Pickets Shut Down Most County Mines," October 9, 1974.

<sup>73</sup>The Charleston Gazette, "Trooper Aid Needed in City, Melton Says," October 10, 1974.

Department began an intensive investigation of the dynamiting and fire-bombing of the two elementary schools and approximately 115 state police troopers from across the state were moved into Kanawha County. To protect the school buses and increase their ability to make runs, all school buses from the Dickinson and East Bank terminals were moved to Laidley Field in Charleston with escorts from the Sheriff's Department.

Meanwhile the six members of the Textbook Review Committee who had voted against the D. C. Heath Dynamics of Language Series announced that they and one alternate were withdrawing from the review committee and would hold separate meetings. Mick Staton, a member of the splinter group, said he felt this move would speed up the review process and help ease tension in the valley. Bill Seaman, PTA Council President and splinter group member, said that those who had voted against the books couldn't work under the ridicule and pressure they had to contend with. The seven members of this group promised to continue their review of the books and make a full report of their objections to the Board by October 25.

In an executive session prior to the school board meeting on Thursday, October 10, an agreement was made among the Board that Anson would resign and Stump would be appointed to take his place. Stump indicated that he was in favor of the review process and returning the controversial texts to the schools as they were approved by the committee. The Board felt that by seating Stump, any uncertainty about the school board's direction would be resolved.<sup>74</sup>

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<sup>74</sup>Statement of Albert Anson, Jr., former President of the Board of Education, December 2, 1975.

In the public meeting following the executive session Board President Albert Anson, Jr. announced his resignation in a highly emotional statement that caught the community by surprise. Expressing support for the professional textbook committee and the administration of Dr. Underwood, Anson said:

I personally believe the books which were adopted should be restored to the classrooms as soon as possible and this dispute settled in the American way--in the courts and the political arena rather than on the streets with mob rule and terrorism. In addition to cooling the controversy my resignation from the board should also remove the question that a long term resolution of this problem will have to wait upon the seating of the new board member-elect, F. Stump, on January 1.<sup>75</sup>

After taking the oath of office, Mr. Stump reversed his position taken during the executive session supporting the return of the textbooks to the schools after the review process and made a motion that all books from the language arts adoption be removed from the school system and books in use during 1973-74 year be substituted until new review guidelines and procedures were established. Due to questions regarding the legality of his motion, Stump withdrew it. Later Thursday evening Stump said he had made a motion that he had not intended to make and that he really did not want to remove all the books for a year since many contained valuable educational material. In assessing the Board's position towards textbooks after Stump's appointment, The Charleston Gazette reported two in favor of the books, two opposing them and Stump who "likes some, dislikes others and hasn't outlined exactly what he intends to do to resolve the matter. He (Stump) has, however, succeeded

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<sup>75</sup>School Board Minutes, October 10, 1974.

in alienating most of his fellow board members."<sup>76</sup>

On Friday, October 11, 1974, Kanawha County Schools Superintendent Underwood announced his intention to resign sometime before June 30, 1975. Elaborating on reasons for the announcement of his impending resignation, Dr. Underwood focused on the seating of Board member Stump and his change of position during the previous evening's Board meeting. Underwood said:

I don't think he's (Stump) got a mind of his own. He vacillates and there have been cases when he has lied. . . . I've had no problems with other board members, but it's board members like him no superintendent can work with.<sup>77</sup>

Textbook related violence continued in Kanawha County Schools on Friday. Firebombs were thrown at Chandler Elementary School in Charleston and a custodian at Belle Elementary was struck in the back with a wooden chair and knocked down a flight of stairs. The Sheriff's Department confirmed the Circuit Court Judge John Goad's home in Clendenin was being guarded at night by Clendenin City Police. On Saturday a car owned by one of three women jailed during the previous week for textbook protest activities was gutted by fire in front of her home.

A new organization called the Business and Professional People's Alliance for Better Textbooks, headed by textbook critic Elmer Fike, began taking an active role in the controversy. Advertising a speech by Dr. George Baird of the Educational Research Council, Cleveland,

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<sup>76</sup>The Charleston Gazette, "Stump's Position on Texts Uncertain," October 12, 1974.

<sup>77</sup>Charleston Daily Mail, "Underwood Plans to Resign Post," October 11, 1974.

Ohio, on Monday, October 14, 1974, the Business and Professional People's Alliance urged the adoption of guidelines "permitting only textbooks which promote the Seven Cardinal Principles and textbooks which contain no material offensive to any substantial cultural or ethnic group."<sup>78</sup> Although Mr. Fike said he abhorred the violence associated with the textbook protest, he felt continuing use of the textbooks in Kanawha County would lead to an increase in juvenile delinquency.

October 14 - October 27, 1974

After a quiet weekend, hopes for a lull in the protest activities were marked by the firebombing of Loudendale Elementary School before dawn on Monday, October 14, 1974. Over the weekend six bullets were fired through the windows of Overbrook Elementary and Thomas Jefferson Junior High School was broken into. However, school attendance did rise by 4 percent over the previous week due to an increase in the number of buses running. Production returned to normal as most area coal miners went back to work.

Mr. Lee Platt of the Kanawha Coalition for Quality Education and Mrs. Moore debated the textbook issue over WTIP Radio, Charleston, Monday evening. The show was scheduled as a public service to afford citizens the opportunity to hear more than one side of the controversy. Mrs. Moore said that the majority of people in West Virginia believe in a literal interpretation of the Bible and the attempt of textbooks to deal with philosophical issues where answers may vary from their Christian philosophy is a violation of religious neutrality. Therefore

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<sup>78</sup>Advertisement in the Sunday Gazette-Mail, October 13, 1974.

she objected to having "every vice known to man included in these textbooks, not from the standpoint of showing them to be wrong but in a totally non-judgmental atmosphere."<sup>79</sup> Platt, on the other hand said that the right to study new ideas and accept or reject them on one's own was fundamental to American greatness. On the question of whose values should influence textbook selection, Mr. Platt said, "One's personal sense of right and wrong is perhaps enough for educating one's own children but not enough for educating all of the students in Kanawha County."<sup>80</sup>

On Tuesday, October 15, 1974, two anti-textbook groups released financial statements after protest leader Rev. Charles Quigley said he was considering leaving the movement over questions of how donated money was being spent. Although they did not detail expenditures, Rev. Avis Hill said Concerned Citizens had a balance of \$2,563.30 and Christian-American Parents, according to Rev. Thaxton, had \$371.79. They indicated that most of this money would go to pay for legal fees of protesters who had been arrested. What happened to the \$10,000 reportedly raised from the telethon was never answered.

Tuesday evening the Textbook Review Committee, meeting without the seven members of the splinter group, voted ten to three with one abstention to return the D. C. Heath Company's Communicating Series to the classrooms. This series, the basal texts at the elementary level, had been one of the most controversial. On the question of the status

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<sup>79</sup>The Charleston Gazette, "Attendance Rises in County Schools," October 15, 1974.

<sup>80</sup>Ibid.

of the splinter group, Board members who attended the review committee meeting indicated that both groups would be official. The Board would receive one majority report and two minority reports, one of which would come from the splinter group.

On Wednesday, October 16, 1974, hearings for the adults arrested with already jailed Rev. Graley at the St. Albans bus terminal were held in Judge Goad's courtroom. Eleven protesters including Rev. Avis Hill were found to be in contempt of court and sentenced to thirty days in jail without bond pending appeal. Six others were released with suspended ten-day sentences and \$25 fines after pledging not to engage in further protest activities which might violate the injunctions issued to the Kanawha County Board of Education. About two hundred protesters witnessed the proceedings in Judge Goad's courtroom.

In response to the jailing of the protesters, Rev. Charles Quigley announced that he was a write-in candidate in the November 5 general election for Judge Goad's seat on the Kanawha Circuit Court. According to the West Virginia State Constitution the only qualifications required for a judgeship were that the person must be at least thirty years old, entitled to vote and a state resident for five years. Rev. Quigley said he felt he could win the election. When asked if he felt he was qualified for the job, he replied, "Sure, based on what Judge Goad is doing."<sup>81</sup>

On Thursday, October 17, 1974, Rev. Avis Hill, Rev. Ezra Graley and ten other jailed protesters were released from jail after bond was

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<sup>81</sup>Charleston Daily Mail, "Quigley Runs for Judge," October 17, 1974.

set by the State Supreme Court. The action was not opposed by Board of Education attorneys who said they only wanted to make sure the protesters purged themselves of contempt before being released. Each of the twelve protesters agreed to strict obedience to all Kanawha County Circuit Court injunctions prior to their release.

The Textbook Review Committee, meeting on Thursday, agreed to recommend the return of the Breakthrough Series by a unanimous vote. They also announced that public hearings for textbook supporters and critics would be held the following week on October 21 and 22. Because the committee had not begun review of the Man or Interaction series, two of the most controversial multi-volume works, the review committee requested an extension from the school board of the thirty-day deadline which was to expire in one week on October 25, 1974. The textbook committee did agree to have reports on the Dynamics of Language, Communicating, Galaxy and Breakthrough series, all of which were recommended for return to the classroom, ready for the October 25 Board meeting. On October 17 and 18 the Charleston Daily Mail carried a list of objections to the textbooks and responses to these objections prepared by the Textbook Review Committee.

At a special school board meeting on Friday, October 18, 1974, the Board considered adoption of an alternative textbook series. The proposal had been first put forth by Rev. Lewis Harrah, an opponent of the new adoption, as the only workable solution to the controversy. Earlier in the week Superintendent Underwood had expressed agreement with Rev. Harrah's proposal. However the Board declined to take action since the recommendations of the Textbook Review Committee and the

splinter group had not yet been presented to the Board. Mrs. Moore also rejected the idea saying that in light of the United States Supreme Court rulings, "It wouldn't be possible for alternative materials to contain the kind of Christian material children of protesters should be exposed to."<sup>82</sup> Nonetheless, Dr. Underwood said he would continue to investigate ways to use alternative materials with teachers and principals.

Friday evening an anti-textbook rally was held at Midway Elementary School on Campbells Creek. The Rev. Marvin Horan said that the parents in attendance voted unanimously "to keep the schools completely closed next week to show our disapproval of the books,"<sup>83</sup> and he called on ministers throughout the county to urge their congregations to keep their children out of school. Rev. Horan said the group was also objecting to some library books found in the school system, including two books on sex and venereal disease by Sol Gordon and Soul on Ice by Eldridge Cleaver.

Meanwhile on Saturday, October 19, 1974, the Kanawha Coalition for Quality Education announced that all future scheduled area meetings had been cancelled because of insufficient interest. A general meeting for all county residents was to be scheduled at a later date. In a prepared statement the KCQE criticized Mrs. Moore for rejecting the compromise solution of an alternative series. The statement said in part,

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<sup>82</sup>The Charleston Gazette, "School Bus Shot, Text Action Delayed," October 19, 1974.

<sup>83</sup>Charleston Daily Mail, "Text Protest Group to Keep Children Home," October 19, 1974.

"Mrs. Moore has an obligation to help resolve this controversy in a manner that is fair to all. Yet she has taken no action, made no proposal, which offers any hope of a just compromise."<sup>84</sup>

On Monday, October 21, 1974, the Associated Press carried a story that Robert Dornan, Los Angeles spokesman for Citizens for Decency Through Law (CDL), was returning to Charleston to assume the leadership of a new umbrella textbook protest group called the "Better Textbooks Movement." Dornan, taking a leave of absence from CDL, said that the new organization had the support of all the fundamentalist ministers who had previously headed their own protest groups. Dornan said, "People asked me, begged me, to please come back and assume a leadership role here because there was no coordination between various groups."<sup>85</sup> Dornan also announced that the Better Textbook Movement was supporting the school boycott for the week of October 21 to October 25 previously called for by Rev. Marvin Horan.

On Monday, October 21, 1974, school attendance dropped to 70 percent, the lowest since the opening of schools, although no reports of violence were received. That evening an estimated five hundred persons turned out to hear and cheer the seven anti-textbook speakers appearing before the Textbook Review Committee at Big Chimney Elementary School. Mrs. Barbara Jones, a member of the review committee, told this writer that committee members were continuously harassed and intimidated by

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<sup>84</sup>Sunday Gazette-Mail, "Rev. Horan Gives List of Monies," October 20, 1974.

<sup>85</sup>The Charleston Gazette, "New Text Group Names Chairman," October 21, 1974.

the protesters during the meeting. The atmosphere, she said, was permeated by fear.<sup>86</sup> After this experience, it was decided that the speakers in favor of the books would be heard in a closed meeting.

Meanwhile twelve textbook protesters including Rev. Graley and Rev. Hill carried their protest to Washington, D. C. Two press conferences were arranged by The Populist Forum, an ad hoc group created the previous week by Bob Whitaker through an association with the Heritage Foundation's James McKenna. Claiming to be impartial, Mr. Whitaker characterized the Kanawha County educational establishment as a bunch of "demagogues who think they own the schools."<sup>87</sup> The Rev. Graley and four others from Kanawha County met with Roger Senerad, special assistant to President Ford who said that personally he was surprised by much of the material in the texts and that although the protest was basically a local matter the White House would do whatever it could to forestall future violence. Senerad also arranged for the protesters to meet with HEW representatives and United States Education Commissioner Terrell H. Bell who said they would investigate the situation. Summing up his visit to Washington Rev. Graley said, "I think we've had a good day. We're optimistic."<sup>88</sup>

In a related development on Monday, Mrs. Moore announced that it was very unlikely that she would run again for the school board after

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<sup>86</sup>Statement of Mrs. Barbara Jones, Textbook Review Committee Member, December 2, 1975.

<sup>87</sup>The Charleston Gazette, "Textbook Case Deposited in D. C.," October 22, 1974.

<sup>88</sup>Ibid.

her term expired at the end of 1976. Citing frequent moves required of her husband Darrell, a Church of Christ Minister, she said it would not be possible to commit themselves to the Charleston area for an additional six-year period. Mrs. Moore also indicated that she hoped this announcement would put an end to rumors that she was using the textbook controversy to further personal political ambitions.

On Tuesday, October 22, 1974, Midway Elementary School, site of a weekend anti-textbook protest, was dynamited. It was the second time in two weeks the Campbells Creek school had been damaged and the second time a Kanawha County school had been dynamited. School attendance remained at about 73 percent with more than twelve thousand students out of school for the second day in a row.

On Wednesday, October 23, 1974, protest leaders called for a second effort to show their strength and asked all parents opposed to the textbooks to keep their children out of school for one day, Friday, October 25. Rev. Horan said that a number of parents had told him that they supported the boycott but did not want their children to miss a week of school work. In a related event two women from the Dry Branch area filed complaints in Kanawha Circuit Court claiming that their homes had been damaged by rock throwers because they sent their children to school.

On Friday, October 25, 1974, more than fifteen thousand students were out of school as attendance dropped to 64.7 percent. Protesters announced a rally for Monday to begin at the Charleston Civic Center followed by a march down Kanawha Boulevard to the West Virginia State Capitol. Members of the Textbook Review Committee approved previously

prepared reports on four textbook series and a list of supplemental novels to be presented to the school board on Monday.

Saturday, October 26, 1974, the Kanawha County Association of Classroom Teachers and the Kanawha Coalition for Quality Education held a teacher's parade and rally in downtown Charleston with the theme of "Let Freedom Ring." Parents, students and citizens were invited to participate in support of Kanawha County's teachers. Superintendent Underwood led nearly one thousand supporters from the Civic Center to Charleston High School where they heard remarks from members of the National Education Association, the Kanawha County Association of Classroom Teachers, Dr. Underwood and from ex-Board President, Albert Anson, Jr.

#### THE REVIEW COMMITTEE MAKES RECOMMENDATIONS

On Monday, October 28, 1974, protesters marched from the Charleston Civic Center to the State Capitol in what Robert Dornan called a dress rehearsal for a larger demonstration. Police estimates of the number of participants varied from 2,200 to 4,800. Board officials said that school attendance rose to 85 percent. Rev. Horan told the protesters at the Capitol that the march would be in vain if they didn't keep their children out of school. Horan also challenged the Board of Education attendance figures and asked parents keeping their children out of school because of the boycott to call him so he could release an accurate count.

After an unofficial, closed-door Board meeting Monday evening, acting Board President Matthew Kinsolving announced that the school

board would vote Friday, November 1 on the return of textbooks to the classroom. During the closed session, Board members also received the recommendations from the Textbook Review Committee. Their report included three recommendations: 1) that adequate textual and supplementary materials be provided to students who do not wish to use the controversial texts so that the majority of children could benefit from the adopted texts; 2) that textbook adoption procedures be changed to allow for parental input; and 3) that books not be returned to the classrooms until the review is completed. Kinsolving said a similar meeting would be held on Wednesday to hear the recommendations of the splinter group.

