

DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 243 190

EA 016 682

AUTHOR Smith, Louis M.; And Others
 TITLE Innovation and Change in American Education.
 Kensington Revisited: A Fifteen Year Follow-Up of an Innovative Elementary School and Its Faculty. Volume I--Chronicling the Milford School District: An Historical Context of the Kensington School. Final Report.

INSTITUTION Washington Univ., St. Louis, Mo. Graduate Inst. of Education.

SPONS AGENCY National Inst. of Education (ED), Washington, DC.

PUB DATE Jan 83

GRANT NIE-G78-0074

NOTE 331p.; For other volumes in this set, see EA 016 683-687. For previous related documents, see ED 225 228-231.

PUB TYPE Historical Materials (060) -- Reports - Research/Technical (143)

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC14 Plus Postage.

DESCRIPTORS Administrator Role; Case Studies; *Educational Change; *Educational Environment; *Educational History; *Educational Innovation; Elementary Secondary Education; *Longitudinal Studies; School Administration; School Community Relationship; *School Districts; Superintendents

ABSTRACT

This first volume of a six-volume study details the historical context of a particular school district (code-named "Milford") in order to examine the genesis and evolution of American education. The study's key research documents were the district school board's official minutes; additional modes of inquiry included participant observation, interviews, newsletters, and newspaper accounts. Following a brief historical overview in chapter 1, chapter 2 traces the district's origins through the tenures of its first two superintendents. Chapter 3, "The Genesis and Evolution of a School District: Preliminary Generalization," gives attention to such community items as county and state government agencies, elections, and population growth. The chapter also covers organizational structures and process, including sections on the school board, finances, and the role of the superintendent; and classrooms, curriculum, and teaching. Chapters 4, 5, and 6 cover, respectively, "The Early McBride Era" (1935-49), "The Modernization of Milford, 1949-52," and "The Decade of Rapid Growth and Expansion: 1952-61." Following chapter 7 entitled "The Tangle of Administrative Succession" and other issues from the years 1961-62, chapter 8 offers a summary, conclusions, and implications in the following areas: democracy in educational schooling, policy-making and administration, and longitudinal systems for examining innovation and change. In order to protect the anonymity of the school district studied in such detail, pseudonyms have been used for all place names (school, school district, city, county, state) and personal names (school superintendents, school board members, teachers, students) appearing in the various volumes of this set. (JBM)

**INNOVATION AND CHANGE IN AMERICAN EDUCATION
KENSINGTON REVISITED: A FIFTEEN YEAR FOLLOW-UP OF
AN INNOVATIVE ELEMENTARY SCHOOL AND ITS FACULTY**

VOLUME I

**CHRONICLING THE MILFORD SCHOOL DISTRICT:
AN HISTORICAL CONTEXT OF THE KENSINGTON SCHOOL**

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION
CENTER (ERIC)

X This document has been reproduced as
received from the person or organization
originating it.
Minor changes have been made to improve
reproduction quality.

- Points of view or opinions stated in this docu-
ment do not necessarily represent official NIE
position or policy.

**LOUIS M. SMITH
JOHN J. PRUNTY
DAVID C. DWYER**

**GRADUATE INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION
WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY
ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI 63130**

JANUARY, 1983

**FINAL REPORT
GRANT NO. G78-0**

**NATIONAL
INSTITUTE
OF
EDUCATION
1983**

EA 016 082

Chronicling the Milford School District:
An Historical Context of the Kensington School

Louis M. Smith
John J. Prunty
David C. Dwyer

Graduate Institute of Education
Washington University
St. Louis, Missouri 63130

January, 1983

This report is Volume I of a series from the project Innovation and Change in American Education--Kensington Revisited: A Fifteen Year Follow-Up of an Innovative Elementary School and Its Faculty supported by NIE Grant #G78-0074. The analysis and interpretation represent official policy of neither the National Institute of Education nor the Milford School District.

Chronicling the Milford School District:
An Historical Context of the Kensington School

Table of Contents

0.	Foreword.....	Page	1
1.	Historical Overview.....		1
2.	Origins of the Milford District.....		5
	2.1 The Common School Era.....		5
	2.2 Milford: the Initial Six Director Town School District...		8
	2.3 Milford Acquires a Superintendent: Mrs. Briggs.....		15
	2.4 Mr. Grey's Tenure as Superintendent.....		25
3.	The Genesis and Evolution of a School District: Preliminary Generalizations.....		40
	3.1 Introduction.....		40
	3.2 Community Items.....		41
	3.21 County and State Government and Agencies.....		41
	3.22 The Annual Election.....		42
	3.23 Community Participation in the Annual School Meeting.....		42
	3.24 A Rolling Structure of Power and Authority.....		47
	3.25 Conflicts and Politics.....		48
	3.26 The Press of Population Growth.....		50
	3.27 Changing Technological Quality of Life.....		51
	3.28 The Vividness of the "American Dilemma".....		52
	3.29 Summary.....		55
	3.3 Organizational Structure and Process.....		55
	3.31 The School Board: Pervasive, Potent, and Responsible Agent.....		56
	3.32 Incrementalism and Muddling Through.....		58
	3.33 Specialization of Positions and Functions.....		59
	3.34 Finances: Resources for Schooling.....		60
	3.35 The Evolving Role of the Superintendent.....		61
	3.36 Fate of Old School Buildings.....		61
	3.37 Summary.....		61
	3.4 Classrooms, Curriculum, and Teaching.....		61
	3.41 The Dearth of Educational Talk: An Introduction..		61
	3.42 The Gradual Expansion of Programs.....		61
	3.43 Teacher Role and the Organization of Instruction..		61
	3.44 The Student Body.....		61
	3.45 Class Size.....		61
	3.46 Free Textbooks.....		61
	3.47 Instructional Time: Days and Hours.....		70
	3.48 The High School Curriculum.....		71
	3.48.1 Physical Education.....		71
	3.48.2 Music.....		71
	3.48.3 Library Books.....		71
	3.48.4 Community Models and Resources.....		71
	3.48.5 Summary.....		81

4.	The Early McBride Era: The Story Continues.....	Page 86
4.1	Introduction.....	86
4.2	Continuing the Long Stable Era (1935-1949).....	86
4.3	Some New and Some Continuing Themes.....	103
4.31	The American Dilemma Continues.....	104
4.32	School Lunches: The Federal.....	106
4.33	Transportation of Pupils..	108
4.34	Personality Conflict: An..... of a Personnel Issue....	108
4.4	Further Interim Generalizations.....	121
4.41	In General.....	121
4.42	The Nature of the Flow of Activity.....	125
4.43	More About Board Activities and.....	125
4.44	Variety and Scope of Superintendent Activities....	128
4.45	Personnel Generalizations.....	129
4.46	Growth and Change: Milford as Topsy.....	129
5.	Transition: The Modernization of Milford, 1949-52.....	130
5.1	Introduction.....	130
5.2	Attachment and Annexation: Marquette Joins Milford.....	131
5.3	Formalization of Organizational Structures and Processes..	135
5.4	The Continuing Themes.....	138
5.5	More Evidence of Transition.....	141
5.51	The Need for a New School.....	141
5.52	The Creation of a New Central Office Position.....	144
5.6	The Strong Board Member: An Infrequent But Major Event...	147
5.7	The Continuing Story of Public Education in Milford.....	158
6.	The Decade of Rapid Growth and Expansion: 1952-1961.....	164
6.1	Introduction.....	164
6.2	Growth and Modernization Continue.....	166
6.3	The Potency of the Outside Survey--Or the Strong Board Member Revisited.....	170
6.31	Setting the Stage.....	170
6.32	The Survey Proceeds.....	172
6.33	When Consultants Conflict.....	176
6.34	The Potent Report Arrives.....	178
6.35	Reports as Political Amunition.....	180
6.36	The Democratic Resolution.....	185
6.4	The World Turns: Old Themes Continue, 1953-55.....	186
6.5	Neighborhood Schools: Roots and Sentiments.....	198
6.51	Planning Boundaries for New Schools.....	199
6.52	Parental Interests and Politics.....	202
6.53	Underlying Sentiments and Neighborhood Schools....	203
6.6	The Remaining Years of McBride's Tenure, 1955-61.....	207
6.61	The Narrative.....	208
6.62	Firing a Teacher.....	218
6.63	A Strange Interlude.....	226
7.	The Tangle of Administrative Succession.....	235
7.1	Introduction.....	235
7.2	The District Crucible: 1961-62.....	235
7.21	The Board's Action.....	235
7.22	The CTA Action and Aftermath.....	238
7.23	Internal Board Strife.....	240

7. Continued	Page
7.24 The Board's Stance with the Professional Staff....	241
7.25 The NEA Action.....	243
7.26 Denouement.....	247
7.27 Final Events of 1961-62.....	249
7.3 Ending Milford's Early History and Foreshadowing the Later.....	253
8. Summary, Conclusions and Implications.....	255
8.1 Introduction.....	255
8.2 The Many Faces of Democracy in Education and Schooling....	256
8.21 The Political Context of Schooling.....	256
8.22 Localism.....	257
8.23 Responsiveness to Local Needs.....	260
8.24 National Purposes.....	262
8.25 State Law.....	263
8.26 Voting.....	265
8.27 The Constitution and Bill of Rights.....	265
8.28 Education's Community Role.....	266
8.3 Policy Making and Administration: Board Member and Superintendent Personality, Thought Processes, and Social Interaction.....	267
8.31 The Unpredictable Environment.....	267
8.32 Resources and Costs.....	270
8.33 The Press and Priority of Immediate Problems.....	271
8.34 The Ebb and Flow of Conflict.....	272
8.35 After the Fact Administrative Changes.....	274
8.36 Common Sense Modes of Thought.....	276
8.37 Blending Politics, Common Sense and Educational Research.....	278
8.4 Toward a Model of Innovation and Change: Longitudinal Nested Systems.....	281
8.41 Restating the Problem.....	281
8.42 The Early View of Kensington.....	282
8.43 Fleshing Out the Model.....	286
8.44 Contributions of the Model.....	297
8.45 The Play of Power and the Longitudinal Nested Systems Model.....	300
8.5 Conclusion.....	304

Preface as Problem:
The Need for Volume One

In an earlier circulation of this volume of the report we had reactions and comments regarding the need for such an intensive history of the Milford School District. In a sense we were asked, What is the question to which this long monograph is the answer? This preface builds a perspective which culminates in the phrasing of that question.

Several beliefs coalesced in our view. First, we felt that most educational innovators and researchers of educational innovation had not taken up the issues in the relationship between educational innovation and educational change. Very simply put we see educational innovation as specific planned improvement. As such it is just one class of phenomena in the larger category of educational change. In this larger context, change, innovation takes on considerably different meaning. Our hunch is that most innovators have been so busy with their own problems and programs that they have not pursued the implications of events in the larger category. As we thought about these issues other related concepts entered our analysis. Educational reform became a major or large scale innovation. The genesis of a school district is a specific kind of innovation with a time referent. The evolution of a district implies gradual change over a period of time. Growth and decline suggest change in size and perhaps an evaluative disclaimer--growth as bigger and better and decline as smaller and lesser. The latter also implied a more organismic or naturalistic metaphor.

Finally, we settled on the outline in Figure P-1, an analytical context for the concept of educational innovation. Working through the data and analysis in Volume I helped us "see" the nature of Kensington

School as an educational innovation. The magnitude of this insight change is caught in the change in the overall title of our study. What began as Kensington Revisited: A 15 Year Follow-Up of an Innovative School and Its Faculty has become Innovation and Change in American Education with the original phrasing now a subtitle.

Insert Figure P-1 about here

Second, and related to the first, if educational innovation is only one kind of change and if it is your or my "baby" as often is the case, and was in Milford, then a further idea follows. At a minimum, other individuals may have other interests and ideas which they see as desirable, special, and, possibly, innovative. If their ideas are not perfectly congruent with yours or mine then we begin to have a problem of priorities, resources, power, and persuasion. In short, your or my innovation may well be just one small part of a political process. Goodness and truth may not lie in your or my project to the degree we had assumed. At this point, our specific planned change is more than a technical or scientific problem. Illuminating that cluster of events became very important to us.

Third, it is our belief that many, if not most educational innovators do not know much educational history. We believe that this is a tragedy for them and their ideas and a tragedy for many of the individuals in the schools within which they "inflict" or "save" with their innovations. This belief, as it relates to ourselves, is one of the major results of our study. As one of our colleagues commented upon listening to our enthusiasm and stories, "Lou, you've discovered history."

(2)

1. Educational change--the general category
2. Change from a "planned" perspective
 - Innovation
 - Reform
3. Change from a "naturalistic" perspective
 - Genesis
 - Evolution
 - Growth
 - Decline
4. Change from an holistic perspective
 - Expansion--add on
 - Contraction--subtraction
 - Differentiation
 - Reorganization

Figure P-1: An Analytical Context Of The Concept "Innovation"

And so we have. This concern for history in general and for the history of this district in particular is part of a major shift in our concept of paradigms or root metaphors underlying our approach to educational research, theory, and practice. We feel we are operating from a contextualist metaphor as Pepper (1942) and Sarbin (1977) use the term. With them, we believe the power of social science and educational inquiry will be enhanced as others move in this direction also.

Fourth, even so, there is still enough of the natural scientist in each of us to feel that an outsider's, reasonably detached view of the "natural history" of a, or better, this school district might be more important than just the pursuit of an idle curiosity. We believe that the genesis and evolution of the district from this more naturalistic perspective shades into our more contextualist, political perspective. As such, we can view "the new elementary education of the Kensington" as one superintendent's vision, in a history of five superintendents and seventy-five years of schooling in Milford. Where does Superintendent Spanman fit in the evolution of the Milford School District. Where did he come from? Why did he build the innovative Kensington School here?

Fifth, when we accidentally fell into the huge body of data, bound volumes of Milford Board Minutes reaching back to 1915, the practicality and possibility of this historical dimension became a reality.¹ Beyond a Mount Everest being there to be climbed, we have found that vague, general and often ill founded ideas take on another kind of vitality when they are moved into the concrete reality of data on human events.

¹As we have commented on several occasions, the support by Dr. Ronald Goerge, Superintendent of Milford and by Mr. Frederick Mulhauser, our NIE Project Officer, has been overwhelmingly positive at every turn.

As we argue elsewhere, school board minutes are public records of an unusual sort. Finding a closet full of them opened up unimagined vistas. The historical context was there.

Sixth, one of the truisms in our field research is that "the problem" evolves over the course of the project. This is the best of what is sometimes called responsive research design rather than pre set research design. Rather than being a producer of anxiety, this becomes part of the excitement and joy of the unexpected in field research.

In short, Volume I, Chronicling the Milford School District: An Historical Context of the Kensington School, is just that, an historical context. It answers the question, "Where does the Kensington School fit into the larger picture?" Because this picture is treated historically as the genesis and evolution of a school district it permits us to deal with the larger new phrasing of our problem "Innovation and Change in American Education?" By introducing "American" in the statement we have gone from the instance of the Milford School District to a larger class or category of events, "American Education." Further, we believe that one of the best ways, although not the only way, of understanding that larger set of events is to know intimately one highly detailed but integrated case. With such an image at hand, one can begin to come to terms with any other case and with the larger category. As we commented in jest with the current Superintendent of Milford, "We know more about Milford than anyone ever has known and probably more than anyone will want to know." That is, unless one wants to "really" understand innovation and change in American education. Such is the question, and hope, of this Volume in the overall report.

Foreword

to

Innovation and Change in American Education
Kensington Revisited: A 15 Year Follow-Up of
An Innovative School and Its Faculty

(Smith, Dwyer, Kleine, Prunty)

This research is about innovation and change in American education.

It began as Kensington Revisited: A 15 year follow-up of an innovative school and its faculty, Project G78-C074, supported by the National Institute of Education. As in most of our case study research, the initial problem was buffeted about by the reality of settings, events, and people as captured by our several modes of inquiry--participant observation, intensive open ended interviews, and the collection and analysis of multiple documents. The setting was Kensington, an elementary school built fifteen years ago as a prototypical innovative building with open space, laboratory suites instead of classrooms, a perception core instead of a library and a nerve center for the latest in technological education equipment. The people were the series of administrators, teachers, pupils, and parents who worked in, attended, or sent their children to the school. Three principals have come and gone, the fourth is in his first year. Three cadres of faculty have staffed the school. The events were the activities of those people as they built and transformed the school over the years. This story we found, and we constructed, as part of a larger setting, the Milford School District which had its own story, actors, and events and which provided an important context for Kensington.

In the course of the search for the major theme about which our developing ideas and data could be integrated. "Innovation and Change in American Education", became the guiding thesis. That theme is composed of a half dozen sub themes, each of which makes up a separate volume in the report. While we believe the totality of the study has its own kind of integrity and that each volume extends the meanings of the others, we have written each as a "stand alone" piece. That is, we believe each speaks to an important domain of Innovation and Change in American Education, each draws most heavily upon a particular subset of our data, and each contains important descriptive narratives, substantive grounded interpretations and generalizations. This foreword, which appears in each volume, is intended, in a few sentences, to keep the totality and each of the pieces in the forefront of the reader's consciousness.

Volume I Chronicling the Milford School District: An Historical Context of the Kensington School

Kensington's fifteen year existence is but one small segment of Milford's sixty-five years of recorded history and one school in a district with a dozen other schools. The superintendent who built the school is just one of five individuals who have held the post. As we have told the story, we have raised generalizations regarding innovation and change, and we have presaged themes of policy, of local, state and national influences on the school, of organizational structure and process, and of curriculum and teaching. The key documents in developing the perspective were the official school board minutes. Newsletters to patrons, newspaper accounts, other records, and interviews, formal and informal, supplemented the basic documents.

Volume II Milford: The School District as Contemporary Context

In a fundamental sense, Volume II is a continuation, a final chapter as it were, to the historical context of the Milford School District. It is a long chapter, however, for the central actors and events which immediately and directly shaped the Kensington School are in place, just as the school is in place. The ebb and flow of the district, in its recent history, is brought to a particular focus, one that will illuminate the events and themes that appear in the development and change in the Kensington School over its fifteen year history and in its current status. The board of education, the superintendency, the central office staff, and their interrelationships lead toward "a governance and organizational perspective on innovation and change". Board minutes remain the central core of the data with increasing amounts of information from public documents (e.g. newspapers), interviews with central actors, and observation of meetings.

Volume III Innovation and Change at Kensington: Annals of a Community and School

After carefully examining the historical context of the Milford School District, our focus shifts to innovation and change at the Kensington School. Our search for an explanation of the profound changes that have taken place in a once innovative school, has pushed us back in time and obliged us to consider such wider topics as demography, neighborhoods, and political jurisdiction. Volume III begins by tracing origins and development of a community that became part of the Milford School District in 1949 and a neighborhood that began sending its children to Kensington School in 1964. With the opening of Kensington, the annals of the community are joined by a history of the school. As we

develop the stories of Kensington and its neighborhood in tandem, we begin to tell of the interdependency of school and community and to further our understanding of innovation and change in schooling in contemporary American Society.

Volume IV Kensington Today: Sailing Stormy Straits, a View of Education Policy in Action

An ethnographic account of the school today with particular reference to educational policy in action at the day to day school level is presented here. The major metaphor is a ship sailing through stormy straits on a perilous journey during the 1979-80 school year. Staff and students produce vivid scenes reflecting issues in racial integration, special education, discipline, and instruction in the basic subjects. Policy analysis seems analogous to the fine art of navigation.

Volume V Educational Innovators Then and Now

Crucial to any education enterprise are the people who staff the schools. Smith and Keith characterized the original faculty of Kensington as true believers. In this Volume we sketch life histories, careers, serials of the original faculty based on extended open-ended interviews (2-7 hours), comments by spouses, friends and colleagues, and various writings--books, brochures, reports, and dissertations. Patterns and themes arise in the form of "secular religion," "you do go home again," "organizational niches and career opportunities for educationists," "maintenance of educational ideology," "continuity and change in personality," and "doctoral education, a disaster for reform oriented practitioners."

Volume VI Case Study Research Methodology: The Intersect of Participant Observation, Historical Method, Life History Research, and Follow-Up Studies

Regularly in our inquiry we have produced "methodological appendices" to our research reports. We saw our efforts as clarifying the craft of research as we practiced it, ordering its evolving nature, and continuously attempting to integrate it with other ways of knowing. This essay continues in that tradition. Specifically our mode of participant observation now has enlarged itself by a substantial historical thrust and a substantial life history or biographical thrust. In addition, our research is an instance of a special methodological stance, a follow-up or return to the setting of an earlier major study. (e.g., Middletown in Transition) In this way it takes on a time series quality with repeated observation. In doing the descriptive and analytical pieces, Volumes I through V, in reading about how others have done similar work, in talking with proponents of the various methods, we have reached for a broader synthesis of case study research method in the intersection of these several approaches. We see all this as an important addition to the methodological literature in educational inquiry.

In summary, our research is a unique blend of approaches to the problems and issues of Innovation and change in American Education. It is grounded in the multiple aspects of a single school in a single school district. As in all case studies the particular events have major meanings for the actors in the setting, but, also, we believe that these events often capture images and ideas that have relevance for other people in other times and places. Recently, Geertz has spoken of these as "experience-near" and "experience-distant" conceptions. In

each form we hope to be providing mirrors for educationists to see themselves better, that is more clearly, to be conscious of rephrased problems, and to create more viable options and alternatives. Our multi-volumed report is presented with these aspirations in mind.

1. HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

Sometimes it's useful to sketch in broad strokes an overview or outline of the history one wants to tell in more detail. A number of choices exists in the nature of those broad lines of demarcation, for instance, general societal events such as wars and depressions. Alternatively, the school district has had only five superintendents and one might speak of the Briggs era, the Grey era, the McBride era, the Spanman era and the George era. One is reminded of national history by dynasties, reigning kings, or presidents. Or one can capture periods around major local events, e.g. district consolidation, which stamp the moments in the minds of participants. Finally the calendar permits a decade-by-decade striking of events. Perhaps to presage our larger analytical frame we have opted for a combination of these alternatives.

In Figure 1 we present a time line of six discernible periods: the pre 1925 common school district era, a long stable township period, the rapid expansion in district size precipitated by merger and the population explosion of the post WWII suburban development, the brief four year period of Spanman's innovative lighthouse district gambit, a period of conservative consolidation and then the current era characterized by three major themes--declining enrollments, social class shifts and racial changes. Figure 2 presents the superintendent time line.

Insert Figures 1 and 2 about here

Perhaps it is helpful, too, to recall our initial purposes. We are trying for a description and analysis of the changes in the innovative Kensington School between its opening in 1964 and its current status fifteen years later in

The Common School
(3 Director Board)

The Long Stable Townwhip
School Period
(6 Director Board)

Merger and Post
WWII Rapid
Expansion

Spanman's Brief
Innovative
Lighthouse Era

Conservative
Consolidation

Declining Enrollments,
Dropping Socio-economic
Status, & Racial Change

1925

1949

1962

1966

1972

Figure 1: A Broad Overview of the History of the Milford School District

19

2

20

Briggs	1928-1930
Grey	1930-1935
McBride	1935-1962
Spanman	1962-1966
George	1966-present

Figure 2: Tenure of Superintendents

1979-80. As a piece of contemporary empirical research that represents a long time period. From an historical point of view it is not only recent history but also a relatively short time period. One aspect of our metatheoretical perspective assumes that a view of the history of the Milford School District will enhance our understanding of the changes in the Kensington School. More recently, as our data have accumulated, as new directions for inquiry have arisen out of available people, documents, and themes and as analysis and interpretations have continued, we have found shifts in the very nature of our problem. Now one of our guiding questions is not so much "How and why did this school change from 1964 to 1979" but, "Why did the Kensington School appear at all in the Milford School District?" As we have come to grips with that the District as an evolving entity became an interesting story and analytical problem in its own right.¹

¹ Among a number of individuals who have been helpful in our overall effort, three people especially have seen the possibilities and the hopes underlying the evolving quest and have given us both openness and supportiveness. Our thanks to Fritz Mulhauser, our project offices at NIE, Ronald George, the Superintendent of the Milford Schools, and Barry Anderson, the Director of the Graduate Institute of Education.

2. ORIGINS OF THE MILFORD DISTRICT

2.1 The Common School Era

The very first recorded minutes of the school Board of the Milford School District are a three item account from February, 1924:²

Board meeting called to order Feb. 6th, 1924, 8:10 PM
by President Sand.

New school bldg. proposition discussed.

Moved & 2nd that 1000.00 fire ins. be secured on colored
school bldg. Carried. (2/6/24)

A week later, a four item set of minutes recorded the Board's activity:

Meeting called to order Feb. 14th, 1924, 8:30 PM at Mr.
Gabriel's residence.

Moved & 2nd that committee of 2 be appointed to see Mr.
Freedman with reference to making arrangements for pur-
chasing land adjacent to present site. Carried. Mr.
Connor and Mr. Gabriel appointed.

Moved & 2nd that committee be appointed to investigate
site in Milford Village. Carried. Mr. Sand and F.K.T.
appointed

Moved & 2nd that we bring the proposition of a 6
Director district before the people and F.K.T. secure
all necessary information concerning same. Carried.
(2/14/24)

Several weeks later the third recorded meeting of the Board occurred. The
minutes reveal several additional aspects of the School's functioning:

Clear Valley School
District #10

Board meeting called to order Wed. Eve. March 5, 1924.

² Later we found a volume of mixed records labeled 1914-1919 which has school
board minutes dating from September 10, 1913 - September 28, 1922 and minutes
of the Annual School Meetings from April 7, 1914 to April 7, 1925.

Letter of resignation of F.D. Sand read and accepted.

Mr. Gabriel elected President of the Board.

Mr. Fred Emory appointed to fill unexpired term of
F.D. Sand. F. K. T. (3/5/24)

The minutes continue on in this fashion through the rest of the year. Eventually year-in and year-out they become more and more elaborate. The reader is left with an image of the school district developing before one's eyes. But even at this point several items are clear:

- 1) The district is a three-director rural or Common School District.
- 2) The Board meets in the home of one of the directors.
- 3) Concerns exist over school buildings, sites, and insurance.
- 4) A separate school for Blacks exists in the community.
- 5) Concern for a township school, i.e., a "six-director" school is on the agenda.
- 6) The Board elects its own president, and replaces its resigned members.

In subsequent minutes of irregular meetings of that Spring a number of items point the story more fully. The Clear Valley School has a principal, Mr. Young, and two or three teachers including Mrs. Young. The principal is paid \$160 per month and the teachers average \$105 per month. The "colored school" receives a name that Spring and becomes the Attucks School.

In the autumn of 1924, a new Board president appears, although Mr. Gabriel remains on the Board and F.K.T., Mr. F. K. Tholozan remains as "clerk." The minutes continue to create a picture of schooling. Bills to a half-dozen,

book companies -- American Book, Allyn & Bacon, Ginn, Little, Brown, etc. are recorded. Repairs to furnaces, hiring of janitors and general up-keep of the schools continue. "The matter of electric wiring of the colored school was brought up. Motion carried that wiring be done." In January of 1925,³ four items appear:

Moved & 2nd that bills be allowed. Carried

Moved & 2nd that bookcase be purchased by Mr. Young for colored school. Carried.

Moved & 2nd that official strap, about 2" wide, for the infliction of corporal punishment be purchased. Carried.

Moved & 2nd that 1 x 4 strips be purchased for tying desks together in west room. Carried. (1/13/25)

In the March, 1925 meeting three major items appeared:

Moved & 2nd that the proposition of organizing this school district into a town school district with six directors be submitted to the voters at the annual election. Carried.

Moved & 2nd that 60¢ tax rate be submitted to the voters at the annual election. Carried.

Moved & 2nd that plot of ground east of school yard be rented -- rate of \$50.00 per year. Carried. (3/12/25)

These went on the ballot in April with all due announcements, petitions, and indications that two villages -- Milford and Pleasant Hill are within District #10, and also that "400 Scholastics"⁴ reside in the District. On

³Minutes are available only for single meetings in September, November, and January, February and March.

⁴Scholastic refers to pupils, but it's not clear the age limits in the enumeration. Midwest State law indicates 0-21 years at present. It seems that approximately 120-150 pupils are actually enrolled.

April 2, 1925 130 citizens voted "For organization", 51 voted "Against organization" and 4 were "Questionable." Clear Valley Common School District was now the Milford School District and would retain that name for the next 55 years, that is, until the present. (6/17/25)

2.2 Milford:

The Initial Six-Director Town School District

Very quickly the new Board moved to organize itself, voted a ten month school year, submitted a bond issue for \$45,000 for a new four room school building, took options on four acres adjacent to the present school site, engaged a lawyer, and appointed a committee "to make arrangements to provide an adequate building and equipment for the colored (Attucks) school!" (5/27/25) That committee reported out in the following Summer:

Moved & 2nd that committee proceed with alterations of colored school. Colored school to be increased to 32 ft. x 32 ft. with basement under west half.
Motion carried. (7/22/25)

During this period, the Board minutes record pupil enumeration as:

420	White	
46	Colored	
<u>4</u>	Deaf, Dum & Crippled	
470	TOTAL	(5/27/25)

A year earlier, the enumeration was:

187	Male)	White	
196	Female)		
22	Male)	Colored	
24	Female)		
<u>5</u>	f. m. & B ⁵			
434	TOTAL			(5/24)

The 1925-26 school year contained items which seem indigenous to schooling everywhere in America at different times. Property owners, who wanted more for their land than the school Board was willing to give, were subjected to the legal actions of condemnation proceedings. The first record of resolutions to problems of overcrowding also appeared that year.

The Board minutes recorded it this way:

On account of the crowded condition in some of the rooms it was moved & 2nd that parents who wished could keep their children home half day providing they gave them instruction at home. Motion carried.
(1/19/26)

On April 13, 1926 amidst actions on bills, levies and new Board members, several items related to staffing problems appear in brief enigmatic form:

Moved & 2nd that a man and his wife shall not be permitted to teach in our school district. Motion carried.

The question of renewal of contracts was brought up and was stated that there was considerable discord among the teachers. Mr. Craig and Miss Gurney advised Mr. Gabriel that they could not renew their contracts under present conditions, claiming Mr. and

⁵No indication occurs regarding the meaning of these symbols. Our guess is "feeble minded" and "blind."

Mrs. Young did not cooperate with them. Several the patrons, as well as the County Superintendent of Schools called some of the Board members attention to existing conditions.

After much discussion it was moved & 2nd that Board shall not renew the contracts of Mr. and Mrs. Young. Motion carried unanimously. The President advised Mr. Young of the Board's action in its presence.

Moved & 2nd that Ronald Craig be appointed principal for the next term, 10 months, at a salary of \$150/month. Motion carried unanimously. The President advised Mr. Craig of the Board's action in its presence. (4/13/26)

Two special meetings occurred in the last two weeks of April. A group of six parents representing the Parents and Teachers Association requested the Board to "reconsider the election of teachers." While no formal general action was taken the Board requested and received a release from Mr. Craig of its offer as principal. At the second meeting, in two, 3-2 votes the Board voted down the motion to consider "none of the teachers," and then voted not to reconsider its vote of the 13th. In brief, the decisions stood to terminate the Youngs and to promote Mr. Craig as Principal.

A variety of inferences might be drawn provisionally from these items.

- 1) Considerable problems must have been occurring for this is the first mention of the County Superintendent of Schools in over two years of minutes.
- 2) The nepotism rules seem to have arisen as simple solution to ordinary day-to-day problems.
- 3) Boards had "life and death" power over the teaching staff, that they moved initially in unanimity on such key issues, and that communications to key parties was carried out in the "presence" of the entire Board. The clarity of direct observation and witness allowed no misconstrual

of action. 4) Appeals could and were made. Individual Board members were not locked permanently into voting patterns. The first split votes were recorded.

Amongst the "heavier" items, appear items which will become part and parcel of later approaches to small problems:

Moved & 2nd that principal be authorized to purchase baseball equipment out of funds accumulated from sale of misc. stationary. Motion carried. (5/5/26)

Whether schools have engaged in money making activities for years for "fringe" items is not clear. In Milford, the records go back for 55 years to here.

