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Tracing Granville connections to an epic education battle

Former Doane Academy head, Denison president central in Chicago debate over teachers' rights

By **KAREN GRAVES**

The university scholars of Chicago brought the ideal of knowledge and expertise to the pursuit of public policy....Yet the process whereby expertise came to be pitted against democratic politics undermined the promise of knowledge."¹

A watershed event in United States education history played out in Chicago between 1897 and 1917. On one side stood the great man synonymous with the fledgling University of Chicago and his friend from Granville, Ohio, the newly appointed Superintendent of the city's school system. On the other stood a woman whom historians describe as "the most famous teachers' organization leader of the early twentieth century."²

THE HARPER COMMISSION

In 1897 University of Chicago President William Rainey Harper accepted an appointment to the Chicago School Board. The man who had skillfully and repeatedly encouraged John D. Rockefeller to increase his endowment to the University of Chicago argued that the city's schoolteachers needed no raises because they were making as much salary as his wife's maid.³ Shortly after, when Mayor Carter H. Harrison appointed a commission to conduct a public school study, he selected Harper as Chair. In the style of Progressive Era reform the Harper



William Rainey Harper was a former principal of Doane Academy who became involved in the education battle in Chicago, which served as a fulcrum point in the history of schooling in the United States.

(Photos with this article are from the Denison University archives.)

Ten years ago, then-editor Anthony J Lisska introduced an article by Thomas W. Goodspeed in this journal, which dealt with William Rainey Harper during his Granville years and with his impact on higher education. In this article, Granville Historical Society Board Member Karen Graves addresses Harper's involvement, along with that of another former Granville resident, E Benjamin Andrews, in the evolution of secondary education after both men moved to Chicago. Dr. Graves is Professor of Education at Denison.

Commission set out to “take the schools out of politics.”⁴ The Commission consulted fifty educational “experts,” including the presidents of Harvard, Columbia Teachers College, Johns Hopkins, and Stanford, but no Chicago schoolteachers. In the meantime, Harper persuaded the Board to hire his old friend, E. Benjamin Andrews, who had run into trouble at Brown University. In short order Chicago teachers began to refer to the new superintendent as “Bulletin Ben” due to his heavy-handed, bureaucratic approach.⁵

When the Harper Commission released its report in 1899 Nicholas Murray Butler praised it as the “most illuminating document on the organization and administration of a school system of a large American city that has ever been published.”⁶ Indeed, with its call for smaller school boards, centralized administration, and professionalization of the teaching force, the Commission was offering a template for Progressive Era school reform.

EFFICIENCY MEASURES AND POLITICS

In effect this translated to a business model for schooling that favored social efficiency measures and cut into teacher autonomy. And it ran squarely against Chicago politics as practiced by Margaret Haley and the Chicago Teachers’ Federation. Haley argued that public policy should emanate from local politics, not ivory tower expertise. She fought this battle on many fronts, working for initiative and referendum, direct primaries, the popular election of Senators, and direct election of boards of education. Haley, who like the majority of her fellow teachers could not vote, advocated for the rights of citizens in setting public policy. Then she tied the rights of citizens to the rights of teachers, and the rights of teachers to the rights of women.⁷

The Chicago Civic Federation crafted a bill out of the Harper Report and sent it to Springfield for consideration by the state legislature. Under Haley’s leadership the Chicago Teachers’ Federation joined forces with the Chicago Federation of Labor to oppose the bill. A combination of astute political work, collaborations with labor and women’s groups, and anti-Rockefeller sentiment in what became a larger debate on class interests in a democratic society led to the bill’s defeat in 1899. In a singular jab at Harper, Andrews, and the proposed increase of power for the school superintendent, Haley told state legislators that Chicago teachers did not believe that if Jesus returned to earth he would come via the University of Chicago.⁸ Haley relied upon the Harper-Rockefeller foil again in 1903 to fight back another set of recommendations, but the corporate elite would have the last word. In 1917 the state enacted a school law that reduced the size of the board of education, increased the superintendent’s power, and in the spirit of compromise provided for a



William Rainey Harper as a Granville instructor.

degree of job security for teachers. In the opinion of Angus Roy Shannon, attorney for the Chicago School Board for nearly two decades, “the greatest credit” for passage of the bill belonged to William Rainey Harper, who had been dead for eleven years.⁹

The well-known school battle in Chicago serves as a fulcrum point in the history of schooling in the United States. To be sure, educators throughout history have mused on the power of knowledge. But what form would that take in the twentieth century? And what roles would Denison men play in determining the outcome?

A LASTING FRIENDSHIP

They came to Denison one year apart, the Civil War veteran from the Northeast and the Ohio boy wonder. Elisha Benjamin Andrews was born in Connecticut in 1844. Seventeen years later he enlisted in the Union Army and was wounded at Petersburg, losing an eye. Andrews graduated from Brown University in 1870 and, following his father and grandfather into the Baptist ministry, spent two years at the Newton Theological Institution. He took a pastorate in Massachusetts in 1874 but after one year left to become the sixth president of Denison University in 1875.¹⁰

William Rainey Harper was born in New Concord, Ohio in 1856. A precocious child, he graduated from Muskingum College at age thirteen, the same year that Andrews finished at Brown. Drawn to the study of Hebrew, the youngst continued with the language with a teacher in Zanesville and taught elementary Hebrew at Muskingum before pack-

ing off to Yale for doctoral studies. Upon earning the Ph.D. Harper became Principal of the Masonic College in Macon, Tennessee and then moved to Granville in 1876 to work as a tutor in Latin and Greek at Doane Academy, the preparatory school connected to Denison University. There his legendary status as a teacher grew, owing in particular to the extra classes he offered in Hebrew that enrolled a number of Denison faculty members.

Harper became Principal of Doane Academy at the end of his first year in Granville, but the Ohio college would not hold the enterprising young scholar. He took a position teaching Hebrew at the Baptist Union Theological Seminary of Chicago in 1879. From that base he began a lifelong interest in summer schools that later encompassed a lengthy stint as Principal of the Chautauqua Institute, wrote textbooks on the Hebrew language, published *The Hebrew Student* (for a general audience) and *Hebraica* (for linguistic scholars), and founded the American Institute of Hebrew.