On Wednesday, October 30, 1974, Elmer Fike, president of the Business and Professional People's Alliance for Better Textbooks, announced that the results of their poll of state legislative candidates in the upcoming November 5 election, would not be released because of ambiguity in the wording of the questionnaire. Because of a lack of time to redo the questionnaire, Mr. Fike asked each candidate to make his position known to the electorate. One Kanawha House candidate said he did not feel it was a legislative issue but, "What can I do? All people ask me is 'What do you think about the dirty books?'"<sup>89</sup>

Wednesday evening the splinter group presented their recommendations to the school board. As expected, almost all of the books on the adoption list were rejected by this group. In a report containing nearly five hundred pages, the splinter group detailed page-by-page

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<sup>89</sup>Charleston Daily Mail, "County Textbook Squabble Looms as Election Issue," October 30, 1974.

objections to each series. Less than an hour after the meeting had adjourned, an estimated fifteen sticks of dynamite, placed under a gas meter, rocked the Kanawha County Board of Education offices. Although damage to the building was minor, scores of windows in the offices and nearby residents were blown out.

In the wake of the bombing the school board announced a decision to delay the meeting on the textbooks for one week. Acting Board President Kinsolving said, "I think last night's bombing of the Board offices is an obvious attempt to intimidate the board in its decision making. In view of this atmosphere, I think it would be very unwise for the board to proceed with its meeting Friday."<sup>90</sup>

Both supporters and opponents of the textbooks disagreed with the Kanawha County Board of Education's decision to delay the decision on the books claiming that the delay would only increase tension in the community. The Kanawha County Coalition for Quality Education asked the Board to reaffirm a compromise whereby no child would be forced to read any book that violated the convictions of his family. At the same time the compromise would make the texts available to those students whose families approved of them. If the books were not returned to the schools, KCQE spokesman Rev. James Lewis said suit would be brought against the Board to force restoration of the legally adopted textbooks.

Rev. Horan urged citizens to refrain from the violence associated with the controversy due to the delay in the Board's decision. He said he had no information about who was responsible for any of the

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<sup>90</sup>Charleston Daily Mail, "Board Session Delayed Week," October 31, 1974.

firebombings or dynamitings of school property. He also commented that the responsibility for the violence lay with the school board not the people since, "they have provoked these people to anger."<sup>91</sup>

School board members carried out closed and heavily protected, informal meetings, initiated by Methodist Bishop D. Frederick Wertz, attended by both pro- and anti-textbook groups over the weekend in the hope of achieving an acceptable compromise to the dispute. Under the plan discussed on Saturday, November 2, 1974, the Communicating Series would be placed in the Instructional Materials Centers in the elementary schools and the secondary series would be returned to the classrooms for student use with parental approval. Rev. Horan, an anti-textbook representative at these meetings, explained the compromise proposal over WKLC Radio in St. Albans and announced that he had taken the proposal to the people and, "The people unanimously reject the whole package."<sup>92</sup> On Monday, November 4, 1974, the Board of Education set Friday, November 8, 1974, for the meeting to make the final decision.

Over the weekend a new anti-textbook group was formed called Non-Christian American Parents to counter the claim that the protest was headed by fundamentalist ministers. This group saw the textbook controversy as a fight between the American way of life and communism vowing not to stop the protest until all the controversial books were permanently removed from the classrooms. The spokesman for this group, Ed

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<sup>91</sup>The Charleston Gazette, "Delay to Build Tension, Both Sides Agree," November 1, 1974.

<sup>92</sup>Charleston Daily Mail, "Textbook Protesters Reject Board's Plan," November 4, 1974.

Miller, later was to become the head of the West Virginia Klavern of the Ku Klux Klan.

On Tuesday, November 5, 1974, the general election was held. The Business and Professional People's Alliance for Better Textbooks endorsed twelve candidates for the twenty-one possible offices in a large political advertisement placed in both local newspapers.<sup>93</sup> The Democrats made a "clean sweep" of all twenty-one offices, including one United States Congressman, two state senate seats, two judgeships, two court clerks, a county commissioner and thirteen house of delegates seats thus precluding an analysis of who was elected among endorsed and unendorsed candidates. Dr. Charles Bertram, Director of Research and Evaluation for the Appalachian Educational Laboratory, Inc., did a comparison of the votes received by endorsed and unendorsed candidates as a gauge of voter sentiment for the protest movement. His results indicated that the point biserial correlation between number of votes received and the fact that candidates were or were not endorsed by the protest group was  $-0.48$ . Dr. Bertram concluded:

These data indicate that candidates who sided with the textbook protesters tended to receive considerably fewer votes. Of course, the protest group could have just happened to pick candidates who would have received fewer votes anyway, but the moderately high negative correlation would indicate that the protest movement does not have the support of the voting public that was generally believed by county residents.<sup>94</sup>

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<sup>93</sup>The Charleston Gazette and Charleston Daily Mail, Paid political advertisement by Business and Professional People's Alliance for Better Textbooks, November 4, 1974.

<sup>94</sup>Dr. Charles Bertram, "Voter Reaction to the Kanawha County West Virginia Textbook Protest," Internal Paper, November 8, 1974.

## THE DECISION TO RETURN THE BOOKS -- NOVEMBER 8, 1974

Tension increased as the Friday, November 8, Board meeting approached. Scheduled for noon in the main arena of the Charleston Civic Center, both pro- and anti-textbook groups feared an outbreak of violence. Thursday evening, members of the Non-Christian American Parents began an all night vigil at the Civic Center. Ed Miller, speaking for this group, said they expected no violence until after 5 p.m. Friday and would oversee the safety of the Board members "even if it means sitting and hugging them."<sup>95</sup> Extra law enforcement officers were called out to counter any violence that might erupt. Rev. Hill announced he would not attend the meeting because he felt it was a "set up" so the police could get all the protesters in one place and arrest them if trouble started. WCHS-TV Channel 8, Charleston and WSAZ-TV, Channel 3, Huntington, agreed to broadcast the Board meeting live so all interested persons could view the proceedings without having to leave their homes.

At noon on Friday, November 8, 1974, less than one hundred persons were in the Civic Center to attend the Board meeting. A large number of police were on hand and all persons entering the main arena had to pass through a metal detector. Prior to action on the textbooks themselves the Board heard further testimony from the majority and minority reports of the Textbook Review Committees and unanimously passed two motions presented by Board member Dr. Harry Stansbury. The

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<sup>95</sup>The Charleston Gazette, "Protesters Vow Safety Until 5 p.m.," November 8, 1974.

first was that no student would be required to use books that are objectionable to that student's parents on either moral or religious grounds. The second motion said that no teacher was authorized to indoctrinate a student to follow either moral values or religious beliefs which are objectionable to either the student or his parents.<sup>96</sup>

By a four to one vote, with only Mrs. Moore dissenting, the Board then agreed to return all the basic and supplemental books to the classroom except the D. C. Heath Communicating Series and the Interaction Series, Level 4, which were to be put in the school libraries. The majority of the members of the Board viewed this action in light of Dr. Stansbury's motions as a workable compromise to end the nine-week old textbook controversy. However, Mrs. Moore said, "What happened here today isn't even a partial victory for persons opposed to the textbooks. I don't believe we should allow books to be used that teach immorality, teach against God and teach sedition and revolution."<sup>97</sup>

As with all compromises, the decision by the Kanawha County Board of Education displeased some and satisfied others. Protesters vowed to continue to keep their children out of school and the Kanawha Coalition for Quality Education threatened a suit for removing the Communicating Series from the classrooms. Many teachers, parents, principals and Board members received threatening calls Friday afternoon after the decision. Yet all in all, hopes ran high that the compromise

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<sup>96</sup>Kanawha County School Board Minutes, November 8, 1974.

<sup>97</sup>Charleston Daily Mail, "Choice Between Order, Anarchy Prevailing View," November 9, 1974.

would provide a workable solution to end the textbook protest and bring the Kanawha County School system back to normalcy.

## Chapter 6

### THE ABATEMENT OF THE CONTROVERSY

#### THE STATE POLICE BECOME INVOLVED

Immediately after the school board's compromise decision to return the majority of the textbooks to the schools, the Rev. Horan, Rev. Hill and Rev. Graley held a news conference at WSAZ Television, Channel 3, Huntington, to announce their displeasure with the decision. They urged parents to continue the boycott and keep their children out of school on Tuesday, November 12 after Monday's holiday due to Veterans Day. The Rev. Graley said, "We're heartsick. We knew there were some on the board we couldn't trust. I'm sick of the way the board voted. God bless Alice Moore."<sup>1</sup> He also accused Board member Stump of lying to him in the private meetings arranged by Bishop Wertz prior to the Board's action.

On Saturday, November 9, 1974, textbook protesters and coal miners once again joined forces. More than two thousand persons marched through downtown Charleston and rallied at the Civic Center. For the first time since the protest began, Mrs. Alice Moore appeared publicly at an anti-textbook rally. In an emotional scene, Mrs. Moore walked to the stage as the persons in the Civic Center cheered and applauded. Wiping tears from her eyes, she said, "I love you all. Oh, this is

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<sup>1</sup>The Charleston Gazette, "60% Aid in Boycott Predicted," November 9, 1974.

wonderful."<sup>2</sup> Referring to the Board's vote the previous day, she said she didn't know why Mr. Kinsolving had changed his mind but could understand Mr. Stump's position since he "changes his mind every day. It just happened that when the vote was taken, he was on the other side again."<sup>3</sup> Protest leaders again asked for a continuation of the boycott and made plans to establish private schools, call for the resignation of all Board members except Mrs. Moore, boycott businesses whose owners were not sympathetic to the protest and build a welfare fund for miners supporting the textbook protest when their strike began.

Saturday was the last day of work for coal miners under the old contract although it did not officially expire until 12:01 a.m. Tuesday, November 12. After furious, last minute stockpiling by coal companies on Saturday, most mines were idle on Sunday and expected to remain closed on Monday, Veterans Day because of a contract clause requiring triple wages for holiday work. Even though negotiations were still under way and the contract expiration date was two days off, a strike was unavoidable because of the "no contract, no work" tradition and the requirement of rank and file ratification expected to take at least ten days. The only question to be faced was how long the coal strike would be and what role the textbook issue should play. Tom Harlow, a coal miner from Ohley, West Virginia and a neighbor of UMW President Arnold Miller said, "I don't think there'll be anybody back

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<sup>2</sup>Sunday Gazette-Mail, "Text Critics United, Vow More Action," November 10, 1974.

<sup>3</sup>ibid.

to work until those textbooks are out. That's what people are saying around here."<sup>4</sup>

Sunday afternoon, November 10, 1974, another anti-textbook rally was held in Campbells Creek at the Point Lick Ballpark. West Virginia State Troopers estimated the attendance at 1500. Rev. Horan, Rev. Hill and Rev. Quigley addressed the crowd, once again urging the boycott of schools and businesses not sympathetic with the protest.

That evening, after the rally, church services in the Campbells Creek area were halted as a rumor spread that carloads of blacks supporting the textbooks were on their way "supposedly to raise general hell,"<sup>5</sup> according to state police information. More than one hundred men, some reported to be armed, gathered at the Point Lick Ballpark to await the alleged invasion of blacks from Charleston. The crowd dispersed later when the rumors proved unfounded but small groups of men continued to gather at points up and down Campbells Creek. Although there was no violence, tension remained high.

Earlier that day, Sunday, November 10, miners had gathered for a rally at Drawdy Falls in neighboring Boone County. According to Sheriff Melton, information gathered by law enforcement personnel indicated that the UMW contract expiration would lead to an upswing of violence. Influential community representatives met with the Governor on Monday and told him that without large scale state police interven-

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<sup>4</sup>The Charleston Gazette, "Texts Called Strike Factor," November 12, 1974.

<sup>5</sup>The Charleston Gazette, "Rumors Draw 100 to Ballpark Meeting," November 11, 1974.

tion the area would be faced with miner-led boycotts that could lead to total disruption of the economy.<sup>6</sup>

On Monday, November 11, 1974, schools were closed for the Veterans Day holiday. School officials made the decision to move some school buses from troubled areas to secret locations as a precaution against possible picketing Tuesday morning. Two school buses moving along West Virginia Route 214 in the Alum Creek area were struck by shotgun blasts. One bus was hit in its side and the other in its radiator. Both buses were occupied only by their drivers, neither of whom was injured. In the Sissonville area, a bus containing thirty drivers hired to move the buses from the Sissonville area to a safer location under police escort, were turned away by protesters when they arrived prior to their police guard. In another incident a car, owned by parents who had continued to send their children to school despite threats from protesters, was firebombed. The driver escaped injury when he leaped clear of his car as the bomb exploded.

On Tuesday, November 12, 1974, the first day of school after the school board decision, activity described by state police as, "violence and mob pressure"<sup>7</sup> continued to accelerate. Fifty anti-textbook picketers prevented teachers and students from entering Cedar Grove Community School, the third school bus to be hit by gunfire in twenty-four hours was reported, bomb threats were made to officials and a telephone cam-

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<sup>6</sup>Statement of Albert Anson, Jr., former Kanawha County Board of Education President, December 2, 1975.

<sup>7</sup>Charleston Daily Mail, "Textbook Protest Violence Mounting," November 12, 1974.

paign by protesters to threaten and intimidate parents into keeping their children out of school was underway. In the Sissonville area, armed Sheriff's deputies drove school buses to pick up students after the regular drivers refused to cross the picket lines at the Sissonville bus terminal. Although only approximately 70 percent of Kanawha County's forty-five thousand students were in school, attendance was near normal in Charleston, South Charleston, Dunbar, Nitro and St. Albans while schools in the Upper Kanawha Valley were virtually shut down.

During the special Board meeting on November 8, Dr. Underwood had indicated that the school system would begin enforcing the truancy laws and warrants would be issued for those parents holding their children out of school. The process of identifying truant students, expected to take about two weeks, began on Tuesday, November 12. To demonstrate their disapproval of this action approximately three hundred protesters, mostly women appeared at the Kanawha County Courthouse and attempted to surrender to authorities for violating the state's compulsory attendance law. Sheriff Melton addressed the group and informed them that they would not be arrested because they were not breaking the law until so notified by the school board. Melton continued, "I'd advise you to take your case to court. Or, in the next election, vote in some school board member who'll support your cause."<sup>8</sup>

By Tuesday, Governor Moore had made the decision to involve the state police. Later that afternoon Sheriff Melton and representatives

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<sup>8</sup>The Charleston Gazette, "State, County Lawmen Unite," November 13, 1974.

of the West Virginia State Police met together for the first time since the beginning of the textbook controversy to coordinate efforts to assure the safety of school personnel. School officials regarded this cooperation as a turning point in the controversy. If the protesters' interference with the operation of the school system could be halted, it was felt that the majority of students out of school would return.

School attendance climbed to 76 percent on Wednesday, November 13, despite continued outbursts of violence. Cedar Grove Community School re-opened with only 9 of the school's 922 enrolled students reporting for class while protesters closed down nearby Grant Elementary School. The state police, who had been hesitant to enter the controversy, became fully committed to law enforcement when two state police cars, escorting a school bus in Campbells Creek, were ambushed by a sniper. Although neither state trooper was injured, one car was damaged. District Sergeant Lemmon commented, "I didn't like the idea of our car getting shot into too well."<sup>9</sup>

Shortly after 10:00 a.m. Wednesday morning Cedar Grove Police Officer, C. L. Tucker, arrived at the Board of Education offices with warrants for the arrests of Superintendent Underwood and all school board members except Mrs. Moore, charging them with contributing to the delinquency of minors by introducing obscene textbooks in the school system. The warrants were issued by Mayor John Hudnall of Cedar Grove at the request of Harold Daniels, Sr. of Mammouth because "board members

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<sup>9</sup>Statement of D. L. Lemmon, West Virginia State Police District Sergeant, December 17, 1975.

brought unseemly literature into our community."<sup>10</sup> Kanawha County Prosecuting Attorney Patrick Casey was called by school officials to determine the legality of the action. Due to legal questions raised by Casey, the warrants were withdrawn although the Cedar Grove Mayor indicated they would probably be re-issued. Cedar Grove Policeman Tucker said he was glad he didn't have to arrest the Board members and Underwood and return them to Cedar Grove because a crowd of about one hundred protesters had surrounded the jail there. Tucker said, "I'm responsible for the safety of the persons I arrest and it could have been a bad situation."<sup>11</sup>

On Thursday, November 14, 1974, the Business and Professional People's Alliance for Better Textbooks published full-page advertisements in both the morning and evening Charleston newspapers entitled, "What Your Children Will Read." This advertisement began with examples of profanity and other phrases they objected to from the books in the Webster/McGraw-Hill Series, the Galaxy Series, the Man Series, the America Reads Series and the Interaction Series. Parents were assured that the excerpts, available for review at the Business and Professional People's Alliance headquarters in Charleston, were from the textbooks returned to the classrooms by the Kanawha County Board of Education. Examples of these excerpts included the following from "Counterpoint in Literature," part of Scott Foresman's America Reads Series:

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<sup>10</sup>Charleston Daily Mail, "School Officials Arrests Thwarted," November 13, 1974.

