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Storm in the Mountains

At the time I was to have talked to language arts personnel in Charleston, the Kanawha County District was laboring through the process of selecting $450,000 worth of textbooks in English and reading. A West Virginia State Board of Education resolution had directed districts to select only those school materials "which accurately portray minority and ethnic group contributions to American growth and culture and which depict and illustrate the inter-cultural character of our pluralistic society."[1] In pursuance of this directive, the state superintendent of schools wrote a memo to textbook publishers and county superintendents saying publishers' programs at all grades will need to make clear "that the United States is a multi-ethnic nation"; represent the viewpoints and values of ethnic groups regarding "the formulation of American institutions (e.g., family, church, schools, courts, etc.)"; portray "the dynamic nature of American society (past and present)"; and "assist students in examining their own self-image."[2] Basal textbooks for elementary schools have to be chosen from a state-approved list, but districts are free to adopt supplementary books and materials for secondary school without state approval. West Virginia is one of about two dozen states that have state adoption, which means that local school districts must choose their books from a state-approved list if they want the state to pay for them.

West Virginia law requires that only professional educators may comprise the textbook committees that make recommendations to the boards. It makes no provision for citizen advice. The English Language Arts Textbook Committee in Kanawha County comprised four classroom teachers and one principal. They were assisted by one subcommittee of twelve junior and senior high teachers and another of eight elementary teachers and principals. In 1965 Kanawha County formed an eleven-member Curriculum Advisory Council that included both lay and school people. The members appointed included none from the rural Appalachian culture.

In 1973 some lay members of the council had, for the first time, begun

to challenge curricular decisions made by the administration. In the same year the Kanawha County School Board substituted for the council two advisory bodies, one of laity and one of educators. Although members of the lay group were now chosen so as to represent major elements of the county community, they could not vote but merely made recommendations to the group of educators, who officially proposed curricular recommendations to the board, and some of whom sat on both committees.

Through the lay group, theoretically, citizens could have made known to the administration their views on current or proposed textbooks, but this one means of input had not become a reality by the time of the 1974 adoptions because too few educators applied for the professional advisory committee to permit either to be organized. In other words, the previous means of citizen consultation on textbooks had been removed after Kenneth Underwood became Superintendent in 1971 and not replaced. Those miners, fundamentalists, and industrial workers who had long felt ignored by their government suspected later that the board deliberately held back from implementing its own plan for advisory bodies in order to prevent them from expressing disapproval of the new selection of textbooks.

Although selection proceedings went on through the winter without a murmur of protest, there was good reason to think that some factions would contest some of the books once they should become acquainted with them. During the decade preceding these adoptions over fifty schools had been closed in Kanawha County to adjust to declining population and to facilitate school improvements. The consolidation of small local schools into larger, more remote, mixed facilities amounted to one more disruption of rural folk culture, increasingly invaded and derided by city people with very different styles and values. The administration did not carry out this long-range but sensitive operation in consultation with those most affected, who merely muttered pending a more provocative event.

The dormant tension between Appalachian and cosmopolitan, conservative and liberal, first broke out in a contest over a program in sex education that foreshadowed with noteworthy precision the furor to come. In 1969 the county's School Health Education Study had prepared, under a grant from the United States Office of Education, a program of health and family living that included sex education and had been unanimously approved by the Curriculum Advisory Council and the Board of Education, this council being the original one comprised of eleven lay and school people but of no rural representation. The announcement of this program afforded the sharp incident and the focused issue necessary to catalyze resentment.

Alice Moore, the wife of a fundamentalist minister in St. Albans, took the leadership of an opposition force that anathematized the SHES pro-

gram as anti-Christian and anti-American, claiming it indoctrinated an atheistic and relativistic view of morality. "God's law is absolute,"[3] said Alice Moore, and went on in the 1970 school board election to defeat an incumbent, Carl Tully, who charged that the coalition of well-organized parent groups received support from the John Birch Society and was really seeking political strength so it could take over the school board and dictate textbooks and curriculum.