In 1886 Harper moved to Yale as Professor of Semitic Languages. When John D. Rockefeller came looking for the man to head up his new university in Chicago, he traveled to New Haven. The course that would fix William Rainey Harper's place in U.S. education history was set when he accepted Rockefeller's offer to become the first president of the University of Chicago in 1891. The accomplished scholar would become a leader in the generation that altered the American university, and with it the way modern reformers applied knowledge to public policy in the twentieth century.¹¹

ANDREWS' CAREER TRAJECTORY

Andrews' career trajectory was much more turbulent. When he left Denison in 1879 to return to the Newton Theological Institution as Professor it was apparently due to disputes with the governing board. He left that position for travel and study in Europe in 1882 and upon his return to the United States took professorships at Brown and then Cornell before returning to Brown as President in 1889. As a prominent Baptist educator Andrews was in the loop regarding plans for the University of Chicago and he worked to transform Brown into a university reflecting Harper's model. He did not prove Harper's equal in terms of fundraising or tact, however, and in 1897 he ran afoul of Rockefeller in advocating a free silver position. After his disastrous tenure as Chicago Superintendent Andrews accepted his final appointment as Chancellor at the University of Nebraska, serving from 1900 to 1908.¹²

In the brief time that they spent together in Granville Andrews and Harper forged a lasting friendship. The defining moment may have occurred in autumn 1876. Harper made a Christian confession of faith at a prayer meeting conducted by Dr. W.C.P. Rhoades at the First Baptist Church. Harper's biographers point to this as a significant



The Harper family store in New Concord, Ohio.

event in his life, and note that he was attended by President Andrews "in the most sympathetic helpfulness."¹³ Harper later referred to Andrews as his "inspired friend," exemplar, and "intellectual father."¹⁴ Thomas Goodspeed, Harper's long-serving secretary at the University of Chicago and early biographer, wrote that the young Harper "could not have fallen into better hands than those of President Andrews. The two men were of the same spirit, enthusiastic students and teachers. They were not slow in recognizing each other and drew together in an enduring friendship....Harper never forgot the debt he owed to Andrews and tried to repay what he felt was his friend's due."¹⁵

HARPER BEGINS TO OVERSHADOW ANDREWS

While both men had their critics it became increasingly clear that Harper's reputation as teacher, scholar, and university giant would overshadow Andrews. Since they adopted the same sort of work ethic, embraced a similar scholarly approach to religious studies, articulated a common philosophy of higher education, and coordinated their efforts on school reform it may be that personality accounts for some degree of difference in their experiences. Upon the announcement of Harper's appointment to the University of Chicago, the *Granville Times* stated, "Among the great men who have at one time or another been associated with Denison, there is perhaps no one so justly the focus of admiration and wonder as is Dr. W.R. Harper....he has vigorously, patiently and untiringly worked his way into a prominence that is unparalleled in the history of American educational institutions."¹⁶ The local community was so proud of him that in 1904 he easily defeated Harvard President Charles Eliot in a mock election at Newark High School 170 to 135, an eleven percent margin! In contrast, in a report on Andrews' retirement from the University of

Nebraska in 1908 the *Granville Times* admitted that he was “a man of most peculiar form of character....His ideas respecting the moral character of God, Bible instruction in the common schools, the tariff and other national economic questions made his associations with Denison university uncongenial.”¹⁷ That assessment paled in comparison to the stormy sojourn Andrews spent in the Windy City.

THE HARPER REPORT

The Harper Report on the reorganization of Chicago schools represents Progressive Era school reform as well as any document from the period. It advocated increased centralization of the system, incorporated schooling trends that emerged at the turn of the century, and outlined modern approaches for circumscribing teacher autonomy. Specifically, the report called for more power for the superintendent and smaller (still appointed) school boards that reflected the interests of the “better class” of citizens. It encouraged support for kindergartens and playgrounds, a new commercial high school and two new manual training schools, and citizenship training. In a line of argument that sounds peculiarly similar to current broadsides, Harper’s Commission argued that many Chicago teachers were overpaid and advised merit pay as well as higher salaries for male teachers to attract more men to the profession. The superintendent would be in charge of certifying, promoting, and dismissing teachers based, in part, on their efficiency as measured by principals.¹⁸

School policy reflects the political-economic context and dominant ideology of the society in question. In this case, the Harper Report amplifies the shifting ideology that was taking hold in the United States during the Progressive Era. One can discern the pendulum swing that gave greater regard to the welfare of the social group than to individual autonomy with its attention to efficiency and hierarchical practices that stressed submission to “expert” decision making. The prevailing opinion that a select intellectual elite, alone, commanded the insight to guide public policy surfaced in the promotion of a smaller school board supposedly immune to political influence, enlarging the purview of the system’s executive branch, and “professionalizing” the teaching force in ways that worked against women and the working class. And social stability concerns drove curricular reform involving children’s play and citizenship training.