<sup>11</sup>The Charleston Gazette, "Attendance Rises Despite Violence," November 14, 1974.

Page 51 - 'Damn Fool'  
 Page 74 - 'Where the hell you been'  
 Page 113 - 'Stupid damn fool' 'Oh God' 'What the hell  
 shall I do?'  
 Page 114 - 'My God'  
 Page 116 - 'damn good'  
 Page 141 - 'Kill that damn thing'<sup>12</sup>

Additionally, a five point plan of action emphasizing legal re-  
 course was proposed in the full page advertisement and the formation of  
 a Teacher's Chapter of the Business and Professional People's Alliance  
 for educators supporting the anti-textbook position was announced.  
 Brief accounts labeled "The True Story" were given to refute charges of  
 "Censorship," "Blind Prejudice," "Violence," "Context," "Multicultural,"  
 "Racism," and the "Rights of Minorities," often leveled at the protest-  
 ers. The advertisement ended with two coupons, one to become an active  
 member of the Alliance for a \$50.00 initiation fee plus \$10.00 a month  
 dues and the other for parents to return to the schools saying:

Consider this official notice that my child/children  
 are strictly forbidden to read or be instructed from any  
 of the language arts textbooks returned to the schools  
 November 8, 1974 either in the library or the classroom.<sup>13</sup>

Thursday school attendance rose to nearly 90 percent. An other-  
 wise peaceful day was marred by the discovery of sixteen sticks of dyna-  
 mite and two dozen blasting caps near Washington Junior High and Alum  
 Creek Elementary. Additionally, two persons were arrested at Anne  
 Bailey Elementary for attempting to keep school employees out of the  
 building. Because of the unrest, violence and the absence of two school

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<sup>12</sup>The Charleston Gazette, Charleston Daily Mail, paid advertise-  
 ment Business and Professional People's Alliance for Better Textbooks,  
 November 14, 1974.

<sup>13</sup>ibid.

board members, Mrs. Moore and Mr. Stump, the scheduled Board meeting was postponed one week to November 21, 1974.

By the end of the first week after the Board's decision, private Christian schools began operation, often lacking buildings, instructional materials, teachers, and state accreditation. Rev. Avis Hill announced that Concerned Citizens were setting up new headquarters in St. Albans to handle textbook distribution for the new schools including several thousand McGuffey Readers that had been ordered. Some saw the opening of the Christian schools as a temporary arrangement until the textbooks were permanently removed from Kanawha County, while others saw it as a permanent alternative to the public school system. In addition to opposing the Kanawha County textbooks and the removal of prayer from the schools, many citizens were critical of the quality of education received in the public schools. One parent said, "Something's wrong when a student's in the ninth grade and can't spell 'learn'," and a teacher complained that when a student was asked to define conjunction, he said, "Isn't that something they get to keep the coal miners from striking."<sup>14</sup>

During a conciliatory meeting arranged by Bishop Wertz between Board members and supporters and opponents of the language arts textbooks at Christ Church United Methodist on Friday, November 15, Dr. Underwood, Board President Kinsolving and Board members Stump and Stansbury were arrested on charges of contributing to the delinquency of minors. Mayor Hudnall of Cedar Grove re-issued the warrants that had been served earlier in the week and after a brief appearance before a

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<sup>14</sup>The Charleston Gazette, "Woes Spawn School," November 15, 1974.

Charleston Magistrate, the four were released on \$500 bond each. Although Dr. Underwood believed the arrests would be beneficial in moving the textbook controversy to the courts, he felt they had been set up for the arrests by protesters attending the conciliatory meeting at Christ Church. Dr. Underwood said, "It was very interesting. . . . I asked the Constable why he did not go to my office. He said he was told we would all be there (at the Church)."<sup>15</sup>

#### 1974 ENDS ON A QUIET NOTE

With the exception of scattered organizational meetings to establish private Christian schools, textbook protest activity was at a virtual standstill over the weekend of November 16. On Monday, November 18, state police and Sheriff's deputies were out in full force. In sharp contrast to the turmoil of the past several weeks, there were no reports of violence. School attendance rose to 86 percent, the highest total since the beginning days of the controversy. Rev. Quigley commented, "Everybody seems to want to wait and see what's going to happen next. They want to see what happens with court action and see what happens with the Christian Schools."<sup>16</sup>

Beginning on Monday, November 18, elementary school principals began distributing the forms on which parents were to designate whether or not they wanted their children to use the D. C. Heath Company's

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<sup>15</sup>Charleston Daily Mail, "2 Board Members Welcome Court Test on Textbooks," November 16, 1974.

<sup>16</sup>The Charleston Gazette, "Text Protesters Eye More Private Schools," November 18, 1974.

Communicating Series. By the end of the week a similar form for secondary schools was prepared. Each principal listed the texts available in a given school and parents were to indicate which books their children would be allowed to use.

Christian school attendance continued to rise and the first truancy notices were prepared during the week of November 18 through November 24. Mrs. Moore removed her four children from Kanawha County Schools and enrolled the three youngest in private schools in West Virginia and the eldest in a public school in Tennessee. Despite the UMW strike peace appeared to have returned to the school system as there were no reports of violence and school attendance approached 90 percent.

On Thursday, November 21, the first school board meeting since November 8, was held in the heavily guarded Board of Education Auditorium. During the meeting the Board approved seven guidelines as proposed for future textbook adoptions. In an interview with this writer Albert Anson, Jr., noted that although to oppose this resolution was like being against motherhood and apple pie, it in effect put "a straight jacket on dissident opinion."<sup>17</sup> The guidelines adopted were as follows:

Textbooks must not intrude into the privacy of students' homes by asking personal questions about interfeelings or behavior of themselves or their parents or encourage them to criticize their parents by direct question, statement, or inference. Textbooks must recognize the sanctity of the home and emphasize its importance as the basic unit of American society.

Textbooks must not contain offensive language.

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<sup>17</sup>Albert Anson, Jr., op. cit.

Textbooks must teach the true history and heritage of the United States and of any other countries studied in the curriculum. They must not defame our nation's founders or misrepresent the ideals and causes for which they struggled and sacrificed.

Textbooks used in the study of English language shall teach that traditional rules of grammar are a worthwhile subject for academic pursuit and are essential for effective communication among English-speaking people.

Textbooks shall encourage loyalty to the United States and the several states and emphasize the responsibilities of citizenship and the obligation to redress grievances through legal processes. They must not encourage sedition or revolution against our government or teach or imply that an alien form of government is superior.<sup>18</sup>

These guidelines attempted to provide answers to the issues of "What should be included in the curriculum?" and "What should be the concern of the school?" Many school officials felt that although it would be difficult to disagree with these guidelines, the question of interpretation would be the key to the resolution of future potential controversies. Thus, the compromise guidelines raised as many questions as they answered.

On Saturday, November 23, Mrs. Moore commented that the United Mine Workers would be justified in refusing to ratify any contract until the textbooks were removed from Kanawha County Schools. She said she saw the textbook protest as a national battle to determine "Who is to rear the children,"<sup>19</sup> and noted that it was the coal miners support early in the controversy that brought Kanawha County to national attention. Mrs. Moore felt an extended strike could bring economic pressure

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<sup>18</sup>Kanawha County School Board Minutes, November 21, 1974.

<sup>19</sup>Sunday Gazette-Mail, "Refusal," November 24, 1974.

on school systems to force them to allow parents more responsibility for educating their children. "If it's a matter of coal for the country or saving our children," she said, "the children come first."<sup>20</sup>

The week of November 25 to November 30 marked the quietest period since the beginning of the five month old controversy. Almost all classes returned to normal with attendance above 90 percent. Pickets and protesters were absent from school and business sites. In a new development, Marmet Mayor Billy Pauley, a textbook critic, said that steps were being taken for the Upper Kanawha Valley to secede from Kanawha and form a new county. Proponents of the proposal indicated that a large majority of Upper Kanawha Valley residents disapproved of the textbooks and by forming their own county they could establish a public educational system consistent with their philosophy. Legal moves were initiated to effect the separation.

Throughout the month of November numerous outside groups and organizations had become involved in the Kanawha County controversy. Some of these groups were the John Birch Society, Guardians of Traditional Education, International Worker's Party, the National Parents Organization and the Young Socialist Party. Although often holding opposing philosophical views, each of these groups saw the Kanawha County textbook controversy as an opportunity to advance their particular ideals. Rev. Quigley told this writer that without outsiders he doubted that more than one hundred people from Kanawha County would have been involved in the protest at this point in time.

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<sup>20</sup>ibid.

The month of November ended with a national anti-textbook rally in Charleston on Saturday, November 30, attended by some two thousand people from an estimated fifteen states. Special guest was Rev. Carl McIntire, an ultra conservative, fundamentalist minister who took politicians to task for not intervening in the Kanawha County textbook dispute. Local protest leaders vowed to renew efforts to shut down area schools and industry beginning again on Monday, December 2, 1974. Yet in spite of these threats the first of December was quiet with school attendance near normal.

The National Education Association announced that at the request of the Kanawha County Association of Classroom Teachers they would bring together a national blue-ribbon panel to conduct an inquiry into the Kanawha County textbook controversy on December 9, 10 and 11, 1974. The purpose of the inquiry was to analyze the origins and development of the controversy:

. . . with the intent of clarifying and bringing into rational perspective the proper role of parents, students, educators and concerned community groups in the shaping of decisions that set the course of educational programming in public schools.<sup>21</sup>

Reaction to the NEA inquiry was mixed. Dr. Underwood and Board members Stansbury and Isaacs criticized the timing of the hearings feeling that they might refuel the controversy at a time when school operations had returned to normal. Mrs. Moore also opposed to the NEA inquiry said, "Who gave the NEA the right to come into Kanawha County to judge the mentality and intelligence of Kanawha

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<sup>21</sup>NEA Teacher Rights Division, op. cit., p. 2.

County parents. . . ."<sup>22</sup> However, Board members Stump and Kinsolving indicated a willingness to participate. Both public and private hearings were scheduled for representatives of the Association of Classroom Teachers, the Kanawha County School administrative staff, members of the Board of Education, the Language Arts Textbook Selection Committee, representatives of area newspapers, protesting ministers, the Kanawha Coalition for Quality Education, the Business and Professional People's Alliance for Better Textbooks, teachers' professional organizations, student groups, the Charleston Area Chamber of Commerce, the Greater Charleston Ministerial Association, the NAACP, the West Virginia Human Rights Commission, elementary principals, secondary principals and area colleges. Other individuals with specific input into the background or events of the controversy were also invited to speak.

After hearing from seventy-seven individuals in twenty-four hours of recorded testimony over the three day period, the NEA panel recessed to review their data on the Kanawha County textbook controversy. A full public report was promised within sixty days. According to the NEA, their report would not evaluate the textbooks in question nor attempt to mediate or resolve the conflict but would rather analyze the roots of the conflict, suggest alternative courses of action and the consequences of each alternative, and deal with the issues raised as national concerns.

On Tuesday, December 10, 1974, the first parent to be tried for violating the state's compulsory attendance law, due to boycott activi-

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<sup>22</sup>The Charleston Gazette, "NEA Text Probe Goals Clarified," December 6, 1974.

ties, was found innocent. Jack Boyer of Charleston had withheld his five school age children from the public schools since the beginning of the textbook controversy. Magistrate George Warner in finding Mr. Boyer innocent did not deal directly with the issue of compulsory school attendance but rather based his ruling on a clause in the West Virginia state law not requiring school attendance if it is a hazard to the child's health or safety. Magistrate Warner indicated that the violence associated with the controversy was sufficient to justify a parent's refusal to send his children to school. The Kanawha County School administration vowed to continue to pursue enforcement of the compulsory attendance law through the courts until a definitive opinion was received.

On Thursday, December 12, 1974, the Federal Grand Jury investigating the dynamiting of the schools during the textbook controversy, returned indictments against three Cabin Creek men in conjunction with the October 9, 1974 bombing of Wet Branch Elementary. Bond was set at \$100,000 each and the men were remanded to the Kanawha County jail. Two other men were also indicted on charges of illegally disposing of dynamite near Alum Creek Elementary and Washington Junior High schools. The investigative efforts of the West Virginia State Police were instrumental in securing these indictments.

At the school board meeting that evening Mrs. Daniel Rubenstein, representing the Kanawha Coalition for Quality Education, spoke against the newly adopted textbook selection guidelines. The guidelines were criticized for being too vague to be workable and for being adopted under pressure without input from teachers or parents. The Board of

Education was accused of "buying" the philosophy of Mrs. Moore to preserve the tentative peace within the school system. The Board, however, refused to act on Mrs. Rubenstein's proposal that the guidelines be rescinded.

After the business meeting, the Board had adjourned to hear informal reports when several protesters from the audience moved to the front of the room and began striking Board members and school administrators. Although most of the fight centered around Board member Stump, Dr. Underwood was struck in the face resulting in a bloody nose; Bob Kittle, Assistant Superintendent of Curriculum and Instruction, received a mild concussion; and Board President Kinsolving was hit over the head with a stack of papers. Several women joined in the fracas, one of them spraying what was reported to be mace in Dr. Underwood's face. The meeting was attended by only two plain clothes policemen who were unable to offer much assistance during the melee. All involved in the attack agreed to prosecute as soon as the assailants could be identified. Four days later on December 16, Mrs. Frances McCune, a veteran on the textbook controversy, was arrested and charged with assaulting Dr. Underwood at the Board meeting. She was fined \$32 and released.

Protesters in the Upper Kanawha Valley continued the effort to separate from Kanawha County. Their proposed plan for dividing the county was presented to the Kanawha County Court on Tuesday, December 17. While the court took no action on the proposal, it did agree that secession proponents would have to pay for a survey, census and an election.

On Wednesday, December 18, 1974 Roger Lee Hammack, one of the three men indicted in the Wet Branch Elementary dynamiting, pleaded guilty to charges of conspiracy in a plea bargaining agreement that would have him testify against the other defendants. U. S. District Judge K. K. Hall warned that he might later reject Hammack's plea if he refused to cooperate with the court.

Meanwhile, Rev. Marvin Horan, Rev. Avis Hill and Rev. Ezra Graley were in Washington, D. C. to "push for an investigation of the textbooks."<sup>23</sup> The ministers were present on Thursday, December 19, when Rep. Roger Zion, R-Indiana, read alleged material from the Kanawha County textbooks into the Congressional Record. After reading the excerpts, Zion introduced a bill that would guarantee parents access to every book available within a school and provide a means of recall for school board members. Rev. Horan commented:

It's a disgrace to our State that Congressman Zion of Indiana had to pick up the West Virginia textbook issue and try to resolve it for us, while our own congressmen sit idly by and do nothing.<sup>24</sup>

That same day the Charleston Daily Mail announced the results of a survey of elementary school parents on the use of the D. C. Heath Company's Communicating Series. Of the thirty schools surveyed on responses to parental permission slips asking if they approved or disapproved of their children using the Heath series, only six schools, four of them in Charleston, had a majority of parents in favor of the

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<sup>23</sup>The Charleston Gazette, "Text Probe By House?" December 20, 1974.

<sup>24</sup>ibid.

books. Overall seven out of ten parents said they disapproved of the Communicating Series. Elementary schools in areas where the protest had been most active showed overwhelming parental disapproval of the texts. At Alum Creek Elementary 9 out of 378 parents approved of the books and at Midway Elementary 6 out of 355 approved. Dr. Underwood said he was not surprised at the results of the survey based on the amount of misinformation and fear in some of the communities.

On Friday, December 20, Rev. Marvin Horan called the Daily Mail and charged the members of the Kanawha County Board of Education with provoking the bombings of Wet Branch and Midway Elementary Schools in October. Horan said that the Board members, excluding Mrs. Moore, were:

. . . directly or indirectly responsible for whatever happened. . . . We realize that somebody is responsible for this minor property damage. At the same time, the board of education is responsible for a major disaster--destroying an entire generation of young people.<sup>25</sup>

As the federal investigation of textbook related violence continued, Rev. Horan repeated his charges against the Board members. On December 27, a second man entered a guilty plea in federal court on charges of illegal disposition of stolen dynamite.

