JARED R. STALLONES

PAUL ROBERT HANNA

A Life of Expanding Communities

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To Jan, Lindsay, and Cameron
for all their sacrifices

Contents

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1

Introduction

Social studies education plays a crucial role in preparing American children to take on the duties of citizenship. In a liberal democracy, however, tensions exist between the needs of individuals and those of the greater society. These tensions are evident in public education every time a teacher encounters difficulty interesting students in the prescribed curriculum. Paul Robert Hanna struggled throughout his career with these often conflicting needs as he sought an appropriate balance for the foundation of social education in the schools. The models he developed went far beyond the traditional approaches to the social studies.

Hanna's solution, first reached in the 1930s and refined in many applications throughout the remainder of his career, replaced the traditional approach to American schools' social studies programs in the elementary grades with a new curriculum design. Instead of deferring until the upper elementary grades a thoughtful introduction to several social sciences, or offering only history and geography as discrete subjects, Hanna incorporated Harold Rugg's integrated secondary social studies approach in his design for the

elementary social studies curriculum. Hanna believed that the social sciences could be employed to help students understand the development of the social, political, and economic systems in which they lived. Deeper understanding would empower them to effect change through democratic means that would benefit them as individuals and society as a whole.

Hanna's work took many forms, from educational research and consultations with schools and governments here and abroad to helping establish professional organizations as forums for discussion of the role of education in society. His consistent focus throughout his career, however, was development and refinement of the "expanding communities" design for elementary school social studies instruction. Promulgated in several major textbook series published by Scott, Foresman and Company for almost forty years, the expanding communities design profoundly changed how social studies was taught in schools both in the United States and abroad.

Surprisingly, given his long career and major contributions to education, no comprehensive biography of Hanna exists, although three dissertations have focused on aspects of his work. Robert E. Newman Jr. (1961) studied *Building America*, a monthly magazine series designed to help secondary students investigate social problems facing the United States. Hanna proposed this series to the Society for Curriculum Study and chaired its editorial board from the magazine's inception in 1935 to its demise in 1948. At its peak, *Building America* enjoyed a monthly circulation of more than a million copies. Norman Miller (1967) focused on the way in which Hanna's expanding communities curriculum design treated one international community, the Atlantic nations. Martin Gill (1974) focused on Hanna's long and successful partnership with the textbook publishing house of Scott, Foresman and Company. Through Hanna's social studies textbook series, published in multiple editions by Scott, Foresman, his expanding communities design achieved its widest dissemination and revolutionized the way social

studies was taught at the elementary level. Daniel Tanner estimated that Hanna's textbooks were among the most widely used in U.S. schools (1991, 43).

Despite Hanna's impressive impact on American educators, professional historians of education have ignored him. David Tyack (1974), for example, did not mention Hanna in his landmark work on American schooling, even though he surely was aware of Hanna's work because they were colleagues for a time at Stanford University. Herbert Kliebard (1986) also failed to include Hanna in his discussion of the Depression-era shift in progressive education from a child-centered to a social reconstructionist approach to the school curriculum. Kliebard ignored Hanna in his discussion of the Virginia Curriculum Study's role in this shift, even though Hanna was directly involved in that landmark work. Lawrence Cremin overlooked Hanna's contributions in both his history of Teachers College (1954), where Hanna studied and taught for eleven years, and his study of American schooling in this century (1961). More recently, Tanner and Tanner (1990) continued this pattern of neglect. Even books on the elementary curriculum, wherein Hanna reasonably might be emphasized, routinely ignore his role. For example, one recent work described the rationale for an integrated approach to the social studies this way:

> The integration of information gives students and teachers an opportunity to plan a program in which the barriers between areas of study begin to dissolve and the possibilities for experiencing real-life situations are greatly increased . . . societal conditions are explained not only in greater depth but in a context that is meaningful in relation to contemporary living (Reinhartz and Beach 1997, 275).

This statement succinctly describes the approach that Hanna pioneered more than sixty years ago, but Hanna is not mentioned or referenced in the text.

Possible reasons for this neglect of Paul Hanna's contributions

are discussed in Chapter Eight, but the ultimate effect of excluding Hanna from historical memory is that an important part of education history remains unknown. Hanna's role in the debates about progressive education and social reconstruction in the 1930s, his role in the creation of several important organizations for professional educators, his formulation of a new curriculum design by which social studies is taught, his part in the development of school systems abroad, and his many other activities combine to support serious investigation of his life and work.

ORGANIZATION AND SOURCES

The organization of the following pages is somewhat unconventional and bears explanation. Chapters Two, Three, and Four of this book are organized chronologically. They describe Paul Hanna's personal growth and career, from its beginning in the small towns of the rural Midwest to its peak as he became the leading figure in elementary social studies education. These chapters unfold the personal expanding communities of influence Paul Hanna achieved throughout his life.