While no clear mention is made in the Board minutes of the new school opening in the Autumn 1926, bills for the builder, architect, 100 chairs, and \$400.00 for a septic tank all were paid in the Summer of 1926. The janitor was employed for ten months and "permitted to use 2 rooms of the old building for living quarters." It was moved & 2nd that the builder, "give floors in new bldg. 2 coats of heated linseed oil. Carried." (8/11/26)

In the Spring of 1927, the Board began its first action regarding high school education. Prior to this time youngsters had tuition paid to a neighboring district:⁶

Moved & 2nd that the Board be appointed committee to see the parents of the high school prospects with the view of determining their attitude. Carried. (1/13/27)

⁶The minutes are not exact on this point. Records indicate that Black high school tuition was paid.

Moved & 2nd that special meeting be called for April 27th, 1927, for further discussion of high school work & employment of teachers. (1/13/27)

Two months later, action was taken:

Moved & 2nd that the 9th grade of high school work be taken up for the coming year. Motion carried. (6/8/27)

The story continued immediately:

Secy. instructed to write Supt. Jos. B. Michael whether or not a teacher can be employed to teach 9th grade high school work, and can alternate with lower grades, without affecting our standing as an accredited high school.

Secy. instructed to write Mrs. Claire Briggs requesting application. (6/14/27)

By July 20, 1927, Mrs. Brigg's was hired, "conditioned upon obtaining State of Midwest certificate to teach." (7/20/27) Bids for renovating the old frame building were secured and the high school found a home and began.

New programs bring unanticipated problems:

Regularly moved & 2nd that some member of the School Board see Dr. Synder⁷ at his convenience to instruct whether or not we can admit a person to our school 21 yrs. of age, & married. Motion carried. (9/14/27)

And the next item in the minutes speaks eloquently to another set of problems:

Regularly moved & 2nd that in the future we should find it necessary to order any repair work done of

⁷Suburban County Superintendent of Schools. Other records indicate he was a formidable school man and held office for 36 years from 1916 to 1952.

any nature, that we secure at least three competitive bids, we to specify the work to be done and the materials used, and the lowest bid accepted. Motion carried.
(9/14/27)

For the first time the bills were now listed by sequential number as well as by amount and biller in the school Board minutes.

At a September meeting the Board, which earlier had purchased a 2½" strap for corporal punishment, now reversed itself:

Regularly moved & 2nd that corporal punishment be abolished from the Clear Valley School. Motion carried.
(9/14/27)

The complications in this aspect of school policy and school functioning appeared within a month. A pupil was suspended. He and his parents appeared before the board. He was warned and "ordered" to return to school. The Board took a list of rules, infractions and penalties developed by the teachers and turned them into school policy. While no copy of those rules exists, inferences can be drawn in part from the note of suspension. The note appears as Figure 3. Clearly the items of truancy, defying and disobeying the principal, lying, disturbing another room, and unruliness would be part of those rules.

Insert Figure 3 about here

The complications of "policy in action" appeared in a lengthy item in the October 12, 1927 meeting:

After a complete hearing of evidence and facts relative to corporal punishment inflicted on Kent Collinson, a pupil in Miss Gimble's classroom, by Mr. Craig, Principal, on Wednesday, Oct. 5th, the parents were advised that they

Suspension: From school

Billy Lamb, the eight-year old son of Mrs. Lamb, of R.F. Box 29 was suspended from Clear Valley School on Wednesday September 21, 1927.

Charges:

1. He played truancy.
2. He defied and disobeyed the principal of the school.
3. He broke down the morale of the school by telling falsehoods,
4. He entered and created a disturbance in a room where he was forbidden to go.

Punishment:

Billy did not receive any punishment at school for his unruly conduct.

Signed by
Mr. Craig, Principal
Mr. Underwood, School Board Pres.
Mr. Matthews, Another board member

Figure 3: Notice of Suspension

would be advised at a later date of the School Board's findings. Mr. Craig was reprimanded by the Board and a general understanding effected that it is the desire of this School Board that corporal punishment be abolished from our school. While the Board is fully aware that the State Law gives the teacher the right to inflict reasonable corporal punishment, the Board wished the cooperation of the faculty in abolishing this form of punishment, using the suspension system as set forth in rules submitted by and signed by the faculty, dated Sept. 26th, 1927, referred to as exhibit A in minutes of meeting of Sept. 28th, 1927. (10/12/27)

Slowly, the high school program began to take on form and substance. Beyond the unlisted books which had been purchased and listed only as "High School books," items such as these appeared:

Bills:

431 Central Scientific Co. - H. School Lab \$149.91

Regularly moved & 2nd that a cabinet for storing high school laboratory equipment be ordered by the Secy. as requested by Mrs. Briggs. Equipment necessary as set forth in the Bulletin on High School Organization, page #89. Motion carried. (10/12/27)

Moved & 2nd that the necessary books to complete high school library requested by Mrs. Briggs in her letter of Oct. 12th be ordered by the Secy. Motion carried. (10/12/27)

Items relevant to basic dilemmas in public and private enterprise arose:

Regularly moved & 2nd that Miss Wilma Mann discontinues giving music lessons in the school building pending a thorough interpretation by the Board of Directors as to the legality of her so teaching for profit. Motion carried. (11/9/27)

At the same meeting, the interplay among larger governmental structures, the local Board and the professionalization of teachers arose:

Secy. instructed by the Board of Directors to advise Mr. Craig that schools in our district be closed Nov. 10 & 11th, to permit teachers to attend the 9 Teachers Convention, as per recommendation of Supt. Snyder in his note of 10/12/27. (11/9/27)

Similarly, the holiday structure was reaffirmed:

Secy. instructed to advise Mr. Craig to declare Friday, Nov. 25th, a school holiday, being the Friday following Thanksgiving. School closes this day as has been customary in previous years. (11/9/27)

The final item on that busy November evening in 1927, helps keep the reader's image in perspective:

Regularly moved & 2nd that a letter of complaint be written by the Secy. to Dr. Zeller, County Health Supt., concerning the odors, etc., arising from hog farm operated by Mr. Standish, which is endangering the health of our school children. Complaint filed by Mr. Craig with the Bd. of E. letter dated 11/9/27. Motion carried. (11/9/27)

The confusion over corporal punishment returned later that month:

Regularly moved & 2nd that our rule abolishing corporal punishment again be instituted, teachers to use proper judgment and discretion in administering this form of punishment. Secy. instructed to advise Mr. Craig of this ruling. (11/15/27)

The County provided some help regarding discipline and deportment. A Board action on February 8, 1929 commented this way:

Regularly moved & 2nd that Secy. be instructed to write Mr. Snyder drawing his attention to the laxity of the Co. Truant Officer in re delinquency of children of this district - Jane Zellner - 2 other members - and Michael Gaines residing in Pleasant Hill (Chronic cases). Motion carried. (2/8/29)

For the first time the Board raised an issue which remains a part of life in the Milford Schools:

Regularly moved & 2nd that Secy. be instructed to request Mr. Craig to draft a plan whereby all teachers supervise playground during playtime. (2/11/28)

And the Board also instituted the beginnings of school cafeterias and lunch programs:

Motion made that Mr. Tompkins & Mr. Nunn⁸ be appointed to secure necessary equipment as suggested (they to use their judgment in the selections) for the preparation of food for the school children. Carried. (Mrs. Allen 7:30 to 3:00 PM @ \$2.00 per day.)

Motion made that Mr. Jennings and Newberry⁸ be instructed to take care of the installation of necessary tables in the basement of the school. Carried. (2/15/28)

Housing, staffing, and keeping the lunch programs "profitable" will be a regular item forever more. Conventional wisdom in this domain, as we will see, is almost an internal contradiction.

At a special meeting of the Board, after the April 3rd elections, the new members were sworn in, and new officers were elected, "by acclamation." Other items were noteworthy for their first mention in the record:

Committee of Mothers Club desires permission to plant shrubs and trees on school premises. Moved & 2nd that the committee be permitted to do their planting without Mr. Thompson's⁹ deference. Motion carried. (4/14/28)

⁸Board members

⁹The school janitor

Two key items relevant to the educational programs arose:

Regularly moved & 2nd that for the year 1928-1929, that we organize a Junior High School consisting of 7th, 8th, & 9th grade school. Motion carried. (4/4/28)

Regularly moved & 2nd that we offer Mrs. Briggs the position of Principal of this school at \$175.00 per month, for 10 month term, 1928-1929. Motion carried. (4/4/28)

That salary was \$35.00 per month higher than her teaching salary, \$140.00, and \$15.00 per month higher than the salary of Mr. Craig, the elementary principal who until then was the highest paid employee in the district at \$160.00 per month. The median teacher salary at the time was \$125.00. A week later, the minutes suggest all was not well in staff relations:

Regularly moved & 2nd that Mrs. Briggs be employed for the year of 1928-1929 as Principal of the High Sch. & Elementary School, at 200.00 per month. 4 members Carr, Inman, Tholozan¹⁰, & Ennis for. Opposed - Newport. Pres. not voting. (4/11/28)

The next week six new teachers were offered contracts. Changes also occurred at the Attucks School. A new replacement teacher and an alternative were selected. The janitor was dismissed and a new janitor hired.

By Autumn 1928, the faculty of the Milford District consisted of nine professional staff, including Mrs. Briggs and a part time teacher. By November due to congestion and crowding the half time teacher became full time and an additional primary teacher was added. Only Mrs. Briggs remained from the previous year.

High faculty turnover seems a part of the early years.

¹⁰The wife of an earlier Board member, F. Tholozan

3 Milford Acquires a Superintendent: Mrs. Briggs

During the Summer of 1928, in this period of faculty change and turnover, the Board made an additional move:

Regularly moved & 2nd that Mr. Carson write Mr. Tobias for permission to organize the Sch. Dist. under supervision of a Supt. Motion carried. (7/11/28)

The Board quickly heard from Mr. Tobias and a special session was called:

Letter dated July 13th, 1928, from State Director of High Sch. Supervision, K. S. Tobias, read and unanimous approval of all Bd. members present expressed.

Regularly moved & 2nd that on strength of this letter, Mrs. Briggs, our Principal, be appointed Supt. of our School Dist. to devote $\frac{1}{2}$ of her time to the supervision of our schools and to organize the 7th, 8th, & 9th grades in a Junior High School, in accordance with the plans submitted to and approved by Director of H. S. Supervision, K. S. Tobias. Motion carried. (7/20/28)

In just one year (6/14/27 to 7/20/28), Mrs. Briggs had moved from being a teacher new to the district but organizing the high school, to principal, to becoming the first superintendent of the Milford Public Schools.

During the Fall months of 1928, members of the Board still carried out a number of miscellaneous activities:

Regularly moved & 2nd that Mrs. Tholozan be authorized to purchase the necessary equipt. for hospital or first aid room. Motion carried. (9/12/28)

But the new superintendent began to take on broader responsibilities:

Moved & 2nd that Mrs. Briggs write Mr. Overmeier of the State University asking for one of the experts on

building projects to call on us as soon as it can be arranged, our Board to pay his traveling expenses. Motion carried.

Resolution introduced to give Mrs. Briggs general charge of the cafeteria. Seconded by Mrs. Tholozan and passed. Mr. Carr instructed to inform Mrs. Winter. (12/12/28)

In the Spring of 1929, an attempt was made to pass a bond issue for a school addition. It failed. Later, after a citizens committee was appointed, a plan for a new school was developed. It too failed. Finally in October 1929, a bond issue for a new school (4 rooms), two new rooms at Clear Valley, and repairs and improvements at the Attucks passed overwhelmingly -- 438, 70, and 3. The new school would be closer to the population in the eastern part of the district. Passage of the bond issue meant then that architects, roofers, " ... kindly consider the use of their asbestos shingles on the contemplated building" (12/11/29), and builders visited the Board. And the usual bills were paid, holidays for Christmas were set -- Friday, 12/20 to Thursday, 1/2/30.

Staff problems seemed to remain. Mrs. Briggs raised complaints regarding the janitor and he was replaced in December 1929, with two weeks notice. January 8th, 1930 two teachers met with the Board:

Miss Monet and Miss Greer representing our faculty - made a few remarks both for and against the present condition of the school system.

Mrs. Briggs placed before the Board a few of the many difficulties that arise to hinder progress in the school work. Mr. Tompkins had left us early in Nov. T. I. Wells took his place for a few weeks but failed to qualify and was discharged on that ground. Mr. T.M. Kane was hired and worked only a few days and he

resigned. Mr. Fred Nolting was then taken in and appears to meet all requirements and we are hoping that he will stay with us the remainder of the year.

(1/18/30)

In February:

Miss Kelley and Mr. Nolting, members of the faculty and *Hubert Click a member of the student body* were delegated to call upon the Board and make various recommendations. (Our italics)

(2/12/30)

In the week of February 17th, the Milford Board held two special meetings in which the mid-winter drama reached a climax.

Mr. Nofsinger - Carr - Inman - Lawrence met informally with Mr. Peter Lake -- superintendent of the Kennard School¹¹ for the purpose of obtaining information concerning a member of his faculty -- who had been recommended to us as a likely candidate for our Superintendent.

Mr. Lake recommends highly Mr. F. W. Grey who has been in his system for 4 years in the capacity of Physical Education director and one whose ambitions and qualifications have outgrown his system and one that he (Mr. Lake) would be unable to retain.

Mr. Lake also explained quite satisfactorily the system of voting the tax levy in the two propositions. He also explained why our 85¢ tax which was voted upon at the Annual School Election, April 1929 and was carried by a majority vote of the people -- was ruled out of the County Court because a school of our classification cannot vote more than 65¢ for teachers and incidental fund.

Mr. Inman was instructed to extend an invitation to Mr. Grey to meet with us on Friday, Feb. 21/31 for an interview.

Our meeting adjourned at 10:45 PM.

¹¹ Kennard School is an adjacent district where some Milford high school students had gone to school over the years and where Milford had rented in the last year a basketball court for use by its pupils.

Within the week, the following Friday the Board met with Mr. Grey. Only Mr. Edgar was absent. The verbatim minutes are presented in toto:

The purpose of the meeting was to interview Mr. Grey as a likely candidate to succeed Mrs. Briggs as Superintendent.

Our school district is growing so rapidly and we are in the midst of a building program this year and we *feel keenly the need of a man at the head of our school system.* (Our Italics)

Mrs. Briggs has given good service and has done a splendid job of organizing a Junior and Senior High School, but the increasing demand is growing out of her power of control.

After a careful interview with Mr. Grey we naturally agreed that provided the additional tax of 40¢ for building and repair fund (that we expect to vote upon at the next annual school election) carries we would employ him - giving him a contract for 12 months, beginning July 1st, 1930, in order that he might be on the job during the building process this Summer.

In anticipation of the number of children that very likely will attend the school in Milford Village¹² Mr. Grey asks permission to make a survey of those living in the district and their preference. He was authorized to have blanks for this request printed and distributed throughout the district.

Mr. Mullanpy was authorized to inform Mrs. Briggs that we would not renew her contract.

Mrs. Tholozan was delegated to introduce Mr. Grey to Mrs. Briggs in order that he might become familiar with the school system - of what has been done and what needs to be done.

Meeting adjourned at 5:50 P.M.

(2/21/30)

¹² Milford Village, Maine, was an unincorporated village. When the town school district was organized the School District took its name.

The regular March 12th Board meeting spent most of its time on the bond issue and bidders from eight financial institutions. Bills were read and approved. Names of Inman and Lawrence were submitted for re-election of members of the Board in April. At a special meeting, a week later, a number of items of business were handled -- final architectural plans and bids for the contracts. Three items bear especially on several of our larger themes:

The secretary read the application of Mrs. Briggs and after careful consideration we decided that it would not be wise to retain her in the system. Mrs. Tholozan was delegated to inform her of same. Her application is attached.

We have inserted her letter as Figure 4.

Insert Figure 4 about here

The next item in the minutes:

G.W. Ford -- colored contractor, was present and asked the consideration of the Board for the contract for the building of the Attucks School.¹³

Mr. Gray submitted a report of the survey made just recently in regard to the number of pupils that will likely attend the Milford School and recommended the hiring of three additional teachers.

Mr. Carr made a motion and seconded by Mrs. Tholozan to authorize Mr. Gray to proceed in getting teachers applications as per his schedule. (3/19/30)

The Special Meeting in April reported the re-election of the two Board members and the overwhelming passage of the 65¢ and the 40¢ tax. The oath they and the earlier Board members took is reproduced as Figure 5.

¹³Six weeks later (4/30/30), the contract was accepted; no record exists of the amount nor of taking of bids. A later bill of \$255.00 to the G.W. Ford Hardware Co. is listed.

March 19, 1930

TO THE SCHOOL BOARD,

I am taking the privilege of submitting my application for a position as teacher in your high school next year. I think the previous experiences I have had here will render me more capable of efficient service than would be possible if I had not been at the head of the school for the past two years. I think you know me to be able to teach subject matter and at the same time maintain proper conditions in the room. I am familiar with the system and I know the student personnel, which is a decided advantage to any teacher. If I have the honor of remaining in the school, I pledge myself to cooperate to the fullest with Mr. Grey and the entire organization and to more fully convince you of this, I am willing to work without a formal contract, as this would enable you to remove me at any time I may not be entirely satisfactory.

I am turning over to your new superintendent a well organized school of which I am very proud. I think you may have acted very wisely in selecting a man instead of a woman as administrator, since the demands of the system will be very much heavier next year than they have been this year. At present I am succeeding in creating a very wholesome atmosphere for Mr. Grey in the high school. I have no ill feelings whatever toward anyone connected with the system, and I shall be more than pleased to remain with you as a part of your organization. I know I can render you a very valuable service. In addition to my teaching duties, I shall be glad to assist Mr. Grey in every way possible connected with the school.

Please consider this proposition fairly and discuss it with Mr. Grey. If I am retained in the system, I promise you will have no cause to regret it.

Very truly yours

Mrs. Briggs

Figure 4: Mrs. Briggs' Letter of Appeal.

Insert Figure 5 about here

2.4 Mr. Grey's Tenure as Superintendent

The hiring of a full time male Superintendent had a number of consequences.

Two items from the minutes suggest the beginning of these implications:

After careful consideration, Mr. [redacted] moved and Mr. Carr seconded that we give Mr. Grey a contract for 12 months beginning July 1, 1930 -- at a salary of \$2,500 per annum.

Regularly moved & 2nd that Mr. Grey and Mrs. Tholozan proceed with the employment of teachers for the next year. (4/9/30)

The salary increase was a full twenty-five percent more than that paid his predecessor. The active involvement of the Superintendent in all kinds of activities originally a Board responsibility was to increase step by step over the years.

In the Summer of 1930, the Board, "regularly moved and seconded," that the new elementary school be named as Milford Village School and the high school be the Milford High School. Though the High School program was now in its third year, the financing remained precarious:

Regularly moved & 2nd to raise the tuition of High School pupils from \$40.00 to \$60.00. Mr. Grey is authorized to notify patrons. (9/10/30)

Mr. Grey was given additional duties:

Regularly moved & 2nd to appoint Mr. Grey as attendance officer for the district. (11/12/30)

"I do solēmnly swear (or affirm) that I will support the Constitution of the United States and the Constitution of the State of Midwest, and that I will faithfully and impartially discharge the duties of school director in and for the School District of Milford, to the best of my ability, according to the law, so help me God."

Figure 5: Oath of Office of School Board Members

The school's role in the larger community appears:

A general discussion regarding tuition from other districts. Mr. Grey informs us that the payments are coming promptly and the enrollment is holding up well.
(1/14/31)

The Board's involvement with the community also appears:

Mutually agreed by the Board that we all attend the Annual County School Board Convention at Green City, Saturday Mar. 14-31.
(3/11/31)

In May of 1931, a series of items carried the flavor of Mr. Grey's growing responsibilities:

Regularly moved & 2nd that the Board levy a tax of 35¢ for Interest and sinking fund and to *accept the estimated budget for 1931-32 as submitted by Mr. Grey.*
(Our Italics)

Mr. William moved & 2nd by Mr. Easter that we approve the contracts for teachers as submitted by Mr. Grey and sign same.

Regularly moved & 2nd that Mr. Grey proceed with his plans for a school picnic.

Regularly moved by Mr. Williams & 2nd by Easter that we increase Mr. Grey's salary from \$2500 to \$3000 per year.
(5/13/31)

The regular meeting of June 11, 1931, is noted for one major event:

On account of having no quorum--no official business was transacted except the signing of Diplomas by the President and Secretary.
(6/11/31)

In such auspicious circumstances the first high school graduating class was officially certificated.

Items continue to appear in interesting juxtaposition:

Mr. Grey explained in detail the New School Law relative to High School Tuition that was recently passed by the General Assembly, signed by the Governor and is to become effective Sept. 14, 1931. (8/13/31)

And:

Mr. Inman moved, 2nd by Mrs. Tholozan that the Superintendent of Schools, Mr. Grey, be authorized to exercise general supervision over the janitors of the several schools and to prescribe their hours and the work to be performed by them. (8/13/31)

Mr. Grey, as Superintendent, is progressively more and more involved in both external relations and internal operation of the School District. At this point in time, if our inferences are correct, the Superintendent mediates between the State and the Board. He "explained in detail" the evolving laws and regulations emanating from the State Capitol. In the past, one of the members of the Board wrote directly to the County Superintendent, to the State Department, and to the State University. As one reads the record of Board Minutes, one senses that the Board has hired a person it trusts and has confidence in, that it pays him increasingly well, and that it expects him to relieve the Board of a variety of chores and activities. While the Board retains "ultimate" control, power and authority, it now acts at a full step removed from day-to-day decision making in ever-widening areas of responsibility. The motion on janitors now reporting to the Superintendent follows by 2½ years (12/28), the responsibility given to Mrs. Briggs to supervise the cafeteria workers.

Although the Board minutes are not explicit in noting the Superintendent's regular attendance at Board meetings, it seems to have begun about 1931. Until then, each set of minutes indicate presence and absence of Board members but not of others. During this year, the language seems to shift from a particular Board member instructing or informing Mr. Grey to, "Mr. Grey explained in detail the New School Law" and not having been invited to be present to do so. Or:

Mr. Grey explained that Mrs. Johnson's salary was below the legal standard required by the state in order that we get state credit for the extra High School work she is to carry out at Attucks School this year. In view of that, Mr. Inman made a motion - 2nd by Mr. Williams that we increase her salary \$5.00 per month. Carried.
(9/9/31)

In November, Mr. Grey joined the Board at a Saturday evening meeting of the County School Board Convention.

County School Board Convention held at Fairwoods High School. Our school was represented by Mr. Grey, Mr. Carr, Mr. Inman, Mr. Easter, Mr. Williams & Mrs. Tholozan. Mr. Snyder explained in detail the new school law in regard to consolidation and redistricting of rural districts recently passed.
(11/7/31)

Between regular meetings of the Board acts of nature occur, deliberately organized community institutions respond, and the School Board takes notice and responds with concern and good feeling, as well as its legal responsibilities:

The secretary was instructed to write a letter of appreciation to each of the Fire Departments that responded to the call made on the night of Oct. 30 when the frame school building caught fire due to

overheating. Regularly moved & 2nd to give the Milford Village Fire Dept. a stove.¹⁴ \$10.00 to the Crescent Fire Dept. and 2 boxes of cigars to the Germania Fire Dept.

A report was made by Mr. Roundtree of the Fidelity Co. on the settlement for Insurance for the damage done to the school building in the recent fire. (11/15/31)

The role of specialist and generalist poses a problem at both the professional and non-professional level. The "way things were" is captured in the minutes:

Mr. Lawrence moved - 2nd by Mr. Williams that we purchase material for table for the Milford Village Elementary School and have the janitors to make them at their spare time, also to place a storm door on the north side of the building. The motion carried. (12/14/31)

The same evening broader issues were brewing in the county and the Board, once again, seemed to be tackling them in its usual direct common sense style:

No further business to come before the Board at this time the meeting adjourned at 3 o'clock in order that we might attend a mass meeting of the Boards of Education of the adjoining district at Cummings Hall, Table Rock in regard to the consolidation and re-districting of school districts. (12/14/31)

These efforts at school consolidation have had a checkered history in Midwest State and Suburban County. A brief history of a part of Suburban County reports the following:

In 1933 a county districting board met 16 times and emerged with a plan to merge the 90 little three

¹⁴In January the Board voted the Milford Village Volunteer Fire Department --\$15.00.

director districts in the county down to 16 ... Wanting no part of this the board members campaigned against it and the measure failed all over the county. (P.D. 1977, p.34)¹⁵

No records regarding these meetings appear in the Board minutes.

In the first meeting of 1932, the format of the Board minutes took on a more formal view. Instead of a flowing handwritten record, the minutes were typed in a professional looking style.¹⁶ Items were paragraphed. Marginal identifications were introduced for the first time. Formal indication that the Superintendent "was present" also appears. Bills were paid, old business was attended too, e.g., the volunteer fire department was voted \$15.00. And the Superintendent's role continued to be elaborated:

Mr. Grey reported a temporary suspension of Michael Untermeyer and Joe Dolan on account of misconduct in classroom. A general discussion followed. The matter was left in the hands of Mr. Grey to dispose of as he sees fit. (1/13/32)

No longer did the parent and youngster appear before the Board. No longer did the Board directly decide on appropriate next steps.

The Board, in early March of 1932, accepted applications of two incumbents and later in March accepted two others. The next item was:

Each member pledged to support the incumbent candidates and work hard for the tax. (3/30/32)

Other data suggest the year was 1931 and the 90 three director districts were really 75 plus 15 consolidated or six director districts.

¹⁶Some of the very early minutes had been roughly typed.

The iron law of oligarchy worked less than perfectly and one incumbent won and the other lost.¹⁷ They were duly sworn in the following week at a special Board meeting.

Apparently the Board felt the reasoning and results surrounding Mr. Grey's appointment had been successful:

... we employ an additional man teacher to act as principal in the absence of Mr. Grey and teach Physical Education and Science at the salary of \$1,500.00.
(4/21/32)

At the same meeting, one teacher was not rehired, and other teachers were offered contracts. One of the janitors, "... was dismissed on account of possession of liquor on school property. Motion carried unanimously." (4/2//32) No mention of the economic depression occurs in the Board minutes, although the Superintendent was rehired at \$250.00 per month for twelve months, was given a three year contract but with the provision that if the Board deemed it necessary to decrease (or increase) teacher's salaries the Superintendent's would be decreased or increased proportionately.

In August of 1932, at the regular Board meeting, one of our continuing themes, the education of Black children in the Milford School District, receives the following mention:

The regular order of business was dispensed with to take care of a committee from the Waterford School District. The members of this committee present were Ben Olderman, President of the Waterford School Board;

¹⁷The law was not totally less than perfect for the outside winner had been on the Board earlier but had lost the previous year.

William Zener, Director of the Waterford School Board and Donald Day, Director of the Waterford School Board. Mr. Olderman was the spokesman and asked if they might be allowed to send the colored elementary pupils from the Waterford District to Attucks School in the Milford School District and what tuition would be asked. Mr. Grey explained that while the cost per pupil was much higher than \$40.00 per year, that our present facilities would take care of these pupils without additional seating or teachers, and that, in view of this fact these pupils could be taken care of for \$40.00 each for the school term 1932-33. This was satisfactory to the Waterford Committee and Mrs. Tholozan moved that we accept the colored elementary pupils from the Waterford District for the school year 1932-33 at \$40.00 per pupil for a term of 10 months. Mr. Roberts gave his 2nd to the motion and the motion carried unanimously. The committee then adjourned and the meeting proceeded with the regular order of business. (8/10/32)

Within a month, the County redistricting issue reappeared and Mr. Grey and the Board members participated in the election of six members, one from each of the County's townships and one at large.

The interdependence of various public functions operating toward the common good appears in another minute:

Mr. Williams moved that the Board of Education adopt a resolution that the Board go on record as not opposing the use of the school building for a polling place. Mr. Roberts 2nd the motion and the motion carried. (10/12/32)

In December, 1932, the Superintendent read the bills, #172-206, reported on fire insurance regarding the Clear Valley frame building, trucks on the school ground during school hours, and pamphlets available regarding the "tentative redistricting program." A transportation item appeared:

The Superintendent recommended a change in the manner of paying the transportation of the colored High School

pupils to Big City High Schools by paying the parents directly instead of paying the drivers of the cars. After due discussion, Mr. Inman moved that the Board of Education pay the parents directly for the transportation of their children to Big City High Schools. The motion was 2nd by Mr. Williams and the motion was unanimous favoring the motion. (12/14/32)

At a later meeting checks from \$3.00 to \$4.17 went to eight individuals for "Col. H. S. Trans."

The effects of the depression appeared in the Spring of 1933. In a series of split votes (3-3), a separating of issues and seeking advice of the County Superintendent, the Board finally voted to retain all of the teachers, to cut the salaries 10%, and to retain a ten month school year. Each contract carried the provision, "provided the school funds are available." In addition the Board added a supplement to the contract:

... it is the desire of the members of the Board that providing they can find suitable living quarters in the district, that they will be required to live within the district. (5/29/33)

Conflict continued in the Board with some motions not carrying for lack of a second, others split 4-2. The issues involved insurance on the buildings, replacing a teacher getting married, and the equalizing of janitors salaries-- one down from \$135.00 and the others up from \$75.00.

In the Spring of 1934, discussion was held and a motion made and seconded that the Superintendent be given a new three year contract. In March the Board voted him a year's leave of absence because of illness. At that same meeting the first overall budget enclosed in the record of minutes appeared. It is reproduced in toto as Figure 6.

Insert Figure 6 about here

All fifteen teachers were retained in April, 1934, with small raises (most at \$2.00 per month e.g., \$105.50 to \$107.50) although Mr. F. B Newsome, who assumed some of Mr. Grey's duties had a salary increase from \$135.00 to \$150.00 per month. Except for Mr. Grey whose salary was \$2500.00 per year, Mr. Newsome was the highest paid employee of the district.

In May the Board instituted the first fringe benefits to teachers with the simple item:

Mr. Lawrence moved & 2nd by Mr. Easter that teachers be allowed 10 days per year with pay for sickness or death in the immediate family. Teachers to furnish a doctor's certificate of illness. The motion carried. (5/9/34)

As the 1933-34 school year ended the Board took two actions which seemed to have long term significance. First the Board voted formally to admit visitors:

Mr. Easter moved & 2nd by Mr. Finley that we admit all visitors and let them voice their opinions or objectives (sic) and then ask them to retire while the Board carries on its business. The vote was 3 for and 2 against. (6/13/34)

For the first time formal secretarial help is available to the Superintendent:

Mr. Jennings moved - 2nd by Mr. Finley that Mr. Grey employ someone as office assistant of \$12.50 per week. The motion carried. Mr. Lawrence¹⁸ voted against the proposition.

¹⁸ Lawrence was frequently in the minority on the Board, e.g., his candidates to fill positions regularly lost. No inference could be made from the minutes as to the reasons.

Estimated Budget For 1934-35

Teachers Salaries	21,275.00	
Janitors Salaries	2,500.00	
School Supplies	600.00	
Janitors Supplies	225.00	
Playground Supplies	100.00	
Equipment	100.00	
Repairs & Replacements	150.00	
Libraries	100.00	
School Grounds	100.00	
Fuel	400.00	
Electric Services	325.00	
Telephone Service	200.00	
Water	175.00	
Insurance	500.00	
Colored Tuition	500.00	
Colored Transportation	300.00	
Board of Education	150.00	
Election Costs	50.00	
Enumeration Costs	50.00	
Miscellaneous Expenses	<u>100.00</u>	
Total Amount to be raised	27,900.00	27,900.00
1.20 levy will raise approximately	21,600.00	
State Revenue, railroad taxes, etc	5,000.00	
Tuition, Int. on Bank Bal. &		
Miscellaneous	<u>1,300.00</u>	
	27,900.00	27,900.00

Figure 6: The First Extant Budget of the Milford School District.

The 1934-35 year started auspiciously in August. Discussions were under-way regarding the acquisition of additional property adjacent to both the Attucks School, for playground space, and property adjacent to the Milford Village School. The third grade teacher petitioned to be released from her contract to teach in a prestigious community across the county; the Board so moved. A special meeting was called two weeks later:

... for the purpose of discussing the recent burglary committed at Clear Valley School.

Mr. Easter requested Superintendent Grey to take charge of the meeting at this time Mr. Grey related to the Board and visitors¹⁹ his stand, stating that his desire was not to prosecute to the extent of sending the culprits to reform school, but to sufficiently punish them, that there would be no accruece (sic) of their act.