Kanawha County Schools recessed for two weeks of Christmas vacation at the close of school on December 20, 1974. Textbook activity was limited to debate over causes and issues. Speaking before the Charleston Exchange Club on December 24, textbook proponent Rev. James Lewis of St. John's Episcopal Church, accused the middle class community of not standing up for their values. "I wanted someone to yell, 'You're

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<sup>25</sup>Charleston Daily Mail, "Horan Says Bombings School Board's Fault," December 21, 1974.

not going to take books away from my children!' but no one did," he commented. "I think I've been more critical of that and that's--where I come from--that's my own culture."<sup>26</sup> In a personal interview with this writer, Rev. Lewis expanded on this statement by saying that he feels the liberal community is morally bankrupt, no longer having any ideals that it's willing to fight and die for. In his opinion the textbook controversy was not only an indictment of mainline Christianity but also of the whole concept of liberalism.<sup>27</sup>

At the December 27 meeting of the West Virginia Board of Education, two proposals related to the Kanawha County textbook controversy were included in their legislative program. The first recommended that lay persons be included on textbook selection committees and the second that procedures be established for state adoption of textbooks at the secondary level. The year of 1974 ended with hopes for an end to the strife and dissension that had gripped the Kanawha County School system for over six months.

#### ALTERNATIVES, INDICTMENTS AND THE KKK

When schools re-opened after the Christmas recess, Mrs. Moore returned her three youngest children to Kanawha County public schools despite Board approval of two private Christian schools. She said her decision was based on the disapproval of the D. C. Heath series by more than two-thirds of the parents at the elementary school her children

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<sup>26</sup>Charleston Daily Mail, "Coming to Grips," December 24, 1974.

<sup>27</sup>Statement of Rev. James Lewis, St. John's Episcopal Church, December 2, 1975.

would attend. Expressing hope that the textbook controversy was the beginning step for changes in the public educational system, Mrs. Moore commented, "I'm not giving up on public education."<sup>28</sup>

On Friday, January 3, 1975, the Charleston Daily Mail released the results of a survey of parental approval of secondary language arts textbooks. Polling twenty-nine of the county's thirty-three secondary schools, the Daily Mail found that approximately 73 percent of the parents approved of the use of the materials. This was in direct contrast to the survey of elementary schools which showed that nearly 70 percent of the parents disapproved of the D. C. Heath's Communicating Series.

The West Virginia State Legislature reconvened on Wednesday, January 8, 1975, and a contingent of textbook protesters led by Rev. Avis Hill began an active textbook lobby. Bills were introduced to add parents to county textbook review committees, seat Board members elected in May on July 1 rather than January 1, require election of Board members by majority vote and strengthen state obscenity laws to include textbooks. The anti-textbook lobbyists also supported legislation for the recall of school board members.

Concerned Citizens of Kanawha County and the Business and Professional People's Alliance for Better Textbooks announced their own series of public hearings on the textbook controversy to counter the NEA hearings held in December. Rev. Avis Hill said that the purpose of the January 13, 14 and 15 meetings at the Charleston Civic Center was

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<sup>28</sup>The Charleston Gazette, "3 Moore Children Back in Public Schools," January 3, 1975.

"to bring out a report to the citizens of Kanawha County and to take this report and present it to Congressmen in Washington, D. C."<sup>29</sup> The panel reviewing testimony was composed entirely of local textbook critics. Appearing before the panel were numerous out-of-state speakers including: Mrs. Marsha Seilaff, editor of an Arizona based publication called, "Let's Improve Today's Education"; Mrs. Connie Marshner, education director of the Heritage Foundation in Washington, D. C.; Mrs. Kathy Barker, member of the Prince Georges County, Maryland, Board of Education; Rev. Edward J. Berbusse, a professor at Fordham University in New York; William Marra, Fordham philosophy professor and founder of a number of schools run by parents; Janet Mellon, chairman of Parents of New York United; James McKenna, Heritage Foundation lawyer; Max Rafferty, former California State Commissioner of Education; Jim Skelly, a member of the Arizona state legislature; Mrs. Mary Royer, president of the National Parents League, an organization to assist formation of parent run schools; Ari Nelson, Boston radio announcer; Mrs. Onalee McGraw, director of CURE, a Montgomery County, Maryland, parents' organization; and Charles Moser, a professor at George Washington University. Testimony centered on the return to basic education within the public school system and the establishment of parent controlled private schools. Despite the impressive array of speakers, attendance was very light with generally less than fifty persons in the audience at the Civic Center.

On Wednesday, January 15, 1975, Kanawha County Board of Educa-

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<sup>29</sup>Charleston Daily Mail, "Text Protesters Slate Hearings," January 9, 1975.

tion members traveled to Charlotte, North Carolina to observe a traditional, basic skills school in operation. The Myer Park School in Charlotte emphasized decorum, discipline and successful completion of rigidly defined skills in the basics of reading, writing and math. Board member Mrs. Moore was joined in her enthusiasm for the initiation of tax supported basic alternative schools as a part of the Kanawha County system, by Board member, Dr. Stansbury, who saw the traditional school concept as a means of partial resolution of the concerns raised by the textbook controversy. After his visit to the school Dr. Stansbury said, "I think we're all interested in starting a traditional school or two next year."<sup>30</sup> At the Board meeting on Thursday, January 16, members directed the Kanawha County Schools administrative staff to begin studying possible sites for alternative schools. The Board also announced that questionnaires would be sent to all parents asking them if they were interested in sending their children to a traditional school so that a tentative determination of the number of sites needed could be made. In other action the Board of Education approved guidelines requiring endorsement by 75 percent of the twenty member parent-teacher screening committee before a textbook could remain on the approved list for referral to the Textbook Selection Committee.

Friday evening, January 17, 1975, Rev. Marvin Horan and five others were indicted on federal grand jury charges of conspiracy to blow up two elementary schools and other property owned by the Board of Education. According to the indictment, Horan allegedly told the

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<sup>30</sup>Charleston Daily Mail, "N. C. School Impresses Local Board," January 16, 1975.

group that he:

. . . had paid taxes for the last ten years and that he had paid enough taxes to own the Midway Elementary School, that he considered the Midway Elementary School his, that the persons present had his permission to do anything they wanted to with the Midway Elementary School.<sup>31</sup>

Rev. Horan was also accused of giving the others money to purchase explosive components and his five gallon gasoline can for a firebomb. In all, Rev. Horan was named in four of the six counts of the indictment, carrying a possible sentence of thirty-five years in federal prison. He was released from jail that evening after supporters raised \$50,000 bond.

The next morning nearly two hundred protesters gathered at the State Capitol to welcome the Ku Klux Klan to Charleston. Rev. Horan, free on bail, and Ed Miller, founder of the Non-Christian American Parents group, appeared with Dale Reush, grand dragon of the National Knights of the Ku Klux Klan of Ohio, and James Venable imperial wizard of the National Knights of the Ku Klux Klan from Stone Mountain, Georgia. Visiting Klansmen, in full dress with robes and hoods, held a brief rally on the steps of the State Capitol before proceeding to an indoor rally at the Charleston Civic Center where the number of spectators more than doubled. Venable told protesters that the "Communist, Socialist, nigger race is going to dominate this nation."<sup>32</sup> Visiting Klansmen pledged support of Kanawha County protesters, includ-

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<sup>31</sup>Grand Jury Charges, Count One, Paragraph 7, Section 2.

<sup>32</sup>Sunday Gazette-Mail, "Klan May Aid Horan Defense," January 19, 1975.

ing possible legal aid for Rev. Horan and told the audience to apply for membership in the KKK. The Charleston Branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the West Virginia State Human Rights Commission, the Business and Professional People's Alliance for Better Textbooks and Charleston Mayor John Hutchinson all publicly criticized the appearance of the KKK and their involvement in the textbook controversy.

On Tuesday, January 21, 1975, one of Rev. Horan's co-defendants on the federal charges, Delbert Lee Rose of Campbells Creek, pleaded guilty to four of the six counts of the indictment under terms of a plea bargaining agreement negotiated by his attorney and Assistant U. S. Attorney Wayne A. Rich, Jr. Rose's attorney told the court that the defendant realized, ". . . he has been used as a tool of certain persons and was led to believe he was part of a religious struggle."<sup>32</sup> His statement appeared to directly implicate Rev. Horan and Mr. Rose agreed to testify before the federal grand jury in February. Mr. Rose was returned to the Kanawha County jail under protective custody because of threats against his life. On Thursday, January 24, U. S. District Judge K. K. Hall set Rev. Horan's trial date for April 7, 1975.

#### KANAWHA COUNTY GETS A NEW SUPERINTENDENT

A special school board meeting was called for noon on Friday, January 24 to name John F. Santrock, the Executive Director of the Regional Educational Services Administration (RESA) for Kanawha, Putnam,

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<sup>32</sup>Charleston Daily Mail, "Midway School Bomb Suspect Pleads Guilty," January 21, 1975.

Boone and Clay Counties, who had spent most of his adult life with the Kanawha County School system, as Dr. Underwood's successor as superintendent. Earlier in January, Board President Kinsolving had announced that Underwood's position would be filled by the end of that month. After a secret Board meeting on January 21, when Santrock was selected as Underwood's replacement, the Friday meeting confirming his appointment was not unexpected. Although Dr. Underwood resigned as superintendent effective February 1, under an agreement with the Board he remained on the payroll as a consultant until his contract expired on June 30, 1975. Mrs. Moore cast the only dissenting vote in Santrock's appointment (as had been the case with Dr. Underwood) commenting that she would have preferred "somebody who would have taken a stronger stand with regard to the rights of parents."<sup>34</sup>

After his appointment, Mr. Santrock said he would place priorities on opening communication channels, concentrating on teaching basic skills and involving parents in decision making. Reactions from pro- and anti-textbook groups on the naming of the new superintendent were mixed. Comments varied from, "I think they could not have scraped the barrel and gotten worse," by Rev. Henry Thaxton to, "I have great confidence in him," by Board member Dr. Stansbury. Most people adopted a wait and see attitude, recognizing the difficult position of the new superintendent in establishing working relationships with all factions.

On January 30, U. S. District Judge K. K. Hall dismissed a suit filed by Gary and Shonet Williams of St. Albans challenging the consti-

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<sup>34</sup>The Charleston Gazette, "Santrock Planning 'Some Changes'," January 25, 1975.

tutionality of the Kanawha County Schools language arts textbook adoption. Although Judge Hall agreed that some of the materials in the controversial texts might be offensive, he said he could find nothing that could equate use of the texts with a violation of the First Amendment. His opinion stated:

A complete loosening of imagination is necessary to find that placing the books and materials in the schools constitutes an establishment of religion contrary to the rights contained in the Constitution. Further, the Court finds nothing in defendant's conduct or acts which constitutes an inhibition on or prohibition of the free exercise of religion. These rights are guaranteed by the First Amendment, but the Amendment does not guarantee that nothing about religion will be taught in the schools nor that nothing offensive to any religion will be taught in the schools.<sup>35</sup>

The National Education Association's Inquiry Report, "A Textbook Study in Cultural Conflict," was released on February 6, 1975. Based on the three day hearing in December, the eighty-seven page report recommended, among other things, the establishment of traditional public school alternatives within the Kanawha County School system either through separate classes in basic skills subjects or through a traditionally-oriented curriculum at one or more schools. However the NEA warned that such programs should be designed with care so as not to "tend to isolate further the mountain people of the county."<sup>36</sup> Other recommendations included a proposal for a state mandate for multi-cultural, multi-ethnic materials; human relations and multi-cultural education training for all teachers and administrators; aggressive

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<sup>35</sup>Memorandum Order, January 30, 1975, K. K. Hall, United States District Judge.

<sup>36</sup>NEA Inquiry Report, op. cit., p. 64.

school-community relations efforts in rural areas; rotating Board of Education meetings in outlying areas and an active public information program. Mrs. Moore objected strongly to some of the recommendations. Commenting on the NEA report she said:

Human relations courses, the kind they're talking about teaching, are secular humanistic approaches to education. A teacher's job is to educate children. I think it's time we got off this ethnic kick. It's ridiculous to point to children and tell them they're from a particular ethnic group. They're Americans and that's all that matters.<sup>37</sup>

Working under the new guidelines established as a result of the language arts textbook protest, the elementary social studies screening committee rejected parts of all four of the social studies series under consideration for adoption at their February 10, 1975 meeting. The screening committee, made up of fifteen lay citizens and five teachers, proceeded under the assumption that 75 percent of them must agree that each book met the seven guidelines adopted by the Board. Their recommendations were then passed on to the Textbook Selection Committee, composed only of professional personnel according to state law, for further action. The screening committee's vote prompted one member, Susan Blaine, to complain, "We're not sending the selection committee a choice; we're sending them a mandate."<sup>38</sup>

The following day the Kanawha Coalition for Quality Education announced that they would file a lawsuit challenging the action taken by the Textbook Screening Committee saying that they had exceeded their

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<sup>37</sup>The Charleston Gazette, "Some NEA Proposals 'Baloney,'" February 7, 1975.

<sup>38</sup>The Charleston Gazette, "Text Committee Turns Thumbs Down on Books," February 11, 1975.

authority. Under the Board regulations, if the screening committee only passed one series on to the selection committee, the selection committee would have to recommend that series. Rev. James Lewis, spokesman for KCQE, said that they felt that this constituted a violation of state law since, in effect, the screening committee would be selecting the textbooks for use in Kanawha County. Accusing the Board of Education of bowing to pressure put on them during the controversy, Rev. Lewis stated, "We believe our board has been intimidated and, in fact, captured by Mrs. Moore and the band of protesters who are everpresent and constantly threatening."<sup>39</sup>

The first Board meeting after John Santrock's appointment as superintendent was held on February 13, 1975, at Stonewall Jackson High School. The meeting was moved from the Board of Education Auditorium to the high school to accommodate the anticipated large crowd. Rev. Horan called for all textbook critics to turn out for the Board meeting to meet the new superintendent. About three hundred persons attended the heavily guarded meeting. During this session Mrs. Moore broadened her attack on textbook content to include public school libraries. L. W. Seaman, PTA Council President and an early, outspoken textbook critic, read excerpts from three secondary library books. They were The Naked Ape by Desmond Morris, Soul on Ice by Eldridge Cleaver and Cheerleader by Ruth Doan MacDougall. Mrs. Moore saying, "It's filth beyond words,"<sup>40</sup> repeatedly tried to have the books removed from the

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<sup>39</sup>Charleston Daily Mail, "Text Coalition Will Sue to Test Books Rejection," February 11, 1975.

<sup>40</sup>Charleston Daily Mail, "School Library Book Removal Effort

libraries. Objecting to her procedures, the Board did agree to place the removal of library books on the agenda for the next meeting. In other business the Board approved a motion, responding to KCQE's threatened suit, requiring each Textbook Screening Committee to refer at least three series to the selection committee.

#### A NEW BOYCOTT ATTEMPT

A two day boycott of the school system was proposed by Rev. Horan at an anti-textbook rally in Marmet on February 23, 1975. About 150 persons heard Rev. Horan as he asked protesters to keep their children out of school on March 3 and 4 to encourage the State Legislature to act favorably on the legislation they supported prior to the end of the session on March 8. Rev. Horan said, "We've got to show the board of education and the State and the rest of the nation that we're still fighting."<sup>41</sup> Other speakers included Rev. Avis Hill, Elmer Fike, Rev. Ezra Graley, Marmet Mayor Billy Pauley, Rev. Henry Thaxton and Ed Miller, Grand Kleagle of the West Virginia Chapter of the Ku Klux Klan. Rev. Hill, promising an increase in protest activity the following week, said that a recently formed group of women called the Kanawha Valley Mothers "has a real big surprise coming and other things are going to happen with warrants and things like that."<sup>42</sup>

On Monday, February 24, 1975, a group of about fifty women and

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Flunks," February 14, 1975.

<sup>41</sup>The Charleston Gazette, "Plan to Boycott Schools Unveiled by Text Critics," February 24, 1975.

<sup>42</sup>Ibid.

their children occupied the Board of Education Auditorium tying themselves to chairs with ropes and vowing to remain in the building until "we get the schools cleaned up and the books out."<sup>43</sup> Superintendent Santrock met with these women Monday evening, describing them as "some of the ladies who have been most interested in their children."<sup>44</sup> The sit-in was broken up Tuesday morning when the Charleston Police arrived with arrest warrants for two of the protesters, Mr. and Mrs. Robert McCune. Mrs. McCune is the same person who was arrested after the December Board meeting for assaulting Dr. Underwood. The women moved out of the building singing, "Thank you, Jesus" and "Alleluia." The protesters continued to mill around outside the building and shortly after 4 p.m. the police arrived with orders for them to appear in Kanawha Circuit Court on Thursday, February 27, to show cause for violating previous injunctions limiting picketing on Board of Education property.