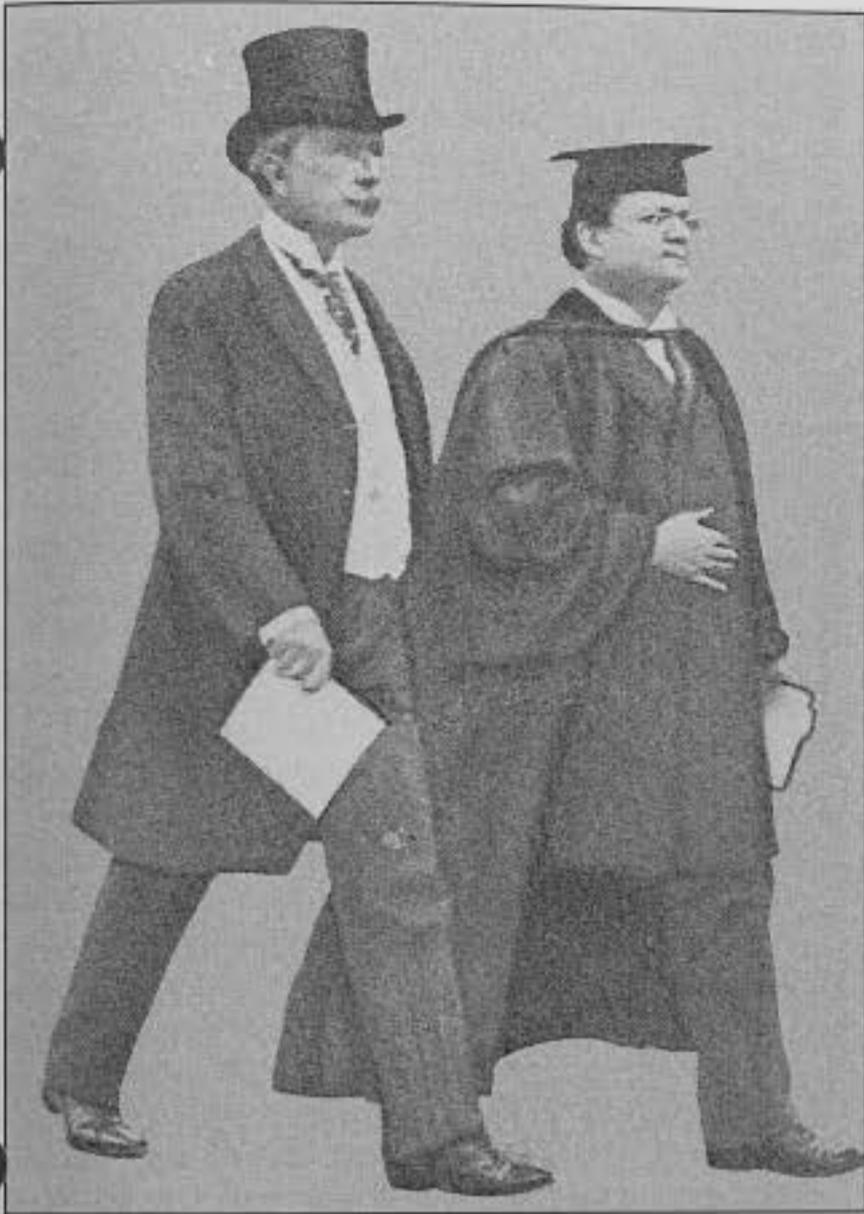
Although the Harper Report recommendations were not enacted into law in 1899, Superintendent Andrews plowed ahead. In June he fired a music teacher and replaced her with a man without following established procedures; the next week he issued a memorandum changing the requirements for principal candidates. This incited organized action on the part of teachers. In the fall “Bulletin Ben”



E. Benjamin Andrews became the sixth president of Denison University, in 1875, and then was president of Brown before becoming superintendent of Chicago schools in 1897.

directed principals to report on teachers’ “‘fidelity and consecration,’ ability to govern, books they had read, and personal inquisitiveness.”¹⁹ When he proposed a reorganization of the board and a salary raise for himself, the board balked. In November the board accepted Superintendent Andrews’ resignation.²⁰

It would appear that Andrews had little awareness of the scope of the battle in which he was engaged, or perhaps too little regard for the capabilities and level of determination that the women schoolteachers brought to the fight. In the midst of this chaotic year the *Granville Times* published an interview with the relatively new superintendent. The man who would spend but two years of his career in the public school system exclaimed, “For many years, I thought the greatest opportunity for doing good in an educational way were to be found in the great colleges and universities, and it was long before I perceived my mistake. I now believe that it is in the common school system of the nation that the country’s greatest opportunities for making good citizens are to be found, and it was with this idea that I accepted the superintendency of the Chicago schools.”²¹ When asked



Harper (right) is pictured during an academic ceremony with John D. Rockefeller at the University of Chicago.

what reforms he had targeted, Andrews replied, "We have scarcely begun as yet" and addressed the problem of incompetent teachers. He acknowledged, "I have incurred some enmity by this course, but this I expected, and it has not influenced me at all: I am confident that the best citizens of Chicago are with me, and I shall persevere as long as this is the case."²²

The teachers had a more prescient perspective. They connected Andrews' autocratic actions to the Harper Report, and both to the ongoing struggle for the control of public schools. They understood that their experience in Chicago was not unique, that it was, in fact, "part of an emerging trend to put public schooling under the influence of universities and private business interests."²³ And as Upton Sinclair charged, those institutions were becoming increasingly inseparable.²⁴

Three significant demarcation lines characterized the Chicago school battle: business interests against educational interests; the ruling class against the working class; and the struggle for agency between men and women in a patriarchal political system. These frontal

lines did not lay neatly one on top of the other but it is absolutely clear that Andrews and Haley occupied different camps.

In his inaugural address as the incoming President of Denison University Andrews stated, rather emphatically, that "state control of liberal education is incompatible with our republican conditions...the general public is not competent to have the charge of higher education."²⁵ Not unlike others of his social position in 1875, Andrews identified a portion of the problem with "the press of immigration to our shores from Catholic and heathen lands."

For him, the path forward was clear if not risk free. "Doubtless the boards of private institutions are fallible, sometimes short-sighted; but stupid indeed must that man be who would not rather trust the interests of advanced education to such men, representing the higher intelligence of the Christian public, than to the great, careless rabble."²⁶ During the Great Railroad Strike of 1877 President Andrews joined a patrol one night to protect Granville from the rumored possibility of looting and destruction of property. He and Tom Jones rode armed on horseback on the Newark-Granville road to guard against an attack by striking workers that never materialized.²⁷

ANDREWS' SOCIAL VIEWS

In 1902 Andrews gave a talk at the University of Chicago where, among other things, he described the birth of poor children as a social evil, and argued that it should be discouraged. He also weighed in on the rising "threat" of single teachers, stating flatly, "The unmarried individual amounts to almost nothing...has no place in society whatever. I don't mean by that that he or she is of no use in the world, but they [all] have defects of character."²⁸ And although he tested Rockefeller's patience over the free silver issue during his presidency at Brown, Andrews more than redeemed himself as Chancellor at Nebraska. Unfortunately, his blunt rhetoric continued to trip him up. During a debate on whether or not the (public) University of Nebraska should accept Rockefeller money, Andrews enthusiastically supported accepting the funds and defended Rockefeller's business methods at the center of the controversy. Andrews praised Standard Oil's practice of buying up its competitors rather than crushing them, which led a person to clarify: "Like mercifully taking up a sickly child and benevolently wringing its neck." Exactly, Andrews is reported to have replied before rounding out his comments with a supportive statement on euthanasia.²⁹

Given these views it is likely that Andrews would have considered Margaret Haley — an Irish Catholic, single woman schoolteacher who taught the children of stockyard workers on Chicago's south side — a defective heathen. That she was able to puncture the old boys' network of the