Chapter Two portrays the significant formative influences of Hanna's early years. Paul Hanna was born on June 21, 1902, in Sioux City, Iowa, the first of three children born to George Archibald Hanna and Regula Figi Hanna. His father was a Methodist minister much influenced by the theology and practices of the Social Gospel movement, whereas his mother held to a more traditional form of religion. The interplay of these two belief systems powerfully affected the young Paul Hanna. While attending public schools in several Midwestern communities, Hanna decided to pursue a career in higher education. Toward this end, he earned a Bachelor of Arts degree in philosophy from Hamline University in 1924.

Chapter Three details Hanna's eleven years of association with

Teachers College at Columbia University. Following his graduation from Hamline, Hanna went to Columbia in order to continue his studies in philosophy. He intended to study under John Dewey, but Dewey was detained in China that year. Consequently, he turned for mentorship to William Heard Kilpatrick of Teachers College (Hanna 1973a). This change in advisers influenced Hanna to shift his attention from philosophy to education.

Hanna was a student at Teachers College from 1924–1929, earning both his M.A. and his Ph.D. degrees. From 1930–1935, he served as an assistant professor on the Teachers College faculty. During these years, Hanna worked with many individuals who were then or later became leaders in American educational thought and practice. He worked with Jesse Newlon and Harold Rugg at the Lincoln School from 1928–1935. William Kilpatrick invited him to attend the legendary bimonthly dinner discussions that Kilpatrick hosted. Hanna benefited from participation in the ongoing debates of John Dewey, George S. Counts, John L. Childs, Rexford Tugwell, and their colleagues. Other far-ranging discussions of education and social conditions occurred later as Hanna helped plan and teach the College's Education 200F course in foundations of education with Harold Rugg and William Heard Kilpatrick. Hanna was profoundly influenced by the educational and social thought of these leaders in American education. During this time, too, he was invited by his former Teachers College classmate, Hollis L. Caswell, to consult on the landmark Virginia Curriculum Study. This project prompted Hanna to develop a scope and sequence for the social studies curriculum that came to fruition in the Hanna textbook series.

In 1935, Paul Hanna moved his family across the country to begin a new phase of his career at Stanford University. Chapter Four describes his long career at Stanford and the opportunities that opened to him there. Among these opportunities was his involvement in building a first-class education school. During World

War II, he and his students developed a program for democratic education that became a model for schooling in Japanese-American relocation centers (Hanna 1942g), and from Stanford, Hanna began his consulting work abroad in 1940. His work overseas accelerated throughout the 1950s and 1960s under the sponsorship of the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) and the United States Office of Education, and it influenced nations in Europe, Africa, Asia, and Latin America. In 1954, he established the Stanford International Development Education Center and served as its director until 1968. Paul Hanna was named the Lee L. Jacks Professor of Child Education in 1954 and held that chair until he retired in 1967 (Nelson 1988, 413).

Beyond his work in education, Hanna was instrumental in building the reputation of Stanford University by forging partnerships between the university and governments (Lowen 1997; International Cooperation Agency 1957). After his retirement, he endowed and devoted the final years of his life to establishing the Paul and Jean Hanna Archival Collection on the Role of Education in Twentieth-Century Society at the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace at Stanford University. He sought to create a unique archival collection and research program on the relationship between education and society. It has become the largest collection of its kind in the world.

Other facets of Hanna's life and interests blossomed in California. He and his wife, Jean, raised their three children and collaborated on textbook projects. In addition, Hanna and his wife, Jean, wrote articles and textbooks on spelling instruction. Together they oversaw the construction of a Frank Lloyd Wright-designed house overlooking the Stanford campus. With Stanford colleagues, Hanna launched a forestry business that involved him in serious conservation efforts both locally and nationwide.

Chapters Five, Six, and Seven deal topically with specific major aspects of Hanna's career. Chapter Five traces the development of

Hanna's thought on matters of social and educational concern, from his doctoral dissertation in 1929 to his final publication in 1986. Most of Hanna's writing focused in one way or another on his analysis of modern social, political, and economic institutions and ways in which schools could be used to help children learn to mold these institutions to their own needs. Although life experiences altered Hanna's view of just what those needs might be, his main thrust remained remarkably consistent. He felt that the key to constructive democratic change was providing children with sound information from the social sciences and experiences in democratic practices. His major works in these areas, as well as those of his critics, are cited and discussed in the chapter.

Hanna wielded considerable influence on American education through his work within a number professional organizations for educators. Chapter Six discusses his role in founding and leading several of these organizations. The crisis of the Great Depression mobilized many progressive educators to address the schools' responsibility to the larger society. Some in the Progressive Education Association (PEA) opposed this emphasis and held to individual child interest as the sole basis for curriculum decisions. Hanna and others were appalled at this position and, after attempts to modify the PEA's position, broke with the organization to found new groups. The John Dewey Society and the Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development were two that Paul Hanna had a leading role in establishing.