Thursday twenty-one persons who had occupied the Board of Education Auditorium appeared before Chief Judge Thomas McHugh to answer the court order. After conferring with Kanawha Circuit Judge Patrick Casey, Judge McHugh decided to divide the twenty-one into small groups of five to eight and grant them jury trials. After winning agreement from the protesters to obtain lawyers, the first trial for five of those arrested as a result of the sit-in was set for Tuesday, March 4, 1975.

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<sup>43</sup>The Charleston Gazette, "Mothers Occupy Auditorium," February 25, 1975.

<sup>44</sup>Ibid.

Following a meeting on Friday, February 28 with the Executive Committee of the Kanawha Association of Classroom Teachers, Kanawha County prosecutor, Larry Winter warned that parents participating in the school boycott planned for March 3 and 4 might find themselves facing truancy charges. Additionally he noted that it is a violation of the law for any person to induce or attempt to induce any child to be absent from school, implying that boycott leaders could also be charged with truancy. Winter said that although he did not want to curtail legitimate forms of protest, "I just want it understood that this form of protest isn't legitimate."<sup>45</sup>

Attendance on Monday, March 3, 1975, according to school officials was 70.26 percent although Rev. Horan claimed the opposite--that 70 percent of the students were out of school. The results of the first day of the boycott were considered inconclusive however since a snow storm prevented some buses from reaching students. Tuesday's attendance rose to 83 percent with most of the absenteeism reported in the Upper Kanawha Valley. The Board of Education announced that they would cooperate with the prosecuting attorney's office to enforce the compulsory attendance law.

Following the failure of the two day boycott according to Board of Education statistics, protest leaders agreed to reduce activities to give the new superintendent time to come up with a solution to the textbook controversy. Rev. Horan indicated that they hoped Santrock would come up with a solution before September. In the meantime protesters

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<sup>45</sup>The Charleston Gazette, "Parents May Face Truancy Charges," March 1, 1975.

said they would concentrate their efforts on having the books removed through the legislature or the court system.

On Monday, March 10 the delayed jury trial of the first of twenty-one textbook protesters began in Circuit Judge Patrick Casey's courtroom. Washington, D. C. based Heritage Foundation lawyer, James McKenna, represented the five persons on trial. In Monday's proceedings under fierce cross examination from McKenna, Kanawha County Schools Deputy Superintendent John Hughes was forced to admit false testimony in the affidavit brought against the protesters. Mr. Hughes had stated he learned of the presence of the women in the Board building at noon on February 24 when actually he did not know of it until 2:30 p.m. that day. He was also unable to supply the defense lawyers with the names of the persons who had been prevented from entering or leaving the Board building as stated in the affidavit.

On Tuesday, Judge Casey ruled that there was insufficient evidence to continue trying Ed Miller, one of the defendants. The case against the four remaining women went to the jury Wednesday. Late Wednesday the jury reported they were solidly deadlocked and the panel, under Judge Casey's instructions were asked to continue deliberations on Thursday. However the jury was still unable to reach a verdict and the four women were notified that their case was placed on indefinite continuance.

The Kanawha Coalition for Quality Education filed a petition with State Superintendent of Schools, Dr. Daniel B. Taylor, charging that the Kanawha County Board of Education had unlawfully delegated its statutory responsibility for textbook selection to a screening committee.

In a ruling released on Wednesday, March 12, Dr. Taylor agreed with the Coalition stating that "the committee of five teachers must have the opportunity of examining all books listed on the State approved list, and not a restricted number that might come to it from the twenty member committee."<sup>46</sup> Dr. Taylor said screening committees could make recommendations for secondary and supplementary texts but that in no way would such recommendations be binding on the statutory committee of five teachers.

On Wednesday, March 19, more than seventy protesters from Kanawha County arrived in Washington, D. C. to join in a rally against federal intrusion into local education with Boston anti-busing forces. During a press conference sponsored by the Populist Forum, Rev. Avis Hill stated, "This is the first time the two big struggles against busing and dirty textbooks have stood side by side. This is the beginning of a political rebellion."<sup>47</sup>

That same day, a federal grand jury in Bluefield, West Virginia, indicted six Kanawha County men for conspiring to blow up a Campbells Creek bridge at the height of the textbook controversy. This action marked the third time federal charges had been brought against protesters as a result of the bombings. The new indictment charged that the bomb to destroy the bridge was constructed in the Campbells Creek anti-textbook protest headquarters.

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<sup>46</sup>Interpretation of State Superintendent of Schools, March 12, 1975 (20).

<sup>47</sup>The Charleston Gazette, "70 Protesters Head for Rally," March 19, 1975.

On Monday, March 24, 1975, West Virginia Governor Arch A. Moore, Jr. signed into law a bill changing the seating of county Board of Education members from January 1 to July 1 following their election in May primaries. Despite the introduction of several bills in the West Virginia Legislature and active lobbying by textbook protesters, this law was the only textbook controversy related piece of legislation enacted.

With little fanfare the Board of Education on March 30, 1975 approved a new elementary social studies adoption with the only dissenting vote cast by Mrs. Moore. She said she objected to the Fideler Publishing Company's social studies series because it taught Darwin's theory of evolution as fact. Over heated objections from Mrs. Moore the Board also voted to revise the textbook adoption policy and require that the selection committee review all books under consideration. This action was necessary to bring Kanawha County's policy on the screening and selection committees in line with state law as interpreted by the State Superintendent of Schools.

The following day, eleven members of Kanawha County's social studies Textbook Screening Committee resigned in protest over the school board's revised textbook adoption policy making their function purely advisory. Carl Kinder, one of the resigning members, said, "If they are going to take away what little authority we had, I feel it is an exercise in futility to continue to give them our opinions"<sup>48</sup> Board spokesmen disagreed with this position noting that the screening

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<sup>48</sup>Charleston Daily Mail, "11 Text Screening Advisory Resign, April 1, 1975," April 1, 1975.

committee would still fill out sheets listing specific objections to textbooks and would indicate approval or disapproval of a series in their comments to the statutorily mandated Textbook Selection Committee.

Rev. Marvin Horan announced that an anti-textbook rally would be held on Saturday, April 5 at the Charleston Municipal Auditorium to show disapproval of the new social studies texts, the revised textbook adoption policy and the language arts textbooks. Although the purpose of the rally was not to plan another boycott, Rev. Horan threatened, "If there is another boycott, it won't be a one or two day boycott. There will be no going back to school. We won't compromise."<sup>49</sup> Church buses were promised to transport protesters to and from the Upper Kanawha Valley for the rally.

About two hundred persons attended the meeting at the Municipal Auditorium on Saturday. Rev. Horan told the audience that Superintendent Santrock would be given until September 1, 1975 to reach a solution agreeable to all parties. However the solution must include a provision to remove all controversial books permanently or the anti-text forces threatened massive boycotts of classes. Rev. Horan said:

If the books aren't out by September 1, we plan to take our forces and close every school in this valley that we possibly can. They'll be no more 30 day cooling off periods, no more conferences around conference tables, no more taking some books out and leaving the rest in--no more compromises.<sup>50</sup>

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<sup>49</sup>The Charleston Gazette, "Textbook Protesters Plan Rally," April 4, 1975.

<sup>50</sup>Sunday Gazette-Mail, "September 1 Removal Deadline Given," April 6, 1975.

## THE PROTEST WINDS DOWN

On Thursday, April 10, 1975, the Kanawha County Board of Education announced the establishment of a traditional basic skills alternative school for the 1975-76 school year at Kyle Elementary School in South Charleston. Enrollment was not to exceed 270 with applications accepted between May 1 and June 1, 1975. According to Board of Education officials, the Kyle program would place primary emphasis on, "the mastery of basic skills, adherence to strict codes of discipline and dress, fulfillment of the obligations of citizenship and acceptance of responsibility for the preservation of high patriotic ideals."<sup>51</sup> Despite concerns by protesters that one school with a capacity of 270 students would not meet the demand, the project was eventually discarded because of lack of interest. Less than one hundred applications, including sixty from one elementary school, were received and the Board of Education decided that it would not be educationally or economically sound to operate the Kyle program for so few students.

On April 14, 1975 the jury trial of Rev. Marvin Horan and Larry Stevens began on federal charges related to the bombing of Midway Elementary School and the conspiracy to bomb Valley Grove Elementary School. Tight security prevailed as over one hundred spectators attended the trial. Delbert Rose, who had previously pleaded guilty to the charges, testified against the defendants. Government and defense attorneys rested their cases on Thursday, April 17 without calling

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<sup>51</sup>Board of Education Memorandum #244 - 74/75.

either Rev. Horan or Mr. Stevens to testify.

Friday morning a jury of five men and seven women began deliberations on the charges. By mid-afternoon it appeared that the jury would be hung and Judge Hall called the jury from its deliberations for additional instructions. Fifty-five minutes later the jury returned its verdict. Stevens was convicted of conspiracy and five additional counts including the making and use of dynamite bombs. Rev. Horan was convicted only on the conspiracy charge carrying a maximum imprisonment of five years and a \$10,000 fine. On May 19, 1975 Rev. Horan was sentenced to three years in a federal minimum security prison. Commenting on the sentencing Rev. Graley said, "We are not going to stand by and see our children corrupted. It's a disgrace to America when any father has to go to jail for his children's education."<sup>52</sup>

Although Rev. Horan remained free on bail pending appeal, his sentencing for all practical purposes marked the end of the protest associated with Kanawha County's textbook controversy. Despite repeated attempts to generate activities, the protest movement was never able to regain momentum. No major incidents marred the rest of the 1974-75 school year and in spite of many threats the 1975-76 school year opened peacefully and remained that way. In October of 1975, the controversial Communicating Series was returned to the classroom by the Board without a whisper of protest. Kanawha County continues to receive national attention from a variety of sources as analysts from all levels repre-

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<sup>52</sup>Charleston Daily Mail, "Horan, Stevens Get 3-Year Jail Terms," May 19, 1975.

senting a variety of philosophic viewpoints, attempt to understand the textbook controversy that had gripped Kanawha County for over one year.

## Chapter 7

### SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

#### SUMMARY OF THE CONTROVERSY

In April of 1974 when the proposed language arts textbooks were adopted by the Kanawha County Board of Education, no one visualized the intensity of emotions, violence and disruption of the educational program that would besiege the school system for the next year as a result of the textbook controversy. On June 27, 1974 at a stormy meeting, the Board of Education agreed to purchase by a three-two vote the recommended texts after deleting eight titles from the supplemental list. Over one thousand persons crowded in and around the Board of Education Auditorium to listen to debate over the pros and cons of the content and philosophy of these language arts textbooks. Prior to this meeting there had been public endorsement of the books by such groups as the West Virginia Human Rights Commission, the NAACP and some clergymen from long established Protestant, Catholic and Jewish congregations. Condemnations had been as frequent from fundamentalist ministers, Board of Education member Mrs. Alice Moore and the Executive Board of the Kanawha County Council of Parents and Teachers, among others.

Following the June 27 vote, various anti-textbook groups were formed; plans for private Christian schools were announced; and purported excerpts containing objectionable materials were widely circulated throughout Kanawha County. Despite these actions by those opposed to

the textbooks, the Kanawha County School's administration was caught off guard when school re-opened on September 3, 1974 and the full intensity of the protest became evident.

The first two weeks of school were characterized by boycotting and picketing. School attendance vacillated between 70 and 80 percent as miners walked off their jobs on a wildcat strike in support of the protesters. Various businesses and industries were shut down by anti-textbook pickets for varying periods of time. On September 11, 1974 the Board of Education voted to remove the controversial books during a thirty-day cooling off period while the texts were reviewed by a citizen's committee composed of three persons appointed by each school board member and the member-elect.

This compromise was first accepted and then rejected by the protesters whose rallying cry became one of no compromise--"Books out permanently." During the following weeks, public education in Kanawha County was halted by the politics of violent confrontation. Protesters and supporters of the textbooks were shot at and assaulted. School buses were attacked, cars were firebombed and protesters were arrested and released. School buildings were dynamited and vandalized while efforts to obtain assistance from the West Virginia State Police went unheeded. The entire school system was closed between September 12 and 16, 1974.

The citizen's Textbook Review Committee began its work on September 24. But after the first vote, endorsing the controversial secondary series, Dynamics of Language, the six members casting dissenting votes resigned to form their own review committee. On

October 10 the President of the Board of Education, Albert Anson, Jr., who had been defeated for re-election by F. Douglas Stump, announced his early resignation as a result of the controversy. The following day Kanawha County School's Superintendent, Dr. Kenneth E. Underwood, announced his intention to resign on or before June 30, 1975.

During this period, rallies, boycotts and sporadic violence continued. On November 8, 1974, the Board of Education, after receiving reports from both the citizens review committee and the splinter review committee, voted to return all of the controversial books to the classroom except for the elementary Communicating Series and the Interaction Series, Level 4, for advanced high school students. These two series were only to be used in the school libraries. In addition, the Board voted to require parental permission for use of any of the controversial texts. This decision, although greeted by most of the community and the media as a reasonable compromise, did not halt the protest. Violence and boycotting continued unchecked until November 12 when the Kanawha County Sheriff's Department and the West Virginia State Police finally agreed to work together to restore law and order. Despite isolated incidents of violence and a vow to continue the protest until all books were permanently removed from the classroom, most students were in school by the Christmas vacation and a semblance of normalcy had returned to school operations.

On January 24, 1975, John F. Santrock was named to replace Dr. Kenneth E. Underwood as superintendent of Kanawha County Schools, effective February 1. After several attempts to regenerate the textbook controversy, protest leaders agreed to give Mr. Santrock until

September 1, 1975 to work out a compromise acceptable to them. There were veiled threats that the opening of schools for the 1975-76 school year would be marred by a more intense boycott than in 1974, but such threats proved unfounded. Debate over many of the issues continued and questions raised during the controversy remain unanswered although the protest had diminished to allow normal operation of the school system.

### CONSEQUENCES

Any series of events that grips a school system as intensely as the Kanawha County textbook controversy has consequences for the school system. Those most deeply affected were those most directly involved in the educational process: the students, teachers and administrators.

It is estimated that up to 20 percent of the Kanawha County students were out of school for at least two months during the 1974-75 school year. In those areas where the protest was most extreme, particularly the Upper Kanawha Valley, these figures reached 50 percent. Those students who attended school throughout the protest often did so in an atmosphere of fear and tension.

Besides missing part of a year's school work, some students, whose parents opposed the language arts textbooks, were placed in a position of conflict between their parents' values and the values of other students and teachers. Many schools were divided by the controversy and students within these schools were segregated into groups of who could and who could not use the controversial texts. A teacher in one school, commenting on the effects of the protest, noted:

In the classroom the students--many whom have been

out as much as nine to ten weeks--just sit there because they seem to have lost interest in school. They have the problem of catching up with their work, the problem of trying to make sense out of all the confusion.<sup>1</sup>

For the students in and out of school a climate of fear and confusion existed throughout the 1974-75 school year. One student, commenting on the effects of the controversy, said that regardless of who was at fault or which educational philosophy was supported, it was the students who had suffered as a result of the controversy. The student testified:

What is important is that the students of this community have been used as innocent pawns in a struggle by individuals and groups for power. There is a lot of stress in the classrooms. Teachers can't speak out. Students feel like they are really being cheated out of an education.<sup>2</sup>

Likewise teachers also often bore the brunt of the controversy. Richard Clendenin, president of the Kanawha County Association of Teachers of English, commented, "We have been called Communists, nigger lovers, professional elitists, and pseudo-intellectuals."<sup>3</sup> With threats of violence and lawsuits hanging over their heads for using certain materials with some students or failing to use the same materials with other students, teachers were understandably frustrated. The trust relationship between teachers, students and parents was replaced by an atmosphere of apprehension and doubt. A student noted, "In my school we are two armed camps--the teachers against the community. Teachers are afraid to teach."<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Testimony before the NEA Inquiry Panel.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid. <sup>3</sup>Ibid. <sup>4</sup>Ibid.

In addition to opposing the specific content of the language arts textbooks, many protesters, including Mrs. Moore, were concerned more broadly with the educational philosophy underlying so-called "modern" education. Elmer Fike, calling the textbooks the last straw, wrote, "The 'look say' method of reading, modern math, unstructured curriculum and sex education which has more nearly become a course in promiscuity have resulted in a deterioration of the educational processes."<sup>5</sup> Objecting to open-ended, questioning teaching methods that delve into issues and values, most textbook critics urged a return to traditional, basic education. Kanawha County's newly adopted textbook selection guidelines raised further questions about what would or would not be acceptable in the classroom.