The National Education Association asserted that she utilized the "spurious support of MOTOREDE," "Movement to Restore Decency, an anti-sex education organization affillated with the John Birch Society. A MOTOREDE publication circulated in Kanawha County at the time declared, 'It is no accident that Communists and others long associated with this conspiracy are among the staunchest advocates of the growing menace of school courses on sex.' "[4]

After the election the whole health and family program was quietly rewritten and sex education eliminated. Alice Moore became a conservative heroine, and the lines of conflict were clearly drawn. Should schools reinforce traditionalism inculcated by parents or teach what is not taught at home? Which parents? Each side accused the other of trying to impose its values on others' children. Thus they posed the dilemma of a single curriculum serving a plural community.

Curiously, however, when the Language Arts Textbook Committee made its recommendations to the board on March 12, 1974, for the adoption of 325 titles, neither citizenry nor media took the slightest notice. Alice Moore did not attend this meeting. By the next meeting, on April 11, the board was legally bound to authorize adoptions of books for the following school year. During the month between these two meetings, the proposed materials were displayed for board members in a special room of the district building and for the public in the Kanawha County Library. No board member and but few citizens came.

On April 11 the board ratified the adoption of the proposed books, the major series of which were D. C. Heath & Company's *Communicating* (grades 1–6) and *Dynamics of Language* (7–12), Scott, Foresman & Company's *America Reads* (7–12) and *Galaxy* (7–12), and Silver Burdett Company's *Contemporary English* (7–12)—all of which were "basic" adoptions—McDougal, Littell & Company's *Language of Man* (7–12) and *Man* (7–12), and Houghton Mifflin Company's *Interaction* (K–12)—all of which were "supplemental" adoptions. Alice Moore objected that the review time had been too short and wrung from the board the concession that sections of the books could be deleted if later found objectionable. The effect of this was to delay *purchase* of the books pending scrutiny.

At home she sampled some of the books, was appalled, and asked for copies of all the books to be sent to her. It may be true, as another protest

leader asserted, that in actually perusing recommended texts Alice Moore broke a board tradition. "Historically, the Board had left the selection of new textbooks to the professional educators and refrained from examining the books so as to avoid pressure from book salesmen, parents, or teachers."[5] At any rate, she then telephoned Mel and Norma Gabler in Texas and asked for their reviews of the books. Famous for their effective textbook protests since the early sixties, the Gablers air-mailed to her their bills of particulars throughout the following summer as they prepared them to present to the Texas Education Agency during adoption procedures in the fall for many of the same series. Mrs. Moore was referred to the Gablers by a textbook review organization in New Rochelle, New York, called America's Future.

Elections for two seats on the board distracted the public from the adoption issue until after May 14, when Matthew Kinsolving was reelected and a new member elected, Douglas Stump. Dark horse Stump moved up fast and turned out to be the top vote-getter. "It was generally felt that Stump's overwhelming support resulted from adverse public response to Kanwaha County Schools' administration,"[6] which he had charged with inaccessibility and indifference to constituents. Several months later an outside team of investigators was to corroborate Stump's criticism.[7]

According to the Gablers' authorized biographer, Mrs. Moore expressed her objections at first only privately, to other board members, but, failing to enlist much support there, approached Superintendent Underwood, who suggested a private meeting with teachers. Mrs. Moore agreed but did say enough to a reporter following up on a leak to make Underwood feel the meeting would then have to be public.[8] Rumbling and grumbling had grown to the point that the board set a meeting for May 23 to let district language arts specialists explain the selection of textbooks. Mrs. Moore's first public denunciations of the books attacked relativism in language usage, an oblique conservative strategy that makes it possible, while upholding proper grammar, to discriminate against minority dialects in literature selections.

Confrontation began in earnest at the heated meeting of May 23, when Mrs. Moore escalated her objections to charges that the books were filthy, trashy, disgusting, one-sidedly in favor of blacks, and unpatriotic. Board member Matthew Kinsolving and some parents rallied behind her. Another meeting was set for June 27th to continue debate and at last vote on purchase. During the interim the debate waged on hotly in the media and local meetings as both sides organized themselves for serious contention. Convinced that the board would side with the administration, Alice Moore took her cause to the public. She went on television and exhibited passages from the books at churches and community centers.