Chapter Seven details the development and extent of Paul Hanna's consulting work overseas. Hanna found a ready audience for his ideas on community schools and democratic education overseas in the years following World War II, under the auspices of the United States Agency for International Development, UNESCO, and other agencies. His efforts brought him international prominence. Perhaps more important, Hanna's work in East Asia, Africa, Europe, and Central and South America deepened his understanding of

other cultures and the impact of social, political, and economic institutions on the lives of people. It also gave him a stronger sense of the interdependence of nations. Both of these understandings profoundly affected his work in the United States.

The final chapter of this book analyzes and places in context Hanna's various contributions to American education. It also elaborates on the reasons for his neglect by educational historians and argues for more attention to educational biography. Taken together, these seven chapters provide a richly textured analytical narrative of Hanna's life and of his role in the development of twentieth-century American education.

THE NATURE OF BIOGRAPHY

Thousands of pages of writings by and about Hanna were analyzed for this work, and dozens of his former colleagues, students, and family members were interviewed. Yet even with so rich a variety of sources from which to craft Hanna's story, it can only be a construction of reality. What perspectives of Hanna's life are missed because friends, family members, former students, and colleagues were unavailable or declined to contribute to this volume? As Edward Carr wrote,

> The facts are really not at all like fish on the fishmonger's slab. They are like fish swimming about in a vast and sometimes inaccessible ocean; and what the historian catches will depend partly on chance, but mainly on what part of the ocean he chooses to fish in and what tackle he chooses to use—these two factors being, of course, determined by the kind of fish he wants to catch. By and large, the historian will get the kind of facts he wants. History means interpretation (Carr 1967, 26).

Inevitably, some sources slip by the hook of even the most diligent biographer. A life as long and fruitful as that of Paul Hanna presents the biographer with a daunting mass of information that

leads in dozens of intriguing directions. From this jumble of events, experiences, and personalities, he must craft an orderly narrative that makes sense of a complex life. Obviously, in this process, some information receives more attention and some less. A special difficulty lies in describing the subject's life with sufficient richness to offer a true portrayal without devolving into irrelevant minutiae, or in attaching more importance to events than the subject did, thus distorting their influence on the subject's life. Portraying the life of Paul Robert Hanna presents just this dilemma. For instance, in recent years historians of curriculum have given much attention to the Virginia Curriculum Study. Consequently, this biography devotes more space in the story of Hanna's life to that study than he himself might have.

The biographer's task becomes even more delicate, because sometimes his subject distorts events, personalities, and even his own importance. Sometimes his recollections are faulty. Sometimes he lies. Nevertheless, the biographer must allow his subject to tell his story in his own way. Novelist Arthur Golden observed that using autobiographical material "is like asking a rabbit to tell us what he looks like hopping through the grasses of the field. How would he know? If we want to hear about the field, on the other hand, no one is in a better circumstance to tell us—so long as we keep in mind that we are missing all those things the rabbit was in no position to observe" (Golden 1997, 1–2).

The biographer's subject has a voice, and that voice must be allowed a hearing so that the reader may see the "field" from the subject's point of view. On the other hand, the biographer is obligated to add some analysis or include the voices of observers with conflicting viewpoints to help portray how the "rabbit" appears from afar. It is the intention of this biographer to let Paul Hanna tell about his "field" in his own words as much as possible. To do otherwise is to use Hanna's life as a foil for expressing only the biographer's point of view. At the same time, the biographer intends

to share his own view of Hanna, knowing full well that it is filtered through his own experiences. Hopefully, the result is a reasonably faithful portrayal of Paul Hanna's life and contributions within the context of his time.

CONCLUSION

Paul Robert Hanna had an immense impact on education in the United States and abroad. His analysis of modern culture and his indictments of its schools still ring true. Throughout a career of more than fifty years, his diverse interests and contributions included significant roles in major professional organizations for educators, a curriculum design that became the standard for elementary school social studies instruction, the construction of a Frank Lloyd Wright-designed home, new formulations of the community school concept for international development education, the production of dozens of textbooks in social studies and spelling, and the creation of an important resource for research in the instrumental uses of education.

This great volume of work would not have been possible without Hanna's unique combination of personal characteristics. He possessed tremendous energy, an ability to organize and motivate others, and lofty visions of the social good that education can produce. At the same time, he could be stubborn, arrogant, and self-important. The development of Hanna's personality and intellect is the subject of Chapter Two.

2

Paul Hanna's Childhood, Youth, and Early Adulthood

Powerful influences worked in Paul Hanna during his childhood and young adulthood to develop a unique combination of idealism and pragmatism. During these formative years Hanna also developed his lifelong interest in education, philosophy, government, and foreign cultures. The unique blend of traits and interests that came together in Hanna made possible his later development of the expanding communities curriculum design for social studies, his founding role in important professional organizations, his formulation of various instructional approaches to encourage democratic education for citizenship in the schools, his studies of school systems abroad, and his many other projects in education and in business. Paul Hanna's early life and school experiences prepared him for his role as a leader in education, both at home and abroad, throughout the middle decades of the twentieth century.