National Education Association (NEA) is one of the great stories in American education history. From its founding in 1857 the NEA was the professional retreat of university presidents, professors of education, and school administrators. Women schoolteachers who attended the summer meetings could not speak at the annual conferences. This frustrated Haley, who took issue with statements issued at the 1896 Buffalo meeting by Nicholas Murray Butler. At the height of the Harper bill campaign she and the Chicago Federation of Teachers organized the first National Federation of Teachers at the 1899 meeting in Los Angeles. Two years later in Detroit Haley became the first woman classroom teacher to speak from the floor at a NEA meeting. She had to leap to her feet in the five-minute question period following a set of presentations to do it. Haley challenged the positive assessment of schooling offered by U.S. Commissioner of Education, William T. Harris. A back-and-forth exchange followed, with Harris characterizing Haley as a tired and hysterical grade school teacher. If such outrageous behavior as schoolteachers speaking out continued, he threatened, the NEA would no longer hold its annual meetings during the summer. Haley's brief counterargument on revising the tax code had no bearing on the national scene, Harris thundered, because everyone knew that Chicago was a "morbid, cyclonic, and hysterical" place.³⁰

HALEY, TEACHERS TAKE BIG STEP FORWARD

At the 1903 meeting in Boston Butler proposed an amendment that would limit participation from the floor. Haley was the first to argue against it during discussion and the motion did not carry. The NEA was on its way to becoming a more democratic institution. The high water mark for Haley occurred with her 1904 address in St. Louis, "Why Teachers Should Organize."³¹

This time Haley did not have to speak from the floor. After eight years of pressing for classroom teachers' increased participation at NEA conferences, she was on the program. The core of her argument was an unequivocal call for freedom. "Freedom of activity directed by freed intelligence is the ideal of democracy."³² Her political philosophy required that the power of knowledge be unleashed throughout the citizenry. It was not to be parceled out by the civic-minded upper class who "knew best," nor controlled by what Upton Sinclair would come to call the interlocking directorate of economic and educational interests.³³ Haley traced the promise of democracy to widespread human development, and argued that teachers had to be free to do the important work entrusted to them. "There is no possible conflict between the interest of the child and the interest of the teacher....For both the child and the teacher freedom is the condition of development."³⁴

And yet in spite of the success of beating back the Harper

reforms in Illinois, teachers remained in a precarious position. Meager salaries made it difficult for teachers to keep up with the rising cost of living, let alone invest in higher education that marked a new standard in the professionalization movement. Teachers had no job security in the form of tenure, and no pensions. Classrooms were overcrowded and teachers, overworked. But it was, perhaps, Haley's critique of the scientific management of schools sweeping the nation that most directly cut to the heart of this first significant teachers' movement. She decried the "...lack of recognition of the teacher as an educator in the school system, due to the increased tendency toward 'factoryizing education,' making the teacher an automaton, a mere factory hand, whose duty it is to carry out mechanically and unquestioningly the ideas and orders of those clothed with the authority of position, and who may or may not know the needs of the children or how to minister to them."³⁵

Ten years after the Pullman Strike and a generation after the Haymarket Affair, Margaret Haley tied the interests of schoolteachers to the interest of manual workers. Both groups were struggling to secure better living conditions and control of their work, both were often misunderstood or ignored, and both could trace the bane of their troubles to a common origin. "Two ideals are struggling for supremacy in American life today: one the industrial ideal...which subordinates the worker to the product and the machine; the other, the ideal of democracy, the ideal of the educator which places humanity above all machines....If the ideal of the educators cannot be carried over into the industrial field, then the ideal of industrialism will be carried over into the school....If the school cannot bring joy to the world of work, the joy must go out of its own life, and work in the school as in the factory will become drudgery."³⁶

To be sure, work in Chicago schools at the turn of the twentieth century was exhausting. Under Superintendent Andrews it had become grinding. It is not altogether surprising that the President of the University of Chicago valued the work at the same compensation level as his wife's maid.

CONCLUSION

William Rainey Harper was an organization man. Described by Frederick Rudolph as "one of the most incredible men to move across the university scene," Harper set a foundation at the University of Chicago that "brought into focus the spirit of the age."³⁷ In a memorial tribute published in the *Fiftieth Anniversary Volume* of the NEA in 1907, Harper's colleague Harry Pratt Judson traced Harper's facility for organization back to his Denison days. Throughout his life, Judson remarked, the "organization and working of an academy, of a high school, of an elementary school, appealed to [Harper] with quite as keen zest as the organization of a college or a university. He rec-



William Rainey Harper as founding president of the University of Chicago.

ognized them all as parts of a common whole and felt that no one of them could be considered by itself, but each had a bearing, and an important bearing, on all the rest.”³⁸

Indeed, the perception of society as an organism consisting of interdependent parts was emerging as the dominant metaphor of the age. Educators who moved in Harper’s circles determined that the modern university could best serve the American public by producing the knowledge required to guide policy in a chaotic, churning political economy. Consider, for example, the impact of the Chicago School of sociology and, later, the Chicago School of economics on twentieth-century policy debates. Of course, there was also a Chicago School of education. In Harper’s day it employed prominent scholars, including Francis W. Parker, John Dewey, and Ella Flagg Young.³⁹ But at the end of the next century the University shut it down. As the logic embedded in the Harper Report played out, the study of education became immaterial at the great research institution.

President Harper and Superintendent Andrews championed a public school system in which efficiency, economy, and a certain kind of expertise overrode the exercise of

teachers’ educational autonomy. In short order the intellectual elite branded teachers who engaged in political activism as unprofessional.⁴⁰ “Professional” teachers were those who didn’t challenge the system that considered them irrelevant. For those who agree with Margaret Haley that the promise of democracy lies with the education of the whole people, the promise of knowledge envisioned by the founders of the great universities had been squandered.

FOOTNOTES

¹ Marvin Lazerson, “If All the World Were Chicago: American Education in the Twentieth Century,” *History of Education Quarterly* 24, no. 2 (Summer 1984): 177-178.

² Wayne Urban, quoted in *ibid.*, 172.

³ By 1916 Rockefeller donated thirty-five million dollars to the University of Chicago. See Frederick Rudolph, *The American College & University: A History* (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1990, originally published in 1962), 350; Kate Rousmaniere, *Citizen Teacher: The Life and Leadership of Margaret Haley* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2005), 49-50.

⁴ Thomas Wakefield Goodspeed, *William Rainey Harper First President of the University of Chicago* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1928), 173.

⁵ Lazerson, “If All the World Were Chicago,” 169; Rousmaniere, *Citizen Teacher*, 50.

