

COMMUNITY CHANGE AND HOSPITAL DEVELOPMENT:
A CASE STUDY OF COMMUNITY POWER STRUCTURE

by

Alexander J. Muntean

AN ABSTRACT

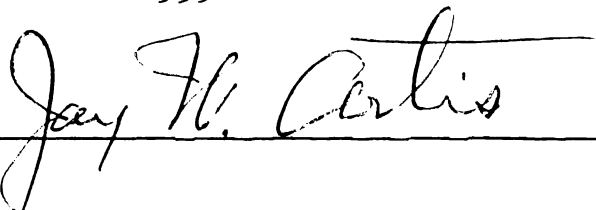
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ABSTRACT

In this case study we have examined one facet of hospital-community relationships primarily, namely the relationship to be found between the power structure of a particular community and that community's hospital governing board. We have shown that the construction of the new community hospital and the selection of its board members were major components of the hospital issue, which was but one in a series of important decision-making issues involving the repeated, direct participation of certain interest groups and individuals making up the community power structure. An analysis of the resolution of three important issues revealed a pattern in the decision-making processes which could be directly linked to specific bases of response--economics, power or authority, cultural values, and attitudes toward particular persons or groups in the community. We have shown that external and internal change forces--such as population increase, the expansion and development of technology, and the spread of communication and transportation networks--have made a differential impact upon the community and have forced the members of the community power structure to adjust their interests and resolve the resultant issues on a wider basis of response than formerly. Formerly, the community was a self-contained one-industry town of conservative bent; and it possessed an elite paternalistic power structure--an Exclusive Elite type.

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ABSTRACT

It has been moving, however, toward the status of a commuters' town, with liberalization concomitant in many areas, but with a widening cleavage of values occurring between oldtimers and newcomers. This cleavage has also resulted in a change in the community power structure, which now resembles the type known as Fluid Influentials.

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PART I. SCOPE AND METHODS

CHAPTER I

THE RESEARCH PROBLEM

Introduction

Our nation, in company with many others in the world, is today faced with many serious social problems. It is suffering from certain social conditions that have been aggravated or brought about to a large extent by the tremendous social upheaval that was World War II. The United States of America finds itself, perhaps more than at any previous time in its history, in a state of very rapid social transition and in a state of phenomenal material growth and development. In large part these problematic conditions which are the immediate consequences of World War II have resulted from the pressures of unforeseen and unplanned-for circumstances. A lack of planning by the local, state, and central governments on a scale comprehensive enough to handle such developments and the stymying of action by pressure groups in areas where foresight and planning were available have further complicated matters.

Material growth and development are outstripping the social growth and development necessary to the smooth assimilation of such material changes by society.

A cultural lag of sizeable proportions characterizes much of the world today in this respect, including the United States; although in many respects this nation has narrowed that breach somewhat more successfully than others.

In the social realm, the comparatively traditional, settled, slowly-moving way of life characteristic of many small American communities in pre-war days--especially of the less industrial, less urban areas--is undergoing a series of drastic changes. A very noticeable quickening in the pace of life and a perceptible increase in its complexity are evident. Social conditions appear to be in a state of flux and rapid, sometimes seemingly chaotic changes appear to be taking place in many areas of modern American social life. In many cases these conditions are having socially disruptive effects.

In this country the tremendous increase in population, the phenomenal developments and expansion of technology, and the spread of communication and transportation networks, after World War II especially, are among the major, general, "conditioning" factors that have contributed to the increase in social problems and disruptive social conditions. Everywhere there are immediate demands being made for the solution of these problems in many, many crucial areas of social life by people in diverse types of communities.

It is not our purpose in this thesis to elaborate this social problems theme unduly. However, it does seem to us that any examination of social conditions or problems, and the issues or conflicts that arise as a result, must be made in a research context which unites these major "conditioning" factors, as they find application, with those unique characteristics of particular communities--such as their way of life, values, and philosophy, to name only a few--if a meaningful and an adequate analysis is to result.

But to study a particular community's way of life, values, and philosophy involves studying these factors in terms of that community's social groups and the individuals prominent in these groups. These values, philosophy and ways of life, however, may not be the same or mean the same thing for different groups and individuals in a community.

Only a very few of the crucial problem areas this nation faces can be mentioned in passing here. Some of these crucial domestic problems are in the areas of housing, employment, schooling, medical care, juvenile delinquency, race relations, and others almost ad infinitum. The nearly insurmountable magnitude and complexity presented by these problematic social conditions leave most interested social scientists and concerned parties awe-struck. However, they realize some educated answers and solutions to these conditions and problems are vitally needed.

Unfortunately, much preliminary investigation remains to be done in many of these areas. Social

scientists and others are engaged in trying to accurately map out the problem areas. The "cultural lag" the social sciences suffer from, i. e., in terms of not having developed general comprehensive theories to keep pace with the multiplication of problems, makes it necessary that we do spadework anew in many areas hitherto uninvestigated. The social sciences need to: (1) outline the problem areas with more accuracy, (2) account for the occurrence of the problems by means of some comprehensive theory, (3) show the interrelations of problem areas, and (4) make some practical recommendations towards the solution of the problems.¹

¹We shall briefly try to defend this value judgment, or what some would call an ethical point of view, without, we hope, going too far afield. This position is as defensible as its opposite.

Some social scientists would disagree that it is their business to make any practical recommendations towards the solution of social problems. They are of the opinion that their responsibilities should be limited strictly to the scientific aspects of their research, that practical action programs or the applications of their research findings belong strictly to the realm of civic and political activity. In support of their position they make what they consider a clear distinction between "pure" and "applied" science which seems to us to be specious. It is questionable and quite difficult to maintain this distinction in the natural sciences which are far more susceptible to objective control in this and other respects, let alone in the social sciences where such control is fleeting and where in many instances the research activity itself affects the subsequent research results and the action taken or application made.

Without further belaboring this point, this hands-off position appears to us to be a short-sighted and prejudiced one. These persons might learn something about the responsibilities they have for the results and applications of their researches from the experience of certain natural scientists, such as Robert J. Oppenheimer, working on the A- and H-bomb projects. (It should be unnecessary to

These tasks, to be sure, can by no means be accomplished overnight. They must be approached with some humility, with a realization of our limitations as social scientists and of the limitations of our techniques and present knowledge. Yet, with the social scientific knowledge at our command, feeble as it may be, we feel that some progress can be made both in developing the necessary scientific theory to analyze and account for these problems and in offering some practical suggestions for their solution.

The Problem of Medical Care

The crucial problem area of immediate concern to this thesis is the area of medical care. In recent years, especially since World War II, much growing concern has been expressed by various parties directly interested in the provision of medical care (through hospitals) and in the difficulties and problems encountered in the growing area of hospital-community relationships. These parties primarily include hospital governing boards, hospital administrators, the medical profession, governmental and various

detail that experience for the reader.) We can say, however, that just as potentially "explosive" an ethical situation exists in some areas of social science research which are concerned with motivation, advertising, mass communications, and the like, i.e., where social control techniques are under investigation. The implications of the misapplication of these results reveal clear and present dangers and should not be underestimated. The use to which these findings are put is our responsibility, both in regard to our role as social scientists and as citizens.

social service agencies, and hospital associations generally. Lately the social sciences have taken an interest.

In the last few decades we in this nation have seen more and more community services formerly performed by privately-owned, supported, and operated institutions become more and more parts of the public domain. The hospital as an institution is no exception to this general trend.² With this increase in accountability and responsibility to the community, certain public demands and resultant problems not faced previously have made their appearance on the hospital scene.

Formerly, wealthy benefactors in effect subsidized hospitals which were widely regarded as charitable institutions where the poor and unfortunate sought the only medical care available to them. These indigent people often ended their days there. The reputation of hospitals was none too good. Medical, and especially hospital, care was held in low esteem for the most part.

But with the accumulating advances in medical techniques and, as a result, better hospital care, the hospital's place in the community changed. It has changed to the point where it is now universally accepted as a vital community

²Maurice Bubis, "Hospitals Increasingly Accepted as Community Social Agencies," Hospital Management, February, 1941, p. 28. Also, J. J. Golub, "The Hospital in the Changing Order," Modern Hospital, January, 1947, pp. 69-71.

service. The hospital lost its former stigma and became less of a charitable institution or private concern. With the passage of time the bulk of the support it required came more and more from the community; in recent times the state and national governments have also become involved in its support.

Hospital-Community Relationships

The involvement of the hospital with the community, through its patronage and support, has resulted in the necessity for closer and better relationships between the two. The hospital has been relatively "isolated" from the rest of the community and it must learn its place in the community through an understanding of hospital-community relationships.³ There are obstacles to this goal, however, since the increasing specialization of various sectors of the hospital as an institution has tended to reinforce its former isolation. For example, much of what passes as hospital-community relationships, as viewed by a sizeable majority of hospital officials, falls within the category of public relations.⁴

³W. S. McNary, "Don't Fence the Community Out," Hospitals, December, 1955, pp. 61-63.

⁴Some examples are: Bolton Boone, "We Influenced Important Audiences," Hospital Management, April, 1954, pp. 41-42; Harry Boyd, "A Good Press is a Good Thing," Modern Hospital, August, 1956, pp. 81-84; D. C. Carney, "Planned Public Relations," Hospital Management, January, 1950), p. 37; Germaine Febrau, "A Placque-Winning Public Relations

But there are more serious aspects requiring attention in hospital-community relationships. Some of these problems in this area have to do with the building of new hospitals and the necessity to solicit funds from the public to do so, the expansion of existing facilities, the need to justify increases in fees as a result of increased costs, and many more that require a close liaison and understanding between the hospital and the community.⁵

The Hospital-Community Relationships Project

This thesis is largely the result of this writer's research activity with the "Hospital-Community Relationships" project, a study undertaken by members of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology and the Social Research Service at Michigan State University. This project is supported by funds from the National Institutes of Health, United States Public Health Service.

The research plan of this project is as follows in those aspects crucially relevant to this thesis.

An holistic view of hospital-community relationships has been adopted in which the main aim of analysis

Program," Hospital Management, February, 1951, pp. 36-38; R. M. Hueston, "What are the Essentials of a Good Hospital Public Relations Program?" Hospital Management, April, 1952, pp. 42-43; "Importance of an Intelligent Selling Job Stressed at Public Relations Round Table," Hospital Management, October, 1939, p. 19.

⁵A few of these problems are delineated in articles cited in the bibliography.

is concerned with those relationships occurring within a "socially defined area which serves the multiple needs of a certain number of people, which has recognized geographic boundaries, and which gains the identity of community through economic, political, and social organization."⁶

A major underlying assumption of the over-all study is that the "community" of importance in hospital-community relationships is composed of "functionally interrelated social positions which are relevant to hospital operations and which are attached to significant social structures found within the community." These relationships form a pattern.⁷ This underlying assumption is basic to this thesis.

Unfortunately, little systematic research in this particular area is to be found in the professional literature of the social sciences. The same is true of the medical-hospital literature. This points to the necessity for gathering preliminary case studies of hospital-community relationships with reference to significant social structures.

Briefly then, the broad purposes of this more extensive study are to: (1) examine the significant relationships which exist between the hospital and the community;

⁶Research proposal, "Hospital-Community Relationships," offered to National Institutes of Health by Social Research Service in April, 1956, p. 1.

⁷Ibid., p. 1.

(2) establish, if possible, typologies of hospital-community relationships based upon an analysis of the range of relationships to be found, through a number of representative case studies; and (3) establish criteria to improve the relationships between the hospital and its community.

It is hoped that this thesis may find immediate application under the first stated purpose by investigating one specific significant relationship between the hospital and a social structure in a community. It is hoped further that the surplus of data collected may serve as an aid in the second purpose by furnishing a case study of a particular type of community and its multiple relationships with its hospital.

The Thesis Problem

It is the main purpose of this thesis to investigate that pattern of significant relationships or attachments which, we strongly suspect, exists between the community power structure of this particular community and its hospital governing board. Because we suspect the relationships between particular members of the community power structure and the hospital governing board to a large extent determine or set the stage for many of the other hospital-community relationships, we will examine this aspect, primarily. This important relationship between the community power structure and the hospital governing board is largely due to the strategic position members of the

community power structure occupy in various key community institutions and on the hospital governing board, we believe. (For fuller development of this aspect see Chapters II, IV, and V.)

This thesis, therefore, will be primarily a case study illustrating such a pattern or complex of power; in this instance one that has been characteristic of a small town, a rural trade center community with a new community hospital, located in central Michigan. (The criteria according to which this community and its hospital were chosen are given in Chapter II.)

It will not be the purpose of this thesis to present an analysis encompassing all the institutional segments that go to make up a community whole and their relationships with the hospital. Rather, it will be necessary to place analytical emphasis on only those dynamic structural and functional aspects of certain important social issues and conflicts that have occurred in the community that are reflected in the hospital board composition.

What we will attempt to accomplish by analytically isolating the community power structure and by tracing its role in three important community issues is an integrated description and analysis of the pattern of decision-making and issues-resolution in this particular community. We will attempt to show that the founding of the new community hospital and the selection of its board members did not

happen in a vacuum, but that these events fit into a pattern. We will try to fit the founding of the new hospital and the recruitment of its board into a wider social context in which the influence of the community's way of life, values, philosophy, and unique history are brought to bear upon certain issues and problems created by increasing population, the developments and expansion of technology, and the spread of communication and transportation networks.

X The building of the new hospital was an important issue in the community that was selected, but not the most important. In terms of social conflict it contained only muted aspects. The other major issue, and the one in which social conflict was clear, was the recent school issue which has generated conflict over consolidation and annexation.⁸ Involved in this issue are essentially the same

⁸The school issue over consolidation and annexation is currently generating much concern, controversy, and conflict in Michigan, in much of the Mid-West generally, and in other areas of the nation. The situation in Michigan has been complicated not only by the general increase in the school-age population, witnessed in the United States as a whole (as a result of the sharp rise in birth rate during and after World War II), but also by the moves on the part of the state government encouraging reduction of the existing number of school districts. By reducing the number of school districts and by creating central school districts in the various counties of the state, the state government claims it will be able to provide more efficient supervision, more economical financial aid, better and varied educational facilities, and to raise educational standards.

Various rural areas, and fewer urban areas, are fighting this trend toward consolidation or annexation (they are essentially similar) claiming that self-rule, and with it the freedom to choose and run their schools as they would like, will vanish. Many oppose what they call the trend

individuals and factions in the community power structure that are involved in the hospital issue and the other issues that have occurred in the community. These other significant social issues, and the conflicts they have generated in the community, will be included in this dynamic structural and functional analysis to give meaning to the existing pattern of power and to the existing complex of relationships between the community power structure and the hospital governing board. Significant past issues and conflicts, as well as issues appearing on the horizon, will be included in the analysis to give a better understanding of the historical development of the present state of affairs and a perspective on the probable direction that resolution of future issues can be expected to take.

Therefore, this analysis will concern itself primarily with social processes, as these are exhibited by these social issues and conflicts. That is, it will incorporate an analysis of community change dynamics.⁹

toward "totalitarian" organization. Chapter IV, dealing specifically with the school issue, will discuss the controversy in some detail as it occurred in the community investigated.

⁹We are using the word "dynamics" in the traditional sociological sense, not in the psychoanalytical or psychological sense. As such it has a venerable usage, extending back in time to Auguste Comte. In America, Lester A. Ward was one of the first identified with the concept.

Coleman, Coser, Form, and others¹⁰ have demonstrated that ordinarily such an analysis of issues and conflicts will clearly show an emergent pattern of power in various communities. Since power may be wielded by prominent individuals and groups, or vested interest factions, as in this particular community, it will be necessary to delineate the power structure of this specific community and to investigate its influence in the context of these selected issues.

At any given time and place not all the institutional segments of a community can be expected to find representation in the community power structure and may not be involved in all the issues and conflicts that arise. It is for this reason, and several others to be mentioned below, that emphasis is placed upon the governing board of the hospital, the community power structure, and the persistent part they play in the existing issues and conflicts. The great savings in time and money--not to mention the conservation of energy and increased efficiency in investigation--are additional reasons for such an approach.

¹⁰James S. Coleman, Community Conflict (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1957); Lewis Coser, The Functions of Social Conflict (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1956); W. H. Form and D. G. Miller, Industry and the Community (ms. forthcoming for publication); C. Wright Mills, The Power Elite (New York: Oxford University Press, 1956); Floyd Hunter, Community Power Structure (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1953); Robert S. and Helen M. Lynd, Middletown in Transition (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1937).

It would not be feasible, within the confines and scope of a master's thesis, to delineate all the dynamic structural-functional aspects of the hospital as an institution as they relate to the community. The reasons mentioned above with respect to the analysis of issues, conflicts, and community power structure apply here also. Other considerations, however, have led to the selection of this approach.

The literature pertinent to a description of the organization of a voluntary, general hospital¹¹ emphasizes a tri-partite division of hospital organizations. These consist of: (1) the governing board, (2) the medical staff, and (3) the administrator. Of these three major divisions, the governing board is that body which bears the heaviest and most direct responsibility for the hospital's operations to the community. Among its functions, duties, and responsibilities are the following:¹²

1. The governing board, as owner, is legally responsible not only for the management of the finances of the institution, but for the "exercise of due care and diligence" in the appointment of the medical staff and for the making and enforcement of such regulations as are necessary to ensure proper care of the patients.

¹¹See Chapter II for the rationale of the over-all study in selection of this type of hospital.

¹²The Individual Hospital (Chicago, Illinois: American Hospital Association, 1945), p. 31.

2. The governing board, as trustee of public funds, is responsible for the proper conservation of such funds, and for their use for the purpose for which intended. No member of the governing board may derive any personal pecuniary profit from the exercise of such trusteeship.
3. The governing board of the hospital is responsible for the formulation of policies governing its administration. For the execution of these policies it is obligated to appoint a fully qualified and experienced administrator and to clothe him with such authority as to enable him to discharge his full responsibility as the executive agent of the governing board. Any interference by any individual member of the governing board with the exercise of the duties of the administrator, not authorized by action of the board as a whole should be considered to be definitely unethical and not for the good of the institution.
4. The governing board should delegate to the administrator authority for the selection, payment and dismissal of all employees, for the purchase and payment of all supplies and services and for the daily operation of the institution, all within such limitations as the governing board may establish.
5. The governing board in order to ensure a high standard of professional care to the patients must exercise due care and diligence in the selection of the medical staff and make such regulations as are necessary to ensure the maintenance of such standards, including the making of proper clinical records, the holding of staff conferences and such other duties as are a part of the recognized regime of a good hospital.
6. The governing board is obligated not alone to exercise adequate supervision over its own institution, but to familiarize itself with the policies and procedures of other institutions, other community agencies and state and national organizations concerned with comparable objectives, to the end that it may more fully meet its obligations to its community.

From this list of functions, duties, and responsibilities, it can be seen that ideally the governing board has a very strategic position in the organizational structure

and in the functioning of the hospital. It is often the case in communities of the type studied here that those serving on the governing board of the hospital are also members of the community power structure and quite influential in the other major institutional segments of the community. Therefore, our analysis will deal primarily with these members, although the status of any board members not prominent in the community power structure will be treated. Thus, an integrated analysis of community issues and conflicts in various institutional sectors may be accomplished; and by devoting our attention to the composition of the community power structure and its interlocking memberships with the hospital governing board, with the school board in the school issue and in those structures relevant to the other issues to be included in the analysis, these activities will shed some light on how hospital-community relations are affected by considerations of power.

Summary

This chapter has presented a very brief review of the general social conditions that were a result of the social upheaval that was World War II. Out of these conditions there have arisen certain domestic social problems, issues, and conflicts. Our major concern with these problems lies in the general problem area of medical care, and within this still broad area, with hospital-community relationships in particular. For purposes of this thesis

one such relationship, that obtaining between the hospital governing board and the community power structure, was chosen for investigation because it was felt to be the most significant of many. It was felt to be most significant because it was believed to determine or underlie the other relationships. This belief was predicated not only upon a reading of various sources in the hospital literature, but also upon preliminary investigation in the field. To illustrate such a power relationship, certain other important issues in the community under investigation will be brought into the pattern analysis of power and decision-making in order to effect a dynamic structural-functional analysis of social processes relevant to hospital-community relationships.

CHAPTER II

METHODOLOGICAL PROCEDURES AND THEORY

While compiling a comprehensive bibliography for use as background for the more extensive research project and this thesis, the author was struck by the really meager foundations that have been laid to date by social scientists and others in the area of hospital-community relationships.¹ The available research was found to be rather inadequate from a sociological or anthropological point of view. This latter criticism applies less to the numerically fewer social science contributions than it did to the research and articles found in the various journals of hospital and related professional associations.

This paucity and inadequacy of available research presented us with some difficult problems as to the theoretical framework that should be adopted, the methodological procedures that should be employed, and posed other problems involving the setting up of criteria for the selection of representative communities and hospitals.

¹See the representative list of articles and book titles in the bibliography to verify this point.

Criteria for the Selection of Hospitals and
Communities for Case Study Purposes

It was decided by the members of the more extensive study group that it was necessary to undertake some basic and representative case studies of hospital-community relationships, since so very few had been done and so little basic information was available to us. This was felt to be so essential that it was made one of the prime and immediate objectives. Another immediate objective was to collect some necessary basic data on hospitals in Michigan, per se, from hospital administrators and to use this information, as it could aid us, in formulating more informed and detailed working hypotheses for the extensive examination of significant aspects of hospital-community relationships to follow in the case studies.

A questionnaire, entitled You As A Hospital Administrator, was devised and mailed to all the administrators of voluntary, general hospitals in Michigan. (The process by which the criteria used in selecting this particular type of hospital were arrived at follows below.) Later this questionnaire was also distributed in California and Mississippi to provide the basic data on hospitals necessary for future regional comparisons.

It was felt that this questionnaire would provide basic information to aid in generating working hypotheses with which to go into the field. However, it was found later that some basic information could only come from the

case studies themselves and that it would be necessary to proceed with a set of working hypotheses borrowed or culled from research done in other areas of sociology. (Those that were adopted for this thesis are discussed below.)

Some preliminary criteria were needed by means of which various communities and their hospitals could be selected for such study. These criteria had to be as far from arbitrary as possible, even taking into account the scarcity and the shortcomings of the available data from which they were to be projected and taking into account that they could not be fully justified. Some direction and focus were needed.

It was decided that some significant factors, some controls, had to be found to serve as constants in each of the case studies. These controls were to apply not only to each community selected, but also to its hospital. Perhaps the important control factors related to the hospital can be considered more crucial since so little was known about this area and so little research was available. This approach was primarily necessary to insure the validity of the eventual comparisons to be made later of our various cases.²

²The comparative method demands that certain common features must be held constant. This situation is also required if we wish to construct typologies, as we intend to do in the extensive study. Common features are also necessary to throw into relief any contrasts that may appear. Again, these contrasts aid in the construction of typologies.

To ease our task in setting up these criteria, several expert consultants in the hospital field and certain sociologists who had wide experience in studying certain aspects of hospitals as institutions were consulted. In addition, the annual "Guide" issue of the American Hospital Association's journal, Hospitals, which issue is a compendium of information on hospitals in the United States, was consulted. From these various sources it was learned that the voluntary, general hospital was the most typical and such hospitals were the most numerous in the United States. Because of these characteristics, it was decided that a study of this type of hospital would give the desired general picture of hospital-community relationships. For this reason it was decided to limit the over-all study to communities with voluntary, general hospitals with bed capacities of no more than 250. Hospitals of this bed capacity or less appeared to be the most typical and prevalent, therefore, in a sense the most representative, according to our consultants and other sources.

The voluntary, general hospital of this approximate size is typical with respect to the range of medical care facilities it has available and with respect to the potential quality of medical care it has the capability to provide;³ yet, it generally is not of sufficiently large

³These criteria are not immediately germane to this thesis, which is not concerned with medical care per se, but they are germane to the over-all study because further

size to provide specialized functions as, say, is a university or research-teaching hospital. Complicating factors of selection were thus to some degree eliminated or mitigated.

✓ To adequately handle such a patient load--up to 250 beds--a voluntary, general hospital, in terms of what is generally considered good medical care, must offer or have readily available certain hospital services, such as surgery, x-ray, cardiography, pathology, to list only a few. Provision of these services generally requires an adequate population, economic, social, and professional base of the community in which such a hospital is located. Such hospitals are generally found singly in small towns or smaller cities. Larger cities may have one or more of these, in addition to various specialized hospitals and services.

This set of criteria took into account aspects related both to the representativeness of hospitals and communities to be investigated; but certain additional criteria were adopted with regard to communities we were to investigate.

A range of different types of communities was needed to fulfill our requirements for establishing typologies. Therefore, as a start, the following research sites were

phases of investigation will take place in the community we selected as one of the case study sites. This procedure was felt to be necessary to give continuity and cohesion to the project.

selected as pilot studies in Michigan: (1) a large multi-industry city of approximately 100,000 population, and (2) a small town of 4,000 population, now predominately a rural trade center but also at one time virtually a company town. Another small multiple-industry city of 18,000 population in Pennsylvania was also selected.

Criteria for the Selection of the Present Research Site

The small Michigan town that served as the research site for this thesis was selected after a preliminary reconnaissance by the author of twelve essentially similar Michigan communities. Hereafter this community shall be called Mills Springs to protect the identities and confidences of informants.

Mills Springs was selected principally because it had just opened a new hospital and had a new hospital governing board of trustees. On the basis of these two facts it was expected that the task of tracing the founding of the hospital and the roles of the various trustees and of the community power structure in this endeavor would be made relatively simple, and that the research problem would appear clearer to the people it would be necessary to interview. Further impetus for such a choice was generated because the hospital issue was still a live one and fresh in the minds of the general mass of community members. Then too, the small size of the community offered easy

accessibility to a number of people and it was expected that the number of influentials in the community power structure would be a homogeneous and relatively small group. In terms of commuting distance, the town was an ideal choice.

On the basis of preliminary interviews, which were accomplished through the providential rapport that was established with several prominent community residents, and on the basis of research with Mills Springs economic, census, and historical data, it was established that Mills Springs was a stable community--politically and economically 'conservative. Its population was relatively homogeneous as to ethnic background, and as to occupational and religious make-up.

From historical materials found in local histories, documents and the newspaper files, and from accounts of knowledgeable informants, it was learned that the community power structure had a long tradition of involvement in all the major social issues of the community.

There were certain problems as yet unresolved in the hospital issue relating to certain policies and operation of the hospital. The school issue was developing into a conflict situation and was very much in the public eye and evoking considerable community controversy. From the interviews and from reading the local newspaper, we suspected that the community power structure might be heavily involved in both of these issues and that it seemed to be split into

two major factions. The power struggle in decision-making could be seen taking place.

From another methodological point of view the community was nearly ideal because there was immediate access to the community power structure and the hospital governing board. In addition there were available the services of certain strategically-placed informants who were able to supply us with much valuable information about certain behind-the-scenes maneuvers of the community power structure. In other words, a study such as was outlined in Chapter I could be undertaken.

Theoretical Formulations

It is necessary to lay out the basic theoretical foundations of this thesis in some detail before the discussion of methodological considerations and a statement of the working hypotheses guiding this case study can be completed.

The contributions to the study of human actions and of community power structure made by certain sociologists are used in this thesis either as basic assumptions or as theoretical guides. The eclectic nature of this thesis will soon become evident.

Hierarchy of power and the economic order.--The central findings and the theoretical positions on power of part of these sociologists support the thesis that in the

United States the business community--the manufacturers, bankers, merchants, investment brokers, large real estate holders, et cetera--exert predominant influence in determining community policy-formation.

A fundamental finding of these researchers and theorists⁴ on power is that the power structure of local society is hierarchical in nature. C. Wright Mills, in The Power Elite,⁵ succinctly presents the general case:

Local society is a structure of power as well as a hierarchy of status; at its top there is a set of cliques or "crowds" whose members judge and decide the important community issues, as well as many larger issues of state and nation in which "the community" is involved. Usually, although by no means always, these cliques are composed of old upper-class people; they include the larger businessmen and those who control the banks who usually also have connections with the major real-estate holders. Informally organized, these cliques are often each centered in the several economic functions: there is an industrial, a retailing, a banking clique. The cliques overlap, and there are usually some men who, moving from one to another, co-ordinate viewpoints and decisions. There are also the lawyers and administrators of the solid rentier families, who, by the power of proxy and by the many contacts between old and new wealth they embody, tie together and focus in decision the power of money, of credit, of organization.

Immediately below such cliques are the hustlers, largely of new upper-class status, who carry out the decisions and programs of the top--sometimes anticipating them and always trying to do so. Here are the "operations" men--the vice-presidents of the banks, successful small businessmen, the ranking public officials, contractors, and executives of local industries. This number two level shades off into the third string men--the heads of civic agencies, organization officials, the pettier civic leaders, newspaper

⁴See footnote 10, Chapter I, for references.

⁵C. Wright Mills, The Power Elite (New York: Oxford University Press, 1956), pp. 36-37.

men, and, finally, into the fourth order of the power hierarchy--the rank and file of the professional and business strata, the ministers, the leading teachers, social workers, personnel directors.

On almost any given topic of interest or decision, some top clique, or even some one key man, becomes strategic to the decision at hand and to the informal co-ordination of its support among the important cliques. Now it is the man who is the clique's liaison with the state governor; now it is the bankers' clique; now it is the man who is well liked by the rank and file of both Rotary Club and Chamber of Commerce, both Community Chest and Bar Association.

Power does not reside in these middle-level organizations; key decisions are not made by their membership. Top men belong to them, but are only infrequently active in them. As associations, they help put into effect the policy-line worked out by the higher circles of power; they are training grounds in which younger hustlers of the top prove themselves; and sometimes, especially in the smaller cities, they are recruiting grounds for new members of the top.

This general statement will serve as a point of departure for this thesis and the picture it presents is a basic assumption of what we expect to find to be the case in our community.

Power as an important social force.--The concept of power which has been implicit in the discussion up to this point must now be made explicit. As Max Weber⁶ concisely put it:

In general, we understand by "power" the chance of a man or of a number of men to realize their own will in a communal action even against the resistance of others who are participating in the action.

This is the sense in which the concept of power will be

⁶Gerth and Mills, From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology (New York: Oxford University Press, 1946), p. 180.

utilized in this thesis, and the term "community power structure," then, will refer to the informal aggregates or related vested interest groups in the community--sometimes it may be a local monolithic power elite--that wield such power or have the influence to accomplish those functions Mills ascribed to them above.

Unlike Karl Marx, who was a thorough-going economic and materialistic determinist, Weber admits that economically-conditioned power is not identical with "power" as such; but that, on the contrary, the emergence of economic power may be the consequence of power existing on other grounds. Power is not the only basis for social honor; but as Weber points out clearly,

. . . the sentiment of prestige is able to strengthen the ardent belief in the actual existence of one's own might, for this belief is important for positive self-assurance in case of conflict. Therefore, all those having vested interests in the political structure tend systematically to cultivate this prestige sentiment.⁷

Indeed, social honor, or prestige, very frequently has been and may be the basis of political or economic power.

The legal order is an additional factor that is closely related and which enhances the chance to hold power or honor; but it cannot always secure them. The way in which social honor is distributed in a community among typical groups may be called the "social order." However,

⁷Ibid., p. 161.

the economic and the social order need not be identical. In Weberian terms, the social order is, of course, conditioned by the economic order, in fact to a high degree, and in its turn reacts upon it.

Concepts related to power.--Although they shall not be extensively utilized in this thesis, certain related concepts of power are very important to Weber's scheme, and implicit to ours. "Class," in Weber's terms, refers to the social condition where a number of people share a typical chance for a supply of goods, external living conditions, and personal life experiences insofar as this chance is determined by the amount and kind of power, or lack of such, to dispose of goods or skills for the sake of income in a given economic order.

To relate these notions to this thesis, then, and to the power structure studies: one often finds that those individuals who, as informal aggregates or vested interest groups, make up either the power elite or community power structure quite often belong to the same class.

The important difference for Weber between classes lies in the clear distinction he makes between owners and non-owners of property and productive resources. For Weber, a "class situation" is ultimately a "market situation" in which "classes" are stratified according to their relations to production and acquisition of goods. "Status groups" are stratified according to principles of the consumption of

goods as represented by special styles of life. An occupational group is also a status group which successfully claims social honor only by virtue of the special style of life which may be determined by it.

For purposes of this thesis, one can posit that the community power structure consists predominately, and especially on its highest level, of those individuals joined in aggregates or vested interest groups who share, more or less in common, a class position, status, and occupational niche. Those individuals on the highest level will tend to be those businessmen previously mentioned--the manufacturers, bankers, merchants, et cetera.

Working hypotheses linking CPS* members to hospital boards. When a new hospital makes its appearance in a small community such as Mills Springs, its advent will usually be heralded by social change of some degree of importance and the event will not usually take place in isolation from other change events in the community. These changes will be conditioned by the same general societal forces which were referred to in the introduction as: (1) the increase in population, (2) the spread of communication and transportation networks, and (3) the developments and expansion in technology. It will be the community power structure on the local level, however, that will serve predominantly to

* CPS refers to Community Power Structure.

initiate, expedite, or brake the process of change according to the dictates of their community's way of life, values, and philosophy.

To account for these relationships, we shall use the following working hypotheses. (1) We have the expectation that the new arrangements for fulfilling the community's health needs will, to some degree, disturb the status quo of certain elements in the community. We expect this to be the case in a small community such as Mills Springs, in which the rate of change can be seen to be quickening, but in which certain community segments resist and resent change. (2) We expect to find that the participants in the process of getting a new hospital and those serving on its board will occupy certain stations in local life and that every high-ranked participant will have an important influence in the setting-up of a new hospital because of his important stations or offices in the community. (3) We expect to find that every centrally important participant in the hospital issue or project emerged from a background which gave him special advantages: a background of offices held, family, status, kinship positions, and power position in the community. In addition to position, however, we expect that (4) each major participant will have had a history of social interactions with his fellow citizens which set up a community image of his capabilities. The individual will have been granted permission to legitimately make the

necessary decisions in getting a new hospital started because he frequently will be a living public symbol of the values by which the community is unified. (5) We expect that these members will be in the high income bracket of the community. They will be able to give freely of their time and money.

However, to stop at an analysis of this social process of recruitment of hospital founders is not sufficient for purposes of this thesis, since the pattern of power and its issues context, as this affects hospital-community relations, is our main analytical objective. Moreover, such an analysis would not tap the inherent conflict situations that often exist in various issue situations and which may determine the stands members of the various vested interest groups will take in subsequent issues. To investigate this very important aspect of the problem requires an analytical and theoretical scheme that can account for issue situations and change in a developmental or genetic fashion.

To collect the data for the case study and to make it theoretically meaningful on a less abstract level, i.e., to relate our field observations directly to our theoretical framework and conclusions, we relied on more empirically-oriented action theories, studies dealing with the resolution of social issues, with conflict situations in communities as these were affected by power considerations.

Empirically-Oriented Action-Conflict Theories

There are two empirically-oriented "action-conflict" theories available in sociology that deal directly with the problem relevant to this thesis. They are: the theory of community conflict, advanced by James S. Coleman, and the theoretical work on power structure of William H. Form and Delbert C. Miller.

Coleman's Community Conflict Theory

Coleman, in his approach, sets out to delineate the possible setting and initiation of controversy, the dynamics of controversy, and the factors affecting the course of controversy. We have taken the liberty of adapting certain of his theoretical findings to our theoretical framework.

Coleman's theoretical approach has direct relevance to our problem, in that it deals with the examination of communities under stress resulting from issues or outright conflict. The research procedure dictated by such an approach consists of an analysis of the social organizations (or structures involved) and the social processes (or functions) as they are involved in the controversy or conflict.

Setting and initiation of controversy.--Community disagreements can serve as a measure of community life, just as well as community agreement can. Of course, communities differ widely in the degree to which community

life is important to argue about. Generally, there seems to be more opportunity for community controversy to occur in a small community than in large cities where less widespread controversy occurs. In contradistinction to the small community, we find only a few activists concerned in the controversy occurring in a large city. As with communities, we find that some organizations show more participation than others in the controversy. Community involvement, thus, is an important element in the setting and the initiation of controversy.

Kinds of events and crises.--The kinds of events and the crises they create are another set of important elements. One must examine the type of event and the kind of community in which it occurs to be able to explain a pattern of conflict. Both elements are necessary and are of equal importance.

With regard to the events and incidents which lead to dispute, Coleman has the following to say:⁸

If the differences in events and in communities which lead toward unification, division, or defeat are closely examined, the following three criteria become evident in the development of controversy out of an event: (a) The event must touch an important aspect of the community members' lives--education of their children, their means of livelihood, religion, taxes, or something similar. Obviously, different areas of life are important to different communities, to different people within a single community, and at

⁸ Coleman, op. cit., p. 4.

different periods of time. (b) The event must affect the lives of different community members differently. A tax proposal, for example, affects property owners one way and non-property owners another. (c) Finally, the event must be one on which the community members feel that action can be taken--not one which leaves the community helpless.