Members of the Board were asked to express their views. Mr. Finley was of the same opinion as Mr. Grey, Mr. Gottlieb, Mr. Easter and Mrs. Quales spoke briefly, their opinions being in harmony with Mr. Grey and Mr. Finley. Mr. Ingersoll expressed his views, saying that if it could be so arranged, that the boys would be sentenced and then put on parole to some responsible persons, he thought punishment would be sufficient. Mr. Matthews²⁰ thanked the members for their attitude, promising that he and his son would make full restoration for what had been taken. Mr. Caroline made a brief talk equivalent to Mr. Matthews'. Mr. Carr²⁰ expressed his views and agreed with Mr. Grey and members of the Board on their stand.

There being no further discussion on this subject, the visitors were excused at 8:15 PM and the Board went into session.

Mr. Easter called the meeting to order and asked for a motion to the effect that the Board support Mr. Gre, in his stand on the subject. (8/14/34)

¹⁹ Parents of the youngsters involved.

²⁰ While no first names are recorded, the names are the same of earlier Board Members. Both Mr. and Mrs. Matthews attended.

Three weeks later a brief item appeared in the minutes:

At this time Mr. Grey briefly explained to the Board the punishment meted out to the boys at the trial which took place August 17, explaining that the boys were put on a six month parole with the understanding that the parole would extend longer if full restoration was not made by this time. (9/5/34)

Continued progress was made on the property additions and a discussion occurred concerning enrollments:

Under new business, Mr. Grey spoke on the enrollment of all three schools. Clear Valley was about normal, whereas Milford Village and Attucks had fallen off. Mr. Grey asked the Board's consideration of taking two elementary pupils from any one family in any district at the tuition of one and one-half (1½). Mr. Easter moved and Mr. Gottlieb 2nd, that we accept pupils on the above mentioned rate. The motion carried. (9/5/34)

The array of miscellaneous items that make up Board activity continued as usual: the school kitchen showed a profit of \$3.91 for September, the monthly bills were read and approved, \$3,000 was borrowed from a local bank to pay October and November bills, a motion was made and passed that a secret ballot be taken on coal bids, the vote was 4 to 2, a discussion was held on, "... the necessity of laying sidewalks along the front of our school properties for childrens' safety," and finally:

Mr. Lawrence moved, 2nd by Mr. Finley, that we have the school rooms sprayed each evening after school has been dismissed to rid rooms of flies. The motion carried. (10/3/34)

Later in the Autumn it was moved, seconded and carried:

... to leave the use of the school building by all organizations in the honor of Mr. Grey. (11/7/34)

In January, the regular meeting on the 2nd failed for lack of quorum. A special meeting was called for January 9th, and it was noted:

Mr. Grey being absent due to illness, Mr. Inman read the current bills. (1/9/34)

Two weeks later, a second special meeting was called:

The Board of Education of the School District of Milford met at Clear Valley School January 29, at 8:00 p.m., for the purpose of determining the Board's desire to fill the vacancy caused by the death of our Superintendent, Mr. Grey. (1/29/35)

By Friday (2/1/35), after interviewing seven candidates, eliminating four, and taking two votes, Mr. McBride was elected on a 4-2 split vote. On the following Wednesday (2/6/35), it was noted at the regular meeting of the Board of Education that, "... with our Superintendent, Mr. McBride, also in attendance." An era had ended, a new one had begun.

B. THE GENESIS AND EVOLUTION OF A SCHOOL DISTRICT:
PRELIMINARY GENERALIZATIONS

3.1 Introduction

We have depicted, heavily with quotes from the minutes of the Board of Education, the early years in the genesis of the Milford School District. The chronicle continues much the same year after year in the Board's record. At this point we are moved to state some preliminary generalizations arising as we read the accounts. We hold these interpretations tentatively because they overlap heavily some of the thoughts that began in our study of the Alte School District (Smith 1978) and our study of Federal Policy in Action (Smith and Dwyer 1979). To us we seem to be moving to a codified coherent point of view. Others may see us "finding what we were looking for."²¹

As we moved inductively from items arising in our reading of the Board minutes, and later from Bulletins to the community, other documents, and a few interviews, several large categories arose. The first cluster involved the community or series of communities of which the school district is a part. One item is, for example, the changing population of the district. A number of items were part of the evolving processes and structures of the organization qua organization. For example new positions -- principal, superintendent, and secondary teacher appeared. Rules and regulations and standard operating procedures were codified. In turn these items flow into but can be discriminated from an educational category -- classrooms, curriculum, and teaching.

²¹We speak in more detail to these issues in the methodological report, Volume VII of our study.

1.2 Community Items

In an important, perhaps major sense the school Board lies between the school and community. In modern jargon it is the interface. For some analytical purposes it can be clustered with the community, for other purposes it is part of the school system. But in its mediating, interfacing position and role it provides a view of both. Its minutes are full of items permitting generalization and speculation of key items in developing a perspective on the community.

County and State Government and Agencies

In the very early years of the district, the state influenced the Milford District mostly as a set of laws which indicated procedural rules, both opportunities and constraints. From 1910 through the 1920's, when the School Board Records began, the Clear Valley School operated as a "Common School District." When the Board sought to become a town school district it proceeded under Section 5618 of the Revised Statutes of Midwest State, of 1919. The County Clerk regularly audited the District treasurer's accounts. On occasion appeals for help were made to the State Department, e.g., procedures in becoming a district with a superintendent or to the State University for expert help on school buildings.

The potency of the state rules appears in another document, a brief history of the Milford High School, written by a Board member²² for the first high school annual published in 1931, as the first group of youngsters received their diplomas:

²²One member of the graduating class indicated in an interview that it was Mr. Carr, then President of the Board, who wrote the account.

Milford High School has a prehistoric period: an effort which, apparently failed, yet helped to make a path for the later success. In the Summer of 1924 a young man, Principal of the Clear Valley School, made a proposal that three of the four teachers would teach four ninth grade subjects during the following year for a stipulated increase in salary. The Board was inadequately informed as to the credit requirements of a High School but trusted the knowledge and ability of its principal and thought any venture forward was worth trying.

Only 5 pupils started and when about mid season it was learned that the school had failed to receive credit from the State Department some of these dropped out. The venture was abandoned next year, but one of these pupils stepped into the second year of High School at Kennard and ultimately was graduated there. The effort was not wholly a failure. (H.S. Annual 1931, p.5)

Very little of this information appears in the sketchy Board minutes from the early years. What does appear is the constant checking of requirements with the State Department by the Board and by Mrs. Briggs at the Board's request. Having been burned earlier, as the above quote indicates, would not have been a bad inference from the minutes themselves. Mr. Carr returned a few paragraphs later to the theme of state control:

After the regular inspection of the State Department had put its stamp of approval upon our first year of High the Board began to plan for the next year. (H.S. Annual 1931, p.5)

The state government continues to exercise its responsibilities.

Suburban County contained some seventy-five small school districts, all governed by three member boards and most operating one room schools. The education of adolescents was problematic in those districts. The beginnings of Milford High School had a flavor of "rural cosmopolitanism". As one member of the first graduating class commented:

The interesting thing, I think when this high school was started -- it, as you know, it drew from that end of the county and it drew one or two students from almost each one, like maybe one from Rhodes and another from Morrison and then there were two of us from Union.

(TI 2/80)

In an important sense, Milford High School, was to serve these functions for its end of the county until a wave of post World War II consolidation swept the county -- and the state between 1949 and 1952.

Educationists, growing up, being educated and later teaching in large urban or metropolitan areas, seldom appreciate the role played historically by the county superintendent of schools. In the 1920's and 1930's, in Suburban County, which was then heavily rural, his communiques appear from time to time in the school Board minutes -- giving advice, informing the Board of meetings and generally playing the role of expert and communication link with the outside world of organizations, laws and rules affecting local public education. On one occasion, actually the first mention of the County Superintendent, he was brought in to help and give testimony regarding the dismissal of the principal and his wife who both taught in the school. Later he was instrumental in the initiation of the high school:

On the recommendation of our County Superintendent, a teacher was secured with the necessary educational credits to teach four ninth grade subjects: English, Science, History and Mathematics. Mrs. Briggs, the new High School teacher, coming from Western Tennessee, took hold of her job with energy and decision, made herself familiar with the requirements of the State Law, and gave the Board much needed assistance in the purchase of the required library and scientific apparatuses.

(H.S. Annual 1931, p.9)

In short, those governmental units provided not only constraints but methods to help carry out the desires of the Board and indirectly the community.

The Annual Election

While a Newtonian clockwork metaphor is out of favor among some post positivist epistemologists, a clockwork regularity appears in the annual school board elections in the Milford School District. Each Spring the minutes report on who has filed for the election, the selection of judges, the votes garnered by each individual, the swearing in of new members and the election of officers within the board. As we have indicated state laws governed the very format of size of Board, e.g., three director common school or six director township school, the procedures for changing from one to another, the requirements for an annual election, and the procedures to govern those elections.

Community Participation in the Annual School Meeting

Grass roots democracy and local control of schools appears in its most vivid form in the set of records entitled "Record of Annual School Meetings", the first category in the E. F. Hobart new edition of "Records of School District." The items that appear in the earliest extant record, April 7, 1914, and reappear year in and year out:

- 1) Election of a director -- usually one of three person board
- 2) Voting the length of school year -- usually ten months
- 3) Authorizing building use for community groups "as specified by law"

4) Voting for County Superintendent of Schools

Coleman ----- 5 votes
Snyder ----- 3 "
Taylor ----- 0 "
Quinn ----- 0 "

(4/6/15)

5) The small number of voters present

1914 (director elected by 17 vote majority)
1915 (8 votes for County Superintendent)
1916 (23 voters present)
1917 (53 voters voted for Directors)
1920 (142 votes cast for Directors)
(153 votes cast: 94 for, 34 against
building a new school house)
1922 (53 votes in director election)

The small size of the community, the direct involvement of a small coterie of citizens, and the resolution of community differences by "voting" appear and reappear. A School Board member from the 1920's commented this way as he recalled his early experiences:

EKT: We started you might say from the ground up -- all we had was water main in the streets and cinder roads

Obs: So nothing was paved at that time

EKT: Nothing was paved at that time. We didn't have any electric, we had to come out to outside toilets and we had come out to coal oil lamps and gasoline stoves in the summer time. So we organized the Milford Village Improvement Association. And after that was organized then the next thing the school problem came along 'cause people started moving out and they had children. Well, we found out where the school was and Herbert Jackson, he was the school director at that time and he come over to our meeting one night and explained the school and told us that it was Clear Valley School District. So after that we decided that since we were starting to grow in the community we needed a -- we wanted a member on the school board

Obs: Oh, in Milford Village apart from the Clear Valley area?

FKT: Well, Clear Valley District covered everything. It covered everything from the city limits up to the highway and out to about Richmond Road and down to the city line and so the Spring election in 1920 the Improvement Association nominated me to be candidate and filed its candidate for school board and I was elected in April 1920.

Another citizen who attended Clear Valley School reflected back on this aspect of the community:

Mrs. T: What they had --- this was all farms over here -- that was sort of -- in the people's minds it was two sections -- Milford on that side of the railroad tracks was the poor people and on this side of the railroad tracks was the people with just a little bit more money.

Obs: The "good" people?

(Laughter)

Mrs. T: Any way you want to put it.

Early on, with the assertiveness of the Milford Village Improvement Association the belief seemed to be accepted that one member of the Board should come from each of the three main geographical and population areas of the district.

Obs: Now, when you said you were part of that Milford Village Improvement Association -- where did the other school board members come from at that time?

FKT: The other two came from this side -- from Rowlings Hill and from the -- on the west side of the Carleton Boulevard.

Obs: Okay -- and you were on the east side?

FKT: Yeah -- I was a mile east of the school.

Obs: Okay.

A Rolling Structure of Power and Authority

Reading Board minutes may be a very limited way of viewing the nature, genesis, and consequences of power and authority in school affairs. In the early years and the long period of the township school several reasonably concrete generalizations seem evident:

- 1) Incumbents mostly won elections.
- 2) The Board mostly supported incumbents.
- 3) New members often had run unsuccessfully earlier or were appointed to fill out terms for resigned members.
- 4) The Board picked and released superintendents.
- 5) A changing Board brought changes or threats of change in superintendents.
- 6) Superintendents recommended, hired and fired faculty but teachers also were consulted from time to time regarding superintendents.

The view that comes forward is a gradual or rolling structure of power and authority. Mostly there is stability and gradual change within the structure. Occasionally a cataclysm occurs. Partly, that stability seems to be built into the very structure of the Board in that two of the six members are up for election every year. Consequently, except for resignations, it takes three years to replace totally the incumbents on the Board. Majorities can change more readily, for two new members coming on to a split Board can shift a minority to a majority opinion. Later instances of this occurred and not only make for drama, but clearly present an image of our label, "a rolling structure of power and authority." Obvious historical models for this kind of structure appear in the federal Constitution and in state governments. People in power in an earlier era wanted change to be possible but wanted it to come gradually.

Conflicts and Politics

Historically, public schools have often been stereotyped as a non-political institution. Our recent experience (Smith 1978, Smith and Dwyer 1979) suggests that that is not so. Our reading of the Milford documents suggests that this was not so fifty years ago, at least in the Milford School District. Earlier we had commented upon the crowded conditions in the schools in the late 1920's, and difficulty in getting a bond issue passed for the second school, the Milford Village School:

But opinions differed as to the proper place for the new building and the proposition was defeated. Later in the Summer (1929), another differently worded proposition met with like fate and it became evident that the school year would be a hard one. (H. S. Annual 1931, p. 6)

Conflict existed. The political processes of majority vote were at work, to the dismay of the Board and faculty. The alternative solutions were also in debate, as were the implicit perspectives related to the solutions. The account continued:

An obvious and *rather frequently heard solution* for the crowded conditions in the school was to discontinue the High School, or at least, to halt its advance at the tenth grade. But the Board, in conference with its Superintendent, agreed that such a step would have a very discouraging effect upon *the forward looking elements* of the district, and it could not bring itself to *desert, midway*, that *expectant, persistent class* of boys and girls now ready to enter the eleventh grade. (Our italics) (H.S. Annual 1931, p. 6)

The pervasiveness of the conflict received mention a bit further on in the account:

As the year (1929-30) rolled on the discord which had arisen in the district found a counterpart in the faculty and to some extent in the Board and among the pupils. (H.S. Annual 1931, p. 6)

A perspective in the nature of conflict resolution also appeared:

Fortunately there were *enough cool heads scattered around* to prevent any open breaks, though the tension was keen enough to impair the efficiency of the system. (Our italics) (H.S. Annual 1931, pp. 6-7)

The interplay of events essential to our analytical position continued to receive mention:

However, the annual State inspection again gave its approval of the School as of accredited rank, though accompanied by criticisms of the inadequate physical facilities. (H.S. Annual 1931, p. 7)

The continuous impact of resources -- their absence, limits, or presence, aroused emotions one might expect:

Even then, relief was in sight, for, during the Fall a compromise bond issue had been passed which would provide eight new classrooms. And when, at the Spring election of 1930, a tax was voted sufficient to carry the burden of a four year High School, a sigh of thanksgiving escaped some of us that our worst year was behind and that better times were at least in sight.

Mrs. Briggs, described by a former student²³ as "abrasive", "aggressive", and "difficult to get along with", was replaced that year. (EI 2/13/80).

²³Mr. Elbrecht commented that as a student he was one of several students who appeared before the Board to discuss school problems. In his view Mrs. Briggs had problems with the students, the faculty, and the Board.

Another graduate of the first class, in reflection back over fifty years commented with good humor, "When she said frog, you jumped." (TI 2/26/80). A number of new teachers were hired. The new building and additions to the old were available. And, "A new superintendent was in charge of the entire system." (H.S. Annual 1931, p. 7). A clear perception of his role appears in the wake of the trying and conflictual time just prior to his appointment:

The new head, Mr. Grey, *assumed no teaching duties*, his *whole attention* being directed to the organization of the faculty, the curriculum, and the student body into an *efficiently working* educational institution. He permitted himself only one activity other than administration and that was the High School athletics. (Our italics)
(H.S. Annual 1931, p. 8)

The second superintendent was to resolve the conflicts within the school; the Board continued to be both a forum for that debate in the community and a resolution, through elections, of those differences.

The Press of Population Growth

While just a trickle compared to the flood which will come in later years (the 50's and 60's), the population growth in the early part of the century forced the school from its initial one room frame building to a frame three room building to the first brick and stone building built in 1926. Later, with increasing population, secondary classes were added year by year. People who argue the potency of demographic variables in understanding schooling -- its nature and changes -- will find us among them. Early on, they fueled, in part, the gradual development of Milford School District.

Much later, actually in the present years of the District, the community is faced with declining enrollments. Two elementary schools have been closed and a "housing committee" has under discussion possible additional closings. As one central office staff member commented, "If people thought building schools was difficult, they ought to see what closing one is like."²⁴ In our view, we will elaborate later, declining school enrollments, is the front edge of much larger societal problems -- zero population growth, stable GNP, zero sum games in reallocating the material goods and benefits in our society, and general decline of natural resources on "space ship earth." Solutions to societal problems under these new conditions will amount to a new ball game with a new set of rules. Educators are among the first community professionals to try to solve these problems and in so doing to actually try to define and re-define the problems, the rules, the criteria, much less the solutions. Small wonder that there frequently is a beleaguered quality among school people these days. But, as we said, those were problems for a later generation of Milford citizens and educators.

Changes in Technological Quality of Life

Item by item, the schools changed with the increasing technological development of the community. Notes about wiring for electricity, septic tanks, attaching water lines appear throughout the record of the mid and late 1920's. The schools keep playing leap frog with the material standard present in the community at large. Frame buildings gave way to brick and stone buildings. Wood burning stoves became coal furnaces and later were to become gas and oil central heating plants. The public utilities, e.g., water and telephones r

²⁴ This is a close paraphrase of a conversation 2/80.

the schools and assume a regular or "natural" place in the order of things. A comment by an early resident who had moved to the community about 1920 gives a picture of this part of the world:

Obs: Yeah -- so and at that time, the community was pretty much a rural area except there was a little community in Milford Village itself?

FKT: Yeah -- yeah

Obs: A few hundred people or how many would have been there?

FKT: When I moved out here we didn't have I don't think a hundred people.

Obs: So just twenty-thirty families maybe?

FKT: Say fifty -- about fifty families at that time but then it started to continually growing -- in other words, it came fast after that -- by 1923 we made an arrangement with the Metropolitan Electric that if most of us bought an electric range we could get our service installation free. In 1923 they erected the electric lines and we got the telephones and the electric service from 1923 on and then from on -- later on the roads came and so forth.

In this context, the later conflicts at Kensington over carpets and air conditioning take on a much different quality. They seem to us now as one more item in making the schools more and more like life in the rest of the community. Sometimes the community is more or less supportive or antagonistic to these changes. Irrevocably, we would argue, the schools change toward congruency with the general technological changes.

The Vividness of the "American Dilemma"

From the first recorded minutes of the Board of Education which mentioned fire insurance for the "colored school bldg.," we were surprised by the quantiti

of continuing references to the "colored school." Education in Midwestern State was legally separate by state law. Whether it was "separate but equal" is only slightly less clear. Item by item both schools improved; item by item the Attucks School seemed to change only after the Clear Valley School changed. Within what would now be called institutionalized racism, for example, there was frequent reference to the "colored school" even after the school had received a formal name, the Attucks School. It is also true that the Board did concern itself regularly with the education of Black children.

With a vivid *leja vu* quality, the hiring of Black teachers, the sending of Black high school students out of the district, the receiving of out of district Black pupils as a help to the other districts and as a means to fill rooms with low enrollments, and all the problems of transportation and its financing, appear in the minutes of early Board meetings.²⁵ The curriculum of the Attucks School received no more notice in these minutes than did the curriculum of the Clear Valley and Milford Village Schools. A teacher²⁶ at the Attucks School in the late 1930's commented favorably upon the teaching arrangements. It was her first teaching job. She was picked from a class of a dozen and a half, eight of whom had been interviewed:

The Attucks School was a one through eight school for Blacks. There were two teachers there, one teacher

²⁵We have not been able to find a comprehensive history of Black Education in Suburban County. For some interesting similarities see our study of the Alte School District (Smith 1978).

²⁶Mrs. Shields later helped integrate another community school system after 1954, has been a successful and respected elementary and high school teacher, and won a "teacher of the year award". She left the Milford District because of declining enrollments and a desire to start a family.

taught grades one through three then after that the grades skipped and then was a four, six and eight one year, then a five, I guess a three, five and seven the next I had only fifteen students so we had a graduation class the first year and because I did grouping anyway we just grouped the students and from there on we had a graduation class every year Now I taught there for five years, and there were only 35 students in the school. There was no contact at all that I recall with the White schools or any of the White teachers or any of the White administration. It was a totally segregated situation and the only person that I ever saw was Mr. McBride who was the Superintendent.

(TI 8/15/80)

Many of Mrs. Shields comments involved a comparison with the Big City School District where most of her college classmates taught. Those comparisons give a further flavor to the Attucks School within Milford:

When I graduated they (Big City School District) had a surplus of teachers so you were on a waiting list and the rating list was on the basis of your rank in class and as vacancies occurred then you were called. Well, at that time in the Black grade school there were 45 and 50 students per grade in the room perhaps. Well, I had friends who had 45 children and 15 books. Supplies were bad in the Black schools I never did teach in Big City I stayed in Milford because even though I had multiple grades, I had small numbers. I had all the supplies I wanted. I had a community, the school was a community and I liked that. I had all kinds of parent co-operation, no discipline problems hardly, really ever. So those were all pluses to me so I just -- when I was called I just never went to Big City. I didn't want to go and then I got married about a year anyway. And I couldn't teach -- at that time -- because you still couldn't teach married.

(TI 8/80)

In short, a small isolated community of families, working in a local factory, living in company houses, seemed to go about its business in a fashion isolated from the larger community. The American dilemma played itself out in a variety of ways. This was Milford's way.²⁷

²⁷For some similar comments on other schools in other communities see Pesikín (1978 pp. 203-206).

Summary

Not only did we not start out to be historians, but we did not begin as community sociologists. None the less, the data and our curiosity dragged us in those directions. The lessons we seem to be learning seem important for other educators, and especially for other educational innovators. The schools are enmeshed in multiple communities -- local, state, and national. These communities have organized themselves over the years, and that seems very important as well, to accent both stability and change and to accent both local and distal (central) power and responsibility. As values, as issues, and as procedural structures, these are very old problems, topics, and themes in political science and community sociology. While our analysis may not be especially novel or illuminating to scholars in these disciplines, we have been surprised by our own lack of sophistication and even more, the naivete of some of our colleagues advocating change.

3.3 Organizational Structure and Process

Our initial study of the Kensington Elementary School carried the subtitle, "An Organizational Analysis of an Elementary School." Any school as an organization fits into a larger organization, the school district. As we read district records and constructed a chronicle or narrative we began to form slightly more complex abstractions regarding "organizational structure and process" which might be applicable to the genesis of any school district and which helps provide a context for understanding not only the Kensington School but schools in general.

The School Board: Pervasive, Potent and Responsible Agent

The narrative of the School District, based heavily on the early minutes of the Board meetings, leaves little room for doubt concerning the Board's pervasiveness, potency and responsibility for conducting schooling in the Milford School District. Occasionally the minutes record a meeting that captured, in microcosm, that interpretation. The evening of September 28, 1927, was one such occasion. Further, the minutes seemed to capture some of the style of the Board. After approving the payment of some fifteen bills the minutes moved this way:

Regularly moved & 2nd that laws marked exhibit A²⁸, as submitted by the teachers of the Clear Valley School dated Sept. 26th, be multigraphed and the penalties of disobedience or any infractions on said rules be thoroughly explained and a copy thereof be sent to the parents and guardians of each and every child attending the Clear Valley School. Motion carried.

Regularly moved & 2nd that rules marked Ex. A be approved and adopted by the Board and a copy be furnished each teacher.

Billy Lamb, a pupil in 2nd grade under teacher Miss Grace, appeared before the Bd. of Ed. with parents to answer charges preferred by Mr. Craig as to why suspension of Sept. 21st should not be affirmed. After a complete hearing and a warning, the suspension was lifted and parents ordered to return child to school 9/29. Charges as submitted by Mr. Craig dated 9/28 marked Exhibit B attached herewith.

Regularly moved & 2nd that the Secy. be instructed to inquire of the School Faculty why the necessity of homework or home studies. Motion carried.

Regularly moved & 2nd that the Secy. be instructed to order 12 copies of "Windmills of Holland" from Myers and Carrington, as requested by Mr. B. N. Earlbem.

(9/28/27)

The final two items from these minutes related to hiring a teacher and seeking competitive bids on repair work.

Several interpretive comments seem in order. As noted earlier, the Board approves and pays each item of expense of the district. It "elects," literally a vote, early on, each teacher hired in the district. Now, almost for the first time, the Board establishes the rules of behavior in the school and holds a hearing and dispenses final judgment on deviancy. In addition it inquires into issues of "homework" and approves the purchase of multiple copies of a particular book, Windmills of Holland. The Board seemed in close communication with the teachers; accepting rules and penalties as policy and inquiring into their views of home study. A closeness and directness with pupils and parents existed as well.

At several points we have interpreted Board action as having a style, using words like, "direct" or "common sense." The image which kept appearing over and over again is that the Board was able to cope with the problems as they perceived and defined them.

But it is the image of "pervasive, potent, and responsible agent" that is our main point here. While we don't have interviews from the individuals at the time and only a few documents such as the nine page history from the first High School Annual, the inference we came to was one captured in the general label. If that is correct, it seems important to compare and contrast with Boards in succeeding years and in other communities.

Incrementalism and Muddling Through

School policy seemed to evolve, item by item as the Board faced particular concrete problems. Beyond those enumerated above, the records are replete with:

Moved & 2nd that Safety signs for road be investigated.
Carried. (9/18/26)

And,

Moved & 2nd that sign be made reading 'Vehicles not
permitted on School grounds during play period.'
Carried. (9/18/26)

And,

Moved & 2nd school be dismissed Fri. 24th acct. expositi-
tion Day. (9/22/26)

And,

Moved & 2nd that in case of any contagious disease in a
family the other members of family be excluded from
school until disease is over. Carried. (1/19/27)

The most general statement capturing this kind of development is what Lindblom (1969) has called muddling through or incrementalism. He contrasts this to the "rational" actor model.

While this incrementalism and muddling through concept, "jumps out at us now," our data gathering and interpretation comes later in time, after our Federal Policy in Action research. Perhaps, too, the ideas are most relevant to new, small, growing, developing, creative organizations. When one has a history, a social structure, a standard way of doing things, a policy handbook,

or an entrenched establishment, perhaps the point is less well taken. But, the environment always keeps changing, the district always keeps responding --- sometimes proactively and sometimes reactively --- and, perhaps, keeps muddling through.

Specialization of Positions and Functions

When the school was a Common District School, and even before, if our set of records is correct, a one room school began in 1850, a single teacher taught in the school. By the mid 1920's, a teaching principal is at the school and teachers are elected, "hired", for particular grades, one and two, five and six, and so forth. Later, in 1929, as a high school is begun the district hired secondary teachers and the principal became a half time superintendent.

Gradually, specialization of positions and functions occurred. Today the district central offices buzz with assistant superintendents, public relations officers, night school administrators, federal contracts specialists and a dozen assistants, secretaries and support personnel. Part of our later analytic task will be to sort out the antecedents for these changes. Is it primarily simple growth and expansion? Or are the objectives and domains of schooling broadening as well? Is there a simple paralleling of the complexity of American society? What happens to these processes and their specific positional outcomes if our current image of declining enrollments, dropping socio-economic status and racial change is true. Not to mention, are our speculations regarding zero population growth, constant GNP and scarcity of natural resources.

We might ask also, what are the limits of specialization. In the current era, the Kensington School has a materials center coordinator, remedial reading teacher, speech therapist, counselors, special education teacher and teacher aide. On several occasions principals and teachers have speculated in a way which suggests that specialization may have out run its benefits in the School and the District.²⁹

Finances: Resources for Schooling

If, as we argue shortly, that a dearth of discussion in school Board minutes occurs surrounding curriculum, the opposite can be said for discussions of money and finances. Those appear at every meeting, usually in multiple guises, strands and events. Whether this is broader economic phenomenon, an outgrowth of the mixed monopolistic capitalist system which characterizes the country as a whole or whether it is a religious phenomenon, a protestant view on original sin and the depravity of mankind, or a simpler moral/political view that financial bases of power are the most corruptible forms and hence needed to be guarded against the most, or perhaps its that early great American trait of being close with the dollar, we do not know. Regularly the Board raised resources through tax and bond levies voted by the citizens of the community. On occasion they borrowed money from banks in nearby Big City to meet expenses when unevenness in tax collections occurred. The dispensing of funds occurred through serially numbered checks following a reading of bills by Board members and later the superintendent. The Board treasurer carried a \$20,000 bond in the early years. Once a year and with every change in treasurer of the Board, the county treasurer audited the districts books.

²⁹ We raise this issue in some detail in Volume IV of our final report, Kensington Today: Selling Stormy Straights: A View of Educational Policy in Action

In such context, it is not difficult to see the easy possibility of the school superintendent being very busy with and concerned about finances. Nor is it difficult to see him being recruited for and developing a businessman's orientation and perspective.

The Evolving Role of the Superintendent

The story of Mrs. Briggs, the half time first superintendent, has been told elsewhere and a few mysteries remain. Why did the Board solicit her to join the faculty and begin the high school? Why were her promotions so rapid? Why did the Board refuse to retain her as a teacher when the new superintendent was hired? Her story, and those questions, soon become context for the image of Mr. Grey, the first full time superintendent gradually enlarging the position of superintendent as item by item he took on activities, duties, and responsibilities which earlier had been done by individual members of the Board or by the Board as a collectivity.

The role of the early superintendents of the Milford School District seems closest to what Button (1961), Callahan (1964), and Callahan and Button (1964) call "the superintendent as business manager (1910-1929)," or "school executive" although none of the labels seems to quite capture Briggs, Grey or McBride. Perhaps "jack-of-all-trades" or "Topsy" would be closer. The superintendents seemed to gradually be given the multiple responsibilities for administering the school system. This "generalist" role seems to be its own kind of specialization, that is different from teaching self-contained 5th and 6th grade, different from teaching high school Latin and English, and different from cooking in the cafeteria or being a maintenance worker.

Callahan has commented:

Beginning about 1900 the conception of the role of the chief administrator of the schools began to change. This change occurred not because of any change in the nature of the work or the quality of preparation of the teacher nor because of any basic change in the purpose of the school. Rather, the change was a direct result of the impact of powerful social forces on the one side and the institutional weakness of education, and especially the superintendent, in the public schools on the other. (1964 p. 7)

While this may be true of the large city superintendency in the early 20th Century, it does not seem to capture the empirical reality in the origination and evolution of the role in the Milford School District, and possibly other rural districts. Several aspects seem to be important. The school system was changing. Milford was growing larger, more buildings and more teachers. Its "purposes" were expanding -- a high school had been created. Its non educational activities had increased -- a cafeteria and lunch program was instituted. Second, its relationship to outside groups -- especially the county and the state -- was becoming more complex.

The vulnerability thesis -- powerful social force and institutional weakness of educators -- seems a shade off the realities of Milford. In the 1920's and 1930's, before the rise of labor unions, social security, and due process every working person seemed vulnerable. In Milford, janitors, teachers, principals and superintendents arrived and departed at the pleasure of administrative superiors and eventually the potent school Board. And school Board members "came and went" at the annual pleasure of the citizenry. The vividness of teacher turnover and janitor firings under Mrs. Briggs, and her replacement by the Board (after hearing from pupils and teachers) we found to be high drama.

As our later superintendents are introduced and their stories told, we will try to move toward more abstract interpretations. At that point we will review more intensively the Callahan and Button perspectives. For the moment, we are struck with the political nature of the position responsive to the Board and community and with the broad array of managerial tasks which the Board gradually was delegating to the incumbents of the position.

Fate of Old School Buildings

Unlike old soldiers, school buildings neither die nor fade away, they are sometimes reconditioned and used forever. The original frame building of the Clear Valley School, according to the Board meeting in the Summer of 1926, became the residence of the custodian. A year later, pressure for a high school program arose and the Board looked for a place to house the new program:

Committee of all board members to meet at the Clear Valley School Sunday afternoon July 17th, 1927 at 2 PM to consider the necessities of reconditioning the old school for occupancy of 1 room to be used for high school work. (1/13/27)

Immediately thereafter bids for roofing, carpentry, and painting were accepted for the remodeling.