CHILDHOOD

Paul Robert Hanna was born in Sioux City, Iowa, on June 21, 1902, the first of three children born to George Archibald and Regula Figi

Hanna. Scholarly pursuits had brought the young family to Sioux City, where George Hanna was preparing for the Methodist ministry at Morningside College. A career in the ministry was something of a departure from family tradition. For generations, the Hannas had pursued business and industrial interests in Ohio. However, George Hanna's branch of the family frequently departed from family tradition (Hanna 1982a, 2).

The first of Paul Hanna's ancestors to strike out on his own was his great-grandfather, George Washington Hanna. Described as "an adventurer . . . 'a boomer,'" in 1849 George Washington Hanna left friends and family in southern Ohio and northern Illinois for the Territory of Iowa to the west (Hanna 1982a, 4). With his wife, Mary Melrose Hanna, and their eleven children, he settled on pleasant ground along the Cedar River in the northeastern quadrant of Iowa. According to family lore, Mary Hanna was fascinated by the life of Napoleon Bonaparte. She chose the name Waterloo for their settlement, possibly to indicate the end of their journeys, as its European namesake was the end of Napoleon's (Hanna 1982a, 3). Paul Hanna so admired the pioneering spirit of his predecessors that he used their story in one of his later textbooks (Hanna 1943b). Memorial markers now stand at the site of the original Hanna homestead in Waterloo.

Apparently, George Washington Hanna's children shared his wanderlust. When they were able, they "scattered across the country and abroad" (Hanna 1982a, 3). Paul Hanna's grandfather, Wesley Hanna, moved to Laverne, Iowa, to work for one of his brothers in a bank. He was "a man of ideas but a poor businessman" (ibid., 5). As a consequence, he encouraged his son George to consider a career of service instead of business. Thus, Paul Hanna's father prepared for ministry in the United Methodist Church.

The late nineteenth century was a time of great upheaval in many Christian churches. Traditional Christian beliefs were challenged on all sides by Darwinism, by Charles Lyell's geological

evidences for an old earth, and by the European innovation in theology known as higher biblical criticism. Perhaps the most immediate challenge for the Church was addressing the rapid pace of change in American social, political, and economic institutions resulting from industrialization and urbanization. Church historian Bruce L. Shelley observed that Protestants reacted in two ways: "One party chose to embrace the changes as blessings sent from God; another chose to resist the changes as threats to the Biblical message" (1995, 392). Those who welcomed the changes adopted liberal theologies and formed the core of the Social Gospel movement, a faith-based effort to alleviate the ill effects brought on by change in American society. Those who resisted the changes tended to turn inward, focusing on salvation of the individual. This group formed the core of the Fundamentalist movement (ibid.). Both points of view were represented in the Hanna household, and Paul Hanna grew to reflect a blend of them.

One of the hallmarks of Paul Hanna's personality was the interplay between idealism and pragmatism that enabled him to envision what education could be, but kept him rooted in reality so that he could pursue the possible. George Hanna was an idealist, and his idealism most often took the form of activism for social reform. His son recalled, "I do not remember his preaching very much about life in the hereafter or the miracles of the Old and New Testament. Rather his texts were usually related to the social, economic, political, and moral missions and problems of our time" (Hanna 1982a, 6).

Hanna's father's sermon preparation reflected his concerns. "He read widely in the social sciences and humanities. I think more so than he did . . . theological literature" (Hanna 1973a, 10). On at least one occasion, George Hanna's views encountered strong opposition. "I recall, while I was in the middle elementary grades, that he was threatened by the Ku Klux Klan because of his preachment for the equality of races, sexes, etc. It was a frightening experience

but my father never seemed to be deeply disturbed by such threats to his social philosophy" (Hanna 1982a, 6).

Nor was George Hanna's activism merely talk. He often organized efforts to improve conditions for workers, youth, and the poor in the communities he served. Paul Hanna described his father as a progressive thinker and recalled many conversations concerning the ills of society and how they could be alleviated. Hanna attributed profound influence on his own later thought and attitudes to his father (Hanna 1973a, 10).

Regula Figi Hanna had a different outlook from that of her husband. Whereas he was idealistic, she was more practical, and her pragmatism added another dimension to her son's personality. She was born Regula Figi, the daughter of Swiss immigrants, from whom she absorbed the verities of Calvinistic determinism. Paul Hanna recalled that ". . . she believed there was a certain fate . . . that certain things were as they were and couldn't be changed" (Hanna 1982a, 7). She was also quite conservative. Paul Hanna's son, John, recalled that at his sister's wedding reception, his job was to keep his teetotaling Grandmother Hanna away from the alcoholic punch that was served (John Hanna 1998). She would have disapproved.

Regula Figi Hanna grew up on a farm in Renwick, Iowa, on which she learned the habits of hard work and saw profound patterns in nature. She frequently spoke to her son about the value of experience in education. He recalled that she expressed regret for "the children of my time who had to learn these things out of books rather than from actual first-hand experience" (Hanna 1982a, 7). His mother's conviction that experience was the best teacher influenced Paul Hanna's philosophy of life and education.