Just how far the doubt and uncertainty regarding acceptable classroom subjects extended is illustrated in one principal's comments to Washington Star-News reporter John Mathews, "A teacher came to me the other day and asked, 'What do you think? Can we defend teaching this in class?' She was talking about a unit in biology on the sexual reproduction of mollusks."<sup>6</sup>

Although the conflict created by the textbooks ended, controversy remains over what should be in the curriculum and what should be the concern of the school. A great deal of frustration and confusion remains over what is or is not acceptable in the classroom. Many

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<sup>5</sup>Kanawha County School Board Minutes, November 21, 1974.

<sup>6</sup>Washington Star-News, "Kanawha Valley Book War Shakes Up Teachers," December 12, 1974.

teachers no longer feel comfortable to use their professional judgment in the selection of instructional materials. "They distrust the Central Office staff, the Board of Education and the community. They are afraid for their safety, peace of mind and even their jobs,"<sup>7</sup> commented Gene Douglas, Principal of George Washington High School.

A number of teachers and principals, especially in those areas where the textbook protest was most active, either resigned or requested transfers to other positions. For example, one school in the Upper Kanawha Valley, Cedar Grove Community School, that was closed by protesting parents, lost six teachers and the principal prior to the 1975-76 school year. It was generally agreed by the press, school officials and the public that the effects of the textbook controversy would be felt by the Kanawha County School system for years to come.

#### FAILURES OF THE SCHOOL SYSTEM

The NEA Inquiry Report notes several critical points at which the officials and staff of the Kanawha County School system might have taken positive action to diminish, if not avert, the textbook controversy. School personnel generally agree that there are three periods in time when affirmative action could have reduced the educational disruption caused by the protest.

First of all there was a failure on the part of the school system to anticipate the adverse reaction to the adoption of the language arts textbooks. The anti-sex education campaign of 1969-70

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<sup>7</sup>Testimony before the NEA Inquiry Panel.

and the election campaign platform of Board member, Mrs. Alice Moore, should have given the Board of Education and the Kanawha County administrative staff ample forewarning of the potential for an emotional, intense protest over the multi-cultural, multi-ethnic language arts materials in 1974. If this was not enough of a hint, new Board member Stump had defeated incumbent Anson in the 1974 school board election by campaigning against the lack of responsiveness of the school system. The top vote getter in May of 1974, Stump had charged that, "the present Board has lost its ability to listen."<sup>8</sup>

Additionally, the Board and the administration should have been aware of the lingering resentment felt by rural citizens over school consolidation especially in light of the controversy generated over school closure in the Citizen's Facilities Planning Committee during the 1973-74 school year. An attempt should have been made to insure greater parental involvement and awareness of various school programs particularly in the more remote, rural areas of the county. The NEA characterized Kanawha County as "a community long divided within itself along lines of class, urban and rural life style, religious belief, and cultural values,"<sup>9</sup> observations with which almost every member of the school system was familiar. The climate was ripe for controversy and the potential of the textbook medium for generating an intense conflict should have been recognized.

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<sup>8</sup>Elmer Fike, Textbook Controversy in Perspective and Other Related Essays, (Charleston: Alliance for Better Textbooks, 1975), p. 1.

<sup>9</sup>NEA Inquiry Report, op. cit., p. 37.

Secondly, the school system failed to prepare in advance for the possibility of protest. Considering the multi-cultural, multi-ethnic nature of the language arts textbooks and the philosophy of the Textbook Selection Committee, a broad base of community support should have been solicited prior to the presentation of the list for adoption. The NEA report concluded that, "A vital preliminary part of the adoption procedure should have been wide dissemination of the true nature and objectives of the proposed materials in order to ward off in advance the half-truths of extremist attack."<sup>10</sup> A just criticism of the Kanawha County administration is that they were guilty of failing to take seriously the objections to the language arts materials. Professional judgment was considered sufficient to counter public attacks on the nature of the curriculum.

Lastly, there was a failure of the Board of Education and school officials to respond promptly and effectively to the first challenges to the language arts textbooks. Early in April of 1974 when Mrs. Moore succeeded in having the textbook adoption motion worded to allow for a separate vote on the purchase of the books, the school administration should have been alerted to the likelihood of a sustained challenge to the language arts materials. An aggressive effort to counter charges and allegations about the purported content of the textbooks should have been initiated.

However, not only did the school administration fail to recognize the potential controversy and take action at this point in

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<sup>10</sup>NEA Inquiry Report, op. cit., p. 61.

time, they also failed to act after the heated June 27 Board meeting. The attendance of one thousand citizens voicing protest over the language arts books and the presentation to the Board of petitions carrying over twelve thousand signatures denouncing the adopted texts, still did not convince the school administration that an extended controversy was imminent. The opposition was allowed to mount an aggressive campaign with only whispers of rebuttal by the educational establishment.

Continuing throughout the summer of 1974 as the protest escalated there was no sustained effort on the part of the school administrators, teachers, Board of Education members or citizens' groups to respond to the objections and criticisms of the language arts materials. In retrospect Kanawha County Schools administrators agree that they and other proponents of the controversial texts should have initiated efforts to explain the objectives of the language arts program and the selection of the materials through all available channels to invite commitment and involvement prior to the opening of school in September. Explaining the lack of public relations effort during this period, Albert Anson, Jr., commented that the Board did not feel that "the reaction would be as strong as it was."<sup>11</sup>

The school administration allowed itself to get behind and become the defender rather than the aggressor throughout the controversy. Other established groups from the Chamber of Commerce to the Teachers Association followed the lead of the school system in failing to take

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<sup>11</sup>Albert Anson, Jr., op. cit.

positive action to avert the conflict. Dr. Daniel B. Taylor told this writer, "No one really believed the level to which the controversy escalated. Each new action was a shocking new action. So many people were late in reacting."<sup>12</sup>

Recognizing that hindsight is generally superior to foresight, it is difficult to tell if different actions on the part of the school administration would have kept Kanawha County Schools out of national headlines during the 1974 school year. However, regardless of whether or not the controversy could have been avoided, it is fairly safe to assume that the results would have been less devastating.

#### OTHER FACTORS IN THE CONTROVERSY

Despite the failures of the school system to anticipate or prepare for or respond to the textbook controversy, there are several other factors, mostly outside the control of the educational establishment that contributed to and sustained the conflict. Five important factors have been identified for analysis.

The first of these was the state law regarding the seating of Board members elected in the May primary. Board President Albert Anson, Jr. was defeated for re-election by F. Douglas Stump in May of 1974 but according to state law was to retain his seat on the Board of Education until January 1, 1975. As a lame duck, Albert Anson, Jr. cast the deciding vote to purchase the controversial books on June 27, 1974. The resulting three-two vote in combination with comments by

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<sup>12</sup>Statement of Dr. Daniel B. Taylor, December 9, 1975.

member-elect Stump, led many protesters to believe that the vote would be reversed when Stump was seated.

The protest movement frequently hinted at Mr. Stump's pivotal role. If the momentum of the controversy could be maintained until he could cast his vote, many felt the decision would be three-two to remove the textbooks. This hope for a reversal of the Board's action of June 1974 spurred the controversy. Even when Mr. Stump was seated in October after Mr. Anson's resignation, his first official action was to introduce a resolution calling for the removal of the textbooks until the beginning of the 1975-76 school year. Although the motion was withdrawn, it appeared that the protesters had been right in their judgment of the way Stump would vote. Elmer Fike wrote, "During the review period, Anson, the lame duck member, resigned and Douglas Stump took his place. Because of his campaign stance, the protesters expected a favorable vote of three to two rejecting the books."<sup>13</sup>

This opinion was held until November 8, 1974. At that meeting after the compromise resolutions to require parental permission for the use of the controversial books and to ban classroom indoctrination in the area of morals and values, Mr. Stump cast his vote with the majority for the retention of the textbooks. However, had there not been doubt about the outcome of a vote on the textbooks when Stump was seated, the five month period from June to October might not have been so heated. The change in the state law seating newly elected Board of Education members on July 1 will prevent lame duck members from casting the

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<sup>13</sup>Elmer Fike, *op. cit.*, p. 1.

deciding vote on critical issues for a period of nearly seven months after an election.

A second factor was the role of organized labor in the textbook controversy. Some analysts have hypothesized that the involvement of the United Mine Workers was an attempt to reduce stockpiles to strengthen their bargaining position during contract negotiations. There is also a considerable body of opinion supporting a counter view that UMW textbook protest activities were part of an internal political struggle for control of the UMW. This theory holds that miners deliberately ignored President Miller's pleas to return to work in order to undermine his power within the union. And certainly there are many coal miners who took active roles in the protest to demonstrate their disapproval of the textbook content. Regardless of whether the involvement of the United Mine Workers was an attempt to reduce coal stockpiles or part of an internal power struggle or an expression of legitimate concern, the miners' wildcat strikes played an important role in the controversy. According to Calvin Trillin, writing for The New Yorker magazine, "the Kanawha County boycott . . . might have sputtered out in a week or two except that a few women with placards stationed themselves in front of some coal mines."<sup>14</sup>

The initial closure of mines in Kanawha County in September of 1974 provided a ready force of textbook dissenters numbering nearly four thousand men. The miners extended the protest against the books to businesses and industries throughout the Charleston area in an attempt

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<sup>14</sup>Calvin Trillin, op. cit., p. 122.

to disrupt the total economic system of the county. In addition to swelling the ranks of the protest groups, the coal miners' participation in the textbook boycott brought the Kanawha County controversy to national attention. Mrs. Moore, acknowledging the role of the United Mine Workers in the controversy, said that without their walkouts and wildcat strikes, the Kanawha County textbook protest would have been unable to reach the momentum that it did. Although some community leaders reported that it was the threat of miner protests in November that finally brought about cooperation between the West Virginia State Police and the Kanawha County Sheriff's Department, Governor Moore disagreed. In response to the question of what prompted the decision to involve the state police immediately after the expiration of the UMW contract, Governor Moore wrote:

At no time whatsoever, to my knowledge, was there any mention of a UMW contract in the textbook controversy. Perhaps you have information here that I am not privy to. But I resent your inference that any union contract had anything to do in anyway with the State Police in this controversy.<sup>15</sup>

Nevertheless, had the United Mine Workers contract not been about to expire or had the union failed to strike in support of the textbook protest, the controversy might have ended quickly.

A third factor sustaining the controversy was the lack of adequate law enforcement. When school opened in September of 1974 the Kanawha County Sheriff's Department quickly came to the realization that they did not have enough personnel to control textbook related

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<sup>15</sup>Correspondence between the writer and Governor Arch A. Moore, Jr. dated February 19, 1976.

disturbances occurring in scattered sections of the nine hundred square mile county. Sheriff Melton reported that the Sunday after school started he requested the assistance of the West Virginia State Police. His plea was repeated numerous times in the next sixty days by Superintendent Underwood, the media and the Charleston community and business leaders. Governor Moore, in direct control of the state police, insisted that they had no jurisdiction as the textbook protest and its related activities were a civil disturbance. In his September 10 press release the Governor said that the resolution of the Kanawha County conflict should be reached by arbitration, not the intervention of the West Virginia State Police. Corresponding with this writer Governor Moore emphatically stated, "I still support the position taken by the Governor's office during the early days of the controversy. That position was, and is, consistent with the laws I swore to uphold when I became Governor."<sup>16</sup>

The picture of what happened in terms of law enforcement during this period is not entirely clear. In a personal interview West Virginia State Police District Sergeant Lemmon said that the state police were involved from the outset in numbers equal to that of the Sheriff's Department. Sergeant Lemmon accused the Sheriff, an elected official, of lying and using the textbook controversy to his political advantage. Comments of the Sheriff about the state police were particularly irritating to state troopers putting in long hours due to the controversy. Although District Sergeant Lemmon would not speak for

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<sup>16</sup>ibid.

either the Governor or Col. Bonar, he did say that there were communication problems between Sheriff Melton and the powers that be. Additionally Lemmon commented that, "Whether or not the department responded properly is not the issue but rather the Board's failure to listen to the people."<sup>17</sup>

Whether or not it was coincidental, the November 12 announcement of a cooperative law enforcement effort between the West Virginia State Police and the Sheriff's Department marked the end of the violence associated with the protest. The Governor's Office and Col. Bonar were criticized severely in public forums for not becoming involved when the first violence erupted. Even the Republican State Chairman, Thomas E. Potter, said on television that the Governor, in his refusal to send in the state police, had a wrong interpretation of the law and misread the situation. Others were less kind, laying direct responsibility for the violence and anarchy of the textbook controversy at the feet of Governor Moore and Col. Bonar. In response to these charges Governor Moore suggested, "A review of the laws involving the State Police might be beneficial and perhaps would clear up some of the erroneous charges made by many people in the Kanawha County textbook situation."<sup>18</sup>

It is true that there were times in September, October and early November 1974 when mob rule and chaos characterized Kanawha County. Many citizens were fearful of harm to themselves, their children or their property and there were enough incidents of violence to

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<sup>17</sup>D. L. Lemmon, *op. cit.*    <sup>18</sup>*Ibid.*

reinforce these fears. Albert Anson, Jr., said that the Board of Education was also influenced in its decision-making by the lack of an assurance of effective law enforcement. Regardless of whether or not earlier intervention of the West Virginia State Police would have helped resolve the controversy, the preponderance of public opinion supported the contention that there would have been less violence and disruption in Kanawha County.

The fourth factor was the intervention of outside groups. National organizations and individuals served to sustain the controversy by providing funds and legal assistance for anti-textbook groups as well as by keeping the controversy alive in the national media. Although a few left wing organizations such as the International Worker's Party and the Young Socialist Party made brief appearances in Charleston, the vast majority of organizations represented conservative or right wing philosophical positions.

The intervention of outside groups in controversies over textbook content is not unique to Kanawha County. Many conservative national groups have previously expressed concern over the direction of textbook content and in some instances have mounted aggressive anti-textbook campaigns. The operation and influence of such organizations in other locales is detailed in The Ax Grinders, The Public School and the Censors and Thunder on the Right.

Opinion varies on the role of groups such as the Heritage Foundation, the Ku Klux Klan, the John Birch Society, Citizens for Decency through Law and the National Parents League. Rev. Quigley said that without the aid of these organizations, the protest would have

floundered by November of 1974. Another view was expressed by Rev. Lewis that fundamentalism and literalism lead to an alliance of God and country as represented in the philosophy of conservatives such as Garner Ted Armstrong and Carl McIntire. In his opinion the religious overtones of the controversy in combination with concerns about modern education, made Kanawha County a perfect arena for the operation of "right-wing, conservative organizations with a political ax to grind."<sup>19</sup> Sheriff Melton was less kind in his assessment of outside forces saying that they could have cared less about the books and used the controversy solely to further their own purposes.

Outside groups certainly have the right to make their views known on the issues raised in Kanawha County or any other part of the country. Differences in philosophy and political opinions are a cornerstone of the American heritage. However, legitimate protest activities need to be differentiated from extremist tactics by groups on the right or the left. The National Education Association wrote:

In their scare tactics, their reckless disregard for truth, and in the irrationality of their accusations, both right- and left-wing extremists in this country bear a striking -- and paradoxical -- resemblance to each other. . . .

And whatever that intent may be, the forces of extremism in this country are destructive of every advance toward social justice that this nation has made over the past twenty years.<sup>20</sup>

Outside intervention, some legitimate and some extremist, no doubt helped to perpetuate the Kanawha County textbook controversy.

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<sup>19</sup>Statement of Rev. James Lewis, December 2, 1975.

<sup>20</sup>NEA Inquiry Report, op. cit., pp. 49, 52.

A final factor that cannot be ignored is the role of the media in the Kanawha County textbook controversy. As Michael Bell, Director of Public Information for Kanawha County Schools, observed:

Attention to the textbook controversy by the news media probably brought the situation to a rapid buildup and conclusion. It is likely that the people who created the controversy would have been able to do it without the news media, but not as quickly.<sup>21</sup>

Extensive coverage was given to the events of the controversy by both local and national media sources. J. D. Maurice, editor of the Charleston Daily Mail was awarded a Pulitzer prize in 1975 for his editorial comments on the textbooks. From September to December 1974 the textbook issue dominated headlines in The Charleston Gazette and the Charleston Daily Mail as well as the news on the three area television stations.

National coverage was provided by newspaper, magazine and television journalists. Television crews from NBC, ABC and CBS visited the area on several occasions. Newspapers from the Los Angeles Times to the Washington Post sent reporters to Charleston for first hand accounts. Weekly and monthly magazines, such as Time and The New Yorker carried feature articles on the protest in Kanawha County. During the fall and winter of 1974 the Public Information Office of Kanawha County Schools was inundated with requests of information about the events of the controversy. Local figures, both proponents and opponents of the textbooks became celebrities in their own rights through frequent interviews by the press. Some textbook critics,

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<sup>21</sup>Statement of Michael Bell, January 15, 1976.

previously unknown in political circles, received enough publicity during the controversy to announce their candidacy for public office during 1976: Rev. Ezra Graley for Governor of West Virginia; Rev. Avis Hill for the U. S. House of Representatives; Rev. Marvin Horan for the State Senate.