⁶ Quoted in Lazerson, “If All the World Were Chicago,” 169.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 172; Rousmaniere, *Citizen Teacher*, 50; Wayne Urban, “Organized Teachers and Educational Reform during the Progressive Era: 1890-1920,” *History of Education Quarterly* 16, no. 1 (Spring 1976): 37-39.

⁸ Rousmaniere, *Citizen Teacher*, 51-52; Urban, “Organized Teachers and Educational Reform,” 39.

⁹ Quoted in Goodspeed, *William Rainey Harper*, 174. See also, Urban, “Organized Teachers and Educational Reform,” 39-40; Rousmaniere, *Citizen Teacher*, 174-175, 184.

¹⁰ “Dr. Elisha Benjamin Andrews,” *The Granville Times*, 8 November 1917, p. 1; “College and Alumni,” *The Granville Times*, 15 November 1917, p. 1; James Emil Hansen, II, “Gallant, Stalwart Bennie: Elisha Benjamin Andrews (1844-1917): An Educator’s Odyssey,” in *Dissertation Abstracts* 30A (January-February 1970), 2940.

¹¹ See “William Rainey Harper: The Granville Years,” *The Historical Times* 15, no. 4 (Fall 2001): 1-10, with an introduction by Anthony J. Lisska and excerpts from Thomas W. Goodspeed, *William Rainey Harper, First President of the University of Chicago* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1928); Milton Sanford Mayer, *Young Man In a Hurry: The Story of William Rainey Harper* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Alumni Association, 1957, first published in 1941); and Glenn D. Williams, “William Rainey Harper: A Giant among Educators,” *The Clearing House* 40, no. 5 (January 1966): 270-275.

¹² Hansen, “Gallant, Stalwart Bennie: Elisha Benjamin Andrews (1844-1917),” 2939-2940; “E. Benjamin Andrews,”

The Granville Times, 24 June 1897, p. 4.

¹³ Goodspeed excerpt, *Historical Times*, 4. See also, E. Benjamin Andrews, "The Granville Period," in "Memorials of William Rainey Harper," *The Biblical World* 27, no. 3 (March 1906): 168-169. Williams writes, "The two men were attracted to each other almost from the first moment of their meeting...." in "William Rainey Harper," 271.

¹⁴ *Dictionary of American Biography*, p. 287 in "Andrews Biographical 3D6," Presidents Andrews Papers, 3D6, Denison Archives, Granville, Ohio.

¹⁵ Goodspeed excerpt, *Historical Times*, 3.

¹⁶ "The Critics Criticised [sic]," *The Granville Times*, 23 July 1891, p. 8. Harper's critics included prominent American intellectuals. See, for example, Thorstein Veblen, *The Higher Learning in America: A Memorandum on the Conduct of Universities by Business Men* (New York: Sagamore Press, 1957, initially published in 1918); Upton Sinclair, *The Goose-Step: A Study of American Education* (Pasadena: Sinclair, 1922, distributed by The Economy Book Shop, Chicago); and, Robert Herrick, *Chimes* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1926).

¹⁷ "Mock Election," *The Granville Times*, 10 November 1904, p. 1; "Wm. J. Bryan May Succeed Andrews at State University of Nebraska," *The Granville Times*, 12 November 1908, p. 4. See also the obituaries of the two men published in *The Granville Times*, 18 January 1906, p. 1 and 8 November 1917, p. 1.

¹⁸ Lazerson, "If All the World Were Chicago," 169; Rousmaniere, *Citizen Teacher*, 49-50; Urban, "Organized Teachers and Educational Reform," 38-39.

¹⁹ Rousmaniere, *Citizen Teacher*, 55.

²⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹ "Supt. Andrews," *The Granville Times*, 14 July 1899, p. 4.

²² *Ibid.*

²³ Rousmaniere, *Citizen Teacher*, 55.

²⁴ See Sinclair, *The Goose-Step*.

²⁵ Andrews, "Denominational vs. State Colleges," 4, 7. His position apparently changed by the time he went to work at the University of Nebraska.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 8-9.

²⁷ "College and Alumni," *The Granville Times*, 15 November 1917, p. 1.

²⁸ "Some Don'ts Prepared by Dr. Benjamin Andrews, Who Was Formerly President of Denison University," *The Granville Times*, 4 September 1902, p. 4; "Andrews on Marriage," *The Granville Times*, 4 September 1902, p. 1. Andrews was not outside the mainstream with his views on population control or the attack on single teachers. As leading citizens became more concerned with the "boy problem" and feminization of teaching, they scrutinized the sexuality and gender performance of single teachers – male and female – with increasing fervor. See Jackie M. Blount, *Fit To Teach: Same-sex Desire, Gender, and Schoolwork in the Twentieth Century* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2005), 29-44; 59-61.

²⁹ "Lifts the Veil: Dr. Andrews, Former President of Denison University, a Champion of Rockefeller's Methods," *The Granville Times*, 28 January 1904, p. 8. The news report paraphrased



William Rainey Harper's home in Chicago.

Andrews this way: "Society, as it becomes enlightened, will snuff out the lives of sickly and deformed infants to prevent their becoming at maturity a burden to it and to themselves. A committee of skilled physicians, I firmly believe, eventually will determine the fate of those who are sickly. Such persons, if the physicians agree, will be put to death." This statement reflects the emerging ideological position of putting critical social decisions in the hands of experts, for the public good.

³⁰ See Rousmaniere's account in *Citizen Teacher*, 106-111.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 108-109. As the twentieth century wore on, however, school administrators and education professors replaced the NEA "old guard" of university presidents such as Butler, Eliot, and Harper rather than elementary school teachers. See Lazerson, "If All the World Were Chicago," 173.

³² Haley, "Why Teachers Should Organize," 146.

³³ Sinclair, *The Goose-Step*, 18-23. Haley argued that "responsibility for changing existing conditions so as to make it possible for the public school to do its work rests with the people, the whole people," in "Why Teachers Should Organize," 145.

³⁴ Haley, "Why Teachers Should Organize," 146.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 148. During the Progressive Era schools adopted Frederick Winslow Taylor's method of scientific management to the detriment of public education. See Steven E. Tozer, Guy Senese, and Paul C. Violas, *School and Society: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives*, 5th ed. (Boston: McGraw-Hill, 2006), 93-98, 109-120.

³⁶ Haley, "Why Teachers Should Organize," 151.

³⁷ Rudolph, *The American College & University*, 349.