Paul Hanna often observed the tension between his parents' competing views of life. In his view, his father embraced change, believing that it provided opportunities for people to improve their situations in life. His mother, on the other hand, believed more

firmly that God guided the affairs of men. She was uneasy with too much social activism, because that might represent interference with God's will (ibid.). He attributed the greater influence in his own development to his father: "I suppose in another generation, back a generation, I would have been a minister or a missionary" (Hanna 1973a, 22).

Hanna's reaction to his parents' faith was not unusual. Historian Robert M. Crunden (1982) drew a connection between the Protestant traditions in the midwest and progressivism in American society. He argued that by Hanna's time, "the ministry no longer seemed intellectually respectable and alternatives were few. Educated men and women demanded useful careers that satisfied demanding consciences" (Crunden 1982, ix). They entered politics, social work, journalism, and academia.

Along with his father's sense of social justice, Hanna also recognized the value of his mother's practical nature. He recalled, "She always applied the brakes to my father's flights of fancy. My mother would take a realistic and practical slant and often would prevent Father from making unsound moves" (Hanna 1973, 10). One effect of his parents' differing personality styles on Paul Hanna was that he developed a visionary outlook, but one that was tempered by consideration of practical realities. For example, in a discussion with his father about the biblical parable of the lost sheep, Hanna argued that the shepherd should not sacrifice the good of the many for the sake of the individual.

> I thought he had better sacrifice the one sheep and make sure the wolf didn't get the ninety-nine in the fold. Father and I would argue about this. He tried to get me to see what the New Testament was trying to say by way of concern for the lost soul, for the underprivileged, etc. And I was more concerned for the welfare of the majority, but I think again this was Father's way of getting me to develop consideration for all points of view (Hanna 1982a, 9).

This anecdote points to the divergence in thinking between father and son brought about by the twin influences of the ideal and the practical. The ability to blend these two outlooks formed the foundation of Paul Hanna's worldview.

As Paul Hanna grew older, his world expanded to encompass more people and wider experiences. The work of a Methodist minister often entails frequent moves. After leaving Sioux City, George Hanna moved his family to Nebraska for a year, then to Minnesota (ibid., 2). The family moved several more times during Paul Hanna's youth, as his father was assigned larger and larger pastorates. Paul Hanna spent the rest of his youth in various communities in central Minnesota.

Regula Hanna taught her son to read at home, but the first record of his formal schooling is a third grade report card from a public school in Annandale, a small community in south central Minnesota not far from Minneapolis. Young Paul's report card recorded that he earned excellent marks in all subjects during the 1910–1911 school term (Annandale Public Schools 1911). No social sciences appear in the categories on the report card. The early decades of the twentieth century were a time of much discussion and study by scholars as to the proper placement of the social sciences in the grade levels. Apparently the Annandale school followed the pattern advocated by the Madison Conference of 1892, first introducing history in the upper elementary grades (Saxe 1991, 47). Hanna later identified the lack of social science instruction in the earliest grades as a weakness in the elementary school curriculum.

An occurrence in 1911 displayed two of Hanna's hallmark traits, his love of learning and his stubborn determination to achieve despite the odds. His eyesight was always poor, and at the age of nine he visited an eye doctor. The doctor prescribed glasses, telling the young Hanna that he should give up any idea of ever getting much of an education and should pursue a career in which he would not

be required to read much. He advised him to become a farmer, and the school's principal agreed. Hanna was bitterly disappointed, because learning and scholastic pursuits were already important to him.

Late in life he recalled his early love of learning: "I found science and history and geography fascinating" (Hanna 1982a, 11). His parents encouraged Hanna's interest by the value they placed on formal education. He recalled that while his mother was concerned "that I brought home good report cards, that I had a good deportment record, et cetera, Father was interested in what concepts and values I was getting through my school" (ibid.). The intellectual atmosphere of the Hanna home also stimulated his passion for ideas. He recalled that "we always had literature in the house. He [Father] read to help himself prepare his sermons. I was subject to much of that literature together with his weekly sermons" (ibid., 8).

The news that he might not be able read much must have been a bitter blow to a young boy who was already perusing his family's bookshelves, as well as the public library. He recalled weeping, but he also remembered that "this did not shake my interest in education or in a life of the mind . . . It never really influenced me . . . I didn't pay any attention" (ibid., 10). His father was supportive. Hanna recalled that, "Father said if you want to be a scholar, be a scholar, there are other ways of compensating" (ibid.). Indeed, his weak eyesight never impeded Paul Hanna's scholarship or other pursuits.

Report cards from Hanna's fourth grade year have been lost, but for grades five through seven, 1912 through 1915, Hanna attended the public schools in Paynesville, Minnesota. Paynesville is eighty miles northwest of Minneapolis. Again, his report cards show high marks, especially in history and geography, which first appear as distinct courses on the fifth grade report (Paynesville Public Schools). During these years, Hanna became aware of how the traditional curriculum could interfere with natural student interest.