The *Charleston Gazette*, the *Charleston Daily Mail*,[9] and WCHS Tele-

vision[10] endorsed the textbook adoptions. A series of six editorials aired by WCHS during the first week of June played an extremely important role in bringing the controversy and its issues to the attention of the public. The PTA voted to oppose several of the main series:

> Many of the books are literally full of anti-americanism, anti-religion, and discrimination. Too, these books are woefully lacking in morally uplifting ideas. Many of the statements flout law and order and respect for authority. Several passages are extremely sexually explicit.[11]

The local NAACP and YWCA supported the choice of books along with the West Virginia Human Rights Commission. The latter wrote in a press release:

> There has been criticism of the explicit character of some of the writings dealing with Blacks. A thorough examination of these portions reveal that they represent candid portrayals of the lives of a significant number of Blacks today. We believe this to be a positive rather than a negative attribute as it is essential that the educational system not turn its back on consequential issues but deal with them with honesty and thoroughness.
>
> Traditionally, teaching materials have been monumentally deficient in the area of Black studies. This Commission is excited by the prospect that students will be exposed to voices from the past, from the ghetto and from other important areas of Black experience. . . .[12]

All thirteen students polled once on the streets by the *Charleston Daily Mail* opposed censoring books for junior and senior high. Interestingly, most felt the issue was whether they could read black authors.

The Magic Valley Mother's Club circulated marked copies of the disputed books and a petition to ban from schools materials that "demean, encourage skepticism or foster disbelief in the institutions of the United States of America and in western civilization." The institutions were listed:

> The family unit based on marriage of man and woman.
>
> Belief in a supernatural being, a power beyond human means or human comprehension.
>
> Political system set forth in the Constitutions.
>
> System of free enterprise governed by laws of supply and demand.
>
> Respect for property of others and for laws.
>
> History and heritage of the United States as the record of one of the noblest civilizations that has existed.[13]

"Further, since the denial of supernatural forces is in itself a form of religion, the promotion of agnosticism or nihilism must also be unconstitutional."[14]

The Episcopal clergy actively countered objectors both at this and later stages. Churches split between mainline, nationally affiliated denominations and local, unaffiliated, fundamentalist congregations. A coalition of ten ministers from the West Virginia Council of Churches and from Catholic, Jewish, and such Protestant churches as Methodist, Presbyterian, and some Baptist issued a joint statement of support for the textbooks that read in part:

> Any treatment, especially in the schools, of questions like war and peace, racism—black and white—religion and patriotism, is bound to raise disagreements and stir emotional response. We are convinced, however, that these matters must be discussed openly if our students are to be exposed to the great variety of issues that characterize our modern society. We know of no way to stimulate the growth of our youth if we insulate them from the real issues. We feel this program will help our students to think intelligently about their lives and our society.
>
> The material that has been considered, or called, objectionable by reason of its treatment of sexual themes represents a very small portion of the whole program. It does not treat sex sensationally nor for its own sake. Furthermore, it is to be used only for advanced senior high students in rare and selective situations. We reviewed some of the most criticized passages and found them not nearly as bad as portrayed. There will always be disagreement about the use of such material. In our judgment the material at issue is not at all harmful, especially given the limited use it will know.[15]

To counter this show of strength, another coalition of ministers organized by one Baptist pastor endorsed a statement that while there was "much good" in the textbooks, "there is also much that is immoral and indecent and thus, we object to their being used in our school system."[16] In a similar reaction seven members of the Dunbar Ministerial Association went on record saying that the books "contain materials offensive to religion, morals, patriotism, and common decency."[17]

Over thirty rural folk churches helped to represent the opposition at the June 27th meeting, which took place before an audience of more than 1,000 overflowing into hallways and outdoors into the rain. Protesters presented the petition of the Magic Valley Mother's Club, now containing over 12,000 signatures repudiating the books. After nearly three hours of stormy testimony, the board voted three to two to purchase all of the books with the conciliatory exception of eight from *Interaction*'s offering for senior high (level 4). Two motions were passed to include parents henceforth on textbook selection committees.

Charlestonians heaved a sigh of relief that the controversy was over, but during the summer the new Christian-American Parents set up letter-writing campaigns, paid for newspaper advertisements, held a rally at

the Municipal Auditorium, picketed a company owned by a board member, and demonstrated before the governor's mansion. Another new antibook group called Concerned Citizens picketed the Board of Education, which displayed the books and held low-keyed parent conferences to quietly counter rumors about the content of the books. Concerned Citizens sponsored a Labor Day protest rally at Campbell's Creek, where the Reverend Marvin Horan called on the crowd of 8,000 to boycott schools when they opened the next day. By then the initial protest against particular selections or passages had generalized to the point of reducing the diversity of 325 titles by six publishers to "the books."