These events and incidents which lead to dispute may derive from internal or external sources. A clear distinction can usually be made between disputes which arise internally and those which arise as a result of external influence. Such controversies as fluoridation, church conflicts, and political uprisings such as those in Southern towns are purely local issues, or internal. In the case of the Scarsdale and Pasadena school conflicts which centered around local school figures and yet made national news, the conflicts were local in origin but fed on national issues. Industrialization in Southern communities and conflicts resulting from the Supreme Court desegregation ruling are examples of externally-initiated conflicts. Especially since World War II, community conflicts have been more often related to national affairs than they once were. More efficient modes of communication and transportation have accelerated this trend. Concomitant with the nationalization of issues, however, is the fact of increasing economic centralization in which the economic fate of a community may often rest in the hands of men who have never passed through town.

Content of issues.--The content of the issue and the area of life it affects determine to a degree the conflict situation in a particular community. There are three important general areas of life roughly distinguishable: (1) the economic, (2) that of power or authority, and (3) that of cultural values (or beliefs). A fourth important basis of response derives from the attitudes toward particular persons or groups in the community, rather than from attitudes toward a policy, event, or incident. The economic area of life generally involves a large number of the community members in conflict. In the struggle for power only a few are usually affected: those who stand to gain office, and those who stand to lose it. Often conflicts may result from existing hostility between two groups in the community. In such a case, the issue is just a part of a continuing conflict.

Actually, an issue may be fed by one or more of these bases of response. In a school bond issue, for example, we often find that it is concerned with economic interests of importance when low taxes are discussed; we find particular philosophies of education espoused by the antagonists; and there may be a conflict for power involved. The men on the same side may have different interests or bases of response to an issue such as this.

We may sum up this point with a quote from Coleman:⁹

⁹Ibid., p. 6.

An incident, event, or problem requiring solution faces a community, and meets differing responses among the members as it touches upon areas of life which act as bases of response to the event. These bases of response, primarily economic interests, power and values, provide the initial dynamics for the controversy. They drive a nucleus of adherents to carry forward the dispute, to expand and intensify it until perhaps the whole community is involved.

Now that we have examined the types of events or issues, it is necessary to look at the conditions for controversy--that is, at the kinds of communities.

Conditions for controversy.--Communities differ widely with respect to their economic system. Some are self-contained towns in which men both work and live. Agricultural towns, one-industry towns, and small and diversified industrial towns are of this kind. Towns in which most men live but do not work are best illustrated by suburban "bedroom" communities. Resort towns are largely economic service organs for non-resident groups.

Economic disputes are most intense and common in economically self-contained towns, because there economic disputes often concern men's livelihoods as well as their taxes. Labor-management disputes are of this order, as are farmer-merchant disputes.

Commuters find it very difficult to place the blame for their economic frustrations at the door of local merchants, businessmen, or next-door neighbors. However, tax issues can be important sources of controversy in any community, but particularly in suburbs where many residents

own their own homes. Most controversies in suburban towns, however, have centered around differing values: educational values, political beliefs, and patriotic concerns.¹⁰

There are several reasons why men who live side by side in suburban communities should hold different values. One is the great mobility these people have; another is the fact that the communities have often been settled in two or more "waves," creating "old residents" and "newcomers" who are frequently of different age groups, different ethnic groups, and live in different sections of town. Finally, if men commute to work at diverse tasks in a large city, their values may wander apart, with nothing to pull them back within a "range of tolerance." Suburbanites may live for years next door to someone with radically-different views; they mind their own business until some important community decision must be made or until someone attempts to impose his views on a community institution like the school system.¹¹

Although communities with different economic structures differ widely in the kinds of controversy they generate, a particular kind of controversy is not specific to a particular kind of community.

With changes in time certain bases of response may receive more emphasis than others. Religion, for example, appears to be a less important value over which community conflict develops than it once was. School controversies, on the other hand, seem to occur just as frequently, if not more so.

¹⁰Ibid., p. 7.

¹¹Those interested in a discussion of service towns may consult Coleman, op. cit., p. 5.

Population shifts may bring about an increase in community conflict over heterogeneous values.¹²

At some time or another mass migration may deposit a whole new group of people into an existing community. Often, these newcomers differ from the natives in their "styles of life"; they may have different religions, different cultural backgrounds, different occupations. The resulting "community" consists of two very dissimilar parts; and unless extraordinary measures are taken to integrate them, they can remain distinct groups for as long as a hundred years.

Existing cleavages in a community are the results of past controversy. These cleavages are very important in predisposing the community to respond to any kind of precipitating event, whether precipitated by economic interests, political power, or values.

Although Coleman's theory is no well-developed theory of community conflict, still his attempt to specify general patterns in the initiation of controversy is important and suggestive. In analyzing a number of recent school controversies, for example, he specifies these three elements as seemingly crucial to the initiation of the dispute:¹³

1. The existence in the community of a few extreme activists, who gain moral support, and sometimes information leaflets, etc., from national sources;
2. The existence of a national climate of fear and suspicion concerning internal subversion;
3. The lack of close and continued relations between school administration and community organizations representing conservative as well as liberal segments of the population.

¹²Ibid., p. 7.

¹³Ibid., p. 7.

Further, Coleman finds a large class of conflicts occurring which he thinks can be thought of as revolts against an administration.¹⁴ Certain fluoridation controversies, certain school and industrial disputes, and disputes over continuation of city manager plans are so characterized.

1. The administration in power becomes the defendant in the controversy which ensues.
2. A few active oppositionists, men who are continually in opposition, oppose the administration. These men are sometimes motivated by the hope of power, but often they are ideologically committed to a cause. In the recent school controversies, these have often been men who are sincerely convinced the schools are subversive, men who are against all modern trends in education, or whose whole political philosophy is far to the right of present-day parties.
3. A large group exists--often the majority of the people--who are ordinarily inactive, acquiescent to the administration, but not actively supporting it. In many school controversies, this is the large segment of the community, neither very liberal nor very conservative, which take little interest or active part in school affairs.
4. An active group exists, usually a minority of the population, who continually support administration policies, and who are responsible for putting the administration in office in the first place. In school controversies, this includes the P. T. A., the school board, and other laymen who take part in school-community activities.
5. The large passive group, or a part of it, becomes active in one of two ways: (a) a change in the general climate of opinion, reinforced by national mass media and by current events, mobilizes certain basic values and dispositions; (b) the administration commits a series of blunders in matters which are of considerable importance to members of this passive majority.

¹⁴Ibid., p. 8.

6. The ideologically-committed active oppositionist is now able to use this new hostile atmosphere to gain his ends.

Certain cases may be found which lack one or another of the previously-mentioned elements. Not all community controversies develop along these lines.

The dynamics of controversy.--Once controversies start, they resemble each other remarkably, according to Coleman. Three fundamental changes in issues appear to take place: (1) Specific issues give way to general ones. (2) New and different issues emerge which are unrelated to the original ones. (3) Disagreement shifts to antagonism. If there are deep cleavages of values or interests in the community, a small spark of an incident may set them off. In contrast to this type of situation, there may be a power struggle situation in a community where deep cleavages do not exist and no profound shift from specific to general occurs. There are two sources for the diversification of issues. One is "involuntary," in that topics formerly suppressed by stable relations are allowed to rise to the surface when those relations are broken. The second source for the diversification of issues, especially in politics, involves purposive moves on the part of the antagonists. The antagonists bring about the solidification of opinion and involve new participants in the issue by providing new bases of response. Coleman¹⁵ remarks that:

¹⁵Ibid., p. 10.

As in an argument between friends, a discussion which begins with disagreement on a point in question often ends with each disliking the other.

Changes in community social organization.--While changes in the content and character of issues are going on, the whole structure of community organizations and associations is changing, also. There is a polarization of social relations taking place as the controversy develops, in which associations of people within each group flourish, but in which they wither between persons on opposing sides. Therefore, two factions tend to develop, breaking apart along the line of least attachment. Partisan organizations may form in communities where there are no existing nuclear organizations on the two sides. New leaders tend to take over in an issue as these organizations are formed, and real nuclei develop around each opposing faction. Community organizations tend to be drawn into the conflict as an issue develops. However, as Coleman¹⁶ notes:

At the same time there are often strong pressures, both within the organization and without, to remain neutral. From within: if its members hold opposing sentiments, then their disharmony forces the organization itself to remain neutral. And from without: the organization must maintain a public position in the community, which might be endangered by taking sides in a partisan battle threatening to split the community.

In some, both community organizations and community leaders are faced with constraint when a dispute arises; the formation of a combat group to carry on the controversy and the emergence of a previous unknown as the combat leader are in part

¹⁶Ibid., p. 12.

results of the immobility of responsible organizations and leaders. Both the new leader and the new organization are freed from some of the usual shackles of community norms and internal cross-pressures which make pre-existing organizations and leaders tend to soften the dispute.

On an informal level:¹⁷

Word of mouth communication gradually fills the gaps, both in volume and in content, left by the mass media. Street-corner discussion amplifies, elaborates, and usually distorts the news that it picks up from the papers or the radio. This interpersonal communication offers no restraints against slander and personal charges; rather, it helps make the rhetoric of controversy consistent with the intensity.

Coleman notes that there is a reciprocal causation between social and psychological polarization which results in the division of the community into two socially and attitudinally separate camps. Each is convinced it is absolutely right. The extent to which this process will go is dependent upon the characteristics of the people and the community in question. Thus, we have a polarization and intensity of response build up within individuals and within each camp. The chain of mutual enforcement of these tendencies lies completely within the individual, according to Coleman. Coleman posits a "Gresham's Law of Conflict," which in essence claims that the harmful and dangerous elements in a community controversy drive out those which would keep the conflict within bounds. The important role of the "third force," or the neutral elements in a community controversy which act as a governor, must be considered, however.

¹⁷Ibid., p. 13.

Factors affecting course of controversy.--In

analyzing the factors which affect the course of controversy, it is necessary to note the impact that the structure of authority has in community conflict. In most school controversies, for example, the critics generally are in opposition to the school administration or the school board. The most obvious place to look for factors affecting the initiation or development of issues is in the methods that the incumbent administration has used in the past to handle problems.¹⁸

If a community has established a pattern of handling problems through a city father, then problems are likely to be handled that way in the future; or if it has a history of solving its problems through town meetings, then problems will be handled that way. These differing procedures, in turn, have quite different effects on the development of controversy. Decision-making power is political power, and in every community this political power is distributed in a certain way. Actually, the matter is considerably more complicated than a single distribution of power. There are numerous kinds of decision and numerous stages; power may be distributed differently for different kinds and different stages. The simplest example is that of a representative democracy, with a legislative, executive, and judicial branch. Each of the three branches has power in particular kinds of policy decisions; the voters, in contrast, have power at a particular stage. That is, they decide who shall make the decision. Even where the political structure is not so formal (and the effect of pressure groups and public opinion makes it evident that even in civil politics, real power does not necessarily coincide with these formal lines), it may be equally complex. Indeed, the multitude of variations in the matter of community opinion suggests that informal distribution is far more complex than formal.

¹⁸ Ibid., p. 15.

In the small, closely knit community which has a rather well-defined set of organizations, and which has a high level of interlocking memberships to which the community leaders belong, a two-party political system is hard to maintain. In most such communities the leaders see each other both socially and in community affairs daily. There is little room for an act of division, which characterizes a two-party system among the business elite in a large community. The case studies reported in the literature point out that, in the few continuing divisions present in communities, personal hostility remaining from past conflicts and not genuine, enduring disagreement over policy matters, are most common. Very often, as in the case of school controversies, there are conflicting expectations about realms of authority on the part of the administrative in-group and an out-group.

In communities undergoing changes to suburbanization or those growing rapidly, people with different sets of expectations about school administration, community services, government, and the like, are brought together; and conflict may ensue.

Effect of social structure upon controversy.--

Previously, the effects of the course of controversy on the social structure of the community were examined. However, the social structure has a reciprocal effect on the course of controversy. As such, social relations serve as bases

of response. Economic interests, power interests or values may initiate disputes. After the dispute has been generated, a second kind of response makes its appearance. People respond to a conflict situation on this level in terms of their previous associations, antagonisms, and attachments to other people and groups in the community. Therefore, one's existing relations with, and feelings toward, persons already involved in the dispute draw him into it. This is accomplished by means of identification or by a reference to the group. The formal and informal associations in the community and word-of-mouth communication outside of organizations become important processes through which people are drawn into disputes. It appears that in the smaller town, with its greater incidence of personal attachments and dislikes, more people are likely to be drawn into a controversy.

In a town the associations appear to draw the upper and middle classes into a controversy to a greater degree than people of the lower class. The upper and middle classes are more fully integrated into organizational life than is the lower class, which enters a dispute and issue when it is economically and socially depressed and frustrated or dissatisfied. In general, the lower class has limited organizational ties. Its members' lives are involved in personal relations and bread-and-butter issues, rather than in abstract issues.

In city-wide elections, turnouts are generally low and consist primarily of those people who are most attached to general community affairs. Large turnouts occur when issues are hot, and the larger proportion of unattached or uninvolved take interest in a particular community issue.

In addition to having general effects in an issue, material interests may be involved in affecting an issue through organizational or personal ties, where a person or organization can reward or punish activity. It goes without saying that the response of community organizations and leaders has its effects on the course of controversies.

There are four variations in the social organization of the community which appear to be crucial for the course of controversy. They are variations in: (1) community identification, (2) density of organizations and associations in the community, (3) the distribution of participation among citizens, and (4) the interlocking of organizational membership. Communities whose members are highly involved in community activities will have more controversies. The feelings of the members will be more intense about the issue. Their community spirit may work against making a "fight to the finish" out of a particular issue by inhibiting the use of personal attacks. Constraints exist because the value of the community as a whole overrides the importance of other values to the would-be attacker. Again, community spirit may not allow dispute to degenerate from a

disagreement over issues to direct antagonism.¹⁹

Identification with the community thus interrupts the process of degeneration of conflict at the crucial point: where it turns from disagreement to direct antagonism. It is this antagonism, together with the personal attacks which go along with it, that leaves scars on a community, creating lasting cleavages and increasing the likelihood of future conflicts. Community identification helps preserve the form of controversy, restricting it to those procedures necessary to resolution of the problem, and inhibiting those which create lasting bitterness.

Organizational density refers to the proliferation of organizations and associations within a community. Organizational density may have direct or indirect effects on a dispute. In a direct sense, it is likely to pull in a whole community into a dispute. Indirectly, it may create a psychological identification with the community. High organizational density tends to not only draw the community into controversy, but also serves to contain and regulate controversy.

With regard to the distribution of participation, we find that the prolific joiners are the upper and middle class people. The lower class people join less or not at all. In this same vein, we find that some community organizations do not take sides in the controversy by tradition.

Speaking of interlocking of memberships, Coleman has the following to say:²⁰

¹⁹Ibid., p. 21.

²⁰Ibid., p. 22.

Organizational affiliation and informal relations provide the chain which links different members of the community together; if these affiliations are confined mostly within ethnic groups or economic strata or religious groups, and fail to tie these groups to one another, the lines of cleavage are already set.

Coleman has, at various points, discussed the effects of the community's economic structure in inhibiting or promoting community conflict. At one point.²¹ he summarizes these effects on the three economic variations which he noted. These variations are: service towns, in which townspeople derive their income from outsiders; self-contained towns, in which men both live and work; and economic appendages, in which most men commute to work outside town.

- a. In each of these, characteristic issues arise to provoke controversy. In economically self-contained towns it is often issues of direct economic interest and political control; in the others, it is more often value differences deriving from differing backgrounds and experiences.
- b. In the stratified, self-contained communities, participation in the controversy will ordinarily be restricted to the upper and middle strata, while in the one-class commuting towns it will be more evenly spread throughout the community.
- c. When lower classes participate in controversy in stratified towns, the dispute is likely to get particularly acrimonious.
- d. The voluntary aspect of relations among residents who need only to live together and not to work together--a new suburbia--tends to segregate the community into discreet value-homogeneous groups and to create diverse consequences for controversy.

In our discussion of Coleman we dealt primarily with the process of community conflict as it affected the

²¹Ibid., p. 23.

community as a whole. However, our primary concern with issues analysis or community conflict is with the involvement of the local community power structure in the issues. We shall, therefore, turn to the work of William H. Form and Delbert C. Miller, who have dealt directly with this aspect of our problem.

Form-Miller Theory of Power Structure

When the acts of individuals in organizations can impel other individuals in organizations to act on a particular community project or issue, we have what may be defined as community power. Some social scientists make a distinction between the concepts of power and influence; others, such as Form and Miller, do not. We shall follow the examples of the latter. Furthermore, we shall not overly concern ourselves with the source of "influence or power."

Some examples of concrete acts of community power include situations where some people do, or get others to do, community committee work, assume leadership roles on various community fund drives, speak to key persons, or give financial support--that is, in general, spearhead and push community affairs.

By studying how a policy is formed in the community, how projects are initiated and carried out, and how issues are developed and settled, we can arrive at the dynamics of community power.

Community power is brought to bear in problems concerned with inter-institutional relationships or with intra-institutional relationships.

Form and Miller²² have devised a typology of industry-community power relations in which business and labor are involved in inter-institutional changes. Although these types have specific reference to business-labor situations, they still comprehend general underlying principles that find application to other inter-institutional situations. The four types include: (1) The Economic Interest Model, (2) A Public Welfare Model, (3) A Community Hostility Model, and (4) A Status Contest Model.

The Economic Interest Model exists when community issues in any institutional sector are usually translated into economic terms, with groups aligning themselves in accord with their general economic interests. A Public Welfare Model is an arrangement in which the general welfare is considered more important than the separate economic interests of industry and labor. A Community Hostility Model exists when a community is arrayed against the private economic interests and institutes punitive measures to change their goals and methods. A Status Contest Model exists when the functional groups struggle not so much over the ends of community action, but over the leadership and methods of achieving common objectives. Although concrete instances of each model may be found, the Economic Interest and Status Contest models recur most frequently in communities of Western societies.

Elements of the community power structure may be activated by a variety of issues. Form and Miller describe three major sources of issues.

²²The quotations we make in this context are from a pre-publication draft of Form and Miller's Ms. soon to be published: Industry and the Community. Other ideas derive from a community seminar taken with Dr. Form.

- (1) One source of issues arises from institutional disturbances. Individual sectors may be unable to resolve internal problems, or conflicts may emerge between two or more institutional sectors. An illustration of the first is a protracted strike which can only be settled by non-economic agencies such as government or a citizens' committee. More commonly, such issues arise within community-wide institutions such as government, education, and welfare.
- (2) The second main source of issues appears when the community is split in response to changes introduced from outside the community, such as racial integration in the schools, FEPC, and related national movements.
- (3) Conflicts may also occur over issues or projects which have no special institutional sponsorship, such as the building of a hospital, sports arena, or civic center.

The common factors in these conditions which provoke the exercise of community power are that on-going institutional relations are challenged by issues, events, or projects; that decisions are called for that may re-define relations; that there is resistance to a threatened change. The community behavior of some persons in groups may be changed despite their resistance and against their desires. Of course, persons in groups may exert power continuously to maintain community arrangements, to prevent the rise of community issues, and to resist change generally.

Five components of community power structure are defined and elaborated by Form and Miller. They consider these components to be important to a consideration of the full range of community power. These components are:

- (1) The institutional power structure of the society [which] refers to the distribution of power among societal institutions.
- (2) The institutionalized power structure of the community [which] refers to the relative distribution of power among local institutions.
- (3) The community power complex [which] is composed of permanent or temporary organizations, special

interest associations, and informal groups which act in matters of general community concern, and which are not formally handled by the functioning of local institutions.

- (4) The top influentials [who] refer to a number of influential persons from whom particular decision-makers are drawn into various types of power relations according to the community issues or projects that arise.
- (5) The key influentials [who] are sociometric leaders among the top influentials in given issues.

Although the five components are not thought of as an integrated social structure, they are viewed as interpenetrating categories, each component successively conditioning the following component.

The significance of the institutionalized power structure of society lies in the observation that there is a strain for local institutional relations to approximate those of the broader society. The institutionalized power structure of the community refers to:

The latent pattern of power relations which reflects the relative importance of the values attached to institutional functions in the society, the relative material resources of the institutions, the relative effectiveness of their sanctions, and their relative ability to initiate societal changes.

The dominant institutionalized power structure of society in American society is the economic institution, which has considerable influence in government, education, and welfare. Other institutions are dominated in an oblique fashion by the economic institution.

Of course, there will be deviations from the model in individual communities, due to the imperfect integration

of society. The historical accidents, regional differences in resources, and the specialization of the community may account for the deviation from the expected patterns and for the relative dominance of one institution over other institutions.

If one looks at the relative dominance of institutions as reflected by the number of representatives they have in the community power structure, one can see that such representatives are usually official heads of the important organizations in the community. They make up the institutional elite.

In the economic institution, they are the heads of the largest businesses, banks, labor unions, as well as chief officers in the associations such as the Chamber of Commerce or Central Labor Council. In government they would be the mayor, councilmen, heads of government departments, and similar positions.

The institutionalized power structure of the community can be thought as existing without an issue context, since it in essence represents the community power profiles and boundaries. In the Form-Miller scheme component institutions are conditioning forces for the community power complex and do not act as entities.

In this context Form and Miller account for conflict in the community by referring to the internal integration of a particular institution. If internal integration is low, intra-institutional conflicts may become community issues. (The reader will recall that Coleman views intra-institutional conflict somewhat similarly.) In cases of intra-

institutional conflict, institutional elite representatives may become involved in the community power complex directly.

The community power complex refers to an arrangement of power distributed among permanent or temporary organizations, special interest associations, and informal groups which may emerge and act on specific issues or projects. Issues and projects calling forth such an arrangement are usually those out of the functional purview of local institutions; that is, the local institutions cannot handle or solve these problems through their resources alone.

It is an emergent organization which arises out of the interaction of concrete organizations in specific situations. It represents a major source of fluidity in the community power structure. In specific projects or issues the power arrangements among the organizations may deviate considerably from that of the institutional power structure of the community, especially for low-level issues or projects. In high-level issues involving the entire community, the internal power arrangement of the institutionalized power complex tends to approximate that of the institutionalized power structure of the community.

Form and Miller attribute a state of equilibrium to the community power complex on the grounds that certain stabilities may appear in its reactions to and involvement in certain types of issues over a period of time. Generally, there is one faction bending its efforts to maintain the status quo and another faction pushing for change on a given issue or project. The balance of power of these forces tends to be maintained over time, although in some communities we may find extreme situations in which one group may be so dominant that there is no effective opposition and no community power complex.

Institutions tend to avoid direct controversy as institutions, for they are primarily concerned with internal problems of administration. The same thing is true for officials of churches, government bureaus, welfare organizations, and mass media. They must be cautious and restrained because of the public or semi-public character of their work. Defined as professionals or public servants, they are expected to conform to the conservative, institutional values of the society. If they become too active in community issues, they are made vulnerable by possible loss of their salaried positions. It is their task to advance and protect special interests. They immediately jump into an issue which affects their interests; and seek to join their resources with any group with related interests. Veto power is extremely important in the community power complex, and many organizations devote almost all of their energies to fending off invasions or threats to their vested interests.

An important component of community power structure is that of the "Top Influentials." Top influentials are those people who, from among a number of influential persons in the community, are consistently the decision-makers in the community issues or projects that crop up. They are the influential people who have been actively interested and involved in community issues and projects in the past. They have often demonstrated a concern for community problems. They have shown the ability to initiate organization in community affairs and the capacity to influence the direction of associations to which they belong and the policies of community-wide organizations. They have exercised the power to veto a threatening action on the part of others. Not only are they predominantly big business men, but in some communities lawyers, clergy, labor officials, and other professional representatives may be

top influentials. Their organizational memberships and associational offices held are impressive in number, usually; and their political affiliations are not only local, but extend into the state and national spheres.

Irrespective of their leadership ability, the test of their membership within the top influentials is whether their influence extends over persons and associations over which they do not have formal authority, and in areas in which they have no direct economic interests.

The solidarity of top influentials can be determined by observing the interpersonal relations of these people who initiate major community policy, direct major community projects, and veto certain modes of procedure in the solution of major issues and projects. These observations should cover a span of years, and a series of issues, to adequately portray such a pattern and trend.

Attention should be focused on the following important group features of various communities to get at the particular pattern of top influentials.

- (1) The type of issue or project: Are the same top influentials found in all issues, or do they vary with each?
- (2) Size: Is the top influentials a large or small group, and does it vary in size according to the issue or project?
- (3) Tenure: Is membership among the top influentials provisional or more or less permanent; closely related, is there high or low circulation of membership among the top influentials?
- (4) Recruitment: Do the top influentials occupy their position by virtue of holding other hereditary positions, or do they achieve the role of top influentials; that is, is the top influential status achieved or ascribed?

- (5) Internal solidarity: Do the top influentials comprise a highly solidary and cohesive collectivity who act in concert in all major projects or issues, or are they a non-solidary body with each individual acting more or less independently of the other?
- (6) Do the top influentials independently make all the important decisions, or do they consult with all groups which may be affected by their decision?

From an analysis combining these features Form and Miller find it possible to delineate possible types of top influence structures. Briefly, these types include: (1) Democratic, (2) Fluid Influentials, (3) Core Elite, and (4) Exclusive Elite.

At the one extreme, the Exclusive Elite Type is made up of a few elites who have more or less inherited their position, which they occupy for life. They are a relatively small, cohesive, and exclusive group, who make unilateral decisions for the community. This type tends to be found: (a) in one-industry towns where the dominant family asserts authoritative control, (b) in communities with a solidary ruling aristocracy, and (c) in communities dominated by a strong economic-political clique with its clique.

At the other extreme is the Democratic type. There is no limitation on the size of the top influentials here, for its membership tends to change with the type and seriousness of the issue or project. Here the top influentials constitute a highly individualized and temporary social system of associational representatives who have little independent and enduring power. In the extreme case, this definition almost characterizes some types of community power complex structures having no top influentials. The Democratic type of top influentials structure tends to be found in new communities which may be in the process of developing top influentials, and in communities in which all major groups are highly organized and have more or less equal power.

The two middle types, the Fluid Influentials and the Core, comprise the most current types in contemporary Western society. The two types vary primarily in the size of the elite core and the ease of access into the top influentials. To be sure, in both types

there is some degree of fluidity in internal organization. Thus, the type of issue or project tends to involve different influentials, although a core of influentials varying in size tends to be found in most issues. Some degree of mobility in and out of the top influentials is found in both types of structure. Furthermore, the individuals undertake to consult with some groups which may be affected by local projects and issues, although they always retain some independent authority. It may be convenient at times to think of the two fluid types as being comprised of first and second rate influentials, as Hunter does; or it may be convenient to think of the core elite as key influentials. The distinguishing characteristic of the latter is that they are selected as leaders by other influentials.

Form and Miller recognize the heuristic value of these types and admit that the top influentials structure may vary according to the issue or the type of cleavages existing in the community, and may not be a homogeneous solidary system.

For example, in many communities rapid industrialization has created basic cleavages between the oldtimers and the newcomers. In such a case, the oldtimers may develop into an exclusive elite type of top influential structure, while the newcomers resemble the fluid influentials in this respect.

Form and Miller note that there is a hierarchy in the power wielded by various components of the community power structure and in the importance of the decisions made. Usually, community power complex influentials and leaders of various institutions initiate low-level issues or projects, while high-level issues are primarily initiated by top influentials or community power complex members.

PART II. ANALYSIS AND CONCLUSIONS

CHAPTER III

COMMUNITY SETTING

General Characteristics

Mills Springs is a small typical midwestern town located in rural central Michigan. It is one hundred miles distant from a large metropolitan city. It is situated within commuting distance of several large towns and cities.

There are at present some eight manufacturing plants in Mills Springs, employing approximately six hundred people. Light fabricating and stamping, paper packaging products, dairy production and sales, pickling, and woolens manufacturing comprise the main industries. Agriculture is an important form of livelihood in the economic activities of Mills Springs. The chief types of farming include dairy products, livestock and livestock production other than dairy and poultry, poultry and poultry products, and field crops.

Until the late 1930's, Mills Springs was primarily noted for several decades for its woolen industry. For some four or five decades one of its woolen mills companies was a nationally recognized producer and enjoyed a national distribution of its products. Its blankets, yarns, coatings, auto robes, and upholstery fabrics were its main products.

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With the development of synthetic fabrics and with certain technological improvements, and changes in automobile design and use of fabrics, this company lost its ability to compete and its industrial position and is no longer in manufacturing. However, it does maintain its main local retail outlet, selling products of other firms. Only one of Mills Springs woolen mills still engages in the production of wool and merino yarns. This company also manufactures a line of wool socks.

In the past there were two other major industries in Mills Springs: one manufacturing oil and gas furnaces, blowers, and filter package units; and the other, industrial fabricating of steel flasks and light equipment for the foundry trade.

As of 1950 Mills Springs had an assessed valuation of \$4,497,200 with a tax rate of \$25 per \$1,000 valuation--one of the lowest in the state. Mills Springs has had no bonded indebtedness to speak of. Its bank resources are approximately \$2,100,000; and its bank deposits, \$1,900,000. It has an authorized building and loan capital stock of \$150,000 and postal savings of about \$350,000. Its retail sales volume is about \$2,000,000 annually; and it is a retail center for a trade area with a ten mile radius and a population of 7,500.

Transportation facilities include the New York Central Railroad and the Short Way Bus Line. A privately-

owned airport is publicly operated, and it possesses 2,500 foot runways. Of its twenty miles of streets, ten miles are paved. River mileage is three miles.

The form of city government in Mills Springs is the commission system. The city owns the library. The city distributes water and utilities. It operates a fairly new sewage disposal plant. There are a high school with a manual training division, two elementary schools (one in the process of being built), a lighted athletic field with a 2,000 seating capacity, and a centrally located city park in which weekly band concerts are given during the summer season. Recreation facilities also include a motion picture theater, bowling alley, and a youth headquarters.

There are ten denominational churches in town, the bulk of them Protestant. There is one newly constructed community hospital.

A weekly newspaper, The Mills Springs Journal, is published, which handles community and area news predominantly.

A veterans' organization has its national home for orphans four miles southeast of Mills Springs.

The present population of Mills Springs is unofficially estimated at about 4,000 people. In the 1940 United States census its population was 3,060. In the 1950 United States census it was 3,509. The latest official estimate of 1953 places its population at 3,780. The per cent of

change in population between 1940 and 1950 was 14.7; and of the 1950 to 1953 period, 7.7.

The Mills Springs racial composition figures in the 1950 United States census reveal that less than one per cent, or only five people of its population of 3,509 were non-Caucasians. There were only two Negroes in the community and only three people of other races. Ninety-seven per cent of the population were native-born whites; three per cent, foreign-born. Of the 97 per cent of the population, the great majority of these were of Anglo-Saxon stock. Thirty-five per cent of the population were in the under 20 age group; 52 per cent in the 20-64 age group; and 13 per cent in the 65 and over age group.

A look at the occupational structure of Mills Springs shows that the bulk of its working force works outside of Mills Springs proper. It is estimated that most of these people work in three large cities nearby and commute to work. Many of the men and women are state workers; they also work in the automobile plants in the capital and in other local fabricating plants. With the decline of the local industries, especially the woolens mills, many people sought employment in the outlying communities. It was with the development of highway systems and more rapid means of communication and transportation that these people sought outside jobs.

According to over half of our informants, new people have moved into Mills Springs to live in a small town

atmosphere, attracted also by its lower taxes and lower living costs in general.

The politics of Mills Springs is predominantly Republican. The city elections are non-partisan, and we find in the city government both Republicans and Democrats working together. On the whole the community is very conservative and very Republican. Although partisan politics plays a small part locally in the community, on the state-national levels the opinions of the populace are vehemently expressed and tend to be, as we have said, very conservative. During the Roosevelt administration, especially, was there an expression of this sentiment. During the depression the community still voted straight Republican.

Mills Springs has its share of fraternal organizations, as do all small communities. There are the Masons, Rebecca Lodge, the Independent Order of Odd-fellows, the service clubs--Lions, Kiwanis, Rotary, Junior Chamber of Commerce--and various ladies' clubs, to mention only a few.

The two major churches in the community are the Methodist Episcopal Church and the First Congregational Church. It is to these two main churches that the upper class and the upper middle class, if we so call them (the power elite), belong. The other churches are the First Baptist Church, which is (from reports) the third largest in the community; then, St. Peter's Catholic Church, the Adventist Church, the Wesleyan Methodist Church, the Church

of the Nazarene, the United Brethren Church, the Spiritualist Episcopal Church, the Pilgrim Holiness Church, and the Church of God. There was formerly in the community an Episcopal Church, but there is no longer one in Mills Springs. However, there is a chapel that the Episcopalians of the community use that is located at the Veterans' National Home that we mentioned previously.

Brief History of Mills Springs Industrial Development¹

Mills Springs was founded in 1836 by a group of pioneers trekking westward. Mills County, in which Mills Springs is located, was named after a national cabinet officer of that period.

Because of its ample water supply and its forested vicinity, Mills Springs was chosen as the site of a sawmill; and from its initial lumber production, Mills Springs was built. A grist mill and a dam were built in 1838, a canal to consolidate the available water power in 1842. In 1844 a carding mill was erected, and the necessary machinery installed for wool carding and cloth dressing. In 1846 a foundry was started, and in 1855 a cabinet shop was erected. This was the early industrial base of pioneer Mills Springs.

¹This account is based in general upon local and state documents and upon accounts given by our informants.

Through the years Mills Springs' water supply has weighed heavily in its industrial development. In fact, the original town proper, now the business district, was on an island. Today it is connected to the rest of the town by several bridges. Hence, the nickname "Island City." Besides becoming a watering place for the pioneers heading further west, Mills Springs early became the site for numerous saw and grist mills and carried on a heavy trade in lumber in the vicinity while the forests held out. It transported its products on the Grand River and overland.

In the 1860's mineral wells were discovered in Mills Springs, and for a decade or so it became known as the "Saratoga of the West." Four fashionable hotels were erected at that time around the spas, and the lucrative business in "curative baths" persisted until a series of disastrous fires leveled the major hotels in town. Mills Springs was unable to recover from these blows, and its reputation as a mineral springs resort declined and then vanished. It is estimated that, for a period in the 70's, as many as 3,000 visitors were accomodated in Mills Springs' seven hotels and houses at one time, the main attraction being the spas.

During these five decades since its founding, Mills Springs was also developing as a regional rural trade center, and merchants of various lines of basic necessities settled in the growing town. Farmers from the outlying farms

brought in regional fruits, vegetables, dairy products, animal stock, and grains for trade purposes. Various banks were established at various times to handle the transactions. (We say banks were established at various times because many of these banks failed, due to unstable financial conditions of those decades.) For many decades this basic trade pattern has persisted, although some minor changes have occurred within the last two decades or so. With the development of better modes of transportation and communication, some trade has drifted to other trade centers; and with the passage of time some farm products have waned in importance, while others have replaced them. Dairying has increased to major importance, while fruit growing has declined, for example.

Modern Mills Springs Industrial History

It was in the 1880's, however, that a new burst of industrial activity took place in Mills Springs, which was to shape its economic and social life considerably for some fifty years.

In 1880 a professional spinner and mill-hand born in Yorkshire, England, Cornelius Sampson, and his wife, a weaver of paisley shawls, born in Edinburgh, Scotland, purchased the Isle Mill in Mills Springs. Previously, they had both been affiliated with woolen mills in Amesbury, Massachusetts, where they were wed in 1855. Three children were born in Amesbury: Harriet, John, and Peter. In 1867

Paul was born in Lawrence, Kansas, where the family had moved to a farm. Two years later they farmed in Liberty, Missouri; and in 1872 Cornelius Sampson leased a woolen mill in Troy, Ohio.

For the first few years in Mills Springs, the whole family did the work. Harriet was in charge of clerical duties; John handled the mechanical end of the operations; Peter handled trade contacts; and Paul was the mill supervisor.

The market was kind in the reception of their products, and the mill's operations expanded. In 1883 carding, weaving, and finishing machinery was installed. Their first cloth and blankets were manufactured in 1885. The contract for uniforms for the vocational school in the capital was procured in 1887. In 1900 the physical plant was increased by breaking new ground. Until World War I the entire production of the mill was a variety of woven woolen yarns. In 1914 knitting machines were installed and they began manufacturing fabric for military puttees. This was Sampson's first government contract. Khaki yarn was spun in large quantities, also. During this period of three decades, it was reported, Sampson's concern became one of the leading woolen mills in the United States. In 1918 they were incorporated as the Mills Springs Woolen Mills, and in 1937 were renamed the Sampson Woolen Mills Company. In World War II they produced blankets and woven and knitted fabrics for the government.

The Sampson Woolen Mills became the industrial foundation upon which the Mills Springs economy rested. It maintained this strategic position until the mid-1930's. At one time this industrial organization employed as many 500 men of the town, whose total population for decades was never in excess of 2,500. With this rise in the textile industry and its economic growth in Mills Springs, the Sampson Mills rose in social and political importance in the community, and to some extent in the state. Locally, members of its family or close associates and friends became the power elite of the community, not only in the political sphere and city government, but also in the Methodist Church and other community social endeavors. For all intents and purposes, the town of Mills Springs became a predominantly one-industry town, operated by the Sampson and allied interests. At one time, Mills Springs derived even its light from the Sampson Mill. In 1888 the family had installed a dynamo, and it sold power to light Mills Springs.