When Hanna was ten years old, in fifth grade, he acquired some magnets with which he experimented at home. Thrilled by his discoveries, he brought some of the equipment to school one morning to share with his classmates and teacher. His classmates gathered around his desk before school to see what he had, but when the teacher entered she dispersed the students, confiscated the magnets, rapped Hanna's knuckles with a ruler, and publicly lectured him on the impropriety of bringing his toys to school (Hanna 1974). The incident made a deep impression on the sensitive and serious-minded Hanna, and he grew to resent the disparity between the wonder and excitement of learning through real life experiences and the often dull curriculum of the school.

During these formative years, the Hanna family expanded. Russell G. Hanna was born in 1907, and Geneva R. Hanna in 1914. They were so much younger than Paul that he did not recall specific instances in which they engaged in the types of lively debate with their parents that he did, but judging from their later careers they certainly received similar intellectual encouragement (Hanna 1982a, 9). Russell Hanna graduated from the University of Minnesota as an electrical engineer and enjoyed a distinguished career with Bell Laboratories. In retirement, he devoted his energies to church work and community leadership. Geneva Hanna, later Geneva Hanna Pilgrim, followed her brother Paul into education. She earned her Ph.D. degree from Northwestern University and served for years on the education faculty of the University of Texas at Austin. She also held various leadership positions in professional organizations. Later in life, Paul Hanna visited his siblings as often as his busy schedule permitted. He always spoke proudly of their accomplishments. Nonetheless, the difference in their ages meant that Paul Hanna enjoyed the undivided parental attention given an only child during his formative years.

YOUTH

In 1915, the Hannas moved from Paynesville fifty miles northwest to Glenwood, Minnesota. Paul Hanna attended the schools there from eighth grade through the beginning of his senior year in high school. His eighth grade report card reflected lower marks than normal, possibly due to the dislocation of moving. His marks were a mixture of As and Bs, with a C in spelling. Regula Hanna must have been concerned. He took routine courses including arithmetic, English grammar, history, reading, writing, and manual training. His highest marks, not surprisingly, were for the trait of "industry" (Glenwood Schools 1916). An incident that occurred in Paynesville exemplified his industriousness.

At the age of fourteen, Hanna found a magazine advertisement for a self-improvement course. The ad promised that those who completed the one-year correspondence course would substantially improve their personal efficiency. The course cost the princely sum of $100, an amount that Hanna had managed to save by doing odd jobs, but he determined to spend it all on the course. His mother thought the idea was silly, but his father supported him as long as he saw it through to the end. Hanna registered for the course. Each week, for a year, he received a new lesson in the mail. They included instruction and exercises in planning, time management, and self-evaluation. He surprised and delighted his parents by completing the entire course. He recalled it as "a profound experience. . . it probably had as much influence on my work habits as anything that I ever did" (Hanna 1982a, 13). Hanna's capacity for managing multiple projects and using his time efficiently became a trait that evoked much admiration from his colleagues later in life. His determination to master these skills as a fourteen-year-old boy certainly set him apart from his peers.

At the end of his eighth grade year, Hanna also set himself

apart from his classmates by announcing an unusual career goal. He would become a university president. Hanna had been profoundly influenced by periodic visits to his home by church officials, bishops, and other highly educated individuals. One he recalled especially was Samuel F. Kerfoot, the president of Hamline University. Hanna remembered being "fascinated by his range of knowledge, his depth of experience and his wonderful human qualities. I wanted to be a person like Kerfoot and thought that to be a university president was possibly the answer" (ibid., 15). When the guidance counselor at Glenwood High School interviewed entering freshmen about their future plans, Hanna told her of his ambition. Unfortunately, the information slipped out and Hanna endured much kidding from neighbors in the rural community. Nevertheless, he held fast to his goal. This dogged determination and self-confidence in the face of obstacles were traits that served Hanna well later in life.

Hanna spent the years from 1916 to 1920 in high school. This period was a happy time for him. He formed close friendships with two boys, Celius Doherty and Wallace Royster, and they played chess together almost every afternoon (ibid., 13). Chess became a lifelong passion of Hanna's; as an adult he collected rare and antique chess sets. More than just chess, however, the boys shared dreams of glorious success. They made a pact, duly written out and signed in blood, to return to Glenwood twenty-five years after graduation and provide "our former classmates a big thrill on seeing the three who had achieved so much" (ibid.). Children who feel a bit on the outside of their social group, as these studious chess-players must have in their small agricultural community, often harbor such ambitions. Although the three never fulfilled their pact, each accomplished a great deal. Wallace Royster became a top official in the U.S. Department of Labor, and Celius Doherty became a piano instructor at the Juilliard School of Music. During Hanna's tenure at Stanford

University, he arranged for Doherty to perform a concert there for the Students' Association.