The following Autumn (10/12/27) partitions were ordered constructed "in rooms occupied by Mr. & Mrs. K. Scott as living quarters" and to ".... change room arrangements for smaller children to the new school building and 7th and 8th grade pupils to the old school." (10/12/27)

These processes of changing utilization continued and are captured in a delightful quote from the account of "Boys' Basketball" in the first High School Annual in 1931:

The first thing confronting the boys when their thoughts first turned to basketball was a place to play. This did not stump them very long. There was the old building with a partition separating two large rooms. Bringing up tools with which to work the boys tore out this partition, put up goals at either end and --- low and behold -- a basketball court 50 feet long, 30 feet wide, and 13 feet high.

(H.S. Annual 1931, p. 41)

Summary

At times we wonder about our sophistication as social science theorists. When the school district is conceived as a system or an organization several key items or elements capture most of the phenomena and events in our story. The boundary of the district as an organization can be drawn as including or excluding the school board. As we indicated, sometimes it is best conceived as part of the community system and sometimes as part of the district as a system. In Iannaccone and Lutz' (1969) analysis it would be a point of tangency, a part of both and mediating between the two. To anticipate our later discussion of the "longitudinal nested systems model", the Board mediates control of one system upon another. In the District, in those early years, no questions existed regarding authority and social power. The Board "moved, seconded, and voted" on resources, personnel, organizational structure and procedures. The District seemed to change by a process of incrementalism or muddling through. Problems arose, both in the environment and within the organization. Discussions were held, common sense inquiries occurred, decisions were made. Sometimes the organization increased in size -- new buildings -- in complexity -- new positions, rules and procedures -- and in specialization.

Mr. Elbrecht: No, he had no children of his own and just to show you how well thought of he was in the -- I mean, if you want to continue in that vein -- how well thought of he was in the community, some years after I had gotten out of college, some of us got together and we said well look, Mr. Carr is getting up in years, we really ought to show in some way our appreciation for what he has done and we gave a dinner up at the Methodist Church where he was active and I guess there must have been 50 or 60 boys that he had contacted through the years either through athletics or through the tennis or through the school, through Sunday School, and we got together and gave a very nice dinner. I happened to be toast master of the thing and each boy got up and had a little something to say about how Mr. Carr had affected his life or some experience he had you know, and it was just a great thing, a sort of a spontaneous thing, you know. So I would say, he had quite an effect on the lives of many of the young people in the area. (1980)

Later in the interview, he related the story of a neighbor:

Mr. Elbrecht: I thought we were -- I thought I was extremely fortunate to know somebody like that and then I was again fortunate to have this access to this tremendously wonderful library across the street from my place.

Obs: Talk a little or let me make sure we're going here -- tell me a little bit about your neighbor with the library and stuff....

Mr. Elbrecht: They moved out and built shortly after we did. I was -- we moved out in 1921 and I guess they moved out about 1923 or 24, in those years, anyway, I know that when I was in grade school, probably the 8th grade or so, then I knew them and I started getting books from their library.

Obs: Who were the people by name?

Mr. Elbrecht: Philip S. Newman was his name -- and their two daughters, they graduated from Milford later but they were just little kids, one was almost a baby in arms when I was over there and as I say, this was a tremendous library, they had practically all of the classics, the French and Russian writers and the English like Thomas Hardy and Dickens and Thackeray and boy, I just waded through a lot of that. I had a tremendous

knowledge of literature by the time I got to college, I mean, which helped me considerably but I always did like to read and I'm going back and still reading -- yeah, I'm going back and reading some more Dickens and Hardy and Thackeray and the whole thing.

Obs: What kind of work did Newman do?

Mr. Elbrecht: Newman was a railroad engineer but he didn't assemble the library, the library was assembled -- now, his parents apparently and what they did I don't know, but they apparently were what we would call fairly wealthy, I mean, they would have to be to assemble the library like that and what -- I think, as far as I know that his father might have been a rather high official in the post office from what I know but nevertheless, they inherited this library from his folks and the fact of the matter is then they stored the library up in an attic of the folks house and here awhile back, why one of the daughters called me and said, Carl, we're getting rid of all the books and that if you want to come up and by that time the library was pretty well scattered but I got a few that -- almost a set of Dickens and Cooper and Carlyle -- I mean, they even had writers like Carlyle and the Fall of the Roman Empire by Gibbon you know, and all of that stuff and I managed to salvage a few of those and I brought them home to add them to my library.

Obs: Sounds like he didn't read them himself as much as say Carr would have read his own, his material.

Mr. Elbrecht: Oh no, no, Newman himself wasn't a reader and his wife -- they didn't read too much either -- I mean, I made use of the library more than they did, I mean, it was great, I'd take two or three books home and read them and then take them back and get a couple more so I was just a voracious reader when I was a kid and I still am.

Obs: Did you learn to read before you went to school or did you learn at school?

Mr. Elbrecht: No, no, I -- in fact, it was a funny thing -- when I was a youngster I talked German until I went to school so that actually threw me back about a grade until I learned English -- I don't know, my folks talked German and I mean, that's the way things went in those days, you understand.

Obs: Yeah, I understand that

Mr. Elbrecht: And then when I got to college then I took a year of German up there because I had no trouble with the pronunciation at all but

Obs: Did German come pretty quickly?

Mr. Elbrecht: It came fairly easily then, yeah

Obs: Part of the, I guess, the obvious intention of some of the questions is that that I'm curious about how a bright, curious kid somehow acquired the range of experiences, academically, intellectually and you know, you've got a one teacher school and the ninth grade sort of thing and yet when you talk a little bit you know, you got a lending library across the street from you in a sense and then you've got a guy who sounds like, in Carr, just a paragon of all kinds of help and support who presumably was able to spot kids with multiple kinds of talents and support them and encourage them and have them around his house and kind of an incredible alternative routes I guess is what I'm saying to today what usually the schools do and provide and that sense -- just amazed at that kind of experience. Other people of that sort that float in and out of your life?

Mr. Elbrecht: I'm trying to think and I can't think of any one of that particular caliber of Mr. Carr, I mean, of course, as you go through life you have a lot of different types of experiences in one thing or another and of course you learn a lot from other people who are maybe not as you say, book learning, but you learn a lot of practical things but I guess, from an intellectual standpoint, why, probably he's about the only one that I can really spot outside of teachers. Now there again, I say, in these one room schools, now we had an excellent, dedicated teacher in Mrs. Young of the Union School and of course there again, your classes were small and the teacher took individual pains with the students and so you came out of the 8th grade pretty well educated. I mean, for that year. There again, we have had a very small library, there again, I read everything in it, just a little case in the back of the room about so high and about that wide and through the years why, I managed to read everything there, you know. We did have slates on the walls, we didn't have to take a piece of charcoal like Linco'n, you know, and write on the slate or something like that.

(TI 1980)

Family factors mixed in for him, in a way different from some of the youngsters with whom he grew up:

Obs: Were your parents supportive of your literary kind of interests along the way?

Mr. Elbrecht: Oh yes, I was going to say, most of the parents I suppose in those days were not too supportive of any education beyond the 8th grade and especially in a community like we were in, there wasn't any high school near by for the children to go to but when I indicated to my parents that I would like to go on why, they were very supportive and they liked the idea very much. In fact, they supported me all the way through. Now I had an aunt, my Father's Mother's Sister, and I know we visited them one day when I was in high school and she said, 'What does he need with more education.' You know, that was the attitude in those days. I mean, you had an 8th grade, you could read, write, compute and that was it. Why did you need more education, that was the attitude and it was -- I know most of the -- a lot of the farmers out in the west end, they were rather wealthy -- I mean, they had made a lot of money during World War I, the price of wheat was way up you know, and they had -- a lot of them bought nice new cars and tractors and all that, they were quite prosperous in that area but they couldn't see any need for educating their youngsters beyond grade school so that's why there were so few of us that came to Clear Valley at that time.

Obs: Your Father was a farmer also?

Mr. Elbrecht: Yeah, he was farming. He did some farming and building. He built a number of houses, he was a builder in addition to farming. And, as I say, both parents were very supportive of me getting more of an education if I wanted it. (TI 1980)

The importance of that community member continues through multiple activities:

Obs: But in that sense and with parents who had minimal education -- did your Father go beyond the 8th grade for instance?

Mr. Elbrecht: No, Mother didn't either.

Obs: But by the time you make those cuts of who goes on and then that initial 50% dropout almost, the boys and girls who are left, you know, their bright, they're talented, they're studious, they got a lot of talent and at that level, it sounds as though in the school, you could

hold your own with any of those people whether they were a Holmes family or a Chester family or whatever -- that's the image I'm getting.

Mr. Elbrecht: Yes, right, I would say that that was true. That we reached a plateau there that we could hold our own with, you know, a

Obs: And with guys like Carr inviting you around to play tennis

Mr. Elbrecht: Right, yeah, that was a stimulating experience. I mean, he broadened our minds that there were a lot of other things in the world, you know, than just this little community and he recommended books that we read, you know, and things like that. Just to give you a for instance, I remember when the Scout troop met up in the old church yard one Halloween night, with tombstones all around, and he had a flashlight and he read the book of "The Hounds of the Baskerville" which was quite an experience, you know, and he read that to us out there in the church yard. I mean, that was the type of thing that he would do and then in Sunday School class, maybe we would discuss a book like Beau Geste or something like that or we'd discuss philosophy or government. I mean, there were a whole gamut of civilizations, I mean, was sort of -- he would draw us out -- what did we think or so on and so forth. It was so much more than just a cut and dry Sunday School class, you know. I think he figured if we wanted religion we could get that in the church and he was intent on our minds. That's what he was intent on and I know I have some very good friends from the little select group that I was with and we are all most appreciative -- what he did for us.

Obs: Well, the lessons were falling obviously on fertile soil

Mr. Elbrecht: Right -- So yes, I see what you're driving at -- you're attempting to see what other forces were active in forming us even though we had this limited educational facilities so to speak. Of course, for those days, it was adequate really.

Obs: And as you say, most of the people, if you could read and write and compute and do the farm work or the shop work or whatever

Mr. Elbrecht: Right, that was all that was necessary.

(TI 1980)

Summary In conclusion, at the time of the first commencement in June 1931, the pride of the district in its high school is well indicated in a story told by a Board member in the brief history of the school:

When the annual inspection of the school was made by the State Department of Education it was given full credit as a first class four-year High School. Talking with the Superintendent and several members of the Board, one of the Board members remarked, "You think then, Mr. Inspector, that we have a pretty good school." "No," replied the Inspector, "I wouldn't say just that. I would leave that 'pretty' out, you have a good school, no qualifications at all."
(H.S. Annual, 1931 p.9)

From an able student's point of view the criterion was a simple one, access to the next step in the educational hierarchy and later into a career:

Actually, we had the basics that we could get into college if we wanted to go. As I recall at that -- at that time, most colleges required two years of a foreign language and two years of math and two years of science. Well, we had all of that plus we had four years of English, we had two or three years of history and I believe we had a course in civics, that's probably in our junior year and then in our senior year then we had our biology and English and commercial law and commercial arithmetic I believe, and one other course, probably in social studies of some kind. We had a fairly good curriculum I would say for that type of school, you know, from coming from scratch. (TI 1980)

One further concluding thought comes to mind. The several lines of data which draw the picture of the early high school might be an accent of small size rather than rural America 50 years ago. The Barker and Gump Big School, Small School (1964) volume suggests that small schools retain many of the social, non academic, and academic positions and roles of the large high school, but have many fewer individuals competing for those positions. Consequently, the kind of experience -- musician, athlete, scholar tends to be much richer for

the average student. At issue, fundamentally, is the kind of citizen adult the community desires to see facilitated, a theme running through much of our analysis.

In brief the high school was designed to fit state regulations, it was approved -- lauded -- by a state inspector, and it permitted at least one student to meet the entrance requirements to the State University. Beyond that considerable latitude seemed possible. Further, for some, family or community gave a potent if not unique kind of support.

4. THE EARLY McBRIDE ERA: THE STORY CONTINUES

4.1 Introduction

In relation to our overview of the broad historical sweep in the chronicle of the Milford School District, the McBride era splits into three major periods: 1) a long period of stability and gradual growth that is a continuation of Milford as a six director township school system; 2) a period of transition and 3) a long period of rapid post World War II population growth, really a population explosion when the district was building "a school every year," until there were a dozen. We speak of long periods for the McBride era lasted almost 27 years. The stable period began in January 1935 and lasted until 1949. In 1949, the Marquette School District merged with Milford and in 1952, the first post World War II school, the Grant was built. From 1952 until 1962, the District grew rapidly, McBride aged, and the Board wanted him to step down. Amidst considerable controversy Steven Spanman came in 1962. But that part of the story comes twenty-seven years later.

4.2 Continuing the Long Stable Era (1935-1949)

The continuity in district affairs, appears in the rapid socialization of the new superintendent. Within two months of his appointment he "reads the current bills for the month of February". His work was commented upon

Mr. McBride then gave a very satisfactory report on conditions, in relation to improvements and progress for the past month. (3/6/35)

and it was moved, seconded and carried:

.... that the Board accept estimated budget plans for
1935-36 as submitted by Mr. McBride. (3/6/35)

The educational program of the District continued to grow gradually, like
Topsy, this time in adult education:

At this time a Mr. Smith, representing the advanced
adult education program of Suburban County, was invited
to consult with the Board on situation prevalent at the
Attucks night school. Mr. Everhart moved, seconded by
Mrs. Quayles that Mr. McBride make inquiries with the
proper authorities at Capitol City as to what can be
done about compensation for teachers teaching at the
Attucks night school. The motion carried. (2/6/35)

The interplay of state and local activities continued:

Mr. McBride explained the merits of House Bill 21 now
before the General Assembly at Capitol City. (3/6/35)

The Board went on record in support of the bill.

Adult education appeared to be more general for the Board moved, seconded
and passed the recommendation in April of 1935:

Under recommendations by Mr. McBride that we leave
the question of letting the Adult Education group have a
room at either Milford Village or Clear Valley School in
the hands of Mr. McBride to act on as he saw fit.
(4/3/35)

Amidst some controversy three of the high school teachers submitted their
resignations for the following year. With a split vote the Board accepted
them. Later a group of patrons sought a reconsideration. The Board saw it
as "closed business."

With the consultation of an official from the State Department of Education the Board made plans to solicit Federal funds for a 2-4 room addition to the Milford Village School and a gymnasium building at Clear Valley.³⁴ (6/17/35) Letters went to President Roosevelt and three congressional representatives. On October 2, 1935, the Board met at its regular time:

The first order of business for the evening was the letter from Mr. T. N. Poser, acting State Director for the Federal Emergency Administration of Public Works, notifying the Board of Education of Milford that the application for a government loan of \$28,000 and a grant of \$24,763 had been approved by the government, and that immediate advice of the approval and acceptance be forwarded to Mr. Poser. On the advice of Mr. Thompson, Mr. Everhart moved, seconded by Mr. Eason that the following resolution be forwarded:

Be it resolved that the Secretary of the Board of Education immediately notify the Federal Emergency Administration of Public Works that the *Board of Education of Milford, Suburban County, Midwest State hereby accept the loan and grant referred to, based upon the FEA rules and regulations imposed by the President of the United States*, and be it further resolved that a work schedule be also immediately forwarded as required. (Our italics)

The motion carried.

(10/2/35)

Interestingly the federal-local relationship also included transportation:

A committee of patrons of our non resident pupils met with the Board to discuss plans and means whereby these children may secure transportation with some government aid.

(9/4/35)

Most of the Board's time in 35-36 involved the multitude of details in financing, contracting and building the addition.

³⁴ The grant proposal went to the Federal Emergency Administration of Public Works.

The interrelation among present buildings, their size and structure, additional new building space, the housing of children, the structure of the educational program, and the concerns of parents appear dramatically in that '35-'36 year. The election of new Board members in April, was strongly contested although we have no data on the issues. The votes by order of filing were 332, 342, 291, 216. One incumbent won with 342 votes and one lost, with 216 votes. Within a week, at a special meeting, Mr. McBride, the Superintendent, received a new three year contract. In the third special meeting in April, the report of the Superintendent as summarized in the Board minutes included:

The discussion and explanation to parents about the moving of elementary school children to the school building on Pearl Drive. It was agreed that Mr. McBride take care of the date for meeting. (4/29/35)

In June:

Mr. McBride spoke on the probability of moving all elementary grades to Milford Village School. A group of patrons from Meramac Road³⁵ met with the Board at this time, expressing their views. (6/3/36)

In July, formal actions occurred:

Under unfinished business, Mr. Everhart moved, seconded by Mr. Yates, that all elementary grades from first to sixth be moved to the Milford Village School. The motion carried. (7/1/36)

This consolidation of all elementary pupils into one building was a several month process. While discussions went on within the Board and in public meetings between the parents and the Board, apparently no organized opposition arose. The arguments pro and con did not appear in any of the Board records.

³⁵The Clear Valley School was on Donaldson's Road near Meramac Road.

That Summer the Board and the Superintendent for the first time seemed to run headlong into the mix of federal money for equipment (PWA), the complications of varied equipment characteristics and varied prices on the bids, and the need for care regarding rules and regulations, what today might be called red tape:

The Board of Education of the School District of Milford met for a special meeting July 17, 1936, at Clear Valley School, for the purpose of reconsideration of some of the awards made on equipment for the PWA Project No. Mo. 1056-R at their July 1st meeting, 1936

The following resolution was adopted by the Board

WHEREAS, there appears to be some unsatisfactory conditions in regard to the recent award at the July 1st meeting, and WHEREAS there has been objection on the part of some bidders in that some awards were made to high bidders instead of the low. Be it therefore resolved that due to these existing conditions that the Board of Education reconsidered or rejected bids that were not satisfactory and reconsidered Items 2 and 3, under Section I, Item 1 under Section II, and Item 7 under Section II. (7/17/36)

In a series of ten more specific motions the Board reaffirmed its earlier action with explicit reasons that low bids did not "meet specifications."

For example:

The Board specified the Medallion wire basket No. 397 as equal.. The Board is ready to show why the Metal Equipment Company basket is not equal to the Medallion basket.

- First: The basket is not as heavy and durable
- Second: The basket contains four wires around which makes it weaker
- Third: Sharp points on corners of Metal basket make it dangerous to hands

These will be brought along for your examination.

(7/17/36)

The purchase of Medallion steel lockers involved ten reasons, mostly related to durability and safety. The Board's minutes, before the Board's meeting closed with:

I certify that the above is true, conscientious consideration and action of the Board of Education of Milford School District, July 17th, 1936, on school equipment awards, P.W.A. Project Number 1056-R, and action was taken subject to approval of PWA.

F. N. McBride
Supt. of Schools

(7/1/36)

It looked as though the Superintendent had been busy, done his homework, was assuming a larger and larger role as business manager and executive officer of the District, and was learning to cope with the FEPS. In the middle of this process, and without our understanding the causes or reasons an item appeared in the minutes:

It was agreed by the Board that Mr. McBride take a leave of absence for a few days rest when his judgement saw fit to do so.
(7/1/36)

He seemed to be working hard, doing what the Board wanted, earned some days off and was trusted to use his own discretion in taking that time.

When a nation is in a depression, when school needs seem never ending, when District resources are scarce, as always seemed the case in Milford, and when a President of the Nation is calling for "A New Deal", and when one has successfully won support for a building and equipment, it probably shouldn't be a surprise to find an item in the minutes such as the following:

Mr. McBride then gave the Superintendent's Report. A resolution was proposed, asking the government for an additional cent on the extra money spent on our building project. Mr. Yates moved, seconded by Mr. Ellis,

that this resolution be adopted. The motion carried. Some discussion on heating problem. It might be possible to get a WPA project on this with Mr. Galvern supervising. If done by WPA work, we could get work done for about 10% or 20% of what it would cost otherwise. Mr. McBride is to go ahead and look into this WPA project.³⁶ (11/4/36)

One doesn't have to be a reinforcement theorist to see and understand the rapid learning of grant application skills nor a cognitive theorist to see and understand the changes in perspectives occurring in the minds and behavior of the Board members. Whether these shifts are a long jump or a short step to the habits, perspectives and organizational structures of '79-'80 can be debated.

In a series of three items, presumably related, the Board acted on 1) the resignation from the Board of Mrs. Quales who had been secretary; 2) the hiring of a Mr. W. Quayles as janitor and 3) the hiring of Miss Needles as secretary to the Board.

The question of Secretary of the Board was discussed, and the discussion resulted in the following action of the Board. It was moved by Mr. Yates and seconded by Mr. Ellis that Miss Needles be Secretary of the Board until further arrangements are made by the Board of Education, at a \$5.00 additional salary per month. The motion carried. (9/22/36)

Now, for the first time, the Superintendent's secretary was also the paid secretary of the Board. "Further arrangements" weren't made until March, 1944, almost a decade later.

³⁶ On November 3, 1937, discussion occurred regarding renting a concrete mixer "for the WPA project on the grounds." Some success apparently occurred.

In October, the Board voted "... to stand the expenses of Mr. McBride...." to both the state and national teachers meetings. In December the school picnic increased in scope and status, the Board signed a contract with Mark Twain Amusements, a Big City amusement park to hold the School Picnic May 6th.

In June, '37 the Board minutes indicated for the first time that Milford considered the audio visual approaches to teaching:

... to have Mr. McBride investigate the purchase of a Visual Education machine, and that we join the Visual Education Program. (6/2/37)

These discussions continued on into the Autumn, for a new machine which played both sound and silent films was soon to be on the market. The Board decided to wait for that.³⁷ Anticipating a later discussion we would mention that 25 years later, Spanman would arrive with a persuasive style, masterfully utilizing an overhead projector with charts, graphs, and alliterative topic words, and make Kensington, in plan at least,

.... an elementary school which would give them the most modern audio-visual program in the nation. (Gillespie 1967, p.15)

During these years, business and organizational items flood the minutes: insurance, boilers and stokers, and radiators, bids on major and minor maintenance, hiring and firing of custodians, cafeteria profits, wages for cooks, (\$1.25/day), bids for coal, salaries for new staff and amounts of increase for old. Even the children and parents became a part of this:

³⁷ On November 3, 1937 a Bell and Howell "picture projector" was purchased.

There are still some children who have entered Milford Village School, in the 1st grade, and who have not presented birth certificates. Mr. McBride is to write another letter to these parents, stating that these birth certificates must be turned in to Mr. Ulrich by Monday, October 18, or the child will be sent home, until a birth certificate is received. (11/6/37)

During these years the purchase of bits and pieces of equipment suggest that curricular and extra curricular activities were part of the discussion in Board meetings. Concerns were expressed about sewing machines, Sousaphones in music, storage lockers for Boy Scout equipment and so forth. And then, dropped into the minutes in the section entitled "Monthly Report" or "Report of the Superintendent", is an occasional major curriculum item:

There was some discussion on having a kindergarten at Milford Village Elementary School for the last three months of this school year. Mr. McBride is to investigate the number of children who would attend the kindergarten, and if there are sufficient number, he is to go ahead with plans. Motion made seconded and carried. (2/2/38)

A month later, a \$4.00/month tuition rate for non-resident kindergarten pupils was established.

The Board minutes suggest the continuing influence of the county superintendent and the possible collegial aspects among superintendents:

Mr. McBride then gave his monthly report. There was some discussion on the question of a survey being made, which was brought up at the County Superintendent's meeting. As we do not know enough about this, the Board decided not to pass on same. (3/2/38)

The hypothesis we are reaching toward is the gradual development of relationships between the relatively isolated superintendents of small county districts

which culminated in the formation of the League of Superintendents of Suburban County. Intertwined in this is the gradual decline in importance of the County Board of Education and the County Superintendent of Schools.

On Wednesday, March 9, 1938, a special meeting of the Board was called. Amidst minutes of lumber buying, insurance company contacts, restarting heating and electrical systems, and discussions of classes which are usable, the reader makes the inference that the West end of the old High School building has burned down. The rebuilding was complicated by differences with the insurance company \$17,000 vs. \$9,000, the possibilities of WPA money, and the role of union labor. A week later the insurance differences were adjusted and compromised to \$13,000. Outside resource possibilities were reported as:

A visit was made to the State WPA office in Capitol City by Mr. McBride and some of the Board members yesterday, and were informed that there is not much chance of a WPA project with skilled labor. It was decided by the Board to forget the WPA. (3/16/38)

The final insurance payment was \$12,275. One of the Board members who is in the construction business offered to manage the rebuilding for 10% of the contract. This necessitated his resignation from the Board. After that he received the contract.

Besides rebuilding parts of the High School, additions to the elementary school, for a kindergarten, and remodeling of Attucks were on the agenda. Mr. McBride made another visit to Capitol City and was told that bills for school aid were in Congress in Washington, D.C. and that district voting dates should not be set until the bill passed in Congress. The Board then resolved:

That the School District undertake a building project looking to an addition to the building, and that we seek whatever Federal aid is available, and authorize the President of the Board and the Superintendent of Schools to fill in the preliminary questionnaire in order to get the project underway, and to execute the necessary applications. The motion carried. (5/16/38)

The Board also moved for a special election for bonds for the school. The vote was 18 to 1 in favor (329 to 40). The Board President, Mr. Brocks, resigned in order to accept the contract as one of the architects for the new building. We have not made an exhaustive study of the economic importance of school business for a local community, nor the evolution of sealed competitive bids as a technique for controlling favoritism in awarding contracts. The main bids were so let. This kind of local "economic politicing", if we can use such a label, is openly reported in the minutes. Presumably it's "just good business." A strong case can be made for a local citizen representing and advocating for the district as architect. A touch of irony appears in another item labeled "political meetings" which follows right after the contracting discussion of the school building items which were awarded to the two former Board members:

In regard to political meeting, it is the unanimous opinion of the Board that the auditorium at Clear Valley School, the Milford assembly hall, and the Attucks School be made available for a reasonable number of times to the political parties for political meetings during the Fall, provided they make arrangements with the Superintendent a reasonable length of time before the holding of the meetings. (8/3/38)

School systems in rural areas and small towns in pre World War II America were fascinating community institutions.

The application for Federal aid was written and rewritten several times as ideas changed, possible amounts of the contract changed, and as union minimum wage rates for the metropolitan area were incorporated. Additional land was bought, competitive bids received for the construction and contracts let during Summer and Autumn of 1938. Two of the final touches were the Board's resolutions that:

.... the architect be authorized to design and secure an appropriate bronze tablet to commemorate the assistance furnished by the United States Government.

(3/8/39)

And the Board's resolution:

A motion was made to sell the shed that has been used by the WPA to the WPA, for \$30.00. The motion carried.

(5/22/39)

1939-40, at least in its beginning, seemed noteworthy only in someone's afterthought, the Board minutes for that year were bound with those running from July 1939-June 1948. The gathering war storm in Europe obviously didn't enter into the one page/meeting sets of minutes. Nor was the ebbing of the 1930's recession much in evidence. Rather, on July 5, 1939 the agenda consisted of the roll call, (one absence), the secretary and treasurer's reports (approved and balance of \$9,368.66), the cafeteria report was read and current bills paid, the Superintendent's monthly report (a thank you to Dr. Evans³⁸ and the hiring of Miss Engle as home economics teacher (at a salary of \$1,275.70 for ten months and an extra \$127.30 for the eleventh month), the coal bid was accepted, eight book shelves for the library were purchased from a local school

³⁸On 4/3/40 he became medical director of the district at a salary of \$300/year.

and business supply company, and repairs were authorized for the Milford Elementary School "... two doors replaced, cement step in front of the building repaired, new downspout on the North side of the building, and tuckpointing." The meeting was over in an hour and ten minutes, at 9:10 P.M. On September 6th, 1939 the enrollment was:

45 Attucks
255 Milford Village School
247 High School

which represented an increase of 45 or 50 pupils. The Board also did not support Patricia Talbot's petition for another half year of high school tuition and transportation which she needed because she had failed to graduate in the usual four years' time. Finally the secretary seems to have been married for she was now Mrs. Tackie instead of Miss Needles.

The legal context of public education appeared and reappeared in Milford in quite explicit ways. Patricia Talbot's case was reconsidered two weeks later, and a new and partially related case appeared:

The Board reconsidered its action of a previous meeting in the matter of paying the tuition and transportation for one-half year for Patricia Talbot, a colored girl. After listening to a report of investigation as conducted by the Superintendent, and after consideration of the law, the Board came to the conclusion that it was unauthorized to pay any further tuition or transportation for Patricia Talbot. (9/18/39)

A motion was made by Mr. Coser, seconded by Mr. Corder that the case of Julia Hensley has been thoroughly considered by the Board of Education from every angle, including the legal limitations of a school district to incur expenses for persons in grade school, and has concurred that it is without authority to do anything more than offer her the facilities of the schools maintained within the district. The motion carried. (9/18/39)

The day to day business of running a small school district continued with items related to a neighboring one room school district and the local codes of morality:

A motion was made by Mr. Coser, seconded by Mr. Yankel, that we permit the Whitcom's PTA to hold a program this year only; in our gymnasium, and that they be advised that the Board has established a policy against the use of the school building by school districts and other organizations outside the territorial limits of this school district, and that holding public dances in public school buildings is absolutely forbidden and against the policy of the Board. The motion carried. (10/4/39)

Once again, the gradual extension in scope of school services appears in the minutes when the changes demand financial resource:

A motion was made by Mr. Coser, seconded by Mr. Yankel, to pay Mr. Smith \$100.00 for trips made to different colleges with students last Spring. The motion carried. (12/6/39)

A month later, three items of note appeared. The Superintendent reported on personal and real estate taxes "stricken off" school districts 1935-1939. Second a committee was appointed "to survey the district for future school building sites." The third suggests the vagaries of policy with neighboring districts:

It was decided to entertain the members of the rural school boards sending students to our high school, and their wives, at a dinner on Saturday night, February 24, at 6:00 P.M. (1/3/40)

A month before, and a month later, the Board reiterated its policy of non use of buildings by outside schools and organizations. The final item dealt with "Sex Education":

Miss Gaynor, Mrs. Kelly, and Mr. Smith gave quite a discussion on sex education as it is carried on in our school, and on the health program in general. (1/3/40)

This seems noteworthy in several regards. The controversy over sex education continues through the country, now some forty years later. Second, the Board has initiated formal curriculum reports by staff to the Board. Eventually this becomes institutionalized as on a rotating once a month emphasis. The following month, the minutes included a similar item:

Mr. Smith, Miss Palm and Louis Yankel gave quite a discussion of the guidance programs as carried on in our schools. (3/6/40)

A month later bills for "band uniforms" were paid. Earlier a bassoon had been purchased. Music education continued in full splendor.

The Board extended its program to include a "playground this Summer at both schools" and appointed Mr. Reynolds at a salary of \$100/month "to take care of the playground." At the next meeting the school nurse, Mrs. Kelly, was rehired at \$ /year.

Home economics was handled by a contract with the State Department of Education. (8/7/40) Major outlays for shop equipment -- "double shop benches", tools, metal stools, were made. And the Superintendent was requested to investigate the number of students who would want to take chemistry, the cost of equipment, etc., and report at the next meeting (8/27/40).. And at that next meeting the Board voted "that we put in a chemistry course in the high school this year." (9/4/40)

World and national events did come directly to Milford in September of 1940. Perhaps, the form should have been anticipated by any observer and theorist:

It was the sense of the meeting that it will be necessary to adopt proper regulations concerning leaves of absence for teachers now in the military service or those hereafter called, and provide for their re-employment upon termination of their military service.

(9/4/40)

Later a leave of absence policy was adopted. During the 41-42 year references to "defense children" and possible Federal aid,³⁹ the selling of "defense stamps" and the departure of the secondary principal and a few teachers appeared.

For over a decade, since Mrs. Tholozan's leaving the Board, the membership had been all male. On November 4, 1942, Mrs. Bester was voted in by the Board to fill a vacancy caused by resignation. That Spring she was re-elected in an uncontested race. A month later she resigned because she moved out of the district. She was replaced by Susan Jones.

As we have indicated at several points in our discussion the source of several of our "themes" in this history of the district are the concerns, problems, and issues in contention and manifest in the Kensington School and Milford District today. The involvement with the Federal government is one of those major themes. Today it's a concern for PL 94-142 and the Office of

³⁹In 1941, the Congress passed the Lanham Act which gave aid to communities facing hardships due to expanding war factories and military bases.