In 1909 Thomas M. Kingston became associated with the Sampson Mills and was its superintendent from 1916-1920. Kingston was born in Yorkshire, England, on March 17, 1876. In 1903 he married Annie Laurie and came to this country in 1904 to visit his brother, Leo, of Philadelphia, one of the largest wool merchants in the United States at the time. After working for John Wanamaker for some years, Thomas M.

Kingston, upon recommendation of his brother, joined Sampson Brothers.

In 1920 he resigned his position and went to visit his relations in England; and upon his return from England in 1921, opened the Thomas M. Kingston Woolen Mill. With the aid of his sons, Thomas F., Mark, James, and David, he established a lucrative business in spinning merino yarn, which is used by sporting goods houses. Under contract during World War II they supplied the United States government with woolen caps and socks for the troops. Sears, Roebuck and Company and Montgomery Ward and Company were also supplied these commodities.

In 1926 Albert Langer, a long-time resident of Mills Springs, started the Langer Woolen Mills after having worked for the Sampson Brothers for over a decade. At first he operated a retail store specializing in yarn, yarn goods, and blankets. In subsequent years he installed a wool bat machine as a sideline, and business increased. The firm's line expanded to include jackets, Mackinaws, socks, and snowsuits. Tarpaulin milk can jackets and other types of shipper's supplies were added. His sons, Jerry and Jack, later ran the business.

The other major industry in Mills Springs, whose operations have spread outside the Mills Springs area, is the Smith Dairy Farms. This firm was founded by Henry D. Smith in 1896.

His parents came to Michigan from New York State in 1867, first settling in Capital Township, Smithfield County, where Henry was born. In 1873 the family came to Mills Springs and purchased a 116 acre farm, which was the nucleus of an expanding dairy farm system of some 1,350 acres. In 1887 Henry D. Smith enrolled at Michigan Agricultural College in the Mechanical Engineering Department. He attended for two and a half years, at which time he went back to work the farm. He married in 1896 and, with his wife, began manufacturing ice cream. Their business increased, and they improved the technology of dairying through the years.

Their three children--two sons and a daughter--all went on to college. The sons, Guy and Carl, received their B. S. degrees in Agriculture. Guy entered the business and handled the trade operations and advertising, while Carl managed the plant manufacturing processes.

The ever-increasing business opportunities led the Smiths to procure more land, and as of 1952 their holdings included eleven farms. They set up retail outlets in six Michigan cities and one in an Indiana city and in Mills Springs, besides selling their ice cream to other retail outlets in the state.

Besides ice cream, the plant produces a wide variety of dairy products. In another city they manufacture eskimo pies, paddlepops, popsicles, and condensed chocolate in a building they purchased not many years ago.

In 1936 they purchased the water power of a local district, which was and is used in the operation of their own plant, the balance being sold to the Rural Electrical Administration and consumed in local rural areas.

According to over 75 per cent of our informants, until fifteen or twenty years ago, the Sampson and Smith industrial interests controlled the economic and social destiny of Mills Springs. They formed a nucleus called by many informants the "old guard," which was socially and politically dominant in the community for decades. Certain business and professional people in the community were also allied with this group, and in combination they formed a group powerful enough to keep out new business, new people, and to maintain low wages for their non-union labor force. (Mills Springs, by the way, has had a long and sometimes bitter history of anti-unionism; and even today, there are only two unionized plants in town, and those are controlled by out-of-town interests.)

The existence of this coalition of interests, with its restrictive and protective policies, was attributed by many informants to the hard facts of inter-industrial competition for a labor force. As one informant put it,

The woolen industry was never able to compete with the metal industries in this country. Historically, in other parts of the country, as well as in Mills Springs, and in the Mills Springs vicinity especially, metal industries were developing by leaps and bounds and were able to pay their workers a more substantial wage. The woolen industry, as a whole, was unable to pay the same type of wages. Competition couldn't be

met. They were unable to pay comparable wages, so they had to keep and enforce a lower wage scale. This was the situation here in Mills Springs. The situation reflected on the whole town and kept the town down. Most of the people in the town wanted other industry to come in; but the "old guard" wanted to keep other industry out, and they maintained a control on the town. They wouldn't even have a Chamber of Commerce; had the tax rate structure so fixed that their industrial interests would not be jeopardized. Even population immigration was restricted. For some decades the population was maintained at 2,500. All of this was explicitly done by the interests in command, claiming that there wasn't an industrial base sufficient enough to support any additional population.

The majority of our informants also informed us that there have been only two short-lived Chambers of Commerce in Mills Springs throughout the years. At one time, the people of Mills Springs had an organization called the Mills Springs Improvement Association. Certain businessmen and people in the community who had some money and who were interested in "improving" Mills Springs donated \$40-\$100 apiece and hired a part-time executive secretary to handle their business. These people contributed this money and formed this improvement association because they knew that Mills Springs had to have some industry, some new industry coming in, if the community was to expand and improve. Also, they had to keep Mills Springs Stamping, which was founded by one of the local residents in Mills Springs, in town, because they had a very desirable invitation to move to Reed City. The town felt that they had to keep this industry. By contributing this war chest, so to speak, they were able to keep it in town where it

eventually has expanded. Eventually, however, even the Mills Springs Improvement Association dissolved.

Another facet of the "old guard's" activities was its active and forceful fight against unionization of Sampson Brothers in 1936 and 1937. In those years, the period of labor union expansion, the UAW and the Textile Workers Union had come into Mills Springs to organize the labor force and conduct a strike. As a result of the prolonged strike and bitter struggle, and subsequent unfavorable economic conditions, Sampson was eventually forced to close. It was only during the first two years of the second World War that Sampson Mills again resumed activity and, as a result, gained an uneasy ten-year reprieve. But again, it was forced to close down.

Smith Dairy Farms, however, has expanded. It has been able to meet competition from the outside; but, of course, this is a special type of industrial undertaking and Smith's has not had to face the sort of competition for labor force and market that the Sampson Woolen Mills have had to. Their product has not been superceded by artificial substitutes, such as Sampson woolen goods being superceded by synthetic fibers, nor have they required such a large labor force as had Sampson's.

Mills Springs Community Power Structure

The commonest techniques² used to identify the community power structure are dependent upon: (1) locating the power figures with formal status in the local social, economic, civic, and political structures--upon position; or (2) determining these power figures through nomination of "juries" or local knowledgeable informants--upon reputation. We have used a combination of both these techniques to identify the community power structure of Mills Springs.

Our procedure was as follows:

1. We arranged appointments with a local attorney and the newspaper publisher, to whom we presented our general research problem. We asked the attorney for a brief history of the community and about its social and economic base. In addition to this information, however, he voluntarily gave us his version of the important past and present community issues, the people involved in these issues, and the power factions as he saw them, bringing in economic interests, religious affiliations, and organizational ties of these people to illustrate the alliances. We then asked the same information of the local newspaper

²Floyd Hunter, Community Power Structure (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1953); R. O. Schulze and L. U. Blumberg, "The Determination of Social Power Elites," A.J.S., November, 1957, pp. 290-296.

publisher, who gave a somewhat similar basic picture, but who took a different value position as to the factional divisions involved in the issues. Both mentioned the existence of a small neutralist group.

2. Using this material as a point of departure, we read the available local histories in the Mills Springs and State libraries, the local and, where pertinent, metropolitan newspapers for accounts of the local major issues, especially relative to the hospital, the school, and the strike-unionization issues. We noted the recurrence of particular names of individuals and groups and their positions on the issues.

3. We then secured a city directory and proceeded to set up a tentative list of possible leading social, economic, civic, and political figures, utilizing the information secured in all our previously gathered sources. This list initially contained the names of fifty-two individuals. We also placed them in opposing camps, according to the positions they seemed to us to have taken in the conflict situation involving school consolidation and annexation. If this factional distribution held for that issue, why not for the hospital issue as well, we conjectured. We, too, included what we considered to be the small neutralist group.

4. At the same time, we chose a "jury" of local, presumably knowledgeable, informants--seven people whom we

felt were so due to their strategic formal and informal local positions--to make up a list of people they personally considered most influential in the community. We asked them to list people who were widely acknowledged to have power in the community, and who were active in many issues, either explicitly so or behind the scenes, and to place these names into factional groups if they thought such groups existed in the community.

5. Then we gave them the list of fifty-two individuals' names we had drawn up and asked them to assess its accuracy and compare it to theirs. The deletion or addition of any of these names to their list was allowed, as was the shifting of names among the factions. The reasons the informants used to either delete or add a name to their final list or to disturb the factional group distribution were carefully recorded; and that informant's relationships to the people so redistributed were later ascertained in terms of their mutual economic interests, values or beliefs, personal antagonisms, and power positions.

Upon examination of the materials received from our seven informants, we found that we could arbitrarily reduce our initial list from fifty-two to thirty-eight names. The fourteen names discarded from the list represented nearly unanimous agreement among the informants that those people were only remotely connected with the resolution of the hospital or school issues. It was with this

revised list of thirty-eight names, which was tentatively arranged into two major factions and a very small neutralist group, that we went out to interview the Mills Springs influentials.

After a half dozen interviews we found that a more consistent picture of the power structure was emerging and that we could ask our interviewees to classify the names on our list of thirty-eight into key influentials, those people they considered to be absolutely essential to the resolution of the two issues we dealt with and in other community decisions of important, and into top influentials, those people they considered somewhat less critical to the resolution of important issues.³

We also found that by interviewing top influentials the list of same could further be reduced to twenty-two names. We decided to restrict our interviewing to a few more than this number. With the addition of informal interviews, our number reached thirty.

There were ten individuals who were unanimously starred by the twenty-two we actually interviewed formally as key influentials. These people were stated to be the leaders in the issues involving the hospital and school. These ten were also consistently cited by our original seven informants.

³See Chapter II, pp.55-58 for more detailed definitions.

Below these ten another dozen were cited as top but not key influentials. These people were considered to be somewhat less active and critically less important than the above in resolving the two recent issues. The criteria we used to classify these people as top influentials were somewhat arbitrary when we got near the end of the list because the votes of our informants and interviewees varied. What we did then was to include as top influentials those individuals who received at least three votes designating them as such. Key influentials required at least five votes designating them as such.

The remaining sixteen individuals on the list of thirty-eight were regarded as less active and important than the twenty-two top influentials. We did gather information from each of our interviewees on them nevertheless.

Because the size of the neutralist group varied with the issue, we were forced to arbitrarily assign individuals to that category upon the basis of our examination of their stands on many issues. We must confess that an element of intuition was involved in such assignments. Wherever possible, we directly asked the individuals where they stood on an issue.

6. We revised the questionnaire used by Form and Sauer⁴ in their investigation of labor and industrial

⁴See Appendix, pp. 231-237, for a facsimile of this questionnaire.

leaders' images of their places in the community power structure for our use in Mills Springs. This questionnaire gave us information dealing with: (a) the individual's personal background; (b) his occupational and work history; (c) his organizational memberships in local business and professional associations, service clubs, civic or welfare organizations, governmental or political activity, fraternal, social or religious associations; (d) the offices he held in these organizations; (e) his attitudes toward and evaluations of the activities of these organizations and community issues; and (f) his description of how the hospital and school issue, especially, and other important issues were resolved in Mills Springs. This information was necessary to adequately analyze an issue situation because we earlier posited that an issue situation indicates a state of conflict or tension between competing groups, which recruit their members somewhere in the institutional or associational structure of the community. An issue becomes of central concern as it affects certain vital interests or values of the community members. When these interests become identified, leaders appear and groups organize to seek a final decision favorable to themselves. It is these issues that generate great concern, which arouse the community and offer a singular opportunity to determine the pattern of power.

There are three factors which determine the outcome of a community issue, then. (1) There is the factor

involving the critically activated parts of the institutionalized power structure and their interests. We find here that the major concern is with the substance of the issue: What is its content? And what are its implications for various sectors? Directly related to this is the level of the issue: What is the "value intensity" of the controversy? How do the affected parties see the effects of the issue on their interests? (2) A second factor which is important is the power arrangement of the community power complex--the various individuals, groups, and organizations--as they mobilize and exert influence either for or against an issue. (3) The last factor deals with the solidarity of the top influentials.

Key Influentials⁵

Since the following men were unanimously regarded by our informants and interviewees to be those most responsible for plotting and steering the courses that the resolution of the hospital and school issues took, we are presenting somewhat more detailed biographical sketches of the key influentials than of the other top influentials.⁶ Unfortunately, we were unable to interview Dr. Anker

⁵The names of these individuals are fictitious.

⁶Everything in these biographies derives from interviews taken in the community unless specifically footnoted to other sources.

because he was pressed for time by the demands of his profession. Nevertheless, we were able to get reliable information about his participation in the hospital issue from the other informants and interviewees. The one remaining "key influential," Gundersen, refused to be interviewed. As it later turned out, however, we did not find his refusal to be too critical because many of the top influentials were of the opinion that his influence and active participation in community affairs were waning. His participation in earlier years was very important. His participation in the two recent issues was slight.

Warrington.--Mr. Herbert P. Warrington has lived seventy of his eighty-two years in Mills Springs. For some years his father was a traveling cooper, working in and about Mills Springs, where he finally settled, and where he later ran a cement and construction firm.

Among other things, during his youth Mr. Warrington was a cooper's apprentice. Later he was for a time associated with his father's business. Together they built several bridges in Mills Springs.

Mr. Warrington graduated from the local high school and worked his way through the University of Michigan, earning a Bachelor of Laws degree. He has practiced general law in Mills Springs for some fifty years.

During his many years in Mills Springs, Mr. Warrington has prospered and has bought up quite a bit of real

estate and property. Many of the new homes in town are being built on his subdivisions. Two of the town's newer industries and the new hospital have been constructed upon land Warrington sold and donated. He also has holdings in Florida and elsewhere.

Warrington possesses one-fourth of the stock in the local bank, and he has been a bank director for about five years. In addition, he owns one-tenth of the stock in a nearby bank, and he is a director there. All these holdings make him one of the richest and most independent men in the community. As a result he is also one of the most powerful.

He is the oldest member of the Kiwanis club and, at present, the head of its Law Committee. In the past he was vice-president of the club and was very active in its program involving summer camps and Boy and Girl Scout activities.

He is at present the president of the hospital board. Before the hospital was built, he served as the chairman of the Construction Committee. For twelve years Mr. Warrington had been president of the County Hospital Supervisory Board.

Other of his many activities have included: (1) the presidency of the School Board for six years, (2) the chairmanship of the Selective Service Board for seventeen years, and (3) City Attorney for twenty-five years. This

latter position has permitted him to direct and keep tabs on city governmental activities for many years.

Mr. Warrington has been very active in the Republican Party. He was elected to the State House of Representatives and served from 1916 to 1918. He was State Senator from 1932 to 1936. At one time he ran for the office of Lieutenant Governor but was defeated.

Mr. Warrington is a Methodist and a teetotaler. Veteran organizations to which he belongs include the American Legion (which he initiated in Mills Springs and of which he was the first commander) and the Spanish-American War Veterans.

Mr. Warrington sees the role of the lawyer as important in all phases of life that may contain legal aspects or problems (and very few do not, according to him). He feels that he represents, or has represented, the profession of law in all the organizations to which he belongs, but particularly is this so with respect to the hospital board, city government, and the bank board. He feels that his participation as a lawyer in these organizations has made a real difference in the general policies of these organizations. He thinks that unselfish community participation is the civic duty of all businessmen, but that such participation may also expand one's business.

Although he felt political participation could sometimes be dangerous, Warrington felt he had personally

benefited from it. He declared he had received profitable contacts through his political activity.

Mr. Warrington exercises considerable influence in the community in general, but he has more considerable influence with certain segments of the older people in the community and with some very conservative farmers in the outlying areas. Some of these older people are poor, either retired or pensioned, and can ill-afford higher taxes. Others of them are comfortably off, but they also resist the idea of increased taxation. These people and certain of the farmers generally share with Mr. Warrington a staunch belief in isolationist, conservative Republicanism, a stringent pay-as-you-go policy in community improvements and affairs, an old-fashioned Protestant ethic, and a nineteenth century Puritan morality.

Mr. Warrington's personality and his sheer physical and moral courage have endeared him to some community members who admire his old-fashioned rugged individualism. However, he has also made hosts of enemies by his proclivities during controversies, and at other times, to indulge in personal attacks, and invective. Others mistrust his use of influence and look askance at his inconsistent stands on various issues. They claim that he is out solely to enhance his own pocketbook, power, and glory. Yet, even his most avowed enemies will admit that in the hospital issue he was very generous with his time and money. To say the very least, he is a controversial figure.

Rand.-- Mr. Al Rand has lived in Mills Springs for thirty years. He was born in 1893. the son of a farmer, in a small hamlet in Illinois. After eleven years of schooling he went to a railroad school for one and a half years, where he learned the duties of station agent and telegrapher. He has worked for the New York Central Railroad for forty-three years in that dual capacity. The last fifteen years he has served as the station agent in Mills Springs. On and off he has been a house-builder, having built five houses in Mills Springs.

Mr. Rand is very active in community affairs. Because his job permits it, he devotes a great deal of time to community activities. He has been a board member of the Community Activities Council for nine years and is an honorary member of the Junior Chamber of Commerce. He has been a member of the Lions Club for over ten years and was its president in 1952. At one time he was also a member of the Kiwanis Club. He has served on the Community Chest's executive board and was its treasurer for two terms. Since 1942 he has been a Mills Springs City Commissioner and at various times has been acting mayor. He belongs to the Congregational Church and is a Mason.

Mr. Rand does not feel that he represents any business, professional, or governmental group in the organizations to which he belongs. However, he does feel that businessmen should serve in organizations where their

immediate business interests dictate, and not join all varieties of organizations.

Mr. Rand ranks the importance of political participation as nil on the local level as far as he is concerned, stating that "you are a no good S. O. B. if you don't fill your role, and a S. O. B. if you do it."

Many of our informants pointed Mr. Rand out as the man who, with help from Mr. Warrington, actually runs the city government. Most of them agreed he does this with the community's welfare in mind. A few people, however, view him with derision as a "politician" and the "Talleyrand of Mills Springs; you can't tell which side he's on." In the two recent community issues both factions had good things to say of him, even though he was closely identified with Mr. Warrington's position on the school issue.

Smith.--Mr. Guy Smith was born in Mills Springs in 1895. His father was a farmer and an ice cream manufacturer. After getting his college degree in agriculture, Mr. Smith went to work for his father's firm. He has worked for the Smith Dairy Farms, Inc., for forty-eight years and has been its president since 1953.

Mr. Smith has been vice-president of the local bank and is presently a board member. He is on the board of directors of the Rotary Club and is chairman of its Community Activities Committee. Mr. Smith is a recent member of the hospital board and heads the hospital Building and Grounds Committee.

Mr. Smith also holds membership in the local American Legion (which he helped organize), the V. F. W., the Masons, the Elks, and the Centrapolis Country Club. He is a Methodist and serves on the church's board of trustees.

Mr. Smith does not feel that he personally represents his business in any of the local organizations he belongs to, with the possible exception of the hospital board. He feels this appointment probably represents the influence his company has in the community. Nevertheless, he feels everyone on the board has influence equal to his. Business, Mr. Smith believes, is widely looked to for community support. Because certain projects have required heavy support and the major industries, including his, had to be represented, Mr. Smith has relied upon his employees, Mr. Corbin and Mr. Haig, to represent their organization as well as themselves in civic projects.

The hospital and the Community Activities Council are the two organizations in the community in which Mr. Smith feels that the participation of business is more important than in others. He especially noted the hospital as important because as an employer he feels he is directly responsible for the health of his men. By his service on the hospital board he feels he can help insure good hospital care.

Mr. Smith stated that he felt political participation had not been too important as far as his activities

were concerned. He had not felt he could afford the time in city government or in state and national politics.

Most of our informants viewed Mr. Smith as a quiet and moderate individual with good judgment who was doing his share in serving the community.

Smathers.--Mr. Dean Smathers, the son of a farmer, was born in 1894 and lived in Kansas until the age of seven, at which time his family moved to Mills Springs Township, where he has resided for over fifty-five years. Mr. Smathers graduated from high school and attended college for one year, majoring in agriculture. He is a prosperous poultryman and has operated a poultry and dairy farm for some forty-three years.

Mr. Smathers is an avowed exponent of soil conservation and has held many offices in organizations dedicated to this purpose. He has been (1) director of the Squaw Creek Soil Conservation District, (2) president for four years and chairman of the State Soil Conservation Committee, (3) director of the National Association of Soil Conservation Districts for three years and vice-president for two years, and (4) is a member of the Soil Conservation Society of America.

Mr. Smathers has been the director of the Production Credit Association of Farmers for twelve years and chairman of the Poultry Committee in the Farm Bureau. As a member of the governing board of one of the state's large

universities, he served as chairman of the Legislative Committee.

His local activities have included membership in the Mills Springs Kiwanis Club, where he served on the Agricultural Committee. He is on the hospital board and has been vice-president and head of the Finance Committee. Mr. Smathers is at present the chairman of the Mills Springs Board of Education and chairman of the Mills County Board of Education. For twelve years he has been chairman of the Mills County Fair Board. Other activities have included work with the Boy Scouts and Y. M. C. A.

Mr. Smathers is County Chairman of the Republican Party and is on the State Agricultural Stabilization Committee.

He is a member of the Methodist Church, where he teaches Sunday School and is chairman of the Finance Committee. He is also a Mason.

Mr. Smathers does think of himself as representing agriculture to some extent in the organizations of which he is a member, but he does not know to what extent one can represent a group. He feels he most distinctly represents agriculture on the school board, and that participation of farmers is most crucial there because the city and county school board members must get together at that point, especially to resolve the increasing incidence of population problems which call for annexation or

consolidation. Mr. Smathers is confirmed in his belief that modern Michigan farmers must face the reality that they need larger units in school organization just as they do in agriculture and elsewhere. Those in agriculture have a stake in the state and nation even though their number is constantly dwindling. A farmer has to mix with others to learn what they think and to keep up with the changing times; conversely, they need to inform others of their position.

Because Mills Springs is tied so closely to the income of the farmers, their participation in Mills Springs has affected the basic policies of the town, Mr. Smathers believes. Even so, there are certain parties in the town who have resisted rural participation vigorously. The school issue is an outstanding instance. The greatest amount of cooperation between Mills Springs and the country to date was seen in the building of the new hospital, he feels.

The majority of our informants are impressed by the intelligence and public spirit Mr. Smathers exhibits. His opponents begrudgingly admit to his accomplishments.

Nickerson.--Mr. Harold Nickerson was born in northern Michigan in 1898, the son of a rural mail carrier. He has lived in Mills Springs approximately forty years. He is a college graduate, having earned a B. A. in liberal arts. After college he worked for some three years for a

large pickling company as a contact man with the pickle farmers in Michigan.

While at college, he met the daughter of one of the Sampsons and married her. He began working for the Sampson Woolen Mills in 1921. Since 1946 he has been the board chairman of the Sampson Corporation, which he ran until 1955.

Mr. Nickerson's formal local community activities are slight in comparison with those of others. However, he is a board member of the local bank and has been its chairman. He is very interested in banking and attends state boards on finance.

He has never been an active service club member because it would have been unwise for a member of the industry in town to push himself. Otherwise, he would have joined all the organizations had conditions been more conducive.

Mr. Nickerson has been very active in the Boy Scouts at the management, direction, finance, and council levels and has held most of the offices available.

He is quite active in his college fraternity, the Masons, and the Methodist Church. He is a member of the board of trustees of his alma mater. Mr. Nickerson has been active in the past in various country and city clubs. His church interests are by far the strongest.

Mr. Nickerson represents the Sampson interests in everything he does, we were told, but especially in the

Methodist Church, the bank, and Boy Scouts. Their management employees have in the past represented Sampson's on the school board and in other community organizations.

Politically, Mr. Nickerson leans heavily toward the Republican Party, to whose coffers he has contributed. Although he has not been politically active himself, he feels that political participation is most important.

Mr. Nickerson was described by most interviewees as one who works behind-the-scenes and who is very conservative in his inclinations.

O'Toole.--Mr. Martin O'Toole was born in the year 1903 in northern Michigan where he grew up. His father was a lumberman. After Mr. O'Toole earned his B. A. degree in Industrial Education, he taught school for two years in another community before moving to Mills Springs, where he taught industrial arts for seven years. After marrying the daughter of a prosperous local farmer, Mr. O'Toole opened the O'Toole Auto Sales of which he has been proprietor and operator for twenty-four years.

Mr. O'Toole is interested in the industrial development of Mills Springs and was at one time the director of the Mills Springs Improvement Association. Besides being a member of various trade associations, he was a member of the short-lived Chamber of Commerce.

Mr. O'Toole is presently chairman of the committee concerned with boys' and girls' work in the Kiwanis and

of its Membership and Attendance Committee. In 1948 he was the club's president.

Mr. O'Toole was one of the driving forces, along with Warrington, Rand, and Kingston, behind the drive to build the new hospital. He was its board's first president. He remains a director and presently serves in the capacity of chairman of the Public Relations Committee.

Additional civic or welfare activities in which Mr. O'Toole has taken part include: the post of drive chairman for the Community Chest, scoutmaster, committee chairman, Mills District chairman, and service on the Council Executive Board of the Boy Scouts.

Mr. O'Toole has held office in the Masons and is a trustee of the Methodist Church.

Although he does not think of himself as representing any group such as business, professions, or government in the organizations of which he is a member, he does think it is important for business to participate in as many community organizations as possible. In addition to rendering community service, this participation affords one good contacts and may expand one's business, he stated. Mr. O'Toole feels participation in church activities and service clubs is more important than in other organizations because in these two groups there is more opportunity to serve the wider community. As for political participation, Mr. O'Toole believes in neutrality of one's position to be

most important. Inoffensiveness is a virtue to be desired. Most of the interviewees viewed him as an independent thinker and neutralist.

Kingston.--Mr. Thomas F. Kingston was born in Philadelphia where he lived until the age of four, whereupon his family moved to Mills Springs. He has been a resident of Mills Springs for nearly fifty years. His father was associated with the Sampson Woolen Mills until he founded his own Thomas M. Kingston Woolen Mill in 1921. Mr. Kingston graduated from the local high school and went directly to work with his father's firm, with which he has remained for over thirty years. He has been the firm's vice-president for almost twenty-five years.

Mr. Kingston is a member of the Lions and has been their president and vice-president as well as head of the Fund-raising Committee. In the past he was also a Kiwanian.

Mr. Kingston is vice-president of the hospital board and heads the Finance Committee. He and a now-deceased brother of Guy Smith initiated and for a time financed the local Community Chest before turning it over to the Community Activities Council. He has been a school board member and for several years has been an officer and member of the Boy Scouts board.

Under his administration as mayor various civic improvements were instituted. Mr. Kingston is a Republican county committeeman and was the party secretary about a decade ago.

Mr. Kingston is an active Congregationalist and has served on the church board of trustees for ten years. He is also the finance director of the church. It was at his instigation that the church was rebuilt.

Mr. Kingston does not feel that he represents a group such as business, professions, or government in any of the organizations to which he belongs. He does feel, however, that it is important for business to participate in as many community organizations as possible, because the community looks to business to lead and guide them, and because business owes it to the community from which it makes its livelihood. Business should participate and work in those activities that will help all the community. This will aid business in the community in return. The hospital and Community Activities Council were pointed out as the two organizations most deserving of support, because they benefit the majority of the community.

Mr. Kingston ranks political participation as most important. He thinks more people should take an interest in politics to prevent situations such as the (then current) Goldfine-Adams case. Honest men are needed in office, and the people are the only ones who can see to it that we get them.

Derring.--Mr. Tim Derring, the son of a farmer, was born in 1902. He was raised and has lived in Mills Springs all his life. After eight years of formal education, he

worked at various jobs in nearby cities for a time, and then farmed full-time for some years in a township near Mills Springs. He has also worked in a bank, has been an automobile dealer, a home-builder; and for the last thirty-five years he has been the proprietor and operator of the Derring Real Estate and Insurance firm and a part-time farmer.

He has membership in the Mills County Insurance Association and was president and secretary of the defunct Chamber of Commerce.

Mr. Derring has been a Kiwanian for twenty-five years and has held all offices but the presidency. He presently heads their Improvement Committee. At one time he was the assistant chairman of the Community Chest.

Although he has kept out of local politics, Mr. Derring was chairman of the Mills County Democratic Party.

He is a Methodist. He also belongs to the Elks and Oddfellows.

Mr. Derring makes no bones about the desirability of working behind-the-scenes to attain his objectives and that organizational participation has had a salutary effect on his business. He unqualifiedly supported the proposition that businessmen should be active in community affairs and to get men in organizations that one wants and knows will serve one's interests. These aims were considered of prime importance. "One can keep things under control." He

personally thinks his behind-the-scenes operations have been more productive of results in his case. He would rather let younger men stay in the limelight and be active. He has great confidence in the Jaycees and the women's clubs when support is needed.

Mr. Derring ranks the importance of political participation very highly, stating that "whatever you do has an element of politics in it. You need influential people and connections in anything you want to do."

Top Influentials

The following table lists those individuals who were important to the resolution of the hospital and school issues. It gives a brief account of their social, civic, and political affiliations.

M. Stone.--Age 43; Lawyer; Education--A.B., and B.L.L.; Resident in Mills Springs 10 years; Membership in organizations--County-State-National Bar Associations, Jaycees, Kiwanis, Chamber of Commerce, Boy Scouts; Religion--Methodist; Political activities--Republican Party-Vice-chairman, ran but lost State Senator, Tri-county Regional Planning Commission.

R. Rolls.--Age 49; Partner in Rolls Shoe Store; Education--B.S., Chem. Engr.; Resident in Mills Springs 49 years; Membership in organizations--Bank Director, Lions, Kiwanis, Chamber of Commerce, School Area Study, Golf Club, Mason; Religion--Congregational; Political Activities--Republican.

R. Stewart.--Age 43; General manager, Butcher Realty; Education--A.B., Econ.; Resident in Mills Springs 15 years; Membership in organizations--Realtors' Associations, Lions, Chamber of Commerce, Citizens' Committee, Mason;

Religion--Congregational; Political Activities--not known.

J. M. Rice.--Age 58; School Superintendent; Education--A.B., and M.A.; Resident of Mills Springs 10 years; Membership in organizations--Educators' Associations, Lions, Kiwanis. Chamber of Commerce, Hospital, P. T. A., Community Activities Council; Religion--Methodist; Government or Political Activities--Board of Education.

G. Thyssen.--Age 46; Publisher-Editor; Education--A.B., Resident of Mills Springs 4 years; Membership in organizations--Press Associations, Lions, Kiwanis.

L. McIntosh.--Age 58; C.P.A., Justice of Peace; Education--High school; Resident of Mills Springs 38 years; Membership in organizations--M.S. Improvement Association, conservation clubs, Golf Club, Mason; Government or Political Activities--Justice of Peace, Water Resources Commission.

J. P. Finn.--Age 43; Lawyer; Education--A.B., B.L.L., M.A.; Resident of Mills Springs 5 years; Membership in organizations--County-State-National Bar Associations, Lions, Rotary, Community Activities Council, Country Clubs, Oddfellows, V.F.W., K.C.; Religion--Catholic; Government or Political Activities--City Attorney, Zoning Board, Appeals Board, Police Commission.

C. Carlyle.--Age 43, President Mills Stamping; Education--High school; Resident of Mills Springs 43 years; Membership in organizations--Lions, Hospital, Boy Scouts, Golf Club, Mason, M.S. Improvement Association, School Area Study; Religion--Congregational; Government or Political Activities--Appeals Board.

C. Bond.--Age 45; Owner, Bond's Dept. Store; Education--High school; Resident of Mills Springs 22 years; Membership in organizations--Bank Director, Lions, Kiwanis, Chamber of Commerce, M.S. Improvement Association, Country Clubs, Golf Club; Religion--Methodist; Political Activities--Democrat.

H. Foster.--Age 45; Job Superintendent, Construction, Education--High school; Resident of Mills Springs 20 years; Membership in organizations--Carpenters'

Union, Lions, Oddfellows; Religion--Congretational;
Government or Political Activities--City Commis-
sioner, County Board Supervisors, Zoning Board.

L. M. Eagle.--Age 51; Postmaster; Education--High
school; Resident of Mills Springs 49 years;
Membership in organizations--Postmasters' Associ-
ation, Lions, Rotary, Boy Scout, Conservation
Club, Mason; Religion--Congregational; Government
or Political Activites--Board of Education,
Republican.

N. Edwards.--Age 37; Owner-Distributor Edwards
Dairy; Education--High school; Resident of Mills
Springs 37 years; Membership in organizations--
Jaycees, Lions, Chamber of Commerce, Boy Scouts,
Conservation Club, Mason; Religion--Methodist;
Government or Political Activites--Appeals Board.

M. White.--Age 47; Housewife; Education--High
school; Membership in organizations--P.T.A.,
Boy Scouts; Religion--Methodist; Government--
Board of Education.

CHAPTER IV

DESCRIPTION AND CHRONOLOGY OF ISSUES¹

Introduction

Throughout the years the community of Mills Springs has faced and solved a number and variety of issues. Some of these issues have been of particular importance in the lives of the majority of the townspeople, because they have had a subsequent effect on their values and beliefs, way of life, and their economic interests. But in terms of the main objective of this thesis, the significant note that these particular community issues have recurrently struck is that of power relationships. These issues have revealed the dynamic power dimensions of decision-making in the community. Other less important and non-controversial projects or issues have been handled successfully by the institutional sectors formally empowered to do so, but in three important community issues the problems they presented could not be handled in the normal institutional channels. Because these important issues directly involved a conflict of economic interests, values, and beliefs, and

¹The accounts of these issues have been gleaned from information supplied us by our informants, newspaper accounts, and historical documents in the local and state libraries.

a threat to the status quo, there was a disruption of ordinary power relationships in the community; and an effort was made by several of the community power structure members to establish or maintain their positions. These issues eventually involved the wider community.

During the hegemony of the Sampson and their allied interests, most problems or potential issues were solved by the Sampson representatives in a paternalistic fashion, and with quiet dispatch and little community involvement. But with the decline from power of the Sampson and allied interests, certain community issues began to appear. The one issue which directly involved a challenge to the power of the Sampson interests was the strike-unionization issue of 1937, which occurred as a part of the general state and national scene involving unionization.

Two other important issues revealing power relations were the more recent hospital issue of 1954, and the 1958 issue dealing with the acrimonious debate over school consolidation and annexation. The hospital issue, as we shall show, contained only sub rosa elements of conflict. The other two issues, however, manifested explicit conflict proportions. It is, incidentally, interesting to note that in the first and last cases a particularly controversial, powerful, and wealthy individual--a perennial member of the community power structure--injected personal notes of contention. This same individual has a long history as a

controversial community figure, and has been involved in almost all community undertakings for the last fifty years.

Strike-Unionization Issue

With the aid of new legislation and the sympathetic treatment accorded them by the New Deal administration and mass popular support, labor unions in the United States were struggling mightily during the 30's to attain certain rights and socio-economic power. They were engaged in the process of organizing wage workers in many industrial areas of the nation. The CIO, with its various affiliates (such as the United Mine Workers, United Automobile Workers, and United Textile Workers), was the vanguard of this movement. As such, it was the despised enemy of many managers of industry and, also, of a substantial proportion of the national business community.

Michigan was one of the prime targets of the CIO unionization activities because of its heavy industrialization. A bitter conflict was being waged in Michigan in 1936 and 1937 by the United Automobile Workers-CIO and the automobile manufacturers over that union's rights to be exclusive bargaining agent for automobile employees, over wage increases, over time-and-a-half for overtime after completion of a designated work week, and over other points of dispute between labor and management. Strikes were widespread, as were circuit court injunctions against them. Sometimes the threat of serious violence or outright bloody

battle were the results of an adamant unwillingness on the part of management to sit down and negotiate with the unions. Pickets did battle with strike-breakers and "scabs," with sheriff's deputies and police, with state militia troops, company guards, and hired thugs. Both sides were willing to use force to attain their ends.

Strikes and unionization in Michigan.--A brief review of the general conflict situation over unionization in the state at that time can help us to place the Mills Springs unionization issue in the general historical context in which it occurred.

Let us look at the formal statements of the issues in dispute as presented by the representatives of the two major opponents in the state: Homer Martin, then president of the United Automobile Workers; and William Knudsen, then executive vice-president of General Motors.

Here are some excerpts from Martin's general statement of the union's demands in a letter to the General Motors Corporation, published in the newspapers in 1936.

Collective bargaining should take place before a shut-down, rather than after.

The object of the conferences desired by the union are:

. . . . for the purpose of discussion and negotiating on matters affecting the present policy of General Motors Corporation, with relation to collective bargaining, seniority rights, rates and methods of pay, and the conditions of employment.

However, we would like to point out that the issues here involved cannot be settled by either local or division management, because these issues are not local but national in scope.

It is evident that the opposition to real collective bargaining on the part of General Motors and other large auto manufacturers is behind the failure of our organization to negotiate a wage agreement.

A study of the present situation brings out the fact that practically all auto parts manufacturers are either dominated by the large automobile manufacturer's policy toward organized labor, or else they have decided to subscribe to the same policy.

William Knudsen wrote the following open letter to Homer Martin:

General Motors accepts the proposal of collective bargaining and desires to maintain satisfactory relations with all its employees, regardless of union or non-union affiliation.