In the longest and by far the most thoroughly researched account of the controversy, to which I am much indebted, Catherine Candor-Chandler writes:

> During the late summer rallies new fliers, containing purported excerpts from the textbooks, had been circulated in the community by protest groups. These fliers contained selections not only from the eight books that were deleted from the approved purchase list at the June 27 Board meeting but also excerpts from other books, such as Kate Millet's *Sexual Politics*, that were never a part of the language arts adoption. For example one part of the flier contained a page from a book identified as *Facts About Sex for Today's Youth* dealing with sexual intercourse. This selection showed a picture of the male sex organ and defined several "street words" for vagina with the admonition that although these words are not polite, they are sometimes used and there is no need to be embarrassed by not knowing what they mean. Another part of the flier contained a pictorial demonstration of how to use a rubber.
>
> These fliers, containing blatantly sexual material that had nothing to do with the language arts textbooks adopted in Kanawha County, served to fuel the flames of the controversy. The shock in the community was tremendous and rumors about the content of textbooks were abundant.[18]

From then on "the books" became for many people "the dirty books," including for some people who never examined them or even saw them but took the word of others whose values they knew to be their own. Parents had a chance to look at the books during the first week of school as a still confident administration sent them home with the students to squelch rumors. When, however, some parents didn't find the passages they had seen in the protest fliers, they accused the administration of deceiving them by holding back on the offending books!

Only when schools opened September 3rd did the dispute erupt with enough force to draw the national media, which tracked the turns of its events almost daily through the fall. From such magazines as *The New Yorker* and *U.S. News & World Report* to regional papers and specialized

education journals, the press acknowledged in feature articles, periodic summaries, and editorials the national significance of such a controversy over school books. It was then that I saw on television offending passages from anthologies I had last scrutinized while editing selections for them with my colleagues.

Boycotts, strikes, and pickets became the main ways of trying to force the board to get the books out of the schools. During the first week of September parents kept an average of 9,000 of the district's 45,000 students out of schools, mostly in the Upper Valley, where absenteeism in some schools went to 80 percent and 90 percent. Unwilling to cross pickets set up by parents, 3,500 miners, representing all the mines in Kanawha County, also stayed home despite orders from UMW officials to remain at work. Sympathy strikes closed down mines in backwoods Boone and Fayette counties to the south. Roving groups of protesters numbering up to 1,000 picketed mines, schools, school bus garages, industry, and trucking companies. Stormy emotions erupted in violence where some picketing employed barricades. On September 10 Charleston's city bus drivers also honored protesters' picket lines, thus closing down service to about 11,000 people.

The disruption worked. Following much illegal demonstrating outside the Department of Education building and much negotiation within, the board announced on September 11th that it had withdrawn the textbooks from the schools while they underwent a thirty-day review by eighteen citizens, three selected by each of the board members including member-elect Douglas Stump, a vacillating figure claimed at times by both sides who was appointed chairman of the committee. After signing the agreement on behalf of Concerned Citizens, the Rev. Marvin Horan promptly repudiated it that night at a large ball-park rally when the crowd showed it wished to press on by boycott and pickets for permanent removal of all books and dismissal of Superintendent Underwood and three members of the board who voted the wrong way. Another crowd had jeered earlier when Alice Moore told them that the agreement was more than she thought could be accomplished and was "the best we can expect."[19]

A few days later two other fundamentalist ministers took over from the Rev. Horan, who was not only reported to be exhausted but had also changed his mind back again to acceptance of the agreement. Horan was later to reenter the fray and ultimately to be sentenced to three years in prison for conspiracy to blow up two elementary schools. Those who relieved him for now continued to play major roles in opposing the adoptions—the Rev. Ezra Graley of Nitro and the Rev. Avis Hill of Alum Creek. Both were sentenced to thirty days in jail for defying a court injunction, and Graley received another sixty days for contempt of

court. Along with others they cheerfully underwent more than once the martyrdom of arrest. The Rev. Charles Quigley, the fourth fundamentalist minister to join the protest leaders, shocked the county community by saying, "I am asking Christian people to pray that God will kill the giants [the three board members who voted for the books] who have mocked and made fun of dumb fundamentalists."[20]

As one high school student said of the book-banners during a walkout the students mounted to protest the removal of the books, "They're shooting people because they don't want people to see violence in books."[21] Ironically, the protesters ran the gamut of insurrectionist behavior that they hated in war protesters and radicals, including even charges of police brutality and biased judicial proceedings.