³⁸ Harry Pratt Judson, "William Rainey Harper," *National Educational Association Fiftieth Anniversary Volume 1857-1906* (Winona, MN: NEA, 1907), 294-295.

³⁹ Ella Flag Young was the first woman superintendent of a major city in the United States when she was appointed Chicago Superintendent in 1909. She was also the first woman to serve President of the NEA. See Rousmaniere, *Citizen Teacher*, 153-157.

⁴⁰ Lazerson, "If All the World Were Chicago," 174.

• God, government and family

They were motivations for the mobilization of Granville's Welsh settlers for the Union cause

By MEGAN BURDETTE

The outbreak of the Civil War was met with much excitement and also consternation in Granville, as was the case in communities all across the North and the South. The account of events most often referenced in Granville during the first days of the war is that of Sarah Wright Sinnet, the wife of Dr. Edwin Sinnet, who was a well-liked Granville doctor. Mrs. Sinnet wrote to her brother, "War! War! Is the first conversation wherever two meet. Yesterday the drum & fife were playing up and down the street, and volunteers were marching to its sad music. There are about sixty now enlisted and they want enough to make 75".¹ By the end of the conflict more than 600 men from Granville Township, both from the town and the Welsh Hills, had enlisted and fought for the Union cause, with 334 enlisting in the first year alone.²

The response of the men of Granville township to the call for volunteers was one which was unmatched by any other township in Licking County and enlistment quotas were surpassed again and again. As historian William T. Utter states in his history of Granville, "The Welsh were fully as patriotic as the New Englanders and it was a matter of great pride that this was the only township in the County in which it was unnecessary to draft men".³ Welsh and New Englander alike were eligible for the draft during the war and turned up for enlistment in impressive numbers for such a small community. An 1863 list of men eligible for the draft contains the names of 241 men from both Granville and the Welsh Hills, including such prominent Granville names as Spelman, Sinnet, and Rose along with the undeniable Welsh surnames of Jones, Evans, and Rees.⁴ However, the manner in which the Welsh of Granville



John L.V. Jones, an ancestor of the author of this article, lived in Granville during the Civil War. (From the Jones/Burdette family collection.)

mobilized for the war and the motivation behind their devotion to the Union Cause did differ from their neighbors.

To begin with, in the Welsh Hills any organized recruitment efforts would have taken place in church, giving the recruitment of Welshmen a decidedly religious character. The Welsh immigrants, whether they were Baptists, Methodists, or Congregationalists, were devoutly religious and the church played a very central role in the community from the education of its children to the social lives of its members. Therefore, it is logical that any community discussion of the war would have taken place in the church as well. Welsh community leaders and preachers encouraged the young men of the community to enlist out of personal religious conviction. Many openly declared the war itself to be divine retribution for the sins of the South and its subjugation of the black man to slavery. Others saw it as a means by which God was purging the country of its crimes, by spilling the sacrificial blood of his sons as a means of "opening freedom's gate".⁵ Two of the most influential

Megan Burdette continues her narrative of the Jones family begun last issue with their migration from Wales to the United States. In this issue, Ms. Burdette focuses on the attitudes of the Granville Welsh community toward Abolition and participation in the Civil War. In the next issue, the last portion of her Senior Research at Denison will take us to the fortunes of her ancestor, Evan Jones, as he went off to North Mountain with other Granville men in 1864.



The Sharon Valley Calvinist Methodist Church, one of the Welsh churches in Granville Township, was the first Welsh Methodist church built in Ohio, in 1836. It was one church where young Welsh men were recruited for the Union Army effort during the Civil War.

Welsh ministers in Ohio at the time, Benjamin Chidlaw and Dewi Emlyn, were known to have actively used their position as leaders within the church to recruit young men for service. To a young man who had grown and been educated in the church, hearing this religious interpretation of the war must have been powerful motivation to enlist, and judging from the reports of Rev. Chidlaw, recruitment within the church did see much success. Chidlaw reported in Welsh that on one day as a result of his efforts, ‘twenty-five of the comely young men had already enlisted, with others to follow them’.⁶

THE IMPORTANCE OF THE WELSH LANGUAGE IN RECRUITMENT

The Sharon Valley Calvinist Methodist Church was one of the Welsh Churches in Granville Township and served the Welsh Methodist community of the Sharon Valley area. It was the first Welsh Methodist Church built in Ohio, constructed in 1836, and was led by Rev. E.T. Evans during the war years. As the Ohio Historian Isaac Smucker explained, “This is properly the pioneer Welsh Church of Licking county, because the Baptist Church on the Welsh Hills, although organized in 1808, nearly thirty years before this one, is but partially Welsh, its public ministrations having generally been conducted in the English language, and only occasionally in Welsh”.⁷ Therefore, not only were efforts at the recruitment of Welsh settlers for the Union made from a religious platform, in cases of entirely Welsh congregations such as that of the Sharon Valley Calvinist Methodist Church, they were also most likely delivered in Welsh instead of English, a distinction which changed the vocabulary with which the players defined and discussed the war and consequently how they defined the conflict. The vast majority of Welsh settlers had been educated in a religious context, whether through the Protestant movement for literacy back in Wales or in the Sabbath schools of the Welsh settlements in America. Thus, because the Welsh had become literate almost entirely

through the study of biblical Welsh, the manner in which they discussed and wrote about the war, and life in general, was with the use of religious imagery and vocabulary, a largely moralistic means of communication. The religious vocabulary of the Welsh speaking congregations, coupled with recruitment in the religious context of the church, contributed to the creation of a uniquely moralistic interpretation of the war amongst Welsh American communities.

COMMUNITY VIEWS TOWARD ABOLITIONISM

Another possible reason for the Welsh’s moralistic interpretation of the war and their role in it, or possibly a consequence of it, was that Welsh America was decidedly pro abolition and thereby classified the war as a battle against slavery from the very beginning. According to the testimony of Welsh Americans who served in the war, the vast majority enlisted “entirely or partially because they wanted to abolish slavery”.⁸ The fact that abolition was a cause so widely supported by Welsh soldiers upon their enlistment sets them apart from many other Americans and even from the federal government, because at the beginning of the war abolition had not yet been identified as a cause of the Union. It also distinguishes them from many other immigrant groups who did not seem to have considered ideological opposition to slavery as a reason to enlist.⁹ Abolition was the cause most often presented in the Welsh language press to encourage Welsh American boys to enlist with the Union army. From the very first months of the conflict, Welsh American leaders openly identified the war as a battle against slavery and recruiting songs, poems, and other types of rhetoric, “urged Welsh Americans to go to war in order to wipe the stain of slavery from the United States flag”.¹⁰

Although the residents of the Welsh Hills communities kept mostly to themselves, their religious and moral devotion could not permit them to ignore the issue of slavery and many spoke out fervently against it.¹¹ Denison University alum Judson Harmon, who would later become a



John Boaz Jones, who lived in Granville during the Civil War, was a brother-in-law of Civil War soldier Evan E. Jones.