Obviously, with plants located in separate communities in fourteen states and necessarily operating under a variety of conditions, grievances of individuals or groups can only be handled locally, where the plant manager is familiar with local conditions and policy of employee relations.

Certainly there is nothing in this common sense arrangement which is inconsistent with bona fide collective bargaining. In fact, it promotes bona fide collective bargaining.

The union leaders say they want collective bargaining. General Motors Corporation recognizes collective bargaining and has provided appropriate machinery for it; but plants have been shut down by the union without the consent of the majority of the employees, without any attempt on the part of the union to bargain collectively before the shutdown occurred.

Notwithstanding what you say, my information is that representatives of your organization have never been refused a meeting, and have not attempted a bona fide collective bargaining with any of our plant managers on behalf of such employees you claim to represent.

Discussion on matters affecting your members who are our employees should occur before a sit-down, not after.

A declaration of a general strike by the United Automobile Workers-CIO followed this unsuccessful letter-writing. Alfred P. Sloan, shortly thereafter, made a statement of the official attitude of General Motors, which approved of a plan for non-union bargaining. He characterized the union stance as dictatorial. Sloan said he thought that it was not necessary for the men working for the General Motors Corporation to join a union to bargain collectively, since General Motors was pledged to collective bargaining on the basis of "absolute and uninfluenced freedom" of choice for the worker to join any organization he may choose. The corporation's stand was that it did not and would not recognize any union as the sole bargaining agent for the corporation's workers. It would continue collective bargaining efforts with representatives of its workers, whether they were union or non-union. The standard work week General Motors would approve was the forty-hour week with time-and-a-half for overtime. Seniority rights would be those laid down by the automobile labor board, appointed by the president in March, 1937.

Mr. Martin made a counter-reply to this statement when he said:

We have never asked the right to run General Motors or its plants, but we do ask for our rights as workers through our organization to run our end of collective bargaining.

Thus far, General Motors has run both ends of collective bargaining because of its controls of the councils and through refusal to meet the issue of collective bargaining on the proper basis.

Mr. Sloan says that seniority under the automobile labor board is the policy of General Motors. In the first place, this board has been dissolved by the president. Furthermore, General Motors used the "merit clause" as a vehicle for discrimination against union men.

Mr. Sloan's refusal to recognize the union as the sole bargaining agent is diametrically opposed to the present law of the country (Wagner Labor Relations Act), which provides for majority rule.

With both sides at an impasse, labor mediation began with no immediate success, each side blaming the other for the delays. Riots occurred in Flint and Monroe, which necessitated the calling into service of the National Guard. Unorganized labor made several protests against the strike, but to no avail, because the shut-downs continued as the parley talks were delayed.

Temporary agreement was reached in the, by then, extensive General Motors strike in February of 1937. But the union still was not recognized as the sole bargaining agent. The union was recognized as the bargaining agent for its members only. Shorter hours, time-and-a-half pay for overtime, and seniority rights were also settled.

Agreement was finally reached on March 13, 1937, when recognition was granted the union for full bargaining privileges. An elaborate grievance procedure provided the answer to the "no discrimination" demand made by the union. Claims for straight seniority were also met by another

comprehensive measure. The demands of the union were not met in full. There was some compromise.

Let us now take a closer look at the unionization situation nearer the Mills Springs area. In March, 1937, Centrapolis had its first sit-down strike at the Star Motors Plant. The demand of the United Automobile Workers to be the sole bargaining agent for all employees, union and non-union, was the basic issue in this case, as it was in the state picture presented earlier. The union stated that the firing of fifteen men and the reduction of wages was the direct cause of the strike, and that officials of Star had refused to even meet with the men in bargaining sessions. The demands of the union were precisely the same as those in the General Motors strike. The union leader said that the company refused to recognize the union as the sole bargaining agent for employees and refused to make wage adjustments. The union charged that, when a wage boost was in the process of negotiations, the company cut wages. The strike was finally settled with the union being recognized as the bargaining agent for the members of the union only; the company would not discriminate against the union members; and wage and seniority issues were settled. Greater union compromise than on the state level resulted.

Now let us analyze the unionization issue and the strike which occurred in Mills Springs in 1937. While the strikes at General Motors and other companies were taking

place, the local newspaper was waging an editorial campaign that was censorious of the more powerful labor unions, and which upheld the rights of the plant managers and owners. We shall introduce some brief excerpts from these editorials in the following presentation to illustrate the value positions of the former publisher and a majority of the local Mills Springs businessmen, professionals, and farmers. We shall also include some appropriate excerpts from The Iconoclast, a throw-away scandal sheet published at the same time by the controversial individual to whom we previously alluded. (It might be added that the then incumbent newspaper publisher and this individual were very close friends.)

Mills Springs' strike-unionization issue.--The publisher and editor of the Mills Springs Journal attacked the various union demands without citing the negative aspects of management practices which prompted such demands in the first place. No attempt was made by him to assess the fairness or feasibility of meeting such demands. On the other hand, nothing but praise was heaped upon the captains of industry. For example, with reference to the United Automobile Workers-CIO demands made of General Motors Corporation, he had the following to say:

. . . It seems that labor will not be satisfied until the employee can dictate to his employer just how the business is to be operated, the hourly wage, the time employed, and speed of operation.

Again, with the aid of borrowed editorial comment he bestowed paeans of praise on industry and business.

For example:

In the old days of rugged individualism the social uplifters always accused the captains of industry of coercing and intimidating the worker. Nowadays, the captains of industry can rightfully claim that they are being coerced and intimidated by the workers.

But at least to their credit the captains of industry have shown their regard for law and order. They are permitting strikers to sit down on property which does not belong to them; they have not used strong-arm methods to rout these squatters who are using property in utter disregard to its ownership and in defiance of its possible sales value as a commercial product; and they are permitting sympathizers and relatives of these passive agitators to feed them through the gates and doors and windows of property which belongs to stockholders and not to myrmidons of the belligerent John L. Lewis of Napoleonic-complex fame; favorite of agitators and labor pet of the White House.

There were numerous other editorials and remarks in a gossip-type column printed, which expressed similar sentiments and values. However, on June 14, 1937, with the occurrence of a United Textile Workers-CIO union strike at the Sampson Woolen Mills, this variety of harangue abated for awhile. Since a full-blown unionization situation similar to the others in the state had landed right in the Mills Spring lap, a cautious approach was taken by the publisher-editor.

A fairly large contingent of the Sampson employees--several hundred of the 500-600 persons employed--had struck, as it was later found out, for a minimum wage scale, eight-hour day, time-and-a-half for overtime, and seniority rights.

A split in the community on the basis of economic interests was being rapidly generated by the strike. The prevention of such a rift was the tacitly assumed task of certain members of the community power structure who wanted to maintain the status quo of an essentially one-industry town.

For a time the roots of the strike dispute were hidden in the murky silence assumed, for some unexplained reason, by the Sampson officials. Although several hundred workers at the Sampson Woolen Mills had gone on strike and had established picket lines about the closed buildings, the cause of the strike was not immediately determinable by the local press. All that was initially known, so the paper reported, was that the action was in accordance with an order issued by the United Textile Workers-CIO officials. The Sampson officials said they had not been advised that Monday morning as to the reason for the strike.

In a week's time, however, it was learned that the union men at Sampson's had called the strike after some previous negotiations had taken place with the company and failed. It was reported that the Sampson organization had made certain propositions to the employees during these negotiations. In these negotiations the employees had asked for certain wage increases and adjustments in the work week and daily hours worked, which were not met by the concessions offered by the company. It was then that

the union officials and the employees decided to strike. There were no signs of violence at first, and the employees hoped for a peaceful settlement of the affair. The management of the mills seemed to be sitting quietly and said nothing to anyone. The newspaper expressed what it called the opinion of many Mills Springs residents that the less said about the matter relative to either side of the controversy, the better for all concerned. Actually, the position of the union and employees found no public outlet in Mills Springs other than public meetings and handbill distribution.

After three weeks of no further negotiation, prospects for an early settlement of the strike were not encouraging. The company was either unwilling or unable to meet the CIO union demands for a minimum of seventy-five cents an hour. (It never became quite clear which, because the company records were not examined.) The concessions the company had offered were described as a "material increase in pay and adjustment of working hours," but how material the increase was was never specified. Evidently, it fell quite a bit short of the minimum demands made by the union.

A general report was later circulated in the town to the effect that the Sampson organization had received cancellation of orders, due to their inability to deliver goods, and that even if the strike were settled and the

mill opened shortly, it would take several months before they would again be operating at full capacity.

The publisher began to verbally chafe at the prolongation of the strike, and another borrowed editorial found its way into the columns of the Mills Springs Journal. In that issue an appeal to the unions for "democratic behavior" on their part was made. This article was entitled "Democracy versus 'Isms'."

The only workable form of democratic government which the world has ever known is not based upon the theory that everybody should have absolute liberty, but rather that everybody should have as much liberty as possible without hurting the whole society. Unrestricted for all is anarchy. Complete liberty for special groups leads to communism or Facism or some other "isms."

It is strange, therefore, that some Americans who prize their democracy should let one group in its society have almost complete freedom from control. Labor unions have fewer legal restraints upon them than any other group, yet every day they demand and take more freedom.

It used to be a crime to interfere with the United States mails, yet now in the midwest strike pickets are censoring mail before they let it go into factories.

It used to be that a man could work if he wanted to, yet now strike pickets are making men go on relief by refusing to let them work.

It used to be that a man could either join or refrain from joining a union, yet it is reported that a recent Chrysler plant sitdown strike was called to make some union members pay their dues and to force others to join.

It used to be that a man did not have to belong to a union to hold a job, yet at General Motors a sitdown strike was threatened because two unionists did not like to work along side two non-unionists.

It used to be that, when a man worked hard and long and built himself up in business, he could run that

business; yet another sitdown strike recently forced such a man to retire from control of his business.

It used to be that a contract was a contract, yet there have been nearly threescore sitdown strikes in automobile plants since contracts were signed forbidding them.

Where and how must it end? In another "ism?" Or the restoration of real democracy?

In the same issue of the paper the reason for such renewed antagonism toward the union and the local strike became evident. In the aforementioned chatty gossip column it was admitted that:

. . . Businessmen in Mills Springs were put on the spot last week when the striking Sampson employees circulated a petition for a jackpot to help them out. Some merchants gave, and others refused. The employees of the mills are friends of the businessmen, and the men and women of management are also friends. Strikers are friends and also non-strikers. So what to do is hard to decide. Some of our businessmen and citizens are with the strikers, while others are against their operations. To say the least, nearly all Mills Springs citizens seem to be inclined to keep out of the fight as long as everything is orderly and all keep within the law and avoid any violence. The sensible thing to do is for all to keep their heads and use judgment.

About a week later, with pressure on the community economy mounting, it was reported that Mills Springs merchants and citizens in general greatly deplored the situation and hoped for a speedy agreement between the three factions: strikers, non-strikers, and management.

With what might have passed for subtlety at the time, the paper published an editorial trumpeting the business ethic for all to hear. This editorial was entitled "Are Businessmen Selfish?".

Dr. Henry C. Link, director of the Psychological Service Center in New York City, believes that, instead of business executives being selfish, just the reverse is true.

"The employer," he writes, "who assumes the responsibility of giving work to other people, of providing the necessary weekly payroll, of entrusting labor responsibility to his subordinates as the business grows, of assuming the risks of competition, labor problems, manufacturing difficulties, and the thousand-and-one griefs that go with almost every business, manifests daily a high order of unselfishness. Through his energy and leadership, he improves the lot of his employees far beyond the point which their personal efforts would have made possible. . . . The fact that he may benefit materially is inevitable in the situation, and not an indictment of his character."

In my personal experience I've known a number of instances in which men have turned down promotions because they were unwilling to assume the large responsibilities. Yet, these same men are often the first to complain about the actions of their superiors. To quote Dr. Link again, "Many individuals remain employees rather than employers, day workers rather than executives, because they have been unable to sacrifice their selfish desires or their personal ease to the acquisition of the skill and resources that make for success."

It was Napoleon who said, "Great men are meteors who burn themselves up to enlighten the world." The great masses of people are always dependent upon the creative few for food, shelter, clothing, and the pursuit of happiness.

The squeeze on business activities began to be felt even harder in Mills Springs. In the fourth week of the strike no new developments had occurred. The loss of a bi-weekly payroll of about \$22,000 to the business interests led to more anxiety. Then a representative from the Department of Labor in Washington visited the town and, after getting in touch with both strikers and management, left the town with little encouragement for a settlement of the

strike problem. The business community had further reason to be anxious.

The sentiments of the local press began openly to wax warm for Sampson Company's position. On behalf of the citizens of Mills Springs as a whole, "great appreciation for the importance and value of this fine institution" was expressed by the paper; and the strike situation was strongly deplored. An appeal to the interests of the business and professional elements of the community, to the non-strikers and farmers, was made in an editorial in the sixth week of the strike. This editorial was entitled "Who Foots the Bill?".

Strikes cost money.

That salient fact must be overlooked as violence steals the headlines. But as dangerous as it is when mobs run rampant through the country, halting mail trucks and interfering with other people who want to work, a long-term factor that strikes are costly cannot be overlooked.

First, they are costly to the minority who decide to strike. Secondly, they are costly to the greater number who are forced out of employment in their own plant, or who are laid off because a customer's plant has been closed or a source of supply cut off. They are costly to the shopkeepers, the doctors, lawyers, and candlestick makers in every community, with losses running into billions of dollars. They are cutting heavily into the national income, out of which comes the living standard of all people.

These factors are felt immediately by the various groups directly affected, but the toll that the present wave of strikes and compulsory wage increases will take in the future of the buyer of manufactured goods cannot be calculated.

Let's look at it calmly. From seventy to eighty per cent of the cost of manufactured products is labor cost.

As these costs go up and up, the selling price of goods must go up too. That is when the consumer begins to feel the effects of an economy dictated by violence, rather than by peaceful consultation. And the farmer caught . . . caught in the squeeze, finds himself pinched as the goods he buys in the city become dearer and dearer.

The type of reporting that we have been quoting from the Mills Springs Journal found strong parallel support in the anti-union pronouncements of Mr. Herbert P. Warrington, a prominent lawyer, sometime contractor, and realtor in the community, in his The Iconoclast publication. This unique publication was mimeographed for local distribution from about 1937 through approximately 1941. On either side of its masthead it proclaimed the legends "Be Right and Not Afraid" and "We Dare to Speak"; and beneath its title the legend "In the Interest of the Most Beautiful City in Michigan" was found. This publication was actually an instrument for the fulminations and pronouncements of Mr. Warrington. In it, he attacked what he considered to be sin, corruption, greed, hypocrisy, stupidity, and other vices in the local community, the state, and the nation. In it, he also vented his feelings against the Roosevelt administration, communism, fascism (practically any "ism"), and against the labor unions. These groups were many times lumped together as aspects of the same evil. He often treaded the thin line bordering on slander and libel, but was never sued because of his knowledge of the elasticity of the law. As a result of this publication and the independent stand he took in it on various community issues,

he was both hated and admired by different segments of the community. We shall quote only a few of the outstanding literary pieces pertinent to this issue here.

During the strike of the Sampson Mills, The Iconoclast expressed the following values and beliefs on the subject of unionization in general.

Strikes

Will the factory man, in striking, defeat himself? It is possible and quite probable. Would the best paid labor in the world destroy the nation that enables him to live better, affords him more pleasure, and assures him full freedom of expression and determination, and make a serf of himself? Certainly not, if he knew that to be the result. It may be the result.

This nation cannot endure without law and order.
This Democracy cannot survive without property rights.

It is the right of free Americans to refuse to work for an employer he thinks is not fair in wages, treatment, or working conditions.

It is equally the right of the employer to refuse employment to any person who is not efficient or faithful to the employer.

If the laborer is dissatisfied, he has a perfect right to quit his employment and seek employment elsewhere. This is always open to him. The employee goes where he thinks he can do best. This is his right, his remedy. No one can legally stop him in America.

Under Democratic America the laboring man is a free agent. If an employer is unfair with his laborer, the laborer, as a free agent, leaves the unfair employer until the employer is so handicapped he is compelled to make such changes as will attract labor. It is like water seeking its level.

This is the peaceful means by which, during normal times, Capital and Labor have cooperated in making America the greatest nation in the world, in which

the most humble laboring man lives better than the best laboring men in some other countries. In America there is a radio in every home. There is an automobile to every family. Nearly every factory workers enjoys electricity in his home. American workmen have more money, more leisure, more comfort, more enjoyment, and more pleasure than like laborers anywhere in the world.

While this is all true, it is nevertheless the right of American labor to better their conditions by any LAWFUL means. They may quit and seek a better job. They may refuse to work in unison (strike), and refuse until their certain demands are complied with. If those demands are unreasonable or impossible, and the employer is unable to secure other needed employees, the factory must be closed permanently, dismantled, and torn down. Thus, labor destroys himself.

However, the employees should seek their objective by peaceful and lawful methods. They have a perfect right to peacefully "picket" a factory or other place of employment and lawfully call attention to the fact that they are striking, and to peacefully and without force try to persuade others not to work for their former employer; but they have no lawful right in doing this to go onto the premises of the employer. Nor have they the right to block streets or to intimidate other employees by violence or threats. They have no right to say to the other fellow (who may be perfectly satisfied), "You shall not work because we strikers chose not to work." To submit to such a policy means destruction of democracy, and ultimately the substitution of communism or Facism in America. Under either, no man would dare strike or express himself in criticism of his government. Under either system, individual liberty perishes and the firing squad takes the place of the ballot box.

Mr. Striker, you are but few of the 130,000,000 American people, and you should keep the rest in mind. They will not stand idly by and see our government perish or our liberty destroyed. If our national and state government are too weak or too timid to preserve us a free people, then vigilantes and law-and-order patriots will take charge. There must be law and order, or we perish.

Mr. Warrington, purportedly on his own, contacted two groups of thirteen townspeople and workers, each of whom he felt were representative of all the interests in the community, and set up the Local Associated Workers Union in opposition to the CIO. In his Iconoclast he claimed that the majority of the striking workers joined his union. The CIO, in rebuttal, challenged this statement; and the CIO still would not desist from picketing the Sampson Woolen Mills. The Iconoclast heralded the new union in the following fashion:

It is reliably reported that Sampson Brothers Woolen Mills, like manufacturers all over the country, will not bargain with the CIO because experience has demonstrated their irresponsibility and utter disregard of their agreement.

In view of this eight-weeks deadlock and the loss of more than \$80,000 wages to our people, with much more loss to follow because of the necessarily slow process of getting the contracts and getting the factory under production again, some of our local citizens who do not let an outside paid agitator do their thinking got together to see what can be done to get employers and employees back working in harmony.

The consensus of opinion seems to be an independent local union. That union is under way. It is going through in spite of a half dozen die-hard CIO's who don't see the hand writing and are using their usual tactics of threat and intimidation to hold their lines. Such tactics always fail, as they should.

Thirty Sampson employees were invited to meet Tuesday night to consider the advisability of an independent union. Others heard of it, including several CIO's, and more than sixty appeared. After the plan was explained, a secret ballot was taken; and there was not a single ballot in opposition. They know they can get nowhere with CIO. The CIO's rosy promises have proven worthless and caused hunger, privation, want, and suffering and compelled many to ask for charity, to lose their automobiles, radios, refrigerators, etc.

The thinking men and women have enough of CIO and now gladly welcome a chance to join a union of their own, with blood-sucking agitators eliminated.

Mr. Warrington's so-called independent union, the LAW, and his subsequent pronouncements were challenged in a series of handbills distributed by the United Textile Workers-CIO. Here are some few excerpts from the replies to Mr. Warrington. As the exchanges increased, so did the personal animosities and prejudices.

Is the Sampson Strike Your Fight?

Sampson workers are now fighting for higher wages, for decent working conditions in their plant. They are on strike.

The strike is labor's method of forcing employers to recognize labor's rights. Simply put, it is a refusal to work until demands are granted, essentially a peaceful method of gaining those rights. Only the attacks of employers and ignorant workers who don't understand that they are hurting their own future interests cause violence in strikes.

How does this strike affect you? Are these people fighting for themselves alone?

No strike is waged for the strikers alone--whether they will or no, this is true. When they win higher wages and better conditions, they automatically make it easier for their fellow workers in other plants to gain the same things.

On the other side of this question, if, through the apathy or hostility of workers in other plants, they lose the strike, these other workers lose also. Better wages and working conditions are harder to get.

Especially is this true in a low wage city like Mills Springs.

Especially is this true when the first concerted drive for working men's rights is being made in the city.

Sampson workers are making that drive now. Upon it depends much of your future--your wages, hours, and whether you will be able to educate your children.

You will gain when the Sampson workers win their battle.

But you will gain much more when you organize and go out to win for yourselves.

When you join with millions of other workmen in the union movement, you will tap a power that will make your demands heard much more distinctly than when you made the demand individually.

Every employer in the city is subject to pressure from organized labor. Union men often refuse to work on or buy things made under "unfair" conditions. This custom could be called into use for ice cream, woolens, tubing, chickens, and pickles.

The Wagner Labor Act guarantees and protects your right to organize. Henry Ford is finding that out.

Sampson workers struck--possibly making it unnecessary for you to strike.

They have broken the ice. Why not take advantage of it?

A direct rebuttal to Mr. Warrington's establishment of the LAW was this handbill article by the United Textile Workers-CIO, entitled "Will Sampson's Recognize the CIO?".

The argument of the "locals" runs this way: "Sampson's will never recognize the CIO; therefore, the union, by insisting on negotiating an agreement with them, is forcing this grand old firm out of business to rot beside the gurgling Grand River." Now, the Iconoclasters make much of this. They seem to think that a company union is the only possible "union" in this fair city. Since the promoters of this LAW have always fought organized labor, we gather that no union is what they want. We add, "No union at all is better than an outfit which proposes wage cuts."

It has been said that the union, in combination with the rest of the labor movement, could cut away Sampson business if it were necessary in order to force negotiations for an agreement or protect the wage scales

in the woolen industry. However, possession of this power by the union does not mean that the mill will rot. On the contrary, the realization of this coast-to-coast power of the labor movement in the markets in which they sell makes managements want to take the peaceful way and negotiate agreements. It was the realization of this hard economic fact which forced General Motors, General Electric, Big Steel, and numerous other "we won't bargain with the CIO" firms to sign an agreement.

The LAW argument is an insult to the mill management. According to them, the management would be childish and petty enough to let a million-dollar concern go to the junk man "because they didn't want to recognize the CIO." According to them, a starving man in a bakery would go ahead and die because he didn't like bread without butter on it.

Firms have gone out of business when assailed by the demands of the militant union; but in every case such firms were on their last legs before the union came. (And would have been forced into bankruptcy by their creditors.) Or they intended to reorganize in a new location where they thought they could get away with sub-standard wages.

The near-bankrupt firms were better out of the way; they indulged in cut-throat price-cutting in order to eke out their dwindling business--and forced healthy business all over the country to pay lower wages. The "runaway" firms didn't have a chance. The union followed them and forced an agreement out of them anyway.

Everyone knows that the Sampson Mill is in excellent financial condition. According to their own report, the value of the concern increased over \$86,000 in 1934; increased to almost \$440,000 in 1935. At their last report they had over \$27,000 in liquid funds than was needed to pay current running expenses. Creditors have never worried about Sampson Brothers Woolen Mills--and they don't fear bankruptcy now--whatever LAW's may say.

Of course, the management does not want to recognize the CIO. No firm wants to recognize the union and raise its wage bill. But that does not mean that a business will take a loss running into the hundreds of thousands in order to escape an increase in wages of a few thousand.

If such is true, cabbages certainly grow on orange trees--and H. P. Warrington is Joe Stalin in disguise, pretending to be a Republican.

Meanwhile, on July 23, 1937, a full-page advertisement was paid for in the Mills Springs Journal by one hundred merchants, businessmen, and professionals in the town. It read as follows:

An Expression of Confidence and Appreciation
To the Management of the Sampson Brothers Woolen Mills

WE, THE UNDERSIGNED MERCHANTS, BUSINESS, AND PROFESSIONAL PEOPLE OF THE CITY OF MILLS SPRINGS, have prepared and paid for the publication of this article as an EXPRESSION OF APPRECIATION for what the Sampson Brothers Woolen Mills has done for our City in the past, and also as an EXPRESSION OF CONFIDENCE IN THE MANAGEMENT IN THE PRESENT LABOR CONTROVERSY NOW CONFRONTING THEM.

We feel that the people of this community owe a great deal of gratitude to the Sampsons for their years of effort in building up and expanding their organization to its present size and for keeping their plant in steady operation. For many years the Mills have been the boast of the town and considered the life stream of our little city. It has furnished steady employment to the heads of numerous families whose comfortable homes have been entirely paid for from earnings at the Mills.

It is estimated that, since the organization started operation, they have paid out several millions of dollars for wages alone, much of which has been circulated locally. At the time of the present strike the weekly payroll was approximately \$10,000; and we feel that every resident of the town, no matter how he derives his living, has a direct interest in the operation of the Mills and in the outcome of this strike.

While we grant the right of every worker to quit HIS job if he isn't satisfied, we do not grant that he has the right to deny ANY OTHER MAN the right to work at a job with which he is satisfied. We greatly deplore the fact that a FEW disgruntled workers, with the aid of professional organizers brought in from out

of town, said organizers having no interest whatever in the welfare of Mills Springs, its people, or even the Sampson Brothers employees other than certain fees they are able to collect from them, have been able to close down these mills, which are THE GREATEST SINGLE ASSET THE CITY OF MILLS SPRINGS HAS.

We deplore the tactics strikers pursued in endeavoring to "PUT THE LOCAL MERCHANTS ON THE SPOT" by soliciting funds and supplies almost at the very outset of this strike. Merchants who expressed the wish to remain neutral about an argument they knew little or nothing about were immediately listed as "non-sympathizers" and a boycott suggested. One merchant, who stated that "he was carrying many of the strikers on his books with no prospect of an early settlement and felt that he could not contribute any further," was immediately listed as a "sympathizer" when, as a matter of fact, he was just the opposite.

We greatly deplore the methods used in "picketing" the mills, many of which are in direct violation of our existing laws. The fact that owners of the Mills upon which they pay city, state, and Federal taxes, desiring to enter the Mills for the purpose of obtaining the payroll and paying all back wages due both strikers and employees, were refused admittance to their own property without a guard, it looks positively silly to every American citizen who still believes in his property rights.

From the information at hand, we believe that the wage scale and working conditions at the Sampson Brothers Mills are on par and, in some instances, above other mills in the state producing the same type of merchandise. For many, many years the Sampson Mills have operated without labor trouble, and we cannot but conclude that the strikers have been EXPLOITED, ILL-ADVISED, AND MISGUIDED by professional out-of-town organizers and that eventually they must realize their mistake.

Approximately every person signing this article is a tax-payer and has direct financial and moral interest in the welfare of Mills Springs. Every one of us greatly deplores the situation, and we pledge ourselves individually and collectively to aid in any way possible for the quick and peaceful settlement of the present labor trouble. The most welcome sound the people of Mills Springs can hear will be the sound of the Sampson whistle.

In the same edition an accompanying article, entitled "Appeal to the Sampson Strikers" attempted to soothe the presumably irate strikers.

Contrary to the belief of some, the business and professional people and the citizens of Mills Springs have no ill-will against the strikers at the Sampson Brothers Woolen Mills personally. The entire matter is simply the result of difference of opinions. What the entire community desires is a settlement of this difference of opinions, in a manner that will be for the benefit and welfare of all.

All concerned--strikers, non-strikers, and management--are friends of the people of the entire community. We all desire to retain that friendship and keep the status of the citizens of Mills Springs as one big family, with the best interests of all the paramount issue.

The bone of contention in the entire matter seems to be whether or not a disinterested outside organization should dictate and rule the policies of a local concern, or that the people locally should be able to handle and govern their own affairs without the aid or assistance of outsiders who have no interest whatever in the employees, citizens, or city in general other than to gain their own points, which is made really important to them from a financial standpoint.

In the face of an independent union being formed, the Journal assumes the responsibility of stating that every man, woman, and child in Mills Springs wishes to be friends with all concerned in this strike. We have had no violence, and sincerely hope none will occur. We do not and cannot, however, agree with the strikers and their tactics in taking over a valuable property, permitting stock and equipment to be more or less ruined and an inestimable loss placed on the owners and management, at the direction of John L. Lewis or any other individual or organization. It is against the laws and the Constitution of the country, is not American, not patriotic, and contrary to all that good government stands for.

From a payroll standpoint alone the loss to the community is approximately \$80,000 since the strike started; in addition to the payroll, the loss will amount to many thousands additional. Every individual, striker and non-striker, management and citizens all

lose. Personally, we honestly believe we can settle our own affairs, and that the management of the mills will be just and fair under reasonable conditions and reasonable requests. Let's get this strike settled for the benefit of all.

In early August of 1937, after nine weeks of the strike, a plan was offered by the governor to end the Mills Springs strike. He proposed mediation by a state labor commissioner. The proposal was accepted by the striking employees of the mills, but the company officials could not be reached to determine whether they would accept the offer.

The union aired its grievances in an interview with the Centrapolis State Journal dealing with the governor's proposal. For the first time, the union got a public press hearing. They charged the Sampson Company with promoting a company union, coercing employees through a labor layoff, discriminating against United Textile Workers employees of Sampson's, and refusing sincerely to bargain.

They asserted that the company union, LAW, was organized by a local attorney, Mr. Warrington, assisted by several floor men from the mills. The union reported further that several of the company union's members had signed affidavits for the national board, stating they were coerced into signing up for membership. The union announced its intention to secure boycott pressures on the Sampson Brothers Mills through its organized customers in Cleveland, Buffalo, Rochester, New York City, Chicago, and Cincinnati.

The Iconoclast and the Mills Springs Journal both vehemently denied any connection whatsoever between LAW and the Sampson Company. They did not make any mention of any coercion either.

On August 26, 1937, the United Textile Workers -CIO announced a discontinuance of its picketing of the Sampson Brothers Woolen Mills offices. This action had been prompted by the announcement that the mill was changing its purpose from manufacture of woolen goods to the handling of real estate. The picketing of the plant, however, continued.

There was some confusion as to whether the Sampson Company was actually changing its purpose either by changing the management and ownership of the mills by shifting the stock of the owners, or through the buying in of an outside interest. The attorney for the company stockholders stated that he thought the firm was liquidating, which was also the opinion of the Michigan Corporation and Securities Commission authorities.

There was no word from the Sampson Company until the next day, when the president of the firm, returning from a trip to Texas, served notice on his workers that, unless they showed their loyalty to the company by returning to work in a body, the entire plant would be removed to Texas. Further doubts about the company's intentions were dispelled, because the next day it had an injunction served by the Mills County sheriff's officers on the union. The

writ, issued by the county circuit court judge, ordered the pickets to desist immediately under penalty of arrest. Copies of the injunction were served during the day on the various members who had served as pickets.

The striking workmen were jubilant because of the injunction. It proved that the Mills management intended to reopen the plant despite indications to the contrary.

The union had no intention of discontinuing the strike. It indicated that the pickets would continue to stand duty about the mills in spite of the injunction. And they said that, even if the governor should send National Guard troops to move them by force, the strike would be continued through the cooperation of union customers of Sampson.

As a counter move, the striking workmen filed petitions with the National Labor Relations Board, asking for a real election to be held among the employees to determine who should represent them as a collective bargaining agent. Herbert P. Warrington replied that the union's request that an election be held was "the last feeble effort to save their faces," and charged, "They will not pull over fifty votes if the election is held."

After these momentous happenings, a lull of a few days occurred, during which time the union held fast to its picketing; and the opposition, headed by Mr. Warrington, continued to mourn the impending closing of Sampson's.

Mr. Warrington waxed eloquent in a speech to the Rotary Club of a neighboring city. His remarks were to the effect that communism or Fascism was coming mighty fast if conditions that threaten the all-time closing of the Sampson Brothers Woolen Mills were allowed to continue undisturbed in America. He attacked the Wagner Act as a collection of legal don't's for the manufacturer and a free reign, bordering on anarchy, for labor. Comparing the decision of the Sampsons to "permanently" retire from the industrial field before they would submit to CIO control, the speaker predicted that Henry Ford would do precisely the same thing: that the "Flivver King" would dismantle his plant before he would take any outside dictation. Warrington urged the Sampsons to match the efforts of their friends.

The Mills Springs Journal reported that a counter-boycott of CIO union goods was spreading rapidly in town.

At a social gathering here the other evening, the ladies were heard to announce their intention of banning all CIO union-made goods. When they purchase articles, they will ask if they are CIO; and if they are, they aren't having any. This group consisted of both housewives and businesswomen in Mills Springs. The women as well as the men are getting "fed up" on the CIO and all its works. This movement of boycott is spreading over the land as individuals, clubs, and societies take it up. The women are a mighty factor in the buying world, as it is a known fact that they do most of the country's spending. And when they undertake a thing, they always see it through.

The CIO continued to "fight," nevertheless, and held public meetings on the island to present their side of the issue. Another organizer was sent in to replace

the individual who had been in charge and who had incurred the intense malice of the opposition.

Then, on September 23, 1937, bench warrants were finally served by two sheriff's officers on twenty-one members of the Textile Workers Organizing Committee and United Automobile Workers, accused of violating the injunction against the picketing of the Sampson Brothers Woolen Mills.

At about the same time, a force of some twenty-five officials and workers of Sampson Brothers Woolen Mills went to work handling stock on hand in the warehouse. This action gave rise to a rumor that the company had resumed operations following the long, drawn-out strike. The company, however, had not resumed official operation.

Prior to going to the warehouse to take care of stock on hand, officials of the company had notified state police and local authorities in order to avoid possible trouble in going through the picket line. A large number of special deputies were sworn in, and both state and city police were prepared to handle any trouble that might arise. No attempt was made by the pickets to interfere with the company officials and the workers who entered the plant.

The picket line hung around until about nine o'clock, when it dispersed and did not return. In addition to the management and employees, about sixty deputies from the city were on duty and a hundred or more other citizens,

ready to see that no one stopped the taking possession of the mills as planned.

The next morning another one hundred or more citizens formed into a vigilante militia, headed by a white-coated Mr. Warrington, were on hand to see that no trouble was started. There was none.

The management of the concern had no statement to make as to the future, stating that they did not know what the future had to offer. Liquidation was seriously considered.

Jail terms ranging from ten to twenty days were meted out by the judge at the Mills County Circuit Court to five leaders of the United Textile Workers strike against Sampson Brothers Woolen Mills at Mills Springs.

Seventeen UTW pickets, including the five who were sentenced, had pled guilty of having violated a circuit court injunction preventing picketing of the mills. Those sentenced were: a UTW organizer from a neighboring town, the UTW local president, a mill employee reported to have pulled the switches turning off power at the plant to signal start of the strike, and two other mill employees who were active in organizing the strike.

The judge explained that he was picking out five of the ring leaders of the union to sentence first.

"The orders of the court must be respected," the judge said. "Perhaps five of the defendants could be

properly thinned out from the others as having been more responsible for what has happened."

The judge said that in pronouncing sentence he was taking into account the many factors of the case. A prominent former congressman and attorney for the defendants had asked leniency on the grounds that no violence, no damage to property, nor injury to persons had occurred during the strike.

The sentencing of the union strike leaders to jail effectively halted the strike and led to a resumption of plant operations.

On October 8, 1937, a glowing report of the Sampson victory was printed in the Mills Springs Journal.

All business places in the city stopped business and locked their doors Thursday afternoon at four o'clock, in order to take part in a parade headed by Bunn's Band, marching down Main Street to the Sampson Brothers Woolen Mills, where a rousing demonstration was given the Sampsons in honor of the opening of the plant Tuesday morning.

H. P. Warrington broadcast a talk in which he assured the Sampsons of the loyal support and appreciation of the entire citizenry of the community. J. Homer led the crowd in a Sampson yell, and the Smith Dairy Farms were represented with a large truckload of employees and workers. Following the talk, the businessmen and many others shook hands with the Sampsons and other members of the executive staff. While the crowd was in front of the mill and the Sampson Mill whistle blew in all its glory for the first time in fourteen weeks, it was greeted by a roaring cheer from the crowd.

It is estimated that at least one thousand people participated in this demonstration, which was conclusive evidence that ninety-nine per cent of the people are with the Sampson Brothers industry and will back them to the limit.

In retaliation for the jailing of its leaders, the CIO arranged an automobile caravan of about twenty-five carloads of UAW men from nearby cities and towns and drove into the Mills Springs business district to stage a parade on foot.

About eight hundred persons, evidently "tipped off" about the demonstration plans, had assembled along Main Street before the demonstration. Forewarned of the plans, the chief of police had sworn in a dozen special deputies for the special occasion.

The chief of police was slightly injured when he was thrown to the ground in attempting to halt the motorcade. The driver of the automobile, the UAW organizer, was later jailed and fined for reckless driving.

This incident was the last of the strike-unionization issue; and for all intents and purposes, this was the end of any unionization issue in the community. For the past two decades unionization has not been of major importance in the community; and as we have stated before, only two plants which are affiliated with out-of-town corporations are unionized. The other local organizations are to this day non-union.