Violence escalated during the second week of school, and the number of wildcat mine strikers reached 8 to 10,000 over several counties. Two men were wounded by gunfire at picket points and another was badly beaten. Both shooting victims were truckers of neither warring faction. One was shot from a cruising car after trying to cross pickets to work, the other by a probook man who thought he was being attacked by picketers and immediately turned himself in to police. A CBS television crew was roughed up at one place, and car windows were smashed at others. Threats were leveled at the superintendent, members of the board, and parents still trying to send their children to school. Despite arrests for blocking public places and circuit court injunctions against barricading and certain demonstrating, law enforcement became ineffectual, and severe disorder loomed ahead. Along with other Kanawha County officials, Democratic Sheriff G. Kemp Melton repeatedly tried during all of September and October to persuade Republican Governor Arch Moore to send in state troopers, but whenever the governor replied it was only to claim that the state should not intervene in local political rows. "A man could get himself in a box," Sheriff Melton quoted him as saying.[22]

By September 13 the safety of both children and adults seemed so much at risk that Superintendent Underwood ordered all 121 public schools closed for a four-day weekend during which he banned football games and other extracurricular activities and slipped out of town, as did some board members, including Alice Moore herself, who said, "I never dreamed it would come to this."[23] Some schools closed in Boone and Fayette counties, which did not have the disputed books.

One of the language arts consultants for the Kanawha County schools described an especially harrowing aspect of this time in an article in the *Journal of Research and Development in Education*, which devoted an issue in 1976 to "Censorship and the Schools." She makes the point that while some parents were keeping their children out of school to protest

the books, others were keeping them out to protect them from the violence of the boycott itself. Fears for the safety of the children turned out to be well warranted, she says, as evidence from the court trials of the book protesters indicted for fire-bombing schools later revealed. She explains:

> A *Charleston Gazette* article of November 5, 1975, concerning the role of Asst. District Attorney Wayne A. Rich, Jr., who served as prosecutor for the persons involved in the school bombings of October, 1974, states: "A few extremists among the churchmen who wanted 'godless' textbooks removed from schools became so fanatical they discussed bombing carloads of children whose parents were driving them to school in defiance of a boycott called by book protesters." Further, in reference to the convictions ultimately obtained in the school bombing cases, Rich stated that one of the convicted bombers testified that he and others had discussed ways to stop "people that was sending their kids to school, letting them learn out of books when they knew they was wrong." [One of] the ways mentioned, Rich said, was to "place a blasting cap in the gas tank of a car and hook the wires to the brake lights or to the signal lights; when the brake was applied or the signal on, . . . it would blow the gas tank up on the car."[24]

She captures the general atmosphere:

> Quickly the cry became "GET THE BOOKS OUT!"—not one book, not one set of books, not one offensive passage—but all 325, including a handwriting program which has been used in our school system for more than 25 years, a re-adoption of literature books which has been used without objection for the preceding five years, and many of the world's most respected literary works, including Plato's *Republic*, Melville's *Moby Dick*, and Milton's *Paradise Lost* and *Paradise Regained*. Even *The Good Earth*, the Pulitzer Prize novel by Pearl Buck, West Virginia's most renowned author, could not withstand the onslaught.[25]

"An English teacher at George Washington High [in Charleston] said that educators and administrators had been repeatedly threatened. 'We are living in the climate of a Nazi world.' "[26]

The Textbook Review Committee began its deliberations, after appointments were made September 24, in an atmosphere not only determined by continued rallies, pickets, boycotts, felonious damaging of school buildings, and other sporadic violence but also by some new factors that included the organization of a probook group called Kanawha County Coalition for Quality Education; a determination by State Superintendent of Education Daniel Taylor that it was probably illegal for a school board to withdraw books it had already adopted; and the announcement of early resignations, because of the controversy, by the

president of the School Board, Albert Anson, Jr., who opposed removal of the books, and Superintendent Underwood. The Textbook Review Committee itself introduced a new factor. Six of the eighteen members and an alternate split off and met separately after the first meeting, when a preliminary vote on some of the books convinced them that the selection of the committee had been unfairly biased in favor of the books.