Civil Rights. In anticipation are concerns about court ordered desegregation, busing, and hiring policies. In 1941, the flavor was very different:

Mr. McBride gave an explanation in regard to the defense aid that is being given by the Federal Government. Quite a bit of discussion on this. A motion was made .. . that we authorize Mr. Bestor to prepare application to the Public Works Agency covering certain improvements in the existing school facilities, with the understanding that if we go ahead with the work, we employ Mr. Bestor as architect. The motion carried. (7/21/41)

The activity went forward in the next few months, and at what now seems like an incredibly quick turn around time at a special meeting on Friday, October 3, 1941, the minutes record the "success" of Mr. McBride and Mr. Bestor.:

Mr. Bestor and Mr. McBride attended a meeting in the PWA office, and they are ready to offer us a \$70,000 grant for the building of a new elementary school. After quite a bit of discussion on this, a motion was made .. ., that we write a letter to the Midwest City office that we are ready to accept their offer in the amount of \$70,000, but that it will be necessary that we revise our building set up. The motion carried. If advisable Mr. McBride and Mr. Bestor are to make the trip to the Midwest City office for a conference there. (10/3/41)

Three years later (6/26/44), Mr. McBride read a telegram to the Board indicating they had received \$12,500.00 from the Federal Works Agency for construction costs of a two room addition to the Milford Elementary School. Twenty thousand dollars of bonded indebtedness was approved 48 to 2 in the special election of July 13, 1944.

In August of 1943, a note was made on a phenomenon that presumably was occurring all over the country:

Mr. McBride gave a report on the Suburban County Planning Commission's post war program. Quite a bit of discussion on post war planning for our school district.

(8/4/43)

No record appeared at this time. One of the generalizations we would make is simple but potent. Common sense units of time often are broken into chunks around memorable events, such as a war and "post war planning." Implicit also is a dimension of special times i.e. the war years and more normal times. Further, implications seem to exist for these as occasions in which initiatives might be taken.

The Board continued to receive requests for releases from contracts. Most seemed to be handled quickly and easily as teachers had husbands who were moved by their companies or were moving for better employment, were marrying, or were having children. Seldom were other reasons stated. The Board eventually requested each teacher to make a personal appearance as part of the procedures. One instance was noted of a teacher moving to a university position:

A motion was made that we accept the resignation of Katherine Masters, to accept a position at the University of Minnesota. (1/5/44)

After 9 years Mrs. Tackie left her post as school Board secretary. She was replaced by Julia Openstein.

4.3 . Some New and Some Continuing Themes

In the general narrative, a number of themes have appeared and reappeared. In the mid 1940's these seem to explode in different directions and complicate

the flow of a simple, single plot narrative. Consequently we have clustered the story into several strands. The plot thickens, so to speak.

The American Dilemma Continues

By the mid 1940's, the Black enrollment had dropped steadily. One teacher, Clara Reynolds, remained for many years. She was the lowest paid member of the teaching staff through these years. Further, one of the largest industrial plants in the district sought to move the Attucks School for the company's expansion. The Board, the Superintendent and the Com. planned and negotiated for several years. Plans were in motion for Federal aid in the construction of a new school (as well as for the Milford High School). In the meantime maintenance problems were acute enough to bring a citizens committee to the Board:

A committee representing the Patrons Association of the Attucks School brought before the Board requests for needed repairs and equipment -- insufficient heat in the South room, broken windows, water in the basement, and broken furnace pipe; a clock and additional playground equipment. The committee was assured that these requests would be taken care of as expediently as possible.

(10/16/45)

The next mention of the Attucks School appeared in the March '46 minutes and dealt with discussions between the Board members and the Company that wanted to move the school. The negotiations foundered on who would pay for the new school, and in June the Board noted:

After due consideration it was decided to have the Attucks School building repaired sufficiently to put it in usable condition before the September school term.

PETITION FOR ANNEXATION

STATE OF MICHIGAN DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION

SCHOOL DISTRICT OF MARQUETTE

We, the undersigned, qualified voters of the School District of Marquette, County of Suburbia, State of Michigan, desire that the School District of Marquette be annexed to the adjoining School District of Milford, for school purposes, in accordance with and under the authority of Section 10484, Revised Statutes of Michigan State, 1909, as amended, and do hereby petition you to call a special meeting or election according to law, to test the sentiment of the qualified voters, voting at such election, upon such desired attachment.

(28 signatures)

Figure 9: Petition for Annexation

NOTICE OF SPECIAL SCHOOL ELECTION

NOTICE IS HEREBY GIVEN to the qualified voters of the School District of Marquette, County of Suburbia, State of Midwest, that a special school election of said District will be held at the School Building on Downing Drive in said District, on Thursday, May 18th, 1949 commencing at 7 O'clock A.M., and ending at 6 O'clock P.M. on that day, at which meeting or election the following will be proposed and voted upon:

PROPOSITION: That the School District of Marquette become attached or annexed to the adjoining School District of Milford, for school purposes, as authorized by Section 10484, Revised Statutes of Midwest State, 1939, as amended.

By order of the Board of Education of the School District of Marquette, Suburbia County, Midwest State, this 2nd Day of May, 1949.

William D. Metcalfe
Secretary, Board of Education
School District of Marquette

Figure 10: Notice of Election

At that time there were 380 pupils in Grade 1-8, and an additional 51 in kindergarten. The number of graduates that Spring was 24. There had been 32 the previous year.

The Milford Board met in Special Session, May 31st, 1949. It voted unanimously to "annex and attach" the boundaries, property and monies of the Marquette District.

The County Board of Education had recommended, at least as one alternative, the consolidating of five additional elementary districts into the Milford District. The Milford Superintendent's Report to the Board on May 10, 1949 under item 11 referred to:

Report of County Board of Education to State Board of Education on proposed reorganized district:

Milford
Marquette
Union
Caldwell
Morrison
Rhodes
Dudley

Three of those small districts had two teachers, one had one teacher and one had no teacher, not even a school. Several were schools which had sent pupils to Milford High School for a number of years, several of whom were in the first high school graduating class of 1931.

5.3 Formalization of Organizational Structures and Processes

Throughout our account of the evolution of the Milford Schools we have noted a gradual extension of goals and functions, e.g. establishment of the

High School, the Kindergarten and so forth. As these have occurred new structures and processes have appeared in buildings, positions, policies, rules and regulations. Another aspect of 1949-52 period as a transition is the formalization of organizational structures and processes. We noted already the formal mimeographed report of the Superintendent. In May of 1949 the word came from the State Department of Education that in the 1950-51 year all schools would be classified as A, AA, or AAA. The word to the wise included:

- 1) formation of written policies
- 2) development of philosophy and objective
- 3) certification of all teachers
- 4) school librarian in place
- 5) purchase of supplies and equipment

In the same meeting, Mr. McBride presented a "how-to-do-it" outline which Englehart and Engelhart had published in the American School Board Journal:

- 1) Organization, procedure and duties of the Board
- 2) Office and duties of the superintendent
- 3) Personnel
- 4) General policies

In addition seven rules of thumb were presented by Englehart and Engelhart regarding the preparation of the rules and regulations. In paraphrased form they are:

- 1) consistent with the law
- 2) guiding principles rather than collections of detailed instructions
- 3) reflect board policies not administrative procedures
- 4) framed by executive and professional staff and approved by board
- 5) not restrict initiative but define range of duties of individuals and groups
- 6) recognize "professional character of the workers"
- 7) part of minutes record of board and not modified without board's consent

In June, the array of "summer items" continued to appear in the minutes. On June 14th, a half dozen teacher contracts were issued. The discussions continued with Quaker Company over the granite blasting and relocating of the Attucks School. The Board went to a lawyer for a legal opinion. Continued blending of finances between the Marquette School and Milford Schools occurred. The janitors salaries were increased. The 5% boosted them (\$2,520, \$2,184, \$2,310) above the salaries of some of the new teachers. The elementary teachers were paid less than the secondary teachers.

Regarding curriculum, instruction, and school affairs, it was noted that Mr. McBride distributed the pamphlet "What the High School Ought to Teach." He noted also that the High School had 33½ units of credit approved by the State Department of Education. And a final item appeared:

A discussion was held on the recent "M" Club invitation. It was decided that rather than stop it entirely and drive it underground, that something of a milder nature be substituted to satisfy the majority of club members.

(6/14/49)

The results of the survey of teachers were also reported. This seemed important in several regards:

- 1) The Board continued the tradition of soliciting teacher opinions
- 2) For the first time, a formal questionnaire was used
- 3) Elementary Teacher results were separated from that of the High School Teachers.
- 4) The nine questions covered issues of governance, curriculum, and teacher evaluation

Question #1 asked "Do you feel that the formulation of an educational program in Milford has been a democratic process involving you of the professional

staff?" (16 yes's, 1 no). Question #9, "Have you ever been asked to do anything that you could not consider being completely ethical?" (1 yes, 16 no's). The only item with split views concerned teacher evaluation:

Would you welcome the opportunity of aiding in the establishment of a system of teacher evaluation?

The split was 3 to 5, yea and nay in the high school and 5 to 3, yea and nay in the elementary school.

5.4 The Continuing Themes

During the 1949-52 period, most of the stories we have been telling and the themes we have been exploring continued. Rather than detailing these at length, we will allude to them only briefly and illustratively. For instance, on April 7, 1949, with the new Board members, Mr. Lewis and Mr. Norton, agreements were reached on several aspects of the Superintendent's Report:

It was decided to determine if more than 1 candidate is available for our vacancies in teachers. If more than 1 is available the Board will consider the qualifications of the candidates. (4/7/49)

This sounds as though efforts were starting to increase the size of the pool of teacher candidates and thereby the quality of the staff.

The problems continued with the Black school and the Quaker Manufacturing Company over land usage and rebuilding the school:

It was determined to do some additional studying before deciding just what has to be done about the Negro building situation including that of future usage and possibility of paying tuition in Big City. (4/7/49)

The negotiations with Quaker Company continued. On October 11, 1949, the Board voted to ask for \$18,000 for a new two room frame building for the Attucks School. A month later, it was reported that the Company made the payment. In the next few months plans were drawn, bids were let, and the low bid was accepted (2/7/50). Construction began immediately. Ironically, Big City rejected those overtures. The Superintendent's Report contained the brief item "Negro children -- the City will not accept them." (5/10/49) Now, after a new school building was built, a 1954 Supreme Court Decision, changing populations, discussions are underway about a metropolitan, City-County, desegregation plan.

The cafeteria continued along:

The suggestion from the County Board of Health that silverware be divided, that we improve fly control in the cafeteria, that granitework be replaced, that only one individual handle straws and that garbage can be washed weekly will be followed. (4/7/49)

And finally another of the never ending events:

The school bus and drivers were discussed and it was decided to check further into the matter. (4/7/49)

Concerns for handicapped youngsters continued to be raised, not only in Milford but all over Suburban County:

Mr. McBride reported on a committee that was being formed in order to find out whether or not a central school could be started to care for all handicapped children in the county. (11/11/49)

Similar concerns arose over vocational education:

A discussion was held on the Vandeventer Vocational School. It was decided that Mr. McBride again talk to Mr. DeLuca regarding whether or not there would be any students here that would benefit more by going to the vocational school half time than by staying here all day. (11/11/49)

Discussions on school reorganization, circulation of literature, and a Board resolution in favor of reorganization (9/13/49) all occurred. The community opposed the idea:

For	-----	690	
Against	-----	<u>1,700</u>	
Total		2,350	(11/11/49)

The Milford District remains to this day as it was decided on that day thirty years ago.

Mr. Hightower returned to the scene also in the form of a request to have a copy of the transcript of the public hearing, a year and a half before. Board tabled the request (12/13/49). In January, the Board took up the issue again. Enigmatically the minutes suggest the drama underway:

"The request of Mr. Hightower to make the transcript of the hearing granted to him in April, 1948, a part of his record, which was tabled at the December meeting, was brought up for consideration. After some discussion, Mr. Lewis made a motion that the afore mentioned transcript be made a part of the official minutes of the Milford School Board. As there was no second to this motion the discussion was continued. Mr. Hamilton then made the suggestion that the Board send Mr. Hightower a letter of recommendation but this was not acted on by the Board. After considerable more discussion Mr. Lewis again stated his motion which was seconded by Mr. Wells.⁴⁶

⁴⁶Mr. Wells just that evening had been nominated by Lewis and passed by the Board to fill the position opened by Mr. Everhardt's resignation.

At the suggestion of Mr. Jennings the motion was amended to include a copy of the transcript to be sent to City University to be attached to Mr. Hightower's record. This amended motion was seconded by Mr. Hamilton and passed by the Board. (1/ /50)

A week later (1/12/50) the Board received a thank you letter from Mr. Hightower.⁴⁷

In December of 1949, another "first" occurred in the District. Plans were underway to establish a citizen's committee regarding school finances:

School Finance Committee. An extensive discussion was held on the way to select the original committee to study the school finances. Mr. Lewis moved to send a post card to the community with a return card attached to return if interested in serving on the committee, to try to get a representative group. Mr. Jennings seconded the motion, which carried. (12/13/49)

On February (the 14th), the Board decided to meet jointly with the new citizen's committee to discuss ways to present the new school levy to the people of the district. The levy passed in April and a new "Lay Committee" was formed.

5.5 More Evidence of Transition

The Need for a New School⁴⁸

In the Summer of 1949, the first Board minute appeared regarding what was to be the population explosion:

⁴⁷ Interestingly two sets of minutes of that meeting are bound into the official record. They are identical except for the inclusion of the Hightower item in one and its omission in the other.

⁴⁸ This is our label, and as the reader has noted, is ethnocentric for the new Attucks School was built in the Spring of 1950.

The building of a new subdivision on the southwest section of our school district and a suitable site for another elementary school were discussed. It was decided that we would try to get more data on other subdivisions as to how the number of children run in proportion to the number of homes. (7/12/49)

The enrollments that Autumn were 1,151 students. Subtotals appear in Figure 11. A few high school students were enrolled in neighboring districts where they had started before the merger. The minutes mention a handful of special education students in private schools.

Insert Figure 11 about here

Report after report on new subdivisions appeared. For instance, Wooded Valley - "A total of 733 homes in the next 2½-3 years" appears in the Superintendent's Report of October 11, 1949. The magnitude of suburbanization kept appearing in vivid numbers:

Mr. McBride reported on the new Edinburg Estates subdivision, stating that 2,400 homes were to be built within the next three years, beginning this July, and that a tentative site for a school of about 4-5 acres had been discussed. (6/13/50)

A variety of temporizing actions were taken and they illustrate the interconnected complications which must be considered by the Board and administration as the District changed:

An extensive discussion was held concerning the grade organization of the three schools. It was decided that an extra room be built at Marquette School and also to bring Marquette's eighth grade to the high school. It was further decided to prepare an extra room at Milford Elementary School, leaving the seventh grade at Milford Elementary. The problem of transporting the eighth

	Milford	Marquette	Attucks
Elementary	<u>305</u>	<u>439</u>	<u>17</u>
Kindergarten	49	58	
1	48	54	
2	58	63	
3	44	53	
4	39	41	
5	52	38	
6	35	56	
7	--	39	
8	--	35	
High School	<u>390</u>		
7	37		
8	34		
Freshman	109		
Sophomore	73		
Junior	77		
Senior	60		

Figure 11: Enrollment in Milford in Autumn 1949

9

143

161

graders from Marquette was brought up for discussion; it was decided to talk with the Suburban Bus Company to see if something could be worked out with them. (5/16/50)

The Creation of a New Central Office Position

With the consolidation of Milford and Marquette in 1949, the District, in one stroke, increased in size by fifty percent. The geographical area increased, which meant some of the youngsters had long distances to travel to the high school. In addition, the Superintendent/Principal of Marquette joined the consolidated Milford staff and became Principal of the school. By virtue of his prior position one might argue he was over qualified for that job alone. The post war suburban growth was beginning, each year 50-100 additional youngsters were coming into the schools. Rooms were added. New curricula and teachers were added. Finally, the projections on increases in student enrollment were of the order of 500 youngsters per year. Literally a school a year was to be built. That process, as we have indicated elsewhere, demanded hours of time in an array of activities by the Board and the administrative staff. One way to handle these needs is the creation of a new central office position. After some discussion on the nature and scope of the work, Mr. Unger was given the post of Director of Elementary Education and was made responsible for the several elementary schools. The minutes read this

A discussion was held regarding having Mr. Unger as half time principal at both elementary schools, working him up to elementary supervisor over all elementary schools. It was decided to delay action on his contract until this could be discussed with him and with the State Department of Education. (2/27/51)

In a related move the contract of the Principal of Milford Elementary School, Mr. Langwell, was also held up. Two months later:

.... that Mr. Langwell be notified that he is not being re-employed for next year due to the following reason; that the Board has discussed as early as three months ago the plan of setting up a Director of Elementary Education and that an assistant be employed in the person of a young man to be trained and work with the Director of Education. This notification is to be tendered before the 15th of April according to Section 10342A of Midwest State School Laws, 1947. Motion carried. (4/10/51)

Immediately afterward Mr. Unger was tendered a new contract as Director of Elementary Education.

If one looks a bit more abstractly at these events they can be conceptualized. We have developed a model, Figure 12 to represent the sequence of events District consolidation and district population increase caused an increase in district size and led to projections of further increases. This precipitated at least four kinds of tasks and activities, plans and arrangements for new buildings, temporary facilities, staffing needs and changes, and the ambiguous transportation problems. Someone has to do the enlarging quantity of work, and a new position is created. The presence of Mr. Unger, formerly a "superintendent", argues for his becoming the incumbent.

Insert Figure 12 about here

These events and processes seem so much a part of common sense, they seem "natural." Further, a look back at Mrs. Briggs' arrival as teacher and principal for the new High School and her later becoming Superintendent had much the same quality.

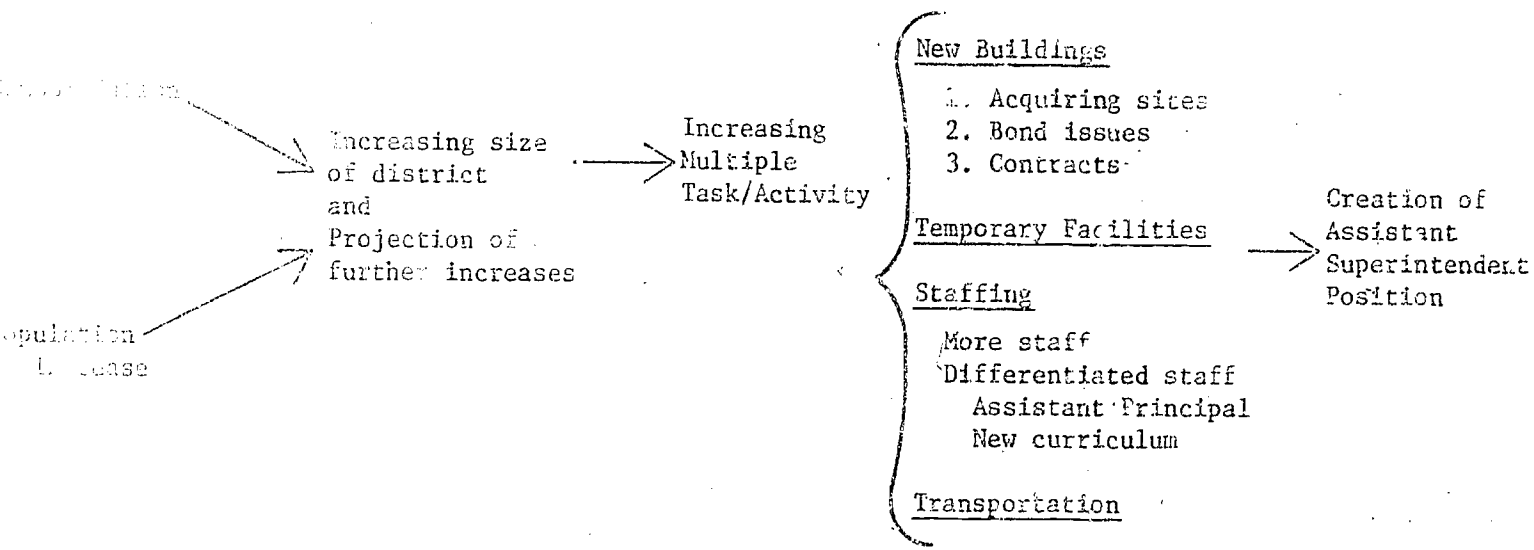


Figure 12: Antecedents of Organizational Change:
The Creation of a New Position

5.6 The Strong Board Member: An Infrequent But Major Event

As we indicated, at a special meeting of the Board on July 9, 1948, a new High School Principal was hired, Donald T. Green. Teachers continued to come and go as two new staff were hired. Building maintenance remained a continuing problem and a plumbing contract was let. Technology continued to invade the schools - a liquid duplicator was bought for the elementary school and an electric stove was purchased for the Attucks School (8/3/48). (Later it was stolen.) Authorized car mileage went to 6¢/mile. Data were to be obtained:

.... concerning the per-pupil cost with a view toward raising the tuition of non-resident students at a propitious time. (11/16/48)

Public health measures continued in well measured strides:

A motion to accept with thanks the proposed installation of germicidal lamp in the kindergarten. The motion carried. (12/14/48)

All local educational and religious organizations within the district would now be charged \$15.00/night to use the school buildings. A month later a note indicated two requests were made for school use. In February, the Board voted to increase non-resident high school tuition from \$100/year to \$163/year. Vandalism insurance on all three district buildings appeared in February, 1948 also. In the March discussions of the coming elections, the Board voted for another kind of insurance:

A motion was made by Mr. Jay and Mr. Norris to first place the names of the incumbents, in order of length of service, followed by other candidates in order of date of filing on the official ballot. The motion carried. (3/8/49)

But insurance sometimes doesn't work. A month later the minutes record the votes:

Incumbent	341
"	416
"	92
F. J. Lewis	529
Norton	509

Mr. Lewis and Mr. Norton were sworn in.

At times it is difficult to judge whether the Board took on new vigor with the election of new directors or whether a shift in secretaries engendered a new style in reporting. Probably some of both. When Mr. F. J. Lewis joined the Board and became secretary, the minutes doubled or tripled in length, the Board seemed more active, and Mr. Lewis seemed in the middle of that action.

An image arose gradually in reading the minutes after the election of Mr. Lewis. As we have related, he became secretary of the Board and the quantity and quality of the minutes shifted dramatically. Notes occurred of his involvement in AASA, traveling to Atlantic City, bringing back ideas, inserting them into Board discussions and action. Attempts to define responsibilities of the Board, the Superintendent, the Principals, as major positions in themselves, as related to the other positions, and even more critically in Milford, of the relations among the incumbents of each of the positions. Gradually, an evaluative aspect of this arose and reached several climaxes. Mr. Lewis voted against a salary increase for the Superintendent and presented a long bill of particulars. Later, a call for termination of Mr. McBride's contract arose, and became a community issue of considerable magnitude.

The data fill in the overview this way. In March of 1950 a special meeting of the Board was held:

Board action on the petition from some of the children was discussed.

The Board then passed the following resolution:

The Board of Education goes on record as reaffirming all policies of the Board and the School and that all problems must be taken up with the proper Teachers, Supervisors, and Administrators. (3/21/50)

At the next meeting, the two new Board members were elected, sworn in, and then nominated and voted in as President and Vice President. The agenda was full:

The Board recommended that Mr. McBride send letters to the parents of the pupils through the mail and by the pupils and also put an open letter to the people in the Village News and the Township News, with Mr. Lewis Mr. Norton working with him on it. (4/6/50)

Two items later in the same evening:

Mr. Lewis moved that on April 25th a general meeting about our education program be held, which was seconded by Mr. Norris and carried. (4/6/50)

In executive session that same evening:

It was decided that a general report be kept on teachers throughout the year, both good and bad reports, by the Principals for the Board's attention. (4/6/50)

That meeting was held after the regular Board meeting:

After adjournment an hour of open discussion was spent with the people who were present as visitors. (4/25/50)

In May,

Mr. Lewis moved that the Board spend up to \$1500.00 for library books for the high school, which was seconded by Mr. Norton and carried. (5/16/50)

The meeting was introduced and thereby labeled in the minutes as follows:

The first meeting of the Milford School Board for the discussion of Educational Programs and Procedures was called to order (4/25/50)

A month later:

The Regular Monthly for Educational Programs and Procedures was called to order. (5/31/50)

The main items of business:

The President read the various lists of recommendations for the Lay Committee.

It was agreed to have the Lay Committee ready to go at the next meeting for Educational Programs and Procedures.

After adjournment over an hour of open discussion was spent with the people who were present as visitors. (5/31/50)

Several items had a jarring ring to them as one read along:

Mr. Trotter suggested that a survey be made of other schools concerning the custodial standards as to age, health, etc. Mr. Lewis suggested that a survey also be made concerning how much work a custodian can do. It was suggested that Mr. McBride get a book on custodial help. (6/13/50)

The nature and quality of information related to school functioning shifted during this period. Three kinds of data seemed involved: comparative data

from neighboring districts, and increase in meeting attendance and reporting back by administrators and Board members, and an appeal to published statements.

More specifically, a letter from a prominent local Superintendent regarding fund raising organizations was read and the policy statements accepted. The Superintendents of Suburban County were developing their own internal leadership, to a degree independent of the County Superintendent's office. Names of books and pamphlets, The Custodian by Viles and Developing School Plant and Programs were being purchased, read and discussed. The Superintendent's Report of 1/9/51 mentions "Midwest State Schools" (the state NEA journal), Nations Schools and School and Community and articles such as "A Message to Boards of Education" and "The Nation Reaches a Verdict." And thirdly:

Mr. Norton moved to send Mr. Lewis as a member of the school Board with Mr. McBride to the National Administrators Convention in Atlantic City in order to get both a professional and a layman's viewpoint of the convention, which was seconded and carried. (1/9/51)

The Board seemed to be serving itself in several ways.

The Board's thrust for upgrading school programs continued. Not only were there now regular Board meetings on Education Program and Procedure but the Board divided itself into three sub-committees, House, Insurance, and Education. Mr. Lewis and Mr. Gordon were members of the Educational Committee. (4/10/51) Two weeks later (4/24/51), on a motion by Mr. Lewis and a unanimous Board vote a Diversified Occupations Course was approved for the Fall term. On May 16th, on a motion by Mr. Lewis the Board unanimously:

.... agreed to have a three day work shop before school starts and to pay teachers for these three days. (5/16/51)

Two weeks later, the thrust continued:

The following three goals from Mr. Lewis' recommendations to the Board as the result of his attending AASA convention in February were discussed and it was decided to implement them as quickly as possible. They are:

- 1) An adequate building program.
- 2) A public relations program that will not only keep the public continuously informed but will engender a democratic attitude in the community that will carry over into the schools.
- 3) Complete information on:
 - a. Teacher conferences with administration
 - b. Guidance results
 - c. Testing program (5/29/51)

The intensity of concern seemed exhibited in another two lines:

Several hours were devoted to the discussion of part of Mr. McBride's report of the Denver conference. (Our italics) (2/29/51)

The Denver Conference was on Public Relations and Mr. McBride had been expensed there as well as to a State Meeting at State University. (5/29/51)

Correlated with those moves by Mr. Lewis and the Board were the increasing formalization of state regulations. Inserted in the Board minutes is the State Department's moves regarding "Classification and Accreditation." Milford High School offered 37½ units of approved credit and was due to receive a Triple A classification in the next year.

Problems seemed to continue at the High School:

After considerable discussion about the lack of progress and the proper administration of our High School it was agreed that Mr. McBride give a memorandum to Mr. Clark on suggestions for improving conditions, and that in return Mr. Clark submit a program for correction these conditions.
(10/29/52)

A month later (11/25/52) the Superintendent was urging the Principal's resignation. The Board argued and voted for a hearing before final action. A week later (12/2/52) the Board met in executive session and accepted the Principal's resignation. The notes are enigmatic. We reproduce them in their entirety:

Mr. McBride reported Mr. Clark's resignation to the Board.

Mr. McBride then covered the faculty meeting of December 1st, assemblies of December 2nd and result of same following Mr. Clark's resignation.

Upon a motion by Mr. Gordon and seconded by Mr. Metcalfe it was unanimously agreed to accept Mr. Clark's resignation.

Possible replacement for Mr. Clark and means of Board interviewing same was discussed at some length and it was felt that Mr. McBride ask several potential candidates to meet with the Board.

It was further felt that it would be best that the Board not know Mr. McBride's preference at the time of the Board interview.

Mr. McBride then brought to our attention the splendid co-operation he has received from the faculty since Mr. Clark's departure.
(12/2/52)

The meeting lasted from 7:35 P.M. to 8:20 P.M. The High School counselor assumed the duties as acting Principal.

On January 25th, two candidates from out of the local community and the state were brought in for interviews for the High School principalship. The candidate from Colorado, Mr. Macon was offered the position.

As one reads along, page after page, in Board minutes, images of other, more contemporary school boards come to mind, as do images of other small groups and their dynamics. The "strong personality" or the "strong board member" conveys in the schoolman's common jargon the first level of meaning. The constellation of elements includes:

- 1) outspokenness
- 2) often in opposition to the superintendent
- 3) strong community base or voter support
- 4) a willingness to entertain confrontation and conflict
- 5) intelligent and articulate
- 6) needs for power or dominance
- 7) major commitment of time and effort

These events came to a head on February 25, 1953:

After considerable discussion, a motion was made by Mr. Metcalfe and seconded by Mr. Quigley that Mr. McBride be offered a contract at \$9,000.00 per year for three years. Messers Trotter, Gordon, Quigley, Metcalfe, and Mrs. Cooper voting for and Mr. Lewis voting against this motion.

Upon a motion by Mr. Gordon and seconded by Mr. Lewis it was unanimously agreed that the Superintendent give study and make recommendations for administrative assistance, so that the Superintendent may be freed for closer relation with the Board on education program. (2/25/53)

The minutes were followed by a one page formal contract, the first ever enacted in the minutes. It was prefaced by reference to the appropriate sections of Midwest State School Laws. But even more significant for our analysis of the "strong school board member" is a two page bill of particulars in which Mr. Lewis presented his rationale for dissenting on the new contract. It was a broad scale attack. We reproduce it in its entirety. The first part seems almost a preamble or set of assumptions:

The American Association of School Administrators in booklet "What to pay your Superintendent" say: 'The Board of Education is responsible for ascertaining as accurately as possible the degree of success attained by the executive over a period of time.'

Evaluative Criteria says: 'The Superintendent of Schools keeps the Board of Control informed through periodic reports, regarding the schools objectives, achievements, needs and plans for the future.'

The School Board Member in Action booklet of the AASA says: 'The Board should discuss the educational problems. It should not limit itself to business and financial affairs. Often board members do not feel themselves qualified to talk about educational policy. So far as technical detail is concerned this is generally true. On the other hand, the aims and purposes of what schools are doing and the human results they are accomplishing are things which any intelligent American is competent to judge. One of the superintendent's important tasks is to keep board members informed about such things. In times when school business problems are so pressing, care must be taken that the board's trusteeship for educational progress does not go by default.'

Davies and Hosler in "The Challenge of School Board Membership" state; (in the chapter - Follow the School Program): 'Rely on your superintendent as your professional advisor and co-ordinator for the enterprise. His regular reports to the board are indispensable.'

They further state: 'There is something wrong when boards meet two or three times a month and meetings last from 8 to 8:30 to midnight or after. There is no need for making such demands upon the valuable time of board members in a well organized and well run school system.'

The AASA "School Boards in Action" sums up the responsibility of the local board in relation to the educational program in three sentences:

1. The board should know the characteristics of a good educational program.
2. The board should know what is going on in the local schools and in the best school systems in other parts of the country.

3. The board should constantly be evaluating and improving the work of the schools.

They further state: 'The function of control of the educational program should never be delegated by the Board of Education.'

The next entry moves the broad preamble into the middle of Mr. Lewis' personal perspective on the local situation:

In striving to introduce education matters into Board actions, I two years ago, after considerable study in addition to attending the National Convention of the American Association of School Administrators, as Board representative, presented a program of goals for our school system. Several of these goals were adopted in May, 1951, but no reports on progress on same has been made and no further discussion of additional recommendations have been made. Last year I agreed to the increase to \$7,500.00 for the Superintendent, only on the understanding that administrative reports outlining progress during the 1951-1952 school year and plans for additional progress during the 1952-1953 school year be presented.

Those goals included three items: building programs, public relations program and information regarding testing, guidance, and teacher/administrative conferences. (5/29/51) The comments by Mr. Lewis continue:

It was agreed by the Board that these reports be made at the May, 1952 meeting, but so far no reports have been presented.