Hospital Issue

The issue over building the new Mills Springs community hospital began December 8, 1953.

At noon of that Tuesday members of the Kiwanis Club were informed by one of its members, Dr. Miles Anker, a local physician, that the state fire marshal had condemned the old Morton Hospital. The doctors who operated this non-profit hospital were informed by the fire marshal that extensive repairs and renovations would be needed if the hospital were to continue operating, and that it would be closed within thirty days unless a series of fire prevention steps were taken. The expense of renovating and repairing the hospital was estimated by Dr. Anker to run close to \$40,000. The Morton institution lacked the funds to comply with the order.

Dr. Anker stated further that he personally felt it was an unwarranted expense to put so much money in a structure eighty-three years old. The required changes listed by the fire marshal included: more fire escapes, installation of a sprinkler system and fire doors, construction of a separate building for storing oxygen tanks, rewiring of the operating room, relocation of the nursery, and others. His partners, Drs. Eric and Warren Roostens, were for renovating the old Morton Hospital at the outset of the issue.

Presented with this problem, the Kiwanis Club appointed a committee to study the hospital situation. They all were agreed that something needed to be done quickly. On the suggestion of Mr. Warrington, the oldest member of

the Kiwanis, Edgar Kennedy, the club's president, appointed a special committee "to study the possibilities of building a new hospital" for Mills Springs. Other members present were for renovating the old hospital. These initial alignments and the reasons for them will be disclosed below.

Robert Sterling, a local insurance agent, was named chairman of the committee to investigate the various possibilities, assisted by Clyde Corbin, a chemist employed by the Smith Dairy Farms, and H. P. Warrington, then a retired lawyer and owner of extensive property in the community. It was decided that the committee work with other service groups and make attempts to gain information on both sides of the controversy.

That evening, at a meeting of the Lions Club, the same information was related about the fire marshal's decision on the Morton Hospital, and the Lions, too, appointed a fact-finding committee. The members of this committee included: Roger Mandell, vice president of the Mills Springs Stamping Company; Tom F. Kingston of the Kingston Woolen Mills; Joseph Jones, a florist; and Al Rand, the station agent of the Mills Springs branch of the New York Central Railroad and the Lions president at the time.

The Kiwanis and Lions Club committees subsequently met together and formed one committee. At this meeting H. P. Warrington again made a general suggestion about building a new hospital. In proposing the new hospital,

Warrington also suggested that it should be divorced from the private control of the doctors and be made a community hospital in fact. No explicit opposition to this suggestion was made by anyone present, although certain events we shall shortly relate reveal that some people, including the Drs. Roostens, were not initially in favor of this proposition. At any rate, no vocal opposition was made at that time.

Warrington pointed out that the old hospital was a fire trap and also very expensive to run and heat because its ceilings were very high. It had inadequate parking facilities, and it was inconveniently located in the congested center of town. In addition to remodeling, expansion of the old hospital had to take place. That would have meant buying the half lot next door. When the people next door who owned the lot found out that the lot would be required, they proceeded to raise the cost of the lot to the point where it would have been prohibitive to purchase it. The expansion of the hospital would also have cut off an alley access to certain people who lived in homes adjacent to the hospital. For these reasons Warrington suggested that a new site and a new hospital be built.

Although the Christmas season was upon the city, quick action was not hindered. On Monday night, December 21, according to the Journal of that week:

About three hundred Mills Springs citizens met at the high school to formulate plans, select a site, and raise money to build a new hospital for Mills Springs. Preliminary plans called for erecting a

twenty-six bed, \$300,000 hospital. A fund drive will start immediately.

Evidently, the joint committee had tentatively agreed upon the construction of a new hospital, although we shall see later that agreement was not quite the case.

At this meeting a non-profit corporation was formed with provisional officers elected to serve until the articles of incorporation were approved by the state.

The Journal reported at the time that Mr. Warrington was prepared to contribute a large part of his sub-division on South Main Street as well as a site on Warrington River Drive for the new hospital.

The directors and incorporators of the non-profit corporation were: Warrington; Mrs. Eva Adams, a public-spirited citizen; Dr. Anker; Roger Mandell; Thomas M. Kingston; Harold Nickerson, chairman of the board of Sampson's; Marvin Stone, a local attorney; Elmer Deerfield, a prosperous local farmer; Corbin; Sterling; Cal Carlyle, president of Mills Springs Stamping; and Dr. Warren Roostens.

Sterling was named president; Kingston, the first vice president; Deerfield, second vice president; Mrs. Adams, secretary; Mandell, treasurer; Nickerson, assistant treasurer; Dr. Anker, medical advisor; Stone, legal advisor; and Corbin, manufacturing advisor.

This group went immediately to work, and within a month some final steps for incorporation as a non-profit corporation had been taken. Tom Kingston was named

solicitation chairman; and Mrs. Adams, membership chairman. Dr. Anker reported that the board, with the help from the Lions Club and other service groups, had made a survey and found that hospital facilities for Mills Springs would cost between \$175,000 and \$200,000.

Treasurer Mandell received the first cash contribution for the new hospital, a \$1,000 check from Miss Betty Beers, who was the manager of the Morton Hospital group.

A series of somewhat limited fund-raising events began in late January of 1954, and pledge cards and membership cards had been printed. The first fund drive was unsteadily launched. On February 8 the Junior Chamber of Commerce voted a pledge of \$1,000 to the hospital, but in March the temporary board announced that it was having difficulty in determining what ought to be done. It had determined that a new hospital could not be built and equipped for less than \$170,000. They doubted that such a sum could be solicited.

Some two hundred and forty-seven questionnaires were sent out then to seek the answers to two questions: Is there enough money available in the Mills Springs area to carry out the project? Will the people be willing to pay what a new hospital will cost?

It was also decided at this time by the board not to hire professional fund-raisers to put on a hospital campaign. "This will mean," the Journal stated at the

time, "that all the money raised will go directly into actual costs of building, but everyone will have to work."

Response to the questionnaires was not encouraging. Of the two hundred and forty-seven sent out, only one hundred and two were returned. To the question, "Do you really want a new hospital?", sixty-nine said yes; twenty said no; and thirteen indicated no preference. Fifty-eight said they thought a new hospital was financially possible; twenty-eight said no; and eighteen did not answer.

The temporary hospital board announced that it had decided to offer the alternative of an annex to the Morton Hospital after finding "apparent apathy" toward a new structure. Chairman Sterling estimated that the annex adjacent to Morton on Level Street would cost \$100,000, while a new structure would cost \$200,000.

The two hundred and forty-seven persons to whom questionnaires were sent were asked to pledge \$100,000 for a new hospital. Their total pledges, however, amounted to \$38,381. A meeting was called for March 22 in the high school gym to lay these facts before the public.

The board made its report at this meeting, declaring that on the basis of their survey a new hospital did not seem feasible. They asked to be relieved of further responsibility for the drive.

During this period some members of the temporary board and the then incumbent minister of the Methodist

Church had called upon H. P. Warrington and had attempted to dissuade him from supporting construction of a new hospital. Rather, they recommended that he join them in supporting the renovation of the old hospital. He was told that Guy Smith and Nickerson supported their position. Warrington, however, declined because he had previously discovered that Carlyle, Stone, Mandell, and Sterling had secretly met at the Mills Springs Stamping Company and had decided to abandon the new hospital project. The temporary hospital board thereupon made their announcement.

As a counter move to renovation, Mr. Warrington, Al Rand, and Tom Kingston met informally at Warrington's home, where he informed them that he personally would give \$25,000 if twenty-five other able individuals in the community would match his offer with pledges of \$1,000 each. This offer was to be in addition to the free subdivision site he had previously offered. They accepted, and within days his offer had been matched and surpassed by twelve pledges.

A new board was subsequently elected with Martin O'Toole, a local Oldsmobile dealer, as its chairman. Other members of the board included: Tom Kingston, Leah Saunders, Edgar Kennedy, Joe Jones, Cliff Barber, Dean Smathers, Betty Beers, and Warrington.

A few days later the picture brightened when Warrington's \$25,000 offer and the thirty-seven matching pledges

were made public. The new board met on March 31 and received the surprise word that a wealthy woman of a nearby township had offered a \$25,000 gift contingent upon completion of the drive for \$200,000 for the new hospital. This brought the total amount pledged to \$87,000. Strong support for the new hospital had crystallized as a result of this new organization.

On April 5, 1954, with about sixty people present, the annual meeting of the hospital association was held. It was decided at that time to delay electing permanent officers until the fund drive was completed. Campaign committees were set up to launch the drive on April 26.

O'Toole was named general chairman of the drive, assisted by Smathers. Al Rand and Tom Kingston were put in charge of \$1,000 pledges; Harry Bell, \$500 pledges; Pete Morris, out-of-town pledges; Joe Jones, chairman of city residential; Cliff Barber and Foster McGee were assigned to a township, as were several other prominent farmers residing in outlying rural townships. Five surrounding townships in all were canvassed. There was an individual assigned to solicit pledges for every two square miles. The town proper was divided into three sections. At the kickoff dinner there were two hundred and forty workers who represented all these subdivisions.

A hospital fund barometer with the "mercury" already over the \$100,000 mark was erected at the corner of two of the main streets in town.

Some two hundred volunteer workers held a final campaign meeting April 26 and got their house-to-house drive under way the next day. By that Thursday pledges had climbed to \$135,000.

A week later the total was over \$170,000, and the temporary hospital board set a meeting of the hospital association for Monday, June 7, to elect a permanent board of directors. Four local businessmen were appointed to the nominating committee. A committee consisting of Dr. Anker, Stone, and Lon McIntosh was named to draw up by-laws for the organization.

By May 20 the campaign was "over the top," with a total of \$207,000 pledged. Chairman O'Toole urged the workers to continue their efforts. The Lions Club presented a check for \$1,232.22, representing proceeds from its broom sale. The Jaycees gave \$1,000; the high class of 1954 donated \$19.54; and through various stunts and auctions, more money was collected.

The first permanent hospital board was elected by association members at a meeting on June 7, 1954. Elected directors for three years were: O'Toole, Kingston, and Smathers. Two years: Joe Jones, Kennedy, and Leah Saunders. One year: Warrington, Betty Beers, and Barber. By-laws were presented by McIntosh and adopted.

O'Toole announced that pledges on that date totaled \$257,181. Four offers of proposed sites were revealed at

that time. Warrington had offered a site on his new subdivision at the south edge of town and another on Warrington River Drive. Mr. and Mrs. Rex Stewart offered a five-acre site on Warrington River Drive. Mr. and Mrs. L. Zimmerman offered a site just west of town.

The new permanent board met a week later and elected O'Toole president; Warrington, vice president; Mrs. Saunders, secretary; and Kennedy, treasurer. A building committee was appointed consisting of: Warrington, Kingston, Barber, Al Rand, Guy Smith, and Dr. Anker. Jones, Smathers, Betty Beers, and Kennedy were named to the finance committee.

The board called a meeting of hospital association members on August 16 to decide on a site. The four possible sites were discussed, and the board recommended use of the land offered by Warrington on South Main Street. The city commission also advocated this site because utilities could easily be installed on this site. Another reason for choosing this site was that it was in the line of expansion of the community. Association members present concurred almost unanimously in the selection.

The board also announced the selection of an architect for the new hospital. In the following weeks the Kiwanis Club held three chicken barbecues at the farm of Ezra Perkins and raised more than \$1,300 for the hospital.

Late in October Warrington presented the deed to the South Main Street site to the hospital board. It

consisted of four and one-half acres with a five hundred and ten foot frontage on Main Street. The board at that time had \$46,297 in cash on hand and total pledges for \$268,000. The architect's plans for a 28-bed hospital were being completed.

In the next few weeks numerous pledges were accepted from former residents of Mills Springs and from various companies within the area. 1954 ended with a total of \$85,564 paid on pledges, and excavation for the basement had been completed.

The Axis Products Company opened 1955 on a bright note by sending along its check for a \$1,000 contribution, even before their plant was completed in Mills Springs.

Final choice for electric heat for the new building was made by the board on February 7. The board had assurances of a favorable electric rate from the city commission and decided that the necessity to erect a separate boiler room and to have an operator on the job twenty-four hours a day with other types of fuel would more than offset any added cost for electricity. Use of aluminum windows and provision in every room for an air conditioner also were decided upon.

After months of preparation, the board called for construction bids by May 2. Bids, when opened, showed that a 24-bed hospital would cost between \$250,000 and \$286.00.

Late in May the board let the contract out to a company in the vicinity to erect the building shell complete for \$116,000 to \$117,000. No heating, plumbing, or interior finishing were included in this cost. Plans called for a building 40 x 200 feet with the capacity of thirty patient beds.

First concrete was poured for the hospital footings on the afternoon of June 16. In August, with the basement work well along the way, a contract was let out for plumbing and heating at a cost of slightly more than \$26,000.

The Business and Professional Women's Club contributed \$375 through various fund-raising activities.

The annual meeting of the community hospital association was held on October 24, 1955, with about seventy-five persons present. Directors Warrington, Beers, and Barber were then re-elected for three-year terms. The board then re-elected all officers for one-year terms.

An interesting incident occurred at this meeting which was to lead to some sub rosa conflict, and which was to lead some people not to pledge money toward the new hospital. At this particular meeting there were some hecklers in the crowd, one of whom asked O'Toole, the president of the board, "What doctors can practice in the new hospital?". This particular individual was the patient of one of the two chiropractors in town; and he wanted a clarification before he would pledge toward the new hospital.

(The new hospital had been chartered as a public association with specific cash donations entitling one to membership in it.) Of course, the individual, being ignorant of state law, was satisfied and pledged when he was read the following from the constitution: "Any doctor authorized to practice and prescribe medicine." This excluded chiropractors from practicing in the hospital, but included osteopaths under Michigan law. Many people in the community were the patients of a young osteopath, Dr. Mason; and they pledged on the basis of this reading of the charter. However, unforeseen events were to change the complexion of the matter, and a conflict situation would be averted by private handling of the situation.

It appears that a revision of the constitution had been effected by certain board members and members of the Morton group in February of 1957. At that time the constitution was amended to read that qualifications for practice in the new hospital would be the possession of an M. D. degree only. This would have precluded Mason's authorization to practice or to admit his patients in the hospital. It would have meant that a significant proportion of the hospital's public and supporters would be prevented from benefiting from their community hospital.

We shall return to an analysis of this event later.

In December of 1955 the Ford Foundation announced a \$10,000 grant to the Morton Hospital. The doctors in

charge there immediately said the money would be turned over to the Mills Springs community hospital. By the end of the year the building was completely enclosed. Cash funds were scarce, and the board decided to let no more contracts until spring.

1956 opened with a plea from the board for funds to get plaster and interior work under way. O'Toole reported total receipts to January 1 of \$153,193 against \$122,116 paid out.

Cash contributions continued to lag through the winter. On April 6 another drive was launched at a dinner of some eighty workers. Attorney Stone got the drive off to a rousing start when he presented \$20,000 from the estate of Mrs. Stella Dallas of Stuart Township. Mrs. Dallas, who died April 18, 1955, directed in her will that the bulk of her \$30,000 estate go to the new hospital. The people of Stuart Township were to receive credit for the gift.

The Mills Springs Township Board also gave \$1,000, duplicating its 1955 contribution. In April a group of women got together and decided to form a hospital auxiliary. Miss Beers and several other women got the ball rolling.

By July the board was optimistic. If money continued to come in, it was thought, the building could be finished by October. The plumbing work and the electrical and heating contract were well along the way. Lathing,

plastering, tile, et cetera, for the interior were also under contract. The board thought the whole job could be completed for \$250,000.

The annual meeting of the hospital association was held on October 22, and the name "Mills Springs Community Hospital" formally adopted. Mrs. Saunders and Kennedy were re-elected to three-year terms on the board. Guy Smith was elected to replace Joe Jones, who was not a candidate for re-election.

Association members also changed two words in the by-laws to give the board authority to operate the hospital. It had previously been authorized only to raise funds for construction. The Veterans' National Home donated its x-ray equipment, valued at \$15,000, to the hospital.

1957 opened with the board assisted by a lot of volunteer help, kicking off a final drive for \$50,000 in cash to finish the job. The campaign got an unexpected boost on January 24 when a testimonial dinner was held for Al Rand in honor of his being named "Michigan Railroad Man of the Year" for his many community activities. Various business firms made hospital contributions in the amount of \$2,900 in Rand's name.

Appointment of a hospital administrator was made February 11 by a special committee consisting of Smith, Kingston, and Dr. Anker. The man was on active duty in the army at Fort Bragg, North Carolina, at the time of his appointment.

On April 17 Dr. Eric Roostens, president of the Morton Community Hospital, announced that the hospital would close officially on June 30, the end of its fiscal year. "The doctors," he said, "will continue to have their offices on the lower floor of the present hospital and carry on at that location as they have for the past nine years."

On May 15 Warrington gave O'Toole a check for \$13,000, representing the balance on his \$25,000 cash pledge. This allowed the board to complete payment in full on all contract obligations on the new building.

Early in June of 1957 the Kresge Foundation made a conditional \$10,000 grant to the hospital building and equipment fund. It had to be matched by other contributions totaling \$15,500 by the following June 1. This was accomplished.

On June 23, 1957, the dedication of the Mills Springs Community Hospital, Incorporated, took place. The community made a real affair of the event. A parade was led by the high school band; and after a call to order by O'Toole, the president of the board, an invocation was given by one of the local ministers. Then, after a presentation of the American flag by the Jaycees, the flag-raising took place. Introductions and acknowledgments were made by Smathers, the vice president of the board; and remarks on the building of the hospital were made by the secretary of

the board. Various vocal selections and instrumental selections by the band followed; and two highlights of the occasion were a speech entitled "The Old Versus the New" by Dr. Eric Roostens, and the dedication address by the Honorable H. P. Warrington. After the festivities, a reception and open house were held.

The hospital formally opened its doors and admitted its first patients on July 1, 1957. This 30-bed hospital cost in the vicinity of \$400,000 for equipment and everything included.

School Issue

The complex school issue in Mills Springs had been developing over a five-year period, beginning in 1953. During that span of time many items of dispute found their way into what became a community conflict of major proportions. As we shall see later, there were many bases of response that brought this conflict to a head and which ended in eventual satisfactory community resolution of the problem. We shall briefly chronicle these major events. Later we shall include the behind-the-scenes activities, to give as full a picture of the dynamics of the controversy as possible, which we can then analyze in terms of the theoretical models suggested by Coleman, Miller, and Form.

It was in April of 1953 that the Mills Springs Board of Education voted to have the minutes of their monthly meetings published in the Journal. At that time

teachers and townspeople were also invited to attend the meetings of the school board and to become better acquainted with how the schools were operated and to inform themselves about school problems facing the community.

In keeping with this new policy, the local school board called a meeting in May with the rural school boards in the surrounding rural school districts to discuss the crowded conditions of the Mills Springs schools and also the pro's and con's of consolidation with the rural districts. Out of town officials present at this meeting included the Mills County Superintendent of Schools, the President of the Mills County Board of Education, representatives of the County Board of Education, Michigan Department of Public Instruction, and the County Area Studies. In all, about eighty persons were present, representing nineteen rural districts and Mills Springs.

At that meeting it was pointed out that Mills Springs was not alone in its urgent need for more classroom space to take care of the ever-increasing growth of the state's child population. This problem was being faced by every city school throughout the state. "What is best for all concerned?", however, was the basic question posed for consideration by this group of people. (This question and the means to adequately answer it was to plague the area for another five years.) To this end, another meeting was scheduled in the high school gym, to be hopefully

attended by at least one representative from each of the thirty-odd districts in the service area of Mills Springs and eleven local representatives.

At this second meeting a general discussion of the need for additional rooms so that the local school could take care of the overflow in enrollment took place. A steering committee was set up to work on this and related problems. The Mills Springs Area Studies Committee was organized to represent all the groups concerned. The area it was to study included rural districts in Mills and an adjacent county, which had rural schools both closed and open. Borderline districts were also included in this area.

In September it was revealed that the local school had a peak enrollment, the fall enrollment increasing by eight per cent over the June enrollment. This record enrollment created several problems for the school administrators: (1) every classroom was being used every hour every day; (2) although a new building had been erected the previous year for vocational training, the classes were overflowing, and many students had to be turned away from those courses offered by the vocational program; (3) it was necessary for the Board of Education to buy a new school bus and set up new routes to handle the increased enrollment in the rural area. This is just an example of the difficulties the steering committee continuously faced. Similar problems were to crop up for another five years.

While this committee proceeded to investigate the problem, a representative of the Department of Public Instruction addressed meetings of both the local Lions and Kiwanis Clubs.

To the Lions he spoke about revising the antiquated school district organizational laws. In this talk he made statements to the effect that school districts exist for only one purpose: to provide an education for the boys and girls in that district; and when a school is closed, as some rural schools were, that district had no reason to exist. He urged scrapping the present school district organizational laws and starting anew with a plan that would meet the needs of today's youth.

According to superintendents' ratings of their school facilities, he pointed out, one out of every five students attends school in buildings that are unsatisfactory, have inadequate facilities, or are outdated.

Further, he emphasized the fact that the rural area of today is not separate or distinct from the urban area. For this reason, he suggested, school districts should be established by service areas rather than by township, county, or city lines. He also emphasized that Mills Springs could not get along without the rural area that it served, nor could the rural area get along without Mills Springs. A youngster entering kindergarten should know that his district will provide an education for him through the twelfth

grade. A school district, he said, should be large enough to: (1) provide adequate facilities, (2) hire good teachers, (3) operate efficiently, and (4) be financially sound.

In his talk to the Kiwanis Club he stressed the fact that our increasing population, which crowds our schools, is just one of the factors indicating that changes may be necessary. Besides this factor, modern transportation now makes more widely-separated schools practical, so that the school district organizational laws predicated upon a walking situation were outmoded. The answer to these problems, he claimed, may be in enlarged school districts in which the rural territory joins with the city to form a district which can meet the needs of all. In other words, he was broaching the subject of consolidation or annexation.

The Mills Springs Superintendent of Schools the following month reiterated his concern with the urgent problems concerning the school system, and called the attention of Mills Springs citizens to them.

That same month, however, a meeting was held in a rural school by thirty-five representatives of some sixteen rural Mills Springs area county school districts. This group made the decision to make their own thorough study of a plan to have rural consolidation and to build a rural agricultural school. The majority of those present were in favor of keeping their present schools open and continuing to send their high school pupils to town. They also stated

they were not in favor of relinquishing their rights to community self-government. While there were many advantages to consolidation, they still did not feel like leaping into anything they could not get out of if it did not work to suit them.

A Journal article of December of that year presented the arguments of a local woman, a representative of this rural area studies group. Her arguments appealed to the authority of one Dr. Elton Trueblood, professor of psychology at Earlham College, Richmond, Indiana, who stated that:

Much of our educational philosophy is unintentionally totalitarian. The school proposes to take over many of the functions formerly associated with the home.

The woman declared that the group she represented was afraid of big schools controlled by a few people, and that consolidation--as they saw it--was really a way for taxpayers to spend more money and have less voice in how it was spent, in addition to its being a dangerous step toward socialism. The group felt that Mills Springs was trying to expand too fast.

On the point of quality of instruction as between city and rural primary schools, this study group asserted that the Mills Springs top honor students in the past twenty-five years were evenly divided between the two.

The major area of anxiety, again, had to do with consolidation. On this point she said:

Under Mills Springs area reorganization five school board members would be replacing more than ninety

members now serving on the rural area and Mills Springs school board. This situation, warns the group, would be equally true in any area going into consolidation. Rural parents and school board members don't want to give up their right to control subject matter taught and the money they pay for their children's education.

In March of 1954 some "preliminary facts," as they were called, gathered by the Area Studies Committee were published in the Journal. Brief reports of the transportation, building, population-school enrollment, and finance committees were included. Controversy over the various topics presented was noted among the committee members, however. The situation was not right for any clear-cut decisions or suggestions to be made with regard to the school problem confronting the community; but the school laws, with respect consolidation and annexation, were clarified to some extent. Here, in brief, is a summary of the school laws:

1. All decisions in regard to procedure would rest with the future board of education elected by the people of the whole area. Any bond issue would have to be voted by the people of the whole area.
2. The law now reads that the board "shall elect and approve the textbooks to be used."

Now with regard to reorganization by means of consolidation or annexation, the school laws are as follows:

3. Reorganization by consolidation.
 - a. A petition signed by fifty per cent of the school electors of each district must be presented to the County Superintendent of Schools.

- b. This petition must be approved by the State Superintendent of Public Instruction.
 - c. Questions must be submitted to the voters by the County Superintendent of Schools within twenty days.
 - d. The County Superintendent of Schools calls a special election to elect a new school board.
 - e. Each graded school district must follow the same procedure. The graded school district must vote separately and all other territory involved vote separately as a unit. The board of education of a graded school district conducts its own election and must vote at the same time as the area.
 - f. A majority vote of each unit is necessary to authorize the establishment of a rural agricultural school.
4. With regard to annexation the procedure is as follows:
- a. Electors of a primary district vote to annex to the graded school after receiving approval of the Superintendent of Public Instruction.
 - b. The school board of the graded school district votes to accept the petitioning district.
 - c. The board of education remains the same.
5. The qualifications for persons signing the petition and voting on reorganization are as follows. They must be citizens of the U. S., at least twenty-one years of age, resident of the state for six months, resident of the school district thirty days preceding the date of signing the petition or date of election.

In July, 1954, the Board of Education let contracts for a four-room addition to the local high school to alleviate the ever-increasing enrollment pressures.

In November the Mills Springs Area Study Committee, under the direction of the woman also active with the Rural Area Studies group, made a preliminary report before an audience of three hundred parents and teachers and promised to publish and distribute its final report in February of

1955. The report was based on a projection of the current population, school housing, transportation, and enrollment figures, and attempted to predict what these conditions would be in 1960. The projection was made on area figures covering a period from 1947 to 1953. No recommendations were made by the committee on whether or not the thirty-six school districts studied should consolidate with Mills Springs school, however.

In December the Mills Springs Board of Education was put on the spot because the difficult problem on school consolidation was thrust at the Mills Springs Board of Education from another direction. A distress call was received from one of the school districts in a nearby township. This district reported that it had been given an "ultimatum" by another district to which it sent school children. In essence, this ultimatum demanded that either the former annex with the latter or send their children elsewhere to school.

The Mills Springs Superintendent and the local board begged off by claiming it was in no position to say anything definite about plans for the future. It was awaiting the final report and recommendations of the Mills Springs Area Study Committee and the decision of the community.

January, 1955, still saw no action, and the waiting district was informed that it would probably be a year before the people of Mills Springs would decide if they

wanted to annex any rural school districts or bond for a school building program.

In February the board granted \$300 raises to the teachers and a \$500 raise and a three-year contract to the superintendent in a secret session. The board received and read a strongly-worded letter from Mr. H. P. Warrington at its following meeting, in which he charged that Mills Springs schools were not being operated in a business-like manner. He characterized the \$300 teachers' salary increases as recommended by the superintendent as inflationary. The board ignored the letter.

A subsequent blistering letter to the board from Warrington demanded the resignation of the three board members responsible for the \$500 raise granted the superintendent and the \$300 teacher raises. He did not name these three, however. He further charged trickery because the meeting was held in secrecy.

As an indirect answer to Warrington's charges, the school superintendent cited figures obtained from a neighboring city superintendent, which showed that Mills Springs was spending 3.7 per cent of its school dollar for administration, while comparable figures from two other cities in the county were 4.4 per cent and 5.6 per cent, respectively.

This interchange, vehement on one side and seemingly casual on the other, excited public opinion, especially since the antagonism between these two individuals was to increase

and enlist partisans on both sides. In a personal column written by the Journal's new publisher and editor, the following statement was made:

From remarks we have heard and letters received in the past two weeks regarding the recent account of Board of Education doings, we gather that some people think we are embarked on some sort of crusade--that we are going to "make the fur fly" or "out to get somebody's job." That is definitely not true. We are not mad at anybody. We are not "out to get" anybody's job. We are not going to make the Journal the mouthpiece of one side or one viewpoint to the exclusion of another in any controversy. We have simply tried to present the facts as fully and frankly as possible to the people who pay the bills, which means you and you and you. When we have opinions to offer, they will be presented to you as just that--our opinion--and will not be imposed on our readers in the guise of slanted news stories. If we are crusading, it is for only one thing--the best possible schools for our children, the best possible city government. In short, the best possible Mills Springs for everyone here. The problem of the future of our schools, with the question of the reorganization into a larger school district probably going to voters in the few months ahead, is one that should demand the interest of every adult resident. It is not something that should be decided on petty personal differences or past grievances. It will be decided, we hope, only after a thorough study of the facts involved, both pro and con, and then only on one basis: "What is best for our children?". To that end the Journal has already assured the Board of Education and the Area Study Committee that it will devote as much space as possible for full discussion of the issues. Your letters--constructive, we hope--will be welcome and will be printed as often as possible. Somebody, probably wise man Franklin, has said, "Give the people light, and they will see." That's what we want to do--provide light, not heat.

In March a premature report was issued by a smaller steering committee of the larger Mills Springs Area Study Committee, recommending that Mills Springs and the thirty-six school districts sending pupils into the city reorganize

into a single large district. It urged immediate action and that the matter be brought to a vote as soon as possible. The Finance Committee section of the report outlined a middle-of-the-road policy under a reorganization plan that would provide forty-eight new classrooms, and cited an approximate figure of \$220,000 plus interest to be paid off over twenty years. It recommended a bond issue, which would require the vote of the people of the whole area.

That same month at another public meeting committee members voted thirty-six to four to recommend reorganization. Some hot arguments were set off during the meeting by Mr. H. P. Warrington's attack on reorganization. He was against it on the grounds that rural districts coming in would share in the use of Mills Springs schools without paying for them. He proposed that the rural schools pay one-half of the cost of the local buildings to buy equity in them. Attorney Marvin Stone, an Area Study Committee member, told Warrington that "Mills Springs can't expect to make a living off the farmers and then refuse to share their own problems." Others voiced similar sentiments.

An unexpected discussion of areawide consolidation arose when a local woman, a spectator at the meeting, addressed the board. This woman opened her remarks with the question as to why the Tuesday night Area Study Committee meeting was scheduled at the same time as the P. T. A. meeting. She then said:

Why not bring the facts to the people before you push consolidation on them? People in Mills Springs don't think they have anything to say about it. It's all decided before the people have a chance to say anything.

This woman also charged that "schools are getting so big that parents don't have any control over their children anymore," and that in consolidated districts children living at a distance from the schools have no chance to participate in school activities because no transportation is provided for the evening. The board members and the superintendent assured her that no decision on consolidation could be taken without a vote of the people. Several board members also asked her, "You don't think that all members of this board are in favor of consolidation do you?"

In June the Journal reported that the school census showed an increase of children in the Mills Springs district. The following week these selected excerpts from a letter by Mr. Warrington and the editor's comment appeared in the paper:

. . . . The remedy is not additional inflation in prices of school buildings; the remedy is for our Board of Education to do exactly the same as all other school boards within twenty miles of Mills Springs have done. They all have told foreign districts to BUILD THEIR OWN SCHOOL HOUSES.

Mills Springs stands alone in crowding our schools with foreign students. The last year's report shows [a neighbor] city had twenty-eight foreign primary students. Mills Springs had two hundred and ninety-nine. How come? It is the unobstructed policy of this man Rice to crowd out schools with foreign students refused admittance to nearer schools to admit them to Mills Springs, and then he has the gall to impose on the intelligence of Mills Springs people by claiming that Mills Springs students are

the ones crowding our schools. And by reason thereof, we must go millions of dollars into debt in order to provide more schools.

It seems so unfair and so disappointing for one to devote so much time unselfishly to public interest for so many years only to see the beneficial results destroyed. As stated by Harry Hopkins, some people are too dumb to understand.

Because the writer is in the open and states his position frankly and honestly on this public question, as has been the habit of my entire life in such matters, many citizens have talked with me about the matter, expressing themselves in harmony with the above. Yet, they seem reluctant to state their position to members of the Board of Education or to Mr. Rice. We think that is the wrong attitude and creates an erroneous impression. They are with me in the fight and declare they are behind me. It would be more impressive if they took their place with me in the open, rather than give the false impression, false friendship, support of the opposition, etc. "Sic 'em boys" are a poor help in a fight. I believe it to be more honorable to be in the open in matters of this kind. It at least gives one piece of mind.

(Signed) H. P. Warrington

(Editorial comment to the above letter:)

Some of the more vituperative language has been cut out of the above letter. We do not feel that name-calling will settle the school issue or any other thing. The Journal is willing to print signed letters from any of its readers, but reserves the right to make deletions to keep them within bounds of good taste.

This editorial comment was to create quite a bit of animosity between Mr. Warrington and the new editor, Mr. Thyssen, a feeling which was mutually enforced as time went on.

An interesting letter to the editor was published in the July issue of the Journal in response to Mr. Warrington's letter. It is as follows:

Letter to the Editor:

Warrington is a politician, a very shrewd politician, adept at representing one side of an issue--his own side. I can't understand his inconsistencies.

It seems he has no qualms about the pledges and donations that the rural people contributed to the hospital. If it weren't for the rural people, maybe the present hospital [Morton] would be sufficient to take care of the needs of the people of the city of Mills Springs.

But when it comes to the school situation, the rural folks are given no choice. According to the Warrington philosophy, we are to get out lock, stock, and barrel. Children of District 16 have been attending Mills Springs schools for seven or eight years through their own choice, and now one man would say, "Get out and stay out." He says we have been pleaded with and connived into attending Mills Springs.

As a matter of fact, we have had more pressure from other schools than from here. There has been one noticeable difference, however. We have been given our choice. We have been told to get in or get out.

Warrington leaves us no choice--just get out.

Maybe we should take our children, our business, our religions, our contributions, pledges and donations to a community where we are at least given a chance. And with the rural boys and girls in competing schools, well, just think of Portage whipping Mills Springs in football or having a better band.

Trivial, you may say? Well, just let it happen and see what happens to the Mills Springs school system.²

In September another school district asked the Mills Springs Board of Education to annex. The school board again

²Many interesting and cogent letters to the editor for the superintendent and against Warrington were continually written, as well as many in support of Warrington and against the superintendent; but because of space limitations, these letters cannot be included in the body of the text. For additional letters, see the Appendix, pp. 238-258.

reserved its decision, awaiting the proposed decisive vote of the people.

In October a tentative date of January, 1956, was set for the school election, the board finally taking initial action on reorganization. It asked county and state approval of the date. The vote was to involve thirty-six school districts in and surrounding Mills Springs. Several board members, without committing themselves for or against reorganization, stated that the vote was inevitable and necessary before the board could decide on such questions as overcrowding of the available school buildings.

Then in November came notification from the County Superintendent of Schools that the reorganization vote had to be delayed by the school board. The local superintendent had been notified that their petition had been insufficient, that such a petition had to be signed by the school boards of all the districts involved. To that date only one district outside the city officially stated its interest in consolidating with Mills Springs. Meetings to accomplish such signing of the petitions were to be more time-consuming. A lawyer, specializing in school law, was hired by the board to guide it through the reorganizational red tape.

In January, 1956, the Boards of Education of all the school districts included in the Mills Springs Area Studies were invited to a meeting to get the reorganization machinery under way. The purpose of the meeting was to

have the rural boards sign the petition to the County School Superintendent for the reorganization vote. That list, then, was to go to the State Department of Public Instruction, which had to approve or disapprove it. Petitions were then to again be drawn for each participating rural district, requiring the signature of fifty per cent of the eligible voters, before the election could be approved. Failing district school board action, any ten eligible voters in the district could attend the scheduled meeting and petition to have their district included.

That same month a timely letter to the editor of the Journal was written by a prominent county farmer and chairman of the County Board of Education, excerpts of which follow:

Letter to the Editor:

There have been so many conflicting statements made about the school situation in Mills County and Mills Springs that I must make some more accurate statements about these things. I have been chairman of the Mills County Board of Education since it was organized. What I say about the schools of Mills Springs and Mills County are matters of record and not of opinion, though most of the statements I make in this letter are my own personal statements and not official statements of the board.

The records of the Mills County School Office show that Mills Springs is one of the few graded schools in our county that have been able to operate within the fifteen mill limit for most of the time. Also, they have been able to make extensive additions to their building without extra millage or floating a bond issue in the last few years. I must say that Mills Springs schools have been operated efficiently and with great economy.

In some of these articles the Mills Springs school board has been accused of overcrowding their school

by accepting the students from two closed country schools who formerly attended Blanket. That action was taken very reluctantly by the Mills Springs board after the county school board reviewed these cases and determined that these schools were very definitely in the Mills Springs area. They then asked Mills Springs to accept them, as Blanket had issued a statement that Blanket would not accept their students unless they annexed to Blanket.

It is a well-recognized fact that the best way to keep good teachers is to pay them adequate salaries. Mills Springs has given salary increases to their good teachers. It is also true that it is poor school administration to crowd schoolrooms and teachers with more than thirty per teacher.

Some schools in our area have placed forty or more pupils per teacher in their rooms. Our school has been criticized because it had higher per cent cost of instruction than some of these schools which have paid lower salaries and crowded their grade rooms.