During the period when the Textbook Review Committee was deliberating, the Business and Professional People's Alliance for Better Textbooks began taking an active role under the leadership of its founder and president, Elmer Fike, the owner of a small chemical company who published antibook ads and pamphlets at his own expense and served as liaison with the Heritage Foundation, a conservative think tank. Since 1968 Elmer Fike has been publishing a booklet called *Elmer's Tune* containing right-wing editorial columns first appearing in local newspapers and occasionally in other periodicals. For him the textbook controversy was only one more issue among others, a favorite theme being such governmental regulation of business as environmental controls. The alliance, he wrote in a two-page newspaper ad, "was formed to give those parents opposed to violence and demonstrations a voice in the controversy. This group has issued releases and provided speakers to public groups to give a better image to the protest movement."[27]

On the other side, the Kanawha County Association of Classroom Teachers voted to oppose any recommendation the Textbook Review Committee might make that would undo the original adoption and passed a resolution denouncing the removal of the textbooks during the review period and upbraiding the School Board for abdicating its legal responsibilities in the face of public pressure.

During the period of review an elementary school at Cabin Creek was dynamited and one at Campbell's Creek fire-bombed, both while empty. Other schools were the targets of gunfire, fire bombs, and diverse vandalization. A school janitor was assaulted. Rocks were thrown at the homes of parents defying the school boycott and at school buses, which were frequently damaged. Two school buses were fired on by shotgunners as their drivers returned from their rounds, and at one point most of the fleet of buses for Upper Kanawha County was put out of operation. On October 7, seventeen dissenters were arrested in St. Albans for blocking the garage to prevent children from being bused to school.

For his safety Superintendent Underwood lived secretly for a while at the home of a School Board employee, who told me also that the sheriff's department kept him under constant surveillance during that period. Judge John Goad, who had delivered adverse decisions in the cases of protest leaders, was guarded at home and sometimes escorted out of court. On the other hand, the car of a jailed protester was set afire and

destroyed, and according to James Hefley, Alice Moore was threatened by phone and by the firing of shots before her house, and guards watched over her at home and accompanied her when away.[28]

In early November, shortly before the board was to make a final decision on the Textbook Review Committee's recommendations, a package of about fifteen sticks of dynamite was set off under the gas meter of the School Board building, presumably to intimidate the decision-making. After delaying the climactic meeting another week, the board finally met on November 8th at noon in the main arena of the Charleston Civic Center amid fears of violence and strong security measures. The Non-Christian American Parents, recently formed to show that others than fundamentalists denounced the books, had held an all-night vigil at the Civic Center, led by its spokesman, Ed Miller, who later became head of the West Virginia Klavern of the Ku Klux Klan. He vowed no violence from his group. Actually, so wary of the charged setting were all parties that fewer than 100 showed up.

The board heard further testimony from the majority and minority factions of the Textbook Review Committee, who had already made their separate reports, the one recommending return of virtually all of the books and the other rejection of virtually all of the books. Next the board passed unanimously two resolutions protecting students from the imposition of books or indoctrination objectionable to their families for moral or religious reasons. Provisions were made for parents to indicate on a form list sent home which books they did not want their children to read. Then by a vote of four against Mrs. Moore the board authorized the return of all the basic and supplemental books to the classroom except the basic series for grades 1–6, *Communicating*, and the senior high portion (level 4) of *Interaction*, which were consigned to school libraries. This vote compromised the recommendations of the majority report of the Textbook Review Committee, which had favored the return of *Communicating* along with the others.

Shortly after this long-awaited and controversial decision was made, the UMW contract expired without a settlement, adding to the volatile mood in areas where people were already disgruntled by the compromise decision. Most observers believe that the miners went on their illegal strike in the first place partly to reduce stockpiles of coal while contract talks were under way in Washington between the UMW and coal company officials. As other news analysts pointed out, however, miners habitually respond to a wide range of provocations by striking, the one weapon they have to wield in a world over which they feel they have little control. " 'The common man don't know what to do except what he's done, and that's to go home and sit down,' Marvin Horan told the school

superintendent."[29] In any case, the strike played a major role in the book revolt, and Alice Moore openly exhorted miners at times to continue while antibook parents prolonged the school boycott.