An analysis of the preceding comments leads me to conclude:

1. That the Superintendent has not kept the Board regularly informed regarding the educational program and because of this our Board has not fulfilled its responsibility in relation to the educational program.

2. That my wishes for education information are not new, as they were expressed in my report of 2 years ago and repeated in my request for administrative reports last year.
3. That a system of regular reports to the Board, permitting constant evaluation of our educational achievements be made a part of Board procedure, so that decisions regarding administrative results of our school may be made on facts and not on opinions or feelings.
4. That it is necessary for the Board to make certain that the formulation of the educational program is a democratic process involving the Board of educating interested laymen, the Superintendent of schools, the professional staff and student council (as recommended by the AASA).

In view of the above conclusions, I cannot agree to increased expenditures for our chief administrative office until such time as I am assured that this increase in expenditure will bring increased benefits to the boys and girls of our district.

Some of the questions which I feel should be continuously answerable to insure a proper evaluation of our educational program include:

What are the statistics on Drop-outs? (from challenge of school-board membership)

Are there clearly established and recognized channels of communication between individuals and groups? Between Board, administration, teachers, custodians, pupils, parents? (the challenge of school board membership)

How adequate are provisions for pupil participation in school government? (evaluative criteria)

Is the Superintendent accepting the personal responsibility for planning and co-ordinating the school's public relations program? (as suggested in the AASA's year book on Public Relations for America's Schools)

How adequate is the general organization of the pupil activity program? (evaluative criteria)

Is the formulation of the educational program a democratic process involving the Board of education, interested laymen, the Superintendent of schools, the professional staff and student council?

Do our courses of study draw attention to moral and spiritual values? (as suggested in Moral and Spiritual Values in the Public Schools)

What efforts are being made to provide wider counselling? (evaluative criteria)

Is our library being used effectively? (evaluative criteria)

How adequate are provisions for follow-up service or guidance? (evaluative criteria)

How extensive is the information concerning scholastic progress? (evaluative criteria)

This then extends the meaning of our conception of "the strong school board member", an item of considerable importance in the analysis of the history of the Milford School District, and, presumably of any school district.

5.7 The Continuing Story of Public Education in Milford

One of the appeals of radio and television "soap operas" is that they do capture some of the realities of stability and change in the everyday lives of people. New variations on old themes appear, and old variations on old themes remain. On occasion the Board minutes in several successive items suggests the Board also captures the realities of stability and change in the everyday lives of school people. After the litany of approval of minutes, presentation of the treasurer's report, reading of the bills, the next four items from August 14th were these:

Mr. McBride mentioned that the first general faculty meeting would be held at 9:30 a.m. Monday, September

In early January (1/4/54) the survey team made a progress report to the Board. Several items were stressed:

- 1) Involvement of citizens and citizen groups.
- 2) Teacher survey, its importance for further inquiry, further teacher involvement,
- 3) Completed report on buildings: including a suggestion for early purchase of a high school building site: 20-30 acres and close to center of district,
- 4) Solicitation of Board questions: seven were listed, e.g. board-administration relations, broad aims, school board activity, student progress, and advances in moral and spiritual education,
- 5) Development of teacher committees--supplies and budget priorities, text book selection and salary schedules, and teacher reports to Board on outstanding work and new ideas,
- 6) Leaving administrative budget detail to administration so that "the Board could have more time for the more essential items."

A seven page, single spaced report on the high school placed it near the median of some 60 high schools surveyed by the team. Instructional space for science, home economics, and industrial arts was limited. Overall acreage also was limited, as were a variety of overall service provisions. The expanding district needed very much a new high school.

Shortly after the meeting the Board held its regular meeting and a special meeting (January 13 and January 16). Among the items were concerns over the selection of the teacher salary committee. The superintendent was rebuked by the Board for "selecting" rather than "electing" teachers to the committee:

The salary schedule of the teachers was discussed at great length. Two main factors were involved--the democratic selection of the teachers' committee on salaries, and the suggested program of teacher evaluation. (1/16/54)

When a man went into the following letter went to the teachers:

The Board wishes to go on record in favor of increased salary schedules. The Board feels that the committee working up a salary schedule should be elected rather than selected. The Board would like to suggest that a schedule be worked up on an evaluation system to insure greater opportunities and benefits for individual teachers and the school district. This would also assist the Board in obtaining the necessary 2/3 support for increased teacher fund levies. (1/16/54)

In short, and in retrospect it seems a complex political statement recognizing four groups: Board, teachers, administration, and citizens whose interests overlap only partially. It suggests also a tying together of issues--salary and evaluation which many teachers' groups might oppose. It seems to have a carrot type appeal to the teachers--teacher election to the committee and 2/3 majorities and a stick to the administration. It unites an earlier theme, the strong board member, with the current theme, the outside survey, toward a larger synthesis, political model for understanding innovation and change in schooling. Mr. Lewis, with Mrs. Cooper's help lead the attack at the prior meeting. Mrs. Cooper made the motion here. New business, that evening, concerned a budget committee and teacher involvement.

In the January 27 meeting, the plot took an interesting turn. The teachers from all the elementary schools sent letters to the Board:

All of these letters stated that the teachers were satisfied with the person who was representing them on the salary committee, and they were opposed to teacher evaluation for salary purposes. They were in favor of the salary schedule as presented. (1/27/54)

After an initial split vote, a detailed discussion occurred and the Board unanimously passed a motion accepting the scale as presented.

Our business at the meeting included reports of two science teachers, with demonstrations of laboratory experiments by two students. The Board continued to work through the recommendations of the outside survey committee.

The Board kept after the knotty problems of governance and administration in the schools with a special meeting of the Board and a long discussion on "the suggested Division of Powers and Duties of the School Board, the Superintendent, the Principal, and the Teachers" (1/5/54). The basis was a University Bulletin article "Suggestions for Procedures for Midwest State Boards of Education." Some 15 points, from publicity to special education were raised.

At a busy regular meeting, after a series of passed motions on salaries and contracts for principals and central office personnel, the Board, on a split 2-3 vote, did not recommend a new three year contract for the superintendent, whose current contract had two years yet to run. The gambit was lost.

Another ten items were discussed on February 24 as part of the continuing concerns over "Powers and Duties." The intertwining of our themes continued:

Mr. Lewis thinks we should go ahead with the school policy until we get the recommendations of the University survey; working on the ones that are necessary, then picking up the ones that the survey brings up. (2/24/54)

For the first time, a formal written report by the Superintendent on the AASA meetings was submitted and incorporated into the minutes. In addition, mimeographed copies of key speeches were included also.

In March, the Superintendent submitted a detailed four page public relations program. The Board continued to make suggestions on the format and

quality of production of the our schools newsletter. Reports were the
high school principal on the secondary principals' meeting, by the
director on the remedial reading programs, and by Midwest University
conference program (2/24/54).

The citizens' survey took on an explicit political quality because the
Chairman of the committee had his name and post printed on campaign literature.
Henceforth all campaign literature should be submitted to Dr. Thoelke at Central
State University.

When Consultants Conflict

But Professor Thoelke was not the only consultant brought into the dis-
cussion. In May, Mr. Murphy of Lloyd, Lloyd, and Murphy, a prestigious firm of
educators and consulting engineers from the East appeared before the Board,
presented his credentials, and made the following comments:

He suggested a high school of at least three units to be
used, for instance music, gym, library, and lunch room.
In this way the noise will not disturb the other classes
which are in session. He thinks that our present high
school site is too small, and that it should never be
used for a senior high school. A track of land of at
least 50 acres would be the smallest a community of our
size should consider.

The customary fee for consulting work is $\frac{1}{2}$ to 1% of the
cost of the construction of the building....A minimum
charge of \$1,000 would be made to draw up the program
of requirements. This would take several months.

(5/19/54)

The Board thanked Mr. Murphy and indicated no action would be taken at the
moment. "but will think it over." At the regular meeting five days later, the
Board, at the recommendation of the Superintendent, voted to hire Lloyd, Lloyd,
and Murphy as consulting engineers for the proposed new high school.

At the regular June meeting, a letter from Dr. Thielke "that the report
the survey would be available the week of July 12" (6/9/54). Also, at that
meeting a ten page, single spaced revision of "Policies, rules and regulations"
written by the superintendent, and distributed earlier in April:

...were read and discussed in detail. They were not
adopted, but will be presented again as corrected.

(6/23/54)

Monthly mimeographed reports of substantive school issues as raised in National
meetings and prepared by one or another of the administrators continued to be
presented to the board, discussed and bound with the minutes. These differences,
which started in the transition period, seemed to be impelling the district to-
ward modernity.

Mr. Murphy of Lloyd, Lloyd, and Murphy returned for a special session of
the board. He and his colleagues were urging the immediate hiring of an archi-
tect, additional sites for a high school and three elementary schools be sought
immediately, and the proposed high school site be used for a junior high school.
Mr. Murphy urged a common questionnaire to go to all architect applicants. A
six page "tentative outline of spaces" was provided. He also recommended that
the architect, when selected, and several members of the staff might visit two
communities in the south eastern part of the country:

...as these areas have a number of most interesting high
school buildings.

(6/30/54)

In the accompanying letter Mr. Murphy indicated he had read the Thielke Report,
supported the need for the three elementary schools and argued for the conver-
sion of the present high school into a junior high and the development of the
recently acquired property into a new junior high. Further he argued for a

this junior high in the western part of the district.⁴⁸ He argues also for anticipating housing developments and buying ahead of them because it was considerably cheaper.

Appearing, almost as counterpoint to the modernization and growth frenzy was a minute regarding a twenty acre tract of recently purchased land which someone had sown in wheat:

The wheat on this same property is to be harvested and the school district will be paid \$10 per acre as agreed with the previous owner. (6/30/54)

In addition, an old barn on the property was to be torn down.

Reports from each high school department were filed regarding space and equipment needs in a high school of 1500 students.

The Recent Report Arrives

On July 14, 1954, the Board Room was jammed with 50 patrons concerned about a newspaper article which stated:

lack of effective leadership by the Milford Superintendent.
survey charged.

A variety of aspects appeared. The Board was split 4-2 on much of the voting. At least one member of the Board and the Superintendent had not received a copy of the report, even though City Press, the local newspaper, had a copy and was allegedly quoting from it. The Board President, Mr. Lewis, had released it to a reporter. He neither authorized the story nor did he "think it was a

⁴⁹To anticipate our story, these changes did occur. The third junior high was never constructed.

completely false one", nor had he done anything to retract it. Mr. McFride was represented by a letter. At least two members of the Board had been asked about giving it to the papers. A motion was made and seconded that Mr. Lewis, the Board President, be asked to resign. It failed 2 to 3, with the President not voting. A Board member, Mr. Quigley, wrote Professor Thaelke criticizing the report. In scathing tones, three typed pages, a former principal of Elwood High School did also. As Dr. Thaelke was on sabbatical and out of town the acting head of the Bureau responded. On July 28th the Board argued about the Report's distribution, voted 4-2 to circulate it, and sent copies to several University Education Department Chairmen as well as State Education Officials. In addition the Board voted to have Dr. Thaelke appear before the Board, to invite Mr. Murphy of Lloyd, Lloyd, and Murphy to attend, and to keep a record of the distribution of all copies of the report.

A lost letter (dated June 26) from Thaelke to Lewis finally found its way into the minutes of August 11th. The key paragraph underlying at least some of the misunderstanding was this:

It is customary for the Board to accept the report by official action at the first regular meeting subsequent to the receipt of the report. This acceptance does not imply endorsement or adoption of the recommendations contained therein. I see no harm in presenting the report to the papers previous to the July 14 meeting with the request that they withhold publicity until such time as the Board has officially accepted the report. This will give them time to study the report and will also insure that release is simultaneous. (6/28 from 7/11 minutes)

The debate that evening involved also a letter from Dr. Thaelke declining to attend because of his sabbatical. He suggested the collection of reactions and a response from a staff member of the Center for Field Studies. Mr. Murphy indicated he would be happy to attend.

The Vice President of the Boosters Club presented a petition signed by two residents of the district stating:

...our unqualified endorsement and appreciation for the leadership of Superintendent F. K. McBride in the educational and administrative operation of our school system...

The last paragraph read "constructive publicity", "close cooperation", and "harmonious operation" in the interests of the "welfare of our school children." The board voted unanimously to make that district policy. The Superintendent indicated areas of advancement and improvement neglected in the survey: educational planning committee, guidance study, study in elementary curriculum, evaluation programs, publicity programs. Further discussion by administrators, teachers, and the Board was also approved unanimously. A motion was also made to take record discussion at the next meeting "so that misunderstandings do not arise over comments made."

Reports as Political Ammunition

Therefore metaphors and images in discussions of schooling are viewed as inappropriate by some individuals when one's first concern is the "boys and girls of Milford" or "America's children." But reading minutes of Board meetings conjures up varied reactions. Item Number 632 from September 29, 1958 is offered for the reader:

Mr. Lewis read a statement to the Board about the manner in which the Superintendent was discussing the Central State University Survey at various public and teacher meetings. President Lewis read the following recommendations to the Board:

I, therefore recommend that this Board of Education direct the Superintendent to prepare for Board approval at the next regular meeting of this Board, information for distribution to the Teachers and to the public in which he recognizes that:

- 1) The Board of Education is responsible for evaluating administrative results,
- 2) That a comprehensive survey is a recognized means of assisting a Board in its evaluation of administrative results.
- 3) That the Central State University Survey was an unbiased survey of a comprehensive nature.
- 4) That the purpose of the Midwest University Survey was not that of a comprehensive one and cannot therefore be compared with the Central State University Survey.
- 5) That we have had excessive teacher turnover as indicated by the Central State University Survey.
- 6) That there has been an unusually brief tenure of high school principals over a nine year period.
- 7) That the problem of drop-outs is a serious one in the secondary school and that some steps must be taken to improve the situation.
- 8) That there must be more faculty involvement in guidance and that there be a follow-up of drop-outs and graduates as recommended by the teacher committee.
- 9) That the administration must become much more effective in educational leadership as recommended by the Central State University Survey.
- 10) That the Superintendent will accept and administer all policies adopted by the Board of Education including all that may be developed as the result of the recommendations made in the Central State University Survey.

The gavel was thrown again. It was moved and seconded to adopt the recommendations. A counter move to adjourn, because the meeting was running past agreed upon times, was made. It was defeated. The debate went on for over an hour. The discussion terminated with a unanimous vote:

That the Board of Education and the superintendent recognize the Central State University Survey as an evaluation of the Milford School District and will study it with an open mind.
(9/29/54)

The meeting adjourned at 12:30 A. M.

At the next meeting, a counter attack appeared in the form of letters from teaching faculty of each of the elementary schools. They expressed approval and support of Mr. McBride and his administration. One was:

I am very concerned over a rumor that the Board of Education contemplated removing Mr. McBride. Confidence and support of the Superintendent was expressed. (10/13/54)

Another came from Milford High School.

The debate concluded and finally ended with a motion that no action would be taken until after the April election. In the interim everyone would work together to prepare a blueprint for the future of the Milford School District. Two weeks later the majority changed its mind and on a 4-2 vote they rescinded the vote on the clause:

That no action will be taken on Mr. McBride's status until after the April election. (10/27/54)

The reason was that the motion was a possible violation of their oath of office. The board stayed in executive session and the next motion was made by Mr. Krist, seconded by Mr. Tomczak:

Whereas Mr. F. N. McBride has failed to fulfill his obligations as Superintendent and Administrator of the Milford School District, Suburban County, and

Whereas F. N. McBride has grossly exceeded his legal authority as Superintendent and Administrator of said School District

It shall be resolved, that this Board of Directors shall consider the contract between F. N. McBride and the Milford School District, as terminated forthwith and that no further warrants payable to F. N. McBride be issued against the Treasurer of the Milford School District. (10/21/54)

The Board voted 4-1 with one abstention. Concerns about the legality of the vote were raised. The next action recommended the high school principal be made acting superintendent. The superintendent was brought in and notified. He indicated he had a 1-year contract which ran until July 1, 1958. He wanted a list of charges and a public hearing. The Board voted no, 4-2. If one has any doubts about the severity of emotion and feeling the next minutes give an excellent summary of the affair:

Mr. Lewis asked Mr. McBride to leave the Board room and he refused to leave.

Mr. Krist stated that if Mr. McBride would not leave of his own accord, he would call the police and have him moved forcibly.

Mr. Krist then called the police and Mr. McBride decided to leave of his own free will before the police arrived.

Mr. Lewis then asked Mr. McBride for the keys to the building and he turned the keys over to Mr. Lewis. (10/27/54)

The high school principal, Dr. Macon, was brought in and offered the Acting Superintendent position. He wanted a day to think about it. A press release was prepared. The vote continued 4-2. The press release itemized 15 specifics, ranging from failure to comply with Board Rules and Regulations, permitting out of district pupils to attend, failure to submit annual reports, lack of response and action over principal turnover, teacher turnover, and pupil drop outs, and items regarding leadership raised in the Central State University Survey.

At the Board meeting the next evening, Mr. McBride through Dr. Macon, presented a statement, upon the advice of his legal counsel that the Board couldn't terminate the contract. Dr. Macon couldn't take a position that might not exist. The Board then voted to test its case in court. Two days later, on 11/1/54, the Board passed a series of motions changing who could sign

check and documents for the district. On November 10th the Board moved forward legally and found that Mr. McBride had already initiated legal action. The attorneys and the judge reached an agreement to let Mr. McBride continue in office until the case was settled. At this meeting also an official grade teacher submitted his resignation:

...because of the existing situation between the Board of Education and the Superintendent, which he feels is impairing his services as a teacher. (11/10/54)

In December, letters from the Board's lawyer indicated that the legal status of the Board's "discharging" of the superintendent would have provisions briefs filed and prepared for oral arguments before the judge.

While the county judge deliberated on the Board-Superintendent conflict, or at least the Board's power to fire him, the minutes remained silent on the affair. In late March 1955 the activities surfaced in several items:

Since Dr. Macon had been appointed Acting Superintendent October 28, 1954 in the instance the position of superintendent was vacated by court action, President Lewis asked Mr. Macon if he had anything to bring before the Board.

He did. It was this resolution:

We, Mr. Neal Unger, Director of Elementary Education, for the School District of Milford; Dr. Phillip Macon, Principal of the High School, and Dr. Earl B. Steckman, Assistant, for the School District of Milford, do hereby propose the following recommendation;

That the above are of the opinion that someone or some group of persons must assume the responsibility for the educational leadership of the educational program within our School District. We believe that this can best be accomplished during this interim period by we as a group; and that each member should function within his own designated area of authority as now delegated to us as administrators by the Board of Education of the Milford School District.

Problems effecting the entire school system would be resolved by the above mentioned group through conferences and any problems requiring Board approval would be submitted to the Board of Education through the office of the Assistant to the Superintendent. (3/29/55)

It was signed by all three individuals. The Board then voted 4-2 on two items 1) rescinding the appointment of Macon as Acting Superintendent and 2) accepting the resolution presented by Dr. Macon.

The Democratic Resolution

One week later, all those actions were for naught. The control of local schools in America lies in the participatory democratic procedure known as voting. On April 6th, in the presence of some 75 visitors, the Board reported the election results:⁵⁰

Lewis	1111
Krist	1053
Edmond	2475
Irwin	537
Trotter	2506

The voters rejected "the potent board president", as we have labeled him, and one of his most recent supporters. The 4-2 majority was now a 2-4 minority. Mr. Quigley became the new president and Mr. _____, the new Vice President. The long conflict was now over.

But, as with many real life stories, a post script existed. A resolution was passed to continue to seek the court judgment on the case for it was of interest to varied groups of teachers and educators, both local and state.

⁵⁰ In addition the tax levy for the teachers fund and for the incidental fund were both defeated. A third issue, transfer of a small piece of Milford property to another district was also defeated.

Since it was also possible for Mr. McBride to act as Superintendent during this period he was reinstated by a 4-1 vote (one absence). A further postscript appeared a week later in a motion:

Be it resolved that the interim committee, consisting of Dr. Macon, Dr. Steckman, and Mr. Neal Unger, to supervise the schools, be dissolved and a vote of thanks given herewith for a job well done.⁵¹ (4/14/55)

The issue did not die with that resolution for a major judicial decision was being sought by a number of local and state parties to the question "Can a Board fire a superintendent who has a legal contract with time still to run?" On April 19, 1955, the Board attorney indicated the legal route from county court to appeals court to State Supreme Court. Further questions arose of personal liability of Board members for any salary paid "illegally."

On August 14th, 1955, the Court ruled that the Board could not fire the superintendent. Section 168.090, 1949 was the only ground for dismissal. Two weeks later Mr. McBride, on a 4-2 vote, received a new 3 year contract at \$10,000/year.

6.3 The World Turns: Old Themes Continue 1953-55

Without entering any substantial detail, a welter of "usual" items continued. Transportation remained a problem for 30% of children lived over a mile from school. Marquette parents argued they were promised free transportation when their District was annexed. Total transportation costs were estimated at \$100,000/month. Federal money for the new buildings, especially related to defense impacted area, were sought. Enrollments increased by 500 pupils in 1954.

⁵¹An observer commenting on this story indicated in his opinion Dr. Macon, the High School Principal, saved his job by deferring the sole responsibility for the trouble.

mostly at the elementary level. Agreements with adjoining districts were reached regarding vocational education. Special education students continued to be handled individually. Discussions were underway regarding a football team at the High School. The second school bulletin, "Our Public Schools", was due out in the Autumn of 1953. Preparations were underway for letting contracts on two more schools. Written policies were developed for use of school buildings. Several sites for a new high school were under consideration. Suburban County, with approval of the individual districts, filed suit against the Governor of Midwest State for vetoing a multi million dollar school appropriations bill. Money for High School Assemblies (\$200.00) was allocated. Fire Drills were to be stressed at the new Grant School because the children "are not well acquainted with the building." Problems regarding high school class rings received attention. Four people from the District were now expensed to the AASA meetings in Atlantic City in February. Remedial reading became an important receiving attention; 118 children were tested. Ninety-five students were in the new school band.

In 1953-54 the array of items continued. The problems with increasing rate of insurance premiums and the problem of having them go to some combination of agents in the District arose. Continuing discussions of the site for the high school, disagreements over the bid and asked price of the chosen site, the pros and cons (mostly financial) of a negotiated agreement versus a condemnation procedure appeared. Discussion with builders and contractors continued. A Bond Issue was submitted and passed. Contracts on elementary schools were let. The continuing conflict within the Board and between the Board and the Superintendent, most of which has appeared in our discussion of "The Potency of the Outside Agency" continued. Just prior to the School Board Elections

of 1954 the items appeared in the minutes:

Mr. Dawson asked Mr. McBride if he had ever referred to any member of the School Board as reactionaries? Mr. McBride said he had not. Mr. Dawson asked Mr. McBride if he had stated to some persons that certain members of the Board wanted to have him fired? Mr. McBride said he did not recall.

When Mr. McBride asked if he was doing any campaigning for the election of any school Board members, he stated that as a citizen of the community he had a right to support certain candidates, and he was supporting Mr. Quigley and Mr. Tebeau in the coming election.

Mr. McBride further stated that all contracts but his had been renewed. He felt that he was being put on the spot and was doing his best to cooperate. Mr. Lewis stated that the Board was not given enough information to make proper evaluation of the superintendent's positions.

Mr. McBride stated that all Board meetings were an evaluation
(3/21/54)

Discussions continued regarding property for the high school. Bankers and lawyers entered the discussions. Integrative solutions appeared regarding bridges, parcels along a main road and additional adjoining properties, to make at least 22 acres.

Enrollment pressures continued. Suggestions were heard for no kindergarten until the two new elementary schools were ready. Proposals were submitted for an 8-4 school organization. Ideas were circulated regarding double shifts at the High School. Reports continued to come in from outside sources regarding the District in general, the guidance department, and consultants for the new high school building. The Superintendent filed a detailed eight page report, "Policies, Rules, and Regulations." In between times, septic tanks required attention, insurance policies were extended, 25 new teachers recruited. Plans for "multi purpose" rooms to be added to Marquette and 11th Elementary Schools were submitted.

At the regular meeting of the Board in May, 1954 two small items appeared which later would run through out our story:

Mr. McBride and Mr. Unger recommended that Mr. Edwards be employed as principal of Milford Baptist Church School.

The Board moved and passed unanimously on that suggestion.

Later in the meeting it was noted regard desegregation:

Mr. McBride explained that many of the county schools are planning to continue as they are now until a final decision is forthcoming from the Attorney General. No action can be taken at this time concerning the Negro students of our District.
(5/26/54)

A month later, an item appeared on another old theme:

A telegram was received from Mr. Townsend and Mr. Jacobs [Midwest State's Senators] stating that Milford School District was declared in a critical defense area. Our application for government aid has been passed on affirmatively. It is very possible that the District will be allotted between \$156,000 to \$170,000.

Their efforts continued to be successful. If the average teacher was paid \$4,000 at the time this would be equivalent to 40 salaries. The Board had added 19 positions in the last year.

Amidst all the controversy described in the potent report concerning the superintendent, other major items of business occurred:

The decision of segregation is up to the Board of Education according to the letter from the Commissioner of Education pertaining to the Attorney General's opinion in regard to the U. S. Supreme Court decision on segregation in the public schools.

Dr. Steadman recommended that the Board make a decision soon, but not to permit the colored children to come into the schools until September 1955.

A motion was made by Mr. Quigley and seconded by Mr. Tebeau that plans to end segregation in Milford School District be made so they may take effect September 1, 1955. The motion carried unanimously. (7/14/54)

A month later the Board received a petition from "thirty-five Negro families." No copy of the petition appears in the records:

It was decided to wait until September 1955 to admit colored pupils in the elementary schools because of our crowded conditions and it would be to their advantage to continue at their present school until that time. (8/25/54)

The Board also voted unanimously to meet within a week (8/30) with the parents.

Rental of more rooms at the two local churches was decided on. A deadline was set for signing the agreement on property for the new high school. If the owner is unwilling to sign, then the issue will be turned over to the school attorney for condemnation procedures.

The special meeting of the Board on August 30th, 1954 dealt mainly with the petition by Black residents of Milford. The minutes are reported in their entirety:

The meeting was called as a result of a petition presented by certain citizens in regard to the decision of the Board to postpone integration of colored students until September 1955. The Board had agreed, previous to the meeting, that if the group of citizens represented by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People wished integration of the High School students in September of 1954, then the Board would be willing to begin this part of the program but postpone elementary until September 1955 because of crowded school conditions. If any colored high school student wished to continue his education at Green City High School, the Board would continue to pay tuition and transportation.

Mr. Lewis opened the meeting by presenting a statement in accordance with the agreement stated above.

Many of the signers of the petition were present. Mr. Yancey acted as spokesman for the group, explaining that it was felt unfair for high school students to spend 30 hours a week in the classroom and 25 hours transportation time. The elementary situation was felt to be satisfactory for this year. Mr. Ragan, State President of the N.A.A.C.P. also spoke and expressed approval of the Board's revised plan of action for high school integration.

Mr. McBride stated that in the future all citizens must work together for the school system and there would be no distinctions made between any of the students in the total school programs.

The group of citizens who were present approved the decision reached by the Board and left the meeting well satisfied.
(8/30/54)

The meeting contained an item that the contracts for the new high school had been signed and property surveys were underway.

The Board agreed unanimously on a date for open house at the new Edinburg School. They disagreed regarding a replacement for Mrs. Cooper who resigned for reasons of health after an accident. The Board majority defeated the minority candidate, Mr. Edmond and voted in its candidate, Mr. Krist with a 3-2 split vote and a concern about the "legality" of the Board's action. Plans and sketches of the new high school building were discussed and accepted, "so that we might apply for a federal grant." Signatures were affixed on the resolution for the sale of \$450,000 in bonds. The lay advisory committee wrote a letter to the Board:

...expressing the unanimous approval of the Lay Advisory Committee for the prompt action taken by the Board permitting the immediate integration of the colored students of high school age.
(9/22/54)

The Board also wrote Dr. Thoelke regarding the cost of a "concise summary of the University survey." Finally the Board accepted an auditor's report and voted to retain his services during the year.

One of the common sense truisms, if not social science generalizations, is that "life goes on" no matter how intense the conflict, no matter whether one is participating in or witnessing the agony of defeat or the ecstasy of victory. This profundity or cliché is well illustrated in the Board meeting of November 10, 1954. As we described in the strand of events related to the continuing conflict, Mr. McBride had been voted out at the prior meeting and at this November meeting, the legal counter attack was underway. Meanwhile, the architect for the new high school brought sketches, models and suggestions, and the interrelated problems arising in building a new large school.

Secondly, the nature of the instructional program received a major emphasis by the Board:

Dr. Steckman [Assistant to the Superintendent] stated that in paying for the textbooks \$2,000 would be spent in excess of the amount budgeted for textbooks. However, the principals felt they needed textbooks more than other things and would prefer to cut down elsewhere. He stated that the budget would not be disturbed in total amount. (11/10/54)

Presumably we are seeing a congruency in views from Board to administrators (and probably teachers and parents) about one vital element in curriculum, teaching, and learning, the textbook. In a half dozen or eight years, Spanman and Shelby respectively, as Superintendent of Milford and Principal of Kensington, will be arguing strongly for a major alternative strategy of curriculum, teaching and learning.

In addition, the Board continued a move from "traditionalism to modernism" or from "localism to cosmopolitanism":

The Board discussed the value of remaining a member of the Midwest School Board Association at dues of \$100. It was generally agreed that it would be a good investment.

(11/10/54)

The unevenness and complexity in moves along those roads seems to have been with the district continually over the years from 1915.

The outside world, the environment remained turbulent and the Board continued to cope:

Mr. McBride stated that, due to a glaziers' strike there may be a halt to building at the Field School. Unless windows are in or boarded up, the inside work cannot be done.

It was agreed that Mr. Udall, Attorney to the Board, investigate the possibility of pleading hardship to the union and getting a release to continue building.

(11/10/54)

The Federal theme continued:

Considerable discussion was held on whether or not it would be wise to make a new application for Federal Aid at this time. It was felt that application for four classrooms should be made now rather than later as the possibility of receiving an apportionment later is unsure. (11/10/54)

Again, a kind of coping occurs based on best estimates of an uncertain world.

"Smaller issues", some on conflict, e.g. the teachers salaries related to the before school workshop which was missed, bids on furniture, keeping grass cut on the school yard "befitting the surrounding subdivision", and the inclusion of a bond issue for a multi-purpose room for the Marquette School.

a 19 unit secondary building, and for purchasing additional sites for school buildings. It was a busy time indeed.

Also, it seems no matter how themes are construed separately, they become entangled in the day to day affairs. Population growth, parochial schools, and the interdependency of religious institutions and the public schools as institutions kept intertwining:

...a study of fifteen subdivisions within the school district. Most housing units will be completed by 1956, with a total of 4050 families moving in by that date. Counting one child per family, even if half are parochial students, there will be 2025 more children by 1956.

A mix up in the interpretation of regulations suggested that the district might be eligible for \$379,000 in federal aid, almost four times as much as originally thought. And finally a local protestant church requested the use of a school's classrooms and multipurpose rooms for Sunday School and morning worship services for a year and a half, until their building is completed:

It was agreed that the request should be granted since the school district is allowing other churches to use schools for worship. (11/27/54)

No mention was made of the reciprocity in the schools renting rooms in the educational buildings of several Milford churches.

A subtheme that might have been pulled out, elaborated in more detail, and dealt with as a unified issue is the building of the new high school. Instead we have left it as a more contextual set of items in the broad stream of unrelated interdependent elements. Building issues will be focused on as

Huntington itself is conceived a decade later. The building frenzy of the fifties occasionally skipped vividly through the minutes, as they did on March 9th, 1955, in three quick items:

Sealed bids for grading of the new high school site were opened and read.

A motion was made by Mr. Dawson and seconded by Mr. Tebeau that we table the acceptance of the low bid on the grading of the new high school site while we receive bids for the high school building. The motion carried unanimously.

A motion was made by Mr. Quigley and seconded by Mr. Tebeau that we authorize Mr. Udall, attorney for the Board, to take whatever action is necessary so that we can proceed with the building of the new high school immediately, as this is an emergency. The motion carried unanimously.

(3/9/55)

The continuing complications and the complexity of such issues appear and re-appear. Consultants and their reports, property negotiations, bond issues, citizen involvement, teacher views and desires, curricular and program enlargements, represent a large agenda requiring orchestration. Grading a site was just one more small item in that large agenda.