Now to turn to the educational picture as it has developed in Mills County. Since the county school board has been organized, many changes have taken place in our school system. Walnut and Glowpot have reorganized their school districts, including most of the rural schools in their areas within their school system. In both of these communities a very large majority of both town and country people voted in favor of consolidation. There has been no noticeable dissatisfaction in these communities with their new schools, and now several districts not included in these districts are annexing to them. . . . Mills Springs is the only major school area that has not taken any action of this kind.

About three years ago an Area Study Committee was formed in Mills County. It included both rural and city residents. It was an impartial committee with many good people on it who opposed consolidation of schools. After working on the problems of Mills Springs schools for two years, they made a report to the county. They did not make definite recommendations; but from their report it is very evident that they believe it is logical and reasonable to establish community school districts covering the trading area surrounding our town. The only reason they did not recommend this is because they felt the study committee has no right to decide for any community what their school should be.

In regard to our own Mills Springs school area, I can say that for many years I opposed school consolidation of our country schools with any city schools. Times and circumstances have changed swiftly. Our method of farming has changed from horse to tractor. Our transportation is speeded by cars and trucks. Many conveniences and advantages have been brought into country living.

But our rural schools, which once fitted our land and our agriculture, have not progressed as fast as we have. There are many things which are hard for them to teach but which could and should enrich the lives of our children. The great increase of the population of our school-age children is overcrowding both our town and country schools. New factories and new people come into our town or build along the highways. We cannot foresee how long this will occur, but our best-informed people believe that this is just beginning.

They say that southeastern Michigan, spurred on to greater growth by the St. Lawrence Seaway, will become largely urban. Each of you can see this growth along our highways.

In our community we have already begun our preparation for this. Town and country have cooperated together to raise money and build a new hospital. New churches have been built and others altered or enlarged. Stores have been enlarged; a sewage disposal plant built. New houses are being built all around our town and community.

Our schools are our next community responsibility. We cannot pass by this pressing job. We must either work on this together as we have the other projects, or approach it separately. We owe it to the future generation to provide good educational opportunities for every child in our area. It will cost each of us increased taxes to do this job. We will face this cost whether we do it together, as we have in our other jobs, or whether our town builds one school system and our country people another. In the first, we will have the pleasure and satisfaction of working together to build a school system we will be proud of. If we choose the second and do it separately, we will in the end face a greater total expense for our community because we must maintain two sets of buildings, two school boards, two sets of supervisory personnel (superintendent, principals, etc.). We, too, must face that added danger of ill-feeling between our

people, or loss of trade by our stores, of division between town and farm, and many other things.

I sincerely hope that we can decide that we can get together on this as we are already doing on other projects, town and country each sharing the expense and willingly accepting some additional tax to accomplish this. I do not believe that this cost needs to be so high that it will prevent business or factories from coming into our town, nor do I think it will force our farmers into bankruptcy.

Rather, I believe that it will be a great accomplishment that we can point to with pride; and we can to everyone--to factories and to people who come into our community; come on in with us. We have the best schools, the best churches, the best hospital, the greatest community, the best people in America.

(Signed) Dean Smathers

The results of the scheduled meeting to plumb for support that existed among the rural districts for reorganization showed that eighteen rural school districts sending pupils to Mills Springs were prepared to circulate petitions for consolidation; six districts would not consider consolidation; and the remaining eleven either were undecided or not interested. A month later there were twenty-one rural districts applying for the consolidation petition, leaving fourteen not interested.

More and more of the public were seeking information and clarification of the issue involving consolidation. The editor of the Journal attempted to analyze the complex situation in an article which is as follows:

The question we've been asked most in the past few weeks is: "Can't the Journal do something to tell us what this school consolidation issue is all about?" The questioners were not just trying to

start an argument, as some people are when they bring up the matter of consolidation these days, but sincerely wanted factual information.

. . . . The trouble, as we see it, is that consolidation, pro and con, is not a simple issue. It is, instead, tremendously complicated. We feel that it has been made even more complicated by statements--both for and against--by uninformed persons.

Here are some of the questions we have been asked recently, just for example: What would it cost? How many more schoolrooms would be needed? Where would any new buildings be built? Would the one-room rural schools be kept in use? Will the little children from kindergarten up have to ride the bus from the outlying district all the way into Mills Springs? Of course, Mills Springs will have to keep on taking high schools students from the rural districts, won't they?

Here are some more questions, not asked so often, but equally pertinent to the issue: What happens if consolidation is not approved? Will the rural children, both grade and high school students, be gradually excluded from the Mills Springs school as the class rooms become crowded with local students? Is the city school system actually making a "profit" on the tuition paid by rural students? If so, is this "profit" or "surplus" enough to retire bonds issued for a new building over a reasonable period of years?

Want some more questions? Maybe that is enough to at least give you an idea of the complexity of the problem. And, of course, we haven't even cited the one question that should be decided first of all: What is best for our children?

Strangely enough, we haven't heard anyone ask that outside of a few rural mothers who feel sincerely that they don't want their very young children coming all the way into town to school.

Anyway, those are the questions we are hearing. Many of them we can't answer now with the facts at hand. Some we never will have the answer to, because they depend on decisions that must be made later by the school board of the consolidated district.

Consolidation vote cannot be held before June at the earliest. The Journal will do all it can between now and then to give you the facts, in the firm belief

that an informed electorate will always make the right decisions.

This confusion over the complexities of the consolidation issue was not, however, limited to the general public alone. As a matter of fact, there was disagreement even on the board. The superintendent was, on one occasion, sharply criticized by one of the board members for his role in "selling" consolidation to the rural school districts. Part of that interchange was published in the Journal.³

In April a P. T. A. panel of five people presented "facts, figures, and opinions" on consolidation to some one hundred and twenty-five persons. Each of the speakers gave brief talks, the range of which covered the problems facing the school board (with overcrowding the prime problem), procedures for the reorganization vote, and financial aspects of expansion. Certain pertinent questions were asked of the panel members which were answered in more or less straightforward fashion.

In September an editorial was published in the Journal which supported consolidation. Because it so succinctly presented the entire case for consolidation, and the alternatives in the event of its defeat, we are including it in its entirety in the appendix.⁴

³This interchange will be found in the Appendix, p. 259.

⁴Appendix, pp. 261-264.

The election was held in September, 1956, and consolidation was defeated in both the city and country, with the margin of defeat greater in the city. The vote in the city was believed to be the largest cast there in a special election. With consolidation voted down, the old problems of overcrowding and lack of facilities were still with Mills Springs; and no solution was in sight.

On still another front, a meeting of persons interested in the problem of keeping the rural schools open was held in October in a nearby school district. This meeting was the outgrowth of movements started in the vicinity of a town in the northern part of the county, resulting in the formation of the Association for Rural Education. Its avowed purpose was to serve the primary rural school system. In pursuance of this aim, it backed court action by the parents of some rural districts who declined to annex to that town in the northern portion of the county. These same people, however, sought to compel that school system to take their high school students. This organization, with the aid of some very vocal local opponents to consolidation and annexation, carried on a steady campaign of harassment of the school board.

The superintendent of the Mills Springs schools wrote a letter to the editor of the Journal, setting forth his position and rebuttal of his most vocal opponent's claims on this consolidation issue.⁵

⁵Appendix, pp. 253-256.

In December the local board made a decision to "consider" petitions for annexation from rural schools in the area, after having received several inquiries to that effect from rural districts. A deadline date was set for the petitions, and the procedure by which the approval of the Superintendent of Public Instruction could be secured was outlined. The initiative for annexation procedures was left with the rural districts, however.

In January of 1957 the County Superintendent of Schools addressed the Mills Springs Kiwanis Club and informed them that if Mills Springs and the rural districts would go together, they could have a million-dollar building program on a tax levy of seven or eight mills. He based his figures on studies made by his office of the school situation in Mills Springs and the twenty-five rural districts considered by the county board to be in the Mills Springs trading area.

He did not directly state that he favored the annexation proposal before the local board, but he pointed out what would happen to some of the high school classes if there were no rural students coming into the schools. Some courses would have to be dropped because there would not be enough students to justify paying a teacher. The number in the band would drop in membership by half.

Later that month the local school board voted to bar the elementary students of seven rural districts as a

"backdoor approach" to the problem of annexation. It was moved that "each district, as of January 1, 1957, not presenting petitions showing interest in annexation to the Mills Springs Public Schools be notified that on and after September 1, 1957, the Board of Education in Mills Springs will not accept their kindergarten through eighth grade students." The motion carried unanimously.

The local board also decided at that meeting to hold a series of special meetings to study the financial condition of districts seeking to be annexed. With the exception of one member, none of the board members made any statements as to how he would vote on annexation. The one outspoken member was in favor of annexation. With regard to the possible financing of the building program, one board member expressed doubt that the people would accept a five, six, or seven mill bond issue. The others were noncommittal.

Later in the month the board unanimously approved the annexation of four closed districts. The board asked the rural representatives for their thoughts on financing the suggested building program, and practically all favored a pay-as-you-go program through a building and site fund levy, rather than a bond issue. They also thought generally that the new elementary school should be located within the city, but on the outer edge.

In March the board was given new requests to annex from several open rural school districts. At that same time an offer of a twelve-acre parcel of land on which to build a proposed new elementary school was declined with thanks. (The offer was made on condition that the school board should build a road through the property connecting two streets. The road would have been three-quarters of a mile long, would have needed black-topping; and with the removal of a number of trees, would have cost approximately \$20,000. For this reason, it was refused.) However, for the second straight meeting the board failed to come to a vote on the question of annexing open districts. The decision was once more delayed.

In mid-March the board decided that no open school districts would be annexed to Mills Springs at that time. The vote was four to one. Members of the majority group gave as their reason for their vote the fact of the overwhelming vote against consolidation. They took this as a mandate against taking in any open districts.

Others argued that it would be politically unwise to annex the open districts and then go to the people for approval of a millage increase for a school building and site fund. The board hoped to have a special millage proposal ready for submission to the voters at the regular school election in June. In addition, there was talk of placing the schools on a schedule of half-day sessions the

following fall as the only means of solving the problem of overcrowding. However, no action was taken on this point either.

In April the board: (1) voted the purchase of a forty-acre school building site just inside the city limits for \$9,000, (2) decided to ask the voters at the annual school election in June to approve an extra five mill building and site fund levy for five years, (3) talked of building as many as six elementary school classrooms on the new site that summer, and (4) scheduled a special meeting later in the month to discuss half-day sessions for the fall.

In June of 1957 an election was held, and the people approved the extra five-mill building and site fund levy for five years sought by the board. The board proceeded without adequate preparation, however, and an error in the preparation of the ballots was made, by which means the election was declared illegal later in the year. (The board's attorneys were the ones who found the error, ironically.) In February of 1958 approximately 150 people who had paid \$4,300 of the \$65,000 collected taxes sued for restitution of their tax money, and a mild court hassle resulted.

While the court action was taking place, the board rescheduled a special election for April 12, 1958, on the question of the five mill building and site fund tax levy

for five years. This time, an informative pamphlet was printed and distributed to the voters before the election. It contained a sketch of the proposed new elementary school, and it explained the ballots and election laws in all respects.

One of the new board members, Dr. Thad Grant, advocated a bond issue, however, stating that "five mills isn't going to do the job. Let's tell them the complete and whole story--that in four years we'll have 600 more high school students and no place to put them. We need forty-five rooms, and we're proposing to build eleven or thirteen. Four years from now we'll be faced with this very same problem again." This continuing problem was to be investigated completely as a result of a later development.

In April the voters gave a favorable vote on the repropoed measure, and the Board of Education and its architect began active planning for a new elementary building. In addition to authorizing the five mill levy for five years, the vote legally cancelled the previous five-mill election of the previous June.

On the annexation front more petitions were being accepted and approved by the local board. Some districts, which were originally against annexation, were applying; and the tide was turning. A majority of the thirty-six districts originally tabbed as eligible for consolidation

or annexation voted, petitioned, and were accepted for annexation to the Mills Springs school system.

During the remainder of 1958 plans for the new school were completed, and building got under way. A \$207,000 contract was let for a new thirteen-room elementary school.

The remarks made by the aforementioned board member expressed the sentiments of a large proportion of the community's members interested in the school problems. As a result of this interest, a new school group, a Citizen's School Committee, was organized.

One of its first actions was to take steps to increase the rural representation of the group. Its avowed purpose was to make an extended study of the local school situation. Each of the nineteen former rural school districts, as of then, annexed to Mills Springs was asked to send two representatives to sit on the committee.

Fifty-six members turned out for the second meeting, and working committees to get fact-finding activities under way were formed. These committees were: (1) Facilities, (2) Public Relations, (3) Population Trends, (4) Health and Safety, (5) Finance, (6) Curriculum, and (7) Building and Site.

The Public Relations Committee issued a statement emphasizing that the Citizens' Committee was non-partisan and represented the community as a whole, both city and rural areas.

The problems were considered to be of such immediate nature that the committees worked right through the summer season.

The threat of half-day sessions for all local grade school youngsters and the fact that, even with the new grade school, there would still be a shortage of classroom space, together operated to hasten preparation of a report. The first report minced no words over the conditions that were found:

Citizen's Committee Reports--

"Schools Overcrowded and Inadequate"

To the Citizens of Mills Springs: This is our first report to you on what the Citizen's Committee found concerning the present school facilities in Mills Springs. The following is a condensed summary of what the committee found:

High School Building

The high school building is a crowded, poorly lighted, and poorly ventilated building. Most of the 21 classrooms were jammed with desks so crowded that many rooms measured less than 20 square feet of floor space per desk (the minimum requirement being 20 square feet) with some as low as 15 or 16 square feet desk. Teachers had practically no space to store books and supplies.

The lighting is of particular disgrace to the building. With ceilings not kept freshly painted and with black tile on the floor, what light the bare bulbs (some partly shaded) do give off is mostly absorbed or creates much glare. The lighting goes against all present-day standards of adequate classroom lighting, considering the relationship between eye strain and fatigue and achievement.

The ventilation and heating are another problem. The rooms are not evenly heated. They are either too hot or too cold. In investigation of the ventilation system it was found that the stale air was merely

recirculated. The fan room door was under terrific suction and once opened, satisfied the fan's demand for air with gale velocity. The door opened directly from the main hall. This appears to be a poorly engineered operation, unsafe, expensive to operate, and practically worthless.

There are many things that space will not permit us to thoroughly discuss--deeply worn ruts in stairs, no first aid room, no space for records, no lunch room facilities, and inadequate space to house the entire high school and junior high together for assemblies--just to mention a few problems.

Elementary Building

The elementary building was built mostly by funds received from the Kellogg Foundation in 1939. By comparison with the high school the building itself is in good condition and adequate except for overcrowding. There are 19 classrooms in this building and all of them will be on double shift this year. (All grade school classes will be on half days this coming school year.) These rooms without doubling of desks are quite adequate. It is regrettable that the supplementary-project rooms had to be re-assigned to special classes and to house teachers on half days who cannot be in their own classrooms because they have to share it with another teacher.

Old West Building

The Old West building is so antiquated and unsafe that it seems foolish to evaluate it for fear that this may be considered constructive criticism, resulting in another dollar being spent to hold it together. This structure was built in 1886 and is one of the oldest if not the oldest school building in Michigan! Of the many things that are wrong with this building we must comment on at least two items. This building's very foundation has a large hole in it and the stones and bricks can be removed from the wall and put back in. The wiring is obsolete and cannot take all the modern electrical equipment of the Home Economics department, consequently fuses are being blown constantly. How this unsafe, and dilapidated structure has remained so long a part of our school system is a question we cannot answer.

Technical Arts Building

This building is modern and functional in design. The only things that are due are a paint job to the cinder block walls in the older section and an overlay of acoustical tile to the ceiling in this section.

Needless to say the Citizen's Committee has found our facilities desperately overcrowded and inadequate. It is amazing what school personnel and boards of education, now and in the past, have had to put up with in the way of working conditions. Few business men, factory workers, farmers, or housewives have to work with such antiquated facilities. The lack of interest and support of all of us, the people of Mills Springs, is the cause of the present conditions. It is the hope of this committee to stir up enough interest in us, the citizens of Mills Springs, to alleviate the present conditions. It is our responsibility! WHAT THE CHILDREN OF THE MILLS SPRINGS SCHOOL DISTRICT NEED IS THE SUPPORT AND INTEREST OF THE CITIZENS OF THE MILLS SPRINGS AREA.

The Citizen's Committee

CHAPTER V

ANALYSIS OF ISSUES AND THE PATTERN OF COMMUNITY POWER: CONCLUSION

In this final chapter we shall analyze and summarize the pattern of power dynamics that we have found to exist in Mills Springs. In the previous Chapter (IV) we, for the most part, restricted our attention to the chronology and description of the issues involving the strike and unionization, the hospital, and the school. We must cut beneath that surface now so as to reveal the interconnections of nerves, muscles, and organs, so to speak, to reveal the power dynamics linking these issues to each other.

We must relate these issues to the pattern of power dynamics by interweaving and analyzing them in terms of the theories of Coleman, Form, and Miller. But as we do this, we must relate these issues to the type of community Mills Springs was at the various times these issues took place. We must show what it was in one period of its history and what it is becoming. We must link these issues to the pressing problems the community has had to face as a result of population increase, the development and expansion of technology, and the spread of communication and transportation networks: "conditioning" factors which have

helped transform Mills Springs from one period of its history to the other. Then, finally, we must return to the main concern of this thesis--the interlocking memberships of the community power structure with the hospital board--and fit this into the pattern.

Mills Springs: From Self-Contained Town
to Commuters' Town

We believe that the recent history of Mills Springs may be most succinctly and conveniently broken down into two periods. It may be best described as the history of an economically self-contained, rural, small town--a one-industry town largely--with puritan, Protestant, conservative and Republican values, with a tradition-oriented, settled, slowly-moving pace of life in the process of change to the uneasy and still dubiously viewed state of a commuters' town, with a noticeably lessening constriction in outlook, less tradition-orientation, a less settled and more rapid pace of life. The community's puritan Protestant ethic has moderated somewhat, and the brand of Republicanism is less vehement and "Know nothing" in its narrowness and isolationism than it once was.

Certain external and internal change forces have made an impact on the community. The community power structure has had to accomodate itself to these changes and to mediate them for the wider community. But the Mills Springs power structure has not been consistent, uniform,

or unanimous in proposing the necessary adjustments to these change forces. We must look at the power structure's composition to see why this was so.

Mills Springs: Self-contained town.--Prior to the latter half of the 1930's the Mills Springs power structure consisted of the Sampson interests and their allies, the old dairyman Smith, and the old Kingston foremost among them. These people quietly resolved all major potential issues in the community and directed its affairs. The wider community had little or nothing to say about how the community affairs were handled. The Sampson economic interests, values, beliefs, and conservative philosophy of government were dominant and pervaded the community.

Although some people may have objected to this paternalistic social and economic order, they were powerless to do anything about it because of the community's overwhelming economic dependence upon the industry. Besides, Sampson retaliatory potential was too great. The city government served the Sampson and allied interests to the fullest. Property assessments, other taxation, laws and regulations: all favored these interests. Restriction on change was the order of the day.

No matter how much these entrenched interests wanted to maintain the status quo and resist change, however, conditions external and internal to the community were to force the community's power pattern to alter. Although

the entrenched interests were to seemingly win the first round, subsequent events were to sap its strength.

During the 1930's the woolens industry, especially in the eastern United States, was facing increasing stresses and strains of a technological nature and resulting from inter-industrial competition. Competition for a labor force with other basic industries, such as metals and fabricating, which could pay higher wages to their workers, increasingly forced the woolens industry to curtail its operations. Many concerns went out of business. The woolens industry also had to face the problem presented by the development of synthetic fibers and products which finally replaced the woolens industry had formerly supplied other industries. These two closely related problems threatened the very existence of the Sampson Woolen Mills and were two of the main factors contributing to its eventual collapse as a viable concern.

Added to these problems in the Sampson case were the labor union difficulties of the mid-30's, the unwillingness or inability of the firm to diversify its output of products and to modernize its plant, and disinterest on the part of the third generation of Sampsons to take over the family concern. These are very pertinent and considerable factors which must be weighed in accounting for the decline and eventual withdrawal from the pinnacle of Mills Springs power by the Sampson interests. The very

roots of their power in the community had slowly withered, in the Weberian sense. Nevertheless, some of the Sampson heritage was to linger on in the community.

The Sampson workers, as our narrative of the 1937 strike and attempt at complete unionization revealed, were quite dissatisfied with their economic and working conditions. They received no satisfaction from the Sampsons. Their dissatisfaction was so great that they did what was unprecedented in Mills Springs: They were "disloyal" to the community and the Sampsons by striking and accepting the leadership of "outside-foreign" U.T.W.-C.I.O organizers to attain their ends. The "family" had a rift in it that frightened "father."

✓ In Coleman's terms we had a situation involving a lower class fighting a "bread-and-butter" issue in an economically self-contained town. The event of the strike touched a very important aspect of the lives of these community members--their economic livelihood. But this event also touched the privileged livelihoods of the businessmen, professionals, and some prosperous farmers in the community and vicinity. Form and Miller would see this issue in terms of their Economic Interest Model, in which an inter-institutional conflict brought the wider community into the resolution of the issue.

In the long struggle that ensued, however, the decades of strong adherence or strikers' exposure to the

prevalent values of isolationism, conservatism, Republicanism, and puritan Protestant values, the very real pressures of economic impoverishment, the fear of permanently losing the major industry in town and consequently their livelihoods, the constant propaganda of the press and the Iconoclast, the activities of the businessmen, professionals, and farmers against the strike, and the court injunction and arrests of their leaders (accompanied by the threat of vigilante force): all these combined pressures conspired to defeat the strike and completely demoralize the local union members. This defeat effectively halted any further unionization of the Sampson plant, failed to get the workers an improvement in their lot, and set an enduring standard for dealing with labor in Mills Springs. To this day there are no locally-owned industries that are unionized. We doubt that such a situation can persist much longer, however, if in-migration continues and if the community is to expand its industrial and economic base.

This issue graphically illustrates a process common to many one-industry towns in the United States, in which a small town community power structure has been able to repel a threat to its status quo and to protect its economic dependence upon the major industry in town. In this case the Sampson interests and their allies in the business, professional, and agricultural segments of the community composed the Mills Springs power structure and were undivided

in their objectives. Even though H. P. Warrington was not an "insider" and although he had never legally represented the Sampson interests, he strongly shared their conservative philosophy. By spearheading the drive against the union, he was reported to have curried favor and was said to have profited in later years from his timely intercession. He was to measurably increase his stature and influence. His subsequent successes were to steep his confidence in extreme conservatism, as evidenced in his numerous public and private pronouncements and as related in many interviews.

On the basis of the evidence we have already presented on the strike-unionization issue, we can say with considerable assurance that, notwithstanding the power structure's seeming success, the strike-unionization issue was the first clear indication that external events beyond the control of the local power structure and increasing internal forces of dissatisfaction were to lead to an eventual change in the balance of power in Mills Springs. It signaled the Sampson demise. It was the first peal of the bell of change, and the Sampsons were those for whom it first tolled.

Mills Springs: Commuters' town.--After World War II the population of Mills Springs began to increase appreciably, both through in-migration and through a rise in the local birth rate, characteristic also of much of lower Michigan and other parts of the United States.

The people who have moved into Mills Springs have been largely commuters, of all classes, who work in larger nearby towns and cities. (A few--a very minor portion--of the newcomers work in Mills Springs.) Better transportation and communication facilities and a wider distribution of these means have been the enabling factors for such an arrangement. On the whole the newcomers have been predominantly attracted to Mills Springs as a home base by its low tax rate structure, small town life and friendliness, and generally lower living costs. These people are by and large young couples with school-age children. They are not especially rich nor landed. They have more liberal values and beliefs and a style of life for the most part different from those of the native "oldtimers." A rather sharp cleavage of values in the community has developed as a result of the in-migration of these people. This cleavage was to find its clearest and fullest expression in the recent school issue over consolidation and annexation.

Along with the in-migration of these people, a few new industrial plants have come into Mills Springs and some have developed locally. However, with but two exceptions, these industries are of a non-union character, with low wage scales and seasonal employment opportunities, and have hardly attracted a larger labor force or more business to the community. According to interviews with several influentials, these industries were "checked out" by some of the

key members of the community power structure to make sure they were "safe."

These local people who had lost their jobs when the final closing of the Sampson mill came, for the most part, did not return to take these jobs in local industry. Rather, they have continued commuting as usual; that is, those who are young or lucky enough to have gotten other employment. Women, mostly, and a few older men have filled the labor requirements of most of these new local industries. The two companies that are unionized still have lower-than-average union pay scales. Several informants stated that a pickle factory that recently moved into the community did so to escape union troubles it was having in its home territory and to enjoy the lower wage scales possible in Mills Springs.

After the decline of the Sampson interests from the throne of power, considerable decision-making power in Mills Springs became invested in the city's governmental group which has been led and dominated by H. P. Warrington for some years. Its members and supporters have consisted primarily of businessmen, professionals, and farmers who were in sympathy with the Sampson interests in the past and who still share their basic values and conservative philosophy of government. They are, on the whole, very conservative and believe that all projects should be on a strictly pay-as-you-go basis. No projects should be launched

until there is an absolute and pressing need for them. Bonding issues are anathema. The members of this group are not alone in these sentiments, however, as there is substantial community support for this position. They want low taxes.

Members of the city group developed a semblance of organization. It came to include, besides Warrington, one particular former mayor, several city commissioners, the city clerk, the tax assessor, and other lesser city officials, employees and their political "cronies." During the hospital and school issues this group was in power. The hard core of the city government group and some of its more ardent supporters formed the rallying point of the faction opposing consolidation and annexation in the school issue. With much wider support--the participation from the community-at-large and members of the opposition who had "crossed over"--this group was in the forefront in pressing for the building of the new hospital.

The hard core of this group, according to several informants, has varied but little in composition over the past decade. It consists of: Al Rand, who is a long-time commissioner and in reality the coordinator and contact man for the group, with various interests in the community; Warrington and his law partner of five years and acting city solicitor, J. P. Finn; Henry Smith and Albert Buckle, ex-city officials with influence among the conservative

old people and farmers; Earl Chives, city clerk, and Art Ruhm, the tax assessor; a recent addition to the group, Robert Costa, who is the confidante of Rand and behind-the-scenes "idea" man for city projects (he is affiliated with a small Methodist college); and somewhat on the group's fringe, Lon McIntosh, who is a Justice of the Peace and C. P. A., with his ear to the ground for what goes on in the community.

Rand has largely taken over from Warrington functions he once performed. It is Rand who now meets members of the various community interest groups and cliques at informal coffee meetings during the day. It is he who sounds these representatives out as to their opinions and ideas on various city projects and issues. Rand tries to balance and integrate the interests of these various individuals, groups, or factions. Those whose interests he must consider include: (1) the industrial clique; (2) the bankers; (3) the realtors; (4) the merchants; (5) the "substantial" people; (6) the professionals, mostly the doctors and lawyers; (7) certain politicians; and (8) certain important farmers. In the past most important issues were discussed in this informal manner before they were brought up in the various organizations such as the service clubs. Although there is still a lot of this informal "scheming" going on, the service organizations are more important in resolving issues now.

The industrial clique primarily wants concessions from the city in the form of lower taxes and better and cheaper utilities and services. If they could get it, they also would like legal protection for what amounts to their economic exploitation of the women workers and non-union labor. Several companies, for example, have attempted to evade their responsibilities for workmen's compensation by attempting to apply pressure on the city government.

The managers and officials of these companies are, by and large, younger, relatively insubstantial men economically. They work rather closely with the service clubs: the Jaycees, Lions, Rotary, and Kiwanis.

Although they are considered industrialists, Guy Smith and Tom Kingston are dealt with as separate interests--not only because they represent local companies of some substance and historic importance and reputation in Mills Springs, but also because of their activities as key influentials. Many interviewees considered Kingston to be a member of the city group (though acknowledged to be a neutralist) because of his continued close association with members of the group. He is considered a neutralist because he attempts to make peace among the two main factions in town and because he often aids Rand in adjusting interests. Besides, he was at one-time mayor and worked closely with these people.

The realtors in town, Tim Derring, Joe Butcher and his partner, Rex Stewart (Kingston's brother-in-law), are

another powerful interest group. Derring has a great deal of influence in the community. Stewart, a younger man, is a neutralist and is building up quite a bit of influence. His intelligence and pleasing personality, combined with his many community affiliations, augur well for his future in Mills Springs. Both power factions in the community are courting his favor.

The realtors are for community expansion, for obvious business reasons. Warrington, although he has in recent years moved into real estate, is for gradual, controlled expansion of the community. His opposition to any community expansion has been tempered through time and personal profit. He is not as progressive as Butcher, Stewart, and Derring. He wants to keep out such "undesirables" as Negroes, "hillbillies," "foreigners," and "the like." He doesn't want a "smokestack" community, so the type of industry he is willing to admit is limited in scope.

The bank interests that must be considered by Pand are represented by Warrington, again, Nickerson, Guy Smith, Rolls, Gundersen, Kennedy, and Darkmoor, a retired druggist--all on the board of the Mills Springs National Bank. Craig Bond is the only top influential on the board of the Mills Springs Federal Savings and Loan, a branch of a Caroline bank. Both banks are basically conservative in policy, with the National bank more so. Bond, speaking for others in the community, said the new bank opened because there was a felt

need for competition in this area to break "a stranglehold on the Mills Springs economy, financial resources, savings, and credit and to replace inheritance of wealth and position by individual merit."

The prominent businessmen and merchants form another interest group in the community. O'Toole is one of the more important representatives of this informally organized group. O'Toole and Rand have had a very close relationship dating back to their work together on the hospital project.

The younger merchants and businessmen are closely identified organizationally with the new industrialists through the Jaycees and other service clubs. Rand has been made an honorary Jaycee by this group for his cooperation in their projects at Christmas time.

Other individuals whom Rand must consider and attempt to placate include L. M. Eagle, the postmaster and a prominent Republican; Buckle and Smith (see above), who represent the older "solid" people; and various prominent farmers in the vicinity, among them Smathers, Perkins, Deerfield, and Barber.

Another interest group is the professionals, including the Morton group of doctors and, closely allied, attorney Marvin Stone who legally represents the doctors, school board, and many members of the power structure--many of whom form the faction in opposition to the city group. Stone was conspicuously involved in the hospital and,

especially, the school issues by his opposition to Warrington in the former and Warrington and Finn in the latter. He is also an aspiring Republican politician. Although the city group has been the dominant center of power in Mills Springs for years, it has not held this vaunted position without some serious challenges to its power. In a number of bitter struggles for political power and prestige, Warrington has alienated certain powerful businessmen, professionals, and farmers in the community by his attacks on their motives, integrity, honesty, and morals. He has also made other bitter enemies because he threatens them with certain damaging information he holds over their heads. As a result, these people have increasingly banded together and have supported any group or project which was opposed to Warrington.

These disgruntled natives and the younger people coming into town with more liberal values, beliefs, and style of life than those of Warrington and his ilk have been attracted to each other and have formed a loosely-organized opposition to the city group.

Because many of these young people have been uninterested in political city affairs, or because some of the natives and young people have had no opportunity to exercise power, and because both groups have tended to be younger and have children in school, they have rallied around the school administration and organizations (the

P. T. A. and the school board). The younger and "insubstantial" industrialists, merchants, professionals, and liberal farmers in the community and vicinity also joined this faction. This group of multi-composition, although on the whole not economically as substantial or "solid" as the conservatives in power, are socially very respectable and "belong." This faction is for "opening up" the town to new industry which will attract more business and mean community expansion. It was for consolidation and annexation. They are for bonding issues. In general they are liberal for what is still a traditional Mills Springs.

Warrington and Rice, the school superintendent, were at loggerheads for some time over a personal altercation they had had before the issue involving school consolidation or annexation ever came up. When Rice first came to Mills Springs as superintendent of schools, he was friendly with Warrington. However, in pursuing his duties as superintendent, he had decided to build an industrial arts annex onto the high school building, which Warrington felt the school board should wait two years to build because he thought it could then be built for a third less. Rice replied that the school board had already waited four years to build this addition. Since they had students who would benefit from this service in school and since the necessary money was available, why not get the annex, he replied. Warrington became very angry at this suggestion and

subsequent accomplishment. He has been mad at Rice ever since. He accused Rice of being an upstart, the tool of the State Department of Public Instruction, and seeking power which he should not have. Rice evidently was viewed as a threat by Warrington because Rice was willing to challenge his power and take an independent course of action. This personal antagonism was to feed the school issue and draw adherents to one faction or the other on a personal basis as well as on other bases of response.

During the period of the Sampson hegemony over Mills Springs, a local hospital was opened in 1918. It was owned and operated by a Dr. Paul A. Morton, a local product; a classmate of his, Dr. Howard M. Davis; and Miss Marguerite Powers, R. N. The three bought an old mansion which had belonged to two of the pioneer families of the town, remodeled and named it the Marguerite Powers Hospital.

Dr. Davis fell down the elevator shaft one night in 1919, leaving Dr. Morton and Mrs. Powers-Johnson to run the hospital. Dr. Stephen Krull joined the staff in 1919 to replace Dr. Davis. He remained with the hospital for ten years before he moved on. In 1930 Mrs. Powers-Johnson died; and for the decade of the 30's and into 1943, when Morton died, the hospital was operated by Morton and Miss Betty Beers, P. N., with a staff of two registered nurses.

Beneficiaries to the hospital were Mrs. Morton (now Mrs. Guy Smith) and Miss Beers. No doctors were

affiliated with the hospital until 1948, when Dr. Eric Roostens, his nephew Warren Roostens, and Dr. Miles Anker purchased the hospital and renamed it after Morton. The doctors ran it as a non-profit corporation under state law up to the date of the new hospital's opening. Miss Beers remained with the group as its superintendent. The son-in-law of Dr. Eric Roostens, Dr. Thad Grant, was discharged from the Air Force and joined the Morton group shortly after the hospital issue took place.

During the years of both Morton's and the Roostenses' guidance, this hospital received financial aid from the Smiths and Sampsons. The father of Guy Smith and Dr. Morton had been roommates at college. The Sampsons, Smiths, Morton, and Roostenses were socially intimate: they shared the same class position, conservative values, church membership, et cetera. Together they formed the elite, the privileged, of a paternalistic system.

The virtual medical monopoly the doctors enjoyed in Mills Springs was not pleasing to all segments of the community, however. From time to time rumblings were heard about the "high-handed behavior of the doctors" from various individuals among the power structure, the lower and middle classes, and from patients of a young osteopath in town, Dr. Mason.

It seems that the Morton group tried to enforce a type of boycott on Dr. Mason's practice in the community

and later prevented him from using the facilities of the new hospital.

When he first came to town in 1954, Dr. Mason netted but \$50 his first three months there. However, he began to build a reputation and a lucrative practice, which evidently threatened the Morton group's medical monopoly. The fact that he was an osteopath to boot and they M. D.'s did not endear him to them either.

The doctors began to find themselves "unable" to treat Dr. Mason's patients or admit them to the hospital when he was away on calls or out of town. They were "unavailable or too busy." On one occasion a cardiac patient, with bronchial complications, of Mason's suffered an attack while he was away attending the delivery of one of his patients. This woman was taken by her daughter to the new hospital, but was refused admittance and treatment "because an authorization of one of the M. D.'s in town was needed." However, the M. D.'s were "unavailable." When the daughter emphasized the nature of the emergency, the nurse-supervisor on duty blurted out advice to the effect that "You patients of Mason's should band together and run him out of town!"

The stricken woman fortunately lived through the crisis without being admitted to the hospital. Mason wrote a restrained letter to the hospital board asking that this matter be investigated and a ruling be made on his status

with regard to practicing in, and admitting his patients to, the hospital. The matter was side-tracked, however, and Mason was not given an answer or ruling. (By state law osteopaths are entitled to these rights in a public hospital.)

A recourse to the courts was considered, and J. P. Finn was consulted by the State Osteopathic Association to represent Mason in a test case. However, the matter was not prosecuted, and Mason eventually removed his practice to a larger city.

With this backdrop to the various bases of response operative in the issues--the various economic interests, values, power struggles, and personal antagonisms--in place, we can now proceed to summarize the hospital and school issues in terms of the theories of Coleman, Form, and Miller. We shall now tie these issues together into the over-all pattern of Mills Springs power.

In terms of the Form-Miller scheme the type of top influential structure in Mills Springs has changed as the type of community has changed. It has moved from the Exclusive Elite type that characterized Mills Springs in its one-industry days during the strike-unionization issue to one characterized by the Core Elite type during the city group's unchallenged reign. Most recently, in the hospital issue, but more so in the school issue, it has changed into the type known as the Fluid Influentials.

We shall show how the various individuals, interest groups, and the two factions in the community lined up on

these two issues. We shall make explicit the general reactions of the two power factions to the "conditioning" factors which have brought similar pressures to bear on the community for change and for solutions to problems or issues resulting from these pressures.

Hospital Issue

If the reader will recall, the initial suggestion to build the new hospital was made by H. P. Warrington at a meeting of the Kiwanis Club following Dr. Anker's address. Edgar Kennedy, the vice-president of the Mills Springs National Bank and nephew of Warrington, appointed the Kiwanis half of a joint investigatory committee. The people appointed in addition to Warrington, however, included two men belonging to the faction tacitly opposed to Warrington: Robert Sterling and Clyde Corbin. (Kennedy, by the way, was identified by many interviewees as a secret adherent of this opposition faction.)