Hanna proved himself an able high school student. In ninth grade, he took courses in English, Latin grammar, elementary algebra, physical geography, and botany (Glenwood Schools 1917). In his second year, he took English, a Latin course entitled "Caesar," plane geometry, and ancient history (Glenwood Schools 1918). His junior year was his last complete year at Glenwood High School. That year, he took English, higher algebra, solid geometry, chemistry, and modern history. He also was active in journalism and debate (Glenwood Schools 1919).

At the beginning of Hanna's senior year, his father was assigned to pastor a church in Alexandria, Minnesota, a few miles to the north. The Hannas considered leaving Paul in Glenwood to complete high school there, but finally decided that he would go with the family, even though he would have to enter Alexandria High School a month into the fall term (Hanna 1982a, 13). When he arrived, Hanna discovered that his new school had neither a debate team nor a school yearbook. These deficiencies gave Hanna an opportunity to exercise his organizational and leadership skills, "I persuaded my new classmates that a big and prestigious high school, as I perceived it in Alexandria, could not be without an annual and a debate team" (ibid., 14–15). He and his new friends organized a yearbook staff and published Alexandria High School's first annual. They also persuaded one of the teachers to serve as debate coach. Hanna and two others entered the state debating competition, where they advanced to the final rounds. Again, Hanna's supreme self-confidence empowered him to enter a new school as a senior and organize extracurricular activities to suit himself.

Hanna's report card from his senior year in school showed only partial coursework because of his midterm transfer from Glenwood. It revealed, however, that he took both American history and civics that year, rounding out his secondary school introduction to the

social sciences (Alexandria Public Schools 1920). The social science courses that Hanna took in high school—physical geography in ninth grade, ancient history in tenth, modern history in eleventh, and American history and civics in twelfth—display a sequence based on the school system's assumptions about knowledge growth and cognition. Despite Hanna's attacks on those assumptions later in his life, the sequence of coursework remains remarkably unchanged to this day.

Paul Hanna graduated from Alexandria High School on the evening of Friday, June 4, 1920, a few weeks before his eighteenth birthday. Because the high school curriculum was more widely differentiated in those days, he shared the accomplishment with twenty-six other graduates in the general course of study. These students had prepared to enter the job market or go on to higher education. Twenty students graduated in the commercial course, a special curriculum designed for those pursuing careers in business. Seven graduated in the normal course, preparing to teach in the lower schools (Alexandria High School 1920). Hanna had no doubt about his future. He would attend college at the school headed by Samuel F. Kerfoot, the man he so admired. He would attend Hamline University in St. Paul, Minnesota.

Hamline was a natural choice for other reasons, as well. Founded in 1854 by Methodists, it was Minnesota's first university and awarded the first bachelor's and master's degrees granted in the state. Hamline had a long heritage of preparing leaders in Minnesota's legal, medical, and political communities. The university's distinguished past likely appealed to Hanna's sense of history and status. Moreover, it must have appealed to his budding progressivism and sense of social justice. Hamline had been one of the first universities in the United States to admit women. Its stated mission was to prepare young people to "make the world a better place" (Hamline University 1999).

HANNA AT HAMLINE UNIVERSITY

Attending Hamline University represented another expansion of Paul Hanna's community, and it impacted him in several important ways. First, he had the opportunity to view firsthand the duties of a university president, which caused him to rethink his career goal. Second, he again fell under the sway of an influential mentor. Third, Hanna's years at Hamline afforded him the opportunity to refine further his leadership skills and to achieve success in a larger venue than he had up to then. Perhaps most important, Hanna met Jean Shuman at Hamline. She came to the University from Marshall, Minnesota, and she became just as energetically involved in the social and intellectual life of Hamline as Hanna did. They encountered each other in clubs and organizations, and they fell in love. Hanna eventually proposed, and Jean became his life partner and collaborator in numerous projects.

Among the first people he met with after arriving on campus was President Kerfoot. Hanna explained his aspiration to become a university president, and Kerfoot was delighted. He agreed to provide Hanna with experiences that would teach him all that such a career involved. For the next two years, Paul Hanna accompanied President Kerfoot as he went about his duties. He acted as Kerfoot's secretary and chauffeur as he traveled throughout the region raising money, recruiting students, and meeting with school administrators. When the winter weather made travel too difficult, Hanna observed Kerfoot's administration of the university.

Hanna gained a good sense of Kerfoot's responsibilities in the areas of curriculum, faculty relations, and the work of the trustees (Hanna 1982a, 16). President Kerfoot maintained a grueling schedule, but it did not deter Hanna from his goal. As his freshman year came to a close, Hanna wrote to William J. Davidson, executive secretary of the Commission on Life Service of the Methodist Episcopal Church, asking how he might prepare himself to lead a uni-

versity. Mr. Davidson's advice included ". . . a Doctor of Philosophy Degree in Education, specializing in School Administration. . . . and at least ten years of professional teaching in a Department of Education at some first-rate college or university" (Davidson 1921). Hanna determined to follow his advice.