As the minutes continue their staccato and episodic but torrential flow, the potentiality of each item carrying broader meaning, that is, being located in multiple strands which in turn interweave into larger complicated themes, seems always with us. The nature of education in a democracy, school governance and administration, and problems of exceptional children come to mind as we read two brief items:

It was reported by Mr. McBride that a study on special education is being made by a committee of County Superintendents. The need in our district is greatest with regard to mentally retarded children over those other special children as there are approximately forty mentally

retarded children. Parents of these special children are demanding that something be done right away with regard to setting up rooms for these children.

A motion was made by Mr. Trotter and seconded by Mr. Tebeau that a meeting be called for interested parents and that they be made partly responsible for the program on special education. The motion carried unanimously. (4/14/55)

What are interests, concerns, and "demands" of parents become problems for school administrations and boards. The latter's actions become school structures, programs and services. Democracy is actualized. Children are educated. On a later day, the "same" problems reappeared in new guises, structures, programs, and political debates.

The same evening, another long standing issue received attention, and equally, indirectly spoke to the complications of multiple perspectives and political interests:

Mr. Unger talked with Mrs. O'Brien [the Black teacher] as to what the parents wanted to do with regard to closing Attucks School and their children being sent to Milford Elementary School. It was her opinion that the parents wished to keep their own school. It was decided to leave the situation as is for the present time until a definite answer can be agreed on and these parents' exact feelings expressed. (4/14/55)

Further clarification, and expansion of the agenda of issue, occurred in a letter from the Attucks P.T.A. group:

A recommendation was offered that we retain our Attucks School and integrate here.

Another motion was offered and passed that we retain our teacher, Mrs. O'Brien and our custodian, Mrs. Adams.

The organization also would like to ask the Board to give some of the members consideration in filling positions in the cafeteria and as custodians in our schools. (5/10/55)

Still later in May the Board voted to maintain Attucks in its current status and to give consideration to Attucks P.T.A. members in district jobs. By August the 10th, the Board voted to close the Attucks and have the pupils attend the Williams School whose attendance area encompassed the Attucks neighborhood.

Mrs. O'Brien, a Black teacher from Attucks was appointed "Attendance Officer for the School District", as recommended by the Superintendent and approved unanimously by the Board.

In April also the Board formally moved to regularize the twice monthly meeting. The first for general business, the second primarily for "the educational procedure." This motion was also passed unanimously.

Almost from the beginning of district records issues surrounding tax levies and the ebb and flow of their passing and failing have appeared. In the Spring of '55 when the District was fighting over McFide's dismissal and when the two main antagonists to him on the Board were defeated, the Milford community was also waging down tax levies for the teachers' fund and incidental fund. For the first time in the minutes the nature of the dire consequences appeared:

Another point to be used as part of the program to get the tax levies accepted is to let the people, especially the parents of school children, know just what would be the results if the levies failed. That is the curtailment of special activities such as kindergarten, guidance program, special rooms for retarded children, an adult education program and also the use of the school buildings after regular hours due to the added expense of janitors, etc.
(4/25/55)

High now at stake, the parents of school children, are to be enlisted as opposition to the political wars. The May 10th attempt was successful.

Considerably different ratios of pro to con votes occurred from elementary attendance area to elementary attendance area, e.g. in one school 371 Yeas and 342 Nays and in another, 698 Yeas and 97 Nays.

Meanwhile, the State Foundation Program's contribution increased. Local committees met and reported--one of which was a Civil Defense Committee--the cold war had come to Milford. Evaluation. ID cards, transportation, hospitalization, emergency food were all part of the agenda. The high school curriculum continued to enlarge--Latin, French, Commercial Law, Metal Work and annual offerings, instead of alternative year offerings of Chemistry and Physics. Co-curricular activities--football, wrestling, and archery--appeared.

The plan of the new high school was nationally recognized and acclaimed in a prominent national educational journal. The price of 10,000 reprints was sought for possible mailings to all the district patrons.⁵² The seeds of Kensington's later architectural fame and fortune had been sown with the award winning new high school building.

3.5 Neighborhood Schools: Roots and Sentiments

From time to time in our account we have made reference to the drawing of boundaries between and among the elementary schools. In a way, these events seem to be microcosms of district politics. Parents, lay groups, and the Board usually have multiple and conflicting political interests. In the best sense of that term. The school administration, at the behest of the Board, draws up multiple sets of alternative plans for debate and discussion. Each plan represents different costs and benefits to different clusters of citizens

⁵² In October 1955, 3,000 copies were ordered for \$400.00.

much later, December 1957:

Mr. McBride read a letter to Mr. Quigley from the Secretary of the County Board of Education stating that they had agreed not to submit a plan for further school district reorganization at this time. (12/10/57)

Annual School Board Elections found the incumbents Marshall Magee and Mr. Tebeau were re-elected. An anomaly occurred. Mr. Quigley and Mr. Edmond each received three votes for President. Mr. Edmond withdrew and Mr. Quigley was elected unanimously by acclamation.

Early in our account of the district's history we commented upon the gradual accretion of equipment and supplies--baseballs and bats, a plane, and movie projector. Obviously through the years new items were added. Occasionally items in the minutes provided striking comparisons and contrasts. In the Summer of 1958 in anticipation of the opening of the new high school this item appeared:

...the Administration be authorized to purchase Wood Shop, Metal Shop, Mechanical Drawing and Mechanical Crafts equipment for the total amount of \$13,368.49. (1/15/58)

The motion carried unanimously.

Also, like an old friend, the papers for the "National School Lunch Program" were signed, upon a unanimous vote of the Board.

Also like an old friend, special education issues returned in the form of a multi-district regional unit for handicapped children. Petitions were required. While these discussions and activities were underway, the local resolutions continue on their idiosyncratic way:

The Board agreed with the Superintendent's decision to let the child stay in school as long as he could get around in a normal classroom and handle himself without too much inconvenience to the teacher. (3/26/57)

The Multi-District program was established in the Spring of 1958. The Board signed the appropriate contracts. A new era began.

Occasionally, an item of curriculum and instruction appeared, as with a demonstration of a second grade reading in the Autumn of 1959. It was noteworthy because of the overwhelming presence of items for buildings, additions to old and new buildings, and equipment. Architects, contractors, and insurance agents seemed to have established permanent residence in the Board's meeting room. But still the Board attempted to keep one eye, or better, a glance from one eye, on issues of curriculum and instruction.

The recurring issues surrounding custodians, the nature of their work and working conditions, received a new place when the Board voted on record for a 40 hour week:

...but not between Monday and Friday... (1/11/58)

with insurance, salary schedule and increases also formalized. The School Board attained a degree of formalization and cosmopolitanism as well. The National School Board Convention was to be held in San Francisco in January, "three tentative reservations" were made. The National School Board Conference Meeting, would be in February, "three tentative reservations" were made for this meeting.

...of the Board had a borne fruit. Among the numerous items, several seem to mention or question. The initial paragraphs contain these elements:

The Milford School District is governed by state law. In the absence of such laws to control the Board has power to make needed policies for the control and operation of the school....

The Board shall have the power to make all necessary rules and regulations for the organization, grading and government in their school district....

The outline of the major headings appears in Figure 15 and indicates the scope of this document. No discussion of the content beyond the expense to having it printed was contained in the minutes.

Insert Figure 15 about here

...of the merger of the two school districts merger and consolidation... (1/13/58)

A motion was made by Mr. Tebeau and seconded by Mr. Edmond that no go on record as opposing any plan of merging the city and county school districts so there would be one school district. The motion carried unanimously. (1/13/58)

The history of resolution continued.

In February 1958, the Board raised Mr. Tebeau's salary to \$10,000.00, upon his motion. The motion carried, and passed unanimously. A resolution demanding

Natural

1. Fires
2. Tornados
3. Illness and death of key individual

Man Made

1. Powerful Board Presidents
2. Potent outside reports
3. Defeat of Board incumbents
4. Federal aid to education
 - 1) One-off allotments--e.g. building funds
 - 2) Continuing funding for programs

Mixed

1. Some demographic changes

Figure 18: A Taxonomy of Unpredictable Events

The point however, is that no matter how hard one tries, limits exist on how much of the environment one can control as Board President, Board Member, or Superintendent. Individuals and groups vary in their desires and interests in effecting change, in innovation. Similarly they vary in their foresight and prudence. Also, they vary in their social and political skills of persuasion, bringing their colleagues along, and working out majority agreements. And these are important differences. But beyond that, the physical and social world remains, in part, both unpredictable and intractable. And that's a major policy and administrative problem.⁵⁹

Resources and Costs

Throughout our report, resources and the stories of events to which it refers, has been a concept not far from our thinking. A theory of educational innovation and change cannot do without it. Sometimes it's a given--a difficult to alter element in the system. Other times it's problematic when community hopes are high and tax levies and bond issues can be passed with some planning, some patron involvement, and some effort. Other times it's a vague possibility perceived on the horizon with which entrepreneurial efforts can be successful. Though we do not have comparative data from other districts, McBride's efforts from the 1930's on in obtaining Federal Funds seemed to have been very successful.

When we first saw the Board's analysis of the cost of its elementary buildings and the analytical power of simple arithmetic in reducing building costs to costs per room, and room costs to costs per square foot, we were struck

⁵⁹ Later we will speak to some of the classical positions in the literature, eg. March and Simon (1958) Thompson (1967) that address these problems.

by a difference. No longer was there a simple "We need a new school. It will cost X. Our bonding indebtedness is Y. We'll need a bond issue of size Z." Now the resources needed would meet a criterion of costs from building to building. In Milford's case in 1956, the figures ranged from \$9.40/square foot for Grant School to \$15.80/square foot for Johnson School. That's a large difference. Justifying such difference on educational grounds became a large agenda item for a Superintendent and a Board, as Spanman would find in the early sixties with the innovative Kensington School.

Finally resources and costs interrelate as antecedent and consequence, as opportunity and constraint in the tangle of the unpredictable and turbulent environment on the one hand and problem solving and coping by the Board on the other hand.

The Press and Priority of Immediate Problems

As the Milford chronicle has indicated, the social environment seemed to have its own dynamic, operating under control of forces and events outside the district. The turbulence as some social scientists (Emery and Trist, 1975) have described it created a press and a set of priorities for the Board and the administration. In the 1920's and 1930's items such as population growth, the rural to suburban shift, citizens' desires for a high school, the changing technology in the community (eg. electricity, gas, roads, phones), the national depression and World War II seemed to dictate the Board's agenda and priorities. After World War II, county and state redistricting set the stage for mergers and resistance to mergers, population explosions turned farmland into subdivisions and forced property trading and buying, legal condemnations or threats of condemnation, and all the problems, excitement and details of building buildings.

The point we are making is simple, much of the setting of priorities, which can be a difficult intellectual task, is settled by the press of outside forces which moves citizens, board members and school administrators into simple agreement--a crisis exists, we have several hundred students, and new schools need to be built. The press, and prior experience with America's expanding population crowds out all thought that some day the bulge of the population explosion will pass and that too many permanent schools might exist. Time and again this seemed to be the way things went in the district.

The Ebb and Flow of Conflict

In following Mr. McBride's long tenure, we came to a way of perceiving and organizing our perceptions of the experience. We called it the ebb and flow of conflict. It seems important for a theory of innovation and change. Once again we feel the need for comparative data, but our guess is that McBride's involvement in conflict is not atypical. He fought with individual teachers, with his high school principals, and with assorted individuals and clusters of Board members. Stories at each of these levels have been recounted in some detail. The point we are making here is that each had significant bearing on innovation and change in the district. Any innovation, such as changes in teacher control of policy, will be supported or resisted in a variety of ways. The Nussbaum case highlighted McBride's resistance to teacher unionization, similar sentiments in the high school principal and the central office administrators, the pressures applied to various critical points in the system, eg. neutralizing the Community Teachers Association, the firing of the teacher, and the long battle in the courts. Each innovative action or reaction has such a context.

A critical part of the general situation on ebb and flow lies in the periodicity of quietude and intense agitation. On occasion, as in the twenties and forties, the district was in a lull. Anyone observing at that time would have a very different picture than in the early fifties and early sixties when Board Presidents Lewis and Tompkins were locked in powerful struggles with McBride. Seen from this longer perspective, the functions and dysfunctions of social conflict take on a different perspective. The good guys and the bad guys, the heroes and the villains are neither so easy to identify nor are the labels so unambiguously applied. Policy making and administration became inextricably linked to these periods of ebb and flow.

The conflicts were far from inconsequential. People lost jobs. Programs appeared or ceased. Parents were pleased or seethed. Children went to a particular school and received particular kinds of instruction or went to another school with other teachers. Programs existed or they did not.

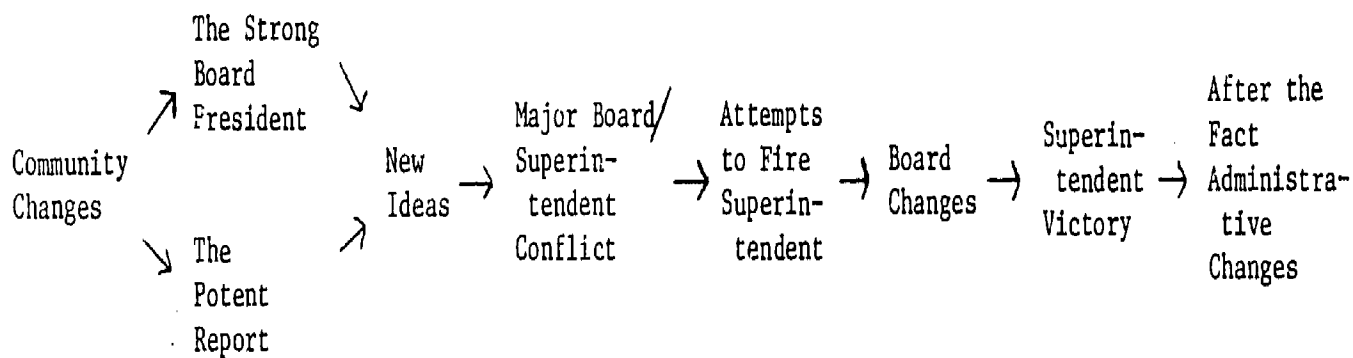
One of the strangest aspects of this ebb and flow of conflict is that most of the other business of schooling seems to go along normally. The Board decides on large numbers of issues--buildings, maintenance, curriculum, etc. The day to day administration of the district and the individual schools continues. Teachers meet their classes. Instruction and learning continue. The conflict seems to be restricted to particular individuals and/or to particular issues. The broader structures--organizational, administrative, instructional--remain in place and the activities they encompass continue. But modifications gradually creep in, as we have shown time and again.

After-the Fact Administrative Changes

In pursuing our thesis on innovation and change, we have moved to a complex political-cultural stance. One piece of this appeared in Mr. McBride's behavior, which we have called "after-the-fact-administrative-changes." McBride had been under attack in the early 1950's by the Board President, Mr. Lewis, and several members of the Board for a variety of issues--lack of clarity in administrative organization and duties, school dropouts, high school counseling and guidance programs, and follow-up of students. While McBride argued consistently against the charges when the political fight was on, after he won the battle he moved to tidy up district affairs, on the very items for which he had been criticized. In the Spring of 1955, the minutes are full of organization charts, realignment of administrative positions and spelling out of duties. We have sketched the flow of these events in Figure 19.

Insert Figure 19 about here

The importance of the phenomenon does not seem open to question. The meaning and dynamics of the event might raise a number of interpretations. McBride was a proud man. He ran the district internally as an autocrat, mostly benevolently. In the community he was a hard working and well liked politician. When the events moved too fast and outran him or when he underestimated Mr. Lewis he got caught. He recouped politically by rallying a faction of the community and regained a majority on the Board. Then, he attended directly to the internal problems. To a degree, the arenas of activity are independent, but, to a degree, they are not. The beginnings and endings of problems and resolutions are very difficult to define.



275

Figure 19: The Political and Cultural Antecedents of Change: After the Fact Administrative Changes

Common Sense Modes of Thought

In recent years, we have become enamoured of common sense thought in its multiple forms. (Smith, Dwyer, and Prunty, 1981) In that essay review we looked at Lindblom and Cohen's (1980) position on usable knowledge and professional social inquiry. We blended it with McDonald's (1977) position on social roles in evaluation--democratic, autocratic and bureaucratic. We added aspects of our own perspective. Yet we remain with the belief that the surface has only been scratched regarding common sense modes of thought. In a few paragraphs, we suggest some observations, arising from our data, to indicate where that analysis might go. In brief we are reflecting on the ways the district thinks about problems, how it goes about problem solving.

Periodically, we were overwhelmed by the variety of issues the Superintendent and Board confronted on any one evening, that we backed off and listed the items. The generalist-specialist dimension immediately came to mind, with the immediate evaluation, it's impossible to know well all one needs to know. One must be a jack-of-all-trades, with the corollary, master of none. We were reminded of medical general practitioners and the use of medical specialists. We wondered if the analogy held for professional education. We kept coming back to phrases such as conventional wisdom and common sense thought. We seemed to be seeing synthetic skills pushing toward a general point of view rather than more specialized analytical skills. We continued to wonder about the nature of training and experience, necessary and desirable for a Superintendent or a Board member.

Throughout the chronicle and in several analytical sections we have commented not only on the variety of problems, their origins in an unpredictable

and often turbulent environment, and the rapidity or pace with which they flow on to the Board and the Administrative Staff. The latter are caught always with too little time for detailed specialized reflection.

We ran into a number of items that seemed clustered into a category which we called "interdistrict comparisons as inquiry". One of the changes over the years was the district awareness of "how its done elsewhere." New building designs, birthday cut-offs for kindergarten attendance, and teacher salary schedules, among other itmes were brought into comparative focus. At times the Board, through the efforts of district administrators, sent off questionnaires or made telephone surveys of practices in other parts of Suburban County. In still later years, groups such as the CTA, initiated similar activities and fed results to the Board.

A key item in such comparative inquiry is the manner in which it handles the problem of justice or fairness in practical problem solving. Most scientific modes of problem solving do not cope easily or well the kinds of ethical or value issues that "fairness" poses.⁶⁰ Assessments of how things are done in neighboring districts, especially subsets of neighboring districts which are alike in size, resources, socio economic status of patrons becomes a very powerful argument for equity and justice. On some absolute standards one may not be very well off, but if people in like circumstances are no better off, the resolution can't be all bad, seems to be the logic of the argument.

⁶⁰NRF Maier and his associates (Maier, et al 1957) make a strong case for multiple role playing and decision making groups as an alternative strategy. They distinguish between quality and acceptance of problem solutions. Their approach, so they argue, comes out "high-high" on the two criteria.

If one pins one's faith on the abilities of semi independent clusters of citizens to explore common problems, define and redefine the central or relevant issues, to be aware through idiosyncratic experiential and educational backgrounds, varied simple and complex work situations, and through exposure to multiple local and natural media of alternatives, and to be able to develop plans and reach decisions then the potency of interdistrict comparisons looms large. One might eulogize the educated common citizens and the power of free and open communication and debate.

These issues might be construed into a pattern of "board and administrative policy making and problem solving." Figure 20 represents such a construal.

Insert Figure 20 About Here

Blending of Politics, Common Sense and Educational Research Science

But more formal social science inquiry was not totally denied or missing in Milford. Currently, as we have indicated, considerable controversy exists over the nature and role of "Professional Social Inquiry", PSI, as Lindblom and Cohen (1979) call it, in the formation of public policy. While we were thinking about some of these issues (Smith, Dwyer and Prunty, 1981), one of the most dramatic stories in the Milford Chronicle arose. The State University Survey, which might be seen as applied educational sociological research, became a major item in the struggle between Mr. Lewis, the Board President, and Mr. McBride, the Superintendent. The incident was a far cry from Lindblom and Cohen's lament:

In public policy making, many suppliers and users of social research are dissatisfied, the former because they are not listened to, the latter because they do not hear much they want to listen to. (1977, p.1)

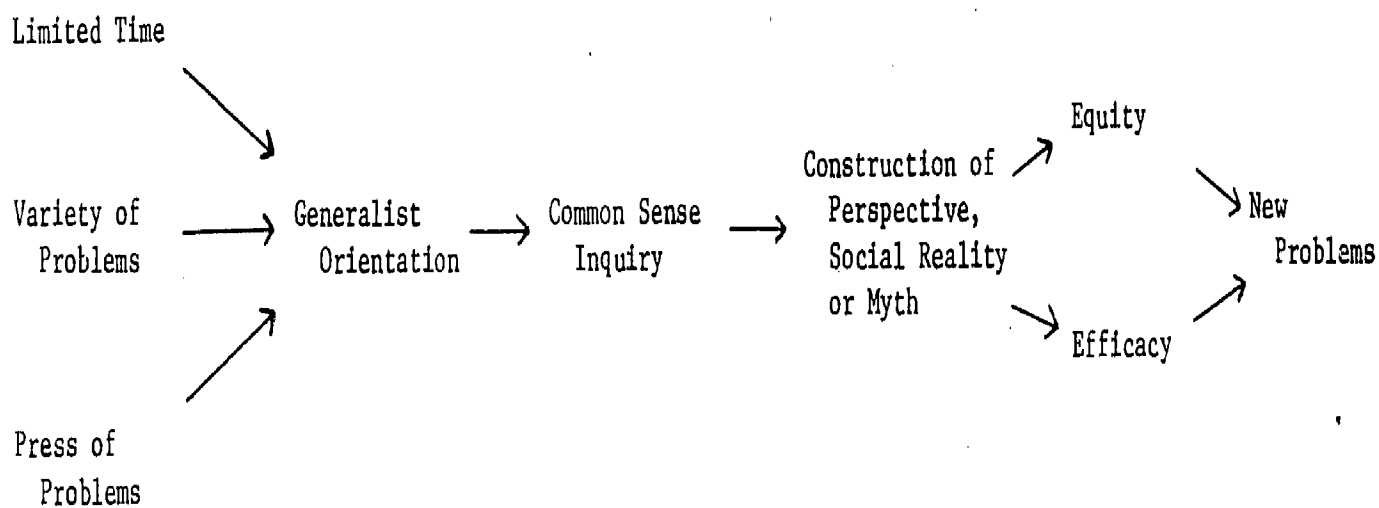


Figure 20: Board and Administrative Policy Making and Problem Solving

The most intriguing comment for our thesis "innovation and change in American Education" is the complexity of the research impact. By this we mean, first it had dramatic short term effects, in the controversy and near firing of McBride. Second, the research report was political in origin, in interpretation, and in use. It illustrated and enhanced the conflict between Lewis and McBride, it stirred considerable controversy in the community, and it preceded the dramatic defeat of Lewis in the Board elections. Third, it became almost an agenda for Mr. McBride's actions to change the district over the next few years.

School surveys are only one kind of educational research, and this particular survey had its own idiosyncracies as we reported. But it produced a kind of "criticized knowledge", a step beyond the "uncriticized knowledge" of common sense (Pepper, 1942). Its ingredients included:

- 1) carried out by an outsider
- 2) whose considerable experience in such work provided a number of comparisons
- 3) who attempted to be objective (and unbiased)
- 4) in soliciting data from many parts of the community
- 5) on a wide range of relevant issues, and
- 6) whose biases reflected the conventional wisdom of the professional education community

That's a powerful and persuasive set of conditions surrounding any argument introduced into a political controversy.

Obviously we are not arguing here that this is the only role for educational research in innovation and change nor that it is the best role. Rather for the moment we are content to state that this is one interpretation of how Professional Social Inquiry (PSI) intertwined in the evolution of the Milford District. Equally gripping are other variants of inquiry which occurred. The

investigation by City University for District Consolidation appeared just as our initial story was ending. Will it be one of those items that comes and goes and leaves negligible impact? Contrasted with that, was the survey by the architectural firm of Lloyd, Lloyd, Murphy which contradicted parts of the Central State Survey, and which led ultimately to building the award winning new high school. And then, too, there were the NEA consultants who came in, "informally" in the Board's view, but at the behest of the CTA. They did their inquiry, essentially interviews, group meetings, and document reading (the Board minutes) issued a report and provided the Board and the Superintendent with a way out, both a face saving way out and a set of procedural mechanism to move on with the selection of a new superintendent. But, as in all purposive action, the seeds for later problems were sown.

8.4 Toward a Model of Innovation and Change: Longitudinal Nested Systems

Restating the Problem

Through the four to five decades covered by this chronicle, the Milford District changed. The elements were both large and small. The governance structure shifted from a three director district to a six director district in 1925. In 1931, elementary school programs had been expanded to include a four year secondary school and the District graduated its first high school class, a tradition that has continued now for fifty years. In 1949, the District expanded by 50% when it annexed and consolidated with the Marquette District. The school as an organization found itself bigger, with new positions, and with a flow of incumbents over the years. Specialization and organizational charts appeared. Budgets and accounting procedures arrived. Policies and procedures were formalized. Conflict was never far from the surface as individuals and

groups contended over the direction and nature of education and schooling in Milford. With details far too numerous to summarize the small stories accumulate of school boundaries, of pupil discipline, of gradual increments in program, perhaps exemplified best in buying bats and balls, reading books, sousaphones and finally libraries, shops, and language laboratories.

From the long, historical or longitudinal perspective the concept of educational innovation, as deliberate planned change for the better, began to lose its sharpness and its potency as an educational concept. It did not sound so right for it implied an orderliness, a rationality, a clockwork quality which seemed by the mark in Milford.

Now we propose to jump ahead of our story a bit to focus more directly on the Kensington School, to play back on our original study of Kensington and Milford, and to generalize from our history toward a way of looking at innovation and change.

The Early View

Only on rare occasions are social scientists and educators able to make predictions and then check them out many years later. We are fortunate to have that opportunity. Over fifteen years ago we studied the first year in the life of Kensington, an innovative elementary school.⁶¹ The school building was new, with exciting architecture, and open space. A faculty had been brought together from all parts of the country. The approach to curriculum, instruction, grouping, and administration was new, different, non-traditional. A number of events and conditions we observed then led us to forecast changes for Kensington in the

⁶¹This account is in book form, Anatomy of Educational Innovation: An Organizational Analysis of an Elementary School. (Smith and Keith, 1971)

years ahead. In Figure 21, from the original study, we saw incongruities between the community's vision of schools and Kensington's innovativeness. This disharmony meant increased external pressure for both Kensington School and the Milford District Central Administration. As we begin to see personnel and policy changes, the handwriting on the wall seemed to read: "reversion to the old Milford type".

Insert Figure 21 About Here

Fifteen years later, we found our prediction to be true, but overshadowed by what we found the "new Kensington" to be. Some of our initial observations on returning included:

- 1) The school now had its 4th principal.
- 2) While none of the original faculty is currently teaching at Kensington, a core group of a half dozen has been here for 12-13 years.
- 3) The physical plant has changed: the outdoor play shelter has been enclosed and made into a multi-purpose room, several walls have been built between instructional areas, and barbed wire is strung on the perimeter of the roof.
- 4) Approximately 60% of the pupil population is now Black in contrast to the previous 100% White.
- 5) The school is graded and teachers and children are identified by grade levels rather than the broad non-graded divisions (Basic Skills, Transition and Independent Study Division).
- 6) Textbooks and dittoed worksheets are now widely used as instructional materials.
- 7) A special education program for learning disabilities occupies a teacher, a room and several dozen children.
- 8) Corporal punishment is now part of a set of multiple approaches to discipline.

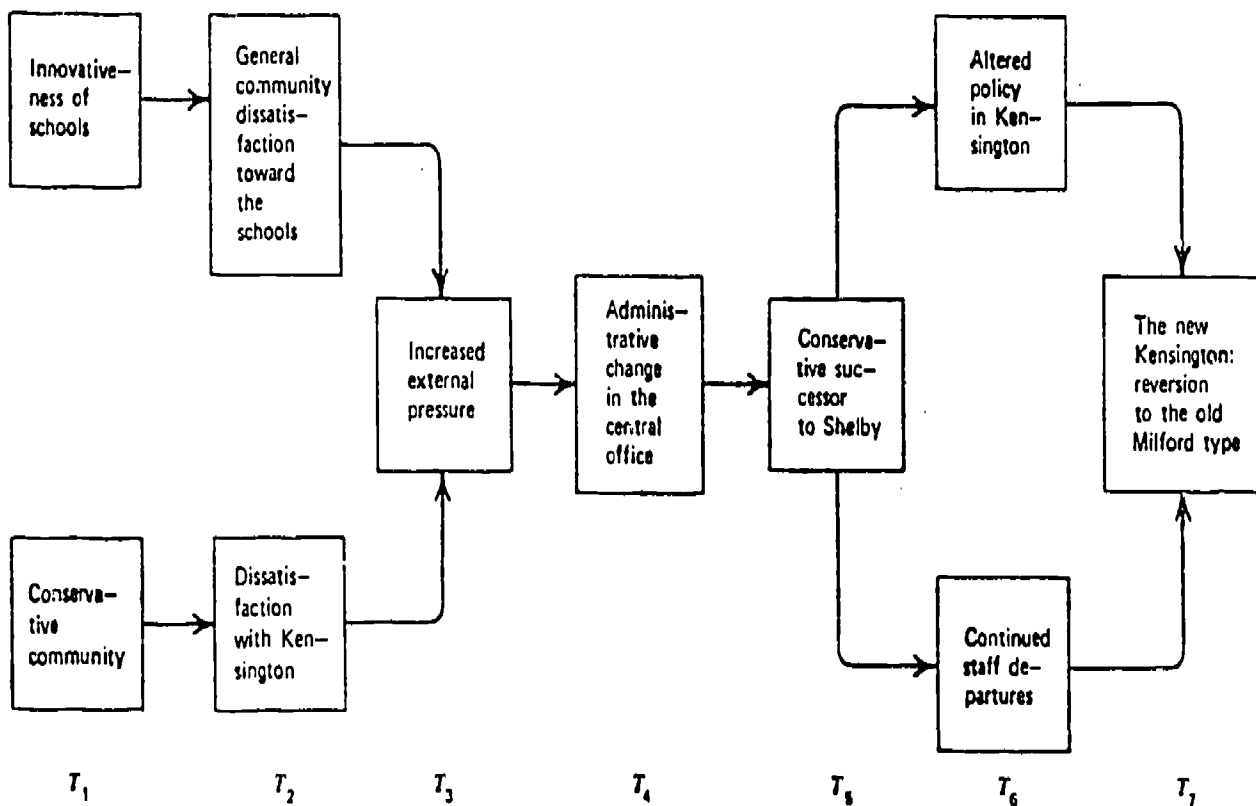


Figure 21: The Social Context of Kensington's Administrative Change

(from Smith & Keith, 1971, p.16)

In short, our checking on a simple prediction made "unwittingly" years ago, ensnared us in some of the most complex and exciting current issues in educational and social science thought.⁶²

When we now ask when, how, and why these changes have come about we find a series of events, some fortuitous, others the result of decisions of men and women, related to changes in the Milford District, the county, the state, and the nation. Furthermore, we find that many of these changes are not Milford or Kensington innovations, that is planned creative changes initiated by the District or the School. Rather, they are reactions and responses to factors originating in these multiple external contexts. As we sought to explain the changes in the School, we found ourselves drawn back in time and into more distant places. Kensington School's immediate geographical and social context is the Milford School District. It will not be surprising to see both the School and the District to have interdependent histories. As we began exploring these histories, we found plots and themes that enmeshed with even more far ranging contexts. It was as if Kensington's history was circumscribed by Milford's, and these two in ever widening temporal and spatial milieus. When we first conceived of returning to Kensington School, its fifteen year history seemed to define our task. We found that we could not explain the changes in this once innovative school with such a narrow conception. Our notion of "Longitudinal Nested Systems" is an effort to come to grips with the role of these interdependent contexts in shaping the school

⁶²A wider range of issues and research problems have emerged from Kensington School than we consider here. For example, our current efforts include tracing the consequences of the Kensington experience on its original faculty. That fuller account arises out of our current project, Kensington Revisited: A Fifteen Year Follow-up of an Innovative School and Its Faculty. (Smith, Prunty, Dwyer and Kleine, In process).

we found on our return visit. We have displayed this model in Figure 22, which is a simple grid with systems nested on the ordinate and the time line on the abscissa. What is missing are only the concrete events in the Milford and Kensington story.