The Lions Club's half of the committee consisted of an assortment of, as it later turned out, people in favor and those in opposition to the new hospital: Roger Mandell was against the new hospital; Tom Kingston and Al Rand were for it; and Joseph Jones, not a very influential man, was initially opposed, but later for the new hospital.

The joint committee later held a meeting in which the directors and incorporators of the proposed new hospital were chosen. The division of this group, later elected, on

the issue was: Mandell, Nickerson, Stone, Corbin, Sterling, Carlyle, and Dr. Warren Roostens secretly against construction: Warrington, Dr. Anker, and Kingston for it. Mrs. Adams presumably was with the majority group, though her influence was slight. The officers of the first board elected, with Kingston's exception, were all in opposition, although outwardly for the project.¹

When the rather half-hearted attempts of this group at securing public support for the project failed, mainly through internal sabotage and machinations, Warrington, Kingston, Rand, and O'Toole started a new drive, enlisting the active support and financial backing of prominent individuals--those close to the city group, later certain receptive influentials of the other faction who placed community interests above those of the two recalcitrant doctors and their supporters, and the uncommitted community-at-large. These people were able to enlist the active support of the wider community and rural environs by appealing directly to the evident need for a new medical facility, and indirectly to the removal of complete control of the hospital from the hands of the doctors.

We can present the over-all power alignments in the hospital issue without further repetition of the involved series of events leading to the hospital's eventual construction, however.

The Morton group of doctors was split on what should be done; the Roostenses were strongly for renovation of the

events. ¹See Chapter IV to refresh your memories on these

existing plant, Ankers was for the new building. The Roostenses did not express their feelings publicly. They did privately to their allies whom they enlisted on their behalf. Evidently, the older Roostenses feared for their economic and medical monopoly. The Smith and Sampson interests were initially behind the Roostenses, but as they saw community support for the new hospital increasing and its financial feasibility a reality they shifted their support.

The recalcitrants acceded to the pressure of community sentiment when their support decreased in strength. Attorney Stone, who legally represented and supported the two doctors, was against construction of the new hospital right along, as were Sterling, Mandell, and Carlyle. When it was obvious to even these men that the hospital would be built, they reluctantly gave their support.

Smathers, Rice, and others belonging to the liberal school faction, farmers of all shades of conviction, and the neutralists were all for the new hospital. The initially uncommitted bulk of the community's citizens gradually were rallied to support the new hospital. A segment of the community, lower and lower-middle class patients of Mason, were at first for the hospital, but following the incident involving his patient withdrew their pledged support. Of the influentials so inclined, Bond withdrew all his support, Finn partially.

On the whole this issue was without rancor. The "fighting" that took place was more or less effectively

screened from public view. The sub rosa tilt between the doctors and Mason was resolved by his eventual withdrawal from Mills Springs. The doctors still continued their medical monopoly, but the hospital was now under the direction of a board elected from among the prominent citizenry. Mason's patients largely have remained faithful to him even though he has moved.

In terms of Coleman's theory of community conflict, then, the hospital issue contained a minute component of conflict. Although there was disagreement among the top influentials--the middle and upper classes--as to how the issue should be resolved, wide community involvement grouped about the attainment of the over-arching value of an adequate medical facility overrode the importance of such bases of response as economic interests (the doctors' and allies'), power or prestige struggles (the two main factions), or personal antagonisms (too many to mention). This event touched on an important core cultural value, common and dear to all members of the community: the value of their health, their very existence. The importance of life and its preservation is an axiomatic value in our culture; it is hardly ever argued about.

Of course the building of the new hospital affected different members of the community differently, but the difference was not great enough to generate conflict of any proportion. The action finally taken was acceptable to the majority of the community's members.

This event, though of an internal nature, was triggered from an external source when the state fire marshal gave his edict. However, the need for a new hospital was created by the "conditioning" factors we shall shortly treat in conjunction with the school issue and other issues in the making in Mills Springs.

The hospital issue was dominated, as we have said, by the cultural value of health and life, widely construed. Economic interests in the form of the doctors' medical monopoly and conflict with the osteopath were second in importance. We can rank the basis of response deriving from the personal attitudes toward the doctors and toward Warrington and his faction third. Once the hospital was under construction, the element of power and authority came to have a slightly more important bearing on the issue. The prestige of leadership, fortunately, was widely distributed in this instance. The unified accomplishment of the action allowed for little hard-feeling over the prestige awarded to develop among the major participants. All received their share of credit.

Community identification was strong in this instance; the density of organizations and associations in the community, the distribution of participation among its citizens, and the interlocking of organizational membership were all high.

In terms of the Form-Miller theory of power structure, the hospital issue falls within their classification

of the Public Welfare Model in which the hospital building project had no specific institutional sponsorship. Yet, the on-going institutional relations in the community were challenged, with the senior doctors and their supporters for a time resisting the threatened change to their status quo. Despite their resistance, change resulted because their support in the power structure and in the wider community was weak.

In Chapter II² we posed some working hypotheses linking community power structure members to the hospital board. We expected to find that the proposed construction of the new hospital would pose a threat and disturb the status quo of certain elements in the community. We can see from our preceding presentation of the case that such was the situation in Mills Springs.

We expected to find that the participants in the process of getting a new hospital and those who would later serve on its board would be members of the local power structure. It is obvious from our presentation that this was the case. We further expected that the high ranking influentials involved in the hospital project would have important stations or offices in the community which would make them logical candidates for the board positions. We were not disappointed in the correctness of our hypothesis.

²See Chapter II, pp. 33-34.

The board consists of nine members of whom five are among the list of key influentials in the community: Warrington, O'Toole, Smathers, Kingston, and Smith. Two more members--Kennedy and Barber--are listed among the community's prominent influentials, if not quite in the select list of the top influentials. Miss Beers primarily represents the Morton group on the board. As such she has some influence, in that she can protect the interests and represent the viewpoints of the doctors on the board. Mrs. Saunders really has little influence commensurate with that of the others. Her place on the board is primarily in recognition of her considerable efforts on behalf of the hospital. Her economic and social status in the community is a modest one. She might be considered in a way as a representative of that element in the community. Jones, who has since been replaced by Smith, was listed among the influentials in town, but he was not considered to be a top influential.

We expected that every centrally important participant in the hospital issue emerged from a background which gave him special advantages: a background of offices held, family, status, kinship positions, and power position in the community. In addition to this background, we expected each major participant would have a history of social interaction with his fellow-citizens which set up a community image of his capabilities. We found that this hypothesis was confirmed by our data. The backgrounds of Warrington,

O'Toole, Smathers, Kingston, and Smith certainly are eloquent proofs of this hypothesis.

We expected these members would be in the high-income bracket of the community and able to give freely of their time and money. This hypothesis too was confirmed.

School Issue

The school issue in Mills Springs was the most recent and most spectacular of the three we have studied. It contained the highest concentration of community conflict. In Coleman's terms, it showed most clearly the degree to which community disagreement is a measure of community life. This issue contained many items of dispute and its bases of response were multiple.

The school issue had both internal and external sources for dispute. The crowded and inadequate conditions of the Mills Springs schools were primarily facets of a common and cumulative internal problem. But it was aggravated by the state's policy urging consolidation or annexation of rural school districts to that of Mills Springs in order to reduce the number of school districts in the county to three. Like the hospital and several other issues that have come up, an external pressure was necessary to bring community action to bear on an internal situation. External pressure in this case germinated seemingly dormant internal seeds of conflict, sown before and during the hospital issue. The existing division of the two factions

in the town led to the formation of alliances with different rural segments as the issue progressed.

This event touched upon all the criteria Coleman mentioned³ as important in the development of a controversy. It touched upon some very important aspects of the community members' lives: the education of their children and those of nearby districts; taxes; and the fears, on the part of various citizens of the reluctant districts, over losing home rule if they consolidated or annexed. This event certainly touched the lives of different community members differently. Finally, the community members felt that action could be taken, and each faction attempted to win over the uncommitted members of the community to their solution of the problem.

The Mills Springs school issue contained all four bases of response which seem to determine the shape a particular community conflict will take. In the order of their importance in this issue, they were: (1) economics, (2) personal antagonisms toward particular persons or groups, (3) cultural values, and (4) struggle for power and authority.

The division in Mills Springs along economic lines was as follows in the school issue. The conservatives--the "solid" old residents, the pensioned and retired, the childless, and certain farmers--were against consolidation

³See Chapter II, pp. 49-50.

or annexation because either would have meant an increase in their tax assessments. These people felt they received no direct benefit from school improvements. These people banded together and some even fought a court action, prosecuted by J. P. Finn for the plaintiffs and Stone for the defense, for restitution of their tax payments after it was discovered that the first election on the five-mill school tax levy was illegal. The liberals--the younger people with little or no property, the parents of school children, and certain liberal rural residents--were for consolidation and annexation. They were willing to pay the tax increase because they benefited directly.

The personal antagonism between Rice and Warrington was viewed by an overwhelming majority of the interviewees as the second most important basis of response. A few placed this at the top of their list to explain Warrington's persistence and vehemence. After all, they said, he could easily have afforded to pay the increase in taxes. Others who had holdings almost as extensive as his were not so vehement or persistent in their opposition. Why? It was a personal vendetta, they concluded, that motivated him.

In the area of cultural values we find that the rural sentiment for the little old red schoolhouse was strong. Coupled with this was Warrington's old-fashioned philosophy of education which was shared by quite a few of the older people. His injection into the issue of

intimations of communism and socialism at work in the local school found adherents among members of certain local and rural groups such as the A. R. E. However, it found just as many opponents who claimed that the charges were ridiculous and calculated to be inflammatory. Two women, one a local resident, were very close and active supporters of Warrington's line. They used this "scare" technique in their appeals too. Warrington's law partner, Finn, and Finn's wife were active to the extent of accompanying Warrington to many rural meetings at which Rice made addresses and in challenging Rice's speeches for the cause of annexation. They served as persistent hecklers at local school meetings also. Finn's wife wrote several letters to the editor of the Journal. Both wrote letters for one of the women affiliated with the A. R. E. which were also published in the Journal.

The school faction stressed the values of up-to-date and adequate educational facilities, the children's welfare, the need for continued reciprocal neighborliness, and the growth and progress of the community. With the rural people these values were to win out in the end. This group was accused of "packing" school meetings and committees and of squelching public discussion of the issue by some informants, however.

The power interest groups were divided with respect to the school issue. The city group was adamantly against

consolidation and annexation. Warrington exerted considerable pressure on his hard core colleagues to support his position. The city clerk was not for the five-mill tax levy because collecting the taxes would not be a pleasant or an easy task. The group's peripheral members tended to take more neutral stands as the issue progressed and some gave their tacit support to the school faction. Warrington's closest allies were finally forced to convince him to curb some of his excesses when they realized that he was alienating a considerable number of the community's uncommitted citizens by his tactics.

The school faction's leadership included Rice and Smathers, with Stone, Carlyle, Mandell, Dr. Grant, and most of the board later in open support. The wives of certain prominent businessmen and professionals were also quite active in the P. T. A. and on various fact-finding committees. When Warrington alienated the Journal's editor, Thyssen, he too joined the liberal school faction.

The positions of the various interest groups were as follows: Nickerson supported Warrington sub rosa; the Roostenses were negative, Grant and Anker positive to consolidation and annexation; Bond, Darkmoor, and Rolls were negative, Gundersen positive; the realtors were positive; Smith's employers, Corbin and Haig, were positive, while Smith was ostensibly neutral on the issue and paid his taxes without a murmur.

The school board--composed at first of Haig, Mrs. White, Orr, Eagle, and Dr. Caldwell, a local dentist--were divided on the need for reorganization and were content to use Rice as a guinea pig to sound out community sentiment. Haig was the first to openly support reorganization. Mrs. White quickly followed suit. Caldwell, too, supported Rice. (He and Haig later resigned because of illnesses.) Orr, a small realtor, was in close touch with Warrington at the beginning of the controversy and seemed to share his views. As the issue progressed, however, he began to move over to Rice's side. Orr, upon his resignation from the board, was appointed by Rice to serve as the head of the school system's maintenance and custodial department.

It is interesting to note that Warrington did not ruin Orr when he had a chance to. It was within his power to do so and would have meant much in attaining his objectives. He could have placed Rice and the board in a very uncomfortable position. It seems that Orr, while still a board member, engineered a real estate deal with another individual to sell the land on which the new grade school was to be built to the school board. The two made a neat profit in the transaction, but it was clearly against existing law. McIntosh, in his capacity as C. P. A., discovered the "shenanigans" while checking Orr's income tax returns, and he informed Warrington of the inflated profit involved in the transaction. Orr became frightened and, at

a hastily arranged meeting with Warrington, plead for mercy. Kingston, Stewart, and several others mellowed Warrington's resolution, and a public scandal was averted. Orr lost considerable influence and stature among those "in the know" in the community as a result of this episode.

Postmaster Eagle maintained an independent stance throughout the school issue, but he threw his support to the school faction when the chips were down.

As the resignations took place, the school board vacancies were filled by strong rural adherents of annexation--Smathers and Deerfield--and Dr. Grant locally.

Coleman's⁴ analysis of several school controversies has resounding echoes in the Mills Springs situation. Warrington was the extreme activist who tried to trade on the existence of a national climate of fear and suspicion concerning internal subversion. There was a lack of close and continued relations between the school administration and conservative segments of the population, as we have previously remarked. If one reviews Coleman's description of a large class of conflicts as revolts against administrations (including school controversies) and compares it with our description of the Mills Springs school issue, he will find very close similarities. Only in our case the ideologically-committed activist was unable to muster sufficient support to gain his ends.

⁴See Chapter III, pp. 42-43.

The "conditioning" factors of increasing population pressure, the developments and expansion in technology, and the spread of communication and transportation networks are most clearly recognized to be most important to the development of local problems and at the very root of the present and developing Mills Springs issues by the liberal school faction. From an analysis of the issues, the excerpts of letters to the editor written by these people, the editorials written by the present newspaper publisher, and from our interviews with members of this faction this conclusion, we feel, is incontrovertible.

These people recognize that other community problems will develop as these factors bear more and more directly on Mills Springs. Suburbanization and its tendency to make communities economically and socially dependent on larger cities is of particular concern to these people. They realize that if they are ever to escape such a fate--of a "bedroom" community--they must build a self-sufficient community. They must attract new industry and business. And if they attempt to do so, the type of industry they bring in (if it is to fulfill these expectations) will be primarily attracted by the community's resources and advantages. They must offer an appearance of community progressiveness.

A bonding issue must be voted if the schools are to be brought and kept up to date. Water resources, sewage

disposal facilities and utilities services must be modernized and expanded. These improvements will mean increased taxes, but they are unavoidable. They must reckon the cost of not doing these things. Charter revisions, city rezoning, new building codes, increased and adequate housing, hospital expansion to take care of the already overcrowded conditions, better recreational facilities, and other changes are necessary.

Some think a city manager plan should be adopted so as to enable a comprehensive program of action to be drafted. In the past too many issues or projects were handled on a hand-to-mouth basis. Progressive planning is needed.

To accomplish these changes will require a realignment in power, but we think our data show this to be happening. Some members of the city group are also awakening to the realization that the community desperately needs these multiple changes. Already a new water tower has been built with the help of a large bond issue. A new chamber of commerce has been formed by members of the community power structure which can apply pressure to the city group.

As the older people die off, when Warrington's waning influence disappears, as the younger people take an interest in city affairs, and as members from the neutralist group and the liberal faction move into power, the various factors contributing to the community's cleavage in values and policy will disappear. New industry will in all

probability bring unionized labor into Mills Springs, which will demand a reappraisal of present labor-management relations (unless national events drastically alter).

The sewage disposal plant, the new hospital, and the newly-constructed school have all been the results of outside state pressure. These have all been forced upon a community more or less reluctant to change, one cleaving to what it has considered its past glory. But the people of Mills Springs are increasingly realizing that they must live in this century, and to do so adequately they must modernize or fall by the wayside. To modernize will take money and effort; but if the community acts upon future issues in light of the new spirit they seem to have developed, they will succeed.

As for hospital-community relations, we think that the present board will get the necessary community support it needs to expand the hospital plant. As the nationally-inspired conflict between M. D.'s and osteopaths is resolved, we expect the local situation to change. And if the community continues to grow, the need for more doctors is bound to force the Morton group to surrender its medical monopoly and to accept outside competition. We have the suspicion that this will be more probable when the two older doctors retire from the scene.

Cautions In Interpretation

In interpreting this case study, caution must be observed because there are certain dangers inherent in using the case study method.

The case study method is a way of organizing social data which preserves the unitary aspect of the social phenomenon being investigated. This method is an attempt to keep together as a unit those characteristics which are relevant to a particular study. It offers the advantages of an increased breadth of data collection, the use of levels of data (such as economic, political, psychodynamic, et cetera), the formation of types and indices; and it allows one to handle interaction in a time dimension. It is not the only method we could have used in this research, we realize.

However, its disadvantages stem in part from these very advantages, because the researcher may have a false sense of confidence due to the wealth of data collected (which may not all be made explicit but remain implicit in his presentation) and certainty about his own conclusions. This is a constant danger in all methods of social research. It especially seems dangerous when using the case study approach. The problem of representative sampling is especially critical here.

Have we sampled wisely and widely enough? By limiting our interviews to the key and top influential

layers of the community power structure, for example, have we perhaps unduly slighted the information the lower echelons of power might have given us? We have tried to anticipate this objection by doing selective interviewing within this lower echelon as a check. We also interviewed people of the lower class to get their perspectives on community decision-making. It must be admitted, however, that this sample was quite small in number. Although we did not interview three members of the upper echelons, lacking the opportunity, as far as our sampling of the upper echelons of the community power structure is concerned, we feel fairly confident that we got an adequate representation. There was very close agreement among the informants and interviewees in designating its constituents.

In case studies there is the danger of making unwarranted extrapolations from the data. As far as we are aware, we have adhered closely to the available data. We have relied heavily upon cross-checking the accuracy of informants' accounts of the issues to control for the reliability of the data. After all the possible cross-checking was done, however, there was still room for doubt in evaluating some particular informant's definition of the situation.

Our case study seems to suffer from a weakness common to all case studies, nevertheless, in that it is difficult to make very explicit the generalizations underlying

the analysis of the case. Therefore, we have attempted to be conservative and not make unwarranted extrapolations from this case to other situations. It would be desirable, from the point of view of further research, to replicate this study in other community settings to see whether, in fact, the generalizations made by Coleman, Form, and Miller, and applied by us to this case study, do hold up. Larger communities with more than one hospital might reveal a similar community power structure and hospital board relationship, or it might not. At any rate, this state of affairs should be ascertained, if we are to be able to generalize about hospital-community power relationships. We must investigate whether a series of issues similar to those that made up a pattern of decision-making in our community (which included the hospital issue) occurs in other community settings as well.

Summary of Findings

In tracing the process of decision-making in a series of Mills Springs' community issues, we found that over the years a pattern of power relations emerged which could be linked directly to the several bases of response displayed by the community power structure's members. In each of the issues there occurred a major division of interests which called for differing responses on the part of the opponents concerned. In each issue there was an attempt on the part of those enjoying a comfortable status quo

position to oppose change and protect their interests and advantages from the encroachments of those who advocated change. Each issue eventually involved the wider community for its resolution.

The strike-unionization issue involved the wider community in an economic struggle between the Sampson company and its workers. The U. T. W.--C.I.O., with the help of the U. A. W.--C. I. O., led the local workers in a strike for improved working conditions, a wage increase, and shop-wide union representation. The company opposed them; and as the strike continued, local businessmen, professionals, and farmers, led by a local activist and fearful over the decline in local business, increasingly rallied to the company's support. A court injunction and the threat of force stabilized conditions in favor of the company's position. Eventually the wider community added its support to the company. In this issue the community power structure, dominated by the company, was unanimous in supporting the company's position because their mutual economic interests were felt to be in serious jeopardy. The power of the major industry was able to maintain the status quo.

However, the major industry eventually lost its economic pre-eminence, and its influence and power declined. The reins of power were transferred to the city governmental group, which was the major component of the changing community power situation at the time the hospital issue came up.

In this issue the group enjoying the status quo was the Morton group of doctors, particularly the two senior partners. The younger partner was for the construction of the proposed new community hospital. The older doctors seemed to be reluctant to give up their control over the old hospital to a hospital board of directors, which would necessarily operate the new one. Their main support included their attorney, certain members of the younger industrial clique, and, at first, two members of old prominent industrial families. In opposition, and for the construction of the new hospital and public operation of it, were the previously mentioned activist, the city governmental group, some of the realtors, bankers, farmers, and eventually the wider community which pledged their support. As community sentiment for the new hospital grew, the two prominent industrialists shifted their support to the opposition; and the hospital was built. The economic interests and control the doctors wielded was outweighed by the overriding value of an adequate community health facility. Then, too, the new hospital was the pride of the town, and it meant that new residents and industry might be attracted by such improvements.

In the recruitment of the new hospital's board of directors the considerations of power and representation were amicably settled. We expected to find that the participants in the process of getting a new hospital and those who

would later serve on its board would be members of the local power structure. We further expected that the high-ranking influentials involved in the hospital project would have important stations or offices in the community which would make them logical candidates for the board positions. This we found to be true. Of the nine members of the board we found five of them to be from this group, in fact they were key influentials. They included the ubiquitous activist, a prominent auto-dealer, an important farmer, and the two old-family industrialists we have mentioned. A banker and another prominent farmer were top influentials selected by the hospital association. The doctors' representative was elected, as well as representatives of the general public.

Every centrally important participant in the hospital issue emerged from a background which gave him special advantages: a background of offices held, family, status, kinship positions, and power position in the community. Each major participant had a social history of social interaction with his fellow citizens which set up a community image of his capabilities. They were from the high-income bracket of the community and were able to give freely of their time and money.

Although the hospital issue contained but minimal aspects of conflict, the school issue over consolidation and annexation and construction of a new elementary school exhibited major conflict proportions.

There were certain developments in the pattern of community power that precipitated this state of affairs. The activist whose influence was felt in the previous issues found himself, in this instance, fighting a threat to his personal dominance. Not only was there a struggle for power among two major factions--the school group versus the city governmental group, and their respective allies--there were also personal differences between this activist and the school superintendent. Economic interests served as an additional basis of response because those people without school-age children, those who were pensioned or owned considerable property, and certain rural residents did not wish to pay increased taxes. Part of the rural residents in this group were also apprehensive over losing home rule and control over their rural school districts. The younger residents with school-age children, the younger members of the industrial cliques, the realtors, certain professionals, farmers, and others joined in supporting the school board, administration, and P. T. A. in bringing the issue to a public vote and successful conclusion.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

QUESTIONNAIRE

Respondents name: _____

Date of interview _____ Interviewer _____

MILLS SPRINGS LEADERSHIP STUDY

We in the Social Research Service at Michigan State are interested in getting a picture of the activities of community leaders in Mills Springs. We are interested in knowing something about their community goals and the way they try to realize these goals. We are interviewing leaders in the community. Your name has been given to us by several people as a person interested in community affairs. First we would like to know something about your background and your community activities.

1. Do you mind telling us your age? Year born _____
2. Where did you grow up?
City _____ State _____ Town _____ Farm _____ Nation _____
3. What is (or was) your father's regular occupation? _____
4. How long have you lived in the Mills Springs area?
Years? _____
5. How do you like it? _____
6. Do you live inside or outside the city? Inside _____
Outside _____
7. How much schooling have you had? Number of years _____
(If college or university) Degrees _____
Major subject in college _____
8. What is the name of your organization? _____
9. How long have you worked for this organization? Years _____
10. What kind of work do you do? Official title _____

Job description _____

11. How long have you been in this position? Years _____

12. Now we would like to know something about your previous occupational and work experiences. Start with the position you had before this one and work backwards:

Position description: _____

Company or organization: _____

City _____ State _____

Date (years) _____

13a. Now we would like to know what organizations you are a member of and your activities in these organizations. To help you recall, we have classified organizations in several areas.

Do you belong to any local business or professional associations such as the Chamber of Commerce, the Downtown Businessmen's Associations, the Board of Realtors, Management, or similar associations?

Name of organization: _____

Are you now an officer? Name of office: _____

Are you a committee head or member? Name of committee: _____
(H-Head; M-Member)

Do you attend regularly or not? (Check) Reg. Irreg.

List all committees under each organization.

Have you been an officer in any of these organizations in the past? No__ Yes__ (If yes) What were the organizations and what offices did you hold? _____

(Any commentary offered about activities in these organizations.)

13b. Do you belong to any service clubs, such as Rotary, Kiwanis, Lions, or Junior Chamber of Commerce? _____

Name of organization: _____

Are you now an officer? Name of office: _____

Are you a committee head or member? Name of committee: _____
(H-Head; M-Member)

List all committees under each organization.

Have you been an officer in any of these organizations in the past? No Yes (If yes) What were the organizations and what offices did you hold?

(Any commentary offered about activities in these organizations.)

13c. Are you presently associated with any civic or welfare organizations such as the Community Chest, Y.M.C.A., boards, hospital boards, PTA, and Boy Scouts?

Name of organization: _____

Are you now an officer? Name of Office: _____

Are you a committee head or member? Name of committee: _____
(H-Head; M-Member)

Do you attend regularly or not? (Check) Reg. Irreg.

List all committees under each organization.

Have you been an officer in any of these organizations in the past? No Yes (If Yes) What were the organizations and what offices did you hold?

(Any commentary offered about activities in these organizations.)

13d. Are you associated with any governmental or political activity such as City Council, Board of Education, Mayor's commissions, Planning boards, Republican party committees, or similar activities?

Name of organization:

Are you now an officer? Name of Office: _____

Are you a committee head or member? Name of committee:
(H-Head; M-Member)

Do you attend regularly or not? (Check) Reg. Irreg.

List all committees under each organization.

Have you been an officer in any of these organizations in the past? No Yes (If Yes) What were the organizations and what offices did you hold?

(Any commentary offered about activities in these organizations.)

- 13e. Do you belong to any fraternal, social, or religious organizations such as the Masons, Country clubs, Veteran organizations, Churches, or other organizations?

Name of organization: _____

Are you now an officer? Name of office: _____

Are you a committee head or member? Name of committee: _____
(H-Head; M-Member)

Do you attend regularly or not? (Check) Reg. Irreg.

List all committees under each organization.

Have you been an officer in any of these organizations in the past? No ___ Yes ___ (If Yes) What were the organizations and what offices did you hold? _____

(Any commentary offered about activities in these organizations.)

14. In any of the organizations you have mentioned, do you sometimes think of yourself as representing a group such as business, professions, or government?

No _____ (go to question 15 directly)

Other _____

Yes _____ (if yes)

- 14a. What organizations: (1) _____ (2) _____
(3) _____ (4) _____ (5) _____

Why is business _____
(occupational group)
representation important?

- 14b. In the community organization in which you have represented business _____ do you feel

(occupational group)
that your participation made a real difference in the organization's general policies or not?

No ___ Why not? _____

Yes ___ Which organizations? (1) _____ (2) _____ (3) _____

Other _____ Explain: _____

15. Do you think it is important or not important for business _____ to participate

(occupational group)
in as many community organizations as possible?

_____ Important Why? _____

_____ Not important Why? _____

_____ Other Explain: _____

16. Are there any organizations or activities in the community in which you feel that the participation of business _____ is more important than in others? (occupational group)

_____ Important Why? _____
 _____ Not important Why? _____
 _____ Other Explain: _____

What are they? _____

Organizations: _____
 Why are they more important? _____

17. How do you rank the importance of political participation? _____
 _____ Most important
 _____ Average importance
 _____ Not important
 _____ Other (specify)

Commentary: _____

18. Generally speaking, do you feel that the participation of businessmen _____ (occupational group) in Mills Springs affects their basic policies or not? (Includes political parties)
 No _____ Why not? _____
 Yes _____ How? (specifically) _____
 Other _____ Explain: _____

19. In your opinion what have been the most important achievements of businessmen _____ (occupational group) in community affairs of Mills Springs?

Achievements: _____

Why so considered? _____

20. What are some of the most important issues facing Mills Springs today?

Issues: _____

What position will business _____ (occupational group) take? _____

Will business _____ (occupational group) affect the outcome? _____

21. Would community representatives of other groups generally

agree or disagree that these are the most important issues?

Agree _____

Disagree _____

Other _____

(If no or other) Specify:

What are the most important issues for them? (1) _____

(2) _____ (3) _____

22. In your judgment, do you feel that big community decisions in Mills Springs to be made by the same small "crowd" of people working together, or do these people change according to the issue confronting the community? (Includes management)

Same group _____ Who are these people?

Group changes _____

Other (explain) _____

23. Is it your opinion that people who make important community decisions in Mills Springs do this pretty much on their own, or do they have to get approval for their actions from organizations to which they belong?

On their own _____

Approval needed _____

Other(explain) _____

24. Concerning the people who are primarily involved in making the big decisions in Mills Springs, do you feel they have a broad sense of community responsibility or are they more concerned with protecting or furthering their own particular interests?

Broad community responsibility _____

Further particular interests _____

Other (explain) _____

- 24a. Are the important issues in Mills Springs usually quietly solved without the public knowing what they are, or are they usually brought out in the open?

Solved quietly _____

Brought out in open _____

Other (explain) _____

25. What organizations in Mills Springs do you feel have most weight in getting things done, or in preventing some things from getting done in Mills Springs?

1. _____ 2. _____

3. _____ 4. _____

26. Now we would like to discuss how issues get resolved in Mills Springs. We are not primarily interested in how you stand for or against community issues or projects. However, what, in your opinion, are some of

the major issues before Mills Springs--either recent or current? (Get history of an issue as it involves the respondent and his appraisal of business'role in the resolution of the issue. Also obtain pattern of opposition and probable resolution).

Examples of such issues are:

- Industrial expansion
- New hospital and expansion
- Water resources expansion
- Sewage disposal
- School annexation and bonding issue for new school
- City rezoning
- Charter revision

Which one of these or others do you feel is most important for the community? _____

Why? _____

Have you been contacted on this issue? Yes__ No__

(If Yes) How were you contacted?

- Personal call _____
- Private luncheon _____
- Committee meeting _____
- Informal chance meeting _____
- Other (specify) _____

Who contacted you (organization referent)? _____

Did you contact others? Yes _____ No _____

What did you decide to do? _____

Did you do it? (explain) _____

Who else did you involve? _____

Why? (follow action, involvement, etc.) _____

What persons and organizations will work for this issue? Organizations _____

Persons _____

What persons and organizations will work against this issue? Organizations _____

Persons _____

How will this issue be resolved in your opinion?

Why do you feel this way? _____

Whose influence will count most? _____

Names of persons: _____

Names of organizations: _____

How will they put it across or get their way? _____
(control, activity devices) _____

APPENDIX B

DOCUMENTARY LETTERS

Flashes, Mills Springs, Michigan

March 6, 1958

WHAT IS WRONG WITH OUR SCHOOLS?

We hear much about our national school mess by which the nation is being dragged into socialism. How about our own Mills Springs school mess? We can not clean up the national mess, but we can clean up the Mills Springs mess.

Our people are divided because our school superintendent for eight years has been needlessly [sic] crowding our children out of school, by inducing distant students to leave schools near to them and come to Mills Springs schools. Non resident students are in. Ours are out of school on half days. He deliberately [sic], designed and needlessly created a crowded condition, in this and other ways, closing the doors to our children, then brazenly complained "our schools are crowded, you must build more schools or your children will not be educated." There were only 964 students in Mills Springs Sept. 30, 1957. There was room then for 1745 in our Mills Springs school buildings.

The remedy is not new buildings but rather, an educator at the head of our schools, who keeps his nose out of school politics, and a school board that sees that he does.

President Eisenhower recently states, "When a Russian graduates from high school, he has had five years of Physics, four years of Chemistry, one year of Astronomy, five years of Biology, ten years of Mathematics through Trigonometry, and five years of Language." (All this in 10 years).

How many Mills Springs graduates last June (12 years in school) had completed:

- Five years of Physics?
- Four years of Chemistry?
- One year of Astronomy?
- Five years of Biology?
- Ten years of Mathematics?
- Five years of Foreign Language?

The answer is, not one.

Why not? They did not have the chance. The time of our students is taken up mainly with the less essential and more

entertaining subjects, such as; Tap Dancing, Social Culture, Swimming, Bowling, Basketball, "Life Adjustment," etc.

Discipline is taboo, since children must give "self-expression," and "adjust themselves," that is, do as they please. They do just that and many use the school lockers as a place to hide their "do as they please" loot from stores, etc. to finally land in jail and worse. Students generally do as they please, many disrespect their teachers, visit pool rooms and other places during school hours, etc.

Practically every student is passed every grade regardless of qualifications. This is so well known that some students have handed in examination papers with nothing written on them, to the disgust of the teachers, obliged to pass and to graduate such students. This is the kind of education our children are getting.

Mr. Rice became school superintendent in September 1948. The total budget for the 1948-49 school year was \$196,000.00. Last year it was \$575,000.00 after seven years of school management under Mr. Rice.

Before Supt. Rice came, the cost of operating our school, as compared to the cost in----- and-----, was in exact ratio to the students and size of the towns, that is;----- first,----- second, Mills Springs third. In three years after Rice came the cost of running our schools passed both----- and----- and was twice that of-----. Our city and our school, the smallest of the four, yet the most costly to operate.

The cost per student last year was:

Mill Springs (population 3509)	\$261.71
----- (population 4506)	239.22
----- (population 6606)	257.99

Our cost was twice that of----- in 1956-57, with population and students respectively about the same.

Something is radically wrong with our schools.

Give our students a fair shake.

Give our taxpayers a break.

Get a new broom.

H. P. Warrington

Paid advertisement.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

(Pro-Rice)

(March 12, 1958)
 Dear Mr. Thyssen,

I feel that it is about time for someone to come to the defense of our school system, the school board and particularly, Mr. Rice.

The primary function of a superintendent is to administer the functions of a school system in a business-like manner. I personally think that a superintendent who can obtain more state aid than larger, surrounding school systems is a very good administrator. He deserves a pat on the back; not a kick in the teeth, especially when he can't fight back by telling his side of the story.

In a paid advertisement, in last Thursday's Flashes, Mr. H. P. Warrington mentioned something which was irrelevant and entirely inapplicable to our local system.

It is true that none of last year's high school graduates had completed:

- Five years of Physics.
- Four years of Chemistry.
- One year of Astronomy.
- Five years of Biology.
- Ten years of Mathematics
- Five years of Foreign Language [sic].

On the other hand, very few, if any of last year's graduates had such a curriculum in any United States public high school.

If Mr. Warrington could find such a high school, it is very doubtful that the cost per pupil, per year would even be close to the cost per Mills Springs student. As you can see, this problem is not a matter of "unnecessary" extra-curricular activities, but a lack in adequate funds and a shortage of well-trained teachers.

Since Mr. Rice arrived in 1948 our local teacher's salaries have risen above those of their counterparts in local surrounding school systems. Higher wages mean better teachers; better teachers make for better education of our children.

Instead of getting a "new broom," I suggest we (the townspeople) get together, support Mr. Rice and the school board, and sweep a few of the reactionary cobwebs from the corners of our progressive community!

A Graduate of M. S. H. S.

Mills Springs, Mich.
March 8, 1958

Dear Editor,

I am beginning to understand just why it is so hard to find good citizens to take on duties of school officials, or yes, even school teachers and administrators when those people can be subjected to accusations and slanderous statements such as Mr. Rice and members of the Mills Springs school board have been expected to take from time to time, because rural parents want their children to enjoy the same education and privileges as their city neighbors can enjoy as a result of living near together, while the rural ones have to be brought together by bus or other means.

I am not aware that there is anything unique about the fact that Mills Springs has outgrown its facilities, even because it has taken in students from surrounding rural areas. That has happened all over the country, especially in industrial areas.

I am sure that Mr. Rice didn't "induce distant pupils to join"-----or any other town you can name, yet they are having the same kind of "growing pains."

All right!--so the total budget of Mills Springs' schools has tripled in seven years--can anybody name any other cost that hasn't tripled in seven years?

I am getting sick and tired and fed up with being told that rural people are pushing their children in and crowding city children out of their rightful advantages. Rural people have always carried what they were told was their share of the load. I gather that Mr. Warrington feels that we should go back to the day of each parent having to provide a way for his children to get to school and paying this tuition out of his own pocket, so that the rural children could be kept in their proper economic place and not usurp any of the rights of city children. Of course, Kellogg Foundation intended that only city children should enjoy the benefit of the money they contributed toward that building a number of years ago--or did they?

Maybe Mr. Warrington has figures to prove that students graduating from all other high schools in the country have had "five years of physics, four years of chemistry, one year of astronomy, etc." If not, I can see no reason to single out the Mills Springs school, and Mr. Rice in particular, for criticism because of that lack. Mr. Rice's influence has certainly reached out over a good part of the world today if he is to blame for all the youth who "finally land in jail or worse."

I am sure Mr. Warrington wouldn't have deliberately left out the fact that, although Mills Springs is the "smallest of the four cities including -----, -----, -----, and -----, it carries the added load of V. F. W. enrollment, which does not add to its population, but which

is not carried by any of the other towns, and, whose property is not subject to taxation.