U.S. attorney general and governor of Ohio, testified to the zealous involvement of Welsh Denison students in discussion of the war, commenting, "What speakers and debaters some of ours were, especially the Welsh boys! I take no chances with a Welshman to this day".¹²

During the decades leading up to the war there were many abolitionist meetings held by the Welsh community, and some houses in the Welsh Hills, as in Granville, were said to be stops along the Underground Railroad. That is not to say, however, that pro-abolitionist sentiment was universal in the Welsh Hills, nor was it universal in Granville, although the town was long considered a hotbed of anti-slavery support. The issue was not whether residents favored slavery, they were nearly all opposed to its perpetuation, but rather whether they were moderate or radical in their opposition. Those northerners who were considered to favor the more acceptable, moderate approach advocated gradual emancipation and the ultimate colonization of the freed slaves in Africa, with compensation being provided to slave owners. The "radicals" at the time were the abolitionists, who demanded immediate emancipation on moral grounds and zero compensation paid to the slaveholders.¹³ The decade during which Granville faced its most ambivalent attitudes about slavery was the 1830s. This was the decade during which, in 1836 the "Great Riot" took place

in Granville, culminating in an assault on a crowd of abolitionists by other Granville residents who threatened them and pelted them with eggs. However, what seems to have been the cause of the rioting was a fear on the part of many residents that they or their town might be associated with the "radical" abolitionists during a time when slavery was still an issue to be debated in Washington rather than on the battlefield. This interpretation of the events during the 1830s makes sense when one considers that after the Great Riot the abolitionists gained a great deal of strength in Granville and abolitionism eventually became the majority viewpoint after the 1830s.¹⁴ It, therefore, seems logical to assume that once the abolitionist movement had gained more legitimacy in northern society, during the 1840s and 1850s, Granville residents were more willing to accept its way of thinking.

ABOLITIONISM, OR ELSE!

Welsh America as a community, if not the Welsh Hills specifically, certainly seemed to be more radical in its devotion to the abolitionist cause than many of its more moderate American neighbors. If a Welsh individual was considered pro-slavery, or even was suspected to hold Confederate sympathies, he would be effectively shunned not only by the rest of the Welsh community in America, but also back in Wales. This reportedly occurred to a Welsh minister, Samuel Roberts, who had settled in Tennessee before the war but whose decision to remain there throughout the conflict and allegedly have communications with slave owners was enough to "effectively ruin [his] reputation forever".¹⁵ Samuel Roberts' fate demonstrates how devoted the Welsh American community, even if not all of its individual members, was to the cause of abolition, so much so that it adopted the anti-slavery cause as its own.

It is interesting to think of the abolition movement in terms of its similarities to the non-conformist Protestant movements in Wales occurring at the same time. Protestant sects in Wales, frustrated by years of unequal treatment and oppression by the Anglican government, had risen up in protest during the mid 19th century. Although at first much of the traditionally Anglican population of Wales had been hesitant to adopt the attitudes of protestant dissension or to be associated with the non-conformist sects, in a very short period of time Welsh society experienced a shift during which the dissident protestant sects began to gain legitimacy and a spirit of non-conformity took hold of what had once been a conservative population.¹⁶ Certainly the success of the non-conformist sects in Wales was probably greater in magnitude than that of the abolition movement in America as a whole, but to a certain extent the shift in Welsh society could be comparable to the shift that occurred in Granville during the late 1830s and 1840s when

it took on its abolitionist character. Logically, it would make sense that the Welsh Hills community might be more receptive to the abolitionist movement than the people of New England descent in the town of Granville. The Welsh immigrants, being of a non-conformist sect themselves, would have perhaps been more comfortable being a part of a so-called "radical movement".

Either way, whether the Welshman of Granville found motivation to fight in the words of the abolitionists or those of the Methodist minister, it seems they would have done so ultimately with a great sense of patriotism for their adopted country and with a desire to preserve the government that had provided their families with the opportunities they did not have in Wales. The war gave the Welsh immigrants a chance to prove themselves to be loyal Americans and the Welsh language press in the United States and Wales praised the Welsh boys for responding to the call to defend the government in a manner "fitting their character as patriots".¹⁷

ALLEGIENCE TO A NEW HOMELAND

Although I cannot know for sure what ran through the mind of my great great uncle Evan E. Jones as he enlisted with the Union Army, I like to look to the accounts of other Welsh American soldiers for insight. One account I came across in my research was that of a Union soldier by the name of Benjamin F. Thomas. Benjamin Thomas immigrated with his family to America when he was very young and grew up in one of Ohio's Welsh communities, much like Evan. In Thomas' letters, written to his mother, we see evidence of his devotion to his adopted homeland as well as to his religion and his family. He wrote from his post, "We have three duties to fulfill: our duty to God, our duty to our GOVERNMENT, and our duty to our families and our homes. And every Man should do his best for our country".¹⁸

It seems that these words, spoken from the battlefield, effectively summarize what must have been the mindset of this generation of young Welshman as they enlisted with the Union army. Doubtlessly it was a duty to God, government, and family that motivated Evan E. Jones to put on hold his life in the Welsh Hills and embark on a journey which would eventually take him into the mountains of West Virginia, to guard a small blockhouse at the North Mountain Depot.

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⁸ Hunter, *Sons of Arthur*, 182.

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¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ Kevin Bennett. "The Ante-Bellum Years", in *Granville, Ohio: A Study in Continuity and Change, A Purpose, A Plan, A Place. Vol. 1*, ed. Anthony J. Lisska and Louis I. Middleman, (Granville: Denison University Press, 2004), 122.

¹² Bennett, "The Civil War", 179.

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¹⁴ Utter, *Granville*, 177-179, 182, 189.

¹⁵ *Wales and the American Civil War*. compiled by Clare Taylor. Documents selected and translated from the National Library of Wales collection of Civil War Material, (Aberystwyth: National Library of Wales, 1861-1865), i-ii.