Protesters in fact redoubled at this time the efforts to boycott and began organizing private Christian schools. The board mobilized for prosecution of truants under the compulsory attendance law. The Kanawha County Coalition for Quality Education threatened to sue the board for not placing *Communicating* back in the classroom. Violence and mob pressure resumed in the form of shooting at buses and schools, fire-bombing the car of a boycott breaker, bomb threats to officials, and a telephone campaign threatening parents if they sent their children to school. One mayor of a displeased town managed to have Superintendent Underwood and two board members arrested for contributing to the delinquency of minors.

At last the West Virginia State Police committed itself to enforcing law regarding the controversy, influenced somewhat perhaps by an incident of shooting at two of its own patrol cars as they escorted a school bus. School authorities regarded this definite state intervention as a turning point in the turmoil, because the governor's previous reluctance to act had undoubtedly encouraged the dangerous and illegal measures with which some partisans had championed their cause.

No doubt to pacify those resentful of their decision, the board passed on November 21 a resolution that board president Albert Anson, Jr., now resigned, called "a straight jacket on dissident opinion."[30] It set guidelines for textbook selection in the future. The biographer of the Gablers wrote, "With Mrs. Moore forcing a point-by-point vote, [the new policy] spelled out guidelines similar to those requirements which the Gablers had sent."[31]

> Textbooks must not intrude into the privacy of students' homes by asking personal questions about interfeelings [*sic*] or behavior of themselves or parents . . . must recognize the sanctity of the home and emphasize its importance as the basic unit of American society . . . must not contain offensive language . . . must teach the true history and heritage of the United States . . . shall teach that traditional rules of grammar are a worthwhile subject for academic pursuit and are essential for effective communication . . . shall encourage loyalty to the United States . . . and emphasize the responsibilities of citizenship and the obligation to redress grievances through legal processes . . . must not encourage sedition or revolution against our government or teach or imply that an alien form of government is superior.[32]

According to interpretation, these guidelines could be innocuous business-as-usual or a grave violation of the American heritage of freedom.

The NEA asserted that "if given the interpretation obviously meant by their proponent, [the guidelines] would not only bar the disputed books from Kanawha County classrooms, but would proscribe the use of any language arts textbooks, including the *McGuffey's Readers*. . . ."[33]

On December 1st, 2,000 antibook people led by the Rev. Avis Hill marched through crowds of Christmas shoppers in Charleston waving flags and bearing placards proclaiming "Trash is for burning," "Wish we had more people like Sweet Alice," and "No peaceful co-existence with satanic Communism."[34] Though subsiding, trouble was not over. At a televised board meeting on December 12, Superintendent Underwood, Assistant Superintendent Robert Kittle, and members of the board were assaulted by protesters, including several women, one of whom was identified and later arrested. Some residents of the Upper Kanawha Valley put machinery in motion to secede from Kanawha County. Demonstrations, boycott efforts, and rallies continued to occur until April of 1975, when the diehard leader, the Rev. Marvin Horan, was tried and sentenced to three years in prison for conspiracy to bomb schools.

On December 27, 1974, the West Virginia Board of Education included in their legislative program recommendations that lay people be included in textbook selection committees and that state adoption be instituted for secondary school textbooks. Operating under these new guidelines, a Kanawha County screening committee of fifteen lay members and five teachers rejected on February 10, 1975, parts of all four of the elementary social studies series under consideration for adoption. Since this left little choice to the Textbook Selection Committee of educators, who alone by state law could actually vote on adoption, the first effort to implement community screening raised issues of fairness and legality. These were later resolved by the superintendent of the West Virginia Department of Education, who ruled that the statutory selection committee of five educators should not be restricted to considering books screened by the laity nor be bound to follow their recommendations. In March the board approved a social studies series four to one over Mrs. Moore's objection.

United States District Judge K. K. Hall dismissed a suit challenging the constitutionality of the language arts textbook adoption on grounds that it violated the First Amendment guarantee of religious rights: "These rights are guaranteed by the First Amendment, but the Amendment does not guarantee that nothing about religion will be taught in the schools nor that nothing offensive to any religion will be taught in the schools."[35]

In April of 1975, the board established an alternative school for "the mastery of basic skills, adherence to strict codes of discipline and dress, fulfillment of the obligations of citizenship and acceptance of the responsibility for the preservation of high patriotic ideals."[36] The project was abandoned because of too few applications.

Shortly after school began the following fall, the board restored to the classrooms even *Communicating*, the basal elementary series that it had dropped in November and that had aroused the most resistance. Not a rustle of objection.