Our district was not "induced" to attend Mills Springs school or even asked--we asked for the privilege of sending our children there because we do our business and trading there; then we asked annexation so that our tax money might be used to build the necessary additional facilities needed to educate them since only in the larger unit could we give them the wider opportunities that we wish to provide for ours, the same as you do for yours. We realize, for instance, that some children will be better fitted to earn a living if given training in use of tools, than just books, and it is not possible to provide adequate tools or a place to use them in a one-room school and certainly the budget would not cover the salary of an instructor. The investment would be too great anyway for the small number who would benefit.

When the one room school was the only means of providing for the needs of all kinds of talents or skills, the teacher had to do the best she could to help the child who liked to draw, or the one who liked to make things. Just try to find the teacher today who will be an art instructor, music teacher, shop teacher, et al. besides hearing 10 minute classes all day long to get in all the subject matter she has to cover for 6 or 8 grades.

In our churches, recently, we observed Brotherhood Week. It begins to look as though we need a Brotherhood Week to bring rural and city people to a more friendly solution of their mutual problem--that of adequately educating their children, and to keep us from trying to find a local person on whom to lay the blame for a national situation.

Mr. Warrington must know that any period of transition or change of unit size is accompanied by inconvenience. We are accepting this, as city parents are. In some families children leave at two different times and arrive home at two different times and these times do not always coincide with Dad's hours. We have adjusted our lives to it, but hope these inconveniences can be overcome, as they can only if we put our united strength behind the load and all push together. No team can move a load when one horse pulls while the other just kicks.

Money--the high cost of providing these facilities is a strong factor in the attitude of many people toward this move. It may help to find a better perspective if you try putting a penny up very close to your eye, then see just how many beautiful, or worthwhile things you can see beyond it.

Yours for the best interests of our future generations,

Mrs. Ella Schenk

(March 12, 1958, edition)

March 10, 1958

Dear Mr. Thyssen:

I wish to take exception to some statements which did not appear in the Journal. That which I have to say will deal only with those areas which concern me more or less directly as an official of the local public schools.

The curriculum in the Elementary school is quite traditional. Art and music are included in our curriculum as they have been in every well-rounded curriculum since the time of ancient Greece.

We place considerable emphasis upon such fundamental subjects as arithmetic, reading, spelling, language, writing, etc. We do not always succeed in our attempts, but then I am quite certain that Mr. Warrington understands that a lawyer doesn't win all his cases either. In any event, I am quite sure that a visit to our school would provide Mr. Warrington with information much more accurate than that with which he has been supplied.

The scientific method is still the best method for gathering factual information. I am certain that many of our pupils could acquaint Mr. Warrington with the salient points of the scientific method, even though he considers them to be practically illiterate.

Physical education is, according to the Surgeon General of the United States, a very important part of any school program and should receive a greater rather than a lesser degree of emphasis.

It is a pity that we must send our youngsters away from Mills Springs to find suitable facilities for learning to swim. I recall that Mr. Warrington once found that his ability to swim came in very handy.

Our pattern of living demands that the schools assume an ever-increasing burden of teaching our youngsters many things which were formerly taught in the home and by various agencies in the community.

Tap dancing is very definitely not a part of our curriculum. Basketball, on the other hand is a part of the physical education program, and rightly so. I am certain that Mr. Warrington, brave man though he is, would think twice before leading a move to oust basketball, football, or baseball from the program.

There is at present no physical education program in the Elementary school, but I do look forward to the time when we will again be permitted to have a physical education program for our pupils. I hope that basketball, football, and other activities will be included.

Mr. Warrington erred further when he said, "Discipline is Taboo." Should he doubt it, he has only to consult the dozen boys who were spanked for having been deliberately disobedient on the 28th of February.

It is our belief that when other means fail, a spanking is in order. This helps us to establish bases for reasoning and constructive action. This is part of our program for meeting the needs of our pupils. Were we to not provide this service we would be negligent in our duty to them.

Discipline in our school is firm, but not harsh. Our affection for our pupils is a real thing, so real that it will not allow us to short-change our youngsters by failing to correct them when necessary and in the manner indicated by the circumstances.

Mr. Warrington's statement that, "Practically every student is passed every grade regardless of qualifications," is, putting it very mildly, a gross misstatement of fact as the following tables will show.

(Editor's Note: It is impossible, in the space we have, to print the four complete tables prepared by Mr. Stutts. However, in summary, they show the following figures for the kindergarten through sixth grade:

In 1953-54, out of an enrollment of 840, a total of 27 pupils failed and 5 were passed conditionally, a percentage of 3.8. In 1954-55, enrollment was 899 and 24 failed, 4 passed conditionally, percentage 3.1. In 1955-56, enrollment was 877 and 34 failed, 27 passed conditionally, percentage 7.0. In 1956-57, enrollment was 922 and 62 failed, 23 passed conditionally, percentage 9.2.

If anyone is interested in the complete breakdown on these figures, the tables are on file at the Journal office.)

The ratio of retention has risen as we have been able to demonstrate to parents that in a significant number of cases it is far better to keep a child in a grade for two years than to promote him. In this manner he is given an opportunity to establish himself academically and to gain a far greater degree of success in his school work.

Kindergarten pupils are retained chiefly because of two reasons. One reason is a demonstrated lack of readiness to begin reading. The second reason is because of a lack of social maturity which prevents his making a satisfactory adjustment with other children.

I sympathize with Mr. Warrington, he must be very confused. I say this because the figures and "facts" he quoted are not reliable. Information which is available at the office of the Mills County Superintendent of Schools will show any curious person just how fast and loose Mr. Warrington has played with facts and figures.

It occurs to me that Mr. Warrington must be living in the past for he doesn't seem to understand that all prices have gone up since 1948 and that the cost of education must have of necessity been caught up in the spiral of increasing cost.

I lament Mr. Warrington's having to find a scapegoat upon whom to vent his spleen. His attacks upon Mr. Rice recall to my mind very vividly the attacks to which many persons were subjected in different issues of the infamous Iconoclast with which we were plagued some years ago.

"What is Wrong With Our Schools?" Some sincere soul searching might show us that not Mr. Rice, but we, ourselves, and some very vocal propagandists are responsible for the situation in which we now find ourselves.

I, too, advocate that we get a new broom, let it sweep out the dusty, dirty corners. Let it also sweep out the cobwebs that prevent our facing facts, that keep us from thinking clearly, and that hinder our recognizing blatant propaganda, purposely designed to keep us from working together to meet the needs of children in the best possible way.

I expect that I will become a prime target for iconoclastic bombast, but I'm quite certain that for many thinking people that will be the best recommendation I could receive.

Sincerely yours,

C. Stutts
Elementary Principal

March 19, 1958

To The Editor:

This letter is in reply to a public letter by Mr. H. P. Warrington. I would like to invite Mr. Warrington to discuss this "mess" in the public schools that is dragging our nation into socialism and especially how Mills Springs is being dragged into this "mess," as he calls it.

Mr. Warrington says our superintendent has been needlessly crowding our schools with children from out of the Mills Springs area. Would Mr. Warrington have these children refused admittance to our school just so that the area children can lord it over them because they have a place in which to attend school?

Mr. Warrington talks about the great Russian educational system. He chose to be a lawyer--no one told him that he had to be one. The only reason a Russian child has his five years of physics, four years of chemistry, one year of astronomy, five years of biology, ten years of mathematics, five years of a foreign language, is that hs is forced to follow this curriculum.

Mr. Warrington says that last year none of the graduating class had this much schooling in these subjects. Well, I'll say that there were at least twelve seniors last year that graduated with at least nine and one-half years of math, and as for the other subjects, the two years of a foreign language and the one year of the other subjects

mentioned gives a good deal of general knowledge and a good basis for college.

I think, also, that there was mention of tap dancing and swimming during the school day. If there is, is isn't in the school I have attended for the last four years and I don't think any of my friends have heard of it either.

Also, Mr. Warrington made mention of some of the children using their school lockers as a place to hide their stolen goods. I don't think this is very fair to the honest kids at school who have to suffer through this kind of publicity. For every one that is bad there are at least ninety-nine who are honest and good.

Mr. Warrington also mentioned the fact that some of the kids didn't bother to fill out their exams because they knew they would pass anyway. This is not true in the grade or high school! A child must produce good grades or else he remains in that grade until he does.

Also there is mention of "self expression." This would be an awfully grim world without self expression and I am sure Mr. Warrington would raise quite a fuss if his right of self expression were taken away from him.

The school budget may be rising also, but not any more than the cost of living in general.

It is my personal opinion that if Mr. Warrington would keep out of Mr. Rice's way, we would have a school system as good as any other in this country. Any progress that has been made by Mr. Rice has been set back by Mr. Warrington's trying to secure a strangle hold on Mills Springs political influence.

Nick Pope
President of the Junior Class
Mills Springs High School

March 19, 1958

Dear Mr. Warrington:

As a graduate of Mills Springs High School, as a former teacher in your school system, and as an active member of the teaching profession at the present time, I wish to address this open letter to you in care of the Journal.

Your article "What Is Wrong With Our School?" has come to my attention and the following excerpt from it has disturbed me very much: "Discipline is taboo, since children must give 'self-expression', and 'adjust themselves', that is, do as they please." I wonder, Mr. Warrington, how long it has been since you were in a classroom? I wonder how well you know the meaning of such terms as "self-expression" and "adjust" as applied in the classroom? Many people outside the teaching profession have thrown these words around, interpreting them as they like, without

understanding the principles of learning involved or the methods of teaching employed to encourage the ultimate implied in both--the development of healthy, well-informed citizens. Self expression means only that a child be given the opportunity for the give-and-take which is so crucial to every-day living. To adjust means only that he be given the opportunity to explore his own abilities under guidance. These are not new terms. Teachers understand them and tune their classroom procedures to the principles behind them.

The teaching of the skills in the three "R's" is not forgotten but is integrated into a program which calls for practical usage instead of rote learning, for experiences which intrigue the learner and point out to him the importance of the things which he needs to learn. A child does not have to wait until he is an adult facing a baffling world to understand why learning is important. No longer do we just "pour it in from the top." We give him a chance to learn by doing. He will be informed about his community, the nation, and the world, more active than passive as a citizen, because he has had an opportunity to express his own ideas to listen to the ideas of his friends, to read and discuss materials from books, newspapers, and periodicals, to participate in group discussions, and to find and correct his own mistakes, all this under the teacher's patient guidance.

According to your article, "Discipline is taboo." There are seven different interpretations under the word "discipline" in the Britannica dictionary. There are as many types of discipline employed in the school room. I, too, believe in discipline, both mental and physical, but through active participation of the mind and body rather than through rigidity which stifles naturalness. Since I am the supervisor of the student-teachers in our elementary training program, I visit the public schools regularly.

I have just completed one of my visiting days and have observed discipline in action from the very "quiet" type to the very "active" type. Believe me, Mr. Warrington, there was learning taking place in all of those rooms. I cannot help but believe it is so in the Mills Springs school.

You practice the art of self-expression, Mr. Warrington, as evidenced by your article. Our children will be practicing this same art in years to come and it is my opinion that they will do so with more critical judgment because they are the products of today's schools.

Sincerely,

Abbie Daye

(Anti-Rice)

March 19, 1958

To the People of Mills Springs:

Are you tired of the bickering back and forth between the City and Rural people? Are you tired of reading these letters? So are we in the country but will you please bear with me to the end of this letter.

Did you as citizens and taxpayers ever sit down together and try to figure this mess out and put the blame where it really belongs?

Do you know when and how this mess started? Let me tell you, that as I see things, you, the people of Mills Springs are to blame. Whoa! Don't stop now, read on.

Years ago, your school board set aside one day each year in the spring for the Rural 8th Graders to visit your school. Of course, they were delighted to be able to wander all over town, thru the stores, down on the Island, along the River banks, etc., so they brot [sic] pressure on their parents, who in turn brot pressure on the school boards of their districts to send the 8th graders to town on a tuition basis.

The next year more schools asked to send their 8th graders in to M. S. Your school board said, "Sure, come on in. We'll have the bus pick up up. We may be a little crowded but who cares."

The next year the Rural 7th Graders thinking how much fun the 8th Graders were having, decided they must go to M. S. so, once more your school board said, "Why of course come on in. We are still crowded, but we will be glad to have you."

Next year and years after that, whole schools asked to come to M. S. and again you allowed your school board to accept them. They could be put in hall ways or closets or anywhere but still come right in.

Then finally everything popped. Your children were put on 1/2 days schooling, and still you sat idly by while your school board still insisted on whole schools being taken to M. S.

Is your school board money mad or power mad? You as taxpayers of M. S. were asked to vote on consolidation. So what happened! Either your Superintendent or school board or both, changed consolidation to annexation and you have the same thing. Did you revolt against your school board? Not to anyone's knowledge.

Now think of this. There were a few of us in the country who wanted to keep our schools open, so our little children could be close to home and we would still have something to say about our schools, because we like our country schools and are proud of the fact that we have kept it open and running for 77 years. But we were told, "We are holding a club over your heads and you annex to M.

Springs school or else." We still did not annex because these open districts can care for their own 7-8th Grade pupils, so now your school board says, "You annex, or else your 9th Graders cannot come to school."

If we country people had asked you city people to educate our children for nothing, you surely could have said No! No!. We cannot! But we paid our way and paid it well.

Why does your school board insist on bringing more children into M. S. in your already over crowded schools. Mr. Rice says there is no room for our children from the open districts. If we voted to annex the next day, he would say, "Oh sure, there is room come right along." Where did the room come from so suddenly?

I should think that you parents of children going just 1/2 days would rise up in wrath and demand that your school board stop annexing any more school districts.

You, the citizens and merchants of M. S. should honor us for trying to keep our children at home and off from your streets at noon.

Now if your school board would say, "The Rural pupils must go back to the country where they belong, from kindergarden [sic] thru the 6th Grade, your children would have room for an all day session. Then build a Junior High building to house just the 7-8-9th Grades, thereby relieving the congestion in the High school. Then take the rural students on a tuition basis, as you always have and made money by doing so.

Don't for goodness sake say we are to blame for your over crowded condition. You should be able to control your school board. We feel that we are bright people in these open districts and don't enjoy being pushed around by 4-5 people on your board.

Sincerely,

Mrs. Belle Arthur

March 26, 1958

Dear Editor:

Because there has been a great deal of intervention of personalities in the local school issue I would like to open this letter by saying that the writer considers herself a person who admires both Mr. Warrington and Mr. Stutts. Observations made herein are based upon the cold light of logic and not upon any personal feelings.

I recognize that Paul Stutts is indeed an excellent educator, in fact, I have publicly made the statement many times that I personally consider him one of those teachers who, by the very nature of his contribution to the children of this community, must be grossly underpaid, no matter what his salary might be. This accolade however is not to

be taken as blanket coverage for all school teachers regardless of their ability, education, aptitude, or interest in their jobs.

On the other hand, I understand that it often behooves people of younger generations to look to their elders with respect, and to learn from them the lessons which time and experience have given them. One example of this is that Mr. Warrington pointed out to those of us who did not close our ears to him that the school election was not a legal one if non-tax payers are allowed to vote. Perhaps if those in authority had listened to such advice instead of blindly going the way of the ignorant and ill informed, we would all be better off today.

I find that Mr. Stutts' letter is a typical reflection of the modern educational philosophy of today. The colleges of education are endocrinating the teachers of tomorrow that it is their job to educate the children in the public schools first and foremost in the area of "getting along with other people." They are faithful followers of the John Dewey system of philosophy that the prime importance in life is "adjustment" to the circumstances. Teachers in today's colleges are taught that it is their duty and obligation to consider the "whole child." Mr. Stutts makes points of reference to "social maturity," "satisfactory adjustment," and other bits of jargon batted around constantly among teachers today. With the taking on of these extra burdens it is small wonder that the emphasis has fallen away from scholastic progress.

However, I am not an advocate, and I don't believe that many people are, that what "is" necessarily is equal to what "is right." I am old fashioned enough to believe that it is the job of the family to look after these measures of a child's personality . . . and it is up to the school system to teach them to read, how to write legibly, talk intelligibly, and also the scientific method which Mr. Stutts mentions. As for the rest, I am not necessarily in favor of supervised play activity and things of such nature. This kind of thing is beginning to stereotype our young people and tends to rob them of initiative and individualism which have so long been such poignant parts of the American character.

In fact, I would go so far as to say that much damage is done annually by amateur teacher-psychologists, who with but a mere smatter of information and more than likely misinformation take upon themselves the job of tampering with the emotional problems of someone else's child.

Meanwhile, the children are not receiving the kind of old fashioned scholastic training to which Mr. Warrington is referring. Even though there are some who may not agree with me that government should have no role in developing such intimate things as a child's personality, I suspect there are few thinking people who would prefer this type of

intervention above and beyond that of teaching a solid scholastic foundation. A teacher should be hired to be a teacher--and not to be all things to all men!

I am more than amused at the cowardly graduate of M.S.H.S. (who obviously has not made the best of social adjustments), who broadly makes the statements that our school costs have risen above those of surrounding areas because we are paying higher wages for better teachers. This is a laugh to anyone who reads the figures of Mr. Saunders which Mr. Stutts so strongly recommends to those who would know the truth. In his annual report for 1957-1958, Mr. Saunders shows that we have 18 non-degree teachers on our staff where our traditional rival has only one! It is possible for non-degree teachers to be better than average . . . however, it is not possible that there are that many to the ratio in which they are in our school system . . . yet they are highly paid as our M. S. H. S. graduate states. In fact, teachers' helpers who also do not have degrees seem to be well paid, especially if providently married to a member of the school board.

I would also like to remark to the points made by Mrs. Schenk in her letter, which included many truths as well as some misinformation. She is absolutely right in her contention that country children should be welcomed into the local school system. However, she points her accusing finger at the wrong faction. Those of us who are the biggest critics of our school have reiterated time and time again that country children could be and should be admitted on a tuition basis. In fact, Ava House has offered the board some very interesting figures on this matter which indicate that the Mills Springs board of Education would be money ahead to operate on such a basis. There is no doubt that it was a travesty of justice that some of these children were made unwanted in our schools, but I suggest that Mr. Schenk look before she points next time.

Howard Bacon's remarks about the squandering of money have certainly been well thought out. I have talked with many people in the community who agree on no other points whatsoever who look aghast at the new building site, the way it was handled, and the price paid for it. I would like to know why the board never considered accepting the two free building sites, each on opposite ends of town, building adequate grade schools on each end to service the entire community, then do what remodeling is necessary on the old building to make a high school big enough for the Mills Springs children, and the rural children.

We owe it to our children to furnish adequate schooling and I don't think you would find a person in the community to deny this. We also owe it to the tax payers not to needlessly squander the money . . . there are, however, those who would refute this, apparently.

Sincerely,
Phyllis Finn

April 2, 1958

"90 percent couldn't pass the 7th Grade"

The caption of this letter was taken from one of the headlines of a series of articles on schools published a short time back in the Detroit Free Press. The following is one of the problems asked: What would 3 eggs cost if 7 eggs cost 49 cents and yet some of these high school pupils flunked this example and many as simple. A copy of these newspapers are in the Peters barber shop and I am sure Mr. Peters will welcome any interested person that cares to read them.

On Oct. 20th, 1956, I beleiv [sic] the date was, a vote was taken on consoliatio [sic] of the M. S. schools and some of the surounding [sic] Rural schools. This proposition was voted down by about 2.60%, this was about the margin as near as I can remender [sic]. But in the face of this defeat the Mills Springs school board went ahead with a slick methodical method to annax [sic] some of these rural schools one at a time which amounts to exactly the same thing as consolidation, and yet some of the members of this board would like us to beleive [sic] that they are fully as popular as a rich widow. Now they are takeing [sic] in an [sic] trying to take in a lot more territory toward ----- . The population of this area is mushrooning [sic] at an astonishing rate, but not adding much taxable wealth per school pupil. The most of these people earn their money in----- and spend it there. In a short time the M. S. school board will discover they have a full size grizzly bear by the tail, and then they will start passing the buck as they did with their honest mistake.

Some little time back a letter was printed in the Mills Springs Journal, signed by Superintend [sic] of the M. S. school. (Rice) in this letter Mr. Rice you exspressed [sic] a fear that M. S. would become a town of old people. Now what would you advocate for the old people. That they go out in the woods and shoot their selves? [sic] Kindly rementber [sic] Mr. Rice it wont [sic] be too long be for [sic] you become superannuated your self.

An [sic] now the Mr. Grant a word about the club you say you hold over the people of the rural Schools to make them fall in line, if you will kindly analyze Michigan school law a little more thoroughly you will discover this club is'nt [sic] nearly as potent as you would like people to beleve [sic] it to be. I suppose through State Aid to our schools, through the sales tax, the cigarette tax these State people have a right to invade our rural schools. How Ever they seem like interlopers to me. It seems that it has become a chornic [sic] decease [sic] with school athorites [sic] pretty much all over the United States to ask for more money to operate the schools.

Sincerely,

Howard Bacon

(Miscellaneous Letters--Pro and Con)

April 2, 1958

Dear Editor:

No, I'm not protesting. It was only a mistake, to be dealt with by those of us who never made one. Eventually I shall hope to accumulate the amount borrowed to finish paying my 1957 taxes.

The time when we should have protested is past. That was when, despite the negative vote from both town and country, we were annexed instead of consolidated. It is still difficult to understand how this could legally have been done.

Unless I have misread the Area Map, it, also, contains a natural mistake. The 22 acres of my land that borders-----road is not in the ----- district; and never has been so, unless a change was made without the owners' knowledge. All the children of school age who lived there have attended the ----- school. While the ----- district was annexed in early summer, the ----- district was, I believe, free for some time after the amount of taxes had been determined. Thus it seems to me a matter perhaps not of law, but of common honesty, that this small portion of my taxes belongs to the ----- district.

And could'nt [sic] we treat Mr. Rice more gently? While disagreeing with him in almost everything else, I applaud his decision to let the half-day country children come to school in the afternoon.

I remember, in the chilly 1880's, that being awakened long before daylight, too sleepy to eat my pancakes and sausage, was grief enough once a week. If it had been five times, instead, my thirst for learning would doubtless have abated. Winter mornings are even darker and colder now, for we then used "sun time."

Sincerely,

Jane Wilson
Rte. 1 Mills Springs

(Same Issue)

Letter to the Editor:

I am writing this letter because I feel it is my duty. It is an answer to the inquiries of many people of our community. I have paid taxes eight years in Mills Springs and worked for the kind of schools our people and children can be proud to possess. I have worked with the youth from the town and the country. Our boards have no distinction between them. Both have had access to the best we could get with the money we had available. It has been difficult because of the tremendous increase in the enrollment,

which jumped from 1,155 in 1948 to 1,744 in 1956, or an increase of 589. If our rooms were adequate then, we should now have an additional 19 new rooms with 30 pupils per room. Four years ago the board took in two new districts at the request of the County Board of Education and the County Area Study Commission. These districts added 42 new pupils.

These students would occupy one and a half rooms.

Two and one-half years ago a group of people known as the Area Study Committee made a complete study of the needs of our schools. They came to the Board with their recommendation to reorganize. This was submitted to our people on October 1. This issue was voted down by the people of our area because these people were stuffed with cruel misinformation, half-stated facts, and libelous assault. Space prevents using them all, but a few will be called to your attention.

1. School taxes would not be raised \$100 for each \$1,000 assessed valuation, as we were led to believe. A state law prevents raising more than \$50 or 50 mills. In order to pay \$100 at one mill, it would be necessary to own property assessed at \$100,000. I am sure pensioners wouldn't object to paying \$100 school tax (a year) if they owned \$100,000; they would not even miss it. Actually, one mill means one dollar for each \$1,000 assessed valuation. Our assessed valuation is approximately 70 per cent of the state equalized evaluation.

2. We were led to believe East Centrapolis is paying \$60,000 per room. We were told to divide \$1,800,000 by 32 rooms, which is fine. We were not told that the \$1,800,000 included an elaborate swimming pool, double gymnasium, beautiful auditorium, dispersive kitchen and eating facilities, and beautiful library with committee rooms. The actual cost was \$14.25 per square foot, or about \$15,000 per classroom. We were not told they are raising only \$4.00 per \$1,000 valuation for the building. People were not told that Caroline paid only \$18,000 per room for its new school, which included multiple-purpose rooms, self-contained lavatories, libraries, and storage.

3. As for Smokey, we were not told that homes valued at \$20,000 are assessed for \$2,500; nor were we told that people voted \$10.00 per \$1,000 valuation for operation of schools, nearly \$2.00 per thousand for a hospital, \$2.00 per thousand dollars for township operation; nor that the bond issue was only \$18.00 per \$1,000; nor that the 1956 tax rate had been cut nearly one-half for 1957. We were led to believe it was all school tax. The people of Smokey are not howling one-tenth as loud as our one critic.

4. We could have raised the full amount suggested by the Area Studies Group, which was \$4.50 per \$1,000 on assessed valuation, and added it to our present school cost, and then compared it to our present summer tax in Mills Springs, and noticed how much difference there was in the total amount. Be sure and add the sewage disposal bond. No one has lost his home because of a local city tax. We could build all the school rooms needed and still have a lower tax rate than any of our neighboring towns. We do not know of a town where the school tax is not the largest portion of the bill. Not so in Mills Springs. Is this poor management?

5. I challenge anyone to contact our progressive growing industries of this country and get their version about cost of education. They will not come into a town that does not have good schools. They know their workers will have families. They know educated people make better workers, and especially the kinds of work they must perform in tomorrow's world. For proof of this statement, look at Granite, Gun River, Centrapolis, Caroline, etc.

6. A well-informed public makes for better schools. Come out and get the facts. The people on the Area Studies group did. Don't listen to someone who has not made a complete study of the matter and quotes only half-truths. Our forefathers saw to it we received a good education. Can we do less for our future citizens? Times have changed. Columbus crossed the Atlantic in 70 days. Now we can cross it in 14 hours. Soon we will cross it in 4 hours.

7. Under state law closed rural districts must annex with an open school by June 30, 1957. These rural schools, no doubt, annex to a high school district in order to make sure of a complete education for their children from kindergarten through twelfth grade. They can go to [various cities] upon approval of the State Department of Public Instruction.

8. We are interested in having these rural people come to Mills Springs. During olden days, a mile or two was important due to time and transportation. Today a housewife loves to drive, loves to enjoy the breeze, sunshine, good roads, and drives to any of the surrounding towns. They could list their real estate in neighboring towns, buy insurance there as well as cars, gas and oil, food, clothing, recreation, church affiliation, hospital service, doctors, dentists, optometrists, chiropractors, osteopaths, coal, lumber, building materials, and what have you, as well as the education of their children. They know it is going to cost money out there just as well as the people of Mills Springs know it. School buses can take the children out of our area just as easily as they bring them in. This community is my home as much as it is yours. We want to

build it up and keep it strong and healthy--so do you. Today we are all part of a bigger something--let's admit it. Look at our supermarkets, chain stores, General Motors, etc. Let's get out of the past and look to the future life of our children. If our town does not keep up with our neighbors who have a good school program, we will sacrifice the resale value of our real estate and personal property. We will become a town for old people who are seeking a place to live cheaply. The people with lots of money will be in Florida, California, etc. Only the people who have limited funds will seek our town because it is cheap. We will be selling our homes and businesses at a loss. The smart guys will be those who get out early and push the sale of lots at high prices now. Wake up and keep Mills Springs the kind of place the average person would like as a place to live, and in which we can afford to retire.

Don't forget--our town is the first in Michigan history to turn down reorganization when it had been approved by the Department of Public Instruction.

J. M. Rice

February 20, 1957

Letter to the Editor:

What is the matter with the Mills Springs School Board after there was an election taken on consolidation, which is almost a twin to annexation, and it was voted down by a big majority of both town and country? Why not abide by the wishes of the taxpayers, fathers, and mothers? If that is the way they are going to run things, I think it is time to get rid of all of them, also some of the school board in the country.

Let's keep our country school running and teach up to the ninth grade, and not make our little beginners stand out in the cold streets for fifteen minutes or more. Sometimes the buses don't come at all.

Talk about taxes: I know of a man in Smithfield County whose country school annexes with the high school. After they joined, his taxes the first year was \$260 and a little lower. And the year before they annexed, they were only 80-some dollars. He has his tax receipts to prove it. Haven't any of you got any sympathy for the old people who sent their children to Mills Springs High School, paid their tuition and transportation and all other expenses? Now we can't work; some have no income; and we certainly would lose our homes if we had to pay such high taxes.

I wonder who the major of Mills Springs is--Mr. Brush or one of the two men who was on the ticket. We will have to ask the Board of Education to be sure, for it seems the side that gets the most votes loses. Why hold an election? Elections don't seem to count any more. Our rights are fast being taken away from us, like in Europe.

Some on the school board are fast losing their friends. The people who have children to sent to high school pay their tuitions like the older ones did.

Let's take council with Mr. H. P. Warrington and see if they can force us to join them after it was voted down. Remembering the good old days.

Old Timer

February 27, 1957

Letter to the Editor:

In response to the letter written by Old Timer--I am not young nor really old. I have a farm, three children ages 15, 11, and 6 months old; and God be willing, if I live to see the 6-month-old through school, I will be up there in years.

Old Timer, do you live by candlelight, farm with horses, pump water by hand, go to an outside bathroom, drive to town in a horse and buggy? Or are you like the rest--have all modern equipment, too?

People go to stores and pay tax on this and that. If they really want the article, taxes don't mean a thing. Just let a few extra dollars appear on a tax notice, and you blow your lids.

Education is the most important thing for children these days; and with changing times they need the best and all they can get from the time they start school.

As one man said the other night at the recent school discussion meeting, "One used to be able to die and leave the children the farm, and could get by. Nowadays boys have to have a good education for any sort of job."

Wouldn't you and others rather spend a few other dollars for education in your district than to hear of the boys and girls ending up in jails, detention homes, or homes for unwed girls?

Don't condemn the good ones for the few that never make a go of it.

Maybe you did not go to town schools. I didn't always, either. Just part of the time. My folks moved an awful lot, and it always seemed to be a long ways from the school; so I walked, rode horseback, horse and buggy, or even rode a school bus one year.

I'll take a school bus ride any time and your modern schools with home economics rooms, all kinds of shop classes, art, science, music, sports; and nowadays they are even letting boys and girls work as they learn.

(signed) Mrs. Peter Foster

APPENDIX C

TRANSCRIPT OF SCHOOL BOARD MEETING

Rice came under fire when, at the close of the lengthy board meeting, he asked members to step into the adjoining office and look at some charts he had prepared "to show the rural people the problem we face here in Mills Springs."

Orr then said he wanted to say something before looking at the charts. "I am getting calls along these lines," he said, "that the remarks you make at the rural school meetings are biased; that you definitely want consolidation; that there may be a veiled threat in your remarks in case they don't organize."

Orr then asked Rice, "Have you made a statement that their high school students will be screened out, and that the board concurs in this?" Rice shook his head vigorously and replied, "Nuts!:"

Orr added, "If it is even inferred that that is the Board's feeling, it should be stopped." Then he asked, "Has there been any specific request for a board member instead of the superintendent to attend any of these meetings?"

Rice, in a general reply, said, "I tell the people at these meetings that I cannot speak for the Board, especially if there is going to be reorganization. People who are against reorganization are going to twist the facts."

Orr asked, "What part do you take? Do you suggest that you be present?"

Rice replied that he only attended the school meetings in the rural districts on invitation. "One board member in the Roy District said he did not want me," he added.

Dr. Henry Caldwell then said, "I've told three or four dozen people to get the attorney general's opinion that one district did not have to take pupils from another district. Then I tell them we don't know--that it will be up to the board to decide." "I'm not going to propagandize for consolidation," Dr. Caldwell added.

Rice, in response to another question, said, "Of course, I've told them that I think consolidation is the best

answer. Somebody has got to answer these people's questions with facts. What am I doing that I shouldn't be doing?"

"Why should we take the ball at all?" Orr asked.

"You'll never get reorganization unless somebody takes the ball," Rice replied.

Orr then concluded the discussion by saying, "Anything that's a fact is all right."

APPENDIX D

NEWSPAPER EDITORIALS

September 26, 1956

On Consolidation

Voters in Mills Springs and in 19 rural school districts will pass on a question of forming a single school district at the polls Monday.

This is an important election! Perhaps more important than the coming presidential election in far-reaching effects on the Mills Springs area.

The question is simple. As stated on the ballot, it is: "Shall all of the territory of the following districts (Mills Springs public schools and the 19 rural districts) be united to form one school district?" All the voter will be required to do is to place an "X" in the square opposite "Yes" or "No."

Unfortunately, the problem is not that simple. It is, in fact, quite complex, involving the individual voter's emotions, his pocketbook, conceivably his whole philosophy of government.

To us it seems there is only one basic question: What is best for our children?

It is such a simple question that it is often lost sight of in discussions of tax rates, bond issues, bus transportation, and many other side issues.

First, who are "our children?" Who are these children to whom we owe the best possible education which is in our means to provide? Legally, they are children living in our school district, whether it be the Mills Springs district or one of the other 19 districts. The law says we must provide these children in our own districts utilities for a twelve-grade education. We have no legal responsibility to the children in any other district except our own.

Actually, however, aren't we morally obliged to offer the same best possible education to all of these children, no matter in which district they live? We think we are.

We think Mills Springs is a community that extends for miles beyond the city limits or the boundaries of the Mills Springs school district.

And, while recognizing that there are valid considerations on the other side, we feel that this "community" should unite to solve its school problems together. That, we think, is not only the fairest way for all concerned, but the way that will guarantee the best possible educations for all of our children.

What is the situation today? Approximately half the students in our schools are tuition students; in other words, the Mills Springs district is selling education at so much per head. The buyers, the rural districts sending pupils to school, have nothing to say about the kind of education dispensed. They pay their money and take what they get. We must, in all fairness, add that what they get is pretty good. There is no distinction made between resident and tuition pupils in the school.

Some people advocate continuing this system. We believe they are sincere. They have a theory that Mills Springs is making a profit from selling schooling to rural students and can use this "surplus" to finance a building program.

Aside from the fact that the idea of selling education at so much a head is repugnant to us, there is a practical obstacle to continuing as we now are. That is the state law, now in the books, providing that every closed school district must join with an operating district or open its own school again by next July 1.

A closed district is one that operates no school of its own, sending all pupils from elementary through high school elsewhere for their education. There are eleven such districts among the nineteen involved in the proposed consolidation with Mills Springs. These districts cannot go on as they are, whether or not Mills Springs would like to have them do so. They must either open their school, which would be impractical in most cases, or join in an operating district within the next few months. If Mills Springs doesn't want them, as indicated by Monday's vote, they'll probably have to look elsewhere.

In considering a "yes" or "no" vote Monday, don't ask yourself only if you are for or against consolidation. Rather consider the consequences of what you are doing.

Here, for what they are worth, are our predictions of what will happen in either case.

If consolidation is defeated, the eleven closed districts will petition almost immediately for annexation to the Mills Springs district. Their geographical location would make such a step logical, even though some other larger system might invite them in. Then it would be up to Mills Springs Board of Education to approve or deny their application. The present board, we feel, would accept them.

Secondly, the Board will have to make a decision sometime this year either to turn away some of the tuition students now coming here or launch a major building program. If the decision is to build, no pay-as-you-go program is going to suffice.

The need is too urgent. There already has been too much piece-meal building of annexes and additions to the present buildings. And, despite opinions to the contrary, we cannot imagine any bonding company floating building bonds to be repaid out of anticipated "profits" from tuition students. Bonding companies just won't take chances that those tuition students are going to be with us long enough to retire the bonds.

That leaves only one alternative: increase taxes in Mills Springs school district to pay for the building program. We, personally, would have to "sell" such a proposal to the voters of Mills Springs.

There are, of course, other proposals, such as the one that the rural districts band together and build their own schools. Perhaps it is possible, but only a few people that we know are thinking along those lines.

If consolidation is approved, immediate results will involve a complete reorganization of the Board of Education. The present board will be dissolved and a new board elected to represent the entire school district.

Then, and only then, it will become the duty of the new Board to determine: (1) if the rural schools are to be kept open, (2) how many additional rooms are needed, (3) where any new buildings are to be located, (4) what extra millage to ask to finance a building program.

The Area Study Committee said in its report that an additional levy of \$.50 per thousand assessed valuation over 20 years would be adequate to finance a "middle-of-the-road" building program. The figure possibly is low on the basis of present building costs. To be conservative, we probably should expect to pay five mills and authorize a tax levy of up to seven mills to satisfy requirements of the bond buyers. That, as far as we can see, is a realistic appraisal of what it's going to cost.

It's going to cost money, whether we consolidate or not!

In conclusion, this is what we believe: Consolidation, in one form or another, is bound to come--not because the state or anyone else is pushing it, but because it is the logical way to give everyone an equal voice, an equal share of educating all our children.

We are opposed to Federal aid to education and state dictation of teachers' salaries. We cannot see that consolidation takes away any of our authority to say how our children shall be educated.

We feel that any school board elected by our people will not try to impose an unbearable tax load on anyone. Property owners still have the final say on any proposal to increase the tax levy.

We advocate a "yes" Monday.

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