Local media coverage was considered to be superior to national coverage. The national media was often insensitive to the dynamics of the controversy, choosing to reinforce stereotypes of the Appalachian culture by portraying West Virginians as poor, dumb hillbillies. The national media was also sometimes guilty of sensationalizing and oversimplifying the controversy. Rex Woodford, executive editor of the Charleston Daily Mail, commented, "There's a tendency on the part of the national media to dramatize things. If they spend money to fly a team in here, they are not going home empty-handed."<sup>22</sup>

Ms. Lynn Withrow, the education writer for the Charleston Daily Mail, prepared an extensive study on the role of the news media in the Kanawha County controversy. As a part of her research, she interviewed twenty-two individuals including the five members of the Board of Education, former Board President Albert Anson, Jr., Dr. Underwood, a National Education Association representative, two Board staff members, four pro-textbook persons, three anti-textbook representatives as well as local media personnel. Three basic questions were posed: Do you feel that the media coverage was accurate?; Was there too much or too

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<sup>22</sup>Lynn Withrow, "Modern Day Journalists: Observers of History or Creators of History," (unpublished paper, Charleston, WV, 1975), p. 32.

little coverage of the events?; Did the media play a role in perpetuating the controversy?

Ms. Withrow concluded that the media was justified in giving the controversy the coverage that it did although she admits it may have played a role in perpetuating the controversy. Different groups criticized the reporting of the protest activities saying that certain views or events were overplayed or underplayed depending on their individual perspectives. Ms. Withrow also wrote:

What effect the media had in causing more violence, no one knows. It is very probable that some of the acts of violence were created so certain individuals could get their names in the papers or faces on the 6 o'clock news.

It is also very probable that a good many rallies and sit-ins and boycotts of schools were called for that very same reason.

Many of those same meetings and rallies were called in order to allow protesters to use the media. By the same token, pro-textbook groups attempted to use the media, but not to the extent protesters did.<sup>23</sup>

There is no doubt the media contributed to the controversy although it is difficult to document the role it may have played. The media most probably had both positive and negative effects: the positive by clarifying and analyzing the issues behind the protests; the negative by sensationalizing and perpetuating the Kanawha County conflict.

#### IMPLICATIONS

The textbook controversy can be viewed as but a single mani-

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<sup>23</sup>ibid., p. 33.

festation of a more comprehensive assault on the public educational system. Riots, Watergate, Vietnam, inflation and political assassinations during the last decade have brought about a situation in which people are confused and frustrated about the changing social order. The public schools, affecting everyone directly or indirectly, have not escaped as an arena of conflict and controversy.

The conditions which developed in Kanawha County during 1974-75 were not planned but grew out of dissatisfaction with the educational institution. To quote Elmer Fike, "It would be a mistake to consider the textbooks the sole point of protest. The textbooks were a last straw. Parents here as well as nationwide are calling for a return to fundamental and basic education."<sup>24</sup> Other challenges to philosophy, operational procedures and curricular content of the public schools have come from numerous sources including representatives of minority groups and most recently women's groups. Even Dick and Jane has been branded as being sexist.

Social activism is a growing movement in the American culture. Citizen's groups are no longer afraid to attack the bureaucracy when their beliefs, attitudes and basic values are challenged. As a result of the activism movement and public concern over the performance and operation of the schools, educational systems across the country can expect increasing assaults on their legitimacy. In Kanawha County the textbook controversy was a facilitator for confrontation of the larger issues of who controls public institutions and the responsiveness of

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<sup>24</sup>Elmer Fike, op. cit., p. 2.

public organizations to the needs and wishes of the communities they serve.

The violence and anarchy that gripped Kanawha County for over a year was totally disruptive. There were no victors in the textbook controversy. Everyone--parents, teachers, administrators, students, the community and the school system--lost. Many of the concerns and issues generated as a result of the protest remain unresolved. People representing a variety of views of the controversy are still bitter, concerned, confused and frustrated by what happened and what the future holds.

Reviewing events of the textbook protest, some real issues with implications for all public educational institutions emerge. Prior to 1974 Kanawha County had made little or no attempt to involve the citizenry in the educational process. The original Curriculum Council, disbanded prior to the 1974-75 school year, was virtually a rubber-stamp for administrative edicts and was composed of middle and upper-middle class people. The under-educated, rural or poor were not represented. The lack of parental involvement in the educational system led to a situation of growing alienation from the schools for a sizeable segment of the community.

The textbook controversy clearly pointed out that school systems must seek new avenues by which to increase parental involvement. Every school system should seek a broad base of community support for its programs so that it may have an effective method of dealing with potentially controversial subjects. By establishing such a base, educators may be able to avoid conflict rather than having to react to it.

Meaningful parental involvement is not an easy task. New and creative approaches must be identified to reach those who are most alienated from the system. Traditional avenues, such as the PTA and blue-ribbon advisory councils, will not solve the problems.

One of the issues brought out in the Kanawha County controversy is how to deal with culture diversity within a community. The United States is probably the most culturally pluralistic nation in the world with many subgroups actively seeking to maintain or re-establish their identity in the larger society. Within any given community, a great deal of diversity and divergent opinions exist. It would be impossible for the schools to win approval for its philosophy and operational procedures from everyone. Yet educational institutions who fail to establish a broad base of parental support and approval are headed for failure.

Regardless of the processes established for communication and input, some segments of the community will hold values and convictions that are at odds with those of the school system. And every society has at least a few members who are against established institutions just because they represent the establishment. Nevertheless, most parents are responsible arbiters of their children's best interests. Parents have the primary responsibility for the growth and development of their children. With compulsory attendance laws, children have become the captive audience of schools and professional educators. Many parents feel that they have lost control over their children's education and therefore over their children's future. Confidence must be restored in the educational system and to do this, school systems must pay more

attention to community values and seek the advice of their citizenry more frequently.

Majority and minority rights becomes an issue when trying to draw a line on parental involvement. How far should a school system go to allow for the diversity that exists within a community? And certainly there is a danger in planning programs solely to avoid controversy. The result may be an educational system so bland that it pleases no one.

The role of the school administrators and teachers is changing. Schools have been expected to assume more and more responsibility for the health and well-being of the total child. No longer can professional educators make sweeping changes and innovations without community consultation. Educators need to understand the cultural foundations of the clientele they serve and be sensitive to particular needs and interests of a community. Rhetoric or words without action, will not be accepted by citizens seeking solutions to complex problems. The traditional expertise and managerial approach of professional educators from the superintendent on down must be combined with a new emphasis on communication and involvement.

This study of the Kanawha County textbook controversy was limited to a chronological review of the events. There are many areas that remain open to study. For example the textbook controversy could be analyzed as a religious, socio-economic, political or racial struggle. Other related topics could be conflict and educational decision-making; the role of the media in controversies; the implications of cultural pluralism for public education; and the changing role definition of

educational professionals. It is hoped that this document will serve as a starting point for others to research particular issues, causes and phenomena associated with the protest in Kanawha County.

There are no simple solutions to the problems that so bitterly divided the Kanawha County community. Despite the efforts of educators at all levels, controversy in the educational arena may be inevitable. But as long as educational leaders are seeking answers to the complex issues facing American public education, they should be a part of the solution rather than a part of the problem.

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Charleston Daily Mail, September 18, 1974.

Charleston Daily Mail, September 19, 1974.

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Sunday Gazette-Mail, September 29, 1974.

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Charleston Daily Mail, September 30, 1974.

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Charleston Daily Mail, October 8, 1974.

Charleston Daily Mail, October 9, 1974.  
The Charleston Gazette, October 10, 1974.  
Charleston Daily Mail, October 11, 1974.  
The Charleston Gazette, October 12, 1974.  
Sunday Gazette-Mail, October 13, 1974.  
The Charleston Gazette, October 15, 1974.  
Charleston Daily Mail, October 17, 1974.  
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Sunday Gazette-Mail, October 20, 1974.  
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Charleston Daily Mail, October 23, 1974.  
Charleston Daily Mail, October 30, 1974.  
Charleston Daily Mail, October 31, 1974.  
The Charleston Gazette, November 1, 1974.  
The Charleston Gazette, November 4, 1974.  
Charleston Daily Mail, November 4, 1974.  
The Charleston Gazette, November 8, 1974.  
Charleston Daily Mail, November 9, 1974.  
The Charleston Gazette, November 9, 1974.  
Sunday Gazette-Mail, November 10, 1974.  
The Charleston Gazette, November 11, 1974.  
The Charleston Gazette, November 12, 1974.  
Charleston Daily Mail, November 12, 1974.

The Charleston Gazette, November 13, 1974.

Charleston Daily Mail, November 13, 1974.

The Charleston Gazette, November 14, 1974.

Charleston Daily Mail, November 14, 1974.

The Charleston Gazette, November 15, 1974.

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The Charleston Gazette, November 18, 1974.

Sunday Gazette-Mail, November 24, 1974.

The Charleston Gazette, December 6, 1974.

Washington Star-News, December 12, 1974.

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Sunday Gazette-Mail, January 19, 1975.

Charleston Daily Mail, January 21, 1975.

The Charleston Gazette, January 25, 1975.

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Charleston Daily Mail, February 11, 1975.

Charleston Daily Mail, February 13, 1975.

Charleston Daily Mail, February 14, 1975.

The Charleston Gazette, February 24, 1975.

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The Charleston Gazette, March 1, 1975.

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- Quigley, Rev. Charles C. Personal interview. December 8, 1975.
- Taylor, Dr. Daniel B. Personal interview. December 9, 1975.
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APPENDIX

## ENGLISH LANGUAGE ARTS: BASIC TEXTBOOK ADOPTIONS

Language and CompositionCommunicating, 1-6

Author: Morton Botel and John Dawkins

Publisher: D. C. Heath Company

Date: 1973

Titles: Grade 1 -- Communicating, Level 1  
 Grade 2 -- Communicating, Level 2  
 Grade 3 -- Communicating, Level 3  
 Grade 4 -- Communicating, Level 4  
 Grade 5 -- Communicating, Level 5  
 Grade 6 -- Communicating, Level 6

For use in all elementary schools.

Dynamics of Language, 7-12

Author: Allan Glatthorn

Publisher: D. C. Heath Company

Date: 1971

Titles: Grade 7 -- Dynamics of Language, Book One  
 Grade 8 -- Dynamics of Language, Book Two  
 Grade 9 -- Dynamics of Language, Book Three  
 Grade 10 -- Dynamics of Language, Book Four  
 Grade 11 -- Dynamics of Language, Book Five  
 Grade 12 -- Dynamics of Language, Book Six

For use by approximately 80 percent of the students.

Contemporary English, 7-12Author: Vernon H. Smith, Violet Neuschultz,  
and others

Publisher: Silver Burdett Company

Date: 1973

Titles: Grade 7 -- Contemporary English, Level 7  
 Grade 8 -- Contemporary English, Level 8  
 Grade 9 -- Contemporary English, Level 9  
 Grade 10 -- Contemporary English, Level 10  
 Grade 11 -- Contemporary English, Level 11  
 Grade 12 -- Contemporary English, Level 12

For use by approximately 20 percent of the students.

HandwritingExpressional Growth through Handwriting, 1-8

Author: Clinton Hackney and Emma Myers

Publisher: Zaner-Blosser Company

Date: 1973

Titles: Readiness -- Ready! Set! Go!  
 Grade 1 -- Sound Off!  
 Grade 2 -- Off We Go!

For use in all elementary schools.  
Optional for grades 7-8.

- Grade 3 -- A New Universe  
 Grade 4 -- Gliding Along  
 Grade 5 -- Upward Thrust  
 Grade 6 -- Gaining Momentum  
 Grade 7 -- Rendezvous  
 Grade 8 -- Mission Accomplished

### Literature

#### America Reads Series, 7-12

Author: Farrell, Miller and others

Publisher: Scott-Foresman Company

Date: 1973

For use by approximately 80 percent of the students.

- Titles: Grade 7 -- Projection in Literature  
 Grade 8 -- Counterpoint in Literature  
 Grade 9 -- Outlooks Through Literature  
 Grade 10 -- Exploring Life Through Literature  
 Grade 11 -- The United States in Literature  
 Grade 12 -- England in Literature  
 Grades 9-12 -- The American Literary Tradition (1607-1899)  
 Grades 9-12 -- The Early Development of English Literature (Beowulf-Elizabethans)  
 Grades 9-12 -- Three Centuries of English Literature (John Donne - Lewis Carroll)

#### Galaxy Series, 7-12

Author: Pooley, Dunning and others

Publisher: Scott-Foresman Company

Date: 1969-1972

For use by approximately 20 percent of the students.

- Titles: Grade 7 -- Thrust  
 Grade 8 -- Focus  
 Grade 9 -- Vanguard  
 Grade 10 -- Perspectives  
 Grade 11 -- Accent  
 Grade 12 -- Compass

### Journalism

#### Scholastic Journalism V, 10-12

Author: Earl English and Clarence Hach

Publisher: Iowa State University Press

Date: 1972

Use dependent on enrollment in elective course.

- Titles: Grade 10 -- Scholastic Journalism V, Level 10  
 Grade 11 -- Scholastic Journalism V, Level 11  
 Grade 12 -- Scholastic Journalism V, Level 12

SpeechCommunication: Interacting Through Speech

Author: C. David Mortensen

Publisher: Charles E. Merrill Company

Date: 1974

Use dependent on  
enrollment in  
elective course.Titles: Grade 9 -- Communication: Interacting  
Through Speech, Level 9Grade 10 -- Communication: Interacting  
Through Speech, Level 10Grade 11 -- Communication: Interacting  
Through Speech, Level 11Grade 12 -- Communication: Interacting  
Through Speech, Level 12

## ENGLISH LANGUAGE ARTS: SUPPLEMENTAL TEXTBOOK ADOPTIONS

LanguageLanguage of Man Series, 7-12

Author: Joseph F. Littell

Publisher: McDougal, Littell and Company

Date: 1971-1973

Titles: Grade 7 -- Language of Man, Book 1Grade 8 -- Language of Man, Book 2Grade 9 -- Language of Man, Book 3Grade 10 -- Language of Man, Book 4Grade 11 -- Language of Man, Book 5Grade 12 -- Language of Man, Book 6Grades 7-12 -- Coping with the Mass MediaGrades 7-12 -- How Words Change Our LivesGrades 7-12 -- Using Figurative LanguageGrades 7-12 -- Dialects and Levels of LanguageGrades 7-12 -- Gaining Sensitivity to WordsGrades 7-12 -- CommunicateLanguage and LiteratureInteraction, Level 2, (4-6); Level 3, (7-12); Level 4, (10-12)

Author: James Moffett

Publisher: Houghton Mifflin Company

Date: 1973

Titles: Grades 4-6 -- Adventure Stories 1Grades 4-6 -- Adventure Stories 2Grades 4-6 -- Animal Stories (True)Grades 4-6 -- Animal Stories (Fiction)Grades 4-6 -- Sports StoriesGrades 4-6 -- ProverbsGrades 4-6 -- Information 1Grades 4-6 -- Information 2

- Grades 4-6 -- True Stories 1  
 Grades 4-6 -- True Stories 2  
 Grades 4-6 -- Dictionary of Local Lingo  
 Grades 4-6 -- Fables  
 Grades 4-6 -- Folk Tales 1  
 Grades 4-6 -- Folk Tales 2  
 Grades 4-6 -- Legends  
 Grades 4-6 -- Myths  
 Grades 4-6 -- Games to Play  
 Grades 4-6 -- Jump Rope Jingles and Other Useful Rhymes  
 Grades 4-6 -- Recipes  
 Grades 4-6 -- Things to Do and Make  
 Grades 4-6 -- Terribly Tough Tongue Twisters  
 Grades 4-6 -- Humorous Stories  
 Grades 4-6 -- Insults  
 Grades 4-6 -- Jokes and Puns  
 Grades 4-6 -- Mystery Stories  
 Grades 4-6 -- Science Fiction Stories  
 Grades 4-6 -- Fanciful Stories  
 Grades 4-6 -- Charts and Graphs  
 Grades 4-6 -- Comics  
 Grades 4-6 -- Maps  
 Grades 4-6 -- Photos  
 Grades 4-6 -- Photos with Captions  
 Grades 4-6 -- Signs  
 Grades 4-6 -- Science Encyclopedia  
 Grades 4-6 -- Short Plays 1  
 Grades 4-6 -- Short Plays 2  
 Grades 4-6 -- Brain Teasers  
 Grades 4-6 -- Codes  
 Grades 4-6 -- Rebuses  
 Grades 4-6 -- Riddles  
 Grades 4-6 -- Limericks  
 Grades 4-6 -- Poems  
 Grades 4-6 -- Story Poems 1  
 Grades 4-6 -- Story Poems 2  
 Grades 4-6 -- Songs  
 Grades 7-12 -- Diaries  
 Grades 7-12 -- Fictional Diaries  
 Grades 7-12 -- Letters 1 (Real and Imagined)  
 Grades 7-12 -- Letters 2 (Real and Imagined)  
 Grades 7-12 -- Dictionary of Local Lingo  
 Grades 7-12 -- Informative Articles 1  
 Grades 7-12 -- Informative Articles 2  
 Grades 7-12 -- Fictional Autobiography 1  
 Grades 7-12 -- Fictional Autobiography 2  
 Grades 7-12 -- Autobiography 1  
 Grades 7-12 -- Autobiography 2  
 Grades 7-12 -- Fictional Memoir 1  
 Grades 7-12 -- Fictional Memoir 2  
 Grades 7-12 -- Memoir 1