At the same time, other career options opened to Paul Hanna. The need to earn money to help pay his college costs prompted him to exercise his latent entrepreneurial skills. During the summer and fall of 1921, he sold books door-to-door in rural communities throughout the region. Judging from the correspondence between Hanna and his supplier, the R. C. Barnum Company of Cleveland, Ohio, he had some success and took pride in his developing salesmanship skills (Hanna 1921). His business acumen and willingness to shoulder responsibility did not go unnoticed by others. Hanna's repayment of a small bank loan before it came due brought this praise from an official of the bank: "So many young men in these times think more of joy riding and other amusements than meeting their obligations and it is indeed a pleasure to find one like yourself that attends to his business as he should" (unsigned note 1924). Hanna also found an opportunity to hone his public relations skills by writing brief articles on the activities of Hamline students for publication in their hometown newspapers (*Greater Hamline Liner* 1924).

Not all of Hanna's extracurricular activities in his early years at Hamline were devoted to earning money or assisting President Kerfoot. In the fall of 1920, Hanna worked in the national presidential election as head of Hamline's Young Republicans Club (Hanna 1982a, 18). This activity afforded him the opportunity to know and become known by professional politicians in the state capital and cemented his lifelong affiliation with the Republican Party. Later in life, Hanna became highly skilled at moving in the halls of power. Typically, he recalled working with influential busi-

ness leaders and government officials as "a good experience" (ibid., 19).

Some of the relationships Hanna developed through his extracurricular pursuits at Hamline became important lifelong connections. An example is his friendship with Dison Po, a visiting student from China. Po's spoken English was not good, so Jean Shuman tutored him. Paul met Po through Jean, and the three became good friends. When Po returned to China, he served as an adviser to Chiang Kai-Shek and later became the first governor of Taiwan under the Kuomintang government. Later, when Paul Hanna was involved in international educational consulting, the Hannas visited Taiwan as Po's guests, and he provided an entree to educational leaders there (ibid.).

Hanna also made important connections with his own heritage during his college years. His uncle Phillip and aunt Emily Hanna employed him as a live-in "companion-cook-chauffeur-yardman, et cetera" (ibid., 4) during the summers of 1923 and 1924. Spending time with these living bridges to his own past gave him a deeper, more immediate understanding of the importance of history to individuals and nations than could be gleaned from books. Hanna recalled, "These two summers were great because I learned so much of the life of my ancestors" (ibid.). Phillip Hanna had served as Consul-General to Mexico, and in that capacity accepted the surrender of Puerto Rico from the Spanish in 1899. Hanna recalled, "I used to sit up well into the wee hours listening to Uncle Phil tell me stories of his experience with Pancho Villa and taking the surrender of the Spanish in Puerto Rico" (ibid., 4–5).

The most important alliance that formed at Hamline was his romance with Jean Shuman. Both were "joiners," as the 1924 edition of Hamline's yearbook, the *Greater Hamline Liner*, reveals. The photographic portrait of Paul Hanna that year shows a thin-visaged young man with a confident gaze peering out from behind round-framed glasses. The activities listed beneath his name in-

clude, "Beta Kappa, [president of the] Student Council, chairman of the Student Chapel, Kappa Delta Rho President, Hamline Players treasurer, YMCA Cabinet, Apportioning Board, Oracle Staff Exchange Editor, Liner Staff, Spanish Club, Debate, Extemporaneous Team, Junior Play" (*Greater Hamline Liner*, 116). These activities reflect an ambitious, self-assured, and energetic Paul Hanna.

On the next page of the annual is a photo of a dark-haired, round-faced Jean Shuman with an intelligent look in her large eyes. She is listed as a French major. Her activities include, "Sigma Delta, YWCA Cabinet, Class Secretary, Hamline Players, French Club, Le Cercle Francais Secretary, Student Council, *Liner* staff, Junior Play" (ibid., 117). Obviously, two such dynamic people sharing so many interests were thrown together time and again on the small Hamline campus. Mutual admiration quite naturally grew into a deeper attachment.

Of all his extracurricular activities, Paul Hanna particularly valued his involvement with the University's debate team. He joined it during his first year at Hamline and teamed up with the captain of the high school team that had beaten Hanna's high school in the state finals the previous year. They proved to be a formidable pair, winning three collegiate debates in 1920, and continuing this success over the next few years (Hanna 1982a, 19). Debating buoyed Hanna's self-confidence and honed his public speaking skills, but more important, it drew him deeper into philosophical reflection. Although the debate topics were policy questions, the debates often cut to the philosophical heart of the questions. Hanna recalled "experiences in that debate team which were philosophical" (ibid., 18).

Paul Hanna had displayed a philosophical turn of mind from early childhood, but by his third year at Hamline he made it the focus of his academic studies. One reason was his disillusionment with his previous career choice. Reconsideration of the tedium of fund-raising and travel that Hanna had witnessed in assisting Pres-