Insert Figure 22 About Here

Our conception of longitudinal nested systems is really an extension of our efforts to account for policy and curricular efforts from several intensive inquiries in classrooms, schools, districts, and government agencies (Dwyer, 1981; Prunty, 1981; Smith and Geoffrey, 1968; Smith and Pohland, 1974; Smith and Dwyer, 1979; Smith, 1977; Smith, In Process). In fact, the rudiments of our model were presaged in our first study of Kensington when we noted:

At a very concrete level, one of the most striking generalizations is that the social environment has a number of discriminable parts. Each of these parts is a miniature social system in itself. These systems have interdependencies among themselves as well as with Kensington.

(1971, p. 121)

Fleshing Out the Model

We have presented an initial set of predictions overlaid on our earlier long chronicle of community, district, county, state, national, and even international events. We also presented in skeletal form our Longitudinal Nested Systems Model. We indicated that our conception formed around two dimensions, time, and space. We are now ready to flesh out that earlier conception with some specific events in Kensington's history, demonstrating the use of the model and discussing its contributions to the study of change and innovation. We also believe this approach extends the analysis of social

Nested
Systems

International

National

State

County

Local
Community

School
District

School

Classroom

Individual
Personality
Systems

T₁ T₂ T₃T_n

Longitudinal Time Line

Figure 22: The Longitudinal Nested Systems Model

systems in education. As such it represents a fresh look at an often under-emphasized or overlooked point. Some years ago, Homans simply but aptly stated the importance of such holistic views of interdependent systems:

By studying any state of affairs as a whole, as the sum of its parts and something more, we are often able to understand it in a way we could not otherwise have done. This is a commonplace, but like many commonplaces is important and often forgotten.

Perhaps it is pretentious to say that an attempt will be made to describe the social order as a whole. All that these words mean is an attempt will be made to consider not simply a few of the important aspects of society but rather as many as possible. The list cannot in fact be complete, partly because the records are necessarily fragmentary and one-sided, and partly because different generations of scholars see with different eyes: the men of the present day cannot tell what the future will find they have overlooked. (Homans, 1941, p.4)

The general model we presented in the introduction was a simple grid. The nested systems were arranged hierarchially on the ordinate; the time line was constructed on the abscissa. The generic quality of the model is suggested by the possibility of inserting any set of nested systems on the vertical axis and any time line on the horizontal. In Figure 23 we insert the systems we have seen as relevant to Kensington and Milford, and a time line from about 1910 when the first records of Milford appear. Into this, we place some of the items and events from the stories we have told in our narrative. Simply, we are capturing instances of innovation and change, putting them into categories which are more general and abstract, and then arranging them to demonstrate their temporal

Insert Figure 23 About Here

relations. We contend that each such conceptual act adds clarity and depth to the Kensington story and improves our ability to think about our original

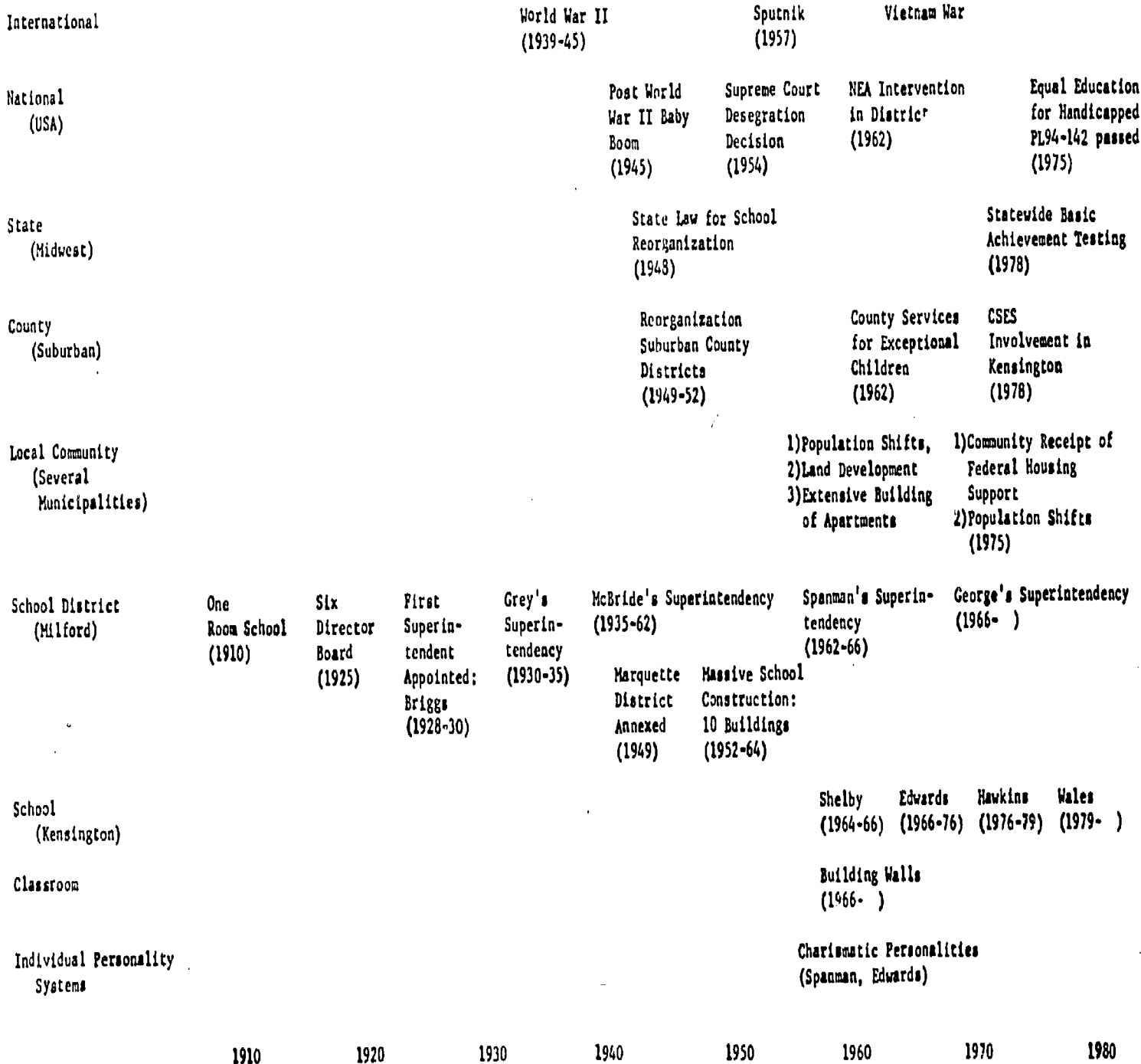


Figure 23: Selected Events and School Personnel Arrayed on The Longitudinal Nested Systems Model

problem--what happened at Kensington? The process has not only been enlightening in this respect but has expanded the initial conceptualization of the study by suggesting further fruitful avenues of inquiry. For example, as we view the Milford District story as an important influence on Kensington events, that story becomes significant in its own right. Now one of our guiding questions is not so much "How and why did this school change from 1964 to 1979?" but also "Why did the Kensington School appear at all in the Milford School District?"

In our first look at the Kensington School in 1964 we focused primarily on the School itself, limiting our comments about innovation and change to people and events connected directly with the School. Analysis of the community, parents, and district administrators was undertaken almost entirely from observations at the School or in meetings that intimately concerned the setting. Today, we find that perspective insufficient to explain how Kensington has changed. This fact alone speaks to the increasing complexity of the setting and the methodology needed to understand it. Any issue we would begin to examine--administrative succession, discipline, curriculum, racial change, etc.--carried us into ever wider circles of inquiry.

The multiple categories of antecedents for the changes at Kensington most easily fell along geographical, political and organizational lines: international, national, state, county, community, district, and school. In part, this captured the spread of the nested systems, but the narrative also indicates that we found much of the interaction between the systems to be typified by conflict, politics, and legal constraints. Each theme and strand we pursued developed as a twisted blend of these multiple systems. Those events that represented innovations: intentional, planned, creative alternatives, soon were entangled

in other kinds of change growing out of personal and political interests, activities of other organizations and forces emanating from larger systems.

A further look at one theme, the significance of racial change at Kensington, will illustrate these points. From 1964 to 1979, Kensington shifted from 100% White to 60% Black enrollment. One of the most dramatic changes in the Kensington School revolved around a whole series of "nested" national, state, and local events. As we indicated, education of students in Midwest State was segregated legally by race until 1954 when the Brown vs. Topeka Supreme Court decision was handed down. Following that was a ruling by Midwest State and a decision by the Milford School Board. The latter was phrased quite explicitly as noted in the Milford School Community Bulletin:

Segregation to end in Milford Schools September 1, 1955

After a ruling from the Midwest State Attorney General and a ruling from the State Department of Education at Capitol City, the Board of Education of the School District of Milford *has decided* (our italics) that segregation in the Milford School District will end on September 1, 1955.

The status of our schools will remain the same as in the past until September 1, 1955. (P.D., 1954)

In a larger sense, the court decision and the multiple interrelated events of the deteriorating central city, problems in federally subsidized housing, and public attitudes toward education, school integration and neighborhood schools led to the large demographic population shifts of the mid 1970's.⁶³ These, in turn, changed the Kensington School from a school with just a few isolated non-Caucasian youngsters to a school that is now approximately 60% Black. The cultural, social, educational impact of that shift in population was dramatic.

⁶³Similarly, the postwar baby boom, new housing, and jobs in decentralized industry contributed to the expansion of the Milford District from three schools to fourteen between 1950 and 1964.

We find a host of observations captured in the tangled impact: 1) The community consists of predominantly White neighborhoods, some integrated neighborhoods and a few predominantly minority neighborhoods; 2) Over the years, there were several instances of school boundary changes in the District to balance pupil numbers. Despite those changes, one set of schools in the District remained mostly White, while others became 60-95% Black; 3) There has never been a Black person on the Milford Board of Education. In a recent election two Blacks ran for the Board. Both were overwhelmingly defeated; 4) District wide, there is one Black administrator, an assistant principal; 5) Kensington School, in 1979-1980, had two Blacks, one counselor and one teacher on the professional staff. The teacher was moved to another school the following year because of recency of tenure and declining enrollments; 6) District policy has consistently followed a neighborhood school concept; 7) Kensington staff responded, in part, to their changing student population with more walls, more traditional curriculum and instructional styles, and tighter discipline; 8) Regarding the variety of emotional response to changes in racial composition, one commentator described Kensington positively as "sunkissed", a change for the better. The feeling of another was expressed by an analogy to Kübler-Ross' (1969) analysis of death and dying: Kensington went through stages of denial, anger, bargaining, depression, acceptance and hope. For better or worse, we find these powerful metaphors. The phenomenon is not one taken lightly. In short, state and federal steps taken to integrate schools are in opposition to local housing patterns, and continuing locally elected conservative Boards, and less of a priority than a number of educational policies regarding school organization and personnel.

The example of antecedents related to the racial changes at Kensington is only one of a more complex set. It is joined, as told in the narration with other strands such as inflation, PL 94-142, the "back-to-basics" movement, and state guidelines and local concerns over discipline. One more illustrative theme deepens our view of this tangle of strands. Our descriptive stories hinted at the checkered history of discipline in the District and at the Kensington School. Some of the very earliest items in the Board minutes were actions taken regarding pupil misbehavior. Concerns over corporal punishment occurred early and the Board articulated in 1925 a "no corporal punishment policy" and argued for school suspensions in serious cases and a hearing before the Board. Over the years that policy was lost, new views appeared, and the District has wrestled long and hard with what is, in our view, a very complex and difficult practical problem. The initial Kensington policy articulated by Shelby, in its list of "from-to" aspects of its formal doctrine was an attempt to move from "external discipline, external motivation, restricting pupil interaction, and the teacher as a controller of pupils to self-discipline, self-motivation, encouraging pupil interaction and teacher as organizer for learning". And we have noted that Dr. George's initial mandate from the Board and his own predispositions and attitudes lay in the need for discipline and control as a pre-condition for pupil learning. Our narrative indicated the flow from Edwards to Hawkins to Wales in point of view.

In the Spring of 1980, the continuing concern over discipline was reflected in Kensington policies of paddling, detention and suspension devised by the staff and Principal. These have been supported by the Central Office. Discipline was an issue in the recent Board elections. One incumbent was described in a news account:

He said he had focused most of his campaign on quality education and discipline within the school system. "I just believe in discipline," he said. "I think there has to be a re-emphasis on discipline in order to keep quality education." (P.D., 1980)

The incumbent was returned to the Board with over 5000 votes. The losing members garnered less than a thousand votes, less than one sixth of the total. While a number of other issues were critically involved in the election, the point we would make here is the congruence in action across the classroom system, the building system, the multiple aspects of the District as a system, and finally to the Milford patrons views represented in the annual school elections. We recognize that changes in discipline are but one of the differences we found at Kensington 15 years later. Again, our model helps to simplify the picture of the accumulating effects of actions from the nested systems. By examining the specific events recorded in the model in Figure 23 we can develop a more abstract version, Figure 24, which illustrates more general classes of actions or antecedents and a general flow of consequences from events in the world, nations, and state to community responses, to district, and to school.

Insert Figure 24 About Here

In effect, we are back to Figure 21 and the prediction from 15 years ago, "The new Kensington: reversion to the old Milford type" (1971, p. 16). Now also we can examine Figure 24 and see what we have learned. The first conclusion is that Milford has changed and the return to the "old Milford type" is vastly more complicated than the label would indicate. Edwards did, in part, take Kensington that way, but he, too, was a maverick in Milford and was responsive to many of the original ideals of Kensington. Second, events in the larger systems, in which Kensington is nested, have their own integrity and dynamic e.g. 1954 was a major year. The consequences have been felt only in the last

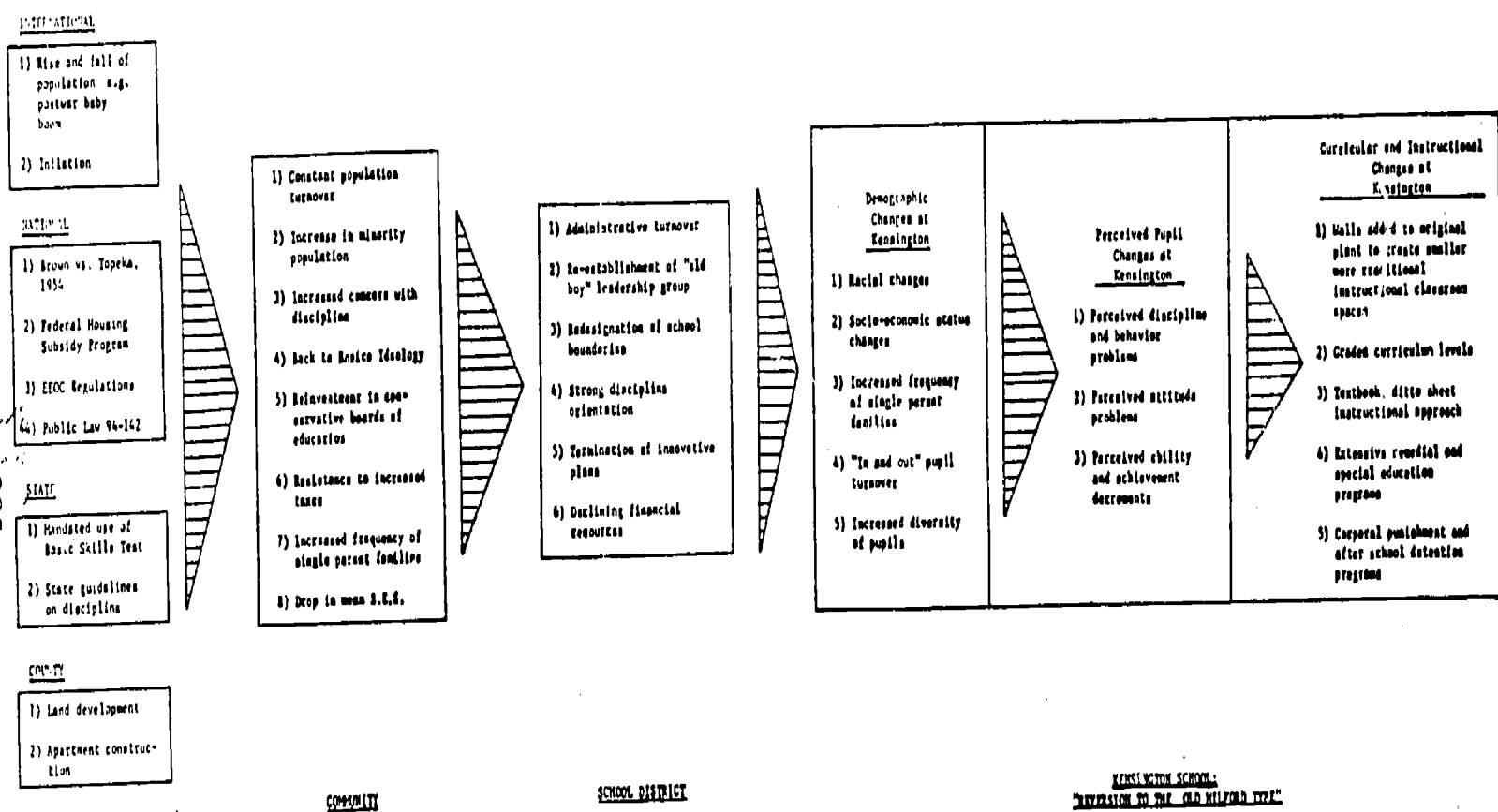


Figure 24: A Longitudinal Nested Systems Portrayal of the Changes in the Kensington School

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

half dozen years. Finally, and most particularly in the school the "effects" seem much more interactive than linear. Demographic changes flow in and out of perceptual changes which in turn flow back and forth from curricular and instructional changes as the various classes of actors in the school, principals, teachers, and children interact over the years.

With this deepened view of the re-establishment of the "old Milford type" at Kensington and with a more intensive view of the Milford School District qua district and its history since the turn of the century we are tempted to venture a further prediction. From even before Mrs. Briggs, the first Superintendent, when an early attempt to establish a high school failed because of lack of awareness of state regulations, to her difficulties in a tax levy being rescinded because it conflicted with state rules, we find a lack of understanding of problems and concerns with state and federal involvement in education in Milford. The gradual acceptance of federal monies and federal regulations for buildings and school lunches appear in our longer account of the 1930's and 1940's. Today, the concerns in civil rights regarding women, handicapped, and minority education within and between school districts, in federal monies for programs, and in multiple federal regulations are very much a part of the School District. Milford, the community, the board, the administration, seems on a collision course with state and federal regulations. These events seem also to be increasingly a part of state and national politics in the current (1980) elections. Candidates are making issues and taking stands about busing, decentralization of low income housing, and amount and kind of federal spending. Perhaps we shall have another opportunity to check our prediction. If so, part of the "next" Kensington story may be a tale of a district and the courts, localism versus state control of education, versus federal control.

Contributions of the Model

We emphasize that the longitudinal nested systems model is not a theory of change or innovation in itself. It is a tool of inquiry and analysis. It offers a structure which helps us think through our data and a format in which our data can be arrayed for analysis. This perspective has implications for both the meta-theoretical and the theoretical levels of analysis. For example, it argues implicitly for a contextualist root metaphor rather than a formistic, mechanistic or organic one. (Pepper, 1942; Sarbin, 1977). Theoretically, it seems open to varied substantive theories, for example -- organizational, political or cultural. In this regard, as the Kensington and Milford stories unfolded and the longitudinal nested systems model arose, it provided an important understanding for another set of ideas which was dimly perceived in the initial proposal: "Cultural, organizational and social psychological change theories: an educational test case." A competing theories notion struck us as a fruitful, future effort. What would result if we attempted to compare, to contrast, even to synthesize or extend various theories of change in light of the model? Visions of recent attempts at synthesis by House (1979) on innovation theory and Allison (1971) on policy theory danced through our heads. That agenda both entices and overwhelms us. For now we are satisfied to speculate about these possibilities and postpone the systematic effort and report on its outcome in future publications.

Further, the model helps locate our approach in relation to other social science studies of change and innovation in education.⁶⁴ First, we find ourselves examining increasingly long periods of time for relevant information in our

⁶⁴Our investigation, Federal Policy in Action: A Case Study of an Urban Education Project (Smith and Dwyer, 1980) is a "history and analysis" also. It anticipates many of these ideas.

inquiries. This differs from the snap shot variety of study which examines a brief, specific period. Second, our perspective involves a holistic view of events; we contend that one cannot understand an innovation or change in a system without considering the larger systems of which it is a part. Third, our model makes explicit a hierachical arrangement among the nested systems. It highlights the direct and indirect "controls" one system may impose on another. Fourth, the longitudinal nested systems notion allows one to focus on parameters or "givens" of the field of action set by one system upon another. Fifth, it assumes some autonomy both analytically and practically for each system. Perhaps less than some educational theorists imply and more than some educational practitioners perceive. Sixth, it builds upon a psychology of individual actors, involved in events or scenes, that cumulate into meaningful structures resembling plots in drama and literature (Kelly, 1955 and Sarbin, 1977). Seventh, it includes a respect for the chance event, the fortuitous, the serendipic which nature forces upon us in the form of health or illness, death, and luck or natural disaster. And, finally, our conception aligns closely with the perspective of some historians but we differ from them too, in that our longitudinal approach carries the time line to the present, the realm of contemporary events.

Our orientation leans us in the direction of storytelling as an important element in explanation of change and innovation. Yet, we cannot concede the value of more abstract, conceptual forms of analysis. As such, we place ourselves in a debate commonly waged among historians, that is, how to best contribute to cumulative knowledge. Hexter (1971) described this diatribe as "storytelling" versus "scientific explanation":

Historical stories are quite unlike scientific explanation sketches. The latter are thin; they have to be 'filled out' with missing words and sentences formulating the missing

implied laws and boundary conditions. But although historical stories omit a good many laws and conditions, too, and although some laws are rather hard to find even when one looks for them, those stories are not thin; by scientific standards they are often fat, egregiously obese, stuffed with unessential words quite useless for the purpose of adequate and satisfactory explanation.

(Hexter, 1971, p. 151)

Although the Longitudinal Nested Systems Model will not resolve the debate, it keeps us moving by providing a working solution to, if not compromise between, "storytelling" and "scientific explanation" and a way to begin to integrate more abstract concepts and theoretical generalizations into thinking about innovation and change in education.

More generally though tentatively, we feel that our model may aid discussion of the place of values in educational thought (O'Connor, 1973; Hirst, 1973). We believe that that is at the heart of what is sometimes called practical reasoning (Schwab, 1969; Reid, 1978; Smith, In Process). We believe one's viewpoint on the role of values in inquiry and policy-making has major consequences for the models one builds in education and the practical decisions that must be made. We would argue that the Milford District was "caught" in its history in a variety of ways. We would also add that the District has forgotten some of its history. That lineage with the past could become an illuminative part of District discussion and debate, curriculum and teaching, and a new perspective on old problems. In that light, our model becomes one form of input into the "what-does-one-do-now" agenda of patrons, parents, pupils, teachers, administrators, and board members. We believe educational research and theory must deal with the questions of values and assist the practitioners through their quandries. We see some of that begun in Fein (1971), Gittell et al (1973), Rokeach (1975), and Peshkin (1978). The imperative in this area stems from

wrenching issues in conflict today, to wit: the inherent conflict between such stances as "fraternity/community/neighborhood schools", "equality/justice/affirmative action/desegregation," or "liberty/freedom/individualism/local control".⁶⁵ We have seen such divergent values in conflict at Kensington School and the Milford District. We know they are at issue elsewhere too.

The Play of Power and The Longitudinal Nested Systems Model

In a recent revision of his book The Policy Making Process, Lindblom (1980) makes several distinctions which seem very important for understanding the Milford School District as an exemplar of innovation and change in American education. First, he targets the domain of policy making as:

...an extremely complex process without beginning or end and whose boundaries remain most uncertain. Somehow a complex set of forces together produces effects called "policies,"...to understand policy making one must understand all of political life. (1980, p. 5)

Policies, are those "settled courses adopted and followed by governments, institutions" or other groups, according to Webster. Innovations as creative planned changes seem similar in kind. The gradual evolution of Milford's School system seem well within the label of a "complex process without beginning or end." At times, for purposes of description and analysis, we have broken into the unending stream.

A second distinction of Lindbloms focuses on the criteria for judging public policy making. In a democratic national state and the communities within such a political structure efficacy in solving problems and responsiveness to

⁶⁵Whether the values and issues cluster in these ways seems an important analytical and empirical problem in its own right.

popular control are the twin standards. Neither is simple to apply in any particular situation. Efficacy varies according to the eye of which beholder, at least to some degree. Popular control varies in and among issues and subsystems involved. The clockwork regularity of April school board elections we found impressive. Incumbents fell out of favor and were challenged at critical times. The "good guys" and the "bad guys" involved different factions in the community and they came and went. Internal to the organization, different levels of administrators, teachers, and parents found that their ability to influence shifted across times, places, and issues.

A third item in Lindblom's discussion of policy making is the distinction between the intellectual aspects of policy making, what he calls information and analysis and the social or interactive aspects of policy making, what he calls "the play of power." Our description and analysis has accented both. But it is to the play of power we want to turn for a final comment. It provides a dynamic quality to our longitudinal nested systems model. Lindblom sets the stage this way:

Because in the real world, analysis is not conclusive, in order to set policy, people interact to exercise, influence, control, or power over each other... The political interactions through which people control each other we shall call the play of power. (p. 43)

The metaphor is a game, a game with rules, with players of varied abilities, interests and resources and with outcomes in the form of policies.

As we have commented at several points, reading school board minutes is not only "experience" or "an experience" but at times it seems to approach being a "memorable experience". The events, capsuled in the brief minutes, pound

incessantly at one as though standing under a not so lightly cascading waterfall. In the multiple strand events of Mr. McBride's later years, our stories have accented changes and attempted changes in multiple aspects of the district.

From the several stories, the beginnings of a model of domains of activity or events, or possibly level of system, can be interrelated with kind of parent or citizen's activity. There seems to be a series of modal cells in the 3 x 3 matrix constructed as Figure 25. The battle over elementary school boundaries seems to have been fought through meetings and petitions of a specific neighborhood interest group. The battle over the superintendency was fought, really resolved through campaigns, community action, and ultimately the election of and/or defeat of particular Board members. McBride's people got elected. Mr. Lewis and Mr. Krist were defeated; the 4-2 Board became a 2-4 Board. The cell of classroom events being resolved in conferences of parents, teachers, and principals is supported by other data (e.g. see Volumes III and IV).

Insert Figure 25 About Here

While at one level this is all simple and obvious, at another level it suggests the need, when talking of educational innovation and change, not to ramble about generally, but to accent the level of the system (and the domain of activity) one seeks to change and to consider the modal modes of influence that may be grounded in practicalities, mores, or in legal precedents and structures. This seems a particular cut into the general concept, play of power.

The generalization of our point is that each level of system has its own modal way in which influence power and control are exerted and that each system

Level of System	District Events			X
	School Events		X	
	Classroom Events	X		
		Conferences with Teachers and Principals	Meetings, Petitions and Interest Group Pressure	Campaigns, Community Action and Election of Board Members

Kinds of Influence

Figure 25: The Play of Power and the Longitudinal Nested Systems Model

"nests" within a larger system. The larger system exercises more direct influence on the smaller one and mediates influence from still larger systems. Along the way a variety of checks and balances occur. Ultimately, or nearly ultimately, constitutions and bills of rights sets limits and rules, and one person one vote interactions, the smallest system exerts controls on every other level.

We contend that our view of Milford over the years and the longitudinal nested systems model which seeks to generalize the view is both a necessary and powerful vantage point for anyone addressing the problems of innovation and change in American education.

8.5 Conclusion

When we began Kensington Revisited, we were interested in the fate of an educational innovation. The establishment of the Kensington School was the innovation, the specific planned improvement; its fate was its current, 1979-80, status. Our view of the history of Milford suggests a redefinition of the very phrasing of the issues. Such a reconstrual or new perspective has been a major unanticipated outcome of the research. The very isolation of an event that can be called an innovation seems open to question. The nature of the flow of change in the district as well as the patterns of the antecedents and consequences seems much more important than "specific planned change." The word innovation carries a connotation of improvement. Improvement is one of those value words which seem less simple than before--improvement in terms of which individuals, subgroups, organization or communities and in terms of which purposes and priorities. When superintendents are fired and replaced, when school board majorities shift from 4-2 to 2-4 as incumbents are defeated, one finds no clear and uniform "goodness" or "badness" that gives a settled view of improvement.

The creation of a longitudinal nested systems model has been our attempt, at the broadest level to think about innovation and change in American education. That, coupled with the particulars of the Milford School District should enable educationists to think more critically and creatively about educational innovation and to enter into the play of power with both some confidence in seeing the reality and some joy for the game itself.

References

- Allison, G. T. Essence of decision: explaining the Cuban missile crisis. Boston: Little Brown, 1971.
- Barker, Roger G. and Gump, Paul V. Big school, small school. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1964, 250 pp.
- Button, H. W. A history of supervision in the public schools 1870-1950. Unpublished PLD Dissertation, Washington University, St. Louis, Mo. 1961.
- Callahan, R. E. Changing conceptions of the superintendency in public education 1865-1964. Cambridge, Mass.: New England School Development Council, 1964.
- Callahan, R. E. and Button, H. W. Historical change of the role of the man in the organization in Griffiths, E. (Ed.) Behavioral Science and educational administration. Chicago, Ill.: National Society for the Study of Education, 1964.
- Collingwood, R. G. Autobiography. London: Oxford University Press, 1939.
- Emery, F. and Trist, E. Towards a social ecology. London: Plenum, 1975.
- Fein, L. J. The ecology of the public schools: an inquiry into community control. New York: Bobbs-Merrill, 1971.
- Geertz, C. On the nature of anthropological understanding. American Scientist. 1975, 63, 47-53.
- Gittell, M. et al School boards and school policy An evaluation of decentralization in New York City. New York: Praeger, 1973
- Hexter, J. The history primer. New York: Basic Books, 1971.
- Hirst, P. H. "The nature and scope of educational theory (2) Reply to D. J. O'Connor". Sir Langfeld and O'Connor, D. J. (Eds.) New essays in the philosophy of education. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1973.
- House, E. Technology vs. craft: a ten year perspective on innovation. Journal of curriculum studies. 1979, 11, 1-15.
- Kelly, G. A. The psychology of personal constructs. New York: Norton, 1955.
- Lindblom, C. E. The policy making process. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1968 (2nd Edition, 1980)
- Lindblom, C. E. The science of muddling through in Carver, F. and Sergiovanni, T. (Eds.) Organizations and human behavior: focus on schools. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1969.

- Lindblom, C. E. and Cohen, D. Usable Knowledge. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1979.
- Maier, N., Solem, A., and Maier, Ayesha Supervisory and executive development. New York: Wiley, 1957.
- March, J. and Simon, H. Organizations. New York: Wiley, 1958.
- Myrdal, G. An American dilemma: the Negro problem and modern democracy Volume 1 and 2. New York: Harper and Row, 1944.
- O'Connor, D. J. "The nature and scope of educational theory" in Langfeld, G. and O'Connor, D. J. (Eds.) New essays in the philosophy of education. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1973.
- Pepper, S. World hypotheses: a study in evidence. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1942.
- Peshkin, A. Growing up American: Schooling and the survival of community. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1978.
- Reid, W. Thinking about curriculum. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1978.
- Rokeach, M. Beliefs, attitudes, and values. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1975.
- Sarbin, T. Contextualism: a world view for modern psychology in Nebraska Symposium on Motivation 1976. Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 1977.
- Schwab, J. The practical: a language for curriculum. School Review. 1969, 78, 1-23
- Smith, L. M. Curriculum and teaching: an illuminative evaluation perspective. London: Croom Helm (In process)
- Smith, L. M. Science education in the Alte Schools: a kind of case study. In Stake, R. and Easley, J. (Eds.) NSF Case Studies in Science Education, 1978.
- Smith, L. M. and Dwyer, D. C. Federal policy in action: a case study of an urban education project. Washington, D. C.: NIE, 1980
- Smith, L. M., Dwyer, D. C., Prunty, J., and Kleine, P. Kensington Revisited: A 15 year follow up of an innovative school and its faculty. (In process)
- Smith, L. M. and Geoffrey, W. The complexities of an urban classroom. New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1968.
- Smith, L. M. and Keith, P. Anatomy of educational innovation. New York: Wiley, 1971.
- Thompson, J. D. Organizations in action. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1967.