Grades 7-12	--	<u>Memoir 2</u>
Grades 7-12	--	<u>Eyewitness Reportage</u>
Grades 7-12	--	<u>Reportage</u>
Grades 7-12	--	<u>Essays in Reflection 1</u>
Grades 7-12	--	<u>Essays in Reflection 2</u>
Grades 7-12	--	<u>Humorous Stories</u>
Grades 7-12	--	<u>Jokes</u>
Grades 7-12	--	<u>Limericks</u>
Grades 7-12	--	<u>Brain Teasers</u>
Grades 7-12	--	<u>Codes</u>
Grades 7-12	--	<u>Mystery Stories 1</u>
Grades 7-12	--	<u>Mystery Stories 2</u>
Grades 7-12	--	<u>Science Fiction 1</u>
Grades 7-12	--	<u>Science Fiction 2</u>
Grades 7-12	--	<u>Science Fiction 3</u>
Grades 7-12	--	<u>Ballads</u>
Grades 7-12	--	<u>Haiku</u>
Grades 7-12	--	<u>Lyric Poetry</u>
Grades 7-12	--	<u>Narrative Poetry</u>
Grades 7-12	--	<u>Songs</u>
Grades 7-12	--	<u>Adventure Stories 1</u>
Grades 7-12	--	<u>Adventure Stories 2</u>
Grades 7-12	--	<u>Sports Stories</u>
Grades 7-12	--	<u>Fables</u>
Grades 7-12	--	<u>Legends</u>
Grades 7-12	--	<u>Myths</u>
Grades 7-12	--	<u>Parables</u>
Grades 7-12	--	<u>Proverbs and One-Line Sayings</u>
Grades 7-12	--	<u>Dialogues and Monologues 1</u>
Grades 7-12	--	<u>Dialogues and Monologues 2</u>
Grades 7-12	--	<u>Scripts 1</u>
Grades 7-12	--	<u>Scripts 2</u>
Grades 7-12	--	<u>Scripts 3</u>
Grades 7-12	--	<u>Reader's Theater</u>
Grades 7-12	--	<u>Transcripts 1</u>
Grades 7-12	--	<u>Transcripts 2</u>
Grades 7-12	--	<u>Fictional Biography 1</u>
Grades 7-12	--	<u>Fictional Biography 2</u>
Grades 7-12	--	<u>Biography 1</u>
Grades 7-12	--	<u>Biography 2</u>
Grades 7-12	--	<u>Chronicle 1</u>
Grades 7-12	--	<u>Chronicle 2</u>
Grades 7-12	--	<u>Fictional Chronicle</u>
Grades 7-12	--	<u>Advertisements</u>
Grades 7-12	--	<u>Comics</u>
Grades 7-12	--	<u>Photos</u>
Grades 7-12	--	<u>Photos with Captions</u>
Grades 7-12	--	<u>Signs</u>
Grades 7-12	--	<u>Charts and Graphs</u>
Grades 7-12	--	<u>Maps</u>

Grades 10-12 -- Fictional Autobiography 1  
 Grades 10-12 -- Fictional Autobiography 2  
 Grades 10-12 -- Autobiography 1  
 Grades 10-12 -- Autobiography 2  
 Grades 10-12 -- Memoir  
 Grades 10-12 -- Fictional Memoir  
 Grades 10-12 -- Fictional Biography 1  
 Grades 10-12 -- Fictional Biography 2  
 Grades 10-12 -- Biography 1  
 Grades 10-12 -- Biography 2  
 Grades 10-12 -- Fictional Chronicle  
 Grades 10-12 -- Chronicle 1  
 Grades 10-12 -- Chronicle 2  
 Grades 10-12 -- Diaries  
 Grades 10-12 -- Fictional Diaries  
 Grades 10-12 -- Letters 1 (Real and Imagined)  
 Grades 10-12 -- Letters 2 (Real and Imagined)  
 Grades 10-12 -- Monologue and Dialogue 1  
 Grades 10-12 -- Monologue and Dialogue 2  
 Grades 10-12 -- Scripts 1  
 Grades 10-12 -- Scripts 2  
 Grades 10-12 -- Transcripts 1  
 Grades 10-12 -- Transcripts 2  
 Grades 10-12 -- Readers Theater  
 Grades 10-12 -- Epigrams  
 Grades 10-12 -- Essays in Reflection  
 Grades 10-12 -- Essays in Generalization 1  
 Grades 10-12 -- Essays in Generalization 2  
 Grades 10-12 -- Essays in Theory  
 Grades 10-12 -- Reportage and Research 1  
 Grades 10-12 -- Reportage and Research 2  
 Grades 10-12 -- Reportage and Research 3  
 Grades 10-12 -- Reportage and Research 4  
 Grades 10-12 -- Poetry  
 Grades 10-12 -- Songs  
 Grades 10-12 -- Sonnets

Breakthrough, 7-12

Author: William Sheldon and others

Publisher: Allyn and Bacon, Inc.

Date: 1969-73

Titles: Grades 7-12 -- On the Level  
 Grades 7-12 -- Full Count  
 Grades 7-12 -- The Time is Now  
 Grades 7-12 -- With It  
 Grades 7-12 -- Play It Again  
 Grades 7-12 -- From the Top  
 Grades 7-12 -- Winner's Circle  
 Grades 7-12 -- Way Out  
 Grades 7-12 -- Over the Edge  
 Grades 7-12 -- Beyond the Block

Grades 7-12 -- Out of Sight  
 Grades 7-12 -- Where Its At  
 Grades 7-12 -- This Cool World  
 Grades 7-12 -- How It Is  
 Grades 7-12 -- Coming Through  
 Grades 7-12 -- The Big Ones  
 Grades 7-12 -- On the Spot  
 Grades 7-12 -- Making the Scene

### Literature

#### Man Series, 7-12

Author: Joy Zweigler

Publisher: McDougal, Littell and Company

Date: 1971-1972

Titles: Genre Approach\*

Grade 7 -- Fiction 1, Drama 1, Expository 1, Poetry 1  
 Grade 8 -- Fiction 2, Drama 2, Expository 2, Poetry 2  
 Grade 9 -- Fiction 3, Drama 3, Expository 3, Poetry 3  
 Grade 10 -- Fiction 4, Drama 4, Expository 4, Poetry 4  
 Grade 11 -- Fiction 5, Drama 5, Expository 5, Poetry 5  
 Grade 12 -- Fiction 6, Drama 6, Expository 6, Poetry 6

Thematic Approach\*

Being Alive

Man and Other Animals

Man and His Imagination

Man in Action

Man Threatened

The Search of Self

Love

The Family

The Environment

Brotherhood

War and Peace

### Journalism

Author: William Hartman

Publisher: Laidlaw Brothers

Date: 1968

Title: Journalism, Levels 10-12

Author: Julian Adams and Kenneth Stratton

Publisher: Prentice-Hall, Inc.

Date: 1969

Title: Press Time, Levels 10-12

\*Both sets of books contain the same selections and differ only in the organizational approach of selections within the texts.

Author: Ruth Smith and Barbara Michalak  
 Publisher: Harcourt, Brace Jovanovich, Inc.  
 Date: 1970  
 Title: How to Read Your Newspaper

Author: Howard Decker  
 Publisher: Globe Book Company  
 Date: 1972  
 Title: Newspaper Workshop

Author: Enid A. Goldberg  
 Publisher: J. B. Lippincott Company  
 Date: 1970  
 Title: How to Run a School Newspaper

### Speech

Author: E. F. Elson and Alberta Peck  
 Publisher: Ginn and Company  
 Date: 1970  
 Title: The Art of Speaking

Author: Ray E. Nadeau  
 Publisher: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company  
 Date: 1973  
 Title: Speech Communication: A Modern Approach

Author: Clark S. Cartile  
 Publisher: Clark Publishing Company  
 Date: 1966  
 Title: 38 Basic Speech Experiences

Author: Fran A. Tanner  
 Publisher: Clark Publishing Company  
 Date: 1966  
 Title: Basic Drama Projects

### The Contest Speaking Series

Author: Roy A. Beck, Martin Cobin, and others  
 Publisher: National Textbook Company  
 Date: 1970

Titles: Contest Speaking Manual  
Oratory  
Oral Interpretation  
Extemporaneous Speaking  
Serious Dramatic Interpretation  
Humorous Dramatic Interpretation  
Special Occasion Speeches  
Group Reading: Readers Theatre

Elective Courses 10-12Man In Literature Series

Author: James Miller and others

Publisher: Scott-Foresman Company

Date: 1974

Titles: Man in Literature: Comparative World Studies in TranslationThe Human TraditionBlack American VoicesFrom Spain and the Americas: Literature in TranslationItalian Literature in TranslationLiterature from Greek and Roman AntiquityLiterature of the Eastern WorldRussian and Eastern European LiteratureTuetic Literature in English TranslationTranslations from the FrenchShorter Long Fiction Series

Author: Leo B. Kneer and others

Publisher: Scott-Foresman Company

Date: 1972

Titles: Edges of RealityFractured ImageThe Life Force

Author: James Miller, Jr. and others

Publisher: Scott-Foresman Company

Date: 1973

Titles: Marquee: Ten Plays by American and British PlaywrightsBritish Motifs: Collection of Modern Short StoriesAmerican Models: Collection of Modern StoriesThe Pattern in Literary Art Series

Author: Various

Publisher: Webster/McGraw Hill

Date: 1971-73

Titles: Hero/Anti HeroThe Art of Narration: The NovellaThe Art of Narration: The Short StoryThe Bible as LiteratureThe Comic VisionThemes in the One-Act PlayAfrican ImagesClassical HeritageDramatic ComedyDramatic TragedyThemes in Science FictionDomains in Language and Composition Series

Author: Various

Publisher: Harcourt, Brace and Jovanovich, Inc.

Date: 1972-73

Titles: Writing Incredibly Short Plays, Poems, & Stories  
Experiments: Writers Journal  
Explorations: Writers Journal  
Write On!

Author: Ruth Cohen, Wayne King, and Glen Knudsvig

Publisher: Harcourt, Brace and Jovanovich, Inc.

Date: 1973

Title: Quest Academic Skills Program

Author: Edgar V. Roberts

Publisher: Prentice-Hall, Inc.

Date: 1973

Title: Writing Themes About Literature

Author: Various

Publisher: Kenneth Publishing Company

Date: 1973

Titles: Fundamentals in the Library  
Fundamentals of Poetry

Authors: Various

Publisher: Educational Reading Service

Date: Various

Titles: Great American Short Stories  
Mythology  
Lord of the Flies  
Of Human Bondage  
Four Major Plays of Ibsen  
The Great Gatsby  
Paradise Lost and Regained  
J.B.  
Six Great Modern Short Novels  
Moby Dick  
Man and Superman  
The Fall  
Old Man and the Sea  
Crime and Punishment  
The Good Earth  
Three Plays by Eugene O'Neill  
The Stranger  
Thread That Runs So True  
Animal Farm  
Three Great Plays of Euripides  
The Crucible  
Ten American Short Stories

Authors: Various

Publisher: Perma-Bound Books

Date: Various

**Titles:** The Theban Trilogy  
The Sun Also Rises  
The Unvanquished  
Black Voices  
Christy  
Siddhartha  
The Iliad  
African Genesis  
American Negro Poetry

**Author:** Maxwell Nurnberg and Markis Rosenblum  
**Publisher:** New America Library  
**Date:** 1966  
**Title:** All About Words

**Author:** Joseph Fletcher Littell  
**Publisher:** McDougal-Littell and Company  
**Date:** 1972-74  
**Titles:** Coping With The Mass Media  
T-V Action Book

**Author:** Kenneth Kieszak  
**Publisher:** Globe Book Company  
**Date:** 1973  
**Title:** Turning Point: A Collection of Short Biographies

## VITA

Catherine Ann Candor is a native of Fargo, North Dakota, born October 11, 1946. She graduated from Central High School there in 1964.

Her undergraduate work was at Stanford University, Stanford, California where she received a B. A. degree in psychology in 1968. Ms. Candor began her graduate work at the Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University in 1973. After receiving a Master of Arts degree in Curriculum and Instruction in July of 1974, she continued her studies at Virginia Polytechnic Institute pursuing a Doctor of Education degree in educational administration. Additional graduate work was taken at the West Virginia College of Graduate Studies, Institute, West Virginia.

Ms. Candor began her professional career in 1967 working part-time for the Research Methodology Unit at the Stanford Center for Research and Development in Teaching. In 1968 she moved to Sacramento, California, as an education analyst with the Del Paso Heights School District. In 1969 she was hired by National Educational Associates for Research and Development (NeaRad, Inc.), Fort Lauderdale, Florida, to work as a facilities planning consultant for the Chicago Public School System and as a research consultant for the Research Coordinating Unit of the Illinois State Board of Vocational Education. From the end of 1969 until 1973, Ms. Candor was employed by Seattle Public Schools, Seattle, Washington in the Planning, Research and Evaluation Department as the specialist for research/management information. In 1973 she

moved to Charleston, West Virginia to accept the position of director of research and evaluation where she is currently employed.

Ms. Candor is a member of Phi Delta Kappa and the honor society of Phi Kappa Phi. She also has professional memberships in the Kanawha County Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development and the American Education Research Association. In Charleston, West Virginia, Ms. Candor is a member of St. John's Episcopal Church, the League of Women Voters and the Women's Committee of the Charleston Symphony Orchestra. She is also a part-time faculty member of the West Virginia College of Graduate Studies.

Upon completion of her work for a Doctor of Education degree, Ms. Candor will return to Kanawha County in her present position as director of research and evaluation.

Catherine Ann Candor

A HISTORY OF THE KANAWHA COUNTY TEXTBOOK  
CONTROVERSY, APRIL 1974-APRIL 1975

by

Catherine Ann Candor

(ABSTRACT)

For one year, beginning in April of 1974, the Kanawha County, West Virginia school system was involved in a bitter controversy over the content of the adopted language arts textbook series. The series generating the conflict included over 325 individual book titles published by a cross-section of the major textbook companies in the United States. No one visualized the intensity of emotions, the violence and the disruption that would grip Kanawha County during 1974-75. Before the protest diminished, schools were temporarily closed; the superintendent and the president of the Board of Education resigned; people were shot or beat, cars firebombed and school buildings dynamited. The controversial language arts books were withdrawn from all the schools for a period of time and later returned after review by an appointed citizens' committee and action by the Board of Education.

This study is a history of the Kanawha County textbook protest. A major portion of the research for this dissertation involved interviews and a search of documents. There is a description of West Virginia, Appalachian values and Kanawha County. Several factors, occurring prior to 1974 are examined as possible precipitating factors in the controversy.

From April 1974 to April 1975 the major actions, reactions and occurrences in Kanawha County are reported using various sources to document positions taken by individuals, groups and organizations during this period. Organized chronologically, the study traces the evolution of the textbook protest and continues through the abatement of most protest activities by April of 1975. Five factors, mostly outside the control of the educational establishment that contributed to and sustained the conflict are analyzed. These include the state law regarding the seating of school board members, the role of organized labor, the lack of adequate law enforcement, the intervention of outside groups and the role of the media

The following conclusions and implications emerge from the study. Students, teachers and administrators in Kanawha County were most deeply affected by the textbook controversy with general agreement that the effects of the protest will be felt for years to come. In the future, public schools, involving everyone directly or indirectly, will not escape as arenas of conflict and controversy. As a result of the social activism movement of the 1960's and 1970's and public concern over the performance and operation of the schools, educational systems across the country can expect increasing assaults on their legitimacy. although controversy may be inevitable, there are positive actions which may be taken by school boards and educational administrators to reduce or avoid the disruptiveness of a protest such as the one in Kanawha County. By establishing a broad base of community support and involvement, educators may be able to avoid conflict rather than having to react to it.