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¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 162.

• The groundbreaking



State Representative Jay Hottinger (right) presents the Ohio State House of Representatives resolution to Granville Historical Society President Dr. Donald Schilling.



Cynthia Cort, president of the Society when the project came into being and who as vice president has overseen its daily coordination, is caught in freeze-frame as she breaks some of the ground.

The new Hubert and Oese Robinson Research Center at the Historical Society museum gets a rousing sendoff

By TOM MARTIN

Amidst great fanfare on July 16, 2011, dignitaries helped break ground for the Robinson Research Center of the Granville Historical Society. On these pages appear the resolution from the Ohio House of Representatives read by Rep. Jay Hottinger of House District 71 following an enthusiastic introduction and personal commendation of the many accomplishments of the Granville Historical Society, and several photographs that represent the event. Additional remarks came from Granville Mayor Melissa Hartfield, who eloquently praised the organization and the Oese and Hubert Robinson museum. The remarks of

Society President Donald Schilling were included in the July issue of the Modern Times, the Society's web publication available through office@granvillehistory.org

The Capital and Endowment Campaign for the Robinson Center has generated funds sufficient to build the addition, according to campaign chair Tom Martin, and the campaign continues in order that the spaces may be adequately furnished and an endowment built to help maintain the building. With vastly improved archival and storage space—both in terms of square footage and in terms of climate control—and with an excellent ground floor space designed for both presentations and exhibits, the Robinson Center will enable

President Schilling (far right) introduced the group breaking ground. Pictured, from left to right, are:

- Devin Bennett, 12, a student at Heath Middle School who has a passionate interest in history; perhaps he gets some of that from his grandparents, Deborah and Kevin Bennett. Kevin is our civil war expert.

- Megan Quintrell, 16, a Granville High School student. Megan's great grandparents owned Welsh's grocery and she also is part of the Philipps and Rees clans, so she is an excellent representative of Granville's rich, Welsh heritage.

- Michelle Sawyer-Bain, a teacher of French at the Granville middle and high schools, represents the educational mission of the society, but she is also a life-long resident of Granville. Her father, Tom Sawyer, was a well known local figure as our postman. Michelle, by marriage to her husband Steve Bain, is the daughter-in-law of Becky and Lance Clarke.

- Cynthia Cort, government documents librarian at Denison and a mainstay in the Society since the mid 1990s, is our collections manager, a member of the Board of Managers, and most recently president.

- Janie Drake, born in Newark and since 1960 a resident of Granville, has been great supporter of our local museums working as a docent at both the GHS and Robbins Hunter. She most recently served on our Advisory Committee which provided critical guidance to and support for the Society's campaign leadership.



everyone involved in the activities of the Granville Historical Society better access and better ability to accomplish.

The addition was designed with the Mission Statement of the Granville Historical Society carefully in mind:

As the community's collective memory, the Granville Historical Society acquires, preserves, and shares Granville's past with residents and visitors to inspire an awareness of local history.

ENVISIONING THE FUTURE

The creation of the Hubert and Oese Robinson Historical Research Center — and the remodeling of the existing facility that it is enabling — will enable the Society to realize its mission more comprehensively in the 21st Century. The Research Center and the Museum will become a destination point for the public. The following identifies specific goals to be met and their broader ramifications:

1. To Preserve the Past:

a) through collecting the records and artifacts, especially focused on the 20th and 21st centuries that complement the Society's strong 19th century collection;

b) through the preservation/housing of the archives and material collections of the Society (requires storage, work space for preservation and cataloguing)

2. To Educate the Public:

a) through expanded exhibits on site (both more permanent and special exhibits) and traveling exhibits;

b) through access to archives holdings (space for

researchers in genealogy, local history);

c) through a robust, imaginative set of programs conducted in the museum for children, tour groups, other special groups, and the general public, made possible in part by additional exhibit space and public meeting space for c. 35-50 persons;

d) through a much expanded website featuring greater access to digitized collections and visual materials;

e) through an active program of publications;

f) through an enhanced docent/volunteer training program.

3. To Enhance the Profile and Heighten the Impact of the Granville Historical Society:

a) through expanded access-increased facility hours for the public, etc.;

b) through more systematic efforts to inform the public about the work of the Society;

c) through more robust ongoing fundraising featuring an improved annual fund and estate planning program;

d) through an active program of collaboration with the Granville Museum Consortium;

e) through broadening the base of the Society's committed and well-trained volunteers.

In short, this building project creates the context in which Society leaders are transforming the perception of the GHS from "the museum that is never open" by becoming a vibrant center for the historical study of Granville and its environs, enriching the lives of the citizens and serving the community by preserving its past.



Flo Hoffman (left), who has been archivist for the Granville Historical Society and a member of the Board of Managers for more than 25 years, steers Becky Clarke, representing Lance Clarke, whose dream the addition was and whose drive led to its planning, to the ceremonial shovel.

RIGHT: The proclamation presented by State Representative Jay Hottinger during the groundbreaking program.

(Groundbreaking photos by Charles A. Peterson)



UNDER THE SPONSORSHIP OF

REPRESENTATIVE JAY HOTTINGER
HOUSE DISTRICT 71

On behalf of the members of the House of Representatives of the 129th General Assembly of Ohio, we are pleased to congratulate the

GRANVILLE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

on the groundbreaking of its Robinson Research Center, July 16, 2011.

The spirit of our nation is founded upon and reflected in its exciting and colorful past, and the memorializing of significant landmarks is vital to the preservation of America's heritage. All those associated with the grand opening of the Robinson Research Center are ensuring that the important details of our past are transmitted to future generations for their appreciation, and their endeavors are duly noted.

Fine organizations such as the Granville Historical Society are to be commended for their tremendous efforts to guarantee that the past will not be forgotten. The members of the society have distinguished themselves as concerned and responsible citizens and have, with admirable perseverance and integrity, helped sustain the history of the Granville area.

Thus, with great pleasure, we congratulate the Granville Historical Society on its new center and extend best wishes for the future.



William G. Batchelder
WILLIAM G. BATCHELDER
SPEAKER
OHIO HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Jay Hottinger
Representative Jay Hottinger
House District 71



An attentive audience takes in the groundbreaking program for the new Hubert and Oese Robinson Research Center on July 16, in Opera House Park.

GRANVILLE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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